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A STUDY OF FORTY PROBLEM CHILDREN
OF SEPHARDIC EXTRACTION, TO DETERMINE THE
SPECIAL PROBLEMS THEY PRESENT TO A JEWISH AGENCY
AND TO DISCOVER METHODS OF DEALING WITH THESE PROBLEMS.

Lucille Shyev
August, 1927

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Introduction

The subject of this paper is "A study of forty problem children of Sephardic extraction to determine the special problems they present to a Jewish agency and to discover methods of dealing with these problems." The forty cases, from which the study is to be made, were under the supervision of the Jewish Board of Guardians of New York City.

The Jewish Board of Guardians was organized twenty years ago for the purpose of dealing with all phases of delinquency, (juvenile and adult, male and female) arising among the Jewish people of New York City. In order to facilitate supervision, departments, to handle the various types of delinquency, were installed.

The Preventive Department, from which the cases to be studied were chosen, deals solely with boys and girls between the ages of eight and sixteen who have not been in correctional institutions. Cases are referred by the Juvenile Court, school officials, parents, friends or other social agencies.

Until 1923 the social worker might be characterized as a big sister or brother who attempted to handle the various problems from the outward behavioristic manifestations. A recreational program, with an occasional medical and psychological examination, appeared to be the methods employed for the solution of these situations. Occasionally, a particularly obstreperous or "peculiar" child was referred to a psychiatric

clinic. Little progress was made. In 1923 a psychiatric clinic, with a full time psychologist and medical service, was established. The clinic was in a purely advisory capacity and the decision, as to whether or not a child was to have a psychiatric interview, lay in the hands of the social worker.

In 1925, a reorganization, again, took place and the Mental Hygiene Clinic was established with the Preventive Department and its social workers under the supervision of the Psychiatrist-in-Chief. Every child is seen by the psychiatrist and classified as a psychiatric or non-psychiatric case. The treatment of the latter group is left to the discretion of the social worker and case supervisor. The former group, after a complete cycle of investigation (medical, social, psychological) returns to the clinic for psychotherapy. The social worker is directed by the psychiatrist as in any behavior clinic.

The forty cases to be studied, except for twelve cases (five closed and seven new ones) represent the total number of Sephardic problems under the supervision of the Preventive Department since January 1923. The twelve discarded cases either lacked identifying data (closed cases) or had insufficient treatment (new cases) to permit use for analysis.

The cases fall into two groups, psychiatric and non-psychiatric (twenty in each group). The plan of

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procedure to be followed in this study is of a dual nature:
First, there is to be an analysis of the two groups in regard
to

- (1) family background,
- (2) Personality of individuals,
- (3) recommendations, treatment and disposition,

the purpose being to discover if underlying differences exist
between these groups. Secondly, the plan is to discover the
special problems presented by this group to a Jewish agency.

In order to learn more about this group members of
various agencies were interviewed. Definite information was
noticeably lacking. The group emigrated from Turkey, in
large numbers, at the close of the World War. They came to
the attention of the Jewish Social Service Association
because of the poverty existing among them. The number of
dependent families increased to such an extent that the Jewish
Social Service Association found it necessary to appoint a
worker, in the downtown district, to handle Sephardic cases
only. In March 1927 a Sephardic Committee was appointed to
investigate the economic conditions.

The opinion among social workers appears to be that
the group is shiftless, lazy and indifferent. An apparent
lack of intelligence prevents constructive work. No attempt
was made to determine the possible causative factors or plan
devised to define the problem or problems in specific terms.
In the hope that an analysis of the behavior problems, under
the supervision of the Jewish Board of Guardians, would aid

in a definite formulation of the problems presented by this alien group, this study was initiated.

There can be no clear understanding of a people, nor possible interpretation of their actions and reactions from a study of present environment only. Behavior is also affected by the events of past years. Unfortunately there is almost nothing in history books or Jewish Literature to throw light on the years which elapsed between the expulsion from Spain and the emigration to the United States four centuries later. The historical events which follow are brief because of this dearth of material.

The Sephardic Jews, receiving their name from "Sephard," the Hebrew word for Spain, are the descendents of the Spanish Jews who, in 1492 were ordered by Queen Isabelle either to be baptized or leave the country. Little need be said about the group that travelled to New Amsterdam by way of Holland. Here they laid the corner stone of the first Spanish and Portugese Synagogue and by their intellectual acumen and aristocratic bearing became leaders in the new city. Annals and books may easily be found concerning these. But of the group that travelled east, to the Ottoman Empire, and not to the United States until well-nigh four hundred years later, little is known.

Books on the history of the Jews tell us nothing of the motive force which propelled this group east rather than

west, no more do they give us even a faint glimmer of the personality or intellectual endowment of these people. All we find is, "some went to Turkey and settled in Smyrna, Solonika and Stamboul." We can only surmise that a desire to be nearer the homeland, Palestine, filled their souls. Probably their original plan was to reach Palestine, but for from unknown reason, mayhap the "delight with which the Ottoman Empire received them", caused ⁽¹⁾ ^{dis} deviation from their original intention.

They settled in a section of each city, where they practised and studied the Talmud without external hindrance. They did not give up their old speech but developed a dialect, "Ladino", which is early Fifteenth Century Spanish interspersed here and there with Hebrew words. The dialect is as similar to Spanish as "Yiddish" is to Hebrew. The men became more intent on studying the Torah. It became the law of the community. A terrific emotionalism manifested itself in the talmudic leaders. Soon from critical reasoning and intellectual interpolation they began delving into abstractions and seeking "secret and hidden meanings." The Torah was neglected for Cabala (book of mystic law). Belief in signs and symbols was rampant. A gateway it seemed, a breach finally made into the opaque walls of the Talmud! The years of severe discipline, restraint and repression, to which their spirit had been subjected, groped until it found an outlet. Their "dwarfed minds" rejoiced in the flights of fanciful imagery and they

(1) Browne, I.; Stranger than Fiction, p. 240.

wallowed in this freedom with "all the abandon of rickety
 slum-children playing in a mud-⁽¹⁾puddle." The frenzy reached
 the climax in the personality of Sabbatoï Zevi who proclaimed
 himself as the "Annoïnted of God." And the mad throng, in ecstatic
 delerium acclaimed him. The Ottoman Monarch also acclaimed him.
 Thousands of people, Moslems and Christians alike, came to see
 him in the throne room of the palace. But soon a new claimant
 appeared in Galicia (another center of mysticism) and denounced
 the Turkish leader. Sabbataï was imprisoned and conversion to
 Islam saved him from a death penalty. ^{(2) (3) (4)}

The frenzy of the Turkish Jew diminished. Disappointed,
 depressed, they retired behind the walls and reverted to the
 Talmud. One group of followers, still believing in their fallen
 leader and that God had willed this predicament, also became
 converts. But converts, in outward conformity, in their homes
 in Solonica they continued with the magic rites and symbols
 of Cabalistic Judaism. ⁽⁵⁾ They are known today as Dunmays -
 Turkish for Apostates. ^{(5) (6)} They wear amulets and secret
 charms; have peculiar incantations to keep away evil spirits. ⁽⁶⁾

The dejection of the rest of the group can only be
 compared to the depressed state of a manic-cycle. The frenzy
 was an expression of flight - flight from the harsh^dship of
 reality and the fetters binding them to it. The despondency

(1) Browne, Lewis, - Stranger than Fiction, p.260.
 (2) Ibid. 7 p 259
 (3) Pears, Edwin, Turkey and Its People, p.156.
 (4) Garnett, Lucy M. 7 Home Life in Turkey, p.8.
 (5) Barton, James L. 7 Daybreak in Turkey, p.56-
 (6) Browne, Lewis 7 Stranger than Fiction, p.263.

which followed was the complete withdrawal into themselves.

The Turks, mocked them. They were still tolerated but a toleration tinged with absolute neglect, - making for greater withdrawal. Of such negligible quantity were they, from that time on, that books on the history of the Ottoman Empire make little mention of them. Dr. Barton in his (1) "Daybreak in Turkey" remarks that they hold no important positions, seldom appear in the foreground, command no commercial prominence, as they do in other countries, but are for the most part extremely poor and looked down upon as inferior. In Solonica the Dummys control the barber trade. (2) Some of the Jews in Stamboul and Smyrna own small shops in their own communities. Others are pack peddlers but, "On the whole the Eastern Jew leaves much to be desired. (3) He exists for the most part, and occasionally grows rich."

