

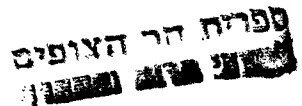
AMERICAN PLURALISM AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

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Seymour Martin Lipset



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Sources of Jewish Charitable Giving: Incentives and Barriers

Arnold Dashefsky

The charitable giving behavior of the Jews is a subject that sparks dramatic headlines in the periodic literature. For example, in the past decade we have read with profound interest about “The Crisis in Jewish Philanthropy,” “Does Jewish Philanthropy Have a Future?,” and “Will the Well Run Dry? The Future of Jewish Giving in America.”¹ These have appeared at a period roughly coinciding with the decade of the 1980s, when American politics has been dominated by the attempts of the executive branch of government to shift responsibility for some social and welfare functions of the federal authority to the private domain of religious and other organizations. Indeed, issues related to charities in other countries have made front-page news in the general press, suggesting the possibility that this direction may not simply be confined to the United States.² Yet, to what extent and on what basis do people in the private sector respond to the challenge of supporting philanthropic work and welfare activities by contributing to charities beyond their own religious congregations?

We do not know the answer to this question. A recent nationwide study prepared by Hodgkinson and Weitzman found that 75 percent of Protestants gave to religious charities, compared to 71 percent of Catholics. They concluded that “the survey results did not show a clear relationship between giving to religion and giving to other charities. What it did show was that those who were very involved in their church or synagogue gave more generously to religious charities.”³

A Canadian study in progress found that 51 percent of Protestants and a similar proportion of Catholics (49 percent) made religious donations. As in

the U.S. findings, a correlation between religiosity and religious giving was uncovered.⁴ But a national British survey of charitable behavior, for example, failed to examine religious differences at all.⁵ While some research is just beginning to include religion in national surveys on respondents' charitable giving, do we know anything about their motivations?

Presumably, this should be the kind of question for which a social scientific answer might readily be available. Indeed, social psychology has developed an area of inquiry called "prosocial behavior," which, according to one recent textbook definition, "involves acts that benefit other people—ways of responding to other people that are sympathetic, cooperative, helpful, rescuing, comforting, and giving."⁶ A familiar part of the literature that examines such altruistic behavior, however, derives from research on bystander intervention spawned by the failure of at least thirty-eight eyewitnesses to respond to the murder of Kitty Genovese in New York City in 1964. Much less study is devoted to that form of prosocial behavior referred to as "donating," or "the act of making a gift or contribution, usually to a charity."⁷ This subject is only briefly discussed, if at all, in recent social psychology textbooks.⁸

Much of the extant literature on explaining why people do or do not engage in charitable behavior focuses on the immediate context of the interpersonal situation between the donor and the recipient or the solicitor. For example, Reece⁹ has defined philanthropic behavior as involving the voluntary transferring of economic goods to an organization or individual. The donor makes the decision to give or not based on a whole range of preconceived attitudes and values which may be influenced by the way he or she is approached. The less an institution speaks of its own needs and the more it emphasizes the tangible or intangible benefits received from such contributions, the more successful the campaign. Thus, researchers have focused on such diverse dimensions of charitable giving as the giver's perception of giving,¹⁰ the solicitation context,¹¹ and gender differences.¹² The literature, however, focuses more on situational factors affecting giving behavior.

In truth, a substantial portion of this social science literature tends to be derived more from the psychological tradition.¹³ An excellent review of the sociological literature, however, is provided by Galaskiewicz,¹⁴ who presented a variety of sociological and anthropological accounts of the role of gifts and gift-giving in society. Relying on a "nominalist" theoretical framework, he concludes that selective incentives provide the basis for sustaining such gifts. This theoretical orientation is rooted in the dominant Western conception that the motivation for particular individual behaviors is simply the maximization of personal self-interest. According to this approach, an ethic of communitarianism does not appear to play a role in the motivation for the giving of gifts of charity. Both psychologically oriented studies, such as those focusing on situational factors, and sociologically oriented studies, emphasizing rational

self-interest, fail to reveal a potentially more profound basis for such charitable activity that may be rooted in the process of socialization to a set of norms and values favoring such acts.

A somewhat different direction to the study of helping behavior is based on a "normative approach." Berkowitz and Connor¹⁵ found experimental support for the "norm of social responsibility"; i.e., the more people are dependent on others, the more they will receive help. Similarly, Gouldner¹⁶ defined the "norm of reciprocity" as based on the notion that the more people have been helped by others, the more help they should give in return.

Jewish Charitable Giving

Indeed, some research does focus on the normative requirement or community responsibility of donating or giving charity. Dashefsky and Lazerwitz¹⁷ reported that 64 percent of respondents in the National Jewish Population Survey claimed to have given to their last local United Jewish Appeal Campaign. Tobin and Lipsman,¹⁸ relying on more recent data for eight metropolitan areas, found the proportion claiming to contribute to Jewish causes ranging from a low of 63 percent in Miami to a high of 79 percent in Rochester. This empirical literature on Jewish charitable giving has focused on the normative demand for *tzedakah* (literally justice, not charity)¹⁹ and the associated changes that have taken place in the Jewish community.

It has often been noted that Jews are disproportionately generous to charitable causes both in the Jewish and general communities, even controlling for income differences among religious and ethnic groups.

