

INCREASING VOLUNTEERING WITHIN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

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An analysis of the 1988 Dallas Jewish community population study finds that neither demographic nor socioeconomic variables have a direct impact on the decision to volunteer time to Jewish causes and organizations. Rather, being invited to give their time is the strongest predictor of whether individuals will volunteer. In addition, individuals' attitudes toward volunteering and the characteristics of Jewish organizations are strong predictors of volunteerism.

Jewish community organizations throughout the United States are confronted with a vital challenge as they approach the twenty-first century: how to strengthen the levels of participation in and commitment to Jewish institutional life. Several factors mitigate against this goal. First, large numbers of Jews have adopted a consumer approach toward Jewish organizations and institutions. In such a context, the task of cultivating organizational loyalty and commitment becomes increasingly difficult. Second, as Jews have gained growing access to spheres that were previously closed to them and as they have become more and more integrated into mainstream America, Jewish organizations face rising competition from general organizations for Jews' time and money. Third, this growing integration into American society and increasing adaptation to its culture come together with an erosion in traditional expressions of Jewish identity among the majority of American Jews. Therefore, personal commitment to the Jewish community and its organizations can no longer be taken for granted. Rather it has to be instilled continuously. The Jewish community confronts the challenge of creating vibrant structures and contexts in which old and transformed manifestations of Jewish identity can be cultivated and developed.

Among the various indicators of involvement in Jewish communal life, this article

focuses on volunteering time for Jewish causes and organizations. Volunteering differs from other indicators of community participation, such as membership in Jewish associations or making financial contributions to Jewish organizations, in that it manifests active participation and commitment to the organized Jewish community. Contemporary Jewish communities, particularly in pluralistic and open societies, are mainly and foremost voluntary communities. These Jewish communities have created sets of institutions and organizations to handle the tasks of Jewish continuity and growth. Since contemporary Diaspora Jewish communities are based on networks of voluntary organizations, kept alive by the personal investment of time and financial resources of thousands of individuals, identifying the factors that influence volunteering behavior is critical to ensure both an appropriate assessment of the future course of Jewish institutional life and to devise strategies aimed at strengthening the level of involvement in the life of Jewish organizations.

Several statistics highlight the enormous importance that volunteering has in the United States in general and in the American Jewish community in particular. These figures indicate that volunteering not only makes an important contribution to the delivery of human services but it also serves as an individual expression of social com-

mitment and participation. Menchik and Weisbrod (1987) estimate that the volunteer labor supply constituted over 5% of the entire labor force in the United States and one-fourth of total civilian employment in government (federal, state, and local) in 1980. Although the proper valuation of volunteer time involves more than simply applying market wage rates, such estimates suggest that the resource cost of volunteering is probably at least as large as aggregate contributions of money. Whereas the latter totaled about \$40 billion in 1980 (Clotfelter, 1985), the estimation of volunteer value was \$65 billion in 1981 (Weitzman, 1983). In 1987, the estimated value of volunteer time was \$150 billion (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1988). In the same year, individuals, foundations, and corporations contributed a total of \$97.7 billion to diverse causes.

The extent to which volunteering has become a widespread activity in the United States is illustrated by the findings of several national studies. For example, in 1981, a Gallup survey, "Americans Volunteer 1981," reported that 29% of adults were involved in charity or social service activities, such as helping the poor, the sick, or the elderly. In another 1981 study, in which volunteering was defined much more broadly, 52% of adults reported volunteering during the previous year (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1984). A more recent study, which defined volunteering as working in some way to help others for no monetary pay, found that 45% of Americans 18 years of age and older volunteered an average of 4.7 hours per week in 1987 (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1988). Volunteering is extensive among American Jews as well. For example, a recent reanalysis of surveys of several Jewish communities reveals that 31% of Jews in Baltimore; 41% in Cleveland; 43% in Dallas; 38% in Morris, Essex, and Orange Counties in New Jersey; 41% in Rhode Island; and 50% in San Francisco volunteered time for Jewish and non-Jewish organizations (Berger, 1990).