As the Ottoman Government believes that each religious sect should have its own educational system, the Jewish Community formulated its own school system. Education consisted for the most part of an intense study of the Hebrew and Talmud for boys only.

Whatever poverty existed up until the period of the World War was tolerable. But at the close of the war, conditions became unbearable and a group emigrated to the United States. The group settled at first in the most crowded section of New York's Ghetto. In the last four years there is a tendency

(1) Barton, J. → Daybreak in Turkey, p, 56.
 (2) Browne, Lewis → Stranger than Fiction, p.270.
 (3) Pears, Edwin → Turkey and Its People, p.154.

to move north - into the deteriorated sections of Harlem which fringe the colored border. They have increased so rapidly in this section that the Spanish and Portugese Settlement is seriously considering moving its headquarters to the new Sephardic Center. It is interesting to note that a Sephardic Printing Press Company was established and a newspaper, printed by the same company, is published. There is no word of community interest, no attempt to report news. The paper is merely a collection of jokes - not original, but translated from the English.

In the Harlem group there ^{are} a few intellectual men, with Mr. Franko as their leader. It is interesting to note that there are two factions, harboring prejudices against each other. The Smyrnian group looks down on the Solonikan. An explanation lies, no doubt, in the fact that the former are suspicious, afraid of the mystic cults, and eerie beliefs which the Solonikans are traditionally beset with. This same attitude of condemnation and scorn the Russian Jew has toward the Galician. Such are the historical facts which were obtainable. As to how far they affect the problem in New York the study will try to disclose.

Body of Thesis

As has been stated in the introduction, the first step will be an analysis of the family background presented by the psychiatric and non-psychiatric cases.

In the non-psychiatric group we find six families with both parents living together; eight families with the father dead; two with the mother dead (a stepmother in the home of one); two with chronic desertion of father; one with father in a State hospital; one with both parents dead. The average number of children for the group is six, with four of the families still in the child bearing age.

In nineteen of the cases the home conditions are characterized as "poor and crowded." The number of rooms in which the families live ranges from two to four, with the average rent of twenty dollars a month. In eight of the cases the family is receiving aid from a charitable institution. Of these eight, two are receiving aid from the Widowed Mothers pension (father is dead), supplemented by the United Hebrew Charities. one is supported by the Jewish ^{B. C. J.} ~~Boy~~ Sisters (both parents dead); one by Sephardic Community; four are receiving aid from the United Hebrew Charities. In five of the eight cases, where the father is dead and the mother is working, the average earnings of the mother amount to about ten dollars per week. The incomes of the fathers, who are employed in unskilled trade for the most part, range from fifteen to thirty-five dollars a week, with only one family earning thirty-five dollars. This father

owns a confectionery store. Two of the fathers are peddlers, one has a fruit stand, one is a shoe shiner.

Except for the two mothers who were able to pass the literacy test required for obtaining citizenship papers, none of them read or write English. The spoken word is understood but they speak badly. The fathers speak better than the mothers and can read a few words of English. All the men read Hebrew. The native tongue and language of the home is "Ladino."

The parents, according to the social workers, are poor disciplinarians, indifferent to the children and anxious to place them in institutions if they become troublesome.

In the psychiatric group we find fifteen families with both parents living together; three with the father dead; one with the mother dead (a stepmother in the home); one with chronic desertion of the father. The average number of children for the group is five, with thirteen of the mothers still in the child bearing age.

The conditions of the homes in the psychiatric group are similar to the existing conditions in the non-psychiatric insofar as they are "poor and crowded." Six of the families are receiving aid from a charitable institution; two cases receive occasional aid; one family is in debt but refuses aid. In three of the cases where the father is dead, the mothers are working but receiving no outside aid. The incomes of the fathers range from eighteen dollars to thirty dollars per week. The type of their work is, as in the case of the non-psychiatric group, unskilled or semi-skilled;

eight are tinsmiths; three are battery fixtures; ^{makers} one a brass polisher; four are push cart peddlers.

The illiteracy of the parents, their "foreignness," their lackadaisical, indifferent attitude toward child training is as evident in this group as in the group of non-psychiatric cases.

The homes for the most part are sparsely furnished. They do not differ from any poor foreign or American group in regard to cleanliness. Some homes are immaculate, though crowded, others are dirty and untidy no matter at what time of day a visit is made. In one family, of all this group, do we find that wooden flats (hand made), covered with heavy feather bed-covers, in true Turkish fashion, are used for sleeping purposes instead of a bed. This family is the only one of the group which can be considered as earning a living wage.

The group represents, then, a low economic level. The men are employed in unskilled or semi-skilled seasonal trades. The working year is rarely more than seven months - and these not consecutive. They do not seek other employment during the slack season. They prefer to remain at home, in bed, or visiting friends in the neighborhood. A slight cold or a damp day is an excuse frequently to remain away from work. Three of the men have been diagnosed as "malingerers". Their phlegmatic, depressive expression circumvents the worker's attempt to demand that they seek other ^{types of} employment.

Their thinness hints at a possibility of tuberculosis but the clinic reports of those examined were negative.

The women are heavy, uncorseted, but with wan, haggard faces. They have all varieties of ailments due, no doubt, to continual child bearing and no prenatal care. The religious belief that God said, "Be fruitful, multiply and replenish the earth" prevents any use of contraceptive methods. It is rather difficult under any circumstances to institute a birth-control policy but even more so when there is a distinct religious prejudice. The belief, that prevention of procreation is a "sin unto God", is not an individual matter but one that has taken firm root in the preachings of the Turkish-Sephardic Rabbis. The director of a settlement told a worker of an encounter with the Rabbi of one of the downtown synagogues. In spite of the fact that physicians warned him that another pregnancy of the wife would result in her death, he refused to permit the use of preventive methods. The marital ties are taken as a matter of course, a state that must exist for the procreation of children. There appears to be no love element entering into the situation. The parents arrange the match for the sons and daughters without consulting either of the children. The dot - the marriage settlement - is a matter for the "in-laws." Mrs. Deronado expressed the situation briefly but to the point, "Oh, parents, they fix good husbands for us. We not know him before marry." A marriage based on these principles cannot hope to result in a love situation. The attitude of the parents to each other appears to lack any

of the fundamentals of love attention. The fathers are not negligent, but indifferent, and look upon the women as a necessity and good in their place. Mr. Rabreda's flat resigned tone when he spoke of his wife seems to personify this emotional indifference, "O, she sick woman. She good." It follows naturally that where marriage lacks love and children are born, the children will rue the effects. No more interest is evinced in the children than in the interest of the father for the mother. There is no attempt to train or rear them. They are permitted to come and go as they please, with one stipulation, "You go to Hebrew School or I beat you." The question of ethics or property rights has no place in the home training; stress is laid on the religious codes in an abstract manner. Stealing is forbidden by God. An individual who steals is sinful. Disobedience to parents is also a sin as, "Honor they father and mother" is also a command of the Father. The belief in the power of God was simply expressed by the father of Jimmie Deronado in his comment on the good behavior of the latter, "Jimmie go Hebrew School now; he learn, stealing a sin - God punish people who sin; He does not love His bad children. Jimmie now know this, he no longer steal."

Unruliness of the children is met by corporal punishment administered by the father. When this method of discipline becomes ineffective, the parents become helpless and their impulse is to institutionalize the "bad" boy or girl.

Incarceration is the only form of punishment they can conceive of. Misbehavior arises because the "bad man" is in the child's soul (by "bad man" they mean the devil). An almost infantile belief pervades in the achievement of imprisonment. "You put Sam away. Take away bad from him in a good place." The ineffectiveness of their mode of discipline is discussed in the presence of the children, as well as the desire to send them away. They hear continually, "You too much for me. I can no keep you home. I send you away."

