HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

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The Distinctive Features of Jewish Federation Work in Exurban Communities: Role, Process, and Objectives

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

American Jews have been moving to exurban areas in large numbers only in the last decade, though the movement to suburbia began shortly after World War Two. Exurban life has meant tremendous demographic dispersion. Many of the traditional structures and organizations of Jewish communal life in America have not responded to this demographic dispersion.

Mobility and demographic dispersion pose serious consequences to planners of Jewish communal services. Exurban areas have their own culture, and often lack in identifiable centers and means of Jewish identification for the individual and the community. The southern area of the San Francisco Peninsula, from Redwood City in the north to Mountain View and Sunnyvale in the south, is one such exurban area that has become an area of significant Jewish population in recent years.

This paper is about the process an urban Jewish agency used to learn about and relate to Jewish exurban life in the southern area of the San Francisco Peninsula. The problem came into focus as a result of certain practical considerations that will be

described and elaborated below. The study was conducted under the auspices of the Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco, Marin County and the Peninsula. This exploration took the form of a case study of a community with the purpose of obtaining a clear view of how Jewish communal agencies might better serve this area.

Background and Context

For several years, lay and professional leaders of the Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco, Marin County and the Peninsula (Jewish Welfare Federation) had heard the concerns of members of the South Peninsula Jewish community who were involved in Jewish activities: agencies, congregations, and organizations. Preliminary study by Jewish Welfare Federation staff assigned to Federation activities in the area had revealed an intensity of feelings of separateness and autonomy from the San Francisco-based communal organizations as perceived by individuals and groups in the community. This sense of separateness, coupled with geographic distance, it was thought, might serve as the basis for autonomous development of the South Peninsula Jewish community.

Though some demographic data exist about the Jews who live in the study area, the data are not comprehensive. We may understand the Jewish community of this area better by knowing something about the larger community of the South Peninsula. Palo Alto is the center of this exurban area. The "Palo Alto Comprehensive Plan for 1976" provides some important demographic data which lend credence

to th claims of South Peninsula residents that they are residents of an area which is clearly autonomous of San Francisco.[1]

Palo Alto employment increased 70% between 1960 and 1970. In 1973, employment in the area was estimated to be 65,000. Only 10,300 of these workers were residents of Palo Alto, a fact which indicates that Palo Alto imports more than 80% of its labor force. Commutation patterns indicate that these workers commute into Palo Alto from as far north as San Francisco and as far south as Santa Cruz, as well as from points east of San Jose. At the same time, 13,000 Palo Altans commute out of Palo Alto to work. Of this number, relatively few commute as far north as San Francisco, while a majority commute to jobs elsewhere in Santa Clara County.

Palo Alto has become a regional center for services and a research center for the whole country. A special relationship exists between Stanford University and the myriad of high technology companies that have come into existence in the area in the last decade. More than 320,000 people reside in communities located within a six mile radius of Palo Alto. This includes the cities of San Carlos, Redwood City, Woodside, Atherton, Portola Valley, Menlo Park, Los Altos, Los Altos Hills, Mountain View, and Cupertino. Palo Alto is the largest trading center between San Francisco and San Jose.

Palo Alto, in many respects, is a model city. Its civic administration and planning department is very forward-looking in

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[1]Palo Alto, California, "Palo Alto Comprehensive Plan, 1976;" and Palo Alto Chamber of Commerce, "Informap, 1975."

all areas, from services to the aged or youth to traffic management. Palo Alto provides its citizens and neighbors with many cultural and recreational activities including three museums, many parks, and Stanford University itself. The city has a year-round adult education program as well as fine schools for younger students under both public and private auspices.

Housing and residence has stabilized in Palo Alto. Property values have appreciated substantially, and nearby suburbs have grown rapidly to accomodate much of the need presented by the rapid increase in employment opportunity in Palo Alto. The median income of a Palo Alto family was $15,000, in January of 1976; the second highest average family income of any city of 25,000 or more in the Bay Area.

According to the demographic information for this area developed in 1972, in the context of the National Jewish Population Study, there are twelve to fifteen thousand Jews in this area, or about five to six thousand families. In the period between 1959 and 1972, the South Peninsula experienced the greatest absolute growth of any area within the boundaries of the Jewish Welfare Federation.[2]

Critical explorations of community concerns and feelings have also pointed to a paucity of Jewish activities, participation, and

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[2]Fred Massarik, "The Jewish Population of San Francisco, Marin County, and the Peninsula, 1970/73: Basic Findings" Jewish Welfare Federation, April, 1974, pp. 9-10ff.

leadership in the South Peninsula area. Fewer than one fourth of the Jewish families of this area are affiliated with congregations, agencies, or membership organizations in the area. Furthermore, at the outset of this study, there were only three congregations, a small Jewish Community Center, and a few moribund Jewish organizations in the South Peninsula. One Hadassah chapter was the only organization with a fairly large membership. There were, thus, far fewer Jewish organizations than exist in other areas with comparable populations.

South Peninsula Jews were polled in 1975, in the context of a membership opinion survey commissioned by the Jewish Welfare Federation. Respondents were given an opportunity to make suggestions at the end of a battery of questions. Many respondents stated that they wanted the community "brought closer together," and suggested that Federation try an "outreach" program to involve unaffiliated Jews. These people expressed keen interest in having some Jewish agency help them to develop their community.[3]

Significance of this Study

The significance of this study is that it tested some alternate strategies for organizing a demographically dispersed new Jewish community at a time when national population trends suggest a burgeoning of communities similar to the one studied throughout

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[3]Far West Research, Inc., "Report: Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco, Marin and the Peninsula -- Membership Opinion Survey," Jewish Welfare Federation, December, 1975, p. 11.

the South and West. The results of this study, therefore, may suggest organizing strategies, skills, techniques, and models that might be replicated elsewhere when similar community factors and needs are encountered by agencies and workers in the Jewish community.

This study was undertaken to provide practical research on the basis of which the Jewish Welfare Federation could act on behalf of the South Peninsula Jewish community. The researcher had been asked by the Jewish Welfare Federation to develop means for organizing and involving people in the South Peninsula area in Jewish communal activities. The agency sought to expand its funding base, desired to extend services and various Jewish activities, and its agencies sought greater participation from the community. Members of the South Peninsula Jewish community had expressed a need for autonomy from Jewish organizations in San Francisco and a desire to become self-directed. The Jewish Welfare Federation sought a rational set of program options and guidelines with which to determine policies for its work in this area.

The researcher conducted exploratory interviews over a four month period in the fall and winter of 1976-1977. Through these interviews, a number of basic concerns emerged. The Jewish Welfare Federation had undertaken discussions about decentralizing the agency; yet it seemed clear that the concept lacked definition and that little thought had been given to potential consequences and

and implications of such action. At the same time, the articulated concerns of South Peninsula residents about needs and desires for autonomy and self-determination were not at all clear.[4]

The Jewish community in America is identified, defined, and structured by its Jewish communal organizations. Yet, the number of such organizations and the base of participation and leadership in this area seemed too small to support a viable, autonomous system of Jewish communal organizations and activities.

It was the considered belief of the researcher that the process of study of the South Peninsula Jewish "community" needed to be combined with a process of community development. The researcher in fact was responsible to the Jewish Welfare Federation for both the community development and community study tasks. Through the process of community organization and development, issues were clarified and practical solutions to the problems of agency decentralization and community autonomy were suggested.

Plan of this Study

This study describes and analyzes the process of community

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[4]Another important reason for not rushing into the development of committees on decentralization or into the creation of an Area Governance Council had been suggested to the Federation Board of Directors by their capital planning consultant, Dr. Martin Greenberg, "Report to the Capital Funds Planning Committee of the Jewish Welfare Federation of S.F., Marin Cty., and the Peninsula," Jewish Welfare Federation, 1974, p. G2.

organization and development undertaken by the writer in the South Peninsula. Relevant literature is reviewed and the method of the work and study process is described prior to the presentation of the results of the study. The study concludes with a summary of some of the findings with regard to both the specific community and the more general issue of community organization in a community such as this. It is hoped that these will serve as suggestions for workers who find themselves with similar assignments.

CHAPTER II

JEWISH COMMUNITY: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

Jewish Communal Origins

Since post-Biblical times communal life has been normative for Jews. Even daily prayer requires a minyan (quorum) before certain portions can be said. So the institutions of Judaism have always been articulated in various forms of collective organizations. As Bubis explains:

> Historically, Jewish community institutions were seen as extensions of Jewish life and thought. The fulfillment of God's commandments demanded that the community assume obligations for fellow Jews.... Being group-centered, Judaism's responses to the God-given imperatives were collectivistic in their nature. The group acted as a group to take care of its member's needs. This act was self-protecting. It met a social need, but more important, it helped assure the continuity of the group, the Jewish people.[1]

Through so many centuries, through times of great joy and flourishing, as well as through many adverse conditions, persecution, and decimation, the Jews have persisted because of strong communal institutions that have reinforced the convictions and practices of

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[1]Gerald B. Bubis, "The Modern Jewish Family," Journal of Jewish Communal Service, Vol. XLVII, No. 3, Spring, 1971, p. 242.

the Jewish individual, family, and community. Every conceivable function of group life is performed by Jewish communities: organization of religious rites and worship, defense, external relations, education, social welfare, enforcement of community norms, and public finance.[2]

The birth and maturation of a Jewish community is analogous to the growth of a person; communities crawl before they walk and run. Traditionally, however, a Jewish community will grow rapidly once several families have arrived. And as the community is organized, more Jews arrive to join in the building process and to participate in Jewish communal life. This pattern has been observed by Harry L. Lurie in a small town:

> The first step in communal organization in a small community is for religious services and for religious education of the young and a temple or synagogue is usually the first, and if the population remains small, the only Jewish institution in that community. Informal methods of self help are another spontaneous development as is the growth of various forms of association whose primary purpose may be social and recreational relationships for their own sake or involving a function such as raising funds for some national or overseas cause. As the community grows somewhat larger, there may be more formal organization on a fraternal basis or as part of the Zionist movement. With increasing population there are established replicas of the many types of association which exist in the larger cities such as varieties of Zionist groups, varieties of congregations, varieties of formal and informal social clubs, professional associations and other groups. As the population grows voluntary self help may lead to organized

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[2]cf. Daniel Elazar, "The Institutional Life of American Jewry," Midstream, June/July, 1971, pp. 31-50.

> services for families and the aged or interest in obtaining such services through regional organization.[3]

Thus Jewish communities are organized to enact century-old imperatives. Institutions and organizations are modified to fit the environment and the times, but Jewish communities have always been able to trace their raison d'etre to the Jewish tradition.

The Contemporary Jewish Community

Today the forces of integration (assimilation), the facts of contemporary Jewish life in America--relative affluence, high levels of educational attainment, and social mobility--and the general weakening of the power of religions in American society have worked effectively to erode the hold of the traditional forms and practices of Judaism on Jewish life in America. Sklare has noted, for example, that:

> Religious observance among Jews in the United States has generally tended to decline with each succeeding generation. Thus, observance has dropped as the membership of Conservative congregations has come to be composed of Jews of more advanced generation. To be sure, in each Conservative synagogue there are some families that are as observant as those of the preceeding generation.... But such instances of retention and growth have not been frequent enough to offset the sharp trend toward diminished observance.[4]

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[3]Harry L. Lurie, "Jewish Community Organization -- Functions and Structures," Jewish Social Service Quarterly, 26 (Sept., 1949), p.50. For more comprehensive descriptions of the origins of Jewish communities in America see also, Daniel J. Elazar, Community and Polity: The Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry (Phil.: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1976), passim.; Nathan Glazer, American Judaism (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1972); and Marshall Sklare, America's Jews (N.Y.: Random House, 1971).

[4]Marshall Sklare, Conservative Judaism: An American Religious

For many American Jews, being Jewish means little more than belonging to an ethnic group. Jews are happy and even proud to be Jewish, but the meaning of "being Jewish" is often not defined. Fewer than 50% of America's Jewish families belong to a synagogue. For many synagogue members, membership is justified only so long as their children are enrolled in education programs there. Their children in turn are enrolled to help them "feel Jewish". Some analysts of the current Jewish condition in America have argued that emphasis on the ethnic or "secular" aspects of Judaism will endanger the future of Jewish life in America. They argue that the "secular-religious" (church-state)dichotomy, acquired from Christianity, has no basis in Jewish tradition. Rabbi David Polish, for example, argue

> We have always been Am Yisrael, The People Israel. This is an original component and we are emasculated if we remove it. But we are not ethnics alone.... The abandonment of those components which give depth and moral intensity and collective memory and a sense of everlasting destiny reduces the Jews to an endangered species that has no other claim on life but escape from pain. The exclusively ethnic Jew doesn't have a future....[5]

Movement, new, augmented edition, (N.Y.: Schocken Books, 1972), pp. 270 & 271; (see supra., n. 3) Throughout this chapter, the writer will be generalizing about America's Jews. In doing so, he will not refer to the observant minority of the denominations.

[5]David Polish, "A Path Toward Jewish Unity," Reconstructionist, January, 1975, pp. 9 & 10. See also ibid., pp. 7 & 8 concerning the spuriousness of the "secular-religious" dichotomy, and Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970). Facts on Jewish identification and ethnicity may be found in Fred Massarik, "Jewish Identity: Facts for Planning: Report

Despite this seemingly tenuous hold that Judaism and the Jewi h community exercises over America's Jews, the vague power of ethnicity enables Jewish communal activity to flourish in America.

> It is not that most Jews in this country submit themselves to the Jewish law, they do not. Nor can they tell you what the Jewish heritage is. But they do know it may demand something of them, and to that demand, insofar as it is brought to them and has any meaning for them, they will not answer No.... they are prepared to be some kind of Jews; they are capable of being moved and reached and of transcending the pedestrian life that so many of them live with other Americans.[6]

Many Jews who will not maintain synagogue affiliation will join one or more Jewish organization. It is this fact that has led observers to note that being Jewish in America means belonging to an organization. And the fact that Jews do belong gives them the "critical mass" through which they wield disproportionate political power in American society.[7]

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of the National Jewish Population Study," (N.Y.: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Dec., 1974); Leonard Fein et.al., Reform is a Verb: Notes on Reform and Reforming Jews (N.Y.: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1972); and Theodore Lenn and Associates, Rabbi and Synagogue in Reform Judaism (N.Y.: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1972).

[6]Glazer, American Judaism, pp. 139-142.

[7]Will Maslow, The Structure and Functioning of the American Jewish Community (N.Y.: American Jewish Congress and the American Section of the World Jewish Congress, 1974) p. 5 and passim.: and Stephen D. Isaacs, Jews and American Politics (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976).

If so much of traditional Jewish practice and lifestyle have eroded, what remains normative in contemporary Jewish life? Scholars have suggested that there are signs of reemergence of adherence to tradition throughout America. Others point to enormous flexibility within the Jewish Tradition that will enable sufficient modernization of Jewish practice to gain back adherents. Still others argue that new, "secularized," norms are emerging to supplant out-moded ones. Daniel Elazar writes that:

> The enforcement of community norms has undergone great changes in the Jewish community. The enforcement of traditional Jewish Law, which was always volunteeristic to some extent, has now become entirely so, and the organized Jewish community is not really actively engaged in that today. At the same time new norms have developed that are subtly enforced by the community's organizational network.... Israel has become the primary norm of an increasingly secularized Jewish community with virtually all Jewish organizations sharing in the task of enforcing those norms which relate to it and which, in a sense, have taken the place of the old halachic or God-centered norms even in many of the synagogues. Today, someone who refuses to support Israel, is, in effect, read out of the Jewish community.... While different groups within Jewry will be entitled to define Jewish tradition in various ways, identification with that tradition and acceptance of the responsibility for maintaining, fostering and extending it seems to be reemerging as a central norm in Jewish life, one which is embraced by all Jewish organizations and enforced by them.[8]

Judaism has continued for tens of centuries because it has been flexible. Change has occurred many times, in conditions of

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[8]Daniel Elazar, "The Institutional Life of American Jewry," p. 48.

stress, persecution, or acceptance and concommitant massive assimilation. Irving Greenberg argues that the greatest change in Jewish life occurs in response to cataclysmic events in Jewish history. For example, the destruction of the Temple gave rise to enormous institutional change in the abandonment of the priestly cult and the rise of the rabbis. Such enormous change takes centuries. Greenberg believes that we are living at the beginning of another period of enormous institutional change within Judaism:

> Three major facts argue that the new shape of Jusaism will be much more "secular" in form. One is that the reborn state of Israel occupies so much of Jewish activity, loyalty, and spiritual energy. In historical interpretative terms this is a "call to secularity". Furthermore, in the Holocaust, the assault on Jews did not distinguish between secular and religious Jews. The existence of any Jew was perceived as denial of the absolute claims, e.g. the idolatry of Nazism. Finally following the Talmudic statement that God's awesomeness is essentially known from the existence of his people after the catastrophe, the "secular" activity of building the Jewish state has been the key builder and guarantor of the life of the Jewish people and, thereby, the most significant statement of God's awesomeness. Just as the destruction of the Temple suggested that God's hiddenness was greater than anticipated, based on the Exodus model, so the Holocaust suggests a Divine presence far more subtle and elusive than hitherto estimated, based on the destruction and exile model. (Italics the author's.)[9]

Whether Judaism is indeed undergoing a radical transformation that may take centuries to accomplish, or whether it is in a period of

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[9]Irving Greenberg, "Judaism and History: Historical Events and Religious Change," written for Spertus College of Judaica Annual of Jewish Studies, not yet published manuscript, p. 26. Se also Ellis Rivkin, The Shaping of Jewish History: A Radical New Interpretation (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971)

adjustment to the allures and dampers of the open society, Jewish communities in America are changing. To understand the factors of this change, it is necessary to explore some of the social forces acting on Jewish communal life in America today.

