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## *Resistance to Culture Change: A Case Study of an Orthodox Jewish Community\**

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INTRODUCTION: In their study of the Jewish community in North City, Kramer and Leventman used sociological interview techniques to determine changes which were taking place as the second and third generation Jewish community became acculturated to American life. Their emphasis was largely upon the changes that were taking place as the persons moved away from the Northside of North City to the suburban areas. They made casual mention that there was one parochial school in the Jewish community. A footnote tells us that the name of the school is the Torah Academy and that it has 75 students. However, no members of the parochial school community were included in Kramer and Leventman's sample.

The following study was conducted among the persons directly connected with the Torah Academy: its teachers, students, parents of its students and friends and supporters of the school. In contrast to the Kramer and Leventman study, this is a social anthropological study, carried out by a non-Jewish participant observer. The data were collected over a two year period while the investigator was a teacher of English (as opposed to Hebrew) subjects in the Torah Academy, a worker in two camps of the Jewish Community Center of North City, as well as a participant in some of the social functions of the Northside of North City. The statistical data were obtained from the records of the school and Jewish Community Center to which employees of these institutions had free access. To the best of my knowledge, no one knew that a study was being conducted. Members of the Jewish community discussed their ambitions and problems as freely with the writer as they would with any other non-Jewish, college-educated person who actively participated in their community.

*History of the School:* Although the Hebrew Day School Movement in the United States began in 1935, with 17 schools and an enrollment of about 3,000 pupils, the Torah Academy of North City was not established until 1945. The pupils who attend these day schools spend approximately half of their time studying Hebrew subjects and the other half studying English subjects, (those usually included in the public school curriculum). The Torah Academy had 2 teachers and 12 pupils when it was founded in 1945, and grew steadily until 1960,

\*This article is the summary of an unpublished study about the Jewish community of North City. In this shorter version many of the interesting and valuable descriptive details, discussion of the method of study, and a detailed comparison with the Kramer and Leventman study, 1961, have of necessity been omitted.

when it had 9 teachers and 94 pupils. (Torah Academy, 1960:5) Since then, the enrollment has decreased slightly each year and there are now only 8 teachers and less than 80 students. The Torah Academy has grown from a six-year elementary school to an institution that includes a junior high school; a Yeshivah Department (studies for high school boys); a correspondence department for Orthodox Jewish persons in rural communities in the five states near North City; and an extension department, which offers monthly lectures for adults, on topics about religion and current events.

The present teaching staff is composed of 4 rabbis, of whom 3 are foreign-born and educated, and none of whom has been in the U.S. more than 8 years. One of the rabbis serves as principal and devotes all his time to administrative duties, soliciting funds to support the school throughout the western half of the U.S., and rendering religious services to Orthodox Jews in rural areas of the five states near North City where there is no rabbi. The principal's wife teaches both Hebrew and English subjects in the kindergarten, and three non-Jewish women share the teaching responsibilities for the English studies in the elementary and junior high departments. In addition to the teaching staff, the custodian-bus driver and the secretary (both of whom were non-Jewish until a year ago) have considerable influence upon the pupils of the school, since they are responsible for all the petty details which are necessary to keep any institution running, and are greatly respected and liked by the students.

The school has been in financial difficulties almost since it was founded. Since the tuition is low, and many children need scholarships, the receipts from tuition are quite small. About \$16,000 of the \$44,000 budget for 1960 came from the Friends of Torah Academy, an organization composed primarily of members of the North City community. All the other money must be solicited from outside the community, obtained from the sale of Kosher products to the Northside community, from the P.T.A. or student council projects. As a result of its precarious financial position, the Torah Academy always has unpaid bills; its teachers receive, at irregular intervals, salaries far below the public school minimum (doubtless accounting for a high turnover among the teaching staff); and the school facilities, which are housed in a converted duplex, are poor by even below-average American standards.

The children who attend Torah Academy all speak



English with varying degrees of proficiency and can read Hebrew. About half of them come from homes with at least one foreign-born parent, and 6 of them were themselves born overseas. In almost one-third of the families, Yiddish is spoken at home, in addition to English, and in a few cases is the main language of parent-child communication.

This brief background, plus the following charts, indicates in general the structure of the Torah Academy, which is supported by the Orthodox Jews of the North City.

