LIBRARY COPYRIGHT NOTICE

www.huc.edu/libraries

Regulated Warning

See Code of Federal Regulations, Title 37, Volume 1, Section 201.14:

The copyright law of the United States (title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specific conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be “used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research.” If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of “fair use,” that user may be liable for copyright infringement.

This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
California School

in cooperation with

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
School of Social Work

Community in Transition: A Preliminary Study of the Needs and Problems of Elderly Jews in Venice, California

A Thesis submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the double degrees

MASTER OF ARTS
IN

JEWISH COMMUNAL STUDIES

and

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

by

Joanne Altschuler

June 1975

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
California School

in cooperation with

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
School of Social Work

COMMUNITY IN TRANSITION:
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF ELDERLY JEWS IN VENICE, CALIFORNIA

Thesis approved by

Rosa F. Kaplan

Robert W. Roberts

Ramona Heaney

I AM AMERICA

I am the tailor, the blacksmith, the cobbler at his last.
I'm also the minstrel of this tune about our recent past.
I am the farmer, and the builder of this land.
I am the coal miner and the founder molding sand.
I am America.

I am the cabinet maker and the soldier in the Jeep.
I'm also tanner, painter and shearer of the sheep.
I am the weaver and the spinner of the wool.
I am the printer and the teacher at the school,
I am America.

I am the immigrant from the Ukranian land.
I'm the refugee from the Nazi's cruel hand.
I am the root sap of your wealth and might
I've built your cities and filled your appetite.
I am America.

The strife of my hands are in the harvest's measure;
The fever of my fingers in the nation's treasure.
I've girded your body with steel ribbons of rails.
I've drained your swamps and watered your vales.
I am America!

I've paved your highways and guarded your shores,
America, my home; I've kneaded wet clay for bricks by the scores.
I've clothed you in cotton; wove your fabrics of woolen thread.
I've burned my hands with molten steel pouring a stream, hot and red.
I am America!

So what is now? These hands that built the houses
on your street.
Must it be that in my age, I've scarcely enough
to eat.
My fingers toiled to clothe a world; are these
my dues
That I must go about with feet in old and ragged
shoes.
But it cannot be forever. Let us join to mount
defenses.
Let us, the builders of this land, start coming
to our senses.
We are America!

- Harry Asimow
(March 16, 1880 -
March 16, 1975)
President Emeritus,
Israel Levin Senior Adult
Center

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Israel Levin Senior Adult Center occupies a corner along the Pacific Ocean front in Venice, California. The faded, pastel-colored, stucco building needs several coats of paint. Handmade posters describing programs peer through the front window; yet, there don't seem to be any people in the building. The only signs of life are the fifty or sixty charcoal-colored pigeons that stare and sway along the edges of the roof. Old, abandoned, inactive, and dilapidated--these were my initial impressions of the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center.

I first saw the Center in July 1973, with Dr. Barbara Myerhoff, an anthropologist at USC. We walked along the beach and sat on a wooden bench in front of the seemingly inactive building; this was the site of my summer field work placement and Dr. Myerhoff was my field instructor.

Over the course of two months, I became well acquainted with several of the Center's members, with its Director, Mr. Morris Rosen, and with the community of Venice. I was privileged to learn about the unique life

experiences of this exotic, dying group of elderly Jewish people who actively participated in programs within what I had thought was an abandoned Center.

My awareness of the building's external decay gradually faded and was replaced by my knowledge about and deep respect and concern for the members of the Center. From direct conversations with individuals and from Dr. Myerhoff's taped interviews with Center members describing their life histories, I learned much about this relatively undescribed segment of the Jewish population. Most of them had grown up in Eastern European ghettos, living within the traditional, prescribed roles of Judaism, as well as the surrounding political, social, and economic oppression of the larger society. When they immigrated to America as children, teenagers, and young adults, sometimes alone and sometimes with relatives, they found the streets paved with sweatshops and seventy hour work weeks; however, they found opportunities to create their individual worlds of social justice and humanity by organizing previously banned groups such as labor unions and Anarchist, Socialist and Zionist organizations. Perhaps their most important contributions to the Jewish community were their numbers, and their values about social justice and charity. The unprecedented number of immigrants[1] created the need for a more extensive philanthropic system in America; moreover, they brought

---

[1]See Chapter III, p. 26.

to existing philanthropic institutions traditional Jewish values that made community responsibility for the individual's welfare a legal, as well as a moral obligation. Undoubtedly, these Jewish immigrants reinforced the existing foundation, and virtually guaranteed the development of a highly sophisticated Jewish social service network in America.

I grew up having heard many stories about my grandparents' experiences in Eastern Europe and marveled at the struggles and ideals that comprised their lives. When I worked as a social worker in the San Francisco Jewish Home for the Aged, I became more in touch with my feelings of affection and admiration for elderly Jews who were the remnants of Eastern European culture. Thus, as I got to know members of the Israel Levin Center, my curiosity and concern about their past and present life circumstances grew. Venice looked like a community in transition: the combination of old, dilapidated structures adjacent to modern, expensive high-rise buildings, and new expensive boutiques next to "grass root" drug and food cooperatives made me suspect that social problems and conflicting interests were reaching a turning point. I was fearful that the elderly Jews were not faring well in the struggles between monied land developers of surrounding Marina del Rey and Santa Monica, and the "unmonied" Venice residents.

In attempts to test out my impressions, I

discovered that the history and present circumstances of these people in Venice were not publicly known. I organized a weekly discussion group at the Center that I still conduct, and became better acquainted with the Levin Center's members. From them and from Mr. Morris Rosen, I learned that a substantial portion of the present Jewish population had begun settling in Venice approximately thirty years ago. What had begun as a thriving Eastern European ghetto transplanted on the sunny shores of Southern California began disappearing in the late 1950s due to the gradual, steady influx of land developers and wealthy residents. I learned from concerned professionals, Center members, and their relatives about attempts to develop low-cost housing for this aging population that met with no action from the Jewish community.

Significantly, I also found that relatively little published information is available about Venice; I began reading the local newspaper and became acquainted with some local residents. I found that the transformation of Venice was a process and struggle that dated back to its idealistic beginnings: its changing complexion from a socially, politically, and economically diverse community to one more largely comprised of wealthy "jet-setters" was considered by residents to be a more imminent threat than ever before.[2]

---

[2]See Venice Beachhead articles in Appendix A, pp. 95 f.

I developed a sense of outrage that the elderly Jews who are the only living link with the past traditions of a unique Jewish culture were being ignored and allowed to live and die with numerous problems. I had developed a strong bias that people should live decently even in times of transition and crisis; I viewed this situation as an ideal opportunity for the Jewish community to demonstrate both Jewish values and good social planning by being prepared to aid this special group living with many unmet needs. In ten years many of the elderly Jews of Venice will have died; I wondered if this would be the social plan for this group.

This study developed in response to the lack of demographic and sociological information and unanswered questions about the elderly Jews in Venice. The purpose of this study is to begin the description of this sociologically significant, but overlooked, group of Jewish elderly.

It will attempt to study a small group of local residents with the purpose of gathering some exploratory data in response to the following questions:

1. When and why did the selected sample move to Venice?

2. What are the felt needs and perceived problems of the selected sample?

3. What social and welfare services do interviewees use, and how satisfied are they with these services?

4. What services does the selected sample perceive as being necessary?

Hopefully, the presentation of this study to the Los Angeles Jewish Federation-Council's Planning Department or newly developed Council on the Aged will stimulate more attention toward this population of elderly Jews, as well as help generate further studies and outreach programs that will result in the development of appropriate services.

In conducting this study I am grateful to the members of my Research Committee. Dr. Rosa Kaplan and Dr. Robert Roberts provided valuable direction, criticism, and support, as did Dr. Samson Levey who carefully reviewed the manuscript and ehecked scriptural references.

My deep appreciation, respect and affection extend to Dr. Barbara Myerhoff and Mr. Morris Rosen, whose work with the elderly Jews at the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center I deeply admire.

I specially thank Peter Gordon, a close friend, for his valuable suggestions and observations.

Finally and particularly I would like to express the immeasurable gratitude I feel for the participants who willingly shared their dreams, hopes, strengths and problems with me; perhaps this study will have a positive impact on the quality of their lives.

CHAPTER II

COMING OF AGE IN THE UNITED STATES

Elderly people appear to have been neglected in the United States for many years. This chapter discusses the attitudes toward this disenfranchised segment of the population that were translated for many decades into low quality services and care. It examines four historical factors that contributed to the development of these perceptions, and discusses increased problems that resulted from an unprecedented number of people living longer than ever before. It concludes with several statements about the 1971 White House Conference on Aging and shifting attitudes toward the elderly.

"Ageism": Stereotypes and Attitudes About Elderly People

More often than not, being old in the United States has meant having less money, facing death, incurring losses, facing illness, and spending more time alone. The elderly person is likely to be set apart - a living symbol of death - a reminder, a view, a glimpse of what everyone eventually confronts, but does not want to become or face, especially in a youth-oriented society.

Articles, books, and studies speak about "problems

of the aged: and what it means to be old, often attributing to chronologically old people characteristics that allow "others" to maintain a distance from their own feelings about aging. Categories provide distinctions, barriers, and eventually, separation. The elderly are helpless. Old people get sick. They suffer losses. They don't have enough money. They feel neglected and lonely. They can't communicate with their relatives. They need help. They die. What may be an incentive for people to reach out to the elderly--their dependence and need for help--is a frightening and an alienating force because of the inevitability of the aging process that is mirrored back. These attitudes are reflected in the quality of services and care that have been offered to elderly people in the United States. According to the 1973 report of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, almost 22 percent of people sixty-five years and older live with income below the 1971 poverty threshold. Given the facts that elderly people constitute 10 percent (21 million) of the total population,[3] and that income is related to the quality of one's life, poor housing, poor nutrition and poor health may well remain constant or possibly increase over time for most older persons.

---

[3]Ruth B. Weg, "The Aged: Who, Where, How Well" (mimeograph report prepared for the University of Southern California School of Gerontology, Fall 1975).

Being old often means trying to figure out what one's life has meant or means, accepting help from others, and facing death. The latter confrontation is antithetical to this society's emphasis on youth, independence, individual strength and material wealth. Facing one's feelings about dying and death causes one to feel helpless and implicitly, by societal standards, worthless. Thus, the elderly person is likely to be set apart. This is, in fact, the history of elderly people in the United States. William Posner described the situation aptly.

> Concern for the aged may have been a time-honored tradition, but the ways and methods of caring for them have been based upon the stereotyped attitudes which came down to us from generation to generation. What are some of these attitudes? Most of us will recognize them: older people are largely dependent and hence cannot fend for themselves; they are unable to assume independence; they cannot be creative; they are sick people and hence cannot participate in the normal day to day activities of most other people; they lack emotional stability due to the gradual deterioration that takes place in old age; older persons do not know what is good for them - they cannot assume responsibility, hence others have to do it for them. There are so many other stereotypes that one can mention. What this adds up to is that we have isolated out the older person from the population as a whole. We have differentiated him so much from the rest of the community that the only method of care we could see for him was that type of care which would give him utmost protection. Hence, the development of the institution. . . .[4]

---

[4]William Posner, "Meeting the Needs of the Aged in the Community" (Atlantic City: Central Atlantic Region of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, March 1953), p. 1.

In the socio-psychological literature of gerontology there are two general viewpoints regarding optimum patterns of aging: the disengagement theory and the activity theory.[5] Both perspectives maintain that as people grow older, their behavior changes; activities they identified with in middle age are minimized and the extent of their social interaction decreases. However, it is just beyond this point that the two theories clash. The disengagement theory claims that the decreased social interaction is a mutual withdrawal of society from the aged person and the aged person from society. Within this framework, optimal aging becomes greater psychological distance and decreased social interaction. In contrast, the activity theory maintains that except for unavoidable biological and health changes, older people are the same as middle-aged people.

> In this view, the decreased social interaction that characterizes old age results from the withdrawal by society from the aging person, and the decrease in interaction proceeds against the desires of most aging men and women. The older person who ages best is the person who stays active and who manages to resist the shrinkage of his social world.[6]

Thus, optimal aging becomes staying involved and finding substitutes for work and other losses. Since the mid to

---

[5]Robert J. Havighurst, Bernice L. Neugarten, and Sheldon S. Tobin, "Disengagement and Patterns of Aging," Middle Age and Aging, ed. by Bernice L. Neugarten (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 161.

[6]Ibid.

late 1960s, the activity theory has become the dominant point of view among gerontologists; the initial acceptance of the disengagement theory may have been due to its reinforcement of prevalent attitudes and practices of isolating and ignoring elderly people.

Factors Contributing to the Development of American Attitudes Toward the Elderly

Four factors seem largely responsible for the traditionally negative stereotypes about the elderly and their loss of function in the United States: (1) Weakness of kinship ties; (2) Dominant values in American society just prior to World War II; (3) Industrial and technological changes; (4) Increase in the number of elderly.

> Social relationships have provided the strongest securities to the individual, especially in old age. With vitality declining, the aged person has had to rely more and more upon personal relations with others, and upon the reciprocal rights and obligations involved. . . . Throughout human history the family has been the safest haven for the aged. Its ties have been the most intimate and longlasting, and on them the aged have relied for greatest security . . . and have found in family relationships opportunities for effective social participation well into senility.[7]

In Culture and Aging, Margaret Clark and Barbara Anderson cite the weakness of kinship ties as a significant historical factor that has influenced the normlessness of the elderly in contemporary society. They cite evidence that the extended family was probably never the norm in

---

[7]Leo W. Simmons, The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 177.

America. Friedmann has supported this point of view, stating that "evidence on household size for early America indicates that the extended kinship family was probably never the prevailing life style."[8] Although joint households were uncommon, relatives often lived in common neighborhoods and helped each other out, until the recent rise in mobility, and the change from rural to urban life[9] that has effected further change in the family structure, and left the elderly without family leadership roles that in the past promoted a sense of well-being and continuity.

Historically rooted American values clash with expectations about the elderly. These include achievement and success, activity and self-sufficiency, and the Protestant work ethic. Personal achievement, especially occupational achievement, has held a high value in American society that has been highly competitive and heralded the rail splitter who becomes president. In the secular society of the United States, one seeks to master oneself and the world through one's own power. There is an emphasis on personal responsibility and autonomy. Given the assumption

---

[8]Eugene A. Friedmann, "The Impact of Aging on the Social Structure," Handbook of Social Gerontology, ed. by Clark Tibbitts (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 130-31.

[9]Jack Ossofsky, "The Aging: Problem or Potential?" Jewish Heritage (Summer, 1972), p. 68. According to this article, most elderly today live in metropolitan areas, with approximately 5% on farms. Most of the elderly in metropolitan areas live in the central cities, whereas most younger people live in the suburbs.

that the United States is an associational type, secular society where self-worth is generally equated with autonomy, and helplessness and/or dependence on others generally implies a less valuable or weaker person, what kind of a position can be accorded to elderly people who face losses in self-esteem through retirement,[10] who lose peers and friends,[11] and who spend more time alone?

Although work as an end in itself may have lost some of its original significance, it is important to remember that it has been one of the core elements in America's history. Along the frontier, work was necessary for group survival. Reinforcing this were the rich rewards to be had in a land of relatively unappropriated resources. There was also the Puritan tradition or Protestant work ethic that invested secular occupational activity with religious merit. The effects of the Protestant work ethic and the pioneer philosophy of rugged individualism helped formulate attitudes and beliefs that a productive working person is moral and valuable, and that a non-working or

---

[10]Ida Harper Simpson and John C. McKinney, eds., Social Aspects of Aging (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1966), pp. 45-129. This series of articles discusses the role of occupation in American society, how it is related to social involvement and self-evaluation, and the orientations toward work and retirement that may help one better cope with role loss.