In spite of the hopelessness and apathetic state of mind, a strong element of pride is very much in evidence. A strong bond exists among the group and the link is their Spanish lineage. They boast of this even as the Russian Jew boasts of rabbinical ancestry. They continue to speak Ladino at home and to the children. An explanation of this may reside in a feeling that it is the tie which binds them to Spain. This boasting may be an overcompensation for the inferiority which the years of neglect has fostered in them - a belief that though low in the scale at present, once they headed the intellectual, social and economic sphere. Whatever may be the determining factor - pride is in evidence. This seems incongruous with the ready acceptance of aid. It has been noted by many social workers that the pride is in proportion to their independence. As soon as they accept any aid they lose all sense of pride and become persistent beggars. On the one hand we find the Sabreda family refusing

aid from charities and borrowing from neighbors all winter; on the other hand, the Eskanazee family begging from every relief agency in the city.

There is no differentiating factor in the familial setting of the psychiatric and non-psychiatric groups. The group as a whole presents a picture of low economic standing and crowded conditions. This does not differ from any other poor Jewish community, whether it be Russian, Polish or Galician. There appears some difference in the attitude of the fathers in families receiving aid. They are prone to "lay down on the job" and depend entirely on the goodness of charity.

In regard to wages, it appears that the Turkish group require less money to support as many children as the other Jewish strains. It is not fair to state that they embrace a lower standard of living. Their dietary customs differ greatly. They use no butter, milk or expensive meats, which increase a budget immediately. Oils are used for every variety of food and a small quantity of oil, which is inexpensive, can be used for large quantities of food.

The analysis has disclosed elements which make them different and which in themselves give rise to problems in a new environment. The barrier to intercourse is language. They cannot speak "Yiddish" and do not speak English. Their social sphere is limited to their own people. This makes it difficult to obtain knowledge of American customs, laws and manners. They have their own synagogues, their own settlement,

their own Hebrew schools. They are not bothered with external dissension and so become traditionalists - in religious concepts, beliefs, as well as actions and thoughts. This, of course, prevents the use of contraceptive methods which would result in a diminution of birth rate, which social workers feel would result in a better economic standard.

The outstanding element making for difference is the passive acceptance of conditions whether it be economic, marital or progenital. It appears rather significant that in only three cases of the forty we find a father who is rebellious enough or energetic enough to attempt escape - by desertion. In the thirty-seven families, in spite of the stress of poverty, there is harmony. The harmony, though, differs from the ordinary conception. It, too, is a passive acceptance of a state that must exist. It is this indifference to family union that makes them willing to place the child away from home. A "bad" child is a responsibility, only insofar as the community makes them responsible - and they are too willing to unburden themselves of this load when anything threatens to bring discord into this passivity.

The second step is an analysis of the problems in the two groups of cases and the intelligence of the patients as measured by the Stanford-Binet Test.

In the twenty non-psychiatric cases (seventeen boys and three girls) we find fourteen cases of incorrigibility (thirteen boys and one girl); seven cases of late hours (six boys and one

girl); four cases of stealing (all boys); four cases of truancy from school (all boys); three cases of abusive language (all boys); three cases of misbehavior in school (all boys); two cases of truancy from home (all boys); two cases of bad sex habits, including masturbation and intercourse (one boy and one girl); two cases of bad associates (all boys); one case of temper tantrums; one case of law breaking; one case of gambling; one case needing placement.

there were
 In all/ twelve types of behavior difficulties , with

the greatest number referred for incorrigibility. Incorrigibility is associated with stealing in three cases; with abusive language in three cases; with late hours in six cases; with truancy from school in four cases; with poor work in school in three cases; with truancy from home in one case; with temper tantrums in one case; with bad associates and gambling in one case.

Stealing is linked with bad associates in one case, with late hours and truancy from home in one case.

Sex is alone in one case (a boy); it is linked with late hours in one case (a girl).

Law breaking and need for placement are alone in one case.

In reading the records for a search for causes in this non-psychiatric group, we find bad home environment asserted as the reason for the problems, - the laxity of parental control, poor discipline and lackadaisical attitude of the parents foster delinquent manifestations.

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In the twenty psychiatric cases (fifteen boys and five girls) we find eleven cases of truancy from school (nine boys and two girls); ten cases of incorrigibility (eight boys and two girls); six cases of stealing (all boys); four cases of late hours (two boys and two girls); three cases of bad sex habits (all girls); three cases of enuresis (two boys and one girl); three cases of temper tantrums (two boys and one girl); two cases of law breaking (both boys); one case of bad associate; one case of lying. In addition to these there are two cases of incipient psychoses, both girls.

In all there are twelve types of behavior difficulties, with the greatest number referred for truancy from school, (eleven), and incorrigibility (ten cases) running a close second.

Incorrigibility is associated with stealing and enuresis in one case; with stealing in one case; with abusive language in two cases; with truancy from school in six cases; with bad sex habits in one case; with bad associates in one case; with law breaking and temper tantrums in one case; with enuresis in one case; with temper tantrums in one case.

Stealing is alone in one case; is associated with truancy from school and home, lying in one case; with enuresis and late hours in one case.

Late hours is alone in one case; it is associated with bad sex habits, truancy from home and school in one case;

with truancy from school in one case; with bad sex habits, enuresis and temper tantrums in one case.

Truancy from school is unassociated in one case.

Temper tantrums is associated with law breaking in one case.

The psychiatrists seemed to believe that the fundamental problem, the causal factor in all these behavior difficulties, was the inability of the offspring to adjust to a new environment - due, to a large extent, to poor parental control, to lax and inadequate methods of discipline.

From a purely statistical and classificatory standpoint there is very little difference in the types of problems presented by the psychiatric and non-psychiatric groups. The difficulties, in the former group, are in a number of instances more intense. The very intense cases are those of the girl delinquents, three of whom were referred for sexual manifestations (such as exhibitionism, masturbation and intercourse) and two for peculiar behavior, both of whom were diagnosed as incipient psychoses. In searching for the cause, again the environmental factors of inadequate home training and poor parental control were found to be the fundamental element.

The problems as a whole appear to arise from home situations. The term "incorrigible" is used most frequently. In the last analysis it means an offspring of a foreign parent rebelling against the "foreignness." The "feeling of difference", exposed to view in the school and on the streets, seems to seize an outlet against the parent who in this case symbolizes the

source for this difference. Ordinarily a child will vent the antagonism aroused by this "feeling of difference" on the agency directly causing the unfavorable comparison. One would expect the school to suffer the consequences but only fourteen cases out of forty are truants from school. Of these fourteen, two were working illegally (without working papers) due to ignorance. Eight of the number were children born in the United States. Four of the number were born in Turkey but arrived in the United States between the ages of three and five. This may indicate that those born in America had more courage and vented spite on the school by remaining away. As a matter of fact, a closer analysis of the group who were truant from school disclosed that the truancies were, except in three instances, only occasional outbursts which ceased as soon as a truant officer threatened to punish them. The problems seem to display a fear of outside authority in contrast to open rebellion at home - and the inability of the parents, due to indifference and apatheticness, to control this rebellion.

It is the usual problem which arises among an immigrant group when children appear brighter and more intelligent and the parents cling tenaciously to tradition and the "old country." In discussing the matter with the parents, in utter despair they acclaim that "Children, in America, they spoil - too much movies and money." In addition to the "foreignness" of the parents there is a desire to shift the responsibility to an authoritative body so that difficulties arising in the home, which should be manipulated by them, are referred to a social agency.

We turn now from the behavior problems themselves to a comparison of the intellectual capacity of the cases as measured by the Stanford-Binet Test. The chronological ages of the non-psychiatric group range from eight years to seventeen, with the average age between twelve and thirteen. The intelligence quotients, which could be obtained for only twelve cases, range from 1.11 to .51 with the greatest number falling between .87 and .51 (seven in all). Of the eight cases where no intelligence quotients were obtained, we find five retarded and in opportunity classes in school; two in their correct grade for chronological age; one is in the slowest group for his class (age eight - two B³).

In the psychiatric group, intelligence quotients were obtained for seventeen of the twenty cases. The chronological ages range from six to sixteen, with the average age between nine and ten. The intelligence quotients range from 1.02 to .62, with the greatest number falling between .90 and .62 (thirteen in all).

