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THE RABBI AS PERCEIVED AND IDEALIZED BY THE

MEMBERS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL BOARD

Howard M. Folb

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters and Ordination

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion
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Referee: Prof. Norman Mirsky

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But most of all to my wife, Ann—a true woman of valour, who has lived with this project for over one—fourth of our married life. To her and to all who gave assistance, I hope that my efforts merit the aid which they so graciously gave to me.

H.M.F.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine in some detail the Reform rabbinate from the point of view of the concerned layman. From this perspective almost no attention has been devoted to the role of the rabbin in the available literature. In order to best understand how the layman views the rabbi, a questionnaire was constructed to obtain the necessary data. The members of the board of trustees from eight Reform congregations in the Midwest were asked to complete the questionnaire. Two hundred and ten questionnaires were returned from a possible total of two hundred and forty—two, a return rate of eighty—seven percent.

The basic assumption of this thesis is that the board members have both an ideal and actual notion of the rabbi which come into conflict, one with the other. The findings justify this assumption. The board members have an image of the ideal rabbi from which they make judgments regarding the effectiveness of the individual rabbi with whom they have contact. These judgments influence the individual board member's willingness to have contact with the rabbi. Where the rabbi is viewed in a positive way the board members tend to seek out his counsel and "services". If the image is a negative one, then the board members tend to avoid contact with him. Again, if the rabbi's image is a positive one, then often the board members will tolerate the rabbi engaging in activities which they, themselves, do not approve. The findings clearly show that each congregation's experience is dependent on the relationship between the rabbi and his individual board members. Each congregation is idiosyncratic in the way that it describes and/or reacts to its own rabbi.

The board members see the rabbi as first a "spiritual guide", and second "teacher of Judaism". They accept his right to engage in certain activities by virtue of his training and education. They expect him to

be available when needed and to respond as one who is sincerely concerned. They realize that he is no more than an educated Jew, but they expect more of him. He is the "model Jew", more Jewish, more devout, and more moral than they.

The dynamics of the relationship between the board and the rabbi create additional obstacles. He is hired by the congregation and expected to serve it exclusively. The board members want their rabbi to be a strong leader, but they often try to limit his activities. They expect to be guided in the tenets of Judaism, but they do not always follow his leader—ship. Each of these conflicts is related to the dual image of the rabbi as both perceived and idealized. The realities of this situation produce expectations which an individual rabbi can never hope to fully attain. Often this leads to frustration and disappontment, which both the rabbi and his board members must try to solve.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

When one looks back over his years of study in the seminary, it is obvious that his outlook toward the rabbinate changes. One realizes that the nebulous entity called the Reform rabbinate can be viewed from various perspectives. This examination of the rabbinate is an attempt to describe those major views held by the layman of the rabbinate. This study is an attempt to deal only with the Reform rabbi and the Reform rabbinate.

There has been very little formal study given to the Reform rabbinate. Usually they are included as one segment in a general study of the American rabbinate or as a significant subgrouping in a general analysis of the American Jewish community. By and large the majority of available resources are those statements of rabbis expressing their personal views of their rabbinic roles and their projections of the layman's view of that role. This is a vertical judgement from the top downward. This too will be a vertical study, viewed from the opposite perspective, from the bottom upward — a view from the layman toward the rabbi and the rabbinate.

The religio-cultural character of Judaism as we know it in America today is multifaceted. And the rabbi is called upon to deal effectively with every aspect. This study is not aimed, for the most pert, at drawing conclusions to questions of theological import. From a pragmatic point of view the layman is not a theological import a pragmatic think in theological terms while the clergyman has been schooled in same. A communications breakdown is inevitable in this situation, and

hence this writer will attempt to avoid such a problem. Furthermore, the layman rarely deals in intellectual investigations of theological questions but rather sees them in terms of his emotional needs.

As has been stated previously, the majority of the literature is grounded in the clergyman's view of his position. The purpose of this investigation is to form a preliminary conception of how the rabbi is perceived and idealized by a select group of concerned laymen — the congregational board members. There are two reference points which must be taken into consideration in examining the interaction between rabbi and congregant. First is the layman's expectation of what he considers to be the personality and role of the "ideal" rabbi. Second is the layman's experience from frequent contact with the rabbi which causes his ideal expectations to be challenged by perceived actions on the part of a rabbi or rabbis. This study will attempt to focus on those areas of convergence and divergence in the layman's views. It is hoped that these descriptive results will lead to further, more extensive research on this important aspect of modern Jewish communal life.

THE RABBI

The rabbi has often been called "the religious specialist of the Jews". The Reform rabbi in particular has accepted many responsibilities which were not traditionally expected of the so-called "scholar-saint" rabbi. The Central Conference of American Rabbis describing the position of the Reform rabbi in the congregational setting maintains that:

"The rabbi is the religious leader of the congregation. He is the teacher of a spiritual tradition and a discipline over 3,000 years old. By the term of his ordination, he accepts the responsibility to transmit this inheritance and to exemplify it in his life and work. The rabbi is more than an employee of a congregation, more than a member of its professional staff. He is its chosen spiritual leader, called to serve its religious, educational and pastoral needs."

The C. C. A. R. includes in its guidelines for congregational-rabbinic relationships a description of the functions of a Reform rabbi. It is his responsibility to occupy the pulpit (i.e., preach), teach, be a scholar, officiant, counselor end an active member of the Jewish and non-Jewish community. The Reform rabbi is usually a graduate of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, and being a member of the C. C. A. R. the above stated guidelines would be applicable to him.

THE CONGREGATIONAL BOARD

The makeup and responsibilities of the congregational board will differ from congregation to congregation. In my experience the congregational board usually is composed of four or more officers of the congregation plus the presidents of the auxiliaries (Sisterhood, Men's Club, Youth Group, etc.), and members who may be designated as directors or trustees who have been elected to serve for a specific term of office in accordance with the Constitution and By-Laws of the congregation.

Many congregational boards will also include the temple administrator (sometimes designated as the executive secretary) and past presidents of the congregation. It is customary that the rabbi be an ex-officio member of the board without voting rights. The entire matter of con-

gregational board responsibilities is outlined in a congregation's Constitution and By-Laws. As an example, the Constitution and By-Laws of Temple Beth-El, Harrisonburg, Virginia, notes the general purposes of the board: "The Board of Directors shall govern the affairs of the Congregation, control its revenue and property and take such action as shall in its good judgement best promote the welfare thereof."

HYPOTHESES

In formulating this study, the writer considered the following to be his basic proposition:

1. THE LAYMAN'S PERSPECTIVE OF THE RABBI WILL BE SUCH THAT HIS PERCEIVED EXPECTATIONS WILL NOT BE THE SAME AS HIS IDEAL EXPECTATIONS.

One must predicate the above statement on the basis that the relation—ship of rabbi to congregant is personal interaction and as such is subject to the uniqueness of personalities inherent in such interactions. Given such a situation the mystique of the "ideal" rabbi or the title of rabbi itself might hypothetically never be fully realized by an individual person.

At the same time it is surmised that this very same inter-personal relationship will lead to another important proposition:

2. THE INDIVIDUAL RABBI HIMSELF WILL HAVE A STRONG INFLUENCE ON HOW THE BOARD VIEWS THE RABBI'S ROLE EXPECTATIONS AND PRIORITIES.

A third hypothesis which is under examination is related to the variables within the populations studied:

3. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THERE WILL BE CERTAIN DIFFERENCES OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE DEPENDENT ON THE VARIABLES OF AGE, SEX, EDUCATION, OCCUPATION AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE.

While this set of factors will be examined only on a surface level, it will be important to cite significant differences in respondent answers which might be a result of these variables. From such data extensive research can be carried forth in an organized direction.

It is further suggested that:

4. THE CONGREGATIONAL BOARD DOES NOT VIEW THE RABBI FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE SUGGESTED GUIDELINES OF THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS.

Somewhat contradictory views are believed to exist. As an example, it could be presumed that while the congregation does not view the rabbias an administrator, they do view him as an employee of their institution.

The data collected will be considered in the light of these hypotheses and the insights gained from relevant and selected literature.

It is proper, therefore, that one turn now to the literature to determine what insights it may shed on my research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature regarding the relationship between layman and clergyman is as previously suggested not vast. One will note a growing interest in the field, especially in the last ten years or so. Various new publications and journals have come into being with the express purpose of studying more closely the many variables regarding the clergyman, the layman and the religious institution. The meagerness of available material is further complicated by the fact that there is even less material directly related to the rabbi and his congregants. Nothing of significance has come to this writer's attention regarding the Reform rabbi and his relationship with his congregants. There are, however, many personal opinions extant today which have been published by Reform rabbis dealing with their relationships with their congregants. Yet, as of this date, there is nothing in the research literature which deals directly with the problems as have been outlined above, namely: the Reform rabbi's image as perceived by the layman. Consequently, one has only the opinions of the Reform rabbis, a meager one-sided approach to the situation. There are also a few older studies which deal with rabbis as a conglomerate entity. More to the point are closely allied materials dealing with the relationship of the clergyman and the laymen in the Christian church. Here there are some valuable studies and research projects which deal directly with the question under consideration. Taken together these various sources shed some insight into the thesis under examination. One will have to be careful to keep in mind at all times that there is a danger in shifting between personal opinions of

rabbis, and the research material akin to them. So too, one must be prepared throughout this review to shift between the Christian community and the Jewish community. No other alternative of presentation is possible given the nature of this review.

It has been well documented that the Reform rabbi of today is not the scholar-saint, or the "traditional" religious leader of the Jewish people as was known in previous centuries. He has become a "professional" engaged by a congregation, under contract for a certain period of time. Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman of Hartford, Connecticut, has assembled a series of his lectures which have the flavor and taste of such a professional in the Reform movement. Rabbi Feldman grew up with the changing Reform movement in this country and presents a good perspective of the Reform rabbinate from the personal point of view. Rabbi Feldman emphasized the fact that: "the rabbi, the Reform rabbi especially, became also a minister 🗝 a minister in the Protestant sense of this word -- performing priestly functions which the rabbis of old knew not of." Most forms of the rabbinate today from the Modern Orthodox, the Conservative to the Reform have accepted the Protestand minister's obligation of preaching, performing priestly functions, making pastoral visitations, and counseling.

Much of the controversy today in the synagogue centers around the success of the individual rabbi in fulfilling these many and varied roles which his profession has taken upon itself. Today the Reform rabbi is expected to be a teacher and scholar, educator, preacher, prayer leader, pastor, organizer, administrator and an ambassador of good will to the non-Jewish world. One Reform rabbi, and student of sociology wrote:

"The major problem is that somehow few of us feel secure enough either as learned Jews or adequate human beings to open ourselves to our personal insights into religious truths. Lacking the capacity to trust our own experiences and lacking the knowledge to be efficient transmitters of the tradition we turn to the stale security of role taking and overlearn a script from a tired play."ll

This script is today vague, for there is no longer any clear cut definition of what the rabbi should be or do and the Reform rabbi's priorities seem to be most inconsistent. This insecurity has been expressed often in the Reform seminary, by its students and faculty as a striving for "achieved" status since the Reform rabbi no longer has ascribed status. Said one such faculty member in describing this situation: "We are frustrated because we sense an erosion of the status that inhered in the title 'rabbi'". Reacting to this sentiment, a layman addressing the C. C. A. R. made the following assertion before this group of rabbis:

"The matter of friction and frustration in rabbi-congregation relationship is not new nor unique. It is probably more articulate, aggressive and pointed in this our affluent society. The voice of the laity has become more demanding in requiring the rabbi to justify his position and pronouncements."13

Sklare believes that much of this is due in great part to the inability of the laymen to appreciate the difficulties of the adjustment that the spiritual leader has to make to be effective in a congregational setting. He maintains that they cannot appreciate the inevitable role conflict that exists, nor the best means to solve the dilemma. He Goldstein has found that the decisions of relative priorities of the rabbi and the congregant are not the same, H...this is often because the laymen are not so familiar with Jewish traditions and base their preferences on

personal opinions". 15

Much of the research in the field of lay-clergy relationships deals with the personal attitudes of the individuals involved and brings forth some interesting results. Howe has found that for the most part the laymen invest the minister with "...imagined powers which hide from them the fact that he (the minister) is a human being". ¹⁶ Yet, with the tremendous changes in our society in the last five years this "imagined power" might just be a thing of the past. At a recent "Research Conference on Ministry", N. Jay Demerath said the following in his summation of the proceedings:

"Although the clergyman used to be conferred a kind of sanctification by virtue of his status as clergyman, I think this is less and less the case. We find a kind of demythologizing of the clergy." 17

Professor Robert Katz in a recent presentation made a similar observation regarding the Reform rabbi:

"Temple members no longer accord the judgements or insights of the rabbi a particular virtue because they emanate from their spiritual leader, but in the past there was deference."

Hence, these opinions lead to the conclusion that the clergyman no longer has the same "sacred" position he once held, be he Jew or non-Jew.

According to Mirsky, the general Jewish community, excluding the Reform Jews, has placed the Reform rabbi in a special relationship to the general Jewish community:

"After World War II, the Reform rabbi once again became a religious leader for non-Reform Jews. However, he became a religious leader who represented the outer limit, the boundary, beyond which one could not go and still be considered one who meets Jewish religious needs in the general community... "It must be remembered that the bulk of the American Jews regard Reform rabbis as legitimate officiants at life cycle events, but beyond that they regard them as having a function which Orthodox and Conservative rabbis cannot and need not have as long as there are Reform rabbis...onamely, sanctifying of life cyle events which are halachically invalid, but which the community feels, albeit reluctantly, it must approve. 19

The expectations of laymen toward clergymen vary given different aspects of the relationships. There have been some research projects carried forth in recent years which examine these variances. Didier lass summarized many of the unpublished works that have been done in the Christian community. Sherman includes in his thesis two chapters which deal with how the rabbi sees himself in relationship to the general congregation and also the congregational board. Didier concludes that there were in his study divergences of expectations between minister and laymen.

"The general conclusion emanating from the interpositional analysis of perceived expectations is that there is less concensus existing in the expectation of significant others than in ministers' perceptions of the expectations held significant by others (i.e., the laymen). 22

One of the earliest studies cited by Didier is that of Leiffer. In Leiffer's study the respondents who were Methodist laymen set standards for their minister which they themselves would not follow. Also, they were expecially critical of the sermons and expressed a belief that more time should be spent on sermon preparation. While Leiffer's study was done in the mid-1940's, it is interesting to note that in Blizzard's study a decade later — a classic which examines ministerial role preferences and expectations, the sermon was ranked as the most important role of the parish minister. When Glock and Stark in 1965

re-examined Blizzard's preferences from the viewpoint of the parishioner and not the minister as did Leiffer, they also found that the laymen perceived the minister as spending the majority of his day, his time on sermon preparation, while in Blizzard's study only 1/5 of the day was actually given over to such preparation. ²⁵ Said the authors:

"Though we can only speculate about what contributes to parishioners' estimates, it would appear that the number of parishioners determines how it is ranked." 26

In further analysis of the laymen's view of the minister's sermon preparation, it was found that it was most highly approved when it took
only a "middling" amount of time. They conclude that the parishioner
would prefer to have the minister spend more time visiting and less time
on sermon preparation. 27

This points out again the problem of priorities faced both by the 28 and the rabbi.

