

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Patron of Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion

Long Range Planning Committee

PILOT PROJECT FOR SYNAGOGUE CHANGE

REFORM IS A VERB

Notes on Reform and Reforming Jews

by

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The Pilot Project for Synagogue Change is under the professional direction of Dr. Leonard J. Fein, in association with TDR Associates, Inc. It is under the auspices of the Long Range Planning Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

August, 1971

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PREFACE

This is the report of a unique project. It began in 1969, when the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in anticipation of its centennial anniversary (in 1973), appointed a Long Range Planning Committee. The Committee, which includes lay and professional leaders of Reform Judaism, was asked to develop an appropriate set of activities to mark the impending celebration.

Very early in its deliberations, the Committee decided to concentrate its efforts on the future, rather than the past, of Reform Judaism. This decision grew out of a recognition that it was inappropriate for a religious movement, and especially one which has traditionally viewed itself as innovative, to be content with recalling past success, and also out of the belief that the present situation of Reform Judaism -- as, again, of religion in general -- hardly justified the diversion of energy and resources an exclusively commemorative tone would demand. In addition, the very name of the Committee implied a rather different mandate. Perhaps, then, the hundredth anniversary of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations might be seen as a time to derive the inspiration, courage, and wisdom that the second hundred years clearly require.

With this thought in mind, a series of exploratory conversations between representatives of the Union and of the Committee and Leonard J. Fein, then the Associate Director of the M.I.T.-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, and its Director of Research (now of Brandeis University), as well as an active student of Jewish affairs, were initiated. In those early conversations, an elaborate study of the future, and the changes in the environment that lay in store for Reform Judaism, was contemplated. It soon became evident that solid information on the future was too scarce to depend upon. And it was also felt that dependence on such material for charting one's own future, even were it amply available, was too passive a stance to satisfy the felt need. The focus then shifted to the Reform temple, to its capacity to survive, and, hopefully, to thrive, in a necessarily uncertain future. Were temples sufficiently flexible and sufficiently imaginative to cope, or were changes in their mode of operation indicated?

But to ask whether temples could stay, or become, relevant through the closing decades of this century required that a measure of relevance be developed. In the end, it was not the future which Reform temples would be required to serve, but their members. And little, it was felt, was known regarding the actual hopes and fears, the beliefs, the concerns, the aspirations of Reform Jews as Jews. If the purpose of the temple was to help its members to fulfill themselves as Jews, it was clear that more needed to be known about the goals of its members. Accordingly, it was felt, a survey of members would be a useful basis on which to build.

But a survey alone was, again, too passive. The last thing the Committee wanted was yet another research report that would be consigned to dusty library shelves. Moreover, many people felt that a survey would only confirm what was already, in large measure, known -- that most Jews had a very unclear sense of Judaic possibility, and that to ask them what it was they wanted their temples to do and to make it possible for them to do would be to ask questions few would find it easy to answer.

The real question, the participants began to realize, was whether we were interested in taking the present behaviors of either temples or their members as fixed, or whether we might not explore the possibility of initiating something of a revolution, a revolution of rising Judaic aspirations.

At this point, the conversations were broadened to include senior members of TDR Associates, a young consulting firm which specializes in group dynamics and organizational development, as well as in social scientific research. The question put to TDR was whether working with small groups, it would be possible to develop a method for encouraging people to set goals for themselves as Jews. If that were possible, then one could more comfortably proceed to the next question, which asks whether the temple is adequately prepared to help people reach those goals.

In turning to a professional consulting firm, the Committee was departing from the conventional. It was clear that TDR was not prepared to assert the actual goals towards which Reform Jews ought to strive. It was, instead, prepared to assist people in clarifying their own goals, and in developing ways of meeting them. Such a procedure necessarily involved a calculated risk, since it might develop that the goals that were identified would be narrow and unimaginative, or that they might be subversive of the temple, or even that not enough people could be found who would be prepared to contemplate the possibility of setting themselves goals as Jews.

The Union was prepared to undertake these risks, and it endorsed the TDR plan to engage in a series of temple-based workshops designed to have people confront themselves as actual Jews and as potential Jews. These workshops, together with the survey of temple members, were seen as the first steps in a longer program of renewal and revitalization to which the Committee was, and remains, committed.

What follows is a report of these two endeavors. Part I is a report of the survey and its findings; Part II is a detailed description of the techniques which were devised in the course of eighteen weekend workshops which were held in six different temples. Part III provides a summary reflection on the total findings.

The Long Range Planning Committee is proud to claim responsibility for the project; responsibility for the contents of this report lies, of course, with Dr. Fein and his associates in TDR.

ALAN ISELIN, Chairman, UAHC Long Range
Planning Committee

ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, Vice President, UAHC
LEONARD J. FEIN, Project Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In an early meeting with the members of the Long Range Planning Committee, I observed that undertaking this project involved a good deal of personal risk for me. I had spent a fair amount of time, over the past several years, talking with American Jews across the country, chiefly from lecture platforms. In that context, it was rather easy to be wise. But now I was being asked to translate rhetorical formulations into programs for action. The distance between me and my audience would shrink, and nice words would no longer suffice. I was not sure that such reputation for wisdom as I had attained could survive this more intense form of interaction.

Others, of course, will have to judge the issue of reputation. For myself, I feel bound to say that I had not imagined how rewarding the experience would be. The lecture platform, no matter how crowded the auditorium, is a lonely place, and the lecture, no matter how eloquent, a necessarily superficial form of communication. The LRPC project permitted, indeed, required, extensive personal interaction and communication, and whatever the benefits others have gained from our meetings, as we have tried to learn from one another and to touch one another, I have learned, and been touched.

Some of what I have learned is contained in the pages that follow, some has yet to be distilled into communicable words. One lesson that I think wants notice at the very outset is that it simply will not do to suppose that Reform Judaism is the Judaism of the indolent, or of the thoughtless, or of those who do not care. It is conventional, in some quarters, to sneer at Reform in some such terms. There are, to be sure, lazy Reform Jews, in fair (but I doubt disproportionate) number. There are also, I have found, large numbers of Reform Jews who are every bit as serious, and as purposeful, and as powerfully committed to the Jewish future as the best that other groupings of Jews can offer. This should hardly need saying, but I fear that it does, and I am happy to say it, not as a testimonial, but as an expression of confidence, and hope, from a non-Reform kinsman.

My first thanks, therefore, go to those who are the source of that confidence, to the 291 men and women who participated in our workshops. They were part of an experiment from which we believe valuable lessons have derived; I know that for many of them, there were deeply personal lessons as well, and I am happy that there was so appropriate a return for their investment and help.

The 1,643 respondents to our questionnaire also deserve to be thanked. I cannot say that I agree with many of their responses (nor they with mine), but I take it from their courtesy in responding that we do share a concern for the Jewish future, and I thank them for their time and for their concern.

The aid and assistance of officials and board members of the twelve temples involved in the study is also, and gratefully, acknowledged.

Diverse members of the staff of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations were generous with their time and advice. Most particularly, I am grateful to Alex Schindler, Vice President of the Union, whose "baby" the entire effort is, and to Julian Feldman, the UAHC's Director of Resources Planning and staff coordinator of the Long Range Planning Committee, who handled problems of management and liaison with unfailing courtesy and perception. His help was a critical factor in the completion of the project on schedule, and I cannot praise him too highly.

It would be perilous to try to single out members of the Long Range Planning Committee by name, but I think I can safely express the thanks of the professional staff to the Committee's Chairman, Alan Iselin, and to its Co-Chairman, Alfred Eisenpreis. Their titles permit me to except them from the general rule, and their contributions to our work make me happy to do so.

My colleagues at TDR will, I am sure, forgive me if I mention only Bob Chin, whose personal interest in the project and whose professional skills were so very helpful. As the chief architect of the workshops, he deserves a great deal of credit for such success as we have enjoyed. Our good fortune was further enlarged by the availability of both Herzl Spiro and Jack Dauber as leaders of workshops, developers, with Bob Chin, of the experiential techniques reported in Part II, and energetic participants in the overall planning and design of the effort.

Others will not be able to appreciate nearly so much as I the degree to which Bernard Reisman's good sense, energy, and attention to detail were critical at every stage of our work. Each phase of the project bears his mark, and I, who have benefited most directly from his participation, am happy to express publicly my debt and my gratitude to him.

Finally, my thanks and those of my colleagues to Suzanne Zverblis, whose secretarial gifts the reader can see for himself, but whose charm and energy were no less helpful for being less public.

LEONARD J. FEIN
August, 1971

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Bernard Reisman is the Associate Director of the Philip W. Lown Graduate Center for Contemporary Jewish Studies at Brandeis University. He received his Ph.D. from The Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare at Brandeis University in 1970. He has an MSW from Western Reserve University in Cleveland and a BSS from City College in New York.

Prior to coming to Brandeis, Professor Reisman was the Director of the Jewish Community Center of Niles Township in Illinois. He taught at the School of Social Work at Loyola University in Chicago and at the School of Occupational Therapy at the University of Illinois in Chicago. He also did research with the Institute for Research on Exceptional Children, Urbana, Illinois. Professor Reisman is a member of the Board of Directors of the Association for Jewish Studies.

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Professor Fein is the author of many books and articles dealing with current Jewish issues, including *STUDYING JEWISH IDENTITY: OBSERVATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY* (1965) and *ISRAEL: POLITICS AND PEOPLE* (1968). His most recent book deals with community control of the schools, and is entitled *THE ECOLOGY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL*.

He has been a consultant to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity, as well as the Harvard and New York University Schools of Education and the Boston School Committee. He is a member of the Executive Committee and is a Trustee of the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Boston, and is on advisory committees of the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the American Association for Jewish Education, and the Conference of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

ROBERT CHIN

Robert Chin has been working in planned change and applied behavioral science ever since the Human Relations Center was established at Boston University. His doctorate is in psychology and was from Columbia University. He has been coordinating and directing the advanced training programs of workshops and labs for the Center.

He is a fellow of the National Training Laboratory Institute of Applied Behavior and a member of the Steering Committee of the Association of Religion and Applied Behavioral Science.

He has been President of the Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues and is a member and served on the American Psychological Association Committee for Equality of Opportunity in Psychology.

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PART I

THE ACTUAL JEW:

A Research Report on Reform Jews and Their Temples

By

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and
Bernard Reisman

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1. The Long Range Planning Committee Survey:
An Introductory Overview

Serious inquiry into the future of any human group, and most particularly of a group in which membership is voluntary, requires some estimate of the resources available, or likely to become available, to the group. The most critical of these resources are the members of the group. Estimates of the actual number of Reform Jews in the United States vary, but numbers alone do not, in any case, tell the whole story, or even very much of it. What "kinds" of people belong, and how much does their belonging matter to them, and what are the apparent reasons for their belonging -- these, and many, many more questions regarding the membership of the group need to be answered if a reasonable assessment of present reality and of future potential is to be developed.

In this section of our report, we describe some aspects of the present reality of Reform Judaism, or, more precisely, of Reform Jews. The aspects of special concern in this inquiry have to do with the beliefs, opinions, attitudes and practices of Reform Jews, with respect to Judaism and with respect to their temples. Before turning to the description, the reader is entitled to know the sources on which it rests, the ways in which it was derived, the extent of its reliability. In this opening chapter, we review in some detail the procedures of the Long Range Planning Committee survey, and also provide a basic demographic portrait of the sample on which the data are based.

METHODOLOGY

In general. The original, and modest, purpose of the Long Range Planning Committee survey was to collect data that would both provide an estimate of attitudes and beliefs in the temples that were to participate in the workshop phase of the program, described in Part II of this series, and make possible a subsequent evaluation of the workshop phase. Six temples participated actively in the workshop program, and our intention was to survey the members of these six temples, as well as the members of six additional temples, chosen because they matched the original six in important ways. Since the data in the survey phase were gathered before the workshops were initiated, any long-range effects of the workshops could then be tested with appropriate controls.

The survey was tied into the workshops in other ways as well. For participating temples, distribution of the questionnaires helped to "alert" members to the project as a whole; enclosed with the questionnaire was a brief description of the workshops. And, in some instances, data gleaned from the survey were incorporated into the workshop design.

But in the course of collecting data from the members of twelve temples, both adults and young people, we discovered that we were developing an important source of information on Reform Jews in general. All in all, 864 adults and 779 young people took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire, making this the largest single sample of the attitudes, practices, and beliefs of Reform Jews -- or, for that matter, of any of the branches of American Judaism -- that had ever been compiled, to our knowledge.

The question that the use of these data raised was very simple: To what degree, if any, was it reasonable to use our respondents as the "spokesmen" for all Reform Jews? Did they, in fact, represent the general perspectives of Reform Jews, or, if idiosyncratic, did they represent some distinguishable group within the Reform movement? There was no question that the results were interesting; were they also significant?

"Significance" can be understood in two ways. Its one meaning is statistical; one cannot generalize from the existence of the Statue of Liberty in New York's harbor to all American harbors. The base of observation is simply too narrow. There are formal rules and procedures which can be used to determine whether one has used broad enough a base, and used it according to standard rules, to permit generalization.

But the Statue of Liberty is, in a different sense of the word, obviously significant. It is significant not as a representation, but as a phenomenon. So, too, whether or not the 1,643 respondents of this study represent anyone beyond themselves, the fact that they hold the views they hold is in and of itself significant.

But we are not satisfied with that statement alone, true though it be. We should still like to know whether our sample is significant in the other, and more precise sense. And there are ways of examining this question, and answering it. The answer, as it turns out, is "yes, but."

The best test of statistical significance cannot be done, just yet. A major national Jewish population study is under way at the time of this writing, under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. It is based on a very carefully designed sample of some ten thousand Jewish households across the country, and, when it is completed, it will be possible to compare our findings to the information it contains regarding Reform Jews. Our questionnaire is far more intensive in the area of Jewish belief and attitude, but is based on a far less extensive sample. When the basic demographic and attitudinal data which the two interviews share are compared, it will be possible to state with fairly great precision just how representative the present sample is, and, to the extent to which it is biased, to describe the direction and even the amount of the bias.

Pending that comparison, the reader is entitled to know how much reliability he can attach to the extrapolations which follow. Since this is a major point, we now examine it in some detail.

"Sampling error" is a term that is used to describe the difference between estimates derived from a sample and those that would have been obtained had the entire population from which the sample is drawn been queried. It follows that the first possible source of sampling error in the present survey has to do with the use of membership lists from twelve specific temples as the source of the sample. What differences might have been expected had the membership list of all Reform temples in the country been used?

Certain temples are, in fact, under-represented in our selection. There is no small-town temple, smaller temples are neglected, and Southern and border state temples are hardly represented in adequate number. Insofar as there is some reason to suppose that members of such temples hold attitudes that are discernably different from members of temples in the large metropolitan areas of the East coast, the Midwest, and the Far West, our sample is necessarily biased. But it must be added that the vast majority of Reform Jews do not live in small towns, or in the South; on the contrary, they live in large metropolitan areas like those from which our sample was drawn.

The next question to consider is whether there is some reason to suppose that there are discernable differences between the Reform Jews in the specific metropolitan areas where our twelve sampled temples are located and Reform Jews in other metropolitan areas. Now it is obvious that no two temples are exactly alike, even within the same geographic area. Each temple embraces a unique mix of people, a different constellation of beliefs and attitudes. But a careful analysis of the data shows that the distribution of opinion across temples is -- with certain limited exceptions -- essentially

random. No one temple could safely be assumed to be "typical" of all temples, but any group of twelve temples, so long as some consideration was given to size and location in their selection, will, in the aggregate, have just about the same distribution of opinion as any other group of twelve similarly selected temples. This is not an obvious point; it grows out of the data analysis, and is, therefore, empirically derived. What it means, quite simply, is that there is every reason to suppose that had twelve other temples been used as the basis of the sample, or, indeed, had the entire list of members of Reform temples in the major metropolitan areas been used instead, the results would not have been very different from our own. There is scarcely a temple so homogeneous that it does not include some representatives of almost every significant segment of opinion within the Reform movement, and any twelve reasonably diverse temples will, therefore, begin to approximate the actual distribution of opinion for all temples.

It would be an error to claim that our twelve temples were randomly selected. Specifically, there are 695 temples affiliated with the UAHC in the United States and Canada. These temples range in size from 4 to 3,186 members. Table 1.1 indicates the number of temples according to size of membership. There is an unusually large number of temples with 100 members or less. Over half of the 257 temples in this category have no rabbis. The smallest size temple in the Long Range sample has a membership of 242.

The median temple has 584 members. This means that approximately 590 of the smallest temples (all those temples having under 584 members) make up half of the total membership. At the same time, approximately 105 of the larger temples comprise the other half of the population. This unequal representation of size of temples contributing to the aggregate number of affiliated Reform Jews points up the need for some form of stratified sampling. The last two columns of Table 1.1 indicate the manner in which the sampled temples represent temple size. For ease of comparison, the list of UAHC temples has been aggregated into five approximately similar size categories -- quintiles. The corresponding number of temples in the Long Range sample is noted in the last column on the table. It is clear that there is an over-representation in the Long Range temple sample of the middle category (size 551 - 1000 members), and in general an under-representation of the smaller size temples. If members of very small temples (under 100 members) have different characteristics and attitudes than do members of larger temples, these characteristics and attitudes will not be represented by our data.

The choice of the temples was made by the professional staffs of the project and of the UAHC, and several criteria were invoked in making the choice. The most important of these were size and geography. All temples, save the very small, were classified according to size, and, within each of the six categories of size, one temple was selected. (Where there was some reason to believe that a temple might be reluctant to cooperate in the study -- involvement, say, in a major fund-raising campaign of its own, or some major internal dispute -- it was rejected.) The selection within categories was influenced by geographic location, as well as by the desire to achieve some representation of differences in temple "style". Obviously, using these same criteria, and

Table 1.1

U.S. AND CANADIAN TEMPLES AFFILIATED WITH UAHC
AS OF NOVEMBER, 1970 BY SIZE OF MEMBERSHIP

Number of members per temple	Number of temples	Aggregate membership	Membership by approximate quintile	Numbers of temples in Long Range sample
100 members and under*	257	12,850	I 44,350	1
101-250**	180	31,500		
251-400	88	28,600	II 54,250	3
401-550	54	25,650		
551-700	39	24,375	MEDIAN***	
701-850	15	11,625	III 48,025	5
851-1,000	13	12,025		
1001-1250	13	14,625	IV 32,500	1
1251-1500	13	17,875		
1501-2000	15	26,250	V 45,186	2
2001-2500	7	15,750		
3186	1	3,186		
<u>TOTALS</u>	695	224,311		
UAHC Median Membership size	584			
UAHC Mean Membership size	323			

* One hundred and forty nine of the temples with memberships of 100 and under had no rabbi.

** Thirteen of the temples with memberships of between 101 and 250, had no rabbi.

*** The Long Range sample includes 5 temples below the median and seven above it.

given the fact that there are 438 Reform temples with over 100 members, countless other groupings of twelve might have been selected. Again, the point is that it is possible to assert with some confidence that in the aggregate, the members of any group of twelve temples selected in this manner hold the same views as the members of any other group of twelve temples so selected.

Pending confirmation by comparison of our results to the National Jewish Population Study, we believe it reasonable to conclude that the choice of temples is inconsequential as a source of error, or bias, in the sample, except as noted. That is, the population they represent includes, basically, all temples, save the very smallest, outside the South.*

The Adult Sample. The temples themselves were the first sample. Having selected the temples, we then sampled their membership lists. Our objective was to have a sample, for each temple, of sufficient size to permit adequate representation of the views of its members and to generate adequate numbers for detailed analysis. Three population groups within each temple were to be studied -- adult members, college students, and teen-agers. For the moment, we deal only with the adult sample.

Adults were selected through a stratified random sample, with different proportions for the several temples, in order to insure adequate representation (and numbers) for the smaller temples while not inundating ourselves with responses from the larger temples. The actual proportion of adult members who received the questionnaire ranged from 13 percent, in the largest of the twelve temples, to 41 percent, in the smallest. Names were selected from the temple membership list in accordance with the pre-determined proportion (e.g., every 19th name, etc.), alternating between men and women where cards were listed for husband and wife. A summary of the basic sampling statistics is provided in Table 1.2.

The final sample, then, was sufficient to provide an accurate representation of the entire membership. This may be seen in Tables 1.3, 1.4, and 1.5, where we actually tested our sample in one temple against available data for the entire membership of that temple. As the tables show, the sample represents with great accuracy the total membership, except that they have been members for a longer period of time.

Questionnaires were mailed during November of 1970 to all whose names had been selected, and a follow-up letter urging completion and return of the questionnaire was sent some three weeks later. The rate of return is shown in Table 1.2. For all adults, the average rate of return was 48 percent.

* Four of the twelve sampled temples are in the New York metropolitan region, and two each in the Chicago and Boston regions; one is in New Orleans, one in Los Angeles, one in Washington (D.C.), and one in Pittsburgh.

Table 1.2

SAMPLING AND SUMMARY OF RESPONSE RATE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Temple	No. of family Members	ADULTS			COLLEGE			CONFIRMATION CLASS		
		Mailed	Returned*	Percent Returned	Mailed	Returned*	Percent Returned	Distri- buted	Returned*	Percent Returned
A	273	100	68	68%	19	17	89%	35	22	63%
B	951	145	65	45	46	24	52	80	61	79
C	785	148	91	62	174	90	52	65	32	49
D	778	150	68	45	26	17	65	70	16	22
E	431	100	55	55	19	13	68	13	8	62
F	1650	270	111	41	95	50	53	90	51	57
G	447	100	42	42	48	14	29	50	18	36
H	892	138	59	43	135	76	56	42	25	60
I	1020	151	70	46	48	28	58	72	62	87
J	900	149	76	51	48	37	77	40	17	43
K	242	100	61	61	14	6	43	35	13	37
L	1850	247	98	40	53	22	42	75	60	80
TOTALS	9619	1798	864	48%	725	394	54%	667	385	58%

* Includes only questionnaires that had sufficient data to tally, that included the respondents' temple affiliation, and were received through February 28, 1971. Questionnaires were mailed during November, 1970.

Table 1.3

AGE OF TEMPLE C SAMPLE RESPONDENTS
AND OF ALL MEMBERS OF TEMPLE C

	Long Range Sample Temple C N=91	All members Temple C N=1602
Under 35	10%	11%
35-44	25	27
45-54	48	44
55-64	15	15
65 and over	0	3

Table 1.4

SEX OF TEMPLE C SAMPLE RESPONDENTS
AND OF ALL MEMBERS OF TEMPLE C

	Long Range Sample Temple C N=91	All members Temple C N=1602
Male	50.5%	53%
Female	49.5	47%

Table 1.5

YEARS BELONGED TO TEMPLE OF TEMPLE C
RESPONDENTS AND OF ALL MEMBERS OF TEMPLE C

	Long Range Sample Temple C N=91	All members Temple C N=1602
2 years or less	10%	20%
3-6 years	26	21
7-12 years	18	28
13-20 years	44	31
Over 20 years	2	1

In arriving at a judgment regarding the reliability of generalizing from this sample, the rate of response is, obviously a critical factor. A response rate of 50 percent is, as mail questionnaires go, quite respectable. Nonetheless, the fact is that some 50 percent of the adults who received questionnaires did not return them, and the question is whether there is any reason to suppose that there are important differences between respondents and non-respondents.

There are, of course, many reasons why a person does not return a questionnaire. Some people are slothful, and others are hostile, and others, perhaps, too insecure to commit themselves in writing. We cannot be certain what the mix of reasons that determined our response rate was, although, once again, a more precise portrait will become available when comparisons are made to the forthcoming National Jewish Population Study sample. On the whole, however, it seems quite reasonable to suppose that those people who took the trouble to complete and return the questionnaire are, on the average, somewhat more interested, more involved, and/or more committed to Reform Judaism and to their temple than are those who did not take the trouble. This assumption is supported by the data in Table 1.5 on Temple C respondents. There, it will be recalled, we saw that while our respondents were quite similar to the entire temple membership in sex and age distribution, they had been members of the temple for a much longer time. In generalizing from our respondents to all Reform Jews, therefore, our data should be taken as a kind of baseline; more complete returns would almost surely show lower levels of interest, involvement, and identification.

The actual representativeness of our sample may also be gauged by comparing some of our demographic data to data available in other studies of Jewish populations, for example, the level of educational attainment of our respondents is much higher than that of the Jewish population of selected American communities, and of the Jewish population in general. Fully 60 percent of our respondents have completed at least 4 years of college; 29 percent hold advanced degrees. We may compare this to 28 percent of the Jews of Providence with four or more years of college (in 1964)¹, and to 44 percent of the Jews of greater Boston who have had any college education at all (in 1966).² A recent national study of Jewish freshmen -- and estimates of the number of Jews who attend college now range between 80 and 90 percent -- indicates that 40 percent of their fathers and 25 percent of their mothers are college graduates (or have advanced degrees), compared to 70 percent of our male respondents and 49 of our female respondents.³

But we are not interested, in the first instance, in differences between our sample and Jews in general. It has long been established that Reform Jews have a higher level of education than Jews in general. The

¹ Sidney Goldstein, The Greater Providence Jewish Community: A Population Survey (Providence, 1964).

² Morris Axelrod, Floyd J. Fowler, and Arnold Gurin, A Community Survey for Long Range Planning (Boston, 1967).

³ David Drew, "A Profile of Jewish Freshmen", American Council of Education, June, 1970.

question, instead, is whether our respondents are better educated than Reform Jews in particular. And here, unfortunately, the data are somewhat less ample. The Boston study of 1966 includes a geographic breakdown, which shows that Jews in that area of suburban Boston where one of our sampled temples is located have about the same level of educational attainment as is reported by our respondents from that temple -- 68 percent of our respondents in that particular temple and 69 percent of the Jewish population of that particular area report at least some college.¹ A 1957 study of the Greater Washington (D.C.) Jewish population finds that 52 percent of Reform heads of households have some education beyond college, and another 17 percent have four years of college.² This compares to our Washington respondent data, which show that 36 percent have some post-graduate education, and 27 percent have just four years of college. Since our sample includes both men and women, and is not restricted to heads of households, the figures are not far from each other. Finally, a 1957 study of the New Orleans Jewish community finds that 31 percent of Reform Jews are college graduates, compared to 26 percent in our New Orleans temple.³

On the basis of these data, we conclude that our sample is not significantly more or less educated than Reform Jews in general. The very high educational attainment of our respondents, in other words, reflects the high educational attainment of Reform Jews, and not the differential disposition of well-educated people to return questionnaires.

Reviewing a number of other demographic statistics, such as the age distribution and marital status of our respondents, again indicates a close similarity to data available for other samples of Reform Jews. We believe, therefore, that our respondents are, indeed, representative insofar as basic sex, age, and education distributions are concerned.

At the same time, it cannot be forgotten that our respondents are, by definition, a distinct group: they responded, and others did not. Their age distribution may be comparable to that of other Reform Jews, and their marital status and educational level may be comparable as well, but we cannot infer from all that that their attitudes are also the same. In fact, there is some sketchy confirmation available for the hypothesis that our respondents, in the aggregate, are somewhat more involved with their temple than the non-respondents. Comparing our data on attendance at worship services, we find a somewhat higher frequency than other studies of Reform patterns have shown. The evidence here is somewhat fragmentary, but it supports what we would, on logical grounds, be inclined to assume.

In sum: The full adult sample is quite likely a fair representation of Reform Jews in metropolitan areas outside the South. The actual respondents are less representative of the entire population; instead, they represent that

¹ Axelrod, et al, op.cit.

² Stanley Bigman, The Jewish Population of Greater Washington in 1956 (Washington, 1957).

³ Leonard Reissman, Profile of a Community: A Sociological Study of the New Orleans Jewish Community (New Orleans, 1958).

half of affiliated Reform Jews who are, on the whole, the more involved and identified as part of the Reform movement. We are unable to estimate with precision the size of the difference between this half and the other; we suspect it is not very large. In any case, if involvement and identification are considered "good", then this study presents data on Reform Jews at their "best".

The Youth Sample. Quite a different set of circumstances surrounds the youth sample. There, instead of working from complete membership lists, two different procedures were followed. In the case of confirmation class students, questionnaires were sent to each of the twelve temples in bulk, for administration during classroom time. Each student was also provided a stamped, addressed envelope which he could use to return the questionnaire, thereby insuring the confidentiality of his response.

As to college students, each temple maintains a list of its "alumni", or, in some cases, children of its members, who are away at college. All the students whose names appeared on these lists were sent questionnaires.

It will be immediately evident that this population base is a good deal different from the adult base. Not all eligible children of temple members are enrolled in confirmation class, and not all students are included on the college lists. Thus, at the very outset, the two groups are weighted towards the more highly identified, much as was the case with the adult sample. The fact is that the size of the college lists maintained by the several temples varied a good deal, from a low of 14 names in the case of one temple to a high of 174 names in the case of another. All together, there were 725 college students whose names appeared on one of the twelve lists, and who received the questionnaire. As to confirmation class students, our estimates are thrown off by the fact that not all the temples, it appears, provided us with comparable data regarding the number of such students they have. Since the questionnaire was to be administered during class sessions, it would seem that the rate of return should have been quite high, with only absentees and some few others not responding. And, indeed, in several cases the response rate was over 80 percent, which is about what might have been expected. In several other cases, however, the response rate from confirmation class students was under 40 percent, leading us to believe that the actual number of questionnaires requested by the temples was based on somewhat inflated registration figures. Overall, the response rate for confirmation students was 58 percent. In comparing the responses to questions regarding home practices (such as candle lighting) as between adults and confirmation class students, we find a very close similarity. This leads us to conclude that the confirmation class sample is, in fact, biased in the same direction as the adult sample, and quite likely in approximately the same degree.

The response rate for the college sample was 54 percent. It will seem a bit unusual that the rates for the two groups of young people are so close to each other, since the confirmation class students were a "captive"

audience while the college students were, like the adults, mailed the questionnaire to their residence. The apparent curiosity is, we believe, accounted for by the fact, noted above, that the confirmation class rate is based on estimates provided by the temples, rather than on actual lists of names. Our impression is that the actual response rate of the confirmation class students present in class when the questionnaire was filled out was far higher than the 58 percent figure we give, and, therefore, far higher than the college student response rate.

There is some reason to suppose that the college students, as a group, are somewhat less representative of all Reform affiliated college students than either the adult or the confirmation respondents are of their respective categories. The lists themselves surely omit the names of the least identified and least interested students, and those who actually took the time to fill out the questionnaires are still more selective a group. An adult member of a temple, receiving the questionnaire, might have felt some sense of obligation to return it, even if he were not very positively disposed towards his temple; college students, we imagine, are less likely to feel the obligation in the absence of a positive disposition towards the temple.

We may, then, arrive at the following general conclusions: With respect to adults, given the fact that we were dealing with complete membership lists, and the fact of a 48 percent rate of return, our sample at the very least represents with great accuracy that half of Reform Jewry that is, in the aggregate, more interested in and identified with the Reform movement. With respect to confirmation class respondents, our sample is likely a fair representation of all students who are actually enrolled and who actually attend confirmation classes. This is a smaller group than the total number of young people of the same age whose parents are affiliated, and the data suggest that it is also about half the total population, and biased in very much the same way as the adult sample. With respect to college students, we have no estimate of the proportion of all Reform college students our lists include, and we think it reasonable to suppose that our actual respondents in this category are biased in the same direction, but in greater measure, than the other two groupings.

The data which are presented in the following chapters should be read and interpreted against this general background.

The Questionnaire. As we have indicated, the survey was based on a mailed questionnaire, a technique which dramatically reduces the costs of survey research. Wherever possible, the questionnaire included items that had been successfully used in earlier studies of Jewish attitudes and practices, in order both to benefit from the pre-validation of questions and to permit comparative data to be developed where warranted. In addition, a large number of new questions were developed, in consultation with a number of people who were either expert in survey research or intimately familiar with temple life

(or, in some cases, both). The questionnaire was pre-tested with small groups in the Boston area, and revised several times.

Almost all of the questions were designed as closed questions -- that is, questions which the respondents can answer by checking one of several alternatives provided. There is an inevitable loss of nuance in survey work; ultimately, all answers, no matter how eloquently or subtly stated, are reduced to a computer-readable code. The fixed-alternative mode, in effect, has the respondent do the coding himself. By standardizing the responses, costs are reduced, and error in interpretation is virtually eliminated. The trade-off, then, is an increase in accuracy and precision, as against a loss in subtlety.

Our instrument also contained a number of open-ended questions, where respondents were encouraged to express their answers in their own words, or to explain earlier answers more fully.

It is worth pointing out that the anonymity of the self-completed questionnaire is believed by many people in the field to make it easier for respondents to "tell the truth"; interviews, for all that they provide richer data, inevitably raise the possibility of interviewer-interviewee interaction affecting, and possibly distorting, the response.

Data Processing. Completed questionnaires were coded and the information transferred to IBM cards, and thence to tape. Processing and analysis was performed at the Harvard University Computer Center.

The results here presented are based on a limited analysis of the data. The number of questions that might be asked of the data is much larger than the number of questions that have thus far been asked, and whose answers are presented below. The more detailed analysis which will provide answers to the as yet unasked questions is projected for the months to come.

A Profile of Adult Respondents

We turn our attention now to the data themselves. In the chapters that follow, the basic attitudinal data which are the core of the study are presented. Here, and for the remainder of this chapter, we are concerned with providing a general profile of our sample, as a kind of point of departure for the attitudinal material.

Age, Sex, and Marital Status. Of our 859 adult respondents, 53 percent are male and 47 percent female. The average age of adult respondents is 48.5, with the age distribution concentrated in the middle age group. (See Table 1.6) The average age of females is 46, and that of males 50.

Table 1.6

AGE OF ADULT RESPONDENTS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Under 35	14%	10%	19%
35-44	27	25	29
45-54	29	30	27
55-64	21	24	16
65 and over	10	11	9

The large majority of respondents (87 percent) are married, with 8 percent widowed and 3 percent divorced or separated. In light of their age and marital status, we would expect, and find, that most of our respondents are parents. This is so in 94 percent of all cases, as may be seen in Table 1.7. The average number of children per family is 2.3

Table 1.7

NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF ADULT RESPONDENTS

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0	6%
1	12
2	42
3	32
4	7
5+	1

Again, the fact that our respondents are somewhat older than the general population means that their children are somewhat older as well. The age of children is presented in Table 1.8.

Table 1.8

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN
OF ADULT RESPONDENTS

Age	Percent
No children	6%
All children under age 6	4
All children between 6 and 17	35
Some children older than 17 and some younger	19
All children over age 17	35

Secular Education. We have already observed that our respondents have a very high level of educational attainment. This may be seen in Table 1.9, where data for our respondents and for the entire adult population of the United States are presented.

Table 1.9

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF SAMPLED ADULTS AND
OF ALL ADULTS IN UNITED STATES OVER AGE 25

	Long Range Study	All U.S. Adults*
Less than 4 yrs. high school	5%	47%
High school graduate	12	33
1-3 years of college	23	10
College graduate	31	11
Post-college	29	

* From Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1969 (Washington, 1969) p. 106.

For the American population as a whole, 80 percent of adults have a high school education or less; for our sample, the comparable figure is 17 percent. At the other extreme, 60 percent of our sample are college graduates, or have some post-graduate education; in the general population, the figure is 11 percent.

Jewish Education. The figures for Jewish education are quite different. It is somewhat difficult to compare our adult respondents with other sampled Jewish populations, since measurements of Jewish education are quite unreliable, and since different studies have used different categories for presentation of data. Nonetheless, the most straightforward category is "Sunday School only" -- and 44 percent of our respondents report that as the kind of Jewish education they received. This compares to 11 percent of Jewish adults in the Boston study and to 15 percent of Jewish adults in the Providence study, as may be seen in Table 1.10. A majority of Jewish adults in Boston and in Providence received a more intensive Jewish educational exposure, such as Talmud Torah, day school, or Sunday School plus some afternoon schooling. Such comparisons as are possible regarding the duration of the educational exposure -- that is, the number of years during which people attended whatever sort of school it was they attended -- indicate that there is not very much difference between our respondents and adult Jews in general on this score.

Table 1.10

TYPE OF JEWISH EDUCATION OF ADULT
RESPONDENTS, COMPARED TO JEWISH
ADULTS IN BOSTON AND PROVIDENCE

Type	Long Range	Boston*	Providence**
Sunday school only	44%	11%	15%
Other Jewish schooling	39	69	66
No formal Jewish education	17	20	17

* Axelrod, et al., op.cit.

** Goldstein, op.cit.

Navivity. The overwhelming majority of our respondents are native born; slightly more than half (51 percent) of their fathers and 37 percent of their mothers are also native born. This means that we are dealing with a

population which is largely second and third generation. It likely means also that our youth respondents are, in many cases, fourth generation, making this the first study with a significant representation of fourth generation Jews.

Of second generation respondents -- that is, those either of whose parents was born abroad -- more are of Eastern European than of Central European origin. The figures are presented in Table 1.11.

Table 1.11

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF ADULT RESPONDENTS
AND THEIR PARENTS

Country	Adult Respondents	Mothers of Adults	Fathers of Adults
U.S.	91%	51%	37%
Russia or Poland	3	34	44
Other E. Europe	1	5	5
Germany or Austria	3	8	10
Other	2	2	4

Religious Identification. Most of our respondents think of themselves as Reform Jews, but 22 percent do not. Of those, most view themselves as Conservative, and 2 percent report that they are non-Jews. The very diverse composition of the Reform movement is attested more dramatically by data on the religious identification of respondents' parents. Fully 32 percent are reported as Conservative, and 26 percent as Orthodox Jews; an additional 7 percent report some other identification. This means that only 34 percent of our respondents grew up in Reform households. These figures are buttressed by the reported auspices of respondents' Jewish educational experience, which was Reform in only 37 percent of all cases. (See Tables 1.12 and 1.13)

Table 1.12

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF ADULT RESPONDENTS,
SPOUSES, AND RESPONDENTS' PARENTS

Identification	Respondents	Spouses	Parents
Reform	78%	79%	34%
Conservative	13	8	32
Orthodox	1	2	26
Other Jewish	3	4	4
Non-Jewish	2	2	2
Not ascertained	2	5	1

Table 1.13

DENOMINATIONAL AUSPICES OF JEWISH EDUCATION
FOR ADULT RESPONDENTS WITH SOME JEWISH EDUCATION

Auspices	Percent
Reform	37%
Conservative	30
Orthodox	30
Other	3

Temple Membership. Most of our respondents are veteran temple members, with the average respondent having belonged to his temple for 13.7 years. Indeed, more than half have been members for 9.7 years or more, and only 14 percent have been members for two years or less. (Table 1.14) An indication of the level of involvement of respondents in temple affairs is that 29 percent report having held some office in their temple.

Table 1.14

NUMBER OF YEARS ADULT RESPONDENTS
HAVE BELONGED TO TEMPLE

Years	Percent
1-2	14%
3-6	26
7-12	19
13-20	21
20+	20

Politics. It has long been established that Jews are more liberal than the general population. This is decisively so in our study, as the comparative data presented in Table 1.15 show.

Table 1.15

POLITICAL PREFERENCES OF ADULT RESPONDENTS
AND OF ALL AMERICAN ADULTS

Political Preference	Long Range	All Adults*
Conservative**	11%	39%
Moderate	38	29
Liberal or radical**	51	26
No opinion	-	6

* Data for all Americans are from a May, 1971 Gallup Poll reported in the Boston Globe of May 13, 1971

** Long Range respondents were given a choice between "liberal" and "radical"; only one percent identified themselves as radical. Gallup data were reported under the headings "very or fairly conservative" and "very or fairly liberal".

A Profile of the Youth Respondents

Age, Sex, and Secular Education. Fifty-eight percent of confirmation class respondents and 50 percent of college respondents were females. As to age, reported in Table 1.16, the great majority of confirmation class respondents are fifteen, and in the second year of high school. College respondents are more heavily concentrated in the early years of college.

Table 1.16

AGE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
OF YOUTH RESPONDENTS

	Confirmation	College
<u>Age</u>		
Up to 14	9%	0%
15-17	91	3
18-20	0	73
21+	0	23
<u>School (high school or college)</u>		
First year	10%	32%
Second year	84	26
Third year	4	20
Fourth year	2	14
Graduate school	-	8

Jewish Education. With regard to Jewish education, the two groups are quite similar. Very nearly like the adults, 46 percent of the youth report that they have attended Sunday School only. Since we know that most have, in fact, had some additional education, in the form of confirmation class, we infer that the intent here is to describe a one-day a week educational experience, as distinguished, let us say, from an additional one or more afternoon sessions per week. Somewhat curiously, 11 percent of the college respondents have had no formal Jewish education whatever. At the same time, 51 percent of the college students report having become a bar- or bat-mitzvah, compared to 44 percent of the confirmation class students. And most of the young people (62 percent) have been members of their temple youth group.

Politics. As to political preferences, we find that our young respondents describe themselves as more liberal/radical than their parents, and than all American college students; rather interestingly, our college students describe themselves as more liberal/radical than a national sample of Jewish freshmen conducted just a year ago. This may mean that students more involved in Reform Judaism tend to be more liberal/radical, or that students become more liberal/radical as they move beyond the freshman year, as 68 percent of our college respondents have. The data are presented in Table 1.17.

Table 1.17

POLITICAL PREFERENCES OF YOUTH RESPONDENTS,
OF ADULT RESPONDENTS, OF ALL JEWISH COLLEGE
FRESHMEN, AND OF FRESHMEN OF OTHER RELIGIONS

Political Preference	Confir- mation	College	Adults	Jewish Freshmen* (N=10,609)	Non-Jewish Freshmen* (N=65,847)
Radical or Left**	8%	13%	1%	9%	3%
Liberal	57	65	50	46	29
Moderate or middle of the road	28	18	38	34	45
Moderately conserva- tive, conservative, or strongly conservative	6	4	11	12	23

* Data from Drew, op.cit., p.41.

** "Radical" was used in this survey; "Left" in the national college study reported in the last two columns.

The background data we have just reviewed are not intended to provide a full statistical portrait of Reform Jews, young or old. Such a profile might more easily be developed through a simple reporting mechanism on the backgrounds of all new members of Reform temples. In any event, our own interest is primarily in the more complex attitudinal and behavioral variables we discuss in the following chapters, for which the preceding data serve as a point of departure. They provide us with a sense of the kind of population we are dealing with -- very well educated in secular terms, rather minimally educated Jewishly

(insofar as either form of education is accurately measured by formal schooling); quite liberal, compared to other population groups, yet not monolithically so by any means; highly stable members of their temples, despite the preponderance of non-Reform family backgrounds.

So much for general information; we turn now to the heart of the study.

2. The Beliefs and Practices
of Reform Jews

Introduction

Any description of the beliefs and practices of a group of Jews is bound to irritate some readers, please others, and confuse most. If Judaism had a precise code, empirical observations could easily be assessed with reference to that code, here honored in the practice, there in the breach. Most Jews, however, resist the notion that such a code exists, and few of those who do perceive Judaism as a set of identifiable normative statements are prepared to cede to others the authority to define the content of the code. Each person is his own kind of Jew, and there is none to say that one kind is closer to some ideal type than another.

Or so it would seem. Yet can we really intend that there are no norms whatever, that anything goes, that Judaism is entirely a matter of taste, and hence all interpretation beyond dispute? Does the fact that diverse efforts at codification no longer seem helpful to large numbers of people mean that such efforts should cease? Does the fact that an integrated and comprehensive code seems an elusive goal mean that no standards whatever shall be asserted? Are we content to say that Judaism is what Jews do, and only that? What if those who do Judaism are illiterate, or slothful? Shall the consequences of their ignorance or sloth be imposed as the modern definition of Judaism, or even accepted as one among equal definitions?

These are all vexing questions, particularly for those who think of themselves as Reform Jews. It is not entirely clear whether Reform Judaism, at its inception, sought merely to substitute a new code for an old, or sought to create a Judaism without code at all. But whatever the early intentions, Judaism is and was a normative system, at least in part, and it is in the nature of such systems to seek to inform the behavior of their adherents. One is a Jew by birth, as it were; one is a Reform Jew, presumably, by choice, hence by conviction.

Yet in perusing the data which follow, it is evident that whatever the convictions which lead people to call themselves Reform Jews, those convictions are not widely known or shared. Among the dozen congregations, large and small, from coast to coast and from border to border, here studied, and even within each congregation, there are enormous disparities in both belief and practice. It is not even clear that there is some basic core of beliefs, some irreducible minimal doctrine to which all Reform Jews would accede. And this raises a very troublesome question indeed. For we can acknowledge the right of a group of Jews to seek their own way within Judaism, to restate and to redefine, and yet be forced to wonder whether Reform Jews

are making a new way, in a concerted effort, or are thrashing about in a dozen different directions that simply do not add up, in which no central tendency is evident.

Reform Judaism is far too large, far too powerful, at its best far too serious an effort to be left to Reform Jews alone to worry about. If, for example, intermarriage raises problems regarding Jewish survival, the fact that a majority of the respondents in this survey do not regard it as an important problem is a matter for all Jews, however they describe themselves, to ponder. If, for example, it is thought to be somewhat anomalous for members of a Reform congregation to have Christmas trees in their homes, the fact that three out of ten members of one of the temples here reviewed report having Christmas trees is a matter of concern not only for the leadership of that particular temple.

The nature of the concern is, however, problematic. For while there may be one or two, or even a half-dozen statements, which the overwhelming majority of Jews, both thoughtful and instinctive, would regard as virtually self-evident, deviation from which would be almost universally questioned, most of the items included in this survey do not have such overwhelming status. We are dealing with matters that lie somewhere between dogma, on the one hand, and opinion, on the other, and in reviewing the data, the reader should bear in mind that his own definitions are not necessarily more prepossessing than the next person's, that Jews of this generation, still enmeshed in the effects of the demise of the shtetl, of the Holocaust, of Israel's rebirth, of the sudden success of American Jewry, surely have the right to be confused, a right which, as we shall presently see, they exercise with vigor.

Practices of Reform Jews

The arena of Jewish practice is the easiest to deal with. We confront few subtleties in this area: one does or does not observe the laws of kashruth, or light Sabbath candles. The questions are straightforward, and so, also, the answers. Later, in describing attitudes and beliefs, we enter a more complex field. Yet even in reviewing the practices of Reform Jews, it should be noted that much is omitted. First, the list of practices here used is necessarily selective. While some effort was made to insure that those ritual practices most likely to be observed were included on the list, some Jews may well have developed an elaborate set of practices which are not covered by the items in our questionnaire.

Second, the very simplicity of the question may obscure as much as it clarifies. On the surface, there might seem to be a significant difference between, say, those who do light Sabbath candles and those who do not. But our data do not tell us whether the lighting of candles is part of a rich and rewarding celebration of the Sabbath, or merely a perfunctory observance that is based on inertia rather than commitment. By the same token, there may be

homes -- although this appears somewhat less likely -- in which candles are not lit, but where the Sabbath is marked in other special, perhaps even substantial, ways.

Accordingly, even the data which now follow are to be viewed, as all the data in this report, as more of a hint than a revelation.

Six "religious" practices were included in the survey. Respondents were asked whether, in their homes, they observed the Jewish dietary laws (leaving to the respondent the job of defining what constitutes observance), whether they took part in a Passover seder, said prayers daily, had a Hanukah menorah, lit the Sabbath candles, and had a mezzuzah on their door. The answers, overall, were as follows:

93% of all respondents report taking part in a Passover seder...

90% report owning a Hannukah menorah...

62% report that they have a mezzuzah on their door...

50% report that they light the Sabbath candles...

9% report that they say daily prayers at home...

4% report that they observe the laws of kashrut...

These figures are for the entire sample. If we look at each of the twelve congregations separately, we discover that the range varies considerably. Thus,

<u>Practice</u>	<u>High Temple</u>	<u>Low Temple</u>
Passover seder	98%	88%
Hannukah menorah	97%	83%
Mezzuzah	80%	40%
Sabbath candles	68%	38%
Daily prayers	22%	0%
Kashrut	9%	0%

It is well to note that this variety in range does not indicate a number of temples which consistently score higher and a number which consistently score lower. The scores are, instead, quite scattered, with one temple in the lead here, another there, and so on.

In addition to this fairly standard list of practices, respondents were asked a number of other questions regarding their behavior. Inquiry was made regarding the reading of Jewish publications (other than temple bulletins), membership in Jewish organizations (other than the temple), frequency of attendance at temple services, and also whether the respondent usually had a Christmas tree in his home during the appropriate season. Here, as we can see, the answers are still more scattered:

<u>Practice</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>High Temple</u>	<u>Low Temple</u>
Read Jewish publications	50%	71%	31%
Have Christmas tree	10%	29%	1%
Belong to Jewish organizations	63%	79%	40%
Temple attendance			
Once a week (or more)	7%	11%	0%
A few times a month	17%	27%	14%
Every few months	46%	45%	51%
High holidays only	28%	16%	32%
Never	3%	1%	3%

With respect to all of these questions, as throughout the study, it is of special interest to compare the answers of adult respondents to those of young people. The data above are derived from the answers of adults alone. We now add to the presentation the answers derived from young people, where the same questions were asked both groups.

<u>Practice</u>	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Youth</u>
Passover seder	93%	93%
Hannukah menorah	90%	96%
Mezzuzah	62%	67%
Sabbath candles	50%	46%
Daily prayers	9%	5%
Kashrut	4%	6%

<u>Practice</u>	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Youth</u>
Read Jewish publications	50%	46%
Have Christmas tree	10%	12%
Temple attendance		
Once a week (or more)	7%	7%
A few times a month	17%	17%
Every few months	46%	34%
High holidays only	28%	32%
Never	3%	11%

What is most striking about these data is the very close correspondence between the two sets of answers. Actually, since a number of the items deal with family rather than individual behavior, it is not surprising that the differences between the groups are, in most cases, trivial. After all, where family behavior is reported, we are merely getting the report from different members of the family. Nonetheless, insofar as the families described by the youth respondents tend to be somewhat younger than families described by adult respondents, we note that there does not appear to be any discernable behavioral fall-off among our diverse respondents. A close reading of the comparative data, presented in Table 2.1, turn up only two or three interesting observations. First, we note one congregation in which 35 percent of the youth respondents report a Christmas tree in their home. This is by far higher than any other group, although it follows the adult pattern for that congregation. (In a different congregation, we note that while 15 percent of the adults report a Christmas tree, only 5 percent of the youth do. This is a somewhat unusual finding, since we would normally expect a higher incidence of Christmas trees in homes where we know there are children. The finding is likely related to observation of the temple in question, which has apparently been moving away from an earlier pattern of assimilation.) It is, perhaps, curious that the temple with the highest incidence of Christmas trees is also the temple whose adults report the second highest score on daily prayers, as well as the lowest rate of candle-lighting.

The full set of data, for all twelve temples and for both adults and young people, are presented in Table 2.1. There, the careful reader may notice that there are several temples in which young people report substantially higher observance of the dietary laws than do their elders. In one case, the change is from 2 percent to 10 percent; in a second case, from 3 percent to 11 percent; in two other cases, none of the adult respondents report observance of kashrut, while 7 percent and 8 percent of the young respondents do. It is always difficult to know how to interpret such findings; they may, after all, owe simply to statistical quirks. But in this case, it seems more likely that adults define observance rather more strictly than do their children.