Although Jews represent less than 3% of the total population in America they give about \$500 million a year to UJA. This is in contrast to over 32 million Americans of all faiths including Jews who give about \$1.5 billion annually to United Way. These figures are impressive because it means a community representing less than 3% of the total U.S. population raises for UJA 33% of the dollars that Americans generally contribute to the United Fund.²⁰

As noted above, 64 percent of respondents claimed to have given to their local UJA or Federation campaign, and a similar proportion of 63 percent claimed to have given to their local community (non-Jewish) welfare fund drive.²¹ Nevertheless, no comparative data appear to exist documenting the proportions of adherents of all faiths who give to their own religious causes or to other general charities above and beyond contributions to their own church, synagogue, or temple. Indeed, the amount of sociological research on the phenomenon of charitable giving seems very limited, with only one entry under "charity" in the *Cumulative Index of Sociology Journals*.²² An investiga-

tion of the personal, professional, or ideological reasons as to why this is so goes beyond the scope of this article. Maimonides, acknowledged as the greatest medieval Jewish philosopher, taught that charity is obligatory, even for the poor, but that the highest level of giving was to create conditions such that the poor would not need charity. It is within this kind of historical normative order that a body of research has emerged focusing on charitable giving in the Jewish community.

Cohen,²³ for example, analyzed two surveys carried out in 1965 and 1975 in the Jewish community of Boston and found that the younger generation was less likely to be involved in Jewish community philanthropy. Furthermore, in his research, Heilman²⁴ documented the way in which charitable giving was a ritualized behavior that was part of the daily lives of the Orthodox congregation he studied.

In addition, an impressive number of Jewish population surveys have been carried out since the early 1970s, including such recent diverse community studies as Denver,²⁵ Hartford,²⁶ and Philadelphia.²⁷ They, however, have not probed deeply into the complexity of motivations for charity.²⁸ Taken together with the National Jewish Population Survey, it is noted that those who were most likely to contribute possessed a greater degree of Jewish identification based on synagogue attendance, Jewish educational background, and the like.²⁹

To repeat, these surveys do not reveal in any great detail the motivations, both incentives and barriers, for such philanthropy. As a recent social scientific inquiry to better understand the charitable behavior of the Jews stated,

The literature on Jewish philanthropic behavior is very thin. We suspect that a reasonable social scientific bibliography dealing with Jewish philanthropic behavior could be printed on one not terribly large page. As to our disciplinary field, sociology, there too we have found little dealing with charitable giving . . . We are operating then in largely unknown territory, borrowing theoretical insights from cognate areas, with little in the way of a cognitive map to lead us.³⁰

It is hoped that the research reported in this chapter begins to fill that gap by examining this issue within the normative context of helping behavior; i.e., the extent to which norms such as those of social responsibility or reciprocity are operating. Adherence to these norms is indicative of individuals' relationships to their society and of their support for "whatever sense of moral order exists in that society."³¹

Data and Methods

Survey research, of necessity, requires reaching a large number of respondents to gather brief responses in a relatively short period of time. Such an

approach usually does not permit the researcher to probe more deeply into the incentives and barriers to a particular type of behavior. Therefore, this study is based upon a purposive sample of seventy-two persons.³² Unlike a random sample, in which every person in a population is assigned an equal probability of inclusion, a purposive sample intentionally includes categories of persons who represent the social types of maximum interest to a research project. In this study, the individuals selected (described below) were drawn from different regions of the country as well as from varying concentrations of city/suburban residence. This selection process was designed to focus on areas and individuals where it is assumed that the greatest opportunities for additional giving lies. They include two in the Sun Belt, Texas and Florida, which have received large numbers of Jewish migrants in recent years. In addition, two areas in the Frost Belt were studied, New York and southern New England, both of which have populations living in the central cities as well as a growing suburban dispersion of population.³³

Of the seventy-two respondents that were interviewed, forty-two came from New York, and the other thirty were roughly evenly divided among Texas, Florida, and New England.³⁴ In addition, respondents were divided into three categories based on the assumption supported by the National Jewish Population Survey that Jewish identification and organizational involvement were directly related to contributing to the campaign (see table 13.1). These categories included:

- (1) Donors: Givers (generally \$500 or more) to United Jewish Appeal (UJA) and synagogue members and/or members of two or more Jewish organizations;³⁵
- (2) Nondonors: Nongivers to UJA who were synagogue members and/or members of two or more Jewish organizations; and
- (3) Unaffiliated: Nongivers to UJA who were neither members of a synagogue nor two or more Jewish organizations.

**TABLE 13.1. Categories of Jewish Associational Involvement:
Synagogue/Jewish Organizational Membership and Giving to UJA**

Giving	Organizational Membership	
	+	-
+	Donors (N = 24)	*
-	Non-donors (N = 24)	Unaffiliated (N = 24)

*Giving to UJA in the absence of synagogue or Jewish organizational membership is regarded as rare.

The interview consisted of over 100 questions and covered a variety of standard demographic and social characteristics (e.g., age, sex, marital status, employment, generation, number of children, residence, income, and necessary expenditures). In addition, a wide range of Jewish background characteristics was studied (e.g., synagogue membership, synagogue attendance, denominational preference, organizational involvement, and Jewish education). The major portion of the interview probed actual behavior and attitudes with respect to charitable giving (e.g., how much given, to whom given, decisionmaking in giving, degree of satisfaction in giving) as well as orientations toward UJA/Federation (e.g., motivations, inhibitions, preferred method of solicitation, involvement with UJA/Federation, and possible stimuli to giving). The interview concluded with a series of questions dealing with the respondents' knowledge and experience of Israel and anti-Semitism.³⁶ It is the purpose of this research to explore why the more marginal groups of Jews do not give.

It is important, however, to emphasize that *these seventy-two cases studied are not a representative sample of any sector of American Jewry*. Thus, the *findings constitute the basis for plausible hypotheses to be tested subsequently on a representative sample of Americans*. The purpose of presenting these data from a small sample is to locate these individuals in the larger mass of American Jewry, and to offer some insights as to the direction future research might take.