[11]Zena Smith Blau, Old Age in A Changing Society, (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973), pp. 60-75. This describes the significance of friendship in view of its being an optional social role.

dependent person is less morally sound and valuable.[12]

Values are among the most tenacious of human sentiments since they help define oneself and one's reality. Those values reported to be dominant in American society just prior to World War II were described by Kluckhohn and Kluckhohn,[13] Mead,[14] Gorer[15] and others as including achievement and success, aggressiveness, acquisition of money, individualism, activity and work, competence and control, progress, and orientation toward the future. Although the individualistic, competitive, future-oriented and acquisitive American was an accepted model for the majority of today's elderly, the person clinging to these values in old age became the most likely candidate for geriatric psychiatry, according to a study by Margaret Clark.[16]

---

[12]Robin M. Williams, "Value Orientations in American Society," in Social Perspectives on Behavior, eds. Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 288-314.

[13]Clyde Kluckhohn and Florence R. Kluckhohn, "American Culture: Generalized Orientations and Class Patterns," in Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture (Conference in Science, Philosophy and Religion, New York, 1947), p. 440.

[14]Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry: An Anthropologist Looks at America (New York: William Morron and Co., Inc., 1943).

[15]Geoffrey Gorer, The American People: A Study in National Character (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc. 1948).

[16]From 1963-1964, Margaret Clark helped conduct a set of intensive attitudinal interviews with 80 people over the age of 60. The study was part of the Geriatrics

Dr. Clark offered two possible explanations for the findings.

> First, it may be, as Riesman and Whyte have suggested, that American society is undergoing a rapid shift in dominant value-orientations, leaving the Protestant Ethic behind, replacing individualism with affiliation, and substituting a consumer morality for a production morality. On the other hand, it may be that American society even today has different norms for the aged from those prevailing for young or middle-aged people. There is some independent evidence that the latter is, in fact, a true explanation. If this is true, then reaching the status of old age in American society represents a dramatic cultural discontinuity in that many of the basic orientations must be changed if adaptation is to occur.[17]

Regardless of which explanation is true, today's elderly were in their prime of life and socialized during the time when the aforementioned dominant cultural values were held. Clearly, there is a pronounced cultural discontinuity in American society that, on the one hand, has sought to instill the Protestant work ethic and, on the other, has institutionalized compulsory retirement at an arbitrarily chosen age. These contradictory expectations

---

Research Program of the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute. Half of the eighty subjects were people from the community whose later lives were free of any medical treatment for mental or emotional problems; the other forty were hospitalized subjects who had been institutionalized for psychiatric disorder for the first time after the age of sixty. At the time of the interview, two-thirds of the hospitalized subjects had been released from the hospital. Results reflected that the values of the mentally ill subjects were the aforementioned of the dominant culture.

[17]Margaret Clark, "The Anthropology of Aging," in Middle Age and Aging, ed. by Bernice L. Neugarten (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 441.

have helped displace today's elderly from former roles and norms that provided sources of competence and self-esteem.

Ironically, many of the advances which have made possible the longer life span and the increased numbers of older persons also tend to separate the elderly from the mainstream of society. Technological advances have made non-industrial skills obsolete, replacing them with specialized and highly particularized positions that are far beyond the training and experiences of most elderly people.

> Speedily advancing technology now not only makes the training of an engineer outdated ten years after graduation, it makes older skills obsolete. Technological advances lower manpower needs in traditional work roles and, in an economy not geared to the utilization of all people's potential to meet human as well as individual needs, the shrinking job market places the elderly in unfair competition with younger job seekers.[18]

Today's aged were once the deciding young adult population of their time, but the content of American culture has substantially changed since then: the skills and knowledge that were intentionally learned in order to master a portion of the world are now outdated. As elderly people find themselves excluded from productive work of any kind, it is understandable that many come to accept society's appraisal of them as being of little value in modern Western life.

As a result of medical research, a lower mortality rate, and a better standard of living, more people have

---

[18]Ossofsky, "The Aging: Problem or Potential?" p. 69.

been living longer than ever before; however, American society hasn't developed any institutions that give meaning and purpose to life in the extended twenty or thirty years. The group aged sixty-five years and older increased from 3.1 million in 1900 to over 20 million in 1971, and by the year 2000 the figure is expected to reach about 25 million.[19] "This achievement has meant something of a crisis for a society unprepared to accommodate such a burgeoning of the group of older Americans."[20]

Old Becomes Bold: Increasing Problems and Shifting Attitudes

As the number of elderly people increased, such problems as inadequate housing,[21] meaningful use of free time,[22] and decrease in income[23] also intensified. In

---

[19]Jack Ossofsky, 1971 White House Conference on Aging, Toward A National Policy on Aging (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. ix.

[20]Ibid.

[21]E. Everett Ashley III and M. Carter McFarland, "The Need for Research Toward Meeting the Housing Needs of the Elderly," Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging, ed. by Clark Tibbitts and Wilma Donahue (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

[22]Clark Tibbitts and Wilma Donahue, eds., Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging, pp. 899-930. This series of articles discusses the meaningful use of free time in a family context, in work situations, and in special settings such as residential homes and hospitals.

[23]Wilbur J. Cohen, "Some Policy Issues in Social Security Programs for the Aged," in Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging, pp. 125-42.

response, new research programs[24] and study techniques[25] were developed in order to find urgently needed solutions to a crisis situation and to provide services needed by elderly people. Major gerontological centers set up in several university-based areas, Federal funding for gerontology programs, increased public awareness through the mass media and self-interest groups such as Grey Panthers have all contributed to increasing attention and concern for the elderly.

Finally, important additions were made to the field of literature on aging in such areas as the dynamics of reminiscence and the life review,[26] the nature of kinship and family relations,[27] cultural aspects of aging[28] and

---

[24]Matilda White Riley and Anne Foner, eds., Aging and Society I: An Inventory of Research Findings (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968).

[25]Robert J. Havighurst, "Research and Development Goals in Social Gerontology," The Gerontologist 9 (Winter 1969).

[26]Robert N. Butler, "The Life Review: An Interpretation of Reminiscence in the Aged," Psychiatry 26 (1963) pp. 65-76.

[27]Ethel Shanas and Gordon F. Streib, eds., Social Structure and the Family: Intergenerational Relations (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).

[28]Margaret Clark and Barbara G. Anderson, Culture and Aging: An Anthropological Study of Older Americans. See also Margaret Mead, Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap (Garden City, N.J.: Natural History Press, 1970); Richard Kalish, "A Gerontological Look at Ethnicity, Human Capacities and Individual Adjustment, The Gerontologist 2 (Spring 1971) pp. 78-87.

death.[29] These additions have helped destroy some myths about the aged;[30] they have helped focus on the importance of self-determination and undoubtedly have led both professional and lay people to examine their own feelings about aging, loss and death. It is only when such self-examination has occurred that one can ask: "What does it take to keep the flame burning: What does it take to kindle or re-kindle the spirit? What stands in the way of living?"[31] Only when aging is viewed as the very process of living can a person face the coming years with strength and resources.

The shift in focus for this population was aptly reflected in the 1971 White House Conference on Aging. The sense of urgency and commitment toward the aged and the conceptual movement away from the disengagement theory toward the activity theory of aging are reflected in the foreward of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging

---

[29]Elizabeth Kubler-Ross, On Death and Dying (New York: MacMillan Press, 1969). See also Richard Kalish, ed., Omega. Omega is an international journal for the psychological study of death, dying, bereavement and suicide.

[30]Robert E. Moss, M.D., "Aging: A Survey of the Psychiatric Literature, 1950-1960," in Geriatric Psychiatry: Grief, Loss and Emotional Disorders in the Aging Process, ed. by Martin A. Berezin, M.D. and Stanley H. Cath, M.D. (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1965), pp. 251-363.

[31]Prescott W. Thompson, M.D., "What It Means to be Old in 1969," Menninger Quarterly 23 (Spring 1969), p. 27.

summary. Arthur S. Flemming, Conference Chairman, stated,

> The one overriding goal of all the recommendations was to assist the aging person to maintain his independence and to provide dignified protection and assistance for those unable to maintain full independence.

Clearly, this statement reflects a dramatic shift in focus and conceptualization regarding the nature of elderly people. Moreover, the fourteen areas in which recommendations were made[32] reflected this shift. Elderly people were among the one million who helped shape these recommendations. The very process that allowed elderly persons to help formulate policies for themselves acknowledged a moving away from negative stereotypes. This national action may encourage a process of reconsidering historically sustained practices that ignored and isolated the aged and, in turn, reinforced negative stereotypes and attitudes.

---

[32]Specific recommendations were made in the following areas: Education; Employment and Retirement; Physical and Mental Health; Housing; Income; Nutrition; Retirement Roles and Activities; Spiritual Well-Being; Transportation; Facilities, Programs and Services; Government and Nongovernment Organization; Planning; Research and Demonstration; Training.

CHAPTER III

JUDAISM AND THE AGED

The traditional values and attitudes about the aged in the United States differ vastly from the laws and customs of Jewish society. This chapter begins with a description of the Jewish attitudes toward the elderly from Biblical times through nineteenth century Eastern European culture. The pattern and character of charity in the small Jewish village of Eastern Europe is described as both a legacy of codified law and tradition, and as the precursor of concepts and practices that Jews would bring with them to America. The chapter continues with a discussion of Eastern European immigration and accommodation to the United States. It follows with a description of the history of the Jewish social service network in America, and how it, too, accommodated to American social work practice, specifically with regard to the elderly. The chapter concludes with the mention of new trends in the Jewish community's view of its elderly members.

Jewish Attitudes Toward the Elderly

Judaism's attitude toward the aged has been one of respect since the Biblical period: "You shall rise before

the aged and show deference to the old"(Leviticus 19:32). Although the Bible ascribes a variety of characteristics to old age including wisdom(Job 12:12), mental and physical deterioration, fear and lack of pleasure(II Samuel 19:36, Ecclesiastes 12:1-7), it consistently emphasizes the importance of and commands respect for the elderly. Consideration for old age and its disabilities was demanded; disrespect for the aged was viewed as a sign of a corrupt generation(Isaiah 3:5). Ruthlessness toward the aged was considered to be a manifestation of barbaric harshness by an enemy: "The Lord will bring a nation against thee from far, . . . a nation of fierce countenance, that shall not regard the person of the old . . . ."(Deuteronomy 28:49-50).

Whereas the early Jewish community did not cast aside its elderly members, both Hall[33] and Simmons[34] have pointed out the harshness with which primitive societies treated their elderly. Significantly, Jewish attitudes differed radically from the prevailing customs of their time.

In the traditional early Jewish community, parents and children formed a single household. "In the society of ancient Israel the elderly were highly respected, and accorded a central position in family life and the tribal

---

[33]Stanley G. Hall, Senescence: The Last Half of Life (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1922).

[34]Simmons, Role of Aged in Primitive Society.

structure."[35] This attitude may be linked to the Bible's commandment associating fear and honor of and obedience to one's parents(Leviticus 19:3).

> Respect alone was of little assistance to the aged in the changed circumstances of late antiquity and the transformation which society had undergone. However, no attempt was made to issue specific regulations or create institutions to help the aged or care for them as such. If not living among the family, as was customary, destitute aged people were treated as part of the general social problem created by poverty and weakness and the precepts concerning charity and alms giving.[36]

Persecution, wars, and natural catastrophes helped weaken the extended family network during the Middle Ages. This process, in addition to migration, brought increased suffering to the elderly. Their worsened circumstances manifested themselves in two ways. First, "the aged are singled out in medieval Jewish ethical works and general regulations(Takkanot) as worthy objects for special charity and tender treatment."[37] Second, support of the aged gathered official community sanction, thus laying the groundwork for the creation of institutions designed to house sick and isolated elderly. Around 1650, the Jewish community in Rome declared care of its aged citizens as one of the four divisions of its charitable activities. Less than 100 years later in 1749, a home for the aged was

---

[35]"Age and the Aged," Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1971 ed. S.v., p. 346.

[36]Ibid. [37]Ibid.

founded in Amsterdam.

The weakening and breakup of traditional family cohesion continued through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The number of communal institutions was growing, and the need for ways of caring for the aged was strongly felt. Although the formal obligation of child to parent includes old age support, it was often rejected by the parents. Many preferred not to be dependent on their children. The saying, "Better to beg one's bread from door to door than to be dependent on one's son,"[38] aptly reflects this preference.

The "Support of the Aged" society, known as the Mishenet Zekenim, was developed to take care of very old people who either could not or would not be helped by their families. Such homes gradually developed in several cities such as Berlin(1829), Hamburg(1839), and Frankfort(1844). Moreover, they became more sophisticated and institutionalized as the concept of social care of the aged grew.

The Pattern and Character of Charity in Eastern Europe

It was most natural for similar institutions to develop in Eastern Europe. One of the oldest and basic traditions of Judaism held important by the Eastern

---

[38]Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, Life is With People: The Culture of the Shtetl (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 298. This saying and similar ones have been reported to this author by ten elderly Jews in Venice.

European community was the tradition of tzedakah.

> There is no word in the Hebrew vocabulary for "charity" in the modern sense. The word used is tzedakah, which literally means "righteousness." Tzedakah is not an act of condescension from one person to another who is in a lower social and economic status. Tzedakah is the fulfillment of an obligation to a fellow being with equal status before God. It is an act of justice to which the recipient is entitled by right, by virtue of being human.[39]

The importance of philanthropy or humanity and its central position in Jewish life can be seen in Jewish literature and law from the Biblical period until today. When confronted with social inequities or injustices, one is obligated to condemn and combat it.[40] Tzedakah is an individual obligation that is fulfilled corporately.

> The community initially appears as a modified welfare city-state, with its special functionaries who collect the compulsory levy and act as trustees for the poor and needy.[41]

The various aspects of tzedakah were not left to individual luck. The principle of social justice requires that every poor, sick, old or infirm member of the community must be taken care of, permanently or during a crisis.[42]

---

[39]Richard G. Hirsch, "There Shall Be No Poor," in Judaism and Human Rights, ed. by Milton Konvitz (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972), p. 239.

[40]Isadore Twersky, "The Jewish Attitude Towards the Welfare State," in Judaism and the Community, ed. by Dr. Jacob Freid (New York: Thomas Yoselof Publisher, 1968), p. 77.

[41]Ibid., p. 81.

[42]Zborowski and Herzog, Life With People, p. 202.

Accordingly, each community had a number of institutions devoted to such community services. Thus, the Moshav zkeynim or Home for the Aged was developed. Zborowski and Herzog clearly describe the pattern and character of tzedakah in the small Jewish village in Eastern Europe.

> Life in the shtetl begins and ends with tzedakah. When a child is born the father pledges a certain amount of money for distribution to the poor; at a funeral the mourners distribute coins to the beggars who swarm the cemetary chanting, "Tzedakah will save from death."[43]

As important as the giving itself is the attitude that accompanies the gesture. The recipient should feel that this is a personal, caring act and one that is prompt, with little or no red tape, For this reason, there are higher and lower forms of tzedakah.[44] The free loan is the highest form of giving and the lowest is the handout or the direct gift since it interferes with the self-respect of the recipient. The reduction of humiliation is an important element without which the objective act is considered deficient.

Eastern European Immigration to America

> The recipient must feel that there is a living human voice behind the grant, not a hollow, impersonal one. [Furthermore], old age care and consideration

---

[43]Ibid., p. 193.

[44]Leo Jung, "Concept of Tzedakah in Contemporary Jewish Life," in Poor Jews: An American Awakening, ed. by Naomi Levine and Martin Hochbaum (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1974), pp. 96-104.

> is another area in the realm of kindness and social welfare where the attitude outweighs or at least conditions the act.[45]

The prior description of the pattern and character of tzedakah applies to the customs of the large numbers of immigrants who came to the United States from Eastern Europe in the period from the 1880s to World War I. These immigrants came from Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Rumania and adjacent territories. A wave of pogroms in 1881 and 1882, and a series of anti-Jewish decrees resulted in the eventual settlement of approximately two million Jews over a thirty-year span. This migration was also the result of poverty and regulations that limited the range of Jewish settlement and employment. In terms of numbers, the Eastern European mass immigration began with approximately five to six thousand Jews in 1881. This more than doubled the following year, increased to over 32,000 per year by 1887, reached over 51,000 by 1891, and 73,636 in 1892. From 1904-14, the average number of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe passed 100,000: in 1906, 1907 and 1914, it reached about 140,000 annually.[46]

More often than not, these immigrants arrived with little or no money, and without knowledge of the English

---

[45] Twersky, "Jewish Attitude Towards Welfare State," pp. 88-89.