Table 2.1
JEWISH PRACTICES

Temple:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	TOTAL	
Passover seder	Adults	93%	95%	93%	88%	92%	92%	93%	97%	96%	92%	98%	93%	93%
	Youth	90	93	96	81	95	86	94	94	96	94	100	98	93
Hannukah menorah	Adults	96	89	92	83	84	84	95	89	93	92	97	91	90
	Youth	100	98	98	91	95	88	94	99	96	98	95	96	96
Mezzuzah	Adults	76	68	66	49	80	42	68	62	66	60	65	51	62
	Youth	64	73	75	42	100	45	71	71	72	79	79	51	67
Sabbath candles	Adults	55	43	57	45	50	38	45	54	48	67	68	43	50
	Youth	44	47	59	24	52	43	55	46	38	53	56	40	46
Daily prayers	Adults	9	7	6	9	22	18	0	4	2	6	4	14	9
	Youth	5	10	4	0	14	7	0	1	5	11	0	5	5
Dietary laws	Adults	3	0	2	7	0	5	5	0	9	7	3	5	4
	Youth	3	8	10	6	0	1	3	7	7	8	11	6	6
Jewish publications	Adults	31	48	65	38	54	55	38	38	43	54	38	71	50
	Youth	28	45	51	30	71	44	21	41	26	59	78	75	67
Christmas tree	Adults	3	14	1	16	15	29	3	9	3	5	2	14	10
	Youth	3	12	1	21	5	35	6	4	9	10	0	19	12

Table 2.1
JEWISH PRACTICES (continued)

Temple:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	TOTAL	
Temple attendance:														
Weekly or more	Adults	4%	0%	1%	13%	9%	9%	2%	5%	1%	11%	5%	12%	7%
	Youth	5	5	2	6	0	10	3	1	5	11	16	22	7
A few times a month	Adults	19	14	13	9	24	10	29	14	20	27	25	15	17
	Youth	18	10	5	6	29	32	12	18	18	11	47	16	17
Every few months	Adults	57	51	49	44	50	46	43	51	43	45	43	31	46
	Youth	36	47	35	27	47	22	29	41	39	44	16	14	34
High holidays only	Adults	16	32	33	29	15	33	24	25	31	16	26	37	28
	Youth	33	32	39	55	14	20	44	29	32	22	21	40	32
	Adults	3	3	3	4	2	3	2	5	4	1	2	5	3
	Youth	8	6	20	6	10	17	12	12	7	11	0	9	11

Thus, while an adult who does not eat pork chops but does eat bacon -- a rather common phenomenon -- might concede that he does not observe the dietary laws, his children, arguing from the same data, might conclude that he does.

In any case, it is evident, upon review of this set of data, that we have some suggestive material, but hardly any clear patterns. That is, we cannot easily say, "Here is a temple with consistently high scores, there another that is consistently low." The data indicate a more eclectic set of behaviors.

Beliefs and Opinions of Reform Jews

We come now to a presentation of data on beliefs and opinions. As one might imagine, this involves us in a much more complex set of problems. Each question of interest is here reported by a simple check mark, whereas in the real world, most people would add many qualifications and explanations to their answers. Survey research provides only a crude approximation of the subtle world of belief. Even though we try to provide several alternative responses, so we can get some impression concerning the intensity with which a given opinion is held, or rejected, our list of responses is never adequate to measure the actual levels of intensity that occur in any variegated population. Moreover, even though we can say something about intensity, we can say very little about salience -- that is, about the degree to which any particular belief or opinion is viewed by the respondent as an important one. Respondents were not asked to tell us about their central beliefs, but, instead, were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a set of beliefs specified by the research team. That is the standard format of survey research, and it does provide useful information, but the audience to the analysis should be cautioned about its limitations. The single most significant limitation is that we can only report what we were told about, and we could only be told about what we had asked.

In deciding what to ask, we sought, wherever possible, to include questions that had been asked in earlier investigations into Jewish beliefs, and had generated interesting information. This enabled us not only to reduce the need for pre-testing of the questions, but also to compare the answers of this population with answers of other surveyed groups.

The most commonly used set of questions concerning Jewish beliefs was first used in the Lakeville studies, which were conducted by Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum in the late 1950's.¹ The format of these questions permits an unusually comprehensive description of the Judaic perspectives of respondents. Each respondent is presented with four alternative ratings: For a Jew to be a good Jew, which of the following is it essential that he

¹See Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier (New York, 1967), esp. pp. 321-332.

do? Which are desirable? Which make no difference? Which is it essential that he not do? These ratings were then applied to twenty-two statements:

Accept his being a Jew and not try to hide it
Contribute to Jewish philanthropies
Support Israel
Support Zionism
Support all humanitarian causes
Belong to a synagogue or temple
Attend weekly services
Lead an ethical and moral life
Attend services on High Holidays
Observe the dietary laws
Be well versed in Jewish history and culture
Know the fundamentals of Judaism
Have mostly Jewish friends
Promote the use of Yiddish
Give Jewish candidates for political office preference
Gain respect of Christian neighbors
Promote civic betterment and improvement in the community
Work for equality for Negroes
Help the underprivileged improve their lot
Be a liberal on political and economic issues
Marry within the Jewish faith
Oppose the Vietnam War

Our list of twenty-two statements was identical with Sklare's, except that we omit an item dealing with membership in Jewish organizations which he

includes, and we include an item on Vietnam. (On our youth questionnaire, one additional item, regarding knowing the fundamentals of Judaism, was omitted.)

Since the data are rather complex, we present them in manageable sections. (The full data set appears in Appendix Table A.1) There follows a list of the scores in the "essential" category, with the items ranked according to the answers of our adult respondents. The "A" column gives the percentage for our total adult sample, the "Y" column for our youth sample, and the "LS" column for the sample reported in the Lakeville Studies, a sample, be it noted, which included thirty-eight percent non-Reform respondents.

Table 2.2

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVE
THAT TO BE A GOOD JEW IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT ONE:

	A	Y	LS
1. Accept his being a Jew and not try to hide it	80	63	85
2. Lead an ethical and moral life	79	48	93
3. Support all humanitarian causes	43	36	67
4. Promote civic betterment and improvement in the community	40	36	67
5. Support Israel	37	21	21
6. Know the fundamentals of Judaism	34	*	48
7. Help the underprivileged improve their lot	32	35	58
8. Contribute to Jewish philanthropies	32	4	39
9. Belong to a synagogue or temple	31	13	31
10. Attend services on High Holidays	29	18	24
11. Marry within the Jewish faith	24	9	23
12. Gain respect of Christian neighbors	23	16	59
13. Work for equality for Negroes	20	30	44
14. Oppose the Vietnam war	19	19	*

*Not asked

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

	A	Y	LS
15. Be well versed in Jewish history and culture	15	11	17
16. Support Zionism	13	9	7
17. Be a liberal on political and economic issues	13	11	31
18. Attend weekly services	6	1	4
19. Give Jewish candidates for political office preference	3	1	1
20. Have mostly Jewish friends	2	1	1
21. Observe the dietary laws	2	1	1
22. Promote the use of Yiddish	1	1	1

A number of interesting things emerge from the data in Table 2.2. First, we can readily see that a far larger number of items evokes majority consensus in Lakeville than in the present study. A majority of our respondents agree in only two of the twenty-two cases that an item is essential; in Lakeville, six items won majority assent. The two on our list are also among the six on the Lakeville list; the four endorsed by Lakeville but not by our respondents were in third, fourth, seventh and twelfth place in our survey. Three of those four are statements of secular ethical persuasion -- support for all humanitarian causes, promotion of civic betterment and improvement in the community, and help for the underprivileged. The last concerns working to gain the respect of one's Christian neighbors.

If we look at the five items which measure general ethical behavior -- ethical and moral life, humanitarian causes, civic betterment, help for the underprivileged, and equality for Negroes -- we see that the mean endorsement of these items in the present adult sample is 43 percent, while in Lakeville it was 66 percent. These data would suggest that there has taken place a measurable attrition of support for liberal doctrine, an interpretation which is strengthened by the responses to item 17, the importance of being a liberal on political and economic issues. That item is endorsed as essential by 13 percent of our sample, while its essential nature was asserted by 31 percent of the Lakeville sample.

There is far less disparity on the items dealing with specific Jewish characteristics. On the contrary, there is a remarkable coincidence of view, with important differences on only two items: In our sample, 37 percent deemed support for Israel essential, a position taken by only 21

percent of the Lakeville sample; in Lakeville, 48 percent believed it essential that a good Jew know the fundamentals of Judaism, a position accepted by 34 percent of our sample. (Other, less significant differences occur on the question of support for Zionism and the importance of contribution to Jewish philanthropies.)

It seems fair to conclude that the past fifteen years have witnessed an attrition in support for liberal positions without a corresponding increase in endorsement of what might be called Jewish positions. It is also well to note the substantial difference in endorsement of the statement that it is essential to gain the respect of one's Christian neighbors. This position was held by 59 percent in Lakeville, but by only 23 percent in the present study. And if we glance at the youth response to this item, we see a still lower level of support, just 16 percent accepting the statement as essential. This suggests a gradual increase, of noticeable dimension, in the sense of security of the Jew.

In reviewing briefly the responses of young people, we may note that on the five "liberal" items (items 2, 3, 4, 7 and 13) there is a much wider gap between the two adult samples than between the adults and young people in this study. It will perhaps be viewed as somewhat curious that a set of statements which, in the aggregate, was endorsed by 66 percent of the Lakeville sample, and by 43 percent of the adult sample, was accepted by only 37 percent of our youth respondents. The conventional assumption, presumably, would be that young people would prove more liberal than their elders. But this does not seem to be the case, as witnessed by the response to item 17, where the proportion of the young who deem it essential that one be a liberal on political and economic questions is virtually the same as that of the adult population, both substantially lower than in Lakeville. So, too, the responses on opposition to the Vietnam war are identical for adults and for youth. But since, in a different part of our questionnaire, 72 percent of the young respondents, as compared to 51 percent of the adults, describe themselves as "liberal" or "radical" (the alternatives were "conservative" and "moderate"), it may be that the real generational difference is in the degree to which people see their liberalism as necessarily connected with their Judaism. Our data show that the young, while thinking of themselves as liberals, do not believe that their liberalism is essential to their Judaism.

At the same time, there is a substantial gap between young and old on virtually every item of specifically Jewish interest. The most striking difference is on the importance of contribution to Jewish philanthropies, endorsed as essential by 32 percent of the adults but by only 4 percent of the young people. Support for Israel falls from 37 percent to 21 percent (back to where it was in Lakeville); belonging to a synagogue or temple falls from 31 percent to 13 percent; marrying within the Jewish faith falls from 24 percent to 9 percent; other items register declines as well, albeit less dramatic.

It is important not to over-interpret these results. On the basis of the data thus far presented, it would, indeed, appear that the present generation gap is not, as some have supposed, a general rejection by the young of the adult culture, but rather a much more specific rejection of one aspect -- to wit, the Jewish aspect -- of that culture. But three caveats are in order:

First, it should be noted that the items rejected by the young hardly win overwhelming endorsement by the adults. We have, instead, a waning of support for items about which the adult community is evidently itself substantially uncertain. Second, it is never safe to assume that simple differences in values between young and old reflect a generational shift. They may simply reflect differences between young and old, which is to say that for all our evidence tells us, our adults may well have displayed the same distribution of attitudes as the young when they themselves were young. Third, it might be the case that young people are, in general, somewhat less prone to view any specific item as essential, since they are less certain as to what Judaism implies. But "essential", important a category though it may be, is not the only category of endorsement; respondents were also able to check "desirable", and it is well to examine the responses to both these positive categories before attempting to derive any conclusions from the data.

Table 2.3

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVE THAT TO BE A
GOOD JEW IT IS EITHER ESSENTIAL OR DESIRABLE THAT ONE:

	A*	Y *	LS*
1. Accept his being a Jew and not try to hide it	98	91	98
2. Lead an ethical and moral life	98	84	99
3. Support all humanitarian causes	90	77	96
4. Promote civic betterment and improvement in the community	93	84	96
5. Support Israel	82	67	68
6. Know the fundamentals of Judaism	91	**	96
7. Help the underprivileged improve their lot	89	83	95
8. Contribute to Jewish philanthropies	81	39	88
9. Belong to a synagogue or temple	75	54	75
10. Attend services on High Holidays	75	59	75
11. Marry within the Jewish faith	75	43	74
12. Gain respect of Christian neighbors	68	53	91

* A=Adults; Y=Youth; LS=Lakeville Study
**Not asked

Table 2.3 (continued)

	A	Y	LS
13. Work for equality for Negroes	73	75	83
14. Oppose the Vietnam war	40	37	**
15. Be well versed in Jewish history and culture	87	68	90
16. Support Zionism	43	40	30
17. Be a liberal on political and economic issues	45	30	63
18. Attend weekly services	42	20	50
19. Give Jewish candidates for political office preference	14	9	7
20. Have mostly Jewish friends	12	5	11
21. Observe the dietary laws	10	6	12
22. Promote the use of Yiddish	11	6	7

By and large, as Table 2.3 shows, the order remains the same when the two categories are combined as it was when the "essential" category was treated separately. The single major exception is with respect to the importance of "being well versed in Jewish history and culture", viewed as essential by 15 percent of the respondents and hence ranked fifteenth on the list of essentials alone, but viewed as essential or desirable by fully 87 percent of respondents, and hence ranked sixth on the list of essentials plus desirables. Note also that the significant difference between present adults and the Lakeville sample with respect to liberal positions (items 2, 3, 4, 13 and 17) encountered above is now virtually eliminated. On this basis, it seems reasonable to say that the attrition of support for liberalism in the present sample does not, by any means, represent a "backlash" within the Jewish community. "Disillusionment" would seem a rather more appropriate concept to describe what has taken place.

With respect to differences between young and old, we find that they do not, after all, decrease when we make the question more "tolerant" by adding the "desirable" category. We may look, for example, at the several items of Jewish content endorsed by over two-thirds of adult respondents. These include the items dealing with Jewish philanthropies, support for Israel, membership in a synagogue or temple, synagogue attendance on the High Holidays, marriage within the Jewish faith, and familiarity with Jewish history and culture. The mean level of endorsement of these statements is 79 percent by the adults, and

**Not asked

55 percent by the young. The average difference between old and young on each of the six statements is 22 percentage points, which represents a slight widening of the gap in the combined essential-desirable scores. (When dealing only with "essential" rankings, the average difference between adults and the young was 17 percentage points; the mean endorsement by adults was 28 percent, the mean by the young only 13 percent.)

Still a different way of examining the data is to look at what might be called the "indifference score". This score is presented in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVE THAT TO BE A
GOOD JEW, IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE WHETHER ONE:

	A*	Y*	LS*
1. Accept his being a Jew and not try to hide it	2	9	2
2. Leads an ethical and moral life	2	15	1
3. Supports all humanitarian causes	9	22	4
4. Promotes civic betterment and improvement in the community	7	16	4
5. Supports Israel	17	31	32
6. Knows the fundamentals of Judaism	8	**	4
7. Helps the underprivileged to improve their lot	10	17	5
8. Contributes to Jewish philanthropies	18	58	12
9. Belongs to a synagogue or temple	25	44	25
10. Attends services on High Holidays	25	40	30
11. Marries within the Jewish faith	24	52	26
12. Gains respect of Christian neighbors	45	37	9
13. Works for equality for Negroes	24	23	16
14. Opposes the Vietnam war	53	57	**
15. Is well versed in Jewish history and culture	13	29	10

* A=Adults; Y=Youth; LS=Lakeville Study

**Not asked

Table 2.4 (continued)

	A	Y	LS
16. Supports Zionism	49	55	59
17. Is a liberal on political and economic issues	50	66	35
18. Attends weekly services	56	76	49
19. Gives Jewish candidates for political office preference	33	47	39
20. Has mostly Jewish friends	75	64	81
21. Observes the dietary laws	82	81	85
22. Promotes the use of Yiddish	71	75	69

It comes as no surprise that the six Jewish items most heavily endorsed by the old are generally viewed with indifference by a large proportion of the young. These items (nos. 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 15) are, in the aggregate, viewed with indifference by 21 percent of the adults -- and by 40 percent of the young. It is particularly interesting to note that the major differences between old and young occur on three items -- the importance of contributing to Jewish philanthropies, the importance of marriage within the faith, and the importance of familiarity with Jewish history and culture. This will, no doubt, be generally interpreted as an upsetting finding, and it is therefore important to caution the reader to review the data in the subsequent chapters before reaching any general conclusion on these matters. For the moment, we are content to note that the data suggest a general uncertainty regarding the "requirements", or even the desiderata, of Judaism, an uncertainty that is quite evident among adults, and still more striking -- substantially more striking -- among youth. As we have already seen, a majority of adult respondents view as essential only two items of the entire 22 item list -- accepting one's being a Jew, and leading an ethical and moral life -- and a majority of young people endorse only the first of these. But when we combine the "essential" and "desirable" categories, we find that more than three-fourths of all adults endorse 11 different items, while a similar proportion of young people endorse a total of 6. And, finally, of the 11 endorsed so heavily by the adults, 7 are of specifically Jewish content, while of the 6 endorsed by the young, only 1 is of specifically Jewish content. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that insofar as Judaism is seen as pointing towards specific ideological and/or behavioral commitments, or, at least, directions, those directions are a good deal more variegated among the older generation than among the younger. Young people tend to accept Judaism as a system which points to diverse ethical stands, but do not acknowledge the desirability, let alone the essentiality, of those behaviors which are specifically Jewish rather than generally humanistic.

One can, of course, interpret these data in many ways, and they should be read with the caveats noted earlier very much in mind. The reader who is particularly interested in the subject may wish to review the discussion in our Postscript which follows Chapter 5.

We turn now from the overall findings on the "good Jew" measure to a presentation of the data for each of the participating temples. Those data are contained in Appendix Table A.1.

Table A.1 contains a great deal of data, and it is, therefore, somewhat difficult to deal with directly. It is presented here primarily in order to provide the interested reader with the opportunity to make his own calculations and derive his own conclusions. One way of trying to organize the data into a manageable format is to see how much each temple deviates from the mean for all temples on any given issue. Such information enables us, with respect to the temples, to determine which are the most "normal" -- that is, the closest, overall, to the mean for all respondents -- and which the most deviant, and, with respect to issues, which evoke the greatest consensus, and which the greatest conflict.

Tables A.2 through A.5 in the Appendix contain the necessary summary information. On each issue, each temple is marked with one of four symbols: a "+" means that, on that issue, the respondents of that temple were marginally -- one to four percentage points -- above the mean for all respondents; a "-" means that they were marginally -- again, one to four points -- below the mean; a "P" means that on that issue, they were five or more points above the mean, and an "M" means that they were five or more points below the mean. (A blank space means a score exactly at the mean.) Except as noted, the scores provided are relative to the mean for the "essential" category. A further aid to comprehension is the division of the tables according to the thrust of the issue, with secular statements presented in Tables A.2 (for adults) and A.4 (for youth), and statements of specifically Jewish content presented in Tables A.3 (adults) and A.5 (youth).

The reader will immediately notice certain distinct patterns. Thus, for example, the adults of Temple "J" are quite clearly the most positive on both Jewish and secular statements, with their counterparts in Temple "L" not far behind, while the adults of Temples "A" and "K" are consistently far below the mean, or relatively negative, in both areas, with Temples "G" and "I" close behind them. On secular matters, Temple "C" is consistently near the mean; Temple "E", on the other hand, tends to be above the mean on Jewish issues, and below on secular issues.*

Were we to identify each of the temples by name, readers familiar with them would, no doubt, attempt to explain the peculiarities of their performance on the basis of the specific characteristics of each -- location,

*More complex calculations, in which summary scores are generated (e.g., by assigning two points for "essential", one for "desirable", none for "no difference", and minus two points for "essential not to do") produce similar results; in the interests of simplicity, they are not undertaken here.

rabbinic leadership, or some other plausible variable. It is our policy not to provide such identification, nor, indeed, to seek such explanation, save where the explanation is more than merely hypothetical. Thus, for example, it is helpful to know, in reviewing the responses of Temple "E" to secular questions, that Temple "E" is located in the South. In the main, however, we are not so interested in seeking explanations for any specific pattern of performance as we are in establishing the fact of diversity. In this context, it is especially interesting to note that there is not, as is sometimes assumed, a contradiction between high commitment to general liberal propositions and equally high commitment to specifically Jewish behaviors. We have at least two cases where adult temple members appear equally enthusiastic about both commitments, and we have also two temples where the members are enthusiastic about neither. The classic high-liberal/low-Jewish combination is not illustrated by any of the adult groupings, and its opposite, the low-liberal/high-Jewish position is approximated only by the one Southern temple, and then only poorly. Evidently, these classic positions are not so classic after all, at least not among aggregates of Reform Jews.

Still another interesting finding is that there seems to be a good deal of consistency, within the Jewish statements, between responses to those which deal specifically with religious behavior (e.g., synagogue membership or temple attendance) and those which deal with what might be termed cultural behavior (e.g., Jewish learning, support for Israel). In other words, the occasional view that Reform Jews segregate their religious commitment, and do not extend that commitment to Jewish life in general, appears mistaken. Those temples whose members are most positive towards Jewish religious behavior are also those whose members are most positive towards Jewish life in general, as such positions are here measured.

It is perhaps necessary to point out that our adoption of deviation from the mean as the basis for these statements does not imply, by any stretch of the imagination, an endorsement of the mean as the "correct" place to be. The effort, in this presentation, is to describe, not to prescribe. The norm against which temples are compared here is a statistical, not an ideological, norm. Thus, in effect, we are merely suggesting that one can, for certain purposes, describe the members of any given temple in terms of their correspondence with Reform Jews in general. Whether where they end up is a "good" place to be depends, of course, on the view one takes about where most people are. In short, instead of comparing our respondents to any pre-determined standard, we compare them to one another.

In comparing the responses of adults on the "good Jew" series to the responses, presented earlier, on Jewish practices, we find no significant relationship. This seems a somewhat curious finding, suggesting, perhaps, that many people engage in Jewish practices more out of inertia than out of conviction, or that the practices about which we inquired do not offer adequate opportunity for expression of the convictions that we probed. It does, whatever the interpretation, raise the question of the relationship between belief and behavior, a question we shall return to a bit later.

Finally, in this regard, we note the responses of the young people, which may be found in Tables A.3 and A.5 (Appendix). There appears here rather less consistency than was encountered in adult responses, a finding which seems reasonable. Of greater interest are the variations from adult patterns within each temple. Thus, for example, adults in Temple "L" scored far above the mean on both secular and Jewish issues; youth of the same temple score quite dramatically below the mean on both sets. The adults of Temple "K" were among the farthest below the mean on Jewish issues; their youth are the highest above the mean. The only temple where substantial consistency on both sets of issues is evident is Temple "J", whose youth, as its adults, are significantly above the mean. The fact -- disconcerting though it be -- is that there is virtually no correlation between adult beliefs and youth beliefs, between adult practices and youth beliefs, or between adult beliefs and youth practices.

It is at times such as this that social scientists are apt to introduce new data, in the hope that some clarification can be found therein. Before turning to the next data set -- which, unhappily, abets rather than relieves the confusion -- we call the reader's attention to the rows in Tables A.2 through A.5, rather than to the columns, with which we have been concerned until now. Glancing across the rows, one gets a summary impression of the issues which create the greatest dissensus -- those where a relatively large number of temples are significantly deviant from the mean -- and of the issues which do not provoke such disagreement -- those where relatively few temples are significantly deviant. Among adults, for example, we find that issue 9 -- the importance of belonging to a temple -- is the subject of substantial disagreement, an observation which is confirmed by Table A.1 where we can see that the range of "essential" responses to that question goes from 18 percent to 55 percent. The highest agreement was on item 21, which asks the importance of observing the dietary laws. (The numerical range there, combining both "essential" and "desirable" categories, is from 4 percent to 16 percent.) On secular questions there is not a great deal of difference in the level of consensus from issue to issue among the adults. Among young people, issue 2, dealing with the importance of leading an ethical and moral life, is the most dissensual of secular issues, while on Jewish questions, statements 15 and 16 -- the importance of being well versed in Jewish history and culture, and the importance of support for Zionism, evoke the most widespread differences.

Before leaving the "good Jew" question, we think it appropriate to call attention to its heuristic potential. Whatever one's views on any specific question, and whoever it is that holds those views, be he rabbi or layman, adult or youth, it is useful to assert and defend a position, and to expose oneself to differing views. We have, in a different phase of this project, administered the "good Jew" question to "live" audiences; invariably, it provokes a discussion which the participants not only find interesting, but commonly assert they would like to pursue at greater length.

In order to broaden the base of observation, a number of attitudinal questions not covered by the "good Jew" items were included in the questionnaire, as well as some "repeat" items. These questions (presented in Tables A.6 and A.7, in the Appendix) are, in the aggregate, less useful than the "good Jew" items, mainly because reliable comparative data are, in most cases, not available, and also because the questions do not fall into logical groupings. Readers may find responses to specific questions, such as the centrality of belief in God to Judaism, to be of interest. (On that question, 48 percent of adults and 23 percent of youth hold that a "person cannot be a good Jew unless he believes in God.") As to patterns, however, we find once again that the primary theme is the absence of pattern. For most of the temples, answers to any one question are scarcely predictable from answers to any others. Only in the case of those few temples which produced highly consistent results on the "good Jew" series do we find a continuing consistency in response across the several items included in Tables A.6 and A.7.

Specifically, adults in Temples "A" and "K" and youth in Temples "F" and "L" were regularly substantially below the mean for all respondents on the "good Jew" items, while adults in Temples "J" and "L" and youth in Temples "J" and "K" were regularly above the mean. That pattern continues in evidence in Tables A.6 and A.7, although it should be noted that the association is much stronger in the case of youth than in the case of adults. In fact, with respect to adults, responses on the "good Jew" questions are only a weak basis for accurate prediction of response to the items included in Tables A.6 and A.7; for youth, they are a near perfect predictor.

The chief value of the items included in Tables A.6 and A.7, therefore, is (a) to reinforce our developing portrait of inconsistency and uncertainty, and (b) to provide specific attitudinal information on matters of interest to Reform Judaism. It is, for example, of interest to learn that 44 percent of all adults and 40 percent of all young people express the view that "there should be more emphasis on teaching Hebrew in the temple's educational program". Agreement on that question, as also on the issue of whether Israel is the center of contemporary Jewish life, suggests that if there is a Jewish generation gap, it is selective, and does not embrace all issues of Jewish life. The gap is, however, again evidenced by responses to the question of whether intermarriage is "bad for the Jewish people". This item is something of a puzzle. It has been included in numerous studies of Jewish identity and behavior, and, with relative consistency, we find large numbers of people expressing disagreement with it. Yet the fact is that it is true almost by definition; obviously, if growing numbers of Jews intermarry, the odds on the survival of the Jewish people are reduced. This question, therefore, poses something of an interpretive puzzle. Why is it that large numbers of Jews express disagreement with an item which seems, on the surface, to be no more than a statement of fact?

Several possible interpretations are presented in Chapter 3, which deals specifically with intermarriage. For the moment, we avoid interpretation, and merely note that 61 percent of all adult respondents -- a majority in 11 of the 12 temples -- agree that intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people, while only 28 percent of youth respondents agree. (Twenty-nine percent of adults and 61 percent of youth disagree.)

Table 2.5
 CONTRIBUTIONS TO EIGHT SELECTED CHARITIES, FOR TOTAL SAMPLE
 AND BY TEMPLE (PERCENT OF \$1,000.00 TO EACH)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Local Jewish Federation (excluding U.J.A.)	A*: 11%	6%	13%	6%	12%	15%	10%	12%	15%	15%	12%	7%	16%
	Y*: 8	8	7	9	7	8	9	6	5	8	6	10	10
United Jewish Appeal	A: 34	25	41	41	31	20	33	39	30	42	36	26	40
	Y: 25	24	35	28	22	20	23	26	20	24	30	25	22
Respondent's temple	A: 23	33	21	14	33	37	18	19	22	14	25	32	17
	Y: 10	13	4	7	11	23	8	6	14	8	16	25	12
Red Feather Agency	A: 8	6	7	11	3	6	15	7	7	5	7	10	11
	Y: 5	7	3	8	5	6	5	5	4	3	3	3	9
NAACP	A: 3	4	3	4	2	2	3	2	4	4	3	3	4
	Y: 10	6	10	11	10	8	9	12	9	13	9	15	9
American Cancer Society	A: 15	24	12	18	13	19	15	12	19	14	12	18	9
	Y: 25	22	26	23	23	26	27	22	31	29	25	13	27
SANE	A: 1	1	2	3	2	0	1	3	2	2	2	1	0
	Y: 5	12	5	4	8	0	7	7	4	5	5	2	2
ACLU	A: 3	2	2	4	4	5	5	7	2	3	4	4	3
	Y: 11	8	10	10	14	9	12	16	13	10	6	7	9

*A=Adults
 Y=Youth

It would, of course, have been delightful had we been able to report that most Jews, in viewing the diverse issues of concern to Judaism and the Jewish people, have a well-integrated and consistent perspective, and that most temples reflect a relatively coherent membership of common view. It would have been delightful, and quite surprising, since all available evidence, both scientific and intuitive, informs us that such integration and coherence are quite uncommon. It is possible that each Jew, as an individual, has a clear sense of what it is that being Jewish means. If that is so, then our data show that one Jew's sense is different from another's, and that temples do not, save with rare exception, collect unto themselves people of similar view, nor do they shape the views of their members into a homogeneous framework, even on matters many might suppose to be of central importance. It is still more likely that individuals themselves do not, in fact, possess a well-organized and internally consistent Jewish "ideology". Not all of the questions respondents in our survey were asked are of equal centrality, but a number of them surely probe the very essence of Jewish understandings. We cannot be sure that our respondents had given any of these questions very much thought -- most likely, some had, and some had not -- but we can be certain that relatively few respondents had a systematic perspective that determined their responses to the variety of issues that the questions raised. In short, if there is an ideology of Reform Judaism, the evidence suggests that it is largely irrelevant as a shaper of the values and opinions of Reform Jews. Those values and opinions seem, instead, to be quite eclectically, perhaps even randomly, distributed.

Admittedly, the questions we have so far discussed are themselves quite diverse, dealing, as they do, with so many different aspects of Judaism. Our questionnaire also permits us to examine in some detail a series of specific issues of enduring significance. A number of those issues are discussed in later chapters -- one dealing with intermarriage, one with attitudes towards Israel, one with temple life. In addition to a variety of questions in each of these areas, the questionnaire also included two specific questions that fall under the heading of "Jewish belief and practice," the subject of this chapter. We now turn to those questions.

Philanthropic behavior. Respondents were asked how they would distribute a total of one thousand dollars among eight different charities: the local Jewish federation (excluding the United Jewish Appeal), the United Jewish Appeal, their own temple, the local Red Feather agency (Community Chest), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Cancer Society, SANE (the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), and the American Civil Liberties Union. (An "other" category was also included.)

What do the responses in Table 2.5 tell us? Let us look first at adult respondents. There are, broadly, three categories of charity presented in the question -- Jewish charities (the Federation, UJA, and temple), two secular philanthropies (Red Feather and Cancer Society) and three political enterprises (SANE, NAACP, and ACLU). As we can see, adult respondents give 68 percent of their total (hypothetical) charitable contributions to the

three Jewish organizations, 23 percent to the secular philanthropies, and only 7 percent to the political organizations mentioned in the question.

Within the Jewish category, the Federation comes off a poor third. UJA takes 50 percent of the specifically Jewish contributions, the respondent's temple gets 34 percent, and the remaining 16 percent is allocated to the Federation. In eight of our twelve cases, the UJA is the leading beneficiary out of all eight agencies; in the remaining four cases, the temple is first out of all eight.

The American Cancer Society is also a favored charitable object; it is awarded 15 percent of the total adult charitable dollar, just about twice as much as is given to the Red Feather Agency. And, as to political objects, there is not much to choose; SANE is virtually ignored, and the NAACP and ACLU each gets 3 percent of the total.

Aside from this general overview of giving, the remarkable thing about the performance of our adult respondents is the apparent consistency of pattern. Here, after all, we have a question with a thousand and one alternative answers. Yet, despite this, our twelve temples here show less divergence from the mean than they did on many more simply structured questions. Here and there, to be sure, one temple or another behaves somewhat idiosyncratically, but these instances are quite rare. For the most part, the answers show little of the inter-temple variety we have come to anticipate. The reason, however, is not that when faced with a reality-oriented question, differences disappear, and a common position shared by a majority of respondents comes to the fore. The fact is that the individual responses to this question were every bit as diverse as one might have expected from so large a sample. While very few respondents were prepared to contribute large amounts to SANE, the NAACP, or the ACLU, and most were quite favorably disposed towards the UJA, their temple, and the American Cancer Society, there were very great differences within this general framework. The similarity we see when the temples are treated as aggregates reflects, not an over-all similarity, but, instead, a random distribution of differences. Each temple contains within itself very diverse patterns of giving, and the diversities tend to cancel each other out. We are entitled, therefore, to say that the members, in toto, of a "typical" Reform temple will behave within the rough limits that are visible in Table 2.5, but it would be a serious error to imagine that the behavior of individual Reform Jews, or of any mythical "typical" Reform Jew, will follow a pattern discernable in that table. That is simply not the case, as examination of the raw data which forms the basis for Table 2.5 readily shows.

We should also note, before examining youth responses, that the answers of our respondents may have very little to do with their actual behavior. Faced with hypothetical alternatives such as those provided in the questionnaire, people respond as they might imagine wanting to respond in a world free of constraint. But the actual world has many constraints, and the ways in which real Jews spend real charitable dollars may, therefore, be quite unrelated to their answers to any questionnaire. Further, the alternatives the questionnaire provides are, in some sense, symbolic alternatives.

The American Cancer Society, in particular, is quite likely not the recipient of such largess in the real world as it is in our inquiry, where it is most probably interpreted as standing for a class of charitable endeavor -- i.e., the health field in general -- which has many competing claimants in the real world. (In fact, many respondents availed themselves of the opportunity to specify other charities, and the most popular of these were other health groups, with universities the next most popular.)

Some very different patterns are visible in youth responses. First of all, the total given by youth to the three Jewish organizations declines dramatically. While adults had devoted 68 percent of their total contribution to Jewish purposes, young people devote only 43 percent of theirs to those same purposes. The major source of the decline is in contributions to the respondent's temple, which fall from 23 percent to 10 percent. The probable explanation here is that most temples do not appear to be in serious need of money, and most young people probably have a very inaccurate impression of the resources that are expended in making a temple work. (One should bear in mind, in general, that youth responses to this question are not at all a reliable basis for predicting actual behavior, ten years and manifold pressures and changes in view later.) The fate of the local federations seems a bit kinder, since it declines by only three percent. Yet it bears noting that a majority of youth respondents in nine of the twelve temples asserted that they would give nothing at all to their local Jewish federation, a position taken by a majority of adult respondents in only three temples. Nor does it seem likely that ignorance alone accounts for this fall-off. Red Feather agencies are well-publicized, yet a majority of the young people in ten temples felt them unworthy of any contribution at all, indicating, perhaps, a general decline in support for traditional welfare activities.

The UJA does a bit better among the young, still retaining 25 percent of all their charitable dollars. Rather oddly, the health field, as represented by the American Cancer Society, improves in its performance, and now ends in a dead heat with the UJA. As a result, the secular charities increase from the 23 percent share they held of the adult dollar to 30 percent of the youth dollar. The major beneficiary in the decline of support by the young for Jewish causes -- or, if one wills -- the major impediment to the success of Jewish causes -- is the increase in political contribution. SANE accounts for only a small part of this increase, but the NAACP moves from three percent to ten percent, and the ACLU moves from three percent to eleven percent, a remarkable success for an organization devoted exclusively to legal action. Together, the three political causes listed receive 26 percent of youth contributions, as against seven percent in the case of adults. Nor does the improved performance of the ACLU result from an unusually high level of support among the youth of just one or two temples; as with the adults, inter-temple variation is minimal.

These data are capable of diverse interpretation. Since our own interpretation is not likely to be particularly wiser or better informed than that of others, we refrain from extensive comment, noting in passing that the relative attrition of support for Jewish causes among the young is, after all, only a relative attrition; although the youth do not do as well by Jewish causes as the adults, they nonetheless spend 43 percent of

their hypothetical dollars on those causes, and that is hardly an insubstantial amount.

It is also interesting to note the performance of young people in those temples identified in the "good Jew" series as unusually high or low on the Jewish items in that series. It will be recalled that young people in Temples "F" and "L" were significantly below the mean, and young people in Temples "J" and "K" significantly above the mean, on those items. On the present question, young people in the first two of these temples devote 42 percent of their dollars to Jewish causes; in the second pair, the youth devote 56 percent of their dollars to the same causes. The level of giving to local federations is comparable in the two groups; there is a marginal increase in support for UJA; contributions to one's temple are more than twice as high in "J" and "K" as in "F" and "L". Somewhat oddly, the two pairs of extreme temples among adults -- "A" and "K" at the low end, and "J" and "L" at the high end -- display a different pattern. The increased support for Jewish causes by "J" and "L" is less marked, and its components include a marked decline in support for the respondents' temple, and an even sharper increase in support for both federation and UJA.

As we have already noted, it is not possible, on the basis of these data, to guess at the reality of charitable endeavor. But it is appropriate to note that insofar as the reported patterns among adults may be related to the real behavior of adults, it is, evidently, based on a set of perceptions not shared by youth. Since charitable enterprise is a very direct behavioral commitment, but one which often remains largely hidden from view -- even from the view of the family of the giver -- there might be some value in seeking to make it more visible. We do not here endorse the allocations of adults, any more than we endorse those of youth. But adults concerned with transmitting their sense of priorities, as those priorities get reflected in philanthropic behavior, are, according to our data, not doing an especially effective job.

Summer camp. The final series of questions to be dealt with in this chapter concerns choice of a hypothetical summer camp. Respondents were provided four alternative camps, described as follows:

- Beaver - A regular overnight camp where a majority of the campers are Jewish. No particular emphasis is placed on things Jewish.
- Judah - An all-Jewish camp in which Jewish culture and religion are stressed. The children attend classes in language and religion part of the day. The camp is kosher.
- Lincoln - A camp attended by children of many different religions, races, and nationalities. Emphasis is put on all the various cultures and religions represented by the children.

Maccabee - An all-Jewish camp in which Jewish culture and history are stressed but not religion. The children attend classes in language and history part of the day but not in religion. The camp is kosher.

This question has been asked in one earlier study of Jewish identity, where it proved to be of unusual interest. There, in a sample of a general adult Jewish population (not restricted to Reform Jews), 54 percent of the total chose Camp Lincoln as their first choice.* In the present sample, Lincoln was the first choice of 50 percent of the respondents, a comparable figure, and one which indicates that a question of significant ideological undertone does not distinguish very well between Reform Jews and others.

The earlier study did show that the question evokes fundamental ideological perspectives and priorities. It is certain that most Jews who send their children to summer camp do not, in fact, send them to the Camp Lincolns of this world. Apparently, however, they feel that they should, that, in some sense, Camp Lincoln represents an appropriate ideal. Note, in the present sample, that even in the one Southern temple, whose responses on general liberal questions reflected its geographic location, fully 46 percent of the adults chose Lincoln as their first choice, with another 30 percent putting it in second place.

What the question raises is a continuing tension within Jewish life and Jewish doctrine, the tension between commitment to the family of man and commitment to the brotherhood of Jews. Without entering into a substantive discussion of that tension, it is useful to note that many Jews, in attempting to deal with the apparent tension, do so by endorsing the implications of universalist doctrine in theory and the implications of particular Judaic doctrine in behavior. Whether, over the long haul, this is a viable stance -- whether, for example, one can communicate to the young the fact that verbal endorsement is not to be taken quite so seriously as it is made to sound, or whether the opportunities for behavioral endorsement of Judaism are sufficient in number to permit a genuine interaction between the Jew and his faith, let alone sufficiently visible to permit the commitment to be perceived by the young -- all that is a separate matter, and, quite likely a matter of urgency for those interested in the survival of Judaism. Of immediate concern here are the answers reported in Table A.8 in the Appendix. That table contains the data on first, second, third and fourth choices for all respondents, by temple. By assigning one point for a first choice, two for a second, three for a third, and four for a fourth choice, a summary score can be generated for each camp. These summary scores are presented in Table 2.6 in the text. (The totals are divided by ten to make the results more readable.)

* These data are from a forthcoming study of patterns of Jewish identity in the Boston metropolitan area, by Leonard J. Fein.

The scores in Table 2.6 appear unusual in their lack of spread. While there is, indeed, a striking homogeneity of response, one should bear in mind, in perusing the table, that the scores are not conventional percent ratings, but rather ratings against a maximum of forty, which is the score a camp would receive if all respondents ranked it in fourth place (one hundred percent times four points divided by ten), and a minimum of ten, which is the score it would receive if all respondents rated it first (one hundred percent times one point divided by ten). In other words, only a thirty point variation is theoretically possible (rather than the one hundred point variation of a percent ranking). This means that the score is quite sensitive to even small changes. If, for example, Temple "G" gives Beaver a score of 17, while Temple "E" gives it a score of 25, that actually reflects a major difference in the evaluation of the camp. This point is confirmed by reference to Table A.8 (Appendix), where we can see that 83 percent of the adult respondents in Temple "G" rated Beaver either first or second, compared to 48 percent of their counterparts in Temple "E". In general, it may be said, a difference of two points in score on Table 2.6 is of interest, and a difference of three or more points amounts to a major difference.

Bearing this in mind, we note that Lincoln and Beaver are quite close in the estimation of adult respondents, while youth express a clear preference for Lincoln. Both groups prefer Maccabee to Judah, whose description may have caused some to suppose that it was an Orthodox camp. From Table A.8 we learn that 86 percent of all adult respondents ranked either Lincoln or Beaver first, and 73 percent ranked them second. 91 percent of the youth ranked these two camps first, and 72 percent ranked them second. Where either Lincoln or Beaver is ranked second, it is almost invariably the case that the other is ranked first. Hence we can conclude that seven out of ten respondents, both adult and young, ranked Lincoln and Beaver in one-two (or two-one) order.

Our old friends in Temple "J" remain consistent. We have found them high on every Jewish scale presented thus far, and they are high here as well, picking Maccabee and Judah more often than most others. They are joined by Temple "E". Similarly, the young people of Temples "F" and "L", traditional low performers on our Jewish measures, reject the two more Jewishly oriented camps more decisively than their peers.

What we have here is a hypothetical question on which youth and adult responses do not differ as much as we might have supposed from differences encountered on other questions we have reviewed. A tentative conclusion might be that, when faced with real choices, the values which occasion difference as abstract issues appear to exert little influence. Either adults who express a higher level of concern and involvement with Judaism do not act on that concern and involvement, or young people who express rejection do not act on that rejection. Given the preeminent position of the less Jewish camps, it is adult failure which represents the more plausible interpretation.

Several alternative interpretations are, of course, possible. We might posit that the values discussed in earlier sections of this chapter are of relatively low salience to most respondents, and that we ought not, there-

Table 2.6
SUMMARY OF CAMP PREFERENCES, FOR ADULTS AND YOUTH,
BY TEMPLE
(Low Score Indicates High Choice)*

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Beaver	A** 21	21	23	20	20	25	19	17	17	21	24	24	20
	Y** 21	25	24	22	24	25	20	20	19	20	26	27	17
Judah	A: 33	31	32	35	35	26	35	36	36	33	30	33	33
	Y: 34	31	32	35	34	30	36	34	35	35	29	29	36
Lincoln	A: 19	18	19	16	19	23	18	20	18	21	19	16	19
	Y: 16	14	15	14	13	17	15	16	17	15	16	14	16
Maccabee	A: 26	29	25	27	25	23	27	26	28	23	24	27	27
	Y: 29	29	28	28	27	29	29	28	29	29	28	28	29

* First Choice - 1 point
Second Choice - 2 points
Third Choice - 3 points
Fourth Choice - 4 points

**A=Adults
Y=Youth

fore, expect them to have much influence over actual choice-making. Alternatively, we might suggest that Judaism thrives where it does not ask its adherents to sacrifice other ideological commitments, and that where a conflict is perceived, Judaism comes off second-best.

Our data do not tell us which, if any, of these interpretations is the more likely. They do, however, suggest one additional explanation, which is compatible with any of those already introduced. Specifically, we have already seen, in a variety of ways, that most of our respondents do not hold to a coherent Jewish ideology. Instead, they hold, at whatever level of salience, a variety of opinions, values, judgments, and orientations which may be quite inconsistent with one another. In general, it is the case that inconsistency is easier to sustain when the attitudes in question are of relatively low salience. The more one is concerned about specific issues, the more likely one is to trace out the implications of one's position on those issues, and the more likely, therefore, one is to deal with inconsistencies that may arise.

Accordingly, the fact that camp preferences, as here expressed, do not reflect very sensitively positions apparently taken on other questions comes as no particular surprise. It is simply one more example of what by now must be identified as the major finding of this portion of our study -- to wit, that our respondents are quite eclectic in their Jewish orientations and interpretations.

Such a statement will surely come as no surprise to anyone familiar with studies of contemporary Jewish life in America. It would have been a far greater surprise to have learned of the existence of a significant group of Jews who did have an integrated "theory" of Judaism rather than a piecemeal approach. While there are surely individual exceptions to the general finding, those exceptions do not set the tone for any of the congregations included in our sample. Only one congregation -- Temple "J" -- maintains a relatively consistent position across different forms of Judaic expression and across the generations, and it achieves this distinction as much by the default of others as by virtue of its own behavior.

It is possible, here and there, to get some impression of the dominant style of several of our temples, but, in the main, it is more markedly the case that the temple does not serve as a point of congregation for like-minded people. Here there is more of an Israel orientation, there more of an orientation towards Judaism-as-faith; in general, however, one can be fairly secure that in joining any specific temple, one will not be ideologically isolated. For every temple includes within itself people of extraordinarily diverse orientation.

In one sense, this seems a happy condition, a condition in which freedom is maximized and constraint reduced. It is not clear, after all, that the temple is intended to serve as a rallying ground for specific interpretations of Judaism. But the very openness which is, in one sense, a virtue, is, in a different way, a liability. It is one thing to say that contemporary

Judaism is full of ambiguity, that one cannot know what a man believes, even about fairly essential matters, simply because he calls himself a Jew. It is something else again to find that the sub-category "Reform Jew" hardly decreases the ambiguity. If Judaism is open to diverse interpretations, and if individual Jews do not stand for any particular interpretation, and if temples are not successful in creating a common framework among their members, where lies the challenge for the Jew, and what is it that gets transmitted to the young, and what can it mean to speak of a "movement" within Judaism?

Against this statement of the problem, it is interesting to note that the one statement that elicited the most widespread -- indeed, near universal -- agreement, among young and old alike, was the statement about anti-semitism. The overwhelming majority of all respondents, in every temple, rejected the view that "anti-semitism will never be a major problem for American Jews." In acknowledging the possibility of anti-semitism, and in agreeing, as they do, that it is essential that a Jew accept his being a Jew "and not try to hide it", our respondents are likely outlining for us the basic ideological conviction they share with one another, and, indeed, with most other Jews. Being Jewish is less a matter of specific belief than a matter of honor. So long as the spectre of anti-semitism continues to haunt, so long will it remain unseemly to defect. Around the issue of honor, there is substantial consensus. Which is to say, the motive for affiliation is a shared motive, even if the interpretation of the consequences of affiliation is not at all consensual.

It is against the background here described that we shall want to examine several specific issues of special moment to Reform Judaism. Those issues -- judgments concerning the temple, intermarriage and Israel -- are the subjects of the next three chapters.

3. Attitudes towards Intermarriage

Intermarriage has been, and continues to be, a vexing question for Jews in a free society. On the one hand, Jews thrive in a liberal atmosphere, where people are recognized and rewarded according to their individual worth, and not in terms of their group affiliation. Where it is group affiliation that makes the difference, members of the Jewish group have, of course, traditionally been victimized. On the other hand, the survival of the Jews as a distinct group presumes a high rate of endogamy (in-marriage). Given the very small number of Jews in the United States, the opportunity for intermarriage is relatively great, and the potential consequences of intermarriage, for the group, are no less great.

There is likely no other area in which the tension between the universal and the particular that characterizes Judaism is more sharply drawn. This tension, in earlier times, could pass unnoticed, for the urge to Jewish survival was so powerful, on the one hand, and the "availability" of non-Jewish marriage partners so miniscule, on the other, that intermarriage, whatever the ideology with which it was approached, was not a common occurrence. One could, if one chose, preach the virtues of liberal universalism from morning until night, without fearing that a flood of mixed marriages would ensue: It takes two to tango, and Jews did not know very many "others" who were anxious to dance. And Jews cared about Jewish survival, cared because it was a matter of honor to care about a value that was so regularly threatened.

Times do change. Memories of the holocaust recede, and memories of earlier disasters wither. More important, opportunity -- the opportunity that comes from access to colleges, and access to most neighborhoods, and, perhaps, even a bit from the Jewish "mystique" in America -- opportunity increases. The cost of freedom is freedom. Along with access to the goodies of the world comes access to its forbidden fruit.

And so, for the past two decades, and more, we have been besieged with reports on an allegedly alarming increase in the rate of Jewish intermarriage. Some people question these reports on ideological grounds; they do not dispute the facts, but neither do they find them alarming. Others dispute their factual status, arguing that inadequate research has been done in this area, and that, in any case, a large (and growing) proportion of those who intermarry raise their children as Jews nonetheless.

Among the statistics that are commonly cited in reports on Jewish intermarriage are those dealing with the attitudes of young Jews, often in their teens, towards the prospect of marriage to non-Jews. Invariably, these

data show a very high rate of acceptance of the idea of intermarriage among young Jews. Such findings are frequently mentioned in discussions of the "crisis" in Jewish identity. It is, however, critically important to bear in mind, in perusing such data, that they are extraordinarily fragile. We do not have comparable data for older generations, which would permit us to compare their attitudes to their subsequent behavior, nor, obviously, do we have data on the relationship between the expressed attitudes of today's young and their actual marital behavior. It is probably reasonable to assume that, in general, people more often endorse intermarriage than they engage in it. This owes to two circumstances, the one being that by endorsing intermarriage in the abstract, one resolves any apparent contradiction between being Jewish and being liberal, and the other being that theoretical endorsement is much "cheaper" than the act itself.

At the same time, it is not unreasonable for those concerned with Jewish survival to be concerned with the attitudes of the young towards intermarriage. If, indeed, this is an area of ideological tension for Jews, it is plainly an area of tension most young Jews are ill-equipped to cope with. Having heard the spokesmen of Judaism in their lives -- their parents, rabbis, and teachers -- emphasize Judaism's universal commitments, having, frequently, been told that Judaism is a perfectly "modern" religion, fully consonant with the liberal temper, they may be expected to react with surprise to the anguish of their parents regarding a prospective out-marriage. Nothing -- or very little -- in their educational or home experience has led them to expect such a reaction, and nothing they know justifies it.

Thus, when a young person says that "religion is an irrelevant consideration in choosing a marriage partner," he is providing us a very inexact prediction of his own future behavior, but a reasonably accurate reflection of his present understanding. Whether that understanding will ever lead to action is an open question. That such an understanding is problematic in its own terms, and often reflects an inadequate grasp of the meanings of being Jewish, is fairly clear.

So much for stage-setting. We turn now to our data, and, in examining them, we shall want to bear in mind several questions: First, what is the gross distribution of opinion regarding intermarriage within our sample? Second, are there any significant differences between adults and young people? Do these, or other differences (among temples, say) appear to follow any pattern, and are they associated with any other identifiable characteristics? Comparing our data to data developed in comparable studies, can we say anything about trends, both within Reform and as between Reform and other branches of Judaism?

Respondents were asked the following questions (at different points in the questionnaire):

1. Here are some issues relating to Jews that are often discussed today. How important do you think each of them is?
 - d. Intermarriage by Jews (very important, somewhat important, not particularly important)

2. Intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people. (agree, undecided, no opinion)
3. To be a "good Jew", it (is essential, is desirable, makes no difference, is essential to avoid) marrying within the Jewish faith.
4. (Adults only) How would you feel if a child of yours wanted to marry a non-Jew? (very upset, mildly upset, wouldn't mind, would welcome it)

Would your answer to the above be any different if the non-Jew were to convert to Judaism?

5. (Youth only) Under which, if any, circumstances would you be prepared to marry a non-Jew? (I would not under any circumstances marry a non-Jew/ I would marry a non-Jew only if he or she would agree to convert to Judaism; I would marry a non-Jew even if he or she did not convert, but only so long as I could remain a Jew; if necessary, I would be prepared to convert to his or her religion).

The gross results are as follows:

43% of the adults
and

28% of the youth think that intermarriage is a very important question...

