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**Women and the politics of change: An organizational analysis of
women in Reform Judaism**

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City University of New York, 1987

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WOMEN AND THE POLITICS OF CHANGE:
AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN IN REFORM JUDAISM

by

ANN L. SALTZMAN

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Abstract

WOMEN AND THE POLITICS OF CHANGE:
AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN IN REFORM JUDAISM

by

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This dissertation presents an organizational analysis of women in Reform Judaism. Drawing upon Tichy's network theory of organizational dimensions, it was hypothesized that the technical and cultural dimensions would provide women with an arena of influence as well as access to the formal political structure of Reform synagogues. Other hypotheses proposed that three structural variables which impinge on temple networks would affect women's ability to enter the political arena. These variables included presence/absence of an in-house women's organization (Sisterhood), presence/absence of a paid temple administrator and presence/absence of female clergy. Data were collected via participant observation and interviews in eight Reform temples which varied in structure.

The significance of the structural variables was not confirmed. In contrast, organizational culture typified by the socio-religious history of the temple was important. The data documented two ways in which the technical-cultural dimensions were important to women's participation. First, they facilitated women's movement into formal political

positions such as executive officerships which yielded the greatest potential to assert influence over temple policy. However, some women were not interested in moving into executive positions. These women utilized the second function of the technical-cultural dimensions: these dimensions served as a vehicle to foster specific values which women believed to be important to Reform synagogues. The findings also suggested that this retreat from temple politics undercut the ability of these women to foster the very values which they sought to emphasize, and which were frequently different from those held by temple executives. This divergence of values reflected upon the more broad-based tensions within the Reform movement.

The dissertation includes a discussion of the role which women play in articulating the tension within Reform. It also includes discussions of (1) the importance of organizational culture in understanding organizational behavior, (2) the danger of relying upon formal power to obtain compliance in organizations undergoing cultural change and (3) the importance of attending to intra-gender as well as inter-gender differences in organizational research.

Preface

The research process is not a linear one, where a clearly defined beginning and a clearly defined end may be identified. Rather research is an organic process, characterized by building on former knowledge in order to foster new insights. Accordingly, the present paper represents only one point of this on-going process. It begins with the questions of how and why women assert influence within Reform Jewish synagogues--questions which evolved from a prior phase of the research.

In the early 1980's, data collected from leaders of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods suggested that Sisterhoods' ability to participate in temple decision-making was often limited; that is, Sisterhoods had minimal influence over the formulation of general temple policy. This raised the question of why women would elect to remain involved in Sisterhoods, if, according to Reform Judaism's "official statement", they had opportunities for more equitable means of participation, such as sitting on temple governing boards as trustees or executive officers.

Several explanations were proposed. First was that an open opportunity structure was an illusion. That, in fact, women were limited in the ways in which they could participate in Reform synagogues. Systematic observation of interaction in paying organizations had indicated that women were often induced into specific forms of behavior.

Whereas, from an outsider's perspective, women might be perceived to have ample opportunity for mobility, they were actually limited in the ways in which they could assert influence and use social power. Thus, the structure of synagogues somehow induced women into staying in less influential positions.

Other more individual explanations were also proposed: women had internalized old proscriptions against certain kinds of participation; women who worked outside the home or who had young children didn't have the time or energy to move into more influential positions. Whatever the explanation, the present research was founded on the implicit belief that women should wish to be engaged in more equitable activities--that women should wish to maximize their influence potential.

However, as the research unfolded, I became increasingly aware that my bias was not shared by many women. As I listened to these women, it became apparent that commitment to temple survival and the desire to foster a specific values orientation in their temple were also important determinants of their participation in temple. For some, these latter motivations led women to seek more influence. Accordingly, the following paper explores the relationship amongst the desire for influence, commitment to temple survival and to specific value positions and women's participation in Reform synagogues.

Beginning with my original interest in the variable of influence, Chapter 1 reviews prior research on influence relationships within organizations, highlighting the roles(s) which women play in these relationships. It ends with specific hypotheses about women's ability to assert influence in Reform synagogues. Chapters 2 and 3 outline the methods used for both data collection and data analysis.

Chapters 4 through 7 report the results of this analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the positions which women occupied in temples and how they asserted influence. Chapter 6 ("Three groups of women") expands the focus of analysis, exploring the alternate visions of Reform Judaism set forth by different women. Chapter 7 discusses how these visions were affected by changes within Reform Judaism. Chapter 8 integrates the major findings, noting the special role which women play in articulating the tension surrounding organizational change. The discussion underscores the importance of listening to women's many voices. The reader is asked to note that terms specific to Judaism are defined in the text the first time that they are used; a glossary of terms (Appendix K) is included to aid those who need to refer to their meanings again.

Before launching into the main body of this paper, I would like to briefly note the ways in which conducting this research transformed me. First, both my perspective on Reform Judaism and my commitment to it changed as new foci

emerged from the data: from skepticism about the genuineness of the "official statement" of equality for women to a deep respect for the power of Reform Judaism; from a minimally involved congregant to a deeply committed member of a Reform congregation.

The experience of these transformations also caused me to reflect upon the potential of the research process to reveal new insights about both the world and self. This theme is explored in more depth in the Whyte Appendix (Appendix H of the present paper).

I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to conduct the research which is reviewed in the following paper. This opportunity would not have been possible without the following people whom I would like to thank: Dr. Stephen P. Cohen (who first introduced me to the possibilities of doing research on Jewish issues); the congregants and staff of the eight temples in my research sample; members of my dissertation committee, most notably Professor Charles Kadushin (whose intellectual prodding, emotional support and keen sense of humor helped me to pursue this project to its completion) and Professor Florence Denmark (whose example and friendship were always a source of comfort); and my parents and parent-in-laws (for their words of encouragement and hours of babysitting).

My husband Steven and daughters Dori and Jody deserve more than thanks. They deserve my deepest gratitude for

allowing me to pursue the doctoral degree; for tolerating the years of having an absentee wife and mom; for enduring the times when I was so distracted that I wasn't there emotionally albeit there physically; for encouraging me to continue even though they knew it meant more time away from them and most of all, for their love and trust that I could do it. This paper is dedicated to them.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The following paper presents an organizational analysis of women in Reform Judaism. The thrust of the analysis changed during the process of collecting and analyzing the data. In order to best communicate how this change came about, a brief history of the research project will be helpful.

History of the project

The initial goal of the study was to understand the sources and limits of women's influence within Reform Jewish synagogues. Earlier data collected from leaders of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (an association which offers guidance and resources to local Sisterhoods, the in-house women's organizations in Reform synagogues) suggested that Sisterhood leaders' ability to participate in temple decision making was constrained by the presence of a paid office administrator (Cohen & Saltzman, 1983). When there was no office administrator, Sisterhood leaders perceived themselves to be one of the three most dominant forces in temple; when there was an administrator, the administrator replaced Sisterhood in this leadership triumverate.

This same study also uncovered the conflicting perceptions of Sisterhood held by Sisterhood leaders and non-Sisterhood women. NFTS (National Federation of Temple

Sisterhoods) leaders believed that Sisterhood contributed to synagogue life by fostering a familial atmosphere, doing fund-raising and training women for leadership. However, these NFTS leaders also indicated that many women who were active participants in their temples but who were not interested in Sisterhood viewed Sisterhood's role as one of mere food-preparation or social club.

The implication of these findings was that the very viability of Sisterhood was under threat; indeed, in some synagogues, Sisterhoods had begun to disband. If NFTS leaders were correct about Sisterhood's role in leadership training for women and since, by definition, leadership involves influence, this would imply that women would be less influential in synagogues which did not have Sisterhoods.

Thus, the present study intended to compare women's potential to assert influence in Reform temples which had Sisterhoods with those that did not; similar comparisons would be made between those temples which had paid administrators and those that did not. A third structural variables was also considered important (presence/absence of female clergy).

The researcher initially assumed that women would wish to maximize their potential to assert influence. As the research unfolded, it became increasingly obvious that women were not uniform in their desire for influence. Though some

women were interested, many others indicated different interests such as commitment to temple survival or the enactment of Jewish values. Thus, consistent with Eisenstein's (1985) contention that a woman-centered focus illuminates the differences amongst women, the focus of the the present study expanded to explore women's diverse visions of Reform Judaism.

This subsequent focus suggested that women are important articulators of the tension provoked by a changing value structure within the Reform movement. Thus, the present analysis also highlights the points of tension within an evolving Reform Judaism. Further, it confirms the theoretical emphasis on organizational culture put forth by Frost et. al (1985) and Schein (1985); that is, the importance of organizational culture for understanding organizational behavior.

The study now merges women's studies with three other research literatures: the study of influence, the study of organizations and the sociology of Reform Judaism. Tichy's organizational perspective of influence (1981, 1983) is the dominant conceptual framework of the present study; it views influence as a product of the interpersonal exchanges which occur amongst members of organizational networks. However, since the study's findings also reflect on the classic social psychological definitions of influence, these definitions are also included in the following literature

review. This review will move from a general discussion of the various ways in which influence has been conceptualized, and what these conceptualizations reveal about women and influence towards the specific application of Tichy's theory to Reform synagogues.

The study of influence

Most definitions of influence focus on the relationship between an influence agent and the target of influence. French and Raven (1959) delineate five attributes of the influence agent which enable him/her to assert influence. Each attribute defines a specific base of social power: (1) the agent has the ability to mediate punishment (coercive power); (2) the agent has the ability to mediate rewards (reward power); (3) the agent occupies a position which permits the legitimate prescription of behaviors (legitimate power); (4) the agent is used as a frame of reference for self-evaluation (referent power) and (5) the agent possesses superior knowledge (expert power).

Kelman (1963) focuses on how the targets' perceptions of these attributes in others increases their tendency to yield to influence attempts. Compliance occurs when the target of influence perceives that the influence agent has coercive, reward or legitimate power. In contrast, referent power relies on the process of identification with another. Influence which results from the perception that another's values are congruent with one's own is called normative

power (Etzioni, 1961).

Research shows that sex is a ranked or positional variable such that maleness is associated with higher rank and femaleness is associated with lower rank or status (Eagly, 1983; McKenna & Denmark, 1979; Unger, 1979). As a result, women have less access to the legitimate, reward, coercive and expert sources of influence.

Berger, Cohen and Zelditch (1972) proposed that unless there is information which overrides a presumed lower status, the lower status member must prove that she is not less influential, less competent or less knowledgeable. This is called the burden of proof hypothesis. Additional studies have documented the validity of this hypothesis for women (Eagly & Wood, 1982; Phetersen et. al, 1975).

Further, the "burden of proof" leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy in which upper status members act upon their expectations about lower status members, causing the lower status members to behave in ways which then confirm the expectations (Lockheed and Hall, 1976; Word, Zanna and Cooper, 1974).

Jones (1977) proposed that the cognitive base of the self-fulfilling is familiarity. Individuals develop implicit theories about others based on their experiences with these others. The cognitive schemas of those with whom we are most familiar are complex; that is, we have a number of dimensions for encoding stimuli from them. In contrast,

schemas of outgroups are simple; we organize incoming stimuli from them along few dimensions. Thus, we continue to view outgroups in the same narrow way.

This theory suggests that those who are perceived to be dissimilar are less able to use referent power. Both Kiersky and Bard (1984) and Kanter (1974) validate that women, as lawyers in state appellate courts and as corporate managers are perceived as dissimilar from and used less often as referents by those in power (male judges and male corporate managers).

When Safilios-Rothschild (1976) places these influence relationships into a familial context, additional sources of power are revealed: affection, love, emotional support, understanding, companionship, sex and personal services (e.g. housekeeping). She adds that it is women who utilize this personal power. However, Johnson (1976) adds that influence emanating from personal resources is limited to only those areas where affective-expressive needs and personal services are salient. Thus, the wielder of personal power operates from a position of dependency which limits the range of issues over which influence may be asserted.

Johnson's analysis also applies to the indirect influence which women because of their lower status positions may resort to in organizations. For example, women in Orthodox synagogues are unable to participate in

formal decision-making about synagogue policy; yet, as implementers of these policies, they can alter and override men's policy instructions (Heilman, 1976). Similarly, as corporate secretaries, women have power over their bosses' calendars, determining who is able to obtain appointments and which memos are read. Thus, indirectly, they have an effect upon organizational policy (Kanter, 1974).

Janeway (1985) expands this analysis in her discussion of the powers of the weak; she maintains that these powers enable lower status persons to check upper status actors' urge towards domination. She identifies three stages which enhance these powers: (1) the questioning, or distrust of the social definitions and myths set forth by dominants; (2) validation of this distrust and affirmation of alternate definitions through the bonding of lower status actors and (3) joint action taken by these lower status actors.

However, empirical studies indicate that, within organizations, lower status actors, generally do not question the social definitions set forth by dominants. Within doctor-nurse interactions (Stein, 1971), neither party questions the validity of the doctor's authority to define the interaction. However, doctors's failure to accede to nurse's suggestions may cause them to receive three times as many phone calls after midnight. Similarly, failure to respond to secretaries' use of indirect influence leaves corporate managers open to negative sanctions

(Kanter, 1974).

An organizational context for influence relationships

Network theory (Tichy, 1981, 1983) emphasizes the organizational context of influence relationships. Not all members have direct relationships with one another; rather, a complex series of relationships or networks interconnect the members of different organizational levels and divisions. These networks transmit information, influence and affect.

All organizations consist of multiple networks, which may either overlap or be discrete. Since the transactional content (that which is exchanged) of each network may vary, an organizational member's access to each of the exchange mediums also varies. Thus, an individual may occupy a key position in a network which exchanges affect, but a peripheral position in a network which exchanges influence. In those cases in which the individual is situated at the cross-roads of these two networks, affect may be exchanged for influence. This is exactly Safilios-Rothschild's definition of personal power and substantiates Johnson's critique of its limitations: influence results only if affect is exchanged, that is needed by the higher ranked position.

The nature of inter-network exchanges between say affect and influence depends on the structure of the networks. Prescribed networks consist of formal

organizational positions such as executive officers, trustees, committee chairs, etc. and the mandated relationships amongst these positions. These networks provide pegs upon which emergent networks hang. Emergent networks denote relationships which are inherent in the everyday interactions amongst organizational members (e.g. who eats lunch with whom); they are affected by proximity and expressive-affective needs of individuals, as well as by changes in formal organizational structure.

Regions of dense interconnection are called clusters. Tichy describes both prescribed clusters (work groups, committees) and emergent clusters (cliques and coalitions). Cliques are small clusters which exchange affect and information (e.g. friendships). Coalitions are temporary alliances formed to gather enough interpersonal power to effect some organizational change. They tend to cut across hierarchical levels of an organization and exchange influence and information.

Granovetter (1982) adds that cliques and coalitions vary in the strength of the tie generated by each. He suggests that members of coalitions (because of their temporary nature have relatively weak ties to one another, while members of cliques are tightly bound. He views weak ties as important for gaining access to information and resources beyond one's own social circles; Weinman (1983) concurs that information flows across weak ties.

Tichy identifies three other key structural positions: the liason, the bridge and the gate keeper. The liason links two or more clusters that would be separate otherwise. A bridge (or linking pin) belongs to multiple clusters and a gatekeeper controls the flow of information from one section of the network to the other. These positions all entail weak ties (Granovetter).

While Kanter does not use the terminology of network theory, her descriptions suggest that secretaries serve as both liasons and gatekeepers; they pass on information from one manager to another (via the clique of secretaries) or stop the flow of information all together. Thus, women's indirect influence within corporations derives from pivotal organizational positions which allow them to transmit or not transmit information.

However, Kadushin (as cited in Tichy, 1981) suggests that the enactment of new ideas or values requires the use of both strong and weak ties. First ideas must be fed into a network of strong ties and then transmitted via bridging positions to other more powerful networks of strong ties. Thus, in order to implement more general organizational change, secretaries would need an initial network of strong ties. Without it, their arena of influence is restricted to personal issues (e.g. getting an extra day off) in contrast to over all organizational policy (e.g. re-structuring the work schedules of all secretaries).

Tichy further delineates three organizational dimensions along which these networks are organized: technical, political and cultural. The technical dimension refers to the strategies utilized in producing desired outcomes (products, services); for example how work groups are structured and tasks sub-divided. The political dimension refers to the allocation of power and resources--who is involved in policy making and who benefits from these policies. The cultural dimension refers to the development and maintenance of organizational norms and the means taken to ensure members' involvement and loyalty--how are new members socialized into the organizational family.

Again, Kanter's analysis suggests that women's influence is most pronounced in the technical and cultural dimensions. She views the masculine ethic as the core value of corporate culture: managers should be tough-minded; personal considerations are to be set aside. Yet, her data suggest that personal considerations are not actually set aside; women as secretaries and wives attend to them. In contrast to Janeway's proposition, women do not question the validity of this masculine ethic; rather, they sustain it by acting as emotional support agents or as "cultural technicians" to managers. Further, since the work which they do in maintaining corporate culture is not viewed as central to organizational goals, women serve as adjuncts. Consistent with Johnson's (1976) analysis, the arena of

influence is circumscribed.

This situation creates dilemmas for female managers who by virtue of being female are pressured into becoming technical adjuncts and cultural technicians. Women are rewarded primarily for service and not for independent action; women are expected to be sympathetic listeners/emotional specialists. This "mother" role undermines the ability of women to demonstrate their own power and competence.

Bayes and Newton (1978) expand upon this view of women in paying organizations. Their study of a mental health center documented how subordinates resisted accepting directions, while simultaneously becoming increasingly dependent on them for emotional support and training. That is, subordinates were not totally unreceptive to women's direct influence, as long as that influence was restricted to education and nurturance--the cultural domain. The authors relate these findings to the unconscious view of women in authority as mothers; mothers protect, support and educate their children.

These analyses by Kanter and Bayes and Newton are consistent with Gilligan's (1982) proposition that women's place in man's life cycle has been to advocate the importance of human relationships. Gilligan differentiates between two orientations towards relationships, which she maintains are gender-related: women view relationships in

terms of caring for others and self; men view relationships in terms of the rights of each of the members of the relationship. Gilligan further maintains that these orientations represent personality pre-dispositions. In contrast, the findings of Kanter and Bayes and Newton suggest that women in paying organizations are induced by the situation into caring about others.

Women and influence in volunteer organizations

While research on women in paying organizations highlights the limits of women's technical-cultural power, studies of women in volunteer organizations highlight the political potential of technical-cultural roles. Historically, women have been involved in normative organizations, that is organizations in which a value orientation is emphasized, such as church and community organizations. Even within these organizations, women have predominated in the technical-cultural dimensions. Bliss (1952) describes women's social (cultural) and service (technical) orientation in the Protestant church.

However, Uzell (1983) maintains that participation in volunteer organizations leads to increased knowledge of how to participate, an acquisition of organizational skills (technical expertise). Further, it fosters the ability to distinguish individual needs from the interests of the community; thus, participants become public citizens and acquire the skills of politics. Theorists note that it was

through such involvements that women first gained access to local and national politics (Baum, Hyman and Michel, 1976; McCourt, 1977; Gittell, 1979; Gittell and Shtob, 1980). Motivated by the moral injunction to "care...to discern and alleviate the real and recognizable trouble of [their] world" (Gilligan, p. 100), women addressed the social problems of their times which were otherwise ignored by the government. Indeed, Berg (1978) suggests that women's increased awareness of their political prowess vis-a-vis their inability to be directly involved in American politics led to the birth of American feminism.

Daniels (1983) maintains that women still enter politics via the cultural-technical route. Her statement is based on a study of upper-class women who used their technical and cultural skills (which they gained through volunteer activities) to gain seats on community decision-making boards. Messinger's (1985) data confirm that women enter politics via cultural-technical activities: 47% of the women elected officials of her sample entered politics from teaching, social work, secretarial work or homemaker services. In contrast, men entered politics through law. She labels the route which women take "the slow route".

This slow route also typifies women's movement within volunteer organizations. Adams' (1980) study of a local chapter of the American Red Cross documents the different routes to leadership available to men and women: men, by

virtue of the positions which they hold in the community (doctor, lawyer, journalist) are imported onto the governing board without having to work at lower-level jobs; in contrast, women move from task doers to supervisors (e.g. committee chairs) to governing positions.

Lipset et. al (1956) describe how men also utilize the cultural-technical route to political involvement within a volunteer organization. They target the importance of sub-organizations (e.g. social clubs) within the International Typographers Union for men's access to the governing board of the union. These clubs serve as gateways from the social to the political arena for those men who have high political ideology. However, a distinction must be drawn between this study and those which have focused on women's movement into organizational politics. For women, involvement in the social and technical domains is often instrumental in the development of this political ideology. This is not to say that all women who are involved in the social and technical domains of volunteer associations will desire to move into organizational politics. Other factors also shape women's participation in volunteer organizations.

Demographics and intra-organizational movement

Social class, age, marital status and number and age of children shape women's volunteer careers. Daniels (1975) documents how many upper-class women deliberately curtail their volunteer career advancement in order to meet the felt

sex-role expectations for upper class women: family orientation, non-competitiveness and emotional supportiveness. In contrast, working class volunteers, who are unencumbered by this upper class sex-role ideology actively seek positions of community leadership (Gittell and Shtob, 1980).

Further, when children are small, women make more circumscribed volunteer commitments; women choose to work at specifically defined tasks (i.e. be technical adjuncts) and may become interested in policy making positions, which require greater investments of time and energy only as their family commitments become less demanding (Daniels, 1975; McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1982).

Finally, by defining volunteer work as an ephemeral role, a temporary or ancillary role chosen to satisfy individual needs frustrated by the more dominant and lasting roles enacted in everyday life, Zurcher (1978) ties volunteer participation to employment and familial status. This ephemeral role can compensate for needs which are not adequately satisfied in dominant roles (e.g. work, family) or it can extend a past or present dominant role (e.g., employed volunteers who are looking to acquire work-related skills) or it may allow the individual to affirm values whose expression are otherwise disallowed by dominant, everyday roles of life (e.g. involvement in political, moral reform and religious organizations).

Pearce (1983) suggests that the function of the ephemeral role may not remain constant; he notes that there is a shift over time: from a long-range perspective emphasizing value expression (e.g. the opportunity to help others or to support the goals of the organization) to a short-range perspective emphasizing skill development and social interaction. He hypothesizes that this shift occurs because social interaction and skill development are more tangible in the immediate environment.

An alternate hypothesis is that the structure of volunteer organizations impacts upon individual motivation. Data from paying organizations lend support to this hypothesis. For example, Kanter documents that individuals who are presented with a blocked opportunity structure often re-align their interests to match the existent structure; women and others who are unable to climb the corporate ladder divest their energies from achievement and re-invest them in social activities. Peer acceptance and recognition become the primary sources of reward.

In addition, organizational changes may occur. For example, Messinger's (1955) study of the Christian Women's Temperance Union reports how the goals of the organization changed in response to the onset of prohibition. Instead of disbanding, since the organization's mission was no longer relevant, the organization became more socially oriented; this affected the kinds of roles which were then available

to participants.

Women and organizational change

Organizations are constantly faced with the threat of change. Kanter, drawing upon Thompson's (1967) theory of organizations proposes that the core dilemma of complex organizations is uncertainty. Systems theory (Katz and Kahn, 1978) notes that one source of uncertainty is the extra-organizational environment. Another source of uncertainty derives from the human connections inside the organization itself, which can never be fully reduced to predictable actions. One way to reduce this uncertainty is to select individuals who are most similar to each other (those who can be trusted to behave in similar ways because they come from similar backgrounds and hold similar values). Kanter calls this homosocial reproduction and proposes that this perception of women as other prevents them from moving up the corporate ladder. Kanter's study implies that the uncertainty associated with change serves to restrict women's intra-organizational movement.

In contrast, Tuchman (lecture at C.U.N.Y. Graduate Center, February 1981) has suggested that the technical, cultural and political instability resulting from the development of the Erie Canal facilitated women's entrance into the American political system. She pointed out that most women involved in the first feminist movement lived along the geographic strip which was most affected by the

construction of the canal. Her comments imply that change may be women's ally.

From an organizational perspective, Frost et. al (1985) highlight the role of leadership in helping an organization negotiate change. Lundberg (1985) adds that the successful leader must be able to engage in "cultural visioning"--a projection of the organization's values, norms and philosophical raison d'etre into the future. As the term implies, organizational culture is an important component of this change process.

As suggested by the literature reviewed earlier, women tend to be vital actors in organizational culture. This literature further suggests that, while women may not be in the position to define this culture, as cultural technicians, they have the power to facilitate or impede organizational change. Considering this, it is remarkable that so little of the research which focuses on organizational culture highlights women's role in (and understanding of) this culture. Accordingly, Smircich (1985) calls for "the addition of a feminist voice to the discussion on organizational life" (p. 67). The present study hopes to strengthen this feminist voice by focusing on women's participation in and understanding of life within Reform Jewish synagogues.

A sociology of Reform Judaism

Born during a time of change, openness to change

remains a basic tenet of Reform Jewish culture. The following history of Reform Judaism will emphasize the cultural (ideological) changes which Reform has undergone, highlighting the technical and political changes which have also resulted.

A brief history of Reform Judaism

Reform Judaism developed in response to the changing social-economic-political systems of early nineteenth century Western Europe. This was a time when the philosophy of Enlightenment reigned, causing democracies to replace European monarchies and bringing civil emancipation to Jews. Viewing this emancipation as evidence of the goodness of the human spirit, the founding Reformers synthesized the core belief of Enlightenment (that individuals are self-determining and ethically responsible) with Judaic concepts. Thus, they believed that Jews no longer needed to be bound by Jewish law (Halachah) in order to behave ethically; Halachah became merely an option for those who chose to be bound by its tenets.

The optional status of Jewish law also allowed Reform Jews to demonstrate their allegiance to the newly formed civil governments (and their laws) as opposed to Zion (Baum, Hyman & Michel, 1977; Glazer, 1972; Heshcel, 1983). Other changes which accomplished the same goal were the elimination of all aspects of Jewish theology which emphasized the differentness between Jews and non-Jews, the

repudiation of Israel as the homeland as well as any unique religious status referred to in Biblical texts. A universal ethical stance was substituted for the perceived ethnocentric orientation of traditional Judaism; Jews were obligated to help all human beings, not just other Jews.

Consistent with Tichy's tri-partite theory of organizations, this re-definition of Judaism's values (cultural re-definition) impacted on both the technical and political dimensions. Technically, the founding Reformers looked to the German Protestant church: services were protestantized; they were no longer read and sung by the congregation, but read by the rabbi (minister) with responsive readings from the congregation. Hebrew was de-emphasized and replaced by the vernacular language. The sermon became the main feature of the service. Prayer hats (kipot) and shawls (tallitot) were removed, while clerical robes were added. An organ and choir were introduced. Mixed-gender seating was instituted along with ritual rights for women.

These technical innovations supported the new religious ideology of individual freedom:

... an effort to reach and strengthen the will of the individual Jew. Thus, the use of the vernacular in prayer helps Jews to know what they are praying. The sermon was introduced to make a direct appeal to the mind and heart of each congregant....when ethics are universal, they apply to women as well as to men.

(Borowitz, 1983, pps. 31 and 38)

They also served the larger political purposes of Reform Judaism: that Judaism had become westernized; that Jews were ready to assimilate into mainstream society (Baum, Hyman and Michel, 1977).

The cultural changes also affected the rabbinic role. From a historical perspective, rabbinic authority has always been challenged by secular authority. As Saperstein (1982) verbalizes it, "affairs related to heaven" conflicted with "affairs of the town" (p. 18). However, the Emancipation of the 1800's heightened this tension:

...the reevaluation of the sacred in the value system of Judaism in the light of science, democracy and freedom of thought made the old standards of authority based on divine sanctions no longer applicable.

(Saperstein, p. 21)

These standards of authority were further threatened as Jews emigrated to America.

Reform in America. Despite its birth in Europe, Reform Judaism did not thrive there. Rather it was the United States, with its constitutional separation of church and state, which provided the most nurturant environment for Reform. Further, in the United State, there were no deep-rooted Jewish institutions which resisted the new Reform ideology.

The first Jewish institution to develop in the United States was the synagogue, which developed to meet the needs of individual (and often isolated) communities of Jews; these synagogues developed their own unique customs

(minhag). While the autonomy of individual synagogues eased the task of the Reformers (Glazer, 1972), it also frequently catapulted the rabbis into conflict with congregants.

This conflict focused on a central aspect of Reform Jewish culture. With the rejection of Israel as the homeland, Reform Judaism had re-interpreted the diaspora (dispersion of the Jews from Israel after the fall of the Temple). Jews were not exiled from their homeland; rather they were dispersed in order to spread the word of God. One way to accomplish this was through social activism; thus, many Reform rabbis preached the words of the Prophets, advocating active involvement in movements for social change. This inevitably brought the rabbis into conflict with their wealthier congregants ; several congregations ruled that before clergy could occupy the pulpit, they were required to submit copies of their sermons to the congregational Board of Trustees for approval (Saperstein).

Thus was born the issue of freedom of the pulpit in Reform congregations. An immediate rabbinic response was the formation of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR). Its founder Isaac Mayer Wise stressed the importance of the Conference as a source and safeguard of rabbinic authority. Still in existence, the CCAR presently generates guidelines for hiring and firing rabbis, vacations and sabbaticals.

While the professionalization of the rabbinate did shore

up the authority of the rabbi, it also legitimized the authority of competing professionals (doctors, lawyers, judges) who could draw upon their own expertise in challenging the authority of the rabbi. This complicated an already potentially tense rabbi-congregant relationship, since in Reform Judaism, rabbinic authority is not coercive (can not enforce behavior by drawing upon halachah) but normative (people have to chose to be guided by spiritual beliefs); an industrial society such as the United States offers a plethora of competing belief systems, including the capitalist dream of profit and success.

The bureacratization of the synagogue. Buoyed by the economic prosperity of post-World War II America and the need to educate the burgeoning population of Jewish children, new and bigger synagogues were built after the war. Concerned with the efficient operation of their temples, congregations hired administrators to oversee the physical plant and supervise temple employees. However, administrators brought to the synagogue a new concern with efficiency, money and administration. Thus, the ever-present struggle between spirit (rabbi) and community (the Board of Trustees) was further complicated by the bureaucratic values of the corporate world. Cohen and Saltzman (1983) have documented that national Sisterhood leaders perceive the rabbi, the president of the congregation and the temple office administrator to

frequently be engaged in a struggle for dominance.

Braverman (1974) has proposed that bureaucratization is typified by a detailed division of labor. Tasks are continuously refined and differentiated into their sub-tasks, which are further sub-divided. As a result, skills are re-defined and workers become expert in sub-processes of the over-all production process. Additionally, the conceptualizers (or those who have knowledge of the whole process, albeit in theory only) become more and more distant from the people who execute the sub-processes (the workers).

This detailing of labor has been seen in Reform synagogues. In addition to the leadership triumvirate noted above, there have been further delineations: assistant rabbis, vice-presidents for membership, vice-presidents for education, treasurers, budget directors, etc. Further, there are planning committees (e.g. religious school, public relations, funding) which specialize in one aspect of temple functioning. While committee chairs may sit on the temple Board of Trustees (and some may not), the responsibility of each is not to develop over-all temple planning, but rather to implement programming in a restricted sphere. Within each planning department, the tasks become sub-divided and parcelled out to individual members. It is theoretically possible for both members and chair to not know what other planning departments are doing, and to even duplicate

services.

Braverman added that these technical shifts impact upon both the political and cultural dimensions of organizations. Politically, the power structure rigidifies; a hierarchy develops. Culturally, the detailing division of labor subdivides humans and disattends to human needs; fractionalization leads to feelings of impersonality. Sklare and Greenblum (1979) describe the typical synagogue "affiliation" process--submitting a membership application, remitting dues and paying a building assessment; their use of quotation marks around the word affiliation contrasts this process with the usual meaning of affiliation--being in close association or connection. Borowitz (1973) summarizes this phenomenon as a shift from community to institution.

Several mechanisms have developed to combat this impersonalism; chief amongst them is the creation of semi-autonomous social (cultural) sub-organizations such as Couples Clubs and havurot (literally friends) groups which serve as extended families within the temple. The importance of developing means to bind Jews to synagogues has become even more salient since the Holocaust.

Reform Judaism, the Holocaust and Israel. As already noted, Reform philosophy was based in the tenets of rational idealism: the goodness of the human spirit would prevail. However, within the twentieth century, Reform leaders have

been forced to re-evaluate these tenets. Both the Holocaust and Israel's struggle for survival have shaken Reform's faith in the rational ethic. Slowly, there has been a return to a more traditional perspective.

This return has been manifested in many ways. While Reform still does not consider itself a halachic community, there has been a return to publicly reading the Torah; there has been an increase in the proportion of Hebrew within the service. Further, the wearing of kipot and tallitot has been resumed; the choir has been replaced by a cantor; in some congregations, clergy have begun to divest themselves of clerical robes.

These technical changes mirror deeper cultural changes: a new emphasis on the traditional values of prayer, study, family and Israel. A recent article in Jewish Week (December 28, 1984) proclaimed "Reform group adopts traditional rites". This article focused on a worship group where participants, not a rabbi, led the services, chose the prayers to be read and the melodies to be sung.

While "family" was never repudiated within Reform, its importance to the survival of the Jewish community has been newly evaluated. Both in response to the six million Jewish lives lost during the Holocaust and the high rates of assimilation and inter-marriage, singles groups within temples have arisen; the hope is that "nice Jewish" marriages will result. Rabbis have publicly urged

congregational families to have one more [child] for Israel. While Israel in these statements has usually referred to the Jewish people, a new attitude toward the state of Israel has also developed. The establishment of organizations such as the American Reform Zionist Association (ARZA) attests to Reform's reclamation of Israel as the homeland.

Still deeper, these changes represent movement away from the original universalist stance of classical Reform Judaism; the new emphasis on the needs of Israel and Jewish community signal a more restricted vision. Marcus and Peck (1985) have suggested that this tension between universalism and particularism is a major source of strife within the contemporary Reform movement.

Thus, super-imposed onto the competing value systems already noted (spiritual, communal, financial) is yet another set of competing values. The tenets of balance theory (Heider, 1946, 1958; Osgood and Tannenbaum, 1955) suggest that these attitudinal differences can lead to organizational instability. As noted earlier in this introductory chapter, theorists such as Kanter believe that this instability serves to restrict women's intra-organizational movement, while others (such as Tuchman) imply that change may serve as women's ally. With these thoughts in mind, we turn now to explore how the changes within Reform Judaism have affected women's participation in Reform synagogues.

Women and changing temple structure

While classical Reform Judaism proposed an abstract commitment to equality for women within Judaism, the repudiation of halachah confounded Reform's ability to actualize this commitment. Heschel (1983) says it best:

by rejecting Jewish law as central and binding over Jewish practice, Reform eliminated the basis upon which it had reconstituted women's position without substituting a new basis. Left without internal Jewish teachings to motivate specific alterations, Reform failed to translate its declarations into practice.
(pp. xxvii-xxviii)

As Reform emigrated to the United States, remnants of Jewish old world views of men and women clashed with new world views. In the old world, religious scholarship was the most prestigious occupation for the dedicated Jewish man. Old world views saw men as the dreamers and teachers of the young (Mirsky, 1978). Women supported their husband's scholarly pursuits by providing them with emotional support and assuming both financial and domestic responsibility for the family. Umansky (1979) defines this as the enabler role. Women were pragmatic and unromantic.