[46] Bernard D. Weinryb, "Eastern European Immigration to the United States," Jewish Quarterly Review 45 (1956): 497-528.

language. They did not spread out as their German predecessors had done in the early nineteenth century. They tended to concentrate in the largest cities, clearly creating ethnic neighborhoods.

> These new immigrants gave the American Jewish community a future. Their numbers made it viable demographically even as their Jewish culture did so spiritually.[47]

According to Nathan Glazer, this group

> showed the effects of a two thousand year old experience as merchants and scholars. The Jewish working class had a broader horizon than the working class of other groups. They tended to form powerful unions which helped improve their conditions. And they made sure their children would not also be workers. As early as 1900, so authoritative a historian of the American working classes as John R. Commons observed that 'Jewish women are employed [in factories] to a much less extent than the women of other nationalities, and their children are kept in school until 15 or 16 years of age.' With the Jewish mother at home, the Jewish child received a better education and better care, as shown in lower delinquency and death rates.[48]

The Jewish immigrants were concerned about survival, and creating a comfortable future for their children, in contrast to the oppressive, predictable life they had known in Europe. Not all Jews, however, left the shtetl.[49]

---

[47]Marshall Sklare, America's Jews (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 9.

[48]Nathan Glazer, American Judaism (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 80.

[49]The shtetl was the small town ghetto in which most Jews lived in Eastern Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The community was largely isolated from the non-Jewish world, thus resulting in the retaining of

Contrary to the popular notion that the majority of these immigrants were overwhelmingly Orthodox, Weinryb points out that it was largely the poor and underprivileged, the dissenters and the secularists, who became the immigrants to the United States.[50]

Undoubtedly, it was the feelings of insecurity in a strange environment, the separation from familiar surroundings, the necessity of adapting to the new, and the lack of economic and social stability and status, that contributed to the desire of the Eastern European immigrants to submerge themselves into the dominant culture. However, beyond the expected impact of adjustment and alienation, there seem to be three factors that influenced Eastern European accommodation to American life.

Although the streets were hardly paved with gold, life in America was a revolutionary experience; for the first time in Jewish history, the fact of Jewishness became irrelevant in the public sphere.

> The millennial Jewish experience had been quite the opposite. Jews not only occupied a special status, but the position of the individual in the social structure was entirely determined by his Jewishness. Even when the status accorded the Jews conferred privileges as well as disabilities, it implied subordination. In sum the Jew was

---

religious beliefs and practices, Yiddish language and customs.

[50]Bernard D. Weinryb, "Jewish Immigration and Accommodation to America: Research, Trends, Problems," American Jewish Historical Society 46 (1957), p. 391.

> free. . . . And his history meant that freedom had a special meaning for him which it did not hold for the Italian, the Pole, or the Irishman.[51]

The second factor naturally follows the first. A significant group of the post-1905 immigrants had moved away from Jewish culture prior to their coming to America. Deeply influenced by new ideas in Russian culture,[52] these immigrants were free in America to act upon their new ideas and ideals. Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, Zionists, territorialists, and combinations of them all, had their groups, centers, social events and newspapers in the dense areas of Jewish settlement in the big cities. In addition, the cultural Yiddishists and Hebraists also had their circles, centers, newspapers and magazines in the Jewish neighborhoods.

A third factor influencing Jewish accommodation to American life was the background from which they came.

> Jews are the most urbanized group in the country, a natural and understandable phenomenon for a group that came here with a highly urban background in the first place.[53]

Although many of the Eastern European immigrants came from the _shtetl_, their occupations brought them into contact with

---

[51] Sklare, _America's Jews_, pp. 18-19.

[52] Ibid., p. 17.

[53] C. Bezalel Sherman, _The Jew Within American Society_ (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1965), p. 93.

large cities and people from urban areas. Jews of Eastern Europe were not allowed to own farmland and thus, were not engaged in agriculture. Further prohibitions resulted in the majority of these Jews engaging in commerce, trade, or skilled work that brought them into contact with areas outside of the shtetl community. The Eastern European immigrants began as a lower class group who were anxious to rise economically, providing a future of education and material success for their children. The physical strain and deprivation of the sweatshop slowly paved new roads in the economy. In time, the peddler became a storekeeper, the worker sometimes opened a candy store or grocery, and the carpenter became a builder. The transformation of the Eastern European Jews during the last five to six decades from a largely proletarian group to a middle class one may viewed in two ways with respect to assimilation. One could argue that

> the imbedding of the Jewish group in the economy and socio-economic structure in the United States called for a number of accommodations in practice and, at least externally, in behavior.[54]

However, it is possible that their commercial, urban background predisposed them to accept these ethics of success. The phenomenon of assimilation then, may be viewed as the submergence of the characteristics and values of a minority group to the dominant culture; it may also be seen as the

---

[54]Ibid., p. 399.

continuation of a previous life experience (urban background), and the manifestation of previously repressed ideas (Socialism, Communism, Anarchism) that could only be expressed as they were in America.

The Accommodation of Jewish Philanthropy to American Social Work Values

A pattern was developed during this period of mass immigration "whereby major functions of Jewish life were conducted independently of organized religion."[55] At this time, the traditional charity box of the synagogue was depended on less as the source of funds for the Jewish community. Federations were developed in order to assume the secular tasks of organized American Jewish life such as fund raising and agency coordination and planning. Simultaneously this period witnessed the development of the Jewish Center. The Center's origin can be traced to the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations (YM and YWHA), the settlement house, and the synagogue center movement. As the popularity of the Center grew, it gradually became established in predominantly middle class communities; thus, it became more identified with the middle class than with the immigrant group.

> The Center suggested to a number of people that it might be the nucleus for a new type of Jewish community. Its focus would be not religion but something we may call "Jewishness," which would

---

[55] Glazer, American Judaism, p. 88.

> be the common element in a variety of activities - religious, political, cultural, intellectual, philanthropic - all of them legitimately Jewish.[56]

The Jewish Center did not become the nucleus of the Jewish community. What did emerge was a strong subcommunal structure of philanthropic organizations that were rooted in the European model of corporate rights and responsibilities.[57] The Jewish settlement houses, old age homes, orphanages, and hospitals that were developed in major Jewish communities laid the groundwork for the Jewish social service network in America. Like the immigrants who created it, the Jewish social service network accommodated to the practices and priorities in American social work.

> The period between the onset of large-scale immigration in the 1880's and the virtual cessation of such immigration after World War I saw the most basic and far-reaching developments in the field of Jewish social work. It was during these years that philanthropies that had previously been small and stable became huge, sprawling, and multi-functional resources; that paid professionals appeared, assuming responsibility for carrying on the work of philanthropic agencies; that training for social work took on an increasingly formal and permanent pattern, and became the dominant influence in professionalizing the field; that conflicts arose between traditional attitudes toward charity and newer concepts; that new educational and cultural centers were established to help immigrants in their adjustment in the United States . . . that overseas aid became a principal responsibility of the Jewish community; . . . that national coordinating organizations arose, and

---

[56] Ibid., p. 91.

[57] The development of the Jewish communal structure in the United States is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 (pp. 104-10) of Marhsall Sklare's, America's Jews.

> national professional associations were developed; that Zionism became attractive to large segments of American Jewry.[58]

Although dilemmas arose in the conflicting Jewish ideology that emphasized community responsibity and American values of individual strength and responsibility, Jewish communities had no difficulties in accepting care for the aged as a communal responsibility. However, tensions arose due to conflicts between their generation and that of their children; American-born children were educated in an environment alien to Eastern European culture - they spoke without the foreign accents of a "greenhorn" and they were anxious to become social and economic "successes" in America. In a sense, their immigrant parents were excess baggage: a yoke, a mark, a reminder of their origins that was often seen by the second generation as a source of shame, not pride.

> As an urban group Jews were particularly confronted with old age problems. While there was a strong tradition of family solidarity, and children felt a sense of obligation for the care of their parents, elderly Jews of Eastern European background were culturally unprepared to be supported by their childrem. In addition, conflicts in values between first-generation parents and second-generation children created tensions which often led the aged to enter old age institutions as a place of last resort.[59]

---

[58]Herman D. Stein, "Jewish Social Work in the United States," in The Characteristics of American Jews, by Nathan Glazer, et al. (New York: Jewish Education Committee Press, 1965), p. 152.

[59]Ibid., p. 201.

The influence of American values and attitudes toward the elderly--ones that perceived them as largely dependent, unable to assume responsibility, sick, unable to participate in daily activities--manifested themselves in the creation of old age homes as the only means of coping with problems of aging and the aged, and with a poor quality of care at that. Social workers were generally not part of the staff of such institutions.

> Family agencies were reluctant to work with the aged until the 1940s, thinking primarily in terms of institutional placement, and tacitly assuming that "growth" ceases in the later years.[60]

However, by 1954, one client in every four in Jewish family agencies was an elderly person.[61] The immigrants from Eastern Europe were aging, facing retirement and obsolescence. Like their counterparts in the non-Jewish population, they were socialized through their young or late adulthoods into the American work ethic, but were now faced with rapid technological and industrial changes, the weakness of kinship ties, and medical research that prolonged chronological years.

As in the general American population, the number of elderly Jews reached staggering proportions. Individual attempts to implement services for the aged such as foster-home placement,[62] community day care centers and senior

---

[60] Ibid. [61] Ibid.

[62] Posner, "Meeting Needs of Aged in Community."

citizen clubs were generally successful; however, such programs generally reflected the vision and commitment of the individual decision-maker(s), rather than the stated policies of an agency.

Return to the Fold

The Jewish community's method of working with the aged and their needs shifted from a policy of isolation from the community to one of integration. Concern and commitment to meet the growing needs of the elderly Jewish population were reflected at the 1966 Large Cities Regional Conference on "Jewish Community Planning for the Aging in the Next Decade." There was a clear movement away from the isolation policy, as attempts were made to re-define the aged in terms of ability rather than disability; decision-making emphasized cooperative talks of planning with the elderly, not just for them. This focus on self-determination and the statement that "we must guard against separating the aged from the community"[63] reflected a marked shift in attitudes from previous years when the same Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds published a pamphlet entitled The Community Plans for its Chronically Ill and Aged. This publication both associated old age and illness, and discussed hospitals and homes for the aged as

---

[63]"Jewish Community Planning for the Aging in the Next Decade" (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1966), p. 2.

the major institutions serving the elderly.

There seem to be several reasons for this shift in focus. First, the number of Jewish elderly were reaching staggering proportions. In 1971 an estimated 12 percent of the Jewish community were sixty-five years and older, and this percentage was predicted to increase.[64] The growing number of well elderly seeking help from agencies called attention to the paucity of services available to well aged. It also indicated that programming and policies were being designed on culturally held myths about the elderly; moreover, these myths reflected American stereotypes rather than Jewish cultural values.

A second factor that may have influenced the Jewish community's shift in focus was the United States focus on poverty of the 1960s. Ann Wolfe's estimate that approximately 60 to 65 percent of the Jewish poor are elderly probably exacerbated the sense of urgency and guilt instrumental in bringing about a reconsideration of former policies and implementing appropriate new alternatives.[65]

> After World War II until the 1960s protest era, many in the Jewish community were content to sit back and take comfort in the fact that we had never had it so good. It was during this period

---

[64]Fred Massarik, National Jewish Population Study: The Jewish Aging (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1973), p. 1.

[65]Ann G. Wolfe, The Invisible Jewish Poor (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1971).

> that we, and the country as a whole, became convinced of the affluence of the entire Jewish community.[66]

A third factor that may have contributed to the Jewish community's focusing in on its elderly members was Hansen's principle of third generation return.[67] That is, the first generation wants to survive, the second generation wants to forget, and the third generation seeks continuity and identity from blood heritage and ethnic roots.

> The famous Hansen thesis . . . is true . . . only in the sense that the grandchildren, being twice removed from, and hence more indifferent to, the immigrant generation are more objective in their attitudes to the values that the immigrants had brought over from abroad. The children reject this heritage precisely because they are emotionally and psychologically closer to it. . . . Alone of all the white ethnic groups do American Jews supply proof for the correctness of the Hansen thesis. Only among them do the grandchildren manifest a greater desire to be part of the community than the children of the immigrants.[68]

Similarly, Jewish institutions and their staffs were reflecting this trend in the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s: Samuel Kohs has consistently maintained that support from Jewish funds could be justified only if the Jewish agency concentrated on Jewish aspects of family life, and was related to Jewish religious and secular

---

[66] Ibid., p. 6.

[67] Sherman, Jew Within American Society, pp. 207-8.

[68] Ibid.

organizations.[69] Both Karpf[70] and Stein[71] have emphasized the cultural elements in social work practice. Jewish institutions also sought their identity, their raison d'etre, their Jewish content; they were trying to define what was Jewish about a Jewish agency.

The previously mentioned 1966 Large Cities Regional Conference discussed the problem of sustaining a sense of usefulness in old age; possible ways of meeting the problem included optional or gradual retirement, programs to employ older people, educational projects, and the development of neighborhood units that would draw in the participation of multi-generational groups.

Hopefully, the examination of traditional Jewish values will begin to play a continuous rather than periodic role among Jewish agencies, so that the growing number of elderly Jewish people become part of the social planning process. This, in turn, should help the organized Jewish community bridge the gap between "what should happen" and "what does happen."

---

[69] Samuel C. Kohs, "Whither the Jewish Family Agency?" Jewish Social Service Quarterly 24(September 1947).

[70] Maurice J. Karpf, "The Status of Case Work in the Jewish Community," Jewish Social Service Quarterly 17 (September 1940), pp. 101-16.

[71] Herman D. Stein, "Social Science in Social Work Practice and Education," Social Casework (April 1955): 147-55; see also Herman D. Stein, Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1953).

CHAPTER IV

JEWISH AGING IN LOS ANGELES AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF VENICE

This chapter provides an overview of the relationship between the Los Angeles Jewish community and its aged members. It then focuses on the community of Venice as an area which historically had and presently has a significant group of elderly Jews. It also particularly focuses on Venice as a community that has constantly battled against externally imposed changes in order to preserve its unique character. Following the historical development of Venice is a discussion about the Venice Jewish community and its gradual diminution. The chapter concludes by describing programs in Venice that are designed specifically for the elderly.

Jewish Aging in Los Angeles

Elderly Jews constitute 12.9 percent of the Jewish community in Los Angeles.[72] However, it has only been in the last few years that this group has become a priority for the organized Jewish community. Although the Jewish

[72]Fred Massarik, The Jewish Aged of Los Angeles: A Reanalysis of Jewish Population Study Data (Los Angeles: Jewish Federation-Council, December 1974), p. 2.

Federation-Council, planning body for the Jewish community of Greater Los Angeles, had begun to be concerned about the growing number of Jewish elderly needing services, until recently very little was done by Federation in the way of coordination of the few services that did exist; Jewish Community Centers had a few programs and Jewish Family Service offered some service, but waiting lists were long, and priorities went to younger aged clients, particularly to young families.[73]

After some deliberation, the Federation set up an Information and Referral Service for the Aging in 1960; however, it soon became clear that there were no places to refer elderly people for service.[74] According to a March 1975 interview with Lazar Cohen of the Los Angeles Jewish Federation-Council's Planning Department, services for the aged have been provided in an uncoordinated manner, with individual agencies providing some services, but without the advantage of a central structure.

The invisible aged are no longer so due to their numbers. In response to the figure previously mentioned in Fred Massarik's report, as well as data on economic status, the Jewish Federation-Council established a Task Force on

---

[73]Bertha G. Simos, "Intergenerational Relations of Middle-Aged Adults With Their Aging Parents" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, June 1969), p. 81.