"Numerous lay leaders are jolted severely to discover that the rabbi most frequently is not a good administrator but that in his quest to fill the role expected of him by his laymen, he forsakes the opportunity for fulfilling his own historic roles of teaching and guiding. He becomes a jack of all trades and a master of none."29

Braude sees the demand of multiple roles as leading to a basic problem of effectiveness: "...how can he effectively serve the laity and yet inculcate in these people a living commitment to their religion?" ³⁰ Blizzard summarizes what the people do expect of their minister:

"...in the past the parish clergyman has performed his functions as a general practitioner. Now, increasingly, he is expected to be a specialist. Parishioners who are confronted by a complex and chaotic world want to be counseled rather than to receive a social call from the minister. They look for a perceptive prophet who is able to make sense

out of the crisis of the current week rather than for a preacher who merely assures them that all is well with the world. They seek the help of a priest who uses liturgy, rites and sacraments in a way that is meaningfully related to issues of life rather than letterperfect administration of the church-ordinances. They want a professional organizer rather than an amateur promoter. They expect the minister to be an efficient manager of the business affairs of the parish rather than a laissez faire administrator. "31

For the Christian community the answer is simply that of specialization. Commenting on Blizzard's findings and their own, Glock and Stark conclude:

"The parishioners in this study recognize the neglect of the pastoral functions at least. In a sense, both minister and parishioner are pleading for a greater specialization in the ministerial role in the face of an institutional situation which inhibits specialization."32

There is nothing which I have found in the literature suggesting that such a proposal be implemented in the Reform Jewish community. Certainly it has been discussed in the Seminary, but no action has been taken.

The literature further suggests that one of the main obstacles facing a healthy relationship between clergyman and layman is that of communication. Howe contends that "...communication falters or fails because people often hear and use words rather than meanings for which the words are supposed to be instruments..."33

"Most clergy are trained in the use of Biblical and theological concepts and words. These become their stock-in-trade so that they cannot talk without using them. These words, however, are not the ones that laymen use in either conveying or receiving meaning, with the result that for the laymen the clergyman often does not seem to be saying anything understandable or practical."34

Glock and Stark find that in their studies this same problem manifests

itself. The ministry does not make itself clear as to its role in relationship to the church membership. The ministry does not make itself clear as to its role in relationship to the church membership. Another impediment to good communication is the image situation. Not only does each have an image of the other, but each has an image of what the other's image of him is. Communications from either side, therefore, are filtered through this complex of images so that neither may be able to hear what the other is saying. He having a means of feedback between laymen and minister where the minister can make known to the laymen his views of them, many communications barriers can be overcome. In a more recent study by Higgins and Dittes, it was demonstrated that by having a forum for discussion between church council and minister differing expectations for the parish minister's role could be reduced. It was noted that most agreement came on those topics which were openly discussed, and concommitant changes in expectation occurred.

The problem of communication between the religious community and the social scientist is also a real one. At a recent Research Conference on the Ministry it was found that there was also a breakdown in communications between the clergyman and the social scientist.

Southard's comments are valuable for anyone interested in the study of church and lay relations:

"I believe the communication problems of the conference were accentuated by strivings for competence. Speakers wanted to use a language and master evidence that would justify the label of 'research'. Both ministers and social scientists were caught up in this."39

This same conference noted that the laymen had not been given the exposure nor been pressed into active engagement or sympathy in relation to the social issues of our times. Jeffrey Hadden commented that without the support of the laymen, the clergymen could not hope to maintain and further their involvement in social issues of the day. This breakdown in communication has meant that often job security (of the clergyman) and financing was not coming forth for what he described as much needed projects and the continuance of the "new breed" of concerned laymen. On all levels of activity between clergyman and layman there will have to be open communications — the literature suggests that without it, little will be done to promote the welfare of all concerned.

There is no single factor more important to the layman than the personality of the clergyman. In 1934, M. A. May said of pastoral success:

but in every case it is a secret of fitting the pastor's personality, training, talent and temperament to the types of problems that face his church and its people. In every case it is a type of adaption different from any other."

In a study of Protestant and Catholic lay expectations, W. Schroeder made the following observations:

"Lay expectations of professional religious leadership focus most strongly on personal adjustive and integrating qualities. Technical professional competence, either cognative or administrative, is not highly valued by laymen...

The diffuse orientation and the effective qualities most highly valued by laymen stand in contrast to the particular orientation and the instrumental qualities dominant in contemporary American society, suggesting the integrative and adjustive role played by the religious professional and highlighting the difficulty of exercising a prophetic function."¹²

This is evident in the Reform Jewish community with the constant change of synagogue affiliation within a single community. "Personality seems to be everything. The layman takes it for granted that every rabbi is

a Jewish scholar. He can be no judge of this in any case. But he does know when he likes this or that rabbi. Has been asserted that this so-called "cult of personality" is much stronger in the Reform ranks as opposed to the Conservative and Orthodox congregations. Mirsky offers the following explanation for this phenomenon: "We speculate that this is because rabbis having little of the tradition to transmit, have instead presented themselves as though they were Judaism incarnate. The Committed Layman described his feelings toward rabbinic leadership: "The committed layman looks to his rabbi for guidance, teaching, compassion and justice, and will not accept smugness, flippancy and intellectual snobbery as a valid substitute." 15

There are many other elements that investigations have brought to light which have some bearing on the relationship of the clergymen and layman. Mitchell 6 found that the age of a minister was a significant factor. His general conclusion was that "youth is a disadvantage to a minister, while added years are a source of authority, for age signifies knowledge and experience." 47

"...young ministers are caught in two contradictory situations in their occupational roles, they have authority and responsibility over church affairs and parishioners, but as youths they are in socially inferior positions. Older parishioners tend to react more to the agerelated than to specific occupational criterial, which does not pose problems for the older minister." 48

In the area of salary Mitchell found: "It would appear that churches pay for both experience and energy. Therefore, young men lack the former and older men lack the latter." So too in the realm of counseling, Mitchell found that the youngest and oldest group of ministers in his study of churches of all sizes were less likely to be sought out

for counseling by parishioners than ministers in the middle two groups, ages 35-55. Parallel studies are cited in the Mitchell article which support his findings.

In another study Mitchell found that social class, with its differing life styles and values tends to create social and intellectual distance when ministers and parishioners are not of the same social class. And when one considers that the "professional" distance is also inevitable, then the cumulative effect can be a very wide separation between minister and layman both professionally and socially. According to Roland Gittelsohn, the Reform rabbi has both socially and intellectually and also economically — with varying degrees of success—been able to acquire a kind of "protective coloration" which keeps him on the same level with his congregational leaders.

Another measure of congregational ministerial cooperation or the lack of same is in the area of pastoral counseling. This can be a very accurate guidepost as to the relationship between clergyman and layman, yet it is often something that parishioners react to unconsciously:

"Not seeking counseling assistance is a rather subtle and non-visible way of denying a minister an opportunity to exert influence. It is quite likely that neither minister nor parishioner recognize the existence or consequences of this withdrawal phenomenon. Parishioners are probably especially unaware, since counseling tends to be a private matter and, therefore, the total configuration of a minister's allocation of time to counseling and to individual parishioners is not revealed."53

At the same time Glock and Stark found that there was a high emphasis placed on the apportionment of a minister's time for counseling as viewed by the parishioner. They suggest the following reason for this high emphasis:

"The relatively high emphasis which members would have their minister give to counseling is undoubtedly, in part, a reflection of the fact that this function had a traditional place in the church. It may also be a sign of the impact which the development of psychotherapy has had on perceptions of the ministerial role."

Some other general conclusions have been offered in the available literature. Frederick Kling found that in administering the Ecucational Testing Service's "The Work of the Parish Minister" instrument, that men and women seem to have the same general outlook toward the clergyman and his role. However, of the twenty questions in the intrument, there were significant differences between the lay people and the minister. But the four most often cited were agreed upon by lay people and ministers:

- 4. Devotion to God, doing God's Will.
- 9. Developing a sense of personal commune with God.
- 20. Participating fully in the life and work of the church.
- 5. Being generally concerned about other people.

However, the minister chose to place item 5 shead of item 20. Once again the clergyman, saw his role as being people centered, while the layman saw it in terms of the church. 56

Another difference found by Hadden was that:

"...clergy who hold liberal theological views are also likely to hold liberal social views, while among laity, those holding liberal theological beliefs are no more likely to hold liberal social views than those who hold to traditional religious beliefs. Moreover, clergy as a group are significantly more liberal on social issues than laity."57

Hadden explained that the change from an Orthodox to a Liberal tradition by and large is for the clergy not to abandon but to become more involved

in the world. On the other hand, the layman who has joined a liberal tradition has not so much rejected Orthodoxy, as he has "simply found it unnecessary for a privitized civil religion that expouses the general principles of the good, the true, and beautiful". "For laymen, religion is a source of comfort and help. He is a consumer of the church's love rather than a producer." ⁵⁸

It is also well to take note of the results of two general studies of the minister from the point of view of the layman. In Leiffer's 1947 study, the layman ranked as desirable the following characteristics of a minister:

"Ranked as desirable was the man who spends the major portion of his time with the young people's program, who stresses loyalty to the denomination and its organizations, who cooperates in community, interchurch services, and who stresses equal opportunity for all races, "59

In 1959 Kling also explored the layman's view of the minister's role, and the most favorable characteristics. His conclusions are much the same as Leiffer's. However, "...laymen expected more work with children and young people, more peace-making in the church and promoting of church activities, and less personal study and devotions, than ministers expected."

One can see that there is much agreement in the ways that the minister and the layman, the rabbi and congregant view each other. However, as has been shown in the literature, there are areas of disagreement. It is impossible to accurately determine those areas of ministerial studies that will also be applicable to the studies of the rabbi — layman relationship. The literature does suggest many areas of concern which must be considered in my evaluation of the rabbi as viewed by the

congregational board members. It will be important to try and determine exactly how the layman views the rabbi. Is the rabbi a professional in his eyes; does age, concern for social issues, personality, ability to communicate and other variables enter into the board member's perception? Braude remarks that because the rabbi is a professional and under contract to the congregation, the laity frequently use this as an excuse to remake the rabbi in their image. Is this so, or might the opposite be true? 61

SUMMARY

The literature suggests that the rabbinic role has changed from what it was in earlier generations. The rabbi is now expected to be a scholar as well as a teacher, preacher, officient, counselor and administrator. Because of this heavy demand on the clergyman's time, role priorities are vaguely defined. It is apparent that there is not total agreement between the clergyman and the layman. Each has a different set of priorities which have been determined by their own experiences. Visibility has been suggested as a prime factor in the layman's choice of role priorities.

In the past, the clergyman has had a certain sanctity accorded to him by virtue of his role in society. Today that special status is being lost. Individual personality seems to be the most important variable given the inter-relationship of clergyman and layman. Age, social class and other factors seem to also influence one's success in the role of clergyman.

It has been demonstrated that better communications between all parties concerned leads to an improvement in the relationships between

clergyman and laymen. The rabbi, being a professional in today's society, like the minister and the priest, probably can benefit from the research that has been conducted in this field. It is important to try to determine those areas of similarity between the roles of the clergyman in the Christian community and the rabbi in the Jewish community. More than this, similarities regarding perception and preference by the layman will lend credence to any further research in this field. To this end, this study will attempt to determine the layman's view of the rabbi in regard to his priorities and the image that they, the laymen have of their rabbi.

CHAPTER THREE

PROCEDURE

CONGREGATIONS

The congregational sample consists of eight Reform congregations in the Mid-West that belong to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Appendix A). These eight were selected because they represented varying stages of growth both in membership and in their orientation toward Reform Judaism. They range in size from 100 to 1400 families. Some are located in cities with more than one Reform congregation; others are the only Reform institution in the community. Certain congregations have been members of the U. A. H. C. since its founding; others are relatively new. The majority are urban-suburban, having moved from an original location in the central city to a suburban area. Others are newly formed suburban congregations with a younger membership. Half of the sample have at present only one rabbi; others have two or more rabbinical leaders. Within the past ten years the senior rabbi has not changed in five of the eight congregations, while there have been changes in three of the pulpits. With these aforementioned changes and taking into consideration the normal rotation of assistantships, it is proper to conclude that a majority of the sample population has been exposed to more than one rabbi. It is impossible given the nature and formulation of this study to isolate each respondents frame of reference. While they were asked to respond to the generic use of the term rabbi, it is highly possible, indeed most probable, that they are responding to certain role models with whom they have had some contact as board members or congregants.

CONGREGATIONAL BOARDS

The following summery analysis of the board is based on the return

from the 2h2 members who received the questionnaire. Two hundred-ten persons returned the questionnaire filled out as requested. This is a return rate of 86.8 percent. This high return rate will be explained in the discussion of the administration of the questionnaire. The size of the individual congregational board varies from a low of twenty to a high of thirty-six members: the mean membership being thirty. Appendix A contains a detailed description of the congregational membership and board membership.

The members of the board range in age from twenty-five years to eighty years of age. (Table No. 1). The average for the total sample is forty-eight years. Sixty-three percent of the total sample is under fifty years of age, and eighty-six percent are between the ages of thirty-one and sixty. This suggests that for the most part the leadership is composed of persons who would have children of religious school age. The youngestraverage age for a congregational board is 43.2 years, while the oldest is 53.6 years. It may be noted that the three oldest congregational boards have a policy which permits all past presidents of the congregation to be members for life. This contributes to their higher average age. The congregation which ranked eighth, or youngest, permits its immediate past president to remain on the board only for three years after serving his term as president.

Eighty-two percent of the respondents are males. On the basis of the studies previously cited, one can assume that sex will not have a significant effect on the results of this study.

My occupational summary follows closely that reported in the Providence study. (Table No. 2) Especially in the classification of Professional, technical and kindred, our board sample is similar to the

membership of a typical suburban congregation. The majority are proprietors and businessmen, while professionals also comprise a large segment of the total congregation.

TABLE NO. 1

And the second s	and the state of t							T)1
Congr.	under 31	31- 140	41 ` 50	51- 60	70 / 61 ···	Over 70	Mean	Rənk
V C S A R I W N Total	0 0 1 0 3 0 0 0	5 1 9 2 9 7 8 8 52	9 12 7 8 1l ₁ 6 9 12	2 9 1 8 5 8 10 5 52	2 4 1 5 0 4 0	0 2 0 1 0 1 0 5	46.2 51.2 14.7 53.6 43.2 19.4 50.1 14.5	5 2 6 1 8 4 3 7

The responses regarding income of the board members must be viewed with certain reservations. Because of an error in the initial administration of the questionnaire, certain persons received questionnaires that did not offer the choice of category No. 3 (16-25 thousand dollars). In attempting to correct for the error in the administration, it appears that approximately 30 percent of the board members earn either below twenty-five thousand dollars, or over forty-thousand dollars per year. Approximately 40 percent of those responding earned between twenty-six and forty thousand dollars in total family income. It is significant that over 30 percent of those who did respond indicated an income in excess of forty thousand dollars. This latter figure is not an approximation, but an actual tally free from the above error. The error in truthful reporting of income should be no greater than that on a national census. The board which has the youngest average age, also has the highest percentage of persons reporting an income over forty thousand dollars — almost

fifty percent of the respondents. Therefore, it seems that there is no significant relationship between age and income.

TABLE NO. 2 Occupation

<u>0cc</u>	upation	Percent
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 7.	Professional, technical and kindred Manager, official and proprietor Clerical and kindred Salesworker Housewife Retired, other Not ascertained	35 l ₁ 1 00 6 11 3 1

The statistics for the educational background of the board members responding is not surprising (Table No. 3). This reflects the general trend in the Jewish community towards securing higher education. Seventy—three percent of those answering the questionnaire have at least one college degree, thirty percent have two or more.

TABLE NO. 3 Education

Years of College	Percent
Not attend college Attended, but no degree One degree earned One degree, plus extra credits Two or more earned degrees Not ascertained	07 20 38 01 30 01 100

Sixty-five percent of those responding have been on the board less than five years. Almost twenty percent indicated that this was their first year as board members. Twenty-two percent of the population have been on the board seven years or longer. It appears that this latter figure has affected the mean age of the congregational boards. Congregations A, C and W, which have the highest average age respectively for their members

are also the ones who have a policy of permitting all past presidents to be life members of the board. Consequently, fourteen of the fifteen persons in our sample who have been on the board over twelve years belong to these three congregations.