Given the importance of volunteering as an expression of active participation in the

organized Jewish community, commitment to others, and communal responsibility, this article examines which factors or variables are important in understanding whether Jews will volunteer for Jewish organizations. It begins with a summary of findings from previous studies of Jewish religious involvement and community participation. This review serves as a framework for an empirical analysis of factors affecting volunteering for Jewish organizations. The article concludes with a discussion of this empirical analysis in the context of current theories about organizational participation and an elaboration of its implications for Jewish organizations engaged in efforts to broaden their base of institutional activists and supporters.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH INTO PARTICIPATION AND VOLUNTEERING AMONG JEWS

During the last two decades, several studies have focused on the impact of modernization and adaptation to American society on the ethnic and religious behavior of Jews. The increasing use of large-scale Jewish population surveys by local Jewish federations in service and campaign planning has provided researchers with valuable sources of data for secondary analysis of the religious identification of Jews. As a result, a growing body of research on determinants and consequences of Jewish identification has been published in the last 20 years. Moreover, the diffusion of analytical methods, mainly multivariate statistical techniques, has strengthened the sophistication of analysis.

However, the almost exclusive reliance on Jewish population surveys as data sources has imposed limitations on the ability to study particular dimensions of Jewish identification, which would require specific survey instruments in their own right. Most questionnaires used for Jewish population studies include no more than five questions related to Jewish organizational participation, constraining the depth of analysis. Even though the concern of this

article is the determinants of volunteer behavior among Jews, it is necessary to rely on studies that deal only with concepts related to voluntary behavior, such as level of activity in Jewish organizations or other measures of associational participation. Despite these limitations, any serious discussion of Jewish organizational participation must take into account findings from previous research.

The National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) conducted in 1970-1971 under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations has been used by Lazerwitz (1978) and York and Lazerwitz (1987) in their research. In the first analysis, five variables were found to affect organizational involvement significantly, though the relative strength and the direction of the effects of these variables differ: generation, life-cycle stage, amount of Jewish education, ethnic social involvement, and religious behavior. Generation in the United States and life-cycle stage have a moderate effect on Jewish organizational involvement, but in opposite directions. The level of involvement decreases as people move away from the first generation and increases as people go through family life-cycle stages. Jewish education received during childhood and adolescence also has a moderate effect on Jewish organizational involvement. In addition, ethnic community involvement, measuring the extent to which dating, courtship behavior, friends, family, and social life are confined to Jews, has a moderate positive effect upon Jewish organizational activity. Finally, Lazerwitz shows that the level of religious behavior of the respondents has the strongest impact upon Jewish organizational participation.

In a more recent analysis of the NJPS data set, York and Lazerwitz (1987) separate Jewish organizational involvement into four components: membership, level of attendance, level of activity, and fund raising on behalf of Jewish organizations. Their findings indicate that the level of activity in Jewish organizations, which could

be considered a proxy for doing volunteer work for Jewish organizations, was moderately influenced by the following factors: total amount contributed to charities, higher occupational status, frequency of synagogue attendance, and, to some extent, involvement in a Jewish primary group. Other predictors considered, such as sex, generation, life-cycle stage, income, Jewish background, parental religious practices, Jewish denomination, and observance of religious practices, did not show substantial effects on being active in Jewish organizations.

Himmelfarb's research (1977, 1979) focused on the factors influencing adult Jewish religious involvement using data gathered in 1966 from a sample of Chicago Jews. In the analysis of variables affecting associational involvement, Himmelfarb reports that the most important predictor among those considered—age, parents' ritual observance, hours of Jewish schooling, Jewish organizational participation during ages 19-22, spouse's ritual observance before marriage, secular education, and income—is participation in Jewish organizations between the ages of 19 and 22, followed by spouse's religiosity before marriage and hours of Jewish schooling. Age and parents' ritual observance have limited effect, and secular education and income's effects are not significant. These findings imply that previous organizational participation leads to later organizational participation. Unfortunately, more recent studies have omitted questions that would allow validation of Himmelfarb's findings with other samples.

Yancey and Goldstein's (1985) study of the Philadelphia Jewish community examined the effects of a number of variables upon volunteering for Jewish organizations. Their findings show that the variables having independent effects on volunteering differ by gender. For both men and women, synagogue membership shows independent effects on Jewish volunteering. However, age is a significant predictor only among men, whereas workforce participation is

only significant among women. Other variables included in the analysis, such as generation, education, income, presence of children in the household, intermarriage, and denomination, were found to have no significant effect on volunteering.