[74]Ibid.

the Jewish Aged that presented several recommendations in July 1974. The most significant one was a proposed alternative care system for providing protective care and supportive services for the Jewish elderly. Simultaneously, the recommendation called for the creation of a new agency or department within the Federation; namely, the Jewish Federation Council on Aging.

Fred Massarik cites many geographical areas where low-income elderly Jews live. According to his data, 50 percent of the elderly Jews living in the Ocean Park and Venice areas have incomes of under $4,000 a year.[75] The problems of the elderly Jews in Venice are greater than their inadequate incomes; in fact, it is difficult to understand their situation without examining the entire community of Venice, which has been exploited and ill-fated, not unlike its elderly constituents.

Venice: Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea

Venice is a famed, small beach community nestled along the Pacific Ocean. It is made up of young, White hippies; Mexican and Black youths, and adults; transients; winos; families; writers; artists; and Black, Anglo and Jewish senior citizens. It includes flourishing arts and crafts stores, organic food markets, communes, collectives, drug-abuse services, Gay liberation groups, political and

---

[75]Massarik, Jewish Aged of Los Angeles, p. 13.

social action organizations, and one Orthodox synagogue. Clearly, Venice is a socially diverse community in terms of the ethnic, economic and lifestyle characteristics of its residents. It was originally conceived of and developed by Abbott Kinney[76] who recognized the potentials for creating a replica of the classic Italian city of Venice. By July 1905, Kinney's "Venice of America" was opened to the public. Within the span of one year, he had converted lagoons and marshland areas into a complex system of man-made canals. However, Venice was to undergo many transformations.

Venice flourished into the 1920s, first as a cultural and amusement center,[77] and later as an amusement center and residential community. "With the continued expansion of Los Angeles' population, more and more of the area's affluent populace sought permanent settlement in Venice."[78]

---

[76]A broadly educated man of means and a world traveler, Abbott Kinney believed that the climate and natural setting of Los Angeles would be the obvious place for an American Renaissance to begin. Before settling in Los Angeles, he had amassed a fortune by manufacturing Sweet Caporal cigarettes. As a Democrat and reformer, he took part in conservation activities, served as a City Road Overseer, helped establish the Santa Monica Free Library, and appealed in Sacramento for various political causes.

[77]Kinney persuaded merchants, hotel and restaurant owners to build facilities in the architectural style of the Venetian Renaissance. He scheduled cultural exhibits, lecture series, concerts and plays. In addition, the beach and its concessions, and gondolas imported from Venice, attracted thousands of visitors and settlers to the area.

[78]Bradley J. Zacuto, "Historical Landscapes of Venice, California" (Report, University of Southern California, May 1973), p. 9.

"Significantly, Venice was designed by Kinney without consideration for the automobile, as Kinney was to rely upon the railroads for transportation."[79] As a result, those areas of contemporary Venice designed by Kinney are characterized by small lots and narrow streets.

With the invention and increased use of the private automobile, people became more mobile and able to drive to a larger number of places for entertainment. Thus, "the amusement industry in Venice began to falter, and all night dancing and gambling were introduced by Venice leaders in desperate attempts to bolster the sagging economy."[80] However, millions of people still visited the arcades and beach each year, and "settlement on a permanent basis became increasingly attractive to city dwellers and notable personalities from across the country."[81]

In the early part of the twentieth century, Los Angeles passed a water bond and built an aqueduct for which it needed more money. In an attempt to raise the necessary funds, Los Angeles launched a campaign to annex Venice. This proposal split the Venice population, and after several years of heated debate, Venetians voted in favor of

---

[79] Ibid.

[80] Larry Dully, "An Analysis of the Forces Affecting Low-Income Housing in Venice, California" (Master's Research Project, University of Southern California, April 1970), p. 6.

[81] Ibid.

annexation (1925). Following this momentous decision the history of Venice is marked by a loss of control in community matters in a series of significant battles lost to the powers that be: the Los Angeles Department of Public Works won a controversial court decision over the Venice community allowing the city to fill in and pave over ten miles of the original sixteen miles of Venice canals.[82] Next, the City of Los Angeles "couldn't refuse" tideland leases to the Ohio Oil Company despite protests from the Venice community. By the early 1930s, the anticipated problems from the oil industry were a reality throughout Venice.[83] "The combined contamination of the community by the oil industry and subsequent neglect reduced Venice's residential desirability."[84] Furthermore, as many of the affluent fled, poor, transient, young counter-culture types, and minorities began moving into the area.

Battles with land developers have been a constant source of torment to the seemingly ill-fated Venice

---

[82]John B. Daniell, The Bay Area Pageant, special edition, Santa Monica: Evening Outlook, 1956, p. 18.

[83]Ibid., p. 14. Besides changing the physical landscape with pumps, derricks, and storage tanks, oil spillage stained the land and clogged up island waterways. The oil boom in Venice decidedly altered the community's appearance and social character.

[84]Deloris Brown, et al., "Report on Population Settlement and Movement in East Los Angeles and Venice, California" (Master's Research Project, University of Southern California, April 1970).

community. A core of citizens has consistently organized and rallied around the "Save Venice" slogan. Thus far, they have largely resisted the perennial attempts of land speculators and kept builders from the surrounding Marina del Rey and Santa Monica areas from annihilating the canals and the remaining homes and cottages. However, without the leverage of legal power (rent control laws), money, and community organization strategies, it may only be a matter of time before the crushing bulldozers eliminate the intimate walkways, remaining beach cottages, and the diverse social character of Venice; Venice will then be annexed to Santa Monica and the Marina in a continuous phalanx of tall high-rise buildings that house security-conscious, wealthier people who bask under the sun in rows of chaise lounge chairs while TV monitors scan the recreation rooms and hallways.

Jewish Community in Venice: Historical and Present Perspectives

For the most part, the elderly Jews of Venice are not new to the area. Thus, they have been involved in and affected by the struggles between Venice and impinging land developers. Many Jews began settling in the area twenty and thirty years ago. According to Morris Rosen, Director of the Levin Center, approximately 15,000 Jews lived in the Venice/Ocean Park area in the 1940s and 1950s. A good portion of them lived in beach cottages in the area of

Speedway between Ocean Park Boulevard and Navy Street. At the community's height there were Yiddish reading circles, discussion groups, and informal organizations of Socialists, Communists and Zionists. In addition, there were seven active synagogues. However, the somewhat idyllic beginnings gave way to grave concerns.

Within the period of one year, the City of Santa Monica declared eminent domain over the aforementioned area along Speedway and subsequently bought the property. The residents were uprooted without even attempting to fight, having learned from their past experiences in Eastern Europe that "you can't fight city hall." Neither the Jewish nor the general community attempted to help this group of people. Many left the area as the trend of buying up and developing land expanded. Some people died, and others relocated to other sections of Venice, often with the help of friends. The beach cottages and bungalows in which these Jewish residents lived were torn down. In turn, the City sold several acres to various builders--Kern County Land Corporation and Tenneco--and later, another area was sold to the Hollywood Turf Club for Pacific Ocean Park development. In place of the old, intimate bungalows and cottages, two seventeen-story tower apartments were built with a golf course, and an addition to Pacific Ocean Park

that went bankrupt five or six years later.[85] Similarly, within the same period of time, the City of Santa Monica declared eminent domain over some property on Pier Avenue. On this property was a warehouse that had been donated as a center for Mr. Israel Levin. However, with great foresight some of the Jewish members had set up a relationship between the Levin Center and the Jewish Centers Association and the Bay Cities Jewish Community Council. They went to court, contesting the $18,000 that the City of Santa Monica had offered them for the property. They won and were awarded twice as much money with which the present Israel Levin Senior Adult Center was purchased. The immigrant, revolutionary and union-organizing backgrounds were undoubtedly reflected in this act of strength, defiance and victory; however, they were fighting alone, caught in a community in transition, themselves caught in transition from middle-age to aged.

Today the Jewish elderly of Venice live mainly in older apartments where rents have largely increased within

---

[85]This account was based on several interviews with Morris Rosen, Supervisor of the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center in Venice.

ten years.[86] Those who can afford to, live in newer buildings with higher rentals. A small percentage own rented property such as duplexes that helps supplement their incomes. Finally, there are many who receive SSI and live in various old buildings that are in substandard condition. These apartments include 21 Ozone, Fenmor Apartments, the Cadillac Hotel, and Kemper Apartments.

Again, the historical struggle has been recently re-enacted, this time with a minor victory by the Venice community. At Kemper Apartments where rents were arbitrarily raised by the landlord in August 1974, the elderly Jewish tenants, with the help of Morris Rosen and several Venice community leaders, organized a rent strike. The ensuing negotiations that also involved the efforts of a local Rabbi and the Jewish Community Relations Council,

---

[86] Zacuto, "Historical Landscapes of Venice," p. 19.

	Census tract	Mean 1970 Family Income	Poverty Level	Median 1960[a]	Rent 1970
20% Jewish	2731	$11,367	7	$81	$104
	2732	7,567	19	68	89
	2733	7,913	23	64	89
19% Jewish	2734	8,018	15	59	92
10% Jewish	2735	6,945	27	54	91
	2736	9,864	10	73	101
	2737	10,897	5	77	127
	2738	10,534	10	74	105
7% Jewish	2739	9,952	14	69	121
	2741	12,828	7	83	126
8% Jewish	2742	18,831	5	65	225
	Venice	10,429	--	70	115

[a] 1960 Median Rent data from Dully, 1970: 23.

resulted in a compromise increase of $10 a month for the tenants in their 70s and 80s, and a promise by the landlord to improve substandard conditions. Compared with the original demands of $30 and $40 a month increments, the resulting compromise was somewhat of a victory. More typically, the substandard conditions persist and rents are raised.

A more recent example of housing problems facing elderly Jews were the haphazard rent increases announced to the elderly tenants at 21 Ozone in February 1975. This drama, as of this writing, has not played itself out. The tenants at 21 Ozone will not organize and participate in a rent strike: they are afraid of further rent increases that may result from a strike, and they fear that participation in an organized protest will result in their eviction and being left without a place to live. There is another factor that may well affect the outcome of this drama. Senator David Roberti's introduction of a rent control bill[87] to the State Senate generated renewed interest and activity on the part of various groups such as the Coalition for Economic Survival, the Venice Jewish Consciousness-Raising Group and the Venice Town Council. Furthermore, these groups and others successfully joined forces on March 23, 1975 in a public rally and walk to

---

[87] Senate Bill No. 123.

support and publicize the Roberti bill, and make known the concern over the severe housing problems and needs in Venice. The banners carried the slogan "Let Our People Stay." Although the Roberti bill "died in committee," it has resulted in renewed activity by Venice residents in the area of housing, such as the formation of a tenants' union.

The elderly Jews in Venice are a segment of the population in triple jeopardy. As elderly people in the United States they have traditionally been avoided and considered to be unproductive; as elderly Jews in Los Angeles they have not enjoyed a priority in social planning; and as residents of the Venice community they have been victims of the bulldozers that pave the way for expensive condominiums, making sure that the poor shall not inherit the shoreline.

Their triple jeopardy position is reflected in the paucity of services designed for the elderly in Venice. Three programs exist in Venice that were created by the general community in response to the needs of the elderly:

1. A hot meals program at the Venice Pavilion is provided five days a week by the Los Angeles City Department of Recreation and Parks
2. A senior citizens' club and a friendship club are designed to meet the social, recreational, emotional and cultural needs of its elderly clientele

3. The Neighborhood Adult Participation Project provides information and counseling for elderly regarding social security, food stamps and housing

Similarly, there is a paucity of services designed specifically for the elderly Jews by the Jewish community. The Israel Levin Senior Adult Center is a multi-service center for the Jews in Venice. Originally established by a senior citizen, Mr. Israel Levin, the Center has not received high priority consideration by the Jewish Centers Association: its limited budget allocation, its shabby physical condition, and its lack of funding for an outreach program reflect its unimportance to the Jewish community.

In October 1974, a hot meals program was implemented at the Levin Center. Made possible by an $11,000 grant from the Jewish Community Foundation, it provides a kosher hot meal for sixty-five cents, three days a week. Recently, with money from Protestant Community Services, the program has expanded to five days a week, and serves seventy-five, instead of fifty people a day. The program provides adequate nutrition, cultural and social stimulation, and opportunities to form new friendships. Its one shortcoming, according to Morris Rosen, Levin Center Director, and Ms. Judy Schultz, program supervisor, is that it is too small to accommodate all who want and need to participate.

A second service operates through the Israel Levin Center. The West Los Angeles branch of Jewish Family Service provides a worker for one-half day each week. This is a very valuable service, and it too could easily benefit more elderly Jews if it were expanded.

Probably one of the most successful programs at the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center is Ha-Kesher (The Connection). The brainstorm of two Hebrew Union College rabbinic students, Bruce Abrams and Don Peterman, Ha-Kesher is an experiment in multi-generational programming that was started one year ago. Young volunteers were carefully trained to work with elderly people, and the two age groups began meeting together in several groups. Eventually, the young volunteers attended programs at the Center; friendships have been formed, some stereotypes and myths about the old and the young have been broken by participants, and feelings of warm, mutual exchange have been experienced, enriching the lives of those involved. Although this is considered to be one of the most successful programs in the Center's history, it may not continue as it too needs funding.

Clearly, the most imminent and threatening kinds of problems for the elderly--such as inadequate housing, poor medical care, crime, and poverty level incomes--are as yet unaddressed by services in the Venice area. As long as these problems remain ignored by social planners, they will

continue to exacerbate, forcing the elderly Jewish population to live and die with unnecessary indignities and suffering.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

Defining the focus of this study was a gradual process that underwent a major transformation. The researcher had originally conceived of a study that would describe the past and present housing conditions of the elderly Jews in Venice. However, the impracticability of such a project became apparent in view of the time limitation of seven months.

As described in Chapter I, this study addressed itself to the following questions:

1. When and why did the selected sample move to Venice?
2. What are the felt needs and perceived problems of the selected sample?
3. What social and welfare services do interviewees use, and how satisfied are they with these services?
4. What services does the selected sample perceive as being useful?

The decision to gather some exploratory data in response to these questions developed because of three factors. First, the elderly Jews of Venice have traditionally been ignored

and undescribed. Like Ann Wolfe's "Invisible Jewish Poor,"[88] they have been largely neglected by the established social service network of the Jewish community. Secondly, as a community in transition, Venice has many social problems, and as an undescribed and disenfranchised group, the elderly Jews have likely been passive victims of the resulting problems. Thirdly, the poverty level incomes and informally made complaints about unmet needs and problems caused the researcher to wonder how these people who helped build America and the American Jewish community were spending the last portions of their lives.

Sampling Plan

The membership list of the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center was used as the study's sampling frame for several reasons. First, since the study is primarily descriptive, probability sampling is important. Second, meeting potential subjects along the boardwalk, seated on benches or at other locations was not feasible due to the elements of suspicion and fear that play a large role in the lives of many of these elderly Jews. In addition, the limited fluency of the researcher's Yiddish precluded engaging subjects in this manner. Finally, the researcher's association with the Levin Center as a group leader, and her friendship with many of the Center's members as

---

[88]Wolfe, Invisible Jewish Poor.

well as with its Director, gave her acceptability, access to the membership roster, and consent to use this as the study's sampling frame.

Originally, a simple random sample design was used in selecting subjects. Every membership card was numbered, and with the use of the table of random numbers, thirty names were selected. Half of the subjects were already known by the researcher and they were interviewed first. The remaining ones were known by the Director who was able to let the researcher know when they came to the Center. This allowed making the initial contact in person, rather than by telephone.