In comparing the intelligence of the psychiatric and non-psychiatric cases, little difference between them is observed. There is one case of slightly superior intelligence (intelligence quotient 1.11) in the latter, with none of superior intelligence in the former. The psychiatric group has a larger number in the moron group. In both groups the greatest number fall below the lower limits of the normal level, i.e. intelligence quotient between .90 and .62. The intelligence quotients of the twenty-nine cases distribute themselves as follows:

Intelligence Quotients	Psychiatric	Non-Psychiatric	Total
(Superior) 1.11	0	1	1
(Normal) 91 - 1.10	4	4	8
(Dull Normal) 81 - 90	2	2	4
(Moron) 71 - 80	7	2	9
(Full Moron) 51 - 70	4	3	7

From the above facts, we notice that we are dealing with a group of low grade intelligence. The factor of intelligence is one of the most essential elements in the adjustment or maladjustment of a particular group to a new environment. From a hereditary point of view this is also significant. Dull intelligence in the children means, if we are to believe in the theory of intellectual inheritance, that the parents are also dull. If, then, we are dealing with a dull group, the low economic level, the apathetic state, the indifference to external cultural forces can be explained by this factor.

But before discussing the question further, it is essential to investigate another element - that of language and the possible effects on the results of the psychological tests when the degree of foreignness within the individual is taken into consideration.

A numerical measurement of intelligence quotients with all the elements homogenous is a fair representation of the mental equipment. The group is homogenous in regard

to race but there is another factor, nativity. The comprehension of the English language is an essential part of the Stanford-Binet tests, both from the standpoint of following the directions given by the examiner and for the understanding of the questions themselves. The following tables are an endeavor to correlate the number of years the patient has been in the United States with his intelligence quotient, and also to discover whether the arrival at an earlier age affects the results in any way.

Of the twenty-four patients born in the United States, we have intelligence quotients for eighteen and these range from 1.11 to .62. They group themselves as follows:

<u>Intelligence Quotients:</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1.11 (Superior)	1
91 - 1.10 (Normal)	8
81 - .90 (Dull normal)	2
71 - .80 (Moron)	5
62 - .70 (Dull moron)	2

Of the sixteen patients ^{not} born in the United States, we have intelligence quotients for eleven and these range from .87 to .51. The following table shows the distribution of intelligence quotients and also the age the patient arrived in the United States.

Distribution of Intelligence Quotients and
Age at Arrival in United States of
Eleven Turkish Born Children

Intelligence Quotient	Frequency	Age at Arrival in United States
1.11 (Superior)	0	
91 - 1.10 (Normal)	0	
81 - .90 (Dull)	2	
(1) .87		3 yrs.
(2) .81		7 yrs.
71 - .80 (Moron)	5	
(1) .75		1 yr.
(2) .74		5 yrs.
(3) .73		6 yrs.
(4) .73		2 yrs.
(5) .72		1 yr.
51 - .70 (Dull Moron)	4	
(1) .70		2 yrs.
(2) .69		10 yrs.
(3) .66		3 yrs.
(4) .61		12 yrs.

We find that the native born children have higher intelligence quotients than those of the foreign group. In the latter class we have no individuals either in the superior or normal groups, and the greatest number (five) within the moron level. We also notice that there are two peaks in the native stock, - one in the normal group (eight cases), another in the moron group (five cases). It is also important to consider the number in each group. There are eighteen in the native group and only eleven in the foreign born. Possibly, if greater number of intelligence

quotients were obtained, we would find some of the foreign born in the normal and superior group.

As far as the foreign group is concerned, there is little of significance between the age of arrival in the United States and the highness or lowness of the intelligence quotient. For example, we find that of the two individuals who arrived at three years of age, one has a rating of .87 (the highest of the foreign group), while the other has a rating of .66 (next to the lowest of the foreign group). It is impossible with so few cases to make any dogmatic statement for a whole group but this particular group is a fair sample of the marginal level and economically dependent group of the Sephardic Jews in New York.

This group shows inferior intelligence, with ^{some of} the native born children reaching the normal levels. The question, as to the cause of this poor mental endowment, is difficult to ascertain. The original Sephardic group which travelled to Holland and then to America, from their accomplishments, intellectual as well as economical, represent the upper levels of the intellectual scale of intelligence. From the historical data available we are unable to discover the characteristics, mental or physical, of the group that travelled East to Turkey which can explain this low intelligence represented by the results of the intelligence quotients of their descendents. The American revision of the Stanford-Binet is, of course, revised for English speaking people, but

this group, according to the observations of historians, was equally ineffectual in Turkey, economically, socially and politically. The condition was so outstanding that one historian quotes Disraeli to explain the peculiar situation, "Each nation has the Jew it deserves." ⁽¹⁾ There are two suppositions based not on fact but on the presence of other factors. One is that the original group was less intelligent, less progressive. Instead of going forward to a new world they travelled back to the homeland, Palestine, back to tradition and the cradleland of their religion. A religious group is not necessarily unintellectual but their static outlook is indicative of less intellectual acumen than of a group unhampered by religious dogma. A second hypothesis which may explain the apparent dullness may be the result of years of seclusion, of retirement from cultural spheres. They were huddled in the Jewish quarter, neglected and overlooked, where few external, material or cultural, forces could penetrate. Possibly, they felt the inferiority of the Ottoman regime, and, proud of their Spanish culture, they determined to retain that which they brought with them. It was this determination which led to the development of Ladino, their native tongue. This tenacity to be an isolated body prohibited new ideas. No culture can grow without intercourse with other cultures. It may be that this group has not deteriorated as much as it has become stagnant while the rest of the world has progressed. Whatever theory is

(1) Pears, Edwin - Turkey and Its People, p 568

postulated, one always recognizes the fact that intellectual endowment will usually find a path whereby to express itself. Years of suffocation cannot but have left some traces on intellects and emotions. It is too early to make prophecies but if the group is merely suffering from exposure to environmental poisons, then transplantation may renew the vigor - even as the last few years have shown how the freedom from fears of massacres has permitted the Russian Jew to show his worth.

The third step is a study of the groups in regard to specific recommendations made, either of a medical, psychological or psychiatric nature, and the results obtained.

The cases group themselves into two categories: the adjusted and the unadjusted. The unadjusted group are of three types: first, those that necessitated placement away from home; second, those that were closed for miscellaneous reasons; third, those that are still being carried.

In the non-psychiatric group, six cases came under the first type of the unadjusted class (necessity of placing). In case #2364 (age ten, intelligence quotient 100, born in the United States), the boy was reported as incorrigible, truant from home and school, and remaining out late at night. The boy's mother is dead and there is a stepmother in the home. The father is disinterested except to desire placement. The recommendations made to the stepmother were to give the boy "ego satisfaction" by giving him an occasional party, and secondly, to provide him with spending money. After a

half year of supervision the problems still continued. Finally the boy was placed in the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. He was adjusting so well that it was decided to send him home. He was home for one week when the problems recurred. In the last contact the worker stated that the boy was not adjusting.

In case #2686 (age fourteen, retarded, grade seven B, no intelligence quotient, eleven years in the United States), the boy was reported as beyond parental control, abusive and vile language, late hours and gambling. Cardiac treatment and a recreational program were recommended. After a few months of supervision placement in the Hebrew Orphan Asylum was made, as it was felt the boy needed a routine life and nourishing food, which the ignorance and quarreling of the parents and uncooperativeness prevented.

In case #4114 (age eight, intelligence quotient 74, born in the United States), a tonsillectomy was recommended. The psychologist advised that the boy needed bolstering for a marked feeling of inferiority. The mother was advised not to hit the children but to deprive them of pleasures. About four months later the placement of the boy in the Far Rockaway Home was made, as the worker felt that no successful therapy could be carried on with an illiterate parent.

In case #2697 (age eight, grade two B, intelligence quotient ^{not obtained} 2, born in the United States), an immediate decision was made to place the boy in the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, as the ignorance of the mother would prevent any success of therapeutic measures in the home.