The new world presented a dramatically different view of women. On the one hand, there was the Victorian perfect lady; the woman of delicate sensibilities who was to be confined to domestic life. On the other hand, the feminist movement of the times presented women as rational and independent-minded. Bliss (1952) describes this as the time of women's voluntary organizations, many of which were

church related. Accordingly, Jewish women organized Sisterhoods. Similar to other church-based auxiliaries, Sisterhoods performed enabling functions for temples: they raised funds, served food and attended to the needs of temple members.

Consistent with Victorian views, Sisterhoods also became extended domestic arenas. In response to the rising tide of feminism, this home base was broadened to include social and charitable work for the community-at-large. However, this movement outside the home/synagogue did not seriously affect the male power-base within the synagogue; men still controlled synagogue policy, including its use of funds. Women were restricted to the cultural and technical dimensions of temple life.

In 1913 (consistent with Janeway's analysis of the powers of the weak), women began to sense the potential political influence which could be asserted through Sisterhoods; the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (NFTS) was founded. Composed of representatives from local Sisterhoods, the Federation re-defined the role of Sisterhood: it urged their members to use their positions within temple to address the needs of marginal members of the Jewish community (e.g. to push for the admission of children who could not afford to pay tuition to synagogue religious schools; to work to get prayer books translated into Braille). By 1922, the group of marginals included

women themselves. NFTS brought a resolution urging ordination of women as rabbis before the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

While NFTS urged its membership to directly enter the political dimension of temple functioning, structural factors continued to constrain women's participation. The on-going professionalization of the temple required professional credentials from their leaders. Few women of that time had these credentials. Further, as Mirsky has suggested, this professionalization highlighted the differentness between Reform and other branches of Judaism. Having women in positions of leadership would have made this differentness even more salient. Mirsky proposes that it was this concern over their perceived differentness which stalled enactment of the 1922 resolution calling for the ordination of women as Rabbis. Women continued to assert influence indirectly through their socio-cultural (enabler) roles.

This role remained the predominant one for women through the 1950's and 1960's. Major population shifts saw an outflux of Jewish families from urban to suburban areas. Women were needed to sustain the new temples which popped up in suburbia. The feminine mystique (Friedan, 1963) reigned and Sisterhoods provided opportunities for women to get out of the house, gain mastery experiences and escape from the constraints imposed by the mystique. As these temples grew larger, they became more impersonal. Sisterhoods responded

by sustaining the family culture of synagogues:

...In a society which has become increasingly impersonal and specialized, Sisterhood can provide both the opportunities to develop relationships with others in the community and the means to enhance personal and familial values...we invite participation encourage warmth, friendship, dignity, personal worth and develop ongoing relationship to the Synagogue.

(NFTS Training Manual, 1970)

The late 1960's and 1970's brought a new wave of feminism and in 1972, the first woman was ordained as a rabbi. As new models of women's participation in temple began to appear, Sisterhood's traditional place was questioned. Sisterhood responded to these threats by adopting goals which were consistent with feminism; they insisted that their presidents sit on temple Boards of Trustees. Newly placed in political networks, it was not long before Sisterhood presidents moved into congregational leadership positions. First as corresponding or recording secretaries of temple boards (traditional roles for women), but then as vice-presidents and presidents. By 1982, representatives of NFTS saw leadership training as the number one goal of Sisterhood (Saltzman, 1982). Yet, the old image of Sisterhood as enabler remained; Sisterhood became a visible reminder of a time when women were restricted in their participation.

The present situation. As the roles of women have changed in the larger world, women have become less unified in their understanding of their role within the temple.

Just as a century before, Jews exited the restricted Jewish community when they were offered civil rights by European governments, women have begun to exit the sex-segregated Sisterhoods to take congregational positions which are now open to them. Congregational positions are seen as a step up, an indication that Sisterhood is believed to be a lower status position. Lenn's (1972) data support this belief: while 34% of his rabbinic sample viewed Sisterhoods as the most productive group in Reform synagogues, only 13% indicated that Sisterhood was active in temple politics. Since then, some temples have disbanded their Sisterhoods because of this belief.

In contrast, Verdesi (1975) documents how women's involvement in non-women-specific networks in the Presbyterian church led to women's loss of a power base. Thus, as women exit from the Sisterhood, the traditional arena of Sisterhood's influence is weakened. Other committees compete with Sisterhood for control over the cultural dimension. Havarot and Couples' Clubs take over the sustenance of the temple family.

Within synagogues which have administrators, Sisterhood's technical influence is further dampened. Cohen and Saltzman documented that in temples which did not have administrators, Sisterhood leaders perceived themselves to be active participants in temple decision-making; in temples which did have administrators, leaders believed

themselves to be relegated to peripheral roles. Sisterhood was left to raise funds and serve food.

For some women, these tasks have a negative connotation. The latter is frequently equated with kitchen help. The former may be resented because women have been locked out of positions which involve financial planning. Cartun's (1983) survey indicated that women had achieved equal participation on financial committees in only 9% of the temples in her sample. Cohen and Saltzman substantiated that treasurer was women's least frequently achieved executive position.

Other women see fund-raising as an opportunity to have input into financial matters. Since the funds go to Sisterhood treasuries, it is women who have the ability to define how (and for what) the money will be spent. These women emphasize Sisterhood's political potential. Indeed, Bliss notes how similar dynamics in Protestant churches created feelings of intimidation in church elders. Other women view fund-raising as purely a service to temple; they view women's dissociation from enabling functions as abandonment of the Jewish community.

Thus, Sisterhood women are also not unified in their beliefs. Some wish to highlight the service role only; others believe that Sisterhood must take a more active role in facilitating women's spiritual and personal growth. Still another component of this conflict relates to

Sisterhood's political potential as a sub-organization. The reader is asked to recall Lipset's study of the I.T.U. which indicated that the presence of socio-cultural sub-organizations facilitated movement from the cultural to the political domains of union operation for men who already had political interests. The literature reviewed earlier further suggested that these socio-cultural organizations fostered the development of these interests for women. Thus, the dismantling of a sub-organization such as Sisterhood raises questions as to how this political function will be realized.

It is true that without Sisterhoods, alternate socio-cultural sub-organizations arise: Havurot, Couples' Clubs, Fellowship Committees (usually concerned with food and food preparation and stocked by women), Membership Committees, Fund-raising Committees, etc. However, these alternate organizations represent nothing less than the detailing of tasks once accomplished by one organization. Network theory has proposed that this bureaucratization increases the prevalence of weak ties which span organizational levels. Again, the reader is asked to recall that influence flows through strong ties and is transmitted from one cluster of strong ties to another through critical bridging positions. Thus, it is possible that the elimination of a women-specific network of strong ties (e.g. Sisterhood) could actually weaken women's potential to

assert influence.

Women as clergy. Since the ordination of the first woman as a rabbi in 1972, over one hundred women have been ordained as rabbis; even more have been invested as cantors. Freedman (1986) notes that female rabbis are more susceptible to job stress; a report by the New Jersey Task Force on the Equality of Women in Judaism suggests that once congregants' concerns about having a woman as a rabbi are dispelled, female applicants are as well-received as male applicants. However, to date, no empirical data exist which document the effect, if any, of female clergy on larger temple structure.

Anecdotal evidence has suggested that the presence of female clergy does affect the way in which congregants participate in temple. Thus, Geller (1983) proposed that women in the clergy facilitate more authentic spiritual involvement for both female and male congregants:

People don't attribute to women the power and prestige that they often attribute to men. Therefore, when women become rabbis or priests, there is often less social distance between the congregant and the clergy. The lessening of social distance and the reduction of the attribution of power and status leads to the breakdown of hierarchy within a religious institution...Clearly some would argue that the breakdown of traditional religious hierarchy is bad. However, in my view this change could bring about a profound and welcome change in American Judaism. It could lead to synagogues that see their rabbi not as priest but as teacher, and that see the congregations not as passive consumers of the rabbi's wisdom but as active participants in their own Jewish lives.

Goldstein (1984) adds that the presence of female clergy demonstrates that dealing with the anxiety over change can produce positive change in religious structures. She suggests that this is especially important for female congregants.

The original hypotheses

Based upon the afore-reviewed literature, several hypotheses concerning the parameters of women's influence within Reform synagogues were generated. The first drew upon the literature which suggested that women's major base of operation within organizations has been the technical and cultural dimensions. Thus, Hypothesis 1 proposed that:

Women would populate the technical and cultural dimensions of Reform synagogue structure.

Further, it was proposed that this technical and cultural participation would enable women to assert indirect influence. The exact wording of Hypothesis 2 was as follows:

Women who assume key positions in the technical/cultural dimensions would be able to assert indirect influence in the political dimension.

The next two hypotheses related three structural variables to women's potential to move from technical/cultural participation to positions of direct influence in the political dimension. These variables included (1) the presence/absence of a formal women-specific network of strong ties (e.g. Sisterhood); (2) the presence/absence of

female clergy and (3) the the presence/absence of a paid administrator (the symbol of bureaucratization). These two two hypotheses are reproduced below:

Hypothesis 3: Women's movement into positions of direct influence in the political dimension would be facilitated by (a) the presence of a women-specific network of strong ties (e.g. Sisterhood) and (b) the presence of female clergy.

Hypothesis 4: Women's movement into positions of direct influence in the political dimension would be impeded by the presence of a paid administrator.

It was also originally proposed that a typology of women could be constructed based on the motivational underpinnings for type of temple involvement. Starting from the assumption that women would wish to increase their arena of influence, it was proposed that those women who remained in less influential positions did so because of constraints imposed by more dominant roles (e.g. women who worked full time or had very small children, etc.).

However, as data collection and analysis proceeded, several things became clear: (1) many women had no desire to increase their arena of influence (and that this "lack of motivation" was independent of the usual demographic variables (e.g. employment status, maternal status)); and (2) behavior itself (i.e., the actual mode of participation) was a more parsimonious means of typing women. Highly political women (executive officers) were distinct from women whose temple involvement was

predominantly through Sisterhood, who in turn were distinct from a third group of women who were neither executive officers nor highly involved in Sisterhood.

The findings relevant to Hypotheses 1 will be presented in Chapter 4; findings relevant to Hypothesis 2 will be presented in Chapter 5. Findings relevant to Hypotheses 3 and 4 will be presented in Chapter 6; this chapter will also discuss the similarities and differences amongst the three groups of women identified above. However, before these findings can be reviewed, a discussion of data collection and data analysis techniques is in order. This is the subject matter of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Data collection

Data were collected via participant observation and interviews in eight temple sites.

Sample of temples

Three structural variables which affect temple networks were hypothesized as important for understanding women's participation in temple: presence/absence of a Sisterhood, presence/absence of female clergy and presence/absence of a paid administrator. The logical combination of these variables generates eight different temple structures. It was hoped that a representative of each temple structure from a given regional council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations could be included in the sample. However, there were only two temples in this region which did not have Sisterhoods; both had female clergy. Thus, there was no temple in the sample which did not have a Sisterhood and did not have female clergy.

One temple structure was duplicated; that was the structure which consisted of Sisterhood (yes), administrator (yes) and female clergy (no). One of the temples which typified this structure was a newly merged congregation, where two separate temple cultures (with different views on women) were attempting to mesh.

My initial non-understanding of the status inequality between rabbi and cantor led me to collapse "rabbi" and

"cantor" into one category "clergy". The assumption was that temples with at least one female clergy were equivalent in structure. However, as I soon discovered, temples with a male rabbi and female cantor are not structurally equivalent to temples with a female rabbi and male cantor since the clerical authority rests with the rabbi. At the inception of the study, there were no temples in the district which had a female rabbi and male cantor. Of the five temples in the sample which had female clergy, three had a female cantor, one had a female (assistant) rabbi and one had dual female clergy.

Of the eight temples studied, only one was smaller than 400 families; this was the one which had dual female clergy. Most temples with solo female rabbis were rather small (50 to 150 families). The chosen temple (Temple Vav, as indicated below) had 210 member families; it was larger than the typical temple with a solo female rabbi, although still smaller than the other temples in the sample. Five of the sample temples had memberships between 400 and 500 families and two had memberships of approximately 900 families. The temples are listed below:

Temple Aleph: Female cantor, Sisterhood, no administrator

Temple Bet: Female assistant rabbi, Sisterhood,
administrator

Temple Gimmel: Female cantor, no Sisterhood, no
administrator

Temple Dalet: Female cantor, no Sisterhood, administrator

Temple Hay: no female clergy, Sisterhood, administrator

Temple Vav: dual female clergy, Sisterhood, no
administrator

Temple Zayin: no female clergy, Sisterhood, no
administrator

Temple Het: no female clergy, Sisterhood, administrator.

Procedure

This study may be viewed as multiple case studies of eight temples, where each temple was visited an average of sixteen times. Based upon these observations, a set of key informants were identified who were then interviewed.

Kadushin (1968) delineates three methods which are useful for identifying organizational elites: a positional technique, a reputational technique and a decisional technique. The positional technique focuses on the identification of people who hold positions of legitimate authority as determined by documentary (archival) materials and key informants. The reputational technique ascertains which organizational actors are reputed by a set of judges to be influential regardless of their formal position. The decisional technique ascertains which organizational actors have participated in key organizational decisions. The present study began by identifying positional leaders.

The interview sample

There were three kinds of interviewees: congregants, clergy and administrators. Congregant interviewees represented the various types of involvement observed during the participant observation phase of data collection.

At least one woman who was or had been an executive officer of her respective temple was included in the interview. Also, at least one woman who was an officer of her respective Sisterhood was included; most were Sisterhood presidents. One woman each from Temples Gimmel and Dalet (the two temples without Sisterhoods) whose observed involvement was most similar to the observed involvement typical of Sisterhood was also interviewed. Finally, at least one woman (per temple) who was observed to have a unique status which was independent of Sisterhood or the executive committee was included. In total, there were thirty-six congregant interviewees: four each from every temple except Temple Hay. There were eight key informants from Temple Hay as the researcher felt that it was important to interview four from each of the original congregations.

Key informants were chosen through one of three methods. The predominant one was via participant observation; the women had been observed to participate in one of the modes specified above. Secondly, key informants were located through temple bulletins; their names were consistently associated with a specific type of involvement.

A third method involved asking key informants to recommend additional respondents; this method was only used at Temple Hay.

Sixteen clergy and four administrators were also interviewed. Table 2.1 enumerates the number and type of interviewee from each temple.

Scheduling the interviews. While it may be advantageous to standardize interview administration, in the present study interviews were fitted into respondents' schedules. In the case of clergy, this meant finding an hour of free time during the working day; for congregants it meant juggling work and/or family responsibilities. Almost all clergy and administrator interviews occurred during the daytime in clergys' or administrators' offices. Seventy-five percent of the congregant interviews occurred in congregants' homes; the others were administered at the congregants' respective temples, during lunchtime breaks from work or at my home.

On the day of the interview, each interview was preceded by a preview of the kinds of questions to be asked and a request for permission to tape record the interview; each interviewee was informed that participation was totally voluntary and that they could terminate the interview at any time. Interviewees were then asked to sign a consent form. (See Appendices A, B and C.)

The interview guides. There were three types of

Table 2.1

Enumeration of interviewees, by temple and type of interviewee.

Temple	Type of interviewee			Total
	Congregant	Clergy	Administrator	
Aleph	4	2	--	6
Bet	4	2	1	7
Gimmel	4	2	--	6
Dalet	4	3	--	7
Hay	8	2	2	12
Vav	4	2	--	6
Het	4	3	1	8
Zayin	4	1	--	5
Totals	36	20	4	56

interview guides: one for congregants, one for clergy and one for administrators.

The congregant guide. The congregant interview guide was the most extensive; these interviews ran an average length of one hour and forty minutes. Seven basic areas were covered:

1. The congregant's satisfactions and dissatisfactions with temple membership and temple dynamics.
2. The secular participation of the congregant (including motivations and satisfactions/dissatisfactions).
3. The religious participation of the congregant (including motivations and satisfactions/dissatisfactions).
4. The congregant's perceptions of how other women participate (including projections of how women have become presidents of the congregations (POC); if there had been no women POC's, the congregant's perception of why not).
5. The congregant's perception of temple decision making, both in general and with regard to specific decisions made by all temples (e.g. selecting new clergy).
6. The congregant's perception of change within their temple. Actual and fantasied changes were asked about (e.g. what if...). Both secular and religious changes were discussed, including perceptions of female clergy.
7. Demographic information (age, marital status, maternal status, employment status, early religious affiliation).

The interview guide was pre-tested on five women who were similar to the actual key informants. The major change resulting from this pre-testing was a format change; the

interview guide was made more open-ended. The final form of the congregant interview guide is shown in Appendix D.

The clergy guide. The clergy guide was a modified version of the congregant guide; it was somewhat shorter running an average length of one hour. Questions concerning the respondents' style of participation were deleted; however, three areas were retained from the congregant guide. These included: (1) the clergy's perception of how and why women participate in their temple; (2) clergy's perception of how women participate in decision making; and (3) clergy's perception of change within the temple.

Two additional areas were added:

4. The clergy's relationship with other temple actors. This included questions about socializing with congregants; questions about the clergy's relationship with semi-autonomous organizations like Sisterhood and questions about the relationship with the administrator (if the temple had an administrator).
5. The clergy's level of satisfaction with women's participation at the temple, any additional ways s/he would like to see women participate and how s/he had tried to effect these changes.

There were no "extra" clergy available for pre-testing; thus, the first clergy interview served as a test of the interview guide. Two questions were eliminated ("What are the three or four most important reasons why you like being at this temple?"; "As you see it, what are the three or four most significant problems/concerns of the temple?"). These had been included to serve as a base of comparison with

congregants' responses. However, the first clergy interviewee challenged the relevancy of these questions to the research problem (women's participation in Reform temples); as a result, these questions were eliminated. Other than that, this first interview was identical to all succeeding clergy interviews. The final form of the clergy guide is shown in Appendix E.

The administrator guide. The administrator guide was nearly identical to the clergy guide. The only difference was that questions concerning the administrator position were substituted for questions concerning the clergy's relationship with temple actors. The administrator interviews ran slightly shorter than the clergy interviews; the average running time was fifty-three minutes. The final form of the administrator guide is shown in Appendix F.

The ranking of influentials

A ranking of influentials was ascertained from interviewees' responses to questions about temple decision making. In addition to being asked to identify which temple actors were involved in standard temple decisions (e.g. selection of new clergy, awarding of ritual honors, designation of fund-raising projects), respondents were also asked to designate those individuals whom they perceived to be the most influential, in general. A ranking of influentials was then obtained by computing the frequency with which each type of temple actor was mentioned (e.g.

executive officer, clergy, trustee).

This ranking was supplemented by the observational data; by making multiple visits to each temple site, the researcher was able to observe the organizational context of influence transactions. These participant observation data were also analyzed for the frequency with which specific temple actors were associated with given decisions.

Participant observation

Several techniques were employed to systematize the participant observation process; these techniques drew from those offered by Agar (1980), Miles and Huberman (1984) and Whyte (1982).

The use of a theoretical lens. The initial selection of a particular theoretical view of organizations (e.g. Tichy's network theory) allowed the researcher to focus her observations. While one might argue that this focusing tainted the observation process, as information processing theory informs us, humans in any case selectively attend to stimuli. Screening observations through a particular theoretical lens served to impose some control over this selective attention process. It also allowed the researcher to sample events in such a way that she could observe comparable events at all temple sites.

Event sampling. A total of 117 visits were made plus 11 phone conversations with various temple members. As shown in Table 2.2, the researcher visited each of the

Table 2.2

Summary of field visits by type of event and temple

Temple (No. of visits)	Type of event							
	Religious Service	B'nai Mitzvot Service	Sister hood Event	Adult Ed. Event	Comm. Mtg.	Cong. Bd. Mtg.	Phone Conv.	Misc. Event
Aleph (n=16)	1	2	3	5	1	1	3	0
Bet (n=15)	4	2	3	5	0	1	0	0
Gimmel (n=18)	5	3	0	5	0	1	4	0
Dalet (n=12)	4	1	0	5	0	1	0	1
Hay (n=21)	5	1	4	6	0	3	2	0
Vav (n=16)	3	2	3	4	1	1	1	1
Zayin (n=13)	3	2	2	5	0	1	0	0
Het (n=17)	5	2	2	6	0	1	1	0
Total (n=128)	30	15	17	41	2	10	11	2

temples an average of 16 times. The first contact with each temple was made in October, 1984; at that time, a letter which explained the purpose of the study was sent to the Presidents of the Congregations (POC's). (Appendix G contains a copy of this letter.) The researcher role was then personally confirmed during the first visit to each temple (usually a traditional Friday night service, which is open to any member of the community).

The choice of subsequent visits was guided by Tichy's network theory; that is, it was assumed that certain types of events would serve as a window to women's participation in the technical, cultural and political dimensions of temple functioning. (For example, adult education seminars, holiday celebrations and policy making meetings.) However, as the research evolved, some event types provided more information than others. Eventually those events at which theoretical saturation was experienced were by-passed; Agar (1980) defines theoretical saturation as the awareness that no new learning is occurring. Future event sampling was then guided by the on-going hypothesis testing implicit to field work.

Hypothesis testing. Agar (1980) differentiates between two definitions of hypothesis testing; the classical definition is a hypothesis as a statement of covariation between two variables. Agar sees this definition of hypothesis as non-applicable to field work. Instead, he

defines hypothesis in a broader sense as "an idea to check out". He continues:

At this broader level, ethnography is full of hypotheses at all stages of the research. Something learned in a conversation becomes a hypothesis to check in further conversation or observations. (p. 171)

A record of these hypotheses can be discerned from the field notes recorded from each of the visits. There were 47 entries deriving from 47 different field visits which referred to some hypothesis to be tested; that is, in over one-third of the field visits (47 out of 128; 37%) there was a notation of some "idea to check out".

These "ideas to check out" were then sub-coded for reference to the technical, cultural or political dimension of temple. Only five (11%) received a technical sub-coding; most referred to the political and cultural dimensions. Thirty-one (66%) received a political sub-coding and twenty-six (55%) a cultural sub-coding; of these, nine received a combined political and cultural sub-coding, alluding to a struggle concerning the temple's values. For example, the first entry below was sub-coded for the political dimension only; the second was sub-coded for the cultural dimension alone and the third received a combined political-cultural sub-coding:

- (1) Temple Bet
Sisterhood Meeting
June 3

Joyce asked the rabbi when the assistant was supposed to start. He said in August. Apparently, Joyce didn't know the details

about the incoming assistant rabbi. The rabbi also seemed to be giving Joyce suggestions as to how to proceed with other things at the upcoming executive committee meeting later that evening. The feeling that I got was that Joyce was not really "in-the-know" about things and that made her a prime target for the rabbi to manipulate her--have her "play for him" at the Board meetings.

- (2) Temple Hay
Adult education
March 25

I am struck by the fact that with such a large temple, there is so little in the way of adult education--it does not seem to be a priority.

- (3) Temple Aleph
Adult Bar/Bat Mitzvah class
May 1

One of the women started off by doing a report on Tefillin. Each participant had a book called The Book of Jewish Knowledge which was basically an encyclopedia type book--with definitions...At one point, she stopped and said that the president's column in the temple newsletter had been plagiarized from this book...she turned to me to say that I wouldn't understand this--I had to have been here at another time. I believe that she was referring to the president's column in the last newsletter which had discussed tefillin...(apparently all the president's columns focused on traditional ritual practices)...I understood this comment in the context of the feud which is going on between traditionalists (represented by the president) and reformists (represented by the rabbi). I interpreted this as an indicator that she was on the rabbi's side.

As indicated on Table 2.3, these hypotheses derived from various types of events. Three types accounted for 72% of the hypotheses: adult education (n=15; 32%), religious services (n=10; 21%) and Sisterhood events (n=9; 19%). Table 2.4 shows the sub-codings of the hypotheses

Table 2.3

Distribution of implicit hypotheses, by type of event

Type of event	Number of hypotheses generated
Adult education (n=41)	15
Religious service (n=30)	10
Sisterhood (n=17)	9
B'nai Mitzvot (n=15)	4
Congregational meeting (n=10)	3
Phone conversation (n=11)	3
Committee meeting (n=2)	3
Miscellaneous (n=2)	2
Total (n=128)	47

Table 2.4

Distribution of implicit hypotheses by type of event
and type of hypothesis.

Type of event	Type of hypothesis		
	Political	Cultural	Political-Cultural
Adult education (n=15)	9	4	2
Religious service (n=10)	3	6	1
Sisterhood (n=9)	5	1	3
B'nai Mitzvot (n=4)	1	3	0
Congregational meeting (n=3)	3	0	0
Phone Conversation (n=3)	0	1	2
Committee meeting (n=1)	0	0	1
Miscellaneous (n=2)	1	1	0
Total (n=47)	22	16	9

Note. Sample size indicates number of field reports from a given type of event which contained an implicit hypothesis.

which derived from the different events. Religious services and B'nai Mitzvot ceremonies yielded predominantly cultural hypotheses. Congregational meetings, Sisterhood events and adult education events yielded political hypotheses.

Slightly more than half of the hypotheses were generated from pure observation; that is, the dynamics which spawned the hypotheses seemed to be independent of the researcher's presence at the event (e.g. the eavesdropped conversation between Temple Bet's POC and Temple Bet's rabbi) The other hypotheses evolved from conversations which the researcher had with temple actors and hence were not independent of her presence in the field.

The source of these hypotheses was unevenly distributed. As indicated on Table 2.5, significantly more hypotheses derived from Temple Vav; further, as indicated on Table 2.6, significantly fewer of these hypotheses concerned the political dimension. These data reflect the flow of hypotheses which guided the data collection process. The reader may recall that at initial entry into the field, the researcher had hypothesized that the presence of female clergy would facilitate women's entry into temple politics. However, as the field work at Temple Vav proceeded, the researcher became increasingly interested in how a woman rabbi affected temple culture.

Miles and Huberman suggest that the use of structured approaches to understanding qualitative data are recommended

Table 2.5

Distribution of hypotheses by temple.

Temple (number of visits)	Number of hypotheses generated
Aleph (n=16)	7
Bet (n=15)	6
Gimmel (n=18)	4
Dalet (n=12)	2
Hay (n=21)	10
Vav (n=16)	11
Zayin (n=13)	4
Het (n=17)	3

Note. The rationale of using the chi-square procedure will be detailed in Chapter 3 (Data analysis).

$$\chi^2 = 14.6, df=7, p<.05.$$

Table 2.6

Distribution of political hypotheses by temple

Temple (no.of hypotheses)	Number of political hypotheses
Aleph (n=7)	7
Bet (n=6)	3
Gimmel (n=4)	2
Dalet (n=2)	1
Hay (n=10)	8
Vav (n=11)	5
Zayin (n=4)	4
Het (n=3)	1

Note. All hypotheses which included a political sub-coding were included (i.e., political, political-cultural, political-technical, political-technical-cultural).

$$\chi^2 = 12.06, df=7, p < .1.$$

as long as they do not blind the researcher to emergent (unanticipated) phenomena. In the present study, it was the articulation of these implicit hypotheses which allowed the researcher to attend to emergent phenomena and thereby expand the focus of the study.

Logistics. With eight temples in the sample, it is clear that one researcher could not follow up on every hypothesis generated during the field work; for every event attended, there was at least one other event not attended. Thus, in addition to implicit hypotheses, temple bulletins served as a guide in the selection of events to be attended; each month a calendar of events was included. In some cases, the bulletins had articles which previewed the events; this greatly facilitated the decision as to whether or not the events appeared relevant to the hypotheses. In other cases, the event listings were not annotated; sometimes this led to attendance at less relevant events.

In still other cases, the researcher either did not have access to a temple bulletin or events were not listed in the bulletin. Certain events were never listed in temple bulletins. Many of these events were open to the general membership (e.g. Temple Aleph's rabbi's study group) but were not publicized; they could only be learned about via word-of-mouth. Other events (e.g. a study group led by Temple Het's assistant rabbi) were not open to the general membership. Knowledge about these events was dependent upon

on-going interactions within the field; access to them usually came by special permission.

Temple bulletins obviously did not indicate which events were controversial. These controversies usually had cultural undertones; that is, they were manifestations of a deeper struggle focusing on temple values. Similar to other unpublicized events, information about controversial ones dribbled out during conversations in the field. Despite their controversial nature, most were open to the public; no special permission was required.

Interface between personal life and research life.

The researcher's other obligations also molded the kinds of events sampled. For example, field visits were never made on Saturday nights. Since these events primarily consisted of social events (e.g. dinner dances, theater parties), many events in which women played a dominant role were never observed; knowledge about these events came via conversations with informants who did attend these events. However, these dynamics allude to a critical issue: how data are molded by data collection techniques.

A discussion of this issue is especially important where the researcher (self) is used as a research tool; that is, where the data are generated within the context of on-going relationships with the people/organization being researched. Since both participant observation and interviews are methodologies in which this occurs, a

discussion of the use-of-self as a research tool is deemed appropriate.

Data collection and the mutual encounter between
researcher and researched

Many theorists have discussed the importance of the encounter between the researcher and the researched for understanding complex social situations (Agar, 1980; Berger & Smith, 1985; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Jourard, 1972; Reinharz, 1979; Sanford, 1982; Whyte, 1982). Agar identifies the successful ethnographic role as one of "detached involvement":

One is, at the same time, part of and distant from the community. One struggles to understand with involvement in the society; at the same time, one stands back critically to examine what one has learned. However, this detached involvement--stepping into and out of society--is a strain in its own right. (p.51)

Three indicators of this strain were evident in the participant observation component of the present study: (1) the organizations' responses to the researcher's penetration of their boundaries; (2) the researcher's responses to this penetration and (3) the researcher's responses to the organizations' responses to her. These indicators may be subsumed under a more general data analysis category called "methodology" and comprise an additional set of data which focus on the data collection process; these data shall be referred to as meta-data. (A detailed explanation of data analysis procedures may be found in Chapter 3.)

Consistent with Reinzarz (1979), these meta-data yielded an additional source of insight into the dynamics under investigation. By analyzing when, where and how frequently specific reactions were experienced, patterns of reaction emerged which reflected back upon the larger participant observation data set. At the time the researcher experienced these reactions, they appeared to be idiosyncratic responses. When objectified and placed within the context of other information, these data yielded substantive interpretations. For example, the POC of Temple Zayin was initially incensed over the inclusion of his temple in the sample; at first, the researcher experienced his anger as a personal failure on her part. However, when this POC's reaction was compared with other POC's responses, it could be re-interpreted as an indicator of his concern about the moribund state of affairs at his temple.

Similarly, data about the interviewing process also reflected on substantive issues. For example, during an interview with an incoming POC, the interview was interrupted by a phone call from the temple office administrator; the administrator had just located a congregant who was willing to become Sisterhood president. This phone call validated two themes of which the POC had just spoken: the precarious status of the Sisterhood and the power of the administrator.

These meta-data suggest that the researcher's presence may stimulate responses on the part of the researched, which

might otherwise remain unseen and unknown by the researcher. The researcher's reactions to the reactions of the researched also become an integral part of these data; in agreement with Reinharz, these subjective reactions need not be treated as "white noise" and so eliminated from analysis; rather the systematic analysis of these reactions yields additional data about the phenomenon under investigation. The interested reader may find additional analyses of the meta-data in Appendix H.

The salience of the researcher's self in the research encounter re-defines the researcher-researched relationship as one of mutual encounter rather than one defined by the separation of researcher and researchee. In experimental methodologies, information is gathered from the "subject", while the researcher maintains a stance of "scientific objectivity". This creates distance not only between the researched and the subject, but as Jourard maintains, the researcher's distancing attitude sets up a norm of non-self-disclosure. Thus, the data which are obtained from the subject may not represent an authentic description of experience:

People will disclose their aims and the ways they construe the world only to those whom they have reason to trust. Without the trust and goodwill, a person will conceal or misrepresent his experience, hoping thus to mystify the other.

(Jourard, p. 15)

In the present study, an attempt was made to develop

trust during the participant observation phase of data collection. The fact that the researcher was at each temple a number of times rather than for just one interview documented her interest and commitment to discerning the "truth" as experienced by congregants. Even the POC of Temple Zayin, who was originally incensed over the inclusion of his temple in the sample remarked that he was impressed by her presence; at first he had thought that she was going to "just send a questionnaire". In this temple, the development of trust was symbolized by the POC's eventual willingness to give the researcher a list of officers and trustees of the temple, including home addresses and phone numbers.

Indeed, it was encounters such as these which allowed the data collection process to become more revelatory of the true complexities of women's participation in Reform Judaism; instead of cementing pre-conceived notions, new meanings associated with given social phenomena emerged. Before we proceed to look at what these meanings are, it is necessary to describe the the data analysis procedures.

CHAPTER 3

Data Analysis

A great deal of data was generated in the present study: field notes from 128 field visits were generated. Field notes consisted of descriptive narratives of each field visit made. This included the researcher's memory of (1) with whom she spoke; (2) the content of the conversation; (3) who else was seen; (4) conversations overheard; (5) any dramatic non-verbal actions (e.g. hugging, kissing, arguing, frenetic running around); (6) responses generated by the researcher's presence; (7) how the researcher felt about being in the field and (8) unanswered questions/nagging thoughts (hypotheses). There were also the written transcriptions of 56 interviews.

Clearly, this textual material needed to be reduced in some systematic way in order to communicate findings of interest. Miles and Huberman (1984) delineate three components of qualitative data analysis: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing. These three components will be discussed separately for each data set.

Participant observation data

Data reduction

All field reports were coded using a set of twenty-one descriptive (content) codes. See Appendix I for a list of these codes. This represents the grossest level of coding which was used. Figure 3.1 shows how the data looked after

Figure 3.1

Sample Field Report: First level coding

Rel. Serv. Rabbi Cantor	This was a very small service conducted in the conference room by the Asst. Rabbi. Neither the Senior Rabbi, nor the Cantor were there.
Rel. Serv. Temp/Fam. Int. Youth Beh.	There were 9 adult women (including me), 1 teen-aged child and 4 adult men. There were also 9 children. Three adults seemed to be there without children although this was a family service and used a special booklet of mimeographed sheets--most of the prayers/words were too difficult for the children, who ranged in age from 8 months to around 9 years.
Rel. Ser. Rabbi	The service was written with responsive readings A section for men and a section for women. The assistant rabbi instructed us to ignore those directions and divided us by seating (which was a large circle). The men's part were words from the Veyahaftah (e.g., "You shall love your God with all your might..."). The women's part was interpretative.
Rel. Ser. Temp/Fam. Int. Youth Beh.	After the service (which took not more than 1/2 hour), the families and children gathered around a table at the back of the room where pairs of candles were set up. There were enough candles so that all the children could light a pair. Then the prayer was said.
Rel. Ser. Youth Beh.	After that, there was a big sheet of brown wrapping paper set up with magic markers--all the children and adults wrote Shabbat greetings to the people who would be attending the "big service" later on. Some also drew candles.
Temp/Fam. Int. Rel. Ser. Youth Beh.	There was one woman who was with her husband and their 8 month old baby and 3 year old. These children had the hardest time with the service--very restless. At one point, the woman was holding both children--her husband was less effective at handling them. However, the 3 year old really liked the candles.
Temp/Fam. Int. Rel. Serv.	The woman who was with her teenage daughter and son (age 6-7) has been to minyan.

this first level of coding. As can be seen, each paragraph was coded as a unit; each was coded for all coding categories that applied. Diane Stoeckel, a senior undergraduate psychology major at Drew University was trained in this gross coding system; a sub-set of 32 field visits (25% of total) was then dual coded by both myself and this student. Using the formula offered by Miles and Huberman (page 90), an inter-coder reliability rate of 89.8% was obtained (see Table 3.1). Miles and Huberman indicate that the maximum reliability rate one can expect with this type of data is 90%.