Interviews were conducted in subjects' homes and lasted approximately two and one-half hours. However, one week after interviewing had begun, the total number of subjects increased by ten to a total of forty, thus creating an accidental sampling plan. These ten additional people were known by the researcher from her group and from informal contacts. They knew about the study and could not understand why they hadn't been chosen. One woman asked, "Isn't my information good? What's wrong with my stories and experiences?" Not wanting to be a "hit-and-run researcher"[89] responses to these ten requests were viewed as a type of crisis intervention, and as a way of affirming

---

[89]Rosa Felsenburg, "Action Research or Research for Action" (Paper, 1962).

the worthiness and value of those wanting to participate.

The Interviewing Guide

The instrument used to gather data consisted of an interview schedule with some structured and some open-ended questions, and nondirective interviewing.[90] The structured questions insured the eliciting of responses to the four research questions as well as demographic information. There were several benefits in using open-ended questions and nondirective interviewing. (1) The data was minimally colored by the researcher's preconceived notions; (2) Subjects were given the opportunity to include personal anecdotal material that provided useful in-depth information; (3) It allowed subjects to reminisce and draw strength from this life-review process; (4) This method, in conjunction with the home setting gave subjects more control than an interview held in a more neutral setting, or a questionnaire being sent to their homes. Subjects were allowed to be in the position of giving rather than receiving. Consequently, 90 percent of the subjects offered food (in four cases, an entire meal), and an invitation to return. In addition, those interviewed in the evening insisted on escorting the researcher to her car because of the high crime rate in the area; (5) A fifth benefit was the freedom to repeat or re-phrase a question, and the opportunity to

---

[90]See Appendix B, p. 103.

use nondirective probes to understand an unclear answer or statement; (6) In contrast to using multiple-choice questionnaires, the use of open-ended questions provided a clearer indication as to whether or not the subject had a well-formulated opinion about the particular issue. It also allowed for a better assessment of how strongly the respondent felt about his or her opinion.

Limitations of the Study

Generalizations from the findings can be applied only to the membership of the Israel Levin Center; however, due to the lack of demographic information about the general elderly Jewish population in Venice, only some preliminary conclusions can be drawn.

According to Morris Rosen, people may participate in the Center's activities without being members, and in fact, according to the Center's monthly statistics, many non-members do. Thus, using the membership roster as the sampling frame ignored those people who are not "joiners," but who have significant perspectives on needs and problems. There are many reasons that may account for a person not taking out a $6.00 annual membership: an intense rivalry or dislike of a particular member, clique or officer; a consistent avoidance of joining any organizations; a chronic feeling of depression or apathy; a reluctance to accept responsibility or obligation that organization membership may represent; freedom to participate without

joining; inability to travel alone to the Center on the part of physically home-bound persons. Thus, the study may have overlooked some individuals who might have specific needs and suggestions for services not mentioned by any of the forty respondents.

CHAPTER VI

THE ELDERLY JEWS OF VENICE SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

> Was he free? Was he happy? The question is absurd:
> Had anything been wrong, we should certainly have heard.
>
> W. H. Auden
> "The Unknown Citizen"

The interviewed elderly Jews shared a vast amount of rich material with the researcher. They revealed characteristics that mark a culture: a common language, a religion, a set of values, a specific constellation of institutions, and the feeling of belonging to one group. Although the focus of the study was clearly described to each subject prior to the actual interview, each person appeared to have his or her own agenda. All forty subjects insisted on sharing certain portions of their life histories: how they came to America, working conditions, family relationships, fears, interests, memories about their first paychecks, the first time they were cheated by an American they had trusted, and many areas of unresolved conflict such as sibling rivalries and the death of children. One woman had prepared a one-page autobiographical statement that she presented to the researcher, and fourteen subjects approached the researcher at the Levin Center after their

interview sessions with such comments as, "I thought of something that I forgot to tell you when we were talking. It will only take a minute to tell you now." As one woman summed up, "Talking with you made me remember and think about so many feelings that I thought I had completely forgotten."

Both during and immediately following the month and one half period in which the forty interviews were conducted, it was difficult for the researcher to think about Eastern Europe without remembering and associating names and images of villages and cities, flavors, odors and accents; the demographic characteristics of the forty subjects clearly reflected their Eastern European backgrounds and immigrant experiences. Thirty-six of the subjects were born in Russia. Of those thirty-six, twenty-nine subjects left illegally and were forced into a pattern of running and hiding from the Russian authorities so as not to be arrested and prevented from coming to America. Seventy-five percent of the subjects arrived in their mid-to-late-teen years; the remaining 25 percent were less than twelve years old when they came to America, and except for one male subject, they traveled with a relative. Furthermore, every subject claimed to have known at least one friend or relative in America prior to their coming; subjects initially stayed with such contacts, and with the exception of four, they remained in the areas where these contacts lived.

Of the twenty-two female and eighteen male subjects, everyone went to work in the United States. The range of occupations reported by this sample included four paperhangers, fifteen factory workers in the clothing industry, nine dressmakers, one factory owner, one doctor, two tailors, five small business operators and three peddlers who eventually became salesmen in retail stores. Ninety-five percent of the selected sample remained in these occupations throughout their lives.

All those interviewed worked very hard in order to survive, to bring over family members that were still in Europe, and to assure their children comfortable futures. As one man typically stated, "Sundays and holidays were work days in order to make ends meet."

The average age of the selected sample was eighty-four years. In addition to work, the forty subjects spent their years in a range of political and economically oriented activities typical of Eastern European immigrant causes: union-organizing, Anarchist, Socialist, Communist and Zionist groups. In addition, one-fourth of the subjects were affiliated with synagogues and active in mutual aid society projects--"breadbasket social work." The Center movement was quite popular for three-fourths of the subjects who were unaffiliated with synagogues.

Finally, regarding marital status and income source(s), there were five couples in the selected sample,

all of whom indicated they were living on social security, pensions from unions, and savings. Of the remaining thirty subjects, one-third stated that they receive S.S.I., and the other two-thirds stated that they were living on social security and savings.

When and Why the Selected Sample Moved to Venice

The forty subjects offered five reasons explaining why they moved to Venice. Twenty stated they moved to Venice for health reasons. Two typical descriptions were:

> The doctor recommended the level land and good oxygen for my husband's poor health, and I had rheumatism and had been advised to go to California or Arizona.
>
> My son had allergies and I had trouble (pain) with my legs.

In all but two cases, those who moved to Venice for health reasons also knew a friend or a close or distant relative who lived there. These subjects had lived in Venice an average of twenty-five years.

Thirteen subjects reportedly came to Venice because of the resort-like atmosphere, the low rents, and the friendships. The following three comments sum up these reasons:

> Venice was like a year-round vacation.
>
> We didn't have to leave home to feel relaxed.
>
> One friend moved out here, and the rest followed. We sang, talked, had cultural and political groups, and got together. It was like a little <u>shtetl</u>--the good parts.

Six of these thirteen respondents stated that their ideas

of relaxation and enjoyment consisted of the ocean air, the restaurants, arcades, and the popularity of the area. This group had lived in Venice for an average number of thirty-one years.

Five people stated that they came to Venice specifically to be near the beach. When probed on this point, three subjects related their associations of pleasure and relaxation with the beach, and two reiterated the aforementioned love of the ocean air and the desirability of the low rents.

One subject moved to Venice because her spouse owned a house in the area.

The remaining subject stated that he moved to Venice in order to be near a cousin with whom he was close. It is important to note that this subject's children had moved to Los Angeles, but his disappointment and shame about his poor relationship with them may have precluded him from citing proximity to children as the reason he moved.

The most recent resident of Venice in the selected sample was a subject who had moved there fourteen years ago. The longest period of time that a subject had lived in Venice was fifty-three years.

Felt Needs and Perceived Problems

When asked to identify the most serious problems and difficulties facing them, respondents cited thirteen problems. Not only did many people report similar problems, but some respondents often used the same words and expressions to convey an idea. Table 1 lists the major problems identified by those interviewed.

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY OF NEED AND PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Major Problems Identified	Number of Individuals	% of N (40)
1. Diminished physical strength	38	95
2. Fear of dependency and illness	37	92.5
3. Fear of crime	37	92.5
4. High medical costs	35	87.5
5. Estrangement from children	34	85
6. Inadequate income	33	82.5
7. Forgetfulness	32	80
8. Feeling vulnerable	28	70
9. Fear of death	25	62.5
10. Fear of senility	20	50
11. Sexual frustration	18	45
12. Feeling useless	17	42.5
13. Loneliness	16	40

The problem of diminished physical strength was identified as a problem and fear by ninety-five percent of the selected sample. Subjects referred to this as an inevitable reality of aging, and as a process that hindered or prevented them from engaging in former important activities that required physical strength.

> When you're old, you need more rest. You're physically weaker. The only thing that makes me feel good is seeing that others are worse off than I am.
>
> It keeps me from visiting my friends. I can't read the numbers on the elevator in their building and I'm afraid I might fall.

One subject who suffers from arthritis and glaucoma stated,

> I'd rather be dead than live as I am, not being able to walk easily and do regular things.

In addition to describing specific physical ailments and citing their consequences, one-half of the subjects who discussed the problem of diminished physical strength followed with a description of their experiences as victims of crimes, and feeling less safe on the streets. One subject, a strong, solid looking man stated,

> I feel less safe on the streets and don't feel I could defend myself. I wasn't afraid when I was young; <u>then</u>, I was large and husky.

This was a typical sentiment expressed by the thirty-seven subjects citing crime as a problem; however, without taking away from the impact of a high crime rate and fifteen direct experiences as victims, the researcher wondered to what extent the quoted statement represented an internalization

of the societal stereotype that envisions the elderly as defenseless and weak.

Other comments were made related to the problem of crime. All of the respondents stated that because of crime in the area, night programs at the Center were non-existent unless transportation was provided with escort service. This was discussed in the context of people feeling like prisoners in their homes in the evening.

The issues of body image, feelings of loss and helplessness arose in connection with the problem of crime. Over one-half of the respondents discussed police recommendations and anti-crime pamphlets for elderly as suggesting ways in which

> we can make ourselves as inconspicuous as possible. Often they tell us that we should dress in ways so we don't attract attention or look like we have money.

The words of this subject typified the sentiments of twenty-two of the thirty-seven subjects. When questioned on this point, nineteen of them stated that they felt the message of such advice was that they shouldn't dress nicely, carry a pocketbook, and wear accessories; in short, they shouldn't look good. The implications of this are many. First, it reinforces the stereotypes of hiding the elderly, and viewing them as undesirable and unproductive people. Secondly, it poses problems for a number of these Jewish elderly, many of whom (especially the female subjects) like to carry all of their valuable possessions with

them. Third, it compounds the feelings of loss of self-esteem and physical strength that are major dynamics of aging.

Thirty-seven subjects viewed fear of dependency and illness as a major problem. Almost 90 percent of the respondents stated that they believed there is a strong connection between a person's sense of importance to other people and the rate of recovery from illness.

> When someone is sick, whether they improve or not depends on whether they feel wanted and important. It wakes up their own vitality.

Furthermore, all of these respondents agreed that in old age, peers are unable to provide emotional support in matters of illness. One subject stated succinetly,

> When you meet your friends and tell them about your aches and pains, they don't listen or sympathize. Instead, they try to top your story.

Although estrangement from children was mentioned only as a fifth major problem, it appears to have been the most significant one mentioned. Apart from being discussed with much emotion, it was cited and considered to be a problem even by those who had supportive relationships with their children. In addition to discussing how they took care of their own parents, ten of the respondents quoted a Yiddish proverb that grew out of the immigrant experience in America. "One father can take care of ten children, but ten children can't take care of one father." This expectation of responsibility towards parents and

wish of closeness to one's children reflects a Jewish cultural value that had not been exchanged for American values in the process of assimilation. The researcher sees the intensity with which this problem was discussed as a reflection of the discrepancy between what the subjects had expected (their cultural values) and what they found in America.

Seven people cried when they described this problem. The words of two subjects sum up the feelings that were expressed.

> The worst problem is not feeling wanted by your children--feeling like a burden. You live for them practically. You do everything for them. When they don't want you, it's the worst problem of the world.

Stated differently, but equally poignantly:

> It's miserable. You're alone. If I should die, I could be in bed a week and my children wouldn't know.

The problems of high medical costs, inadequate income, feeling vulnerable, and fear of death were mentioned together by twenty subjects. Preoccupation with health is significant among the aged because of other major losses sustained: spouse, occupation, friends. The majority of the thirty-five respondents who cited high medical costs as a problem stated that medical care (preventive and rehabilitative) consumed as much as one-third of their incomes, and that they were afraid to get sick because they might use up their savings and become charity cases. In

discussing their preoccupation with health and high medical costs, subjects viewed these two issues as increasing feelings of vulnerability.

> You feel vulnerable to afflictions and loss. Everything that used to function well, doesn't anymore. Hypochondria sets in because of fear of death, the final vulnerability.

Fear of death was mentioned by twenty-five subjects as a problem, particularly in the context of the need for continuity and knowledge that one's values, efforts and struggles were not in vain and would not cease with death. The fear of non-being and mortality and the ultimate separation from one's hopes and goals were mentioned in conjunction with the survival of Israel and with the continuity of Jewish values and Judaism among younger people. One subject articulated her observations about death, loss and change very clearly in the following:

> The height of the Levin Center was when Mrs. G. was there. She brought controversy there; the out and out Communists and Socialists would argue with the Jewish factions. They loved the conflict. They thrived on it. Of course, they were younger then; being 65-75 is different from being 75-85. The energy level, the strength is diminished. People died; some moved away to old age homes; Mrs. G. died. Never again were there programs with standing room only! Now the place has more members, but it's empty: people don't hang around. There may, of course, be a change. Already there are people coming who are in their fifties and sixties.

The problems of forgetfulness and fears of senility and feeling useless were mentioned together by fourteen subjects. These respondents discussed the frustration they

experience whenever they cannot remember a word or expression they have used for years with ease. They discussed how they curse this problem and view themselves as "stupid," no longer sharp in mind, thought, or speech. Furthermore, the subjects discussed how the frustrations of forgetfulness leads to feelings of uselessness and fears of senility.

The fear of senility was defined by twelve subjects as being useless. Significantly, most subjects talked in the second person, rather than the first, when they discussed the fear of senility. Of the twenty subjects who cited fear of senility as a problem, the statement, "At least I still have my mind," accompanied every response. Fear of senility was linked to stupidity, separation from friends, relatives and activities, and fear of physical and mental abuse--disrespect--in an institution. The reseacher suspected that the fear of senility may have been felt by the other twenty subjects. Their avoidance of the issue may have reflected their inability to cope with such an idea, or a fear that discussing the problem might be the first step in becoming senile.

Finally, ten people linked up the problems of loneliness and sexual frustration.

> People naturally seek a companion, a partner. People want someone to express their anger and frustration to. I walk home like I'm going to a cell. I wouldn't have sex again, though, with a friend. I was married once to a fine man.

Another subject discussed never having experienced a good sexual relationship with her husband in over fifty years of marriage.

> I would enjoy a companion with whom I could be intimate and also share my life with and not be so lonely.

Finally, three subjects stated that "the desire is there, but there's no physical ability." This represented a loss to these subjects who had viewed their sexual desires and performance as part of their strength and self-image.

Social and Welfare Services Used by the Selected Sample

When asked about social service agencies used to help solve problems or meet crises, seventy-five percent named the Israel Levin Center, specifically stating that they would seek help and advice from the Director, Morris Rosen. Of the remaining twenty-five percent, ten percent said they went to their children, and the remainder talked to friends. When asked about other agencies, thirty-two subjects stated, "The Jewish community has problems that are more important than us, and besides, if the Jewish community helps you, everyone knows about you and your circumstances." The following statements of two subjects represent the feelings of 90 percent of the selected sample.

> I wouldn't want to take help from anywhere. I was brought up taught to give to those without. I would rather work than accept help. No one was ever alone or stranded when I was growing up - people knew each other and automatically helped.

> We were brought up to give to others who didn't have. If someone was poor, you automatically left something anonymously by the door. I remember leaving challeh (Sabbath bread) by the door of peoples' houses when I was a little girl . . . this was the whole idea of tzedakah.