In order to gain some insight into the religious practices of the board members, and also to attempt to determine the relative "traditionalism" of the congregation, a list of religious rituals and observances was given the participants and they were asked to indicate which were practiced in their home. Appendix C reproduces that list and how the individual items were weighted so as to determine a "traditionalism" scale. The results are reproduced in Table No. 4:

TABLE NO.	L Con	gregational -	ritual prac	etice	
Congr.	Mode	Median	Mean	Range	Rank
C V	10 50	10 40	13.9 39.8	0-35 10-70	8 5
S	1,5 50	50	51.8	30-85	1
A	1:5- 60	1,5	42.1	00-75	3
R I W N	10- 30 40 35	25 40 45 45	27.5 39.կ կ1.6 կ3.8	0-65 10-60 0-70 10-70	7 6 1, 2
Total	35.50	<i>L</i> ₄ O	38.0	0-85	

A rating of 0-20 is classified as "Classical Reform"; 25-40, "Moderate Reform"; 45-60, "Traditional Reform"; and any score over 60 must be considered as more ritualistically oriented than the average Reform Jew.

The loading of the rituals was based on the assumption that certain family oriented customs or rituals have become socially or culturally approved.

These would receive the least weighting while that which is not normally

expected would be rated at a higher level. A valuable discussion of the ritual orientation of an American Jewish community is found in Goldstein. 63 From Table No. 4 it is obvious that two congregations lean heavily toward the "Classical" while one shows a strong affinity to traditional practices. The rabbis of the congregations sampled received ratings from 45 to 105; the majority were rated at 85. In every case the rabbi scored much higher than his congregational average. In no instance did a congregant score higher than his rabbi. Subjectively it appears that the total sample is very similar to that of the Providence study cited above. It must be remembered that a 10 point spread is usually no more than a difference of one practice being added or subtracted.

When asked to evaluate their participation in functions of the temple apart from worship services: forty percent of the board members said they were "very active"; thirty percent "active"; twenty percent "fairly active" and ten percent saw themselves as taking a "minimal" role in the functions of the temple. One would suspect that many who did not respond to their questionnaire have not been "active" members, but this can not be proven. A strong majority believe that they play an active role in the life of their synagogue or at least in their particular board.

The above data on the board is necessary so that one can keep the following analysis in perspective as the individual questions regarding the rabbi's style, role functions and priorities are examined. There are vast differences among the congregational boards and between individual board members themselves. These differences will have a bearing on the conclusions reached in this research project.

FORMULATION OF THE TEST INSTRUMENT

It was determined that for the purpose of this investigation, the questionnaire was the best possible means of gaining the desired data. The basic advantage of the questionnaire was the standardization which it provided. So too it was easy, quick and relatively inexpensive to produce and to administer. 614 Since the objective of the investigation was to gain a consensus from a small sample regarding a much larger universe, the questionnaire was the best formulation. Fixed-alternative questions were used predominantly throughout the test instrument. Realizing that such a style can force persons to answer questions on topics in such a way that it would not reflect their own opinion, the author provided open-ended questions which repeated many of the same topics covered in the fixed-alternative sections. The respondent was given opportunities to comment on the reasons for his particular choice. These alternatives to the fixed-answer questions provided the investigator with some reasonable assurance of internal consistency in the total test instrument. The writer has kept in mind that although the frame of reference has been better controlled, there were still possible areas of misunderstanding regarding certain questions. Unfortunately, this could not be avoided given the limitations of the study.

The questions contained in the test instrument were formulated around those principles and roles discussed in Human Relations 401, in regard to the American Reform Rabbinate. The material in the Higgins and Dittes research project relating to the minister's style and priorities was also used in an attempt to bring together previously tested questions. The questions in the Higgins and Dittes project were reworked and submitted as sections II and V of the questionnaire (Appendix B),

with the approval of the Ministry Studies Board (Appendix F).

ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEST INSTRUMENT

The administering of the questionnaire was completed between April and June of 1969. In each instance the initial contact with the selected congregation was made through the rabbi. He was informed by telephone of the nature of the investigation and how it would be carried forth. Only after gaining the consent of the rabbi was the president of the congregation contacted either by myself or the rabbi. A date was set with the congregational board for administration of the questionnaire during a regolarly scheduled meeting. At that meeting the instrument was administered by myself or an associate following the same identical procedures. Upon being presented to the board the "Statement of Objective of Study" (Appendix D) was read to the board members verbatim. At that point any questions were considered and an explanation, if deemed proper was given. The members were asked to finish the questionnaire in the shortest possible amount of time, giving their initial reaction to each question. The time limit was fixed between thirty and fifty minutes for the administering of the questionnaire. Whereupon the questionnaires were distributed and collected when finished. Elapsed time was given to the members periodically with a reminder to be sure to enswer all questions. Upon completion of the period the board and rabbi were thanked for their cooperation. Also, a member of the staff of the congregation or a board member was asked to forward a list to the investigator of those members not present fot the meeting.

The questionnaire was then mailed to those persons who were absent along with a cover letter written on official HUC-JIR stationary

(Appendix E) and a copy of the "Statement of Objective of Study",

(Appendix D). A stamped envelope was also enclosed. It is believed

that this system greatly enhanced the high rate of return and did little

to negatively influence the reliability of the test conditions. A full

description of the board sizes, the percentages of mailed questionnaires

and the return rates have been given in Appendix A.

Three persons refused to participate during the board meeting, and another person returned his mailed questionnaire to this writer by way of his temple administrative secretary. No explanations were given in any of the four cases of refusal. The three persons who refused to fill out the questionnaire at the meeting also specified that they not be sent a copy in the mail.

The instrument was administered at varying times during the board meeting: in most cases after the regular business had been completed; at times just after the regular meeting was called to order; or at a predetermined time during the meeting. Other congregations were considered for the study, but no suitable time could be agreed upon and they did not participate. Also, if the board meeting was to deal with a highly emotional problem or with the following years budget, it was mutually agreed upon not to proceed at that meeting.

The board members reacted favorably to the premise behind the study. However, many commented that the questionnaire was too long. Others felt that the questions were at times ambiguous or that the answers were either not appropriate or that the alternatives given were of equal merit and a choice difficult to make. Women appeared to be more frustrated then men. Lawyers on the whole asked more questions than any other specific group. Each of the persons who administered the questionnaire noted that often

persons would think for a moment, look up at the rabbi who was present at the meeting, in all but one case, and then proceed to mark their answer.

LIMITATIONS OF THE PROJECT

The basic problem with the study is that the sample was not scientifically selected and was relatively small in size. Therefore, one can not draw certain statistical generalizations. One can only make educated statements based on the data collected. Secondly, this material was collected from congregants in only one section of the country. It is a well known fact that congregations differ widely from one section of the United States to another. Thirdly, the construction of a questionnaire itself tends to limit the materials gained and their full meaning:

"...a measurement device sacrifices much of the flexibility and insightfulness of the human observer, thinker and reporter. It can go no deeper than the items in the instrument which are often short and somewhat ambiguous." 66

Finally, it should be noted once again that this is a descriptive study and does not take into account in any depth the social-psychological elements involved in the interaction between congregant and rabbi.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXAMINATION OF RABBINIC ROLES

OVERV IEW

it is necessary to try to ascertain what is the primary function of the rabbi as viewed by the majority of respondents. Section VI of the questionnaire, item 47*, sheds important light on the question, who is the rabbi. When given a chance to select the four most important "roles" or functions of the rabbi, the respondents chose (in order of frequency): Teacher of Judaism, spiritual guide, educator of children and leader of people. Jewish representative to the general community was selected almost as frequently as the fourth role listed above. In order to best understand the board members frame of reference, they were asked to rank these functions. Table No. 5 lists their preferences in order.

TABLE NO. 5

Role Functions

First Choice 1. Spiritual Guide 2. Teacher of Judaism 3. Leader of people 4. Educator of children Third Choice

Educator of children Teacher of Judaism Spiritual guide Leader of people and Jewish representative...

Second Choice 1. Teacher of Judaism 2. Spiritual guide 3. Educator of children 1. Leader of people

Fourth Choice

1. Jewish representative to the general community

2. Counselor

3. Educator of children Leader of people

While the rabbi is most frequently considered the "teacher of Judaism", more persons felt that his most important function was that of "spiritual guide". By analyzing the board members' comments on this question, a

^{*} The item number refers to the specific question on the questionnaire, Appendix B.

slight shift in emphasis is apparent. "Spiritual guide" seems to be a more personal descriptive phrase than "teacher of Judaism". One board member stated:

"This in its simplest terms is what I seek in my Temple affiliation, namely a man, who by his actions, education and training can serve as a guide to my family in their religious needs and seekings."

The rabbi is viewed by many as the only person who has the ability to be such in the community. Another board member said: "A congregation looks to its rabbi for spiritual guidance. Almost any layman with proper background can perform the majority of the items listed above." Most members of the board have some conception of the laymen's traditional role in the Jewish community. Superficially it appears that the rabbi is seen as just a better educated Jew.

However, the rabbi is at the same time perceived as having a special quality, be it by title or training. One respondent explained that the rabbi is the spiritual guide because "He is our contact with God". Many chose to substitute the word <u>leader</u> for <u>guide</u> in their explanation. This is possibly a reflection of the perceived need for direct action on the part of the rabbi in carrying forth his proscribed duties. One person put it well:

"If the rabbi inspires and teaches his congregents effectively, they will become active participants in the Temple, in Judaism and have a full and richer life."

The rabbi when viewed as the spiritual guide of the congregation utilizes this personal or interpersonal relationship to build within his community that which Judaism demands of him.

Many persons who selected "teacher of Judaism" as a description of

his primary obligation, did so within the traditional context of rabbi as teacher. In this instance, the rabbi was seen as being a transmitter of Judaism from the past to the present and forward into the future. This conception of the rabbi was much less personal in its orientation. When the rabbi was viewed as the "teacher", something of the personal nature of his role was lost and it was Judaism's survival which became the primary motivation.

"Rabbi in its literal sense, as I understand it, means teacher. This he should do — first and foremost. Judaism is 5729 years old. We have a rich history and heritage from which enough can be taught to last for generations."

Another person who felt that "teacher of Judaism" was the rabbi's most important role commented:

"Judaism to survive must be understood and passed to future generations. The rabbi must be the source of Jewishness to the congregation because he is most easily seen, listened to and identified."

There is much mutual agreement between those who chose to call the rabbi the "spiritual guide" and those who chose to call him the "teacher of Judaism". Both cite the rabbi's education as being his special validation and that which sets him apart from them.

"A rabbi's education is the only factor that sets him apart from others. Thus his special merit is in instructing others who wish to know more about Judaism."

In most explanations, there is a hint of a certain "set-apartedness" — a rabbinic image. This is not the case when the rabbi is considered to be the "leader of people". Most explanations for this choice are more pragmatic in nature. "If he can lead, he can teach, and can automatically do the public relations job." In a more positive light, yet within this same

frame of reference, another person said:

"A leader organizes, teaches, inspires, analyses and possesses many of the qualities suggested by the other choices."

The choices given in Section VI of the questionnaire are not mutually exclusive, and as a result persons have placed their own interpretations on the terms given — many times these explanations are the same for differing terms.

While I did not make a statistical analysis of age, education, traditional orientation, income, etc., a quick overview by this writer indicates that a board member's choice does not seem to be dependent on these variables. Certainly this must be further examined in order to form a more positive conclusion. It would appear that an individual's orientation toward the rabbi's most significant role must then be assumed to be a personal one. One may speculate that such factors existing in the community or culture have exerted a strong influence on ones choice. Spiritual leader or guide has often been suggested as the primary function of the Christian minister. Such Christian influences may be suggested, but cannot be accounted for here.

RABBINIC PRIORITIES

In an attempt to determine consensus regarding rabbinic priorities, Section II of the questionnaire asked each respondent to make a decision as to the value of a rabbi engaging in the given function. The thirty-two items were to be evaluated in one of three ways, either as being a "must", helpful or a waste of the rabbi's time and energy. By compiling a table of consensus regarding these items, it was possible to rank them in order of their relative priority as seen by the board members.

TABLE NO. 6

Rabbinic Priorities

"Must"

RNK	ITEM	NO.	PERCENT
1 2 3	s)Conducts and officiates at a funeral. d)Leads public wordhip in the temple. c)Ministers to the sick, dying and bereaved.	196 195 194	93.3
2 3 4 5 6	q)Conducts and officiates at a wedding. j)Preaches sermons.	188 186	89.5
_	z)Serves as an example of high moral and ethical character. r)Conducts and officiates at a Bar Mitzvah.	179 1 7 6	85.2
7 8	n)Teaches and works directly with children; visits religious school classes, preaches	71.0	m/\ m
9 10	childrens sermons, etc. t)Conducts and officiates at an unveiling. 1)Counsels with people about their personal and	149 144	70.1
11	moral problems. p) Teaches and works directly with youngspeople (Jr. high and high school age) in classes and/	143	67*9
12	or youth groups. a) Teaches and works directly with adults in	135	64.3
13	adult religious education classes and/or special seminar series. e)Works directly with congregational boards	131	
114	and committees. x) Works with the other rabbis in town, be they	130	
15	Reform, Conservative or Orthodox. dd)Counsels with people facing the major decisions	127	60*5
16	of life, such as marriage and vocation. w)Talks with individuals about their spiritual	114	54 . 3
17	development, religious life and beliefs. u)Cultivates a home and personal life independent	_105	50.0
	of local temple activities: rabbi and family have friends and interests outside local temple activities.	98	46*7
18	f)Maintains a disciplined program of prayer and personal devotion.	85	40.5
19 20	m) Follows a definite schedule of reading and study. ee) Supplies new ideas for activities and projects.	73 70	3323 3
21 22	aa) Maps out objectives and plans the overall temple program.	65	
۲.۲	b)Participates in community projects and organizations such as school boards, community improvement projects and assoc.	<i>6</i> 63	30 ₄ 0
23	o)Assists victims of social neglect, injustice and prejudice; cooperates with social service		
571	and charitable programs. bb) Interests capable people in temple activities; recruits, trains and assists lay workers of the	61	
	congregation - especially the leaders of the Brotherhood, Sisterhood and Youth Group.	60	

Rabbinic priorities (Cont'd.)

"Must"

RNK	ITEM	NO.	PERCENT
25	ff)Works actively for the support of the State of Israel.	47	22.h
26	i)Tries to maintain harmony and resolve conflict among temple members over temple programs, finances, elections.	4 6	
27	g)Speaking engagements before community and		
• .	civic groups, for special community occasions or for radio and TV.	45	21.4
28	k) Visits new residents and recruits new members.	եր	
29	h)Oversees temple office activities; temple bulletins, correspondence, records, etc.	28	13.3
30	cc) Visits regularly in the homes of the congregants.	18	
31	y)Helps plan temple budget and manage temple finances.	13	6.2
32	v) Leads financial drives and building programs.	. 5	2.h

TABLE NO. 7

Rabbinic Priorities

"Should Not"

RNK	TTEM	NO.	PERCENT
1	y)Helps plan temple budget and manage temple finances.	141	67.1
. 2	v) Leads financial drives and building programs.	128	60.9
3	h)Oversees temple office activities; temple bulletins, correspondence, records, etc.	101	48.1
Ц	cc) Visits regularly in the homes of the congregants.	70	33.3
5	i)Tries to maintain harmony and resolve conflict among temple members over temple		
	programs, finances, elections.	67	319
6	k) Visits new residents and recruits new members.	50	23.8
7	ff) Works actively for the support of the State of Israel.	37	17.6
8	aa)Maps out objectives and plans the overall temple program.	23	10,9

Table No. 6 ranks the total number of functions in regard to their importance as a "must" priority. Table No. 7 ranks the eight least important items in the section in order of consensus of "no" value. One will note that in Table No. 6 the maximum consensus on any one item was 93.3 percent. Sixteen of the thirty-two items were considered "musts" by at least fifty percent of the respondents. On the other hand there was less significant agreement as to those items which are of least importance. The maximum consensus on an item of Table No. 7 was 67 percent. Only on two items, No. 25 and No. 22 (Y and V) did more than half of the board disapprove or see no value in the rabbi engaging in the activity.