34% of the adults
and

35% of the youth think intermarriage is a somewhat important question...

23% of the adults
and

37% of the youth think intermarriage is not an important question...

61% of the adults
and

28% of the youth think intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people...

29% of the adults
and

61% of the youth disagree that intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people...

10% of the adults
and

12% of the youth are undecided on this question...

24% of the adults
and

9% of the youth think it essential to marry within the Jewish faith if one wants to be a "good Jew"...

51% of the adults
and

34% of the youth think it desirable to marry within the Jewish faith...

25% of the adults
and

57% of the youth think it makes no difference whether one marries within the Jewish faith...

40% of the adults would be very upset if their child wanted to marry a non-Jew...

41% of the adults would be mildly upset...

20% of the adults wouldn't mind, or would welcome, their child marrying a non-Jew...

32% of the youth would not marry a non-Jew under any circumstances, or would marry a non-Jew only if he or she were prepared to convert to Judaism...

54% of the youth would marry a non-Jew, but only if they could remain Jewish...

14% of the youth either hold religion to be irrelevant as a factor in marital choice, or would themselves be prepared to convert*

Let us examine the adult responses first. We note a remarkable stability of response: 25 percent of the adults think intermarriage is not an important question, 29 percent do not believe that intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people, and 25 percent think it makes no difference, in seeking

* For purposes of comparison: In Sklare's Lakeville study (1957-58), 23 percent of the respondents held it essential (to be a "good Jew") that one marry within the Jewish faith, and 51 percent held it desirable; our figures, for adults, are 24 percent and 51 percent, a nearly perfect match. In a comprehensive survey of the Jews of Metropolitan Boston, Axelrod found (in 1965) that 53 percent thought intermarriage bad for the Jewish people; our figure is 61 percent, a slight increase. And, in a study of Jews in Boston (1968), Fein found that 70 percent held intermarriage bad for the Jewish people, but 41 percent said they would not oppose such intermarriage of their own children.

to be a "good Jew", whether one marries within the Jewish faith. (The question dealing with the prospective intermarriage of one's own children is tricky. Its answer may well depend on one's relationship with one's children as much as on one's view regarding intermarriage. One commentator, in seeking to explain a relatively high rate of acceptance, by parents, of the possible intermarriage of their children, suggested that it may reflect a kind of "anticipatory adjustment": Prepare for the worst. Because of the special difficulties this question raises, we omit it from the analysis for the moment.)

Needless to say, there is considerable overlap among the respondents who give the answers just cited, and it is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that we have here a core group of about 20 to 25 percent of all respondents who are not especially upset, either personally or ideologically, at the prospect of intermarriage.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this group is that it exists, in roughly the same size, in every one of our twelve temples (Table 3.1). It is not the case that one temple, with, say, a tradition close to Classical Reform, is less troubled by intermarriage than another temple with, say, closer ties to the Eastern European immigrant generation. There is, of course, some inter-temple variation, but it is quite moderate, reinforcing an earlier finding that our participating temples do not, on the whole, appear to act as ideological centers for the members, but, instead, attract a fairly diverse constellation of people.

The situation among young people is dramatically different. We observe first the very dramatic increase in the acceptability of intermarriage to the young. Yet, if we examine that increase carefully, it turns out to be somewhat less dramatic than it first appears. The most abstract of the four statements we are dealing with is "intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people". That is a statement that is not personalized at all, and that is the statement on which the differences between adults and youth are the most glaring, by far. The question regarding the importance of intermarriage suggests a more personal meaning, i.e., how important is it to you, and the question regarding the essentiality of intra-group marriage to the "good Jew" evokes, we believe, a response in terms of oneself as a good Jew. On these two questions, while a substantial gap remains, there is less difference between the generations. Finally, as we move to the least abstract question, the one that asks under what circumstances the respondent himself would contemplate intermarriage, the religious issue is cited as a relevant consideration by fully 86 percent of the youth. In fact, scarcely fewer young people contend that they would marry a non-Jew, except in the case of a conversion, than adults who claim that they would be very upset were their own off-spring to out-marry.

These data may be read as confirming the perception that the ideological, or abstract, argument against intermarriage is not widely shared among the young, but that its absence does not necessarily lead to a dramatic increase in the likelihood of intermarriage. We cannot, of course, speculate about the actual scenario that unfolds when a young man or woman, with no

ideological prophylaxis, is faced with the temptation to intermarry. But we can, as indicated above, suggest that the absence of an ideological understanding of the issues involved is symptomatic of inadequate educational exposure to serious questions that confront Jews as individuals and as a people.

This contention is substantially strengthened by examination of the youth data from the several temples (Table 3.2). For, unlike the adult case, we find here very powerful differences from temple to temple. We have, for example, one temple ("D") where 78 percent of the young people deny that intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people, 56 percent hold that intermarriage is not an important question, and 75 percent contend that it makes no difference, in being a good Jew, whether one marries a Jew, in each case a percentage substantially over the mean for all youth; at the same time, we have several temples whose youth are consistently below the mean for all youth on each of these questions.

The data, temple by temple, for both adults and for youth, are presented in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. We can see there that the youth of three temples, in particular, seem especially uninterested in the problematic aspects of intermarriage. These are Temples "D", "F", and "L". The question that arises is whether there is anything we know to be distinctive about these three temples, as compared to the nine others, that might explain so large a difference, a difference in which DFL youth hold intermarriage to be a very important question 16 percent of the time, compared to 33 percent of the time for other youth; in which 74 percent of DFL youth hold that intermarriage is not bad for the Jewish people, compared to 56 percent of other youth; in which 26 percent of DFL youth hold marriage within the Jewish faith to be either essential or desirable, compared to 51 percent of other youth. (Note, however, confirming an earlier point, that DFL youth are not more prone than others to ignore the "Jewish issue" when considering the possibility of their own intermarriage.)

The data provide a clue rather than an answer. Nothing of which we are aware in the structure of the temple itself accounts for the difference, but it is the case that none of the three temples in question (DFL) is a community-based temple. We know this from independent observation, and also from our adult data on reasons for joining the temple to which one belongs. On that question, 61 percent of the DFL adults (compared to 39 percent of others) viewed the location of the temple as unimportant in their decision to join. Most, though not all, of the other nine temples are based in a definable Jewish neighborhood, and cater mainly to residents of that neighborhood.

A more important distinction between the two groups may be found in the area of Jewish practices in the home (See Table 2.1). Three specific practices stand out here: 39 percent of DFL youngsters, compared to 49 percent of others, report that candles are lit in their homes on the Sabbath; 47 percent of DFL youngsters, as compared to 74 percent of others, report that there is a mezzuzah on their door at home; 27 percent of DFL youngsters, as compared with 6 percent of others, report a Christmas tree at home.

Table 3.1

ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERMARRIAGE, FOR ADULTS, BY TEMPLE

		Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Importance of intermarriage by Jews	Very important	43%	49%	43%	45%	40%	44%	34%	38%	45%	49%	55%	38%	41%
	Somewhat important	34	26	33	40	30	35	42	45	26	31	27	38	35
	Not particularly import.	23	26	25	15	30	21	25	18	28	21	18	24	24
"Intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people"	Agree	61	63	49	62	53	57	50	68	75	62	72	61	64
	Undecided	10	6	14	11	16	13	13	8	4	9	4	16	7
	Disagree	29	31	37	27	31	30	37	25	22	29	24	23	29
To be a "good Jew": Marry within the Jewish faith	Essential	24	21	21	17	25	26	21	33	25	28	31	20	30
	Desirable	51	60	54	61	52	54	44	53	53	38	53	58	40
	Makes no difference	24	19	25	23	22	18	32	15	20	33	17	22	25
	Essential not to do	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	0	2	1	0	0	5
How would you feel if your child were to marry a non-Jew?	Very upset	40	45	37	30	40	44	31	54	42	49	38	48	41
	Mildly upset	41	32	43	51	48	35	45	34	35	38	45	38	34
	Would not mind, or would welcome it	20	23	21	19	12	21	24	12	24	13	17	14	25

Table 3.2

ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERMARRIAGE, FOR YOUTH, BY TEMPLE

Temple:		Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Importance of intermarriage by Jews	Very important	28%	41%	34%	29%	6%	40%	16%	31%	35%	23%	41%	39%	21%
	Somewhat important	35	35	37	37	38	25	36	28	31	37	43	33	28
	Not particularly import.	37	24	29	34	56	35	48	41	34	40	17	28	51
"Intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people"	Agree	28	42	31	35	9	52	13	36	35	15	37	39	17
	Undecided	12	11	17	8	13	14	10	12	6	22	6	6	15
	Disagree	61	47	52	57	78	33	77	52	59	64	60	56	68
To be a "good Jew": Marry within the Jewish faith	Essential	9	16	10	10	0	19	4	9	12	7	13	26	4
	Desirable	34	37	43	39	25	48	26	44	38	33	36	37	18
	Makes no difference	52	45	41	50	69	29	62	47	46	54	49	32	66
	Essential not to do	5	3	6	1	6	5	8	0	4	6	2	5	13
Under which circumstances would you be prepared to marry a non-Jew?	Not under any	10	11	13	9	4	26	6	17	17	8	4	6	10
	Yes, if he converts	22	32	25	28	4	42	11	20	19	17	39	50	15
	If I remain a Jew	54	35	47	53	78	21	67	60	51	62	49	39	54
	Religion not an issue	5	3	5	7	15	0	4	3	7	5	4	0	1
	I would convert	9	19	10	4	0	11	11	0	5	8	4	6	20

From these data, we begin to get a picture of young people who are, as it were, culturally deprived, which is to say, of youngsters whose environment, both neighborhood and home, is not rich in Jewish content. It is also possible to speculate about a difference in the support for Jewish identification provided by parents whose homes do have Christmas trees but do not have mezzuzahs.

The final, and most intriguing, difference between DFL youth and others is in their Jewish educational background. According to the data, 67 percent of DFL youth had only a one day a week religious education, whereas 61 percent of the youth of other temples have some Jewish educational exposure beyond the one-day a week level. Unfortunately, our data regarding the actual intensity of such additional exposure are quite imprecise, and we have no data whatever regarding qualitative differences in Jewish education. But there is here, again, a clue that is worth pursuing. It should be added that we would not know, even if all DFL youngsters had only a minimal religious education, and all others had a more intensive educational experience, that it is the education itself that makes the critical difference in attitude. For it might well be the case that the kind of family that encourages its children to undertake a more intensive educational exposure is different in critical respects from the kind of family that does not, and that it is that difference, rather than the difference in schooling, that matters most in the development of specific attitudes.

Finally, in passing, it is well to note that DFL youngsters are less enthusiastic in their endorsement of the importance of being well-versed in Jewish history and culture -- 41 percent of them claim that it makes no difference to the "good Jew" whether he is, compared to 21 percent of others.

More detailed analysis of our data would permit some further definition here, enabling us, for example, to say whether it is precisely those youngsters without an intensive educational exposure, or with relatively marginal family support, who develop the passive attitudes towards intermarriage we have noted. Such an analysis could help to explain not only DFL youngsters, but also the youth in other temples, who are by no means unanimous in their views on intermarriage. Our attention here, however, is focussed not on the development of personal attitudes, but, instead, on the dominant characteristics of groups of persons who come together within a congregational framework. In this connection, we note that adult attitudes and practices as between temples DFL and the other nine do, as expected, differ in the predicted directions.

In particular, adults in these temples are more likely to have Christmas trees in their homes (20 percent in DFL vs. 6 percent in others), are less likely to light candles on the Sabbath (41 percent to 54 percent), and are less likely to have a mezzuzah (47 percent to 70 percent). Although they are no more likely than are other adults in our sample to be dissatisfied with the Jewish education their children are receiving, they are less likely to express dissatisfaction with the quality of their own Jewish education. That quality was a source of complaint to 27 percent of DFL adults, and to 43 percent of other adults.

Once again, the suggestion is that the Jewish milieu to which children are exposed in these three temples may be less ample than in other temples. This is only a suggestion, based as it is on fragmentary evidence. Other things we know about the three temples in question indicate that, for most purposes, they cannot be lumped together into a common category; while two of them are strikingly similar in many respects -- similarities not shared with other temples in our survey -- the third is quite different in structure, in history, and, indeed, in many of the attitudes of its members. Specifically, two of the three are very large and very prestigious temples, attracting to their membership people from a wide geographic area. Their members, more than those of almost all our other temples, are the children of Reform Jews; family membership is relatively stable through the generations, even in the face of geographic dispersal. They are, in certain respects, the temples of the elite. The third temple, by contrast, is one with a long and proud history of engagement in social action. Like the others, it is not neighborhood based; unlike the others, its tradition and style emphasize political activism rather than establishment norms. (Twenty-three percent of the youth of this temple identify their politics as "radical", far higher than for any other group, while, in the two "establishment" temples, a total of about 5 percent so identify themselves, far lower than for the rest of the sample.)

A clear picture does not emerge here. On other questions, which probe different aspects of Jewish belief and identification, the youth of temples DFL are not so very different from their peers in other temples, and the adults are decidedly not monolithic in their approach to Judaism. Whether the passivity we note with respect to intermarriage is the first harbinger of attitudes yet to come, or whether it is a specific area which is unrelated to others, or what, we cannot be sure. In any case, neither the search for causal relationships nor the search for accurate prediction is likely to be as fruitful as the pursuit, by parents and their children together, of an understanding of the issues, and differences, involved in confronting the question of intermarriage.

And finally: When we compare our adult data to data developed in other studies which have touched on the question of intermarriage, we find that Reform Jews, as here represented, do not differ markedly from Jews in general. Some will be inclined to derive comfort from this fact: at least Reform Jews are not markedly less committed to Jewish survival than others. And that is true, so far as it goes. What is left unstated, of course, is that the achievement is relative; Reform Jews are not "worse" than others only because others are not "better" than Reform Jews. The comfort, such as it is, is tempered.

4. Attitudes towards Israel

There was a time in American Jewish life when the idea of a Jewish state was an object of intense ideological dispute. While early survey data which might tell us what Reform Jews once thought about political Zionism is wanting, the Reform movement was, for many years, visibly identified with anti-Zionist arguments. Since 1948, and the establishment of the State of Israel, there has been little point in pursuing the old debate. Israel was, and is, a fact, and the question that now arises is whether, in the views of this generation of Reform Jews, some residual effects of those pre-State years may still be discerned.

We are also interested in knowing something of the degree to which the evident attachment of large numbers of Jews, Reform Jews among them, to Israel is fundamentally ideological, or is, instead, rooted in a more instinctive response to kinsmen in need.

And finally, our data permit us to ask whether there are any major differences in the views of adults and of young people in their orientation towards Israel.

The questionnaire included five items which deal with this area. The first question asked respondents to rate the importance to them of five Jewish issues, one of which was the relationship of Israel to American Jews. The summary responses of adults and youth are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

ADULT AND YOUTH RATINGS OF IMPORTANCE
OF JEWISH ISSUE

Issue	Very Important		Somewhat Important		Not Particularly Important	
	Adults	Youth	Adults	Youth	Adults	Youth
Alienation of Jewish youth	76%	52%	19%	37%	5%	11%
Relationship of American Jews to Israel	60	53	33	40	7	7
State of Jewish education	44	38	42	41	14	21
Intermarriage by Jews	43	28	34	35	23	37
Theological confusion	33	38	38	39	29	22

As we can see in the table, the relationship of American Jews to Israel is an important issue to the adults, with 60 percent viewing it as very important, and 33 percent as somewhat important. The primary concern of adults, as reflected in the chart, is with the alienation of Jewish youth, which fully 76 percent see as very important, and an additional 19 percent as somewhat important. But, aside from the issue of alienation, more adult respondents attach importance to relationships with Israel than to such other concerns as Jewish education, intermarriage, and theological confusion.

It is not surprising that young people are less concerned with their own alleged alienation than their parents are. (In fact, it might be thought surprising that so many of the young do attach importance to the question.) On most questions, as it develops, young people do not register such intense levels of concern as are expressed by adults. But of the five issues cited in the question, the one rated most important by young respondents was the Israel issue; 53 percent consider it very important, and another 40 percent somewhat important, for a total of 93 percent -- the exact percentage of adults on this question, when the two categories of importance are combined. In light of the generally more indifferent responses of the young across a whole series of questions, we may conclude that here the "generation gap" is quite small, that young people do, indeed, attach a good deal of significance to the relationship of American Jews to Israel.

A second question asked respondents whether they agreed with the statement, "Israel is the center of contemporary Jewish life." This moves the inquiry beyond a general level of interest in Israel to the area of ideological commitment, since the statement embraces at least one current definition of the central Zionist understanding. As we may see in Table 4.2, 28 percent of the adult respondents accept the notion of Israel's centrality; 56 percent reject it, and 16 percent are undecided. These figures correspond almost exactly with youth responses to the question.

Table 4.2

ADULT AND YOUTH RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT:
"ISRAEL IS THE CENTER OF CONTEMPORARY JEWISH LIFE"

	Adult	Youth
Agree	28%	28%
Undecided	16	18
Disagree	56	54

Indifference towards Zionism, however, is very different from indifference towards Israel. This may be seen quite clearly from responses to two items included in the "good Jew" series, where respondents were asked, with respect to a variety of items, whether each was essential, desirable, a matter of indifference, or essential to avoid in order to be a "good Jew".* The two items of interest here are those which asked for an assessment of the centrality of "support for Israel" and "support for Zionism". The results are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

PERCENT OF ADULT AND YOUTH WHO BELIEVE
THAT TO BE A "GOOD JEW", THE ITEM IS:

		Essential	Desirable	Makes no Difference	Essential Not to do
A. Support Israel	Adult	37%	45%	17%	1%
	Youth	21	46	31	2
B. Support Zionism	Adult	13	30	49	8
	Youth	9	31	55	5

The proportion who rate support for Israel essential may at first seem low, until it is recalled that of all the items in the "good Jew" series only four (accepting one's being a Jew, leading an ethical and moral life, supporting all humanitarian causes, and promoting civic betterment) were rated "essential" by a larger proportion of adult respondents. Youth rated six of the other items as essential more frequently (including the same four as the adults, plus helping the underprivileged and working for equality for Negroes).

When we combine the "essential" and "desirable" categories, in any case, we see that support for Israel is endorsed by 82 percent of the adult respondents, while support for Zionism is endorsed by just over half that number, or 43 percent of the respondents. The difference in perception of Israel and Zionism is also evident among youth; two-thirds endorse support for Israel, while 40 percent endorse support for Zionism. Further evidence of the differential is provided by the fact that while support for Israel was, as we have seen, the fifth most "popular" essential of adults and the seventh of the young, support for Zionism was sixteenth on the adult list (out of a total of twenty-two items) and fifteenth among the young.

* See Chapter 2 for a full description of this series of questions.

Apart from the issue of accepting one's Jewishness, which was the highest rated item for both sampled groups, the single most heavily endorsed item of specifically Jewish content was the importance of support for Israel. It outweighed synagogue attendance, contribution to Jewish philanthropies, diverse traditional practices, and the importance of familiarity with Jewish tradition and history. Although items of general ethical content continue to be rated somewhat higher, it is reasonable to infer that Israel is at the very center of the Jewish understanding of contemporary Reform Jews, both young and old. This supports our earlier observation (see Chapter 2) that differences between Reform and other Jews have been substantially reduced, and also the general view that support for Israel is not so much a function of ideological perspective as of generalized Jewish identification.

The degree to which this represents a change in emotional priorities over time is attested by the fact that in the Lakeville studies where the "good Jew" series was first employed, back in 1957-58, support for Israel was not only rated lower absolutely -- that is, less people endorsed its importance -- but was also rated far lower relative to other items in the list. Respondents in that sample rated it fourteenth out of twenty-two items, compared to our respondents, who, as we have seen, rate it fifth. Still more interesting is that in Lakeville, among the fourteen items more heavily endorsed than support for Israel, six were of specifically Jewish content, including contributing to Jewish philanthropies, belonging to a synagogue or temple, attending services on the High Holidays, knowing the fundamentals of Judaism, and marrying within the Jewish faith, as well as accepting one's being a Jew. That is to say that in 1957, the importance of support for Israel was ranked below all these items; in 1971, it is ranked above them all. This would be a remarkable finding even if it were not the case that the present sample is exclusively composed of Reform Jews, while the Lakeville sample was 61 percent Reform, 28 percent Orthodox or Conservative, and 11 percent unaffiliated.* In view of Sklare's finding that Conservative and Orthodox Jews have more positive attitudes towards Israel than Reform Jews do, we might have supposed that the present population, exclusively Reform, would have been less positive towards Israel than the Lakeville sample was. And yet, as we have seen, and as Table 4.4 shows, this is most decisively not the case; instead, Israel has moved to the top of the list of Jewish priorities. It has moved there among Reform Jews, and in less than a generation.

The reader will observe from the data in Table 4.4 that no comparable shift has taken place with respect to the relative importance attributed support for Zionism. That item was ranked seventeenth out of twenty-two by the Lakeville respondents, and it is ranked sixteenth by ours.

* Sklare and Greenblum, op. cit., p. 244. Note that in comparing the Lakeville data to our own, we are comparing a sample of an entire Jewish population in one midwest suburban community to a sample of affiliated Reform Jews from twelve different communities across the nation.

Table 4.4

SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL AND FOR ZIONISM,
FOR TWO SAMPLES (PERCENT AND RANK)

	<u>Support Israel</u>		<u>Support Zionism</u>	
	Lakeville	Long Range	Lakeville	Long Range
Percent who believe that to be a "good Jew" the item:				
Is essential	21%	37%	7%	13%
Is desirable	47	45	23	30
Makes no difference	32	17	59	49
Is essential not to do	0	1	9	8

Rank order of item, of twenty-two total items	14	5	17	16
Rank order of item, of fourteen items of specifically Jewish content	7	2	9	9

Additional data are required to verify the inference we have drawn from the comparative data. It might be, for example, that at the same time that the attitudes of Reform Jews towards Israel have undergone a dramatic change, the attitudes of Conservative and Orthodox Jews have changed still more dramatically. We think this unlikely, not the least because there was more room for change among Reform Jews, who began from a lower base. Moreover, there are several ready explanations for the shift we have observed. The most obvious of these is history -- that is, the passage of time, the dramatic events of 1967, the increasing visibility of Israel. Less obvious, but not necessarily less important, is the continuing change in the composition of Reform Jewry. Sklare had found, in his 1957 study, that Reform Jews who had been raised in Reform households were the least likely to support Israel, and he conjectured that the increase in Jews of Eastern European origin in the Reform movement would bring about an overall shift in attitude.

Most of our respondents are native born (ninety-one percent), and a good many are the children of native-born parents (thirty-eight percent of the fathers of our respondents and fifty-one percent of the mothers were born in the United States). But of those who have at least one foreign born parent, 71 percent report that the parent was born in Russia or Poland, compared to only 15 percent who were born in Germany or Austria. We also have data regarding the religious identification of respondents' parents. All in all, 35 percent were Reform. There is, however, only a very weak correlation be-

tween temples with an unusually high proportion of second generation (or more) Reform Jews and relative rejection of Israel, and there is no correlation whatever between the views of any particular temple towards Israel and the proportion of its respondents members who are of Central European descent. It appears, therefore, that the infusion of Jews of East European origin is not the sole source of the changed relationship towards Israel; Jews of Central European origin, and Jews who have been part of Reform for at least two generations have themselves changed.

Attitudes towards Israel were also evoked in a question dealing with contributions to an assortment of charities. In all, eight charities were listed, and respondents were asked to indicate how much they would allocate to each out of a hypothetical total of one thousand dollars. The United Jewish Appeal (which was distinguished in the question from local Jewish federations) was, for adult respondents, their favored charitable object by far. Thirty-four percent of all contributions were to the UJA. Although 11 percent of the adults "gave" nothing to the UJA, this was the smallest proportion of outright rejection any of the eight charities suffered. Among young respondents, the UJA share declines to 25 percent, second (by one point) to the American Cancer Society, and 24 percent of the young would give nothing at all to the UJA. Nonetheless, the relative status of UJA among specifically Jewish charities actually rises in the youth sample. Of the eight charities listed, three -- the local Jewish federation, the UJA, and the respondent's temple -- are specifically Jewish. These three together receive 68 percent of the adult charitable dollar. Thus the UJA received exactly half of the "Jewish" contributions of adult respondents. Among young people, the total contributed to these three causes is 43 percent of the total charitable contribution, and the UJA thus receives 58 percent of the specifically Jewish contributions. We infer that the centrality of Israel relative to other aspects of Jewish life increases for the young, even though its absolute centrality declines somewhat. (Which is to say, Jewish life in general suffers a decline in centrality.)

Since the attitudes of youth are of particular interest here, let us examine them somewhat more carefully.

Youth. Our youth sample actually consists of two quite different groups -- 394 college students and 385 confirmation class students. (See Chapter 1 for a full description of the sample.) One of the more intriguing findings of our study is that our high school age students, whose average age is fifteen, appear more sympathetic towards Israel than our college students, whose average age is twenty. The details may be seen in Table 4.5, which summarizes the responses for both groups to the five different questions dealing with Israel.

Table 4.5

ATTITUDES TO ISRAEL OF COLLEGE
AND CONFIRMATION STUDENTS

		College	Confirmation
a. Relationship of American Jews to Israel	Very Important	52%	56%
	Somewhat or Not important	49	44
b. Money donated to UJA	None	30%	17%
c. Percent of money donated to UJA		26%	24%
d. Israel is the center of contemporary Jewish life	Agree	20%	37%
	Undecided or Disagree	81	63
e. To be a "good Jew" - support Israel	Essential or Desirable	65%	70%
	Makes no difference or Essential not to do	36	30
f. To be a "good Jew" - support Zionism	Essential or Desirable	32%	48%
	Makes no difference or Essential not to do	67	52

As we see from the data, the differences between the two student groups are smallest on the least "ideological issues" -- the importance of support for Israel to the "good Jew", the amount of money contributed to the UJA, and the significance of the American Jewish relationships to Israel. But on the two most clearly ideological statements -- "Israel is the center of contemporary Jewish life" and the "support for Zionism" item, the differences are marked.

We cannot reliably explain this difference. It might, for example, reflect a cyclical phenomenon, whereby high school students of any particular time period are more enthusiastic towards Israel, or confirmation class students of any period more prone to endorse pro-Israel ideological statements than college students are. Or it might represent a genuine shift in the relationship of young people to Israel, a continuation of the process we observed in comparing the 1957 Lakeville study to the 1971 Long Range study. Curiously, we note that with respect to both of the ideological statements, college students are less positive than adults, and high school students are

more positive than adults. This suggests that something more complex than a simple linear increase in endorsement is involved here, and the most likely explanation lies in the special atmosphere of the American college, especially these days. It has long been noted that college presents a serious ideological crisis to young Jews.* Recently, however, it has seemed that the distinction between college and high school students, with respect to ideological orientations, was in decline. Our data suggest that this is not the case; high school students, while surely not pristine in their view, do reflect the more positive Israel orientation of their milieu.

Inter-temple comparisons. In turning to comparisons among the several temples -- the data for which are presented in Tables A.9 and A.10 we return to a familiar theme. There are, as may be seen, very large differences among the temples, but, in general, these differences do not correlate with other data or with the "image" of the temple. The adults of Temples "B" and "J" are especially positive in their Israel orientation, with "I" and "L" not too far behind, while their counterparts in Temples "A", "E", "F" and "K" are consistently low on the various measures of Israeli orientation. These relative positions may be seen most clearly in Tables A.11 and A.12 where each temple is rated according to its positive or negative deviation from the mean for the entire sample.

There is no need to labor the discussion here. Using temples as the basic units of analysis simply does not provide consistent results, with the possible exceptions of "F" at the low end and "J" at the high end. For the rest, the pattern continues to be nearly random.

So, too, with youth, although not quite to the same degree. The young respondents of Temples "B", "J", and "K" are all unusually positive, and those of Temples "E", "F", and "L" unusually negative. Our data show that there is a serious difference in the Jewish educational backgrounds of these two groupings, with 39 percent of BJK youngsters reporting only a one-day a week educational exposure, compared to 65 percent of EFL youth. Yet the variables which, in our examination of intermarriage, were also associated with educational background -- in particular, religious practice in the home -- show no strong relationship here. It may, perhaps, be worth noting that "E", "F", and "L" are the three temples in our group of twelve with the most classical Reform tradition; this we know from general sources. But it is, to say the least, curious that the classical tradition informs the attitudes of youngsters more than it does the attitudes of their parents. We believe that other variables must be at work, and expect that additional data, and/or further analysis of the present data, will help clarify this puzzle.

(An additional puzzle which our data raise, but do not solve, is the consistently more favorable attitude towards Israel expressed by adults with more than four years of college and those with less than four years of college, when compared to those who report just four years. This bi-modal pattern holds over a number of issues in addition to Israel, and bears more detailed analysis.)

* See, for example, Leonard J. Fein, "Dilemmas of Jewish Identity on the College Campus," Judaism, Vol. 17, No. 1, Winter, 1968.

In summary, then, we are unable to say why it is that respondents in some temples seem more positively disposed towards Israel than respondents in others. Whether this is a function of the temple itself, which does not appear likely, or of some differences in the kind of members it attracts, which our data seem to deny, or merely a random occurrence, which is, for the moment, the most supportable position, must await additional analysis. But we can say, and say with considerable certainty, something about the place which Israel occupied in the current Reform "scheme of Jewish things", as that scheme is revealed by our respondents. And we can say something quite dramatic about the change, over time, with which Israel is viewed relative to other aspects of Jews. life. On both these scores, the data are unusually clear.

5. Views of the Temple

Our data indicate that the temple is not, for most of its members, an object of significant emotional investment. Only rarely does it elicit enthusiasm, only rarely anger; for most, it is an address of sometime relevance. It is occasionally supposed that the chief barrier to innovation within the temple is the existence of a powerful minority of passionate defenders of the status quo. Such a minority does exist, and it is passionate, but it is also very, very small. And it is sometimes supposed that there is a large group that is bitterly dissatisfied with one or another aspect of temple life, and is pressing for change. Dissatisfaction does, indeed, exist, but it is hardly the norm; the norm, instead, is a kind of apathetic acceptance of things as they are.

From a global Jewish perspective, the fact that the temple is not the object of passion is not necessarily a disappointment. One can readily imagine a sizeable group of men and women who are thoroughly wrapped up in Jewish life, who devote great energy and attention to Jewish causes, who are, in every useful sense of the word, active in the Jewish community, and yet who do not care very much about the temple to which they happen to belong. It is sometimes difficult to remember that the temple is not the only place where Judaism can, or should, happen; for some, it will remain a place where certain kinds of Jewish purposes are served, as other places serve other, and equally important, purposes.

But for a good number of people, the temple is the only point of contact with the organized community. Sixty-three percent of our adult respondents report that they are active in no other Jewish organization; if the temple, too, leaves them lukewarm, they are, for all but practical purposes, unaffiliated Jews.

There is a discrepancy here: One reads the pages of Dimensions, or hears of weighty meetings and symposia on the state of the synagogue, and is led to believe that this is a time of great ferment in Reform Judaism. One hears criticisms of the Union prayer book, and of the one-day a week Religious School, and of the inflation of the role of the rabbi, and one is led to suppose that widespread debate is under way, that new choices and new directions are therefore imminent. And then one looks at the data, and is forced to recognize that such debate as takes place occurs within a very limited circle, and is quite peripheral to the interests of most temple members. Whatever the reasons one joins the temple, the act of participating in its life is not seen as implied by the act of joining, and the act of caring for the temple, caring enough to disagree, to do battle, to be upset, or to defend, to protect, to praise, above all to imagine how things might be as distinguished from how they are, is an act beyond most members' ambition and beyond their sense of legitimate obligation.

Our data cover several different aspects of temple membership, and we examine each in turn.

Why they join. Table 5.1 summarizes responses to a question dealing with one's reasons for joining the temple to which he belongs. In reviewing the data there presented, one should be careful about making comparisons among the several temples. If, for example, respondents in one temple claim that the quality of their temple's religious school was a major reason for their joining the temple, while respondents in another temple rate that reason fairly low on the scale, we may attribute the results to a difference in interest in Jewish education between the two groups, or we may attribute it to an objective difference between the two religious schools in question. In other words, this table measures an interaction between attitude and reality, and not attitude alone.

Nonetheless, we do find that three major reasons for temple membership outrank all others. The quality of the rabbi is by far the most commonly cited reason, viewed as very important by 58 percent of all respondents, and as somewhat important by another 33 percent. Only 9 percent of the respondents, that is, do not identify rabbinic quality as an important consideration in their own decision to join the particular temple to which they belong. The second most commonly cited reason is the respondents' belief in Reform ideology. That is mentioned as very important by half of all respondents, and another 29 percent hold it to be somewhat important. The final reason to which importance is attributed by a large number of respondents is the quality of the temple's religious school, viewed as very important by 45 percent and as important by another 41 percent.

Unfortunately, the data cannot tell us what it is about the rabbi that the congregant finds appealing, or what criteria he uses to determine whether a religious school is a good one, or what it is about Reform ideology that he believes in, let alone how he would define that ideology. In fact, the data tell us rather more about what does not matter to most congregants than about what does matter. It does not matter to very many people (as a reason for joining) that their friends or neighbors belong to the temple (7 percent say this is very important, and 25 percent say it is somewhat important); it does not matter that the dues are low, or that the building is attractive (only 6 percent, in the first case, and 4 percent, in the second, found this very important); and it matters only to some that they like the other members, that the temple is close, that their families have always belonged to their particular temple, or that the temple is "not too parochial."

Now, it may, of course, be the case that the buildings in question are not, in fact, attractive, or the temple's members not, in fact, likeable, or their dues not, in fact, low. But what begins to emerge here, even with these cautions in mind, is a portrait of the temple as a set of services -- rabbinic, spiritual, educational -- rather than of the temple as a social system, as a community. The impression of the relative unimportance of the

Table 5.1

REASONS FOR JOINING RESPONDENTS' TEMPLES, BY TEMPLE (ADULTS)

Reason*		Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1. Close to where we live	Very important	17%	31%	22%	24%	18%	13%	8%	26%	29%	19%	15%	16%	5%
	Important	37	34	55	48	30	17	30	26	44	53	32	39	29
2. Good religious school	Very important	45	47	67	42	57	39	53	33	39	39	44	40	40
	Important	41	50	29	47	24	43	29	53	45	50	33	55	40
3. Good rabbi	Very important	58	78	53	46	70	72	61	65	50	36	69	41	55
	Important	33	19	32	39	20	20	32	32	39	50	25	48	37
4. Like the people	Very important	25	35	25	21	22	28	26	18	31	13	33	20	26
	Important	41	39	40	36	45	44	39	53	39	42	47	43	40
5. Low dues and fees	Very important	6	12	4	3	17	7	6	6	6	2	7	0	4
	Important	14	38	19	8	11	11	12	24	2	5	17	8	15
6. Believe in Reform ideology	Very important	50	51	41	43	52	52	61	46	57	50	32	47	56
	Important	29	28	32	28	23	40	24	23	18	27	43	35	28

* One reason for joining, "it is good for my business", is not reported here since the number of respondents who regarded it as important was too small to warrant a detailed presentation.

Table 5.1 (continued)

REASONS FOR JOINING RESPONDENTS' TEMPLES, BY TEMPLE (ADULTS)

Reason		Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
7. Attractive building	Very important	4%	2%	2%	8%	4%	0%	18%	0%	4%	2%	5%	10%	2%
	Important	25	10	33	21	33	19	33	38	31	20	19	12	35
8. Not too parochial	Very important	12	7	11	18	15	7	23	6	14	12	5	6	13
	Important	36	31	28	37	48	19	34	41	37	38	39	34	42
9. Friends or neighbors belong	Very important	7	3	7	4	9	5	13	6	6	2	11	6	9
	Important	25	30	18	22	11	30	26	33	35	27	26	17	26
10. Family has always belonged	Very important	14	8	4	2	5	33	29	0	7	2	16	2	30
	Important	10	3	10	2	7	17	18	0	9	6	5	0	24

temple as a social system is reinforced by responses to a subsequent question, in which respondents were asked how many of their close friends belong to their temple. The answers here are quite scattered (See Table 5.2); in one temple, 91 percent of the members assert that none, or very few, of their close friends are temple members; in another the figure drops to 20 percent. But overall, 60 percent of our respondents state that few, if any, of their close friends are members of the temples to which they belong. It is, therefore, possible to conclude that, whatever the satisfactions people derive from temple membership, significant friendship experience is not among them. This in itself is an important finding, whose importance is increased by evidence that the relative unimportance of the temple as a social institution is not much lamented by our respondents.

Such a conclusion is derived from several observations: First, we note that there is little relationship between the overall satisfactions of members with their temples and the number of their close friends who are members of those temples (See Table 5.2). Second, we note that there is little relationship between the respondents' views regarding the importance of the temple in their lives and the number of their close friends who are members. Third, and finally, we note that in every case, even in the case of those of the respondent temples which are among the very largest in the country, a majority of all respondents thought that ideally, the temple should be still larger. They did not, in all cases, think the temple should be much larger, but in no case at all was the number of respondents who thought the temple should be smaller more than a tiny fraction of the total. Yet, if more intimate human experiences were being sought by our respondents, or their absence lamented, if there were an overwhelming, or even a modest demand for the temple to provide a site for more intense friendship and more meaningful interaction, a different set of answers might have been expected here. The absence of such answers, the endorsement, instead, of the temple's institutional functions, tells us a good deal about the expectations people have of their temples, and, in telling us of expectations, it also tells us of reasons for affiliation.

Services. Aside from the religious school, the primary interaction of members with their temples takes place in the context of worship services. As we have seen (in Table 2.1), this is not a very extensive interaction for most. Barely a quarter of all our respondents attend services as much as a few times a month or more; over 30 percent attend only on High Holidays or still less often. For a good number of people, then, it is either the education provided their children, or simply the act of belonging, that satisfies their need; participation, except sporadically, is not part of the bargain, or of the demand.

It may, therefore, seem somewhat misdirected to report the views of our respondents towards worship services; as sometime participants, the views of many are, obviously, not as informed as they might be. Nonetheless, a quarter of our respondents are fairly frequent participants in temple worship, and another 45 percent come with some frequency. For them, the nature

Table 5.2

VIEW ON ASPECTS OF THE TEMPLE (ADULTS)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1. Importance of temple													
Most important organization in Respondent's life	16%	13%	14%	9%	16%	31%	14%	7%	16%	4%	24%	23%	16%
One of several important organizations	49	56	38	50	50	47	57	46	46	50	49	48	41
Relatively unimportant to Respondent	36	31	48	41	34	22	29	46	39	46	28	28	43
2. Satisfaction with temple													
Very satisfied	26	39	19	22	54	15	32	13	35	19	33	3	22
Satisfied	48	46	47	43	31	66	47	54	41	44	48	71	45
Neutral	16	12	25	21	13	11	12	18	16	25	11	14	17
Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied	10	3	9	15	2	8	9	15	9	12	8	12	16
3. Ideal size of temple													
Larger or much larger than present	72	86	68	75	96	100	42	87	89	29	75	100	57
4. Number of Respondent's close friends who belong to temple													
None or very few	60	69	75	74	91	53	51	81	51	51	71	49	20
About half, or more	40	31	25	26	9	47	48	19	49	49	25	46	80
5. Respondent's family background													
Reform	35	39	36	24	25	42	56	31	41	24	28	16	46

Table 5.2 (continued)

VIEW ON ASPECTS OF THE TEMPLE (ADULTS)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
6. Percentage of charitable contribution Respondent would give to temple	23%	33%	21%	14%	33%	37%	18%	19%	22%	14%	25%	32%	17%
7. Importance of temple membership (from "good Jew" series)													
Essential	31	18	26	25	35	55	26	24	32	25	44	21	40
No difference	25	29	22	33	21	9	26	27	27	31	19	32	20
8. Temple attendance													
A few times a month or more	24	23	14	14	22	33	19	31	19	21	38	30	27
High Holidays only or less often	31	19	35	36	33	17	36	26	30	35	17	28	42

Table 5.3

VIEW OF RELIGIOUS SERVICES, BY TEMPLE (ADULTS)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1. Length of services													
Too long	7%	6%	8%	9%	6%	11%	13%	7%	5%	3%	3%	7%	7%
Too short	1	0	2	3	3	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	1
About right	92	94	91	88	91	87	94	93	93	96	97	93	92
2. Use of Hebrew													
Too much	6	5	8	4	2	2	8	5	2	10	11	2	5
Too little	12	6	10	12	17	17	10	21	13	13	8	9	16
About right	82	89	83	83	82	81	82	74	86	77	81	90	78
3. Participation by congregation													
Too much	2	0	3	2	2	4	1	7	0	2	0	2	0
Too little	18	6	22	17	22	12	26	17	20	18	4	24	25
About right	80	94	75	81	76	85	73	76	80	81	96	74	75
4. Union prayerbook													
Like it as is	48	66	27	41	41	47	59	46	46	48	50	46	52
Need some revision	37	26	47	40	44	42	30	43	37	33	33	41	36
Needs major revision	15	8	27	18	15	11	11	11	17	19	17	13	12
5. Rabbi's sermons: emphasis on current affairs													
Too much	10	11	5	14	10	15	8	5	13	12	6	6	10
Too little	13	2	20	11	3	4	5	15	11	23	34	31	14
About right	77	88	75	75	87	81	87	80	76	65	61	73	76

Table 5.3 (continued)

VIEW OF RELIGIOUS SERVICES, BY TEMPLE (ADULTS)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
6. Personal meaning													
Pleasant, but not too meaningful	56%	41%	58%	57%	50%	53%	56%	67%	61%	59%	48%	67%	59%
Meaningless and dull	9	6	8	14	3	8	6	14	9	12	7	10	14
Inspiring	35	53	34	30	47	40	39	19	30	29	45	22	27
7. In general													
Neutral	46	25	49	47	39	52	46	38	47	54	34	68	50
Not satisfied	13	11	14	15	3	9	13	17	14	12	10	14	21
Like very much	41	65	37	38	58	39	41	45	39	35	56	19	29

of the service may not be an incidental question at all, and their responses to the service has, quite obviously, a reasonable foundation in fact.

On the whole, we find that two-fifths of our respondents "like the services very much"; of the remainder, most are not dissatisfied, but neutral. (The data on which this section is based are in Table 5.2) Indeed, in reviewing the responses regarding services, one is impressed at the low level of dissatisfaction. In rabbinic circles, and among intellectual critics, the typical Reform worship service comes in for more than its fair share of lumps. But here, though we find no great enthusiasm in endorsement, we find still less a massive groundswell of discontent. Is there too little participation in the service, as is so commonly alleged? Not in the view of eight of ten respondents. Should more Hebrew be used? Eighty-two percent find the present pattern about right. Even the Union prayerbook, traditional target of much criticism, is endorsed in its present form by almost half of all respondents, and most of the rest think it could use relatively modest revision. Indeed, slightly over a third of our respondents find worship services "inspiring", while only nine percent find them "meaningless and dull."

These are not the views of a seething, restless group that finds present patterns distasteful. Even in dealing with the contentious issue of how much emphasis the rabbinic sermon should give to current affairs, 77 percent of our respondents are pleased with the status quo -- and, of the remainder, there is a nearly even split between those who would like more such emphasis, and those who would prefer less.

A methodological point with important substantive implication is in order here. Some will be inclined to take these data as a reassuring vote of confidence in things-as-they-are. And, indeed, it is perfectly possible that things-as-they-are suit most people's tastes and temperaments, that most of the criticism that is heard emanates from a relatively small and quite unrepresentative group. But: A person's evaluation of his temple is a function of at least three things -- the realities of his temple, his own attitudes towards these realities, and, not least, his own expectations of the temple. The less significant the temple is to the person, the lower his expectations of it and his demands on it, the more easily those expectations and those demands will be satisfied.

We cannot tell, from our data, just how central or how peripheral the temple is to its members. While relatively few of our respondents identify the temple as the most important organization in their lives, almost half identify it as one of several important organizations. Perhaps that is so, although the figures on temple attendance suggest that if, indeed, the temple is important, its importance does not lie in the use our respondents themselves (as distinguished, say, from their children) make of it. It is important to remember that we are not, in any case, dealing here with a simple marketing problem, in which any product that can elicit satisfaction must be termed a success. The temple may or may not be a success, and in assessing whether it is, the views of its members are surely to be taken

very seriously as one measure. That measure is the only one our data provide, but it is not the only measure that can, or should, be used in dealing with a religious movement.

In short, the data on services and on general satisfaction with the temple can be interpreted in two very different ways. On the one hand, they can be used to support the argument that things are much better than is generally supposed, and that much of the criticism of the modern temple is ill-informed and without substantial foundation. After all, if so few people are upset at present conditions, what can all the noise be about? On the other hand, the data can be used to argue that things are much worse than is often thought, since the very lack of criticism and ferment suggests how minimal people's expectations are. If (the critics will say) the temple is as bad as we know it to be, and despite its failings people endorse it -- endorse it but do not use it -- that shows how peripheral an institution it has become.

Our data cannot settle this argument, nor, in all likelihood, can any body of data, for the argument, in the end, rests on values, and not on facts. Fully 74 percent of our respondents express themselves as either very satisfied or satisfied, from an overall perspective, with their temple, and that is almost exactly the same proportion that attend services only sporadically. The reader is invited to derive his own inferences from these figures.

Inter-temple comparisons. We have already pointed out that comparisons among the temples on these data are rather hazardous, since, to some degree, one is comparing very different realities. Different levels of satisfaction with services may, that is, be caused by services that are differently satisfying, and not by people with different expectations.

Having said that, there is still one comparison which can safely be made. All things considered, how satisfied are the members of our twelve different temples with their temples? The range (reading Table 5.2) is from a low of 3 percent who claim that they are "very satisfied" to a high of 54 percent. Now it is rather curious, and likely a confirmation of a point made earlier, that the temple whose members express the highest satisfaction ("D") is the same one whose members claim the least number of close friends in their temple. Here, and in Temple "A", we do get the impression of more than passive satisfaction; reviewing the scores of these two temples on the various temple-related items, we sense some degree of enthusiasm. At the same time, the highest level of dissatisfaction, with the temple in general and with the worship service in particular, is registered by the very temple -- "L" -- whose members claim the highest number of close friendships within the temple. These examples do not mean that one is more likely to be happy with his temple if he has few close friends there; the two cases cited are, in fact, anomalies, for the data analysis shows that there is simply no relationship, one way or the other, between one's feelings about the temple and the close friends it includes.

Youth. In turning to the reactions of young people to the temple, we find a number of critical differences, as might be expected. First, and most predictably, the temple is simply less important an institution to the young than to the adults. Only 3 percent of the young say that it is the most important organization in their lives, and 57 percent view it as relatively unimportant. If there is a surprise in these figures, it is that a large minority -- 41 percent -- view the temple as among the important organizations in their lives. For those of our youth respondents still in confirmation class, this last figure rises to 50 percent, while for our college respondents, it drops to one-third. Yet it is no small thing to find that one-third of a population of college students still view the temple as an important institution.

Moreover, one-third of the young report that they are confident they themselves will be members of a Reform temple when they are forty years old, and fully 85 percent are either certain or think it likely they will be. So, too, do most prefer that their own children identify as Reform Jews. Hence we do not find here substantial evidence of massive alienation. Nor, let us note, are we entitled to expect such evidence, since our sample of college respondents is clearly biased in favor of those who are least alienated. The most alienated, presumably, are either not on the lists which were used to generate the sample, or are among the non-responders to the questionnaire. It would be no more accurate to generalize from our data to all college-age children of members of Reform temples than it would be, say, to generalize from our adult sample to ex-members of Reform temples.

With this in mind, it is of more than passing interest to note that less than half of the youth respondents express overall satisfaction with their temple, and only 10 percent express great satisfaction. Indeed, in every area of evaluation, the youth are more critical than their parents. This may be seen in Table 5.5, where data regarding views of the worship services are presented.

We might expect a fair amount of complaint regarding the length of the service, to which 24 percent of the young object. Since over a third find the services "meaningless and dull", it is not surprising that a quarter find them too long as well. Nor is it unexpected that the Union prayerbook pleases the young less than it does the adults -- only 26 percent of the young like it as it is, compared to almost half the adults. The single largest gap between young and old, however, is not with respect to the prayerbook, or with respect to the length of the service, but rather with respect to the question of participation. While four out of five adults were satisfied with the amount of congregational participation in the worship service, 44 percent of the young were dissatisfied, feeling it inadequate. So, too, where 41 percent of adults were generally satisfied with the worship service, such satisfaction was registered by only 14 percent of the young; 35 percent of them expressed dissatisfaction.

Unlike the adults, the chief relationship of the young to the temple is not always through the worship service. For students in the confirmation class, it is the educational process that is the more significant link. In

Table 5.4

VIEWS ON ASPECTS OF THE TEMPLE (YOUTH)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1. Importance of temple													
Most important organization in Respondent's life	3%	0%	5%	1%	3%	0%	4%	0%	3%	0%	8%	6%	1%
One of several important organizations	41	56	40	42	42	65	34	44	37	39	54	61	29
Relatively unimportant	57	44	55	57	55	35	62	56	60	61	39	33	70
2. Satisfaction with temple													
Very satisfied	10	16	6	13	10	10	8	7	12	8	25	5	3
Satisfied	39	63	35	42	55	40	37	33	33	34	40	53	31
Neutral	29	13	33	29	24	15	25	27	32	40	21	21	36
Dissatisfied (or very dissatisfied)	22	8	26	16	10	35	30	33	23	18	14	21	31
3. Number of Respondent's close friends who belong to temple													
None or few	72	85	59	79	94	76	72	91	76	57	91	68	54
About half or more	28	15	41	21	6	24	28	9	24	43	9	32	46
4. Respondent's expectation that he (she) will belong to Reform temple at age 40													
Yes (sure)	31	37	24	28	35	48	30	36	33	33	35	32	28
Yes (maybe)	54	52	59	52	44	47	56	55	52	51	55	57	61
No	15	11	17	20	21	5	14	9	15	16	10	11	11
5. Respondent's preference for his (her) children's religious identification													
Reform	58	76	43	49	55	70	54	55	60	59	60	74	71
Conservative or Orthodox	6	0	11	8	6	5	2	3	4	6	9	11	7
Other Jew.	23	21	31	28	21	20	19	32	21	21	23	11	18
Humanist	5	0	4	3	3	0	10	3	8	5	4	0	1
Whatever he wants	9	3	12	12	15	5	14	7	7	9	4	5	3

Table 5.5

VIEWS OF RELIGIOUS SERVICES (YOUTH)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1. Length of service													
Too long	24%	19%	21%	25%	23%	5%	33%	25%	16%	30%	4%	16%	43%
Too short	3	0	6	2	3	10	3	0	0	1	2	11	3
About right	73	81	74	73	74	86	64	75	84	69	94	74	55
2. Use of Hebrew													
Too much	10	11	11	5	7	10	17	9	3	10	6	21	13
Too little	14	14	24	12	23	19	11	16	12	10	24	16	9
About right	76	76	65	83	71	71	72	75	85	80	71	63	79
3. Participation by congregation													
Too much	2	5	1	2	0	0	4	6	3	1	2	5	1
Too little	44	26	57	43	52	29	67	31	27	31	36	58	57
About right	54	68	42	55	48	71	29	63	70	68	62	37	42
4. Union prayerbook													
Like as is	26	38	15	22	23	29	21	23	43	33	20	37	18
Needs some revision	43	46	44	46	42	38	36	58	42	39	49	37	52
Needs major revision	30	16	41	32	36	33	42	19	15	28	31	26	30
5. Rabbi's sermons: emphasis on current affairs													
Too much	7	3	5	7	4	5	19	0	4	11	2	0	9
Too little	24	8	33	26	14	19	34	19	16	24	21	26	25
About right	69	90	62	68	82	76	47	81	80	65	77	74	66

Table 5.5 (continued)

VIEWS OF RELIGIOUS SERVICES (YOUTH)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
6. Personal meaning													
Pleasant, but not too meaningful	48	47	39	47	53	29	36	53	55	60	51	53	52
Meaningless and dull	34	21	45	35	27	29	51	31	29	25	24	21	37
Inspiring	18	32	17	18	20	43	13	16	16	16	26	26	11
7. In general													
Neutral	51	55	43	44	59	67	45	53	55	63	46	47	56
Not satisfied	35	18	46	40	21	19	46	34	30	27	27	37	38
Like very much	14	26	11	17	21	14	9	13	15	10	27	16	6

this connection, it is interesting to compare the judgments of that educational process as between the old and the young. Among the present students in confirmation class, 27 percent express satisfaction with their Jewish education, while 40 percent are dissatisfied (the remainder, 32 percent, being "neutral"). Among adults, asked to evaluate their own children's Jewish education, 52 percent are satisfied -- more than twice as large a proportion as among the young. (Twenty-seven percent are dissatisfied, and 21 percent neutral.)