The coded text was then sorted by coding category and sub-coded within each category. Diane Stoeckel also assisted in this process. Working in concert, we first generated the sub-coding categories; then each of us independently sub-coded the data. Again there was a high rate of concordance; in those instances where we did disagree, we would discuss the data entries until 100% agreement was reached.

An example of this sub-coding process is shown in Figure 3.2. A paragraph was coded for methodology if it contained content which :

concerned interactions with temple members which had implications for gathering data, obtaining data, being included (invited to events), being excluded from events, etc. Also personal reactions to being in the field.

All text that was coded for methodology was sub-coded using

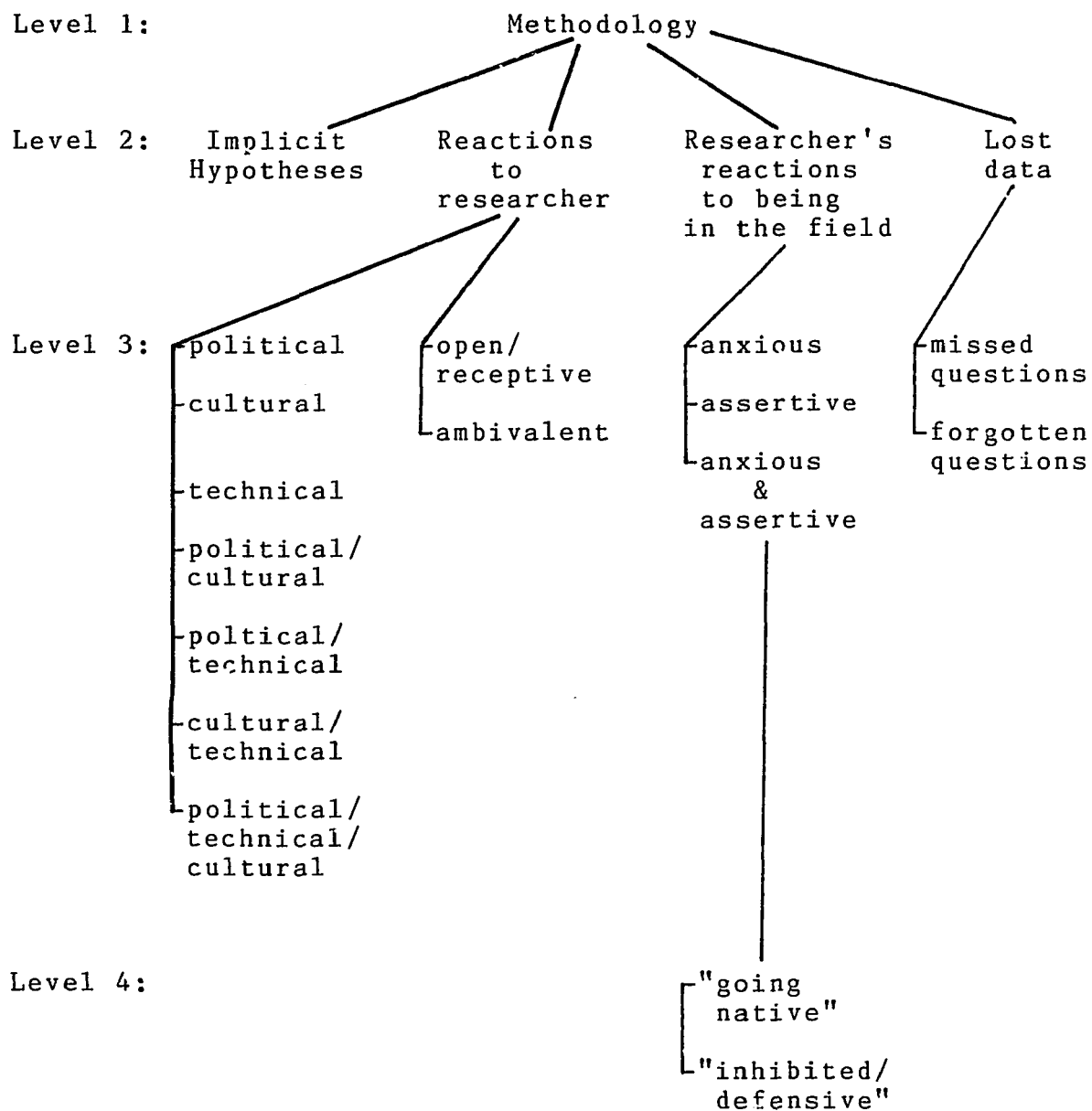
Table 3.1

Record of inter-coder reliability: Level 1 coding of field notes

<u>A. Reliability by temple</u>				
<u>Temple</u>	<u>No. of events</u>	<u>No. of codes showing agreement</u>	<u>No. of codes showing agreement + disagreement</u>	<u>Reliability</u>
Aleph	4	190	215	88.4
Bet	5	281	308	91.2
Gimmel	6	234	263	89.0
Dalet	4	168	185	90.8
Hay	4	196	218	90.0
Vov	3	136	150	90.7
Zayin	3	234	263	89.0
Total	32	1515	1688	89.8

<u>B. Reliability by event</u>				
<u>Event</u>	<u>No. of Events</u>	<u>No. of codes showing agreement</u>	<u>No. of codes showing agreement + disagreement</u>	<u>Reliability</u>
Services	8	307	346	88.7
Ad. Ed.	11	395	441	89.6
Sister.	4	372	404	92.1
Cong. Mtgs.	3	273	305	89.5
B'nai Mitz.	3	88	96	91.7
Total	32	1515	1688	89.8

Figure 3.2

Coding tree for Level 1 code "Methodology"

a set of four codes: implicit hypotheses, reactions to researcher, reactions to being in the field and lost data. Each of these categories were further sub-coded.

In some cases, the coding categories were mutually exclusive. For example, in the level 2 code "responses to researcher", by definition an ambivalent response meant an open/receptive response combined with a tense/hostile response. Thus, the text could indicate an open/receptive response only or a combined open/receptive-tense/hostile response (ambivalent); each paragraph could be coded for one or the other type of response, but not both.

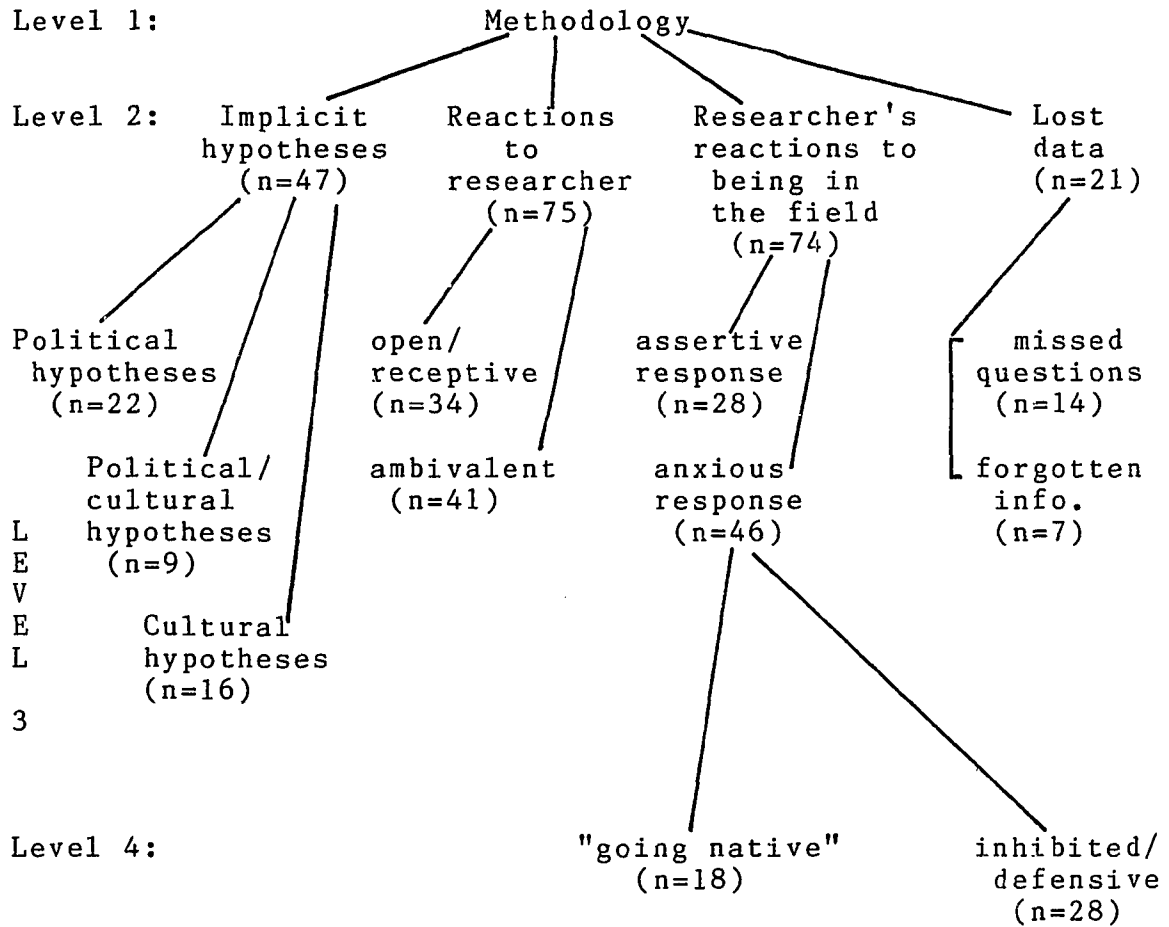
In other cases, more than one code could apply. For example, text could indicate more than one kind of "response by the researcher" to being in the field. Thus, thirty-three level 2 entries relating to researcher's reactions noted only anxious reactions; fifteen noted only assertive responses and thirteen noted both anxious and assertive responses at different times during the visits. Sub-coding the text into such fine categories often reduced the sample size (per category) so much that it became impossible to make any meaningful statement about the category. This is especially clear in the sub-coding of the level 2 category "implicit hypotheses".

In these cases, categories were re-combined. Thus, the "researcher's response" data were dichotomized into anxious responses and assertive responses; the thirteen pieces of

data which had been coded for both anxious and assertive responses were considered in both sub-categories; these two sub-sets of data were not compared to one another. Figure 3.3 displays the coding tree with the re-combined categories. This process of re-combination related to Huberman and Miles' second and third components of qualitative data analysis: data display and conclusion drawing. These components will be discussed shortly.

Categories were also re-grouped when the finest level of sub-coding obscured the generalizeability of the data. For example, there were 103 participant observation entries which received the level 1 code "food". These entries were further sub-coded according to the meaning of the food (e.g. religious/ritual practice; a mechanism for honoring someone, as in a farewell dinner; a mechanism for socializing, as in a dinner dance, etc.). These sub-categories were further sub-coded (level 3 coding) for temple actors involved in food preparation and service. Initially, nine types of actors were identified: women, in general; men, in general; Sisterhood; Fellowship; Men's Club; families; couples; custodians/temple staff; caterers. This fractionization of the data obscured any significant tendencies. Thus, the data were re-grouped into four types of actors: women only; men and women; men only; and custodial staff. These data are shown in Tables 4.4 and 4.5.

Figure 3.3

Coding tree showing re-combined codings

Data display and conclusion drawing.

Once the data were so reduced, tables were constructed which summarized the frequencies of sub-coding categories. Data focusing on methodology were summarized by type of event and temple; other data sub-sets were also summarized by temple actor (e.g. women, men, both men and women, etc.). More idiosyncratic summary techniques were devised for specific data sets. Thus, data focusing on Adult Education was summarized by temple actor, program content and size of class; data focusing on fund-raising was summarized by temple actor and fund-raising method; data focusing on Sisterhood was summarized by temple, type of program and attitudes toward these programs; data focusing on decision-making was summarized by type of decision, temple actor and evidence of conflict.

Once the data were so displayed, chi-square analyses were performed on selected data sub-sets. Despite the fact that several analyses yielded small expected frequencies (less than 5), research has established that small expected frequencies do not present any serious threat to the validity of the chi-square test (Bradley et al 1979, Bradley and Cutcomb 1977, Camilli and Hopkins 1978,1979; Larntz 1978).

Since the nature of observational research limits both the number of cases under study (e.g. events and people) and the rules of randomness, a statistical decision rule of $p < .1$

was applied to these analyses. A similar decision rule was utilized by Burgess and Conger in their 1978 observational study of family interactions in abusive, neglectful and normal families. As noted by these theorists, this approach permits the reporting of interesting trends without overburdening the reader with textual specifics.

However, the present report does include textual specifics in the form of excerpts from field reports and citations from transcribed interviews. These textual insertions draw upon the richness inherent in qualitative data; they are used in the present report to flesh out the framework which emerges from the summarized frequencies of data entries.

Interview Data

Data reduction

As noted in Chapter 2, the interviews were rather extensive, covering such diverse areas as satisfaction/dissatisfaction with temple, modes of participation and perceptions of change. Upon analysis, some questions did not yield any interesting findings. The answers to other questions became difficult to answer because of the limited sample size. For example, the questions which asked about the level of religious observance of various temple actors did not yield any meaningful results with regard to gender and type of clergy; there was only one female senior/solo rabbi. Thus, while the data suggested that this one rabbi

was perceived to be much more observant than her male colleagues, it was not clear if that was a gender difference or a personality difference. These results were confounded by the fact that assistant rabbis (both male and female) were perceived to be more observant than senior/solo rabbis; this suggests that the critical variable may have been generation (and not gender)--those rabbis who had been ordained more recently (including the one female solo rabbi) may have reflected Reform Judaism's re-possession of traditional rituals.

The most effective means of analyzing the interview data was to use the themes which emerged in the participant observation as guides. Data which complemented these themes by either confirming them or refuting them were analyzed. Conversely, analysis of the interviews helped structure the report of the participant observation data. For example, the themes which emerged from question 2 (why respondents enjoyed membership in their particular synagogue) referred back to Heilman's tri-partite definition of synagogue life (as house of worship, house of study and house of assembly). This definition then served as a lens through which some of the participant observation and interview data could be examined.

Data display and conclusion drawing

Similar to the participant observation data, frequency of response emerged as a meaningful way to summarize the

data. In some cases, frequency tables were constructed which paralleled those which had been constructed from the observations. In other cases, a given response was so prevalent that the mere reporting of a percentage was more meaningful (e.g., 94% of all congregant interviewees had worked at an Oneg Shabbat at some point). Again, similar to the participant observation data, interview data were summarized by temple and type of event. Further, these data were also summarized by type of respondent (e.g. congregant, clergy, administrator) and, in some cases, by type of congregant (e.g. executive officer, Sisterhood, etc.). Chi-square analyses were performed wherever relevant and a probability decision rule of $p < .1$ was again utilized.

Reporting the results

In Chapters 4 through 7 which follow, the results of the analyses will be reported. Each chapter focuses on a different general theme: Chapter 4 focuses on the ways in which women participate in organizational dimensions; Chapter 5 focuses on how and when women assert influence; Chapter 6 focuses on the factors which affect a chosen form of volunteer participation and Chapter 7 explores the impact of a changing Reform Judaism on women's participation. Both the participant observation and interview data sets will be drawn upon, creating a more complete picture of women's involvement in Reform Judaism.

CHAPTER 4

Women and organizational dimensions

Women do indeed populate the technical and cultural dimensions of Reform synagogue; they serve food, organize fund-raising and social events, engage in ritual and study and sustain the temple in a variety of ways. Further, most activities may be construed as value laden; that is, they serve to enforce the values (culture) which women believe their temples should maintain.

Consistent with Etzioni's categorization of religious organizations as normative organizations, participation seemed to be shaped by identification with Judaism or the desire to be with other Jews. Five reasons for sustained involvement in temple were identified from the congregant interviews. In descending order of frequency, these explanations are: (1) social benefits (n=22; 61%); (2) religious or spiritual enhancement for self (n=20; 56%); (3) the need to be affiliated with a temple (n=10; 28%); (4) religious education for children (n=9; 25%) and (5) clergy (n=6; 17%).

These factors are consistent with Heilman's tripartite definition of synagogue life (as house of worship, house of study and house of assembly); each also has political ramifications. The present chapter will first review the data which address women's participation in the technical-cultural dimensions; since women's technical contributions

may be viewed as an expression of their commitment to specific values, the technical and cultural dimensions will not be discussed separately. The chapter will then summarize the data which document women's participation in the political dimension.

Women and the technical-cultural dimensions

The synagogue as a house of worship

There were 72 participant observation entries referring to ritual involvement, which suggested that women have the potential to be equally involved in all ritual events. Interviews of female congregants indicated that the majority had sat on the bimah (31 out of 36; 86%), received an aliyah (n=27; 75%) and carried the Torah (n=23; 64%). Fewer had read from the Torah (n=17; 47%) or worn a tallis or kipah (n=7; 19%). These interviews also revealed that 7 (19%) sat on ritual committees at the time of the interview. More generally, 16 of the 20 clergy and administrator interviewees confirmed women's equal participation in ritual committees.

In some synagogues, the Sisterhood served to facilitate women's involvement in the religious arena. This was accomplished in two ways: (1) Sisterhood representatives attended life cycle events like B'nai Mitzvot services and presented the B'nai Mitzvot with a ritual gift such as a kiddush cup or set of candlesticks and (2) Sisterhoods enhanced women's religious identities through Sisterhood

sponsored study groups or special religious services such as the Sisterhood Sabbath. As indicated on Table 4.1, support of life-cycle events was the more visible of the two.

While women in Reform Judaism seem to have an equal opportunity to engage in ritual, the data also suggest that women differ in their desire to participate in ritual. Women vary in their answer to the question of "how much ritual". This question is also a critical one for Reform Judaism, in general, and will be discussed further in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The syngagoue as a house of study

Historically, study of Jewish texts is closely aligned with ritual; like ritual, it is a component of religious practice from which women have been excluded prior to the last half century. Two aspects of study were identified from the present data (adult education and religious education for children); women were highly involved in both.

There were 75 participant observation entries referring to adult education. As can be seen from Table 4.2, adult education was geared towards enhancing members' religious identities. Further women predominated in the smaller study sessions (see Table 4.3.). This reflects the fact that religious education for girls is a relatively new phenomenon; as children, most of the women had not received any formal Jewish education. As adults, they now sought to

Table 4.1

Number of respondents who mentioned the "support of life cycle" and religious roles of Sisterhood (by temple)

Temple	support of life cycle	religious
Aleph (n=6)	4	2
Bet (n=7)	7	4
Hay (n=11)	2	8
Vav (n=6)	5	1
Het (n=8)	4	1
Zayin (n=5)	3	1
Total (n=43)	25	17

χ^2 for "support of life cycle" data = 14.23, df=5, $p < .025$.

χ^2 for "religious role" data = 10.65, df=5, $p < .1$.

Table 4.2

Content of Adult Education programs as indicated by the
participant observation data

Content of program	# of entries indicating topic
Theology/Bible studies/ religious practices	24
Israel/Zionism	7
Women's issues/ Women & Judaism	6
Jews in culture/ Jews in history	4
Jews in literature	2
Family dynamics	1
Medical education	1
Total	45

Note. There were only 41 adult education sessions observed, but four of them were double sessions: the first part was on theology; the second half on Zionism and Israel.

Table 4.3

Proportion of women attending adult education sessions
by size of class (participant observation data)

Size of class	Proportion of women attendees	
	exceeds 65%	less than 65% but greater than 35%
Less than or equal to 20.	17	8
Greater than 20	4	6

Note. Six adult education sessions are not included in this table: in 4, the participant observation data did not indicate the proportional representation of women; in the 5th, only one man showed up for the class; in the 6th, the class was cancelled for lack of participation.

$$\chi^2 = 2.34, df=1, p<.1.$$

"make up for lost time".

Of the thirty-six congregant interviewees, fifteen were regular attendees, while eight attended only some sessions. Six interviewees (17%) were members of adult education committees; three were adult education chairpersons. Clergy and administrator interviewees confirmed women's involvement in adult education; seventy-five percent noted either equal or greater participation by women.

Women were also highly involved in youth education. Seventy-five percent of clergy and administrator interviewees indicated that more women than men participated on religious school committees; estimates ranged from a few more women to almost all women. Of the remaining five interviewees, four noted equal participation by men and women; the remaining one stated that the religious education committee at his temple was exclusively female. Respondents attributed this to the fact that more women had educational training.

Nine of the thirty-six congregant interviewees were members of religious school committees at the time of the interview, including 3 chairpersons; a tenth interviewee was both a teacher and administrative assistant of her temple's religious school. These data were supplemented by the participant observation data. There were seventeen participant observation entries which referred to religious school/youth committees; fifteen noted women's involvement.

The synagogue as a house of assembly

Several "assembly" aspects were identified from the data. Members assembled for food and socializing, to hear about temple news, to become educated (adult education) and to deal with contemporary social/political issues.

Food. Food is intimately associated with Jewish culture and ritual practice. Traditionally, the Shabbat service is consecrated with prayers from the Bible and blessings of thanksgiving for a God who has "created the fruit of the vine" (wine) and "caused the earth to yield bread" (symbolized by the challah). In Reform synagogues, this kiddush (sanctification) portion of the Shabbat service has been elaborated into a social period following the service where coffee, tea and sweets are served; this is called an oneg shabbat (literally, the pleasure of the sabbath). In addition, many Jewish holidays have associated traditional foods which are served at special holiday onegs or meals.

There were ninety-six participant observation entries coded for food; thirty-seven referred to oneg or holiday foods. Twenty-seven of these identified which congregational actors were involved in the food activities. As Table 4.4 indicates, women were disproportionately represented.

The interviews confirmed women's heavy involvement in food preparation; ninety-four percent of the congregant

Table 4.4

Frequency of occurrence of food-related actors at
onegs/holiday food events (participant observation data)

Actor	Frequency of occurrence
Women only	16
Both women and men	10
Men only	1
Total	27

Note. Of the 16 entries coded for women only, 8 specifically referred to Sisterhood. Of the 10 entries coded for both women and men, 4 specifically referred to Fellowship, 2 referred to couples and 2 described situations where there was 1 man amongst many women.

$\chi^2 = 23$, $df=1$, $p < .001$, when tested against the chance probability that women would be involved in food-related activities 50% of the time (in this case 13.5 observed events).

interviewees indicated that they had worked at an oneg at some point in time. Further, as can be seen from Table 4.5, seventy-eight percent of them projected that only women prepared or served at the onegs. Twenty-three women (64%) specifically associated either Sisterhood or Fellowship with oneg/holiday foods. Only two temples, Gimmel and Vav had Fellowships; in both, the majority of Fellowship members were women.

In Temples Dalet and Gimmel (the two temples without Sisterhoods), the custodial staff became more involved in food preparation. This was especially the case in Temple Dalet, which also had no Fellowship. However, when the food activity was used as a mechanism for honoring someone (e.g. a farewell luncheon), women were perceived to become more involved. In general, food activities were perceived to be more than mere tasks. As one interviewee expressed it:

What happens in the kitchen has a lot to do with what happens other places...a lot of committee work gets done in the kitchen and a lot of personal connections get cemented in the kitchen over the sink and setting the table; it's like the kitchen in your home. I know when I entertain and I'm cooking, people come to find me in the kitchen; a lot of the socializing, a lot of the sense of family; a lot of the sense of what my life is all about happens in the kitchen, and it's true in the temple too...who would ever think of being a Jew without thinking of food--never! I mean it's as much a part of being a Jew as going to services or showing up at Yom Kippur; I mean being a Jew is an emotional thing; it's a physical thing and any Jew will connect food and Judaism.

The participant observation data yielded several

Table 4.5

Distribution of congregant respondents' perceptions about food-related actors at oneg/holiday food events by temple as revealed by the interview data

Temple	Actor			
	Women only	Women & men	Men only	Custodial Staff
Aleph (n=4)	4	--	--	--
Bet (n=4)	4	1	--	2
Gimmel (n=4)	2	4	1	3
Dalet (n=4)	3	2	--	4
Hay (n=8)	7	2	2	2
Vav (n=4)	1	3	--	1
Het (n=4)	4	3	--	2
Zayin (n=4)	3	4	--	1
Total (n=36)	28	19	3	15

χ^2 for custodial staff = 12.34, df=7, p=.09.

"meanings" associated with food: food as a social mechanism (an Italian square dance, where a spaghetti dinner was served, followed by a square dance); food as a mechanism for honoring someone; food accompanying study sessions (one Past President of Temple Bet, in reminiscing about his involvement at the Temple spoke about his studies with the Rabbi where he consumed great quantities of "herring, Torah and midrash"); refreshments at committee/congregational meetings; food as the focus of a program (a Challah baking class); food as a form of social action (canned food drive) and food as a fund-raising tool (bake sales). Food could also be the source of conflict (what to serve; whether to send holiday goodies to youth away at college). Table 4.6 shows the frequencies of these food "meanings" plus the associations by gender with each meaning. As can be seen, women were still associated with food the majority of the time (n=42; 71%).

These findings suggest that food activities serve as a vehicle for women to highlight specific value orientations within their temples; one such value orientation is the importance of interpersonal connections amongst temple members. Indeed, one rabbi, when asked how he thought his temple would change if Sisterhood disbanded replied:

Table 4.6

Frequency of food "meanings" and associated actors as indicated by the participant observation data

Food "meaning"	Food-related actors			
	Sisterhood	Other Women	Men	Unspecified
Food at study/ educational session (n=21)	7	7	2	5
Food as a social event (n=14)	8	1	3	2
Refreshments associated with congregational/ committee mtgs. (n=7)	2	2	2	1
Food as <u>the</u> program (n=5)	3	1	1	--
Food as a way to honor someone (n=4)	2	1	--	1
Food as social action (n=4)	2	2	--	--
Food as a fund- raising tool (n=2)	2	--	--	--
Conflict over food (n=2)	1	1	--	--
Total (n=59)	27	15	8	9

...we'd have to go out and hire people to do things; they wouldn't do it as well; it'd cost a lot of money and they wouldn't have as much personal input. It would be very different... Oneg Shabbats would become very impersonal; we'd maybe have an outside caterer who would come in and handle those things and it would be a strictly financial transaction--a very different feeling.

Socializing. Interpersonal connections were also strengthened through social events, which both fulfilled members' affiliative needs and strengthened their bonds to the temple. The participant observation data revealed five types of social mechanisms: (1) oneg shabbats; (2) holiday celebrations (e.g. Channukah dinners, second night seders); (3) fund-raising and social events; (4) semi-autonomous sub-organizations (Sisterhood, Men's Club, Couple's Club, Chavorot) and (5) participation on temple committees.

The data also implied that Sisterhood's contribution to temple social life was controversial. Over one-third of "positive" socializing entries (i.e., those entries which suggested that members' involvement in temple was facilitated) referred to Sisterhood; however, over two-thirds of the "negative" entries (entries which suggested that members' involvement was actually impeded) also referred to Sisterhood. Thus again, differences amongst women were revealed. Some felt nourished by Sisterhood's interpersonal orientation, while others were "turned off" by the perceived low intellectual content of Sisterhood programming.

These findings were confirmed by the interview data. Sisterhood's "programs for women" were mentioned by thirty of the forty-three respondents from temples which had Sisterhoods (Table 4.7). Despite the fact that one-half of the observed Sisterhood programs focused on either socializing or education (Table 4.8), forty-six percent of the congregant interviewees from temples with Sisterhoods did not participate in Sisterhood because they did not feel challenged by their programs.

This schism in the perception of Sisterhood's social-educational function was just one of the problems faced by Sisterhoods. Other problems will be discussed both later in this chapter and in Chapter 6. One aspect of Sisterhood which proved to be less controversial was its role in fund-raising.

Fund-raising. Fund-raising events such as concerts, art auctions and dinner dances also provided opportunities for socializing. Not only did women attend these events, they worked at making them happen. Eighty-nine percent of congregant interviewees had been involved in some kind of fund-raising activity. As Table 4.9 indicates, the predominant way in which women participated in fund-raising was through these events. Interviewees also projected that of all the forms of fund-raising, women were most active in those events which had a social context (Table 4.10).

Sisterhood was perceived to be an important fund-

Table 4.7

Number of respondents per temple who mentioned Sisterhood's programs

Temple	Respondents who mentioned programs
Aleph (n=6)	4
Bet (n=7)	7
Hay (n=11)	9
Vav (n=6)	5
Het (n=8)	1
Zayin (n=5)	4
Total (n=43)	30

$$\chi^2 = 17.02, df=5, p < .005.$$

Table 4.8

Content of Sisterhood programs (participant observation data)

Content of program	No. of entries
Educational orientation	
Jewish issues	
Israel/Zionism	4
Jews in history/culture	1
Women's issues/women & Judaism	7
Psychology (family dynamics)	2
Total	14
Social orientation	
Dinners/luncheons/brunches	6
Food demos/fashion shows/ exercise demos	5
Just fun (e.g. going to Chippendale's)	3
Total	14

Table 4.9

Summary of ways in which interviewees have participated in fund-raising events at their temples as indicated by the interview data

Means of participation	Number of women who have participated
Solicitation of small monies (dues collection; administration of funds (e.g. Flower Fund); selling memorial plaques; selling ads for an ad journal)	6
Fund-raising events for temple or Sisterhood (bazaars, auctions, fairs, dinner dances, concerts, lectures, etc.)	25
Raising large monies (building drives, mortgage burning drives, investment ventures)	4

Table 4.10

Summary of projected means of fund-raising and projected actors associated with each fund-raising method as indicated by the interview data

Fund-raising method	Who is involved?				
	Mainly women	Mainly men	Women & men	Staff	Not Specified
Solicitation of small monies (e.g. dues collection, selling plaques)	3	1	1	1	50
Fund-raising events for temple & Sisterhood	19	1	23	5	2
Raising large monies	--	21	5	--	6

Note. The total number of respondents was 56 (36 congregants + 16 clergy + 4 administrators).

raising organization. When directly asked about Sisterhood, eight-four percent of the respondents (including clergy and administrators) from temples with Sisterhoods mentioned the fund-raising function. Indeed, when asked "How temple would be affected if Sisterhood disbanded?", forty-four of these responded that the temple would suffer financially. In some temples, Sisterhood was the major fund-raising arm.

While fund-raising events provided members with opportunities for socializing, the need for fund-raising speaks to the fact that temples needed funds to subsist; bills had to be paid. The participant observation data suggested that despite the fact that women were actively involved in raising funds, they were less involved in financial decision-making. When they were, they tended to be involved in those decisions which involved people needs. Again, women's participation seemed to be guided by an underlying values orientation. Frequently, this values orientation had political ramifications.

Culture and politics

Women's technical-cultural activities often impacted upon temple politics. For one, these activities affected the kinds of resources from outside the temple which were imported for temple programs. There were forty participant observation entries relating to "resources for programs". The most demanding programs were adult education; twenty-three of the forty entries (57.5%) referred to adult

education; one-fourth (n=10) referred to Sisterhood programs. As suggested by Tables 4.8 and 4.2, the resources for these two sets of programs differed. However, there were two content areas in common: women's issues and Israel. These content areas alluded to the world beyond temple.

Women and the world beyond temple: Particularism versus universalism. As organizations embedded in a larger world, temples were affected by the happenings in this larger world. Two components of the outside world could be identified from the data: the local community and the national/international community. There were fourteen participant observation entries which referred to community concerns; over half were Sisterhood specific (e.g. Sisterhoods conducted "bag sales" at which the general community could purchase used quality goods for a nominal amount).

Others referred to the activities of temple social actions committees or renting temple space to community agencies. One entry detailed a discussion of whether or not to renew the lease of a day care center housed in one of temples. The daycare center was viewed both as a means of raising revenues and as a community service; controversy over expenses incurred by the center (although far less than the income produced) led to the eventual non-renewal of the contract. This was one example of how Reform synagogues

have begun to move away from the prior universalist concern for people other than Jews which had characterized the classical Reform movement. In the case just cited, the temple decided in favor of self-interests (particularistic orientation).

The struggle between particularism and universalism was even more apparent in the data which referred to national/international issues. There were thirty participant observation entries which referred to social/political issues. Twenty-two referred to the Jewish specific issues of Israel or Soviet Jewry. The remaining eight revealed a more universalistic concern. Of these, two involved controversy over a pulpit guest.

In one, a guest rabbi had been invited (by the congregational rabbi) to address the congregation and to urge them (as Jews) to support the Nicaraguan government; I observed his presentation degenerate into a shouting match between himself and congregants. In the other, the rabbi had invited a member of Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition to speak from the pulpit. The president of the congregation was outraged at the rabbi for extending the invitation without first consulting the Board of Trustees; he felt that all such invitations should be screened by the Board. In both cases, women emerged as behind-the-scenes actors. A woman who was also the immediate past president of the congregation had urged the first rabbi to invite the guest

rabbi; two women wrote public letters of support for the second rabbi's right to "autonomy over the pulpit".

In general programs which had a particularist orientation (e.g. Israel, Soviet Jewry) were more readily received; programs which had a universalist orientation were resisted. Similar dynamics were observed in Sisterhood's struggle over its identity as a social-political organization; two participant observation entries highlighted this struggle.

The first derived from an observation of a Sisterhood Board of Trustees meeting at which the Sisterhood president recounted her disappointment with the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (NFTS):

She expressed a lot of disappointment --much of the literature which she had received in the mail was very exciting (re: abortion, Equal Rights, Women's Rights), but Federation did not send representatives to various temples. She felt that to just send literature was not the right way. She felt that NFTS was not fulfilling its role/function for constituent Sisterhoods.

In contrast, an observation of the regional NFTS conference revealed that constituent Sisterhoods were resistant to involvement with universalist concerns. Many conference participants believed that Sisterhood as an organized body of Jewish women should not advocate any position on abortion. Most were also uninterested in discussing the proposed Federal constitutional convention. One conference participant said that her Sisterhood did not

incorporate these social-political issues into their programs; while, personally, she felt that it would be interesting to do, she also felt that most women really wanted to be entertained. The regional Sisterhood president confirmed this.

Further confirmation of Sisterhood's inability to actualize its potential as a social-political organization derived from the interview data. When questioned about Sisterhood, only seven out of forty-three respondents from temples with Sisterhoods cited the social/political/community function. As shown on Table 4.11, only Temple Het's Sisterhood highlighted this role. Yet even in this temple, social-political involvement focused on Jewish issues (e.g. protesting the proposed changes to Israel's Law of Return).

These data may be viewed as additional evidence of Sisterhood's controversial position within temple. Except for the few Sisterhood women who hoped that Sisterhood would take a more universalist orientation, most pro-universalism women were not associated with Sisterhood. These latter women tended to be the same women who were dissatisfied with Sisterhood's perceived low intellectual program content.

In partial sum, then, the kinds of programs designed and implemented by women allude to the values which they felt were appropriate for their respective temples. Further, women were not united in which values they viewed

Table 4.11

Number of interviewees who mentioned the social/political function of Sisterhood, by temple

Temple	No. who mentioned social/political role
Zayin (n=5)	1
Vav (n=6)	0
Aleph (n=6)	0
Bet (n=7)	0
Hay (n=8)	1
Het (n=8)	5
Totals (n=43)	7

$$\chi^2 = 12.78, df=5, p < .05$$

as important. One source of tension was particularism versus universalism. As programs approached the universalist perspective, they provoked more conflict. Another source of conflict was temple finances.