#### NATIVE COUNTRY OF PARENTS\*

Country	Number of Parents
U.S.A.	44
Foreign Countries	37
Poland	9
Germany	6
Russia	4
Sweden	4
Canada	3
Czechoslovakia	1
Egypt	1
Israel	1
Peru	1
No information	7

\* In this Chart, since there were no records available on the kindergarten, the total number of pupils covered is 86. The numbers will not tally with the theoretical number of parents for 86 children (172) since parents with more than one child in school were not counted twice. The countries of origin are not always the same ones from which the persons immigrated, as several families came from England, Canada, Italy and Israel, but were not born there.

#### LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME

Language	Number of Families
English	94
Yiddish	29
German	3
Polish	2

*Why Children Go To Torah Academy:* One of the major aims of the Hebrew Day School Movement is to preserve and perpetuate the Jewish social body in the U.S. The existence of a Jewish community is regarded as essential for educating the peoples of the world in righteous and just behavior, so that the Kingdom of God can be realized. For the very devout, this is a sufficient reason for sending children to the school. Jewish educators and rabbis believe that it is necessary to isolate their children from the larger community in their elementary years, so that Jewish beliefs and practices can be taught with a minimum of conflict, thereby preparing their children for retaining their faith firmly when they do begin to participate in the activities of the larger community. However, these reasons are held by only a few of the parents.

The most common reason that parents openly express for sending their children to the school, is that they want them to know that they are Jewish and what it means to be Jewish. This means that they should learn Hebrew history and how to read Hebrew well enough that they can follow the services in the synagogue. Even though

this religious reason is dominant, it is held with reservations by many parents. The following comments will indicate the nature of these reservations. One foreign-born mother, who is not herself a strict Orthodox observer, but whose husband is, said:

I want my child to have enough education to know what a Jew is. Then when he is older and on his own, he can decide for himself. I cannot make my son a Jew, if he does not feel that he wants to be one.

Another immigrant mother who speaks broken English, but is unable to write English, sends her 4 children to the school. She says:

All I want is for my children to know they're Jewish. It is English that is important. No one uses Hebrew any more.

The father of a kindergarten child, who was trying to decide whether to enter his child in Torah Academy for the first grade or to send him to the local public school and then to the Talmud Torah<sup>2</sup> showed some doubts held by numerous American-born parents, who have some knowledge of the educational requirements of success in the U.S. He said:

I am not sure how much Hebrew education my son should have, for he must know how to be an American too.

There are also a variety of other reasons for sending children to Torah Academy in which a Jewish aim is not primary. Some parents want their children educated in some religious background. Others are sending their children because they were academic or disciplinary problems in the public schools, and hope that a small school with a religious discipline will help them. And a few parents send their young daughters because the local elementary school is attended by some of the worst problem children in North City, and the parents do not want them exposed to either rough treatment or teasing because of their Jewish affiliation.

This variety of verbalized reasons for sending children to Torah Academy shows that all who attend do not have parents who firmly hold to the religious ideals which are taught for half of each school day. It also shows that some parents are quite interested that the English education of the children be adequate at the same time that they receive their religious training. And finally, it shows that there are a few parents who lack any religious motive in sending their children to a Hebrew Day School.

*What Religious Duties Are Expected of the Children:* Many persons, including Jews, have expressed amazement that there are still Jews in America who keep Kosher and strictly observe all the laws of the Torah. Since it is not common knowledge what practices are observed by the Orthodox Jews, a few ought to be mentioned, so that the role of the Torah Academy can more accurately be related to the context of life in North City

<sup>2</sup>A common way for Jewish children to receive Hebrew training is to attend the Talmud Torah, which is an after-school school, and has an excellent reputation for its Hebrew work in North City.



and the U.S. The following discussion does no more than give a brief hint at the extent to which the laws of the Torah penetrate daily life.

Three practices which are observed daily at the Torah Academy and are expected of the children at all times are: keeping the laws of the Kosher diet, saying prayers at the required times, and wearing the *yarmelke* (skull cap) by the boys at all times when outdoors caps are not being worn. None of these practices are particularly difficult to enforce during school hours. Kosher menus are planned for lunches and the cooks are Jewish women who follow the practices of Kosher cooking. Morning and afternoon prayers are supervised by the rabbis and a rabbi leads the grace following the noon meal. And the boys are reminded to wear their *yarmelke*, and should they lose or forget them, there are always extra ones available.