Comparison of Perceived Incentives and Barriers for the Three Groups

The Donors represent the Jewish community's "good givers." The Non-donors share with the Donors the characteristic of Jewish organizational membership and would therefore be expected to give to the UJA, but do not. The Unaffiliated represents an uninvolved group, which, according to some, is unreachable.

In a separate analysis,³⁷ the findings of this small sample were compared to those reported for the National Jewish population Survey on a variety of social, economic, and religious characteristics. The findings revealed that those who had children, were self-employed, had more Jewish education, were frequent synagogue attenders, and had more Jewish and general organizational involvements were more likely to contribute to the UJA. Such evidence is consistent with that of other researchers. For example, Cohen's study,³⁸ based on data gathered in Boston, found an increasing impact from 1965 to 1975 of Jewish activities on charitable giving. A study in Israel found that religious Israeli Jews were significantly more charitable than the secular subjects studied.³⁹

While the individuals specially interviewed for this study are not statistically representative of the entire American Jewish community, they are illustrative of the patterns of affiliation with UJA and Jewish organizational life—or the lack of it. How, then, do the three groups of individuals (Donors, Nondonors, and Unaffiliated) view their relationship to the organized Jewish community with respect to contributing to UJA? What do they perceive as incentives for and barriers to giving?

Table 13.2 summarizes the findings in regard to the relationship of the three groups toward their perceived incentives for the barriers against contributing to UJA. Seven sets of factors were examined to see whether they could act as such incentives or barriers. They included the following⁴⁰:

- (1) Being Jewish,
- (2) Israel,
- (3) Anti-Semitism,
- (4) UJA image,
- (5) Giving readiness,
- (6) Solicitation context,
- (7) Financial situation.

TABLE 13.2. Orientations Toward Giving: Perceived Incentives and Barriers to Giving for Donors, Non-Donors, and Unaffiliated

Giving Valence		
Level of Affiliation	Perceived Incentives (+)	Perceived Barriers (-)
	A	B
Donors	(1) Being Jewish: Identifying with Jewish community, Jewish organizations, Judaism, and moral obligation (Mitzvah) of Tzedakah (2) Israel: Trips and missions build identification with Israel (3) Anti-Semitism: Personal knowledge of Holocaust and awareness of anti-Semitism	(4) UJA Image/Structure: Elitist, wealthy, old (no room for young leadership), catering to big givers, exploitation of federation professional, Women's Division, don't know

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- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| (5) Giving Readiness: Parent gave or relative benefits from UJA services | (6) Solicitation Context: Charismatic speaker, inspirational professional, solicitation training, informational presentation, peer-group approval | (6) Solicitation Context: Public pledging, dinners, face-to-face, back-of-bus, phone, hard-sell techniques. |
| (7) Financial Situation: Reduction in inflation | | (7) Financial Situation: Other financial obligations (Synagogue) |

- | | C | D |
|------------|--|--|
| Non-donors | <p>(1) Being Jewish: Identifying with Jewish community, Jewish organizations, Judaism, and moral obligations (Mitzvah) of Tzedakah</p> <p>(2) Israel: Trips and missions build identification with Israel</p> <p>(3) Anti-Semitism: Awareness</p> <p>(4) UJA Image/Structure: Need to know, cut out administrative middle-man</p> <p>(6) Solicitation Context: Emotional appeal, personal friend</p> | <p>(4) UJA Image/Structure: Establishment, wealthy, old, distant, invisible, not relevant, Women's Division, don't know, don't rock the boat</p> <p>(6) Solicitation Context: Public pledging, dinners, face-to-face, phone</p> <p>(7) Financial Situation: No money, other financial obligations (JCC, Synagogue)</p> |

- | | E | F |
|---------------|--|---|
| Un-affiliated | <p>(1) Being Jewish: Moral obligation, sense of responsibility</p> <p>(2) Israel: Emergency situation or crisis, identification or concern with Israel</p> <p>(3) Anti-Semitism: Awareness</p> | <p>(1) Being Jewish: Not interested in religious organizations, lack of Jewish identity, estrangement from religious life/Jewish culture</p> <p>(2) Israel: Policies of Israeli government</p> <p>(4) UJA Image/Structure: Lack of knowledge of the UJA, not knowing what one's contribution actually does,</p> |

(6) Solicitation Context: Emotional appeal, sense of duty, personal contact	wealthy sponsorship (6) Solicitation Context: Phone calls, dinners, meetings, face-to-face, hard-sell techniques.
(7) Financial Situation: Invest personal time in a cause rather than money.	(7) Financial Situation: Economic times are difficult, unable to afford contribution.

According to these findings, any one factor could serve as a stimulus toward increasing the incentive to giving or raising the barrier to it. For example, respondents in the Donors group perceived the “UJA image/structure” as a potential barrier to giving, even though they gave. Likewise, members of the Unaffiliated group saw the “UJA image/structure” as a real barrier to their giving. No one in these groups reported “UJA image/structure” as an incentive to giving. Nevertheless, among the Nondonors a certain “UJA image or structure” was perceived both as an incentive or barrier to giving for that group. Of course, at the time of the research, that positive perception was not as evident as the negative one since members of this group were still Nondonors.

Incentives and Barriers of the Donors

Of the seven different sets of factors identified, we found that three could operate to produce perceived barriers toward giving to UJA even for the Donors. For example, some of the images of UJA held by the Donors included: elitist, wealthy, old (no room for young leadership), catering to big givers, exploitation of federation professionals, having a Women’s Division, or not familiar with UJA. Of course, many of these negative descriptions could also have been given by the Unaffiliated or the Nondonors. As one Donor from Texas suggested:

The problem I sometimes have is not understanding how the process is supposed to work in terms of decision . . . I made one pledge. Then someone asked what about the women’s division. My wife checked, and the pledge that I had made didn’t count for that . . .