Women and financial decision-making

There were twenty-two participant observation entries which referred to financial decision-making. Two broad classes of decisions were identified: those where numbers predominated (e.g. how to invest the temple's money; what to do about the \$55,000 temple deficit) and those where this business orientation seemed to clash with people needs. Conflict between corporate and communal values centered on three types of issues: (1) fees for services (e.g. membership dues, fees for High Holiday attendance) or for renting the temple (either for receptions for temple members or by outside agencies, such as Daycare Centers); (2) salaries and pensions for paid personnel; and (3) services for temple youth. As can be seen from Table 4.12, both classes of decisions evoked conflict; however, women were significantly more involved in those decisions which involved people needs.

Seventy-nine percent of the entries coded for financial decision-making derived from congregational Board of Trustee meetings or annual meetings. Thus, involvement in financial decision-making seemed to imply membership in the formal political structure of the temple.

Table 4.12

Analysis of financial decision-making, as indicated by
participant observation data entries

Kind of financial decision	number of decisions
Women's involvement in the decision	
"Corporate" decisions (how to invest money; building upkeep; balancing the budget); n=12	6
People/financial decisions (fees for temple services; salaries for paid personnel; services for youth); n=10	10
Number of decisions co-coded for conflict	
"Corporate" decisions; n=12	9
People/financial decisions; n=10	9

χ^2 for women's involvement = 6.89, df=1, $p < .025$.

χ^2 for conflict = .46, df=1, not significant.

Women and the formal political structure

The government structure of synagogues consists of an executive committee plus a set of trustees; together both comprise the Board of Trustees. The executive committee primarily consists of temple officers (executives) while the non-executive members are committee chairs or members-at-large.

In general, the executive committee was perceived to be the most influential. When asked directly about who they thought were the most influential people in their temples, seventy-five percent of congregant interviewees mentioned a member of the executive committee; most frequently mentioned (in descending order) were the President of the Congregation, a vice-president and "the officers" in general. Both the interview and participant observation data indicated that equal numbers of males and females sat on these committees.

Another group of influential actors were past presidents. Over one-half of the congregant interviewees believed that past presidents who were still involved wielded influence. This influence derived from the knowledge which they had gained during their tenure as president (expert power), the prestige of being a past president (prestige power) plus their seeming devotion to the temple (referent power). Considering that there were only twelve women past presidents from all eight temples,

past presidents represented a substantial male power base. However, of the twenty respondents who noted past presidents, eleven named specific women who had been presidents within the past eight years. Thus, although women were recent comers to the temple presidency, this very recency seemed to bolster their position power.

The interview data suggested that respondents in different positions perceived temple power structure differently. Women who had been less involved in the inner political network believed that temple policy was molded by the executive committee, past presidents, clergy and the Board of Trustees, in descending order of influence. Women who were (or had been) executive officers tended to believe that policy was in the hands of the current government which included themselves.

Clergy agreed with this perception and specified that those who were currently involved (Board members plus officers) exerted the most influence; however, they were clear to add that the extent of influence was circumscribed by content area of involvement. Thus, adult education chairs had the most impact on that area; religious school chairs in that area, etc.

This concept of "arena of influence" was reflected in the participant observation data which focused on financial decision-making. While financial matters were primarily discussed at Board of Trustee meetings, the participant

observation data revealed that the actual decision-making did not always occur at these meetings. Rather fiscal decisions were frequently deferred until the temple budget/finance committee came in with the budget. Standard procedure involved the chair of the budget committee presenting the budget to the Board for approval; unless there was disagreement, most of the actual decision-making occurred in committee. The interview data revealed that these budget committees were male dominated. When directly asked about the sex composition of budget committees, seventy-five percent of the clergy and administrator interviewees noted the under-representation of women.

Further, as this committee also dealt with the income side of the budget (the acquisition of large monies for building expansion, taking out a mortgage, long-term financial investments), these findings suggest that women were less involved in decisions about how to raise large sums of money. Two other sources of data support this conclusion: (1) participant observation of financial decision-making discussions had indicated that women were significantly less involved in these types of financial decisions (Table 4.12); and (2) projections by interviewees about who was involved in different types of fund-raising had indicated that men were perceived to dominate the fund-raising of large monies (Table 4.10). Thus, despite the fact that women were members of the formal government

structure, this was no guarantee that they were able to wield influence over finances. Chapter 5 elaborates on the sources and bounds of women's influence within Reform synagogues.

Summary of women and organizational dimensions

Hypothesis 1 had proposed that women would populate the technical and cultural dimensions of Reform synagogues. The data reviewed so far confirm this hypothesis. Significantly more women were observed to be involved in food preparation. Women also supported youth education, attended and planned social events (including fund raising events) and attended and planned adult education functions. Many of these activities could be considered enabling activities as their enactment sustained the temple as one cohesive unit. However, they also highlighted specific values which women felt were important. Thus, food and social events emphasized the importance of interpersonal connections; educational programs spotlighted the importance of knowledge about Judaic issues. Social-political programs attempted to educate members about the need to be involved in non-Jewish specific concerns such as Nicaragua or poverty. These programs proved to be the most controversial.

While the data substantiated women's involvement in cultural issues, they also indicated that women were not united in their value orientations. Women were not united in their desire to engage in ritual. They were not united

in their desire for social versus intellectual programs, and they were not united in how universalist or particularist they were. These findings will be explored in more depth in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The data reviewed so far also suggest that women "push" for their respective values in different ways. Women occupy different organizational positions; in addition to being workers, many hold formal organizational positions as committee chairs. These women are able to use their positions to shape temple programming within their respective areas of expertise. Further, as members of temple Boards of Trustees, they can vote on broader temple policy.

However, the data also suggest that the executive officers and not the trustees are perceived to be the most influential temple actors. Further, even as officers women tend to be least involved in financial issues. When they do get involved, it is because financial needs are perceived to be in conflict with "people needs". Thus, again, women act to promote specific values positions--in this case, to promote communal values over corporate values. Chapter 5 elaborates upon the ways in which women push for these values; it will also outline the various sources of influence which women call upon in the process.

CHAPTER 5

Women and influence

Two perspectives on women's potential to assert influence have already been presented. First was the view that the most influential temple actors were executive officers. The second view was that women wield influence from their formal positions as committee chairs. This influence was perceived to be circumscribed by content area. That is, women are most influential in the technical-cultural areas such as food, socializing and education and wield the least influence in the financial arena.

Hypothesis 2 proposes yet a third perspective:

Women who assume key positions in the technical/cultural networks will be able to assert indirect influence in the political dimension.

These perspectives may be tested by looking at actual decisions which temples made.

The search committee

One decision experienced by all temples is the selection of clergy. Membership on temple search committees was facilitated by formal temple position. When asked who they thought would be included on a search committee, the most frequent answer given by congregant interviewees was the committee chair/member of the Board of Trustees (24 out of 36 respondents; 67%); the most important chair positions were religious school, adult education and ritual. As indicated on Table 5.1, executive officers, POC's and past

Table 5.1

Congregants' perceptions of membership on clergy search committees (by type of involvement)

Level of Involvement	Perceived membership on search committee					
	Past POC	POC	Exec. Officer	Comm. Chair/Trustee	Member at Large	Doesn't Know
Executive Officer (n=14)	8	8	7	10	2	0
Not an Executive (n=22)	7	8	8	14	6	3
Total (n=36)	15	16	15	24	8	3

χ^2 for Past POC = 2.27, df=1, not significant.

χ^2 for POC = 1.5, df=1, not significant.

χ^2 for Executive Officer = .66, df=1, not significant.

χ^2 for Trustee = .24, df=1, not significant.

χ^2 for member-at-large = .83, df=1, not significant.

POC's were also believed to be involved (42%, 44% and 42%, respectively).

These perceptions were supported by the interviewees' actual participation on search committees. As Table 5.2 indicates, the majority of women who were or had been executive officers of their temple had sat on a search committee. In contrast, most women who were non-executive members of Boards of Trustees had not. However, these women did not occupy the critical chair positions noted above. Five were Sisterhood presidents; one was a Fellowship chair; a seventh was the chair of the Judaica shop. In agreement with interviewees' perceptions, most non-Board members (members-at-large) had not sat on search committees.

Sisterhood as a base of influence

The fact that most Sisterhood presidents had not sat on a search committee suggested that Sisterhood's involvement in temple decision-making was limited. Additional data reflected on the Sisterhood-temple relationship. Participant observation documented three kinds of relationships: positive (Sisterhood's role in temple was recognized and afforded esteem); negative (Sisterhood's role was devalued) and neutral (Sisterhood had an on-going working relationship with other temple members which did not lead to either valuation or devaluation). Table 5.3 shows the distribution of these entries by temple and type of relationship. As can be seen, all Sisterhoods were subject

Table 5.2

Number of congregant interviewees who had ever served on a search committee (by level of involvement)

Level of involvement	Served on a search committee
Exec. Officer (n=14)	11
Board member, but not an executive officer (n=10)	2
Not Board member; Not executive officer (n=12)	3
Total (n=36)	16

$\chi^2 = 10.85, df=2, p < .01.$

Table 5.3

Distribution of participant observation entries relating to Temple/Sisterhood relationship, by Temple

Temple	Kind of relationship		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Aleph	4	2	2
Bet	4	3	1
Hay	2	4	2
Vav	5	4	0
Zayin	0	5	0
Het	6	5	0
Total	21	23	5

to some kind of devaluation.

The interview data suggested that the Sisterhood-Temple relationship was most strained in Temples Aleph, Bet and Zayin (Table 5.4). All three Sisterhoods felt that they were perceived to be either "kitchen help" or "high society ladies". Further, they believed that their status as a semi-autonomous organization was under threat. Specific incidents supported this perception: non-Sisterhood temple officials such as the religious school principal took supplies from Sisterhood cupboards without asking for permission; Sisterhood sponsored events such as the Purim carnival were scheduled by office staff without consulting with Sisterhood; the content of Sisterhood programming was vetoed by the rabbi.

Consistent with status theory, this negative perception of Sisterhood was reversed if Sisterhoods proved their competence; thus Table 5.3 indicates that devaluation was frequently tempered by recognition. This valuation derived primarily from Sisterhood's fund-raising role, an acceptable mechanism by which they could prove their worth.

Mechanisms for asserting influence

As a technical-cultural organization, Sisterhood had the power to mold the way in which certain tasks were accomplished. It could also withdraw its services as a statement of disapproval (indirect influence). Two Sisterhoods were observed to exercise this option. Temple

Table 5.4

Number of respondents who mentioned a negative Sisterhood-
temple relationship (by temple)

Temple	Number who mention a negative relationship
Aleph (n=6)	6
Bet (n=7)	6
Hay (n=11)	3
Vav (n=6)	3
Het (n=8)	3
Zayin (n=5)	5
Total (n=43)	26

$\chi^2 = 16.18$, $df=5$, $p < .01$.

Aleph's Sisterhood disapproved of an action by the congregational Board of Trustees. They chose to demonstrate their disapproval by "striking". They refused to prepare the refreshments for a major oneg shabbat. Temple Zayin's Sisterhood also disapproved of an Board action. They chose to demonstrate their disapproval by withdrawing funds for the temple youth lounge which was supported by Sisterhood monies.

Only Temple Aleph's Sisterhood was successful. Their success related to the fact that they were the only actors at their temple who were involved in food preparation. (See Table 4.4.) Thus, their action denied the temple a needed service. In contrast, Temple Zayin's Board of Trustees did not value the youth lounge; hence Sisterhood's withdrawal of funds had no impact on the Board. However, it did have an impact on Sisterhood. They felt that the youth lounge was an important service. By withdrawing funds, they violated their own value system, leaving them feeling powerless and demoralized. Consistent with Johnson's analysis, indirect influence was only effective when the resources which were denied were valued by the more dominant actor.

Further, while Temple Aleph's Sisterhood effectively "gummed up the works" with their strike, they were unable to neutralize the Board's decision, which involved the replacement of the executive committee with an alternate slate of officers. Indirect influence could only affect

decisions within Sisterhood's arena of control: food, socializing, education and fund-raising. Clearly, a decision concerning temple officers ranged far beyond these areas.

However, Sisterhood presidents did have an alternate source of influence; as voting members of the congregational Board of Trustees, they had the potential to engage in the official decision-making processes of their temples.

Sisterhood and formal decision-making power. One Board of Trustees meeting at each temple was observed. Of the six visits to temples with Sisterhoods, only one Sisterhood president was observed to utilize formal decision-making power. Three Sisterhood presidents were not even present at the meetings; one was present but said nothing. A fifth president announced that Sisterhood had held a successful garage sale; Sisterhood had also donated funds so that a temple youth could attend a summer program in Israel. The president left the meeting after her announcements.

Several explanations for these observations may be offered: (1) Sisterhoods were actually disinterested in the use of influence; (2) Sisterhoods had learned from prior experience that their impact was limited (e.g. not being asked to sit on search committees); withdrawal was a response to the situation. This second explanation is consistent with the self-fulfilling prophecy; Sisterhoods internalized and then confirmed the view of themselves as

non-influential actors. The data suggest that both explanations applied, albeit to different situations.

Temple Vav's Sisterhood was disinterested in political involvement. This Sisterhood had just emerged from a period of re-definition; its new focus was on personal growth issues for women. Involvement in temple politics was irrelevant; Temple Vav's Sisterhood president was one who did not attend the Board meeting. Temple Zayin's Sisterhood president also did not attend the Board of Trustees meeting. Her decision seemed to relate to the demoralization which that Sisterhood was experiencing.

Only Temple Het's Sisterhood seemed positive about its political potential; this positivity was mirrored by the high levels of esteem afforded Sisterhood by non-Sisterhood actors. An observation of a congregational Board meeting documented both sides of this Sisterhood-temple relationship. First the Sisterhood president announced that the Sisterhood was underwriting a substantial portion of the temple's renovation expenses. This announcement was met by rousing applause. Then the President of the Men's Club announced a special party in honor of Sisterhood. AT this same meeting, the Sisterhood president was observed to vocalize strong opinions on fiscal-people issues.

Temple Het was also the only temple in the sample where the Sisterhood president sat on the Executive Committee in addition to the Board of Trustees. This afforded the

Sisterhood an additional source of direct influence, which seemed to bolster the president's participation in temple decision making. This legitimization of Sisterhood was then taken back to Sisterhood members; an observation of a Sisterhood board meeting confirmed Sisterhood's positive self-image.

Summary of Sisterhood as a base of influence

In general, Sisterhoods seemed to wield little influence. Yet they were not without their source of influence if they chose to act upon it. This was demonstrated in Temple Aleph where the Sisterhood had the power to "muck up the works" by withdrawing their technical services. However, this source of power had limitations. While Sisterhood could affect the way refreshments would be served at a special one, it could not affect larger temple decisions. Influence over these decisions required a more central position in temple networks. As the next section discusses, the decisions often transcended the formal governance procedures.

Beyond the formal government: Women's involvement in conflict

The data revealed several decisions which seemed to stretch the formal governance procedures, generating conflict in the process. Women were observed to assert various types of influence in these conflicts.

There were 36 participant observation entries which referred to non-financial decision making. Five kinds of

decisions were identified. As Table 5.5 indicates, governance issues were highly controversial. Of the nine entries co-coded for governance and conflict, 4 each derived from Temples Hay and Aleph. In both cases, the core issue was the rabbi.

Conflict over the rabbinic review process

The conflict in Temple Hay focused on the decision not to renew the rabbi's contract. This rabbi had been hired several years before the data collection year. One year into his term at the temple, a committee convened by the then POC recommended that the rabbi's contract not be renewed. This decision was contested by the rabbi; a new committee was convened by Sam, the POC during the data collection period. Both pro and anti-rabbi forces were balanced on this new committee; however, there were no non-Board members.

This decision was not well-received by congregants; most had experienced the rabbi as warm and caring. A letter-writing campaign ensued and the Board was deluged with letters; a special congregational meeting was called where congregants spoke about their strong feelings: the rabbi had attended their simchas; he had excellent pastoral skills. While the committee agreed that the rabbi's strength was his pastoral ability, they felt that the rabbi was deficient in other areas; the committee again voted not to renew the rabbi's contract.

Table 5.5

Distribution of participant observation entries which referenced non-financial policy making and which were co-coded for conflict.

Kind of policy	Co-coded for conflict
Temple governance (n=11)	9
Ritual (n=5)	3
Evaluation of personnel:	
hiring/firing (n=7)	3
Programming (n=10)	3
Dealing with actors	
from outside temple	
(e.g. researcher) (n=3)	3
Total (n=36)	15

χ^2 for conflict = 8.61, df=4, p<.1.

While obligated by temple by-laws to abide by the committee's decision, the now irate congregants petitioned to amend the by-laws; they wanted the evaluation of clergy to be open to a vote by the congregation-at-large. The vote on this amendment occurred at the annual congregational meeting. Although eventually defeated, this defeat resulted from political maneuvering; two incidents of maneuvering were observed. The first was at a Board of Trustees meeting; towards the end of the meeting, the POC announced that several of the Board members would be distributing the names of congregants who were believed to be supportive of the existent procedures for evaluating clergy. Board members were asked to call these people and urge them to attend the annual meeting.

The second was at the annual meeting. Despite the fact that "the vote" was the central business of the meeting, POC called upon a parade of people to address the congregants. Many congregants began to perceive this as a stalling device; some left. Finally, after several outbursts by congregants, the meeting turned to the amendment. A long series of people proceeded to address the congregation. Some spoke for the amendment; others spoke against it. The gist of the arguments focused on whether or not congregants should be privy to the kinds of information which leads to the termination of clergy.

Two congregants (both women) seemed to be especially

influential in turning the direction of the decision. The first was a Holocaust survivor who played upon the Jewish fear of coerced silence:

I never want to hear that those in power would silence others. I come from Holocaust Europe and I never want to hear that I can't know something about this congregation...power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

As a profound silence fell upon the congregation, it seemed as though the pro-amendment supporters had won.

The silence was broken by Arlene, the IPP. She pleaded with congregants to vote against the amendment. She felt that the congregation was on the brink--it could become a more united, caring congregation or it could sink into the morass of divisiveness. She added that if the amendment were passed, every year the congregation would engage in "an orgy of unrest". Arlene proceeded: she had been told that people saw what was happening as a power play (the old versus the new) but she felt that the issue was responsiveness; she admitted that the evaluation committee had been grievously insensitive. Arlene seemed to have turned the tide; the amendment went down to defeat. Not surprisingly, when congregant interviewees were asked about the most influential people in Temple Hay, 4 of the 8 respondents mentioned Arlene.

A second woman who was considered very influential was Sadie, a past POC. This woman reiterated the theme of responsiveness; she understood that the rabbi's pastoral

proress was strenghtened by the seeming lack of concern by temple leaders:

The group of people who came out to say "Why aren't you renewing his contract?" were a very vocal group that the rabbi had touched on a one-to-one basis, and it seems that somewhere ... we forgot what our reason for being was, and the president and the Board members and the temple itself did not share their nachas or the grief of the temple members. It had gotten lost somewhere.

While Sadie agreed that the pastoral role was important, she believed that caring had to emanate from congregants also. For this reason, she chose to start a caring committee which would fulfill these socio-emotional needs.

Both Arlene and Sadie seemed to use their position power to address the socio-emotional tension within the temple; it was not clear how influential they were with regard to other issues. When asked whom she saw as the most influential people at the temple, Sadie denied her own influence:

Decisions are being made, but I don't know for what reasons. I don't see where...Sam is a good president. We have a good working president right now, and he's doing a good job, but I don't know whether I'm influencing him or...he's president because I groomed him for the job. Literally, groomed him, but...

The limits of Sadie's influence were confirmed by several pieces of data. First the temple administrator indicated that the central actors were men:

There is a strong nucleus of, say the president, maybe one of his vice-presidents that go ahead and do alot of things on their own...We have a new rabbi coming in who looked

in his office and said to me "I want all the furniture removed, I am going to replace all the furniture. I want the walls decorated. I want new carpeting, I want some shelves put up" and he gave me a whole long list. Well, obviously that is not my job. My job is to implement everything that he said, if in fact I get that authority, but the rabbi is no authority. Rabbi cannot okay financially important issues; so I suggested to him that he discuss that with the president and have the president or someone call me with the authority to do the things he wants to do. Now obviously, this is quite a financial investment, the things that he is talking about. My opinion is that these things should probably go to the officers; the officers should probably bring it to the board. It is probably going to mean an investment of several thousands of dollars. In this phone call from the rabbi, he told me "Sam said no problem to go right ahead and order the stuff".

Secondly, the data suggested that the cantor was a covert actor in the struggle over the rabbi. Four of the eight congregant interviewees believed that the cantor had undermined the position of the rabbi. As one interviewee stated, the cantor knew "how to cultivate the proper people with the proper power". One of these proper people was the chair of the Choir and Ritual Committee and vice-president of the temple:

...part of the problem with the rabbi was a result of the Choir and Ritual committee letting the cantor have his way completely ...we re-arranged the whole bima because the cantor didn't like the chairs...and he moved from the left to the right; and he moved the choir out of the choir loft and the organ out of where it was, and moved it around because it suited him...he prevailed.

In Temple Aleph, the conflict also focused on the

procedures used to evaluate the rabbi. However, there were additional substantive issues which included lay-clergy power struggles and the nature of Reform practice.

Conflict with the rabbi

Temple Aleph's rabbi had a life-time contract. While he could not be fired, if dissatisfied, congregants could utilize the contract review process to limit salary increases and benefits. During the data collection year, this option was attempted by the POC and associates. The participant observation data indicated three reasons for dissatisfaction: the rabbi's minimal involvement in Adult Education; his invitation to controversial pulpit guests and his unilateral fiscal decisions.

Underlying the first two reasons was a perceived dissatisfaction with the way in which the rabbi fulfilled his religious obligations to the congregation. In response, several attempts were made to wrest control of ritual from the rabbi: the POC wrote a public letter questioning the rabbi's rights to invite pulpit guests without approval by the Board of Trustees; the POC's columns in the monthly temple bulletin focused on ritual issues instead of governance issues (e.g. the history and significance of tefillin); the rabbi was excluded from the ritual committee.

While supported by some congregants, other congregants disapproved of the POC's actions. Two such congregants were Doris and Debbie, two of the most influential people at

Temple Aleph. They also supported the rabbi's fiscal decisions.

The first decision related to the rabbi's policy regarding fees for officiating at weddings. Despite the fact that weddings were performed at the temple, the rabbi did not submit these fees to the temple. This complaint was aggravated by the fact that many of the marriages were between non-Jews and Jews who were not temple members. Some congregants felt that the rabbi was running a business out of the temple:

he marries a couple at a very high fee, but he does the counselling in our temple; they phone our temple to set up the appointment through our secretaries; we provide his business cards, stationary and things like that and we feel we're subsidizing his outside business...so our aim is to get it out of the temple.

Doris who was the Financial Secretary and incoming V.P. viewed the situation differently:

They think that the rabbi is making this tremendous amount of money by doing interfaith marriages and that there's nothing being kicked back to the temple... they find it a terrible thing; they don't take it any step further and realize, as I'm in a position to realize, that many of those people become members after that; that in a sense it's Judaic retention because he's not turning his back on a Jew who says "I want to marry this person who is not Jewish".

Doris also supported the rabbi on the second fiscal issue. As related by Carla, one of the most vocal pro-POC, anti-rabbi congregants, the rabbi had approved dues

remission for congregants who had approached him; this was done without Board approval. In response, POC chose to institute a policy whereby, in order for a person to maintain dues remission status, s/he had to submit a copy of the previous year's tax forms. As financial secretary, Doris knew that members who were asked to submit tax forms were humiliated by this procedure and were dropping out of temple. Believing that this policy was not in the best interests of the temple, she spearheaded a coup; an alternate slate of officers was proposed and elected at the annual meeting.

Conflict over Reform practices

While on the surface, the conflict seemed to be about the rabbi, the more latent issue appeared to be the appropriate theological/philosophical orientation of a Reform synagogue. Both Doris and Debbie indicated that the Rabbi's Reform philosophy was crucial to their continued involvement in Temple Aleph. Both also indicated that those who were anti-rabbi had come from conservative and orthodox Jewish backgrounds and wanted to mold the temple in those images; this invariably led to conflict with the rabbi. Doris included the Sisterhood amongst these:

I see Sisterhood as the nucleus of women who have not severed the ties with more traditional aspects and who are not particular admirers of the rabbi and who seem to want changes that I don't see as beneficial to this temple.

Debbie (who was the Outreach chair) added that this

traditionalist orientation also led to non-tolerance of Jews-by-choice. A telephone conversation with Carla after the annual meeting at which POC and others were defeated confirmed that, indeed, religious orientation was a salient issue:

Carla mentioned that the bulletin had been taken over by a convert (Georgia) who thinks that the temple is too traditional. I found this comment interesting for several reasons: (1) I had met Georgia at the Rabbi's Adult Bar/Bat Mitzvah class--at that time, she had identified herself as a Reform Jew whose mother and grandmother before that had been Reform Jews; and (2) the way in which she said the word "convert" indicated great contempt for converts. This last feeling was confirmed when Carla added that the insurrection had been headed by Debbie and Doris, both of whom were basically very religious and cared about Judaism but now the temple would be run by converts and people who don't know anything about Judaism. Few people who cared would be left.

The case of Temple Bet. Similar to Temple Aleph, women at Temple Bet were involved in controversy over traditional values and Jews-by-choice. However, in Temple Bet's case, it was the convert who pushed for Judaic values. Laura was a new Jew who thirsted for religious involvement. Her primary involvement in temple had been through Sisterhood which she had pushed to include more Jewish programs like conversational Hebrew or Jewish parenting. According to Laura, these ideas met with vehement resistance; she attributed this to her status as a convert. Laura withdrew from Sisterhood but remained disturbed by their perceived un-Jewish programs. Her distress peaked when they planned a

casino night. With rabbinic citations in hand, Laura protested to the rabbi. The rabbi, who deeply respected Laura realized that he could not allow the Sisterhood to proceed with their program. Accordingly, the rabbi "urged" Sisterhood not to have the casino night.

Of all the rabbis, Temple Bet's rabbi was perceived to be the most powerful. Like Temple Aleph's rabbi, he had a life-time contract. Three of the four congregant respondents considered the Rabbi to be influential. One felt that he was too influential; she described him as dictatorial. Thus, when the rabbi "urged" Sisterhood not to have the casino night, they complied, although not without resentment. While no one named Laura as influential, it is clear that her special relationship with the rabbi allowed her to exert behind-the-scenes pressure.

The case of Temple Zayin. Temple Zayin seemed to be a temple adrift. Several incidents highlighted its lack of direction. First was the controversy over the alternative service. This was a lay-led service which was held at the same time as the monthly family service (the official Friday night service). Many of the participants were current or past leaders of the temple. While their children were older than the average child who attended the family service, the main reason for the implementation of an alternate service was the lack of decorum at the family service: children crawled all over the seats; they paraded back and forth;

even the adults didn't attend to the service. A field visit confirmed these behaviors.

Alternate service attendees had stopped coming to the temple on Friday nights when there was a family service. The alternate service brought them back to the temple, although only to attend a separate service. This was perceived by some as divisive. Eventually, a grievance was brought to the Board of Trustees where a vote was taken; the concept of an alternate service was rejected. Residual feelings about this incident cropped up in three of the four congregant interviews; all three offered a similar interpretation of the event:

We had the lay service which...I really found very rewarding; it was not as structured--we followed the prayer book, but there was more input, depending on who was leading it on any given month. For some reason, that really escapes me--I really don't understand why the Board voted it down...there was a group on the temple Board itself that didn't like the fact that we were worshipping in one room and they were worshipping in another room...there were comments from some people "Well all the people that know the prayers are in the other room". Well, I don't go to shul to pray for somebody else; if you don't know the songs, maybe you should go to temple more often and learn them.

Susan, the Adult Education chair added that many Board members perceived that "congregants who were into the Judaic end of things...as an elitist group".

When asked who they saw as the most influential people in the temple, both Bobbi and Susan indicated that the majority ruled. In this case, they perceived that the

majority had ruled against ritual. Since both were ritually oriented, this led to a dilemma; each chose to respond to the dilemma in a different way. As incoming executive vice-president, Bobbi was moving into a position with greater influence potential. In contrast, Susan chose not to be an executive officer; she had been offered the position numerous times and had declined; Susan seemed almost on the verge of dropping out of temple. These differences amongst women will be discussed in the next chapter.

It was not actually clear that the executive vice-presidency offered additional position power. Alice, the incoming POC targetted the governing style of Jack (the outgoing POC) as problematic. Similar to Sam of Temple Hay, Jack was not a delegator:

Everything was his responsibility and he took charge to the point...where I ended up screaming at him for making decisions that didn't include the rest of us.

When asked whom she saw as the most influential people at the temple, she said that aside from Jack nobody seemed to have any influence: "it was like everyone was going their own way, including the committee people". Thus, while the majority ruled, in actuality, nobody ruled. Alice hoped to rectify the situation during her administration.

Again, the data suggested that the rabbi was a covert player in this conflict. Unlike Temples Aleph and Bet, the rabbi did not appear to be a powerful figure. In fact, Alice was annoyed by the rabbi's lack of influence; she

believed that his powerlessness resulted from Jack's leadership style (Jack had also excluded the rabbi). In contrast, Bobbi and Susan seemed to imply that the temple's lack of direction resulted from its lackadaisical attitude towards ritual. Susan described the spiritual life of temple as moribund. Temple Zayin's cantor supported this latter interpretation.

Conflict between clergy

Temple Zayin seemed to be plagued by an unbalanced relationship amongst the rabbi, cantor and congregation. There were four participant observation entries referring to the rabbi-congregant relationship; three indicated a negative relationship. There were also four entries referring to the cantor-congregant relationship; three of these were positive. Finally, there were three entries referring to the rabbi-cantor relationship; all three indicated the cantor's frustration with the rabbi.

As a "junior clergy" the cantor was unable to change temple dynamics. Since his congregation had paid for his cantorial training, he was obligated to stay at least one more year as their full-time cantor. The unstated feeling imparted was that this cantor would leave Temple Zayin as soon as this obligation was fulfilled. A conversation with Susan during the post-data collection period confirmed this feeling: the cantor had left. The official reason given was that he had left because he had requested a salary

increase which the temple could not satisfy. However, Susan said that she was not sure that that was not an excuse for him to leave; she mentioned the cantor's frustration with the rabbi.

Another look at Temple Bet. Temple Bet was also plagued by inter-clergy conflict. One congregant interviewee shared her perception of this conflict:

There was a considerable amount of divisiveness on the part of the rabbis. The rabbis didn't get along and I'm sure it's something that a great deal of people were not aware of, but there was a lot of undermining...Rabbi Q. is a very ambitious woman, extremely ambitious and has always put her career ahead of the good of the temple, and I felt always misunderstood her role as assistant rabbi, and although as far as being a principal is concerned, she was wonderful; I mean she's an organizational wizard, but to give you an example, a call came into the office 8 o'clock one morning from a bereaved family; someone had just passed away and the family called the temple office. Rabbi Q. came in, picked up the message and went immediately to the house of the bereaved family, without leaving a message for Rabbi M.--"Someone has passed way, I went to the family"...Also a couple of times, parents have come into the office to complain about the fact that Rabbi Q. was making disparaging remarks about Rabbi M. to the religious school children.

This conflict between the two rabbis eventuated in the non-renewal of Rabbi Q.'s contract. She believed that the non-renewal came at the instruction of Rabbi M.; he was threatened by her ever-growing community of fans. Rabbi Q. added that the pulpit committee was a highly influential committee:

Some of the past presidents meet with Rabbi M once a month; that committee has some significant sway...they serve as a sort of second executive committee and they are privy to information that other people are not privy to and ...make policy about all kinds of things which concern the rabbi and assistant rabbi.

Considering that there had only been 2 female past POC's (only one of which had been named influential by an interviewee), the pulpit committee was primarily an all male club; the sheer number of years which the rabbi had been at the temple rendered him a key member.

Additional data confirmed that Rabbi M. was a behind-the-scenes player. These data concerned the incoming POC. While Joyce had been a member of the Executive Committee previously (as Financial Secretary), she had never served as the Executive V.P., nor had the outgoing POC fully shared his knowledge with her. She was especially anxious about financial decisions.

During one field visit, I overheard a conversation between Joyce and the rabbi concerning the salaries of the outgoing and incoming assistant rabbis. Joyce seemed to be lacking critical information; rabbi coached her on how to proceed.

Further Joyce's attitude toward Rabbi Q seemed to represent the opinion of the more influential members of Temple Bet. She believed that Rabbi Q. was "nice" as an assistant rabbi, but not yet rabbi material. Rabbi Q. wasn't dynamic enough; she wasn't strong enough--she didn't

have the right "presence". Joyce's perception of Rabbi Q. was of a "sweet young thing" as opposed to an authority figure.

When directly asked about the reasons for Rabbi Q.'s dismissal, both Joyce and a former POC presented the "official" explanation:

The UAHC wants their assistants to seek out their own pulpits; that after a two or three year period, they're encouraged to go to another place and seek out their own pulpits, rather than stay as an assistant for too long.

Some concluding remarks about influence

The introduction to this chapter presented three perspectives on women's ability to assert influence. One was the perspective proposed by Hypothesis 2: women who assume key positions in the technical/cultural networks will be able to assert indirect influence in the political dimension. As already discussed, there was evidence of this kind of influence; however, it was of limited usefulness in affecting larger temple decisions.

Two other perspectives were implied by the data reviewed in Chapter 4: (1) women were able to use positions as committee chairs to assert direct influence, although the range of influence was circumscribed by content area; (2) The broadest arena of influence derived from executive officer positions. The data reviewed in this chapter have implied that influence generated from these positions may also be limited.

The strengths and limitations of formal position

While executive officerships did offer the widest range of influence, being an officer was no guarantee. Position power was weakened by the perception that this power was being abused. The insurrection in Temple Hay was sparked by congregants' perceptions that their voices were unheard; the catalytic event which led to the POC's defeat in Temple Aleph was his perceived intrusion into members' personal affairs.

Yet the success of one insurrection and failure of the other underscored the importance of this position power. POC's defeat in Temple Aleph was spearheaded by Doris, who, because of her position had access to the damaging information. Doris' influence was bolstered by the perception of her as a dedicated Jew; yet this perception alone would not have enabled her to effectively overturn the ruling administration. The insurgent congregants in Temple Hay were also dedicated Jews; the woman who almost turned the vote in favor of the amendment represented the essence of Jewish dedication: the Holocaust survivor who remained ritually involved. These insurgents were disadvantaged by their lack of position; no Board members, no officers spoke in favor of the amendment. They lacked the necessary resources to drum up temple-wide support.

The perception of abuse seemed to be the key issue. As long as an officer was not perceived to be over-stepping

his/her bounds, the possibilities for decision making seemed limitless. Thus, the POC and V.P. in Temple Hay were able to refurnish the rabbi's office without consulting the officers. In the same interview with the temple administrator, I learned that the POC and V.P. had also purchased a parsonage for the new rabbi; approval for the purchase was acquired by the congregation after the fact, although congregants were unaware of this dynamic. This centralization of power curtailed the influence potential of other executive officers.