Mobility, Suburbanization and Demographic Dispersion

America's Jews fall predominantly within the middle and upper middle class socio-economic ranges. There are pockets of poor Jews in major metropolitan areas and there are also Jews who possess great wealth. More than eighty-five percent of Jews born during or after World War II go to college far away from home. America's Jews have become professionals, and many work for large companies or organizations in which mobility is a coefficient of promotion. But even those who do not hold such occupations are mobile. Mobility characterizes today's Jewish populations within metropolitan areas as well as the substantial number of Jews who move from state-to-state, often more than once, in their early post-college years. George E. Johnson gives another explanation for this restlessness:

> The distribution of the Jewish population in America has changed radically as a result of the massive suburbanization of America in the post-World War II period. Suburbanization became possible by the access provided by automobiles, gasoline, and new highways, desirable for the young, expanding families riding the post-war economic and baby boom, and was reinforced by the consequent

deterioration of center cities.[10]

Massive mobility has taken its toll on Jewish families, as Gilbert Rosenthal explains:

> Changing sociological patterns have altered America and the Jewish family as well. Propinquity or nearness to and intimacy with non-Jewish neighbors are a new and disruptive factor in post-ghetto Jewish history. So, too, is the high mobility rate. Jews are on the move as never before.... 61 percent of the Jewish college graduates of 1961 no longer reside in their home town. A generation ago, a Jew could be born, live, and die within a five mile radius. Today, thousands of Jews have pulled up stakes and left their own communities and states.... as a result, family ties are frayed, brother no longer sees brother, and grandparents hardly know their grandchildren.[11]

The Jewish family has been strained, fragmented, and disrupted by mobility. The more demographically dispersed Jewish families become, the less likely that they can find Jewish communities waiting to absorb them. Given the erosion of normative Jewish practice that characterizes so many of the mobile Jews, it is also less likely that they will undertake the building of Jewish communal organizations in their new communities. For some, such an effort would be an insurmountable burden, but most,

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[10]George E. Johnson, "Synagogue Survival Strategies in the Rootless Society: A Case Study," Analysis, No. 45, April 15, 1974, p. 1. Statistical information on a national basis is provided by Fred Massarik and Alvin Chenkin, "Mobility of the Jewish Population," Report of the National Jewish Population Study, (N.Y.: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, December, 1974).

[11]Gilbert S. Rosenthal, "Melting Pot or Cultural Pluralism," in New Directions in the Jewish Family and Community, ed. by Gilbert S. Rosenthal (N.Y.: Commission on Synagogue Relations of the Federation on Jewish Philanthropies of N.Y., 1974), p. 22.

even those who would undertake the creation of a congregation and education program, simply do not have the requisite Jewish resources. Those who would build a Jewish life in a new community sometimes turn to metropolitan communities for help, as Elazar notes:

> This migration is leading the Jews back once again to small communities where unless they are involved with a great metropolitan federation, they are able to maintain only the minimum in the way of Jewish institutions locally. Scattered widely among many small towns, they are tied together at most by a common fundraising system for overseas needs.... it seems that 60 percent of American Jews today live in separate suburban communities or in metropolitan communities of less than twenty thousand Jews.[12]

The New Jewish Community: Cultural and Psychological Elements

America's Jews have moved to and continue to move to areas where there is no history or structure of Jewish communal life. But, even in suburban Jewish communities founded shortly after the second World War, the conditions of social change in America and of the erosion of traditional Jewish beliefs and practices

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[12]Daniel J. Elazar, Community and Polity, p. 137. The writer has had personal experience with Jews from small communities reaching out to the metropolitan Jewish community for assistance in building a synagogue, hiring a Rabbi, and obtaining Jewish educational services. One example is that of Santa Cruz, California, where a small group of families organized a Reform congregation and turned to the Jewish Federation in San Francisco for assistance in obtaining a Rabbi. The writer facilitated discussions with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and National B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations as well as with the Social Planning and Budgeting Committee of the Federation, and assisted in putting together a program and funding proposal through which the community came to share a Rabbi who serves part time as Hillel counsellor at the local university.

and of normative Jewish lifestyles, have affected generation-old communities. Elazar holds that, "Most American Jews of the generation that has emerged since 1950 accept their Jewish birth as a matter of course. Though they accept their Jewish position, they do not much care about their Jewishness. No longer negative towards Judaism, the reaction of many is best characterized as apathetic."[13]

For many of today's "wandering Jews," mobility is often combined with feelings of impermanence in a new place. Mobility and feelings of impermanence together create alienating conditions for Jews in new communities:

> In many ways the new suburban Jews are as much strangers to each other as to non-Jews. In coming to the task of forming a new Jewish community, they bring little in the way of Jewish "baggage"--either knowledge of Jewish tradition and culture, or family. "There is no pattern of continuity," commented the rabbi of a new suburban congregation. Not only have most links with the Jewish past been severed, but the pattern of contemporary life seems to prevent its re-emergence. The same rabbi, among others, noted that the sense of transience inhibits the forming of friendships. These rootless residents need a surrogate extended family, but they are afraid. "They do not want to make a commitment, only to be cut off," he said.[14]

Many analysts have studied and described the conditions of today's "Me Generation" in America and of the new "Psychological Jew." Johnson goes on to explain:

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[13]Ibid., p. 16

[14]George E. Johnson, op.cit., p. 9. See also Victor D. Sauna, "Can We Reach the Unaffiliated Jew?" in New Directions in the Jewish Family and Community, Gilbert S. Rosenthal, ed. (N.Y.: Commission on

> This social trend has been reinforced by the emergence into adulthood of the first generation of Jewish children subjected to the child-centered suburban culture. The experience of being brought up in such an environment has worked a subtle change in the long-prevailing ideology of individualism. An ideology of self-reliance, expressed through the work ethic, has been transformed into an ideology of self-consciousness, expressed in psychological terms of "searching for oneself," "finding meaningful relationships," and "self-actualization." Institutions, particularly Jewish institutions, are not only seen as irrelevant to this quest, but to many younger adult Jews, Jewish organizations and institutions are the embodiment of impersonalism. These new demographic and psychological developments seem to be operating in concert to prevent the formation of communal structures out of which individuals can concretely affect their environment.[15]

Despite the conditions of mobility, impermanence, fragmentation, apathy, and alienation, many Jews in the new communities "long for community." Leonard Fein documented this in his study of the Reform movement:

> Through all 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. 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

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Synagogue Relations of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, 1974), p. 217 and passim.

[15]Johnson, op. cit., pp. 9 & 10. cf. Richard N. Levy, "The Reform Synagogue, Plight and Possibility" in Understanding American Judaism, Vol. II, ed. by Jacob Neusner (N.Y.: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1975), p. 73; and Harold Schulweis, "Restructuring the Synagogue," Conservative Judaism, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, Summer, 1973, pp. 13-23.

> 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.[16]

The longing for community is therefore coupled with acommunal conditions and an inability to articulate the need. Our assessment of these factors requires that we explore means of relating to and serving Jews in these new communities so as to enable them to satisfy this longing.

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[16]Leonard J. Fein, et. al., Reform is a Verb, p. 140.

CHAPTER III

TOWARD JEWISH COMMUNAL STRATEGIES FOR THE NEW JEWISH COMMUNITIES

Many of the conditions that affect the contemporary American Jewish community are common to the general American society. Jews may have particular problems with maintaining their distinct ethnic/religious community in an open society, but the open society and its social symptoms affect all Americans. For this reason, a consideration of strategies for addressing Jewish communal problems should include a review of concepts from other fields.

The "Nonplace" Community

Among urban and metropolitan planners, the concepts of "community," "city," and "urban area" have undergone considerable change.

Analysts of structural change in American society have broadened their concepts to take account of the social results of rapid professionalization, high mobility, and vastly improved communications technologies. Melvin M. Webber explains:

> The idea of community has been tied to the idea of place. Although other conditions are associated with the idea of community--including "sense of belonging,"

> a body of shared values, a system of social organization and interdependency--spatial proximity continues to be considered a necessary condition. But it is now becoming apparent that it is the accessibility rather than the propinquity aspect of "place" that is the necessary condition. As accessibility becomes further freed from propinquity, cohabitation of a territorial place...is becoming less important to the maintenance of social communities.[1]

In today's society, accessibility to colleagues, ideas, and friends transcends geographic boundaries, making even transglobal social communities possible. Webber underscores that attachment to place of residence is in decline:

> As levels of education and skill rise, more and more people are being tied into the spatially extensive communities that used to engage only a few.... the glue that once held the spatial settlements together is now dissolving, and the settlement is dispersing over ever widening terrains....as ever larger percentages of the nation's youth go to college and thus enter the national and international cultures, attachments to places of residence will decline dramatically.[2]

Thus, communities are commonly formed in today's society without regard to location. Place diminishes in importance as "nonplace" communities, communities of shared interest rise: "...each group of interests defines its own community for satisfaction. We have seen the rise of corporations, clubs, churches, trade associations, unions, and a large variety of less formal organizations, created on an interest basis and without limitations of territorial juris-

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[1]Melvin M. Webber, "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm," in Explorations into Urban Structure, Melvin M. Webber, et.al. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), pp. 108 & 109.

[2]Webber, "The Post City Age," Daedalus, Fall, 1968, pp. 1097 & 1098. See also "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm" pp. 93-95, for a description of how networks of linkages along cultural

dictions."[3] With this expanded understanding of "community" we can recognize the appropriateness of organizing Jews along interest lines, regardless of geographic location. Fein reminds us that:

> 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...The way into the affective loving community...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.[4]

Organizing the New Communities: Leadership and Participation

Application of Fein's ideas to the nonplace community context requires instruments for coalescing interest groups. Ways would need to be found to stimulate participation in the social and interest contexts of Jewish communal life. One natural instrument is the respected and influential person, the leader.

Spotting leaders is not a simple task for a newcomer to the nonplace community. Some theories of leadership, however, offer useful guidelines. The natural leaders are prominent, influential, prestigious and respected people in the area. They may or may not already hold (or have held) positions of power in the congregations

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professional, and socio-economic lines work.

[3]Webber, "The Urban Place and Nonplace Urban Realm" p. 134.

[4]Leonard J. Fein, et.al., op.cit., p. 148.

or local membership organizations, and they may hold (or have held) similar responsible positions in other civic, professional, or service organizations. Generally, however, the leadership of a community are "those individuals who occupy an 'influential' position, either formally or informally, in one or more of a selected number of organizations...."[5]

Using Miller's theory as a guideline, one may try to find leaders by observing the life of a community: through newspapers, public events, organizational meetings, and informal and formal contacts with members of various organizations. This is an arduous, time-consuming, and potentially unprofitable exercise. One might also conduct interviews with members and participants in various organizations and activities. This method, too, has its drawbacks, especially in the "nonplace" community, for, as Miller indicates, "...a passive or apathetic community will generally be aware of its leaders only as prominent individuals and will be unaware and relatively unconcerned with the power salient of the leader's position."[6] Thus, for a newcomer to a community to determine who really influences community life is no simple task.

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[5]Norman Miller, "The Jewish Leadership of Lakeport," in Studies in Leadership: Leadership and Democratic Action, ed. by Alvin W. Gouldner (N.Y.: Russell and Russell, Inc. 1965), p. 202; cf. ibid., pp. 202-209; and William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943). Also helpful to this discussion are works on small group theory and group work practice, e.g. Margaret E. Hartford, Groups in Social Work: Application of Small Group Theory and Research to Social Work Practice (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1972).

[6]Miller, op.cit., p.204. There is a bias inherited from social

Once leaders are identified, they must be persuaded that the task of community organization is worthy of their time and effort. They must be persuaded that there are benefits for themselves as well as for the community. The job of organizing a community must be divided into manageable component tasks to which a leader could give attention and effort, and which he or she could accomplish within a limited period of time. In this way leaders are recruited for specific tasks, and there is a two-way process of legitimation: involvement of known leaders in the community building process validates that effort, and the task assignments reinforce the general acknowledgement that the prominent people "in charge" are, in fact, the community's leadership.[7]

Once leadership and task groups have been organized, the process of developing and/or increasing participation in communal activities can take place. Yet there is one more complicating factor in stimulating mass participation in communal activities, as Bernard Barber observes:

> But American social structure does more than segregate these other interests from family and job obligations.

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stratification theory implicit in the discussion of how to spot leaders. See Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), for an interesting corrective. Polsby suggests that it may be more profitable to ask whether there are any leaders in the community before asking who they are. In new Jewish communities especially there may, in fact, be no apparent leaders.

[7]Miller, op.cit., pp. 218-220; Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations" in Gouldner, ed., op.cit., and Ralph M. Kramer and Harry Specht, Readings in Community Organization Practice, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1969),

> It defines them as being of less importance than family and job obligations. Many people have no memberships at all; and among those with memberships in any given association, the majority are inactive and participate minimally. Because of the individual's culturally prescribed preoccupation in the United States with obligations to his job and his "isolated conjugal family," there exists a socially structured pull away from membership in even those voluntary associations relevant to his interests.[8]

A clear lesson to be learned from this is that activities that emphasize and appeal to Jewish family participation are most likely to win mass participation. Communal organization cum family participation satisfies needs for primary group participation, and mass organizations can be built from small groups.[9]

Organizing the New Communities: The Role of the Worker

The Jewish communal worker in the new, "nonplace" Jewish community needs to be familiar with the problems and theories of organizing in these communities. Moreover, he needs to be flexible and innovative in his approach to the new community. Since there will be no traditions of Jewish communal activity in the community,

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p. 26 and passim.

[8]Op. cit., pp. 486 & 487. Barber describes for American society generally the conditions of the contemporary Jewish community described above in Chapt. 2, pp. 7-11.

[9]Activities that strengthen the Jewish family are not only desirable for achieving mass participation, but are necessary in their own right. See Gerald B. Bubis, "The Modern Jewish Family," op. cit., and also his article, "The Jewish Community Center's Responsibility for the Needs of the Jewish Family," Journal of Jewish Communal Service, Vol. LI, No. 3, Spring, 1975, pp. 246-250.

foundation of goals and strategies may rest with his creativity until communal structures have been organized. Morris Siegel, who studied the leadership role in the course of his study on participation in the Jewish community of Greater Boston, states that:

> Leaders and policy makers of Jewish agencies and institutions are responsible for both retaining traditional forms of Jewish culture and creating new forms of Jewish culture which partly eliminate and destroy some of the older forms. A burden is placed on Jewish leadership to creatively cultivate new cultural forms within the Jewish community or tradition. For policy makers within the Jewish community this means that they must be self-consciously aware of their role in building, modifying and dissipating Jewish traditions in a larger environment which they do not control but which affects all aspects of Jewish life.[10]

The task of creating new forms in new Jewish communities is an awesome one, and one not generally perceived to be within the responsibilities or perogatives of the Jewish communal worker. However, he may be the first community-minded Jewish professional to enter the new community who is assigned the specific task of building a Jewish community where none exists.

The worker for the metropolitan Jewish Federation may have certain ascribed powers in his position that may facilitate his role as community organizer in the "nonplace" community. One important factor is his entre to Jewish leadership which Miller describes:

> The top professional is also a leader. Although he

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[10]Morris Siegel, "Social Class and Jewish Participation," (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1969), p. 156.