However, outside the school and after school hours, it is more difficult to see that the children are supervised in these and other Orthodox Jewish practices. A substantial number of the families who send their children to the Torah Academy do not strictly observe Orthodox practices at home. Some of the men wear their *yarmelke* only at the synagogue, and their sons therefore wear them only at school and in the synagogue. None of the boys who attend the functions of the Jewish Community Center wear their *yarmelke*, and many boys hesitate to wear them at places where the school goes on excursions (like museums and concerts) unless reminded to do so. In theory, the boys should keep their heads covered when indoors, and never eat a meal without the head covering.

Every Orthodox man is supposed to say prayers at 3 times during the day: in the morning before eating, in the afternoon and again before retiring. When outside of school, most of the boys do not stop for prayers unless told to do so. They pray about as faithfully as their fathers do. The boys who attended the camps of the Jewish Community Center did not stop for prayers, nor did they say their grace after meals. These boys did not care to make themselves different from their fellow campers, who were also Jewish, though not Orthodox.

The keeping of Kosher eating restrictions is difficult in practise, and not followed by some of the families who were strictly Orthodox in other respects. Basically, keeping the Kosher laws of diet includes eating only clean foods, those carefully noted in the Torah; not mixing meat and milk foods, and observing Kosher restrictions for preparing foods, such as having separate utensils and dishes for the preparation and serving of meat and milk foods. The school always serves dairy lunches and provides milk to drink. Should a child bring a meat lunch to school, he is unable to have milk and usually eats in one of the upstairs classrooms, since no person eating meat may be in the presence of those with milk foods. The children are warned to always read the ingredients of any product unfamiliar to them before eating it. If they find candies in their lunches about which they are not sure, they will ask the rabbis to tell them whether they are Kosher. Since some of the parents do not keep

Kosher at home, it is not too uncommon for non-Kosher foods to be included in lunches.

Some families who observe the Kosher laws of diet are unable to follow the restrictions regarding preparation and serving for economic reasons. It is financially impossible for some of the families in the community to own two complete sets of dishes and cooking ware for meat and milk foods. Those children who attended the functions of the Jewish Community Center can observe the Kosher dietary restrictions, but not those regarding preparation and serving, since the cooking ware has been used for a variety of purposes over the years that it has been in the community center. However, none of these children refused to eat food cooked in non-Kosher conditions, and none of the parents of the children made any attempt to provide substitute foods on days that meals were cooked by the Community Center.

In a playful, childish way, the children of Torah Academy often joke about wanting to try certain non-Kosher foods, or even brag about having tried some of them. The main object of their interest seems to be the ham sandwich, which is so frequently called to their attention in reading stories or advertisements. Regardless of whether they strictly observe Kosher laws, most of the children are sufficiently familiar with them, that the mention of non-Kosher foods in classroom readings, always evokes comments regarding their inappropriateness, or questions regarding how people can eat such unclean things.

When the Kosher laws are fully observed, as they are by a few families of the Northside community, some interesting and inconvenient practices result. Eating in restaurants, or homes other than those of Kosher Jews is virtually impossible. This means that participation in business or social functions centered around meals is limited. Also it restricts travel to a large degree, since persons who travel almost anywhere except along the eastern coast, where Kosher restaurants are located, must carry their own food with them. Should a trip be taken that includes the Sabbath, food for the Sabbath must be prepared in advance and carried along. This is what the principal must do when he travels to see persons in the area around North City. This is also what all families must do when they travel to places where there are no Kosher eating facilities available. Such inconveniences do not take into account that Kosher food is quite expensive to buy because it is handled by small delicatessens and the benefits of supermarket buying cannot be obtained there. For families with a large number of children, working in a community where job opportunities are limited due to discriminatory hiring practices, the economic factor is an important one, which can supersede religious devoutness in regard to keeping Kosher.

Keeping the Sabbath is another aspect of Orthodox Judaism about which the children are taught both at school and in the synagogue. The Orthodox literally observe the Sabbath as a day of rest, and they exert themselves in no way beyond the barest physical necessities. No cooking is done on the Sabbath, but rather all is done on Friday before sundown, when the Sabbath begins.



No appliances of any kind are used including the telephone, TV, electric lights or many others that might be named. No riding is done in cars or any other mechanized vehicle, since foot is the only means of travel allowed. This means that Orthodox families must walk to services at the synagogue on the Sabbath, as well as on religious holidays, and therefore accounts for the large number of Jewish persons living in such close proximity to the Orthodox synagogues. Nothing is carried on the Sabbath, not books, or papers, or loads of any kind.