It may be suggested that the difference owes to the natural carping of young people regarding formal education. Is it really fair to expect the young to express enthusiasm for school? Yet we find that the college respondents, for whom confirmation class and religious school are in the past, are not more enthusiastic than their younger brothers and sisters. Indeed, they are somewhat more critical, with 43 percent expressing downright dissatisfaction.

The curious thing here is that when adults were asked to evaluate their own Jewish education -- much of it, incidentally, not under Reform auspices -- they were far more critical in their views than they were with respect to their children's education. Only 32 percent express satisfaction with their own education, a number which approaches the assessment the young have of theirs. In other words, adults seem to think that their children, on the whole, are receiving a better Jewish education than they themselves did, a judgment their children, from the evidence, do not share. Unfortunately, we have no data that would explain what it is that leads adults to this view, whether it is based on fact or on fancy, on lower expectations or higher, or what.

Finally, with respect to the young, we note that the temple appears still less relevant as a center for significant social interaction in their case than it is for the adults. Only 28 percent of the youth claim to have more than a very few close friends in the temple. This figure is, to be sure, somewhat distorted by the inclusion of college students in the computation, but even for present confirmation students, only 40 percent attest to a significant number of close friendships within the temple. Since 60 percent of these same youngsters are members of their temple youth group, the figure is rather distressing. Much educational theory emphasizes the critical importance of peer relations in the learning process, and surely the hope for a confirmation class, and still more for a temple youth group, is that they will be the sites of warm relationship, of close friendships that will encourage both learning and identification. The fact that such friendships appear to exist in only a minority of cases is, therefore, especially serious.

The Rabbi. Respondents were asked to assess the importance of a number of different qualities their rabbi might have. The specific question put to them was, "Suppose a temple were seeking a new rabbi. How important should the following considerations be in evaluating candidates?" There

followed a list which may be seen in Tables 5.6 and 5.7. Looking first at adult responses, we observe several overall categories of importance. Arranged in order, they are as follows:

1. Capacity to relate to young people
2. Jewish education
Family counselling
Sermons
3. Interfaith activities
Prayer
Study
Social action or social reform
4. Socializing with temple members

The extraordinary importance attached to the capacity to relate to young people confirms earlier data. What people want their rabbi to do, far beyond any other responsibility, is to "solve" the "youth problem", to transmit the heritage to the young.

At a much lower level of importance, though still viewed as very important by over half the respondents, are three major service functions -- counselling, education, and sermons. These are to be contrasted with the next grouping, which, while viewed as important (though not very important) by a majority of respondents, are clearly seen as of less consequence. That grouping, which includes interfaith activities, prayer, study, and social action, is not oriented around personal services to the congregants. It speaks, instead, to the personal qualities and personal interests of the rabbi. And what respondents, therefore, are saying, is that they are less interested in the rabbi's personal qualities and interests than in his capacity to perform direct services to his congregants.

Moreover, respondents say that they are quite uninterested in whether or not the rabbi is adept at socializing with the members of the temple. They do not see him, evidently, as a prospective friend, or neighbor, or peer, but rather as a professional, an expert in youth work, education, counselling, and sermonizing. In several temples, indeed, the proportion of respondents who hold that the rabbi's capacity at socializing is not at all important suggests not mere indifference, but an actual rejection of the desirability of such interaction, as if it were better to avoid.

Young people (Table 5.7) order their preferences somewhat differently. They are, on the whole, as interested as adults in the rabbi's capacity to relate to young people, but, while acknowledging the importance of education and counselling, they also emphasize the importance of interfaith activities and, more particularly, of social action. They appear, therefore, to be more interested in the rabbi as a total person than simply in his professional expertise. This inference is supported by the difference between youth and

Table 5.6

THE ROLE OF THE RABBI (ADULTS, BY TEMPLE)*

		Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Importance of:														
Interfaith activities	Very important	29%	26%	31%	30%	39%	18%	38%	18%	26%	29%	31%	20%	32%
	Important	54	58	57	54	41	63	53	44	55	57	54	64	50
	Not important	17	17	13	17	20	20	9	9	19	14	15	16	19
Prayer	Very important	30	41	26	31	34	49	32	14	27	30	36	22	21
	Important	53	47	53	52	43	41	51	68	50	44	50	69	63
	Not important	17	12	21	17	23	10	17	19	23	25	15	9	16
Family counselling	Very important	56	70	61	62	48	60	50	49	62	57	52	73	42
	Important	37	25	34	31	39	37	43	41	35	31	43	25	50
	Not important	7	5	5	7	13	4	7	10	4	12	6	2	9
Study	Very important	34	34	28	31	39	32	34	34	31	31	42	36	34
	Important	56	58	57	62	43	58	57	61	53	57	53	57	56
	Not important	10	8	15	7	18	10	9	5	16	12	5	8	10
Sermons	Very important	54	55	57	46	61	46	62	55	53	59	57	42	53
	Important	41	40	39	45	34	46	37	42	41	39	33	53	43
	Not important	5	5	5	8	5	8	1	3	5	3	10	6	4
Social action or social reform	Very important	28	28	35	35	39	8	26	28	26	31	31	22	25
	Important	51	43	47	45	48	55	61	53	50	48	52	67	48
	Not important	21	28	18	20	13	37	13	21	24	22	16	11	27

* Responses to the question, "Suppose a temple were seeking a rabbi. How important should the following considerations be in evaluating candidates?"

Table 5.6 (continued)

THE ROLE OF THE RABBI (ADULTS, BY TEMPLE)

		Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Socializing with temple members	Very important	8%	9%	11%	4%	9%	20%	8%	5%	7%	2%	14%	4%	8%
	Important	39	42	57	27	36	55	44	34	23	42	37	27	39
	Not important	53	49	32	69	55	26	49	61	70	56	49	69	54
Jewish education	Very important	55	67	65	49	53	55	46	56	54	52	66	71	42
	Important	41	33	33	51	43	43	48	39	39	45	30	29	51
	Not important	3	0	2	0	3	2	6	5	7	3	5	0	7
Temple Administration	Very important	18	24	24	8	25	15	13	13	20	12	14	24	22
	Important	46	48	52	42	46	56	49	58	31	40	43	43	45
	Not important	37	28	24	50	30	29	38	29	49	48	43	33	33
Capacity to relate to young people	Very important	87	93	92	92	87	75	82	100	81	90	91	97	78
	Important	13	8	8	8	12	25	18	0	19	10	9	4	22
	Not important	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5.7

THE ROLE OF THE RABBI (YOUTH, BY TEMPLE)*

		Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Importance of:														
Interfaith activities	Very important	47%	40%	43%	51%	39%	33%	54%	48%	48%	45%	50%	42%	48%
	Important	41	50	37	40	55	52	30	42	41	45	42	47	42
	Not important	12	11	20	9	7	14	16	10	11	10	8	11	10
Prayer	Very important	31	50	26	22	10	62	29	37	31	33	46	33	29
	Important	52	37	53	58	60	24	54	47	60	49	50	50	47
	Not important	17	13	21	20	30	14	17	17	9	18	4	17	24
Family counselling	Very important	54	58	62	68	58	48	50	65	55	39	54	53	42
	Important	36	34	34	28	39	38	33	26	44	45	37	26	38
	Not important	10	8	4	4	3	14	17	10	1	17	10	21	20
Study	Very important	35	39	31	37	20	38	40	38	33	37	48	44	24
	Important	52	47	59	47	60	52	46	55	60	51	50	28	49
	Not important	13	14	10	17	20	10	13	7	7	12	2	28	27
Sermons	Very important	45	55	42	48	38	38	53	53	41	45	29	37	35
	Important	44	32	43	42	56	48	40	40	36	45	64	53	48
	Not important	11	13	16	10	6	14	7	7	13	11	8	11	17
Social action or social reform	Very important	58	57	59	62	77	40	69	55	54	52	50	50	55
	Important	35	30	35	33	23	40	24	39	39	39	42	50	36
	Not important	7	14	6	4	0	20	7	7	7	9	8	0	9

* Responses to the question, "Suppose a temple were seeking a rabbi. How important should the following considerations be in evaluating candidates?"

Table 5.7 (continued)

THE ROLE OF THE RABBI (YOUTH, BY TEMPLE)

		Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Socializing with temple members	Very important	30	29	36	34	32	29	31	26	20	39	15	26	30
	Important	40	42	42	31	42	57	40	52	41	39	48	32	40
	Not important	30	29	22	35	26	14	29	23	39	21	37	42	30
Jewish education	Very important	52	74	60	51	47	71	42	52	47	50	71	63	41
	Important	39	21	35	40	44	29	45	48	46	39	25	37	43
	Not important	8	5	5	9	9	0	13	0	7	11	4	0	16
Temple administration	Very important	18	11	21	12	10	33	31	20	12	18	15	11	22
	Important	46	49	37	47	55	57	44	50	42	48	48	67	45
	Not important	36	41	42	41	36	10	24	30	46	34	37	22	33
Capacity to relate to young people	Very important	85	92	86	90	94	81	82	87	78	84	90	80	86
	Important	13	5	13	10	6	14	16	13	22	14	10	21	11
	Not important	1	3	1	0	0	5	2	0	0	2	0	0	4

adults on the importance of the rabbi's capacity to socialize with temple members. While a majority of the adults held that capacity to be unimportant, and only 8 percent thought it very important, 70 percent of the young felt that it was either important or very important, with 30 percent marking the "very important" category.

While the differences we have discussed here do stand out, it is also interesting to note that overall, a good deal of importance is attached to most of the items that were included in the question. Even the rabbi's abilities as an administrator, though infrequently viewed as very important, were deemed important by a large proportion of the respondents. In passing, then, it may be appropriate to ask whether any person is likely to have quite so many sterling qualities as our respondents apparently would wish. To be sure, our respondents were asked to describe not a real rabbi, but a hypothetical one, and the form of the question encourages a lack of realism. But in the sense in which no one person is likely to be adept at all of those things which large numbers of people find important, every rabbi is bound to be a disappointment to a significant number of his congregants. Putting all of our data in this chapter together, we might speculate that the offsetting circumstance, which makes it possible for rabbis to survive despite the rather unrealistic expectations people have of them, is that the expectations, though unrealistic, are not especially intense. For in the end, so long as the young are "taken care of", the temple is, to most of its members, too peripheral an institution for them to get very excited about.

Postscript: A Note on the Generation Gap

There is likely no "internal" problem which so preoccupies the American Jewish community as the state of its young, and, more specifically, the alleged alienation of Jewish youth. In the preceding chapters, data on differences between youth and adults have been presented under appropriate substantive headings. We now ask whether, taking all such data together, we can say anything about the nature and size of the "generation gap" within the Reform movement.

A reminder is in order here, and a caution: We are dealing with a sample, both adult and youth, that is biased in the direction of Jewish identification and commitment. The most powerfully alienated in either generation do not, we assume, turn up very often among our respondents. Hence the comments which follow should not be construed as bearing on the state of young American Jews in general. Rather, we speak here specifically to the question of how the more involved, more concerned, more identified Reform Jews of two generations compare to each other. As to the caution, be it noted that our comments in this note are less tied to the actual data than in preceding chapters, more, then, one interpretation among a number that might be offered.

For the most part, the data speak for themselves. They do, however, speak rather cryptically, and it may be well to remind ourselves what some of the more important findings have been. We have seen that, in general, the youth samples are substantially less certain of their interpretation of the implications of Judaism than the adults are of theirs. As noted in Chapter 2, "the data suggest a general uncertainty regarding the 'requirements', or even the desiderata, of Judaism, an uncertainty that is quite evident among adults, and still more striking -- substantially more striking -- among youth." This observation is based primarily on the disparate rankings of the two groups in the "good Jew" series.

We have also seen that on questions related to intermarriage, and the importance of contribution to Jewish philanthropies, there is a very dramatic difference between adults and youth. Yet in both these areas, as we move away from theoretical statements to behavioral commitments, the gap narrows considerably. When young Jews are asked under what circumstances they would marry non-Jews, they regard the "Jewish issue" as relevant in 86 percent of all cases -- that is, they insist that they would not actually marry out of the faith unless they could remain Jews, or, in a third of all cases, unless their prospective mates were to convert. And, on the charity questions, the same young people who, in speaking to the desirability of contributing to Jewish philanthropies if one wants to be a "good Jew", are less than half as positive as adults, in fact, in allocating their hypothetical contributions, come up with a total just a shade under the adult total.

These data are surely not definitive, but they are as surely suggestive, and what they suggest is that these young Jews are in ideological, but not behavioral, crisis. To a far more marked degree than their elders, when faced with an apparent theoretical conflict between the dictates of liberal universalism and the demands of Jewish particularism, they endorse the former. But when given the opportunity to speculate about actual behavior, in a context in which theoretical conflict is not made explicit, they demonstrate their attachment to Judaism in about the same measure as their elders.

Since "actions speak louder than words", this may be taken as a reassuring finding by those concerned with the alienation of the young from the Jewish people. And yet it must be the case that actions are more comfortable when they are supported by words, or by theories, or by an ideology.

It is, of course, possible that young people are simply not theoretically inclined, that to expect them to take an ideological position is to expect adult behavior from children. Perhaps, that is, the natural process is one in which, as the person matures, he begins to develop a theoretical perspective to support his instinctive, or learned, behaviors.

Perhaps. And perhaps, on the other hand, an apparent conflict that the young are not taught to cope with becomes more, rather than less, explicit as they mature, and, as it grows more explicit, impels them to ease up on the behavioral side. Moreover, we are talking, after all, about a fairly limited range of behaviors. Charitable contributions to Jewish federations are, typically, an annual event, and marriage is, hopefully, a once in a lifetime event. As to the rest of the year, and the rest of the life, what the young appear to be saying is that one is a good Jew by being a good person -- period. That seems, indeed, a very powerful doctrine among many of them. Judaism surely does insist that one seek to be a good person, but, if that is the sum and substance of Judaism, then the young will ask whether there are not easier roads to goodness, whether all of the surrounding paraphernalia is really necessary, whether their natural kinsmen are not all the good people of the world rather than a group which includes bad people as well as good.

These are all serious questions, and they deserve serious answers. Presumably, young people are not shy about asking them. The competence of their parents to answer them is, unhappily, somewhat doubtful, since, as we have seen, the parents are themselves not very much more clear about these matters than their children. In any event, the data indicate quite clearly that the answers, whatever they are, have not been particularly persuasive.

Differences between young and old are, of course, not a universal phenomenon. We have seen at least one temple where such differences are, on most questions, very small, and we have seen a second temple where, on a large number of questions, the young respondents appear more positively oriented towards Judaism than their parents. And, for the sample as a whole, we have noted that the possibility of anti-semitism is as real to the young, that

Israel is not less central to young people than to their elders, and that a very high proportion of the young expect to be affiliated with the Reform movement when they "settle down". (Recall, again, the nature of the sample. The figures here may be encouraging, but they cannot be extrapolated to all the children of temple members. A more comprehensive sample might or might not show comparable expectations.) We do not, unfortunately, know what it is that prompts the young people of one temple to differ so markedly from their peers in another. An outstanding educational program, an unusual rabbi, or even one gifted teacher, might account for such differences, or the differences might trace to the general community or neighborhood in which each temple is located. Our data do not establish causal relationships; they do show that the generation gap is not inevitable.

They also show that in certain critical areas, there is a gap not in substance but in style. Recall that the two major differences between the generations with respect to the temple itself had to do with participation in the worship service -- the young were massively less satisfied than the adults with the level of participation -- and with the importance of having a rabbi able to interact with temple members -- again, the young were much more interested in this quality.

These two bits of information support more general information regarding the "youth culture", with its emphasis on participation and on openness. If it may be said that for most adults, the temple is a dispenser of services, a place where certain transactions occur, then it may be said of the young that what they seek is a temple oriented not around transaction, but around interaction. The style of the temple is, evidently, discrepant from the desired style of the very people it is primarily intended to serve.

Let us not exaggerate. We do not find a seething, restless mass of "turned on" young people, anxious to impose their own style on the temple. Although 85 percent of the young are either dissatisfied or neutral in their judgment of the worship service, one does not get the impression that the enterprise makes a great deal of difference to them, one way or the other. Their mood -- a mood judged partly from reading their answers to open-ended questions -- seems to be more a "druthers" mood: "If we could have our druthers, we'd prefer it a different way." No passion here, nor incipient rebellion.

In reviewing any such data, whether cryptic or clear, two errors are commonly made. First, the analysis is often based on the tacit assumption that if the differences between young and old are small, then there is no crisis, no cause for concern. Yet, as we have repeatedly noted, our adult respondents are hardly paragons of Reform virtue. While it is true that on a number of items, adults are closer to Judaic commitment, "closer" is not necessarily very close. So, too, with respect to adult judgments regarding the temple and its parts. Suppose, for example, that young people were not different from adults in their overall evaluation of the worship service. What that would mean is that instead of 85 percent expressing dissatisfaction or neutrality, "only" 59 percent would express dissatisfaction or neutrality. Those

who care about such matters might be less disturbed by the 59 percent figure than by the 85 percent figure, but they must also recognize that even among the adults, almost three-fifths express no enthusiasm for the worship service.

The second common error is the opposite of the first. It rests on the proposition that "youth must be served." If, after all, the temple exists primarily to insure the continuing identification of the young, and if the young are not pleased with what they are offered, then -- the argument goes -- it is clear that change is required. Yet data such as those we have presented do not provide normative instruction; the temple, presumably, rests on certain enduring assumptions, on a guiding strategy, and its daily tactics, one supposes, derive as much or more from that strategy as from the current views of any of its constituent groups, young or old.

This is not to say that the data, and the criticism of temple tactics they contain, should not be used as a basis for re-examining those tactics. To the degree to which such a re-examination shows that the tactics are independent of the broader purposes of the temple, of its guiding strategy, one might choose to bring them into closer touch with the desires of the critics. The last question, then, is whether the criticisms of the young are to be taken "seriously". After all, young people grow up, and our data do not show whether, when they grow up, their views change. Some might say, for example, that the desire of the young for a more interactive relationship with the temple is a function of youthful romanticism, and not of an enduring shift in cultural style. In other words, we can explain intergenerational differences in one of two ways: They may simply reflect differences in the life cycle, differences, therefore, which are both inevitable and temporary. Or they may reflect significant change in cultural perspective.

According to the first of these views, today's adults, when they were young, likely felt about most things very much the same way that today's young people do. According to the second view, we are witness to genuinely new developments in American culture. If the second view is correct, then we should assume that the kinds of interests expressed by the young will become more important as the young move into adulthood, and into positions of power in their temples. The only question then is whether, by the time they mature, they will still want to associate themselves with temples, whether they will care enough to make the effort to bring the temple into closer harmony with their goals and styles.

It might be argued that this is a question of little moment, that if today's young find the temple an irrelevant address for their Judaic expression, if, therefore, the temple becomes obsolete, and some new form for the expression of Jewish identification emerges in its stead, we need not be concerned. The temple, after all, is a means, not an end, and if it comes to be an inappropriate means, why should we care? The argument sounds plausible. Its flaw is in the supposition that those who are dissatisfied with the temple either care enough or have the competence to create an alternative form. Alternative forms might serve us better, but our data do not show that young

people have either the motive or the skill to invent those alternatives. It may well be, therefore, that the decline of the temple as a means to an end will also mean that the end itself will not be served, especially when the end itself is so dimly understood. And the question, therefore, is whether the temple itself is not its own alternative, whether such revision in means as is thought desirable cannot take place within the general framework we know as a temple.

Now let us suppose that all this is a tempest in a teapot, that the young are merely young, and not heralds of some new and glorious consciousness. If that be the case, if, just over the horizon, today's young will begin to look, and think, and be, more and more like today's adults, then we have to ask whether the adults themselves are pleased at the way they have moved away from the romantic visions of their own youth. Perhaps, that is, we all get trapped by our maturity, trapped into styles less free, less interactive, less optimistic, than we should like. We may call it "settling down", or "growing up", but if what the young are after is more participation and more interaction, perhaps we may hope for them that they never grow up, never settle down. If our adult respondents gave evidence of genuine excitement and involvement, of understanding and enthusiasm, we might have a different hope for the young. But we find no such evidence. Instead, we find a gap which has, broadly speaking, two components. The old, though often expressing confusion, are more certain of their ideological stance than the young, and they are also less interested in increased participation and interaction. Given the normative commitments of Reform Judaism, it seems reasonable to suggest that the narrowing of the gap will, and should, involve movement on both sides, movement to repair the ideological deficiencies of the young and movement to repair what might be called the emotional deficiencies of their elders at the same time.

APPENDIX:

Data Tables

TABLE A.1

THE IMAGE OF THE GOOD JEW, BY TEMPLE

		TOTAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	
1. Accepts his being a Jew and does not try to hide it	Essential	A: 80	72	83	82	81	82	82	70	79	80	85	72	80	
		Y: 63	58	57	61	73	48	60	78	63	77	67	61	56	
	Desirable	A: 18	27	17	17	16	15	14	25	16	17	14	25	20	
		Y: 28	29	32	29	24	43	29	16	30	23	25	39	23	
	Makes no difference	A: 2	2	0	1	3	4	5	5	3	1	1	4	0	
		Y: 9	13	10	10	3	10	11	6	7	0	8	0	20	
	Essential not to do	A: 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	
		Y: 0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	2. Leads an ethical and moral life	Essential	A: 79	77	75	80	80	74	78	68	76	84	79	75	86
			Y: 48	34	42	45	56	57	47	53	55	43	61	67	38
		Desirable	A: 19	22	23	18	17	26	20	32	17	15	18	22	12
			Y: 36	37	42	38	25	38	32	43	37	40	33	28	31
Makes no difference		A: 2	2	2	2	3	0	2	0	7	1	3	4	2	
		Y: 15	26	14	15	19	5	17	3	8	15	6	6	27	
Essential not to do		A: 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		Y: 2	3	3	2	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	4	
3. Supports all humanitarian causes		Essential	A: 43	35	47	47	49	38	45	29	41	42	51	33	43
			Y: 36	32	41	36	44	25	38	38	40	35	51	26	18
		Desirable	A: 47	54	42	43	38	57	49	51	45	52	42	44	46
			Y: 41	21	40	41	38	55	41	44	39	46	38	53	48
	Makes no difference	A: 9	9	11	10	6	4	6	17	13	4	6	22	11	
		Y: 22	47	16	22	16	20	20	19	22	18	11	21	29	
	Essential not to do	A: 1	2	0	0	6	2	0	2	2	1	1	2	0	
		Y: 1	0	3	1	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5	

Table A.1 (continued)

		TOTAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	
4. Promotes civic betterment and improvement in the community	Essential	A: 40	33	42	39	38	43	47	32	43	23	45	46	47	
		Y: 36	24	29	33	42	33	42	38	42	37	45	11	29	
	Desirable	A: 52	58	55	57	55	51	47	59	48	65	49	46	44	
		Y: 48	53	52	49	55	43	46	47	52	44	43	78	39	
	Makes no difference	A: 7	9	3	4	6	6	7	10	5	10	6	7	8	
		Y: 16	24	18	17	3	24	12	16	7	19	11	6	30	
	Essential not to do	A: 1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	
		Y: 1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	
	5. Supports Israel	Essential	A: 37	27	45	34	36	33	29	39	26	39	49	33	46
			Y: 21	13	33	18	30	14	16	28	21	25	21	26	13
		Desirable	A: 45	55	47	52	48	44	43	42	55	38	37	47	40
			Y: 46	50	36	50	36	38	35	50	47	55	56	74	47
Makes no difference		A: 17	15	8	14	16	20	26	17	19	22	14	19	13	
		Y: 31	37	27	29	33	48	46	22	31	19	23	0	38	
Essential not to do		A: 1	3	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	2	
		Y: 2	0	4	3	0	0	3	0	2	1	0	0	3	
6. Know the fundamentals of Judaism (not asked of youth)		Essential	A: 34	25	28	34	38	39	34	34	35	25	45	32	43
		Desirable	A: 57	63	65	56	55	52	53	56	60	70	48	60	50
		Makes no difference	A: 8	12	8	10	8	4	12	10	5	4	6	9	7
		Essential not to do	A: 1	0	0	0	0	6	1	0	0	1	1	0	0

Table A.1 (continued)

		TOTAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	
7. Help the under-privileged improve their lot	Essential	A: 32	25	38	34	29	40	32	18	32	26	37	35	34	
		Y: 35	34	27	27	46	24	35	28	42	39	57	26	26	
	Desirable	A: 57	66	55	58	57	47	58	71	53	61	59	53	54	
		Y: 48	47	56	54	49	48	48	53	43	29	27	58	50	
	Makes no difference	A: 10	9	8	8	13	9	10	11	14	13	4	13	12	
		Y: 17	18	16	18	6	29	17	16	15	20	6	16	23	
	Essential not to do	A: 1	0	0	0	2	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	
		Y: 1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	1	
	8. Contribute to Jewish philanthropies	Essential	A: 32	18	40	31	24	33	33	29	24	30	41	12	51
			Y: 4	5	5	2	12	10	3	7	6	1	6	5	4
		Desirable	A: 50	56	54	57	55	43	46	51	61	45	42	54	37
			Y: 34	43	34	35	30	14	26	29	34	43	40	37	36
Makes no difference		A: 18	27	6	12	21	22	19	17	15	23	17	33	12	
		Y: 58	51	55	60	57	76	65	65	56	53	52	58	55	
Essential not to do		A: 1	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	
		Y: 4	0	6	4	0	0	6	0	4	3	2	0	5	
9. Belong to a synagogue or temple		Essential	A: 31	18	26	25	35	55	26	24	32	25	44	21	40
			Y: 13	16	7	13	9	29	10	0	19	13	13	17	15
		Desirable	A: 44	53	52	42	44	34	48	49	41	43	37	46	40
			Y: 42	45	43	36	46	33	34	50	37	47	49	61	44
	Makes no difference	A: 25	29	22	33	21	9	26	27	27	31	19	32	20	
		Y: 44	37	43	48	46	38	53	50	44	40	38	22	40	
	Essential not to do	A: 0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	
		Y: 2	3	6	3	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	

Table A.1 (continued)

		TOTAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	
10. Attend services on High Holidays	Essential	A: 29	30	30	15	34	50	26	22	34	23	43	23	27	
		Y: 18	29	10	16	15	14	16	9	25	18	21	53	18	
	Desirable	A: 46	43	50	55	48	35	55	49	36	36	42	46	47	
		Y: 40	37	46	31	42	57	38	53	38	47	47	21	38	
	Makes no difference	A: 25	27	17	30	19	14	19	29	31	39	15	32	25	
		Y: 40	34	38	50	42	29	43	38	37	35	32	26	44	
	Essential not to do	A: 1	0	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	
		Y: 2	0	6	3	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	
	11. Marry within the Jewish faith	Essential	A: 24	21	21	17	25	26	21	33	25	28	31	20	30
			Y: 9	16	10	10	0	19	4	9	12	7	13	26	4
		Desirable	A: 51	60	54	61	52	54	44	53	53	38	53	58	40
			Y: 34	37	43	39	25	48	26	44	38	33	36	37	18
Makes no difference		A: 24	19	25	23	22	18	32	15	20	33	17	22	25	
		Y: 52	45	41	50	69	29	62	47	46	54	49	32	66	
Essential not to do		A: 1	0	0	0	2	2	3	0	2	1	0	0	5	
		Y: 5	3	6	1	6	5	8	0	4	6	2	5	13	
12. Gain respect of Christian neighbors		Essential	A: 23	20	23	16	14	32	25	8	26	16	27	14	26
			Y: 16	18	11	11	13	24	22	9	20	17	21	22	8
		Desirable	A: 45	44	50	52	57	49	40	48	43	40	38	39	44
			Y: 37	32	35	38	37	48	41	50	33	35	38	22	37
	Makes no difference	A: 30	31	23	30	27	17	24	43	24	43	34	46	30	
		Y: 41	40	44	44	37	29	34	41	40	44	38	56	42	
	Essential not to do	A: 2	3	3	2	2	2	1	3	7	2	0	0	0	
		Y: 6	11	10	6	13	0	3	0	7	4	4	0	13	

Table A.1 (Continued)

		TOTAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	
13. Work for equality for Negroes	Essential	A: 20	18	25	23	16	15	17	15	19	10	29	21	26	
		Y: 30	42	24	23	46	20	34	25	33	32	52	32	18	
	Desirable	A: 53	60	55	56	54	35	57	48	52	59	53	52	51	
		Y: 44	32	55	53	36	35	41	56	40	44	39	42	44	
	Makes no difference	A: 24	18	19	22	28	40	25	35	26	29	16	23	22	
		Y: 23	26	20	24	18	40	22	19	24	21	9	26	36	
	Essential not to do	A: 2	4	2	0	2	10	1	3	3	2	2	4	1	
		Y: 2	0	1	1	0	5	3	0	4	3	0	0	3	
	14. Oppose the Vietnam War	Essential	A: 19	15	21	19	21	14	12	27	18	17	30	21	13
			Y: 19	16	21	19	30	15	18	7	21	21	25	11	11
		Desirable	A: 21	17	25	21	31	10	19	24	18	22	22	19	26
			Y: 18	16	18	21	24	10	14	29	19	21	21	21	13
Makes no difference		A: 53	65	43	55	44	60	61	49	65	60	41	52	46	
		Y: 57	66	58	57	36	75	61	65	54	50	49	63	66	
Essential not to do		A: 6	3	3	5	3	16	8	0	0	2	7	8	16	
		Y: 6	3	4	3	9	0	7	0	7	9	6	5	10	
15. Be well versed in Jewish history and culture		Essential	A: 15	10	11	12	18	17	13	7	18	13	23	12	25
			Y: 11	5	9	12	15	14	4	13	12	11	26	16	4
		Desirable	A: 71	72	80	71	73	70	70	76	67	81	74	61	63
			Y: 57	63	60	61	49	62	51	59	62	54	66	63	49
	Makes no difference	A: 13	18	9	17	8	9	17	17	16	4	3	26	10	
		Y: 29	29	26	27	36	24	40	28	24	33	6	16	39	
	Essential not to do	A: 1	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	
		Y: 3	3	6	1	0	0	5	0	2	2	2	5	9	

Table A.1 (continued)

		TOTAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
16. Support Zionism	Essential	A: 13	5	16	14	18	8	7	13	14	13	22	13	14
		Y: 9	0	18	11	15	5	3	9	6	9	8	26	4
	Desirable	A: 30	28	38	28	32	36	25	40	28	34	31	26	29
		Y: 31	42	33	32	39	29	24	31	27	42	37	37	18
	Makes no difference	A: 49	60	40	55	46	48	54	45	47	47	45	57	44
		Y: 55	53	43	44	36	67	69	59	59	47	53	37	69
	Essential not to do	A: 8	8	7	3	5	8	14	3	12	6	2	4	13
		Y: 5	5	6	3	9	0	4	0	8	2	2	0	9
17. Be a liberal on political and economic issues	Essential	A: 13	12	14	14	13	10	8	10	9	8	27	9	16
		Y: 11	8	13	7	21	5	9	3	14	16	14	11	6
	Desirable	A: 32	34	31	33	38	37	26	37	28	30	30	39	33
		Y: 19	24	16	19	24	19	18	23	17	16	22	26	19
	Makes no difference	A: 50	49	52	48	48	40	59	49	60	61	40	50	43
		Y: 66	66	66	72	49	67	69	74	65	65	57	47	70
	Essential not to do	A: 5	6	3	3	2	14	7	5	4	2	3	2	9
		Y: 4	3	5	2	6	10	4	0	4	3	8	16	5
18. Attend weekly services	Essential	A: 6	4	2	5	11	12	4	2	7	2	7	6	8
		Y: 1	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
	Desirable	A: 37	35	30	34	28	57	34	42	39	32	54	31	32
		Y: 19	32	10	15	12	29	12	13	18	23	26	47	22
	Makes no difference	A: 56	57	67	62	62	28	59	56	54	65	37	62	58
		Y: 76	63	81	78	88	71	80	88	81	70	72	53	67
	Essential not to do	A: 2	3	2	0	0	4	3	0	0	2	2	2	2
		Y: 5	5	7	4	0	0	7	0	1	8	1	0	6

Table A.1 (continued)

		TOTAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
19. Give Jewish candidates preference	Essential	A: 3	5	6	1	7	4	1	0	0	0	6	0	6
		Y: 1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	6	3
	Desirable	A: 11	13	10	14	7	21	11	7	9	9	15	7	11
		Y: 8	8	9	5	9	10	8	6	9	5	4	11	11
	Makes no difference	A: 52	55	56	57	55	42	58	51	54	57	44	55	44
		Y: 44	47	50	45	21	62	38	53	47	43	42	22	47
	Essential not to do	A: 33	25	29	28	32	34	31	42	37	33	35	38	39
		Y: 47	45	40	49	70	29	53	41	43	51	52	61	39
20. Have mostly Jewish friends	Essential	A: 2	2	0	0	2	4	2	0	2	2	6	0	2
		Y: 1	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	3
	Desirable	A: 10	5	14	4	12	20	6	12	12	12	13	5	13
		Y: 4	5	5	3	0	19	1	3	3	2	6	6	4
	Makes no difference	A: 75	78	75	82	77	61	81	76	70	79	63	82	68
		Y: 64	66	66	59	67	57	60	69	70	61	72	71	57
	Essential not to do	A: 13	16	11	13	10	16	11	12	16	7	18	13	17
		Y: 32	29	26	38	33	24	38	28	27	36	23	18	37
21. Observe the dietary laws	Essential	A: 2	0	2	2	0	0	3	0	2	0	3	4	3
		Y: 1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1
	Desirable	A: 8	16	6	7	7	4	5	5	7	8	10	9	9
		Y: 5	5	7	5	9	0	2	9	2	3	17	6	4
	Makes no difference	A: 82	69	86	86	86	83	84	90	83	85	79	83	75
		Y: 81	90	70	82	85	100	78	84	89	82	77	83	76
	Essential not to do	A: 9	15	6	6	8	14	8	5	9	8	7	5	13
		Y: 13	5	20	13	6	0	20	6	8	12	6	11	19

Table A.1 (continued)

		TOTAL	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
22. Promote the use of Yiddish	Essential	A: 1	2	0	0	2	0	2	5	0	0	4	0	1
		Y: 1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	6	1
	Desirable	A: 10	5	5	11	11	15	5	15	17	13	15	15	7
		Y: 5	0	9	5	3	5	4	9	1	10	4	0	4
	Makes no difference	A: 71	70	71	78	74	74	69	70	66	74	63	78	65
		Y: 75	82	75	82	79	81	61	75	79	75	83	83	61
	Essential not to do	A: 18	23	24	11	13	11	25	10	17	12	19	7	27
		Y: 20	18	15	12	18	14	35	16	19	15	9	11	34

Table A.2
 DEVIATIONS FROM MEAN ON SECULAR ISSUES
 (ADULTS, BY TEMPLE)

Issue:	Temple:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Leads an ethical and moral life		-	-	+	+	M	-	M	-	P		-	P
Supports all humanitarian causes		M	+	+	P	M	+	M	-	-	P	M	
Promotes civic betterment and improvement in the community		M	+	-	-	+	P	M	+	M	P	P	P
Helps the underprivileged improve their lot		M	P	+	-	P		M		M	P	+	+
Works for equality for Negroes		-	P	+	-	M	-	M	-	M	P	+	P
Opposes the Vietnam War		-	+		+	M	M	P	-	-	P	+	M
Is a liberal on political and economic issues		+		+	P	+	M	+	M	M	P	+	+

Key: P - deviation of plus 5 points or more
 M - deviation of minus 5 points or more
 + - deviation of plus 1 to 4 points
 - - deviation of minus 1 to 4 points
 Blank indicates at mean

Table A.3

DEVIATIONS FROM MEAN ON JEWISH ISSUES
(FOR ADULTS, BY TEMPLE)

Issue:	Temple:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Accepts his being a Jew and does not try to hide it		M	+	+	+	+	+	M	-		P	M	
Supports Israel		M	P	-	-	-	M	+	M	+	P	-	P
Knows the fundamentals of Judaism		M	M		+	P	M	M	+	M	P	-	P
Contributes to Jewish philanthropies		M	P	-	M	+	+	-	M	-	P	M	P
Belongs to a synagogue or temple		M	M	M	+	P	M	M	+	M	P	M	P
Attends services on High Holidays		+	+	M	P	P	-	M	P	M	P	M	-
Marry within the Jewish faith		-	-	M	+	+	-	P	+	+	P	-	P
Be well versed in Jewish history and culture		M	-	-	+	+	-	M	+	-	P	-	P
Support Zionism		M	+	+	P	M	M		+		P		+
Attend weekly services*		M	M	-	-	P	-	+	+	M	P	M	-
Give Jewish candidates preference*		M	+	+		P	-	M	M	M	P	M	+
Have mostly Jewish friends*		M	+	M	+	P	-		+	+	P	M	+
Observe the dietary laws*		P	-	-	-	M	-	M	-	-	+	+	+
Promote the use of Yiddish*		-	M		+	+	-	P	P	+	P	+	-

Key: P - deviation of plus 5 points or more
M - deviation of minus 5 points or more
+ - deviation of plus 1 to 4 points
- - deviation of minus 1 to 4 points
Blank indicates at mean

*On these items, "essential" and "desirable" categories have been combined.

Table A.4

DEVIATIONS FROM MEAN ON SECULAR ISSUES
(YOUTH, BY TEMPLE)

Issue:	Temple:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Leads an ethical and moral life		M	M	-	P	P	-	P	P	M	P	P	M
Supports all humanitarian causes		-	P		P	M	+	+	+	-	P	M	M
Promotes civic betterment and improvement in the community		M	M	-	P	-	P	+	P	+	P	M	M
Helps the underprivileged improve their lot		-	M	M	P	M		M	P	+	P	M	M
Works for equality for Negroes		P	M	M	P	M	+	M	+	+	P	+	M
Opposes the Vietnam War		-	+		P	-	-	M	+	+	P	M	M
Is a liberal on political and economic issues		+	-	-	P	M	-	-	+	+	P	P	M

Key: P - deviation of plus 5 points or more
M - deviation of minus 5 points or more
+ - deviation of plus 1 to 4 points
- - deviation of minus 1 to 4 points
Blank indicates at mean

Table A.5

DEVIATION FROM MEAN ON JEWISH ISSUES
(YOUTH, BY TEMPLE)

Issue:	Temple:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Accepts his being a Jew and does not try to hide it		M	M	-	P	M	-	P		P	+	-	M
Supports Israel		M	P	-	P	M	M	P		+		P	M
Contributes to Jewish philanthropies		P	+	-	+	M	M	-	+	P	P	+	+
Belongs to a synagogue or temple		+	M		-	P	-	M	P			+	+
Attends services on High Holidays		P	M	-	-	-	-	M	P		+	P	
Marry within the Jewish faith			P	-	M	P	M	P	P	+	P	-	M
Be well versed in Jewish history and culture			+	P	-	P	M	+	P	-	P	P	M
Support Zionism		+	P	+	P	M	M		M	P	P	P	M
Attend weekly services*		P	M	-	M	P	M	M	-	+	P	P	P
Give Jewish candidates preference*		-	+	-		+		-		-	-	P	P
Have mostly Jewish friends*			+	-	M	P	-	-	-	-	+	P	+
Observe the dietary laws*		-	+	-	+	M	-	+	-	-	P		-
Promote the use of Yiddish*		M	+		-	-	-	+	-	+	-		-

Key: P - deviation of plus 5 points or more
M - deviation of minus 5 points or more
+ - deviation of plus 1 to 4 points
- - deviation of minus 1 to 4 points
Blank indicates at mean

*On these items, "essential" and "desirable" categories have been combined.

Tab' A.6
 RATINGS OF IMPORTANCE OF DIVERSE JEWISH QUESTIONS,
 FOR ADULTS AND YOUTH, BY TEMPLE

		Temple:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
		TOT												
Alienation of Jewish Youth	Very important	A: 76%	71%	85%	74%	77%	76%	71%	77%	69%	73%	88%	78%	73%
		Y: 52%	47	61	58	50	70	51	58	41	48	66	63	33
	Somewhat important	A: 19	20	12	19	15	20	24	23	26	22	10	18	20
		Y: 35	47	26	31	33	25	36	36	49	45	26	37	44
	Not important	A: 5	9	3	7	8	4	5	0	6	6	2	4	7
		Y: 11	5	13	11	17	5	13	6	11	7	8	0	23
Relationship of American Jews to Israel	Very important	A: 60	36	75	63	75	48	53	55	50	70	67	49	72
		Y: 54	41	57	51	63	35	46	47	57	67	59	68	46
	Somewhat important	A: 33	56	25	31	21	42	35	38	39	28	31	40	20
		Y: 40	46	34	43	34	60	47	50	32	29	37	32	48
	Not important	A: 7	8	0	7	5	10	12	8	11	2	1	11	8
		Y: 7	14	10	7	3	5	7	3	11	4	4	0	6
State of Jewish education	Very important	A: 44	47	60	45	43	60	27	35	48	34	51	51	40
		Y: 38	33	39	43	48	55	35	36	32	31	53	42	33
	Somewhat important	A: 42	42	27	44	40	31	54	45	42	56	37	28	42
		Y: 41	53	42	40	42	25	39	52	43	48	36	42	36
	Not important	A: 14	11	13	11	17	8	19	20	10	10	12	21	18
		Y: 21	14	21	17	10	20	26	12	26	21	11	16	31

Table A.6 (continued)

		Temple: Tot.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Importance of Intermarriage by Jews	Very imporant	A: 43%	49%	43%	45%	40%	44%	34%	38%	45%	49%	55%	38%	41%
		Y: 28%	41	34	29	6	40	16	31	35	23	41	39	21
	Somewhat important	A: 34	26	33	40	30	35	42	45	26	31	27	38	35
		Y: 35	35	37	37	38	25	36	28	31	37	43	33	28
	Not important	A: 23	26	25	15	30	21	25	18	28	21	18	24	24
		Y: 37	24	29	34	56	35	48	41	34	40	17	28	51
Importance of theological confusion	Very important	A: 33	33	27	35	40	30	29	26	40	35	44	31	32
		Y: 38	34	47	40	43	25	42	21	42	32	59	50	17
	Somewhat important	A: 38	48	41	39	25	50	37	42	38	39	40	35	30
		Y: 39	40	38	35	37	55	37	54	33	49	28	39	48
	Not important	A: 29	20	32	26	36	21	34	32	21	26	16	33	38
		Y: 22	26	16	25	20	20	21	25	25	19	13	11	35

Table A
 RATINGS OF AGREEMENT WITH DIVERSE JEWISH
 QUESTIONS, FOR ADULTS AND YOUTH, BY TEMPLE

		Temple:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
		Tot.												
Intermarriage is bad for the Jewish people	Agree	A: 61%	63%	49%	62%	53%	57%	50%	68%	75%	62%	72%	61%	64%
		Y: 28%	42	31	35	9	52	13	36	35	15	37	39	17
	Undecided	A: 10	6	14	11	16	13	13	8	4	9	4	16	7
		Y: 12	11	17	8	13	14	10	12	6	22	6	1	15
	Disagree	A: 29	31	37	27	31	30	37	25	22	29	24	23	29
		Y: 61	47	52	57	78	33	77	52	59	64	57	56	68
Israel is the center of contemporary Jewish life	Agree	A: 28	21	37	28	32	31	20	32	25	32	32	27	25
		Y: 28	32	33	32	18	19	18	32	20	39	32	33	27
	Undecided	A: 16	18	8	18	22	28	16	10	16	10	10	27	12
		Y: 18	13	18	19	15	5	22	27	14	20	17	22	17
	Disagree	A: 56	61	55	53	46	41	64	59	59	58	58	46	63
		Y: 54	55	49	49	67	76	60	41	66	40	52	44	56
Jewish day schools do more harm than good	Agree	A: 18	14	14	14	13	4	22	10	27	24	17	21	26
		Y: 23	21	17	20	19	19	28	29	33	13	22	17	27
	Undecided	A: 37	53	31	39	29	39	46	45	27	31	30	28	40
		Y: 41	53	44	48	34	43	36	47	29	43	46	22	37
	Disagree	A: 45	33	55	47	59	58	33	45	46	45	54	51	34
		Y: 37	26	39	32	47	38	37	24	37	44	32	61	36

Table A.7 (continued)

		Temple:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
		Tot.												
The essence of Judaism is adherence to its laws and customs	Agree	A: 38%	41%	34%	37%	34%	55%	37%	39%	35%	41%	39%	36%	31%
		Y: 21%	21	16	18	21	5	20	15	22	30	26	65	19
	Undecided	A: 12	14	13	7	16	11	10	2	13	10	11	21	14
		Y: 19	34	29	18	12	29	13	24	13	28	11	6	13
	Disagree	A: 50	46	53	57	50	34	52	59	53	49	49	43	55
		Y: 60	45	55	65	67	67	67	62	65	42	62	29	68
The Jews are a chosen people	Agree	A: 27	27	20	19	27	50	26	28	29	26	30	30	24
		Y: 18	16	18	17	16	24	14	15	22	18	23	28	18
	Undecided	A: 17	20	21	22	18	15	19	15	16	14	16	17	14
		Y: 25	34	26	22	22	33	16	24	18	31	30	39	30
	Disagree	A: 56	53	59	59	55	35	56	58	55	61	54	53	62
		Y: 57	50	56	61	63	43	70	61	60	51	47	33	53
A person cannot be a good Jew unless he believes in God	Agree	A: 48	44	48	38	47	76	51	37	53	40	49	47	47
		Y: 23	24	16	20	18	48	26	9	28	16	34	50	22
	Undecided	A: 9	17	8	10	11	11	8	10	5	5	7	12	7
		Y: 11	13	14	11	21	14	10	12	8	7	9	6	15
	Disagree	A: 43	39	44	52	42	13	42	54	42	55	44	41	47
		Y: 66	63	70	69	61	38	64	79	64	77	57	44	63

Table A.7 (continued)

		Temple: Tot.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Temples today should devote more time and resources to social problems (peace, civil rights, etc.)	Agree	A: 53%	48%	53%	54%	59%	30%	50%	61%	61%	54%	59%	59%	54%
		Y: 75%	68	75	74	87	57	81	74	75	78	72	72	71
	Undecided	A: 12	13	11	4	21	19	19	0	7	12	8	14	15
		Y: 13	16	15	16	3	10	12	12	13	11	17	22	9
	Disagree	A: 34	39	36	41	21	52	31	39	32	34	33	27	30
		Y: 12	16	9	10	10	33	7	15	12	10	11	6	21
There should be more emphasis on teaching Hebrew in the temple's educational program	Agree	A: 44	35	42	41	45	61	43	49	36	36	56	36	46
		Y: 40	47	39	37	56	38	32	45	38	35	65	61	32
	Undecided	A: 23	21	23	26	36	20	20	12	23	22	23	27	20
		Y: 22	24	28	27	16	10	17	26	18	27	24	22	17
	Disagree	A: 33	44	34	33	19	19	37	39	41	42	21	38	34
		Y: 38	29	34	36	28	52	52	29	45	38	11	17	52
Anti-Semitism will never be a major problem for American Jews	Agree	A: 7	10	6	3	8	7	9	7	4	3	6	7	11
		Y: 7	11	8	7	0	20	6	3	8	2	6	2	15
	Undecided	A: 6	5	2	6	3	17	9	5	16	1	3	2	6
		Y: 15	16	16	12	23	10	26	21	9	10	7	2	13
	Disagree	A: 87	85	92	91	89	76	83	88	80	96	92	91	83
		Y: 78	74	76	82	77	70	68	76	83	88	87	83	71

Table A.8
 CAMP PREFERENCES, FOR ADULTS AND YOUTH,
 BY TEMPLE (PERCENT)

		Temple: Tot	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
First Choice:	Lincoln	A: 50%	57%	50%	57%	46%	38%	49%	40%	53%	42%	48%	60%	54%
		Y: 64%	68	66	71	87	62	66	55	56	62	58	67	53
	Beaver	A: 36	32	25	40	44	24	42	51	48	35	27	23	38
		Y: 27	16	17	21	7	25	30	38	34	32	16	19	44
Second Choice:	Maccabee	A: 14	9	22	8	11	26	11	11	4	25	23	13	10
		Y: 7	8	10	9	8	0	4	7	7	5	14	13	4
	Judah	A: 8	12	13	4	9	21	5	6	2	2	13	7	7
		Y: 6	11	12	3	0	15	2	7	6	5	16	13	3
Second Choice:	Lincoln	A: 27	22	26	30	30	23	33	38	31	24	27	26	18
		Y: 25	24	23	20	7	19	25	32	28	27	29	22	37
	Beaver	A: 36	42	42	34	26	24	34	32	37	34	36	42	42
		Y: 47	43	46	53	61	30	53	41	47	46	39	31	46
Second Choice:	Maccabee	A: 26	20	21	27	38	30	21	28	26	26	23	24	31
		Y: 18	13	20	17	19	30	16	21	18	18	20	25	11
	Judah	A: 11	14	14	7	5	28	8	3	4	16	17	9	7
		Y: 11	18	10	11	20	20	8	7	7	9	14	20	7

Table A.8 (continued)

		Temple: Tot.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Third Choice:	Lincoln	A: 9% Y: 7%	8%	10%	5%	16%	11%	7%	10%	2%	12%	13%	7%	12%
			8	6	6	0	5	3	10	8	6	12	11	8
	Beaver	A: 14 Y: 11	14	17	13	14	22	14	14	14	15	10	15	11
			8	20	9	14	20	9	3	9	17	12	13	6
Maccabee		A: 48 Y: 58	52	47	55	44	35	54	56	59	40	47	46	43
			61	48	64	65	55	64	57	60	55	42	38	69
	Judah	A: 24 Y: 22	23	20	24	21	26	24	17	22	30	23	30	28
			21	26	19	16	20	23	25	22	20	31	33	14
Fourth Choice:	Lincoln	A: 14 Y: 5	13	14	8	8	28	11	13	14	21	11	7	16
			0	6	3	7	14	6	3	8	5	2	0	3
	Beaver	A: 14 Y: 15	12	17	14	16	29	10	3	2	15	27	21	10
			32	17	17	18	25	9	17	9	5	33	38	4
Maccabee		A: 12 Y: 17	20	10	10	7	9	14	6	11	9	7	17	16
			18	22	11	8	15	16	14	16	22	24	25	15
Judah		A: 57 Y: 61	51	54	65	66	26	64	75	71	52	47	54	57
			50	53	67	64	45	67	61	66	66	39	33	76

Table A.9

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISRAEL
(ADULTS, BY TEMPLE)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
% who would contribute to UJA	89%	88%	94%	94%	82%	75%	90%	87%	90%	92%	94%	84%	94%
% of members' contributions allocated to UJA	34	25	41	41	31	20	33	39	30	42	36	26	40
Importance of relationship of American Jews to Israel													
Very important	60	37	75	63	75	48	53	55	50	71	67	49	72
Somewhat important	33	56	25	31	21	42	35	38	39	28	31	40	20
Not important	7	8	0	7	5	10	12	8	11	2	1	11	8
"Israel is the center of contemporary Jewish life"													
Agree	28	21	37	28	32	31	20	32	25	32	32	27	25
Disagree	56	61	55	53	46	41	64	59	59	58	58	46	63
Support for Israel and the "good Jew"													
Essential	37	27	45	34	36	33	29	39	26	39	49	33	46
Desirable	45	55	47	52	48	44	43	42	55	38	37	47	40
Makes no difference or essential not to	18	18	8	14	16	22	28	19	19	23	14	19	15
Support for Zionism and the "good Jew"													
Essential	13	5	16	14	18	8	7	13	14	13	22	13	14
Desirable	30	28	38	28	32	36	25	40	28	34	31	26	29
Makes no difference	49	60	40	55	46	48	54	45	47	47	45	57	44
Essential not to do	8	8	7	3	5	8	14	3	12	6	2	4	13

Table A.10
 ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISRAEL
 (YOUTH, BY TEMPLE)

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
% who would contribute to UJA	76%	83%	83%	74%	62%	75%	71%	71%	66%	81%	88%	94%	78%
% of members' contributions allocated to UJA	25	24	35	28	22	20	23	26	20	24	30	25	22
Importance of relationship of American Jews to Israel													
<u>Very important</u>	54	41	57	51	63	35	46	47	57	67	59	68	46
<u>Somewhat important</u>	40	46	34	43	34	60	47	50	32	29	37	32	48
<u>Not important</u>	7	14	10	7	3	5	7	3	11	4	4	0	6
"Israel is the center of contemporary Jewish life"													
<u>Agree</u>	28	32	33	32	18	19	18	32	20	39	32	33	27
<u>Disagree</u>	54	55	49	49	67	76	60	41	66	40	52	44	56
Support for Israel and the "good Jew"													
<u>Essential</u>	21	13	33	18	30	14	16	28	21	25	21	26	13
<u>Desirable</u>	46	50	36	50	36	38	35	50	47	55	56	74	47
<u>Makes no difference or essential not to</u>	33	37	31	32	33	48	49	22	33	20	23	0	41
Support for Zionism and the "good Jew"													
<u>Essential</u>	9	0	18	11	15	5	3	9	6	9	8	26	4
<u>Desirable</u>	31	42	33	32	39	29	24	31	27	42	37	37	18
<u>Makes no difference</u>	55	53	43	55	36	67	69	59	59	47	53	37	69
<u>Essential not to do</u>	5	5	6	3	9	0	4	0	8	2	2	0	9

Table A.11
 DEVIATIONS FROM MEAN ON ISRAEL ITEMS
 (ADULTS, BY TEMPLE)*

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
% contributors to UJA	89%	-	P	P	M	M	+	-	+	+	P	M	P
% contributions to UJA	34	M	P	P	-	M	-	P	-	P	+	M	P
Relationship of American Jew to Israel very important	60	M	P	+	P	M	M	M	M	P	P	M	P
Israel is the center of contem- porary Jewish life: Agree	28	M	P		+	+	M	+	-	+	+	-	-
Support for Israel is essential to be a good Jew	37	M	P	-	-	-	M	+	M	+	P	-	P
Support for Zionism is essential to be a good Jew	13	M	+	+	P	M	M		+		P		+

* + = one to four percentage points above mean
 - = one to four percentage points below mean
 P = five or more percentage points above mean
 M = five or more percentage points below mean
 Blank = exactly at mean

Table A.12
 DEVIATIONS FROM MEAN ON ISRAEL ITEMS
 (YOUTH, BY TEMPLE)*

	Total	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
% contributors to UJA	76%	P	P	-	M	-	M	M	M	P	P	P	+
% contributions to UJA	25	-	P	+	-	M	-	+	M		P		-
Relationship of American Jew to Israel very important	54	M	+	-	P	M	M	M	+	P	P	P	M
Israel is the center of contem- porary Jewish life: Agree	28	+	P	+	M	M	M	+	M	P	+	P	-
Support for Israel is essential to be a good Jew	21	M	P	-	P	M	M	P		+		P	M
Support for Zionism is essential to be a good Jew	9	M	P	+	P	-	M		-		-	P	M

* + = one to four percentage points above mean
 - = one to four percentage points below mean
 P = five or more percentage points above mean
 M = five or more percentage points below mean
 Blank = exactly at mean

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Patron of Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion

Long Range Planning Committee

PILOT PROJECT FOR SYNAGOGUE CHANGE

REFORM IS A VERB

PART II

THE POTENTIAL JEW

Innovations in Experiential Techniques

By

Robert Chin
Jack Dauber
and
Herzl Spiro

NOT FOR
PUBLICATION

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PUBLICATION

The Pilot Project for Synagogue Change is under the professional direction of Dr. Leonard J. Fein, in association with TDR Associates, Inc. It is under the auspices of the Long Range Planning Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

August, 1971

Introduction

Each of us is far more than he seems to be, for each of us is what he might be, what he is capable of becoming, as well as what he is, here and now. Finding ways to reveal and describe ourselves as we might be -- our potential -- as Jews is a difficult and challenging task, not less demanding than discovering our potential in the other diverse arenas of our lives. For our potential is not only hidden from public view, it is commonly hidden from our own view as well.