Seventy percent of the subjects expressed anger about the lack of social and health services for the elderly, and the poor publicity of existing services, asserting that people should automatically be guaranteed medical care, food and housing, in order to feel secure in old age.

Services Perceived as Being Needed

When asked their opinions about services needed for elderly people in Venice, the forty respondents identified eight services. A majority of respondents independently reported similar services as being needed. Table 2 lists these services, as well as the number of respondents identifying them as being needed.

Housing was cited by thirty-nine subjects as the most important service needed for the elderly Jews in Venice. This request consisted of several issues. First, all of the respondents expressed anger and fear about the uncontrolled rent raises in the Venice area, particularly in the last five years. They stated that high food costs, medical bills and their fixed incomes intensified their fears about coping during an emergency, or being able to afford another rent increase. Furthermore, only four subjects could articulate a plan of action in the event of

further rent increases. Most subjects reiterated: "I've been here so long. Where else can I go? This is my home. I'm used to it. I love the beach, my friends are here. . . ."

TABLE 2

SERVICES PERCEIVED AS BEING NEEDED

Services Needed	Number of Individuals
1. Housing	39
2. Activities	37
3. Transportation	37
4. Guaranteed Basic Needs	36
5. Visiting Programs	33
6. Improvement of Levin Center	32
7. Food Program	30
8. Jewish Community to Take Notice of Elderly	28

Ten people voiced fear about moving in connection with friends who had become very ill in the course of forced relocations. The need and desire to remain in a familiar setting, to retain the security of established patterns and the pleasure of long-term friendships were expressed by all of the respondents discussing the need for low-income housing and the possibility of relocation. In "Planning for Elderly Housing in Venice," Terry Leveck

mentions the opinion of Gerontological Planner Louis Gelwicks "that the death rate can increase as much as 300 percent for those elderly that are forced to move."[91] All of these respondents discussed the need for rent control in the area, as well as rent subsidies for middle income elderly who are not eligible for government aid.

Of the thirty-nine respondents, twenty-three lived in one room apartments in older buildings that are twenty to forty years old. Fifteen of these respondents voiced the shame they felt in inviting people to their one room homes that often have cracks and holes in the ceiling, poor plumbing, and peeling paint. These fifteen subjects reported feelings of shame about their small quarters and the decrepit appearance of the buildings in which they lived. One subject cried when the researcher entered the room; she repeatedly apologized for its appearance. The subject then discussed places where she used to live, memories of her husband who shared her home, and the feelings of loss and shame she experiences: "I look around and wonder if this is what I deserve, if this is what I look like." She remains there because there are no other apartments in Venice where she can afford to live.

The final issue that was raised in relation to housing was the issue of design preference. The most

---

[91]Terry Leveck, "Planning for Elderly Housing in Venice" (Research Project, University of Southern California, January 1975).

popular living arrangement was cited by thirty of the thirty-nine respondents. The concept was a small cooperative building with four to eight efficiency apartments and someone living on the premises "acting as a housemother or caretaker."

Thirty-seven subjects cited activities as an important service that was needed in the community. When probed on this, subjects stated that they wanted to feel more useful and needed. More specifically, all of the respondents stated that they were interested in activities that required some amount of personal involvement and input, as opposed to the more passive kinds of activities such as lectures or films.

Fourteen subjects linked the request for activities with feelings of obsolescence and loneliness. One subject described her periods of loneliness in this way:

> I get up, eat breakfast, make my bed, go for a walk and meet my gentleman friend. I sit on a bench on the beach, walk home, put in my eyedrops, rest until lunch, sit alone, sometimes fall asleep. I walk home like I'm going to a cell--I'm not close to anyone here. (She lives in a guest house.) It's very hard when you're used to being independent.

These are not the words of an incapacitated, mentally incompetent person. They are the words of an intelligent, articulate woman who is well-liked by friends, one who is involved in several meaningful activities but who can no longer fulfill the same psychological, emotional and physiological roles that she could ten years ago when she

was seventy-five.

Transportation was cited by thirty-seven of the subjects as a needed service for the elderly Jews in Venice. This was mentioned by twenty-one subjects in conjunction with the difficulty of going shopping. It was suggested that a volunteer transportation service could provide companionship, as well as transportation. Interestingly enough, 85 percent of the respondents citing a need for transportation and visiting services were physically mobile and active people; their responses were probably due in part to feelings of concern for friends who were ill and immobile, probably in part a reflection of the mutual aid societies and philanthropic services that they had practiced in their own neighborhoods when they were younger, and in part, due to the realization that they too may need such a service in the future.

The thirty-six subjects who cited the guarantee of basic needs as a necessary service spoke more adamantly than any of the other respondents in relation to other needed services. Included in this recommendation were socialized medicine, government services without degradation, and better incomes than are now provided for the elderly. One subject summed up the thoughts of many others,

> There should be free medical care from birth to grave. This is the only industrialized nation in the West where medical care is not provided by the government. People shouldn't have to be plagued by the fear of not being able to take care of themselves. Doctors and medicine

> take up a large percentage of my limited income, and deprive me from buying better food, housing and clothing - security. It is a horrible feeling to be afraid of being sick because of the fear of being left penniless."

The adamance with which these thirty-six respondents spoke about the community's responsibility for meeting basic human needs probably reflected several factors: their Socialist beliefs and activities; the reality of medical care costs in the United States; preoccupation with health because of feelings of loss and confrontation with death.

Improvement of the Israel Levin Center was cited as an important service for the elderly Jews of Venice by thirty-two subjects. One subject summed up the importance of the Center in the statement, "The Center is my outlet. There I can learn something. There I feel like a somebody, not a nothing." Recommendation for improvements of the Center included a new paint job, and decent kitchen and bathroom facilities. Subjects tended to view the Center as responsible for initiating a mini-bus transportation service and a visiting program for sick elderly. In addition, twenty-eight of these respondents voiced their desire that more money be given to support programs "to bring more beauty, music, singing and young people to the Center." The desire for younger people at the Center referred to Ha-Kesher, the successful multi-generational program started by Hebrew Union College Rabbinic student Don Peterman. Regarding Ha-Kesher, twelve of the subjects

expressed sentiments such as, "It makes me feel like a person again, like I am wanted and loved."

Thirty subjects stated that food services were an important unmet need. They all hailed the present Kosher Hot Meals program at the Levin Center as a very successful and necessary program, but stated it needed to be expanded to reach more sick, as well as healthy elderly people. In Eastern European culture there were associations of self-esteem to the person who was a good cook; food represented the yardstick by which to measure identity and pleasure-giving ability. A refusal of an offer of food is interpreted as a personal affront. One subject reflected this value: "What's the matter? Don't you like my cake?" She asked the researcher this question several times upon her reluctance to have a second or third helping. In addition, this subject insisted four times that her "strudel is better than Mrs. Y's strudel." (The point had never been raised.)

Finally, twenty-eight subjects cited the need for the Jewish community to take notice of its elderly members in Venice. One subject stated

> We [at the Levin Center] don't want to throw anyone away like an old shoe, and the Jewish community shouldn't forget us here.

Another subject's words summarized all the responses:

> They [the Jewish community] see we need them like a child needs a mother.

In summary, several trends emerged from the data.

1. Demographic information, the importance of tzedakah, the settlement in an area with a high concentration of Eastern European Jews, the importance of the Levin Center, and the devastating effects of an estranged parent-child relationship reflect the retention of Jewish cultural values and the strength of early socialization.
2. The thirteen reported needs and problems of the selected sample seem to reflect an internalization by the subjects of American stereotypes about the elderly. Diminished physical strength and forgetfulness are the only problems mentioned that reflect realities of the aging process. Estrangement from children reflects an important Jewish cultural value. However, the remaining ten major problems identified by the selected sample reflect the American stereotypes about the elderly to which William Posner alluded (see Chapter II, page 9). They also reflect that social planning for the elderly has been neglected by the United States up until recently.
3. Another emerging trend related to the characteristics associated with subjects who seemed best equipped to cope with the realities of old age.

The subjects who described experiencing pleasure and deriving meaning from life shared several characteristics that the remaining subjects lacked:

(a) A good relationship between parent and child(ren). Better coping subjects were not afraid to call their children in times of stress and emergency, although they were clear in their desire to remain independent and not accept offers that had been made to live with them. Frequency of contact and type of contact varied from subject to subject, but each subject and child(ren) had regular patterns of phone calls, letter-writing and visiting.

(b) The subjects who seemed well-adjusted talked much less about their own needs than other subjects did. They seemed genuinely concerned about other peoples' difficulties as well as their own. These subjects were able to share their personal fears and emotions with the researcher, and unlike the other subjects, did not project feelings of

hostility, loss, anger and bitterness at external targets such as the Levin Center or a clique of people.

(c) The better coping subjects demonstrated a sense of humor that was able to make a serious point in a truthful, but less tragic way.

CHAPTER VII

WHAT NOW?

If I am not for myself, who will be?
If I am for myself alone, what am I?
If not now, when?

- Hillel
"Ethics of the Fathers"

Do not go gentle into that good night,
Old age should burn and rave at close of day;
Rage, rage against the dying of the light."

- Dylan Thomas
"Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night"

The elderly Jews of Venice are an articulate, alive group of people who have been living in the Venice area well over a decade. Originally attracted to the area because of the health aspects of a dry climate, the low rentals, the presence of other Eastern European Jews, the resort-like atmosphere, and the beach, they began to identify with their new community. However, Venice has been in transition since the late 1950s and the conditions that originally attracted these Jews to Venice are slowly disappearing, as is the Jewish population. These changes are occurring by force, not by choice.

The elderly Jews in Venice are in double jeopardy. As victims of traditional American stereotypes, they are

labeled as dependent, unproductive, inactive, and facing death. As a group in Venice, they have been caught between the development of the Marina and the redevelopment project in Santa Monica. They are considered less valuable than the land on which they live.

> The property is too valuable. They'll have to go. In a pure capitalistic society, what causes value is the ratio of supply to demand. There's only so much land near the water. Anything near it is going to increase in value.[92]

Because the elderly in America have never represented a source of strength and wisdom, or a valuable repository of experience, social planning has reflected their lack of status and importance by disregarding or isolating them. In the Venice area, planning has been minimal. The needs of the residents have not been taken into consideration, forcing those who can least afford it to relocate or live in substandard conditions.

This preliminary study revealed that the elderly Jews included in the sample have been watching their friends forced out of their homes by haphazard rent increases, and that they themselves now live with many fears, problems and unmet needs. They are afraid of the future, ashamed of their present living conditions, and they lack the services for many unmet needs.

Most of the elderly Jewish population in Venice feels disenfranchised and ignored by both the American and

---

[92]Ibid., p. 8.

the Jewish communities. This raises the issue of responsibility. Should the Jewish community become involved with publicly funded programs for the Jewish aged? If so, to what extent? What responsibilities belong or should belong to the public domain? What should be the responsibility of a private or sectarian social service agency?

Clearly, the most serious problem facing the elderly Jews of Venice is the lack of decent housing at affordable prices. Without considering relocation as a solution, Terry Leveck offers the suggestion of re-zoning areas in Venice for low-income housing for the elderly. Ms. Leveck cites a precedent for this that considers special needs, economic costs and location factors.[93] Again, who is responsible for initiating action?

In providing services for this group of people, the study revealed the importance of tzedakah to the selected sample. This concept is alien to American society and to its stereotypes about the elderly. The concept of a self-sufficient or relatively independent elderly person is inconsistent with stereotypes. Thus, in giving help to the aged, there is a built-in expectation that they are dependent and helpless recipients. Is there a place in today's charitable organizations for elderly people who may want to help in the planning process or for those who don't appear

---

[93]Ibid., pp. 18-21.

dependent and grateful for every dollar donated in their name? Unless stereotypes are seriously examined, and elderly people are considered a priority of choice and not necessity, planning for the aged will not allow for autonomous or proud elderly people.

The subjects in this study are an exotic and unique group of people with rich cultural and historical perspectives that will disappear as this population dies. They represent a large body of people who helped build the American Jewish community, yet they have been treated without the traditional respect commanded by Jewish law. One example in Venice are second generation Jewish landlords who have increased financial profits by raising the rents of their elderly Jewish tenants. Another example in Venice is the minimal financial support given to the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center that helps its elderly members sustain a sense of dignity, purpose and pleasure. What are the obligations of the Jewish community to its elderly constituents? Do they represent a source of strength, an era of pride, or a period of time that is dying and of no present value?

Basic cultural values and behavior patterns are not easily eradicated and are often sustained without conscious intent. From their extensive studies of American Jewish families, Landes and Zborowski found "a considerable perseverance of traditional European modes in American surroundings, even in the third generation, despite some

evidence of important changes or, at least, of shifts of emphasis.[94] If this is true, then findings of this study may have implications for Jews of Eastern European origin who are of the second and third generations. Will similar needs and problems manifest themselves among these groups as they age? The findings from this preliminary study may also provide some insights that may be valuable for comparative purposes with other groups in terms of phenomena such as assimilation.

The intense struggle between land developers and Venice residents focuses on significant issues that remain unsolved in American and Jewish society. For example, if money equals might, should "might make right?" Are poorer, elderly Jews undeserving of a "right to life": adequate housing, food and medical care? The second issue in this struggle that is the primary conflict in Venice is the following: do the "monied" deserve to live wherever they choose, whenever they choose? Similarly, do the "unmonied" and less powerful deserve to be displaced and remain "unplanned for" because of their lack of power?

Hopefully, the preliminary findings of this study will be considered seriously by the new Council on Aging, in order to direct additional attention to this ignored

---

[94]Ruth Landes and Mark Zborowski, "Hypotheses Concerning the Eastern European Jewish Family," in Social Perspectives on Behavior, ed. Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 58-75.

group of people. In various parts of the country, there are programs that have been specifically designed and implemented for elderly people. These include home health care, friendly visitor services, mini-bus transportation, Federally subsidized nutrition and housing programs, multi-purpose geriatric centers, volunteer and paid job training programs, informations and referral centers, education programs, preventive health services, and low-cost medical care.

In the Los Angeles area, congregate meal programs and low-income housing projects have been sponsored by religious and non-sectarian service groups. Funding has been available under Title VII of the Older Americans Act, which provides for Federal subsidies to the cost of meals--both congregate and home delivered. The organization that provides the physical setting for the program must also supply in-kind services such as an accompanying nutrition and educational program at the meals site. Federal funding has also been available under Title III of the Older Americans Act. Programs designed to employ elderly people as volunteers (Retired Seniors Volunteer Program or RSVP) are sponsored by a number of sectarian community centers, and several family service agencies have undertaken the task of gathering information and referral service data for their elderly client population. In addition, governmental agencies such as the Area Agency on Aging are now conducting

studies and evaluating existing programs to determine unmet needs, target areas, and unnecessary duplication of services.

The needs and problems of elderly Jews have also been under examination in numerous parts of the country. Study findings and research reports on problems of the Jewish elderly have been the subjects of General Assembly papers in recent years. As a result, recommendations derived from a variety of important studies about the Jewish elderly have been implemented in the last five years. For example, the first comprehensive national study of the Jewish aged was published by the Council of Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds in 1971.[95] In September 1973, the Metropolitan New York Coordinating Council on Jewish Poverty compiled A Profile of Communal Problems: Coney Island that cited poor housing as the major problem of the elderly Jews in Coney Island.[96]

The provision of housing for aged Jews was the subject of a workshop conducted in Pittsburgh in 1971. The possibility and feasibility of using Federal money was discussed; data were presented about apartment house projects and leasing and relocation programs that exist in numerous

---

[95]Massarik, The Jewish Aging.

[96]Metropolitan New York Coordinating Council of Jewish Poverty, A Profile of Communal Problems: Coney Island (New York: n.p., September 1973).

cities;[97] with such data available, there would seem to be an opportunity for shared communication among Jewish agencies in order to improve the planning and services provided for their elderly constituents. At this workshop a presentation was given about housing services that were provided for older Jews in Minneapolis. It was considered a financial and social planning success because of the community's commitment to the project and because of the beginning process of educating the Jewish community about needs of and resources for the elderly.