In our highly mechanized society which is in full operation on the Jewish Sabbath, the inconveniences of strict Orthodox adherence are many.<sup>3</sup> For most of the children who attend Torah Academy, the Sabbath is a day devoid of all mechanical pleasures and conveniences. Although all the families do not observe the Sabbath with all its restrictions, most of them at least maintain the spirit of the day. But as the children leave the Torah Academy and attend the local public schools for high school, they are faced with quite a few conflicts with their habits of observing the Sabbath in their earlier years. Many school functions are held on Friday and Saturday evenings, and all-important sports events (for the boys) are also held on Friday and Saturday. There are more and more occasions on which the children feel that the Sabbath restrictions interfere with their lives of young Americans. The parents, especially those who are foreign-born and function within their own small community to a much larger extent than do their children, often cannot understand the conflicts which their children are facing. In this sense, the strict Orthodox training which the children are given at Torah Academy in isolation from the larger community, in hopes that the Jewish social body can be preserved in America, is in many respects causing huge tensions within the social body especially between the older generation and the younger generation upon whom the continued existence of the social body depends.

*The Students of Torah Academy:* The purpose of an all-day Hebrew Day School like Torah Academy is to isolate the children from the larger community in their earlier and impressionable years, so they may be taught their religious ideals with a minimum of interference. The school administration advocates the avoidance of all conflict with secular facts whenever possible, and prefers to have other religions (and other kinds of Judaism) introduced to the children officially by rabbis in comparative religion courses taught during their high school years. However, since the children also study an English curriculum from the same books used by the larger community, and participate at least to some degree in the

<sup>3</sup>For example, a rabbi must attend the Bar Mitzvah of one of his students 10 miles from his home. He cannot drive to the service which is on Saturday morning, because it is the Sabbath. He must go on Friday before sundown and stay until sundown on Saturday. Since he has a large family, which would be left without him to conduct the Sabbath services (which are a family affair), he takes his whole family with him. They rent a hotel room because a family of 5 cannot be housed with friends, and take all their food for 4 meals, plus the baby's formula, their own dinnerware, glasses, silver, Sabbath candles, etc., etc.

mass culture media of our times, they are aware of conflicts with Judaism from a very early age.

Most of the children at Torah Academy are more sheltered from American life than the average child, since most of their communication and social activity is with Orthodox friends within the Orthodox community. All of them are aware that Jews are a minority group and have had a hard time in life throughout history. But beyond such general similarities there is a considerable range of difference among the children depending upon their family background and their own personalities.

*Classroom Experiences:* There is not one school subject in which Christianity or secular references opposed to Judaism does not occur. Not one school day passed in which religious differences did not become a part of the classroom discussion, even though classroom procedures had been adapted in many ways to avoid conflicts with the religious beliefs of the children. Mention of a few of the more subtle conflicts indicate the great amount of conflict with his religious teachings that faces the Jewish child every day.

Many times every day the children must write the date on their papers, which they do in two ways both according to the common business calendar and according to the Hebrew lunar calendar. Frequently they place the date and the whole assignment on the back of the paper instead of the front, for Hebrew is read from left to right and from the back of the volume to the front. Remembering the two correct dates to put on the paper is not so simple for the children, since the Hebrew and English calendars do not correspond from year to year. This lack of correspondence between months and dates also introduces a flexibility into the Torah Academy academic calendar, not found in the public school calendar, for the academy observes both legal American holidays and Jewish religious holidays. Furthermore, the years on the Hebrew calendar differ from those on the American calendar, since the Hebrew calendar is dated consecutively from a zero point, not backward and forward from a zero point. The children found the BC-AD system of dating both confusing and illogical, and the selection of the point for the year zero was absolutely meaningless to them, since Jesus Christ has no place in their perspective of history.

In arithmetic, grammar and reading books, there are numerous references to holidays which the Jewish children do not observe. Christmas and Easter are the most obvious, but Hallowe'en and Valentine's Day should also be mentioned. The mention of these days in books always causes comment by the children, and to a degree the materials about them are meaningless. None of these holidays are recognized by the school, and thereby much of the poetry, literature and art connected with them are unfamiliar to the children. It is interesting to note that a few of the children consistently substitute the word "Hanukah" every time that the word "Christmas" occurred in arithmetic and grammar lessons. They note a parallel between the two holidays because they occur in December, involve gift-giving and are school holidays.