> is technically a paid employee of the League, he is rarely thought of as such. Instead, his social status is in a sense artificially raised to approximately that of his employers...The professional must be in a position to sustain the polite fiction that all men (that is in the League hierarchy) are equal and can call one another by their first names. At the same time, the top professional does not strive for prestige in the same way as do the leaders. His prestige derives purely from his job; he is therefore not in competition with the leaders.[11]

At this juncture in contemporary American Jewish history, the shifting roles of professionals, rabbis and communal workers, may give even greater power to the role of the Jewish Federation worker in the new community.[12]

Entre to leadership and some public prominence are important requisites for the worker in the new Jewish community. But far more is required. The worker must be prepared to invest tremendous amounts of time and energy in the community organizing task. Neil Gilbert, who studied the role of War on Poverty neighborhood coordinators, noted the expectations and qualities of the coordinator:

> These coordinators have two key qualities in common: a stamina that allows them to work about sixty hours a week, and a temperament that permits them to function under conditions of "chaotic ambiguity." This ambiguity is reflected even in the title "coordinator." The verb "coordinate" is variously defined as meaning to equalize,

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[11]Miller, op. cit., pp. 222 & 223.

[12]For a discussion of the apparent decline of the role of the rabbi and rise of the Jewishly-knowledgeable Federation executive, see Irving Greenberg, op. cit., p. 27; Kenneth D. Roseman, "Power in a Midwestern Jewish Community," quoted in American Judaism: Adventure in Modernity, ed. by Jacob Neusner (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 26 & 27; Jacob Neusner, ibid., p. 45; and Gerald B. Bubis, "Brokha Brokers and Power Brokers," Jewish Spectator, Spring, 1975, p. 60.

> to harmonize, to adjust,or to organize; and the co-ordinator is expected to fulfill all four functions--organizing the citizens, adjusting the service system, harmonizing the relationships between citizens' groups and between citizens and agencies, and equalizing the opportunity for citizens to participate in community decision-making. These tasks are, obviously, not always congruent; often, choices must be made between them, as between harmony and equality; and in making this type of choice, there are no established guidelines to follow and no clear set of priorities....[13]

The role of Gilbert's coordinators is analogous to what the community organizer in the "nonplace" Jewish community should expect at the beginning of his task. This raises questions about the worker's personal boundaries and stamina that must be considered. In a private discussion about the War on Poverty neighborhood coordinators, Gilbert noted a significant "burn out" factor among these workers within a matter of months after beginning their assignments. Though diversification or sharing of assignments may decrease the danger of rapid "burn out", doing so may not be immediately possible; other means of sharing responsibility might be sought.[14]

One important complement to involving the lay leadership of the new community is found in involving any professional colleagues, e.g.,congregational rabbis, already in the community. The worker may strengthen his role and increase his prominence by having the other Jewish professionals share the challenge of building the Jewish

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[13]Neil Gilbert, Clients or Constituents: Community Action in the War on Poverty (S.F.: Josey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1970), pp. 70 & 71.

[14]Neil Gilbert, conversation with the writer, June 14, 1977.

community. Gilbert discusses the socialization strategy used to create wider approval of and involvement in the task the worker undertakes:

> Socialization is an important mechanism for ensuring the effectiveness of normative power. Through this process, organizational norms are internalized and commitments to goals are developed. At the beginning of the Pittsburgh program, training and orientation sessions were held for the professional and non-professional staff of most agencies participating in the enterprise. These sessions ostensibly focused upon the etiology of poverty and the community-action strategy for attacking this social disease. Most significant here was not learning the facts of poverty, but developing an 'esprit de corps' and a broad identification with the anti-poverty movement; the necessity of transcending agency goals and building staff commitments to the goals of the enterprise was continually stressed. This indoctrination also helped to confirm the legitimacy of the coordinator's authority, by weaving it into the fabric of the program's philosophy and goals.[15]

The distance of the new community from the nearest metropolitan or regional center may be considerable, creating opportunities for innovative action as well as potential confusion about expectations between the employing agency and the local communal leadership. The setting may create the illusion that the worker, who is actually employed by an agency forty miles (or more) away from the community, owes his first allegiance to the local community. The local perception is that local residents are the worker's clients. The worker must be constantly aware of the potential for conflict. As Richard S. Bolan observes, "Occasionally, a planner may work for more than

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[15]Gilbert, op. cit., pp. 82 & 83.

one client group in the same community, thereby providing direct links between the two groups. Such a planner is quickly in trouble if his clients should come into conflict."[16]

Thus, the role of the worker is a critical factor in organizing in the new Jewish community. If the organization efforts are to have lasting impact, however, they must in some way lead to institutionalization of successful programs and strategies. This leads to a consideration of what communal structures might be appropriately applied to the "nonplace" Jewish community.

Structure of Community Organization

Though new forms of Jewish community organization may emerge in response to the particular characteristics of the "nonplace" communities, and in recognition of the changes now underway in the nature of contemporary Jewish practice and in the role of Jewish professionals, in the short term, some traditional forms and structures can be adapted for use in the new communities. Webber reminds us that:

> The channels for face-to-face communications are of a different sort from any of the others. They comprise the meeting places--convention halls, restaurants, lecture rooms, offices, street corners, stock exchanges, living rooms, and so on--where communicators can occupy a common space....The probabilities of making chance face-to-face contacts are greatest where the density of men sharing similar interests is greatest....[17]

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[16]Richard S. Bolan, "The Social Relations of the Planner," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXXVII, No. 6, Nov., 1971, p. 392.

[17]Melvin M. Webber, "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm," p. 99.

The development of places where regular contact can be made with Jewish community organizations, groups, and individuals is fundamental to providing foci for the Jewish interest groups organized within the "nonplace" community.

Places that have had a narrowly particularistic Jewish use might be adapted for Jewish communal use. Sklare explains the reasons why synagogues may prefer to serve the exclusive needs of their members:

> Largely because of the conditions of Diaspora living, Jews in the United States are extremely congregational--they stress the independence and self-sufficiency of the local synagogue....In a situation like the Jewish one where overall organization and authority is so amorphous, deviant types of congregations can hardly be said to be in 'revolt' against the system; they have merely effected a compromise adjustment which does not threaten the status quo in the ordinary sense....[18]

Though rabbis and synagogue leaders may offer some resistance to communal use of their facilities, efforts should be made to encourage their utilization for Jewish communal purposes. By the same token, Jewish Community Centers might be built (or expanded if they already exist) as logical centers for increased Jewish communal participation. And one must not overlook the value of creating new social services or, where possible, extending metropolitan Jewish agency services into the new community, because, as Siegel tells us, "The interest and participation in sectarian communal

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[18]Marshall Sklare, Conservative Judaism, p. 40.

social services suggest that such services do serve as a socializing influenc : for Jewish families. They strengthen the bonds of Jewish identification and provide a vehicle for acculturation."[19]

At some point, communal governance structures must be considered. The new communities have, necessarily, a high degree of autonomy which must be taken into account. Webber focuses the problem:

> Population mobility has raised a difficult dilemma for governments that were initially structured to serve geographically stable peoples. Our adaptive response has been to redistribute revenues and expenditures among geographic regions. Because only the least territorially-bounded of our governments can perform the redistributive function, we have been creating new roles for the federal government and a new set of functional relationships among our various public governments. At the same time we have been building a vast network of nonpublic organizations having a governmental character and self-assigned responsibilities. Each is organized upon an interest base, rather than a territorial one....All these groups are governments in the essential meanings of that term; they are regulative agencies with power to exert sanctions and enforce control.[20]

The problem, then, lends itself to review from the perspective of political science.

Several metropolitan Jewish Federations today are considering or attempting to implement programs of decentralization. The concept implies that the central organization will either make some effort to contract its operations, leaving "suburban services" with a

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[19]Morris Siegel, op. cit., p. 153.

[20]Melvin M. Webber, "The Post City Age," pp. 1106 & 1107.

higher degree of autonomy, or will further extend central services into th new community. In a Federation, this requires that all constituent agencies of the Federation undergo the same process of change. It further requires that more funding and greater decision making power be given to the decentralized area. Though models exist for these concepts, the issues that will emerge will be fundamentally political: how much power will be shared or acquired by new communities, and how will it be shared?[21]

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[21]A close review of Daniel Elazar's Community and Polity is helpful to this discussion. Elazar discussed the issues of decentralizing or federalizing the Los Angeles Federation-Council structure to share power with four Area Councils. This presentation is recorded in Los Angeles Federation Council, minutes of the Special Study Committee on Relationships of Area Councils and Federation, meeting of November 17, 1977 (typewritten). At this writing, the writer is familiar with several Metropolitan Federation experiences with these questions including Boston, Los Angeles, New York, Pittsburgh, and Northern New Jersey.

CHAPTER IV

THE METHODS OF STUDY

Defining the focus of this study was a gradual process that underwent several transformations. The researcher had originally conceived of an exploratory survey that would simply describe the South Peninsula Jewish community. The researcher conducted more than thirty exploratory interviews twelve to fourteen months prior to the present study, through which he discovered that the concept of "Jewish community" was not well-developed in the study area.

As one result of the exploratory interviews, the researcher considered the desirability and possibility of conducting a needs-assessment for the community. In view of the requirements of such a survey in an area as vast and ill-defined as the South Peninsula, a needs-assessment was deemed premature.

Another result of the exploratory interviews was that the Jewish Welfare Federation gave the researcher the responsibility for developing the community and for organizing an orderly process of decentralization for its activities in the community. After sharing the findings of the exploratory interviews with colleagues, lay leadership, and academic advisors, the researcher was persuaded that

a process of community development was needed in this community and that it was this process that should be studied. The researcher and the Jewish Welfare Federation believed that the results of this process, reflected in this study, would generate an information base and working hypotheses for further study. Moreover, the Federation and this researcher hoped that the study would produce some guidelines for community organization and for agency decentralization in the South Peninsula.

In the early stages of the present study, much more information about the community was required. The researcher was familiar with community study methods and several applications of it in non-Jewish communities. The more one knows about a community, the better his judgements about his observations. Any recommendations that might be made would come from a more complete understanding of the nature of the community and its people and would therefore be more realistic and practicable.[1]

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[1]Several works were especially helpful in developing a method for this study: Conrad Arensberg, "The Community Study Method," in The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LX, No. 2, Sept., 1954, pp. 109-124; Rosa Felsenburg, "Between the Conception and the Creation: Problems in the Achievement of the Aims of the Comprehensive Community Mental Health Center Legislation" Chapter I. (Doctoral Dissertaion, Columbia University School of Social Work, 1970), p. 8; Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans (N.Y.: The Free Press, 1962) pp. 336-350; Albert I. Gordon, Jews in Suburbia (Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1959); Mervyn Susser, "Tools of Evaluation," Community Psychiatry: Epidemiologic and Social Themes (N.Y.: Random House, 1968); William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society; and Neil Gilbert, Clients or Constituents, pp. 175-184. Much of the data gathered this way was collected in copious notes as well as in documents about the general community obtained from local Chambers of Commerce, the Palo Alto

Thus, the study became a work of action-research. The researcher was an active participant in the process being studied, and he was charged by the Jewish Welfare Federation with specific tasks to be accomplished in the South Peninsula. For these reasons, the guiding research methodology became participant-observation. Gans' study offered a model of participant-observation:

> The validity of my findings thus rests ultimately on my judgment about the data, and, of course, on my theoretical and personal biases in deciding what to study, what to see, what to ignore, and how to analyze the products. Properly speaking, the study is a reconnaissance -- an initial exploration of a community to provide an overview -- ...Participant-observation is the only method I know that enables the researcher to get close to the realities of social life. Its deficiencies in producing quantitative data are more than made up for by its ability to minimize the distance between the researcher and his subject of study.[2]

While participant-observation does minimize the distance between the researcher and his subject, it may allow considerable bias into the study process. Gilbert and others suggest that the researcher's biases can be checked when they are stated at the beginning, kept in mind throughout the study, and screened out

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Planning Commission, synagogue, agency, and organization bulletins; and in minutes of an aborted Federation Capital Funds Planning Committee that functioned in the area from the fall of 1975, until the winter of 1977. Some of this information is presented in Chapter I.

[2]Gans, The Urban Villagers, p. 350.

out whenever possible. Interventions, similarly, must be detailed.[3]

This researcher was plagued by a few biases at the beginning of the study. First, he believed that change was necessary in the community, that a better organized Jewish community with greater affiliation among the population was a goal worth pursuing. Second, he worked for an agency that had specific goals for its work in this community that it expected this researcher to actualize. One goal of great concern to the agency was increasing its fundraising campaign yields from this community. Third, the researcher lived outside the community. At the time the study began, several personal reasons prevented the researcher from moving into the community. In this case, the problem appeared to be more imagined than real, i.e., the researcher was concerned that being an "outsider" would severely complicate his community development and study efforts. Except at the very beginning, this did not present a problem. As Gans suggests, "Most people are too busy living to take much notice of a participant-observer once he has proven to them that he means no harm."[4]

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[3]Gilbert, Clients and Constituents, p. 178; Gans, op. cit.; Peter M. Blau, "The Research Process in the Study of the Dynamics of Bureaucracy," in Phillip E. Hammond, ed., Sociologists at Work: Essays on the Craft of Social Research (N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1964), p. 34; and Susser, "Tools of Evaluation."

[4]Gans, op. cit., p. 345. Conversations with colleagues and the researcher's thesis advisor persuaded him that these biases were more control variables in the study process than obstacles to the research. Cf. Gilbert, op. cit., pp. 179-180, concerning the effects of the researcher as a "biased instrument" in the study process, and means for minimizing this problem.

Participant-observation requires some structure and guidelines or the researcher becomes a human sponge. To guide this study, four principal theoretical foci were constructed. Within each focal category, several questions were developed:

1. Contextual Factors (How is "community" defined and understood in a demographically dispersed area) --

    a. What role do boundaries and territoriality play in the demographically dispersed ("nonplace") ethnic/religious community?

    b. Are there points of contact (association) with the Jewish community for those who are unaffiliated and uninvolved with Jewish community concerns?

2. The Role of the Worker (There are two principal clients in this case, the Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco, Marin County, and the Peninsula, and the South Peninsula Jewish community)

    a. How does the worker perceive, balance, and act on client interests?

    b. What does the worker perceive as tasks to accomplish? What process does he perceive as best suited to client interests? How does he balance task goals with process goals?

    c. How does the worker perceive and work with local perceptions of common interests? What issues stimulate involvement in communal activities? How does the worker

become aware of subcommunities? How does he relate these to the larger community?

d. The worker lives outside of the community he serves. What are the advantages, what are the obstacles that exist for the outside worker?

3. The Group Development Process

a. How are leaders identified; how does the worker recognize apparent leaders? How can the worker get apparent leaders involved? How does the worker cultivate and train leaders?

b. How can general participation in community activities be stimulated and increased?

c. How are group objectives formed? How are communal objectives formed?

4. Structures of Community Organization

a. What structures for community participation are devised, explicit or implicit?

b. How is the concept of decentralization understood: by the sponsoring agency? by the South Peninsula community? How is the concept of decentralization developed in practice?[5]

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[5]The original guide for study, presented above, was constructed after a close review of some of the literature on community organization. Two most helpful works were Jack Rothman, Planning and Organizing for Social Change (N.Y.: Columbia University Press 1974), and George Brager and Harry Specht, Community Organizing (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1973).

In the early stages of the work and study process, a few of these questions proved unnecessary, and all went through some transformation. New data and fresh insights often required that the researcher rethink certain concepts or even reconceptualize whole aspects of the study.

As time passed, the researcher realized that certain premises were presumptuous at the start, but were helpful in practice. Thus, though the researcher was employed by one client, the Jewish Welfare Federation, he acted as though the community in which he worked was a second client. This proved helpful because many people in the community thought of the worker as their community executive, and therefore shared information, aspirations, expectations, and frustrations more openly than they might have if the researcher were viewed solely as a functionary of the Jewish Welfare Federation. The researcher permitted this useful ambiguity to persist perhaps, in part, because of the natural process of identification with the community's people and problems that arises in so many participant-observation studies.[6]

The issue of being a worker/researcher was further complicated by the fact that the researcher lived far from the community. Twice at the outset, prominent lay leaders suggested to the researcher in private conversations that a worker from San Francisco who didn't live in the South Peninsula would be considered a "carpetbagger."

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[6]Gans, The Urban Villagers, and Whyte, Street Corner Society, treat the issue of identification thoroughly and sympathetically. On the question of one worker with two, potentially competitive clients,

Though the researcher monitored other reactions to this issue, it faded quickly after the brief entry period. Aside from the disadvantages of the distance from home to office (40 miles) and the consequent daily commute, after the first month, this issue seemed to be insignificant; no one questioned the fact that the worker lived outside the community.