The preference for the rabbi as "spiritual guide" over that of teacher is again evident in the consensus of role priorities. Those items ranked one through eight on Table No. 6 show a high degree of agreement. As a teacher (at its highest level of agreement), the rabbi is viewed only with a 70 percent consensus. Those functions of the rabbi in crisis situations especially regarding illness and death coupled with certain other life cycle ceremonies have the highest rankings. The term "spiritual guide" seems to be highly dependent on those activities of of the rabbi which are highly visible. This appears to be a logical explanation for linking crisis and bereavement situations with such acts as leading the public worship service, or the act of performing a wedding. The notion of an idealized image could account for the high ranking of the rabbi as being the example of high moral and ethical character.

At the lowest levels of priority, and the highest levels of agreement on non-desirable endeavors are those regarding administration and fund raising. Yet, there is not such a striking consensus on the part of the respondents regarding these activities. With only two-thirds of

the respondents agreeing on what a rabbi should not do, one must assume that there are many varied notions which influence the board members attitudes toward the rabbi's priorities. These shall be examined in the following sections dealing with the individual functions.

RABBI AS PREACHER AND TEACHER

The rabbi as preacher was seen as being one of the most important aspects of a successful rabbinate. Almost ninety percent of the respondents felt that it was most important that the rabbi be a good preacher (19). One congregation constituted the exception where only two-thirds of the congregational board agreed with the majority. In this case the rabbi has attempted to shift the emphasis away from the sermon as the focal point of the service and has organized study groups after the service as his means of teaching. One can speculate from this and other data, that the high ranking of preaching a sermon is because of its centrality in the wordhip service, or because it is a visible activity, or further because of the influence of the general Christian culture.

While accepting the sermon as an integral or focal point of the service, many board members were highly critical of the rabbi's preaching style. In response to item No. 79 one—third of the respondents felt that the rabbi was too intellectual in his sermon. This criticism, however, varied considerably with the congregation. In one congregation only 17 percent of the board felt that the rabbi was too intellectual, in another congregation sixty percent of the board felt that the rabbi was too intellectual. In two of the eight congregations there was a significant level of criticism of the rabbi's preaching style, and this was substantiated by the views expressed in item No. 98. Many of those critical of the

rabbi's sermonic style felt that improvement in that area would also help improve the worship service.

According to the vast majority of respondents, scriptual and rabbinic literature had value not as obligation but only as a means of example and illustration for finding a richer, more enjoyable personal life (46). One would expect these results given the nature of the sample. Since Reform Judaism does not make the observance of <u>mitzvot</u> obligatory, it would have been unusual to find persons holding such a view. Twenty-six persons did consider scriptural and rabbinic law as obligatory, but there is no way of knowing what their true motivations were. It is possible, given the frustrating nature of this section, that these were just spurious answers.

As was stated before, the rabbi is viewed by a significant number of persons as being primarily a teacher. Yet only 70 percent felt that it was a "must" for a successful and effective rabbinic career. One might explain this limited agreement by considering that many of the congregations interviewed had full time religious school directors, and that the rabbi functioned only as a resource person or possibly as a teacher in the high school or confirmation class.

In comparing items No. 1, 14, and 16, I believe that it is significant that there is most agreement when it comes to naving contact with the "children of the religious school" (14). More persons felt that it was important that the rabbi have contact with the children than with the young people or with the adults in the congregation. This area of difference needs further exploration because the findings seem to run contrary to the actual practice in the religious schools. In response to the same questions the rabbis unanimously agreed that it was a "must" that

they work with the children of the religious school. While the majority also felt that youth and adult education was a "must", there was not total agreement. The rabbis see themselves as teachers, and the congregants see the rabbi as a teacher, then why is there this obvious emphasis on the part of both the rabbis and the laymen to educate primarily the children? Possibly, this is a further manifestation of the respondents concern for the perpetuation of Judaism. In the eyes of the adults the children are seen as being most in need of education.

RABBI AS OFFICIANT

When the rabbi acts as the officiant he is most visible to his congregation. Four of the top five priorities involve the rabbi as officiant. The consensus on items No. 19, h, and 17, varies little. The act of officiating at a funeral, conducting a wedding and leading the worship service is very much expected of the rabbi. There is less agreement in regards to officiating at other ceremonial functions such as the Bar Mitzvah and the unveiling of a tombstone (items 18 and 20); only 68 percent felt that the unveiling is a Umustu. Here, too, there is no consensus among the rabbis. The rabbis appear to share the same feeling, percentagewise, about the unveiling as do their congregants.

Only six percent of the sample population was satisfied with the worship service (98). Their complaints ranged from being critical of the Union Prayerbook to the rabbi's sermonic style. They asked that the service be made more relevant, significant, meaningful, interesting or intellectually stimulating. They felt that the rabbi could make the service a more inspiring, emotional or devotional experience. Others asked that there be more congregational participation. Many asked that

the sermon be made more contemporary or relevant. Others wanted the sermon to be shorter. Said one board member: "I think the rabbi could make the worship service more meaningful and enjoyable if he employed a ghost writer." While only seven persons actually said it, many implied that the success of the worship service depended to a very large degree on the rabbi. For he, more than anyone else, in the eyes of the board members, could determine the success of the worship experience.

Opinion regarding the rabbi's worship attire is not conclusive. When asked if it should be important that the rabbi wear a yarmulka (51) or a tallis (50) during services, the general response was somewhat confusing. Fifty-six percent of those responding answered "no" to this question and 10 percent said "irrelevant". However, it is my opinion that the majority of persons reacted to this question not as it was presented. They reacted as if it was a declarative statement and not conditional, because of the misleading construction of the question itself. Therefore, when over half of the respondents answered "no", they meant to say that a rabbi should not wear a yarmulka. They did not mean to imply that it should not be an important question. When persons answered "irrelevant", then I believe that they were less confused and responded more to the conditional nature of the question. Even with these interpretive problems, it is valuable to note that more persons were emenable to the rabbi wearing a tallis as opposed to the yermulka. majority of rabbis stated that the yarmulka and tallis question was irrelevant. Only in one instance where the rabbi had made an issue out of wearing the tallis did he select "yes" in regard to its importance. Thus the great "hat" debate looms heavy over the head of the Reform Jew.

The question of a rabbi receiving an honorarium for the performance

of a ceremonial or religious function (82) produced no conclusive results. The board members were evenly divided as a group on this issue. But their answers varied considerably with the congregation. In no congregation was there an evenly divided board. The rabbis also were divided on this question. Sometimes they were in agreement with the majority of their board, other times not. Absolutely no consistency could be found on this particular issue. One can only conclude that both for the rabbis and laymen, this was an individual decision.

Section IV of the questionnaire attempted to take one particular ceremony and examine the nature of agreement and disagreement on an issue of religious belief between the layman and the rabbi. Items 34 = 39 concerned the wedding ceremony. Many of the problems of confrontation, social, secular, and religious along with congregational policy, could enter into the question of performing a Jewish marriage ceremony. While there was almost total agreement that the wedding could be held somewhere away from the temple or home, congregational membership seemed to be an area of contention. Sixty-eight percent of the sample had no objection if the rabbi performed a wedding for members not affiliated with the synagogue (34). All but one rabbi agreed. What was significant was that the objection centered in four of the eight congregations interviewed, where over one-third of the respondents objected to this practice. In the one congregation where the rabbi objected, half of the board also objected. This was the highest percentage of objection. While this was not a high figure per se, it was high enough to suggest that the congregants are possessive and that they want their rabbi for themselves. This was also indicative of the inherent interest of the board for the survival of their own institution.

The question of mixed marriage (i.e., one of the two persons does not convert) is very controversial today in the American Jewish community. The Reform rabbi has been exposed to the question more often than his colleagues and a good number have consented to perform such marriages. Items No. 35, No. 36 and No. 39 explore this issue in some detail. The composite results show that about 60 percent of the sample have no objection to such marriages. In five of the eight congregations the majority of the board members have no objection. Only in three of the eight congregations were the rabbis willing to perform a mixed marriage. Where a rabbi had very strong feelings in one congregation against performing a mixed marriage, seventy-five percent of his board followed him, and supported his position. Conversely, in another congregation where the rabbi was willing, less than sixty percent of his board was in favor of this practice. One may conclude from these findings that the position of the board and rabbi vis-a-vis this practice is dependent on the image of the rabbi. In the case cited where three-fourths of the board agreed with the rabbi, the man was well liked, admired, considered to be a strong leader and a man of strong conviction. In the instance where less than sixty percent of the board agreed to what the rabbi was doing, this particular rabbi had a poor image among his board members, there was much hostility in the answers given on most questions, and the board felt that they were very much in an irreconcilable position in regard to him.

The dynamics of ones religious convictions also was apparent in this series of questions. In every congregation where the rabbi objected to a mixed marriage and permitted no exceptions, the board reacted opposite to their rabbi's position when given the precondition that the children would be raised Jewish (39). The total sample showed a shift

from 40 percent against mixed marriage to only 10 percent against, given the precondition as stated in item No. 39. In one congregation 13 of 14 persons who were opposed to a mixed marriage shifted when given the option. In this case the rabbi held the same position. But in another congregation where the rabbi did not accept this pledge, 13 of 18 persons still shifted their opinion and endorsed such a policy. In the two congregations where the rabbi strongly disagreed with the principle of the pledge, 25 percent of the board still followed his guidance and held similar attitudes. One can surmise that in the problem of mixed marriage, an area of religious conviction, a rabbi does not exercise the influence that he would like in having the congregation accept his views.

RABBI AS PASTORAL COUNSELOR

Often the rabbi is called on by his congregants to be a friend, advisor and guide in matters both theological and interpersonal. All but five persons in the sample felt that the rabbi should be a good and sympathetic counselor (57). On no other question was there a greater consensus. Certainly this demonstrates the congregants' ideal image of the rabbi. They want someone who they can turn to in times of stress for help and trust. But in actual practice, only 68 percent of the population agreed that the rabbi must engage in these activities. I believe that this is a definite sign that this matter is highly dependent on the characteristics of the individuals involved, and relationships that the rabbi has been able to build in his own congregation. Diagram I clearly demonstrates the variance of the congregational boards regarding their desire to take advantage of a rabbi's guidance in a given set of situations.

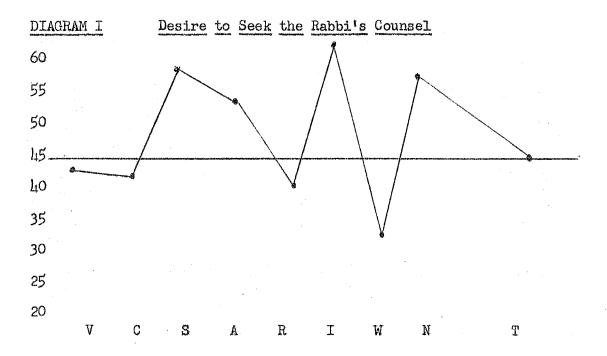


Diagram I is a composite of the total percentage of times that the individual congregants were willing to seek guidance from the rabbi, based on the assumption that 100 would equal a person's willingness to seek counsel on all situations presented in Section XI of the questionnaire. The straight line at 45.4 percent indicates the average of all respondents for all situations. One should not take these as exact percentages, but rather as the average given all cases. One must remember that certain situations presented were not considered by this writer to be within the realm of rabbinic competence. Items No. 92 and 91, which deal with financial counseling and career (i.e., college choice) counseling are certainly not within the rabbinic sphere in my opinion. Indeed, the vast majority of the board members agreed with this writer. Only 16 percent said that they would consult the rabbi in the instance of college choice, and only five percent would do so in the matter of bankruptcy. One should note that at no time was there a greater consensus than 66 percent on any given issue: See Table No. 8.

TABLE NO. 8 Acceptance of Rabbinic Conseling

Subject Clerifying belief in	Mean %	(t-y) = (t-y)(t-y) + (t-y)(t-y)	Range %*
social justice	66.2		84 - 47
Marital problems	61.4		86 - 43
Adoption of a child	60.5		86 - 41
Assisting a poor family	58.1		80 - 34
Illegitimate pregnancy	54.3		76 - 4 3
Possible mixed marriage	53.3		68 🛥 39
Advice for elderly	44.3		53 - 26
Children's school problems	34.8		44 - 1 6
College preference	15.7	the the contract of	25 - 03
Bankruptcy	5.2		28 🗝 00

^{*} The highest percentage of the board members of each congregation seeking the rabbi's advice on the subject.

If one accepts Mitchell's proposition that by not seeking advice and counsel, the clergyman is denied influence on his congregation, then it is apparent from Diagram I and Table No. 8 that certain rabbis have neither the opportunity nor the influence to be effective in their role as counselor.

While some respondents chose to seek the rabbi on all subjects presented and others for none, it is apparent that the majority were discriminating in their choices. Most respondents who chose to explain why they would not seek the rabbi's counsel demonstrated good knowledge of the alternative possibilities available to them in the community. Many of the social issues were considered best solved by social service agencies, both Jewish and secular. School problems were considered to be in the perview of the school guidance counselor. The doctor or psychiatrist was also mentioned numerous times in regard to a child's poor school performance, illegitimacy and the like. Mixed marriage, discipline problems, problems of the aged and marital difficulties were often considered too personal a matter for the rabbi. Typical of this is the response of one

person in regard to the question of marital counseling: "A matter between two people only — too close a relationship for the rabbi to intrude."

Many persons reacted very personally to the question of mixed marriage and illegitimacy. Said one respondent: "This is a problem I feel could be handled in my own home." Another said: "Have handled this ourselves too long." Even the question of social justice did not escape the criticism of certain persons. Said one person in reference to consulting the rabbi: "His opinion is of no greater value than mine." As would be expected, the majority of persons felt that the problems of business would best be handled by a lawyer or a business expert.

In regard to traditional counseling situations many persons commented that their preference for the rabbi was based on the assumption that he has had training in counseling and has knowledge of other agencies within the community. It was acceptable to all but three respondents that the rabbi consult specialists when needed (81). Another respondent in answering "yes" to the question on marital problems qualified his answer:

"Assumes rabbi is married, has counselling experience, and is interested in this aspect of his ministry—if not, family service."

Many persons who were willing to seek out the rabbi's counsel explained that it was their positive relationship with the rabbi which motivated their actions. Especially concerning the children, the adult respondents felt that the rabbi would be the proper person if he had a close or "special" relationship with their child. Throughout the question-naire persons reacted in such a way as to plead for rabbis who had or could create a good rapport with their children. If they felt that their child had confidence in the rabbi then even in very personal questions, such as in the case of mixed marriage and illegitimacy, the rabbi was the

person to consult. Others considered the rabbi's position as being that of an interested person who would permit his office to be used as a forum for putting uncomfortable problems into proper perspective.

This personal relationship with the rabbi appears to have the potential to be either a positive or a negative force. This can best be seen by the answers of two different respondents in regard to the question on marital problems:

"I believe the rabbi might be of more help than disinterested marriage counselors."

ors

"Would seek guidance from someone I did not know personally."

In the former case the personal relationship was the very essence of the motivation, while in the latter instance it was the reason for rejecting the rabbi's help. From some of the answers given, it would appear that many persons felt that to seek the rabbi's counsel was not as socially approved solution as to seek out a doctor or psychiatrist. This seems to bear out my suspicions that the rabbi's mystique has become to some degree a negative factor, especially in the realm of counseling. The rabbi in certain instances was viewed as a man too far removed from reality.