References to Christian ideas which are taken for granted by most people also influence the children's understanding of literature and history. For example, imagine the interpretation one has of Longfellow's *Evangeline*, when he does not know about priests, nuns, missionaries, Puritans, Sisters of Charity, and the ideal of Christian charity. Or imagine how one views the Crusades, the 15th and 16th century explorations of the New World, or the white man's attitude toward the colored peoples of Africa and the Far East without being able to assume some knowledge about Christian ideas and history. And in the study of science, there are many conflicts with ideas about health and evolution, so that many topics are dropped from the curriculum altogether. However, the children's curiosity about the parts of the book that have been skipped is quite active and they read pages that have not been assigned. They also read books from the library, watch TV, and go to the movies, so that they are partially introduced to many ideas which their religious directors do not wish them to contact and which they cannot fully understand.

The total result of many religious contradictions in school studies seems to create a degree of confusion in education. The children know they are not supposed to know about certain things, yet their normal childhood curiosity continues. Their knowledge of subjects in the English curriculum tends to be superficially retained, both because of incomplete understanding and large demands of studying two completely different curricula in two different languages. On the whole, the older students find their English curriculum more interesting than their Hebrew, and claim that time passes more quickly for them when they are doing their English studies than when they are doing their Hebrew studies. The comments of numerous parents reaffirm this increasing interest in English studies as the children get older. This might indicate that as awareness of the larger community and life in general increases, so does a desire to learn about it. The trend toward investigating secular life appears to be well stimulated before the children leave the Torah Academy, even though they have not been encouraged to seek this kind of knowledge. Unfortunately, there are too few graduates of this school now attending a public school for there to be any definite evidence as to whether this interest in secular life increases significantly once the students are no longer under close religious supervision.

*How the Students View Themselves as Members of the North City Community:* The response of the children to routine school assignments can indicate to some degree their consciousness of their religion. When the fifth and sixth grades were assigned spelling sentences, and "religion" was included in the list of words, 9 of the 14 children made specific references to their own religion, whereas the other 5 used the word in a very general way. The following sentences are representative of the main ideas expressed by these children, who are 9 to 11 years old:

The Jewish religion is very difficult to keep.  
Our religion is very important to us.

Our religion is completely different from theirs.

I am a member of the Jewish religion and am very proud of it.

When these same students used "worship" and "pray" in sentences, they all made reference to their own religious habits. In addition, they frequently used the word "God", when the spelling words were not religiously suggestive. This may have been somewhat of a novelty for them, since the Orthodox may not spell out the word, but must write G-d.

In compositions about their life aims, the junior high pupils discussed what kind of people they hope to become in future years. None of them mentioned a religious goal as primary, and only 3 made any mention of Judaism in their discussion. The goals which the students have stated are very similar to those which one might find in any junior high school class. Of some interest is the fact that the three girls all discussed careers and made no mention of homemaking, which is wholly contrary to the Orthodox ideal of early marriage, and a life devoted to homemaking in accordance to the husband's orders. In fact, most of the Orthodox families do not even contemplate college for their daughters.

Even though none of the children mentioned a primarily religious goal, all the essays showed that they were quite conscious of their religion in selecting their life occupations. One boy with an excellent mathematical aptitude was quite conscious that his own desires were not those which would gain the approval of his family:

"Since my father is a clergyman and I have been brought up in a religious atmosphere at home, and in the all-day school where I am taught the Talmud and Torah, it would be appropriate to follow in my father's footsteps and make it my profession. But maybe, when I grow up I will not want to be a clergyman. In my case I have two other fields that I might turn to, science or engineering."

Another boy who will be continuing his high school education at a Yeshivot, had engineering as his first choice for an occupation. His main interests are in history and current events, and he made a comment which would confirm the views of a person who believes in the applicability of stereotypes:

"I would also like to become a politician. My goal would be to become the first Jewish President of the United States, if one isn't elected before me. I would choose for my running mate a prominent Negro, so I could win the confidence of the Negroes."

Aside from awareness of political strategy, this statement reveals a consciousness of the marginal position of the Negroes, who also live in the Northside of North City.