One reason it may have ceased to be an issue is that the researcher spent a tremendous amount of time in the community, often working sixteen hour days, four days per week. During this time he would be seen in a wide variety of public settings, leading to his "blending into the community." One other reason for the researcher's prompt acceptance into the community is that he quickly befriended a number of leaders in the community. Close relationships with these individuals seemed to legitimate the researcher's presence in the community.[7]

Friendship with leaders in the community both facilitated the community organization tasks and the process of information gathering and complicated the reporting of these findings. As a result, the researcher has used discretion in screening facts, disguising names, and, in general, protecting his sources. This may be an overcom-

see Richard S. Bolan, "The Social Relations of the Planner," pp. 386-396.

[7]Cf. Gans, op. cit., Whyte, op. cit., and Felsenburg, op. cit. More about the researcher's social relations and role will be presented in the chapter on the Role of the Worker.

pensation for guilt the researcher feels for exploiting friendly relationships in the work and study process.[8]

The actual study reported here took place during an eight month period from May, 1977, through December, 1977, though the researcher has also made use of data collected in the earlier, exploratory phases of this process. A variety of methods of data collection were used including open-ended interviewing; attendance at various meetings, formal and informal; saving bits of gossip; and review of various written records of agencies, congregations, and organizations in the area.

The researcher paid especially close attention to his own thoughts and actions as an actor in this process. He sought to answer the questions raised in the theoretical foci of the study.

The researcher approached this project prepared to deal with the issues presented in the study guide. He used a portable taperecorder to review most of his meetings and relevant conversations, and often dictated these notes in his car during the long commute from home to office and office to home. These recorded notes were typed and filed by study category. Periodically, he reviewed these reports and reactions and gained new insights.

When the process of writing this paper began, new approaches often appeared to problems focussed in the study guide. A sorting

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[8]Gans, op. cit., p. 345.

and refining process took place through which approaches were evaluated, revised, and occasionally discarded. Thus, working on this study became an integral aspect of the thinking and sorting process and had a positive effect on the worker's methods and techniques of community development.

A study of a community organization process that is still continuing has certain intrinsic limits. The validity of certain perceptions or approaches attempted during the time frame of the study may not become apparent until later. The fact that there are no models within the Jewish community for the organization of "nonplace" communities by Jewish Welfare Federations further limits the possibility of anticipating consequences. The present report is a first attempt to provide some guidelines for subsequent projects and research of this kind.

CHAPTER V

LEADERSHIP, PARTICIPATION, AND APPROACHES TO THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Familiarity with Jewish communal history and contemporary theories of community organization at best gives a worker in a new community a topographical map. Having a grasp of the intellectual groundwork, the worker's next responsibility is to learn the "lay of the land." The worker needs to know what aspects of his training apply to the particular setting. He must enter the new community gradually and, if possible, he should obtain the assistance of experienced local "guides."

The worker's entry into the community was facilitated by his relationship with the rabbis and other Jewish communal professionals as well as with several lay leaders of the Federation Board of Directors who make their homes in the South Peninsula. He used these contacts as a basis for learning as much as possible about the community. These people informed the worker about other people they perceived as leaders in the Jewish community. In addition, they obtained for the worker introductions to their friends and acquaintances.

In the Jewish community, the first people whom a new worker must mee are the congregational rabbis. The earliest and most helpful interviews were with the three congregational rabbis. Each had witnessed the growth of the Jewish population on the Peninsula. All had often played important roles in Jewish communal development. The insights of the rabbis helped the worker to gain background knowledge of the Jewish community of the South Peninsula.

> Rabbi B., rabbi of the large Reform congregation in the South Peninsula, came to the community fifteen years ago. He has seen three groups of leaders in his congregation. When he arrived, an "Atherton clique" of affluent people comprised his Board of Directors. They were elitist and exclusive. None of these first leaders are currently involved in the congregation or the community.
> The second group consisted of entrepreneurs who raised the money for the Temple, expanded the membership, and brought the congregation into a prominent role in the Bay Area. These men, without exception, have gone on to major leadership roles in other Jewish organizations including the Federation. Rabbi B. says that these were the ones who began to "Move the congregation out into the community to assume its proper role."
> The latest group consists of managers, stock brokers, and engineers who have been concerned with expansion of Temple-based programs (especially adult education). Rather than do fundraising to increase revenue for the Temple, they have annually voted to raise the dues of Temple members. They inform the membership of their policies by impersonal letter. Rabbi B. and two key benefactors of the congregation expressed consternation at the lack of "finesse" this group displays the wealthier and more senior congregation members.
> Rabbi B. also commented on the changes he has witnessed in the associations of his members. An acute example of this is seen in attendance at Bar or Bat Mitzvah ceremonies. The majority of the people who attended such a ceremony were non-Jewish friends of the family when Rabbi B. arrived in the community. Though non-

Jews remain a high percentage of the attendees, there are significantly more Jews who attend and who regularly socialize with one another than was true even five years ago.
Rabbi B. says that he believes in each agency and each congregation "Doing its own thing - serving its own needs." But he believes that community-wide problems; e.g., intergroup relations and support for Israel, require community-wide solutions. He stated that his congregation should play a large role in such community-wide problem solving.

Rabbi M. has been in the community for five years. His Conservative congregation is much smaller than that of Rabbi B. His congregants are people who are mostly professionals: doctors, scientists, and engineers who work for Stanford University or one of the many high technology companies in the vicinity. These people are in Rabbi M.'s works, "Extremely concerned with tenure in their professions, obtaining the next contract, and completing their work assignments." As a result, he says, there is a high level of anxiety among them.
Rabbi M.'s members, with a few notable exceptions who were instrumental in founding a Jewish Day School in the community, have not been involved in Jewish communal affairs outside the congregation.
Rabbi M. admits that since he arrived in the South Peninsula he has been "Consumed by the work of this congregation and largely isolated from the community-at-large." One major frustration for Rabbi M. and his congregation leaders has been the constant transience that affects his membership. Given the uncertainty of their work, at least fifteen per cent of his congregation move away from the community each year, generally to be replaced by a similar number of families.

Rabbi U. has been rabbi to the only other congregation in the community for twenty years. His Conservative synagogue is located at the farthest northern boundary of the South Peninsula. Half of his congregants live in the North Peninsula, while the other half live as far south as the Saratoga area. Rabbi U.'s members have rarely become involved in extra-congregational activities.

> Rabbi U. says that a fundamental characteristic of life on the Peninsula is alienation and isolation. He believes that "Everyone has acquaintances, but there are very few friendships." The membership of Rabbi U.'s congregation is very stable. The congregation is aging, and Rabbi U. has lately tried to involve his congregation in communal planning for services to the elderly.

The rabbis helped the worker to see that there were a variety of existing forms of community organization, though these organizations reached a relatively small percentage of the estimated Jewish population. The worker learned of the three phases of leadership in the history of the community, and used this information to sort out the material gleaned from many interviews with leaders and influential people in the community during the next several months.

The worker also benefited from the sociological insights of the rabbis. He continually bore in mind that anxiety about job and tenure was a negative factor on people's willingness to commit themselves to involvement in the Jewish community. The comments about isolation and alienation felt and expressed by many Jews in the area were also useful data when the worker began to explore program options and service strategies for developing the community.

Until recently, a Jew who moved into the community either joined one of the three congregations or simply did not affiliate. The bulk of the Jewish population still has no affiliation, though more options exist today. Yet there are many people who have become leaders in the community who are vitally concerned with developing greater participation and affiliation.

For several months the worker conducted many informal interviews with leaders on the basis of being the new Federation worker in the community who needed background about the community and guidance in his task. Much useful information emerged from these discussions including insights into social patterns, affiliations, political relationships, and informal boundaries among people or between organizations. Subsequent to this initial study phase, similar data emerged daily as the worker carried out his tasks.

Among the most interesting data were clear groupings of leaders which, drawing from Rabbi B.'s insight, have been classified into four groups: the "old guard," the current leaders, the young newcomers to the community, and the organization-bound leaders. The first three groups share a communal perspective on the South Peninsula, while the last group is tied to particular organizations through which they have become notables within the community.

The "Old Guard"

The first three leadership groups are characterized by affluence and generosity and with leadership in more than one major activity in the community. These people bear out the oft-heard caricature of contemporary Jewish leaders, "The big leaders are the big givers." The "old guard" includes those who settled in the South Peninsula twenty years ago or earlier, and who were the founders of the congregations.

> Mr. T. is a real estate developer who moved from a small town in the Midwest in 1958. When he arrived, Palo Alto was only beginning to show signs of becoming a

center of industry in Northern California. To the citizens of San Francisco, Palo Alto was "out in the country." In fact, many San Franciscans had their "country homes" ten miles north of Palo Alto in Atherton.

Mr. T. believes that there are three keys to Jewish community development in the South Peninsula. The first is maintaining the interest and involvement of the "senior leaders," i.e., people like himself. The second is found in creating opportunities for young adults and newcomers to the area to learn about Jewish issues and to participate in fundraising and other activities of the organized Jewish community. The third key is to relate South Peninsula Jewish leaders "Quickly and effectively to the central Jewish Welfare Federation structure in San Francisco."

Mr. T. shared his impression that in the last two years the "senior leadership" had been less involved and has not worked towards bringing people out. He believes that this had a depressant effect on the annual campaign. Mr. T. urged that the worker's community development efforts include reinvolving the "senior leaders" while involving the young and the newcomers.

Mrs. S. echoed Mr. T.'s concerns about "senior leaders" who were currently uninvolved. But she offered a perspective on why many were no longer active in Jewish community affairs. Many of these families were involved because the women were active volunteers. Many of these women are returning to work or are seeking compensation for work they have long performed as volunteers "For emotional or occassionally, financial reasons," and they no longer function as volunteers in the Jewish community.

Mrs. S. came from a small town in the Southwest. She considers herself a part of the "Atherton group which was the mainstay of Federation leadership for years and which now provides financial but perhaps no other leadership." Mrs. S. sees a longstanding jealousy between the Jews of Los Altos/Palo Alto and the Jews of Atherton as another reason that the "senior leaders" are no longer active in the Jewish community.

Mr. L. came to the South Peninsula from New York in 1952. He had been at Stanford for military training during World War II, and he returned after the war. Mr. L.'s family had been involved in Conservative Jewish activities in the East, but when he arrived in Palo Alto he found it

easy to assimilate into the general society of the area. In the late 1950's, he was proposed as a member of a non-Jewish club and then blackballed because he was a Jew. This was the turning point for Mr. L.
Mr. L. helped to start all three of the congregations in the community. He seems to be known by every Jew who is affiliated in the South Peninsula. For this reason, Mr. L. is a wealth of information about people and organizations in the community. He has become the center of an informal communications network.
Mr. L. was excited to learn of the Federation's expanded role in the community and promised to help the worker to involve many of his friends and acquaintances. He is the kind of well-intentioned individual who welcomes any assistance in building his community. The worker has had frequent conversations with people who have told him, "Oh, you're the one that Mr. L. has spoken of...I hear you're doing a great job."

Mr. D. grew up in San Francisco and moved to the South Peninsula over twenty years ago. He has built a very large corporate accounting firm whose clients include all the "old guard" Federation leaders from the South Peninsula. Mr. D. has held nearly every prominent Jewish community position. Though he orients himself to San Francisco and Bay Area-wide activities, he considers himself the "Advocate and protector of the South Peninsula Jewish community."
Mr. D. has initiated and nurtured many of the organizational developments in the South Peninsula, including his congregation and the Federation Campaign. He told the worker that he knows how arduous a chore it is to involve new people in community work. Though that is critical, he would never say, "Like so many of my friends, 'go find some younger ones to take responsibility.'" Mr. D. always makes himself available for advice and assistance. In fact, he expects to be consulted.
Today Mr. D. is active in trying to develop housing for Jewish elderly on the Peninsula. He believes very strongly that Federation must develop such a project in the community. For this reason, Mr. D. suggests that the worker should play an ombudsman's role in the San Francisco Federation office on behalf of South Peninsula Jewish communal needs.

The "old guard" leaders of the South Peninsula Jewish community are all substantial contributors to the Jewish Welfare Federation. Though they rarely attend services, all have maintained their memberships with the congregations they helped to found. These people generally believe that there are significant advantages to relating the South Peninsula to the San Francisco Jewish community. Those who are still involved in Jewish activities actively seek out roles to play in San Francisco Jewish organizations. They also have business and social contacts in San Francisco.

Few of the "old guard" hold active positions today in the South Peninsula, but each expects to be kept informed about new developments. Moreover, all want to aid the worker however they can in the community development in the South Peninsula.

Most of the "old guard" believe that new people need to be found to lead the community, and that the worker must find ways of interesting and involving new leaders. A few would like to become active again in the leadership of the South Peninsula, and would like the worker to help them find the appropriate area for their involvement. Others have expressed their concern about the territorial and social differences among involved Jews in the area.

All of this data gathered from the "old guard" leadership of the South Peninsula suggests that the worker will have to function as a broker and facilitator for people and groups. This notion will be explored further.

Current Leaders

The people who constitute the current "senior" leadership of the Jewish community in the South Peninsula generally arrived in the area within the last ten years. They are affluent and usually "self-made." Few of them have located their homes north of Palo Alto, i.e., very few live in Atherton or Menlo Park. Most live in Palo Alto, Los Altos, and Los Altos Hills.

Almost without exception these people moved directly to the South Peninsula from other parts of the country and never established any tie to San Francisco. This group is quite chauvinistic about the South Peninsula and resents any suggestion that they live in a suburb of San Francisco or that services in the area are "satellites" of San Francisco-based agencies and organizations.

> Mr. Y. moved to Los Altos Hills three years ago. Because of his previous involvements in the Midwest and his substantial contributions he quickly assumed leadership roles in his adopted community.
> Mr. Y. resents the "Atherton clique" of the "old guard" who gave lots of money to the Federation in San Francisco and got nothing for the community in return. As a result, potential "leaders" are highly negative about the Federation.
> Mr. Y. believes that good leaders teach by example and must, therefore, socialize with the potential leaders to impart their examples. Since the Atherton clique does not socialize with the people of Los Altos, they cannot possibly serve to involve new people in the community.
>
> Mr. Y.'s thoughts were supported by Mr. N. who attended a small Israel information meeting at a private home. Mr. N. moved to the community from Chicago to establish a western base for his family's business. In the midst of a discussion about Federation's role in funding programs in Israel, Mr. N. launched into a digression on Federation's role in the South Peninsula.

Mr. N. argued that San Francisco controls the South Peninsula. He said that "There is a great deal of money in San Francisco, and the only way the South Peninsula will develop is if San Francisco shares that money with the South Peninsula." He expressed his frustration, and that of many others, that Federation has "Kept the brakes" on the community for too long. Mr. N. resents the fact that the former leaders of the community seem to have done nothing to provide for the community's growth. Mr. N. not only finds his perception frustrating, but he says that it makes him despair about the effort to build his community.

Mr. M. a former Federation Campaign Chairman is very committed to building a "Dynamic South Peninsula Jewish community." Mr. M. located his business in San Jose and built his home in Los Altos Hills. His wife is active in the Women's Division of the Federation. Mr. M. believes that too little has been done in the past to involve people. He suggests that "The only way to build a community is to involve many, many people." Mr. M. views the annual fundraising drive of the Federation as "The only mass-involvement activity in the Jewish community of the South Peninsula." He believes that it is the Federation professional's responsibility to get more people involved in the Campaign. When the worker asked whether other mass-participation activities like political discussions and community holiday celebrations might help as well, he said he had never considered that Federation could do other things. "However," Mr. M. went on, "It is Federation's responsibility to bring us together, no one else in the community can do it."

The current leaders of the South Peninsula share economic, social, and other demographic characteristics. They resent the fact that Federation and its leaders in the South Peninsula have taken little active interest in involving them in Federation activities. They are quite chauvinistic about their community, but have not effectively channeled their concerns and frustrations towards community building efforts in the South Peninsula.

These people all believe that the "old guard" are not good role models for upcoming leaders. They resent this deeply. They feel it is incumbent upon the Federation to share the wealth of the San Francisco Jewish community with them in the South Peninsula, though they all admit they are themselves affluent. These leaders take a "show me" attitude about their involvement in the Federation.

The current leaders believe that the worker must involve many more people in order to create a dynamic South Peninsula Jewish community. They believe that only the Federation can help them to build their community and insist that the Federation bring them together to achieve their goals.

The worker interviewed some people from this group. They were hostile and angry about the "old guard" and the Federation, who, they believed, had done little for them. These people insist that the effort be made, but refuse to help the worker in any way.