Another Donor from New York perceived UJA as distant and put it this way: “It’s also a sense of something large and not connected to us.”

Occasionally a negative description emerges that could have come only from an insider, such as this observation about the treatment of the professional workers from a woman in New England:

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I think it's the nature of the beast. I think to work at a Jewish communal service organization like that and get paid bubkas "peanuts" and work with people who are dealing with millions and trillions of dollars—the whole volunteer versus professional psychology is absolutely wicked to deal with. I think a lot of the volunteers expect because the communal service worker is getting paid that they are, therefore, a servant of some kind. There is very much that attitude which bothers me terribly. I think they take terrible abuse. I can understand why someone who is very dynamic, wonderful, exciting, and inspirational would not want to stay in that kind of job and shouldn't. I get caught up in all that—sorry.

Another area that turned up as a barrier to the Donors was the solicitation context. Even in this group there were objections to one form of solicitation or another, such as public pledging, dinners, face-to-face or back-of-bus techniques phone calls, or hard sells. As one man ventured, "I would dislike it if someone asked me to stand up at a meeting unless I agreed to it. Generally, I don't like a meeting where they are announcing gifts in groups."

Another Donor objected to door-to-door solicitation: "I don't like a guy coming to me and tell(ing) me you owe me more than last year, and arguing with me as they have done." And another observed:

It's okay if you want to get the fifty wealthiest guys in the community and let them throw dollars at each other; but if you are taking someone who is just starting out and he's at a dinner where everyone is pledging \$1,000 and he had about \$25 or \$50 in mind, (then) I'm not going to go to anymore dinners.

A final area of barriers that we found for the Donors dealt with their financial situation. Usually, this took the form of conflicts between commitments to other Jewish institutions, such as the synagogue, and the UJA Campaign. As one man commented:

We cut back on UJA to make up for the synagogue (Building Fund) last year. We were kicked out of the computer for too much charitable deductions, and we have to go down there with all our receipts and canceled checks.

Finally, here is the observation of a committed contributor lamenting her situation:

We are becoming somewhat disenchanted with the fact that we sometimes feel that we are the only ones who were giving to the tune that we were giving, and when you find that nobody else is carrying the burden as heavily as you are, you stop and think what is wrong with me. Why am I so charitable and nobody else is? We cut back because we needed the money for something else (synagogue).

Nevertheless, these Donors gave, in some cases with extreme generosity, to their local campaign. What prompted them to give? They gave largely, as we said before, for Jewish reasons.

As one New Yorker stated, "I support Jewish institutions because I feel they are my protectors." Another was quoted as saying, "we are proud of the continuity of the past of the Jews who have preceded us, and we have to live up to their heritage, and we have to leave something to our children."

Finally, one woman from New England saw her contributions as an element in her affirming her Judaism in a broad sense:

I'm trying to think of a realistic kind of education for the entire Jewish population of what it means to be a Jew that is not only to spend a day in the synagogue and pray . . . There is a distinction in this country between social Judaism and religious Judaism. The two go hand in hand . . . (and) I mean a whole lot more than tzedakah. I mean active participation. . . . There is a distinction between social means and religious means, and I think Jews have an obligation to both.

In some instances, a particular Jewish experience was a motivating point for giving, as in one Texan's participation on a Federation-sponsored mission to Israel. This is how he reacted to it:

The mission was the turning point. . . . Going to Israel has always been a dream . . . I have seen the needs. I have to do it. For me, it's a Jewish responsibility. . . . The trip to Israel really made me understand what it all meant. I felt dignity while I was there. Something touched very deeply within me. Perhaps, I didn't know it was even there.

Sometimes there is a twin focus to the concerns of individuals—Israel and anti-Semitism or the Holocaust. As one New Englander said, "There are two things that keep us up at night: that is the security of Israel and having just read or heard something about the Holocaust."

A New Yorker was very concerned about the situation of Soviet Jewry: "If you knew more Jews would get out of Russia because of your contributions . . . you certainly would give more money."

Indeed, in some instances the individuals reported feeling that some particular incident related to Israel or anti-Semitism was an especially powerful or peak experience:

I was standing outside of the delivery room with G. [Holocaust survivor] . . . and they brought the baby [G.'s grandchild] . . . into the nursery. And G. and her friend started talking in Yiddish about how they never in all those days in the camps ever

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thought they would live long enough to see their grandchildren and to stand there and share the experience of a grandchild being born, I mean . . . (choked with emotion) . . . IT CAN'T HAPPEN AGAIN, EVER!

Finally, for some individuals an additional motivating factor was their readiness to give, which resulted from their being socialized into a family oriented toward contributing to the UJA Campaign. As one New Yorker observed, "If there had to be any distinction that I had to make between givers and nongivers, it would be to see what the parents did."

Perhaps, it was best summarized in this way by one Floridian:

I came from a very modest family. It made me feel good to be giving to the Jewish Federation. It was something I was taught to be charitable. My mother and grandmother never turned anyone away. They came from an Orthodox family. To be able to be charitable made me feel good.

Does this evidence support the norm of reciprocity? In discussing motivational factors, respondents did not generally view their contributions as a quid pro quo for their receiving previous help. There is some indirect evidence for the norm of social responsibility in that it might be argued that the more Israel is seen as dependent on American Jews, the more people feel a need to contribute. Perhaps a more comprehensive explanation exists in what we might dub the "norm of social cohesion." By this is meant the following: the more people feel integrated into a particular subcommunity, the more likely they are to aid members or causes of their sub-community perceived as in need of charitable contributions.

Incentives and Barriers of the Nondonors

For the Nondonors, we found the same three general sets of factors operating as perceived barriers to giving as for the Donors. The difference was that the latter did not permit their perceptions to block their actions. Let us examine the situation of the Nondonors to see why they did not respond similarly.