From this group of junior high students, 3 of whose parents are employed in the professions, 5 in business, and one of whom is retired from wage work, it appears that parental occupations have not had too great an influence on the children's occupational desires. Several of the parents are most anxious that their children get good jobs, which will be better than their own. This may have had some influence upon the children's ideas of



what they wanted to become. However, occupations of current interest to 12 and 13 year olds seem to be dominant among their first choices, as is shown below. From this group of students, 3 will definitely be going to a Yeshivot, and perhaps 5. Apparently by the time these children have reached junior high school, they have not internalized their religious teachings to such a degree that they are given precedence over secular goals, although they are aware that the fact that they are Jewish will be important in their later lives.

#### LIFE AIMS OF JUNIOR HIGH STUDENTS

First Choice Occupation		Mention of Some Jewish Goal	
Engineer	2	Jewish President	2
Accountant	1	Serving Jewish Community	1
Artist	1	Total	3
Mechanic	1		
Nurse	1		
Pilot	1		
Spaceman	1		
Teacher	1		
Total	9		

*The Students as Religious Participants:* The children have also formulated some views of their roles in their religion, which helps indicate to what degree some of their religious attitudes have developed. One of the most important events in the life of any Orthodox Jewish boy is his Bar Mitzvah, which marks the end of boyhood and the assumption of a man's responsibilities in the religious community. This event comes one day after his thirteenth birthday, which for most boys comes at the end of the seventh grade or early in the eighth grade. The official synagogue ceremonies in honor of the boy's Bar Mitzvah occur as near to the boy's birthday as he is prepared. It is necessary for the boy to show his Hebrew learning by conducting a Sabbath service in the synagogue. This means that he must read and explain a section from the Torah and give a sermon. Among the boys from Torah Academy that became Bar Mitzvah, the event proved to be an obvious emotional strain, regardless of their intellectual abilities or temperament. Among these five boys, three months was the shortest length of time that a change in their work and attitude was visible. This event not only marked a life crisis or transition, but truly was a crisis for the boys. The most obvious signs of changed behavior were an increasing amount of nervousness, irritability, insecurity and reduced effectiveness in school work. Hand-wringing and a general sense of malaise was evident in all the boys, and two of them, who had very good speech, began to stutter shortly before the Bar Mitzvahs.

The size of the crisis was no doubt implemented by many pressures placed on the boys at one time. Parents, rabbis, teachers and friends all expected the boys to be performing all their customary tasks well, in addition to preparing themselves for the Bar Mitzvahs. There was too much for the boys to do and please everyone, so that they had to neglect some of their work and thereby gain the displeasure of some people. All the boys chose to devote their greatest energies to the preparation for their

Bar Mitzvah and to placate friends and teachers as best they could.

Once they had become Bar Mitzvah, the boys were supposed to assume new responsibilities and behave in a more adult manner. Therefore some of them probably felt a sense of guilt when they listened to the transistor radio instead of saying their prayers in school, or indulged in other youthful pursuits at times when religiousness was expected. About a month after most of the boys had become Bar Mitzvah, their behavior became more relaxed and they were again much the same as before their pre-Bar Mitzvah upset. For these boys, the Bar Mitzvah was not really the beginning of adult responsibilities, although it made them think of some of the new roles that they would be assuming in the future.

The role of girls and women in the religious community is quite negligible (since their first responsibility is to the home), but it takes training to assume a subordinate position when a society stresses equality to the extent that it is in the U.S. By the time that most of the girls reached 10, they accepted the separation of the sexes in the synagogue. As one girl expressed it:

"I used to sit with my father at services. But when I learned that women were supposed to sit apart, I did it too. Now, I'm afraid to go into the men's part of the synagogue."

Most of the girls had more respect for paternal than maternal authority, and in the classroom, the girls showed deference to the boys' opinions, even when they were the smarter.

*The Adult Community:* The parents of the children who attend Torah Academy are almost all followers of Orthodox Judaism, although a few families follow Conservative practices. Even though the school is located in the Northside of North City, some families who live in the southside of North City, the suburb of West Parrius, and in neighboring South City, send their children to the school. For all those who do not live in the northside, bus transportation is provided.

The most active supporters of Torah Academy belong to three major groups: rabbis, well-established third generation American families, and recent immigrants. Each of these groups makes different contributions to the school. The rabbis most obviously lend religious support to the school. They are also teachers, administrators, fund-raisers, providers of publicity, and make advantageous contacts with the Jewish community in the whole of North City. Most of the rabbis are foreign-born, although not all of them are. The well-established third generation families are devout adherents of Orthodox beliefs, who provide the major local financial support for the school, as well as the main contacts for the school with the North City community at large. These first two groups form a social ingroup which dominates the activities of the school.