In case #2642 (age fourteen, six A opportunity, eleven years in the United States), the mother was advised to use consistent disciplinary methods. The father was advised not to play the boy against the mother. But after two years of supervision the boy was placed in the Hebrew Orphan Asylum as the worker felt that the "terrible conditions of the home" prevented any modicum of success.

Case #4333 (age seventeen years five months, intelligence quotient 51, five years in the United States) could not get along with brothers or sisters (both parents dead) and the girl was placed in the Girls Home Club. The latest reports were that the girl is working and is well-liked in the Club.

In the non-psychiatric group we find seven cases coming under type two (unadjusted cases - closed for miscellaneous reasons). In case #2725 (age sixteen, grade six B, four years in the United States), after a half year of supervision from the time working papers and a job were obtained for the boy, the case was closed as it was felt that no problem had ever been present but merely an ignorance of American law.

In case #3258 (age twelve, intelligence quotient 73, six years in the United States) vocational tests were recommended as the intelligence quotient was too low to admit of further schooling. A tonsillectomy was recommended and performed. The boy's problem became more acute but the family

returned to Europe before any action was taken.

In case #4216 (age twelve, four A opportunity, born in the United States) it was felt that the economic situation should be dealt with. The case was referred to the United Hebrew Charities and closed.

In cases #4229 and 4230 (#4229, age twelve, intelligence quotient 1.01, native; #4230, age nine, intelligence quotient .83, native) the psychologist recommended special coaching in speech for the former and a regrading of the latter as mental ability was below chronological ability. The case had three changes of workers. Nothing was accomplished by ^{any} one and as the family moved out of the jurisdiction of the Jewish Board of Guardians (to Brooklyn) the case was closed.

In #52 (which is the oldest record of all cases used) no recommendations are noted in the record, merely statements of times visited). Case was closed after two years as the family moved away and could not be located.

In #3633 (age fifteen years, intelligence quotient .66, ten years in the United States) the girl was referred for bad sex habits - "taking money for intercourse." The psychologist recommended that the girl be seen by a psychiatrist. Nothing was done in the line of carrying out this suggestion. At the end of a half year of supervision the parents arranged a marriage for the girl with a fellow countryman. The girl was seen once after the marriage and the case closed.

In the non-psychiatric group we find three cases coming under the third type of unadjusted case, - cases that are still being carried. In #3228 (age twelve, intelligence quotient .93, native born) the psychologist recommended that the worker capitalize good intelligence and give the boy insight into understanding of the effect of truancy, stealing and late hours. Recreational outlets were also recommended, of the type which would enhance his ego. Reading was to be supervised in order to develop cultural interests. After a year of supervision the trancies ceased. The boy is a member of a Boy Scout troop and Dramatic Club (ability in this line discovered) and frequents the public library. Occasional lapses have occurred but the last contact reported "adjustment still taking place - mother reports no misbehavior."

In case #4295, (girl, age fourteen, first term in high school, native born) referred for incorrigibility, the recommendation was a recreational program to be carried on by a volunteer big sister. At present the girl appears to be more amenable to parental discipline.

In case #3241 (age fourteen, intelligence quotient .87, in United States fourteen years) referred for incorrigibility and bad associates, trade school was recommended but the psychologist negatived this as patient showed poor mechanical ability but recommended that the boy remain in school until working papers could be obtained. A recreational program was also recommended. A scout troop was found for patient. At the time of last contact there appeared to be some adjustment

but the worker did not feel this would be permanent because of poor home control.

Of the twenty non-psychiatric cases, three were closed as adjusted.

In case #3574 (age ten, intelligence quotient 1.00, native born) referred for incorrigibility, truancy from school and late hours, the psychologist recommended that boy be given special help with reading and that worker suggest that teacher encourage patient as a marked feeling of inferiority was present. After two years of contact, case was closed as well adjusted, no more behavior problems existing.

In case #2271 (age ten years, grade three B, slightly retarded), referred for bad associates, stealing and incorrigibility, the recommendation was a recreation program to occupy spare time. Boy was enrolled in Scout troop, and Hebrew School, after regular school. No stealing having been reported at the end of one year the case was closed as adjusted.

In #217 (age fourteen, intelligence quotient 1.11, grade seven B, native) referred for incorrigibility and troublesome at school, with poor school record, the psychologist recommended that patient be given special coaching in order to help him reach grade suitable for mental age. "Present mental age far superior to school grade." Coach^{ing} was provided/and in three months the boy skipped one grade, and in one year reached correct grade. Case was closed, as no problems were reported.

In examining the six cases in the non-psychiatric group where placement away from home was found necessary, we find that all come under the heading of broken homes. Two of the cases (#2686, #2642) the father deserts occasionally and when at home drinks and beats the mother; one case (#4114) the father is in a State hospital, the mother working, the family receiving aid from the United Hebrew Charities; in case #2617 the father is dead, the mother working. In one case, #4332, both parents are dead and the sisters and brother of the girl cannot get along with her; in one case, #2364, the mother is dead and a stepmother is in the home. The economic status of all six is either dependent on some agency or marginal level, without aid. As far as the intelligence of the group is concerned, we find that of the three boys born in the United States only one has a rating of average intelligence; of the other two, one is rated as having an intelligence quotient of .74, the other, no intelligence quotient was taken but he is graded as dull by the school teacher.

In examining the three cases closed as adjusted, we find a similar condition. All three have broken homes; in two of the cases the father is dead and the mother working and receiving aid; in one case the mother is dead, the father is barely supporting the family, though not receiving aid. As for the intelligence of these three boys, all born in the United States, we find one with a superior rating (intelligence quotient 1.11), one with average rating (1.00), for the third no rating was obtained but he rates as "slightly retarded" by the school teacher.

In examining the recommendations made in the first group we find the worker attempting to deal with the parents - either mother or father, or both. For example: "that stepmother give boy ego satisfaction"; ask parents to use consistent discipline methods; ask a mother to bolster boy's inferiority complex."

In examining the three adjusted cases we find that therapy was carried on in two cases with the school as the agent, and in one case with a recreational center as the source from which therapy emanates. Again, it is to be noticed that the intelligence of the adjusted cases is higher than of the unadjusted.

In the psychiatric group, nine cases come under the first type/^{of} unadjusted cases - necessity of placing child away from home.

Case #4313 (age fourteen, intelligence quotient 72, twelve years in the United States), referred for truancy and incorrigibility. The psychiatrist recommended frequent contact with the boy and intensive supervision. After six months both the mother and father requested that the boy be sent to an institution. "The mother is a nag and cannot understand" boy. The boy was placed in Pleasantville.

Case #3318 (?)(age fifteen, intelligence quotient 75, fourteen years in the United States, referred for truancy from school, incorrigibility, cardiac. The psychiatrist diagnosed the case as incipient Dementia Praecox. "Girl on infantile level because of organic condition," (severe cardiac).

"Growing into maturity is difficult. Worker is to utilize the fact in therapy." The medical clinic diagnosed severe mitral regurgitation requiring constant care. After one and a half years, in which time the cardiac condition grew worse as the parents could not be persuaded to have consistent treatment ("too indifferent, lazy, easy-going"), and behavior difficulties increased, the girl was placed in Council Home, at Jamaica. She was adjusting very well when she was brought home (the parents now thought she could go to work). Her behavior problems began again and the girl, again being beyond control, was committed to an institution through the Children's Court.

Case #3394 (♀) (eight year eight months, intelligence quotient 70, two years in the United States) was referred for masturbation, intercourse with men, enuresis, temper tantrums. The mother and father, who speak very little English, had been referred to the Bellevue Mental Hygiene, Dr. Wile's Clinic and finally to the Jewish Board of Guardians. Intensive care and supervision were recommended by the psychiatrist. The parents could not give supervision, "too dull." They desired placement but this could not be done as the child was deportable. Finally she was placed in Cedar Knolls, by private arrangement, where she appeared to adjust. In 1925 she was sent home (as deportable period was over) and finally committed to Randall's Island.

Case #3706 (♀) (age nine, intelligence quotient .62, born in the United States) was referred for truancy from home

and school, late hours and intercourse for money. The family situation, poor economic standards and illiteracy of parents prevented "the intensive supervision" requested by the psychiatrist. The girl was committed (upon parents' request) to Letichworth Village.