The respondents preferred three to one that the ideal rabbi be one who would emphasize psychological counseling techniques in solving human problems as opposed to the power of faith and prayer in a Jewish context (40). When given a choice between a sympathetic listener or one who was more directive in his counseling methods, over three-fourths of the respondents preferred the latter style (43). I believe that it is significant that even though the rabbi must be sympathetic and understanding, there was also agreement that the rabbi offer guidance. This appears to

be another manifestation of the board members' preference for the title of "spiritual guide".

One segment of the pastoral role of the rabbi is that of making hospital visits. Regarding hospital visits, the respondents could not agree on any one specific means of being effective. However, many persons emphasized that the very act of making the visit was most important, They wanted the rabbi to be sincere, sympathetic, and to show concern. For many the most important way that the rabbi could be effective was by being available when needed. Here too, the responses varied with the particular experiences of the congregants and the congregations (99). It was observed that where the rabbinic image was not favorable, many persons suggested that the rabbi would be most effective if he stayed away. Others suggested that he make visits only when requested to do sos Within each congregation a significant number of persons requested that the rabbi make his visit brief. While an exact number cannot be specified, because often this was a qualification on the part of the respondent to his main answer, a large enough group felt this way to attract the attention of this investigator. This concept of being brief when making a hospital call must be examined in further research. One can only speculate as to the motivations for such an unusually high number of occurances. Possibly the patient is in pain and does not physically feel well enough to engage in a conversation with the rabbi. One might also postulate that the rabbi is perceived in the same manner as the priest who is a symbol of impending death - and as such the rabbi is psychologically to be feared. The responses were distributed among all the congregations so that one must rule out the possibility of a reaction against a particular personality.

Hospital visitations is just one aspect of the rabbi's role as pastoral counselor. Ministering to the sick, dying and bereaved ranked third among the role priorities, over ninety—two percent agreed that this was a "must". While not as high on the priorities list, over fifty percent of the repondents considered counseling with people about personal, moral, marital, and vocational problems also to be "must" priorities. (Items No. 12, No. 23, No. 30.)

Visiting and recruiting new members of the community, as well as visiting regularly in the homes of congregants have been cited as primary roles of the Christian minister. Neither of these two roles were viewed by the respondents as being more than helpful (items No. 11 and 29).

Over a third felt that visiting in the homes of congregants was a waste of the rabbi's time. This particular phase of the pastoral rabbinate has not taken on the same significance as that of the Christian minister. One can only speculate that the rabbi is viewed in such a way as to be set more apart or aloof from the congregation than is his Christian counterpart.

RABBI AS ADMINISTRATOR AND ORGANIZER

The board members want their rabbi to help plan programs and give guidance in keeping the goals of the synagogue in proper perspective. While not considered as a "must" priority by all, fewer than ten percent objected to the rabbi supplying new ideas and projects (31), or involving people in the various activities of the congregation and its auxiliaries (28). Most persons felt that these were helpful priorities.

However, overseeing temple office activities (8), planning the budget and managing temple finances (25) and leading financial drives and building

programs (22) were not highly approved activities. In fact, the latter two roles were considered to be of lowest priority. Over sixty percent of the board members objected to the rabbi engaging in these activities. An analysis of the congregations suggests that it is slightly more approved for the rabbi to be involved in financial drives and building programs than in actually planning and managing the temple finances. For the most part, the board members see themselves as the administrators in financial matters. The rabbis who answered these questions were more inclined to the opposite position. To them it was more important to help plan the budget than to lead financial drives. (The statistical differences are very slight.) Over two-thirds of the rabbis considered that they should not be involved in either of these two financial aspects of congregational life. From the data examined it appears that the rabbi is viewed as an administrator only when he chooses to project such an image or in the case of a young congregation that needs the rabbi's assistance in organizing the members. When asked if the rabbi should be an able fund raiser (55), thirty-six percent said "no", and fifty-six percent said that it was "irrelevant". Only seven percent felt that it was important. However, in one congregation where the rabbi seems to be viewed as a strong leader and administrator, almost thirty percent of his board said that it was important that he be an able fund raiser.

RABBI IN THE GENERAL COMMUNITY

1

While the rabbi's role in the community is most helpful, few board members felt that it was most desirable. Considering items No. 2, 7 and 15, which deal with the rabbi in the community, five percent or fewer objected to such activities. Most board members considered that assisting

victims of social neglect, injustice and prejudice was helpful but not a "must". Thirty percent of the board members considered it a "must" that the rabbi participate in community projects and organizations (2). One might attribute this to lending greater stature to the image of the rabbi in the general community and thus enhancing the image of the Jew in the community.

Sixty percent of the board members approved of their rabbi taking an active role in civil rights movements and the issues of the day (72). However, there was a great disparity among the congregations. In one congregation 8h percent said "yes", while in another only h6 percent said "yes". An interesting commentary is the fact that the congregation which least approved of its rabbi taking an active role in civil rights movements, and other social action activities had the fewest objections to their rabbi's overall performance. They were the most traditional of the congregations, yet consistently objected to their rabbi taking an active part or speaking out in support of victims of social prejudice and the like. While being most critical, they also sought his advice more than most of the other congregations.

SUMMARY THOUGHTS ON THE RABBINIC ROLES

One can draw few conclusions from the material presented. Certainly the rabbi does engage in many and varied roles. Apart from those activities involving fund raising, the board members have few strong objections. They prefer the rabbi to be available when needed and to perform those tasks assigned to him. They seek his advice, but do not always want him to engage in activities which might expose them to personal criticism.

The words of Professor Katz seem best to describe the role of the rabbi

as viewed by the board members:

"Our existence is not problematic for them. They take us for granted; they want us around when they need us..."60

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CHAPTER FIVE

EXAMINATION OF RABBINIC STYLE AND IMAGE

As the elected and appointed officials of the congregation, the board members have a unique relationship with the rabbi. By virtue of their position they periodically have direct contact with him. This frequent contact exposes many a flaw in an individual rabbi while at the same time creating a protective image for him. This protective coloration is ixamined best when one attempts to reconstruct the "rabbinic Presence" as seen by the board members.

RABBINIC LEADERSHIP

"Without direction through proper and strong leadership the congregation drifts aimlessly."

The above comments were those of a board member who attempted to defend the position that the rabbi's chief function is that of a leader. While few board maembers agreed with him, certainly no one would doubt the need for strong leadership in the congregational setting. Only 13 persons did not feel that it was important for the rabbi to be a strong leader(61); five of the thirteen were in one congregation. Such a strong leader would naturally demand respect, but one cannot make such a generalization. While seventy percent of the respondents agreed that it was important for the rabbi to demand respect (60), this percentage is misleading. Agreement varied greatly among the congregations. In three of the congregations between 8h and 92 percent of the board felt that it should be important that the rabbi demand respect. From the board members' comments, it appears that in these three congregations the rabbi has been able to project a strong image of the competent administrator and to some extent an authoritarian image. For the most part the board mem-

bers reacted favorably to these men, while still having their share of complaints. In two congregations only 56 percent of the board felt that it was important for the rabbi to demand respect. This vast range of consensus from a low of 56 percent to a high of over 92 percent cannot be easily explained. Some board members wanted to change the wording of item 60 to "commands" respect. This might be a clue to the difference between an "ascribed" versus an "achieved" authority. These board members wanted to emphasize the fact that there was nothing inherent in the title of rabbi itself that gave an individual a certain status or authority. The rabbi had to earn his position.

In addition to being a strong leader and demanding respect, there is just as much agreement that the rabbi fight for what he believes in (58). In another congregation where the rabbi's views on such issues as social action have met with much opposition, only one member of the board disagreed with this basic principle. The board members, at least in principle, want a rabbi who will have the courage of his convictions and who will be a forceful leader.

Considering the "ideal" rabbi's role in resolving conflicts and controversies, both within and outside the synagogue (41,44), the board members held a contrary position. They felt that it was better for the rabbi to act as an impartial mediator in internal conflicts, and only to present his opinions on community issues when requested to do so. No more than one-fourth of the board members interviewed felt that the rabbi should take a clear stand and defend it in internal conflicts, nor should he engage actively in community endeavors on his own initiative. In other words, the board members pictured their "ideal" rabbi as one who is a strong leader and fights for what he believes in, but this must all be

carried forth fully within their control. It is doubtful if any man could fulfill such expectations given these limitations. One cannot be sure that the board members realize that they ask such contradictory behaviour of their spiritual leader.

PERSONAL DYNAMICS

Section VII (h8) of the questionnaire asked each board member to select the two most desirable qualities for a successful rabbi. Over 83 percent of the board members agreed that "sincerity" was the most important personal quality. "Devotion" to ones profession was their second choice. However, only 16 percent agreed that "devotion" was one of the two most desirable. Other respondents felt that "confidence" or "humility" were the most desirable personal qualities. When questioned as to whether a rabbi had ever disappointed them (95), only twenty-one percent said that they were satisfied and had not been disappointed. As could have been predicted, the explanations and complaints were numerous and varied. Almost 30 percent of the sample felt that the area of disappointment was with the personality of the individual. Most complained that the rabbi was "insincere" or phony, that he lacked flexibility or understanding. A goodly number of persons felt that the rabbi had been more negligent in his pastoral duties than his pulpit duties. Many persons chose to explain incidents involving past rabbis that were minor in nature but to them were very serious at the time. One person complained that the rabbi made a long distance phone call and did not pay for it. Another complained that the rabbi had not paid a medical fee which was still outstanding. On the whole, the complaints were direct and to the point. More often the board members were critical of the

rabbi's personal conduct than his congregational activities. In one congregation the board members had numerous complaints about the rabbi's sermon style and also the content of his sermons. But this was not the case in the majority of congregations where the complaints were varied and ranged from one sphere of the rabbinate to another.

Section IX (63-68) attempted to place labels on rabbinic style. By giving a commonly used term and placing a specific definition with it, the author hoped to make some distinctions between these commonly used terms and to gain some insight into the thinking of the board members regarding their rabbi. An insignificant number of persons reacted negatively to the term "Classical content with little custom or ritual in Judaism". That is to say, only sixteen persons thought that the Reform rabbi of today was too classical and wished that more custom and ritual would be added to that already existing in the Reform congregation. However, this was not the case regarding the opposite question of a rabbi today being too "Traditional" or "Orthodox" (63, 64). The congregations reacted differently one from the other, suggesting that each was idiosyncratic to their own orientation. In one young congregation, the rabbi of today was considered to be too "traditional -adding customs that Reform had rejected". While twenty-six percent of the entire sample held to this opinion, over 67 percent of this one board was of this opinion. Interestingly enough, this same board did not choose to label today's Reform rabbi as being too "Orthodox". Approximately sixteen percent of the total sample held to this criticism.

In another congregation, approximately 35 percent of the board felt that today's Reform rabbis were too "Traditional" and too "Orthodox".

In this particular instance it appeared to this writer that the congre-

gation was reacting both from a historical tradition and against a recent poor experience with a rabbi. It is most notable that after having undergone tremendous strain in order to resolve a problem with their rabbi, such a small number of the board reacted in this manner — one would have expected a much higher negative statement.

Only one of the eight congregations studied had a significant number of persons who considered today's rabbis to be too "Compromising". The total average of positive responses was about 8 percent, but in one congregation over 28 percent of the board felt that today's rabbi was too compromising. Because few persons reacted this way in the total sample, and because persons in this congregation chose to consider this their most important complaint throughout the free choice or completion sections of the questionnaire, I must conclude that they were specifically reacting toward their own rabbis

The same seems to be the case in regard to the term "Radical". A relatively small number of persons, seventeen percent of the total sample, felt that the rabbi of today was too "radical—acting in a way unbecoming of a rabbi". However, in one congregation over half of the board members chose to respond "yes" to this question. From the evidence within the questionnaire itself, it would appear that the board members have chosen to be critical of their own rabbi because of his views on social action. Most amazing is that this same rabbi is described by his congregants as being "loved". This is borne out by the fact that a very high percentage of his board would seek out his advice in counseling matters. For this rabbi's board members he is two men: he is "radical" in his public behavior, but is a most competent leader in his congregational role as counselor, spiritual guide, etc.

Approximately one-fourth of the board members felt that the rabbi of today was too "independent—doing too much on his own initiative".

Once again this varied considerably from congregation to congregation.

The congregation that described their rabbi as being too "compromising", reacted the least in regard to his being too "independent". Possibly, they felt that their rabbi was not independent enough. In another congregation, where the rabbi had a poor image, almost half of the board felt that the rabbi of today was too independent. In this instance the board members were certainly reacting to their own rabbi. The rabbi himself, considered his role as being one apart from any restrictions by the board.

One can never say with absolute certainty that the board members always reacted to their own rabbis. It does seem obvious to conclude that when only one or two congregations react differently from the remaining six or seven, that they must be reacting to a unique or a personal situation and not just to the image of a rabbi. It should also be noted that seven of the twelve rabbis who participated in this project felt that today's rabbis were not guilty of any excesses. Those who did answer "yes" to questions in Section IX, answered without consistency. Sometimes they reflected the views of the majority of their congregants and at other times they were in agreement with a significant minority. These unique variations between the image of the rabbi in regard to these common terms need further investigation in order to determine the specific dynamics which are involved in the relationship between rabbi and congregational board member.

RANDOM ATTITUDES AND COMMENTS

According to the responses of the board members, the good Reform

rabbi need not keep the laws of Kashruth (75). Only one of 210 respondents felt that he should do so. Most of the board members felt that the rabbi should be a scholar in Judaica (77) - ninety percent. But only 75 percent agreed that he need to be fluent in Hebrew (76). One might suggest that this shows either a critical realization that their rabbi might not be fluent in Hebrew, or that Hebrew is not as important as is the knowledge of Judaica. Certainly, this is in some way a reaction to the fact that Hebrew is not the active language of prayer for most of the board members. This apparent distinction between Judaica and Hebrew may also reflect a certain amount of ignorance on the part of the respondents.

The survey produced strong disagreement between the rabbis and the board members in regard to the value of supporting the State of Israel. While seven of the twelve rabbis felt that it was a "must" that the rabbi support the State of Israel, only 22 percent of the board members agreed (32). Furthermore, in these seven cases the rabbis were very much in disagreement with their board members. For example, in one congregation where the rabbi considered supporting the State of Israel as a "must" activity, none of his board members supported him. In fact, over half felt that it was a waste of the rabbits time to engage in such an endeavor. In another congregation where only three members of a large board considered this a "must", all three rabbis in the congregation were unanimous in their belief that this was a most important endeavor. Approximately twenty percent of the total sample felt that this was a waste of the rabbi's time and energy. Here is a clear example of the rabbinic leadership not sharing the views of its board members. The two congregations cited above both scored low on the "traditionalism" scale

which would classify them as being "Classical Reform" in their outlook and religious practice. On an issue that seems to be vital today in the Jewish community, both congregations still are very much back in the classical era of Reform, while their rabbinic leadership has moved away from this position as has most of the respondents.

It is only of relative importance, according to the responses of the board members, that a rabbi have a home life independent of his congregational activities. (21). Approximately half of the board felt that it was of primary importance that a rabbi be able to have his own personal life away from the institution. Ten of the twelve rabbis in the study felt that this was a "must". Possibly this difference in orientation between the rabbi and his board, where the rabbi's success excludes a concern for his family and personal life, is the reason why five of the twelve rabbis felt that the rabbi should only have a small number of close friends (70).