Two significant presentations were made at the 1972 General Assembly held in Toronto. Herman Snyder described the Inter-Agency Council on the Aging that was established in Boston; he discussed the origins of the Council and examined the difficulties in establishing it;[98] however, he concluded by stating that the function of the umbrella structure was as significant as the feasibility of different agencies cooperating within a common framework. The second presentation was given by Philip Shaposnick of

---

[97]Social Planning and Research Department, Summary of CJFWF Survey: Housing for the Elderly Under Jewish Communal Auspices (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1971); and Social Planning and Research Steering Committee, Federal Housing Programs for the Elderly (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1971).

[98]Herman Snyder, The Inter-Agency Council on the Aging (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, November 1972).

Montreal. He described the establishment of a multi-purpose agency of non-institutional programs for Jewish elderly.[99] It consisted of a casework department, a club department, a center department, a volunteer department, and an extension and summer program department. This structure reflects the recent trend of working with the strengths of the elderly person, a trend which ultimately benefits both the individual and the community.

In addition to programs implemented by Jewish Federations and other agencies, there have been some very innovative and successful "grass roots" programs organized for elderly Jews. The Ark, for example, is a small, free combined medical/social/legal service facility for the poor Jewish population in the Albany area of Chicago that was organized by several dedicated and capable young Jewish professionals on a volunteer basis.

In summary, the examination of the needs and problems of the elderly Jews in various parts of the country has suggested the following programs: low-cost housing, Retired Senior Volunteer Program, congregate meals with social supports, "Meals on Wheels," transportation services, hospital-based services, links between homes for the aged and general hospitals, day-care centers and outreach programs.

---

[99]Philip Shaposnick, The Golden Age Association of Montreal (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, November 1972).

Current programs designed specifically for the Jewish elderly of Los Angeles include congregate kosher meals, "Meals on Wheels," Aides to the Elderly, Freda Mohr Center for information and referral, friendly visiting, and leisure time activities. However, these programs do not address themselves to serious housing problems, communities in transition, high crime rates, inadequate incomes, restricted physical mobility, high medical bills, physical and psychological losses and--the oppressive fear of each.

Serving the elderly Jewish population is not an impossible task as demonstrated by the aforementioned programs. Programs do not materialize, however, without a felt need being expressed, without recognition of elderly people as valuable human beings, and without a reorganization of social planning policy. Only the continued deaths of the elderly Jews of Venice will eliminate their unmet needs and problems if the aforementioned programs are not implemented.

The statement has been made by planners, "It's a dying community; in ten years they will all be gone." Are we justified in allowing anybody to live even for one day without food, without adequate housing, without the dignity that is his/her due? In terms of planning costs, the question has been raised: "Why be so concerned? It's only two thousand people. There are other areas that need more help." If the lives of twenty Jewish high school students

or philanthropists were in danger would the question even be posed?

The Jewish elderly have been "untouchables" for many decades, and the ones in Venice have been completely undescribed. Hopefully, the period of time will soon be done when spokespeople for the elderly have to ask, "How high is up? And how cheap is the life of a senior citizen?"[100] In Venice, California, where these questions are asked perenially, the life of the elderly Jew often seems quite cheap, especially when compared with rent hikes, muggings, and rising costs of medical care, food and clothing. Hopefully, the words "Cast me not out in my old age, but let me live each day as a new life" may become more than just an optimistic sign that hangs inside the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center.

---

[100]Morris B. Rosen, "Senior Citizens Are All Our Parents" (Venice: n.p., September 1973).

"Endangered Species" appeared in the March 1973 issue of the Venice Beachhead.

by Carol Fondiller

All right: Truth Telling Time. In all my wanderings around, and sometimes in, the canals (courtesy of the broken sidewalks) I have never knowingly spotted a Least Tern. Any bird I see swimming around in the water is a ducky to me. That's right, I point a finger at it and say, "Oh, what a cute ducky"--I'm one of those. All that I know about the Least Tern I cribbed from BIRDS OF AMERICA, a marvelous book with lots of pretty pictures of sparrows, owls, and robins. What interests me is that this little bird is, along with other Venice residents, on the Endangered Species List.

There is nothing really exceptional about this little bird. I mean, it's got its little birdy hang-ups unique to its cultural upbringing and its enrironment. It dines on small fish and insects. Its plumage, according to my source, is satin white on its belly and sort of steel blue-grey on top, a two-tone job.

These birds are faithful, at least during egg hatching season. (I haven't the vaguest notion of what the technical term is and if you're so interested, you look it up in your dictionary. I'm comfortable right where I am, thank you.) The male feeds his mate as she hatches, or broods her eggs, or whatever. They winter in places like Venezuela, or, if they're not too inclined to long distance traveling, Baja California suits them just fine. As a matter of fact, their motto seems to be: Anywhere Near The Ocean, As Long As It's On The American Continent. I don't know if the Least Terns stick to one another for life or whether they're swingers with a sense of responsibility. That wasn't mentioned, and that's a rude question.

There used to be thousands of these birds, especially in the South. The plumage hunters used to shoot the Least Terns by the thousands for their silver grey wings. Although small of body (only 8 to 9 inches long), the Least Tern is, in its good old Middle American way, a noble bird. When one of its fellows is in trouble the others flock about, squeaking nervously, trying to help. Hunters exploited this virtue, shooting one bird, so that the flock would circle around the injured bird, enabling the hunters to shoot into the flock, bagging thousands of the birds.

As I say, it's not an exceptional bird. There are other birds whose plumage is more flamboyant, whose song is more melodious, and whose sex life makes much better reading--if you're into that sort of thing--so stop that sniggering right now. I'm getting to my point. It's just a plain old average bird. If a Least Tern were to come up to me right now and do whatever a Least Tern does to one, I'd probably cover my head with my copy of the Free Venice Beachhead that I always keep on hand for such emergencies.

If the Least Tern were to be removed and put on the Extinct List, my life would go on. People are still around even if the Passenger Pigeon isn't. The Least Tern is in danger of losing its home in the Canals and Bollogna Lagoon because of the City Planners' version of renovating. Somehow, the City Planners remind me of one of my Great Aunts. She could never leave anything alone. She either had to cover it up so it didn't look like what it was or paint it pink. Anyway, if the Canals are widened to allow boats larger than a rubber raft, the Least Tern, with all its feathered foibles and follies, will no longer be seen in Venice by bird watchers. Okay: Relocate then in Venezuela or Peru or Massachusetts or Georgia; give them funds; we don't need them! We have no need of any more birds! We have seagulls, ducks and pigeons. True enough. And, when one is rehabilitating or improving the city or making a revolution or a new society, there are going to be casualties. Forget the Least Tern! That's the price of progress, after all!

All right. How about THIS Endangered Species? It's a Mammal. By our culture, most

APPENDIX A

of these Mammals are not very pretty. Some of them are less than five feet tall. They walk slowly. Some of them don't hear very well. They flock together on benches for long periods of time. Some of them don't contribute to society, and many of them can't speak English. They're difficult to live with. They are obstinate and sometimes hostile. Some of them abhor loud noises and complain constantly. They sometimes forget who they are speaking to or what they want. They are hell to stand in back of when you are in line at the bank. They walk on the bike path and they wear kerchiefs, hats, and heavy coats even when it's hot outside. They get heart attack. What to you and me would be just a miserable bout with the flu might to them be a prolonged, expensive illness that they cannot afford. It's hard for these Mammals to deal with everyday events that we take for granted. Splint your legs with boards. Borrow some glasses from a friend with bad vision (worse or different than yours). Hit your finger joints with a hammer or throw your back out of place, put on the glasses, and see how long it takes you to tie your shoes, or count change, or open up a can of soup, pour it in the pan, and turn on the stove. Imagine that every move you make has a twinge and a pain all its own. Imagine every breath you draw being a carefully thought-out effort because the act of breathing--of drawing in oxygen---is an agony that is like a drowning man gasping for air..

I'm positive I have telegraphed my punch line, and I'm sure you've guessed that I'm talking about the old folks, Senior Citizens, as they are referred to by the government and the politicians who don't give a damn, because over 50 percent of the population is under 25 years of age anyway.

Well, I've seen more old people than I have seen Least Terns. I don't number many of the elderly among my close friends. I lose my patience when they painfully draw out their clasp purses and slowly count out their money and examine each penny carefully; and I shift my weight from one foot to the other as they ask the storekeeper to read all the ingredients on a loaf of bread because they don't know where their reading glasses are and they can't have salt. I also get fearful when I see a frail, bent, old lady leaning on another old lady who isn't quite as frail or as disable. I see them hobbling along the Ocean Front Walk with their wheeled shopping carts, resting at every other bench. They're doing their shopping, and they're not being a burden to their children, wherever they are. There's one old woman who creeps out of her building every day. She wears the same tatty kerchief and the same bedraggled socks. I see her every day. "How are you?" I ask. "Lonesome." she replies. I'm stopped. What can I possibly talk to her about? But she smiles at me, goes to the take-out food stand and buys an ice cream cone. She nods at me and smiles. "Nice day." She smiles and nods to someone who isn't there and shuffles back to her room, eating the ice cream cone with all the solemn joy of a two-year old.

BUT SHE'S USELESS! SENILE! She's not witty or bright and hasn't read a book in years.

Well, if you will read Milton Takei's article about the meeting that Morris Rosen, Director of the Israel Levin Center for Senior Adults, called with members of the press, community welfare agencies, Neighborhood Legal Aid, the Builders, Relocation Consultants, and representatives of Councilwoman Pat Russell's office, you'll learn how the Venice Community got together and made the new owners of the Ocean View Hotel give solid assurance that the old people, who are being moved out so that the building can be rehabilitated, can move back in if they meet requirements set up by H.U.D. with a small increase in rent.

This in itself is unique. A community can get control of its own destiny! A community can say, "No! We don't think rich is better!" "No!

We don't think if one freeway is good, three more will be terrific!" "We want people who have lived here for 30 years to be able to live in peace and dignity in the midst of familar surroundings for the next 30 years if they so desire!" "Yes, we want good housing AND improvements for rich and poor alike—quality, not quantity!"

For all of us must realize that all of us are the same. The Least Tern, the pigeon, the Sociologist, the Wino, the Artist, the Senior Citizen—all of us have one thing in common, and that is life, and we should respect that tie that binds every living thing on this planet.

Most of us are like Least Terns: unexceptional, interested only in surviving, and not very conspicuous. We're just here. And, sometimes, the hunters come and exploit our virtues and shoot us down for something we are not even aware of. Sometimes it's hard to find a meaning in life, but let us at least have dignity in our dying. We're not on this earth for very long. I'd hate to think of a time when it's considered lucky to die young, because of the cruel way we treat our aged. Maybe some of us might be unlucky enough to live to be 80, with no friends, relatives who don't care, and be frightened of change. For change, good or bad, could be fatal to the delicate, fragile old. We should cherish and support them, if only for the reason that we might be there someday...if we're lucky.

Some day, the race of man will be extinct. Let's set a good example for the bugs. And, if you have the good fortune to see a Least Tern, think of the old people and all the average, unexceptional people and birds you know, and remember: One Least Tern Deserves Another.

****

"Invasion of the Affiu-Hip" appeared in the December, 1974 issue of the Venice Beachhead. The following is an excerpt.

by Carol Fondiller

About a year ago at a meeting between the affluent residents of the penninsula and the not-so affluent residents of North Beach, a resident of the Penninsula looked at me with wide eyes, Walter Keane hurt, and after hearing our fears of the poor and not-so poor being squeezed out of Venice by the Condo-Conspiracy reached out her well manicured hand and timidly touched my nicotine stained fingernails and said "but don't the rich have the right to live here too?" She had been reproaching me earlier for not being able to appreciate the simple values of The Waltons, i.e. Money isn't everything, goodness of heart shall win the day over shrewdness or brain.

Several months ago I stopped in a boutique on Washington Blvd. It had a small restaurant in the back and I ordered a cup of coffee. The boutique had that quaint homey atmosphere that costs the customer an arm and a leg. There are no second hand stores any more. It is Memorabilia Lane - re-cycled clothes-nostalgia. It is chic to be second hand. The man behind the counter was "creating a stew". He told me this with a straight face...His earnest eyes looking at me with admiration and friendliness from under his carefully touseled locks.

"I used to be in Aero-Space, but I chucked it all I was tired of selling out. So I bought some property - and now I have time to be creative. The arts are wonderful. Its great to be creative...it's groovy." I liked the man, because - well, he liked me, so I bit back the reply that creativity was a pain in the neck and that creativity was as much fun as a cancer experiment. But, because I liked him, we just kept mumbling creative shit at one another - just living can be an art, living art was a living and ah, la vie Boheme.

I tasted his stew. It was picturesque and exotic lots of flair, a real fun stew.

I walked down Washington Blvd. Though some of the more necessary, scruffy shops still remained, a market, a plumbing shop and one of the few remaining junk shops, most of it had been turned into quain-tiques selling things that used to be sold to the poor and imaginative for second hand necessities were now selling these same things as Metataxis for the fun set. For some reason, though I love these shops, I began to feel hostile towards them.

A clothes shop that sells imported clothes is on this street. When I first went in to buy I was told where things came from and what they were called - the last time I went in I waited and waited though I was first, while a young woman pulled out her designers discount card and proceeded to turn that nice little place into Beverly Hills by her unconciously arrogant attitude.

A friend told me of a conversation he had with a french artist. The artist predicted that Venice would become a watering place for the Jet Set. "Venice will be gone. When the Jet Set comes into a place they ruin it. Look what they did to Saint Tropez and Puerta Vallarta. Venice is being talked about in Cannes and Nice and Majorca. I give Venice two more years."

I read an article about Venice in L.A. Magazine. "Venice Opens Up." It burbled to its upwardly mobile chic-in readership about the boutiques in Venice, the quaint houses and hotels being refurbished, and renovating and evicting of the quaint but not so clean or creative tenants so that Venice could become a center for the arts.

Now, I have nothing against restoration and preservation of old buildings. I am glad that Windward

please turn to page 2

INVASION OF THE AFFLU-HIP CONT. FROM P 1

might be saved from condemnation and that the arches and gargoyles of Venice will remain. But I think a case might be made for preserving the present inhabitants of Venice no matter how uncreative they may be. In a way I think we should all stop "being creative" for a while just so the word doesn't strangle on macramé plant holders. And perhaps a choice will have to be made between people who aren't so wonderful and cute chic houses.

I met a woman who thought the Vietnam war was ghastly. She taught school at Watts. And yet when presented with the problem of what to do with the walking wounded that roll down from broken homes, marriages, wars and dreams down to Venice where at least they can look at the ocean and think "the shit stops here" and are forced to relate to people not sit tranqued out in a "convalescent" home where no one ever convalesces. They have to go out and get groceries and pay rent. This piece of reality is all that some of them have. And I speak for myself at times in that last sentence. Well this comfortably well off woman, this sensitive articulate human looked at me and smiled sadly (maybe she'd read Chekov) and said "You can't stop progress".

I was leaning out my window one quiet night and I saw a young fun couple walk by my apartment house. They walked by and yanked some flowers roots and all from the flower box. Now the box had been built by the landlord, but all the tenants in the building had contributed plants and time to making things grow. "Hey, don't do that!" I yelled. They turned their shiny mass-produced faces towards me. Ken and Barbie in funky drag. "Oh wow, take it back", they laughed and they threw the not so prize marguierite over the fence with easy contempt. I tried to replant it. The little shrub didn't cost much. It was just that easy way they destroyed it.

It then occurred to me. Los Angeles Magazine whose style tries to be New Yorker aims at a particular audience - they make on the average of $29,000 a year, own at least two cars, eat out alot, buy scotch by the case (and grass by the pound?)

They are the Afflu-Hip.

They like Venice because it's quaint, it's funky it's groovy. Artists abound. They can be far-out and study astrology. But they feel uncomfortable when they see a literally dirty old man sit next to them at the "in" place where they eat. A vague resentment when they see someone pull out food stamps in J. Allans Safeway.