An imminent change in administration made this kind of centralization of power more difficult. Thus, Temple Zayin's incoming POC was angry at the outgoing POC for engaging in unilateral decision-making; most probably he had also been doing this before she became executive v.p. The interview data indicated that Temple Bet's and Dalet's incoming POC's also felt that their predecessors had not properly prepared them for the transition; in Temple Bet this led to the incoming POC's dependency on a very powerful rabbi for direction.

Clergy's position power varied in the four cases described in this chapter. The most influential rabbis were those who had life-time contracts (Temples Aleph and Bet); alignment with these rabbis added to women's influence potential. However, the "spread" of influence was again dependent on the women's formal position. Thus, Doris and

Debbie emerged as especially influential because of the dual factors of formal position and alignment with the rabbi. In contrast, Laura's arena of influence was constrained. In the short run, she was able to draw from the rabbi's power base to effect change. In the long run, however, this was not enough to get her what she wanted: a sense of belonging in a Jewish institution which lived-out Jewish values. Devoid of a position from which she could legitimately push for her values, she had to fall back on other sources of influence. Unfortunately, as a Jew-by-choice, she was perceived to lack expertise; similarly, she lacked referent power--few identified with her religious quest.

Just as congregants could gain influence from a relationship with clergy; clergy needed "well placed" congregants to maximize their influence. Thus, Temple Aleph's rabbi was able to continue his controversial policies because he had the support of Doris and Debbie; Joyce of Temple Bet was one of Rabbi M.'s "players"; Temple Hay's cantor knew which congregant relationships were worth nurturing. In contrast, both Temple Bet's assistant rabbi and Temple Hay's rabbi also had supporters; however, their supporters did not occupy the critical positions from which they could mobilize temple-wide support.

Non-executive positions on the Board of Trustees did offer women an arena of influence, with the range of influence dependent upon the type of position. Religious

School, Adult Education and Ritual chairs seemed the most influential. There were no indications that the range of influence spread beyond these particular content areas. Indeed, in the case of Temple Zayin, it was not even clear that they had influence in those areas.

Women and alternate visions of Reform Judaism

The discussion up to this point has concentrated on women's potential to assert influence. It is also important to consider the content of the influence attempt. The data reviewed so far have alluded to two types of conflict inherent in Reform synagogues: the tension between particularism and universalism and the tension surrounding the three way tug-of-war amongst spiritual values, community and finances. As suggested in Chapter 4, women are least involved in financial decision making; first, they are under-represented on finance committees. Second, as suggested by the data reviewed in this chapter, even as executive officers, women are often not privy to high-level financial decisions (like purchasing a parsonage).

However, again referring back to Chapter 4, women are significantly more likely to participate in financial discussions when "people needs" are involved; this implies women's preferred view of temple was as community rather than as a business. Further, as suggested by the data presented in this chapter, women are major players in defining the values of this community: the role of ritual,

the openness of the temple boundaries to contemporary social issues, the extent of internal discord to be tolerated. Women's involvement in conflicts over the rabbinic role suggests that women are frequently representatives of the spiritual point of view.

Additionally, women choose to push for their specific values in different ways. There were women who sought and gained executive positions; the routes they followed to these positions will be detailed in the next chapter. However, there were also two interviewees who declined executive positions. Four others declined positions on the Board of Trustees. Thus, 17% of the sample had turned down opportunities to expand their arena of influence. These women seemed to have a different vision for their synagogues. Chapter 6 will explore some of these differences.

CHAPTER 6

Three groups of women

The present chapter describes the differences and similarities amongst women who chose to participate in temple in different ways. While I had originally hoped to interview one woman per temple whose participation typified each of Tichy's organizational dimensions, the interviews indicated that there were no pure types. Almost all women, including congregational presidents had served as technicians; almost all had worked to promote a preferred values orientation. Despite this, three groups of women could be identified.

One group consisted of women who had actively sought and achieved executive officerships. This group included fourteen women of which four were past POC's and three were incoming POC's. A second group consisted of nine women whose primary means of temple involvement was through Sisterhood. This group also included women who were members of temples without Sisterhoods. One had been active in her Sisterhood before it had disbanded; the other was interested in starting a new Sisterhood. The third group consisted of eleven women who were not executive officers. Indeed, five of the eleven had declined offers to "move up" the temple hierarchy. Most of these women were also not enamoured with Sisterhood.

After a brief overview of the demographic differences

and similarities amongst these groups, each group will be described in more depth. The section on executive women will include a discussion of the standard routes to the executive committee; while this information is relevant to all women, it is included here as it is Group 1 women who availed themselves of these opportunities. This section will also discuss the impact of the structural variables (female clergy, administrator) upon women's attainment of executive positions.

The discussion on Sisterhood will elaborate upon Sisterhood's service role. The section on Group 3 women will outline why Group 3 women did not perceive Sisterhood to be a relevant means of participation for themselves. Group 3 women were best characterized by their concern with temple culture. Two sub-groups concerned with different aspects of temple culture will also be described. This chapter will end with a brief discussion of how the data allude to deeper tensions within Reform Judaism.

Demographic information

There were no significant differences amongst the groups in age or marital status; all were married with an average age of 49 years. However, Group 1 women had belonged to their temples for a longer period of time (Table 6.1.). Group 3 women seemed to be at an earlier family-life cycle stage: their children were younger (Table 6.2); more worked part-time (Table 6.3).

Table 6.1

Average years of membership of congregant interviewees.

Group	Years of membership
Group 1 (n=14)	20.7
Group 2 (n=11)	13.1
Group 3 (n=11)	12.1

$F(2, 33) = 2.36, p < .1.$

Table 6.2

Average age of children of congregant interviewees

Level of involvement	Average age of children
Group 1 (n=14)	24.14
Group 2 (n=11)	22.69
Group 3 (n=11)	17.96

Note. A one-way analysis of variance yielded a significant difference amongst groups; $F(2,83)=2.77$, $p<.1$. Tukey's test yielded a significant difference between groups 1 and 3, where the critical difference was 6.05.

Table 6.3

Employment status of congregant interviewees

Level of involvement	Level of employment		
	not employed	full-time	part-time
Group 1 (n=14)	8	4	2
Group 2 (n=11)	4	4	3
Group 3 (n=11)	4	1	6

χ^2 for non-employment = 1.5, df=2, not significant

χ^2 for part-time employment = 4.78, df=2, $p < .1$.

The most dramatic demographic difference was early religious affiliation (Table 6.4). All except one Group 1 woman came from Conservative or Orthodox Jewish homes; no clear pattern emerged for the early religious backgrounds of the other women. Group 1's uniqueness was also reflected in the reasons for satisfaction with membership.

Satisfaction with temple membership

Six types of reasons were given for satisfaction with temple membership: social benefits (n=22; 61%); Reform theology and practice (n=17; 47%); something about the temple culture (n=11, 31%); a place to put their Jewish identity (n=10; 28%); the educational program for children (n=9; 25%) and the clergy (n=6; 17%). The distribution of these responses by group of women is shown in Table 6.5.

Group 1 women were distinguished from the others by their mention of Reform theology and practice. Their responses included an implicit comparison of Reform practices with those of their prior traditional religious affiliations:

I like the worship service; I was raised Orthodox...I feel that I'm participating in a Jewish service because there is the Hebrew there to satisfy my Judaism and yet the English is there; it used to bother me as a kid that they would ramble through all this Hebrew; most of the people there did not know what they were saying; and I have finally come to the belief that the Orthodox are doing what they always said they were doing; but I just didn't understand it; they are reciting their prayers; they are not praying and when I go to shul, I want to pray.

Table 6.4

Early religious affiliation of congregant interviewees

Group	Religious Affiliation			
	Cons./ Orth.	Reform	Not Affiliated	Non- Jewish
Group 1 (n=14)	13	2	1	--
Group 2 (n=11)	4	2	4	1
Group 3 (n=11)	4	2	4	1

Note. Two Group 1 women had a combined Orthodox-Reform background.

χ^2 for Conservative/Orthodox background = 11.24, df=2, $p < .005$.

Table 6.5

Reasons for liking membership in the temple

Group	Reasons					
	identity					
	Reform practice	social reasons	as a Jew	Temple culture	Ed. prog.	clergy
Group 1 (n=14)	11	9	1	4	3	4
Group 2 (n=11)	3	9	4	2	2	1
Group 3 (n=11)	3	4	5	5	4	1
Totals (n=36)	17	22	10	11	9	6

χ^2 for Reform theology/practice=9.03, df=2, $p < .025$.

χ^2 for social reasons=4.87, df=2, $p < .1$.

The responses also suggested that these women had a strong Jewish identity independent of their affiliation with a temple. This fact was reflected by the infrequency with which Group 1 women cited Jewish identity as a reason for membership. In contrast, 41% of the remaining women in the sample mentioned Jewish identity as an important component of their synagogue membership; the synagogue was a "Jewish identification place"; a place to "to be a Jew amongst Jews"; a way "to become part of the [Jewish] community".

While approximately one-third of Group 2 women noted this identity reason as important, their main satisfaction with temple membership derived from the social benefits: "The people are very warm and friendly"; "We've met people from town". However different from Group 1 women, who also mentioned social reasons, Reform theology and practice were less salient for Group 2 women.

Group 3 women were different in that they were not interested in (or less successful at) socializing. Similar to Group 2, Reform theology and practice were not notably important. Indeed, no distinct pattern of reasons for enjoyment of temple membership emerged from Group 3 women. If anything characterized this group, it was their concern about temple culture. These women desired intellectual, artistic or spiritual stimulation. When this need was fulfilled, it led to satisfaction with the temple; when frustrated it was a cause of concern.

Quantitative differences in involvement

These differences in orientation did not translate into a quantitative difference in involvement. All but three were at the temple one or more times per week (Table 6.6). All attended Friday night services approximately twice a month and almost all High Holiday services (Table 6.7). All saw themselves as equally observant (Table 6.8). Finally, the three groups of women were basically equally satisfied (Table 6.9).

A deeper look: Executive women

Four types of reasons for participation on Boards of Trustees and Executive Committees were identified: concern about the temple (n=9; 64%); a desire to have input into temple decision-making (n=9; 64%); a desire to know what was happening in the temple (n=6; 43%) and a sense of duty (n=2, 14%). Of the nine women who wished to have input into temple decision-making, six associated this desire with a concern about the temple:

I want to have a say in the workings of the temple. The temple is very near to me and dear to me. This is my family...they have seen me through some very, very hard times...I want to have a say in the direction that it takes and how we look to the community. And I guess, I want to see it continue for my children.

Three other women co-associated knowledge about temple happenings with influence:

Table 6.6

General levels of involvement by different types of women

Group	Number of times at temple		
	more		
	than 1x/ wk.	1x/ wk.	1-2x/mo.
Group 1 (n=14)	10	3	--
Group 2 (n=11)	8	2	1
Group 3 (n=11)	6	2	2

Table 6.7

Average attendance at religious services by the different groups women

Group	Type of service	
	Friday night	High Holidays
Group 1 (n=14)	2.21	3.86
Group 2 (n=11)	2.32	3.73
Group 3 (n=11)	2.06	3.38

Note. Numerical coding for Friday night services represents the number of services attended per month. Numerical coding for High Holiday services is as follows:

"4" represents attendance at all services.

"3" represents attendance at almost all services.

"2" represents attendance at approximately half the services.

"1" represents attendance at one-fourth or fewer of the services.

Table 6.8

Level of religious observance of congregant interviewees

Group	Level of religious observance
Group 1 (n=14)	6.21
Group 2 (n=10)	5.45
Group 3 (n=10)	6.3

Note. These data are derived from question 13 of the interview schedule: Here is a scale running from 0 to 10. If "10" refers to someone who is very religiously observant and "0" refers to someone who is not religiously observant at all, where on the scale would you put yourself? One congregant each from Groups 2 and 3 did not answer this question.

$F(2,31)=.38$, not significant.

Table 6.9

Mean level of satisfaction with temple by different groups
of women

Group	Mean level of satisfaction
Group 1 (n=14)	7.68
Group 2 (n=11)	7.64
Group 3 (n=11)	6.32

Note. These data are derived from question 37 of the interview schedule: On a scale from 0 to 10, where "10" is very satisfied and "0" is not at all satisfied, how satisfied would you say you are with temple?

$F(2,33)=1.40$, not significant.

I like being on it [the Board]; I like knowing what's going on; I like feeling a part of everything...when people say to me "Why don't they do this or they do that", I always say to them "who is they". We are they and I want to feel that I am part of that.

Despite this commitment, ten of the fourteen women had experienced doubts about moving into an executive position. Four spoke about their initial lack of confidence, despite the fact that they had worked on many temple committees. Two specifically mentioned uncertainty about financial issues. All were encouraged to accept the officerships by past POC's, their rabbis or other temple members. Those who were uncertain about finances reconciled themselves to the fact that they would need to depend on financial advisors.

Six other women spoke of their hesitancy to take on the responsibility of executive officership. Four spoke of the competing responsibilities of family or full-time employment. The two others did not mention their families or work; they were just unsure if they wanted the responsibility.

Unlike the ten women just described, Esther had no ambivalence about being an officer. Rather, she had to fight her way into this position. After serving multiple terms as corresponding secretary or recording secretary, she finally threatened to resign from the executive committee if she were not advanced to a vice-presidency:

I really think that threw them ...because in our temple, if you do accept the second vice-presidency, it is automatic that you go on to first and then president...It took them two weeks to come to a conclusion...and I got the

phone call and I was asked to be second vice-president...I served two years as the second...where the president was a male and the first vice-president was a male and I was the woman second vice-president. They were not comfortable years....They were not comfortable years in that I felt that the president and vice-president shared very little with me: "Don't bother yourself with that" was the comment...or "We can take care of it"....I was not getting the training...so everything I did, I did on my own.

Esther continued by stating that her achievement of the POC position was facilitated by both her perserverance and the fact that she had been a member of her temple for over fifty years.

Some standard routes to the executive committee

Once Esther broke the sex-barrier, she followed the same basic route that men followed: entry onto the Board of Trustees; movement into an officer role; transition to the vice-presidencies and then presidency. While there were some routes in common, there was at least one route to leadership which was unique to women.

Hypotheses 3a had proposed that:

women's movement into positions of direct influence in the political dimension (e.g. executive officers of the temple) would be facilitated by a sub-organization of women (Sisterhood).

The status of this hypothesis is unclear. There were a total of 15 past and incoming female POC's from the eight temples in the sample. Since 6 of the 8 temples had Sisterhoods, chance effects alone would predict that 75% (11.25) would come from temples with Sisterhoods. In fact,

13 (87%) came from temples with Sisterhoods. A test for the significance of a proportion did not yield a significant effect for Sisterhood ($z=1.09$). Yet of the ten executive interviewees who belonged to temples with Sisterhoods, eight (80%) indicated that their involvement in Sisterhood preceded their participation in temple politics. These data suggest that Sisterhood was an important stepping stone to an executive position.

The data further indicated two ways in which Sisterhood facilitated intra-organizational movement. First, there were four women whose first Board of Trustees position was as president of Sisterhood; after those terms expired, they were invited to sit on the Board in other positions. Second, there were four other women who did not enter the Board as Sisterhood presidents, but for whom involvement in Sisterhood facilitated entry onto the Board in another position. Thus, Marnie had been active in her Sisterhood for five years before she was asked to become the recording secretary of the temple. Alice had been asked to become temple financial secretary after serving multiple terms as Sisterhood treasurer.

While Sisterhood seemed to be the most frequently cited route to officership, it was not the only one. Four women came by way of religious school; two came via Judaica shop and one came via adult education. These routes to leadership were especially important in temples which did

not have Sisterhoods, although the data suggested that they had begun to become equally important in temples with Sisterhoods. The participant observation data indicated that in several temples, women had begun to bypass Sisterhood.

Like Sisterhood, religious school, Judaica shop and adult education allowed for a first temple involvement which was commensurate with women's interests and skills. Further, they had their own budgets and internal organizations. They allowed women to gain visibility in the temple and demonstrate their commitment and competence.

It is important to emphasize that men were often not required to demonstrate this competence (or commitment). They were absorbed into temple structure by virtue of their business or professional credentials. Five executive interviewees noted that men's involvement in business could conflict with their participation in temple:

Men...often find they don't have the time to give and sort of remove themselves from the Board entirely; Mike, who is now president ... had been moving up the vice-presidential ladder and then withdrew because the demands of his profession were such that he felt he couldn't continue to the presidency.

This often left the temple without incoming leadership. Two interviewees felt that their temples needed more women POCs:

We need another woman president ..we haven't had the luxury of a retired man taking on the presidency. Our men, who are presidents are men who are very vital and involved in supporting their families. What I was able to do and what Arlene was able to do was give 80

hours a week to the temple. We were there full time. We were in by 8:15 in the morning, before the help, and we stayed until 7:00 at night, after the help. That's what it needs. It's a full-time job.

It was just this responsibility that had caused some executive women to be hesitant about becoming POC.

Other structural effects: Female clergy

Hypothesis 3b had proposed that

women's movement into positions of direct influence in the political dimension would be facilitated by the presence of female clergy.

This hypothesis received no support. Executive committees had equal gender composition regardless of the sex of the clergy. Further, of the fifteen past and incoming female POCs, eight were from temples with female clergy (53%). Since five of the eight temples had female clergy, chance effects alone would predict that 63% of these POCs would come from temples with female clergy.

There were three participant observation entries which referred to female clergy's impact upon congregants' secular involvement. Two noted a somewhat trivial effect: women now ushered and men poured coffee. The third suggested that female clergy had no effect; I was told that the women at that temple were liberated before the cantor arrived.

In response to the interview question about female clergy, three respondents from temples with female clergy indicated that they felt more comfortable approaching a woman for pastoral services; only one was an executive

woman. Additional data suggested that female clergy did impact on some women's ritual participation. These data will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Other structural effects: The administrator

Hypothesis 4 had proposed that:

movement into positions of direct influence in the political dimension will be impeded by the presence of a paid administrator.

From a statistical perspective this hypothesis was not confirmed. Again, the gender composition of executive committees was unrelated to whether or not there was a temple administrator. Fifty-three percent of the past and incoming female POCs came from temples with Sisterhoods; this was no different from the 50% one might expect by chance.

Other data suggested that the administrator could have a powerful impact on women's participation. There were eight participant observation entries referring to the administrator-congregant relationship; five hinted at strained relationships while three noted a supportive one. The data suggested that the strain evolved from the administrator's position as lynch-pin. One entry indicated that a congregant had a difficult time getting through to the rabbi; the administrator intervened. Another entry noted a prospective member's difficulty in joining the temple; the POC labeled this as an "administrative slip-up".

Two entries regarding strain specifically referred to

administrators-women relationships. Both suggested that the administrator had the ability to involve women or impede women's involvement in specific tasks. In one temple, the administrator called upon one group of women to perform specific tasks like polishing the Torah mantles; another group of women were excluded. In another temple, the administrator interfaced with Sisterhood in a stereotypical way; Sisterhood was called upon for food service or household tasks only. One interviewee added that this administrator was:

"Boss" personified...she means well, but she wants to run everything. If you are asked to volunteer to chair something and you call for help and ask her advice...everything is "I'll do, I'll do, I'll do" and you really have to fight to do it yourself...if you get a new young thing that's never done it and they say "How do you do about it?" and she'll say "Oh, I'll do this, that and the other thing", then you kill their incentive.

In contrast, other interview data indicated that the administrator in a third temple was perceived to be very helpful to women. The determining variable seemed to be the administrator's personality.

Executive women: A summary

In general, most executive women wanted to have input into temple decision-making; this was a major factor in their seeking officer positions. The desire for influence tended to be co-associated with a concern about the temple. When combined with the data about executive women's early traditional religious affiliations and their appreciation of

Reform theology and practice, these women seemed to be saying:

I know what it's like to be a woman in a traditional Jewish synagogue; I like it here; I've been nurtured; I want to make sure the temple stays on track and survives!

As will be discussed in Chapter 7, this point of view was also frequently associated with resistance to the introduction of traditional ritual practice into Reform Judaism.

Despite this desire for input, most executive women expressed some anxiety about assuming the officer position; many were concerned about the responsibility associated with the position. Two major routes to officerships were identified: via Sisterhood and via other technical-cultural committees. The presence of female clergy and the presence of an administrator did not have a statistical impact on women's attainment of executive positions. However, there were some suggestions that an administrator could channel women into specific modes of participation.

Group 2: Sisterhood women

The most frequent reason for participation in Sisterhood was that it allowed women to work for the temple; six of the nine Sisterhood members gave this reason (67%). Conjoined with this service orientation were the social benefits of membership: "I like the people."; "It is a way to meet people."; "The women are very supportive." (n=6; 67%).

Some Sisterhood women felt that Sisterhood was not appreciated by either Sisterhood or non-Sisterhood members. When asked about their dissatisfactions, three were annoyed by Sisterhood members' lack of participation; three were bothered by poor Sisterhood-temple relations. Three expressed no dissatisfaction with Sisterhood. Only two Sisterhood women had complaints about Sisterhood itself; both felt that the women could be very petty.

What if Sisterhood were to dissolve?

Consistent with the service emphasis, when asked how temple would be affected if Sisterhood were to dissolve, most Sisterhood interviewees noted the loss of Sisterhood's technical services; three felt that the many jobs performed by Sisterhood would have to be absorbed by the Board of Trustees or wouldn't get done at all. Two projected a financial loss.

Despite the perception of Sisterhood as a social organization which had been outlined in Chapter 4, only two women noted how Sisterhood's dissolution would affect the social tone of the temple. One felt that the temple would lose warmth. The other expressed a more personal loss. Her daughter had been very sick during the year of data collection; her involvement in Sisterhood served as a binding force in her life. This woman projected that the dissolution of Sisterhood "would lead to a feeling of not being as close to the temple; it would be another falling

away from the bonds that tie us together".

These sentiments were echoed by the two Group 2 women who came from temples without Sisterhoods. One felt that the social opportunities which Sisterhood provided had never been replaced by any other temple committee. The other noted that the Sisterhood model would increase the potential for women to become involved in temple.

Three of the five clergy from temples without Sisterhoods also spoke to this issue. So did six of the fourteen temple staff from temples with Sisterhoods:

The temple is like a big circle and once you are in it, you see all its different facets...many people enter through one facet, you know, so many people enter through Sisterhood, but I think that in general, there would be a lesser participation. Some people would have a harder time finding a way in...we try to create entry points for everybody...I suppose in an ideal Jewish world, everyone will come in because they are thirsting to study Torah and social action and so forth and everyone would come in through those and the social aspects would spin off that, but...

Sisterhood and influence?

Six Sisterhood women sat on congregational Boards of Trustees; only one stated that she enjoyed the influence potential which that seat offered. This contrasted greatly with executive women's attitudes. One other Sisterhood woman said that Board membership allowed her to express her opinions, but felt that this was perceived by others as complaining. Only Janice, Sisterhood President of Temple Het felt that she had impacted upon the Board. She also

said that she had not always felt this confident; at first, she felt intimidated by the Board of Trustees and Executive Committee. This sense of intimidation had dissipated due to the support which she received from others.

Three of the six Sisterhood women enjoyed Board membership because they acquired knowledge about the temple. In general, Group 2 women seemed to be the least knowledgeable about temple governance: 36% did not know who made the decisions about High Holiday aliyot; 27% did not know who made decisions about temple fund-raising; 27% could not say who was on the clergy search committees at their temples. Table 6.10 shows the comparable rates of non-knowledge of other congregant interviewees.

Prospects for future involvement

Twenty-two percent of the Group 2 interviewees who answered the question about future involvement in the temple indicated that they planned to increase their activity level. Fifty-six percent planned on maintaining their level of involvement and forty-four percent planned on decreasing their activity level. None indicated a desire to become more active in temple politics. There were also three participant observation entries which confirmed this disinterest. One implied that Sisterhood women were intimidated by temple politics:

Table 6.10

Rates of non-knowledge about temple decisions amongst
congregant interviewees

Group	Type of decision		
	High Holiday	Fund	Search
	Aliyot	Raising	Committee
Group 1 (n=14)	0	0	0
Group 2 (n=11)	4	3	3
Group 3 (n=11)	1	4	1

Janice spoke about a past Sisterhood president. This woman had chosen not to go into congregational leadership because that meant getting involved in temple politics, having to deal with the rabbi, etc. she implied that one had to be more confrontative as a POC than as a Sisterhood president--many women did not like that confrontative role. Being POC is "dirtier" than being the Sisterhood president.

Sisterhood women: A summary

Although Sisterhood women appeared just as committed to temple survival as executive women, Sisterhood women seemed not to have the same vision as executive women. Those who sat on Boards of Trustees enjoyed the knowledge about temple happenings which that position afforded them; yet they did not express the same desire for input into deciding about those happenings.

In general, Sisterhood women chose to express their commitment to temple through care-taking activities. Consistent with Gilligan's (1982) contention that the voice of care is frequently de-valued, Sisterhood's contributions often went unappreciated. This was a source of discontent; yet few Sisterhood women were willing to move away from their present position into a new one which would afford them a wider base of influence. There was some suggestion that these women were intimidated by temple politics. In contrast, many Group 3 women perceived that deeper involvement in the temple political structure would jeopardize their ability to engage in the activities which they deemed most important.

Group 3 women: Jewish identity seekers?

Group 3 consisted of a more disparate group of women; no mode of participation characterized them all. They were not executive officers; nor was Sisterhood their primary means of participation. Yet, they too were committed to their temples. Most seemed to be looking for a place to express themselves Jewishly.

Ethnically identified women

One sub-group of four women sought a non-ritual means of expressing their Jewish identities. Three of these self-described themselves as athiests, yet belived that it was important to affiliate with a temple. These women were interested in an "intellectual Judaism". Ethel's involvement as Chair of the Cultural Arts Committee grew out of her frustration with what she perceived to be "low level intellectual" activities:

I went to a study group and the people who were running it were not qualified...they did a terrible job...so I wound up doing it...they didn't understand the book they were talking about. So instead, I wound up finishing the group...and they said, why don't you do it next time...and I said fine.

Fanny's early religious non-affiliation caused her to feel uncomfortable at religious services; she didn't understand them. Her major involvement in temple was via social action.

Meryl, the third woman who sought an intellectual Judaism had grown up in an Orthodox home. However, at the

age of twelve, an incident occurred which affected her attitude towards organized religion; the POC of her father's shul had been involved in unethical dealings. Despite this, Meryl retained feelings of nostalgia for the religion:

My father used to go [to shul]; I think he went because he wanted to be with his friends, not because he felt very strongly about it...but he did go and then we would go and we would sit with him; and I can hear the chanting; everybody chants at their own pace...and it was a warm feeling.

Her desire to recapture this feeling, to be "a Jew among Jews" was fulfilled through her involvement as chair of adult education.

These three women refused to sit on the Board of Trustees. Ethel found committee work to be tiresome; Fanny found it to be petty. Only Meryl recognized that she had ceded her right to participate in temple policy making by refusing to sit on the Board.

Joan was the fourth woman who sought a non-ritual means of expressing her Jewish identity. She chaired two heavily technical committees: Fellowship concentrated on food activities; the Arts Festival was the major fun-raising event at her temple. Yet, Joan viewed her involvement in both in value-oriented terms:

What got me involved, what made me more than a drop off/pick up mother initially was Arts Festival...it was intellectually stimulating, it was creatively stimulating, it was a golden opportunity for me to meet and work with other temple members. It was a chance for me to put to work so many of the things that I felt. The need to be part of an organization, the

need to be creative and I was like a kid in a candy store...I just couldn't get over it, I was so excited...I couldn't do enough, I couldn't stay away. I was so thrilled that the next year they made me chairman.

This chair position led to Joan's seat on the Board of Trustees, where she was asked to be the chair of Fellowship:

...when I was asked to be on the Board they inaugurated Fellowship and they put me on it and made me chairman of it and I was very happy to do it because...it's function is to get temple family members together to celebrate holidays and it represents a major part of what I love about temple, just being there and feeling like this is family; this a place where I belong.

Unlike Ethel, Fanny and Meryl, Joan was willing to take on a policy-making position. Also her secular involvement in temple impacted upon her ritual involvement. As a child, Joan's family had been affiliated with a Reform temple. However, they had not been religiously observant. Joan identified them as "Jews in conscience; emotional Jews". Her religious training had been almost non-existent. Initially, Joan experienced ritual participation as awkward. However, as part of her obligation as a Board member, she was required to be a bima officer (sit on the bima during Friday night services; deliver the Friday night announcements). By Joan's description, "Friday night services are something we are coming to do".

Spiritually oriented women

The route from ethnic participation to ritual participation was characteristic of two other Group 3 women.

Laura first joined her temple in order to be part of a Jewish community. As a Jew-by-choice; her search for Jewish identity led to greater ritual participation for herself. She also tried to push others to do likewise. However, these efforts were rebuffed, leaving Laura alienated from her temple. However, she did not feel alienated from Judaism; rather she believed that others were not involved enough in their own spiritual growth.

Rosalind also felt that her temple lacked a spiritual base. Rosalind had initially joined her temple for its creative Jewish orientation; she expected that to include a spiritual emphasis. She had grown up in Williamsburg amongst Orthodox Jews. While her family had not been affiliated with any temple, Rosalind longed for the intensity and level of participation typical of Orthodoxy but without the constriction on women's participation. Reform Judaism offered her expanded possibilities for participation. Yet, she found Reform services devoid of spirituality. Fortunate for Rosalind, her Sisterhood provided a vehicle for ritual elaboration; this was the Sisterhood Sabbath service, which Rosalind co-authored.

Susan was a third Group 3 woman who experienced spiritual frustration at her temple. She described the spiritual life at her temple as moribund. Similar to Rosalind's involvement with the Sisterhood Sabbath, Susan found some spiritual solace through her position as Chair of

Adult Education: "Adult Education is the only place that I find Judaic exploration and growth going on in our temple".

In comparison, Susan found Board of Trustee meetings stultifying. While she recognized the need to address the business aspects of temple operation, she found herself unable to concentrate on them. For this reason, she chose not to become an executive officer. Susan felt that she served the temple best through adult education; it was there that she could address the spiritual lethargy of the temple. However, a recent Board decision left Susan doubting whether she had any impact at all; Susan seemed to be experiencing a crisis of confidence in her temple.

In contrast, three other Group 3 women who sought spiritual fulfillment at their temples were satisfied. Eva was a regular attendee at her temple's Saturday morning minyan. She found the minyan to be spiritually fulfilling; however, she was mystified by the larger temple's attitude toward it. This attitude was clarified by Eva's description of how High Holiday aliyot were awarded:

In order to get an aliyah for the High Holy Days...there are only certain activities that are worth while; in fact, there's sort of a...not a conflict...but people in the minyan think it's a little bit strange that you could do anything for the minyan but that's not really doing anything for the temple. So people who are very active in the minyan but who don't organize a dinner or who aren't on a committee won't get an aliyah. But I happened to get an aliyah...I got it because I helped my friend put posters up, you know, it was kind of silly...somebody on the aliyah committee said that I should get an aliyah,

and somebody else said "Well, what did she do? and they said "Well, she did something for publicity"; you know it only took me half an hour to do what I did and they said "O.K., that's O.K.", so it's a little bit weird and there's sort of a conflict between the religious people and the...I don't know, we could call them maybe social people...and basically, the social people run the temple and they feel that doing something for the temple is something like arranging a dinner, whereas the other people think that doing something for the temple is like preparing a class or a discussion.

Marlene and Debbie also expressed spiritual satisfaction with their temples. Converse to Joan, for whom, ritual involvement evolved from assembly functions, their ritual orientation guided them into assembly functions. Marlene, who came from a quasi-Conservative background spoke of her entry into temple:

Initially, I was taking guitar lessons with the Cantor...I like to sing a lot. He suggested that I go out for the choir and I inquired "How can you do this if you're not a member of the temple?". But it was fine, and so I did belong to the choir for 2 years prior to joining the temple...interestingly enough, the only thing that I did was to start to go to Friday night services. I guess perhaps the choir in singing the songs--not that all of them were liturgical--but in singing a variety of Hebrew music, it just started to peel off that layer in terms of the interest in the spiritual side of things...I found myself wanting more and so I started then with Friday night services.

Slowly, her participation expanded to include the chair positions of two major committees (Caring Community and Judaica shop). Again, both committees had heavy technical components; yet, Marlene chose to emphasize the

value aspects. She was the co-founder of the former, which she described as "a gift to temple which transcended money", "a sharing of caring". In addition to overseeing eight separate projects (which ranged from visiting the homebound to staffing a shelter for homeless men), Marlene had also undertaken personal visits with terminally ill cancer patients. Marlene described her involvement with the Judaica shop as fun; it added lightness to her life.

Marlene was also a member of the Board of Trustees. Although initially, she had been excited about being on the Board, her enthusiasm had begun to wane. She found the decision making process tedious and burdensome. Yet she was willing to tolerate this frustration in order to have input into temple decision-making.

Debbie experienced her Board of Trustees in a similar manner; she described her involvement on the Board as "her penance for living". Similar to Susan, she had been asked to become an executive officer and had refused; she too believed that she could be most helpful to the temple through the implementation of a specific program, that of Outreach.

Group 3 women and influence

Like Group 1 and Group 2 women, Group 3 women were concerned and committed temple members. Yet membership on the the Board of Trustees did not provide them with an outlet for that commitment. Many Group 3 women felt that

they had the greatest impact by implementing specific programs which addressed perceived holes in temple life.

It is unfair to say that Group 3 women were uninterested in influence; as committee chairs, they certainly had the position power to mold their specific programs. Rather, it seemed that most were uninterested in overall temple governance. Implicit in many of their responses was the belief that participation in the larger political structure would divert energy from their true mission; focusing too closely on organizational needs per se (e.g. budget, personnel) obscured the true goals of the temple as a religious or ethnic community.

There was evidence that this resistance to involvement undercut their long-range effectiveness. Thus, Sarah, a vice-president of Meryl's temple spoke about the limits on Meryl's influence:

We back off a little bit from Meryl...she is only allowed to push her personality so far...she refused to serve on the Board...we look at the total temple; she looks at adult education.

In a similar way, Susan's influence potential was also curtailed. She was perceived as a:

bright, intelligent, talented, creative, versatile woman...she is a rare breed, and having her as adult education chairman, she has done so much to try and pull in...programs from different ends of the spectrum...to try and interest people.

Yet, when it came to the decision about the alternative service, Susan was virtually without influence.

Of all the Group 3 women, only Marlene and Joan verbalized a desire to be involved in over-all temple decision-making:

I can't complain about what's passed and then say I didn't want to be on the Board.

Marlene

It's putting your money where your mouth is. You know, if you got gripes and if you got plans and if you got ideas, then you gotta be where you can make them happen...it is the privilege and the responsibility of being involved.

Joan

This sense of responsibility is similar to that expressed by Group 1 women. Both seemed to have the potential to move into an executive officer position; if that were to occur, neither would have come by way of Sisterhood.

What's wrong with Sisterhood?

One common attribute of all Group 3 women was that Sisterhood was not their primary means of temple participation. Many Group 3 women were "book members" of their Sisterhoods; they paid their dues, but did not participate beyond that. Six stated that Sisterhood programming was "too dominated by food and fashion" and "not intellectually engaging". Two women from temples without Sisterhoods agreed. They stated that if Sisterhoods were to be re-established at their temples, they would not join them.