Likewise, the majority of board members considered that it was only helpful that a rabbi maintain a disciplined program of prayer (6) and a set schedule of reading and study (13). While ten persons in the sample considered this to be a waste of the rabbi's time, no more than forty percent deemed this to be a "must". The rabbis on the other hand over-whelmingly felt it of major priority that they follow a definite program of reading and study. Ten of the twelve rabbis considered this a "must". The rabbis were not in agreement among themselves as to the importance of a program of prayer and personal devotion: seven considered this to be a "must", four "helpful", and one considered this to be a waste of time. The board members considered prayer and personal devotion to be more important for success than study and reading. The rabbis saw the

priorities in the opposite way.

Approximately forty percent of the respondents felt that it was important that the rabbi be married (56). The majority felt that the matter was irrelevant. In one congregation almost sixty percent felt that the rabbi should be married, while in two others only twenty-eight agreed. Certainly one could speculate on the reasons for this varied response. There is little in the test instrument which would lead to any positive conclusion regarding the value of a rabbi being married. The only time that this seemed to be important was in the matter of marital conseling (89). Some respondents felt that it was important enough that they stated their preference that the rabbi be married. The majority of the board members considered it to be irrelevant whether the rabbi's wife did or did not have a college degree (52).

The question of a rabbi's age appeared to be a significant factor in the minds of the board members. When given the hypothetical situation of hiring a new rabbi, only fourteen percent of the board members stated that they would not hire a younger rabbi over an older man. Another fifeteen percent stated without qualification that they would hire a younger man over an older man. Most of the board members qualified their answers. Many, 31 percent, felt that given a choice of two men who had equal qualifications, they would hire a younger man over an older man. Another 32 percent of the board members felt that it was not so much age that counted, but the qualifications of the man. Typical of this opinion, one board member said:

"I would vote to hire a rabbi with good qualifications and he could be young or an older man. Age would make no difference. Depends on the man."

Another stated: "This cannot be answered in the abstract. You hire men—not age groups." Others felt that there was need for a younger man to work with the youth:

"Yes he would relate better to youth which (in my opinion) is our most pressing problem."

Many other reasons were given to justify hiring a younger man over an older man.

Three-fourths of the board members felt that a younger men would be more inclined to make changes faster than an older rabbi (80). Among the congregations studied, only one did not show a strong leaning towards the conclusion of the majority. Only fifty percent of its board members agreed with the proposition that a younger man would be inclined to make changes faster. In the other seven congregations seventy percent or better agreed with the proposition. It was assumed by this writer that such a proposition would have a negative connotation. Apparently this is not the situation since the majority seem to favor hiring a younger man. One board member expressed his feelings in the following menner:

"Everything else being equal I would prefer the younger man with his greater enthusiasm and desire to improve the congregation at a faster pace."

According to the views of the respondents, youth seems to be an asset, given the understanding that the younger man were as qualified as the older candidate. The general concern in our society for our youth seems to have an influence on the hiring practices of the congregation.

ELEMENTS OF THE RABBINIC MYSTIQUE

While what this particular board member said makes sense, the way that he builds his argument implies that the rabbi is someone very special. This board member is not alone in his sentiments. Recall the reasons that were given in defense of the rabbi as "spiritual guide" and one will detect the same implications. The board members, and for that matter probably most congregants, see the rabbi as someone much different from themselves.

Over ninety percent of the board members stipulated that it was important that the rabbi display a strong belief in God (62). Yet his particular "calling" is not something mystical or unusual. It is grounded in a desire to help humanity and to solve the problems of the day (12). Two rabbis commented that there was nothing wrong with the rabbi having "an unusual and mystical call by God to the rabbinate". They suggested that a good rabbi should be motivated by both alternatives given in item 42; but few board members chose the first alternative. In one congregation twenty-eight percent chose the first alternative. Since thirteen of the twenty-two persons who chose the first alternative seem to have made a spurious choice in their selection, I can only speculate that the relatively high number of persons choosing the first alternative in the one congregation must be related to some other situation or phenomenon apart from the actual issue at hand. I would suggest that, since this congregation has consistently shown a poor or unusual response pattern, strongly hostile both to their own rabbi and to the role of the rabbi in general, it is a matter of hostility toward their own rabbi that they chose this answer. This was the only congregation in which more than one or two persons showed an obvious contempt for the rabbi, or indeed for the administration of this questionnaire.

Again this image of the rabbi as being someone special is demonstrated in the high priority that item 26 received on the list of priorities. When one states that the rabbi serves as an example of high moral and ethical character, this is just another way of saying that the rabbi should be the "model Jew". In the eyes of the board members the rabbi as a model Jew is also a model human being. But their picture of an "ideal" rabbi is tempered by the fact that they realize his basic weakness is that of being "human" (100). Many felt that when the rabbi moved away from being human, that is to say: "Playing God (101) --when he pontificated instead of participated", he no longer fulfilled his proper role. Even with the awareness that the rabbi was a human being, over fifty percent of the total sample felt that the rabbi was likely to be more free of sin than his congregants (83). This particular image seems to be dependent on the rabbi's own ability to perform well, or at least adequately, those functions the board members expected of him. In the one congregation where the rabbi presented a poor image to his board, only 34 percent of the board enswered in the affirmative to item 83. In two of the remaining seven congregations almost two-thirds of the board members felt that their rabbi was more free of sin than they. Five of the twelve rabbis agreed with the majority that the rabbi was more likely to be free from sin. It is my personal opinion that this question cannot be taken in its literal sense. Formulated as it was, the board members reacted to a more Christian concept which I do not believe is true of the rabbis. It would seem most logical given the context that both the rabbis and the board members meant to convey a desire or expectancy that the rabbi be someone special. Looking at this rabbinic image from another perspective, it should be noted that almost two-thirds

of the board members felt that it was very important that the rabbi dress well (69). More often than not the rabbis disagreed with the majority of their board members. Once again this seems to be dependent on the desire for a public image which is in turn influenced by the private contact that the board members have had with their own rabbi. In two congregations less than half of the board members felt that it was very important that the rabbi dress well, 38 and 48 percent respectively. One congregational board strongly felt that this should be the case. Eighty-eight percent of the board members answered in the affirmative. The answers of this congregational board often emphasized the rabbits importance as the Jewish representative in the general community.

It was the intention of this author that item 74 should also shed light on this concept of the rabbinic image — that the rabbi should hold a special place in society. However, the board members were divided in their opinion as to telling risqué jokes in the presence of the rabbi. Fifty-four percent said that they would, while forty-four percent said that they would not. In examining the individual congregational responses, no consistent explanation or pattern of response could be found to justify the few variations.

Eighty-seven percent of the respondents felt that a rabbi should not have only a small number of close friends (70). However, five of the twelve rabbis disagreed. One rabbi implied that while this is not the most acceptable of situations, it was the only possible alternative given the nature of the rabbinate. When the board members were asked if they considered themselves personal friends of the rabbi, the total response was almost evenly divided. However, an examination of item 73 shows that the totals are in no way related to the responses of the individual

congregations. The positive responses of the congregational boards broke down as follows: 28.1%, 43.8%, 44.4%, 50.0%, 56.3%, 67.7%, and 76.0%. This wide range from twenty-eight to seventy-six percent cannot be easily explained. The percentages do not in any way reflect a substantial correlation with the size of the individual congregation or the congregational board. The congregations that had the two highest percentages were both in separate cities, and they were the only Reform congregation in the city. It is possible that this factor influenced the board members responses in that they felt a need to have a stronger Jewish identity and by being close to the rabbi, felt they attained such a position. It is just as possible that the individual personality of the rabbi was the primary influence in how the board member perceived his relationship with the rabbi. The rabbi could specifically cultivate the impression that he is close to each board member so as to make his position in the congregation that much stronger. On the other hand, the rabbi might be so alienated from his board that few members felt in any way close to him. Such interpersonal relationships as these must be studied in much greater depth to gain proper insights.

While eleven of the twelve rabbis interviewed felt that it was acceptable for the rabbi to engage in sports on the Sabbath, thirty percent of the board members (62 respondents) felt that it was not acceptable (78). The correllary question, item 8h, showed little variation. Approximately the same number of persons, fifty-eight, felt that they themselves would not engage in sports on the Sabbath with the rabbi. However, the influence of a rabbinic image was most noticeable in regard to one congregation. In one of the eight congregations seventy-two percent of the board members felt that it was not acceptable for the rabbi

to engage in sports on the Sabbath. This particular congregation has only one rabbi and it is well known in the community that he is to some extent Shomer Shabbat. The rabbi himself was of the opinion that it was acceptable to engage in sports. This difference of opinion has probably been influenced by the rabbinic image which the rabbi himself has conveyed to his congregants. The board members must have considered the rabbi's position to abstain from all work on the Sabbath as being such that sports activities were also included within what they perceived the rabbi not engaging in on the Sabbath. Even the relatively low persecentage of 30 which was the percentage of persons objecting to the rabbi engaging in sports, must be considered in and of itself significant of this rabbinic image, special behavior pattern, which the board members attribute to their rabbi. In this particular case, they themselves would not even violate it in order to protect that rabbinic image.

Item 71 was another attempt to examine this image by asking about the rabbi's dealing in the stock market and emphsizing the word "playing". Whether the 16 to 36 percent of each board who responded negatively to the question reacted to the word "playing" or to the general condition of the rabbi being involved with investments in the stock market is difficult to ascertain. The relatively high number of objections could well support the theory that the rabbi should not be more than casually involved in the stock market.

The above investigations and conclusions seem to strongly suggest that the board members often have a special set of glasses through which they view the rabbi. Yes, he is a man; but at the same time he is more. His conduct should be more moral and beyond any reasonable question. He is the teacher and representative of Judaism and to some extent a "representative o

sentative of God" in that he must always live a pious life (97). He should be dedicated to his congregation; one who loves, cares, and serves. He is a man who has chosen to take the responsibility of perpetuating Judaism. He is a man who reaches out to help others, and by his actions he inspires and influences others (103). These were the random comments of many of the board members in regard to their picture of the rabbi.

A rabbi also has weaknesses like any other person (100). His basic weakness is that he is human and can be a victim of his own personality. Some board members see the rabbi as being superior, that is to say, arrogant and pompous. He may have a tendency to try to please everyone, and succeed in alienating many. At times he might not be sensitive to the needs of his congregation or to its members. One glaring example became obvious in the investigation. While most congregations do not want their rabbi to be involved with fund raising, one congregation felt that their rabbi was so removed from the practical problems of his congregation that he did not realize their dire financial situation. Some board members considered their rabbi's basic weakness as that of being overextended, in that he had so many demands on his time, he could not do well what was expected of him.

THE RABBI, BOARD AND CONGREGATION

Section III of the questionnaire (33) and item 107 attempted to probe the relationship between the rabbi, the board of trustees, and the congregation. Within this relationship there seems to be a question as to the extent of the rabbi's authority. Fifty-nine percent of the board members felt that the rabbi is responsible to the board. Thirty-one percent felt that the board and rabbi are equal one with the other. Only six percent felt that the rabbi is autonomous in his congregation. The

rabbis were also divided on this question. Six men considered the rabbi to be responsible to the board; three that they are equal; two held that the rabbi is autonomous in the congregation, and one rabbi chose to separate the functions and suggested that each had separate roles and responsibilities.

Given the chance to freely choose who is the rabbits boss (107), only 35 percent said it was the congregation, eight percent said that he was his own boss (i.e. his conscience), and another eight percent maintained that he had no boss. The remainder of the respondents expressed other varied opinions. Some persons felt that the rabbits boss was his wife -- possibly a defensive answer in jest, while a more serious answer was that God, alone, was the rabbits boss. A few persons felt that the rabbits boss was both his own congregational board and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. It was also noted that a number of respondents expressed hostility regarding certain rabbis who had tenure. One person commented: "Answers to himself when he has tenure".

Apart from a few answers, it seems that the majority of board members realized that the rabbi was responsible to the congregation through his board. Many would want the rabbi to temper his relationship by his own conscience and notion of ethical and proper behavior. Over half of the board members expressed a desire that the rabbi keep the board informed of the congregation's needs, offer plans, programs and suggestions (106). The board members wanted tangible guidance in the affairs of the congregation. Approximately twenty percent of the board members expressed a desire that the rabbi could help the board best if he would be cooperative and understanding of his board and their duties and responsibilities. Whether this attitude may be positive or negative does seem

to depend on the individual relationship of the board and their rabbi.

The largest number of respondents felt that the board could best help the rabbi (105) by working with him: consulting on relevant matters, giving advice and cooperating when called upon to do so. Others felt that it was most important for the board to support and encourage the rabbi in his endeavors. Some also expressed the opinion that the board would be most helpful if, at all times, it communicated to him the needs and desires of the congregation as it (i.e. the board) saw them. Over twenty-five individuals expressed the belief that it was most important for the board to be truthful and honest in its dealings and consultations with the rabbi. Said one board member: "Include him and be honest in relationship." Another board member commented that the board should: "Have a clear understanding as to the needs and desires of the leader-ship of the congregation", and reflect it to the rabbi.

The rabbis responded in similar manner. They emphasized the need for the relationship to be open and healthy:

"Judaize and guide them, but do respect their opinions."

"Listen to what they are really saying."

Common among the responses of the rabbis was a certain attitude toward directing the board to their own ways of thinking, so as best to create a healthy atmosphere for the rabbi. It seems that while the sentiment of the rabbis is closely aligned with that of the board members, often the rabbis want to do much more steering and directing than the board would like to accept. Some rabbis expressed their ideas in a more dogmatic tone. They felt that the board could best help the rabbi by listening to what he had to say and by supporting him. Two of the rabbis

expressed a desire to be financially secure (i.e. adequately paid) so that they need not worry about their own financial situation and be free to do that which they felt was incumbent upon them in carrying forth their rabbinic obligations. This same attitude was expressed by a few of the board members. Each of these suggestions for improvement of the relationship between the rabbi and board members is related to the question of improving means of communication. Such means must be determined in other studies.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

DISCUSSION OF THE INITIAL HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis l.: The layman's perspective of the rabbi will be such that his perceived expectations will not be the same as his ideal expectations.

My data supports this contention. The board members definitely display an image of the ideal rabbi, or the rabbinate, that does not coincide with that which they see in the rabbis with whom they have contact. No greater evidence of this can be seen than the overwhelming (80%) majority of respondents who said "yes" that a rabbi had disappoint Their answers ranged from what to the outside observer seemed to be trivial, to the grave judgment that the rabbi had been insincere or even phony. The temptation to regard some of the more trivial answers as being flippant remarks is great. However, the very fact these isolated incidents, often many years in the past, remain so well entrenched in the individual's mind, should indicate the degree of emotional importance which the incident must have had. The rabbi, in doing something so ordinary and human as neglecting to pay for a phone call, truly may have disappointed this person and probably somehow contributed to the image of phoniness which some of the other respondents mentioned. When next one considers the fact that forty percent of the respondents felt that the rabbi's most important function was that of "spiritual guide" and that forty percent was the greatest consensus for any one role, an important personal point of view emerges. As "spiritual guide" the ideal rabbi is viewed as one who is in some ways superior in character to those whom he guides. He is more than a man - he is "the rabbi." He is a strong leader, committed to the perpetuation of Judaism through his prima-

ry activities as one who inspires and teaches. He is sincere and dedicated both to his congregants and his Judaism. His status with idividual congregants is based on those personal relationships which he either achieves by his actions or earns (i.e. is ascribed) by virtue of his position. He is a man who is available when needed, a person who can share in joy and be a comfort in times of sorrow. In the eyes of the board members he is more moral than the individuals whom he guides and his character is beyond repute. The rabbi is seen as being more "Jewish" than his congregants. And in actual fact by noting the differences between the scores of the rabbis and those of the congregants. on the "traditionalism scale", the individual rabbis in the study are more "traditional" or observant than their respective board members. The rabbi is the "model Jew". He is viewed by his board members as being more inclined towards worship and prayer than the pursuit of knowledge and education, which is in fact not the case. The ideal rabbi brings this image into the general community both by his actions and his physical presence. It is even important that the rabbi dress well, so that he might display this proper image both to the general community and to his own congregants. He must be fully and at all times committed to his congregation. His main concern must be for his congregants and his synagogue. From the perspective of the board members, religious beliefs and convictions take second place to the more important goal of preserving the institution. The board members are more concerned that the rabbi perform the marriage ceremony only for members of his own congregation than whether the parties involved are both Jewish. congregation hires a man and expects of him complete devotion to the welfare of his synagogue and its membership. At notime do the board

members display a strong positive concern for K'lall Yisroel. The rabbined not even spend a goodly portion of his time in the support of the State of Israel. As the board member views the rabbi, he need only be the "model Jew" for his congregation and, if need be, the community.