Venice should be cleaned out and cleaned up. It should be sanitized, Bowelderized. It should be a Thousand Oaks barbeque where grass is smoked. And "creativity"? Well, isn't that what it's all about? But please, no troublesome art - just gentle mediocrity. Nothing to clash with the wall paper.

Its all right if a crazy sings and throws flowers. The Afflu-Hip can relate to that. But don't cry too often. And I like some of these people - the Afflu-Hips. Some of them are embarrassingly impressed when they find out I write. "Oh how 'creative' they moan. "I wish I could write." "Well, so do I", I answer. And they think I'm being falsely modest. But lemme tell ya, ya don't count for nothin' with them if you aren't creative or at least a character with an 'interesting face'.

But the Afflu-Hip still come by the gross. And the quaint streets will be widened for their two or more cars and the craftsman artist living quarters will be filled with candle dippers, furniture makers and painters of white on white canvas, and oh God macramé and splotchy tye chics. And in time parties will abound and Venice will be Laguna-ized.

The article on Venice in the October 74 issue says "Luxury apartments and condominiums fill every available beachfront lot..." "It's still Venice though, the tenants all wear levis."

Ah yes, the people that ruined Greenwich Village are now camping in Venice - they want to live the life of an artist or the simple life the same way a family drives to a national park and complains about the lack of toilets and electrical outlets.

Yes, the rich have a right to live here but so do the people who've made a choice not to be rich, or those who have no chance at all of making it - they have never had a choice of selling out

The following is a letter that appeared in the April 1975 issue of the Venice Beachhead.

Dear Beachhead,

This is to enlighten Mr. Weiss of Marina Construction Co.

Dear Mr. Weiss,

After reading your letter in the February issue of the Beachhead, I came to the conclusion that you are either one of the most stupid men living East of the Pacific Ocean, or that you've had your head stuffed so far up your bank account, that through lack of air and good living you now find yourself bouncing off dispersing brick walls.

Do you think the people of Venice are a bunch of fools? Would you like us to feel sorry for you because some of your equipment got damaged? Oh, you poor man, I feel sorry for you though, not because you are so blind - because you cannot understand what you are doing that would upset somebody so much. Sir, you are a soldier. You've been drafted, you are a tool, and you don't even know it - by the Big Investors, who see Venice as a way to make a fortune. Sir, you have built a monster on the corner of Ocean and Venice Boulevard. True, it's not exactly a high rise, but nonethe less a concerous monster that eats up $350. a month for a one-bedroom apartment. Maybe we fools in Venice should give you a gold plaque. Wouldn't that be nice? You could hang it in your office. We can have it read something like: "To Marina Construction Company: This is to thank you for building a $350. a month, one-bedroom apartment house in Venice. Because of you our landlords raised our rents from $150. for a two-bedroom house to $450. a month and the senior citizens who used to live in and enjoy Venice were forced to live in little unwanted one-bedroom slop houses. Keep up the good work, cause God is on your side." Now wouldn't that make you feel great? I knew it would.

Now seriously, Mr. Weiss, when you build in an area, do you build for the people of that area? Do you find out what sort of income people have in that area? What their needs are? Traffic? Parks? Waht would the people like in their area? You don't mind if I answer those questions for you? Do you? The answer is a big fuckin' NO You don"t care. As long as you have a contract to build, you build without ever asking yourself, 1. What are you really building? 2. Whom are you building for? 3. Who will be hurt if you build it? If you cared for people as much as you pretended to care about dogs, you would be building low-income apartments which, we, the people of Venice, could afford. You would try to discourage the Big Investors from pushing out all the old Venice residents through high rents. Instead try to accomodate them. And, what about some more parks where we can enjoy laying in the grass and just running our dogs? Don't you think these are good plans? Wouldn't the God you spoke about in your letter be happy? Wouldn't you feel good, deep inside?

But are you ready to shelve your dreams of making millions building apartment buildings everywhere? I doubt it. Although I've never damaged anyone else's property or consciously hurt anybody, I can see quite clearly why those people are out to make a few waves in your life. I just hope some day, when you are lying all by yourself in a quiet room, or looking up at the stars, you'll hear them crying.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Where were you born?

When were you born?

Do you receive a pension?
How do you manage financially?

Are you or have you ever been married?

What kind of work have you done?

WHEN AND WHY SUBJECTS CAME TO VENICE

When did you come to Venice?

Why did you come to Venice?

Why do you stay?

FELT NEEDS AND PERCEIVED PROBLEMS

What do you consider the most serious problems facing you?

What are some of the difficulties in this period of your life?

How do you spend your time?

How do you manage cooking, cleaning, shopping, laundering?

How do you spend your money?

SOCIAL AND WELFARE SERVICES USED

Where did you get help the last time you had a problem or crisis? What kind of help was it?

How do you find out about services in the community?

How do you feel about receiving welfare?

What do you think about services in your community for the elderly?

SERVICES PERCEIVED AS BEING NEEDED

What services do elderly people need in Venice?

What services would make your life more enjoyable?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Venice, California: History and Problems

Adler, Patricia. A History of the Venice Area. Los Angeles: Department of City Planning, 1969.

Brown, Deloris, et al. "Report on Population Settlement and Movement in East Los Angeles and Venice, California." Unpublished Master's Research Project. University of Southern California, April 1970.

Daniell, John B. The Bay Area Pageant. Special edition. Santa Monica: Evening Outlook, 1956.

Dully, Larry. "An Analysis of the Forces Affecting Low-Income Housing in Venice, California." Unpublished Master's Research Project. University of Southern California, April 1970.

Leveck, Terry. "Planning for Elderly Housing in Venice." Unpublished Research Project. University of Southern California, January 1975.

Zacuto, Bradley J. "Historical Landscapes of Venice, California." Unpublished Report. University of Southern California, May 1973.

Aging in the United States: Issues, Attitudes, Programs

Berezin, Martin A., M.D., and Cath, Stanley H., M.D., eds. Geriatric Psychiatry: Grief, Loss and Emotional Disorders in the Aging Process. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1965.

Blau, Zena Smith. Old Age in a Changing Society. New York: New Viewpoints, 1973.

Buckley, Mary. The Aged Are People, Too. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1972.

Butler, Robert N. "The Life Review: An Interpretation of Reminiscence in the Aged." Psychiatry 26 (1963): 65-76.

Cohen, Wilbur J. "Some Policy Issues in Social Security Programs for the Aged." In Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging. Edited by Clark Tibbitts and Wilma Donahue. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962. pp. 125-42.

Ellison, David L. "Alienation and the Will to Live." Journal of Gerontology 24 (July 1969): 361-67.

Friedmann, Eugene A. "The Impact of Aging on the Social Structure." In Handbook of Social Gerontology. Edited by Clark Tibbitts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. pp. 130-44.

Gorer, Geoffrey. The American People: A Study in National Character. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1948.

Hall, Stanley. Senescence: The Last Half of Life. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1922.

Havighurst, Robert J. "The Nature and Values of Meaningful Free-Time Activity." In Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging. Edited by Clark Tibbits and Wilma Donahue. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962. pp. 899-904.

_____. "Research and Development Goals in Social Gerontology." The Gerontologist 9 (Winter 1969)

Havighurst, Robert J.; Neugarten, Bernice L.; and Tobin, Sheldon S. "Disengagement and Patterns of Aging." In Middle Age and Aging. Edited by Bernice L. Neugarten. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968. pp. 161-72.

Kluckhohn, Clyde, and Kluckhohn, Florence R. "American Culture: Generalized Orientations and Class Patterns." In Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture (Conference in Science, Philosophy and Religion, New York, 1947). p. 440.

Kubler-Ross, Elizabeth. On Death and Dying. New York: MacMillan Press, 1969.

Mead, Margaret. And Keep Your Powder Dry: An Anthropologist Looks at America. New York: William Morron and Co., Inc., 1943.

Moss, Robert E., M.D. "Aging: A Survey of the Psychiatric Literature 1950-1960," Geriatric Psychiatry: Grief, Loss and Emotional Disorders in the Aging Process, Edited by Martin A. Berezin, M.D. and Stanley H. Cath, M.D. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1965.

Neugarten, Bernice L. Middle Age and Aging. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Newman, William M. American Pluralism. San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1973.

Riley, Matilda White, and Foner, Anne, eds. Aging and Society I: An Inventory of Research Findings. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968.

Shanas, Ethel, and Streib, Gordon F., eds. Social Structure and the Family: Intergenerational Relations. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

Simmons, Leo W. The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.

Simpson, Ida Harper, and McKinney, John C., eds. Social Aspects of Aging. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1966.

Tarnower, William, M.D. "The Experience of Seeking and Receiving Help," Menninger Quarterly 23. Spring 1969: 15-22.

Thompson, Prescott W., M.D. "What It Means to be Old in 1969," Menninger Quarterly 23. Spring 1969: 23-29.

Tibbitts, Clark, and Donahue, Wilma, eds. Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.

Twen, Marjorie Bloomberg. Older Americans: Special Handling Required. Washington, D.C.: The National Council on the Aging, 1971.

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. New Facts about Older Americans. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973.

United Way, and Santa Monica Community Chest. Planning for the Aged. Los Angeles: United Way, Inc., 1973.

Weg, Ruth B. "The Aged: Who, Where, How Well." Mimeograph Report prepared for the University of Southern California School of Gerontology, Fall 1975.

1971 White House Conference on Aging. Toward A National Policy on Aging. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Williams, Robin M. "Value Orientations in American Society." Social Perspectives on Behavior. Edited by Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward. New York: The Free Press, 1968, pp. 288-314.

Cultural Aspects of Aging and Eastern European Culture

Clark, Margaret, and Anderson, Barbara G. Culture and Aging: An Anthropological Study of Older Americans. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1967.

Clark, Margaret. "The Anthropology of Aging." Middle Age and Aging. Edited by Bernice L. Neugarten. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Dawidowicz, Lucy D. The Golden Tradition: Jewish Life and Thought in Eastern Europe. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.

Doroshkin, Milton. Yiddish in America: Social and Cultural Foundations. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970.

Hapgood, Hutchins. The Spirit of the Ghetto: Studies of the Jewish Quarters of New York. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, Inc., 1965.

Kalish, Richard. "A Gerontological Look at Ethnicity, Human Capacities and Individual Adjustment." The Gerontologist 2. Spring 1971: 78-87.

Landes, Ruth, and Zborowski, Mark. "Hypotheses Concerning the Eastern European Jewish Family." Social Perspectives on Behavior. Edited by Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward. New York: The Free Press, 1968, pp. 58-75.

Leftwich, Joseph. The Way We Think: A Collection of Essays from the Yiddish. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Publisher, 1969.

Mead, Margaret. Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap. Garden City, N.J.: Natural History Press, 1970.

Zborowski, Mark, and Herzog, Elizabeth. Life is With People: The Culture of the Shtetl. New York: Schocken Books, 1969.

Jewish Attitude Toward the Aged: Its History and Role in the U.S. Jewish Community

Baum, Dr. Marvin. Supportive Community Services for the Elderly. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, November 1973.

Beallor, Gerald. "The Relationship of the Adult Child to the Aged Parent." Judaism and the Community. Edited by Dr. Jacob Freid. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Publisher, 1968, pp. 115-123.

Bernstein, Blanche; Schwartz, Richard; and Sang, Bahk. New York's Jewish Poor and Jewish Working Class: Economic Status and Social Needs. New York: Center for N.Y.C. Affairs, New School for Social Research. November 1972.

Blumberg, Lewis. A Study of the Elderly Jewish Poor of Los Angeles. Los Angeles: American Jewish Committee, 1968.

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. "Jewish Community Planning for the Aging in the Next Decade." New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1966.

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. The Community Plans for its Chronically Ill and Aged. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1960.

Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1971 ed. S.v. "Age and the Aged."

Fluegel, Maurice, The Humanity, Benevolence and Charity Legislation of the Pentateuch and the Talmud. Baltimore: Press of King Bros., 1908.

Freid, Dr. Jacob, ed. Judaism and the Community. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Publisher, 1968.

Glazer, Nathan. American Judaism. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Goro, Herb. "The Old Man in the Bronx." New York, January 10, 1972, pp. 31-49.

Harris, Ray. Community Housing and Services for the Aging. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, November 1971.

Hirsch, Richard G. "There Shall Be No Poor." Judaism and Human Rights. Edited by Milton Konvitz. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972, pp. 234-46.

Jung, Leo. "Concept of Tzedakah in Contemporary Jewish Life." Poor Jews: An American Awakening. Edited by Naomi Levine and Martin Hochbaum. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1974, pp. 96-104.

Karpf, Maurice J. "The Status of Case Work in the Jewish Community." Jewish Social Service Quarterly 17. September 1940: 101-16.

Kohs, Samuel C. "Whither the Jewish Family Agency?" Jewish Social Service Quarterly 24. September 1947.

Levine, Naomi, and Hochbaum, Martin, eds. Poor Jews: An American Awakening. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1974.

Levine, Naomi. The Jewish Poor and the War Against Poverty. New York: American Jewish Congress, 1971.

Los Angeles Jewish Federation Council. Report of the Task Force on the Jewish Poor. Los Angeles: Jewish Federation-Council, 1973.

Massarik, Fred. Demographic Highlights: Facts for Planning. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1973.

Massarik, Fred. The Jewish Aged of Los Angeles: A Reanalysis of Jewish Population Study Data. Los Angeles: Jewish Federation-Council, December 1974.

Massarik, Fred. National Jewish Population Study: The Jewish Aging. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1973.

Metropolitan New York Coordinating Council of Jewish Poverty. A Profile of Communal Problems: Coney Island. September 1973.

Ossofsky, Jack. "The Aging: Problem or Potential?" Jewish Heritage. Summer 1972, pp. 66-75.

Posner, William. "Meeting the Needs of the Aged in the Community." Atlantic City: Central Atlantic Region of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, March 1953.

Rosen, Morris B. "Senior Citizens Are All Our Parents." Speech delivered at September 1973 Venice Town Council Meeting.

Segalman, Ralph. "Hansen's Law Reconsidered." Dimensions in American Judaism. Summer 1968, pp. 28-31.

Shaposnick, Philip. The Golden Age Association of Montreal. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. November 1972.

Sherman, C. Bezalel. The Jew Within American Society. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1965.

Simos, Bertha G. "Intergenerational Relations of Middle-Aged Adults with Their Aging Parents." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. University of Southern California. June 1969.

Sklare, Marshall. America's Jews. New York: Random House, 1971.

Snyder, Herman. The Inter-Agency Council on the Aging. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. November 1972.

Social Planning and Research Department. Summary of CJFWF Survey: Housing for the Elderly Under Jewish Communal Auspices. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1971.

Social Planning and Research Steering Committee. Federal Housing Programs for the Elderly. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1971.

Stein, Herman D. "Jewish Social Work in the United States." The Characteristics of American Jews. Edited by Nathan Glazer, et al. New York: Jewish Education Committee Press, 1965.

Stein, Herman D. "Social Science in Social Work Practice and Education." Social Casework. April 1955:147-55.

Stein, Herman D. Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework. New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1953.

Task Force on the Jewish Aged. "Proposal for a Jewish Federation Council on Aging." Unpublished Proposal. Los Angeles Federation-Council Planning Department.

Twersky, Dr. Isadore. "The Jewish Attitude Towards the Welfare State." Judaism and the Community. Edited by Dr. Jacob Freid. New York: Thomas Yoselof, Publisher, 1968, pp. 176-95.

Weinryb, Bernard D. "Eastern European Immigration to the United States." Jewish Quarterly Review 45. 1956: 497-528.

Weinryb, Bernard D. "Jewish Immigration and Accommodation to America: Research, Trends and Problems." American Jewish Historical Society 46. 1957: 366-403.

Wolfe, Ann G. The Invisible Jewish Poor. New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1971.

Zeff, David; Engel, Sophie; and Donegan, Nora B. 1971 Yearbook of Jewish Social Service. New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1971.