These data allude to the weakened political-cultural role of Sisterhood. The reader may recall from Chapter 1

that the probability that ideas which are imported from outside an organization will be implemented within the organization is increased when the ideas are fed into influential cliques which are well situated in the organizational network system. The data presented so far in this paper indicate that Sisterhoods did not fit this description; their estranged position in temple undercut their ability to foster more extensive change. More significantly, the perceptions of Group 3 women, supported by the observation of the NFTS workshop suggested that Sisterhoods weren't really interested in importing controversial ideas. Rather, it was Group 3 women who seemed most interested in this role.

Group 3 women as harbingers of change

While executive women and Sisterhood women were most concerned with the survival of their respective temples, Group 3 women seemed to be most responsive to the spiritual/ethical and intellectual voids within their temples. In this sense, they acted as cultural barometers, highlighting a point of tension endemic to an evolving Reform Judaism. Their alienation from formal temple politics both allowed them to maintain this alternate vision and weakened their ability to enact these visions. This paradoxical position was especially poignant for women who advocated ritual elaboration. Their vision touched upon others' fear that the introduction of traditional rituals

would cause Reform Judaism to transmute into Orthodoxy.
This theme will be explored in more depth in the next
chapter.

CHAPTER 7

Women and change within Reform Judaism

By definition, Reform Judaism is a religion of change. Born during an era of social-political transformation, Reform theology and practice has always reflected changes in the larger society. The most recent changes include the reinstatement of ritual practices which had previously been discarded: increased use of Hebrew, wearing of ritual garb (kipot and tallitot), re-introduction of specific prayers.

All clergy interviewees noted the influx of traditional rituals; fifty percent elaborated upon the meaningfulness of this change. One rabbi felt that the underlying motivation was fear:

There are a number of people...who wish... to regain the warmth and sensitivity and peace of mind that they think their ancestors had by taking on the outward garb of what the elders had; so if the elders wore yamulkas, they wear yamulkas; if the elders wore a tallis, they wear a tallis...I think it's unhealthy because it's based on fear; everytime they announce that they've invented a new weapon that'll blow us to smithereens in 10 or 15 seconds ...traditional observance waxes.

Two clergy focused on the nostalgic aspect: "the desire to regain a feeling of yiddishkeit"; "parts of the roots phenomenon". Two others highlighted the structural and spiritual components:

It has a lot to do with a sense of disillusionment from the "me generation" ... so much around us seems to be so self-centered...[it] does not provide many people with a reason for being...we are looking... to maintain ourselves as Reform Jews who have a

great deal of choice in the ritual that we perform...we are looking for structure and tradition provides a sense of structure...you do this and you do that and it means x and it means y and it carries this meaning and so forth...people are talking a lot more about God...in a sense social action was the surrogate for spirituality in Reform Judaism. Now, we are trying to integrate the two.

Three clergy added that the influx of traditional ritual was not antithetical to Reform's liberal philosophy which offered ritual participation as an option, not a requirement. Despite this, two clergy noted the existence of tension between traditionalists and those against tradition.

Ritual changes and women's participation

Seventy-five percent of congregant interviewees noted the increase of traditional rituals at their temples. There were no differences by temple (Table 7.1). Four mentioned the duality of tradition and liberalism. Twenty-three noted only the influx of tradition; most were Group 1 women (Table 7.2.) Further, fewer Group 1 women unequivocally liked this change (Table 7.3). Most thought that the re-instatement of traditional ritual was good as long as participation in these rituals remained optional; they were anxious that the introduction of ritual not be interpreted as movement towards Orthodoxy. Three Group 1 women expressed unequivocal dislike of traditional ritual. In contrast, most Group 2 and Group 3 women who noted the introduction of tradition unequivocally liked it. Four felt assured by

Table 7.1

Congregants' perceptions of ritual change (by temple)

Temple	Type of ritual change				
	No Change	Non			Both more trad. & more liberal
		Specific Change	More trad.	More lib.	
Aleph (n=4)	1	0	3	1	0
Bet (n=4)	2	0	1	0	1
Gimmel (n=4)	0	0	3	0	1
Dalet (n=4)	0	0	3	0	1
Hay (n=8)	1	0	4	2	1
Vov (n=4)	0	1	3	0	0
Zayin (n=4)	1	0	3	0	0
Het (n=4)	1	0	3	0	0
Totals (n=36)	5	1	23	3	4

Table 7.2

Congregants' perceptions of ritual change by type of congregant

Group	Type of ritual change				
	No Change	Non Specific Change		Both more trad. & more liberal	
		More Trad.	More lib.	More trad.	More liberal
Group 1 (n=14)	1	0	13	0	0
Group 2 (n=11)	1	1	4	3	2
Group 3 (n=11)	3	0	6	0	2

Table 7.3

Congregant interviewees' attitudes toward the influx of
traditional rituals

Group	Attitude toward traditional ritual			No. Ans.
	Like	Like, but	Dislike	
Group 1 (n=13)	3	6	3	1
Group 2 (n=6)	5	1	0	0
Group 3 (n=8)	8	2	0	0

Note. Sample size represents those who noted the influx of traditional ritual only.

χ^2 for like = 8.41, df= 2, $p < .025$.

Reform's liberal philosophy which precluded that these rituals would not become mandatory.

Approximately one-half of all respondents who noted the influx of tradition also believed that the re-introduction of these rituals impacted upon women's participation (Table 7.4). Temple Bet's rabbi stated the relationship most succinctly:

The less ritual you have the less general participation you have; the less general participation you have the less women's participation; so it connects one to the other.

By implication, an increase in ritual would facilitate women's participation. Yet, this did not prove to be uniformly so. In general, Group 1's participation did not change in response to the influx of traditional ritual; this may be because Group 1 women had substituted politics for ritual.

Group 2 and Group 3 women were the most sensitive to the re-introduction of traditional rituals. Many noted how women had opportunities for new religious experiences. For example, Rosalind mentioned how her Bat Mitzvah (as an adult) had affected both her and other women:

These women learn for the first time how to pray, to learn the basic prayers...I learned really what made a service and I had to rewrite the [Sisterhood] service this year 'cause I finally found out what was in a service.

Laura expressed her joy over seeing women wearing tallitot.

In contrast, some Group 1 women were hostile to the re-

Table 7.4

Interviewees' perceptions of whether the influx of
traditional ritual affects women's participation

Type of respondent	Does the influx of ritual affect women's participation?	
	Yes	No
Group 1 (n=13)	3	10
Group 2 (n=6)	4	2
Group 3 (n=8)	6	2
Clergy (n=16)	9	7

Note. Sample size represents those who noted the influx of traditional rituals only.

introduction of traditional ritual practice:

We now have a new rabbi; a female rabbi. And I must say I was a little annoyed...I saw her...walking around with a yamulka...and I find that offensive...here we are going back to the traditional with the head covered...I didn't feel any need for it and I, I think that's what made me so comfortable with Reform...I mean I don't think there's any religious significance to wearing a hat or a tallis. A female especially. They weren't allowed in the temple to begin with. So what are you trying to do? Emulate the man.

This woman further insisted that the influx of traditional rituals would not affect women's participation:

We are still too Reform...our freedom...our women have accomplished that and I don't think that's going to go backwards. I really don't. I think they feel that they're pretty equal. So I don't think that they will go back.

Other Group 1 women were similarly apprehensive and indicated that they would use their political positions to ensure that women's position did not backslide. Five Group 1 women were members of their ritual committees; two explained that participation as a means of ensuring that specific rituals (e.g. wearing a kipah) would remain optional. However, not all Group 1 women felt this way. Two others pulled in the opposite direction; they wanted to make sure that the religion "did not get watered down".

Analysis revealed that early religious affiliation was a relevant variable in explaining women's reactions to the re-instatement of ritual. The majority of women who noted an increase of tradition and who came from traditional backgrounds did not feel that women's participation was

affected; in contrast, most women who did not have this background did see an impact (Table 7.5).

Early religious affiliation and participation

When asked how women's early religious affiliation affected their participation in temple, eight-one percent of clergy interviewees noted an effect. As Table 7.6 indicates, the traditional background was believed to have the most paradoxical effect.

The Orthodox-Conservative background

Some clergy indicated that women who came from traditional backgrounds were familiar with the service; this familiarity strengthened their connection to the temple in general. Other rabbis indicated that a traditional background hindered women's participation; some women were never able to move past the early anti-woman indoctrination.

The participant observation data confirmed these findings. There were twenty-four entries which referred to the relationship between early religious affiliation and participation in temple. Fifteen referred to Orthodox-Conservative backgrounds. Of these, nine suggested that this background facilitated participation in either adult education or worship:

Bobbi, who is leading the service exudes love and caring about Judaism...After the service, I spoke with Bobbi. I asked her where she learned all the tunes...she says that she has been going to shul since she was 3 years old...she grew up in an Orthodox family...she never dreamed in her wildest imagination, that someday she would be leading a service.

Table 7.5

The relationship between early religious affiliation and the belief that ritual changes affect women's participation

Early Religious Affiliation	Change affects women's participation?	
	Yes	No
Conservative- Orthodox background (n=19)	7	12
Other early religious affiliation (n=8)	6	2

Table 7.6

Clergy's beliefs about the impact of early religious
affiliation upon women's participation in temples

Early religious affiliation	How early religious affiliation affects women's participation	
	facilitates involvement	hinders involvement
Orthodox- Conservative (n=11)	5	6
Classical Reform (n=4)	1	3
Christian (n=7)	6	1
Non-affiliated (n=5)	4	1

Note. Sample size represents number of clergy who noted the impact of each early religious affiliation.

The six other entries indicated a positive relationship between a traditional background and secular involvement. Several officers spoke of their Orthodox-Conservative backgrounds and commitment to temple in the same sentence.

Classical Reform background

Fewer clergy noted the way in which a classical Reform background affected women's participation. Of those who did, most indicated that this background made it more difficult for women to get involved. (Review Table 7.6.) One rabbi noted how classical roots were grounded in the same organizational sex segregation as traditional synagogues:

If you look into classical Reform, it was very much run by the men. It was really the men's synagogue, the synagogue is the men's domain, the women can run the Sisterhood or raise money for us and run the religious school or whatever, but the real running of the synagogue was the man's.

Yet, different from women with traditional backgrounds, classical roots did not include educational or ritual training which bound them to the temple. Further, the classical service rendered the congregant passive thus women coming from a classical Reform background were less likely to view active participation as appropriate. The participant observation entries confirmed these perceptions.

A non-affiliated background

Women could have a non-affiliated background in one of two ways: they could have been born Jewish, but their

families had not belonged to any synagogue or they could have been affiliated with a different religion. Seven clergy spoke about the kind of involvement typical of the Jew-by-choice; five spoke about the non-affiliate who had been born Jewish. The participation of both types of women was primarily defined by an immersion in study and prayer.

Some clergy saw their involvement as similar:

It's coming from nowhere that makes them want to do more and be among the most active people, Jewishly speaking...I mean Judaistically speaking...the converts, the Jews-by-choice...here we have a very active and dedicated people...for women who were born Jewish but who were unaffiliated, there we see a retrospective hunger.

Others distinguished between the Jew-by-choice and the early non-affiliate:

Jews-by-choice tend to have a strong motivation; they're motivated by the fact that they want to be Jews and they're coming from zero, so they're highly motivated. The people who were born Jews but who are coming from a negative or zero background, generally, I think, their reaction is one of insecurity-- they feel like a fish out of water.

There were five participant observation entries which referred to participation by Jews-by-choice and/or early non-affiliates. All five indicated a quest for Jewish knowledge and engagement in study.

Some additional comments on women's participation and early religious affiliation

Women who came from traditional backgrounds had diverse reactions to the freedom of participation offered by Reform

Judaism. Some were enthralled by the opportunity to engage in all facets of Jewish ritual. Their love of the religion motivated them to get involved in the political structure in order to ensure that the temple maintained a spiritual core. Others were more ambivalent used their political position to ensure that their Reform synagogue did not transmute into a Conservative or Orthodox one.

In contrast, many who lacked this traditional background thirsted for it. Those who were supported in this quest expressed satisfaction. Others expressed frustration with the seeming non-spiritual nature of their synagogue. This frustration was frequently exacerbated by their insecurity about their Jewish identity. For example, the reader may recall from Chapters 5 and 6 that both Laura and Rosalind were unhappy with the perceived religious shortcomings of their temples. This discontent was fed by both temple structure and ambivalence about their Jewish identities which derived from earlier religious affiliations.

Although Rosalind had grown up surrounded by Orthodox Jews and was nostalgic for the religious fervor which she associated with Orthodoxy, she was unable to accept Orthodoxy's position on women. Reform Judaism offered her (as a woman) equality in ritual practices, but lacked the spontaneity which she craved. Although there was a structure in place at her temple (i.e., minyan) which could

have offered Rosalind both equal opportunity and religious fervor, several factors made it difficult for her to avail herself of this opportunity.

First, although she had grown up amongst Orthodox, she herself had never received a religious education. She feared that she would not be able to follow the service. Secondly, Rosalind did not know any of the minyan attendees. This lack of connection combined with her non-confidence in her own ritual knowledge kept her away.

Laura had a similar experience. The rebuffs of her attempt to introduce Judaic content into Sisterhood left her estranged from temple. They also caused her to reflect upon her inability to effect change. While she sensed congregants' ambivalence about ritual she blamed herself (as a Jew-by-choice) for her insensitivity to this ambivalence.

In contrast, Susan, who also sensed congregants' ambivalence about ritual had a traditional Jewish background and was secure in her Jewish identity; she knew that the problem rested in temple and not in herself. However, having become disenchanted with the political process, Susan was unsure of how to remedy the situation. She was one of the two women in the sample who declined to serve as an executive officer. She felt that she could more easily address the perceived spiritual void as chair of adult education than as POC or V.P. Implicit in her remarks was the belief that participation in the formal political

structure would divert energy from her true mission.

Debbie was the other woman in the sample who declined an executive officership. She too was secure in her religious identity and thus was able to deflect blame for her discontent from self. She too seemed to feel that the alternate view which she gained by chairing a temple committee was jeopardized by membership in the inner political sanctum.

While Susan generalized her concern to Reform Judaism (she perceived "an emptiness at the center"), these data reflect the same tension between secular and spiritual concerns outlined in the historical review of Chapter 1. However, different from earlier historical periods, women were now the players in the conflict. Another way in which women's participation highlighted this tension was as clergy.

Female clergy: Another aspect of change

When asked about change within Reform Judaism, four respondents spoke about the duality of change: an increase in tradition but within a liberal framework. The ordination of female clergy was targeted as one manifestation of this liberal framework. One rabbi indicated that temples could use the presence of female clergy as a "badge of liberalism":

Many of our congregants are very proud that we have a woman rabbi and would like to have Rabbi Q. officiate at their daughter's Bat Mitzvah because they want their family and

friends to see how liberal we are.

Four participant observation entries confirmed that congregants did indeed perceive female rabbis as an index of a temple's liberality; there was no indication that female cantors were perceived in the same way.

Congregants' attitudes about female clergy

Congregants were directly asked how they felt about female clergy. They were also asked whether they thought the presence of female clergy would change the way in which congregants respond to clergy or to prayer. The four most frequent responses were: (1) there was no change; (2) the interviewee expressed some discomfort with the idea of female clergy (resistance by self); (3) the interviewee, herself liked the idea of female clergy but projected that others would not (resistance by others) and (4) the interviewee felt that female clergy fostered spiritual involvement. Chi-square analyses did not reveal any significant differences between temples which had a female clergy and those that didn't.

However, when analyzed by type of congregant, some interesting trends emerged (Table 7.7). More Group 2 women projected that others would be resistant to female clergy. More Group 1 women were aware of their own resistance. While this latter finding was not significant when all three groups were compared, when Groups 2 and 3 were collapsed into a single group, Group 1 women were found to be

Table 7.7

Congregants' attitudes about how female clergy affect responses to clergy and prayer (by type of congregant)

Group	Responses to female clergy			
	No	Resistance	Resistance	Enhance
	change	by self	by others	spirit.
Group 1 (n=14)	2	6	2	2
Group 2 (n=11)	1	1	5	2
Group 3 (n=11)	4	2	3	4

significantly more vocal about their discomfort than other women ($\chi^2=3.91$, $df=1$, $p<.05$). This finding has practical significance as Group 1 women are the very women who would most likely be on clergy search committees; indeed, all six who noted their own resistance had been on a search committee.

Resistance to female clergy. Of the six Group 1 women who expressed resistance, two targeted the female cantor. One indicated that her personal preference was for a male voice; she attributed this to her Conservative background. However, as the chair of the cantorial search committee, she had not permitted her personal views to affect the committee's decision; they chose a woman. The other woman was the director of her temple's religious school; she was concerned about whether male students would find it difficult to learn to chant Torah when trained by a female voice. Although initially against hiring a female cantor, she noted that after observing the cantor at work, her fears had abated.

The other four Group 1 women specified a discomfort with a woman as rabbi; so did the Group 2 and Group 3 women who expressed resistance. Their resistance seemed more deeply embedded. Four women felt that the rabbinic role was a male role: "the rabbi is a father figure; we need father figures for reverence".

Another woman who was an incoming POC was concerned

about the impact on the larger congregation:

I can't accept a woman rabbi and that's awful. And I guess it stems from the fact that it's a policy of our temple when somebody passes away that the rabbi conduct the shivah service at the home the night of the funeral. And it's the custom of Reform Judaism to have shivah services for three nights. And when we did not have an assistant rabbi, it was the duty of the president and maybe another officer to do the other two services. And I went as the first vice president. I was never so uncomfortable in all my life and a couple of people made remarks...they couldn't accept a female standing there conducting a shivah service, so they made me terribly uncomfortable...It was then that I made up my mind that I would never do a service like that again. So I wonder how responsive the people are to a female standing there as the rabbi.

A sixth woman stated that, in theory, she had no problems with women as rabbis: "After all, the word "rabbi" only means teacher; why shouldn't a woman be as good a teacher as a man?". Her resistance stemmed from her experience with a woman rabbi whom she perceived had abused the power of the pulpit by changing the liturgy:

I feel that if you're going to be a rabbi then you're going to follow the rules of the rabbinate...if you want to make a sermon, do a sermon about something you feel very strongly about, which happens to be a feminist subject, that's fine, but don't make your prayers, don't change all the prayers and the context of the prayers to suit your needs as a feminist.

Fifty percent of clergy interviewees agreed that it was easier for congregants to accept women as cantors than rabbis. Two underlying factors could be identified. First, they projected that women could be perceived as less

authoritative than men. This, then, affected the tasks expected of a rabbi. Problem rabbinic roles were preaching, conducting funerals and the "nitty-gritty of temple politics". The cantorial job was perceived to be more consistent with stereotypical female qualities: women sing, teach children, even do some counseling.

These data allude to the tension between the secular and the spiritual functions of organized Judaic life as manifested by the multiple roles of clergy. Further, they suggest that political women's greater awareness of their own resistance to female clergy may relate to the fact that, in general, they represent a secular point of view; they too are involved in the "nitty-gritty of temple politics".

The data revealed that not only were women potentially viewed as less authoritative, but there were occasional attempts to de-status them. Two female cantors described being kissed by congregants, non-congregants and other clergy at times when they felt it was inappropriate. One added that she had been called "honey" or "baby" by male congregants. The other had been told that she was the "cutest cantor ever".

There were nine participant observation entries which documented de-statusing incidents. Four described how non-congregants' who had received an aliyah at a Bar/Bat Mitzvah kissed female clergy. Three referred to congregants addressing female clergy by their first name when male

clergy were being addressed by title.

Two others referred to more subtle dynamics. Both focused on clergy-Sisterhood relationships. While neither incident was motivated by malicious intent, both had the potential to de-status the clergy:

- (1) The Sisterhood had been having a lot of trouble--there were some women who wanted to disband Sisterhood. They were unable to find a president. Other women were upset about the possibility that Sisterhood would disband. Rabbi decided to call a meeting and whomever came would have input...The meeting dragged on and nothing was being resolved. So finally around 10:15, she stood up and said that she wasn't leaving the room until she got some volunteers to do x, y and z. Rabbi mentioned that when she said this, she heard some whispering to the effect that the rabbi was now going to be the Sisterhood president too--she had a new job. Rabbi said that as soon as she heard that, she knew that she had to be very careful not to let that happen. She said that that was an area of conflict for women rabbis--allowing herself to be "pulled into" doing women's traditional jobs versus being the rabbi.
- (2) The cantor does lots of things. For example, last year it was "Cantor and caterer". There was some dinner to be prepared. She and a Sisterhood representative went to Shop-Rite to do the shopping, etc....she didn't mind helping out when her temple needed her, but she wasn't going to the supermarket anymore.

These data suggest that Group 2's greater sensitivity to the resistance to women clergy by others may result from the projection of their own ambivalence about female clergy onto others. This ambivalence may be stimulated by their identification as women with other women, who happen to be clergy. This same identification could work in the reverse

fashion. Instead of female congregants trying to pull female clergy into traditional female jobs, female clergy could pull female congregants into non-traditional roles.

Greater identification with female clergy. Rabbi Laura Geller has proposed that because women are perceived as less authoritative than men, congregants also perceive less social distance between women rabbis and themselves. She saw this as a positive:

The lessening of social distance...leads to the breakdown of hierarchy within a religious institution...this change could lead to synagogues that see their rabbi not as "priest" but as teacher and that see congregants not as passive but as active participants in their own Judaism.

When Rabbi Geller's hypothesis was put to clergy, four noted how congregants perceived them as less intimidating. They were able to draw congregants into services more easily. They also noted that this was a double-edged sword, as they had also experienced the negative consequences of lessened social distance which were just discussed.

Only one clergy addressed the second part of Geller's proposition:

The simple presence of a woman in either of these roles--even though it's been around for a number of years now--is still new to most people; their image of the rabbi and the cantor is a man and when they see something other than that, all of a sudden, it's a different ball game and as long as it's different, it can be different in any number of ways; it can be open to any number of different responses, one of which I think would be, you know, less formal, more personal feeling. I don't think it follows

automatically; I'm sure there are individual women who don't encourage that; you know whose personalities simply don't bring that on, but I think simply the fact that the mold is broken opens up people to responses that are freer than they might have been. When it's just what you expect... a man there and you respond the way you responded when you were a kid.

This male cantor also believed that the increasing proportion of women entering the rabbinate would have a very positive effect upon the future of Reform Judaism. However, because his temple had no female clergy, he did not see this effect at his temple.

Eight congregant interviewees noted that their experiences with female clergy had affected their religious/spiritual involvement. Again, only one congregant addressed the second part of Geller's proposal; she felt that any change in personnel created a different experience: "We all have fixed things in our minds and if it had been a male where a woman had been it would change as well".

Most spoke about their experiences with women clergy in terms of identification issues. All spoke about the spiritual ramifications of this identification process:

Because I consider myself a spiritual Jew, it's a relief to feel that a woman can rightfully assume that role, the role of a spiritual Jew...it's also got a certain duality for me because I grew up with very traditional Orthodox attitudes about women participating...and it's a struggle because I still have my early imprinting; so that on the one hand, I'm a little uncomfortable with it because of my background...and it is liberating to feel that I can grow in another direction, or that a woman is free to grow in

a spiritual direction.

Three of the four congregant interviewees from Temple Vav spoke about their experience with their rabbi. They spoke of how she had drawn them into Judaism. Two spoke in terms of identification:

I feel myself drawn to her and to what she is doing and feel a sense of commitment to her as well as to myself as a Jew and I am not sure I would feel that if the rabbi were a man...the fact that she is a woman and that she is a rabbi tells me how strong she is, tell me how devoted she is...I feel a particular connection with her. She and I are exactly the same age and I see how our lives have gone different paths and yet, you know, we have converged at this point.

When the rabbi is an assistant. Rabbi Q., the assistant rabbi at Temple Bet basically served as the educational director; all the interviewees from Temple Bet thought that she had done a wonderful job in this position. Yet, the thought of her being the senior rabbi was not well-received. This severely limited Rabbi Q.'s ability to draw women into ritual.

One interviewee did indicate that more women seemed to participate in religious services when Rabbi Q. was officiating:

During the summer when Rabbi M.'s away and Rabbi Q. is here...Rabbi Q. will pick people ...during one summer service there were only women on the bima, and I thought that was kind of interesting...I was the Torah attendant and another woman made the announcements...

However, Rabbi Q.'s ability to effect such change was dependent on Rabbi M. In her own words:

The one time we suggested it [a woman to say the kiddush prayer], Rabbi M. did not feel it was appropriate...it was at a social action service...a woman about my age wanted to do the kiddush, who had lived in Israel for a number of years and who knew Hebrew...that was a Friday night and we were appointing members of the social action committee to take different parts in the service and she happened to walk in when we were looking for someone to do the kiddush and I said "Would you like to do the kiddush?" and she said "Yes" and I said "Here, she'll do the kiddush" and "grrrrr!" that was the end of that.

The above quote also alludes to the conflict between the two rabbis which was discussed in Chapter 5.

There were seventy-eight participant observation entries referring to the rabbi-congregant relationship. Fourteen (19%) derived from Temple Bet. One entry focused on Laura's role in the protest of the Sisterhood's Casino night and of Rabbi M.'s support; when asked about Rabbi Q.'s potential to impact upon Sisterhood's philosophy, Laura's response belied a contempt for Rabbi Q.

This entry suggested an ironic twist to the spiritual-secular struggle at Temple Bet: Laura, who thirsted for ritual elaboration disliked Rabbi Q., the very rabbi who seemed to be most interested in drawing women deeper into their own spirituality. Her dislike resulted from her allegiance to a powerful senior rabbi who was interested in maintaining traditional ritual practice. In the long run, both women lost: Laura lost her sense of connection with the Temple Bet community; Rabbi Q. lost her job.

An integration of findings and the implications for Reform
Judaism

The data presented so far have documented major points of tension within Reform Judaism. Part of this tension derived from the fact that congregants in Reform synagogues come to Reform from diverse early religious affiliations. These earlier affiliations served as a base of comparison with the present affiliation. Many congregants wished to re-create the emotional ambience typical of their childhood; others reacted against it. Some viewed Reform Judaism in non-religious terms; they were interested in ethnic identity; still others viewed Reform Judaism as a form of Judaism in which participants were not obligated to do anything and could still be Jews.

Women's perceptions of Reform Judaism were often clouded by earlier ritual exclusion stemming from traditional affiliations. For some women, Reform Judaism represented an opportunity to experience their own spirituality; for others, Reform Judaism represented a refuge from oppression. It was this latter group which was most uncomfortable with the introduction of traditional ritual into Reform Jewish practice.

Because data collection did not focus on men, it is unclear how men experienced this tension. Undoubtedly it also affected their participation. Observations suggested that some men enjoyed the freedom not to wear a tallis and

not to wear a kippah. For others, who had been alienated from religion by the over-zealous Hebrew teachers of their childhood, the introduction of traditional ritual dredged up unpleasant memories. Still others seemed ritually oriented and were interested in increasing the level of ritual participation amongst congregants. These men were perceived to be religious reactionaries.

Despite these similarities, there does seem to be a difference between the way men and women translated these issues of religious identity into political activity. No man declined to sit on the Board of Trustees or executive committee because he felt that that position would draw energy from a more valued (and more endangered) means of participation within the synagogue. Men did decline to sit on the Board of Trustees because it drew energy from business commitments or involvement in other organizations (e.g. United Jewish Appeal). These data allude to the important role which women play within Reform synagogues.

The data also suggested that women's synagogue participation was not merely an ephemeral role--their participation could not be defined only in relationship to their other roles. Demographics (such as maternal status and employment status) did not differentiate mode of participation (executive officer, Sisterhood, Group 3). Rather women streamlined their involvement to fit the different visions which they held for Reform Judaism.

This information is important to consider. Attributing Sisterhood's present tenuous position to the increasing proportion of women who are entering the job market leads to interventions which serve to accommodate this group of women (e.g. having night time meetings). This obscures attention to a deeper issue: that Sisterhood women choose to express their commitment to temple through care-taking activities and this care-taking is devalued.

This devaluation reflects upon an implicit adoption of a hierarchical model for evaluating modes of participation. Indeed, the adoption of that model was present in the initial design of the present study--i.e., the centrality of the variable "influence". With regard to this variable, the data did confirm that "higher up" (e.g. executive officerships) is better; it allows for more effective and long-lasting influence. However, the data also indicated that not all women adopted this model; some felt that "moving up" endangered their personal visions of a Reform synagogue. For this reason, they chose to remain in more marginal positions. Without understanding that these choices were motivated by a different set of assumptions, evaluation of their choices could lead to further devaluation and alienation of these women. Indeed, the data suggested that this was already the case for some Sisterhood and Group 3 women.

It is all too simple to import evaluations from outside

temples into temple. Society tends to evaluate women who are "gainfully employed" more positively than women who are "just mothers". By superimposing these kinds of evaluations onto positions within temple--for example, executive officerships are more important than caretaking roles--women will be motivated to avoid this devaluation and thus exodus caretaking positions. In the long run, this will have a negative impact upon Reform Judaism as temples will become increasingly more institutionalized. One way around this is to encourage more men to move into caretaking roles; however, as indicated in Chapter 4, this does not seem to work.

Johnson (1980) in his essay on synagogue survival strategies discussed another strategy to combat synagogue de-personalization. He referred to an earlier article by Fein, which had suggested that the formation of small groups like Havurot could serve as a focus for both personal interactions and ideological explorations. Johnson questioned whether Havurot groups could indeed serve such a function as they may not have the "rootedness in tradition" which allow members to connect with the larger Jewish community:

Is there a commitment to the idea of Jewish community which transcends friendships and novelty? Is it conceived as an organized expression of the partnership between G-d and man whose purpose is to advance the day of redemption by creating a holy community?

That is, Johnson believes that community without

spirituality is not the answer. The data reviewed so far suggest that both some Reform clergy and some Reform congregants feel similarly about Reform temples.

As noted many times, the tension between spirit and community is not unique to Reform Judaism. However the concept of change implicit to the definition of Reform Judaism aggravates the situation. If the locus of influence is within the executive committee and if the nature of Reform ideology and practice is a controversial issue ,as the data reported in Chapters 4 and 5 have suggested, then alternate visions of Reform Judaism may not be easily implemented. This is a problem for Reform Judaism, whose very essence is predicated on the importance of choice; choice implies a series of alternatives.

This paradox is especially felt by women as Reform represents a theoretical opportunity (hope) for deeper ritual experience. For many, this hope has been dashed by the constraints on the amount of ritual which is actually practiced at a given synagogue. These women are faced with the dilemma of whether Reform Judaism can give them what they need. Clearly, Conservative and Orthodox Judaism offer greater ritual participation; however, as women, they are not guaranteed the opportunity to engage in those rituals. While men may also wish greater ritual elaboration within Reform Judaism, the openness of other branches of Judaism to their participation dampens the poignancy of the the dilemma

for them.

Thus, women seem to sit at the fulcrum of cultural change disclosing the precariousness of the Reform movement's potential to enact its own ideals. Another example of how women are in-tune with this precariousness relates to female clergy. The reader is asked to recall that executive women had the greatest reservations about female clergy. Yet, these were the very people who sat on search committees. Further, the data suggested that female rabbis had the potential to draw some women deeper into ritual; these women tended to be non-executive women, the very women whose chances of being on a rabbinic search committee were smaller.

Summary of women and change in Reform Judaism

In conclusion, these data substantiate the general openness of Reform Judaism to participation by women; the only secular position which seems to be resistant to women's involvement is that of financial decision-making (Chapter 4). Clearly the basis for this phenomenon needs to be further explored. More importantly, however, women emerge as major articulators of the tension between spirituality and secularism. While this tension is not unique to Reform, considering the ideals which Reform Judaism holds forth, this tension may confound Reform's ability to achieve these ideals.

CHAPTER 8

Women and the politics of change: An organizational overview

In addition to implications for Reform Judaism, the data presented also reflect upon organizational theory. Three issues are raised: (1) a generalizable statement focusing on women's participation in volunteer organizations; (2) the importance of organizational culture and (3) strategies for managing cultural change in normative organizations. Each issue will be considered in turn.

Women's participation in volunteer organizations

This study confirmed the importance of considering both individual and structural variables in understanding women's participation in volunteer organizations. While individual needs such as Jewish identity needs were crucial in bringing women into the organizations, organizational structure affected the way in which these needs could be expressed. Tichy's theory of organizational dimensions was especially useful for understanding how structure molded participation. As proposed, the technical and cultural dimensions were central to this participation; technical and cultural activities were both major points of entry for women and served as springboards for their involvement in organizational politics.

Two models of political "career" advancement were identified; both had been identified in previous research studies (Adams, 1980; Messinger, 1985). Adams associated

the first route with women's volunteer career development; women became members of the governing board only after demonstrating their commitment and capability--this was usually accomplished by chairing specific events or sub-committees. Messinger called this the "slow route" to political involvement. The second route was associated with men's career development: perception of valued resources and skills led directly to a seat on the governing board.

In the present study, the first model was relevant to both women's and men's career advancement. Women chaired events and projects through Sisterhood or some other technical-cultural committee, worked their way to the upper echelons of the committee and then made lateral moves to the governing boards of the larger organization. Men too used this route: approximately half of the male POC's of Temple Hay rose via Religious School; many male presidents at Temple Bet came via the Men's Club; two past POC's at Temple Gimmel had co-chaired major temple events or committees.

As with Adams' study, the second model of volunteer career advancement was more closely associated with men. Men who were perceived to have financial and legal expertise were absorbed into the leadership structure without having to first prove their merit and commitment. In the present study, some women who were perceived to have expertise were also absorbed onto governing boards; however, these were "lower" governing boards. For example, women who were

teachers and school administrators were able to enter directly onto Religious School governing boards without first serving in less influential positions such as class mother. The data did not indicate any woman who was absorbed directly onto the governing board of the larger organization.

Despite these differences, women were able to negotiate organizational networks to achieve executive officerships. However, not all women chose to avail themselves of these opportunities. Some women perceived that political positions would dilute their ability to engage in religious or ethnic identification activities and declined to sit on governing boards. Thus, organizational structure alone could not explain participation.

Conversely individual factors alone could also not explain participation. Women such as Eva and Laura both had strong spiritual needs. In Eva's synagogue there was a structure which allowed her to satisfy those needs, stimulating Eva's desire to become even more involved in temple activities. In contrast, Laura's synagogue not only lacked that structure, but was hostile to the implementation of such. As a result, Laura became increasingly alienated from her temple. Structure and individual factors impacted upon each other, shaping participation.

While the study had been predicated on the belief that women's attainment of positions of direct political

influence would be affected by generalized structural variables (e.g. presence/absence of a Sisterhood; presence/absence of female clergy; presence/absence of a paid administrator), the data only marginally supported this contention. Instead, the socio-religious history of the temple (which was unique to each temple) emerged as the critical structural variable. This socio-religious history may be viewed as synonymous with temple culture. These findings are consistent with those of Frost (1985) and Schein (1985) who maintain that organizational culture is a central determinant of organizational behavior.

The importance of organizational culture

Schein defines organizational culture as:

a pattern of basic assumptions--invented, discovered or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration--that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems.

Schein adds that these assumptions are likely to have dropped out of awareness; that is, they have become implicit, unconscious assumptions which nevertheless guide organizational behavior. It is the reinforcement and teaching of these assumptions/values which Tichy has identified as the focus of the cultural dimension of organizational functioning.