The insights gleaned from these interviews suggest that the worker will need to be a harmonizer and bridge builder between the "old guard" and the current leaders. This will be explored further.

Young Newcomers to the Community

The leaders in this group are under thirty-six years old. They have lived in the South Peninsula for six years or less. These are generally professionals--engineers, physicians, scientists, and business managers--who settled in the area in response to specific job offers. Many now own their own business or professional

practice or are at high executive levels in their companies. All are affluent. Some have become substantial contributors to the Federation through a special campaign project initiated by the worker before he took on the present assignment. That project aimed at discovering and soliciting just such people from the high technology industries in the area. To some extent, the success of this effort gave Federation's leaders the idea for this community development effort.

These are people who have been so busy establishing themselves economically that, with a few exceptions, they have only begun to take an interest in Jewish community affairs. They generally live in the Palo Alto-Los Altos area, but are not social friends with the current leaders just described.

> Mr. I. says that his "Jewish awakening" was the Yom Kippur War in 1973. At that point, he began to think of his responsibility for Jewish life and activities. This awakening coincided with his sudden affluence. He says that he first discharged his responsibility by making large contributions to the Jewish Welfare Federation. Now Mr. I. sees a correlation between one's financial contributions and his involvement in Jewish community activities.
> Mr. I. is gradually taking an active role in Jewish community activities. He has taken on a Board responsibility for the Jewish Center and has joined a congregation. He would like to see more Jewish activities in the community to "Shake the great level of apathy among Jews in the South Peninsula." Mr. I. says that most of his social friends are becoming interested in joining Jewish organizations and in participating.
>
> Dr. C., a scientist, built his own company in a very short period of time. He told the worker that now that he is financially independent, he would like to

become involved in the Jewish community. He said that after his first large contribution and a discussion of Jewish commitment he had with the worker, he decided to join a congregation. Dr. C. once said that "Because of its geography and because so many people talk about Jewish concerns and issues, there is currently no Jewish community."
Dr. C. is sensitive about Jewish lobbying efforts. He would like his friends to become givers to Israel-oriented causes as well as to Jewish educational and social activities in the South Peninsula.

Mr. P., a recent refugee from Central Europe, was helped to come to the United States by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society. He arrived in the South Peninsula about seven years ago and began to build his own company, another specialized electronics firm. He met his wife at a Hillel Foundation dance. Recently they joined a congregation "So that the children will get a Jewish education." The P.'s have had peripheral involvement with Jewish organizations, though they have made use of the community's services at several critical times.
Mr. P. is another new substantial donor who has taken an interest in Jewish life in association with his large financial commitment. Having been a Jewish refugee, Mr. P. is most concerned about refugee transit and rehabilitation activities supported by his Federation contribution. He and Mrs. P. have joined the young leadership program that the worker organized and have brought other friends into it as well. They say that their friends should learn about the problems facing Jews in the world today so that they too will do something to help.

All of the "young newcomers" the worker has met seem genuinely excited by what one termed "Starting at the ground floor of a new Jewish community." Each is searching for a deeper understanding of being Jewish. Most are eager to find ways of helping to build the South Peninsula Jewish community. At the same time, they have an abiding "international commitment" to the well-being of Jews throughout the world, and a willingness to share their new wealth

through the Federation.

Many of these "young newcomers" feel a need to shake their apathetic and unaffiliated peers until they too become involved in the Jewish community. Most have encouraged their friends to attend lectures and young leadership training programs the worker has developed in the area. They believe that people have been uninvolved mainly because Jewish organizational activities have been so "low-profile" in the South Peninsula.

The "young newcomers" are an excellent test group for the "nonplace" community theories because they have been organized by the worker around their common interests and concerns vis-a-vis Jewish life. They want to help the worker. Moreover, they want to help themselves to build up their Jewish community. The Leadership Development Committee, with which many are now associated, will be described further.

Organization-Bound Leaders

The people in this last group of leaders in the South Peninsula Jewish community have a variety of backgrounds, occupations, places of residence, and histories of involvement in the community. Their unifying characteristic as a group of leaders is that they have worked for many years in their respective organization, congregation, or agency, and through their hard work have risen to the presidency of their organization. Following Rabbi B.'s comment above, they are, in effect, a "third generation" of leader-

ship in many organizations.

Mr. K. is president of Rabbi B.'s congregation. He wants to bring his congregation "Into the Federation orbit." He is concerned by what he views as territorialism among the agencies of the South Peninsula. Mr. K. has offered to let the Federation and its agencies use rooms at the synagogue for activities and has encouraged the worker to steer communal activities towards use of the synagogue's land and buildings. Mr. K. has asked the worker to suggest young couples who are active in the young leadership program who might be recruited to join his congregation. He has a keen sense of quid pro quo and sees the direct benefit to his congregation of participation in Federation activities in the South Peninsula.

Mr. A. is president of the Jewish Day School. He sees the school as a primary constituent and service center for Federation activities in the South Peninsula. The worker has suggested to Mr. A. that he and his fellow board members should become more involved in Federation activities, especially the Campaign and Community Relations efforts. Mr. A. agrees that people associated with the school should begin to play a greater role in the rest of the community. He indicated to the worker that he can see how their increased participation in Federation activities might help them to obtain a greater allocation from the Federation. Mr. A. states that his school should become "An important center for Jewish learning and activity in the South Peninsula."

Mr. E., president of the Jewish Community Center, perceives "Many communities of varied interests in the South Peninsula." He knows many small groups who are interested in Yiddish or Hebrew conversation, some who are interested in Jewish books, others who are interested in performing Jewish music and so on. Mr. E. believes that it is Federation's responsibility through its funding of the Jewish Center, to provide opportunities for those people to hold their activities. He says that many South Peninsula people "Are not joiners and are isolated from one another" and that "It is the responsibility of the community to offer such activities." Mr. E. points to the high level of educational attainment and intellectual interest of Jews who live in the Palo Alto area. "Though educational and cultural activities may be expensive and not cost-effective," he says, "It would be helpful for drawing hundreds of new people into the community."

The "organization-bound" leaders believe that Federation has the responsibility to increase its allocations to their organizations so that they can provide more programs and services for the South Peninsula. Many of them hold that Jews who live in the South Peninsula "are not joiners." They believe that Federation should fund a myriad of programs to cause unaffiliated Jews to become affiliated by participating in one or more such programs.

The "organization-bound" leaders see a direct correlation between their cooperation with the Federation campaign efforts and the amount of increased benefit their organization would derive as a reward for their cooperation. Because of their perception of the worker as potential advocate for their agencies, these "organization-bound" leaders are most eager to follow the worker's advice. Though they currently guard their territories jealously, they are willing to participate in communal efforts.

Each of the "organization-bound" leaders is concerned with community development in the South Peninsula. Each wants his or her organization to be at the center of such development. None has on his own taken the initiative to draw the other leaders together to discuss cooperative community development, but each has asked that Federation, through the worker, do this. The involvement of these existing organizations is at the heart of the community organizing process.

Processing and Utilizing the Insights and Concerns of Indigenous Leaders

The South Peninsula has no discernable hierarchy of Jewish leadership. Instead one must approach the Jewish community with the pluralist's question in mind: i.e.,are there any leaders? Research and interviews reveal that there are various groups and organizations each with its own constituency and territorial concern. Each of these groups has its own leadership. Leadership in the community is fragmented and shared.

The literature of American Jewish communities describes similar arrangements in many other places. Diverse activities and organizations are developed to meet virtually every conceivable need of the members, but in most Jewish communities that have been studied, "top leadership" emerges in time of crisis to rally the masses, the organizations, and even the unaffiliated, to make a unified Jewish communal response to those concerns.

The South Peninsula does not immediately follow this pattern. A visitor would not readily perceive a strong hierarchial structure that coalesces quickly for communal response to crisis. Rather, he would observe the relative disorganization of Jews in the South Peninsula. Knowing in what specific forms pluralistic organizations and leadership groups do exist in the South Peninsula Jewish community, it is possible to merge the various individual agendas into various communal activities.

The Jewish residents of the South Peninsula lend themselves

to the type of study and organization process described in Chapter Three. This is an excellent test area for the theory of "nonplace" community development. Here is a territory where accessibility to Jewish activities and issue groups is more important than propinquity to Jewish neighborhoods or facilities. There simply are no areas of significant Jewish residential density and there are few Jewish organizational facilities in this vicinity.

One concern common to the different leadership groups is that more people must be involved in the Jewish community. One leader had stated that the South Peninsula would be a dynamic Jewish community only when hundreds more people became involved with Jewish activities.

Many of the "old guard" leadership want to be reinvolved in positions of community leadership. Yet the current leaders told the worker that the "old guard" was not good for the community, and that the group were not good role models for upcoming leaders. The Federation requires the participation of the "old guard" financially and politically. This source of apparent conflict between groups was a source of tension for the worker and necessitated his functioning as a harmonizer of interpersonal relations in this case.

The worker was told repeatedly by leaders of each group that he must find, interest, and involve "new people" in the activities of the Jewish community. Among the "young newcomers" he found volunteers who were interested in breaking the apathy of their friends and involving them in the community. A countervailing factor was

the issue described by the rabbis, viz., that anxiety about tenure and a generalized alienation and isolation felt by so many people in the South Peninsula made people fear commitment. The worker also knew the judgement of more than one of the "organization-bound leaders" that "South Peninsula Jews are not joiners."

These considerations, apparent opposites, required the worker to become an organizer of small interest groups as the literature of the "nonplace" community suggests. Small interest groups might attract some of the unaffiliated friends of the "young newcomers" and others. The worker functioned as a group worker in those programs, a process that is described below. But it was also necessary for him to become a broker or harmonizer among the existing groups in order to defuse the negative, competitive interaction among them that often served as a deterrent to joining for prospective new members.

While some of the "young newcomers" believed that apathy and non-affiliation was possible because Jewish communal activities were so "low-profile," territorialism among existing congregations and organizations was counterproductive to membership recruitment. Many of those who expressed isolation or alienation from Jewish organizations based their feelings on their perception of this territorialism and indicated that they were not interested in "Jewish politics." The rabbis and leaders from several of the groups also referred to this as a factor. The rivalries made it necessary for the worker to devote time to seeking common ground

among groups and organizations. One area of great common interest was Jewish community relations, and the worker undertook to develop a council in which all the Jewish organizations of the South Peninsula could meet together regularly to take concerted action and to achieve a communal concensus on issues.

In addition, the intergroup rivalries most prominent in the conflict of the current leaders with the "old guard" precluded useful involvement of everyone in the community who had an interest in seeing greater affiliation, more Jewish activities, and a strong Jewish community in the South Peninsula. The worker believed that every person with leadership skills was needed in the community development process. If necessary, new activities would have to be created to use the talents of these individuals who currently felt "unneeded" among the leadership in the community. Rivalries and antipathies could be channeled constructively if these individuals could have a useful activity to lead. The Federation's fundraising campaign, for example, is one activity that can absorb nearly every interested leader and volunteer in the community.

Another agendum clarified through the leadership interviews was relationship to the San Francisco Jewish community in general and to the Federation structure in particular. The "old guard", with their longstanding ties to San Francisco, sees the central Federation as the source of their legitimation as leaders and as the organization that confers power and prestige on a leader of the Jewish community. This was not a new finding. Much of the literature about Jews in

suburban areas refers to this phenomenon. But this perception of the "old guard" is in direct conflict with the belief of the current leaders that the Federation has no legitimate power over them, but uses its historical power to refuse to share its resources with the Jews of the South Peninsula.

This last view of the central Federation held a key for the worker. Many of the leadership interviews confirmed the worker in his belief that the Federation could and must bring the Jews of the South Peninsula together to help them to build their community. The "organization-bound" leaders saw immediate recriprocal benefit for their organizations in contributing to certain communal activities.

These facts suggested that the worker might need to function as a planner and ombudsman for the extension of San Francisco-based services into the South Peninsula community. The worker could involve some "old guard" leaders, who were on the Board of Directors of the Federation and of Federation's agencies in the process of extending needed services into the South Peninsula.

In other words, the process of building the South Peninsula Jewish community would require the talent and involvement of all existing leaders and organizations. The worker's first task was to demonstrate to all who had asked him for help in building the community that each was very much needed in the development work. Once individuals did participate in these activities they were often brought into contact with their rival. Since this contact was to

enable them to work for the same end--a stronger Jewish community in the South Penins la--they had to submerge some of their differences in order to strive for the larger goal.

This analysis of leadership and participation sensitized the worker to fundamental tensions within the South Peninsula Jewish community that he would need to resolve if his community development task was to be competently performed. He would need to be a harmonizer of interpersonal relations among individuals and groups. He would need to interest new people in becoming involved. And he would need to achieve some concensus on communal issues. The way in which these insights were incorporated into the worker's role is detailed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF THE WORKER

The worker was a participant-observer in this process of community development. The assignment at first provoked apprehensions that as worker I would be perceived solely as the agent of the Jewish Welfare Federation and that such association would impair my effectiveness as community organizer and the validity of this study. Nonetheless, as I paid especially close attention to the reactions of individuals and groups to the tasks with which I was charged and the activities in which I engaged, illuminating insights emerged. Though the Jewish Welfare Federation is clearly interested in demonstrable change--greater fundraising yields, greater numbers of volunteers, and the creation of functioning committees--the agency's leaders have a sense of community process and therefore have afforded the worker great latitude in carrying out the required tasks. Thus, a slow, deliberate process has unfolded.

While preparing for this assignment, I assumed that I would function as a community organizer, group worker, and fundraiser. But, sitting as Federation worker and de facto coordinator of services and programs funded by the agency in the community, certain

added expectations were placed on me by colleagues and volunteers in the community. The dual role of coordinator and community organizer expanded my potential contacts with groups and individuals throughout the community. Since I began these primary tasks, the role demands have blossomed to include community planner, counsellor, interpersonal peacemaker, community relations expert, and teacher and authority on Jews and Judaism. This chapter will describe these varying expectations of the role of the worker in this particular setting, using anecdotes from the process to illustrate the unfolding of the process and the extent of the worker's role in it.

Before proceeding with a description of the worker's role, a few words are in order about measuring the worker's effectiveness in this setting. Unlike other case studies of community organization in rural extension or neighborhood development settings, this work, on behalf of the Jewish Welfare Federation, carried with it the unique quality of a precise evaluative mechanism.

It was clear to the Federation's key leadership that the worker's various community organization responsibilities, if successful, would yield an improved image for the Federation in the community and, in time, would lead to increases in the annual campaign proceeds. Thus, the various role segments that will be described in this chapter can be discerned as elements of a total process of community development, aimed at the fundraising task assigned by the agency. For the Jewish Welfare Federation, the

worker is successful when he has increased the numbe: of volunteers involved, the number of contributors, as well as the annual campaign total from the community.

For this reason, the results of the annual fundraising drive become an unambiguous mechanism for judging the effectiveness of this process in meeting the basic task goal. By the same token, and in contrast to many other examples of community organization experience, the achievement of the central task can also be clearly measured. The success of these efforts can literally be quantified.

The Federation's involvement in the community development process will ultimately be judged a success or a failure by this clear, quantitative measure. The worker's efforts in this process are described in the balance of this chapter.

The worker's primary role expectations were determined by the employing agency, the Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco, Marin County, and the Peninsula. The Federation was concerned with organizational development that would lead to greater numbers of involved volunteers, various communal committees, and, of course, greater yields in the annual fundraising drives. These concerns translated into the primary job description for the worker: fundraiser, community organizer, and group worker.

Fundraiser

The Jewish Welfare Federation began solely as a fundraising organization and its only exposure in the South Peninsula Jewish

community until this current program began was through its annual fundraising campaign. When this worker was given the current assignment, there had been no growth in the annual campaign for several years. It was clear that obtaining greater annual campaign yields was a major task expectation the Federation had of this worker. After the worker spent several months analyzing past performance and structure of the campaign, he prepared a blueprint for a two year program of restructuring and improving the mechanism and image of the annual drive. Two areas of glaring weakness were identified. The first weakness was that the volunteer leadership base was inadequate and there was no concerted campaign worker recruitment and training program. The second weakness was that the image of the Jewish Welfare Federation in the community was less than positive.

The professional worker takes a leadership role in making changes in fundraising campaigns. To accomplish this primary task, group process and leadership training methods are employed in the development of a leadership cadre. More than in other small group efforts, the worker's personal example and leadership style is a necessary model. The analysis of leadership weakness in past efforts indicated a lack of enthusiasm for the effort on the part of the volunteers, a lack of understanding of the ultimate uses for the funds raised, and a lack of dedication on the part of the volunteers in past efforts.