One level of barriers reflected the problem of the image and structure of UJA. The variety of negative images and perceptions was great. As one New Yorker said, "I get a sense from people that work there, and from my own perception (which may or may not be correct), that there is inefficiency in the staff and too much money goes in ways that aren't productive."

Another objected:

There is nothing really visible (of UJA) except for the phone calls. You never hear what happens if they made \$100,000 last year. They have to show the Jewish community (what it does). . . . People have to see something tangible.

One Floridian was very blunt. He said, "The leadership is basically a bunch of old crotchety men who have retired and have nothing else to do but sit around and meet and hassle around the same issues." Another was disturbed by the concept of the Women's Division. She said: "They are not in touch with what the young Jewish woman sees and perceives . . . and they don't care."

In another instance, one Texan saw the local Federation not being sufficiently active:

I'm an old activist of a person. In college, I was very active mobilizing efforts for Soviet Jews. I had the feeling many times that the UJA decision-making processes are stodgy. They don't want to rock boats. Many times, in order to accomplish things that need to be accomplished, they should go out on a limb a little; and they are unwilling to do that.

One New Yorker was opposed to the merger of the Israel Campaign of UJA with the Federation Campaign for local needs:

I don't think the merger of the Federation and UJA was a particularly good idea. You had two very (in my mind) dissimilar organizations. Federation was an organization that supported Jewish activities in this general area, whether it was hospitals, community centers, old age homes. UJA is a support for Israeli organizations. Now the idea was that the same people basically give to both organizations, and therefore, a merging of the two would make one gift. I don't think that Federation-type activity has been helped by that particular merger. I feel that the Federation has been dominated more by UJA people than by Federation people, and it probably has lessened my sympathy with the organization as a whole.⁴¹

Another New Yorker volunteered this piece of advice: "UJA could get to me if I knew it wasn't a computerized business that makes me a number. I see UJA as a big, massive business."

Finally, another man thought of the local Federation as less interested in cultivating potential young leaders than in coddling older big givers. He was rather frank in his statement:

To get the Federation board to agree to subsidize a young leadership commission took months of political hassling around. To get the Federation to spend \$40,000 to lease a boat and bring on a caterer to have a handful of people give initial gifts which total \$400,000—that they don't think twice about.

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A second level of barriers reflected the concerns with solicitation techniques. One respondent from Florida stated:

I think the oral appeal affected me very early as a young man, or perhaps a teenager, in the synagogue High Holiday Services—the bidding for Torah honors. It was rather revolting, and I suppose that has carried with me.

A New Yorker was also upset about solicitation techniques: “I can’t set aside my personal offense at UJA methodology. I find it extraordinarily offensive. I think what one gives is between himself and their maker and not a matter of public consumption. . . .”

Finally, a third level of perceived barriers reflected the competitive strains of giving on the respondents’ financial situation. One man from Florida was most interested in contributing to an agency that appeared to give him the most “bang for the buck.”

[I] would rather give [my] money to . . . a programmatic agency rather than fundraising . . . you give to Federation once a year, fundraising time . . . but the JCC is a year-round program. It’s not as politically motivated. If things have to be done, they get done. They don’t squander hours and hours debating an issue and making a mountain out of a molehill.

Another woman was interested in relevance. As she saw it, “People don’t see the direct personal relevance in their everyday lives. To join a Temple is more related to their own practical family living. UJA doesn’t bear on this family living.”

Another person saw the synagogue as the basis of a local communal identity as a Jew and, therefore, the practical necessity of supporting it. He said:

The synagogue is our top priority because we feel it is very important to maintain a visible, viable focal point in the community for having some support for Jewish traditions in a secular society, particularly in the public schools.

One New Yorker was rather introspective about the problem of giving money:

In some respects, money is always a problem in giving, and I guess there is always that feeling of I should have given more; but that’s only a feeling of my own compulsiveness and my own personality so that it is an unsatisfying experience.

Another New Yorker felt frustrated in giving: “What prevents people from giving? A feeling that no amount is really enough.”

Another person saw himself as philanthropic—and by the level of his reported contributions he was, but he did not see how UJA represented a potential beneficiary of his largess. This is how he put it:

I'm philanthropic by nature, generally, and sometimes I'm concerned whether I have the ability to give as much as I would like. . . . Once I've committed myself it's just such a wonderful feeling, and that's the way I feel with the contributions I've made to the [humanitarian] project; and I'll go on to say as far as the contributions we've made to our Temple, I feel equally rewarded that I have done that.

For persons who do give and are involved in the UJA Campaign, it must be difficult—even painful—to hear people who are generous and contributing individuals subjectively and objectively not willing or able to include UJA in their circle of giving. Perhaps this is because these individuals do not feel deeply about themselves as Jews. Other evidence showed that the differences in Jewish identification were greatest comparing the Donors to the Unaffiliated rather than to the Nondonors.⁴² What then are the incentives to giving perceived by the Nondonors?

In many ways these individuals seemed responsive to the same Jewish concerns as the Donors. The Nondonors generally felt a fairly strong sense of Jewish identification and even of the role of charitable giving in that sense of being Jewish. As one Texan said, “I am Jewish and believe in being responsible for my community.” Israel also played a role in their readiness to give. A Florida man suggested, “If I didn't like what I saw happening to Israel, I would definitely give more money.” So what would encourage them to give? One level of incentives for giving perceived by the Nondonors is the Jewish level. As one individual said, “Contributing to Jewish-oriented causes is more rewarding than others because of cultural, religious perceived ties.” Indeed, the Nondonors are concerned about Israel:

Money that goes specifically to help Israeli society in any way would be helpful. Anything that raises money to defend Israel strikes me as the most important organization. Israel is not only essential to all Jewish life, but it is essential to the future of Jewish life.