However, where Tichy has indicated that organizational effectiveness is strengthened when the three organizational

dimensions (technical, cultural and political) support each other, Schein considers the cultural strand to be the most important of the three: culture dictates technical and political design. Culture stabilizes members' expectations about how organizational life will proceed.

In contrast, change threatens the stability of these assumptions. The spiritual-secular tension discussed in previous chapters may be viewed as a manifestation of this instability. As extra-organizational cultural changes impinge upon intra-organizational culture, old assumptions are called into question. Incorporation of or resistance to new values may result. The direction of the outcome draws upon both the technical and political dimensions of the organization.

Technical responses to cultural change

Data from the present study exposed both incorporative and resistive efforts by temples. In general, both men and women could participate in a variety of technical activities. However, there were two places in which resistance to change was apparent: women's continued association with food-related activities and men's continued association with financial activities which focused on large sums of money (e.g. bank loans, investments).

Interviewees explained women's continued association with food by calling upon a perceived societal assumption of women's "proper" role as emotional caretakers of the

community. A parallel assumption was called upon to explain men's continued association with financial activities: men were the financial caretakers of the community. In addition, interviewees identified a perceived absence of women who had financial expertise. It is unclear how much the awareness of the existence of women with financial expertise was obscured by the afore-mentioned assumptions.

The data also suggested that the cultural changes which most dramatically impinged on the political operation of temples were those which related to changing definitions of Reform Judaism. While cultural struggles impacted on the technical dimension (e.g. Temple Aleph's Sisterhood's strike), it is more interesting to explore what these struggles tell us about the politics of cultural change.

Political responses to cultural change

Schein has stated that the existence of competing sub-cultures results in organizational instability. Frost et. al concur and emphasize the importance of integrating countercultures into the mainstream culture in order to foster organizational growth. These authors further underscore the role of leadership in managing cultural change in business organizations. The present study suggests that leadership is also important in normative organizations. Both successful and unsuccessful solutions to managing cultural change have been identified.

Managing cultural change in normative organizations

Before the strategies for managing cultural change in normative organizations can be discussed, a brief description of the attributes of a normative organization are necessary.

Normative organizations: A brief description

Organizations may be categorized on the basis of the goals which are most salient to the organization. Three types of goals may be identified: (a) order goals which focus on the control of organizational actors; (b) economic goals which focus on the production of commodities and services and (c) cultural goals which focus on the creation of symbols, values and norms to which organizational members can commit themselves. Further, different types of organizations use different strategies for obtaining compliance with organizational goals. Normative organizations are those organizations which emphasize cultural goals and which depend on normative (referent) influence strategies to ensure compliance with organizational policy.

According to Etzioni, leaders who initiate and direct activities which sustain value commitments should dominate in normative organizations. These are called expressive leaders. Organizational compliance is best obtained when these leaders rely on members' identification with and internalization of the preferred values.

Insights from the present study

The data from the present study underscore the importance of normative influence in religious organizations. The most consistent finding concerning influence in Reform synagogues was that formal position provided the greatest arena of influence. Further, influence transactions did not necessarily draw upon referent power. Indeed, it was the lack of identification with policy formulated by these formal leaders which provoked crisis situations in Temples Aleph and Hay. Despite this, the resolution of these crises still drew upon position power: the successful "rebels" in Temple Aleph themselves held formal positions; the rebels in Temple Hay were less fortunate. However, these political maneuvers were not without fall-out: members who did not identify with the outcome began to disengage themselves from their respective organizations. Consistent with Etzioni, the long term use of legislating compliance (e.g. votes by the formal leaders) was dysfunctional.

The question then is how do you structure normative organizations so that members can identify with organizational policy. Consistent with Frost's findings in business organizations, findings from the present study suggest that leadership is crucial.

The role of leadership in managing culture

In religious organizations, two levels of leadership

are important to consider: clerical and lay leadership.

Clerical leadership. Essays on rabbinic authority (Stevens, 1982) target modeling of Judaism as a major source of rabbinic authority. However, most discussions of modeling Judaism focus on living one's life according to Jewish precepts (Halachah; ethics). For Reform Jews, modeling Judaism takes on an additional component: change in response to a changing world. Data from the present study support the importance of rabbis demonstrating the feasibility of change. The two most successful rabbis in the sample (the rabbis of Temples Vav and Het) embodied the future-orientation of Reform Judaism. As a female rabbi, Temple Vav's rabbi personified Reform's promise of gender equality; as one of the first female rabbis, she embodied the message of change implicit to Reform ideology. Similarly Temple Het's rabbi was at the forefront of Reform's organized zionist efforts; he too lived the message of change.

Both rabbis were highly influential. Both exemplified Lundberg's (1985) concept of "cultural visioning": the vision of an expanded Reform culture which could be enacted realistically. Lundberg adds that in order for this cultural visioning to be successful, the internal organizational environment must be receptive. The present study suggests that this receptivity is related to the rabbi's ability to transmit his/her vision to lay leaders,

who in turn can transmit this message to lower participants (non-leaders) of the organization. This transmission is related to the nature of the relationship between the rabbi and cultural leaders.

Rabbi's relationship with cultural leaders. Temple Vav's rabbi had a very positive relationship with the cultural leaders of that temple. First, she had been instrumental in helping Sisterhood survive. Sisterhood's survival had been contingent upon a re-definition of goals: from a strictly service organization to an organization which emphasized women's growth and development. Although this new direction had not been initiated by the rabbi, it was consistent with the rabbi's historical role as a pioneering woman rabbi in Reform Judaism. Secondly, this rabbi had initiated the concept of Fellowship--an organization which implemented family focused social events like Shabbat dinners. Thirdly, Temple Vav's rabbi attended, and was an active participant, at all committee meetings. While this may be related to the small size of Temple Vav, its effect was the facilitation of communication between rabbi and congregants.

Temple Het was one of the largest temples in the sample. While its rabbi did not attend all the committee meetings, he also had a strong positive relationship with cultural leaders. First, as a national leader of the Reform Zionist movement, the rabbi's goals meshed with the goals of

congregants who were interested in social-political issues. There was a strong bond between the rabbi and the social action committee. Secondly, as a traditionally oriented Reform rabbi, he was very supportive of congregants who desired ritual elaboration (e.g. those who attended the Saturday morning minyan). Both the ritual chair and social action chair of the temple were regular attendees of this minyan. Finally, several participant observation entries documented the rabbi's support and appreciation of Sisterhood. In return, Sisterhood incorporated the rabbi's goals into their programming. Temple Het's Sisterhood was the only one to get involved in the effort to prevent changes to Israel's Law of Return.

In contrast to the rabbis of Temples Vav and Het, other rabbis had limited relationships with the cultural leaders of their temples. For example, Temple Aleph's rabbi had strong mutual bonds with that temple's outreach committee. While the outreach movement was an integral part of this rabbi's "cultural vision" for Reform Judaism, it was not part of many congregants' vision, especially Sisterhood's. Sisterhood, as the reader may recall, was the most powerful technical-cultural organization in that temple. Thus, conflict in Temple Aleph might have been neutralized if the rabbi had previously nurtured a relationship with Sisterhood. When asked about the rabbi-Sisterhood relationship, both the rabbi and Sisterhood officers agreed

that he didn't have much involvement with them. The rabbis of Temples Bet, Zayin and Hay had similarly strained relationships with the cultural sub-organizations of their temples.

The importance of women as cultural leaders

While Etzioni has emphasized the importance of expressive (cultural) leaders for the stability of normative organizations, the present analysis highlights the importance of these same leaders for negotiating change. Indeed, this "truth" was recognized too late by several of the formal leaders of Temple Hay. The immediate past president of the temple acknowledged that too much energy had focused on the business needs of the temple and not enough on the expressive needs of congregants. Another past president used her position power to create a caring community committee. Both of these formal leaders were women.

The present study highlights the importance of women as expressive leaders. First, it was women who more often addressed "people" issues in formal decision making. Second, women occupied strategic organizational positions which enabled them to become more aware of inter-personal concerns. Of the two routes to formal leadership which were identified, women utilized the route which entailed working one's way through the organization via cultural sub-organizations. This slower route afforded them knowledge of

members' needs at multiple levels of organizational functioning. It also provided them with a greater opportunity to nurture strong ties (Granovetter, 1982). The implications are that women are in a prime position to inculcate change in the organization (Kadushin, as cited in Tichy).

Summary

This study has confirmed the importance of the technical and cultural dimensions of organizational functioning to women's participation in a specific type of volunteer organization. Consistent with prior research, these dimensions were crucial in facilitating women's movement into organizational politics. While it is important to acknowledge this function of technical-cultural participation, focusing on this function alone can be misleading. It leads to a view of technical-cultural roles as means to an end. This, in turn, implies that the formal political positions are the most important ones. The danger of super-imposing hierarchical evaluations onto the various temple roles was discussed in Chapter 7.

An additional danger is that the significance of cultural positions per se is obscured. As suggested by the data, cultural positions serve two important functions: (1) they serve as vehicles for organizational members to strengthen preferred values and (2) they allow leaders who once occupied or still occupy these positions to draw upon

the strong ties which they had previously developed with people who are less centrally located in organizational networks. Thus, these leaders have been able to acquire both referent power and information about others' needs. Both are important for the successful negotiation of organizational change.

For these reasons, the "fast" route to leadership may, in the long run, be dysfunctional. Direct absorption onto governing boards weakens the potency of normative power. Without knowledge of "lower" participants' needs, leaders are unable to predict whether their edicts will be well-received. And as the data indicate, forcing others to abide by rules imposed from above precipitates conflict.

At present, many women seem to be looking towards this fast route to leadership as the preferred one. Perhaps, however, actors in normative organizations need to look towards the slow model as the more functional one. Instead of importing accountants and lawyers onto policy-making boards, these members should be looked to as consultants who can educate those who have worked through the organization about financial issues. This policy would also enable women to become more central participants in financial decision-making.

The devaluation afforded cultural-technical committees such as Sisterhood also needs to be addressed. The data indicated that the primary source of Sisterhood's

devaluation was the perception that their programs were not intellectually engaging: there was too much emphasis on food and socializing. This devaluation seemed to be in response to the changing options for women, in general. Much of the devaluation came from other women. In contrast to earlier times when Sisterhood served as a power base for women, contemporary Sisterhoods seem to have lost that potential.

The data suggested several reasons for this change. First, there was evidence that Sisterhoods leaders were either no longer interested in wielding power or intimidated by temple politics. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, Reform Jewish women are not united in their visions for Reform Judaism. To paraphrase Eisenstein (1985), "the mythic power of Sisterhood"--the belief that women are more united by the fact of being female than divided by any specificities, such as early religious affiliation--is false. This implies that Sisterhoods, in order to survive, must recognize and celebrate the diversity amongst Jewish women.

Implications for future research

Clearly normative organizations differ from other types of organizations. Yet the literature on women's participation in organizations which was reviewed in Chapter 1 has suggested that women are important cultural actors in many types of organizations. If organizational culture is

as important as theorists claim, and this study substantiates, it is important to understand how women enter into the culture change process in other organizations also.

A series of comparative organizational studies are needed to establish the generalizeability of the present study. Within these studies, both women's and men's participation must be studied. A major limitation of the present study has been the exclusive focus on women. In addition, intra-gender differences need to be further researched. As Eisenstein notes, identifying differences amongst women raises new questions: Which group of women speaks for "women" as a group?; Is that even a relevant question anymore? Does the focus on sex obscure the relevance of other variables such as early religious affiliation or generation, as one clergy interviewee suggested. Do differences on these other variables operate similarly for men and women?

These questions are important to ask within the organizational context of the present study. They are also important to ask within other organizational contexts. As is, little organizational research has included women as respondents; those that do tend not to investigate how intra-gender differences affect their findings. Continuing to ignore these differences may not only lead to incorrect conclusions, but may obscure the way in which the experiences of one group of people are set forth as the

"real ones". To paraphrase Eisenstein once again:

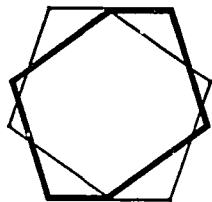
the fundamental insight [is] that it is not difference in itself that is [important]...but the political uses to which the idea has been put. The defining of difference has traditionally been linked to the exercise of power, to those who have been in a position to say who is "different" and [who] should be...subordinate.

(p. xxiii)

In the present study, differences such as an orientation towards caretaking did correlate with a more subordinate position. As a result, many women abandoned caretaking roles. Others continued to serve as caretakers but resented the devaluation meted out. Likewise, conflict occurred between those who valued ritual elaboration and those who sought to limit it. In and of themselves, these conflicts stressed the organizations. However, the more debilitating stress resulted from the ability of one group of congregants to legislate the "correct" way of being. Thus, it was the political struggle over differences which most severely undermined organizational stability. While previous research on managing organizational change has noted the importance of attending to sub-cultural differences, future research needs to explore how intra-gender differences interact with these other differences. Only then will we be able to build a more complete theory on organizational change.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Introductory letter to Presidents of Congregations

The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York
Graduate Center: 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.

Dear :

I am a doctoral candidate in Social Psychology at the Graduate Center; my doctoral research focuses on women's roles within Reform Judaism. Your temple has been chosen to be included in the sample of Reform temples to be studied. I will be attending various public events at your temple. I will also interview key members of the temple, subject to their permission.

The research findings will be placed within the context of scholarly understandings about women and religious organizations, and will not be used for journalistic purposes. All information will be confidential and anonymous. The written report will not specify the name of any temple, the geographic location of the temple, nor the names of temple members. The rights of all temple members and personnel will be fully respected.

If you have any questions, you may contact me at home (201-889-5305) or at my office (201-377-3000, ext. 621, Tuesdays and Thursdays). My dissertation advisor is Professor Charles Kadushin. His telephone number is (212) 790-4296. I hope that this research will enhance our understanding of American Reform Judaism. I look forward to visiting your temple and meeting with you all soon.

Sincerely,

Ann L. Saltzman

Appendix B

Consent form for congregants

The purpose of the research study has been explained to me by the researcher, Ann Saltzman. I understand that its aim is to enhance our understanding of women's roles in Reform Judaism.

I consent to be interviewed about my participation in temple, my relationships with other temple members, my perceptions of temple decision-making processes and my observations about how men and women participate in temple activities. I understand that the interviews will be conducted by either Ms. Saltzman or her assistant, and that they will be taped. I have been informed that the tapes will be used for transcription purposes only.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary, and that I may refuse to answer any question and/or terminate the interview without penalty. I also understand that my name, my temple's name and its geographic location will not be revealed; that all information will be confidential and anonymous.

I am aware that, if I have any questions, I may contact Professor Charles Kadushin (Ms. Saltzman's supervisor at the Graduate Center; 212-790-4296) or the Office of Sponsored Research at the Graduate Center (212-790-4234).

Name _____

Date _____

Appendix C

Consent form for clergy

The purpose of the research study has been explained to me by the researcher, Ann Saltzman. I understand that its aim is to enhance our understanding of women's roles in Reform Judaism.

I consent to be interviewed about my perceptions of how women participate in various aspects of temple life plus how I think congregants respond to specific clerical practices. I understand that the interviews will be conducted by Ms. Saltzman and that they will be tape recorded. I have been informed that the tapes will be used for transcription purposes only.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary, and that I may refuse to answer any question and/or terminate the interview if so desired. I also understand that my name, my temple's name and its geographic location will not be revealed; that all information will be confidential and anonymous.

I am aware that, if I have any questions, I may contact Professor Charles Kadushin, Ms. Saltzman's supervisor at the Graduate Center (211-790-4296) or the office of Sponsored Research at the Graduate Center (212-790-4234).

Name _____

Date _____

Appendix D

Consent form for administrators

The purpose of the research study has been explained to me by the researcher, Ann Saltzman. I understand that its aim is to enhance our understanding of women's roles in Reform Judaism.

I consent to be interviewed about my role in temple structure plus my perceptions of how women participate in various aspects of temple life. I understand that the interview will be conducted by Ms. Saltzman, and that it will be taped. I have been informed that the tape will be used for transcription purposes only.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary, and that I may refuse to answer any question and/or terminate the interview, if so desired. I also understand that my name, my temple's name and its geographic location will not be revealed; that all information will be confidential and anonymous.

I am aware that, if I have any questions, I may contact Professor Charles Kadushin, Ms. Saltzman's supervisor at the Graduate Center (212-790-4296) or the office of Sponsored Research at the Graduate Center (212-790-4234).

Name _____ Date _____

Appendix E

Congregant Interview Guide

1. How long have you been a member of Temple?
2. What are the three or four most important reasons why you like belonging to temple?
3. As you see it, what are the three or four most significant problems/concerns of temple?
4. In comparison to other temples you know about, would you say that the participation at temple is above average, average or below average?
5. How often have you come to temple (for any temple function) since September? (more than once a week, weekly, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, never)
6. In what kinds of activities have you participated since September? (answer yes, no or not relevant)

Attended Friday night services
 Attended Sat. morning services
 Attended High Holy day services
 Attended Adult Ed. functions
 Attended a study session
 Attended a committee meeting (which)
 Attended a Sisterhood meeting
 Attended a Board of Trustees meeting
 Other

- (a) For each event attended, what proportion of events have you attended: almost all, about half, very few?

- (b) For each of the ritual events attended, have you ever been dissatisfied with the event? If yes, what caused the dissatisfaction?
- (c) Why did you (do you) participate in each of the ritual events noted?
- (d) Do both men and women participate in these ritual events? If so, are there approximately equal numbers of men and women who participate? (If not equal numbers, which sex predominates?)
- (e) For each of the ritual events, are there any ways in which women's participation has changed since you first became a member of temple? If so, what do you think has caused this change?

7. Now have you ever participated in any of these rituals?

Sat on the bima?
 Received an aliyah?
 Read from the Torah?
 Carried the Torah?
 Wore a tallis?
 Wore a kipah?

- (a) From your observations of temple, approximately what percent of

participants who participate in each of these rituals are women, would you guess? Since you have been a member of temple, has this percentage changed in any way? If so, what factors do you think have caused this change?

(b) If respondent had participated in this ritual, what factors have determined your participation in this ritual?

If respondent has not participate in this ritual, what factors have caused you not to participate in this ritual?

8. Now, I would like to talk about the aliyot for the High Holidays. Aliyot are usually awarded on the High Holidays to people who have made valuable contributions to the temple in the previous year.

(a) Can you recall the names of some of the people who received aliyahs for the High Holidays last fall?

(b) For each person mentioned, why did s/he receive an aliyah?

(c) In your opinion, who do you think is

involved in the decision as to who
will receive an aliyah?

(d) For each person listed, why is that
person involved in the decision?

9. On a scale running from 0 to 10, where "10"
refers to someone who is very religiously
observant and "0" refers to someone who is not
religiously observant at all, where would you
guess the average person in this temple
belongs?
10. Using the same scale, where would you put the
rabbi?
11. Again, using the same scale, where would you
put the assistant rabbi (if there is one)?
12. Now the cantor?
13. Finally, where on the scale would you put
yourself?
14. What was the religious affiliation of your
parents when you were growing up?
15. Some people have said that Reform Judaism is
becoming more traditional; others have said
that it is becoming more liberal; still others
have said that Reform Judaism is not changing
at all.
 - (a) What is your opinion about this?
 - (b) What signs of change have you seen?

- (c) (If change has been indicated), how do you feel about this change?
 - (d) (If change has been indicated), do you think that these changes affect the way in which women participate in ritual?
16. (a) In recent years, some Reform temples have dispensed with clerical robes. Do the rabbi(s) and cantor of your temple wear clerical robes?
- (b) How do you feel about them wearing robes/not wearing robes?
 - (c) How would you feel if they did not wear robes/did wear robes?
 - (d) Why did you feel this way about robes?
17. One change that has occurred in Reform Judaism within the past decade has been the ordination of women as rabbis and the investiture of women as cantors.
- (a) How do you feel about women taking on these roles?
 - (b) There have been some suggestions that women in the clergy change the way in which congregants respond to clergy or to prayer. Do you agree

with this statement?

(c) Why or why not?

(d) Does your temple have a female rabbi or cantor?

18. Now, I would like to ask you about the selection of rabbis and cantors. If the rabbi or cantor were to leave the temple next year, who do you think would be involved in choosing a new rabbi or cantor?

(a) Why have each of these people been involved in this decision?

(b) Have you ever been on a search committee? Why do you think that you were selected to sit on the search committee?

19. We have talked about the ritual aspects of temple. Now I would like to discuss the educational/study and organizational aspects of temple life. If I recall you participated in the following events. (List events noted in question 6.)

(a) Why do you participate in each of these events/committees?

(b) Have you ever been dissatisfied with any of them? If yes, what caused the dissatisfaction?

(c) Do both men and women participate in these events? If so, do approximately equal numbers of men and women participate? (If not, ask which sex predominates.)

(d) Since you have been a member of temple, has the way in which women participate in these events changed? If so, what factors do you think have caused this change?

20. Do you now or have you ever held any formal position in temple (e.g. committee chair, vice-president of temple, etc.). Which positions are they? Can you tell me the order in which you occupied these positions? (e.g. which position did you hold first, second, etc.).

(a) For each position listed, how long did you hold/have you held that position?

(b) How did you achieve this position?

The next set of questions concern the leadership of the temple.

21. In your opinion, who do you think are the most influential people in the temple? Do any of them have formal positions?

(a) People get to assert influence for different reasons. In your opinion, how did this person acquire this influence?

22. To your knowledge have any congregational presidents been women? Which one(s)?

(a) For each woman, how did she get to be president? What "route" did she follow to become president? In your opinion, which is the most important reason that enabled this woman to become president?

(b) Now think of two men who have been president of the congregation. For each man, what route did he follow to the presidency? Again, for each man, which is the most important reason which enabled him to become president?

(c) If your congregation has never had a woman as a temple president, why do you think it has not?

In recent years, many organizational changes have occurred in Reform temples. The following questions ask about some of these changes.

23. Many temples now have paid administrators.

- (a) Does your temple have a paid administrator? (If the answer is no, go to question 23i.)
- (b) Who is the administrator of your temple?
- (c) How long has your temple had an administrator?
- (d) As you understand it, why was an administrator hired?
- (e) In your opinion, what does the administrator do?
- (f) In your opinion, if your temple did not have an administrator, who would do the tasks of the administrator?
- (g) It has been said that administrators provoke a lot of conflict with other temple leaders. Is this true in your temple?
- (h) With whom does the administrator conflict? What is the conflict about?
- (i) For temples which do not have an administrator: In your opinion, if your temple did have an administrator, how would your temple change?

24. Another way in which Reform temples have been changing is that in many, gender-separate organizations (e.g. Sisterhood, Men's Clubs) have been disbanding.

- (a) Does your temple have gender-separate organizations? (If yes, go to 24b; if no, go to 24d.)
- (b) For each auxiliary noted, what kinds of things does it do?
- (c) In your opinion, how would your temple change if Sisterhood did not exist?
- (d) In your opinion, how would your temple change if there was a Sisterhood and a Men's Club?
- (e) If there were a Sisterhood at your temple, would you join it?
- (f) Why or why not?

As organizations, temples also have to take care of financial matters. The following questions refer to the financial solvency of the temple.

25. Would you say that most people in the temple have about the same income, that there are differences of a few thousand dollars per year between the top and bottom incomes or that there are very large differences in income?

26. What would you guess is the middle income for families in your temples--that is, the income which half the families are below and half are above?
27. About how much money do you think the average family gives to the temple each year (including dues, building fees, religious school, etc.):
28. About how much money does your family give to the temple each year: more than the average family; about the same as the average family; less than the average family?
29. In your opinion, how are funds raised for temple programs and to keep the temple solvent?
- (a) If there are bank loans, who do you think negotiates these loans?
- (b) For each person listed, why do you think s/he is involved in the negotiation process?
- (c) If grants are received from foundations, who do you think wrote the grant application?
- (d) For each person listed, why do you think that s/he is involved in applying for the grant?

30. (a) If fund-raising events are instituted, what kinds of events are these and who organizes them?
- (b) In your opinion, who helps the organizers run these events? That is, who does the actual work involved in making these events happen?
- (c) In your opinion, who in your temple determines the kinds of fund-raising events which will occur?
- (d) For each person listed, why is s/he involved in the decision about fund-raising events?
31. Have you ever organized or worked on a fund-raising event? If yes, why did you get involved in this event?
32. In your opinion, who determines how the proceeds from fund-raising events will be spent?
- (a) Are any of the organizers of the event on the Board of Trustees?
- (b) Are any of the organizers on the executive committee?
- (c) Do you have any other comments about the fund-raising in your temple?

Finally, I'd like to ask you about the social participation of temple members.

33. In your opinion, what are the major means of socializing at your temple?
- If oneg shabbats are mentioned:
- (a) Who sets up for onegs?
 - (b) Who purchases the food for onegs?
 - (c) Who serves the food at onegs?
 - (d) Have you ever worked at an oneg?
 - (e) When have you worked at an oneg? What factors determined your participation?
34. As for yourself, do you attend temple dinners, parties, dances?
- (a) Who organizes these events?
 - (b) Who prepares the food for them?
 - (c) Who serves the food?
35. As for yourself, have you ever organized a temple social event? If so,
- (a) What kind of event do you organize?
 - (b) What factors influenced your decision to organize the event?
 - (c) Have you ever prepared food for a social event? If so, which social event? What factors influenced your decision to prepare food?
 - (d) Have you ever served food at a

temple social event? If so, which social event? What factors influenced your decision to serve food?

We are now coming to the end of the interview. The following are summary questions.

36. On a scale from 10 to 0, where "10" is very satisfied and "0" is not at all satisfied, how satisfied would you say you are with temple?
37. For the coming year, do you plan to change your activity level at the temple? Do you plan on becoming less active, being about as active as you are now or becoming more active?
38. (a) Although we may have covered this information before, just for the record have you ever:
- organized a social event?
 - organized a fund-raising event?
 - chaired a temple committee?
- (b) Which of the following skills do you have?
- speak/write/read Hebrew fluently?
 - read Torah; know Torah trope?
 - have a Yeshiva background?
 - are well versed in Jewish history, ethics, philosophy, etc.?
 - have knowledge of liturgical music?
 - have been on a search committee?
 - have a background in personnel management?
39. In summary, what would you say are the most important ways in which women participate in your temple?

40. What would you say are the weakest areas at your temple with regard to women's participation?
41. Finally, could you tell me:
- (a) Are you employed?
 - (b) What kind of work do you do?
 - (c) What is your marital status?
 - (d) Do you have any children? How old?
 - (e) How old are you?
42. Do you have any final comments to me about either women's roles in Reform Judaism or this interview?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOU HELP!

Appendix F

Clergy Interview Guide

1. How long have you been at Temple _____?
2. In general, how would you describe the ways in which women participate at Temple _____?
3. Since you have been at Temple _____, has this changed at all? If so, how?
4. With regard to specific ritual events, would you say that approximately equal numbers of men and women
 - Sit on the bima?
 - Chant the kiddush blessing?
 - Light the Sabbath candles?
 - Receive an aliyah?
 - Read from the Torah?
 - Carry the Torah?
 - Wear a tallis?
 - Wear a kipah?
 - (a) If equal numbers of men and women have not participated in this ritual, why do you think that is?
 - (b) Since you have been at Temple _____ do you think that the way in which women participate in these rituals has changed?
 - (c) If so, what factors do you think have caused this change?
5. Similarly, with regard to specific committees, would you say that approximately equal numbers of men and women participate on the following

committees:

financial/budget
 ritual
 religious school
 fund-raising
 adult education
 membership/membership services
 fellowship/hospitality
 social action
 caring/caring community
 havurot
 Board of Trustees
 Executive Committee

- (a) If equal numbers of men and women do not participate on these committees, why do you think that is?
- (b) Has the way in which women participate on this committee changed in any way since you've been at the temple?
- (c) If there has been a change, what factors do you think have caused the change?
6. Now, I would like to talk about the aliyot for the High Holidays.
- (a) Can you tell me the names of some of the people who received aliyahs for the High Holidays last fall?
- (b) For each person mentioned, why did s/he receive an aliyah?
- (c) At Temple _____, who is involved in the decision as to who will receive an aliyah?
- (d) Why are these people involved in the

decision?

7. There have been some suggestions that Reform Judaism is changing. Some people have said that Reform Judaism is becoming more traditional; others have said that it is becoming more liberal; still others have said that Reform Judaism is not changing at all.

- (a) What is your opinion about this?
- (b) What signs of change have you seen?
- (c) (If change has been indicated), do you think that these changes affect the way in which women participate in ritual?

8. In your opinion, do you think the parents of congregants (when congregants were growing up) were affiliated with any of the following religious denominations?

Orthodox Judaism
Conservative Judaism
Reform Judaism
Reconstructionist Judaism
Christianity
Other
None

- (a) For each affiliation mentioned, how do you think this early affiliation has affected the way in which women participate in temple life now?

9. In recent years, some Reform temples have dispensed with clerical robes. I have noticed that you and the rabbi/assistant rabbi/ cantor do/do not wear robes.

(a) May I ask why you do/do not wear robes?

(b) Have you ever considered (not) wearing robes? Why or why not?

(c) How do you think congregants feel about your wearing/not wearing robes?

10. It has been over 10 years since women were first ordained as clerics in Reform Judaism. Rabbi Laura Geller, in her article "Reactions to a woman rabbi" tells the story of how congregants have told her that they respond to religious services differently when she officiates--because she is a woman. She attributes this difference to the fact that: people don't attribute to women the power and prestige that they often attribute to men. Therefore, when women become [clerics], there is often less social distance between the congregant and the clergy.

(a) Do you think that there is any validity to Rabbi Geller's claim? Why or why not?

(b) How do you think the average

congregant feels about women taking on the roles of rabbi and cantor?
(In temples where there is female clergy add) How do you think visitors/guests to the temple feel?

The next set of questions concern the leadership of the temple.

11. In your opinion, who do you think are the most influential people in the temple? Do any of them have formal positions?
 - (a) People get to assert influence for different reasons. In your opinion, how did this person acquire this influence?
12. With regard to congregants who become congregational presidents?
 - (a) First for those women who have become temple presidents, what "route" did they follow to the presidency? or if the congregation had never had a woman as a temple president, Why do you think that a woman has never been president of this congregation?
 - (b) Now think of two men who have been president of the congregation. For

each man, what route did he follow
to the presidency?

13. Has the temple ever had a woman treasurer?
What route did she (they) follow to the
treasury? If there has not been a woman as
treasurer, why do you think that women have
not been treasurers? Have the men who have
been treasurers followed the same route?

In recent years, many organizational changes have occurred
in Reform temples. The following questions ask about some
of these changes.

14. Many temples now have paid administrators.
Now, I know that this temple does/does not
have a paid administrator and that the
administrator is _____.
- (a) How long has your temple had an
administrator?
- (b) Do you think that the presence of an
administrator affects the way in
which women participate in temple
life? Why or why not?
- (c) It has been said that administrators
provoke a lot of conflict with other
temple leaders. Is this true in
your temple?
- (d) With whom does the administrator

conflict? What is the conflict about?

- (e) For temples which do not have an administrator: In your opinion, if your temple did have an administrator, how would your temple change?

15. Another way in which Reform temples have been changing is that in many, gender-separate organizations (e.g. Sisterhood, Men's Clubs) have been disbanding.

- (a) I know that your temple does/does not have a Sisterhood/Women's Organization.
- (b) What would you say is the role of the Sisterhood in your temple?
- (c) Do you think that most of the women in the Sisterhood are satisfied with this role? Why or why not?
- (d) What is your relationship with the Sisterhood?
- (e) In your opinion, how would your temple change if Sisterhood did not exist?
- (f) For temples where there is no Sisterhood, In your opinion, how

would your temple change if there
was a Sisterhood?

- (g) What do you think your relationship
to the Sisterhood would be?

As organizations, temples also have to take care of
financial matters. The following questions refer to the
financial solvency of the temple.

16. In your opinion, how are funds raised for
temple programs and to keep the temple
solvent?

- (a) If there are bank loans, are there
any women involved in the
negotiation process? Who are these
women and how did they come to be
involved?

- (b) If grants are received from
foundations, are any women involved
in the grant application process?
Who are these women and how did they
come to be involved in the
application process?

17. If fund-raising events are instituted, what
kinds of events are they? How are women
involved in these events?

Finally, I'd like to ask you about the social participation of temple members.

18. In your opinion, what are the major means of socializing at your temple? With regard to each event,

- (a) Who organizes the event?
- (b) Who purchases the food?
- (c) Who sets up for the event? Who serves the food?

19. As for yourself, do you socialize with temple members? If so, what form does this socializing take? If not, why do you not socialize with temple members?

- (a) Have you ever felt that you are expected to be more socially available than you care to be? If so, could you tell me more about this?
- (b) Do you feel that there are any expectations on your wife/husband to participate in specified ways? If so, could you tell me more about this?

We are now coming to the end of the interview. The following are summary questions.

20. Would you say that you have been generally satisfied with the ways in which women

participate at Temple _____? Why or why not?

21. Are there any additional ways in which you would like to see women participate? If so, what are they?
- (a) Have you ever tried to influence women to participate in these ways?
 - (b) If no, why not?
 - (c) If yes, what kind of response have you gotten?
22. Do you have any final comments to me about either women's participation in Reform Judaism or this interview?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

Appendix G

Administrator Interview Guide

1. How long have you been at Temple _____?
2. In general, how would you describe your job here at temple?
3. (a) In what ways do you interact with congregants while performing these duties?
 (b) Are any of the congregants with whom you interact women? If so, what is the nature of these interactions?
4. In general, how would you describe the ways in which women participate at Temple _____?
5. Since you have been at Temple _____, has this changed at all? If so, what is the nature of the change and what do you think brought the change about?
6. With regard to specific committees, would you say that approximately equal number of men and women participate on the following committees?
 financial/budget
 ritual
 religious school
 fund-raising
 adult education
 membership/membership services
 fellowship/hospitality
 social action
 caring/caring community
 havurot
 Board of Trustees
 executive committee

- (a) If equal numbers of men and women do not participate on these committees, why do you think they do not?
- (b) Has the way in which women participate on these committees changed in any way since you've been at the temple?
- (c) If there has been a change, what factors do you think have caused the change?

The next set of questions concerns the leadership of the temple.

- 7.(a) In your opinion, who do you think are the most influential people in the temple? Do any of them have formal positions?
 - (b) People get to assert influence for different reasons. In your opinion, how did these people acquire their influence?
8. With regard to congregants who have become congregational presidents.
- (a) First, for those women who have become temple presidents, what "route" did they follow to the presidency?
 - (b) Now, if you think about some of the men who have become presidents, what route did they follow?
9. Has the temple ever had a woman treasurer? What route did she (they) follow to the

treasury? If there has not been any woman treasurer(s) why do you think that women have not been treasurers? Have the men who have been treasurers followed the same route?

10. Returning now to the position of administrator/ Executive Director, it has been said that administrators often conflict with temple leaders and clergy. Is this true at this temple?

(a) If yes, with whom do you have conflict?

(b) What are these conflicts about?

11. Do you feel that your presence here at Temple _____ affects the way in which women participate at the temple?

12. In some Reform temples, the gender-separate sub-organizations (e.g. Sisterhood, Men's Club) have disbanded. I know that your temple does/does not have a Sisterhood.

(a) If there is a Sisterhood, what would you say is its role in temple?