The largest number of pupils (mostly on scholarship) are the children of recent immigrants (42% of the school community), most of whom speak broken English, have little or no command of written English, and are em-



ployed as wage workers or are unemployed a large part of the time. They have had the equivalent of a grade school or high school education in their native countries, and have come to the U.S. to seek a better life. During their first years in the U.S., their ties with the Jewish community are their main source of security. The rabbis have persuaded them that by sending their children to the Torah Academy, they will ensure their place in the Orthodox community. However, because their educational level, interests, and command of English differs from the other supporters of the school, they are not fully included in the social life of the school community. They seldom leave the northside of North City to participate in activities, buy mostly from Kosher groceries and Jewish merchants, and seldom belong to social clubs in the Northside. Their social activities are largely restricted to synagogue services and holiday celebrations.

This group of families and the Conservative families who send their children to Torah Academy form what might be called the "lower social class" of the school. The parents are not represented on the school board or among the P.T.A. chairmen; nor do they organize or participate in the fund raising projects of the school. Some of them, who are chronically unemployed, are hired for small jobs around the school or in the homes of the better-off members of the school community. The occupations of the men are chiefly in crafts or labor, and the employed women do a variety of domestic jobs. (Note that employment outside the home is not desirable for Orthodox Jewish women.) Life for them is a continuous economic struggle. The children are usually poorly dressed, lowly motivated to excel in school work, and seldom are included in the social activities organized by the more fortunate members of the student body. These children are not elected as officers of student classes, rarely serve on the student council, do not give the graduation addresses or other public performances, and seldom have outstanding academic records in Hebrew or English subjects. At the end of the sixth or eighth grade, if not before, these children enter the public schools, and none of this group have attended a Yeshivot. For the most part, both parents and children in this group seem resigned to their positions. The parents are grateful for what help the school and community have given them, although some are dissatisfied with the treatment their children have received in the school.

What might be called the "higher social class" of the school community is divided into two parts. The larger and most influential group in school affairs is that composed of the rabbis and well-established families in the Northside and in South City. Most of these men have had some college training, and are either in one of the professions, have established their own businesses, or hold a senior position in a large business firm. All contribute to the finances of the school beyond the tuitions of their own children. A few members of this group no longer have any children in the school, but continue to participate in school activities. These people control the P.T.A. and are represented on the school board. They organize the school's fund raising projects like carnivals, bake

sales, rummage sales, candy sales, etc. They attend the synagogue regularly and hold positions in the synagogue clubs too. Many are interested in current affairs, and attend the evening lecture series sponsored by the school. They also enjoy music and art and attend concerts or plays in other parts of North City, visit museums and use the public library. Most of them own their own homes and they meet informally when no school or synagogue activities draw them together. They have a few non-Orthodox and non-Jewish friends in the nearby community (including educators, settlement house workers, and businessmen), who are considered as friends of the school.

Their children are close friends and visit each other after school or for the Sabbath. In school they give the graduation speeches, hold class offices, are members and officers of the student council, are appointed as monitors when the occasion demands, run personal errands for the rabbis, eat lunch together, publish the school paper, organize games at recess and are usually the team captains in gym. Many of them are good students and attend a Yeshivot after they have graduated from the academy.

The smaller group of the "upper social class" of the Torah Academy parental community are mostly third generation, American-educated, younger persons who live in the suburb of West Parricus. Most of the men and some women have had a college education. The men are in the professions, businessmen or salesmen, and most are under thirty years of age. Their children are in the kindergarten and the first three grades of school, the grades in which the largest number of drop-outs occur. Most of them do not observe the Kosher laws and are not strict observers of the Sabbath restrictions. Their social lives center around the West Parricus suburban community. They seldom attend social functions in the Northside of North City or participate actively in the P.T.A. or school fund raising projects. They are not represented on the school board, since they are a relatively young and new element in the school community. Although they do not make large financial contributions to the school, they are able to pay the full tuition of their children. They have more non-Orthodox and non-Jewish friends than the older members of the "higher social class" of the school. They are buying homes where many of their neighbors are not Jewish, and have no desire to form a Jewish section within the suburban community. It is this group of parents who are not sure about how much Hebrew education their children should have, but are quite sure that they want their children to have a good American education.