Part of the problem was the almost negative image the Federation had in the community. The image problem, though inimical to campaign,

could not be reversed by the campaign effort itself. The Federation gave the worker broad responsibilities and authority so as to make possible the total effort of community development discussed in this paper, with the thought that successful community development efforts led by Federation would have positive effects on the annual campaign.

With this in mind, the first effort was to capitalize on the chauvinism of volunteers about their South Peninsula community and on their growing awareness that, increasingly, programs in the community were being funded through Federation and that this financial dependence would grow. The worker called attention to the correlation between more vigorous and productive campaigns and the ability of the community to hasten the growth of its own service agencies and Jewish programs. With this simple correlation in mind, the worker set about recruiting a leadership cadre of men with whom he had worked before in special campaign projects he had coordinated from the San Francisco office of the Federation. They, in turn, would recruit needed volunteers using the same methods and phrases. A Campaign Chairman was pre-selected by the worker and then formally recruited by the General Campaign Chairman in San Francisco. Together, this Chairman and the worker developed the program of personal recruitment, solicitor training, leadership motivation and campaign administration that is now being implemented.

The thrust of the 1978 Campaign in the South Peninsula is to train a group of thirty to forty volunteers from whom future leader-

ship for the South Peninsula Campaign can be drawn and who will concentrate on increasing the giving of current contributors of $500 or more. These are men who have all agreed to participate in several hours of seminars on the nature of the Jewish Welfare Federation and its beneficiaries as well as in a solicitor training program that uses group dynamics and role playing methods to teach effective communication and fundraising techniques. The leaders of this group will participate in a two week study mission to Israel prior to Campaign through which their education and motivation will be completed.

Internal evaluation and feedback mechanisms have been built into the restructured fundraising drive to facilitate a two-way process of eliminating further problems and weaknesses and reinforcing the commitment of the thirty to forty workers. The Federation leadership reviewed the plans for this process and the early elements of its implementation and have endorsed this approach. Moreover, the leadership made clear the commitment to a two-year process of development and, therefore, the willingness to wait until the 1979 Campaign to realize increased dollar amounts from the South Peninsula. However, early results suggest that their expectations may be fulfilled in the 1978 Campaign itself.

The role of fundraiser was a source of great personal tension for the worker in this community. It is this role that is the primary base of evaluation the agency traditionally uses, and yet the other role expectations all demanded so much time and

attention, that Campaign reorganization, planned in theory, was long-delayed in its implementation. Use of group process methods is not widespread in fundraising drives, and often workers use other means to meet their task responsibilities. The Federation's commitment to the longer-term process of community development made possible the implementation of these nontraditional methods--which have proved elsewhere their validity to the long-term health of fundraising campaign structures and increased yields. And so this area of great conflict between task goals and process goals became an area of an optimal blending of process methods with the achievement of the required tasks.

Community Organizer

The community was not without Jewish organizations and agencies when this process began. There were three congregations, two of them older than twenty years, a small Jewish day school, a small Jewish community center, a Hillel Foundation at Stanford University, and several membership organizations, including a significant chapter of Hadassah with about five hundred members. For more than ten years there had been Jewish Welfare Federation and Israel Bond fundraising campaigns, and an active but aging Federation Women's Division which extended its activity beyond fund-raising to education and various volunteer service functions in the community. In fact, for three years there had been a Federation office staffed by one half time fundraiser and one secretary. In

all, these congregations, organizations, and agencies served fewer than one third of the known Jewish families living in the community.

It took almost eight months to meet all the leadership, lay and professional, current and past, of these existing organizations. These meetings took the form of interviews and meetings in which, as the new worker, I stressed my interest in learning from these leaders and the Federation's interest in better serving the community. Almost without exception, leadership expressed a desire to be "brought together" in a more cooperative way and a hope that Federation might serve as the "honest broker" or "force" for more cooperative community building endeavors.

Often conflicts existed between the desire of volunteer leadership for interagency cooperation and the professional leader's expression of territorialism. A clear example of this conflict is in the relationship between the largest synagogue and the growing Jewish community center.

> Rabbi B. has told the worker repeatedly of his desire to make his synagogue into a full service center for his congregants, and of his concern that the Jewish Center, with its lower membership fees and more complete recreational facilities, had opened a new facility only two miles from his synagogue. Rabbi B. had been the rabbi of his synagogue almost since its beginning as a congregation. Because his leaders have been the mainstays of all Jewish organizational developments in the community, he has been the most prominent Jewish professional in the community for some time.
>
> Mr. T., the director of the Jewish Center, had not established any rapport or working relationship with Rabbi B. He often expressed his dismay to this worker that Rabbi B. should be at all concerned that the Center would endeavor to reach out to the vast number

> of otherwise unaffiliated Jews in the community.
> Upon comparing the membership lists of the congregation and the Jewish Center, one notices two things: first, that there is some dual membership between the two organizations, and second, that there has been relatively little growth in affiliation from the rest of the community.
> As community organizer, I capitalized on the suggestion that the Federation might be the "honest broker" in bringing together the existing organizations, congregations, and agencies, and have organized a monthly staff meeting of the rabbis and executive agency personnel around an agenda built upon areas of great common interest. Together we search for ways of better serving our own constituencies, or reaching out to the unaffiliated, and of coordinating and improving our respective programs and services so as not to duplicate one another. Moreover, these professionals, some of whom had not spoken to one another in years, are beginning to talk to each other regularly.
> The early agenda have had a group study component (a lesson on some Jewish subject) and an exposition of elements of the several organizations' programs. Finally, the Federation agenda of increasing involvement through all possible means has been presented, coupled with a call for more cooperative communal programs. Through the South Peninsula office, Federation has assigned its community shaliach (resident Israeli resource person and community worker) to coordinate the first community-wide Hanukah celebration. The participating organizations have been brought together cooperatively and complementarily, which has improved communications among agencies and reinforced the Federation's image as "honest broker" and as a helpful umbrella agency for Jewish community activities.

Recent feedback from Rabbi B. and Mr. T. suggests that these efforts have at least papered over the conflict between the synagogue and the Jewish Center. Moreover, the two groups are talking to each other, and their staff members are working together towards the community-wide program along with their colleagues from the other synagogues and organizations. The professionals' new involvement and interest has spread to their volunteers as well.

Several people from different organizations have told this worker the same thing: the expanded, active Federation presence is very helpful in encouraging rapport and furthering cooperative efforts, and Federation is proving itself a valuable addition in "Helping the South Peninsula's Jewish community to grow."

Group Worker

Another primary task of the worker was to develop interest among young professional and entrepreneurial families in the community in becoming involved in the various aspects of Jewish communal organization. A specific sub-agendum of Federation is the recruitment and training of future leaders for Federation and other Jewish organizations in the community. An example of the worker's role in carrying out this assignment is his involvement in creating and working with a young leadership training program known as the Leadership Development Committee of the Peninsula (LDC).

The staff role in LDC requires use of group process methods. The worker must possess an ability to establish strong peer bonds with the volunteer leader-trainees. On occassion, he must lead by example.

The LDC began with drawing together six young (in their thirties) couples who were "prominent" among their peers, and could, therefore, be called upon to bring their friends and acquaintances out for the programs. This core group was identified by polling senior Federation leaders and the rabbis in the community

to identify "future leaders" who were ready for involvement in communal activities. The creation of this leadership group was one of the worker's first efforts. The development of a membership of over one hundred forty has taken several months. Members range in age from thirty to forty-five. They generally live within a fifteen mile radius of Palo Alto. Members come once per month for a lecture-discussion on a topic of great Jewish concern as well as a social hour. Fifteen months later, LDC now has diverse programming and more intensive leadership training programs. The annual program cycle includes a weekend retreat, intensive, smaller group discussion programs that meet in homes rather than in the usual large meeting hall, and large meeting lecture-discussions.

The worker has had the roles of processing the insights of the leadership cadre, of interpreting the needs of the Jewish community for such a group and of helping them to see themselves as leaders of the LDC, of pushing them towards expanding possibilities of involvement in the Jewish community, of encouraging the group to take on, analyze, and handle increasingly complex organizational tasks, and of encouraging this leadership group to draw new workers into leadership roles from the membership at large in order to mount the diversifying programs of LDC.

The Organizing Committee (leadership group) of the LDC meets at least once every month for two to three hours, always around a program-organizing agenda. In the last six months, the meetings have had a second, more sophisticated agendum: understanding the

leadership role in the community.

In the spring of 1977, two members of the Organizing Committee raised questions about the kinds of responses the Jewish community might make with regard to two current community relations issues: 1) manifest Nazi activity in the San Francisco area, and 2) affirmative action and quotas issues focused in the Bakke case before the Supreme Court. A brief discussion at that meeting ended with a consensus that LDC should have programs on these issues. When the chairman turned to the worker to request some direction in developing this program, the worker perceived this as an opportunity to strengthen leadership through responsibility for tasks within the committee. He suggested that a speakers subcommittee be formed to develop a program on these issues as well as to consider other future programs. The speakers committee was formed by drawing two couples from the Organizing Committee and two couples from the general membership. These latter two couples had expressed interest in taking some responsibility for helping to mount future programs, and the chairman saw this as a good opportunity to groom future Organizing Committee members. This was the first step towards securing organizational viability in the future by developing new leadership systematically.

The worker met with the speakers committee three times during a two month period. At the first meeting, the committee members pressed the worker for an easy way of presenting a program that would capture the gist of the issues. The worker suggested that they would learn more about the issues if they took the responsibility to read some of the current literature on the subjects, and that they might delegate different parts of the research task among themselves. The committee accepted this suggestion and some bibliographical guidance, and at the next meeting narrowed the focus to two aspects of the issues that the group thought would have greatest interest to the general membership.

The committee then discussed ways of presenting these issues to the membership in ways that would elicit interest in becoming involved in activities related to community relations issues. The worker offered some program options and also suggested that LDC involve some of the Jewish community's experts on these subjects, people who worked for the various community relations agencies, local and national.

At the next meeting the committee, after much debate, held that as committee members had learned by taking

> the responsibility to prepare for the committee meetings so would the larger membership gain more from reading a curriculum and discussing the issues in small groups led by the community relations experts. Furthermore, the committee also decided to open these small group meetings with a general meeting featuring a panel of experts who would set a framework for considering the particular questions. Finally, the committee determined that the membership should be encouraged to join one of the several Jewish community relations agencies that were working on these problems in the San Francisco Bay Area.
> When the chairman of the subcommittee presented the program plan to the Organizing Committee, he spoke with great enthusiasm and authority. The Organizing Committee unanimously endorsed the subcommittee's recommendations. At the meeting, membership participation in the program reflected its great interest in these issues and satisfaction with the program format.

It is clear to the worker that small group process is indicated for such leadership training tasks. The committee members come to own their program through the committee process and grow by doing the work themselves. For the worker to have presented a set plan would have afforded no opportunity for growth and learning.

The Organizing Committee has discussed its responsibility to the membership, results of membership surveys of program preferences and ways of implementing new programs, and responsibilities of LDC members (and especially of themselves as leaders of LDC) to the community at large. Group discussion often touches on the excitement of being on the "ground foor" of what is perceived as the building of a new Jewish community. Members of the committee seem to recognize that they have forged a viable organization that provides an attractive point of contact for members of LDC who had previously been unaffiliated with any

element of the Jewish community. They view their responsibility as leaders as one of creating ever-increasing participation in the Jewish community among their peers.

While the three primary role expectations arose from tasks prescribed by the employing agency, several secondary role expectations arose from the process of implementing the primary roles and, in the process, becoming a "public figure" as active worker for the Jewish Welfare Federation in the South Peninsula Jewish community. Among the unanticipated role expectations for the worker were community planner, community relations consultant, personal counsellor, interpersonal "peacemaker", and teacher and authority on Jews and Judaism.

Community Planner

The professionals in the South Peninsula knew that this worker had been a member of the social planning and budgeting staff of the Jewish Welfare Federation prior to this current assignment. Some knew that among the responsibilities to the central Federation the worker retained while undertaking this assignment was a role in planning and budgeting for Jewish education and culture, Jewish community centers, and college youth services. This fact was introduced at the beginning into the South Peninsula staff meetings. At the same time, the Federation leadership and the worker had discussed a plan whereby at least the first eighteen months of the worker's assignment would be in the area of community development and fundraising, before he would be requested by the agency to

undertake the construction of a formal community planning process that would relate in defined ways to the central planning and budgeting operation.

The fact that the worker had indicated to all the existing congregations, agencies, and organizations the Federation's intention to be a positive force in building the Jewish community signalled to the lay and professional people in these organizations that Federation seemed prepared to undertake a formal planning process in the community. There were, after all, planning agenda items in each organization that were stymied for lack of professional guidance as well as for lack of relationship to some community-wide service plan. Before assigning the worker to the community, the Federation had aborted a facility planning process related to a special building funds drive, and therefore had raised expectations that Federation staff would now formally pick up the community's concerns about well-elderly housing, Jewish library resources, vocational services, and expanded family and child counselling services, as well as expansion of Jewish community center facilities.

The various organizations called upon the worker to organize a community planning process while the agency that employed him was not at all prepared for the consequences. The Federation leaders instructed the worker to stall the process; i.e., provide minimal professional input towards creating a formal planning process while, at the same time, coordinating on-going communal

programs. The staff meetings provided a major forum for carrying out the latter task and the fact that there has been some minimal movement towards a planning process seems to have satisfied the demand. The worker's colleagues in the community have expressed their perception that meeting on a regular basis and finding specific areas of cooperation is of value to the community-at-large as well as to their own organizations.

The other professionals see this worker as more than the "honest broker" in this context. He is viewed as the leader when it comes to discussing communal solutions. He has also functioned as an ombudsman with regard to extending certain agency services into the community.

By collecting the referral statistics and some anecdotal material about congregants who had needs that the rabbis were unable to meet (e.g., employment counselling), the worker was able to persuade colleagues in the central Federation office that certain San Francisco-based agency services were needed immediately, on an extension basis, in the South Peninsula. Federation began to push these agencies to extend service. The worker, who has a relationship with the executives of the Jewish Family and Childrens Services and of the Jewish Vocational and Career Counselling Service, cajoled them into placing the need for extension services on their Board agendas. Within four months each of the agencies assigned a part time worker. Since the worker also supervises the Community shaliach (Israeli youth worker) he assigned him two days per week

to the South Peninsula community -- to work with the Stanford Hillel Foundation, the Jewish Center's youth worker, and the congregational religious school principals.

Earlier the worker had rented an extra office space in his suite with the expectation that this "free" space might be needed one day for extension workers. This space he now assigned to the extension workers of the three agencies who were assigned to the community.

Since service needs become clearer when some service is given, the presence of these three agencies can serve as the beginning for more adequate services. Since success enhances the worker's chances of future success, these efforts may have constructive consequences when a formal, volunteer-directed, planning process begins.

Community Relations Consultant

The Metropolitan Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC) is concerned with coordinating the activities of the various Jewish agencies concerned with intergroup relations: congregations, Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, etc. Its purpose is to be the instrument through which these diverse organizations that represent various constituencies can achieve consensus on matters of policy and common coordinated strategy in response to various issues. The South Peninsula Jewish community had always been somewhat maverick in the activities of

its various Jewish "defense" agencies. The JCRC had never been able to adequately staff the activities of its South Peninsula section, which only exacerbated the negative feelings of Jewish activists in the South Peninsula towards the central body.

In response to JCRC's request to the Federation leadership for assistance in the task of organizational development of its South Peninsula section, the worker was drawn into the process first as consultant and then as the organizer and area staff coordinator for this function. When JCRC functions well, its agenda is a diverse and time consuming one. Therefore, the worker split the organizing task with his assistant, but, the principal job of drawing the various organizations together into a community relations instrument remained primarily his task.

The process of knitting these organizations together was aided greatly by the separate development of the South Peninsula Jewish Community Staff Committee, but the job of drawing everyone together remained difficult when the volunteer-staffed organizations were called together. Bringing all the organization's lay officers together on a monthly basis to deal with common community relations concerns has not been difficult, but the meetings began with considerable conflict.

Small chapters of national Jewish women's organizations, such as ORT, Hadassah, and Brandeis Women's organization had functioned in the community for a number of years. In addition to the local affiliates of national organizations, a smaller Zionist organization,

called "Operation Shalom," was organized by a group of men and women in their mid-fifties to early sixties. These organizations had never been professionally staffed locally, and their officers, who had been founders of these organizations in the South Peninsula, had developed set ways of operating. The creation of a professionally staffed JCRC in the South Peninsula seemed to provide an opportunity for these officers to advance the particular ideological orientations of their organizations on a community-wide basis.