Another said: “If they [the American government] don't support Israel, we have to. So the more negative the government is, the more positive and supportive of Israel we are.”

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In some instances, UJA is not perceived as the most appropriate vehicle to help Israel: "I would be far more interested in being charitable to an organization that is essentially Israeli in its nature and not created, conceptualized, whatever, from outside Israel."

Another type of incentive was the need for more information about UJA. As one woman suggested, "If we knew about the specifics [of UJA] in more detail [we would give] . . . [We do] give [to our synagogue] because of our Jewish heritage."

Another person seemed to suggest that the right kind of information could become an incentive for giving. He said:

Maybe there is an image problem. If it were better known what activities were available in our bedroom communities, . . . We would support to a greater extent these activities . . . more activities that would involve the family.

In the area of the solicitation context, individuals offered suggestions as to what approaches might serve as incentives to giving for them and persons like themselves. One man from Florida did not like the high-pressure approach:

Giving contributions . . . is basically a private matter. . . . [There should be] no requirement to give them despite a very professional and very slick approach. . . . If you want to go home and think about it, you should have every right to do so.

Another felt that the appeal in the middle of a crisis was the best incentive to giving. When asked under what circumstances would people be most likely to give, he replied:

Wartime appeal when there is a crisis . . . because it's an emotional appeal. To say you have to support Israel when most people haven't been there, . . . They have never come in contact with the Israeli culture, the historical background, never stood at the wall.

A New Yorker suggested that an approach by the right person might work: "If someone you know asks you to give to something that is important to him, you do. It has to do with respecting his sense of value by requesting for a specific project."

One is tempted to conclude that even though the Nondonors have a good sense of Jewish identification, they are more selfish or less emotionally sensitive to the needs of their fellow Jews. This would seem unwarranted. Rather, it appears that the overriding reason such people are not contributing to the UJA Campaign is because they do not see what their giving does for them.

Their dollars may do something for someone else in a far-off location, but, they ask, what does it do for their immediate local needs as Jews? Thus, the Nondonors represent the “locals,” whereas the Donors may be referred to as the “cosmopolitans.” This is so because the latter have a broader view of their Jewish identification tied to the unity of worldwide Jewry (*am ehad*—one people—as the UJA slogan goes).

On the basis of this evidence, it may be specified that the norm of social cohesion applies more strongly to those individuals who are cosmopolitan rather than local in their orientation. Thus, while the Donors took a broader view of their obligations to the larger community and, hence, were more cosmopolitan, the Nondonors took a narrower view and saw their obligations as more limited to their immediate local community.

Incentives and Barriers of the Unaffiliated

The Unaffiliated differ significantly from the other two groups in their Jewish characteristics. They have the least Jewish education; they are most likely to have no denominational preference (or something other than Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform), and they have the lowest level of synagogue attendance.⁴³ Hence, it is not surprising that a major barrier to their giving to UJA is their lack of Jewish identity. As one New Yorker said simply, “I feel no real identity.” Another stated, “I don’t feel a personal involvement as I would with some of the other things that people ask me to contribute to.” A New Englander put it this way:

It is essentially a story of ineffective Jewish upbringing; partly the result of parents who were, of course, Jewish but not deeply committed, and were not able to give me any sense of inward identification with Judaism at home.

Finally, another New Yorker indicated his estrangement from Jewish life: “UJA is not part of my circle. . . . If I were involved with Jewish religious life, I think I would contribute. . . . I am completely estranged from that.”

A related barrier was the respondents’ perceptions of Israel. As one New Englander said:

“ . . . the UJA/Federation money, to my understanding, goes to Israel and as firm a supporter as I am to the people of Israel, I think some of the money goes to finance some of the ‘crazy’ things the government of Israel is doing.”

Another put it this way: “I suspect that Israeli politics have become very central in determining how much people give or don’t give. That could simply

be a projection of what is on my own mind: the very recent aggressiveness. . . .”

At another level of concern was the familiar problem expressed by Donors and Nondonors as well—the image or structure of UJA. One New Yorker voiced a recurrent theme: “I don’t understand the structure of Jewish charities. I don’t know what UJA does.” Another wondered: “I don’t know how much money goes to run the organization, and how much gets paid to fundraisers, and how much actually filters down to charity after bureaucracy gets through with it.” Finally, another New Yorker seemed more hostile: “Does my contributing to UJA foster the very forces in Jewish life that I am against? That’s my real concern. Am I giving to the enemy so to speak.”

A New England resident suggested: “One reason people don’t give is that they don’t know anything about it. It is not high on their priority list.” Another said:

People of my age have left—and I feel in distressing numbers—due to a communication problem, or what I suspect that part of it is a matter of image sales, and I’m not sure the organization communicates very well with the assimilated Jews such as myself who nonetheless consider themselves Jews.

A third level of barriers reflected concerns with solicitation techniques. One New Yorker offered the following statement: “I don’t want someone pushing the button on my door or the telephone. I tend to be turned off by that. It’s a sales pitch, like anything else, like selling soap.” Another complained: “It’s the pressure part that I don’t like, more than anything else. You are being asked to make a decision too quickly. Someone is using their personal relationship with me for reasons other than their relationship with me.”

Another kind of barrier related to solicitation was voiced by a New England woman: “[They] consistently refer to women by their husband’s name. It made me totally angry, despite the fact that she may have accomplished a great deal. I would hope that they would have a consciousness of the contemporary woman.”

A New England man objected to the pressure of solicitation: “I personally resent anyone telling me I have to give, and I think part of the good feeling of giving is wanting to give, and I would not get that if someone said I had to unless it was a dire emergency.”