The inadequacies of the present school, plus the movement of Jewish families away from the northside, convinced the school board several years ago, that a new building should be constructed in the area where most of the Jewish families could be conveniently served. The movement of Jewish families to the southside and the suburb of West Parricus has long been recognized, and the location of the school in West Parricus would make it convenient for a large number of people. In view of these facts, the influence of the small, relatively young group



of school supporters, who are no longer strictly Orthodox, has been relatively great. Whereas financial problems have long prevented the building of a new school, the recent withdrawal of so many younger children who were then being sent to the West Parricus school, made the construction of a new building imperative. Land for a new school has been purchased in West Parricus, in hopes that parents will continue to send their children to the old school, while a new one is under construction.

The movement of the Torah Academy to West Parricus is going to place it in an even more difficult educational position than it is in the northside. It appears as though the Torah Academy is going to try to insert Orthodox teachings into an environment which lacks the social reinforcements found in the Northside community, and is moving rapidly towards an adjustment between religious beliefs and a suburban cultural environment. The suburban atmosphere surrounding the new school will provide more religious and secular conflicts with the Orthodox teachings of the school than the Northside environment. Furthermore, the scattering of the Orthodox families within the suburban community and the absence of Orthodox Synagogues nearby, will make the continuation of Orthodox observances difficult for Torah Academy students as well as the West Parricus Orthodox families.

*Conclusion:* Although several years elapsed between the time that the data for this study and the study by Kramer and Leventman was collected, the time lapse was short enough that the Jewish community was generally the same, and the data can therefore be compared. The universe for the Kramer and Leventman study was second and third generation Jewish-Americans who belonged either to the West Parricus Country Club or to the Northside Lodge. In contrast to their sample, the universe of this study was all persons who supported the Torah Academy, regardless of the generation to which they belonged. However, the general cultural changes were found to be similar in both studies, (although there were definite differences which are not enumerated here).

Among the student generation, the older pupils at Torah Academy are aware of their Jewishness, although not yet so thoroughly impressed with it to make it their primary consideration of their lives. Their knowledge of and participation in American life is restricted because of their religious beliefs and practices, but nevertheless they are quite curious to learn about the secular life of the larger community. Their awareness of being different from other children their own age, and their role as a minority within a minority group influences their approach both to their religious and daily lives. By the time they reach puberty, they are not secure in either their religious community or in the secular community, although they conform to their Jewish community so long as they are under parental and rabbinical influence. Yet they hold some ideas which are quite different from those of the adult community, and which are more similar to those of other young people of North City.

Although the whole school community is not oriented

toward moving from the Northside, the administration have found that in order to secure sufficient financial support for the school's survival, a move is necessary. Therefore, even though over half the community is satisfied with the present location of the school, the trend in the Jewish community at large for the more prosperous families to move to the suburbs, has forced the school to move from the Northside where the Orthodox community has its greatest strength. In view of the secular trend of the Jewish community after it leaves the northside which Kramer and Leventman found, the prospects for the success of the Torah Academy in the suburbs seems dubious.

It appears that the trend of the Jewish community as a whole to become merged with the secularized American community, is forcing the Orthodox community to become Americanized too. Regardless of the external cultural pressures, however, there will probably always be a few families who will continue their Orthodox practices, just as the devout third generation families and rabbis are now doing. Even though these devout persons may form cliques which are characteristic of American culture, and share in many of the economic benefits of American culture, they will probably remain in a close religious community. How long this core of devout families can remain at the center of a community that supports an Orthodox parochial school is questionable. The answer will probably depend largely upon how much economic success is experienced by the first and second generation families who now support the school, and the degree to which the school is able to meet the demands of the adults of the community to provide an adequate English, as well as Hebrew, education for the children.

The presence of this group of Orthodox Jews in the Northside of North City shows clearly that there are still Jews in North City who wish to perpetuate their traditional faith, and that the whole community is not becoming acculturated rapidly. Regardless of the many ways in which this small community is being influenced by American culture, its orientation still remains predominantly religious, not secular. One test of the strength of its orientation will probably come when the Torah Academy has moved to the suburb of West Parricus. Then it will be determined which is the stronger, the lure of the "Gilded Ghetto" or the traditional faith of the Jewish community.

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