This volume is not intended as a revelation of Jewish potential; that task lies beyond our ken. Rather, it is intended as an early map of the terrain traced by its authors in the course of developing experiential group techniques for some eighteen temple-based weekends, as part of the work of the Long Range Planning Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The hope is that our experience, and the techniques which are the heart of that experience, may, in some small measure, reduce the gap between the actual Jew and the potential Jew, and also encourage others to join us in tracing ways to initiate programs that will further encourage the fuller realization of our potential as Jews.

In thinking about the future of Reform Judaism, one major consideration clearly has to do with the human resources it embraces. It is a reasonably straightforward task to describe the present state of those resources -- the attitudes, beliefs, and practices of Reform Jews. Part I of this report, The Actual Jew, provides such a description, based on survey data. But such data alone can no more provide us with an adequate basis for planning and decision making than can knowledge of the physical measurements of a child permit us to predict his potential for creativity. A complete statement of resources includes, obviously, information concerning potential as well as actual resources.

Accordingly, the Committee, interested in more precise information regarding the strengths -- and weaknesses -- with which Reform Jewry faces the coming decades, asked whether we could devise a method for providing the desired information. We believed that such a method could be devised, and that the approach should be based on Kurt Lewin's dictum that the best way to understand something is to try to change it. And so we set about the task of developing a series of workshops which would serve, at one and the same time, as demonstration projects and as research.

The initial workshop design was developed by a group of senior associates of TDR, including, along with the present authors, Drs. William Genova, Edward Kaitz and George Thomas. It was based on the utilization of experiential modes of learning, since, it was felt, these were the most consistent with the needs of the project as well as with the hope of its sponsors that individual involvement and participation in Jewish life in general, and temple life in particular, could be encouraged. The experiential techniques we developed (sometimes called "exercises") were intended to help people in the tasks of self-assessment and goal-setting. We anticipated, and found, that many people would be interested primarily in developing recommendations to official bodies and agencies, but we felt, and feel, that the prior task is to focus primarily on the individual himself rather than the institutional environment alone.

No definition of experiential techniques serves as well as the actual descriptions which are detailed in the following chapters. The basic premise of the techniques is that actual shared experience is a better teacher than descriptions of experience, or instructions regarding what it is one is "supposed" to experience. Each Jew in a temple has some Jewish past, and some Jewish present. Obviously, he also has a Jewish future, and the question is whether that future shall be the object of conscious effort, or the consequence of inertial or instinctive response. We believe that Jews are capable of joining in the work of planning their future as Jews, and that such planning is substantially more effective than hortatory pleas for greater involvement and concern, than repeated berating and cajoling, than constant reminders of failure. If a climate of genuine hope is to be generated, it is more likely to grow in an environment which supports the person, especially in his tentative early gropings, than in an adversary climate. Such a supportive environment is encouraged by the shared effort to explore the person's Jewish past, to share in a Jewish present, and to develop together hopes and plans for the future; the result, we have found, is a move towards the creation of a sense of community in a climate of hope.

An early version of the workshop design was tested with members of the Long Range Planning Committee themselves as enthusiastic participants, during a weekend retreat in western Massachusetts. This early effort was followed by substantial revision and further development of approaches and techniques, as we prepared to take the workshops to "the field". Together with the staff of the Union, six "pilot" congregations were selected for participation, and their approval of the project obtained. Our own staff expanded to include Herzl Spiro and Jack Dauber, who, together with Robert Chin and Bernard Reisman, were to have responsibility for conducting the workshops, as well as continuing the process of development.

Rabbis from each of the six participating temples -- located in the New York, Chicago, Boston, New Orleans, Washington (D.C.), and Los Angeles regions -- were asked to provide us with the name of a capable lay person who could serve as our liaison with the workshop participants and

the temple, and also to provide a list of names of temple members who had some connection with the human relations field, whether as social workers, teachers, personnel managers, or in other related ways. We asked that the list be as inclusive as possible, both in order to give us a large pool from which to draw, and also to prevent any bias towards one "faction" or another.

From this pool, we recruited a core group of twelve "facilitators" in each temple. So much of the activity in the workshops, designed for up to sixty participants, was to take place in smaller groups, that it was thought useful to have a group of people who could help conduct the activities, together with the professional staff. Moreover, we believed that if there were to be any possibility of a continuation of the process after the workshop phase had been concluded, it would be useful if there were, in each temple, a group of people who had had some experience in planning and conducting the workshops with us.

The total program, as it was developed -- and tested in one of the six participating temples on an early time schedule -- involved three weekends. During the first weekend, the facilitators were exposed to the exercises, and trained in conducting them in group settings. The subsequent weekends, typically scheduled at one month intervals, involved anywhere from 24 to 48 additional temple members, all volunteers who had responded to a letter mailed to temple members and/or to calls from facilitators. Together with the facilitators, this meant that the groups ranged a bit in size; the numbers involved, in the six cases, were 30, 44, 46, 51, 58, and 62.

We learned quite early that there was a fair degree of misunderstanding of the purposes of the program, partly owing to the wording of the letter of invitation, which spoke of prospective "contributions to Reform Judaism." As a result, a number of people came expecting that they would be invited to make a series of recommendations to the Union, or to the trustees of their own temple. Some, upon learning that the primary orientation was to the individual and the workshop group, chose not to participate, and it is this which chiefly accounts for the differences in group size. Once people decided to stay, however, almost all stayed for the full two weekends; excepting a few instances of illness or pressing business, the retention rate for the full four days was virtually one hundred percent.

We should have preferred a retreat setting; among other things, this would have offered a good deal more working time. But financial and time constraints, as well as the need to establish a basic credibility for the program, led us to work in the temple itself, with sessions scheduled for the daytime hours of Saturday and Sunday.

In most cases, the first full weekend dealt with exercises described here in Chapter 1, as well as perhaps half the exercises presented in Chapter 2. The balance of the exercises were employed during the second full weekend workshop. In each case, largely on their own initiative, the group of facili-

tators met between the first and second full weekends to review plans and train for the second workshop.

Our actual experience in the temples was quite different in each case, depending, as it did, on the particular mix of people involved, the specific traditions of the temple, the professional responsible for that temple (one professional, in most cases), and our own changes in style and emphasis as we continued the process of development. In every case, following the end of a workshop, the professional who had conducted it provided a detailed description and evaluation form. Of the 291 people who participated in the workshops, 219, or 75 percent, returned these forms. The overall evaluation was positive in 94 percent of all cases, including in the tally those who checked "moderately useful", "quite helpful", or "an extremely important personal experience." The largest single group, including over 35 percent of the respondents, evaluated the workshops as "an extremely important personal experience."

The proportion of those who found the workshops helpful in "clarifying the meaning of Jewishness in your life" is somewhat smaller than the proportion who had responded positively to the workshops in more general terms, but even here, two-thirds of all respondents held that the workshops had had either a significant or a moderate positive impact. Indeed, 91 percent thought that it would be appropriate for temples to allocate funds to continue the workshop process, and extend it to larger numbers. And 90 percent thought the program exercises either "excellent" or "good."

A list of possible workshop outcomes was included in the evaluation form, and the most popular categories (checked, in each case, by between 50 and 95 percent of the respondents) included "helped me to get to know other people", "helped me to clarify my ideas and feelings about being a Jew", "helped build a sense of community in the temple", "offered encouragement regarding the future of Reform Judaism", and "provided encouragement and support in my search for Jewish meaning". Less than 10 percent of the respondents felt that the workshops had "opened up personal and emotional issues better left alone", "created false expectations and hopes", or had "diverted energies from more pressing temple needs".

In brief, even in its earliest developmental stage, the workshop design was enthusiastically endorsed, and thought useful, by the large majority of the participants.

At the time the evaluation forms were returned, 40 percent of the respondents informed us that they were engaged in some form of follow-up activity to the workshops. Some time after the forms had been returned, Leonard Fein visited each of the participating temples, and met with the workshop participants. (Overall, some two-thirds of the participants attended these meetings.) In a number of cases, discussion focussed on possible continuing activities, and our impression is that a number somewhat larger than the originally reported 40 percent may now be engaged in such activities. The range of interests in continuing activities is quite large,

including a group that meets periodically for a Yiddish speaking brunch, a number of Torah study groups, a group that is attempting to read, and perhaps perform, Jewish plays, several groups that are studying various facets of temple life, and others. In a number of follow-up meetings, participants cautioned us that there were other measures of impact aside from these explicit groups; their feeling was that the quality of their participation in the various temple activities which they had been engaged in even before participating in the workshops had changed quite dramatically. Such an outcome, they held, was not less important for its being less obvious.

Nonetheless, while we are gratified at the "early returns", a number of cautions should be expressed. First, the primary purpose of our effort was the development and testing of techniques and of workshop designs, and actual changes in the six temples must be viewed as a positive fringe benefit. Second, it is far too early to determine whether any of the reported changes are enduring; hopefully, an additional evaluation may be conducted some months hence to provide more reliable information on this score. And third, the design, as it has so far been developed, does not include an effort to guarantee continuing support for the workshop group within the temple. A comprehensive design would almost certainly have to take account of institutional supports, and might well point towards the development of workshops for rabbis and for board members. Under present conditions, any continuing activity of the workshop groups must be viewed as a most unusual outcome.

In our view, the chief lesson of the workshops lies in the demonstration that a constituency of support for intensive Jewish experience does exist, and that techniques for exciting the interest of that constituency, and generating within it a sense of community, can be developed. In a separate report to the Long Range Planning Committee, we have made specific recommendations regarding the extension of the program to larger numbers of people, using, wherever possible, existing staff and organizational capabilities. If the general assessment of the utility of the workshop design accords with our own positive view, and widespread dissemination is, indeed, promoted, there is no question that much attention will have to be devoted to the ways in which the initial workshop experience is to be followed up, and, in some measure, institutionalized.

In evaluating a strategy of change, the short-term reaction of participants in the process is only one applicable criterion. Using that criterion, as we have seen, the strategy we are about to describe must be counted a success. Some other criteria, such as the applicability of the strategy on an on-going, rather than an experimental, basis, and its long range impact, cannot yet be reliably assessed. One might also measure the strategy for achieving change in terms of its consistency with the objectives and goals of the desired change.

In this regard, the approach we have employed differs quite sharply from the more conventional approach of "ordering" change -- that is, of initiating pressure for change from the top down. Such a hierarchically based strategy can often be successful, albeit in a very limited way, for as soon as the pressure for change is relaxed, unless there has taken place signifi-

cant internal learning, people go back to whatever it was they were doing before the pressure was applied, and sometimes go back with an increase in tension and resentment. If the end goal of the effort is increased participation and involvement, then the means of the effort should, if they are to be successful be consonant with the goal; ordering, nagging, and pressuring insure a wide discrepancy between method and aim, and typically insure the defeat of the aim as well.

That is why we have followed an approach in which individuals are engaged in activities that allow them to perceive themselves and each other as Jews, to encourage them to accept each other as people and as Jews. From such a base of honesty and acceptance, one can move to a self-directed statement of goals. The fundamental approach is re-educative, and affirmative.

A word of caution. We are not using what has been popularly understood as "sensitivity" training, though some of our procedures bear a superficial resemblance to such training. Sensitivity training is concerned with emotional encounters between and among individuals, in an effort to induce re-examination of personal life-style in interpersonal relationships. Both human encounter groups and group-centered laboratories occur in contexts that often provoke fairly painful feelings. Such emotional upheavals, tearful sessions, and angry outbursts were entirely unknown in the 150 program units we conducted.

The authors have extensive experience with a full spectrum of group settings. Here we sought to evolve an educative (not therapeutic) method focussed on Jewish growth. The classic sensitivity model was specifically rejected as neither suitable nor effective for widespread temple use.

Sensitivity groups and the experiential techniques described here do share an ideology and aspects of a technology. The current wave of criticism of sensitivity groups should not, we think, lead one to discard the baby with the bath water. The ideology of learning through experience, fostered by John Dewey and the learning laboratory technology set in motion by Kurt Lewin, is basic to the activities presented here.

Finally, regarding the development of the activities: We created, invented, adapted and selected a set of activities which were consonant with the goals and values of the project.* Each activity is approached as a self-contained unit, yet fitting into a sequence in the larger program design. The activities are presented under general groupings with the full recognition that they can often be used at other points in the sequence.

* It is impossible to designate authorship of the individual activities. Each is a composite of the contributions of many people. We do wish to acknowledge our debt to a large number of colleagues in the training field.

In describing the activities, we have tried to keep in mind those who might use them. Some "users", we suspect, will be familiar with some of the activities, but in our own work we have found it a convenience to have activities or exercises written up in substantial detail. This makes the job of adaptation and modification, which we happily endorse, a good deal easier.

As to the term "facilitator", as used here, it refers to the person who is conducting the activity. His function, quite simply, is to facilitate the experiential process for participants; it is not to serve as a teacher, or leader, or expert on content.

With respect to each activity, we follow an outline of presentation which first sets forth the rationale of the activity, then its goals, then its procedures; needed materials are specified, notes to facilitators are provided, and, where appropriate, a summary of our experience in conducting the activity is provided.

So, now, to the descriptions themselves.

Robert Chin
Leonard J. Fein
Bernard Reisman

1. Aspects of Individual Jewish Identity

INTRODUCTION AND GOALS

The realization of individual potential, both as human being and as Jew, is a fundamental aspect of Jewish self-renewal. In this chapter, we describe a set of activities which were designed to make it possible for the person, through active participation in the several exercises, to see himself and his values more clearly, and, through the medium of the small group, to begin to derive the meanings of his behavior. Our approach is based on the premise that only as the individual engages in a confrontation with his own actions and values, in a context of supportive feedback, is he able to engage in the process of re-education -- specifically, re-education in his present modes of acting, valuing, and choosing as a Jew.

Put somewhat differently, the purpose of the activities described in this chapter is to have participants define for themselves what it is they mean, and what it is they would like to mean, when they call themselves "Jews".

Quite commonly, these are questions people are not accustomed to asking. As in other areas of our lives, we are what we are most often through inertia, through instinct, through a combination of constraint and opportunity, and only rarely through explicit goal setting and decision-making. While we have found that some people resist the invitation to define their Jewishness, whether actual or ideal, the more typical reaction by far has been a sense of surprise, and then near-delight, as encouragement and support are offered in the pursuit of definitions.

The eventual goal of the process is, of course, to help people to move from what it is they are to what it is they would like to become. A start is made in confronting individual Jewish identity. For the participant who ignores his Jewish identity, there may come dismaying discovery that an important part of the self is being denied and written off. For most participants, there is the growing awareness of diversity, as different people articulate quite different goals. In some cases, where people find the concept of "Jewish goals" utterly mysterious, they are helped towards an understanding of how one goes about "becoming" (rather than "being") a Jew by listening to others.

In addition to the discovery of diversity, there is, quite typically, a discovery of a large mutuality. People with very different styles learn that stylistic differences often mask substantive similarities. This is a reassuring discovery, and often helps to develop confidence that a relationship which is frequently felt to be superficial does have its roots in very profound commitments to common objects.

Above all, these activities establish a tone, perhaps best defined as one which takes not only Judaism, but also the individual Jew-as-Jew, seriously. In so doing, they make it possible to establish an atmosphere of rising Judaic aspirations, aspirations which are subsequently addressed explicitly in group and temple-related experiential activities.

1.1: "CHOICES AS A JEW"

Rationale:

The questions of how to begin and how to help people introduce themselves, are met admirably by the "choices as a Jew" activity. The choices which are offered give the participants the opportunity to state positively what they stand for, with respect to a variety of issues significant for the individual, the temple, and the Jewish community. People reveal their thoughts and attitudes to each other in an informal and pleasant manner and thereby begin a process of introduction and discovery which can grow and deepen as the program develops.

The participants move to new places around the room as different questions are posed. They find themselves in association with new people. By the time activity has run its course, each participant has been in direct contact with most of the others in the group and has obtained a good beginning impression of the patterns of choices which others have made.

The physical movement which is involved in the activity helps to relieve some of the tensions which are typical of the beginning phase of a conference program. It provides an excellent alternative to the usual discussion leader format. The relatively small sub-groups which form around each of the "banners" that mark the stations stimulate each person to participate fully very early in the program. They thereby help to set a climate which encourages high personal involvement.

The patterns of differences in thinking, attitudes, personal style, which begin to emerge provide data for the group and individuals to relate themselves to as the program continues. They also pose for the group the question of how to accept and work with the differences, and how to build and maintain a sense of community and continuity.

Facilitators find this a good entry for themselves as leaders, because of their own enjoyment and pleasure, and because of its simplicity.

Goals:

1. To get people acquainted with each other by stating what they stand for and believe as Jews.
2. To establish the diversity of Jews within Reform Judaism, and to explore ways in which people can accept each other as Jews in the face of that diversity.
3. To encourage the expression of thoughts and values which individuals have typically not had much occasion to state publicly.

Procedure: 2 to 3 hours

Introduce the procedure briefly by listing the goals and by stating that how and what Jews think and feel about themselves and about other Jews in the temple is crucial for finding out what values each person has, what life styles exist for the members, and how these similarities and differences must be taken into account in temple life. (5 minutes)

2. Mount up the first item you choose with tape on the wall. Then post the four choices on four different walls. Ask each person to move to the position closest to how he honestly feels.

3. Have the people in each position talk to each other for five or so minutes to express why they are there. (5 to 10 minutes)

4. Draw the attention of people, ask them to stay where they are, and have one person from each of the four groupings express why he is there and/or report what the people there were talking about. (20 minutes)

5. Allow cross discussion between and among groups. (20 minutes)

6. Put up the next item, and ask people to keep track of their own choices and of the movement of people with similar views to their own. Repeat Steps 3 through 5. Continue with new items, with shorter times on each.

7. Save sufficient time for people to settle back in their chairs and discuss their pattern of choices and what the patterns they observed for the group as a whole seem to mean. (30 minutes or more)

Materials Needed:

The choices which are suggested are:

1. "I am a...
 - A. Jew
 - B. American
 - C. Human being
 - D. Man/Woman
2. "If I could choose, I would prefer my daughter to marry an...
 - A. Israeli Army career officer
 - B. Harvard Law School student, Unitarian
 - C. Businessman, Orthodox Jew
 - D. New left activist who rejects his Jewishness
3. In facilitating change in our congregation, the purpose should be to make it...
 - A. More efficient (schools, finances)
 - B. More relevant
 - C. More Jewish
 - D. More spiritual

4. "I would prefer to choose a summer camp for my child whose primary emphasis is...
 - A. Jewish religious living experience
 - B. Jewish history and culture
 - C. General recreation and creative leisure pursuits
 - D. Inter-faith and inter-cultural campers and experiences

5. As to the place of Israel in contemporary Jewish life...
 - A. Serious Jews have little choice but to migrate to Israel
 - B. Jewish life would be unthinkable without the State of Israel
 - C. Jews everywhere should have a special place in their hearts for Israel
 - D. Israel needs support, but having a Jewish State was probably not a good idea

6. The type of change Reform Judaism needs is...
 - A. A return to classic Reform Judaism
 - B. Some reforms in the present system
 - C. Major changes in the present system
 - D. A complete overhaul, creating forms not now imagined

Each set to be used should be lettered ahead of time. Depending upon the room, we suggest that each be approximately 30 inches long and 18 inches wide. For the first set, for example, you need signs, the first being the phrase, "I am a...", and each of the four possible "completions" on separate pieces of paper. Newsprint sheets can be cut to size and Magic Marker used to hand print each; masking tape makes taping on walls an easy job.

Notes to Facilitators:

1. The basic material is a set of choices in response to a question. A statement is taped up, and then the choices are put up around the room. The facilitator reads aloud each alternative in response to the question, and then asks everyone to go to the location which most closely represents his choice in light of the other alternatives.

2. People will resist some of the alternatives as not being realistic and as "impossible to contemplate". Urge them to pick one and go to it. It is possible in a group over 20 to allow a station in the middle of the room for the truly undecided, or for those equally pulled by most of the alternatives.

3. After people go to the selected post, ask them to talk to the others there as to why each one is there. This helps reassure and reinforce the person in his choice, as he learns that others feel somewhat the same

way. Persons will ask what you, the facilitator, mean by the sign or response. Firmly refuse to give definitions and "correct meanings", and instead, say something as follows: "Define it meaningfully to yourself." Part of the discussion develops around the fact that the same phrases take on different meanings for different persons.

4. In the first round or so, ask someone from each post to tell why he is there. Allow him to express himself but not make a speech. After a few people have spoken, try to move the discussion more personally, with the remark, "And what do you personally feel?" People will try to make speeches about the world, people in general, youth, and so forth. Your job is to get them to reflect on the meaning of the choice for themselves. Other comments that help: "Is that why you are there?" "Could you put that in the first person single pronoun, 'I'?" People will also put their choices in terms of rejection of the other choices. You might then try to get them to acknowledge that where they are represents a relative preference, and that there is some sort of positive value in their choice.

5. After the statements of positions have been expressed, try to check that they have indeed been heard by others. If people are somewhat acquainted with each other, ask if they are surprised to see someone else in the position he chose, and why. If necessary, ask the other person to reply to the question. There is bound to be some defensiveness at this point, but watch out for straight out-and-out attack and counter-attack. A little humor at this point helps. However, guard against complete and total cop-out from each position by people attacking the structure of the choices made up by the staff (!) by indicating that the important value of this procedure is the thoughtful discussion that ensues, rather than the concrete choice made. Since this procedure is used early in the workshop, watch out for someone who tries to define for everyone else what a "good" Jew should do, and choose. Instead, from the continuity of choices made by different people, a pattern for them might well start to emerge. Tolerate and encourage differences in defining what for each is their own statement of a "good" Jew.

Our Experience:

Three of the items can occupy a group for a session of an hour and a half to two hours. The first two were consistently the most provocative in our experience. The choice of a third varied depending on the participants' interest. It should be noted that a combination of the first two and one which had a "task" orientation such as "facilitating change in a congregation" or the "choice of a summer camp" proved to be an effective combination with the first two. This set of three tended to test the consistency of a "humanist orientation" or a "particularist Jewish attitude", as the context moved from personal choice to a more practical or experiential choice. We found, for example, that individuals who had identified themselves as humanists would often make choices reflecting a more Jewish emphasis on the temple or camp set, because they felt that this was the particular function of a temple or a summer camp.

Choices need not be limited to those which have been stated above. New ones can be created by facilitators and participants. The trick in creating a new one is to keep the choices or responses as "equal" as possible. That is to say, no one response should be obviously correct, or the best, or the safest. The choices should pose real difficulties.

Secondly, the choices should combine a personal element with that of broader issues. It should provide the participants with an opportunity to state what they stand for, and how they feel about their position and those of others.

Two major patterns for making choices emerged as we used the activity. One was a process of elimination, as for example, "I did not like 'American' because it isn't very important," or "Man just doesn't say enough!", or "Jew seems chauvinistic," or "I am not particularly happy with the choice of human being, but it says more about what I am than the others."

Another pattern was to choose the expression which appeared to be the most all-embracing. For example, in the question of facilitating change in our congregation, many would choose more "relevant" because they felt it encompassed the other three. Or, to put it the other way, if the congregation were more efficient, more Jewish, and more spiritual, it would be more relevant. In some cases, discussion around this choice brought out the fact that for some of the participants this was a way of avoiding making a tough choice, rather than a positive decision. Therefore, it became necessary to question this choice in order to test the reasons why it was made.

In some situations, only one person would proceed to one or another of the stations. In order to provide that person with support, the facilitator would move to that choice and engage the "loner" in a discussion regarding the reasons why he had made that choice. It was essential that this be done in order to avoid "groupiness" huddling and to encourage the participants to make authentic choices based on their personal predilections rather than on the basis of whether or not they would be the only one at a station.

Participants gave different weightings to the various words in the choices, depending on their own life experience, personal values, and prejudices. It is important, therefore, to avoid having the group assign any connotation of "rightness" or "wrongness" to any of the choices made. They represent personal preferences and should be supported as such. For example, in some instances of set 2, some individuals chose Israeli Army career officers because of their bias towards Israel, or because they felt that the Israeli Army represented a different kind of military service from the American. Others rejected this choice only because they felt that they did not want their daughter to move to Israel. Some chose businessman, orthodox Jew because of their preference for a Jewish businessman. The orthodoxy meant little one way or another. Others would have preferred this choice but rejected it because they felt that their daughter could not accommodate herself, nor they as in-laws, to an orthodox Jewish way of life. Some people chose new left activist, not because they agreed with new left

positions, but because the activism appealed to them and they felt that in time such a person could be persuaded to return to the Jewish fold. Others rejected this choice because of the new left position regarding Israel. In short, great variety of choice and of reason was always evident.

Upon one occasion, the facilitators used "My Jewish Beliefs" as a modified stations activity. Ten statements are listed with the four options being "strongly agree", "agree", "strongly disagree", and "disagree". Participants moved to the choices which were posted on the four walls of the room. It proved to be an excellent brake against some of the stereotyping which had begun to take place. As a result of the experience during the first part, some pigeon-holing had developed; as participants found themselves in the same station with others whom they did not expect to find there, they would express surprise and begin to reassess their attitudes toward each other.

We found, in using this activity, that people wanted to try out these items on friends, relatives and dinner guests. They reported that many people stated that they had not had such a thoughtful discussion since they were in religious school.

1.2 "PERSONAL ASSOCIATIONS"

Rationale:

This activity is intended to produce warmth and even sentimentality, as participants are asked to reflect on those early experiences which affected their Jewishness. It is designed to kindle some thinking and emotional feelings about the Jewish roots which have influenced adult behavior, beliefs and attitudes. Recollection of the emotional context of, and reactions to, events and incidents are encouraged, because these are often as revealing as the events themselves. Frequently the "feeling tone" may well account for adult practices, and even adult desires and objectives for children.

As groups participate in this activity they come to learn about their Jewish backgrounds, the paths through which they came into Reform Judaism, their common Jewish bonds as well as differences. Life experiences as affected by a different era, and often by different social and economic status, emerge into the group consciousness. These reflections and associations provide a base from which participants can look at their adult behavior and also begin to look at the different influences which affect their children.

Coming as an early experience in a program, the activity provides a way of expanding the self-introduction process. Participants tend to be accepting and respectful of each other's associations and provide growing support for each other as the associations are revealed. Our experience showed that personal associations proved to be an excellent activity following the "choices" exercise.

The fishbowl technique which is used with the activity has several values for the group process. It divides the group in half, one of participants, a second half of observers. Because of the smaller size of the participating group, greater involvement results. More "air time" for each of the participating members is provided.

Goals:

1. To get individuals to recall and describe their early experiences and emotional associations as Jews.
2. To provide a setting where the meaning of each other's life experiences can be understood and felt empathically.
3. To share information and comments on one another's "stories", in order to build an inter-personal basis for accepting each others.
4. To provide a contrast between adult emotional feelings about being Jewish and those of young people.

Procedure: (2 hours)

1. Introduce the activity by stating the goals, and by letting participants know the general format.

2. If the group is large, form groups of no more than eight to ten by counting off, with all the "ones" forming one group, all the "twos" another, etc. The use of counting off and forming groups helps guarantee that people unacquainted with each will be together.

3. The group of eight to ten is divided in half randomly. One half sits in the middle with chairs drawn close together. The other half sits in an outside ring around the center "fishbowl". The inside group is told: "We frequently have a set of childhood associations and experiences which give a flavor and meaning to Judaism for us. Will you in the middle in this fishbowl think back and recollect what were some of your early associations with religious and social participation in Judaism and as Jews? You have 20 minutes to tell what feelings were generated in you in these early emotional associations. Talk to each other, and act as if we who are outside the ring are not here. Okay? Why don't you start as soon as I make a few remarks to the outside ring?"

4. "You on the outside looking in, try to listen from the point of view of what these early associations seem to mean for the person and for this group in the middle. We will ask you for your comments at the end of their time. Try to think about the processes of emotional association in this group. Are they recounting with feeling? What effect are they having on each other?" "Okay, inside group, start now." (20 minutes)

5. At the end of 20 minutes, ask the outside group to make comments from the point of view of several questions, for 10 to 15 minutes. How do these associations feed or relate to the present feelings about Judaism for these individuals? How does the group relate to each person's associations? Warmly? Judgmentally?

Optional Alternative:

For a period of another 10 to 15 minutes have a cross-discussion of insiders and outsiders on what has happened and how the members of the fishbowl relate to their own experiences.

6. After members of the inner circle have discussed its associations and the cross-discussions, they should become observers, while the other group moves into the inner circle. The new participant group should now be asked to discuss their early associations in the same fashion, with observers. (20 minutes)

7. From the outset, members of the inner and outer groups should be paired; after about 20 minutes, they should be asked to take five to ten minutes in which they talk with each other privately about what they observed of each other during the fishbowl. (10 minutes)

8. The group should then reconvene for a discussion on what occurred during the fishbowl, and build on their recollections and experiences. This should be permitted to run about 20 minutes.

9. The group is now asked to discuss, as the next phase, what they think their own children might recall of their own growing up when they become adults. Or put another way, what influences do the participants feel they are having on their children in the home, in the temple, in the community, which will affect the Jewish roots and style of life of their children. (30 minutes)

Notes to Facilitators:

The setting and sustaining of a mood for emotional associations and feelings indicating the variety of roots of Jewish experience is important. In this activity, once the framework and mood is set, the facilitator should remain in the background and act mainly as a timekeeper. There need not be any attempt to have each person tell his story to everybody in the total group. It is often difficult enough for him to tell his personal feelings to a small group, especially if some of these are strangers. Empathy for each other can easily develop in the small group. It is our hunch that many of the early associations were connected to parents, and grandparents particularly. Was there a leaning towards male or female figures in these associations? What implications for contemporary activities and future life does this imply? Other associations will often be frivolous -- ball playing, games behind the rabbi's back, etc.

The point of this activity in fishbowl is to develop acceptance of each other and to set the process moving whereby participants start to look at their own emotional and associational base for their present Judaism, and how these do or do not feed into their contemporary search or rejection of contemporary Reform Judaism. A second point is that by having the observers comment on their observations, the process of analyzing the meaning of their behavior in the group as Jews is begun. The general question here is, "How do Jews talk to each other about being Jews and of their emotional roots?" Embarrassedly? Defensively? Joyously? Supportively? Or how?

The "observers" are free to devote all of their energies to listening attentively, and thus to developing understanding and empathy. As they sit in the observer's circle, they not only hear what is being said by the others, but their own personal associations are triggered. By the time their roles change, the observers are quite pent up with their own recollections and are prepared to participate fully and at a more personal level in the inner circle.

The fishbowl technique is a useful procedure which can be applied to other activities, because it intensifies participation and also sanctions an observer role. It has been found that the observer and feedback roles move the group process quickly into more authentic channels.

Our Experience:

What were some of the memories which were evoked and expressed? The young girl who stood next to her father during services, twisting the fringes on his talis as he recited the prayers; the feelings recalled were that of respect and admiration for the parent, but at the same time the sense of boredom with the service. The boy in a children's home for whom the Sukkot service at the temple was the highlight of the year; a sense of mystery, pleasure and connection with the rabbi were remembered. A parent who brought his child 50 miles in order to attend religious services, and whose commitment to the temple was remembered with affection and longing. The rebelliousness and pleasure of playing punchball outside the synagogue while the Torah was being read, recalled with some guilt. Acceptance of parental authority with respect to attendance at religious school, recalled with memories of resentment, but also with a kind of forlorn wish that participants could exert the same kind of authority over their own children. For some, the temple, its services, its social activities, the rabbi, appeared to be a richer source of memory than the home or the family.

Being made to feel different by schoolmates because of Jewishness was a frequent recollection. In some cases, this was recalled with anger, sparked by memories of anti-Semitic acts, in other cases viewed as a memory to be borne and overcome. The rabbi who appeared in the home during the time of stress or celebration was remembered with deep affection. Some recalled, with longing and love, their parents speaking Yiddish in the home, but also with a tinge of this having created a sense of separateness. The Passover Seder, with its assembling of the family, the father conducting the service, the singing, the horseplay, the food, made for warm and pleasant recollections. Struggles about Christmas trees, singing Christmas carols, and receiving of gifts was an unpleasant thread which ran through the memories of many, since it served more than most occasions to accentuate the differences between Jew and Christian, an area of some sensitivity.

A poignant moment, with recollections of the holocaust and lost parents. Or joyous excitement with food smells and the closeness of family.

Warmth and intimacy has resulted from sharing these experiences. Frequently we heard, "Why, I didn't know that about you." Or, "You know, I used to be (scared) (angry) (upset) (puzzled) about you in various meetings, but now I feel I understand."

Interesting and amazing to many participants was the discovery of how many members came from an Orthodox or Conservative background -- and surprise when they realized they hadn't known each other's backgrounds before.

This activity serves to build a psychological identification with one another, and to release a comfortableness with oneself and with each other. Not that anything said was "secret"; there had simply been no occasion when these roots were felt appropriate to trace and to share, hence none to find emotional meaningfulness with each other in the temple.

Because of the nature of this activity, the feelings which are expressed, the poignancy of the memories and associations, concerns may arise from the facilitators or from group members regarding the depths to which they should be permitted to go. In most cases, the time limits, the structure of the activity, using the fishbowl, and the maturity and good judgment of participants can be relied upon to provide appropriate limits. However, there may be a few occasions where the facilitator should intervene if he feels that the recollections are going further than they should. Most important of all, he should not permit analyzing, in a psychological sense, the materials on childhood associations as they emerge in the group discussion.

1.3: "JEWISH ARTIFACTS ASSOCIATION"

Rationale:

This activity can provide a pleasant change of pace from methods which largely employ verbal communication to another which introduces experiences involving the senses of touch, sight, and smell. Objects or artifacts which can stimulate emotional and cognitive associations are used. The artifacts can produce a rich collection of memories, attitudes, reactions, and beliefs which provide another step in the process of examining one's Jewish life style. Depending on the artifacts which are introduced, one can gain a sense of one's Jewish roots, the sources of current beliefs and attitudes and practices, and an understanding of what went into the Jewish development of other members of the group.

The artifacts chosen can frequently provide an opportunity for acquisition of knowledge as the facilitator and group member share with each other the background, history, and the uses of the materials.

This is not an activity which should be used first in the program, but it could be used as an alternate to "personal associations". It can be successfully used for part of a second part of the program. It provided an excellent link between the program days and provides continuity for the continuing process of examination of Jewish life styles. It gets people back into a mood.

Materials:

Following is a list of artifacts which may be used. Obviously there are many others which can and should be introduced. It should also be noted that not all of the objects are specifically Jewish in content or usage. However, all should have some special connotation for Jewish participants. It is of value to introduce non-Jewish source materials.

Artifacts which may be used for this purpose are:

1. A book such as the Bible.
2. A Torah.
3. A crown or the breastplate or the pointer from the Torah.
4. A Talis.
5. A Sabbath candle and holder.
6. A Menorah.
7. A picture of Jesus Christ.

8. A cross.
9. A picture of object identified with the holocaust.
10. A picture (cartoon) of "Super Jew".
11. A Chalah.
12. An Easter bunny.
13. A portion of gefilte fish.
14. A Mezuzah.
15. A copy of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.
16. A headline and article about Soviet Jewry.
17. An article about the Jewish Defense League.
18. Phylacteries (t'fillin).
19. A Passover plate.
20. A Hamantash.
21. A picture of Adolf Hitler.
22. A Shofar.

Notes to Facilitators:

There are several optional ways of conducting this activity. One is to take a purely random selection of artifacts. A second is to select them in categories which have a special focus. For example, the Sabbath candle holder, Passover plate, Mezuzah, the cross and Chalah will probably stimulate associations of a personal and family nature.

The Torah, prayer book, talis, and shofar may stimulate associations connected to temple and congregational life.

A picture of Adolf Hitler, an artifact or picture from the holocaust, an Israeli flag, or a poster supporting Soviet Jewry will probably have connotations identified with the broad Jewish community and Klal Yisrael.

A third alternative would be to have participants bring artifacts of their own which have some special significance to them. This would have the advantage of having them prepare for the session and offering them a greater sense of ownership in the activity.

The choice of which of the three alternatives to choose or which combination of the three to use would depend on the facilitators' judgment about where the group is in terms of interpersonal relationships, ease of communication, the degree of comfort in expressing attitudes and feelings which reflect their Jewish outlook and their readiness to participate in activity which employs a new and somewhat different technique.

Six to eight artifacts will usually be adequate for a session lasting an hour and a half to two hours and involving groups of approximately twelve people.

Artifacts should be passed around the circle of participants so that they can experience them in as many ways as possible. Pictures, of course, should be held up for the entire group to see. By and large it is better for all of the members of the group to have experienced the artifact before there is any reaction and discussion. The object should be in full view of the group while the discussion takes place. Comments should be kept brief and members should be encouraged to express their emotional reactions to the object in addition to whatever other associations are stimulated.

About an hour to an hour and 15 minutes should be devoted to this procedure with a minimum of six artifacts being introduced. The time constraint during this phase of the session will mean that there will not have been very much opportunity for group members to interact with each other regarding their associations. The balance of the session, between a half and three-quarters of an hour, should be spent in general group discussion. All of the objects should be in full view and members should feel free to touch them again if they so desire. Generally the interest, reactions, memories, and the associations by group members will be such that discussion will flow easily and naturally. Facilitators should encourage cross-discussion between group members in which similar responses are identified and varying reactions are explored for better understanding. Facilitators may wish to pick up on affective responses which they noted during the first part of the session. "Your face seemed to have a glow as you touched the Chalah. I wondered what it meant to you." Or, "You seemed to have a somewhat strange smile on your face as you touched the picture of Jesus on the cross, was I correct? What thoughts did it spark?" Or, "When you touched the Torah, you seemed to become very serious", may be lead questions which will encourage participants to express the emotional connotations which various symbols have for them.

Some artifacts may be unfamiliar to members of the group. Members and facilitators should feel free to give whatever information they may have so that this may become a learning and broadening experience for all of the participants. Facilitators or members who bring in artifacts should be prepared to speak briefly about their history and significance.

Our Experience:

The activity results in a variety of reactions, expressions and responses which are useful during this session but which also will carry over to succeeding activities.

In one of the temples, the facilitators had placed a small object in a bag and started it around the circle. It was fascinating to see the variety of expressions on the members' faces as they looked inside, one at a time. The contents of the bag was not revealed until the circle had been completed. Expressions ranged from faint smiles to poker faces to expressions of repugnance. A plastic figure of Jesus on the cross was the object in the bag. During the discussion comments included, "I know I shouldn't feel that way but every time I see that figure it makes me angry and resentful." Others recalled anti-Semitic incidents. Some reminded the group that Jesus had been a Jewish teacher. One gave a positive reaction, indicating that he had grown up in a very small community where it had been essential for him to retain good relationships with Christians.

In another program, the facilitator brought in a copy of Portnoy's Complaint, which stimulated a discussion about the author and his concept of the Jewish mother, which took up almost the entire session.

A picture of "Super Jew" which portrays a short Orthodox Jew, who wears "payas" and a "caftan", coming out of a telephone booth; as he removes his outer clothes, a super-man costume is revealed underneath. For some this was a negative caricature of a Jew designed to derogate all Jews. Some participants reacted with anger. For others the poster was genuinely funny, and they laughed openly in appreciation. For a third group the poster evoked smiles tinged with embarrassment. The information that the picture had appeared in a national magazine shortly after the Six Day War in 1967, was interesting information for some but did not seem to materially affect the attitudes toward the poster.

A photograph of a concentration camp liberated after the war caused one person to say, "Why do we have to see this again? It's better that we forget about it." Another was reminded of family who had perished. Some expressed strong anti-German feeling. Some were reminded of their contacts with survivors. In general, there was a sense of sadness, resentment, and bitterness.

A t'fillin bag reminded several of the men of their pre- and post-Bar Mitzvah days when they put the t'fillin on daily. It also revealed that some of the women had never seen t'fillin before, which led to some information giving and discussion by others in the group, including a demonstration of how the t'fillin are worn.

A leaflet announcing a meeting in support of Soviet Jewry led to denial that there were anti-Semitic prejudices in Soviet Russia; an expression of hopelessness about the results of the meetings and the campaigns in this country, a statement of unwillingness to do nothing when fellow Jews are prohibited from Jewish study, practice, and acts of identification.

A Passover plate stimulated an expression of pleasure and anticipation for the coming Seder and a sigh about the hard work which was in store for the women. Many recalled the excitement and warmth of the family assemblage. A few said that they had not conducted a Seder.

Of course, not all of these responses are taken from the same program. They come from a variety of sources, but indicate the many possibilities which are opened up for the groups to work together on.

2.4 "PRAYER AND PERSONAL BEHAVIOR (AL CHET)"

Rationale:

How related are the prayers which we read during the services to our conduct in everyday life? What connections do we make between the prayers and personal behavior? Are the context between prayers, as part of the ritual of services, and our everyday lives, so different that we tend to compartmentalize each?

The development of an activity out of the "Al Chet" prayer, which is recited during the High Holy day services, is an attempt to establish a bridge between prayer and behavior. The concepts in the prayer which reflect interpersonal relationships are used as a means of examining individual behavior, interpersonal relationships, and feelings of understanding and compassion. The prayer presents a Jewish value system as a screen through which to view our actions, as related to our fellow man.

Because of its source, perhaps more than its content, the prayer introduces the notion of morality and belief in God, which can create some discomfort. For some participants, moral judgments may be difficult to accept because some may have been trained to be non-judgmental regarding human behavior. The matter of belief in God may be an unresolved and even distressing matter of conscience for some participants. It is hoped, however, that once having engaged in this activity, this prayer -- and perhaps others as well -- will not be read on a purely rote basis during services, but will continue to stimulate serious introspection regarding personal behavior and compassion for others.

Many of the Jewish teachings concern themselves with the fact that each of us has within us both an inclination for good (Yetser Tov) and an inclination for evil (Yetev Rah). Judaism accepts the premise that both exist, and that in fact, some of our evil inclinations move us to do good things, i.e., envy of another may lead us to emulate some of another's good qualities, or amassing of wealth may lead to charitable practices, etc. Implicit in the knowledge that there are both good and evil sides to our nature, is an insight into that which makes us human, which is the ability to distinguish and decide between the evil deed and the good deed. It is within this context that the Al Chet prayer should be seen. The root of the expression "Al Chet" in Hebrew means "missed the mark". As applied here, it would mean that we have not come as close to the target as we would have liked, as we have made our decisions and choices regarding our behavior.

The prayer uses the plural to indicate communal responsibility as well as individual responsibility. The process during the activity touches on both. In the prayer, we ask forgiveness of God. In the activity, we examine our own willingness to forgive others.

The Al Chet activity fits readily into the phase of the program which is concerned with the examination of Jewish life styles. It helps to carry forward the process of self-revelation begun through prior activities. It also introduces Jewish religious concepts, through whose discussion the participants may gain new knowledge, or expand on matters which are already familiar to them.

The "Prayer and Personal Behavior (Al Chet)" should be used when the group atmosphere reflects a good degree of openness and trust. During the pilot workshops, it was used rather consistently as the third or fourth activity following "Choices as a Jew", "Personal Associations", and "Hopes and Fears" (1.8). By this time, the participants had gained or developed good relationships with each other, had tested the degree to which they could risk themselves and had found group and individual support as they pursued their search for a meaningful Jewish life style. It would follow, therefore, that this activity should not be used as an opener, but can be used successfully during the intermediate stage of the workshop series.

Goals:

1. To relate Jewish religious concepts to personal behavior.
2. To continue a process of expression of Jewish life style in forming relationships with other people.
3. To discuss the meaning of prayer and ritual in Jewish contemporary life style.

Procedure: 2 hours

1. An opening statement discussing goals and purposes of this activity. There should be presented an introduction to the questions of prayer, Judaism and the Al Chet prayer. (See Notes) (10 minutes)
2. Each person receives a "Personal Judgments on Prayer and Personal Behavior" to fill out, first on how much each feels he "misses the mark", and then how he feels about excusing others who "miss the mark". (10 minutes)
3. Tabulate the results by show of hands on wall chart and discuss. (10 to 15 minutes)
4. In formations of two or three to talk about their personal ratings. (30 to 45 minutes)
5. Total group meets to discuss their learnings about prayer and personal behavior. (20 minutes)

Materials:

1. Copies of the "Personal Judgments on Prayer and Personal Behavior".
2. A wall chart for tabulation of individual ratings.
3. Reform, Conservative and Orthodox prayer books (optional).
4. Pencils.

Notes to Facilitators:

The introduction given by the facilitator to the Al Chet should include some of the information and questions described earlier and outlined behavior.

1. How meaningful is prayer in our daily lives?
2. The selection from the Al Chet prayer of "sins" which reflect interpersonal relationships.
3. The concept of choices between good and evil in Judaism.
4. The fact that Al Chet means "missed the mark" in Hebrew, but is translated as "sin".
5. The use of the plural in the prayer and its significance.
6. The fact that the sixth area is taken from the Conservative prayer.

The Personal Judgment sheets (Al Chet) should be distributed to each of the participants. He should be asked to judge himself under each of the "sins" in accordance with the degree to which he feels he finds the "sins" in himself. When he has completed that task, he is asked to make judgments on the degree to which he is able to excuse or forgive these "sins" in others. He should be instructed to fill in both ratings without conversation with any of the other group members.

When the individual sheets have been completed, the results should be tabulated by frequencies in each box on a wall chart which is a larger version of the individual judgment sheet. It is important during the tabulation to respect the desire of any of the participants to keep his judgments private.

The purpose of the tabulation is to help provide a climate of acceptance, as individuals see the range of judgments and the similarities and differences. The relation between the judgments of incidence of "sin" or "missing the mark" and the degree to which the sins are excused or forgiven in others will emerge from the tabulations. The entire group should spend no more than 10 to 15 minutes in discussing the tabulation to note some broad trends and generalizations.

PERSONAL JUDGMENTS ON PRAYER AND PERSONAL BEHAVIOR (AL CHET)

a. Put a check mark in the appropriate box on the left to indicate the degree to which you feel you "miss the mark". For example, if you feel you commit this "sin" or "miss the mark" very little in having very little evil meditations, check box 2 or 3. Go down the list and judge each of the six.

b. After completing the judgments, go back and put a check mark in the appropriate box for "my willingness to excuse others".

Al Chet

1. "In the evil meditations of the heart."

I miss the mark

None				Some			A great deal
/				/			/
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

I am willing to
excuse other people.

None				Some			A great deal
/				/			/
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

2. "By word of mouth"

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

3. "By the abuse of power"

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

4. "By disrespect for parents and teachers"

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

5. "By exploiting and dealing treacherously with our neighbor"

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

6. "By casting off the yoke of the commandments"

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
/	/	/	/	/	/	/

The group should then be sub-divided into pairs, trios, or quartets to talk about (1) how their judgments compare with each others', and with the total group tabulation; (2) their readiness to excuse or forgive; (3) problems which they encountered in making the judgments; (4) the meaning of the ideas and words in the prayer; and (5) their feelings and associations as they engaged in the activity. From half an hour to 45 minutes should be allowed for this phase of the activity. The sub-groups should be reconvened for a period, during which they should share with each other some of the personal and sub-group experiences and learnings which develop.

It is desirable to leave as much time as possible within the limits set for the pairs, trios or sub-group discussions, and if necessary, keep the discussion of the tabulations and by the total groups to the minimum.