Finally, for some individuals there was the financial barrier, as one Florida man said: “People just don’t have the money; it’s getting increasingly more difficult to make ends meet. When you’re struggling to keep your head above water, it makes it a littler harder to think outside of your immediate circle.”

Despite the fact that the Unaffiliated group had a lower level of Jewish identification, their sense of being Jewish generally remained alive, as we indicated earlier. As one New Yorker said, "No matter what is going on in our life, good, bad, whatever, we have always felt a definite responsibility." Another was very concerned about the plight of Soviet Jewry: "I would love to know how I could contribute to their welfare in anyway . . . I'm most conscious of those Jews in danger."

In another instance, anti-Semitism was seen as a motivating factor: "If I begin to perceive anti-Semitism as a real threat, I would once again begin to give to Jewish causes a lot more liberally than I am now."

In addition, some of these Unaffiliated individuals were also very concerned about Israel—especially if they perceived an emergency: "If, God forbid, there was going to be a war tomorrow and Israel needed planes or something, then obviously we would do everything we could to help." Another affirmed: "I would feel a commitment to help preserve the state of Israel." Indeed, some individuals may contribute but only during wartime: "I suppose the UJA appeal at that time perhaps gave me a sense of satisfaction that I did something. It brought home a lot of memories. It brought to mind a lot of things that I feel I contribute in terms of Israel." The implication of these findings is the need to first cultivate that sense of Jewishness, however vaguely defined.

Some individuals saw the need for a certain type of solicitation context: One Floridian said: "It's more nonthreatening for you to talk to a personal contact, someone you might know, than if someone knocks at the door."

A New England resident suggested a similar theme of solicitation by the "image maker" or "significant other," the person influential in shaping the thinking of the solicited person:

If I got a letter addressed to me from (the prime minister of Israel) asking me for money, I would probably find it hard to turn down. If someone of personal importance . . . you would be hard pressed to turn it down. Not from the mass mailing, no, like from Reader's Digest, but if something was impressed upon me as being of great need I would give it considerable consideration.

Another type of incentive mentioned by one of the Unaffiliated was the possibility of offering a nonmonetary contribution. Perhaps this was more consistent with the financial situation of the individual: "I am more inclined to spend time, rather than money, for causes I believe in."

In sum, the Unaffiliated shared with the Donors and Nondonors similar concerns about the barriers they perceived to their contributing to UJA with respect to its image or structure and solicitation techniques. Where they differed significantly from the Donors and Nondonors was in the barrier that their lower level of Jewish identification posed. In respect to incentives for

giving, they perceived that certain Jewish concerns might arouse their consciousness toward charitable giving, such as Israel or anti-Semitism. Without further cultivation of their sense of Jewishness, these charitable gifts might only be forthcoming from some in an emergency situation. Thus, the evidence suggests that the norm of social cohesion applies more strongly to those individuals (Donors and, to a lesser extent, Nondonors) who have a stronger personal identity as community members than those who have a weaker personal identity (Unaffiliated).

Notes

1. Eliezer David Jaffee, "The Crisis in Jewish Philanthropy," *TIKKUN* 4 (September–October 1987), pp. 27–31, 90; Milton Goldin, "Does Jewish Philanthropy Have a Future?" *Midstream* 24 (November 1983), pp. 22–24; and Paul Ritterband and Steven M. Cohen, "Will the Well Run Dry? The Future of Jewish Giving in America," *Response* 12 (Summer 1979), pp. 9–17.
2. See, for example, Felicity Barringer, *The New York Times*, December 25, 1987, and David Brown, "We Will Not Hand Out Free Beef, Say Charities," (London) *British Sunday Telegraph* January 3, 1988.
3. Virginia Ann Hodgkinson and Murray S. Weitzman, *The Charitable Behavior of Americans* (Washington, D.C.: Independent Sector, 1986), p. 41.
4. Linda Mollenhauer, personal letter (December 18, 1987).
5. Susan K. E. Saxon-Harold and Jill Carter, *The Charitable Behavior of the British People* (Tonbridge, Kent: Charities Aid Foundation, 1987).
6. James W. Vander Zanden, *Social Psychology, 3rd edition* (New York: Random House, 1984), p. 273.
7. Vander Zanden, *Social Psychology*, p. 274.
8. See, for example, Jeffrey H. Goldstein, *Social Psychology* (New York: Academic Press, 1980); Arnold S. Kahn, ed., *Social Psychology* (Dubuque, IA: W. C. Brown Publishers, 1984); and Cookie White Stephan and Walter G. Stephan, *Two Social Psychologies* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1985).
9. William R. Reece, "Charitable Contributions—New Evidence on Household Behavior," *American Economic Review* 69 (March 1979), pp. 142–51.
10. James Gregory Lord, "Marketing Nonprofits," *Grantmanship News* 9 (1981), pp. 53–57.
11. See, for example, P. L. Benson, and V. Catt, "Soliciting Charity Contributions—Parlance of Asking for Money," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 8 (January–March 1978), pp. 84–95; and Peter H. Reingen, "Inducing Compliance with a Donation Request," *Journal of Social Psychology* 106 (December 1978), pp. 281–82.
12. See, for example, M. B. Harris, S. M. Benson, and C. L. Hall, "The Effects of Confession on Altruism," *Journal of Social Psychology* 96 (August 1975), pp. 187–92; and Benson and Catt, "Soliciting Charity Contributions—Parlance of Asking for Money," pp. 84–96.
13. See, for example, the bibliographic review of A. Miren Gonzalez and Philip Tetlock, *A Literature Review of Altruism and Helping Behavior*, Yale University Program on Non-Profit Organizations, New Haven, CT, undated.