The board members seem to display a schizophrenic notion about the rabbi. While they realize that he is human, he is always viewed as being a little more than human — something special. They view the rabbi as a person at times removed from reality. He is human, but he is likely to be more free of sin than they. To the amazement of the writer, this question which was primarily designed to bring a form of comic relief from the strain of the questionnaire, was taken seriously by almost all of the respondents. This is in itself another indication of this schizophrenic view of the rabbi. The rabbi is a better educated layman — as has been traditionally the case, but he is something more than this.

By virtue of his education he receives a special ascribed status. And this makes the rabbi more than just ad "educated layman".

The ideal rabbi should be a strong leader, demand respect, and most important, have the courage of his convictions. At the same time the rabbi should take orders from the board of trustees who is his boss. Given all of these preconceived notions and fantasies, it would seem almost impossible for any man to fulfill the role expectations of his board. The rabbi is subject to weaknesses like any member of his board; he is human. And because he is human the board members face the trying situation of having their ideal image broken by reality. The congregation, while not wanting this to be the case, must accept an individual human being as their "spiritual guide".

Hypothesis 2.: The individual rabbi, himself, will have a strong influence on how the board views the rabbi's role expectations and priorities.

The findings support this hypothesis, but only to a limited degree. In examining the priorities of the individual rabbis and their boards it appears that the rabbi's influence is limited by certain notions and desires held by the board members. There is general agreement on those basic expectations and priorities which traditionally have been ascribed to the role of the rabbi. Often that which the board members believe is "traditional" has been included in the rabbi's obligations under the influence of the greater Christian milieu. There is general agreement that the rabbi preach and teach, be an officiant and a sympathetic counselor. The traditional Christian concern that the minister visit regularly with the families of his congregation and to recruit when possible new families, are the only major priorities discussed in the literature which neither the rabbis nor their board members feel is an essential obligation. Most rabbis and most boards prefer that the administrative responsibilities be given to persons other than the rabbi. However, in one instance where the rabbi projects an image of the competent administrator, his board agrees with him. Because this is an isolated situation, but statistically significant, it seems proper to conclude that the rabbi has been able to influence his board members into accepting a certain priority which is not usually the case. There is adequate evidence to support this hypothesis.

Just because the board members assign a special status to the role of rabbi, it does not automatically follow that his priorities will always be accepted by his board members. This study has documented certain areas regarding priority where the rabbis and the board members are at

variance one with the other. The rabbis feel a strong obligation to support the State of Israel and consider the pursuit of study and knowledge as being of a "must" priority. The board members do not agree with the rabbi. The rabbis consider a separate home life away from the institution an essential priority, few board members agree with them. Certain rabbis feel very strongly about the subject of mixed marriage. Only in two instances, where the rabbis are strongly opposed, is there any significant agreement with the rabbi. For the most part the board members are not in agreement with the position of the rabbis. In one instance where the rabbi has no objection to performing a mixed marriage, a significant percentage of his board objects to his position. As was explained in Chapter Four, the board members objections decrease significantly given the alternative to raise the children as Jews, even when the rabbis do not approve of this alternative. One must conclude that the rabbi is not able to significantly influence his board members in regard to accepting many of his priorities.

The rabbi does not appear to be able to influence his board members regarding role priorities, but by his own actions he is able to significantly determine his own effectiveness and success in the congregation. Sometimes the board members display a realistic conception of the rabbi's effectiveness. At other times, because of a positive or negative relationship with the rabbi, his influence is perceived to be exaggerated. The board member's willingness to seek or to reject the rabbi's help in certain counseling situations demonstrates this phenomenon. In congregational settings where the rabbi is seen as a warm, sincere, dedicated man, his board members seek out his advice. In situations where the rabbi is perceived as being hostile toward his members, or just "unconcerned",

the board members in substantial numbers tend to reject most of those pastoral functions associated with his rabbinic position.

An unusual phenomenon can be observed in certain congregations. Even when the rabbi's activities in the general community are viewed negatively by the board members, if his relationship with them in the congregational setting is a positive one, then this does not negatively affect his ability to be a good counselor or to cause persons to reject him. When the board members feel that their rabbi is sincere in what he says or does, then even though they do not approve, they tolerate such activities.

From the data presented one can observe that the rabbi himself is the most important influence on his effectiveness. From the point of view of the board members, it is the rabbi's image and not his priorities which determine their preferences.

Hypothesis 3.: It is suggested that there will be certain differences of individual response dependent on the variables of age, sex, education, occupation and religious practice.

The data neither supports nor rejects the effects of these variables. Given the amount of the time required to examine thoroughly the first, second and fourth hypotheses, it was impossible for this writer to engage in the necessary statistical evaluations in order to prove this hypothesis. Chapter Three suggests that there are not enough individuals included in this sample population to gain valid findings.

Furthermore, the educational breakdown shows little variance. This suggests that it would not be a significant factor for this sample.

Little could be postulated based on the difference between having one degree or more than one degree — the majority of the sample have at least one degree. The occupational variable is also speculative because

this too does not show a large variance. Most respondents are either in the managerial or professional categories. It will be most important to gain coefficients of corollation for age, income and religious practice. This writer hopes to do this in the future.

Hypothesis h.: The congregational board does not view the rabbi fully in accord with the suggested guidelines of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The data suggest that the rabbi often causes his board to take a position that is contrary to the guidelines of the C. C. A. R. recommendations. When the rabbi has alienated his board members it is almost impossible that the board give the rabbi an opportunity to engage in positive dialogue. The C. C. A. R. statement reads: "The Board of Trustees should welcome the rabbits views in its deliberations and do all that it can to strengthen his influence as a spiritual leader. "69 Most board members interviewed display a desire to fulfill this obligation both on their own part and that of their entire board. However, the rabbi often tends to exert such a strong hand in his functioning in an advisory capacity that he causes friction between the parties involved. The board members express a desire that their rabbi be a strong leader, but as a consultant the rabbi should not act, or in fact advise, unless given the opportunity by the board. The board members do not want their rabbi to be the forceful intermediary in internal administrative problems involving the board or board members, nor do they wish him to speak out in public unless requested to do so.

The guidelines suggest that the rabbi have freedom of the pulpit and be free to "identify himself with any cause, movement, or institution which he believes to be compatible with the teachings of Judaism". 70 This the board members do not always wish to grant. Many agree that the rabbi

should have freedom of the pulpit, but do not agree that the same be true outside the confines of the synagogue. Others display strong disapproval towards their rabbi supporting or engaging in any of these activities from the pulpit or in the community.

The guidelines which have been drawn up by both rabbis and laymen clearly are just that, guidelines. They are not binding, and as such the board members do not always follow the recommendations set forth in the document.

RANDOM THOUGHTS IN SUMMARY FORM

Within the congregational setting the rabbi is placed in a conflicting situation. The board members acting for the congregation hire him to be their "spiritual guide", their religious specialist, and give him a mandate to teach and preach. At the same time the board often tries to tie the rabbi's hands and limit to the best of their ability his actually achieving these goals. The rabbi is expected to be both an employee and leader at the same time. The data suggest that when all the parties concerned have a mutually supportive attitude, the individual rabbi can still be effective given the above limitations. The board members realize the value for adequate communications as suggested and demonstrated by Howe 71 and Higgins. 72 When there exists mutual understanding and trust between the board members and the rabbi, then the rabbi is able to function at his optimum level of competence. Most board members desire this positive relationship and suggest that each try to carry forth his own responsibilities in accomplishing this goal. But when there is a breakdown, where the relationship is not harmonious, then more often than not, the board members feel themselves in direct confrontation with the rabbi. In one particular situation the breakdown was so

complete that the board consistently expressed a desire to refrain from any contact with the rabbi, be it in their congregational responsibilities or personal lives. Often it appears that this breakdown occurs when a question of tenure has already been resolved and the congregation feels that it is forced to accept a leader who no longer is beneficial for their needs or fulfills their expectations.

The data further suggest that in many areas of religious ritual and belief, the board members lag behind their rabbinical leaders in any form of change. Often the traditions of "Classical" Reform Judaism are present in the beliefs, attitudes and activities of the board members. Yet, the religious leader whom they engage might adhere to a more traditional religious orientation. In many congregations the rabbi is leading his congregation in new directions and the changes are slow in coming.

The literature from the Christian community suggests that age is a negative factor in the selection of a new clergyman. This does not seem to be the case for the congregations examined in this survey. As has been stated, few persons categorically would refuse to hire a young rabbi. The majority would consider the qualifications of the applicants and judge them on their respective abilities. Contrary to the findings regarding the Christian community, many board members express a desire to hire a younger rabbi who they believe would bring vitality to their institution and relate better to their youth. Persons interested in change express the belief that a young man would engage in a more vigor—our effort to achieve such goals. This writer suspects that the same might be found today in the more liberal traditions among the Christian community, given the dynamics of the so-called "generation gap", which

would not have been present in the older studies. With the pressures of modern society weighing heavily on the individual board members, undoubtably the need to bridge this generation gap is in some way responsible for their desire to find young, capable rabbinic leadership.

CONCLUDING REMARKS WITH A LOOK TO THE FUTURE

This study has been conducted as a preliminary step in the hope that more comprehensive studies of the relationship between the board members and their rabbis will be forthcoming. Future studies should attempt to determine the effects of the possessive attitude inherent in the congregational board on the rabbi's ability to function properly. The differences between the rabbi's priorities and those of his board members should be outlined in further detail, as well as the differences between the rabbis and board members image of the rabbi. It would be valuable to also have a proper understanding of the board members! attitudes towards a specialized rabbinate.

From the results of the studies in the various Christian churches, it seems valuable to pursue the study of the personal dynamics which are involved in the interaction of board members and their rabbis.

This writer believes that certain areas of his own questionnaire should be reworked so as to remove questions of ambiguity and relieve obvious frustrations that were caused by its construction. More background on the respondents would be helpful, so that the various suggested factors could be better analyzed. However, given the limitations of the test instrument and the study itself, the author believes that his task has been accomplished.

The board members have a definite idea of what their religious

should be and also what he really is. Most of their beliefs are described in this examination. At times this image of the ideal rabbi is so removed from reality that misunderstandings inevitably occur and effective leadership cannot overcome all the obstacles. The board members do not seem to realize that what they expect of their religious specialist, is bound up in contradictory notions. They want their rabbi to be both a human being and a "saint", a scholar and a friend, and finally a leader who is a good follower. The board members of these Reform congregations do not want the "rebbe", who judged and taught their great-grandfathers. They want a professional religious leader who is expected to be a "model Jew". But they do not necessarily feel obligated to follow his example, or to even accept critically what he feels are the demands of Judaism, specifically Reform Judaism. More than anything else, the board members want their rabbi to be available when needed, performing the institutionalized religious obligations as they occur and to show the concern which an ideal individual should have for his fellow men.

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Appendix A
Congregational Fact Sheet

Congr. & Size*	No. on board	Total Present No. %	Ref.	No. Ret. Mailed		l of board icipating %
V 90	20	12 60	0	6	18	90
800	36	22 61	0	10	32	89
S 400	27	16 * 59	1	7	22	81
A 700	28	23 82	0	1.	24	86
R 1000	36	24 67	0	8	32	89
850	26	18 69	0	7	25	96
W 1400	36	25 69	1	8 *	32	89
N 650	33	23 * 70	2	L4	25	76
Total	242	163 67	4	51	210	86.8

^{*}Total number of families, approximately given

^{*}Sign of the refusal

APPENDIX B

The Interview Questionnaire

			oode
I. Persone	Data (will be kept o	confidential)	
Age	Sex	Occupation	ugan kagamagan mit, Ahnaya kagagan garagan agalan galangga kaga thatir sajabin nga kikala ka
Years affil:	iated with this Temple	e (approx.)	kanduri-radih agganganakan-rasifakafitig pintua
Number of ye	ears served on Board	of Trustees previous to t	his year
Position(s)	now held on Board		- 1897/Annah rafi judi um 1 Santifiko un se dem Ariz Rapadishannah er
	sition(s) held		Датабатын Мүч, ж. с жана Мүч жана байын Мүч майын Мүч майын байын байын байын байын байын байын байын байын бай
		serve on	
How would you (other Very Act:	ou describe your degree than synagogue attend iveFa	ee of activity in the syr	21.
Bible Bool	Prayer Book Jew ks of contemporary Jew ish Encyclopedia	vish Classics Hebr vish Interest	ew Books
Which of the	e following customs ar	re followed in your home:	
Kashruth	(Strict)	Kashruth (to a degre	e)
Don't ric	de on Sabbath	Sabbath candles	
Kiddush		Abstain from all wor	rk on Sabbath
Havdallal	n	T'Fillin	
Grace be:	fore/after the meal on door	Yahrtzeit candle	
Fast on 1	Yom Kippur	Passover Seder	
Chanukah	Lights	Jewish cooking for h	olidays
	income (in thous <i>e</i> nds -15 16-25 26-40	of dollars); family: Cir over 40	cle choice
	end college: Yes No egree(s) do you have?	If yes, how many	years?

- II. The rabbi is called on to perform many functions and the demands on his time are great. As a leader of your congregation make a determination on each of the following functions in regard to his success and effectiveness:
 - M --- Must engage in this activity to the best of his ability in order to be effective.
 - H -- It is helpful but not necessary to insure success.
 - N He should not engage in this activity for it is a waste of his valuable time.

 (Circle your choice)
- (1) M H N a. Teaches and works directly with adults in adult religious education classes and/or special seminar series.
- (2) MHNb. Participates in community projects and organizations such as school boards, community improvement projects and associations.
- (3) M H N c. Ministers to the sick, dying and bereaved.
- (4) MHNd. Leads public worship in the temple.
- (5) MHN e. Works directly with congregational boards and committees.
- (6) M H N f. Maintains a disciplined program of prayer and personal devotions.
- (7) MHNg. Speaking engagements before community and civic groups, for special community occasions or for radio and t.v.
- (8) M H N h. Oversees temple office activities: temple bulletins, correspondence, records, etc.
- (9) M H N i. Tries to maintain harmony and resolve conflict among temple members over temple programs, finances, elections.
- (10) M H N j. Preaches sermons.
- (11) M H N k. Visits new residents and recruits new members.
- (12) M H N l. Counsels with people about their personal and moral problems.
- (13) M H N m. Follows a definite schedule of reading and study.
- (11) MHNn. Teaches and works directly with children; visits religious school classes, preaches children's sermons, etc.
- (15) M H N o. Assist victims of social neglect, injustice, and prejudice; cooperates with social service and charitable programs.
- (16) M H N p. Teaches and works directly with young people (Jr. High and High School age) in classes and/or youth groups.
- (17) MHNq. Conducts and officiates at a wedding.
- (18) MHNr. Conducts and officiates at a bar mitzvah.