Our Experience:

Participants were intrigued with the difference in ratings which they assigned to the incidence of a "sin" as they saw it within themselves and the degree to which they felt they could excuse or forgive the same "sin" in others. Disrespect for parents and teachers was one which they generally did not find in themselves, and which was difficult to forgive in others. Discussions on the matter of the "abuse of power" indicated that many participants saw themselves as relatively powerless. In many cases, this was so because they replied on the basis of an organization frame of reference, where they may have been subordinates rather than supervisors or managers. When the discussion was turned to the use of power in the parental role, or in a teacher role, or in a temple officer role, people began to apply the concept to other roles or situations and different opinions were expressed. There was resistance to the use of the word "power" with respect to the parental role. It became more palatable as the word "influence" was substituted.

Disrespect for parents and teachers also introduced variations. Most of the participants considered disrespect for parents a greater sin than disrespect for teachers. By facing the group with the fact that both had been placed together in the same context, participants were led to conjecture about the Jewish value which is implicit here.

Lesser importance was imputed to evil meditations of the heart, since it was generally felt that the deed was more important than the inner reflection. However, some groups struggled with this as they reflected that the thought may be father to the deed.

Some members found that they could not participate because they felt that "sin" was not a Jewish concept. Others had trouble with the notion of assigning ratings for degrees of sinning, evidently thinking of them in absolute terms only. Some strong reactions were evident in those who said that "God forgives, not man."

On several occasions, the discussion tended to be intellectual and analytic, focussing on the prayer rather than the person. The place of the prayer in the service and possible modification were considered. These approaches were helpful, as long as they helped the group extend their personal reflections on the incidence of the sins and their patterns of forgiveness.

Because of the personal nature of the responses, facilitators should be permissive in their approach and permit latitude to the participants. Criticism of the process, the expressed desire for specific definitions of some of the words, rejection of some of the concepts, may be clues which serve as signals to the facilitator that some gentle support or a turn to some other subject matter may be required.

2.5 "A GOOD JEW"

Rationale:

Can there be a topic which provokes such controversy and arguments as who is "a good Jew"? And what makes him a good Jew? And who shall be the arbiter, the authority, to set up criteria and make judgments?

Strident claims are made on the basis of ideology and historical positions, and are rejected with vehemence by many. Reform Judaism's lack of orthodoxy of views, and its passion to "relate to the times and culture" compound the difficulties for specifying the qualities of the "good Jew".

In this activity, defining a "good Jew" can proceed from what Jews in Reform Judaism now see as "good Jew". Such a consumer poll does not, of course, solve the problem of definition. Finding out what people think, and why, is the first step for evaluating and comparing definitions on the basis of some normative value standards, theological prescriptions, or whatever.

This activity generates much interest and involvement of participants. There is a very great curiosity, cries of triumph and moral victory, and tirades against the alleged "degeneracy" of present Jewishness.

At the same time, feedback from the group is generated and comparative data from a national survey provides still more discussion material on each individual's own views and on the general "state of affairs". Diversity is evident, and discussion of how differences shall be handled or where standards and guidelines shall be found is developed. The feedback of group data has a salutary effect on encouraging people to listen to others.

Goals:

1. To survey the group on aspects of "good Jew".
2. To feedback and discuss the results of the survey.
3. To compare national data with the local temple data.
4. To initiate discussion of Judaism as a normative system.

Procedure:

1. A very brief introduction is all that is necessary.
2. Pass out the form and have people fill it out.
3. Ask people to count up how many "essential" categories each one marked. Have a show of hands on frequencies.

4. Tabulate data and present on wall chart.
5. Discuss.

Notes to Facilitators:

Most of the discussion points are obvious and do get people talking about the issues quite easily. You might introduce the event by stating the difference between a poll and what somebody might judge is "correct", whoever that somebody is.

The number of judgments of "essentials" gives an approximation of how loose or tight a definition of good Jew each person has. You can ask those with high numbers of "essentials" to explain their views. In contrast, those with a low number of "essentials" might state their views.

If this survey and feedback is used in conjunction with other activities, you may well find some consistency of individual viewpoints on "Choices" and "Personal Associations". Some polarization is bound to occur. You want to prevent these from becoming too fixed.

In one alternative version of the questionnaire, we changed "Negroes" to "Blacks", and also added at the end, "obey God's commandments."

In another version, we added the request that the individual rate whether he himself does this or not. This points to the difference between the idealized versions of a "good Jew" and the actual behavior of Jews.

During the process of tabulation, you might ask for some volunteers to collect the papers and tally, while the others discuss the number of items that are essential for a "good Jew" (or take a break).

The national survey data are contained in Part I, Chapter 2 of this report.*

The items in this survey are taken from Marshall Sklare's mid-west study and Leonard Fein's study of metropolitan Boston Jews.

Our Experience:

Typically we found, in checking "essential", that individuals ranged anywhere from one to fourteen. Older people seem to have more "essentials". The people with a high number of "essentials" argued that Judaism makes high

* The items used in this question are taken from Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier (New York, 1967).

demands on the Jew; these views seem also to relate to how people felt about some of the more traditional orthodox practices.

The groups reacted with great interest to the national and comparative data. It would seem that finding out "how we stand" is always interesting.

"GOOD JEW"

	<u>Essential</u>	<u>Desirable</u>	<u>Makes No Difference</u>	<u>Essential Not To Do</u>
To be a "good Jew": (rate each item)				
Accept his being a Jew and not try to hide it	_____	_____	_____	_____
Contribute to Jewish philanthropies	_____	_____	_____	_____
Support Israel	_____	_____	_____	_____
Support Zionism	_____	_____	_____	_____
Support all humanitarian causes	_____	_____	_____	_____
Belong to a synagogue or temple	_____	_____	_____	_____
Attend weekly services	_____	_____	_____	_____
Lead an ethical and moral life	_____	_____	_____	_____
Attend services on High Holidays	_____	_____	_____	_____
Observe the dietary laws	_____	_____	_____	_____
Be well versed in Jewish history and culture	_____	_____	_____	_____
Have mostly Jewish friends	_____	_____	_____	_____
Promote the use of Yiddish	_____	_____	_____	_____
Give Jewish candidates for political office preference	_____	_____	_____	_____
Gain respect of Christian neighbors	_____	_____	_____	_____
Promote civic betterment and improve- ment in the community	_____	_____	_____	_____
Work for equality for Negroes	_____	_____	_____	_____
Help the underprivileged improve their lot	_____	_____	_____	_____
Be a liberal on political and economic issues	_____	_____	_____	_____
Marry within the Jewish faith	_____	_____	_____	_____
Oppose the Vietnam War	_____	_____	_____	_____

1.6: "ESSENTIAL VOCABULARY"

Rationale:

Language is our means of communication. The words we use convey ideas, feelings, abstractions, realities. Ostensibly, communications through words should make for clarity. However, since each word may have a variety of definitions, since the way we express the word may color its meaning, and since our facial expression and "body talk" may add additional meanings, we often find ourselves misunderstood and in receipt of responses which may surprise us. A seeming Tower of Babel is possible, even though we communicate in the same language.

The "essential vocabulary" activity provides an opportunity for us to focus on a limited number of words which are basic in our communication with others. In attempting to sort out a limited number of words or a vocabulary, we are compelled to look at such questions as:

What do I want to say about myself? What do I need from and with another person? What should I share with another person? What response would I like from another? What things must I do with another?

As the activity proceeds, there are opportunities for building a mutual vocabulary with a partner which may help to enhance interpersonal relationships within the group. New meanings to words are discovered as excessive verbiage is eliminated.

Goals:

1. To build and examine a necessary vocabulary for communicating as a Jew to Jew and with another person as a person.
2. To build interpersonal relationships and communications.

Procedure: 1 hour

1. The group should be divided in two. One of the groups should be instructed to have each member write ten words which he feels are essential for him to communicate as a Jew with another Jew. The other group is asked to have each member write ten words which he feels are essential for him to communicate with another person. In both cases, the words should be written individually and without conversation with other group members. (10 minutes)

2. When each has completed his list, he chooses a partner within his group and is instructed to engage in a conversation, using only the ten words which he has on his own list. About five minutes should be allowed for this discussion, and then the group members should be asked to add ten more words to their lists, making a total of twenty. They may include words from their partners' lists. They should then engage in another five minutes conversation with the same partner, using their expanded lists. (15 minutes)

3. Each of the groups meets, with each person using his twenty-word vocabulary as a means of communication. Each group should then compile one vocabulary from the individual lists of its members and post this so that both groups can see and discuss the results. (15 minutes)

4. Both groups examine the two lists and discuss the similarities and differences. (20 minutes)

Questions for discussion should include:

1. Do Jews have a special vocabulary for each other?
2. What accounts for the differences in the two lists?
3. What are the basic similarities?
4. How did the people feel about the instruction to select words to communicate as a Jew with another Jew?
5. Were there other forms of communication which were used in addition to the words selected?

Notes to Facilitators:

There is some frustration to limiting one's total vocabulary first to ten and then another ten words. The instructions for doing so should be light and humorous. (And by ten words, it is clear a few prepositions are included for free!)

During the time of conversations, there will be some non-verbal communications, facially and physically. During the discussion, you can bring these up.

This is one activity one can practice by himself to test what he thinks is his essential vocabulary. In fact, it is readily adaptable for a parlor game, especially with children.

A somewhat comparable instance of a foreign language can be brought into the discussion.

Used as described above, this activity falls within the phase of the survey which is concerned with the examination of Jewish life styles. By providing another or different concept, the activity can be used in the phase of the survey which is concerned with organizational renewal and change. For example:

1. Words which are essential to communicate with a new temple member.

2. Words which are essential to communicate with a temple officer or committee chairman.

3. Words which are essential to communicate with the Rabbi.

1.7: "IMPROVING MY LIVING AS A JEW"

Rationale:

How do intentions and resolutions get translated into actions? There are, commonly, so very many ways in which the person can be diverted that the translation is often very inexact. The intention may be vague, its implications therefore uncertain. There are obstacles to its fulfillment, both internal and external. There are costs to its expression, and the benefits may seem obscure.

Quite often, it is supposed that the most effective way to get people to act on their intentions is to nag them, to put pressure on them. The underlying assumption here may be that such pressure will act as an additional goad to their conscience, or it may be that the pressure will be seen as so unpleasant that the cost of acting on the intention will be less than the cost of not acting on it, and being forced to face continuing pressure.

This activity assumes that it may work on the factors which typically restrain the effective translation of intention into action may be a more useful strategy than increased pressure. In effect, it seeks to reduce the costs of action rather than to increase the costs of non-action. The strategy was first stated clearly by Kurt Lewin, who sought to reduce the total tensions and conflicts involved in such situations, and to generate hopes for the fulfillment of intention. Throughout the procedure, the information and diagnosis comes from the person himself, from the "owner" of the intention. No direct advice is given concerning what the intention "ought" to be, nor how it might be implemented, nor, more generally, what intentions and actions will add up to a "good Jew".

As individuals begin to move, to plan and to change, a mood of cautious optimism is generated; the future seems susceptible to rational plan in a supportive environment.

The format of this activity is "do it yourself". Individuals can take the form home and work through the steps. In this description, we suggest ways the activity can be used during a workshop program.

Goals:

1. To help individuals diagnose a problem of improving their ways of living as Jews.
2. To train individuals in a method of diagnosing a problem, strategizing a mode of approach, and working on resolving the problem.

Procedure:

1. After introducing the purposes of this activity, each person is provided with sheets (assembled into a packet) as worksheets.
2. A demonstration of a force field analysis is given by the facilitator (see Force Field Analysis Activity).
3. Individuals fill out the forms. (30 minutes)
4. Small groups of three persons are formed to go over each person's write-up. (40 minutes)
5. In the total group, survey the kinds of problems chosen, the major factors blocking the resolution and the kinds of people needed to help with the solutions for the people involved.
6. Generalize the learnings from the procedure of attacking the problem of improving person's living as a Jew.

Materials:

Copies of the sheets on "Improving my Living as a Jew -- A Diagnostic Procedure". These may be reproduced, cut up and assembled as booklets of six half sheets. Extra copies should be provided for people to take home and use. Pencils.

Notes to Facilitators:

1. A demonstration of the Force Field procedure can be given by the facilitator in whole assembly with a specific problem elicited from the audience. A visual will be used to put together present forces in relation to desired goal.
2. The ideas of balance or equilibrium (forces pushing towards and away from a goal), personal feelings, and action steps will be the main threads of the demonstration.
3. The group will be divided; facilitators will form teams of three to work together. First, each person will be given a form to fill out individually. Then the trio will discuss what each one has written. "Now show to each other what you have chosen to work on, and what factors are involved in your contemplated actions to improve your ways of living as a Jew. Try to help each other in being both realistic and supportive."
4. At the end of the set time period, elicit a group discussion of what each person or sub-group has been working on in their discussion. Take a quick survey of the goals from each person, and a survey of the

contemplated actions each person has outlined for him- or herself. You might then prepare at the end of the discussion a newsprint of the major goals that have been mentioned and the contemplated action steps. There is no need to detail these. Take the newsprint into the major assembly for a review by the whole group of fifty.

Our Experience:

This activity was liked by some and rejected by others as "too mechanistic." The range of issues and problems ranged widely. For some, it was, "How do I get my husband to become more involved in temple and religious activities, or even activities as a Jew?" At the end of the procedure, several strategies emerged (which several other people said they would also try on their spouses). More typical were problems and issues of living more Jewishly in a modern urban and suburban society where time constraints and other activities seemed to make the job so difficult. As the activity proceeded, individuals started to see how to set priorities and how to integrate these Jewish activities with their personal schedules.

The latter part of Page 5 (following) elicited some feelings which the person could acknowledge as being involved. "My feelings and emotions about this factor seem to be...a negative attitude towards me and my involvements" or "I guess I don't know how much feeling about Judaism I really have." "I am afraid I will look like I am out of step with the community in which I live." "I am afraid of the Rabbi thinking I am foolish." "My kids will think I flipped."

For those who filled this out at home, there was also a concreteness to the steps to be taken. People found that when they had to write down what they would do, with whom, and when, they felt these first action steps helped in turning their vague intentions into concrete action steps which started them off.

Throughout this activity, there was a comfortableness in that the program seemed realistic and was not selling them a bill of goods which they could not do anything about except feel guilty. In the analysis, guilt feelings about improving oneself Jewishly were apparent. By doing the activity in common, and being honest and realistic, with other people accepting the realities of the person's hopes and plans, there began movement to improving the living as a Jew.

Many of the improvements went back to consulting the Rabbi for assistance not only on the contents of Judaism, but more interestingly on the life style of the individual and how this style might be changed.

IMPROVING MY LIVING

AS

A JEW

A diagnostic procedure

The following set of questions are for you to analyze the problem of improving your ways of living as a Jew and your desired changes. We recognize that you may want to re-think what you have said in this procedure after you are through. We are concerned here with helping you to use a systematic procedure for analyzing the problem and for locating action steps.

Problem

What is a problem you would like to work on here in improving your ways of living as a Jew? For example, Jewish commitment, your knowledge of Judaism, your spiritual commitment, language, and so forth.

"The problem for me in living as I would like to, as a Jew is
.

(e.g., I want to learn more Hebrew, or I want to experience more deeply a spiritual and religious feeling as a Jew.)

Goal

Now state a concrete or behavioral goal that represents a meaningful step towards the resolution of the problem
.

(e.g., I want to sign up for a course that will train me to read (newspapers) (prayer books), or I want to have a real emotional and/or spiritual feeling when I participate in (home activities) (services).)

Forces affecting movement towards goal

3

Now diagnose by identifying the forces or factors that push you towards, push you away from or restrain you from the goal you set. It is useful to identify at least four or five forces in each direction. You may want to add more,

Forces pushing me towards my goal

Forces pushing me away from or restraining me from my goal

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____
- 4 _____
- 5 _____
- 6 _____

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____
- 4 _____
- 5 _____
- 6 _____

Types of Forces

4

Look back to see if the forces on each side "balance" more or less. The balance can be due to the strength of each force as well as the variety.

In your statement of the forces, some are attributable to you as a person, to your temple, to modern society. Categorize the forces as they appear to you.

Attributable to myself (skills, attitudes, feelings)

Attributable to Temple

Attributable to Modern Society

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Action and Feelings

5

Select the one or two you think you can do something about. In general, it is more useful to select forces pushing away or restraining you from the desired goal. Also, since you have more control over yourself, try to select those that involve you.

"In moving me towards my goal, the factor or force I wish to work on is
.

(You may wish to go back and add this factor or force to your original diagnosis!)

The fact that you haven't acted upon this factor or force before this, might indicate that you have some feelings and emotions tied to this factor which prevented you from acting before. Try to identify what these feelings and emotions are.

"My feelings and emotions about this factor seem to be
.

Specificity of Action Step

6

It is often useful to tie down the factor or force you are trying to change by specifying the person, place and time involved in working on this factor or force.

- With whom
- When
- Where

Summary

In the set of procedures you have just finished, you have gone through the steps of

1. Stating a problem
2. Stating a goal that starts to resolve the problem
3. Diagnosing the factors and forces involved in the problem
4. Selecting the relevant action steps
5. Identifying the feelings and emotions involved
6. Specifying the concrete person, time, place of the desired action.

In addition, it is useful to talk over with another person your diagnosis and action steps to check yourself and to gain support for your actions.

1.8: "SHARING OUR HOPES AND FEARS"

Rationale:

Individuals develop goals, aspirations and fears as they start in with a new program. Sharing these gives rise to readjusting upwards or downwards to reach a "realistic" view. These views, when shared with others, become the ways in which those who conduct the program may examine how their hopes and fears match up with each other and especially with the participants in the program.

This activity is particularly relevant for the policy and sponsoring groups. After there is some degree of familiarity with what lies ahead, then this procedure is useful to build a team relationship between the program conductors and the sponsoring groups.

When used with participants in a program, the activity acts as a goal setting and goal coordinating device, supplemental to the content of the program.

Goals:

1. To help participants state to each other their feelings about the program under way or to be undertaken.
2. To provide feedback to the program conductors on feelings, aspirations and fears about the program.
3. To set realistic and acceptable levels of goal achievements.

Procedure:

1. Announce to participants the purposes of activity.
2. Ask each person to write down four or five "hopes" and then four or five "fears" about the project.
3. Depending upon the size of the group, divide into either trios or fours. If the group is an on-going committee or board, it may be useful to divide into pairs. Ask each of the individuals to find the other person.
4. Have whole group assemble to talk about hopes and fears.

Notes to Facilitators:

In getting individuals to move into a mode of looking at their own feelings about the program, it may be necessary to have had some information about the program from the proposed conductors. The technique here presupposes some degree of familiarity and some degree of involvement with the program. In fact, it is often useful for situations where there are over-expectations about the program.

It is important to get people to express their fears about the program. It is sometimes helpful to have people say the "worst" thing that can happen in the program as a way of getting "goals" set. The fears also give an expression of some anxieties as the programs get under way. Individuals may feel anxious about their roles, or about "things getting out of control".

When the group re-assembles, the written materials need not be tabulated. Allow the group to develop in its emergent shaping of hopes and fears as they discuss and examine each statement. The program conductors should react to these statements.

1.9: "EVALUATION ROUND-UP AND TRENDS"

Rationale:

In helping people to learn, there are phases they go through. Towards the end, or at the end, it is helpful to get a feel and sense of progressing through stages and the "process".

Goal:

To have participants provide a developmental evaluation about their feelings in the program.

Procedure:

Instruct the participants somewhat in the following words: "We have come through together a set of activities and experiences. It would be instructive to all of us to catch the mood and feelings that describe our ups and downs. I will call out some time point, or event, and you will call out a word or phrase telling how you felt at that time. All of us can call out for us our mood. Okay? Let me start with the first, 'When I first received word about this program?' Call out your reaction then. First announcement?"

After each event or phase you call out, let people respond spontaneously and randomly. Repeat aloud each phrase or word you hear. Don't overlook any, especially any negatives. You as the facilitator will need to have in mind the important or significant events you want the participants to react to as you go along. After coming up to the present, you can add some future events or phases, such as "Next week?" "Working on temple committees?"

Materials:

None.

Number of participants. Total group from small number to up to a meeting of 80.

Notes to Facilitators:

The intent to create and sustain an evaluative and reflective mood concerning the experiences the participants have been through. It is important to allow each person who so wishes, to be heard. You might encourage some who haven't spoken to speak and call out, but there is no need to call on people.

Sometimes you can ask someone to take notes quietly, but make sure it is unobtrusive. Don't let his effort intrude into the flow.

Our Experience:

At the onset of our program, when people first heard of it, there was quite a bit of skepticism, hesitation and wariness combined with a buoyancy. "Cautious", "hopeful", "at last", "what, another one", "let's try." Midway through events, we found "encouraged", "hopeful", "will it last?", "impatient", "let's get going", "maybe", "false", "unJewish", and so forth. It is not untypical that at the end of the events one finds such comments as: "hope", "great", "meaningful", along with "where do we go from here?" and "not to the real issues."

Our closing remarks were to notice the trend of moods and feelings. How people evaluate their own experiences can act as a reinforcer for what the tentative outcomes have been. The evaluation is done by the participants and not by the facilitators or experts giving out kudos and critiques.

2. The Individual and Group/Community

Our use of the term "community" is intended to suggest a mode of relationship among people rather than a territorial location. It is to be understood in socio-psychological rather than socio-political terms.

While this point may seem obvious, it should be noted that the conventional use of the term "Jewish community" does not conform to our intended meaning. The "Baltimore Jewish community", for example, usually is used to mean either all Jews resident in Baltimore, or the network of Jewish organizations to which they belong -- i.e., the organized community. In order to make the difference between that usage and our own as clear as possible, we refer here to the "group/community", a somewhat cumbersome term, but one which, we hope, will remind the reader that it is a set of human relationships that we are talking about.

Community is an ancient emphasis in the Jewish tradition, and one that has had enduring meaning for Jews through the centuries. The concept of the "minyan", the ten men required for certain forms of prayer, on the one hand, and the concept of "klal Yisrael", the totality of Jewry, on the other, both depend upon recognition of special interpersonal feelings, responsibilities, and relationships.

Our own interest is with the face-to-face community, and with such issues as communication within the group, the support provided group members, the "requirements" for membership, the ways in which differences can be accepted and experiences shared. In this chapter, we describe a set of activities that makes possible the development of a face-to-face group in the larger context of a relatively faceless aggregation, such as a temple's total membership. The purpose is to make it possible for a temple's members to experience community; presumably, given the size of many temples, this means that each temple will embrace a number of small communities which, together, will constitute the congregational community. We do not describe the various techniques for bringing the small communities into touch with each other, or managing the disorder that is likely the inevitable cost of encouraging groups within the whole. Our interest, instead, is with the initial problem of helping the groups themselves to be born.

The number of activities in this chapter is rather small. While certain activities are quite useful in sensitizing people to issues surrounding community, we have, in general, found that virtually every small-group activity described in the preceding and following chapter is a com-

munity-building activity. It is not necessary -- it may even be a mistake -- to go about the task of creating community as an explicit task. Community is the spin-off of any shared experience. Accordingly, the following activities and exercises merely serve as an interim point of reflection and departure, making explicit for a brief time what is implicit through the workshop program.

2.1 "COMMUNICATIONS IN COMMUNITY" (1)

Rationale:

How we talk to each other is as important as what we talk about. And, with respect to the issue of community, the most important aspect of how we communicate has to do with interpersonal relationship, specifically with the degree of openness, trust, and support of one person for his fellow.

To be a Jew necessarily involves communication with other Jews, the Jews of one's immediate environment, and, in a sense, the Jews of all places and of all times -- Klal Yisrael, the entirety of Israel. In some ways, it is probably easier to "communicate" with the past, or with people far distant, than to communicate with those near at hand. And yet, such concepts as "All Israel is responsible one for the other", or "If I am only for myself, what am I?" are not intended to point those who take them seriously only to generalized involvement with ideas, but to actual involvement with people. This activity is designed to permit participants to examine the ways in which, as Jews and as congregants, they communicate with one another, and to examine the kinds of communication they would like to have with one another.

Goals:

1. To learn to separate how we talk from what we talk about.
2. To examine the Jewish concept of community, and what it implies.

Materials:

Copies of the observer's sheet for all participants.

Topic:

"What kinds of changes would make this temple more attractive to the unaffiliated? Should these changes be made?"

(Or alternatively: "What do we expect of our rabbi?", or "How do we assimilate new members in our temple?"; or such other topic as facilitators may think appropriate.)

Notes to Facilitators:

This is a straightforward discussion, of a topic that is likely familiar to many of the participants. It is intended to demonstrate that the quality of community in small groups can be seen in the ways in which people communicate with each other. In this activity, there are two levels: What the participants are talking about (bringing the unaffiliated into the temple) and how the participants deal with each other in the small group. Do people listen to one another? Do they deal seriously with each other's ideas and feelings? Do they ride roughshod over those with whom they disagree? Do they politely ignore a person after he has spoken?

In your opening remarks, after setting forth the topic, you can discuss briefly the distinction between the "what" and the "how". In your closing remarks, at the end of the session, you should try to pull together some of the comments of observers who have focussed on these differences. The behavior of the group can be related to Jewish concepts, and to traditional approaches of Judaism and of Jewish culture to both the "what" and the "how".

The activity should be conducted in groups smaller than the whole.

Our Experience:

In the pilot program, we did not use this activity in this form. Comparable activities show that under pressure of time, the "expert" tends to take over. Also, because of the nature of the topic, the discussion evokes a good deal of excitement, in which it is usually difficult for participants to recall that the manner of communication is as important as the substance of the communication. With respect to substance, we find that participants usually pay little attention to the needs and aspirations of the unaffiliated; they are seen more as objects of manipulation, and it is the success of the temple, rather than the goals of the prospective new members, that becomes the focal point of discussion.

It is precisely because the discussion does not deal directly with human relations, or with "love", or some such topic, but with a fairly practical problem, that it serves as a useful way of getting at the how/what distinction. The discussion is almost certain to be very active, and its style quite familiar -- that is, it is likely to be a problem-solving style. The question, then, is how to solve problems and build (or preserve) community at the same time.

It may be useful to postpone the "debriefing" of this activity until one or more of the subsequent exercises have run their course; by then, participants may have a more sensitive feel for the issues raised here. Once people get the hang of the how/what distinction, it is usually easily adapted to other areas of life, and has been found to be very helpful.

OBSERVER'S GUIDE

You are asked to distinguish between what is being said, and how it is being said. The latter goes beyond the secretary's report on the meeting. It looks directly at the dynamics of the group.

1. What are the reasons given for the various positions and suggestions?

To strengthen the temple?

Because of duty or obligations as Jews?

To help other people as Jews?

Other?

2. How do participants talk to each other?

How well do they listen to each other? Note examples of listening and non-listening.

Do they take into account each other's feelings as well as ideas and opinions? Attitudes?

In what ways do the qualities of being a Jew, or part of a community of Jews, affect the discussion? Note examples.

2.2: "COMMUNICATIONS IN COMMUNITY" (2)
GIVING AND RECEIVING SUPPORT

Rationale:

In addition to the comments in 2.1, there are a few additional points to be noted. A community is supportive and mutually succoring. Judaism's traditional concept of giving help to others seems to imply that help is readily available for the "oppressed" and "less fortunate", and obligations are owed to those who are so defined. But what about "support" for growth in living more Jewishly? Psychological support and encouragement for those who are like us are an essential part of a community of persons struggling to become.

Are Jews too "embarrassed"? Do personal feelings of guilt over one's own activities prevent or facilitate the transmission of support for fellow Jews? Is there joy and happiness in offering and in receiving support to and from fellow Jews? Is there joy and happiness in offering and in receiving support from persons? Or do we interact only with the customs, traditions, and rituals, rather than with the people?

Can we facilitate the process of interpersonal here-and-now support for each in the contemporary living community of the small group through improved interpersonal relations? This activity examines contemporary issues in communicating, in giving and receiving support for improving one's living and struggling as a Jew.

Goals:

1. To explore the basis of community through giving and receiving support in Judaism.
2. To practice ways in which effective giving and asking for support may be undertaken.

Procedure:

1. A short lecture is needed to introduce the ideas and goals of this activity. (10 minutes)
2. The total group is divided into trios. The third person is asked to be the observer and "feedbacker", with a guideline sheet. One person is asked to be the person who talks about the assigned topic. The other person engages in conversation and dialogue, receiving a briefing sheet.
3. The pair discuss. (15 minutes)

4. Observer makes comments on basis of his observations.
(10 minutes)
5. Pair resume.
6. Trio discuss and look at the activity as it bears on their own ways of relating in the community.
7. Total group assembles for reactions and comments.
8. Facilitator generalizes the learning from the activity.

Materials:

Topic: "What I think I ought to be doing to improve my Jewish style of living."

Briefing.

Instructions to listener.

Observer's sheet.

Briefing Instructions for Listener

As you listen and talk with the other person, try to help him clarify what he is trying to say, and offer support to him to encourage him in his efforts. Try to express his feelings as well as your opinions about him and his efforts.

Observer's Sheet

Observe what is said and how it is said by the person, and by the listener-encourager. Be concrete in noting instances.

"Support" requested by the person

How stated? What kind of support is being requested? Directly or implicitly? What are the feelings of the person? What non-verbal cues are being expressed?

"Support" offered by the listener-converser.

How stated? What support is being offered? Directly or implicitly? How does the listener-converser transmit his support? What seem to be the feelings being transmitted? Is the support offered when asked for, or is it volunteered?

Other comments:

2.3 "GROUPS AND CLIQUES"

Rationale:

The interaction of individuals in groups is also affected by the way communications and images develop between groups, factions and cliques in a temple. Insofar as we can understand the ways in which communications are affected by the ways in which groups define themselves, see the others and communicate to members of the other group and to the group as a whole, we can improve the workings of a complex organization such as the temple.

With so many possible ways in which individuals see themselves, and form groups, factions, cliques and such, the constant bickering and "politics" very frequently have a basis in misunderstanding. Attributing to self and others some views may distort the process of communicating and destroy the basis of co-existence, that co-existence which is productive for each other's goals and aspirations and not merely "toleration" of each other under conditions of constant vigilance and suspicion. When groupings form around deeply held values and interpretations of "good" Judaism, and not merely on the basis of "personalities" or "power plays", then the need for management of the ensuing conflicts is essential.

An activity is required that has several phases. First, we need to have some basis for forming some "factions" based on meaningful differences. Second, we need to have some ways in which these different "factions" can interact. The activity proposed here is one in which groupings are created among the participants and then interact with each other. In another set of activities described later, these groupings can be used for examining group membership, loyalty, the processes of not belonging and the processes of being accepted. In these activities (described later), we examine the experience of Jews leaving and joining new groups. In the present activity, we concentrate on the processes of communication, and, to some degree, on conflict resolution.

Procedure:

1. Explain goals and purposes of the activity. (5 minutes)
2. Form groupings for activity. (For 10 to 20 people)

Alternative one: On the basis of responses to some questionnaire items, or the positions taken on "good Jew" items, divide the group into two groupings of roughly equal size.

Alternative two: Involve the total group in the activity of finding some groupings. The procedure for doing so may be as follows: "In our getting to know each other here, there may be some differences among us which represent some of our positions. I wonder which ones you have noticed." Try to derive a list of about three. Avoid using status categories such as male-female, age, and such. Find the differences in orientation towards Judaism, or personal beliefs and behaviors. "For our purposes in this activity, we

need two groupings. On what basis do you think we can divide up? (Pause) Okay, why don't you sit on this side of the room, and the other group sit on this side." Or, "Perhaps one person who feels he represents one pole of one of these positions can sit over on that side, and someone else who represents another view sit on this side. Will you take these places. Now the rest of you scatter to one or the other position. Pick the person closest to your own views. Remember, we need roughly equal size groups for this activity." (15 minutes)

3. "Each of you take a few minutes to converse and get acquainted, and indicate why you chose to join this group. You have five minutes." Make sure the groups are far enough apart so that one group's conversation does not interfere with the other. However, see that the groups are in sight of each other.

4. "Now each group decide on a name for itself. Here is a piece of newsprint for you to write your name and post it somewhere." (5 minutes)

5. "Now each of you write on this piece of newsprint some phrases or words which characterize your group. Make a list of about 6 to 9 and write large enough so we can all read it when you are through." (15 minutes)

6. "Now each of you write down some words or phrases which you think characterize the other group, now that you know their name and who is in that group. We realize you may not have enough information for a completely realistic picture. But try to give your impressions." Will each of you send one person over to me to serve as an observer of how things go?" (15 minutes)

While the groups work on the second list, brief the observers, using the observer sheet. Send them back to their groups, asking them not to talk nor participate in their group.

Alternative A:

7A. Ask each group to post their first lists in front of both groups, while the groups stay in their relative positions. Ask someone to read off the lists, and ask anyone to comment on the similarities between the lists as well as the differences. (15 minutes)

8A. "Now each of the groups talk over whether or not you wish to add, modify or change any of your descriptions of the other. If you do, write these changes in such a way so that we can see both your original and the new listing. You have five minutes."

Alternative B:

7B. "Now each of you make up a third list of how you think the other group will describe you."

8B. When the groups are finished, have the observers report their observations of how the groups arrived at their lists, and whatever other observations the groups' observers wish to report.

9. Have both groups display their lists and ask people to comment on the lists for their similarities and their differences. "In what ways are the two lists the same?" After this, look at the changes, if any, that were made.

10. Divide each of the groups in half and have each one of the half-groups meet with one half of the other group. Station an observer with each. Tell each new group to talk about "What are the implications for our temple of differences such as these, and what about the general principles emerging from these groups that apply to any of the groups in the temple that you know about."

11. Bring together both groups and ask the observers to report their observations. (15 minutes)

12. Have a general discussion of the events that occurred and get the groups to talk about the implications for the temple and the way in which it functions in handling conflicts and differences between groups and groupings in the temple. If necessary, use small groups of three or four. (30 minutes)

Notes to Facilitators:

Keep in mind in the first five steps that you are trying to form "factions" that have a territory, a name, identity, some character attributes and some ideology or beliefs about themselves. As they describe themselves, they typically tend to ascribe virtues to themselves, which same virtues may be seen by the other group as liabilities. Some inter-group competition and rivalry is bound to creep in. Help develop this in a fun or light mood. Once you feel there is some group identity, withdraw from prominence and serve as the timekeeper and process mover so that the groups are in contact with each directly and not through you.

A variation of this design is to have the groups display their two lists simultaneously. When this is done, there is often a burst of laughter since the virtues given to oneself are mirrored in the other lists. Indeed, the procedure of having groups display their own self-image and their image of the other is sometimes used for conflict reduction between two groups, such as student-faculty, labor-management, racial groups and other such groups, which often see themselves in conflict with each other.

Our Experience:

In several temples, the division into two groups elected by the group became "humanists" and "religionists", or "covenant Jews" and "social activists". "Covenant Jews", in describing themselves, use such terms as "pride in Jewish identification", "respect for tradition", "love for eretz Yisrael", "a part of world Jewry", "Jewish tzedaka." In contrast, they saw the group called "social activists" as "pragmatic", "objective", "broad outlook" and "progressive". The "social activists" saw the "covenant Jews" as "very orthodox", "traditionalist", "individually motivated", and "subjective."

In this dialogue there were no negative connotations towards the "social activists". As the dialogue continued, however, some feelings about "you're holding back this temple" started to emerge. The initial list did not have negative implications, but the "consequences" of the positions taken did bother people in each group. In other words, the conflict was latent, not verbalized directly in the listings, but when the consequences of each position were posed for the group to consider, the "conflict" emerged. "Religious adherents" saw themselves as "believers in God and the Ten Commandments, believers that man has a soul and in its eternity", "believers in justice and tzedaka, living our lives in accordance with our beliefs".

In the alternative where the groups also listed what they thought the other group would say about them, there was also a shock of having some of the negatives affirmed, and some of the supposed negatives not stated by the other group as negatives, but in terms of the positive valuation of that behavior trait. One group thought the other group would say: "separatists", "rigid", "parochial", "subjective and irrational", "tied to history (emotional bond)", "chauvinistic". In the ensuing discussion, the issue was raised as to why the one group thought the other group would "call them names" like that.

We prefer to keep this activity in the here and now and not to get at real differences in the temple, with attendant personalities involved during the learning part of the activity. In the end discussion, in small groups, the transfer of the learning to "real" factions, and how these factions view others and how they think others view them, despite assurances that they may not be so viewed, becomes an important theme.

GROUPS AND CLIQUES

OBSERVER'S GUIDELINES

Be as specific as you can about episodes. Record as closely as you can what people say and do. Keep your inferences separate from your observations.

Phase I (during the period of making up lists)

Is there agreement about the listings? Who objects?

Note instances where the group agrees readily to a word or a phrase and where there is debate, and why.

What listings seem to be play acting and what listings seem to have meaningfulness for the group?

What kinds of "feelings" are involved? By whom?

Phase II (during the period of sharing lists)

What kind of listening is there to own group's lists, and what kind of listening is there to the presentation of the other group's?

(Note instances of verbal and non-verbal reactions to own and other's presentations.)

What is the reaction (verbal and non-verbal) to how the presentations are made?

Phase III (during the time when new groups are meeting)

What differences between the original groups are reconciled and what differences are not reconciled?

What seems to be the mode of resolving conflicts?

2.4 "BELONGING, EXTRUSION AND ACCEPTANCE"

Rationale:

Individuals belong, are at times extruded, and must find acceptance in the community of groups. Membership requires a reconciliation of individual autonomy, feelings of belongingness-alienation, and group conformity demands of new groups. These universal experiences take on a poignancy and unique flavor in Judaism and Jewish history, not only historically but more emotionally within the life span of individual Jews in contemporary society.

This activity is designed to demonstrate the power of small informal groups in inducing conformity through the threat of exclusion. For Jews raised under circumstances of prejudice, discrimination and exclusion, the activity can raise some powerful -- and painful -- memories. For others the activity may open channels of understanding and empathy concerning the effects of thrusting individuals into the roles of the marginal wanderer. If nothing else, the activity may shed some light upon the world in which our grandfathers lived.

Parts of this activity can be unpleasant both for participants and facilitators. Painful personal issues may be raised. Nevertheless, in the hands of experienced group leaders and facilitators, it can serve the useful purpose of exploring the Jewish experience, historically and in very personal terms. The design is for 40 to 50 people, and may extend through several stages, lasting from two hours to two days.

Goals:

1. To focus attention on the emotions one experiences when one is extruded from the community of a group.
2. To focus upon the process of negotiating one's way into a group.
3. To precipitate a discussion of Jewish marginality and the costs (in assimilation and conformity) sometimes extracted for "membership" in the general community.

Procedure:

1. Explain the purposes of this activity. In so doing, suggest that some may not want to participate in this, and they can choose to sit out, or serve in the role of observer. Ask for five observers.

2. Divide the remaining number of people into at least five groups composed of 5 to 9 members. Several ways are usable:

- a. Use sub-groups emerging from some previous activity or by some questionnaire responses. Have a discussion in each group.
- b. Use procedure in activity "Groups and Cliques" (2.3) for forming groups (steps 1-9) in shorter period of time.
- c. Number off into five or six groups. Provide a topic to pull together the groups, e.g., "What are some of the things we have in common in this group as Jews?"

3. Instruct the group as follows:

"Being inside and outside groups is a frequent experience. Each of us in our lives, not to mention Jewish historical experience, past and recent, have lived through belongingness, leaving and joining new groups.

"Now I would like each group to select a person who will leave his group and participate in the activity in another way. Some of you will be tempted to volunteer, thus removing any emotional sting from the experience. I would urge you not to do that. If the idea of being pushed out is too uncomfortable, let your group know; if it's too easy you might examine the reasons for that. You have five minutes to reach a group decision."

4. At the end of five minutes, ask "Are there any groups which could not decide? (If so) take another minute to try to reach closure. If you cannot decide, I will have you draw lots."

5. When the groups are ready, ask all the members to think (without speaking) for a few moments, how he would feel if he were the one being extruded. "What would it feel like to leave this group now?" (You might also ask the members to reflect on the process by which they reached the decision and what each member can learn about himself from his participation in that process and what he is feeling about himself.)

6. Now have all the "extruded" individuals join the facilitator in the corner of the room. Instruct remaining group members to decide upon criteria for group re-entry. No member may re-enter his own group. Extruded individuals must go from group to group until they find a group which will accept them and which they accept. This must be decided by a process of mutual negotiation. Groups may demand affirmations or behavior (within reason) as conditions for membership.

7. While the groups are discussing this step, the group of extruded members should discuss among themselves their feelings, concerns and fears about their status. The facilitator may need to focus attention on the contrived nature of the activity, if the anxiety is excessive. In general, a sharing of feelings is sufficient. The extruded group often wishes to stay in a sub-

group. Do not permit this, but comment on the experience of finding a "landsmann" who is suffering the same fate in terms of minority-group psychology.

8. Send the extruded members to seek membership in a group.

9. Leave time for the extruded members to gain acceptance in the new group. Let the groups meet as separate groups for a sufficient period of time so that the member can feel integrated into his new group.

10. Leave adequate time (roughly 30 minutes) for discussion of feelings engendered by the activity. Do not terminate this exercise without allowing a proper period to fully talk out the feelings that have come up.

11. Relate activity to Jewish experience where possible. Some issues to raise as appropriate: feelings of extrusion, wandering to find a group and to gain new group acceptance.

Materials:

None

Notes to Facilitators and Our Experience:

The exercise can be varied by having the groups decide who their "most influential" member has been and then extruding him. This raises some tender issues about leadership and destruction. We have found this particularly helpful in organizations which live in chronic states of rebellion and disruption.

The exercise can easily "bomb out". Often participants refuse to go through the steps. They also may direct negative feelings towards the facilitators and accuse them of being overly manipulative. Thus it is an exercise which one must utilize with some caution and some sense of timing. When skillfully introduced well along in a conference by a trained, secure leader who has the trust of the group, the activity can be extremely moving and insight-provoking.

There are several reactions one runs into. In the initial phases of the exercise there is often a great deal of resistance and reluctance. Particularly when the group culture emphasizes values of trust and mutual warmth the instruction to force a member from the group is one that is bound to be met with some resistance. We found it useful to "jolly" a group along so a facilitator might say "Yes, I know it feels uncomfortable, but why don't you give it a try and see how it works out." Once the process of extrusion takes place (if successful) the exercise tends to move to a very different level. The anxiety level rises sharply. There is often a bit of ner-

vous laughter. There often is a half-serious/half-jocular reflection of the tension in such comments as "Good heavens, I've lost my family." Another typical comment is "It's all right, I know they still love me." Some members of the group who have not been extruded may go through joking behavior in thrusting the person out, but most of the group members will put their arm around the person and say "come back soon" or other non-verbal gestures which communicate the message "we don't really mean it."

The decision about the criteria for re-entry often carries on this note of tense humor. Some of the criteria show the flavor of fraternity hazing rituals. In groups where the group is formed naturally around the issue, the group may semi-seriously decide that they won't accept anyone who doesn't share the group's value. When the exercise is going well in such a setting, the group may be forced to re-examine itself to determine what really defines it as a group. This is an understandable phenomenon. A group's value does not become vital to it until the boundary is being tested from the outside. Thus the capsule around the group must be defined and categorized before the potential new member arrives. When this serious tone of discussion is taking place, we are inclined to let the discussion go for 15 or 20 minutes because the process of group formation and group understanding may become more critical than the inclusion-exclusion process. One effective intervention when this sort of serious discussion is taking place is to have the group select one observer whose task it is to feed back to the group what its process has been.

One of the surprises of this exercise is what happens when the individuals actually begin to negotiate their way into the groups. This sometimes happens so quickly that if you blink your eyes you miss it. We found that both the groups and the extruded individuals experience high anxiety about the unstable state of having non-group members wandering about in the midst of the room. Groups tend to latch onto extruded individuals, forgetting their criteria and anything else they discussed. Members tend to grab the group nearest them, to run towards groups. Of course, each group can only take one member, so there may be some scrambling so that individuals can get sorted out. If two individuals are left at the end, the anxiety level may quickly rise to intolerable heights in those individuals, and we are inclined to help them get quickly placed. In any case, the total process may disappoint the facilitator if he expects a lengthy negotiation. In our experience it is still worthwhile to recommend the negotiation step, since the fantasied consideration of what one thinks what one is going to do, in contrast to the actual experience, brings home crucial emotional points about the unstable state of being an individual alone when other individuals are in groups.

The discussion at the end often focuses on how surprisingly real the experience was for the extruded members. This is why it is so important to let them talk about what their feelings have been. That very process of talking in front of the groups and seeing the heads nodding in agreement helps to reassure the extruded individual that he is not extruded from the total group at that moment in the here-and-now. We would consider it dangerous to leave this exercise "dangling". To do that is to risk leaving people with

all sorts of unexpressed feelings which they then have to go home and work out with their wives, children, parents, and heaven knows who else. The type of discussion concerning the Jewish experience will vary a great deal. The fact is that it is virtually impossible to get through adolescence without experiencing extrusion and exclusion. Thus even those individuals who have been raised in predominantly Jewish cultures where they are really a majority group rather than a minority group have often had experiences of exclusion. We would suggest moving the discussion towards the Jewish experience after the individuals have a chance to talk about what the experience was like for them. This sort of transition can be effected with a leading question such as "How do you think the experiences you've been describing are related to the Jewish experience?" This might be followed up with more specific questions if you get a puzzled response from a more general question. For instance, "Has this ever happened in the community in which you grew up?"

Another part of the experience which we found useful to emphasize is the price of "buying in". We emphasize that groups are not always so anxious to adopt members as the groups may have been during this exercise. During the period when the extruded individuals were meeting alone, what sort of thoughts did they have about what they were willing to do to get into a group? When they were moving towards a group, what sorts of thoughts did they have about what they were willing to give up? Did anyone give up anything that he did not want to give up? What are the effects of having groups with different levels of prestige? Would one give up more to get into a high prestige group? When the exercise is working very effectively, individuals may reach the point where they can talk a bit about what it feels like to give up a portion of their personal identity as the price of getting into a group. The process of assimilation, of giving up one's Jewish roots and portions of one's Jewish identity, may extract a very painful personal toll in the long run. A sharing of feelings about this process can be the outcome of this exercise.

Variations of the exercise have been used to illustrate teen peer group pressures towards drug use conformity to group norms and personhood and "acting up" behavior. Another variation has been used to focus attention upon the deposition of leaders. It is to be emphasized that this activity should be utilized by individuals with a strong background in the mental health disciplines (psychology, psychiatry, social work, etc.) and experience in leading groups.

2.5 "GROUP SUPPORT -- THE HAVDALAH SERVICE"

Rationale:

As people form close relationships with each other in face-to-face groups, there is the reality of symbolizing this closeness, and of leaving this relationship temporarily until there is an opportunity to come together again. How sustaining are the relationships as they encounter new situations and new conditions? There is an activity in the Jewish tradition that symbolizes the group qualities of shared fellowship, celebrates the required temporary termination, and helps individuals to look forward to the tasks ahead with the sense of emotional support of the group.

The activity is built around the Havdalah service. The Havdalah service is a warm, brief companionable ritual which marks the end of the Sabbath. Havdalah means "separation". Coming at the end of the Sabbath, it marks the break between that holy day and the rest of the week. It celebrates the passing of the Day of Rest with longing and regret, but with thankfulness, and ends with the hope for a good week.

While this service may not be too well known in some Reform Congregations, it is becoming increasingly part of the Sabbath activities in camp settings, and in weekend institutes, especially with young people.

Havdalah could be an excellent finale for the first day of a two or three day workshop. Its brevity and simplicity means that it can be easily learned and performed. It would flow very naturally from the "Personal Associations" activity, which usually creates a rather sentimental climate. The Havdalah would carry this atmosphere forward to the closing of the day.

It can serve several other purposes and values, which are integrated with the theme of self-examination as a Jew, and with some of the small group activities which are such a basic part of the workshops. It provides an experience with a Jewish ritual which would probably be new to most of the participants. After it is learned it would have the added advantage of possibly becoming a family ritual, and one which can be engaged in with friends and other families.

Reactions to the ritual can be discussed in follow-up sessions, and can be examined from the point of view of whether or not it enriches the individual's experience, contributes to the group's cohesiveness, and whether or not this is a ceremony which could be introduced on some basis into the life of the congregation.

One of the beauties of the service is that it involves so many of the senses. Smell, taste, sight, touch, and hearing are involved and this all contributes to a greater feeling of warmth and community.

Goals:

1. To feel support in the separation from the group.
2. To experience the Havdalah service as a group experience.

Materials:

Havdalah candle, spice boxes, wine and wine cups. The prayers which are said should be printed and made available to those who will lead them. The words for the songs should also be prepared in advance and made available to all participants.

Procedure:

The service should include the following:

1. An introductory statement about the Havdalah and its significance.
2. The recitation of the prayers for the wine, the spices, and the lighting.
3. Singing of the hymns which usually include Hamavdil, Eliyahu, Hanavi, and "A Good Week" usually sung in English, Yiddish and Hebrew.

During the service, it is customary for the entire group to stand in a circle with arms around their partners' waists. The wine and the spice box are passed around the circle for each person to taste and smell. As the songs are sung, many groups sway in rhythm to the music.

In order to spread the participation to as many as possible, the blessings might be said in the sub-groups which have worked together during that day. All the groups may join together with the community singing. If this plan is used, additional spice box, wine cups and candles would be needed.

4. The service could end with the invitation to members to express their hopes for the program for the next day and the coming week.

5. Another possibility for the closing is to have the group stand in silent meditation for a few moments before the service is over and the day ends. Each person can reflect on what the group has meant to him as he looks over the day's experiences.

Notes to Facilitators:

In order to make this an experience which adds to the participants' knowledge and to give them a sense of ownership, the following process should be followed:

1. The facilitators should learn the rituals beforehand. Engaging in such a learning experience would have the added advantage of having the facilitators get in touch with their own feelings and reactions to the Havdalah and its relevance to the rest of the program.

2. Ten to fifteen minutes should be scheduled before the Havdalah service so that each of the groups can discuss with the facilitators the nature of the program and its place in the workshop.

3. On the next day, when the group reconvenes, further discussion should be encouraged in order to elicit the group's reactions, to tie the experience to the theme of the program, and to give those groups and/or individuals who are interested an opportunity to prepare for leadership responsibilities for the Havdalah on another occasion, perhaps at the end of the program. One issue of particular interest is the feeling of self-consciousness many people experience in participating in an unfamiliar ceremony. Issues of group support are central here. Do those who know the service feel impatient about the others?

Facilitators and members should be encouraged to use the resources which are available to them in the temple. Consultation with the rabbi or cantor, referral to books, music and the contribution of suitable artifacts by participants should be stimulated. It might also be appropriate for members of the participants' families, the rabbi, and other congregational officials to join with the group during the Havdalah service at the conclusion of the program.

Since music is such an important part of the service and such a pleasant experience, it would be essential to have a song leader present for the service. If such a person is not within the group of participants, then it would be important to bring a guest into the program who could perform the function of leading the hymns and songs.

3. The Potential Temple

Introduction and Goals

What is the relationship between the temple, as a constantly evolving institution, and Jewish self-realization?

This is an age when institutions grow large, increasingly alien and removed from human concerns, and their members offer but transient, partial commitments, complaining all the while of their alienation, an age when institutional needs are formidable and "personal needs" neglected. In such a historic period, it may be thought unfair to berate temples for their failures to attend to human scale needs, or to castigate temple members for their anergic lethargy, their pseudo-commitment. Yet a dehumanized temple with an apathetic membership cannot be Jewish in temperament.

Our work in the temples provided ample illustrations of the problem. When we speak of Jews who are alienated from their temple we speak not only of the non-involved, of peripheral members. Even among the most active participants in temple life who took part in our workshops, complaints about "the power structure" were common. When we asked, in return, "Who is the power structure?", we were answered, "the board and the committees." And when we pursued the question, and asked "Who are the actual people on the Board, or active in the committees? Do you see any of them here?", the answer, on more than one occasion, was "I don't know who they are." At which point we asked Board members and committee chairmen in the room as workshop participants to identify themselves, which they did to expressions of surprise, and, at times dismay. For to learn that people one has come to know, in the workshop setting, as responsive, as perplexed, as supportive, are also part of "the power structure" is to learn an uncomfortable fact, a fact which violates much of the "conventional wisdom."