14. Joseph Galaskiewicz, *Social Organization of an Urban Grants Economy* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985).
15. Leonard Berkowitz and William H. Connor, "Success, Failure, and Social Responsibility," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 4 (December 1966), pp. 664-9.
16. Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement," *American Sociological Review* 25 (April 1960), pp. 161-78.
17. Arnold Dashefsky and Bernard Lazerwitz, *Why Don't They Give? Determinants of Jewish Charitable Giving* (Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut Mimeographed, 1983).
18. Gary A. Tobin and Julie A. Lipsman, "A Compendium of Jewish Demographic Studies," in Steven M. Cohen, Jonathan S. Woocher, and Bruce A. Phillips, eds., *Perspectives in Jewish Population Research* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984), pp. 137-66.
19. Charity comes from the Latin, *caritas*, meaning love. Charity has a connotation in English of philanthropy, which derives from the Greek, *phila*, meaning love, and *anthropos*, meaning humankind. Essentially it reflects the Christian message emphasizing the need to love and care for others, borrowed out of the original Judaic context. By contrast, *tzedakah* comes from the Hebrew root *tzadok*, which yields the words *tzedek*, justice, and *tzadik*, a righteous person. Thus, *tzedakah* is the righteous action of people seeking justice, as compared to charity, which implies loving people and caring for others. If a person does not feel love, he or she will find it difficult to care for others and to act charitably. In the Jewish tradition, however, doing or giving *tzedakah* is required whether or not the person feels love or caring for the other. It is a religious requirement or commandment, a *mitzvah* to be fulfilled. See Danny Siegel, *Gym Shoes and Irises* (Spring Valley, NY: Townhouse Press, 1982) and Jacob Neusner, *Tzedakah: Can Jewish Philanthropy Buy Jewish Survival?* (Chappaqua, NY: Rossel Books, 1982).
20. Arnold Dashefsky, "Orientations Toward Jewish Charitable Giving," in Nahum M. Waldman, ed., *Community and Culture* (Philadelphia: Gratz College Seth Press, 1987), p. 19.
21. Dashefsky and Lazerwitz, *Why Don't They Give?*
22. Judith C. Lantz, *Cumulative Index of Sociology Journals 1971-1985* (Washington: American Sociological Association, 1987).
23. Steven M. Cohen, "Trends in Jewish Philanthropy," *American Jewish Yearbook* 80 (1979), pp. 29-51.
24. Samuel C. Heilman, "The Gift of Alms: Face to Face Giving Among Orthodox Jews," *Urban Life and Culture*, 3 (January 1975), pp. 371-95.
25. Bruce A. Phillips and Eleanor P. Judd, *Denver Jewish Population Study* (Denver: Allied Jewish Federation of Denver, 1981).
26. Mark Abrahamson, *A Study of the Greater Hartford Jewish Population* (West Hartford, CT: Greater Hartford Jewish Federation, 1982).
27. William Yancey and Ira Goldstein, *The Jewish Population Study of Greater Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia, 1985).
28. See Tobin and Lipsman, "A Compendium of Jewish Demographic Studies," pp. 162-4.
29. Dashefsky and Lazerwitz, *Why Don't They Give?*

30. Richard Silberstein, Jonathan Rabinowitz, Paul Ritterband, and Barry Kosmin, *Giving to Jewish Philanthropic Causes: A Preliminary Reconnaissance* (New York: North American Jewish Data Bank Reprint Series, No. 2, 1987), p. 1.
31. David J. Cheal, "The Social Dimensions of Gift Behavior," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 3 (1986), p. 423.
32. Actually, interviews were carried out with seventy-nine individuals, but seven cases were excluded because they did not fit the general criteria established. These individuals were referred by various local Federation representatives and were interviewed using a screening interview schedule. Those individuals not possessing the appropriate criteria were subsequently not interviewed. While some members of the Nondonor or Unaffiliated group may have given at an earlier point in time, they were not considered current or recent donors.
33. See Dashefsky, "Orientations toward Jewish Charitable Giving," for an earlier account of the sample selection.
34. The sample is disproportionately composed of New Yorkers because it represents the largest single pool of those not contributing to UJA or Federation: 40 percent of them do not claim giving to UJA or a Federation compared to 36 percent nationwide. See Dashefsky and Lazerwitz, *Why Don't They Give?*
35. Since donors interviewed generally gave gifts of \$500 or more, they were viewed by UJA officials as "significant" or "good givers."
36. The interview schedule underwent a series of changes, so that five different versions were developed during the period from November 1981 until March 1982. The majority of the interviews, those from New York and New England, used Version 5 of the schedule; and the others utilized the slightly different Version 4. A small group of individuals was interviewed using Version 6 for a focus-group approach, in which closed-ended questions were filled out in a questionnaire, and the open-ended questions were asked in the interview.
37. See Dashefsky and Lazerwitz, *Why Don't They Give?*
38. Cohen, "Trends in Jewish Philanthropy."
39. Yoel Yinon and Irit Sharon, "Similarity in Religiousness of the Solicitor, the Potential Helper, and the Recipient as Determinants of Donating Behavior," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 15 (1985), pp. 726-34.
40. These seven themes were derived from the interviews through the questions suggested by UJA professionals and consultants as potentially the most revealing. The themes are not presented ordinarily.
41. In most urban communities, the Federation conducts one unified campaign for major Jewish charities both nationally and locally. Generally, the greatest single beneficiary of that fundraising effort is the United Jewish Appeal, which collects money on behalf of welfare agencies in Israel. In New York, UJA and Federation were separate entities for a long period of time.
42. See Dashefsky and Lazerwitz, *Why Don't They Give?*
43. See Bernard Lazerwitz and Michael Harrison, "A Comparison of Denominational Identification and Membership," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 19 (December 1980), p. 336, for the importance of denominational identification in Jewish identification.

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