Case #4641 (age six years four months, intelligence quotient .91, native) was referred for incorrigibility, truancy from school, and some stealing. The psychiatrist recommended "constant supervision by worker and family" with some instilling of fear. For eight months the mother, a chronic rheumatic and neurasthenic, reported some improvement - with occasional lapses when father was not working. Eight months after treatment was instituted, a man attempted sodomy. Both parents became very upset - the father was unable to work, the mother became ill and demanded that the boy be sent away. It was felt that the home situation would quiet down more rapidly and the boy was committed to the Hebrew Orphan Asylum until September.

Case #4374 (♀) (age sixteen, grade eight B, fourteen years in the United States) was referred for truancy from home. The psychiatrist diagnosed the case as incipient manic-depressive psychoses. He recommended constant supervision and habit training. There was no mother in the home, the father was illiterate and weak. After three months the girl attempted suicide and the psychiatrist recommended

placement in Inwood House as the "home conditions were impossible for any reformation."

Case #4002 (♀) (nine years and ten months, intelligence quotient .78, native born) was referred for masturbation, exhibitionism, incorrigibility. The psychiatrist recommended a change of school (as exhibitionism displayed there and school against her). "As the mother is an inefficient personality - dull, weak, worn out with quarrels and beatings of husband and irregular income - worker is to effect ideal mother role." It was impossible to effect school transfer, as no other school in the neighborhood received girls. After six months the girl showed no improvement, was becoming worse and finally placed in the Girls' Home Club. She appeared to adjust and was returned home after a six months stay. She no sooner returned home than the problems reappeared. The psychiatrist recommended, this time, foster home placement with a foster-mother the ideal mother type. The home was found and the last reports show "good adjustment with no sex delinquencies whatsoever."

Case #4966 (age fifteen, intelligence quotient 95, ten years in the United States) was referred to the Jewish Board of Guardians in 1919 for truancy from home and school, incorrigibility, and was given psychotherapy at the Cornell Clinic. The case was carried until 1923 when, the problem becoming more acute, the boy was placed in Children's Village. In 1927 the boy was returned home and two months later the

~~was~~
case, reopened because the family desired recommitment - boy was troublesome at school, impossible at home. The psychiatrist recommended that the worker see the school teacher and discuss the problem with him. After two months the problem became more acute and the boy was sent to Berkshire Farm.

Case #4268 (age eleven years eight months, intelligence quotient 81, native born) was referred for truancy from school, stealing, incorrigibility. The psychiatrist recommended intense supervision with stress on training parents to trust the boy, to permit him some freedom. The psychiatrist recommended that concrete rather than abstract reasoning would reach the boy. Medical Clinic recommended endocrine treatment for undeveloped testes. In three months the testes descended. Parents insisted that boy be placed away - "he bad boy." The crowded, poor conditions of the home, coupled with illiteracy and dullness, made success impossible. The boy was finally placed in Pleasantville.

Ten cases come under type two of the non-adjusted group - cases still being carried.

Case #4795 (age fourteen, intelligence quotient 69, four years in the United States) was referred for truancy from school. The psychiatrist recommended vocational tests in order to suit the boy to a job, as this appeared to be a case for economic adjustment (father dead, boy wants to help).

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The medical clinic advised glasses. The psychologist recommended a job of the simplest type, as boy did poorly on Stimquist Mechanical. Job was obtained for patient in a shoe shine parlor. The last contact reported "patient working steady - mother states boy is behaving very well."

Case #4642 (age nine, intelligence quotient 91, native) was referred for stealing from parents, truancy from school. The psychiatrist recommended constant supervision, with slight instilling of fear - and awaken sense of property. The psychologist recommended guidance in reading. The medical clinic advised adenoidectomy and tonsillectomy. During the nine months of supervision there was no truancy. There were two reports of taking money from parents, both times during periods of father's unemployment when no money could be given for candy. The father refused to have adenoidectomy and tonsillectomy^{performed} and would give no reason.

Case #4621 (age nine, intelligence quotient 1.02) was referred for stealing from family. The psychiatrist recommended supervision and inculcating of high standards in spite of bad home condition. The psychologist recommended appealing to patient's good judgment, utilizing good intelligence. During six months, despite the constant unemployment of the father and the neurasthenic condition of the mother, there was no stealing.

Case #4620 (age seven, intelligence quotient 71, native) was referred for truancy from school, abusive

language, incorrigibility ("running wild"). The psychiatrist recommended constant supervision, to try boy in home despite parents' desire to commit him. The psychologist recommended transfer to lower grade as chronological age was above mental age. The school had no facilities for slow pupils and refused to place patient in lower grade. His behavior at home became worse, even as that of the brother (#4621) became better. Two attempts were made to place him away from home as the mother's neurasthenic state and pregnancy and the father's indifference prevented any adequate discipline or home training. Attempts are being made to place the boy in the Hebrew Orphan Asylum.

Case #675 (age nine, intelligence quotient 76, native) was referred for incorrigibility at home and school, temper tantrums, and unlawful begging. The psychiatrist recommended that worker give mother insight into patient's "badness", requesting that she ignore his childish exuberance. Also, that she give him affection and satisfy ego craving. Worker also to explain to the school that the restlessness and misbehavior is desire for attention. The school reports improved conduct - no longer incorrigible. The parents, the mother especially, still complain - have not carried out instructions - "too dull and stupid to understand."

Case #4702 (age eight, intelligence quotient 89, grade three A) was referred for stealing from parents and

neighbors, enuresis and late hours. The psychiatrist recommended frequent contact, (instill fear for authority). In spite of supervision the boy's difficulties persisted. The mother, weak and worn out with economic situation and father's illness and constant unemployment (diagnosed malingerer by Mt. Sinai) desired commitment. A male worker was placed on the case. The difficulty still persisted. A change of male workers took place. The last contact stated that there has been no stealing but use of bad language and incorrigibility persist.

Case #892 (age eleven, native, grade four A opportunity) was referred for incorrigibility, truancy from school, bad associates. The psychiatrist recommended frequent visits by worker and installation of organized recreation program to break him away from gang associates. The boy was sent to camp, from which an excellent report was received. The family moved away to Harlem, and since removal to new neighborhood there has been no truancy from school, or bad behavior at home. The worker does not feel this will continue, as the neurasthenic condition of the mother and the father's irregular employment prevent adequate disciplining of patient.

Case #4552 (age thirteen, intelligence quotient 74, eight years in the United States) was referred for truancy from school, late hours and riding on subway all night. The psychiatrist recommended frequent contact and organized recreational program. The psychologist recommended that boy

be placed in slower class for grade as chronological age was above mental age. The boy was placed in a slower class and during the first three months they reported good behavior and no truancies. But there were several changes in workers, long intervals of no contact, and the boy's misconduct began anew. The last contact reported that the father desires commitment. The mother is almost blind, the father works all day and the boy runs wild - he has no supervision and no effective disciplinary methods are used.

Case #4739 (age nine, grade four B, native) was referred for incorrigibility, stealing from home, enuresis. The psychiatrist recommended that worker work for transference so that boy will be good for her sake. Except for two slip-backs the mother reports improvement and diminution of incorrigibility.

Case #4773 (age twelve, intelligence quotient 73, ten years in the United States) was referred for incorrigibility, beyond parental control. Psychiatrist recommended that worker get at causes of an underlying antagonism between boy and mother, and psychotherapy for both; also an organized recreation program to be made. The psychologist recommended placement in vocational classes as school work is too difficult for patient. Patient refused to join a club, prefers playing in the street. Nothing was accomplished in the case, as the constant change of workers and heavy caseload prevented minute scrutiny of *interchanging* attitude of patient for mother and vice versa.

There is only one adjusted case in the psychiatric group.

Case #3334 (age fifteen, intelligence quotient 64, native) was referred for temper tantrums and unlawful selling of papers. The psychiatrist recommended intensive supervision by worker and vocational tests to suit boy for job. The psychologist recommended transfer to Baron de Hirsch Trade School, as the results of Stimquist displayed mechanical ability, but, ^{low} intelligence quotient, poor reasoning power — "place boy in mechanical trade not involving higher powers of reasoning." The boy was enrolled in the plumbing trade at Baron de Hirsch School. Good reports were received. As no behavior problems were reported by mother and the boy appeared to be adjusted, the case was closed.