Alienation in the temple owes at least in part to a failure to perceive a sense of that personal potency required to influence institutional life; the consequence is a self-sustaining perception of the temple as monolithic and unfeeling.

This sense of "non-ownership" in the temple, of non-participation in the shaping of the values, goals, policies, and programs of the temple can be combatted by encouraging more direct personal involvement, in an environment in which such involvement is welcomed, rewarded, and evidently useful. The personal feelings, viewpoints, hopes and fears of individuals thus become important data for any serious planning process, for a successful effort to engage the efforts and attentions of individuals must be based on an understanding of those feelings, and a sensitive response to them.

This position should not be confused with a proposal that temples must cater, or pander, to the lowest common denominator. We do not suggest that the temple become a network of bowling teams if that is what its members

indicate they want. The fact is that our experience with the workshop exercises has shown that even those who want something very different, and much richer, feel impotent. In no case did workshop participants seek a dilution of serious temple programs; in several cases, in fact, there was general acknowledgment of a low level of Jewish information and commitment, and a call for more effective programming to repair the deficiencies.

In part, the potential temple is the product of informed, expert professional leadership, from scholars, teachers, organizers. In part, it is the product of tapped potentials of individual members, shaping an institution to meet their needs and demands for Jewish growth and expression. The activities in this section are intended to deal with the latter. We recognize, of course, that this is only a part of the problem, and therefore only a part of the solution. We do not attempt here to deal with the problems of professionals. But we do not believe that a serious address to the assorted problems of the contemporary Reform temple can ignore the issue of the Jewish potential of individual members. Such a strategy, or an omission, might have been successful -- or, at least, tolerable -- in a sealed social system from which there was no egress. But in an open system, it can only produce alienation and separation, first from the temple, eventually, perhaps, from a Judaism perceived as unresponsive to personal need.

The activities in this chapter are designed to point temple members towards enunciating their goals, their wishes, and their "hidden agenda"; to probe, consider, and evaluate existing temple programs and social structures; to innovate and participate actively in programs of support, reform, and planning.

In order for experiential activity to move beyond mere experience into learning, into applicable knowledge, skills must be developed in building support systems, in working in task groups, in producing "results". Thus the activities which follow are designed both to identify temple issues and to impart skills in dealing with those issues.

3.1: "A GOOD TEMPLE"

Rationale:

The temple is a place, a group of human relationships, a set of activities and an image. Individuals affiliate for these and for many other reasons. It is helpful in building a viable institution that members, presently affiliated, actively or nominally, acknowledge the bases for their belonging, to themselves and to each other. These real reasons can be acknowledged, modified, if need be, and taken into account in building a temple that is need-serving and meaningful in the lives of the participants. It is frequently the case that the real reasons for each person and family become overshadowed by "good" reasons which one assumes are acceptable in the group and which (it is assumed) are shared by others. Institutions such as temples often get into a situation where individual members fail to acknowledge or communicate to others these reasons, sources of satisfactions, and aspirations. What ensues is "pluralistic ignorance" based on mutual projections about each others' motives.

Goals:

1. To have each person clarify his reasons for joining the temple.
2. To share these reasons with others and to enter into dialogues about each other's reasons.
3. To identify the common and different reasons people have joined.
4. To derive implications for building a strong temple from the common and diverse motives of individuals.

Procedure:

1. Each person is given a copy of the questionnaire, "Reasons for Joining a Temple". The instructions are self-contained. (15 minutes)
2. The group is broken down into smaller groups of no more than 10, and tabulations are prepared on a newsprint chart. If people are already acquainted with each other, the tabulations can be by initials or names. Otherwise a frequency tabulation will be sufficient. (10 minutes)
3. The facilitator leads a discussion of the common and different patterns. Alternatively, the group can be sub-divided into pairs to examine their personal reasons, before the group discusses the overall results. (15 minutes)

4. One person is appointed as a reporter and panel member to report to the total group.

5. A panel discussion with the newsprint sheets of each group and with a common quick tabulation of the total group is held in front of the whole group. The topic for the panel is "What are the implications of these data for our temple?" (30 minutes, maximum)

Notes to Facilitators:

1. List the goals and purposes at the beginning of the activity. Stress the need for candor and honesty in reporting each person's own reasons.

2. If the group is wary and unacquainted with each other, you may ask that the questionnaire be answered anonymously.

3. Prepare a newsprint chart of the questionnaire for purposes of tabulation. Alternatively, you may pass out additional copies of the questionnaire for tabulation purposes. People like to have summaries and copies of the data produced.

4. In the first discussion in step 3 above, first ask the people as they look at the data, "How candid do you think these data are?" (if you think they are giving only "good" reasons). Pairs can help to examine the reasons each person gives to himself and others. Your task is to help the group move to an honest examination of reasons, without judging each other's reasons as "good" or "bad". Try to watch for and gently hold back on statements about "You ought to be ashamed..." "You ought not..." "That's a wrong reason..." Establish a climate of acceptance in this phase of discussion.

5. Help group(s) select a reporter who will join a panel with the newsprint. Help with quick tabulations of all the groups so that all can study the data emerging from the group.

6. In the panel, one facilitator should join as discussion leader and time allocator. See that the first part of the discussion reviews the data for about 10 minutes so the audience can get a sense of the total data. In the second phase, have the panel start to draw the implications of these data for the temple. Some leading questions: What do these data mean for holding onto people? What do these data mean in terms of spread and breadth of activity of members? What religious commitment to Judaism is this? Is there a difference between the old timers and active members and the newcomers to this temple?

Our Experience:

We have found that there are many reasons given by people for joining a temple. In the discussion, one common theme was that of getting the spouse of one of the participants equally involved in the temple. In one temple, the major reason was the reputation of the temple for espousing social action and social causes. In special purpose temples, people traveled from quite a distance, passing over other Reform temples to join. The personality of the rabbi was important in several ways; a good rabbi was thought of as good counsellor, an intellectual leader, a man with good standing in the clergy locally, and so forth.

There seems to be a tolerance, or, perhaps more accurately, a resigned acceptance, to the presence of factions and groupings. Such divisions do not seem to deter individuals from joining, even though they seem to find themselves slightly alienated from the membership because of the "politics".

The research survey done on this question is contained in Chapter 5 of Part I of this series. You may want to consult these data, and feedback for comparison of your temple with the national findings.

REASONS FOR JOINING A TEMPLE

Here are some reasons people join a temple. Please check for each item the category that applies to your reasons for joining this temple.

	<u>Very</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Particularly</u> <u>Important</u>
Close to where we live	_____	_____	_____
Good religious school	_____	_____	_____
It is helpful for my business	_____	_____	_____
Good Rabbi	_____	_____	_____
I like the people who belong to this temple	_____	_____	_____
Dues and fees less than other synagogues	_____	_____	_____
Reform ideology is what I believe in	_____	_____	_____
Attractive building	_____	_____	_____
It is not too parochial	_____	_____	_____
My neighbors or friends belong	_____	_____	_____
My family has always belonged to this temple	_____	_____	_____
Other:	_____	_____	_____

Now go back and circle the one reason which is the most important reason for you.

4.2 "SELECTING A TEAM FOR A TEMPLE"

Rationale:

This activity was used to create a bridge between the first weekend of workshops, which concentrated primarily on the examination of personal Jewish life styles, and the second weekend, in which the participants extended their discussions into an organizational frame of reference -- that is to say, they examined ways in which their personal objectives could be implemented through the temple.

On the one hand, the activity served as a method of having participants reveal their personal attitudes towards other Jews, as identified on the list of choices which was provided for them. Since the descriptions of the people on the list identify only profession, age, means, and a few limited characteristics, participants tended to project onto the bare bones description their own feelings, not only toward the profession but also toward traits they imputed, often based on their own experience.

The activity provides an opportunity for the members to look at human resources needed or available for the pursuit of a task. It poses the question of what skills, knowledge, position, wealth, should be sought for the membership and leadership of a congregation.

The question of membership models available to a temple can be introduced, should there be a mix of a broad variety of people in the membership. If so, what kinds should be sought? The activity can help people to look at the process of selection for a task in an organization. The use of a hypothetical situation makes it easier for people to identify characteristics, professions, socio-economic station, etc., of people whom they like or don't like.

It provides another medium through which value systems can be expressed. For example, what (or who) is more important to the congregation, leadership with a good Jewish education, people with social position, people with good general education, or people with no strong commitments to any particular position.

Goals:

1. To focus attention on the "human resources" potentially available for temple tasks.
2. To surface problems of decision-making concerning matching of tasks and members.
3. To focus awareness on issues of membership balance and total size.

4. To examine underlying values and assumptive systems related to temple policy.

Procedure:

The task to which the groups should address themselves is to assume that they are in a new community, perhaps a suburban area of a large metropolitan city, where there is no temple and where they feel a new one should be created. Each of the members will have met others in the neighborhood, whom they consider to be possibilities or possible additions to the organizing committee. None of the people on the list which follows have been approached, as yet, since it had been decided that a careful selection would have to be made in order to develop a small, but effective, organizing group.

- ___ A. A wealthy, elderly man who was an inactive temple member in another community.
- ___ B. A young married man of about 32 with two children. He had been a religious school teacher.
- ___ C. A socially prominent woman in the Jewish community.
- ___ D. A 70-year old man who is very learned, Jewishly.
- ___ E. A Jewish writer who has not been affiliated with a temple.
- ___ F. A young dynamic lawyer in a large firm.
- ___ G. A Jewish Welfare Federation executive.
- ___ H. A Jewish community center worker.
- ___ I. A manager of a large business.
- ___ J. A famous local artist.
- ___ K. A construction man who is a Yiddishist.
- ___ L. A professor of philosophy who worked with the Hillel Foundation on his campus.
- ___ M. A woman who is accustomed to attending services regularly.

The facilitators should make a brief introduction in which the hypothetical nature of the situation should be emphasized. The activity focuses on the selection of human resources for a specific job. Other matters described in the purposes above should serve as a guide to the

facilitator for introducing questions after the group has made its first decisions regarding the selection of the eight people to be chosen for the "committee". After the list has been distributed, time should be permitted for questioning regarding some of the terms and descriptions used. Each member of the group should then be asked to rank the people on the list from 1 to 13, in order of the priority attached to the membership of each on the organizing committee. Other possible approaches are to ask participants to select (not order) the eight who they think should be on the organizing committee, or to indicate which five should be eliminated.

The results of the choices made by individuals in the group should then be tabulated on a chart prepared in advance, making it possible for the group to see easily their individual choices, compared with those of others. The tabulation may reveal consensus about some people described on the list who are to be chosen and a few who are to be eliminated. These should be discussed, with the facilitator, checking with the group on the reasons for choice or exclusion.

Discussion should then move toward the attempt to arrive at agreement regarding those about whom there does not appear to be consensus. Again reasons for choices should be pursued until there is consensus about the eight to be elected to the organizing committee.

A suggested next step would be to engage in role play situations. For example, have one of the group serve as a member to approach one of the selectees to invite him to serve on the committee. A second possible situation is one in which another member of the group might play the role of one who meets one of the rejectees socially, and learns that he is very interested in becoming a member of the organizing committee.

The session should end with the facilitator encouraging the group to draw parallels between the hypothetical situation and ones which they have faced in their own organizational experience. He may introduce questions such as:

1. What more do we have to know than the surface material presented on the list?
2. What stereotypes emerge from the discussion?
3. What are some of the evidences of leadership ability?
4. What are some of the feelings which come into play around the questions of selection?
5. How did participants feel about situations in their own life experience similar to those which emerged in the discussion of the people on the list or in the role play?

A community session could be developed from the individual group sessions by convening all of the groups and having them post the charts indi-

cating their selections. The reasons for choices by respective groups could be discussed and the similarities and differences in the choices examined.

The role play could also be used in the community session by having a representative of one group serve as a member of the organizing committee making selections and representatives from the other groups serving as the community to be invited to work with the organizing committee.

Materials:

Materials required for this activity are lists prepared in advance from which selections are to be made. Additions or deletions can be made from this list depending upon local option and conditions. Charts for tabulating choices by individuals in the groups should also be prepared in advance, for rapid and easy tabulations.

Notes to Facilitators and Our Experience:

It is interesting to note that when this activity was used in the different congregations, "the woman who attended services regularly" was usually rejected. The reason given was that "she would probably not be an active leader,...that she would tend to be a user of temple services rather than a contributor to its organization." At the same time, it should be noted that in these same congregations, during another phase of the workshop program, low priority was given to attendance at religious services.

Neither the artist nor the writer made the select group of eight. Again, there were inferences made about whether or not either had sufficient commitment to the Jewish community; whether their professional interest or objectives would be placed ahead of the temple growth and development. The Welfare Federation executive was chosen for the team because it was assumed that he would have a good knowledge of the community, substantial organizational experience, and commitment to the religious expression of Judaism. In both temples, the young school teacher received first choice because of his religious training, his youth, and family. It was also expected that he would become a religious school teacher in the congregation. The choices were made partly on the task orientation of developing the new temple, but also reflected some stereotyped attitudes. In one case, for example, the socially prominent woman in the Jewish community was rejected because "she would only join to have her name on the stationery and would not do anything, and she would expect deference because of her position."

A discussion of the values the temple seeks to promote, in relationship to the kind of people who seem to be "best" at organizing it, may be quite provocative.

3.3 "FOUR QUESTIONS: ASSETS AND LIABILITIES"

Rationale:

To plot an orderly course of change the congregation needs an honest data map of the institutional structures which are viewed as assets and those structures which are viewed as liabilities. In a weekend conference on "The Temple as an Institution", members may discover that they rather like their temple as it is. Change oriented facilitators must be cautious not to "ride their own horses." Determining where the membership "is" becomes an important prerequisite to further design.

The flow of this activity is intended to move from personal Jewish needs and wants to institutional goals. Listing personal "assets and liabilities" as a Jew precedes any listing of institutional assets and liabilities. The member is not presumed to be an expert on Jewish life in the abstract. Such pseudo-democracy may transmit as normative a value of pluralistic ignorance. This activity is rather designed first to tap what each person is expert in -- that is what he thinks, feels, and wants in his life as a Jew. From such understanding, one may develop insight into needed institutional support systems for personal Jewish development.

Goals:

1. To focus attention on personal strengths as a Jew and valued Jewish assets.
2. To focus attention on areas of personal Jewish life needing change. To examine aspirations as a Jew. "Where do I want to go as a Jew?"
3. To facilitate examination of linkages between personal Jewish hopes and disappointments on the one hand and the temple on the other.
4. To catalogue valued aspects of temple life which should be supported and fostered.
5. To begin the process of identifying areas of needed change in the temple.
6. To learn about the process of reaching agreement in groups without adopting a "lowest common denominator" norm.

Procedure:

1. Instructions (5 minutes): Members are provided with pencils and paper. They are instructed as follows: There are areas of your life as

a Jew which must be satisfying just as there are areas which may disappoint you. What is true for you as an individual may apply even more for your temple. What are the strengths which support your personal Jewish life? Where does the temple fail to meet your needs? Stay close to your personal feelings and thoughts about yourself and your family as you write down a list of answers to each of the four questions on the newsprint. Make your list as complete as possible. Take some time to think about your answers and what they mean to you. This work must come from inside your own head. Do not discuss your list with others during this part of the activity. There should be no talking. (If the session is being conducted in a retreat setting, we are inclined to encourage the members to write down the questions and wander off to private places for 30 to 45 minutes to get in touch with their personal feelings and thoughts in response to the queries.)

"The four questions are meant, as are the four questions in the Passover Seder, to provoke thought, discussion, awareness, and concern. They are here on the newsprint. Write each question down at the top of a piece of paper.

1. What do I value most about my Jewishness?
2. What do I wish to change to make my life richer as a Jew?
3. What is there helpful about this temple (worth preserving) which makes my life richer as a Jew?
4. What is there about this temple which needs changing to make my life richer as a Jew?

Write down your answers to each question."

2. Time to write answers. (10 to 45 minutes) The time required to generate answers will and should vary greatly. In a brisk task-oriented conference, 10 to 15 minutes may be enough. In a reflective retreat setting leave plenty of time for members to wander about and think. The facilitator must decide on timing based upon the degree of absorption the activity generates. When members are looking around the room and/or yawning, it's time to say "Let's try to finish up in the next 5 minutes." Urge members who are finished to reflect about their answers.

3. Discussion in triads. (15 to 30 minutes) Have members select partners so that the group is divided into threesomes. These triads should discuss each other's lists in terms of content, meaning and feeling. Members should be instructed to listen and to try to understand rather than try to debate.

4. Evolving a group list. (30 to 45 minutes) The group is brought back together in a circle with a large newsprint pad before them. Their task is to generate a group list of answers to the last two questions. Not every

member need "own" every response on the group list. Members should be urged to respect the strong feelings of others and make as much room as possible for diversity and mutual acceptance. Where there is strong disagreement, the response should be posted and flagged. Attach the newsprint lists to the wall with masking tape for further reference later in the conference.

Materials:

1. Paper and pencils.
2. Pad of newsprint.
4. List of questions posted before group (See Procedure, Step 1).
5. Felt markers.

Notes to Facilitators and Our Experience:

This activity generates considerable discussion and may develop the major themes for the remainder of the weekend. There was great variability from temple to temple in response patterns. Frequently criticized were large size and "coldness". No one listed largeness as a particular asset. (But see Part I, Chapter 5, for contrasting data.)

The key part of this exercise is the effort to generate a group list of temple assets and liabilities. Here is an opportunity early to set a climate of cooperation and mutual respect. We have found it best to discourage debate and clashes of opinion at this point in the exercise. Emphasize that the object is to find out what is inside the head of each of the group members and then to check out how much similarity there is among viewpoints. The search is not for some abstract truth concerning what is "good" and what is "bad" about the temple. The search is for a real canvassing of personal thought and feeling and areas of overlap among individuals in their thoughts and feelings.

The lists generated are particularly useful in deciding on task groups for the task group activity (see below). The "four questions" activity is not a good activity with which to open a conference design. In general, conferences should open with activities that involve a high degree of shared feelings. The four questions activity needs to build on such sentiment. On the other hand, it should come early in the conference as a way of setting up later activities. We have found it most helpful to place it after the opening activities on the first day.

3.4 "INVISIBLE CARD PASS: TEMPLE CHANGE"

Rationale:

This activity is complimentary to the "Four Questions: Assets and Liabilities" activity. The latter was designed to help participants share their own personal reactions to the temple. The invisible card pass is designed to sensitize participants to listen to the reactions of others. This particular technique may be used in the middle of the "Four Questions" activity, after individuals have written down their own answers but before they have shared any of the answers. It also can be used as a free-standing activity.

The passing of the invisible cards forces attention to what other people in the circle might list as desirable areas of temple change and assets of the temple.

Goals:

1. To focus attention on the viewpoints of others.
2. To enable participants to express strong ideas "without owning them."
3. As in the "Four Questions" activity, to focus attention on both strengths and assets of a temple, on the one hand, and limitations, needed areas of change and liabilities of the temple, on the other.

Procedure: (Total time approximately 20 minutes)

Members of the group should be seated in a circle. They are instructed to pick up a non-existent pencil in the hand with which they usually write. In the other hand they are instructed to firmly grasp an invisible 5 x 8 card. At this point there is usually some laughter and the facilitator should insist that all members of the group actually hold the invisible card and hold the invisible pencil, setting a proper example himself. Members of the group are then instructed to write upon the card in block letters (to preserve anonymity) answers to the following two question: What is the best thing about this temple? What is there about this temple which most needs changing? These questions should be (visibly) on a sheet of newsprint in front of the participants. If the exercise is being used as part of the "Four Questions" exercise, the same wording as had been used in that activity should again be used. Insist that the members "actually" write on their

invisible cards with their invisible pencils. When everybody is finished writing, have the members pass the cards to their left, accepting the cards from their right. Have them actually move their hands, passing cards and accepting cards, until the cards have passed around the circle for a while. Then on signal, have the members stop and grasp the last invisible card in front of them.

The next step is to have each of the members read the card he holds aloud for the rest of the group. Members are instructed not to attempt to determine who wrote the card they hold.

After each member has read his invisible card, the group should try to seek agreement on the common themes which best represent the viewpoints of the group.

Notes to Facilitators and Our Experience:

This exercise calls for a great deal of good-natured persistence on the part of the facilitator. Members who say they think it's silly should just be jollied along and say "Come on, let's try it even if it feels silly at first." It's very important in obtaining cooperation in an imaginary activity that the members actually go through the motions of holding the pencil and card and passing the card subsequently. When members come up with glib remarks like, "My invisible card has invisible writing", we are inclined to reply in kind, saying, "You're reading the wrong side of it; turn it over and you'll find writing."

The opportunity to express thoughts which allegedly come from someone else may free members to enunciate stronger viewpoints. However, the absence of "ownership" is also a serious drawback to this exercise, and we have not known it to be a substitute for the more forthright "Four Questions" activity.

We have also used a different form of this activity to deal with concerns and fears that members have concerning the overall conference. The form of the exercise is the same, but members are requested to complete the following two sentences: "My greatest hope for this conference is..." and "My greatest concern about this conference is..." The invisible card pass here enables members to try to present fears that are current in the group and may not be understood by the facilitators. We have not found this to be a good ice-breaking exercise because its demands for the free flight of imagination always find a certain number of members unprepared and cynical. The activity is more properly introduced at an appropriate time further along in the conference.

3.5 "A SPATIAL MAP OF SOME TEMPLE ISSUES"

Rationale:

This activity has been helpful in placing in high relief differences of opinion over some issues. The activity is particularly designed to teach people to move about within their position and to seek to make contact with other members with whom they may have differences of opinion. This spatial map may also identify clusters of viewpoints in producing sub-groups within the temple. Once such groups are identified, activities from Chapter 2 may facilitate the bridging of gaps and enhance communication between and among groups.

Goals:

1. To enable members both to take a stand on issues in the temple and to see a visual presentation of the stand taken by others.
2. To foster flexibility and movement concerning positions taken, thus creating an atmosphere for collaboration and compromise.
3. To prepare for further inter-group activities (such as the polarization activity (See Chapter 2)).

Procedure: (20 minutes)

1. This activity works well as a whole conference exercise involving as many as 50 to 60 people. The conference director selects the two sets of issues which have most divided the conference and which can be expressed as poles of a continuum. Both sides of each pole should be separately listed on a sheet of newsprint and placed on opposing sides of the room. It is best that the poles actually emerge from the conference discussion that has taken place during previous exercises.

2. Members are instructed to treat the four signs as though they were magnets, some of them attracting them and others repelling them. The activity works best if members first distribute themselves on one axis (in the example given below, for instance, the Jewish versus the humanist axis), then having them hold their distance with respect to these two signs and distribute themselves between the second two signs. Once members have arrived they may want to give some thought as to whether they really feel comfortable where they are; they may move if they wish.

3. When the membership is distributed, ask participants to look about at the other people in the room. To whom are they close? From whom are they distant? How do they feel about their place in the room vis a vis the other members of the conference? If the group is small, members may wish to discuss their positions standing where they are at this point. It is important that all of the earlier parts of the activity be conducted completely non-verbally. Members should be discouraged from asking questions and encouraged to take positions as they see fit, even in the absence of sufficient data. For the activity to succeed, it is very important that a minimum of discussion take place until everyone is distributed. Do not field questions yourself about the meaning of the signs. Find out what the meaning is to the member and reflect questions back into the membership.

4. We have found it effective to move a step further in conference design. The members are asked to indicate which of the two axes seems more important to them for purposes of getting the work of the conference done. For instance, if they are more interested in working on the "Jewish - humanist" dichotomy, we have them stand up and raise their hands, and if they are more interested in working on the "Active - Tolerant" dichotomy, we have them kneel down in place. Those who are standing and are closer to the "Jewish" end of the continuum are asked to form a group under that banner. Those who are standing closer to the "humanist" end of the room are asked to form a group under the humanist banner. Those who are kneeling or sitting and are closer to the "activist" side of the room are asked to form a group under that banner and those who are kneeling or sitting and are closer to the "tolerant" side of the room are asked to form a group under that banner. These polarized groups then go through the polarization exercise (2.5).

5. When the time comes for discussion between groups, the groups should only deal with the opposite pole of their own axis (i.e., "Jewish - Humanist" and "Active - Tolerant"). Those who are in the other two groups listen while the first set of polarized groups interact. They may be used as process observers in a group-on-group structure similar to that used in the earlier activities.

Notes to Facilitators:

If the polarization option is not utilized, the members should be instructed to move around as much as they can and to explore how wide an area they can move within in an effort to meet people from other viewpoints. In the event the discussion becomes sterile and the members seem tied to their position, we introduce another intervention. Members are instructed to indicate how high their hopes are for getting a useful outcome from the discussion by placing their hands next to the floor if their hopes are very low or placing their hands palm down at some other level to show how high their hopes are. Presumably if this intervention is introduced the hope level is very low. The members are then asked to change their positions to show how much they are willing to move for the sake of breaking out of an impasse and pulling together as one temple.

If the polarization exercise is used, it may be helpful to return to the spatial map activity after the polarization activity in order to see how much movement there has been. It is important here to interpret actively the consequences of polarization in terms of mutual misperceptions.

Our Experience:

The choice of meaningful headings is very important for the success of this activity. When the banners are truly meaningful to the conference membership, the spatial map can be highly effective. If the banners are not meaningful, the activity tends to degenerate into useless questions about definition of terms and dispirited movement about the room. For illustrative purposes, we provide here an example of how the activity went in one temple. The primary axes in this temple were encapsulated in the following headings: The north-south axis was an "active - tolerant" axis. The banners were entitled as follows:

"The temple should be an active center for enthusiasm, commitment and ferment encouraging (but not forcing) its members to participate, to take stands, to learn and to care."

"The temple should be a tolerant place where one can worship if one cares to and can have one's children learn about Judaism with a minimum of controversy. Members should have minimal demands, pressures and commitment urged upon them."

This "active - tolerant" axis reflected one split which had been apparent in the conference in earlier sessions, with a significant number of members concerned that the conference had a hidden agenda of some sort. The second axis included poles which certainly should not be viewed as mutually exclusive. However, the grouping was sufficiently clear that it was deemed useful to treat the two viewpoints as though they were on opposite axes. The poles were labeled:

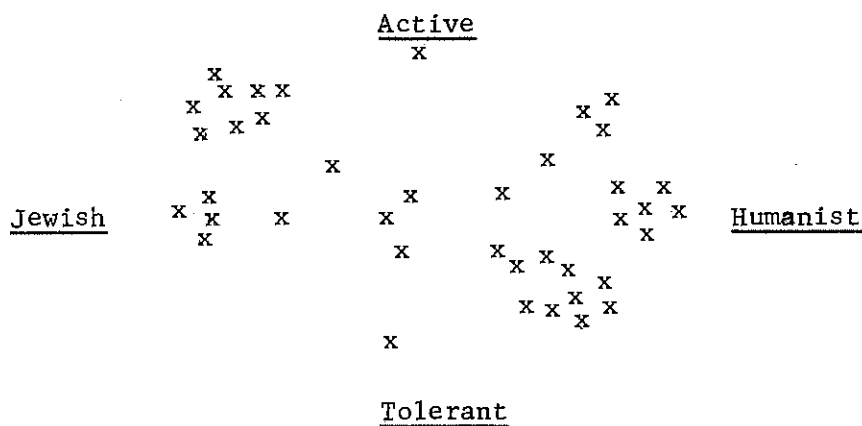
"The temple's main emphasis should be upon Jewish culture, values, knowledge, religious practice and/or support for Israel."

"The temple's main emphasis should be on humanism, social conscience and/or brotherhood."

This dichotomy appeared in virtually all of the congregations. It would indeed be sad if Jewish values were inconsistent with social conscience, brotherhood and humanistic viewpoints. Of course no such relationship of mutual exclusion exists. On the other hand, there was such strong clustering around the viewpoints that for conference purposes it was useful to treat these as representing polar viewpoints, saving the commentary about the close relationship between the two groups for the reconciliation phase.

A typical spatial map of a 40-member conference is provided below.

A SPATIAL MAP OF SOME TEMPLE ISSUES



In this particular temple, there was some relationship between the Jewish and activist position in the room and less of a relationship between the humanist and tolerant positions in the room. In a small group in the quadrant of the room which would be both humanist and active was a strong po-civil rights group pressing the temple towards greater activity on behalf of the local black community. The humanist-tolerant quadrant included many of the more marginal members of the conference whose temple affiliation was tenuous at best. As the conference continued to unfold, those members who expressed the more activist stance converged in strong leadership roles and, interestingly, found a way to forge Jewish-humanist linkages for a more active temple program.

For this activity to succeed the facilitator (in this case usually the conference director) must be brisk, clear and firm. Once one starts to answer questions about specific meanings of the banners the whole conference will lag and people will tend to "buzz". Emphasize strongly that the movement into position is non-verbal and strongly discourage talking. One can obtain some sense as to whether a conference membership is able to handle complex designs. If members have difficulty following instructions, don't try to use this exercise. On the other hand, when this activity can be used, it can be highly effective. Combined with the polarization activity, it can be one of the high points of the conference.

3.6: "LEADERSHIP AND REPRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE"

Rationale:

The purpose of this activity is to simulate some typical organizational behavior. It is hoped that by participating in this exercise that participants will gain an understanding of the dynamics of how sub-groups work together in a larger organization. It can shed some light on how leaders are selected by the group and how communication takes place between and among them. It places in high relief a rather common ploy of organizational behavior, which is to conceal one's own judgments and plans until the other side reveals theirs, and illustrates the problems this creates in communication, not only between groups, but within groups.

The activity may also help to show how a group's commitment to its own plan may lead to inter-group competition and to resistance to making concessions for accepting a new program which may be better than any of those which are proposed initially. The activity sometimes brings out boldly the difficulty we have in differentiating between the way a person states his arguments, combined with some of his personal characteristics, and the idea which he proposes. It may help us see that there are occasions on which we tend to accept what a person says because we like and trust him rather than or in addition to the cogency of his statements.

By being faced with the need to choose a leader or representative, groups have an opportunity to examine the resources available to them and to decide who they think is the best person to interpret the position they have taken or plan which they have made. As the activity proceeds, there is a further opportunity to decide on a change of representation based on a different task to be performed. Both the leader and the group have the problem of determining how much freedom of action the leader has, as he is confronted by new information and data from the other groups.

This activity will be most effective if it is used after a period of time during which members of the groups have gotten to know each other, their respective ideas, attitudes and behaviors. The sub-groups should have developed some cohesiveness and sense of group loyalty. Issues of general concern, cutting across the sub-groups, should have been identified. The activity can help to clarify some of the pros and cons which have emerged and further can be of some assistance in focusing or setting priorities. It can also be useful if there appears to be a failure to acknowledge differences which exist within the sub-groups or between groups.

The selection of a task on which to work should be done by the facilitators in advance of the session, and should be based on some real issues which have come to the fore during the earlier sessions. The participants should have some investment in the issue and the solution of the problem which may be contained in it.

Some possible issues derived from experience during the workshops are:

1. How to improve the adult education program in the temple.
2. How to orient and assimilate new members into the congregation.
3. What should be the objectives of a potential merger between two congregations?
4. What objectives would best be achieved through a new temple building?
5. What are the best ways through which the religious school education can be made more effective?
6. What steps should be taken to improve attendance at services?

Goals:

1. To increase understanding of behavior and communication across group boundaries.
2. To see the effects of tactics employing concealment of motives and hidden agendas on discourse between groups.
3. To increase understanding of styles of negotiation and their impact upon substantive issues.
4. To gain insight into problems of representation.

Procedure:

The sequence of steps for the activities is suggested as follows:

1. A description of the activity, its purposes, and specific tasks should be made briefly by one of the facilitators, to the entire community in the workshop.
2. Each group should be instructed to select some limited number of proposals, objectives, plans within the context of the issue or task selected. Choices should be limited to two to four of the best solutions (as identified by the group). The individuals or sub-groups should then be instructed to meet in caucus to develop their ideas, and also to select two representatives to meet with representatives from the other groups in a council session. Before the caucus is completed, the groups should be informed by the facilitator that the representatives will be instructed to try to find out what the other groups have as their objectives or solutions without revealing the ones which their respective groups have identified.

3. All the groups are asked to reconvene at one meeting. The council representatives are seated in the center of the circle so that they face their groups. The instruction about the representatives trying to find out what the other groups have selected, without revealing their own objective or plan should be repeated with the further advice that groups can only communicate with their representatives by written note. No voice communications or signals will be permitted.

4. Following the first meeting of the council, each group should caucus with its representatives to make some decisions about whether or not to modify the choices which they have made, or whether they should select some new choices for the next council meeting. Their thinking will be affected by what they have perceived the other groups' plans to be and how committed they are to the initial plans which they made at the first caucus. They should also be informed that there will be a second meeting of the council. This time the objective for the council will be to reach agreement about the two or three most important plans or objectives, from among those chosen by the various groups, or to reach a consensus on some new ones which may be modifications of those presented at the first caucus. The groups have the option of either returning their first representatives or choosing other ones.

5. The council reconvenes again, seated as they were before, with the representatives facing their respective groups. Communication may still take place only by written note.

6. When the representatives have reached agreement, all of the members should be invited to participate in discussion of the outcome. If time permits, consensus by the entire community should be sought.

7. The session should close with a critique of the entire activity. The representatives should be given an opportunity first to express how they felt about their role and how they perceived their actions and those of their fellow representatives. They should be encouraged to reflect on the support which they received from their reference group.

Materials:

1. A large room is required for this activity, which will be suitable for the seating of the council in a small circle surrounded by the groups which they represent. Seating should be arranged so that the representatives face their respective groups. The room should be large enough so that the groups can meet in caucus in reasonable privacy, or there should be smaller rooms near the large room for caucusing.

2. Group members should be supplied with paper and pencil so that they can communicate with the representatives.

3. Facilitators or group members should be seated so that they can pass their messages to the representatives.

Notes to Facilitators:

Questions for general discussion could be:

1. How effective were the communications between representatives and their groups?
2. Was there a transition from concealment to greater openness?
3. What frustrations developed in this activity?
4. What appeared to be the more effective behaviors by the representatives?
5. How analogous were the processes in this activity with the work of boards, committees, and membership in temples?
6. Was there consensus, and if so what were the steps that produced it?
7. Did the groups feel that they had a high sense of commitment to the solutions reached by the representative council?

The following timetable is suggested for the activity:

Introduction and instruction	-	10 minutes
First caucus	-	30 minutes
First council meeting	-	10 minutes
Second caucus	-	20 minutes
Second council meeting	-	30 minutes
Critique by the entire group	-	20 minutes

Our Experience:

The leadership and representation activity was part of the second weekend workshop of a large urban temple then in the midst of negotiations regarding a merger with another temple. This issue had been in the forefront during the pre-planning for the weekend with the facilitators, who had agreed that if possible, a natural way should be found to let this matter surface with the participants without becoming the dominant theme for the entire program. After some discussion by the facilitators during the lunch break on Saturday, it was agreed to use the "Leadership and Representation" activity

that afternoon, as a means of opening the question of the merger. Since there were two sub-groups which had been working together, it was agreed that one group should consider themselves members of Temple A, and the other group should become the membership of Temple B, the congregation with which negotiations were taking place. Each group or temple was requested to identify two program objectives which they felt were essential for the merger.

The representatives were very skillful in the first council meeting in hiding their objectives from their opponents. The fishing, the circumlocutions, the analyzing of motivations and, in a few cases, the accusations, made for a thoroughly enjoyable experience for the representatives. Communications flowed furiously from groups to representatives, often resulting in smiles or nods of the heads by the latter. Reactions from the groups varied from high interest and a sense of having learned some new aspects of the merger to boredom and frustration. The latter seemed to have two causes. One, this was a change from the total group participation which had characterized the workshops up until this time, and second, some few people reacted negatively to the "deviousness" of the representatives -- in short, the "game" appeared to become very real for some.

The second council meeting (in which the representatives could speak openly of their group's objectives) came to a quick consensus on the matter of improving adult education in the temples, which both had chosen, and on the application of the survey methodology as part of the adult education program which had been selected by the Temple A group. The third issue, which was knottier, took most of the council meeting, and was related to the matter of social action in the congregation and the priority and importance it should receive. There appeared to be high consensus that the rabbi should have freedom to express his point of view from the pulpit on social issues as long as it is clear that he is expressing a personal point of view. If, however, he chooses to speak in the name of the congregation, then the members of the congregation should be involved in making a decision about a stand to be taken.

The group which "played" Temple A expressed its satisfaction with arriving at a better understanding of the Temple A position, as a result of the role play in which it had engaged. In the critique session, the group discussed the problems and difficulties in coordinating the temple members' wishes and Board and committee actions. This was seen as a problem both for the members and the leaders. Both wanted good two-way communication, but had not found, as yet, a sufficient responsiveness. The hidden agenda aspect of the activity helped to create some understanding of suspicions of the motivation of the other party and of how such suspicion tended to discourage either initiative or response.

Several group members reflected that they had been "turned off" by the aggressiveness of one of the representatives, even though they admitted that his views were sound. They had found themselves disagreeing with his statements when they were really rejecting his demeanor.

Generally, the representatives felt that they had received good support from their groups and that they had derived a sense of freedom to modify the group's objectives in order to arrive at an agreement with the representatives from other groups.

3.6. "THE CASE OF TEMPLE X AND HAROLD MEYER"

Rationale:

This case history was supplied to stimulate discussion around the issues of dissent within a temple, change strategies, and consequences of strong positions taken in a temple, etc. The use of a fictitious case history may make it easier for some participants to talk about the effects various change strategies have upon them. It may also surface various issues within the group.

Goals:

1. To consider different strategies for change.
2. To become more aware of the effects that various strategies have on different individuals.
3. To focus attention on seemingly inactive temple members and issues concerning their involvement.
4. To examine ways to carry forward any conclusions reached by the conference membership.

Procedure:

Pass out the case provided below (or even better, provide a more germane case history) and let people read it. Ask each person to answer the questions at the end. Emphasize that there are no right or wrong answers; that there are only different answers, based on different values, with different consequences. After each person has thought about his answers and made some notes, have them call out the various approaches that they see and characterize each of them. List these on newsprint.

Then move to the question of the approaches one might favor if one were Harold Meyer. The absence of data about Harold is deliberate, you can say, so that each reader can let himself be Harold.

Once consideration has been given to the different strategies, participants should think through the consequences of the different strategies of action. "What do you think will happen if this approach is carried out?" "What are some of the pluses and minuses?" Allow and encourage some other creative approaches the participants can suggest.

Depending upon the time available, here are some questions to stimulate additional directional thinking:

"What about the consequences for the morale and attitudes of the members of Harold's groups?"

"Are what they want to do valid expressions of Jewish living?"

"What about Jack Cohen?"

"What about Mrs. Saul Littman?", etc.

Save time (1) to generalize the issues for other groups or individuals among the seemingly inactive temple members and (2) to look at the carrying forward of the project and time spent in the weekends together. One wants people to look at how a group developing insights and needs can translate these into spin-off activities which can have a place in Judaism and temple life.

An appropriate timetable might be as follows:

Pass out case, read case and answer question	- 15 minutes
List approaches on newsprint	- 10 minutes
Discuss pluses and minuses of various approaches	- 15 minutes
Summarize from each person his approach to his own goals and/or to group strategy	- 10 minutes

The activity generally requires somewhat less than an hour's time and may be accomplished in 30 to 45 minutes.

Materials:

Materials required are a pad of newsprint, felt markers and a sufficient number of mimeographed copies of "The Case of Temple X and Harold Meyer". (Appended at the end of this activity summary)

Notes to Facilitators:

This particular activity was not very successful in the temples in which it was tried. One problem has been in developing a case history which provides enough information to stimulate fantasy but is still sufficiently short. We suspect the case we provide here meets neither criterion successfully. Facilitators in individual temples may be able to evolve case histories

which are more germane to specific temple issues. On the other hand, if they become too close to real life, it may be difficult for members to get enough distance to learn from the activity.

The activity is probably most useful in those congregations where there are groups strongly committed to the change process but confused about strategies of change.

THE CASE OF TEMPLE X AND HAROLD MEYER

Background: Temple X is one of several congregations located in a town of about 50,000 situated near a growing metropolis of over 500,000. Temple X consists of 500 families, many of them of professional background, with a strong religious school, a Rabbi who monthly appears on radio broadcasts in a local series of an ecumenical committee, and a program for the men's and women's groups.

The chairman of the Adult Education Committee, Jack Cohen, has been affiliated with Temple X for the last ten years, has seen his children pass through the confirmation classes, and has been chairman because no one else wanted to undertake the job in the last three years. His hobby is folklore. His father was an historian in the Conservative Temple of the town in which he grew up. Jack, thanks to the pressure of Mrs. Saul Littman, sent to all new and old members a questionnaire to ascertain the interests in classes for adults. The committee sponsors a lecture series on Yiddish literary tradition which draws from 8 to 160 people, depending on the fame of the lecturer. The series and classes organized by Mrs. Littman were attended by three people in one instance and none in another, even though the topics were those which at least 25 people stated that they would be interested in having available. Mrs. Littman, age 51, has been a devoted and hard working member of the committee. She has never been selected as chairman because she is strong-willed and has an abrasive tongue.

Harold Meyer, a member for six years, starting when his children were attending religious school, has been gathering a set of people around him who are interested in interpersonal relations and group dynamics as applied to Jewish life and Judaism. He has attended some events on management human relations training sponsored by his company. He and his group feel that close and open relationships between persons reflect Buber's "I-thou", and are central to a religious community. "His" core group of eight persons, three couples and two singles, is sometimes expanded to about 14 to 16 persons who have developed similar interests. They "found" each other while serving on parents' committees of the religious school. Recently they have started to wonder why the temple shouldn't sponsor more groups and/or activities in many sectors which develop close, open and trustful friendships among the temple's members as Jews. In order to do this, they want the temple to allocate some money from the budget to support this activity, which they call the essence of adult education. Inquiry has shown there is some money budgeted for the Adult Education Committee but (as always) there is a shortage of money in the general budget. At the same time there has been a major capital drive to build a larger and more esthetic sanctuary, with broadcast equipment, and perhaps TV capabilities. Several rich donors are on the hook for raising the large amount of funds needed.

Harold Meyer and his group have been meeting in each other's homes and have generated a strong group cohesiveness, as well as a sense of being outside the power structure. They seem themselves as "advanced" and as having the potential for attracting the young Jewish adults who are not affiliated with any temple.

Some of the Board members and officers know of this group's interest and thinking. However, the Vice-President has stated that the temple is an institution fast losing its essential purpose of fostering Jewish religious life, worship and prayer. He has been suggesting to the Adult Education Committee that they might well start some classes on "prayers and their meanings". Another Vice-President is a pragmatist. "First get people in, with 'loss leaders' if necessary. Then you can sell them what you think they should have. Building a strong congregation requires that you make functions and activities fit what people want. After all, you can't sell a product that people won't buy!"

The Problem: At the last meeting of Meyer's group, at Mrs. Jane Hyman's house, there was a concerned discussion of what should be done. Jane, a divorced woman of age 36, argued vociferously for confronting the issue with the temple, and forcing the Adult Education Committee to support hiring a group leader, with participants paying a nominal fee. "If the temple can support the religious school for children, why can't it be awakened to support this most essential activity for us and others like us? Can't they see that more young adults are in search of meaningful relationships and would be attracted to the temple?" An attractive blonde, she sees herself as a leader of the "swingers", and maintains her affiliation with the temple because of her 12 year old girl, and because she feels that Reform temples offer her some continuity with the Orthodox tradition of her parents. She has been pushing Harold Meyer to ask for a meeting with Jack Cohen, the chairman of the Adult Education Committee, to demand \$3,000 for this program in the temple.

Malcolm Kline, a single man, age 26, supports the program. He spent one year in a rabbinic seminary. Because of his experience in encounter groups, he feels he can articulate his conception of a congregation-as-a-Jewish-community as being more salient than a temple as an institution of flashy modernistic architecture. His favorite slogan is "Return Judaism and the temple to the people." He constantly takes pot shots at the Rabbi. Malcolm claims he left the seminary because of the hollowness and falsity of the role of Rabbi. He advocates that Meyer's group should become "a real congregation within the so-called congregation." He argues that it should stay within the formal temple, but try to subvert it from within. He sees Mrs. Littman as the biggest obstacle to progress, along with the administrative machinery, not to mention the Rabbi.

Garvin Weinberg every so often (in impetuous frustration and dismay) hurls the challenge, "Why do we have to stay in this temple? Why don't we quit, start our own group, and maybe even start a new temple, or join another temple as a group?" Mrs. Weinberg (Joan) has some close friends in the temple, and her father's brother was one of the founders of the temple. She is reluctant to leave, but goes along with Garvin's threats.

The other core members of this group are mixed in reactions to the proposals of what to do. One of them, who is an inactive member of the men's group, feels that they should present a well-reasoned document to the Board.

"They are regularly asking for recommendations from members. We should do this so that other members of the congregation can join in too. If the officers are not responsive, then we can get a group together and influence the election of the officers."

The persons who are not in the core group of eight, are fairly active in temple activities. For them the temple absorbs quite a bit of time and energy and they try to persuade this group to do more for the temple and thus fulfill their Jewishness. Some argue that while they feel close to the group, their individual goals for themselves can be fulfilled within present functions available in the temple and other places. From time to time, almost all argue for the notion that they, as a group, ought to "take on" and see how to reform the congregation School (or Services) in light of their point of view as to how these should be different than the present.

Questions:

What are the approaches of this group led by Harold Meyer?

If you were Harold Meyer, which of the approaches would you favor? Why?

Are there other approaches you can think of that would allow the members of this group to fulfill themselves as Jews?

What are their responsibilities to themselves as individuals, and to their convictions? What are their responsibilities to the temple?

3.8: "TEMPLE TASK GROUPS"

Rationale:

This activity is quite different in intent and form from other activities contained in this monograph. It is intended as a final activity in a temple-oriented conference design and is directed at producing a "product". In other words, the activity is designed to generate lists of important work areas where members feel useful innovation may take place and to begin to model some methods of getting tasks done.

Goals:

1. To define areas of "task" where useful work toward change might be accomplished in a temple.
2. To create an atmosphere in which innovative thinking can take place.
3. To practice group collaboration in producing a set of recommendations.
4. To focus attention on the broad range of resources available in a temple membership.
5. To foster use of internal consultation in checking out the feasibility of a set of proposals.
6. To focus on action steps through which proposals may be translated into reality.

Procedure: (5 to 8 hours)

1. Getting organized and generating lists of task groups (1.5 hours)
The conference director should initiate this activity with the full conference membership present (25 to 60 persons). He should emphasize that the activity has two major thrusts: developing a product and coming to understand the process by which a given task group can best produce a product. In general, the activity should be preceded by an activity like the "Four Questions: Assets and Liabilities" exercise. Small groups should have already had occasion to discuss the strengths and weaknesses within their temple. These original small groups (7 to 12 members) which would have been meeting throughout the conference should now be instructed to meet for 45 minutes to generate a list of task groups which reflect the interests of their individual members. Sufficient time should be taken to discuss these lists, which the individual

facilitators should write on newsprint. The choices of task groups may lead members to consider the areas in which they have both an interest and resources. The lists may begin to define areas of change in a given temple. (Total time for this step and the introductory plenary session - 60 minutes)

Now a full plenary session should be held in which the lists are put together. The four or five lists generated in the task groups should be placed in front of the room where everyone can see them. A member of each task group should report, defining what is meant by his group. We have experimented with two ways of arriving at a final list of work groups. Method A is to take each individual list provided by the small groups (and hopefully including seven or more task groups) and having the full membership raise their hands to show their interest in each item. Depending on the length of the list, each member may be permitted to vote for two or three items. This method has the advantage of getting an overall canvass concerning the interests of the conference membership and may point up areas of concern for the overall congregation. It has the disadvantage of taking a bit longer, but in our opinion the time is well spent. Once the canvass is complete, the conference director puts together overlapping task groups proposed by the different small groups and evolves a list of five to seven task groups (depending upon the number of members available to participate). These titles are quickly placed on individual sheets of newsprint and distributed about the room. Conference members then stand under the title that marks their strongest interest. Facilitators also distribute themselves according to their interests, with a proviso that at least one facilitator is with each of the task groups. We discouraged the smallest groups, although they were not forbidden. The smallest group was a trio. When four or fewer members were under a banner, we asked whether there were second choices that were close enough so that they could be selected as the task group. If there was a great deal of resistance, we did not push the issue. Groups that included 10 or more members were urged to redefine the topic into smaller components.

Method B was a short cut method. Once the small group lists had been posted, the conference director quickly eliminated overlapping areas and generated a single list. Members were asked to examine the list and decide on their first, second and third choices. Then the conference director read off each of the topics and individuals raised their hands to indicate if it was their first choice. If there were more than three people who raised their hands, the topic was written on a piece of newsprint, posted on the wall and those people who had raised their hands went over and stood under the topic. Those individuals whose first choices had not thus been selected were permitted to join a second, or if necessary third choice group. This method has the merit of speed (time - 30 to 60 minutes).

Once the groups are formed, the members are instructed to write their names underneath the title and to draw a line and under the line to write the word "consultants". All the members are then instructed to walk around the room and to sign on as consultants to task groups other than their own. Members are to serve as consultants in any area where they feel they have very strong interests or particular skills. The instructions here emphasize building an inner-community of shared skills and interests. To make this

work, the membership must be urged to be very immodest in signing on as consultants and to sign up in all those areas where they have strong interest, opinions or even peripheral skills. As examples, one may point out that there are many in the room who have either served or trained as school teachers. If there is an educational group, presumably these past skills may be brought to bear. Others in the room may have had positive or very negative experiences in youth groups during their own teen years. They may serve as resource people for a group working on youth programs. Those with business and organizational experience may serve as consultants to a group considering temple finance, etc. (15 minutes)

2. Task group functioning (2.5 to 5 hours)

Before the conference breaks up into the task groups, the conference director recommends an ordering of the tasks. Facilitators should be well versed in the steps and function in each task group to see that they are carried out. It is best if the activity begins during the afternoon of one day and is completed during the morning and early afternoon of the following day. In that case, only Step 1 may be attempted in the afternoon of the first day. The steps are as follows:

Step 1 - What is needed in this task area? All members of the task group are urged to place on the table their sense of needs. Members are discouraged from attempting to set priorities so early and debate is sharply discouraged. Participants are told to introduce their remarks by saying, "I feel that X is needed." Thus what is being presented is the full spectrum of opinions within the groups. It is impossible to disagree with the statement "I feel that X is needed." One can say "I do not feel that X is needed", but that is merely another declarative sentence and does not negate the first sentence. The object here is to get a full listing of any area of need in the task area. Members are told that task groups in which members cut each other down from the outset are unlikely to ever pull together to get their work done.

Step 2 - What ideas do I have about meeting these needs? An unstructured brainstorming session is recommended with no negative interaction and no criticism. Again, everyone is urged to speak up and speak spontaneously whenever an idea occurs. The more outlandish and far-fetched the idea, the better for now. Members are urged to let "mistakes" go. The only time they should respond to a suggestion is when they feel positive rapport, and this should not be expressed unless it is completely sincere. The object of the "brainstorming" session is not to generate specific solutions so much as to create an atmosphere for innovation, creativity and a certain amount of fun in playing with ideas. Facilitators acquainted with Synectics methods or other brainstorming methods may wish to introduce them here. Ideas should be kept on a sheet of newsprint.

Step 3 - Refine the needs and solutions presented in Steps 1 and 2 to produce a list of things which should, or might, be done. Facilitators should keep the discussion moving along at a lively pace and not seek to obtain a resolution to strong disagreements unless it is absolutely essential to the work of the task group.

Step 4 - (Optional) Those facilitators acquainted with force field analysis may now wish to help the group analyze which forces foster activity in the direction of the proposed change and which forces discourage such activity. Some of the subjects under discussion lent themselves readily to force field analysis and others did not; thus both the subject matter and the training of the facilitator will determine whether Step 4 is utilized.