Operation Shalom, in particular, was represented at JCRC meetings by two women who support the minority parties of Israel's right wing. Since JCRC serves as a coordinator for community-wide action on the basis of a consensus, it typically reflects a broad spectrum of opinion on various Jewish issues. At the first three JCRC meetings, Operation Shalom offered many resolutions and programs for public demonstrations on behalf of extreme Israel positions -- none of which were consonant with longstanding community policies achieved through Metropolitan JCRC debates. Staff had been charged with interpreting JCRC's policies on these matters and their "authority" came into sharp conflict with these leaders. The officers of Operation Shalom argued that the JCRC staff was standing in the way of providing support for the Israeli cause.

The worker and his assistant have endeavored to interpret the long-standing policies of the JCRC to this committee in an effort to help the delegates develop a sense of the purpose of this coordinating agency. Meetings are still disrupted by a

shrinking group of representatives of a minority position who seem unwilling to change their views of JCRC and its functions to conform with that of their colleagues (who now perceive JCRC as a coordinating rather than a direct service agency), but they also seem unwilling to resign from the organization, and so they remain a small, not-too-loyal opposition.

Staffing this organization has been a time-consuming assignment, but one through which the worker has come into contact with many small volunteer-staffed organizations with which he might otherwise not have had contact. Moreover, because much of the Federation's work in the community becomes visible through the worker's activity, it has broadened the positive image of Federation beyond exclusive fundraising concerns to direct concern with vital political issues affecting the Jewish community. It has also broadened the awareness of the change in Federation's role on the part of a larger segment of the community.

Counsellor

Although the South Peninsula Jewish community is not without its rabbis and caseworkers, people have turned to this worker for the kind of advice most appropriately requested from those more traditional sources. When it is clear that someone has turned to him as a confidant or for personal advice, the worker always offers to make a referral to a rabbi or Jewish Family Service caseworker. The usual replies, "The rabbi doesn't understand," or "I don't need therapy, I need advice!," suggests that individuals

come to the worker for this counsel on the basis of a relationship developed in other aspects of his work.

One example may illustrate this role expectation. A couple in the leadership of the LDC program, described above, in which both partners grew up in rather assimilated Jewish homes in the East, turned to the worker for help in dealing with their young children who seem to resent being Jewish. For example, they hate to miss school for Jewish holidays. Each of the parents approached the worker separately. Each told his or her story about growing up in an assimilated home. When the worker recommended that their rabbi might help, the response from each was that "He didn't have good advice." The worker has recommended some basic ways of relating to these children about Judaism and has suggested articles the parents can read and things they might do with their children to improve the children's attitude toward Judaism.

The worker is younger than these parents and is not himself a parent. The fact that these parents, among other people, have turned to the worker with family and business problems for advice, solace, and assistance, and feel comfortable in turning to him is not a function of age. The Federation role itself seems to suggest authority, trust, and stability -- at least sufficient to inspire confidence in the worker's understanding of and advice about these problems. Any success they may have with the worker's suggestions further enhances his stature.

Interpersonal "Peacemaker"

Much of a Federation executive's work requires contact and involvement with prominent members of the Jewish community. During the community-study phase of this assignment, this worker met most of the senior leaders of the Jewish community and established working relationships with all. The process was one of interview and discussion and it helped to open these leaders to wide-ranging and continuing discussions of their backgrounds, current roles in the Jewish community, and their business and personal lives. They also shared a great deal of anecdotal history of the South Peninsula Jewish community. As a result the worker has quickly become a repository of the history and sociology of the community.

The "old guard" leaders are people who moved into the community about twenty years ago. The principal area of settlement at that time, and virtually the exclusive one for the affluent, was the Atherton-Menlo Park area. Talking with "old guard" leaders made the worker aware of long-standing rivalries, feuds and cliques that exist within Atherton and throughout the South Peninsula area in general. Whether it can be traced to specific interpersonal incidents or to some more generalized rivalry, the current leadership, who live mostly in the Palo Alto-Los Altos area have disdain for the senior leaders of Atherton-Menlo Park. If Federation's efforts at community development are to work, these feuds must be dealt with, so that people who haven't talked to one another for years can work together on the same committees. The worker, who

appears neutral to all, has become the central figure in turning these conflicts into "byegones" and in enabling "enemies" to work together in the same effort.

> One of the greatest and most troublesome conflicts, around which groups of opponents had formed, originated in a political squabble within one of the congregations fifteen years ago. At that time Mr. N., a prominent senior leader was next in line for the presidency of the congregation and Mr. T. waged a campaign for the presidency which he won. An open election fight among gentlemen was unheard of in those days, and Mr. N. and his supporters were deeply disturbed and embarassed, and withdrew from active involvement in the congregation.
> Today, Mr. N. is an even more prominent figure in the Jewish community, as are the men who supported him in the congregation elections fifteen years ago. Mr. T. is the Campaign Chairman for Federation. This is a role which requires a great deal of public support and whose occupant cannot afford to alienate members of the community. It was clear, at first, that though Mr. N. and his long-standing supporters would make their contributions, they would certainly not help Mr. T. as volunteers in his campaign. Yet, their help is most necessary for the success of the campaign. The worker and his colleagues in San Francisco were aware of this conflict, about which this worker became familiar more than a year before the 1978 Campaign plans became firm. Mr. N. was encouraged by the Executive Director, with whom he had a close personal relationship, to become more involved in the central Campaign in a prominent position. This was a significant inducement for Mr. N., and when the Campaign General Chairman asked him to become his Vice Chairman, he accepted. This action secured his followers as workers too. Mr. T. was saved the embarassment of rejection and partial failure which he was certain to face if he alone had asked these people to participate actively in his Campaign.

The role of the worker on behalf of this cause-oriented Campaign was appropriately one of neutralizing public conflicts while creating the widest possible public involvement in the Campaign.

Teacher and Authority on Jews and Judaism

This worker has been called on in a variety of settings, ranging from committees which he staffs, to study groups in the community, to be an informal teacher and an authority on Jews and Judaism. In the LDC especially, the worker has had to teach the Organizing Committee about certain Jewish rituals (rules of kashrut and holiday celebrations) in ways that were not mere expositions but that led to group discussion of Jewish symbols and rituals and their importance to the maintenance of Jewish identity. The worker has since had the same discussion in JCRC and Campaign committees when an issue arises, having been called upon as someone in authority with knowledge on these subjects.

The worker has been invited to speak to various groups of Federation leaders and when necessary has had to prepare lessons or lectures on aspects of American Jewish life. In checking with colleagues, the worker has found that this is not a common expectation of workers in Federations. Though Federation executives are called on to give fundraising speeches and expositions on the nature of Federation, few have expected the Federation worker to be an authority on Jews, Jewish life, and Judaism.

Two aspects of this new role expectation are noteworthy. The worker has been "examined" for authenticity as a Jewish role model and as an authority on Jewish life for those with whom he interacts. Even in the South Peninsula staff meetings described above, the worker's particular knowledge of American Jewish sociology

and of American Jewish organizations is valued by his colleagues The second striking aspect is that the teaching role has been assigned to the Federation worker because of the paucity of qualified teachers in this particular demographically dispersed ethnic/religious community.

The Role of the Worker: Great Expectations?

A community organizer must be prepared to make an enormous time commitment to his work if he is to accomplish his tasks. This worker rapidly came to a point that it became impossible to take on any additional time commitments not directly related to his work.

In his personal life, this meant curtailing non-business socializing, cancelling a theatre subscription, and spending far less time at home with his family than he would prefer. In his professional life, he had to turn down several requests to be a guest speaker for organizations outside of the area of his responsibility, requests he would normally fulfill gladly. It was also necessary to reject consultation requests from nearby Federations, a professional courtesy he rarely refuses to perform. If he were to begin again, this worker might simply carve out a regular day or evening off for his personal life.

If "burn out" is a malady common to community organizers, then this worker is fortunate that he has not yet suffered its symptoms. One way he maintained his perspective and sense of

humor was by forcing himself to record his thoughts and memories of the process regularly in fulfillment of this research task. Reviewing one's notes systematically gives one the opportunity to chart progress and to learn from mistakes. Finally, it offers a periodic respite from the pressures of the work.

Professor Irving Greenberg, Chairman of the Department of Jewish Studies at the City University of New York, has suggested that Jewish life is now in a process of major institutional transition in response to the Nazi Holocaust and the birth of the State of Israel. In this context he suggests that the role of Federation executive is coming to share equal prominence with that of the rabbi as a key, focal worker for Jewish communities. My experience not only supports this point of view, but takes the notion somewhat further. Not only is the Federation worker perceived as a prominent Jewish figure, he is also called upon to perform many non-sacramental functions also performed by rabbis.

The Federation worker will always have responsibility for managing community fundraising efforts. In the "nonplace" community, many conflicting time and role demands will emerge, such as those described in this chapter. If the worker is to carry out his fundraising responsibilities, he will have to manage and coordinate these conflicting demands. Though they may impose considerable demands on time, performing the secondary roles described seems essential to competent performance of the primary tasks.

The Federation worker whose responsibilities include community development in demographically dispersed areas can expect to be called upon to serve in nontraditional ways: as counsellor, peacemaker, teacher, and Jewish authority figure. If he enters a community where there are relatively few Jewish resource people, he can expect to become a prominent Jewish figure. As such, he should expect to be called upon to play these various roles. The challenge and responsibility in this recognition is enormous. For if the worker is to serve developing and changing Jewish communal needs competently, he must be a knowledgeable and authentic Jewish role model for the community he serves.

CHAPTER VII

FIRST STEPS TOWARDS STRUCTURE

Community organization in the South Peninsula began in response to various criticisms of the San Francisco-based Jewish Federation by South Peninsula Jews who were involved in Jewish activities in their community. The substance of these criticisms and concerns has been presented above, but can be reviewed here in a more generic form. This chapter will summarize some of the key aspects of Jewish community development work in the South Peninsula. To understand the process that took place it is important to understand some of the critical component parts: exploring initial reasons for Federation's concern, developing an awareness of existing tensions, challenging the domain consensus, coordinating communal efforts, restructuring the Federation campaign, and continuing leadership development efforts. These processes taken together led to the development of a Jewish community structure in the South Peninsula.

Reasons for Concern

Peninsula leaders of various Jewish activities expressed frustration with and resentment of the city-based Federation office.

The locus of power in one geographic area where the Jewish population had declined precipitously in the last decade seemed unjust. Even Peninsula Jewish leaders involved in aspects of the Federation process believed that Federation provided no service to the Peninsula. Though these same people support the allocation of the bulk of the campaign proceeds for overseas needs, they argued that far too little of the money allocated for domestic agencies and programs found its way to the Peninsula.

The worker began a study of these generalized criticisms. Among the data that emerged was the fact that though there was far more money being channeled to services on the Peninsula, Federation was doing very little to publicize this change. Another fact that emerged is that "Peninsulites," especially residents of the South Peninsula, had intense feelings of separateness and autonomy from San Francisco-based Jewish communal organizations and from the Federation itself. Finally, the worker discovered that relatively few--only twenty-five to thirty percent--of the Jewish residents of the South Peninsula were affiliated with one or more Jewish organizations; and those organizations that existed were not well coordinated for communal actions and occassionally, were even uncooperative with one another.

In the response to the worker's preliminary findings, some leaders of the San Francisco Jewish Welfare Federation suggested that the Federation "decentralize," i.e., contract the central organization to give the South Peninsula community greater autonomy in fundraising, planning,

provision of services and decision making. Others, including the worker, argued that such withdrawal by the central organization was premature because of the low affiliation rate and the dearth of interested communal leadership in the South Peninsula. Contraction by the San Francisco-based Federation would only exacerbate the feelings of frustration and powerlessness felt by leaders in the community.

The worker posited that a process of community organization, would be a necessary precedent to serious consideration of San Francisco agency decentralization in the South Peninsula Jewish community. The generalized concerns of the local leadership needed to be better articulated and channeled into a process of community development. In this development process, it was expected, new leaders would emerge. Together, this expanded leadership of a better organized and more self-sufficient community might explore with the San Francisco-based leadership the practical implications of decentralization. In any case, the Federation in San Francisco would not unilaterally decentralize until a specific request came from the community itself.

Before exploring some of the constructive developments, it is necessary to describe some of the tensions that exist between local organizations and San Francisco-based organizations as well as the interorganizational rivalries within the South Peninsula community.

Existing Tensions

The worker became aware of cliques and rivalries among individuals and organizations within the community from the date of his entry. These have been described above in the chapter on "Leadership and Participation". One clear example of the tension between San Francisco-based organizations and those of the South Peninsula is that of the South Peninsula Jewish Community Center's relationship with its parent body, the United Jewish Community Centers(UJCC), based in San Francisco. All funding and budget decisions between Federation and the South Peninsula Jewish Center are channeled through the UJCC.

> Mr. E., President of the South Peninsula Jewish Center is leading his Board of Directors in an effort to move to much larger facilities. This move would represent a capital investment of a few million dollars, money that would need to be raised by the Jewish Welfare Federation. As a branch of the UJCC, the South Peninsula Jewish Community Center must prove its needs and demonstrate its plans for financing and using an expanded facility to the UJCC Board of Directors, before the Federation can act.
> Mr. E. told the worker that he intends to short-circuit the UJCC process in order to be certain of complete communications between the decision-makers of the Federation and his own Board. He indicated that his Board is rather maverick and extremely independent-minded. He stressed that they do not have any sense of belonging to the UJCC or to the Federation -- but since the Federation "Controls the purse strings" it makes sense to take the case directly to the Federation.

The presence of the worker in the community gave the agency leaders, in this case, a sense that they could circumvent their own agency's process. If the Federation leaders would

permit this to occur, it would seriously impair the relationship of the Federatio with one of its largest constituent agencies. At the same time, if the worker were to attempt to stop the process of this community agency he would impair his relationship with a key local constituency in the South Peninsula community development process.

Since the Federation leaders believed that the development of a community planning process in the South Peninsula would come naturally after a year or more of community organization efforts, and since Federation had no wish to disrupt its relationship with the United Jewish Community Centers, the worker recommended another course of action. During its regular planning and budget process, Federation would turn to the UJCC and its South Peninsula branch to begin to consider the practical consequences of expanded facilities in the South Peninsula.

A variety of sobering economic and other policy questions were raised with the leaders of this branch as considerations prior to the expansion of the facility. In taking the initiative in establishing this process, the Federation has acted responsibly with its constituent agency and its branch while "paying serious attention" to the needs and concerns of the South Peninsula branch leaders. This planning process, thus, naturally forestalls the discussion of expanded facilities while the leaders are engaged in serious planning issues whose resolution would determine whether such a move is justified. This San Francisco-community tension

remains, but a process for dealing with it has been established.

A similar source of tension is found in the effort of a small group of South Peninsula residents to develop housing for the Jewish well-elderly on the Peninsula.

> The Federation had incorporated this local "citizen's planning group" into its larger facilities planning process. But after this committee had developed some plans to create a housing project, the Board of the Federation rejected its plans as too expensive and impractical. The ultimate decision makers had not been involved in the week-to-week work of this committee.
>
> When the Federation Board rejected this local committee's plans, the leaders of the group took the rejection as a clear indication of how callous and unresponsive the San Francisco Jewish community is to South Peninsula needs. Some members of the local committee took the rejection as a personal affront. The chairman even resigned from the committee, and one of the committee members cancelled his annual pledge.
>
> The atmosphere created by this chain of events was rife with tension and hostility between these local leaders and Federation. Furthermore, there was a growing sense that nothing would ever be done to meet the genuine need for Jewish elderly housing on the Peninsula. This last belief triggered even greater anger. In recognition of the increasingly soured atmosphere and of the remaining need for housing, the Federation staff suggested that the Jewish Home for the Aged take up the responsibility to plan, finance, and build an elderly housing project on the Peninsula. Furthermore, the Jewish Home's planning committee would be expanded to include leaders of the now defunct local planning committee, including the chairman who had resigned.

People in the South Peninsula were familiar with the excellent reputation of the Jewish Home for the Aged and felt that their involvement would make a well-elderly housing project feasible. Furthermore, the fact that the Board of the Federation

had asked the Home to undertake the process signified that he Federation "was finally taking the problem seriously." The hostility that had built up over the now-aborted process was eased as some of the angriest people were brought into the new process at the beginning.