In examining the nine cases in the psychiatric group where placement was recommended by the psychiatrist, we find broken homes in four of the cases; in two cases the father is dead and in one of these there is a stepfather in the home; in one case the mother is dead; in one case the father is an habitual drunkard, beats the mother and occasionally deserts. In the remaining five cases both parents are in the home. The economic status is very low, three are receiving aid from the charities, the others are living on a marginal level.

The intellectual capacity of this group, as measured by the Stanford Binet, is as follows: Of the four native born, one rates as normal (.91), two as dull (.81 and .78), one as

defective (.62). Of the six not born in the United States, one rates as normal (.95), two as dull (.75 and .72), one as defective (.70), and one rated by the teacher as dull, retarded.

A scrutiny of the recommendations displays an approach similar in character to that employed in the placement cases of non-psychiatric group. In each case the psychiatrist requested that intense supervision be made in the home; that "new habits be trained", that "parents learn to trust boy."

Only one case in the psychiatric group comes under the adjusted class. This is a case of a broken home (stepfather in the home). The mother is working when she is not home because of illness. The boy has an intelligence quotient of .64 (defective group) but superior mechanical ability. In this case vocational recommendations were made (transfer to trade school). This adjusted case rates lower than all but one of the unadjusted placement cases of the psychiatric group. The home situation is similar in every respect - the difference here lies in the therapeutic methods employed, which were of a concrete variety.

In a closer scrutiny of the unadjusted cases, other factors are involved than the mere type of therapeutic agent used. There are rarely more than two visits a month made by the worker. This, in itself, is a matter for consideration. The purpose of a social worker in a mental hygiene agency is

to aid the psychiatrist by seeing that his recommendations are carried out. We have, in dealing with this group, all the elements for a poor prognosis. First there is language "foreignness"; second, attitudes; third, low economic level; fourth, customs; and fifth, according to the opinion of the workers, "dull intelligence in the parents." The language barrier alone is sufficient to prevent clear understanding of the clinic's objectives, yet it is not ⁱⁿ conceivable that this handicap can be overcome by the use of very simple language and frequent contact with the mother, who is with the children the major portion of their leisure hours. When the objectives are clearly understood, then the attitudes and customs can be more easily discussed. When dealing with a foreign parent, even if intelligent, the time element is a potent factor. This group is supposedly dull, which makes the task more difficult and lengthy as the time element must be extended for the purpose of educating the less quick mind.

The records rarely show more than two visits a month and frequently one visit. And at the end of six or eight months there is an entry to the effect that the case is "unimproved", the parents "dull and stupid", and the worker advises that the boy or girl be removed from the home. In addition to the infrequent contacts, there is a continual change of workers which in itself means long intervals with no visiting while the worker is adjusting, and then the time element to effect a transference of the family for the new worker.

The inefficacy of this type of work is the result of too heavy case load. No worker can attempt to handle eighty-five to a hundred cases and have intensive study and contact which each case requires. The type of worker may be trained or untrained, the results are similar except that the former individual is aware of the situation.

The allegation of social workers that the Sephardic cases are "hopeless" is true insofar as the most impossible conditions, which individually in a case prevent good results, are combined for almost every case of this group.

Poor economic conditions always impede progress; the language barrier makes social intercourse difficult; strangeness of customs and attitudes arouse suspicion and uneasiness; low intelligence prevents understanding and frequently unintelligent handling of a situation. In addition to the problems of the patient we add a continual stream of rushed, and often untrained workers. The situation is bad, but recognition of the facts, followed by constructive measures, will diminish to some degree the complexity of the problems.

A description of one Sephardic family may give a clearer picture of conditions than numerical presentation. Although we will not find all the factors peculiar to the group, a good number are present.

The Sabreda family occupy a four-room flat. This flat houses, in addition to the father and mother, six children (the two oldest being patients at the Jewish Board of Guardians Clinic). The tenement house is located in one of the most crowded sections of New York's Ghetto. The home is bare except for two double beds in which the family sleeps and a kitchen table used for eating purposes.

Mrs. Sabreda is stout, flabby, and a wan, worn out facial expression always greets the worker. Upon her arrival in America at the age of fifteen, she entered a factory. Less than one year later her mother arranged a marriage for her with a man from the same section of Turkey. Her nine years of married life have been a continual process of bearing children. She is continually ill and suffering from chronic rheumatism, and her "O, Miss -- , excuse bad house - I so sick" is not the accustomed wail of a psychoneurotic but the dead stoicism of a passive submission. The house is always in a disheveled state. The two beds are never made, no matter what time of day one calls. The two windows are closed tightly and the rooms are very stuffy.

Mr. Sabreda is a thin, weak looking individual with a dull expression. He is a tinsmith and works about six months of the year during which time he earns between twenty-five and thirty dollars a week. During the slack periods he remains at home or else visits friends in the neighborhood. When advised

to work, he gazes at the worker in such a helpless fashion that it is almost impossible to continue giving advice. The family is always in debt as they borrow in the lean months and pay^{it}back in the good months, which precludes any possibility of saving. One wonders at the ability to exist in such a manner. Their food consists of one course, a meat usually fried in oil and a huge bread - Italian variety - oil and not butter is used to spread on the bread. Occasionally a sweet made of rose leaves is served. At meal times two of the children gather at the table in the kitchen and eat from the pan the portion assigned to them. There are no dishes in the house - a plate or two, a pan, and a few forks compose the family culinary and cutlery supply. Knives are rarely needed. The bread is not cut but broken off in chunks in as large a quantity as David, Daniel, Rachel, Joseph, Eli or Benjamin may desire.

At noon time the noise in the kitchen, where all the children gather, is terrific. Daniel fights with baby Ben and Mrs. Sabreda, when the baby bawls, looks around confused and when worker is present complains that "children no good -- make so much trouble." When they become too noisy she hits them. The boys, David nine, and Daniel seven, are indifferent to her or else tell her she is "old country." It is the noise that bothers her, rather than the children. Worry, in the sense of fear of outcome, seems lacking. One day the worker called at the house and found baby Ben listless

and breathing heavily. To the worker's query, Mrs. Sabreda replied passively, "Baby sick, Mr. Sabreda he think baby have fever." Ben had a temperature of 104 and had been ill for two days. There was no money in the house with which to pay for a doctor so the parents did not bother to call one. The worker admonished the mother for not calling her and the response to this came in a weary voice, "Oh, I forget your number. I think you come soon so I wait." The hospital doctor whom the worker called could not influence her to send the baby to the hospital, not because she was afraid of separating from the baby but because her mother died there and she felt that "bad spirit is in that place."

David, age nine, and Daniel, age seven, are the main factors of family discord and the parents begged to have them committed. David, who has an intelligence quotient of 1.01, is a bright looking youngster though pale and thin. He was referred because of stealing from the mother. The psychologist recommended that the worker make use of his good intelligence to reason with him. At the end of eight months the parents both agreed that David need not be committed. A Hebrew school program was arranged for, which was in the light of a compromise. The worker desired a recreational program but the parents desired Hebrew School - "Hebrew - he must learn." Mrs. Sabreda was ^{finally} convinced that a nearby Hebrew school was more advantageous than the Sephardic School, a number of streets away. This was only accomplished

by worker's statement that the boy would not be able to get into mischief on the way to and from school. The plan to send him to a non-Sephardic Talmud Torah was an indirect method devised by worker to have David mingle with a more Americanized group.

Daniel, who has an intelligence quotient of .71, is dull and stupid looking. His behavior is bad and requires psychiatric treatment. He pulls the baby, fights with Rachel, steals money and is absolutely beyond parental control. The parents constantly demanded that he be institutionalized. This was not done for seven months, as the worker desired to try the boy in the home first. The mother's condition became worse and a physical examination resulted in a diagnosis of pregnancy. The psychiatrist felt that the mother's condition, ~~causing~~ and even greater helplessness, made it necessary to carry out the parental wish and commitment was advised.