Step 5 - Check out the initial list of solutions with "consultants" from the list of available consultants to that task group. Consultants are urged to respond honestly and directly about any proposed solutions. The task group may make use of this feedback both to modify proposals and to foresee the areas of opposition to later action steps. Task groups should keep at least half the membership present at all times. There may be valuable learning for group members about the difficulty of keeping a group spirit alive when some members must go off elsewhere and when people from the outside come in and offer criticism. Facilitator intervention should be directed at maintaining a community of resources and a listening stance rather than a defensive stance towards criticism.

Step 6 - The next step is to rediscuss the product in the light of the consultation; to refine it; and to come up with a final newsprint listing of the problem area as it is perceived by the task group, and of the solutions recommended.

Step 7 - Having accomplished this, the task groups must find action steps in terms of three variables: "What", "Where" and "When". Facilitators should press the task groups to be very specific in defining action steps. This seventh step generally leads to a fairly rich and lively discussion of the decision making apparatus of the temple.

3. General plenary session (60 to 90 minutes)

All the proposals are written on newsprint and both presented verbally and put up on a series of boards in the front of the room. The general plenary session should not be called upon to approve or disapprove the reports. These reports are the outcome of a group of members who (hopefully) are fired up to get a job done by this time. If there is strong sentiment to adopt any given report as a total conference recommendation, this is acceptable. On the other hand, it should be recognized that even 8 to 9 hours of enthusiastic task group work are unlikely to produce any comprehensive solutions to perplexing problems. Rather, the purpose of the activity should be defined as generating ideas, enthusiasm, and the will to pursue certain solutions to a conclusion. It is important that each of the task groups come up with at least one action step, no matter how minor. Even an action step to meet again the following week is preferable to nothing at all. This is necessary to maintain the atmosphere of expectancy and hope.

The plenary session may wish to discuss action steps at greater length. If various task groups can work in concert, it is of course preferable. At the end of the plenary session, the conference director should sum up the general thrust of the conclusions.

Materials and Facilities Needed:

1. A large plenary room with five to seven small task group rooms close by.
2. An ample supply of newsprint and felt markers.
3. Space to hang the newsprints at the final plenary session so that all members can view the "total product".

Notes to Facilitators and Our Experience:

In the two temples in which this activity was attempted, it seemed highly successful. The organization step can be harrassing. It is probably the most difficult part of the activity. The most important thing is for the conference director to have very strong support from the facilitators who can "shush" people at appropriate times and help keep things organized. The task groups generated in the two temples were in such areas as religious services, education, organization (including financing, management and governance), increasing personal contact, warmth and interpersonal relationship, community action, general brainstorming, youth activities, etc. The task groups often parallel the existing committee structure, and may serve as a source of "fired up" new members for existing committees.

The "brainstorming" techniques seemed to help members think outside the usual "small boxes" and cast an aura of newness about the activity even though many of the topics were very "old".

The refinement process is a process during which members tend to get discouraged. They should be urged to push on vigorously and not to get bogged down in long debates.

The use of internal consultation was highly successful. This step seemed most useful in terms of building inner support systems within the temple. The members seem amazed how knowledgeable other members were about the issues under discussion. One temple was laden with talented people from all walks of life but apparently had a rich tradition of treating rank and file members as neophytes. People were present who had solved major problems in commerce, academic life and government. They enthusiastically threw themselves into the role of trying to resolve problems which often had been debated back and forth for years by a few members and the professional staff. Our impression was that the temple received many thousands of dollars worth of free consultation within a brief period of time. This is why it is important to permit members to join task groups according to their interests, but also to ask that they make their skills available in those areas in which they are not necessarily particularly interested.

The process of making use of the consultation is an important one for task group members to learn. Teaching openness to honest feedback is an important part of the exercise. Defining an action step is another process

which stymied a few groups. In one temple, the indifference of the existing committee structure and solidity of the power structure within the temple became a very major issue. Reform and renovation in this temple may involve an overhaul of the committee structure to make it more representative of the membership. In contrast, another temple had a very open power structure with no dominant interest controlling the Board. In this temple a greater variety of proposed action steps was forthcoming.

The final plenary session was something like a pep rally in the temples where this activity was attempted. As each group reported, a very positive atmosphere very quickly built up. There was prolonged applause following each of the reports and much comment about how much each of the groups had accomplished. This left the conference with a general sense of movement and optimism. It may be very important for the conference director to warn that high expectations are bound to be disappointed and high enthusiasm cannot go on forever. On the other hand, he should also emphasize that only within an atmosphere in which there is hope and the expectation that something (no matter how small) can be accomplished are movement and reform likely. Such warnings do not seem to kill the spirit of the meeting but may have headed off a severe letdown once the meeting is over.

When successful, the task groups for temple action activity may set in motion processes towards developing a self-actualizing, self-sustaining community among temple members. The activity moves beyond long range goals identified in the "Four Questions" activity to development of short-term objectives and the identification of resources available to move towards these objectives.

Postscript

Planning a Program for a Temple

How can a temple go about launching a program that makes use of the ideas and procedures described in the preceding chapters? And to what degree can a temple make use of its own resources to engage its members in a process of self-renewal?

Obviously, no one, standard program will serve all temples. Each will have to develop its own adaptations to suit its own needs and to match its own resources. In the following pages, we raise some general issues that need to be dealt with in developing a successful program.

Setting goals. Programs of the kind we have described may be utilized in a variety of contexts, with very different purposes in mind. It is important that those who seek to initiate a program within a temple have a clear sense of what the intended outcomes of that program are. We do not mean by this that a detailed prediction must be built into the program; inevitably, the goals will change as the program unfolds. Moreover, the goals must be stated broadly enough so that participants feel that their own personal goals are compatible with the general goals. When we say a "clear sense", therefore, we do not mean a detailed prescription, but, instead, a guiding strategy. In our own work in the pilot workshops, we described the general goals in the following terms, while allowing, encouraging, indeed, insisting that individual participants redefine them in personal terms:

"To experience the processes of 'becoming' and struggling to be a Jew."

"To convert insights and feelings into styles, behaviors, and activities that will enrich the person's Jewish life style."

"To plan realistically to carry out change."

Or, in a different form,

"To help individuals confront their own practices and beliefs as Jews."

"To relate the ideas and feelings of individuals to their desired value systems as Jews, and to help them develop plans for realizing those desires."

"To build supportive relationships among members of the temple, relationships that will facilitate the fulfillment of individual and collective goals in living more satisfyingly as Jews."

The central purpose of this effort was not to deal with questions such as "What is a Jew?", or, in the first instance, "What am I supposed to do?", but rather with questions such as "Who am I, as a Jew?", and "Do I want to do?", and "How shall I do?". One problem that we have encountered in stating the goals and the question in this form is that the purposes of the workshop become rather difficult to communicate to people with no ready frame of reference to help understand the intent. Quite often, we were asked what, specifically, was supposed to happen. Where would the changes be visible -- in the religious school, or in temple administration, or in the worship service, or where?

Our answer was that we could not predict the eventual results of initiating a process of individual change in an institutional setting. But, as might be expected, this answer did not satisfy many people. Yet absolute clarity can never be achieved, because of the very nature of the approach, which involves a good deal of discovery along the way. When people know where they are headed, perhaps clarity is possible. But the assumption of this program is that many people do not know where they are headed, have not set goals for themselves, and further, that the whole concept of "setting goals for oneself as a Jew" is foreign to the experience of most. Hence the goals must be somewhat vague; the program itself must demonstrate the process, and the goals are the results of the process. Individuals must, in most cases, experience the meaning of setting goals in order to understand the meaning.

We anticipate that the problems which surround the necessary ambiguity in stating goals will diminish with time, as word of the workshops spreads from "graduates" to prospective participants. There will always be some misunderstanding, and our final point in this connection is that one ought not seek to avoid this misunderstanding by a well-intentioned, but inevitably misleading, "simplification" of the goals. It is better to let the goals unfold with time, despite the uncertainty, than to create a credibility gap at the very outset of the enterprise.

Selecting and Sequencing Activities. The activities described in the preceding chapters are not intended to be utilized at random. There are several that can be used as free-standing activities, but, in general, they have been pre-tested in workshop designs in sequences that are meant to satisfy

workshop goals. The overall sequence should emphasize movement from individually-oriented to group- and temple-oriented activities. The early activities should help participants get in touch with their personal feelings as Jews. We emphasize "ownership" of first person("ing") feelings in contrast to general second person ("your") or third person ("his") declarations. Willingness to share personal Jewish experiences and expressions with the group creates a sense of community, of solidarity, of self-confidence and trust.

It is important to select an "ice breaker" as an opening activity, to be used after the workshop director makes his brief opening remarks and describes the goals of the program. The activity should promote rapid regrouping and discussion, so that members quickly become acquainted. (Name tags with first names are also helpful.)

"Choices as a Jew" (1.1) was easily the single most successful conference opener. In a two weekend design, we then typically utilized "Personal Associations" (1.2) to deepen the sense of sharing and awareness of past. "Hopes and Fears" (1.8) was often used near the end of the first day as a prelude to resetting goals. "A Good Jew" (1.3) questionnaires were filled out in time to allow for tabulation that evening.

Of these first day activities, only the initial comments and the first portion of "Choices as a Jew" were done with the full workshop membership (30 to 60 persons). We would have members count off while under their first banner to form seven to ten person groups, each of which met with one or two facilitators. This insured some heterogeneity in the small groups. The "Hopes and Fears" activity is sometimes more successful if two delegates from each group meet with the workshop director in a "fishbowl" before the total membership. But, in general, the less experienced the workshop director, the less time he should give over to whole workshop sessions. Large group sessions are far more likely to become chaotic, on the one hand, or boring, on the other, than small group sessions. On the other hand, there is a place and a value to the large group function when the director has the skill to turn it into a community learning experience.

In designs emphasizing "The Jew as Individual", the second day may well include other activities from Chapter 1. We have also found "Groups and Cliques" (2.3) and "Belongingness, Extrusion and Group Acceptance" (2.4) appropriate group-centered activities for the second day.

When the goals center on the temple rather than the individual, we still recommend that the activities from Chapter 1 be used first. One really needs a two-weekend design in order to work effectively at the more institutionally oriented goals.

In the first weekend workshop, the only activity from Chapter 3 that we used was "Four Questions: Assets and Liabilities" (3.3). The "Invisible Card Pass" (3.4), "A Good Temple" (3.1), and "Selecting a Team for a Temple" (3.2) might also be used in an initial workshop. "A Spatial Map of Some Temple

Issues" (3.5) might be used in conjunction with a polarization activity as a bridge between group-related activities and temple-related activities.

When a two weekend design is employed, it is useful to begin the second weekend with an individual or group-related activity. We have used such activities as 2.1 and 2.2, dealing with communications and support systems, to initiate the second weekend. If one of the organizational development activities must be used to open the second weekend, the first two activities in Chapter 3 would probably be best. By and large, "Task Groups for Temple Action" (3.8) is a terminal activity for a workshop.

All in all, we conducted eighteen separate weekend workshops in the six temples. No two designs were identical during these eighteen weekends. Each design was tailored to fit temple goals, and then modified to meet the emerging needs of the workshop participants. Emergent designs call for a reasonably experienced workshop director, as well as sufficient staff meeting time to insure information flow and adequate opportunity for decision making. A fairly fixed design, while necessarily less responsive to the group, is easier to handle and less confusing.

Staffing. One persistent question in this, and similar, projects is whether outside professional help is required in conducting workshops. The answer, we regret, is "yes" and "no". Several of the activities can readily be used as part of a discussion program in a conventional adult education program. Experienced group discussion leaders can surely initiate many of the activities described here as a way of engaging people in a discussion of goals and values. Adult education classes, camps, retreats, and short term institutes in many cases already do use some procedures based on group processes.

On the other hand, the development of weekend workshops as part of a strategy of change and renewal -- that is, as part of a program with serious long-term goals -- requires professionals knowledgeable in experiential group techniques and organizational development. Such a person helps to define and to clarify the goals of the program, to provide dispassionate counsel, to train facilitators, and to serve as the workshop director during the first several workshops. Until participants get a "feel" for the process, reliance on in-house resources for more than a brief session is likely to prove either wasteful or dangerous -- wasteful because untenable expectations, and, therefore, increased frustration, may develop, and dangerous because people may get carried away with either personal or temple issues, and not be able to bring an activity to a productive conclusion.

As we have worked in the pilot program, the facilitators have been essential components in the workshop design. They were selected on the basis of their having some "feel" for group process, often via their professional background. In every case, we spent a full weekend meeting with the facili-

tators and running through the activities with them prior to the first "full" weekend. Facilitators were then paired for small group leadership, with the professional available as a backup resource (in addition to his serving as workshop director).

Ultimately, we believe, it would be a wise investment for temples, either singly or in cooperation with one another, to develop in-house workshop capabilities. Both professional temple staff and temple members can readily be trained for the several roles that a successful workshop program requires. In the interim, however, we believe that only experienced people should be given responsibility for the development of a workshop program.

Finally. We recognize that dealing with relatively small numbers of people may not make enough of a "difference" to register in the temple as an institution. We were, in fact, somewhat concerned at the outset of our work that the obvious discrepancy between the small workshop and the large temple would frustrate workshop participants, and might lead some (or many) of them to conclude that they would be better off outside the temple. Yet that has not been the case. So far as we are aware, even those workshop participants who felt that they had had a profound personal experience, and who were quite critical of their temple, were not prepared to let their temple off the hook. Whether because of prior loyalty, or intensified commitment as a consequence of the workshop itself, such people were anxious to make the temple respond to their newly discovered needs. In our judgment, a temple whose members take it seriously, and have high expectations and demands of it, is better off than a temple whose members have minimal expectations and make minimal demands.

There is, in principle, no reason why many temple members cannot be involved in workshops such as these. It is, on the whole, far better to plan a series of relatively small (i.e., 40 to 60 people) workshops than to "go for broke" with one very large workshop. And it may be desirable, in some instances, to plan workshops for "special" groups, such as Board members, or members of the religious school committee, or such. The difficulty that workshop "alumni" sometimes have in communicating to others just what the experience has been about makes it all the more desirable to have as many of those "others" participate in workshops for themselves. And, of course, if the consequences are to be felt throughout the temple, in an immediate way, and not only by a few members, or in round about ways, then the principle should surely be "the more, the merrier."

In light of the feelings of powerlessness that many of the pilot project participants expressed, it may be wise to make special efforts to encourage active members of the temple, and some officers, to participate in the workshops. This reduces the sense that may develop that "it's a waste of time", or that the workshop is really just a fringe group. Our experience has been that the workshops did not attract temple "losers", or maladjusted people searching for quick and cheap therapy. On the contrary, participants

were quite representative of the range of people one would expect to find in any sizable group, and did include a high proportion of trustees, past officers, and other active members of the temples.

The relationship of the rabbi, and of other temple officials, both lay and professional, is critical if the program is designed to have institutional as well as personal impact. At the very least, the rabbi is the central resource person after the workshops are over; if people have become seriously interested in raising their own Jewish sights, then they will surely turn to the rabbi for help. His positive attitude towards the program is, therefore, a must. In one of our six pilot temples, the rabbi participated as an equal in the workshops. We have no strong feelings one way or the other about such participation, and the workshop participants who were queried on the desirability of rabbinic participation were split down the middle. We rather suspect that the best solution here might be to develop a separate workshop series for rabbis. In any event, it makes no sense to raise hopes regarding institutional change, or even to raise personal hopes that will require institutional response for their fulfillment, unless there is some assurance that the institutional officers will cooperate. In the best of circumstances, this cooperation will arise from their own participation and their own sharing in the workshops. At worst, they may cooperate out of a sense of duty or responsibility to the workshop group as one of the legitimate temple constituencies. The worst, then, is not very bad, but, especially in temples with a sensitive political history, it will be necessary to proceed with some caution lest the "establishment" perceive the enterprise as a subversive threat. In one of our pilot temples, this was a very live issue at the beginning of our work. By the end, however, as awareness of the honesty of the program grew, and fears concerning a "hidden" agenda declined, the program was embraced.

In some ways, the program increases Jewish motivation without necessarily increasing Jewish "skills". Having, as it were, taught people to want to fly, it is unfair to leave them perched on a limb. Some of them, confusing motivation with skill, may leap from the limb, only to fall flat on their faces. Others will slowly climb back down, as they realize that they lack the competence to do the things they have decided they want to do.

The workshop itself is not always an appropriate setting for the development of substantive Judaic skills, and the workshop leader may not be qualified to teach such skills. This may mean that at the end of the workshops, people will simply not know where to turn or what to do. It is critically important, at this point, that participants develop a plausible plan of action, whether involving self-study, utilization of the diverse Judaic skills of the participants themselves, or other resources, including, of course, the rabbi and other educators. In several of our workshops, this problem was inadequately addressed until the last weekend had concluded, and it was only at a subsequent visit to the temple by a professional able to suggest possible "next steps" that the omission was repaired. Even after a

plan, or a set of plans, has been decided upon, it may be important to provide some organizational follow-through in order to insure that the motivations do not atrophy over time. The best way to sustain high motivation is to insure that the motivation issues in success. If people come out of the experience with raised Judaic aspirations, then responsible planning must insure that the people, either on the basis of their own planning, or, less preferably, on the basis of new opportunities made available to them, can fulfill those aspirations. It may also be desirable, in this connection, to plan an annual "refresher" workshop for alumni of the initial series.

And with that, our best wishes.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

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Long Range Planning Committee

PILOT PROJECT FOR SYNAGOGUE CHANGE

PART III

OF REFORM JEWS, ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL

A Summary Note

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The Pilot Project for Synagogue Change is under the professional direction of Dr. Leonard J. Fein, in association with TDR Associates, Inc. It is under the auspices of the Long Range Planning Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

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OF REFORM JEWS, ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL

A Summary Note

A team of professional social scientists has now completed a year of intensive work within the Reform movement. We have examined data from the largest single survey research project ever conducted within one of the three "branches" of American Judaism, and we have met, for six days in each of six temples across the country, with hundreds of Reform Jews, in a peculiarly open and informative setting. Aside from the specific findings and observations included elsewhere in this report, what can we say of our impressions, our judgments, our sense of the trajectory of Reform Judaism, of the temple, of the Reform Jew?

The Reform Jew. Through all of our work, no single conclusion registers so strongly as our sense that there is, among the people we have come to know, a powerful, perhaps even desperate, longing for community, a longing that is, apparently, not adequately addressed by any of the relevant institutions in most people's lives.

It is possible, of course, that this need is unique to those who volunteered as participants in our workshops, that, indeed, this need is the reason they volunteered. Yet that is not our impression. So much other evidence is available to support the perception that Americans in general, and middle and upper middle class Americans in particular, have lost the sense of community, that we cannot believe that the problem is limited to those few whom we had the good fortune to meet and to work with. And so much of what we heard from them, about their neighbors, and their colleagues, and their fellow-congregants, supports their own description of aloneness, that we feel safe in our generalization.

The need for community is not something people speak of easily. Most of us cope with our circumstances, take pleasure from the diverse symbols of our success, and recognize only a vague, though often pervasive, malaise, which we are reluctant either to analyze or to articulate. (Thus, at least, for adults; less for today's youth. Here the generation gap is real.) In our own experience, people did not pour out poignant stories of loneliness. Such stories as were told came out in fragments, in bits and pieces of evidence that became a story only in retrospect. Our sense of the matter is that the need for community is so strong, and the prospect of community so weak, that people are reluctant to acknowledge the need, knowing, or believing, that it is not likely to be satisfied. Moreover, it is a sign of weakness, and hence of lack-of success, to speak aloud of need. In the workshops that were developed for this project -- that is, in a carefully designed and professionally directed process, in which hope emerges slowly, in which support and encouragement are offered freely -- people do begin to talk about their own sense of human deprivation. And even then,

not all do. Some, to be sure, are silent because they do not share the experience; others say nothing because they have so long been accustomed to segmented and superficial relationships that they can scarcely imagine the possibility of something different.

But the need is not less great for its being largely inarticulate. In the desperate search for warmth, many people are attracted to cultish, often bizarre groups that appear to offer some hope of intimacy. Still more, especially within the adult generation, simply accept the desperation, viewing it either as a necessary cost of modern times, or as a reflection of personal, rather than societal, incapacity. Whether the "solution" is frenetic cultism or quiet loneliness, large numbers of people never experience the warmth, the shared emotion, the sense of support, which community provides.

The need of which we speak here is obviously not specific to Jews, although it may be more keenly felt by those whose own memories go back to the life-style of the organic folk-society which characterized the immigrant generation. It is not, in any case, a "Jewish" need, one whose satisfaction depends upon some agency or institution within the Jewish community. People who are prompted to seek more intimate, more open, more organic relationships may look to Jewish institutions for a response, or they may look elsewhere. Where they choose to look, if, indeed, they choose to look at all, depends in part on their tastes and predilections, but depends even more on where they sense the greatest likelihood of response.

In the next section, we shall have something to say about Reform Judaism's capacity to respond. Here, our focus is with the individual, and the point that wants making is that from the perspective of the individual Reform Jews, the Reform temple appears an unlikely site for the effort to create community. Our survey data show that most people are not disappointed in their temple; the demands and expectations they have of the temple are too minimal for them to experience disappointment, even when they experience alienation. The temple is assigned certain limited functions, notably with respect to the young, and it is judged in terms of its performance of these functions. The large majority of our respondents report very few close friends among their fellow temple members; over a third hold that the temple is a relatively unimportant institution in their lives; most attend the temple quite infrequently. The most important reasons our respondents give for joining a particular temple are its religious school and rabbi; among the least important is that their friends or neighbors are members. And in our workshops, over and over people spoke of joining, without belonging; they spoke of the "new member" problem, of the common lack of interest in making new members feel welcome; they spoke of the fact that the temple seems the "property" of a small handful of its most active members; they spoke of their own sense of non-partnership in the temple.

To complaints such as these, there was usually a response that active membership was always welcome, that those who were infrequent visitors to the temple could hardly expect to find it a home, rather than merely a place to visit. More often than not, however, even the most active temple members among our participants were not prepared to argue that the temple was a warm and welcoming place; there was much to do, but even for those who did much, not

much to feel. In fact, the word "cold" was not an uncommon description of the feel of the temple. Like Charles Silberman's classroom, the temple is a joyless place; the house of worship is not a home, except to a tiny few.

At a time and with people for whom the experience of affective community is not natural, how does one set about creating it? Except as a temporary phenomenon, community happens when people share important experiences with one another, of which the most important is the experience of personal growth. But if the temple is not seen as a place where experiences are shared, is seen instead as a place where a limited number of services are consumed, then it appears an unlikely place for community to be pursued. And our data show that the primary expectation people have of their temple is that it will provide certain services, such as education, and a place to be on the high holidays, and a rabbi in time of personal need. Beyond these, people expect little; expecting little, that is what they get.

As we have noted, the need for shared community is not unique to Reform Jews. There is yet another respect in which Reform Jews are not unique. Like many, perhaps most Jews in America today, they are highly uncertain as to what it is that being Jewish implies, involves, demands. There was a time, not so very long ago, when Judaism was chaotic, a dozen ideologies and a hundred varieties of ideologies all clamoring for attention and competing for adherents. We have moved, it seems, from a chaotic Judaism to an inchoate Judaism, to a generation of Jews whose ties to Judaism, whether as faith or as peoplehood or as both, may be no weaker than the ties of their parents and grandparents, but whose "competence" as Jews is very shaky indeed.

In coming to this judgment, we are not adopting a specific normative stance. It is not that the views and beliefs of the Jews we encountered in the course of our work, whether through the survey data or through the workshop experiences, were different from our own. The problem, instead, is the prevalence of opinion as a substitute for belief, for any belief; the existence of belief, but the absence of belief systems. We are not at all convinced that there is a serious crisis in Jewish identity, at least among the people we encountered; there is a very clear crisis in Jewish ideology.

This ideological crisis is not, in the first instance, a question for theologians or philosophers. What we find is that people with very potent Jewish instincts feel that they have no way of supporting those instincts intellectually. Indeed, to the degree to which people have relatively coherent ideological tendencies, those tendencies often appear to contradict their Jewish instincts. This is a source of substantial personal distress, all the more so as it is extremely difficult to transmit instincts to the young when the justification for those instincts has been lost, or is uncertain.

Nor is the question one of Jewish literacy alone. Jews may be more or less familiar with their history and their texts; it is the operational conclusions that may be derived from that history and from those texts that are inadequately perceived.

In former times, the question "Why be Jewish?" could not have arisen. There was no plausible alternative, even should one have been disposed to search for rationale. In modern times, the question not only arises, it is thrust upon us all, for we have become accustomed to demanding rational foundations for our commitments. For adults of this generation, the question, even if unanswered, is buried beneath enough Jewish memory and enough Jewish scar tissue so that it can, most often, be ignored. But when rich and private memory is replaced by a smattering of impersonal history, there is no defense against the question. Which might be no matter, were the answers, whatever they be, more readily apparent.

We do not know whether the answers exist, or what they are; that is hardly our task. But we can attest that if they exist, and whatever they are, they are not widely known. Nor, for that matter, are the questions themselves widely discussed. Time and again in the course of the eighteen workshops (three in each of six temples) we conducted, the reaction to our initiation of serious discussions of Jewish values and beliefs was one of adventure and novelty; time and again we were told by participants how interesting it was to talk about such issues, and how rare.

So much entirely aside from normative commitment. We would be remiss were we not to add, from a more normative perspective, our very strong impression that in dealing with the matters raised above, the Reform movement has, in one important way, made them worse rather than better. Specifically: It is our view that there are inevitable tensions involved in being Jewish in the modern world. To be part of a religious brotherhood is necessarily to be a partner in mystery, in commitments that lie beyond rationality. And to be a Jew is not only to be a partner in a religious brotherhood, but also to be subject to the specific tension that arises from the Jewish situation, a situation in which the competing claims of particularism and universalism must continually be confronted. For Jews, that competition seems to us inevitable, difficult, and, potentially, productive.

A relatively common criticism of Reform Judaism is that it emphasizes Jewish universalism at the expense of Jewish particularism. And we did, in the course of our work, occasionally encounter people who have a clear ideological perspective that traces back to such early Reform understandings. Our sense of the matter, however, is that the specific, and more common, weakness of Reform in this connection is not with the way in which it proposes to resolve the tension, but rather that it often appears to deny that the tension exists at all. And, of course, by denying its existence, people are denied the opportunity to learn how to deal with it. But, since the tension is, if we are correct, an inevitable consequence of being Jewish, then the failure to prepare people for it is a failure of the first magnitude.

This is not, and does not try to be, an essay in theology. We do not say that the tensions which Judaism implies should be resolved in this way or in that. Basing our argument on a series of unusually open and extended encounters, we suggest that Reform Jews do, as a matter of fact, feel ill-equipped to cope with the perplexities of being Jewish, and still less-well equipped to help their children cope with them.

Having said all this, we should add that most of the people we met are coping, however ill-equipped they may be. We were dealing, after all, not only with members of Reform temples, but, in our workshops, with those members for whom the business of being Jewish was sufficiently interesting to warrant a serious investment of time. Nonetheless, by their own testimony, once serious discussion got under way, they were not satisfied with their success at sorting things out. We are persuaded that one powerful motive for the repeated effort to translate serious questions regarding personal behavior and intellectual belief into organizational issues -- expanding the temple membership, reforming its committee structure -- is the feeling that, however difficult the organizational questions, they are child's play compared to the difficulty of grappling with behavior and belief.

In short: The people we have dealt with call themselves Jews, and their Judaism matters to them. But they are vastly uncertain, in the main, regarding what calling oneself a Jew or caring about Judaism means or is supposed to mean; meanings seem rarely discussed, at least in ways that help. Consequently, the interest in meanings is repressed, sometimes lost entirely. And when, as in our experience, it is expressed, and the quest for meanings resumed, the paths that most people travel are unfamiliar, the maps they once were given of little use.

This strong impression is supported by our survey data as well. Those data show that Reform Jews, on the whole, no longer can be characterized as "partial" Jews, if ever they could be. Those who are most positively oriented towards Judaism-as-faith are generally also the most positively oriented towards Judaism-as-community. In this respect, Reform Judaism is clearly solidly in the mainstream of contemporary Jewish understandings and commitments. Nor are the responses of Reform Jews across a whole range of attitudes and beliefs markedly different from those of more diverse Jewish groupings, as comparison of our responses to those encountered in other studies of Jews shows. It is also the case, however, that this movement towards the mainstream is, evidently, a movement towards the confusions of the mainstream as well. As we note in our discussion of the survey data (Part I, Chapter 2), "If there is an ideology of Reform Judaism, the evidence suggests that it is largely irrelevant as a chapter of the values and opinions of Reform Jews." Nor has a different ideology been substituted; there is commitment, intense commitment, but virtually no coherence, nor any substantial preparation or capacity to deal with the consequent ambiguity.

What makes the ideological ambiguity tolerable, as it is for most people, is the fact that it is not very salient. As we have already pointed out, most adult Jews of this generation have rich enough a set of Jewish memories that they can act out their Jewishness in a framework of memory and instinct, even where theory is wanting. For younger Jews, whose memories are less ample and whose instincts are more austere, the matter may be very different. This leads us to identify still another unmet need of Reform Jews, the need for affective stimulation.

We are concerned not only with a lack of capacity to deal with Judaism as serious intellectual inquiry, but also with the apparent lack of adequate opportunities for Judaism as expressive, even sensory, experience.

Several of our experiential techniques dealt with early memories of Jewish experience, and the richness of those memories was in stark, and threatening, contrast to the present experiences our participants reported. One of us, in a different context, has spoken of "an atrophy of Jewish idiom." His words are confirmed by our temple experience. Even the most highly motivated of the participants report a peculiar inability to match their motives to their lives within the temple. If the most likely translation of Jewish commitment and interest is an invitation to serve on a temple committee, an imbalance between interest and opportunity exists. Yet that is precisely what we heard, and heard with disturbing frequency.

Some people, of course, try to go it alone, creating in their own homes, and, less often, within the temple, a corner that reflects their concern with Judaism, and not only with Jewish organization. More people, it seems, do not know where to begin, or are self-conscious about trying. They are, to be sure, not always aware that they are missing anything. It is perfectly possible to spend an extremely active Jewish life, going from meeting to meeting, from board to board, dealing with pressing matters of Jewish moment, without ever participating in a substantive Jewish experience, without ever relating oneself directly to the tradition, to the artifacts, to the sensations and the understandings that are the ostensible purpose of all the meetings and of all the boards.

There is, quite obviously, a limit to how long one can sustain a Judaism that cannot be expressed, whether because one does not know how to express it, or because the opportunity to express it is wanting, or because one is too busy with organizational needs to find time for expression. In one way or another, most of the people we met informed us that they had exceeded the limit, that they were themselves dissatisfied by the poverty of their Jewish experience. This was not an easy matter for many to acknowledge. Many of our participants were very active members of their temples, as well as of other Jewish organizations. For them to confess that something was wanting from their lives as Jews was no small thing. It was made still more difficult by the sense that most people had that little could be done about it, that the effort to create new capacities and new opportunities was not likely to succeed. Yet, withal, we report here not a wish of our own, but a clear conclusion of the five professionals who met with one or another of the temple groups. There was much holding back, and there were some who held back throughout; most came to speak of these matters, and, when they did, were often powerfully reassured that they were not alone in their concern. Indeed, it was precisely in this regard that the major support systems which the group process fostered were initiated.

Yet: On the basis of our experience, we are not pessimistic about Reform Jews. Having said all that we have thus far said, this may appear a somewhat surprising conclusion, but, again, it is our unanimous judgment. We encountered far too many people of high motive and serious purpose to warrant a gloomy prognosis. To the degree to which motive and purpose normally tend to be suppressed, we believe, and our experience has shown, that intelligent professional intervention can encourage their expression, and can initiate

the development of support systems which will forestall disappointment. Put differently: It is perfectly possible to initiate a revolution of rising Judaic aspirations. The question that arises is whether such a revolution is not bound to be, in the end, an experience in rising frustrations as well. The answer to this question begins with the provision of interpersonal support, which we think can be generated. But the ultimate answer, for most people, depends upon institutional capacities, and it is to an assessment of those capacities that we now turn.

The Reform Temple. In the preceding discussion, we noted three major needs of Reform Jews -- the need for community, the need for an ideological foothold on Judaism, and the need for more direct Judaic experience. It is true that most people do not expend a great deal of energy in meeting these several needs, and, indeed, are often not anxious -- or even able -- to speak of them without considerable encouragement. Once they receive the encouragement, they speak volubly, and eloquently, and one of the things they say, quite decisively, is that the temple is not especially helpful in showing them the way.

The most glaring inadequacy of the temple is precisely in the area of greatest need of the congregant, the need for community. We have already reported that we were repeatedly told that new members are not made to feel welcome, and that old members relate to one another only superficially. Indeed, our own experience confirms this testimony, since, quite commonly, participants in our workshops would express surprise that others shared, or differed, with their own central beliefs about Judaism; although they had been worshipping or serving on committees together, sometimes for many years, issues such as these had rarely, if ever, been discussed.

Put most simply: The experience of temple membership is only rarely an experience in community.

There are, as we see it, at least two major reasons why this should be so. The first is that few people, even among those who may actively pursue community, turn to the temple to find it. Our survey data, it will be recalled, show quite clearly that the temple is not based on close friendship among its members, nor, apparently, does it foster such friendship. The temple is, instead, a purveyor of services, the most important of which have to do with young people. A large number of our respondents state quite frankly that the temple is a relatively unimportant institution in their lives; while a still larger number count it as one among a number of important institutions, our sense of the matter is that even then, it is not the object of great psychological or emotional investment.

Most people, as we have said, do not invest great energy in the pursuit of community. If they sense its absence, they adjust to its absence, for most would scarcely know where to begin to look for it, or how. Thus it is not the case -- and we believe this point to be critical -- that the temple is seen as less promising a site for community to happen in than some other institution or agency. The gap is not filled by "competitors"; in the main, it is not filled at all.

Which creates, of course, a most important opportunity for the temple. Insofar as it may develop a capability for meeting the widespread need for community, it may evoke a wholly new order of loyalty, of passion, of concern and commitment, than it has hitherto experienced.

This leads us to the second major reason why the temple has heretofore not been used by its members as a basis for the creation of community. The temple is, after all, an institution, an elaborate enterprise, and it takes very special skill to create community in an institutional setting. How can one, after all, infuse a necessarily bureaucratic structure with warmth, with joy, and with genuine human interaction? Committees cannot write poems, yet institutions need committees, while communities thrive on poetry.

Anecdote: One of us, in the course of talking with a group of temple members in connection with the project, sought to illustrate the need for community by telling of a friend who had taken his own life. After the tragedy, a group who had known this poor man rather well came together, and tried to review his last weeks, to see whether there had been a hint that should have been noticed, some premonition that might have led his friends to offer help. There had been none, and, realizing this, the group realized as well how grotesque it is that a person in such massive distress does not find it possible to ask, somehow, for help, not from friends, not from family, not from professionals. And after this perception came the terrifying knowledge that among those who had come together, there was not one who felt that he would be able to ask for help were he in need.

To which a temple official replied that the story was interesting, but that no such problem existed in his temple, for it was blessed with a suicide prevention committee to deal with just such problems.

A suicide prevention committee may, after all, be a very good thing, it may even be the best kind of thing a temple can do. It is a limited, bureaucratic response, and a decent, perhaps even helpful response. But it does not, for no committee can, help answer what it is about our lives that prevents us from asking for help, nor does it, for no committee can, offer love as its help.

This is hardly the place for a comprehensive critique of modern culture. We make the point, rather, in order to indicate that Reform Jews have very serious and very genuine needs which are, on the whole, unmet, and which it would be entirely appropriate for Reform temples to seek to meet. Insofar as temples find themselves able to provide the settings where such needs are met, it is entirely possible that they will move from the periphery of their members' consciousness and loyalty to the center. Save as they provide such settings, there is no reason whatever to suppose that they will have important meanings to more than a tiny minority. The only serious question, then, is whether the fulfillment of those needs is compatible with the necessarily institutional environment of the temple.

That, of course, must remain in some measure an open question. It will be difficult, to be sure, to break through the inhibitions of the members and the inertia of the institutions to create more vital and more humane inter-

actions. But our judgment, based primarily on the workshop experience, is that though difficult, the task is not inherently undoable. Given the appropriate encouragement and support, it can be done.

How, then, does one create a temple that is congenial to community, to which its members, therefore, turn for more important purposes than now attract them? The way to create community is not to set about to create community. The concept of community implies an organic relationship, rather than a contractual relationship. Let no committees be created that will "have charge" of fostering community; organic relationships grow out of organic experiences, or they do not grow.

In our judgment, the single best way for the temple to turn towards community would be for it to provide its members richer opportunities in the other two problem areas we earlier identified, the areas of intellectual, or cognitive, Judaism, and the area of experiential, or affective, Judaism. The process of sharing in intellectual and emotional growth is also, and inevitably, a process in community-building. Few, if any, people will respond if the temple announces as its goal for the next year the creation of a spirit of community; more will respond, and the spirit will follow, if more plausible, and more directly manageable goals, are announced.

That is a judgment which is based on our general professional experience, as well as on the specific experience of the workshops. It would be a mistake to exaggerate the significance of the workshops over the long haul; three weekends, or two, out of a person's time will have only marginal consequences for most, especially where there is no concerted follow-up activity that is encouraged within the temple. But it would also be a mistake to minimize their importance as the first step along the path to community, even though the creation of community was never the explicit goal. But when people come together in open search, and share in one another's search, the seeds of community are planted; if nurtured, they will grow.

The search in which our participants joined was a search for Jewish meanings and for Jewish experiences. And that is exactly the search we propose be extended to include larger numbers, over a longer period of time.

We view this as a central point. In the frenetic pursuit of community which some adults and many of the young seem now to be embarked upon, the rewards, such as they are, are typically ephemeral. The decision to "find" community is like the decision to fall in love; deciding doesn't make it so. Nor have the diverse match-makers of community done much better; after the initial thrill, the real work begins, but by then the match-maker is gone. Yet for Jews, as Jews, the problem should be simpler. The way into the affective living community, the community of shared emotion, shared experience, and shared support, that is needed may well be through more intensive exploration of the meanings of the historic, religious, sociological community that already exists. Jews are, after all, not strangers to one another; the task for them is not so much to create community as to extend its scope and to deepen its significance.

The experience of affective community is usually a small group experience. The large temple, we suspect, cannot seek to become a single community; more likely, it must see itself as the place where a variety of communities are encouraged. In this regard, the fact that the large majority of our survey respondents thought that, ideally, their temples should be larger than they are is not necessarily distressing. It suggests what we have already observed, that most do not see community as one of the purposes of the temple. But the large temple is not necessarily the enemy of community, nor the small temple its friend. Indeed, the large temple, by permitting people of common interest to find each other, and to work together, may have an advantage. This follows from the fact that the threshold, beyond which a temple cannot expect to be a single affective community, is likely on the order of fifty families, at most. Once a temple grows beyond that number, it may well be better for it to grow a good deal beyond it, in order to enable each of its members to find a sufficient number of kindred spirits.

Now it might well be argued that the search for Jewish meanings and for Jewish experiences is precisely the search to which temples have traditionally been devoted, and which most members have traditionally been reluctant to join as active participants. If, as we have found, the temple is a peripheral institution to many of its members, perhaps that is because they want it kept at the periphery, and would resist its efforts to become more central.

But it is also possible that the temple, by coming to devote so large a part of its and its members' attention to organizational ends, has trained its members to think of it as essentially an organization, and a set of services, rather than a set of interactions and experiences. We have found it possible to generate both interactions and experiences which quite diverse groups of people have, in large measure, found rewarding. While it is always somewhat hazardous to generalize from experimental results, the test of whether our experiments are, in fact, applicable on a larger and more institutionalized scale is easy enough to conduct.

What is wanted, we believe, is not so much a sudden transformation, as a gradual process of development of mutual confidence and testing of new roles. If the temple announces that it is anxious to promote interaction as well as to provide service, the announcement is likely to be greeted with initial skepticism, even by those who already acknowledge the desirability of interaction. Others will simply be perplexed, uncertain what this new departure is all about. And if people approach the temple as a home of interaction and humanity, those who have traditionally set the tone for the temple will find, with all the good will in the world, that this new demand is not easily met. Special skills may be required, skills not normally available, and exceptional tolerance, as people stumble to find a way, will surely be required. The process of reaching out is a fragile process; in the short run, it is surely safer to avoid it. In the short run, indeed, the temple is safer where it is, at the periphery. But the short run is very short, and, if the price of safety is irrelevance, that may be too high a price to pay even for a moment.

If there has been one central theme to our effort, it has been the direct involvement, in an open and supportive environment, of people them-

selves in the process of Judaic goal-setting. As we interpret the plea that the temple become more "relevant", relevance is not to be defined as related to current events, but rather as related to the real, if inarticulate, needs of people. The need for community cannot be satisfied by sitting as an audience to a religious service, much of which unfolds on a distant stage; active shared experience is required, and if a majority of our survey respondents find the level of participation in the present worship service adequate, it may well be because they do not expect the service to help create community. The need for intellectual understanding and ideological coherence cannot be met by an educational mode so superficial as the weekly sermon; more serious confrontation, and participation in the effort, are required, a level of participation beyond even that of the typical adult education program. And if a majority of our respondents hold sermonic ability to be among the most important qualifications a rabbi can have, that may be because they do not expect the temple to offer serious education. The need for stimulating Jewish experience cannot be satisfied by participation on a temple committee, nor the need for a richer Jewish idiom by an occasional visiting artist; more immediacy and intensity are wanted. In each case, the key is a more participatory mode.

As might be expected, there is some resistance to this mode. People are simply not accustomed to it, and commonly do not know how to engage in it. It takes a fair amount of effort to provide the needed orientation and support. In our workshops, there was a pervasive tendency for participants to perceive their task as solely that of a committee -- that is, a group come together to solve problems external to the group. Our premise, however, was that most people were already involved, in one way or another, in solving second and third person Jewish problems, that the area most needing attention was the first person problem. In any event, our charge was not to develop task forces or study groups -- although that was a fairly common second-order consequence of the effort -- but to help people set goals for themselves. In a number of cases, people persisted throughout the workshop experience in the view that the intended result was a set of recommendations on temple reform. We were not opposed to the development of such recommendations, except where it seemed to us the effort was an effort to avoid more personal confrontation, at least as a first step. Breaking through what might be called the "committee habit" was by no means an easy task, nor everywhere successful, but such success as was finally experienced in this regard accounts, in large measure, for the special enthusiasm many of the workshop participants came to feel, for the fact that in our post-workshop evaluation, over a third of the participants held that the workshops had provided an "extremely important personal experience."

Temples, in their organizational parts, are sometimes fearful that to seek to deepen meanings and to broaden scope, to demand more of their members and of themselves as institutions, would drive people away. Large numbers of people, after all, seem to want no more (perhaps even less) than is currently offered; will a still more ambitious program attract, or further alienate? It is our judgment that people tailor their ambitions to fit their estimate of possibility. We cannot be sure that the potential constituency

for a more intensive (i. e., more intimate, more inquisitive, more expressive) Judaism includes the large majority of present temple members, but we are convinced on the basis of our work, that there is at the very least a constituency of substantial size. That constituency, it appears to us, is not so much interested in "more" as it is interested in "different", in the development of congregational styles that touch them and challenge them in ways they do not now feel either touched or challenged. We suspect, moreover, that were that constituency to be encouraged, were its needs to find creative response, others, in large numbers, would begin to revise their expectations upward, and would begin to make the kinds of demands of their institutions -- and of themselves -- which alone can issue in genuine vitality.

The Reform Rabbi. No serious discussion of change within the temple can ignore the central role of the rabbi. Our own study did not include any explicit inquiry into that role, save for one set of questions in the survey. (See Part I, Cap. 5) Accordingly, our comments here are to be understood as quite tentative, based as they are on assorted direct experiences of our own, and occasional impressions gathered through conversation with workshop participants, rather than through systematic study.

Our chief impression is that the rabbinic role, as it has come to be defined and institutionalized, is a dangerously lonely one. We have some familiarity, in other contexts, with comparable roles, with people who serve at the top of self-contained organizational hierarchies, rather than as members of teams. Such people -- one example is the school superintendent -- are the objects of substantial deference within their organizations, and commonly find other members of the organization, as well as their clients, incapable or unwilling to engage in normal -- i. e., non-hierarchical, non-deferential -- relations with them.

Such a situation is, perhaps, tolerable when there exists some other, extra-organizational group with which the person can unwind, a group of peers with whom he can talk openly about his successes, his failures, his plans. But the rabbinic role is exceedingly time-consuming, and rabbis, even in large cities, do not characteristically spend very much time with one another. And even when they do, organizational rivalries sometimes impede honest discussion. Hence the rabbi is effectively isolated from the normal, and healthy, peer interaction which most people enjoy. We view this as an unusually destructive circumstance, an occupational hazard which distorts the personality and saps the morale of even very strong men.

We do not presume to know whether the rabbinate, as a consequence of its unusual demands, attracts a disproportionate number of men who prefer hierarchical to peer relations. In any case, the peculiar nature of the role inhibits the more interactive process we believe desirable on other counts. Since rabbis are viewed by the majority of their congregants, our study suggests, as professional purveyors of expert services, and not as guides, it is difficult to imagine how the role might be redefined to make its demands more tolerable, its style more interactive, and its consequences more productive.

The difficulty is further compounded by the evident preference of congregants that the rabbi keep his distance. Rabbis, our data show, are seen as experts, and not as potential partners. The demands made of the rabbi may be excessive, but they do not, typically, include the demand that he search together with his congregants. We suspect, in fact, that such a demand would be resisted by large numbers of congregants. Most rabbis come to know this, and many tailor their demeanor accordingly. The consequence is frustration for rabbis, so many of whom begin their careers with higher hopes for genuine relationships (and this may account for the evident antipathy of so many younger rabbis for the pulpit rabbinate), and a perpetuation of that circular system in which congregants, not able to imagine how things might be, make peace with how things are.

Almost any honest conversation with a group of rabbis reveals enormous frustrations, frustrations which are usually seen as deriving from a combination of the rabbi being expected to do things he does not especially enjoy doing, his feeling incompetent to do some of the things he believes want doing, and (often) his feeling that he lacks adequate support for doing the things that he both knows how to do and believes should be done. We believe that all these problems might be substantially ameliorated in a more collegial environment, an environment in which rabbis viewed themselves as members of a "team", where they could draw upon one another's strengths, share ideas, brainstorm, support and, indeed, comfort each other.

The development of the concept of a "team" rabbinate goes far beyond our mandate. We have been pleased to note that the concept is not unique with us, and appears to be discussed with some interest in diverse quarters. Any number of structural reforms can be imagined which would permit such a concept to be developed and implemented, although each would involve quite dramatic change. We suspect, however, that structural reform, although very possibly a necessary condition for significant revision of the rabbinic role, will not itself prove adequate. A role, by definition, is a set of patterned expectations. Some of those expectations follow from the rules, or the structure, which attend the role; others depend upon the functions the role is seen as performing with respect to its audience, which is, of course, a function of how the audience defines its own role and its own function. In short, the role of the rabbi cannot be defined, or revised, independently of the role of the congregant; there is necessarily an interaction between the two. And it follows, further, that an effort to revise the definition congregants have of themselves inevitably implies a revision of the congregants' definition of the rabbinic role, and, thereby, a change in the rabbi's definition of himself and of his congregants.

Such change, we believe, is not so remote a possibility as is sometimes assumed, although, like all serious changes, it will be seen by some as threatening. At times, during the course of our work, we have felt somewhat like labor arbitrators, meeting in separate rooms with parties to a dispute, learning that they profoundly seek the same goals, but have yet to learn a language that can communicate their shared desires. In such cases, external intervention is often a useful device. But even without such intervention, it should be possible to break through the inertial patterns into which so many seem locked, against their will, and create patterns which will reflect

more accurately the mutuality of concern we believe exists. We know of few rabbis who are not prepared, and even eager, to participate as colleagues and as leaders in a revolution of rising Judaic expectations. We are persuaded that a potential constituency for such a revolution exists. It is not an obvious constituency, or a noisy one, and if no one seeks to nurture it, it may well pass unnoticed. But neither is it a figment of some fervid imagination. We have encountered it across this country; it does exist. It may be that professional intervention is required in order to encourage its members to identify themselves; we have mixed views on that point. It may be that rabbis, if they are to be partners in the revolution of which we speak, will need special training in skills most do not now have; this we cannot safely say. But questions of intervention and of training are second-order questions, to be negotiated, as it were, after the basic declaration of intention has been signed. And we have no doubt whatever that even today, without the training, without the intervention, there are those who are ready to sign, to embark on a Jewish adventure far bolder than most have yet dared to imagine.

A Word on Youth. In the design and development of this entire project, there was a studied avoidance of focussing its attention on young people. This, despite the fact that Jewish youth is probably the single most discussed "problem" throughout the Jewish community. It was, and remains, our feeling that no serious address to the diverse problems of young Jews and of Jewish children has much chance for success save as it is part of a larger address to Jews in general. It is entirely unreasonable to expect the temple, acting alone, to accomplish the myriad tasks that are involved in fostering an alert, informed, concerned and committed Jew. If the temple is peripheral to most of its adult members, it is still more peripheral-- as our data show, and as one might expect -- to its young. But if Judaism is something that happens only, or even primarily, in the temple, rather than in the home, in the neighborhood, and elsewhere, then Judaism, too, becomes peripheral, and the search for community will continue to take the young far afield. Per contra, as Judaism becomes more central, so does the place which retains a major responsibility in helping one become a Jew -- the temple. If the temple continues to be seen by its adult members as peripheral to their own lives, and important only with respect to their children, it will surely continue to be perceived as peripheral by the children as well. For here, at least, there is no generation gap to speak of; the children are very much the heirs to their parents' attitudes. So, too, if the temple becomes the place where a congregation happens, where community grows, where intimacy and support flourish, if, in short, it becomes a setting for interaction and for growth, it will matter, inevitably, to its members; if the ways in which it matters are serious ways, that, too, will be noticed by the young, and affect their own response.

Finally, the Future. Many months ago, in the early conversations which preceded this project and helped to give it birth, the study was conceived as a study of the future, and the likely impact of the future on Reform

Judaism. By the time the project was developed in detail, its focus had shifted to a study of actual Reform Jews and to the development of techniques for releasing blocked potential. The shift in focus involved a gamble, a calculated risk; had our workshops failed miserably, had we found that actual and potential are the same, we would have been forced to await the future with trepidation.

And now, many months later, we conclude that the risk was worth taking. For if there is one central theme that emerges from everything we believe we have come to know, it is that the future can be invented. There are, to be sure, major societal changes and cultural developments that will have important consequences for Reform Judaism, as for Jews in general. Some of these can be foreseen, others only guessed at, still others not even dreamed of. Yet withal, the future is not something we discover just around the next corner. It is something we shape, we create, we invent. To hold otherwise would be to view ourselves as an audience to history, and not its authors. History, and even our own lives, cannot always be turned and twisted to make them go exactly where we should like, but there is for people of energy and of purpose, more freedom of movement than most ever exercise.

Our specific source of encouragement is precisely in the discovery that the energy and the purpose are there. Hidden, perhaps; rusted, perhaps. But present most certainly. There lay the risk, and there the reward.

As it happens, we believe that the American future, as it may be extrapolated from present cultural and technological trends, is likely to be far less monolithic than its past. The central theme of America, in the coming decades, is likely to be an increase in the freedom to deviate, to go one's own idiosyncratic way. Such predictions are, of course, always hazardous, but we believe that recent events foretell a significant decentralization of American culture in the years to come. In such an environment, people -- and institutions -- will succeed insofar as they are competent to use the greater freedom that comes to be available. The intelligent and purposeful utilization of that freedom is the great challenge which lies before the Reform movement; the evident readiness of large numbers of Reform Jews to join in the adventure its great resource.