(b) Do you think that most of the women in the Sisterhood are satisfied with this role? Why or why not?

(c) What is your relationship with Sisterhood?

- (d) In your opinion, how would your temple change if Sisterhood did not exist?
- (e) In temples where there is no Sisterhood, in your opinion, how would your temple change if there were a Sisterhood?
- (f) What do you think your relationship to the Sisterhood would be?

As organizations, temples have to take care of financial matters. The following questions refer to the financial solvency of the temple.

- 13. In your opinion, how are funds raised for temple programs and to keep the temple solvent?
 - (a) If there are bank loans, are any women involved in the negotiation process? Who are these women, and how did they come to be involved?
 - (b) If grants are received from foundations, are any women involved in the grant application process? Who are these women and how did they come to be involved in the application process?
- 14. If fund-raising events are instituted, what

kinds of events are they? How are women involved in these events?

15. Finally, I'd like to ask you about women's participation in ritual events. Do you know if women participate in any of the following rituals?

Sit on the bima
 Chant the kiddush blessing
 Light the Sabbath candles
 Receive aliyot
 Read from the Torah
 Carry the Torah
 Wear a tallis
 Wear a kipah

- (a) Would you say that approximately equal numbers of men and women participate in these rituals?
- (b) If not, why do you think equal numbers of men and women do not participate in these rituals?
- (c) Since you have been at Temple _____, do you think that the way in which women participate in these rituals has changed?
- (d) If there has been a change, what factors do you think have caused the change?
16. (a) Do you think that the participation of congregants would change if the senior rabbi/assistant rabbi/cantor were women? (or men, in the case where these clergy are female)? Why or why not?
- (b) How do you think the average

congregant feels about women taking on these roles?

- (c) How do you feel about women taking on these roles? Do you think that your job would be different if the senior rabbi/assistant rabbi/cantor were women?

We are now coming to the end of the interview. The following are summary questions.

17. Would you say that you have been generally satisfied with the ways in which women participate at Temple _____? Why or why not?
18. Are there any additional ways in which you would like to see women participate? If so, what are they?
- (a) Have you ever tried to influence women to participate in these ways?
- (b) If no, why not?
- (c) If yes, what kind of response have you gotten?
19. Do you have any final comments to me about either women's participation in Reform Judaism or this interview?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

APPENDIX H

The Whyte Appendix

The researcher...is a social animal. He has a role to play, and he has his own personality needs that must be met in some degree if he is to function successfully ... , his personal life is inextricably mixed with his research. A real explanation, then, of how the research was done necessarily involves a rather personal account of how the researcher lived during the period of study.
(Whyte, 1981, p. 279)

The following discussion details how the research was actually conducted.

In the field

As noted in Chapter 2, the first personal contact with temple members occurred at a Friday night service, an event which is open to any member of the community. During the oneg shabbat (a period of socializing, where refreshments are served, and which takes place immediately after the service), I introduced myself to the president to ensure that s/he had received the introductory letter and to establish the researcher role. During that first visit and each subsequent visit, I spoke with various participants. I would introduce myself, explaining who I was and why I was there.

In general, I was greeted with openness, enthusiasm and some curiosity. Participants frequently had questions of me: "Where do you go to school?"; "Where do you live?"; "Do you belong to a temple?"; "Is it Reform?". Sometimes, information was volunteered: "Our temple has had two women

presidents"; "You should come to the alternative service next week--Susan will be leading it". In response, I used non-directive statements which allowed the informant to elaborate upon his/her own perception of how women participate in temple. As the "interview" progressed, I utilized more directive questions.

Typical first questions (when information was not volunteered) were general: "How often do you come to temple?"; "Is this an average turn-out?"; "Who prepares the food for the Oneg Shabbat?". This was consistent with Whyte's description of the stages of interviewing:

The first concern of the interviewer is to build rapport, to establish a relationship in which people will feel comfortable and confident in talking with him. The interviewer deliberately keeps the conversation away from evaluative topics and tries to get the informant to talk most about descriptive matters. (p. 113)

Whyte emphasizes the importance of familiarity of the researcher to the group/organizational member; increased familiarity leads to a more trusting and relaxed attitude on the part of informants. The development of this trust takes time. For this reason, I made multiple field visits to each temple. Not only was my visibility and familiarity increased, but it allowed me to continue interviews over a period of time. As I became a more familiar figure, the topics of conversation became less descriptive and more evaluative in which opinions, concerns, feelings were discussed. Further, it allowed me to talk to a variety of people, each of whom rounded out the story which evolved

from individual informants. Stories were substantiated or contradicted. Whyte maintains that this is an essential aspect of validating participant observation data.

Negotiating passage through the field. While I was frequently greeted with openness and curiosity, there were also times when there was tension surrounding my presence in the field. Seventy-five field reports (59% of total) contained at least one paragraph which had been coded for an organization's response to me (a sub-coding of the Level 1 code "methodology"). The unit of analysis is the field visit in toto. Although long conversations frequently contained many reactive statements, they were counted only once; and though typically more than one temple actor responded to my presence per visit, only one reaction was counted per visit.

These seventy-five entries were then sub-sub-coded depending on the reaction which I received. Two types of reactions were identified: receptive/open or ambivalent. Examples of the receptive/open response were mentioned at the beginning of this appendix; the notes from 34 field visits (27% of total) indicated that I was greeted with total receptivity and openness throughout the visit. However, the notes from 41 field visits suggested that my presence evoked a combination of receptivity and tension; these latter were sub-coded "ambivalent".

This tension often became manifest through the use of

"humor". For example, upon my being introduced to the vice-president of Temple Hay, he moved very close to me while pretending to examine my body with a magnifying glass exclaiming, "Study me! Study me!". Another example: after a session of the Saturday morning minyan at Temple Het, I was introduced to one of the. Upon hearing of my dissertation topic, he retorted: "We could have made you sit in the balcony"-- a reference to the restricted participation of women in Orthodox synagogues.

In the extreme, this tension became open animosity (e.g., the president of Temple Zayin was irate over my initial appearance at his temple) or an attempt to "close" the field to me (e.g. the president of Temple Aleph refused to allow me to attend their annual congregational meeting). These extreme responses occurred only five times. No visit was characterized by tension/hostility only.

An analysis of these "reactions to researcher" data indicated that they were not equally distributed across all temple events. My presence evoked almost no response at B'nai Mitzvot services, minimal response at religious services and considerable response at congregational Board of Trustee meetings. (A chi-square by type of event yielded significant differences; see Table H.1.) These findings may be explained by the differential structure of the two types of events; it is easier for a stranger to blend into the background at a religious service. In addition, congregants

Table H.1

Distribution of "responses to researcher" entries by type of event

Event	Number of "responses to researcher" entries
Religious services (n=30)	14
Adult education (n=41)	26
Sisterhood (n=17)	13
Congregational meetings (n=10)	9
Phone conversations (n=11)	8
B'nai Mitvot ceremonies (n=15)	2

Note. Only response entries from major events are included. Response entries from committee meetings and miscellaneous are not included.

$\chi^2 = 21.91$, $df=5$, $p < .001$. Most of this effect is due to the low rate of responsiveness at B'nai Mitzvot ceremonies.

When the analysis is re-done, eliminating these ceremonies, $\chi^2 = 8.4$, $df=4$, $p < .1$.

often formed small clusters during the oneg shabbat which seemed impervious to distraction. (See the next section on "Researcher's responses" for the flip side of this dynamic.)

Congregational meetings were a different matter, as it was at these meetings that temple policy was openly discussed. I was initially uninvited to attend two Board of Trustees meetings; at a third, I was denied access to any of the memoranda that were distributed to Board members. While there was a tendency for my presence at Board meetings to evoke more ambivalence, this difference was not significant.

There were also no significant differences in general response rate by temple but an analysis by type of response and temple indicated that Temple Gimmel was significantly more open than the other temples. Considering that Temple Gimmel is the temple to which I belong, this finding is not surprising. When data from Temple Gimmel were eliminated, there were no significant differences in the type of response emitted by the various temples. One might say that all temples (except for my own) were equally open or equally ambivalent about my presence.

An analysis of the "reactions to researcher" entries by person indicated that ten temple actors were named three or more times each in these entries; two of these were the two female rabbis in the sample. Temple Bet's assistant rabbi and Temple Vav's rabbi were each named six times.

As a woman, Temple Bet's assistant rabbi was very open

to the research project; she openly shared her experiences of pregnancy and childbirth during her tenure at Temple Bet and later her frustration and anger over not having had her contract renewed. This latter issue was more sensitive; immediately after she was informed of her non-renewal, she became more hesitant to speak to me.

Temple Vav's rabbi started out very cautious and warmed up to me as the data collection period progressed. As one of the first women to be ordained a rabbi, her experience of being in the public eye had left her "camera shy"; once she was assured of my sincere intentions, she became more open to my presence.

Temple Aleph's rabbi was noted four times; all indicated his ambivalent and sometimes hostile responses to me. As I eventually discovered the rabbi was a focal image in a political coup which occurred towards the end of the data collection period. His responses to me may have reflected his desire to obscure these political tensions.

The seven other temple actors who were most frequently mentioned were congregants. One was the immediate past president of Temple Aleph; in contrast to the rabbi, Marnie was totally open to the research project. Indeed, during a Sisterhood Board meeting which I attended and which Marnie found particularly frustrating, she leaned towards me and whispered that she couldn't wait for me to interview her.

Three other congregants were presidents of their

congregations. My relationships with them were characterized by ambivalence. Two tried to seduce me out of my role as researcher. The president of Temple Hay asked me to share my findings with him privately. Temple Hay was a newly merged congregation; there was great tension between the two original congregations. As I was later to discover, there was also discontent with this president's leadership style. I experienced his request as an attempt to transform my role into consultant.

The president of Temple Vav tried to disarm me by publicly offering me a position as Temple Youth Director during a Board of Trustees meeting. While I doubted his serious intentions, his offer may have been an attempt to "get me on the defensive". This president had been adamant that I not attend Temple Vav's annual meeting at which a vote would be taken on whether or not to expand the temple. To use his words "it's not appropriate for families to fight in front of non-family members".

Temple Zayin's president was originally outraged over my appearance at his temple. After talking with him, it became apparent that Temple Zayin was plagued with apathy. The president seemed to be embarrassed over an outsider's learning about the depth of the apathy. Eventually, he changed his attitude toward me and became very welcoming.

The three additional temple actors were officers of Temple Hay's Sisterhood. In addition to the tension between

the two original congregations, tension at Temple Hay was generated by the Board of Trustees' decision not to renew their rabbi's contract. Initially, the Sisterhood had not been invited to send a representative to the search committee. Their anger was transferred to me; I was uninvited to attend their meetings. The president and immediate past president of the Sisterhood were wary of my presence; fortunately, I was able to find an advocate (the third woman named) who helped me gain access to Sisterhood.

All of these responses to me as researcher reflected the on-going dynamics within each temple. As discussed in Chapter 2, these meta-data are actually a microcosm of the larger data set.

Researcher's response to being in the field. Just as an organization may be ambivalent about having its boundaries penetrated, the researcher may experience anxiety over being the instrument of penetration. Some indicator of this anxiety was present in the field notes from forty-six visits (36% of total visits); there were no differences by temple. These entries derived from five types of events: religious services (n=13); adult education (n=18); Sisterhood meetings (n=11); congregational meetings (n=3) and one committee meeting (Temple Aleph's outreach committee).

Agar identifies two strategies used by ethnographers to combat this anxiety: "going native" and "keeping distance";

both impact upon the data collection process.

"Going native". This strategy involves ceding the researcher role by becoming like the researched. As Agar notes, the utilization of this strategy is helpful in that it allows the researcher to experience first hand what it is like to be a member of the given society; however, total nativization prevents gaining a clear view of organizational dynamics.

There were eighteen entries which indicated either partial or total nativization. (There was only one instance of total nativization.) There were no differences by temple; however, there were differences by type of event. (See Table H.2.) Nativization occurred primarily at adult education events, where it was all too easy to get into the content of the course as opposed to the process of the session, and Sisterhood events, where I often found myself wanting to make suggestions as to how Sisterhood should proceed. Fortunately my awareness of the pull towards nativization usually allowed me to moderate how native I would become.

In two instances, I found myself completely swept away. One occurred at a congregational Board of Trustees meeting at Temple Zayin during a discussion which focused on sending holiday treats to college age youth who lived away from home. This discussion occurred late in the meeting and was characterized by quibbling over definitions of "college age"

Table H.2

Distribution of "going native" entries by type of event

Event	Number of "going native" entries
Religious service (n=30)	0
Adult education (n=41)	8
Sisterhood (n=17)	7
Congregational meeting (n=10)	2
Committee meeting (n=2)	1

χ^2 for "going native" = 14.07, df=4, $p < .01$.

and "away from home". While the president deftly handled the parliamentary aspects of amendments to amendments to motions, everyone became increasingly silly as the debate dragged on. Soon people were laughing hysterically, including myself. I was abruptly reminded that I was there as a researcher when one Board member pointed towards me saying "We just gave her a whole chapter of her dissertation".

The other incident of nativization was more dramatic. It occurred at Temple Aleph's outreach committee meeting. As the first and last paragraphs of the field report of this visit attest, the data collection process is indeed affected when one "goes native":

Temple Aleph
Outreach Committee Meeting
June 12

The notes for this field visit are being recorded in October--four months after the visit. Obviously, there is much reconstructive bias implicit in these notes.

I don't really recall too much from this meeting. I had enjoyed it tremendously, and had used it to talk about my own feelings about being a Jewish woman--obviously not an observer role. I guess that is why I never recorded any observations--I also guess that I needed to move out of the observer role this time--it was an opportunity to share feelings which I had not encountered in my own temple nor during the year--I guess I needed to do that--but, oh, what devastation to the data.

The pull towards nativization was most severe in Temple Gimmel, the temple to which I belong. Being native was obviously my natural state in this temple. In this temple, there was more anxiety attached to revealing that I was

observing temple interactions. This often led to an inhibition on pursuing answers to questions, defensive interactions or not telling people about my research role. While Temple Gimmel was the only temple where I engaged in covert research, it was not the only temple where I felt inhibited about pursuing research goals.

Inhibited and defensive research interventions. There were twenty-eight recordings of inhibited or defensive research interventions; they did not vary by temple. However, as Table H.3 shows they occurred primarily after religious services (during oneg shabbats) or during adult education events.

As noted during the discussion on "responses to researcher", it was very easy for an outsider to blend into a congregation during a religious service. During the social period after the religious service, people often clustered together in small social groups; sometimes, I found it difficult to decide whom to approach; at other times, I found it difficult to break into on-going conversations. During the early stages of the research, I often allowed these feelings of shyness to dominate; I opted for pure observation of temple interactions. As Agar state, "keeping distance" incurs "the risk of failing to understand the complexities of a human situation different from your own".

Eventually, I forced myself to speak. It was during

Table H.3

Distribution of "inhibited/defensive" entries by type of event

Event	number of inhibited/defensive entries
Religious service (n=30)	13
Adult education (n=41)	10
Sisterhood (n=17)	4
Congregational meeting (n=10)	1
Committee meeting (n=2)	0

χ^2 for "inhibited/defensive" = 6.32, df=4, not significant

one of these forced interactions that I learned of Temple Zayin's presidents anger over my presence at his temple:

Temple Zayin
Friday night service
October 19

I introduced myself to the President of the Congregation (POC). He told me that he was taken aback. He was offended by the letter which I sent. It did not ask permission; it did not state why the temple was being selected. He felt that there was not an adequate explanation of what I was going to do....I told the POC why his temple was chosen...I told him what I wanted to do (participate in the activities and interview members, subject to their permission). I assured him that the rights of all temple members would be observed. POC called over the vice-president for administration. I reiterated why the temple was chosen for inclusion...

The POC was nervous. He felt that the selection of his temple was a poor choice. I sensed the problem of apathy. They can't get members out; they can't get leaders. I mentioned that I heard that the temple had a very active adult education program. POC responded that for those who attended it was active, but not that many attended....I mentioned that if the temple wanted to see the results of the study when it is done, I would be glad to sit with them and explain the results. They would also be welcome to a copy of the final report. Thus the research might be helpful to the temple. Both the POC and V.P. agreed. POC told me that he would put my name on the mailing list. I followed him into the Rabbi's study.

POC reiterated his annoyance over the letter. He said that the rabbi was also not impressed with the letter, and that I was going to have to win him (the rabbi) over--and that wasn't going to be easy....When we got into the rabbi's study, POC said once more that he was not impressed with the letter, although he was impressed that I was there. He wasn't sure if I was just going to ask them to fill out a questionnaire.

Although I was able to convince Temple Zayin's POC that I was not the enemy, the intensity of his anger stayed with me through succeeding interactions. Field notes from the next two field visits included notations of uncertainty,

discomfort and apprehension. It was with these feelings that I approached Temple Bet's POC :

Temple Bet
Friday night service
October 26

I introduced myself to the POC. I am nervous; I'm not sure how I will be responded to. He says that he's glad to see me; I'm welcome. They were flattered to find that their temple is interesting enough to be studied. He says that he passed the letter onto the rabbi who also thought that the study was a good idea.

It was at this point that I began to sense that the reaction on the part of Temple Zayin's POC reflected temple dynamics. This insight allowed me to deflect my concern with what I perceived to be personal failings back onto the temple under consideration. For example, I often felt lost at oneg shabbats at both Temples Dalet and Het--unsure who to approach and how to approach members. Later, during the interview phase of the research, I was told that Temple Dalet did not consider itself to be a social temple; Temple Het was concerned about its image as a cold temple. Thus my subjective experience of these temples was eventually validated by the statements of temple members. Once recorded, my reactions served as a tangible indication of temple ambience.

A subset of these "inhibited research interventions" included notations of conscious, controlled decisions not to pursue a discussion; these decisions were made in response to non-verbal messages which I received from others. These non-verbals included intense stares, muscle tension and

averted eye contact. Two notations referred to Temple Bet's assistant rabbi; three referred to Regina the immediate past president of Temple Hay's Sisterhood. While I could have disregarded these non-verbals and forged ahead, this would not have facilitated the data collection procedure. Again, viewing these signals as an indicator of their feelings about their respective temples allowed me to withdraw temporarily and wait until a better moment to approach them. As I learned, patience and timing are crucial participant observation techniques.

Assertive research interventions. While it is important to recognize how and when anxiety entered into the data collection process, most research interventions were not plagued by anxiety. With time, the various temple cultures became more apparent. A certain degree of predictability emerged: whom I would see at various events; how the events would proceed; even which conflicts would emerge. As key issues or hypotheses emerged from the mass of interactions, I became more assertive in seeking out people who could address these issues. Despite this, sometimes the pursuit of information was blocked by an obstacle. For example, twice my overtures were rejected; the individuals did not wish to speak with me. In two others, my questions were met by evasive answers. In yet two others, I received signals that the issues were so sensitive that they could not be discussed publicly. In

these cases, telephone numbers were exchanged and the data collection continued via phone.

In two more cases, I approached the wrong person. For example, during a special congregational meeting at Temple Hay, there was a discussion and an ensuing vote on purchasing a parsonage for the new rabbi. During the social time after the vote, I tried to locate the one woman who had vehemently opposed the purchase. I briskly followed a woman out into the parking lot whom I thought was that woman; after introducing myself to her, I discovered that she was not the person with whom I had hoped to speak. While a pleasant conversation ensued, it did not answer the questions which I had about opposition to the parsonage. Upon returning to the temple and scanning the huge mass of people still milling around, I realized that I had lost the opportunity.

The interview process

As Sudman and Bradburn (1982) indicate, asking questions is a social process. As such, the interviewer-interviewee relationship is critical to data collection. Several aspects of this relationship are relevant: the pre-interview relationship, scheduling the interview and the interview itself. For most interviewees, a pre-interview relationship had been established in the participant observation stage of the research. The scheduling phase has already been discussed in Chapter 2; thus the following

discussion will focus on the interview itself.

On the day of the interview, each interview was preceded by a brief settling-in period during which I reviewed the information which had been given to the respondent during our earlier phone conversation. The interviewee was asked to sign the consent form and the tape machine was readied. In many congregant interviews, this settling-in phase was expanded to include the preparation of refreshments. Food or beverage entered into the interview process in thirty-one of the fifty-six interviews (56%). As indicated on Table H.4, most of these were congregant interviews.

Several interpretations may be offered for this phenomenon. On the most superficial level, offering food was part of the role which the woman was fulfilling at the moment; for women at home, offering food implied that she was a good hostess. Offering food was role irrelevant for clergy, administrators and congregants in temple.

On yet another level, the "breaking of bread" together seemed to serve as a metaphor for the sharing which was about to transpire. This level of interpretation suggests that the congregant-interviewee relationship was a more intimate one than the other two interviewing relationships. There are additional data which support this interpretation.

The last question on the interview guide asked if the respondent had any final comments about either women's

Table H.4

Distribution of cases where food entered the interview
process by type of respondent

Respondent	Number where food was part of interview
Congregant (n=36)	27
Clergy (n=16)	3
Administrator (n=4)	1
Total (n=56)	31

$\chi^2 = 16.44$, $df=2$, $p < .001$.

participation in Reform Judaism or the interview itself. Three kinds of responses were given. One was typified by additional content; the respondent wished to emphasize a particular point that had been made earlier or address an issue not covered by the interview. This was the most frequent response and did not vary by type of respondent.

Respondents also commented on the process of the interview. There were two types of process comments; one referred to the technical aspect of the interview: "It's a well planned out interview; it covered all areas" or "It was very thorough and broad enough...and you gave me enough opportunity to express myself". Again, there were no differences by type of respondent.

The interview as a source of insight. Rogers (1942) talks about the facilitation of insight as a critical interviewing technique: the interviewer encourages the free expression of feelings (both negative and positive), clarifies them and allows the interviewee to come to his/her own understanding and self-acceptance. Sanford (1982) adds that the use of the interview as a research tool can facilitate (positive) change in the interviewee.

The second process comment alluded to this change; over one-third of the congregants (n=13) indicated that the interview had helped them to think about things in a new way:

In terms of the interview...I actually enjoyed it...I learned a lot about myself...in terms of why I'm

involved with certain things, or where the importance of certain things...my values...of what I'm involved with at the temple.

Marlene, Temple Dalet

or noted the emotional aspect of the interview: "I've enjoyed the interview very much because it helped me get in touch with my own feelings and kind of colate a lot of feelings".

These kinds of interchanges seemed to be limited to congregants. In general, the interviewing relationship with clergy and administrators was characterized by greater formality and distance. It is not clear whether this was a result of their need to seem professional or the fact that they did not find the interview questions especially thought-provoking, although 61% of the clergy did add additional content at the end of the interview and 28% commented postively on the technical aspects of the interview.

My notes about the interview process did indicate a professional stance on the part of clergy and administrators. During the interview, twelve of the eighteen interviewees (67%) sat behind their desks. Of those who didn't, five were "junior clergy" (four cantors and one assistant rabbi): two were student cantors who had recently decided to leave the temples which they served at the time of the interview; a third was a recently installed cantor. Each seemed to be still struggling with integrating the clergy role with his/her own personal value system.

The interviewee as a partner in defining the interview process. There is yet a third level of interpretation concerning food and the interview process. The data just reviewed suggests that clergy and administrators were able to use their positions to moderate the interviewer-interviewee relationship; I was "on their turf" so to speak. For the most part, congregants did not have the same kind of position power. Rather, they became partial definers of the interview process through the use of food. Food enabled congregants to assert territorial initiative.

In a few cases, temple space could serve the same purpose. Thus, one interview with a religious school chairperson took place in a classroom which she unlocked; another interview took place in the rabbi's office when the rabbi was out of the building. Still another took place in the administrator's office on a Sunday morning; this time, the congregant sat behind the administrator's desk.

The need for the interviewee to be a partner in defining the interview process was an important component of the interview's success. For this reason, the interview guide was used as just that--a guide. I allowed respondents to follow their own route through the interview.

All congregant interviews started the same way. (See Appendix E.) Divergent routes began to emerge as early as the second or third question. For example, one congregant

from Temple Hay immediately began to talk about the political situation at that temple: that there were fierce political games being played; that there were those with influence and those without influence. At this point, I directed the congregant to interview questions 21, 22 and 23 which asked about temple leadership and influence. These responses led to a discussion of the ways in which she participated in temple (questions 6, 7, 19 and 20); in turn, these responses led to questions 14, 9 through 13, 8 and 15. Questions 16, 17 and 18 followed easily; these answers slid right into the answer to question 24. Once the congregant stopped "running on her own steam", I backtracked, picking up missed questions or moved the interview forward, asking questions not yet reached in the interview booklet.

Clergy and administrator interviews also displayed the same divergencies, but to a lesser degree. Their answers tended to be shorter, more factual and with less emotional content than congregant interviews. This may be interpreted as yet another manifestation of the more distant and formal interviewer-interviewee relationship.

Participant observation of congregant interviews.

Incidents occurred during eleven congregant interviews which both reflected upon the respondents' positions in temples and mirrored the content of the interview. For example, the interview with the incoming POC of Temple Bet was interrupted by a phone call from the temple administrator

informing her that a Sisterhood president had been found. The incoming POC was overjoyed with this news. This incident validated the concern which she felt about a weakening Sisterhood and of which she had just spoken in the interview.

Two incidents were especially disturbing to the interviewer and allude to the possible ethical dilemmas faced by researchers. The interview with a congregant from Temple Zayin was interrupted by a phone call during which she learned of the suicide of a teenage boy who belonged to the temple; she had been notified by the temple secretary who had been unable to contact the rabbi. This interruption occurred shortly after the interviewee had shared her frustration with the rabbi's pastoral shortcomings. While this incident did validate the interview content, and thus similar to the other incidents was fortuitously timed, it also demanded an out-of-role response from the researcher. The interview was temporarily halted to allow the interviewee to ventilate her feelings about the child's death; the interview continued only at the insistence of the interviewee.

The other disturbing incident has already been related in Chapter 2; it concerned the interviewee whose daughter had been very ill and who had a strong emotional response to the interview process itself. Again, an out-of-role response was mandated; I drove this interviewee to the store

where she wished to purchase the blouse. Casual conversation during the fifteen minute drive seemed to help her.

"Subjectivity" returned

While the importance of the researcher-researched relationship has already been discussed in Chapter 2, the author feels that it is a crucial component of the research process. The author is convinced that the use of more distancing research strategies (e.g. questionnaires) would not have enabled her to correct her own biases at the onset of the study. It was the ability to hear women's individual and unique voices in the field, and the analysis of her subjective responses to these voices, which allowed her to expand her understanding of the parameters which define women's participation in Reform synagogues.

Further, it was necessary to be in the field to observe how the socio-religious history of each temple shaped everyday interactions. The perceptions of the respondents were part of this history; many were so involved in its enactment that they were unable to reflect upon the larger picture. Thus, it was important to be able to place the interview data into its appropriate context. By using the participant observation data as the "ground" into which the "figure" of the interview data fit, I was able to obtain one view of Reform synagogue life. However, by performing perceptual reversals (e.g. making the interview data the

ground and the participant observation data the figure) a different, albeit complementary view emerged. For example, from the interviews at Temple Aleph, I learned of the ensuing political war; this information allowed me to re-interpret the rabbi's ambiguous responses toward me in the field; conversely, observations of the rabbi's pulpit style helped me to better understand why he was such a controversial ritual figure.

These perceptual reversals would not have been possible without the recorded observations of the data collection process (or meta-data). By analyzing when, where and how frequently both I and respondents experienced specific reactions, patterns of reactions emerged which were later normalized by the interview data; that is, while I and others were experiencing these reactions (figure), they seemed to be idiosyncratic responses; yet when integrated with information from other sources (background), I was able to see how these reactions reflected temple structure (figure again). Consistent with those theorists who have advocated a less defensive stance on the part of the researcher, systematic analysis of the researcher's and researched's subjective responses adds a powerful new level of understanding about self, other and the social world.

Appendix I

Coding categories

- METHODOLOGY:** concerns interactions with temple members which have implications for gathering data, obtaining data, being included or excluded from events, etc. Also personal reactions to being in the field.
- LIFE CYCLE/JEWISH YEARLY EVENTS:** references to Bar/Bat Mitzvah, confirmation, births, deaths, marriages, etc. Also references to Jewish holidays, including Shabbat.
- ADULT EDUCATION/STUDY GROUP:** references to adults studying, taking classes, learning about Jewish themes, etc. in the temple.
- CONGREGATIONAL LEADERSHIP/CONGREGATIONAL DYNAMICS:** references to formal leaders (e.g. Board of Trustees members, POC, V.P.'s, etc.), informal leadership acts (somebody influences somebody else) and decision-making (both financial and non-financial). Also references to how the temples as an organization operates.
- RELIGIOUS SCHOOL/YOUTH GROUP/YOUTH EDUCATION/YOUTH BEHAVIOR:** references to children's education and formal and informal interactions of children/adolescents within temple.
- EARLY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION:** references to the religious affiliation of one's childhood, parents, grandparents and how that affected their religious behavior now. Also references to a different religious affiliation (e.g. non-Jewish--conversion, Jews by choice).
- FOOD:** references to dinners, luncheons, snacks, holiday refreshments, pouring coffee, tea; serving meals; also Oneg Shabbats, Seders.
- TEMPLE/FAMILY INTERFACE:** references to how temple participation might affect family life and how family life might affect participation in temple.
- TEMPLE/COMMUNITY INTERFACE:** references to temple non-members participating in temple activities or how events outside of the temple affect temple interactions. Also references to temple members participating in community events as representatives of the temple or attempts to transmit information about the temple to the community at large.

RABBI: any reference to the rabbi--what the rabbi did, what the rabbi said, how the rabbi participated, attitudes toward the rabbi, rabbi's attitudes, etc.

CANTOR: similar to rabbi, except references are to cantor.

SURVIVAL OF JUDAISM: references to the continuation of Judaism--comments about having more children to increase the numbers of Jews or passing down the traditions or references to assimilation/inter-marriage.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES/RITUAL: references to Friday night services, Saturday morning services, Bar/Bat Mitzvah services, holiday services, etc. Also references to specific rituals or religious practices--both within the temple and outside (e.g. home).

SOCIALIZING/SOCIAL EVENTS/COHESIVENESS: references to social activities (e.g. dances, parties, dinners) or ways in which people get together to share expressive/affective needs or mechanisms for keeping temple together.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF TEMPLE: references to how the temple looks, architectural issues, needs for expansion, temperature of the temple, sound problems, etc.

SOCIAL/POLITICAL ISSUES: references to contemporary social or or political or economic problems (e.g. South Africa, sexism, anti-semitism, black-Jewish relations, attitudes toward political candidates, etc.)

SISTERHOOD: any references to Sisterhood (interaction between Sisterhood and other temple actors; functions of Sisterhood; intra-Sisterhood interactions).

MEN'S CLUB: references to Men's Club or Brotherhood.

ADMINISTRATOR/PAID EMPLOYEES/SECRETARY: references to the behavior of temple employees (except rabbi, cantor or religious school director) or attitudes toward paid employees or how paid employees affect temple interactions.

ISRAEL: references to actual events in Israel, attitudes toward Israel, any interactions the temple might have had with people/institutions in Israel.

CULTURAL EVENTS: references to concerts, movies, theater parties--events related to the arts.

FUND-RAISING: references to how to get money.

Appendix J

Derivation of participant observation entries by type of event

Theme	Religious Services (n=30)	B'nai Mitzvot (n=15)	Sisterhood events (n=17)	Adult Ed. events (n=41)	Committee mtgs. (n=2)	Congregational/ Bd. mtgs. (n=10)	Phone convs. (n=11)	Misc. events (n=2)	Total (n=128)
Entry into temple/join temple			3	6		6			15
Membership committee	2			2		6		1	11
Ritual involvement	30	8	7	6		6	2		59
Adult education	12	2	4	41		10	4		73
Rel. school/ Youth comm.	3		3	2		7	1	1	17
Food	22	1	15	13	1	7	3	1	63
Socializing	14	1	16	5	2	7	4	1	50
Resources for progs.	7	1	8	21	1	1	1	1	40
Sist.' soc./ political role	3		8			2	1		14
Community concern	3		6			4	1		14
Social/ political issues	8	3	4	5		1	2		23
Financial decision-making	2		2	2		9	2		17

Appendix J (continued)

Theme	Religious services (n=30)	B'nai Mitzvot (n=15)	Sisterhood event (n=17)	Adult Ed. event (n=41)	Committee mtgs. (n=2)	Congregational/ Bd. mtgs. (n=10)	Phone convs. (n=11)	Misc. events (n=2)	Total (n=128)
Sisterhood- temple relations	14		16	5		5	6	1	47
Non- financial decision making	4		2	11		6	4	1	28
Rabbi- congreg. relations	13	3	12	16	1	8	6	1	60
Sisterhood leadership vis-a-vis congregat. leadership	7		7	1		1	3		19
Administ.- congregat. relations	1		4	1	1	1			8
Early religious affiliation	3		2	12	1	1		1	20
Female clergy as "badge of liberalism"	3		1						4
Cantor- congregat. relations	3	5	6	8		8	3	1	34
De-status female clergy		3	1	3		2			9

Appendix K

A glossary of terms

- aliyah: literally "going up". Aliyah refers to the honor of being called up to the Torah to recite the blessings before and after each section is read at public, communal services; also refers to the act of immigrating to Israel.
- Ashkenazi: refers to Jews of Eastern European background.
- Bar Mitzvah (male); Bat Mitzvah (female); B'nai Mitzvot: literally "son/daughter/children of the commandment" referring both to a person who has attained religious and legal maturity (age 13) as well as to the occasion at which this status is formally assumed.
- bima: The podium in the synagogue where the Torah is read and from which services are led and sermons are preached.
- C.C.A.R. stands for the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which is the professional organization to which Reform rabbis belong.
- challah: special bread, usually braided, which is served on Sabbaths and festivals.
- Halachah: literally "the way". Jewish law which encompasses both the written Torah and the oral tradition.
- havurah (pl. havurot): literally "company, society, group, fellowship". Also refers to the small, informal groups which are formed for prayer, study and celebration of Jewish holidays.
- H.U.C.: stands for Hebrew Union College, which is the Reform seminary from which Reform rabbis and cantors receive training.
- kiddush: literally "sanctification". Refers to the prayer of sanctification said over the wine during the Shabbat service.

kipah (pl. kipot): the skullcap traditionally worn by Jewish males during services. In Reform synagogues, the wearing of kipot is optional.

minhag: refers to the traditions (customs) which are specific to individual congregations.

Oneg Shabbat: literally "the pleasure of the Shabbat", refers to foods which are served during a social time after the service. There can also be special onegs for holiday services.

Shalom bayit: literally "peace in the house".

shivah: refers to the period of mourning. Traditional Jews "sit shivah" for seven days; Reform Jews "sit shivah" for three days. Special shivah services (services of mourning) are conducted in the home of the bereaved.

tallis/tallit (pl. tallitot): prayer shawl.

Torah: The corpus of Jewish law, lore and rabbinic commentary which is the central organizing element of Jewish religion and tradition and which is considered by Orthodox/Conservative Jews to be divinely revealed; Reform Jews believe that Torah was divinely inspired, but written by people.

Torah scroll: The parchment scroll which contains the five books of Moses (Pentateuch) and whose reading is the focal point of communal prayer on Sabbaths, holy days and other specified occasions.

U.A.H.C.: stands for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. It is the parent body for Reform congregations in the United States and Canada.

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