The two boys, David and Daniel, represent as great a discrepancy as there can be in a family; the former slightly above average in intelligence, nice looking and lovable; the latter in the low grade moron group, dull and unattractive, presenting in every way the classic profile of a feebleminded child. The parents continually remarked about his "stupidness" and could not be persuaded to cease making remarks to him. In addition, the economic situation and the parental disregard pointed toward a poor prognosis. But more might have been done. No attempt was made to create some environment in which

the boy could shine, of a recreational sort. The general attitude of the worker was that the boy was hopeless and in the rush of a heavy case load he was shunted out of vision and therapeutic measures, which may be possible even with one of such low mentality, were never instituted.

This is but one of the forty cases but illustrates the familial setting, the economic situation, the intellectual endowment and parental attitudes encountered in the other thirty-nine cases.

To recapitulate, then, the plan was first, to examine the non-psychiatric and psychiatric groups, to determine whether any fundamental difference existed between them. An examination of the familial background displayed the same conditions in both groups; low economic standards, the majority receiving aid or on marginal level; poor, lax discipline; inadequate training; illiteracy or "foreignness"; and strong religious bias. The type of problems was more intense in the five of the psychiatric group - two psychoses noted, and two sex delinquents - otherwise from the record little difference can be noted. The intellectual composition differed very little, both in the non-psychiatric and psychiatric cases, and the intelligence quotients tend to group below 80, displaying dullness and backwardness and the school achievement in accord with these results. The analysis of the cases from the angle of recommendations and results appears significant.

In both the non-psychiatric and psychiatric cases it was found necessary to remove the child from the home; six cases of the non-psychiatric and nine of the psychiatric. It was found that in attempting to adjust these cases in the home the parents were found "dull", "stupid", "unable to comprehend" any plan which had for its purpose rehabilitating and retraining of emotions. One thought alone is paramount in their minds - "punishment of child for sin committed" and the most facile means of inflicting this is by putting the culprit away.●

The four adjusted cases did not differ from the unadjusted except that in all four cases the agency used for therapy was not the home but the school and recreational centers. The recommendations to the schools were of a practical nature, such as coaching in a particular field, or regrading, or transfer to a trade school. An examination of the intellectual make-up displays a range from superior (1.11) to one defective (.64) with one average (1.00) and one retarded.

It seems, then, that to all intent and purposes the classifications of psychiatric and non-psychiatric do not in themselves display phenomena which can be cited as causation of the behavior problems presented by the Sephardic group. The problems presented is a group matter and, as such, have to be handled from the point of view of the whole as well as the study of the individual personality make-up.

We are, then, brought to our second plan, to discover the problems the group presents as a whole to a community and to a Jewish agency. To the community it is a foreign element; to a Jewish agency they represent an isolated foreign element. The language is not Yiddish but "Ladino"; the customs are not of the West but of the Orient. In their attitude they appear childish and dependent, with no desire to assert themselves. They are so unaggressive as to be apathetic, indifferent, ready to take the easiest path opened for them by others, shirking, unintentionally and without malice, the duties of parent to child, and father to ~~house~~^{home}ing; and though proud, when once the pride is gone they become "King of Beggars." Their religion is more orthodox, more true to tradition, in form and content, than the most orthodox of Russians, Germans or Galicians. It is tinged, to some extent, with superstition.

To the community, as well as to the Jewish agency, they represent the continually unemployed members of society. They are the unskilled labor which bears the brunt of occupational and industrial disasters.

To the community, as well as to the Jewish agency, they are presenting a medical problem. The problem of tuberculosis, although not significant in the cases studied, is beginning to make itself felt among the group. Huddled in two or three rooms in the crowded sections of the city, with insufficient food, with very little air or sunlight, tuberculosis ^{among the group} is inevitable.

The factor of the intelligence of the group which affects the success of the agencies dealing with the families, is another problem. It appears that we are dealing with a group that is uncultured, undeveloped, as far as the results of the Stanford-Binet can establish. But whether or not it is on inferior stock, is yet to be determined.

A problem of the clinic is the need for time for its workers for more concentrated, intensive treatment of these families.

Conclusions

In working with the family, the greatest problem which a Jewish agency encounters is the attitude toward the family and children - the indifference toward baby training, and with the exception of the attendance of Hebrew school the indifference toward attending public school. This indifference when faced with an issue such as the problem child presents, or economic necessity, enfolds itself in a circle of utter dependency resulting in inability to cope with the situation, or rather, unwillingness to exert energy needed for a crisis. This has created the impression that no adjustment can be made in the home and the children are placed away in institutions. Foster home placement would be preferable but as one worker from a child placing agency remarked, "they are too different for Jewish homes - they would create greater problems." Placement is not an adjustment

but an admittance of failure on the part of the agency in dealing with the family. It signifies time and money used to no advantage, unless the failure has brought with it some identification of causal factors. The study appears to indicate that we are dealing with a group that is immature, and our failure is due to poor psychological manipulation of this immaturity. Abstract terminology makes no impression. Their dependency, in the light of the historical background, is not to be neglected. The retaliation called out by repressive environment such as the Russian, Austrian and German Jew met is totally absent. They encountered no fear but neglect - they represent the neglected child who needs no attention because of inferiority. This is a distinct contrast to the hated children who were continually being whipped and who reacted maliciously by making their masters even more aware of their presence by protruding their despised personalities in all the previous nooks and crannies. The neglected child's inferiority feelings increase and in the presence of an individual embodying strength they become dependent. This dependence is seen in their religiousness. It is not the intense element which permeates the life and being of the Western Jew - an intensity called forth by a ferocious desire "to hold" what is being threatened. They are less emotional, calmly traditional, adhering strictly to the dictates of the Talmud.

They had no need to discipline themselves, their indifferent, slow, easy going attitude toward the children

appears to be an expression of their childhood. No one interested themselves in the old country and a mere removal to a new country should not necessarily demand a new type of reaction, and when it does, they rely on the agency to relieve them of the burden.

The agency, then, that increases this dependency, is fostering an immaturity and will necessarily have failure. In an adult universe failure follows immaturity. The Jewish agency needs to change its attitude and put into effect an educational program with Americanization as its basis.

The language barrier is the first line for attack. Through the Spanish and Portuguese Settlements classes in English can be formed. There should be nurseries to take care of the children while the mothers are being taught the fundamentals needed for adaptation to a new environment. Following the knowledge of English, child care classes, American customs, laws, methods can be demonstrated.

The economic situation arises from lack of training among the men. Two factors are involved; one, intelligence; second, lack of opportunity. The appellation "dull" is but the opinion of social workers and not an established fact. The mental retardation of the group studied is not final (1) for the whole colony in New York. Dr. Tendler in his "Measurable Factor of Adjustment in Juvenile Delinquents"

(1) Reprint from Jewish Social Service Quarterly, Vol. I. No. 4, p. 9.

found that the delinquent group is more heavily weighted at the inferior end of the curve than an unselected group, and in his group there was no language barrier as there appears to be in the forty Sephardic cases studied. The analysis has indicated that, if practical plans are made, intelligence or lack of it is not a handicap to adjustment at all times. A .64 intelligence quotient adjusted as well as 1.11, the latter in the high school, the former at plumbing. A vocational program, it appears, is the essential means to be used for cutting down the number of the unskilled. And it is not unwise policy to inculcate ambitious leanings by pointing out the benefits that accrue to one in good economic standing.

The hopelessness that prevails among social workers is an element to be attacked by the agency. More workers and a lighter case load will increase the possibilities for the intensive work needed. Intellectual understanding, a clearer insight into the problems themselves, will develop a technique for manoeuvring the dependent infantile outlook of these people.

Until better methods are employed and the results tabulated, it is unwise and unjust to characterize a race as "hopeless." The study has shown not so much the hopelessness of the Sephardic Jews as the problems of the worker in coping with a number of very complicated situations. The social worker from a behavior clinic cannot be expected

to accomplish much by herself. Plans for Americanization of the group require the cooperation of all Jewish agencies who in any way deal with this particular group of strangers, both to learn more about them and to develop means of dealing with them.