- (19) M H N s. Conducts and officiates at a funeral.
- (20) M H N t. Conducts and officiates at an unveiling.
- (21) M H N u. Cultivates a home and personal life independent of local temple activities; rabbi and family have friends and interests outside local temple activities.
- (22) M H N v. Leads financial drives and building programs.
- (23) M H N w. Talks with individuals about their spiritual development, religious life and beliefs.
- (24) MHNx. Works with the other rabbis in town be they Reform, Conservative or Orthodox.
- (25) MHNy. Helps plan temple budget and mange temple finances.
- (26) MHNz. Serves as an example of high moral and ethical character.
- (27) M H N aa. Maps out objectives and plans the overall temple program.
- (28) MHN bb. Interests capable people in temple activities; recruits, trains and assists lay workers of the congregation especially the leaders of the Brotherhood, Sisterhood and Youth Group.
- (29) M H N cc. Visits regularly in the homes of the congregants.
- (30) M H N dd. Counsels with people facing the major decisions of life such as marriage and vocation.
- (31) M H N ee. Supplies new ideas for activities and projects.
- (32) M H N ff. Works actively for the support of the State of Israel.
- (33) III. (Choose only one answer) Would you say:

 a. The Board is responsible to the rabbi.

 b. The rabbi is responsible to the Board.

 c. They are equal one with the other.

 d. The rabbi is autonomous in his congregation.
- IV. Should your rabbi officiate at a marriage (circle Y or N for each)
- (34) YN a. where the parties are not members of the congregation.
- (35) YN b. where the groom is not Jewish (no intention of conversion). (36) YN c. where the bride is not Jewish (no intention of conversion).
- (36) Y N c. where the bride is not Jewish (no intention of conversion).

 (37) Y N d. where the wedding is held domewhere other than temple or home.
- (38) YN e. where the rabbi officiates in another congregation.
- (39) Y N f. one parner is not Jewish but the children raised as Jews.

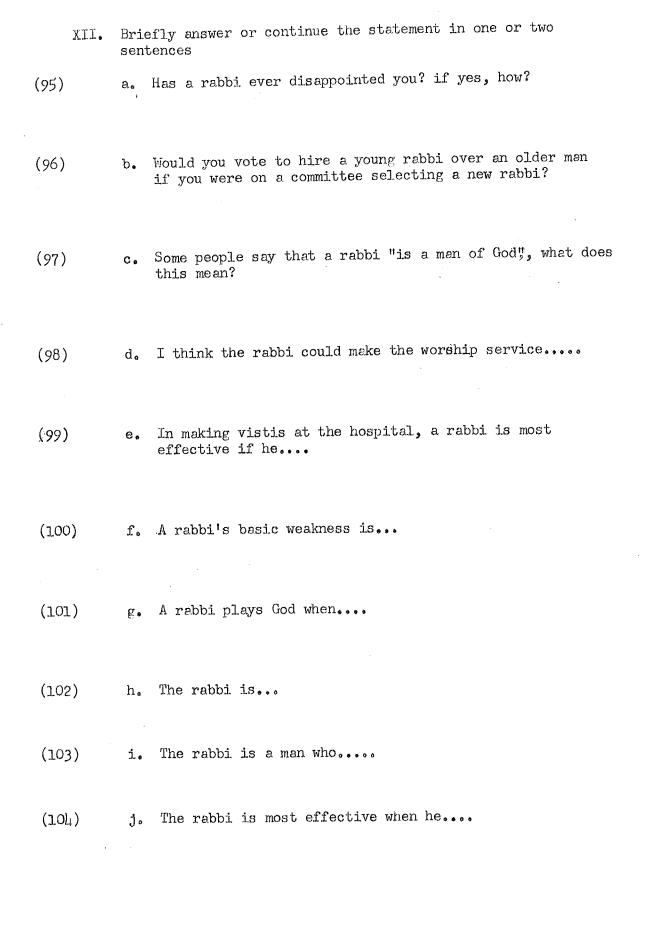
1 1.5	V. In regard to a rabbi's style; which approach do you prefer? (PLACE AN X IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX)
(1,0)	A. IN COUNSELING WITH PEOPLE ABOUT THEIR PERSONAL AND MORAL PROBLEMS, AN IDEAL RABBI SHOULD: Emphasize psychological counseling techniques, thus relying or
Banklijinag	his broad acquaintance with human problems and their practica solution OR Emphasize the healing power of faith and prayer, thus relying
	on his ability to see human problems in the light of Jewish belief.
(41)	B. IN CONTROVERSIES OF COMMUNITY OR NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE INVOLVING FOR EXAMPLE HOTLY CONTESTED ELECTIONS, TAX SUPPORT FOR PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS, ETHNIC OR RACIAL PREJUDICE IN SUBURBAN REAL ESTATE DEALINGS, THE RABBI SHOULD: Engage in an active effort to promote his own opinion on the issue through organizations, circulation of petitions, etc.
**************************************	Form a clear opinion and present it to the population if requested to do so.
(42)	C. AN IDEAL RABBI FOR YOUR TEMPLE SHOULD BE MOTIVATED BY: An unusual and mystical call by God to the rabbinate. OR
eneglijk ting	A desire to help humanity and to solve social problems.
(43)	D. IN COUNSELING WITH PEOPLE ABOUT THEIR PERSONAL AND MORAL PROBLEMS AN IDEAL CONGREGATIONAL RABBI SHOULD: Offer constructive criticism and suggest changes in
	outlook and behavior. OR
Branchery.	Act as a patient and sympathetic listener.
(444)	E. IN TRYING TO RESOLVE IMPORTANT CONFLICTS AMONG TEMPLE MEMBERS OVER TEMPLE PROGRAM? FINANCES, ELECTIONS, ETC. THE RABBI SHOULD MOST OFTEN: Try to reach a compromise solution to the conflicts, acting
	as an impartial mediator OR
*******	Take a clearly stated stand in the conflict and maintain it.
(45) —	F. AN IDEAL CONGREGATIONAL RABBI SHOULD POSSESS: An ability to organize laymen effectively, to develop interesting temple programs, and to make friends easily.
	OR An ability to deepen the spiritual life of the temple
***************************************	membership through personal contact, organizational fellowship and sermons.
(46)	G. IN SERMONS AND DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING SCRIPTURAL TEXTS & RABBINIC LITERATURE, THE IDEAL CONGREGATIONAL RABBI SHOULD PRIMARILY EMPHASIZE:
No. 1 Control	The importance of the message as fact and obligation because of its traditional value OR
M\M	The importance of the example in finding a richer, more joyful personal life.

(47)	VI.	func	following words or phrases have been used to describe the tions of a rabbi. Pick the four most important—rating one to four (number one is your first choice)
		Through the Company of the Company o	Leader of people Spiritual guide Public relations men Counselor Public speaker Good socializer Spiritual guide Professional Jew Teacher of Judaism Educator of children Jewish representative to the general community. Spiritual guide Professional Jew Teacher of Judaism Educator of children Jewish representative to the general community.
·			
	VII.	(pl.	th of these words describes the way a rabbi comes across: ace an X for your choices) 1. Confidence 2. Devotion 3. Wealthy 8. Humor
	. *		3. Wealthy8. Humor1. Stuffiness9. Humility5. Sincerity10. Arrogance
(48)		Whic	th of those listed above are the two most desirable: Numbers and
	VIII	C; Si	nould it be important that a rabbi('s) ircle your choice for each question. Y - Yes, N - No I - Irrelevant
(49)	Y N	I a	be a good preacher
(50)	Y N	I b	, wear a tallis during services:
(51)	Y N	I c	wear a yarmulke during services:
(52)	YN	I d	wife have a college education
(53)	Y N	I e	will not perform a marriage tetween a Jew and a non-Jew where the non-Jew has no desire to convert.
(54)	Y N	I f	, gives good eulogies at funerals.
(56)	Y N	I g	. is an able fund raiser
(56)	Y N	I h	, is married
(57)	Y N	I i	, is a good and sympathetic counselor
(58)	Y N	I j	. fights for what he believes in
(59)	Y N	I k	can sing or at least tries
(60)	Y N	I 1	demands respect
(61)	Y N	I m	. is a strong leader
(62)	ΥN	I n	displays a strong belief in God

- IX. Would you say that rabbis today are trying to be too (Circle your choice for each Y Yes N No)
- (63) Y N a. Traditional (adding customs that Reform has rejected)
- (64) Y N b. Orthodox (acting like an Orthodox rabbi)
- (65) Y N c. Independent (doing too much on their own initiative)
- (66) Y N d. Classical (content with little custom or ritual of Judaism)
- (67) Y N e. Radical (acting in a fashion unbecoming of a rabbi)
- (68) Y N f. Compromising (willing to avoid all confrontations and issues)
- ((a) X. The following are a series of questions to be answered Yes or No, circle your choice.
- (69) Y N a_{\bullet} It is very important for the rabbi to dress well
- (70) Y N b. Should a rabbi have only a small number of close friends
- (71) Y N c. Would you approve of your rabbi "playing" the stock market
- (72) Y N d. Would you approve of your rabbi taking an active role in the new civil rights movements and youth rebellions.
- (73) Y N e. Do you consider yourself as one of the rabbi's personal friends
- (74) Y N f. At a party would you have any hesitancy to tell risque jokes in the presence of the rabbi.
- (75) Y N g. Must a good Reform rabbi keep Kosher

- (76) Y N h. Does the rabbi need to be fluent in Hebrew
- (77) Y N i. Should the rabbi be a scholar in Judaica
- (78) Y N j. Is it acceptable for the rabbi to engage in sports on the Sabbath (Saturday)
- (79) Y N k. For the most part, do rabbis tend to be too intellectual in their sermons
- (80) Y N 1. Do you think that a younger rabbi would be more inclined to make changes faster than an older rabbi
- (81) Y N m. Is it proper for a rabbi to consult with specialists when he feels that their expertise is advisable to help him in a counseling situation
- (82) Y N n. Should a rabbi receive an honorarium for performing functions such as a funeral, wedding, etc. (when he is receiving an adequate salary)
- (83) Y N o. Is the rabbi likely to be more free of sin than his flock
- (84) Y N p_{\bullet} Would you engage in sports with the rabbi on Sabbath

- XI. If the following problem existed, would you seek counsel from the rabbi? Circle Y YES N NO, then: explain your answer in one or two sentences.
- (85) Y N 1. Your son or daughter is having social problems in school
- (86) Y N 2. There is a Jewish family in town who appear to be poor and need some kind of help
- (87) Y N 3. Your unmerried daughter is illegitimately pregnant by a Jewish boy
- (88) Y N 4. You want help in clarifying what you really believe about social justice
- (89) Y N 5. You and your husband (wife) are having marital problems and you are worried about the future
- (90) Y N 6. It is possible—given your children's dating boys or girls who are not Jewish that they might get serious and contemplate marriage or in fact have suggested it.
- (91) Y N 7. There are serious financial problems in your business and bankruptcy is contemplated
- (92) Y N 8. You seek advice for your children as to a good college
- (93) YN 9. You are contemplating adoption of a child
- (94) Y N 10. Your parents are getting old and you would like advice as to the best way to care for them—you are worried and feeling at the same time a little guilty



- (105) k. What is the best way a Board can help the rabbi?
- (106) 1. What is the best way a rabbi can help the Board?
- (107) m. Who is the rabbi's boss?
- (108) n. What have you learned about the role of the rabbi since you have come on the Board that you had not known previously?

Use for additional space if needed or comments to the investigator.

APPENDIX C

Classification of Ritual Practices (See Table No. 4)

The following fifteen items were presented to the respondents. were asked to indicate which practices were followed in their own homes. Each received a rating as indicated from five to twenty points:

TWENTY POINTS: A practice not followed by most Reform Jews

- Kashruth (Strict)
- Don't ride on Sabbath
- Abstain from all work on Sabbath
- T'fillin

FIFTEEN POINTS: A practice followed in a few homes

- Havdallah
- Kshruth (to a degree)

TEN POINTS: A practice followed in many homes

- 7. Kiddush
- 8. Grace before/after the meal
- 9. Mezzuzah on door
- 10. Sabbath candles
- 11. Fast on Yom Kippur

A practice followed by most Reform Jews which has become FIVE POINTS: common in American Jewish society

- 12. Chanukah lights
- 13. Yahrtzeit candle
- 14. Passover Seder
- 15. Jewish cooking for holidays

Total points are considered in the following rating scale for the purposes of classification:

- 0 20 "Classical Reform"
- 25- 40 "Moderate Reform"
- 45 60 "Traditional Reform"
- More ritual orientation than the average American Reform Jew Over 60

a difference in ten points is usually the result of either Note: adding or subtracting only one practice

APPENDIX D

Statement of Objective of Study

To guard against my prejudicing your enswers, I will read to you the following prepared statement:

Your congregation has been selected to be included into a study of how the congregational leadership of a Reform temple views the role of a rabbi and his effectiveness. This questionnaire will be administered to congregations in the Midwest, selected by myself and my faculty thesis advisor. The questionnaire before you should be self-explanatory in all its directions. Part I is a personal information section, the remaining sections are the actual study instrument. Let me assure you that the enswers which you give to all parts of this questionnaire will be kept in strict confidence. When the final results of the study are presented as my Master's thesis at the Hebrew Union College, all material will be disguised. It will be impossible to ascertain your specific answers or those of you congregation.

In answering the questions, I ask you to keep one fact in mind. This is not a questionnaire that asks you to make judgments on your present rabbi. No matter whether the term used is "a rabbi" or "the rabbi", I am asking you to react to the generic term: "rabbi". I fully realize that you can only make judgments in regard to your own personal experiences — this is expected and has been taken into consideration when your rabbi and president agreed to this study.

It is my obligation to make available to you the results of the final study. Hence, I will send a summary statement to your president and to your rabbi.

For the purpose of scientific investigation I have asked your rabbito fill out this same questionnaire to the best of ability — noting that it has been constructed for use by the laity and not the rabbi. Let me assure you that your rabbi and I have agreed that under no circumstances will he be permitted access to your answers.

This questionnaire is only the beginning phase of the study and the data gained will be used comparatively with other related materials in the field of social science.

For the purpose of accuracy, I must request that your answer every question in this questionnaire. DO NOT LEAVE ANY ANSWERS BLANK. In every section you are forced to make a choice or choices; and in some cases to explain briefly your decision. The final section departs from this system and asks you to either complete a sentence or to react to a statement. Please follow the directions carefully and try to complete each answer to the best of your ability. Let me remind you that this is not a test, but an investigation — there are no right answers to each question.

I will now distribute the questionnaire. DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME on it, for this will invalidate the questionnaire.

I thank you for your cooperation and ask you to clearly mark your choices and to write legibly.

APPENDIX E

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

Cincinnati, Ohio 45220

Dear Mr. ...

Within recent days the Board of Trustees of your congregation participated in my study on the role of the rabbi in the congregational setting. Enclosed in this package you will find the same questionnaire which I administered to those who were at the Board's meeting. For purposes of scientific accuracy, it is imperative that every member of the Board of each participating congregation be included in the study. Therefore, since you were not at the meeting, would you please take the few minutes necessary to fill it out and return it to me as soon as possible so as to insure that each Board member's experiences have been tested within a reasonably close period of time.

Before you fill out the enclosed form, please read the introductory statement. It is identical to the one I read at the meeting of the Board. No additional information was given.

I thank you and the other members of the Board for your interest in my study and would appreciate your returning the questionnaire as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Howard M. Folb Hebrew Union College Class of June, 1970

APPENDIX F

MINISTRY STUDIES BOARD

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

1717 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. 20036

May 8, 1969

Mr. Howerd M. Folb Hebrew Union College 3101 Clifton Avenue Cincinnati, Ohio 45220

Dear Mr. Folb:

I have received your letter of April 10, requesting permission to use the Higgins and Dittes materials indicated in your second and fourth paragraphs. This letter constitutes the granting of that formal permission, with acknowledgements to be made as you indicated. Best wishes in your study. I look forward to seeing the results.

Yours sincerely,

Edgar W. Mills

EWM/jm