Similar problems of relationship between local organizations and the San Francisco-based organization occur frequently. When such tensions are recognized, they can usually be handled constructively, as the two examples presented demonstrate. In general, however, a major, generic source of tension in such relationships is that local organizations and groups concerned about specific issues face three sources of frustration when they attempt to solve local problems.

The first source of tension is their perception of "the ignorance or apathy of the powers that be in San Francisco." The second is their belief that there is no real communication of local problems to the problem solvers in San Francisco. And the third source of frustration is the humiliating need to turn to San Francisco-based organizations, knowing fully that without aid from San Francisco, no major problem could be resolved locally. In other words, though local groups may have the responsibility and authority locally to resolve an issue, they are powerless to do so unless the power and money structure of San Francisco can be brought into the resolution.

This last issue of "feeling powerless" is at the heart of any future consideration of decentralization of San Francisco's Jewish communal organizations in the South Peninsula. It is also a factor in developing local organizations to deal with those local problems for which no outside agency is required.

Just as major facility planning issues can be resolved by relating local groups constructively to the established planning and service structure of San Francisco-based organizations, so must strictly local concerns like fundraising, community relations, community programs, and leadership training be structured for resolution locally. Yet there are obstacles to the creation of a local communal structure. The intervention of a large and powerful organization, the Jewish Welfare Federation, into the South Peninsula disrupts certain implicit arrangements developed in the community over two decades.

Challenging the Domain Consensus

The three congregations and the Jewish Community Center, each with its own constituency, barely cooperated for communal purposes. A newcomer to the South Peninsula tutored in organization dynamics could see explicit territorial and service domains implicitly established by each existing agency. The explicit drive of the Federation for more thorough communal cooperation becomes a challenge to the existing organizations. The old, established, organizations in the community see the expanded Federation

presence in the South Peninsula as the creation of a new, very potent domain, one that interrupts the functions and traditions of each of the established organizations. It is, therefore, important to understand some of these tensions in practice as they relate to the worker's attempts to fashion a new consensus without alienating the rabbis or other older, established leaders.

> After being invited to join in a consortium to bring "great Jewish lecturers" to the South Peninsula, a program whose costs would be shared by the congregations, the Jewish Center, the Hillel, and the Federation, Rabbi's B., U. and D. led the opposition to Federation's participation. Rabbi D. said, "The Federation has a genius for fundraising. Why not stick to that and let us do programs?" Rabbi B. stressed that Federation was already "represented" by the Jewish Center and Hillel Foundation. The Federation agreed to withdraw from co-sponsorship of the program.

In this situation, Federation sought to be helpful to community building by offering to underwrite a portion of the cost of this expensive lecture series. Federation's only stipulation was that it should be listed equally among the other sponsors, even though it would absorb a greater share of the cost. Though Federation still offered to absorb some of the costs, even this gesture was rejected. This incident occurred shortly after the worker entered the community. It is a rather dramatic example of the tension between the existing organizations and the expanded Federation.

Gradually, the other organizations have come to expect Federation to play a role in program discussions. A major factor

in this change has been the role the worker plays, described in detail in Chapter Six. Lay people in the community have repeatedly pressed the worker to initiate community-wide programs. These people believe that there is a critical need for community-wide programs, as a means of publicizing the existence of an organized Jewish community to the unaffiliated Jews in the area. To these lay people, the role of Federation as coordinator is inadequate. If such programs are to exist, they feel, Federation itself must mount them.

Coordination of Communal Efforts

Ever since this first effort to include the Federation in community activities, the worker has endeavored to serve as a coordinator for community-wide activities. In this way, the Jewish Welfare Federation has begun to build its own constituency. Occassionally the worker initiates a new idea for a community-wide program but rather than satisfy himself by claiming authorship, he calls a meeting of all the concerned organizations to discuss sharing of work, costs, and credit for mounting community-wide programs.

> Community-wide activities, like JCRC, or the first community Hanukah celebration sometimes point up weaknesses in the community. Professionals in the different existing organizations seem to be very much "into their own thing." Though they express enthusiasm for such activities -- and even agree to take on additional responsibilities -- few people actually carry out these tasks. In mounting the Hanukah celebration various tasks were outlined and each organization took a different task; logistics, food, entertainment and so on were all

> parcelled out. None of the organization workers, except the Federation staff and the principal of Rabbi B.'s synagogue school did any of the assigned work.
> When the day of the celebration came, the attendance was excellent -- over five hundred people -- and the spirit was positive. Federation took a very low profile as an organization, though it paid the bills and carried out almost all the tasks. This approach created a new problem. On the day of the celebration and during the next week, the staff people from Federation complained that they had received little credit while workers who had never performed their assignments claimed credit for the successful program.

This event underscores the fact that such activities are welcome in the South Peninsula, but that the work necessary to their execution is performed by a tiny group on behalf of the community. During the time of this study process, the worker has witnessed several repetitions of this pattern. However, attendance at such activities, including a large number of otherwise unaffiliated people, has been growing steadily.

The frequency and spacing of these mass events gives the appearance of a well-structured, cooperative community organization that did not previously exist in the South Peninsula. Negative statements by the rabbis about Federation's role in the community have decreased. To these professionals, Federation has demonstrated its interest in benefitting the whole community. Today, however, no one else has taken the lead or even offered to play an expanded role in mounting such activities. The words of the lay people are proved right: if Federation did not initiate and carry out such programs, no one would. In other areas of com-

munity development, it is possible for Federation to serve solely as coordinator.

The creation of the local Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC) afforded an opportunity for engaging people from all the local Jewish organizations and from the four leadership groups described above. The need for a local council of organizations where information could be shared and antagonisms ironed out was apparent to the worker from his entry into the community. At the first meeting, delegates from various organizations expressed their surprise that so many different organizations exist in the South Peninsula. All could come together around issues of common interest despite the fact that approaches to these issues vary among them.

Defense of Israel's position in the local press and with local politicians, combatting anti-Semitic propaganda, and introjecting the Jewish component in American social studies are all topics of broad interest to the organizations and individual delegates represented at JCRC meetings. Furthermore, the issues and this forum also provides an opportunity for reinvolving certain "old guard" leaders as well as "current leadership" and "young newcomers" in the community process.

The JCRC made possible the inclusion of various leaders in a new process. This is especially important with regard to involving a number of prominent leaders like Mr. N., Mr. Y., and Mr. T. Their investment of time, effort, and in any case, their

own names and prestige in the organization helped to make it work. On the other hand, there seems to be a need or interest in debate and argument at such meetings. This provides a social cement that binds the delegates. But the conduct of this debate is often "unbusinesslike." For this reason, the prominent leaders, with a few exceptions, refuse to attend monthly meetings, though they are willing to carry out certain task assignments on behalf of the Council. Still, there is the development of a community-wide structure and procedure for handling political issues through JCRC.

JCRC provides one very important element in the structure of community organization in the South Peninsula. Serving effectively as coordinator for communal efforts and performing community organization tasks competently has eased the process of restructuring the campaign.

Restructuring the Federation Campaign

The Federation Campaign has been the only identifiable aspect of Federation activity in the South Peninsula. Previous campaigns in the community had been unsuccessful at involving new people in the fundraising effort, and past campaigns demonstrated little annual growth in total pledges in the community.

The worker believed that a well-motivated and enthusiastic leadership cadre might be employed to recruit and train more new campaign workers. Many of the people who had been campaigners in

the past would be enlisted for new tasks in the campaign. The new leadership cadre would be specially educated about the Federation and trained to approach larger donors plus a small group of small or non-donors picked by the solicitors themselves whom they might, in turn, motivate to become donors. In this way the workers' cadre would be expanded and better trained, more people would be involved in campaigning, more non-donors would be approached for gifts, and more money would be raised in the community.

The training program, conducted by the worker, stressed the importance of being a knowledgeable "ambassador" to the donor on behalf of the Federation. The idea that the current campaign was a dramatic departure from past efforts was emphasized. The notion that campaign work and increased funds raised from the South Peninsula would be instrumental in building up the community was also emphasized.

The organizations of the South Peninsula and many new individual workers were also recruited for the first time in the community's history. They were asked to participate in six nights of telephone soliciting from the vast majority of the potential contributors. The chauvinism of residents of the South Peninsula about their community was also built upon as campaign literature described the kinds of local services funded by Federation or projected for the future.

A very respected member of the "old guard" leadership,

Mr. I., was asked to serve as Community Division Campaign chairman. Many volunteers agreed to participate on the basis of Mr. I.'s own commitment of time and effort.

In all, nearly three times as many volunteers were involved in the campaign effort. Though this campaign is not completed at this writing, the preliminary projection is that at least one hundred thousand dollars more than the previous year's total will be raised. More than one hundred and fifty non-donors were persuaded to give twenty-five dollars or more to the campaign. And, perhaps most importantly, campaign work was seen as fun and important for the growth of the community. This last general benefit of the restructured campaign should enable future campaigns to grow even stronger from this new base. Finally, a number of people who volunteered to work in the campaign and a number who were solicited this year, gained knowledge about community activities about which they had known nothing. Thus the restructured campaign represented the beginning of a new "era" in Federation's role in the community at large.

Continued Leadership Development/ Looking to the Future

Another change in Federation's role in the South Peninsula is in the recruitment and education of potential future leaders through the Leadership Development Committee (LDC). The worker spoke with his professional colleagues at the synagogues and in the agencies to suggest that young adults involved in such education

about Jewish issues, community problems, and the Federation itself might become excellent candidates for leadership roles in the synagogues, agencies, and organizations in the South Peninsula. For Federation itself, increasing the awareness and concern of these people would lead to their greater involvement as donors, solicitors, and as people committed to community building.

LDC began at a meeting of the worker with six interested young couples who developed a mailing list of their peers and a basic program of meetings and lectures for an eight-month period. By the end of a year, the LDC had developed a leadership core whose members met frequently with the worker to discuss programming and matters of policy such as how LDC might better serve the community by directing its members toward certain commitments to organizations and programs in the community. The membership was formalized and a fee required, and the total grew to 147 members.

LDC programs typically are held once per month and feature lectures and discussions by prominent Jewish personalities preceeded and followed by socializing. The social component and the fact that so many people of diverse background from all parts of the community -- many without any other Jewish organizational affiliation in the South Peninsula -- come together regularly suggests two more valid applications of the theory of "nonplace" communities. Once again Jewish issue discussions is the cement of the organization and the creation of accessibility to these people

and ideas meets a vital need of the LDC members.

As LDC's membership grows, the organization itself has attained a certain viability. The programming has become increasingly varied and complex and lay committees have been delegated to deal with the different program areas. These committees also afford more opportunities for members to become involved in developing their own organization and to learn leadership and committee skills that will be utilized in any future Jewish community work. Two early members of the Organizing Committee have been placed on congregation boards, two others were placed on the Jewish Family and Children's Service board, two others were placed on the Jewish Center's board, and one was elected as an at-large delegate to the JCRC. Several LDC members participated in various aspects of the Federation campaign. In all, LDC has begun to make an important impact on the nature of the South Peninsula Jewish community.

Conclusions

This chapter has described some first efforts at linking existing autonomous organizations and at creating and linking certain new organizations into a structure of Jewish community organization in the South Peninsula. The area has been a paradigm of the "nonplace" community. For this reason, organizing around common ideas and issues has proved most productive in creating communality among disparate groups and organizations

Federation, as a large and potent organizational interloper

in existing domains and territories, has won acceptance in the area by seeking out, planning for, and meeting various types of needs in the community. Individual desires of leaders who wanted to be involved in mainstream community activities were brought into the fold. Federation coordinated communal efforts where appropriate. as in the JCRC. In certain cases, such as the Hanukah celebration, Federation initiated and executed the program on behalf of the community. Through the LDC, future manpower and leadership needs of the community will be met. The reorganized Campaign will make communal support of local services increasingly feasible.

The worker had initially posited a community development process that would lead towards capability within the community for financial self support, community relations, leadership recruitment and training, programming, and community planning. At the end of this study, the rudimentary structure is in place. A strong foundation for increasing communal growth now exists in the South Peninsula. The development and publicity of this effort demonstrates the interrelationship of Jewish organizations in such a community. The development of a strong and public Jewish communal structure has the effect of attracting the unaffiliated Jew -- a most desirable goal for community organization of this type.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME DISTINCT CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PRACTICE IN THIS SETTING

This study has described and analyzed this writer's community development process in the South Peninsula area of the Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco, Marin County, and the Peninsula. The South Peninsula is a new Jewish community, a demographically dispersed "nonplace" community. This phenomenon represents a growing trend facing the American Jewish community. This trend raises questions about the future of the Jewish community in the United States.

Although many of the people express a "longing" for a Jewish community to which they could belong, the community lacked Judaic and organizational resources. Its members required assistance to be brought together and Jewish communal organizations and opportunities for affiliation needed to be created.

In some respects, the community development process that took place in the South Peninsula was similar to all other community development processes -- a cause for entry existed, existing tensions were found, leadership was identified and cultivated, group development took place, and an emerging structure of com-

munity organization took shape.

However there were certain distinctive aspects of this process of Jewish community organization in this type of community that were identified in the course of this study. These distinctive features are important because as workers are trained for work in communities such as the South Peninsula, the particular elements of practice can be taught to help prepare the new worker. The literature of community organization practice has recently made much of the importance of particular cultural and ethnic components of community work, but these ideas have had little substance in practice. In this study there were three areas in which particularistic features were identified as critical to the work -- the role of the worker, the group development process, and the objectives of the work.

Worker's Role
Organizer and Jewish Authority

The role of the worker in this setting was clearly different from that of models of community organization common to the field. In this setting, the worker was called upon to perform counselling and other nonsacramental rabbinic functions in addition to his community organization, coordination, group work, and fundraising assignments.

In the "nonplace" community, because there are people longing for Jewish identity that is not indigenous to their living settings, the worker is called on as a teacher and authority

on Jews and Judaism. The worker who enters the community with this knowledge and background will have an easier time meeting this basic need. For this reason, a new worker's training for this setting should require study of Jewish history, traditions, customs, and literature.

Group Development Process

Though he entered the community and disrupted certain established relationships, the worker was able to build on an existing set of ideas and a common underlying body of Jewish communal concerns. A Jewish community worker in a new Jewish community must recognize these concerns and common traditions and tap into them so as to create cohesiveness among individuals and groups in the community. Other community workers, e.g., Alinsky's neighborhood workers, needed to find an irritant and to provoke the community members in order to galvanize them into a community structure.

In the South Peninsula the sense of community was less geographic than ethnic. Newcomers and old time residents were bound not by their period of residence, but by the common traditions of their ancestors. The writer found it easy to identify those matters around which the Jewish community could come together. For example, the community-wide celebration of Hanukah demonstrated that large numbers of unaffiliated Jews, as well as those who were involved already, came together to celebrate this holiday and to demonstrate Jewish solidarity.

Understand ng underlying cohesiveness enabled the worker to help develop the community leadership structure by appealing to concerns and feelings of pride buried in their memories. Although there was considerable conflict among cliques, there were underlying constraints to these conflicts. In the Jewish community, the worker can find those areas of common concern -- such as support for Israel -- that will rapidly bring people together to coalesce the community. In this process, real leaders emerge though no permanent hierarchy is created.

Goals and Objectives: Fundraising vs. Community Development

In Jewish federation work, fundraising is a clear requirement. Through the annual fundraising drive, the sponsor can have a quantitative means of evaluating the worker. However, the sponsor's fundraising goal creates a special tension for the worker. While he must raise more money, he must also be involved in many other activities which must be done in order to reach the fundraising objective. Furthermore, the use of nontraditional fundraising methods -- including group process methods for training volunteers -- also requires a great investment of the worker's time. In this setting, the sponsor recognized that increased fundraising without community development work would be fruitless.

In summary, when serving exurban Jewish communities, federation workers and agencies need to recognize that dispersed population and low visibility leads to reduced morale and decreased

identification. The r le of the community agency must include efforts to provide some focal point for Jewish identification through the development of local groups, support of those groups, provision of various extension services, and the coordination and publicity of communal efforts. The community worker needs to be many things to the members of the community. His knowledge of the technical aspects of community development work as well as his knowledge of the cultural traditions are called upon.

The need for Jewish communal agencies to pay close attention to a myriad of human details in the development of new Jewish communities is captured in the following story: "The Gerer Rebbe was appalled at his Hasidim who did not know what had happened to one of their peers. 'You study together, and pray together, and celebrate your festivals together, and you don't know if he is sick or well?' To adapt the Gerer's concern to our own -- if our [community members] do not know each other, mean little to each other -- can we expect them to pray together, to learn together, to act together?" [1] It is hoped that some of the insights in this study will serve this need.

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[1] Schulweiss, op.cit., p. 18.

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