A more recent study that touches on the issue of Jewish volunteering was conducted by Tobin and Rimor (1989). Their research used data from the Jewish Community Study of Essex and Morris County, New Jersey. They found that voluntarism for Jewish organizations is correlated with religious practices, synagogue attendance, denomination, and synagogue membership; it is more likely to be associated with religious identity than with philanthropic behavior. Moreover, they observed a strong positive correlation between volunteering time for Jewish causes and volunteering time for non-Jewish causes, as well as a strong association between the amount contributed to both Jewish and non-Jewish philanthropies. Conversely, Tobin and Rimor argue that there are low correlations between volunteering time for Jewish organizations and giving money to Jewish causes, and between volunteering for non-Jewish organizations and giving money to non-Jewish charities. Given that the strength of the associations between giving money and time does not compare to that existing between giving for Jewish and non-Jewish causes and volunteering for Jewish and non-Jewish organizations, these authors suggest that volunteering does not belong to the same construct within the behavioral "bundle" of philanthropic behavior and that volunteering and contributions patterns seem to be unrelated. Contrasting conclusions are obtained from a recent reanalysis of data from six Jewish communities (Berger, 1990), which reveals that the strength of the relationship between giving money and time varies across communities and that the strength of the relationship between amount of contributions to Jewish charities and number of hours volunteered by the respondent is comparable to the

correlation between number of hours volunteered for Jewish organizations and for non-Jewish organizations. These divergent analyses on the relationship between giving and volunteering among Jews call for further clarifying research.

METHODOLOGY

The analysis presented in this article uses data collected in the 1988 Jewish Community Study of Greater Dallas (Tobin & Fishman, 1990). Obviously, since this analysis is based on data from only one Jewish community, the findings should be regarded as preliminary. However, despite this limitation, the implications derived from the Dallas case study are highly suggestive and can provide useful insights to Jewish communal leaders. This article presents the results of a multivariate analysis in which the relationship of one independent variable on volunteering is controlled for the effects of all the other variables in the analysis to assess whether the effect of the first variable still persists. Similarly, once all variables in the analysis have been controlled by the effect of all the others, the relative importance of each variable in understanding volunteering behavior can be assessed. The dependent variable is whether the respondent volunteers for Jewish organizations.

The concept of volunteer itself is open to multiple interpretations. In the Dallas survey no definition of the term "volunteer" was provided, other than the comment, "please include attendance at any organization meeting." As a result, the questionnaire does not permit one to distinguish among different types of volunteers, such as activists, decision makers, or workers in Jewish organizations without monetary pay who perform general support activities or provide direct services to clients. The factors explaining whether someone is an activist or an officer in a Jewish organization are likely to be very different from those that affect whether an individual is

engaged in volunteer services, such as doing home visits to elderly people (Heidrich, 1990). In any case, any of the manifestations of volunteering on behalf of Jewish organization are assumed to express behavioral commitment and attachment to Jewish organizations. Although future studies should differentiate among these various categories of volunteers, the present analysis serves as an initial step in understanding Jewish volunteering.

In order to assess which factors affect whether a person volunteers time for Jewish causes and organizations, this analysis is based on a number of variables that appear in a recurrent manner in studies of Jewish affiliation and participation. There are six categories of variables: (1) sociodemographic characteristics of the respondent: age, age squared (to assess a curvilinear effect), sex,

length of residence in the community, generation in the United States, educational level, occupation, labor force status, income, marital status, presence of children in the household; (2) Jewish background: years of Jewish education received and visit to Israel; (3) Jewish identification: number of Jewish friends, mixed marriage, number of Jewish religious practices observed, frequency of attendance at religious services, Jewish denomination; (4) Jewish communal participation: synagogue membership, membership in a Jewish organization, contribution to Jewish philanthropies; (5) participation in the general community: volunteer time for non-Jewish organizations, contribution to non-Jewish philanthropies; (6) attitudinal and situational variables: opinion about whether personal involvement would be welcomed by Jewish leaders,

Table 1
LIST OF VARIABLES INCLUDED IN LOGIT ANALYSIS

Name	Content	Number of Categories
Age	Age of the respondent	6 categories
Age Square	Age square (to determine curvilinear pattern)	6 categories
Male	Male respondent	dichotomous variable
Length	Length of residence	3 categories
Graduate	Received graduate degree	dichotomous variable
First	First generation in the US	dichotomous variable
Second	Second generation in the US	dichotomous variable
Third	Third generation in the US	dichotomous variable
PT	Work part-time	dichotomous variable
FT	Work full-time	dichotomous variable
Manager	Management or executive occupation	dichotomous variable
Profess	Professional occupation	dichotomous variable
Income	Annual household income	6 categories
Married	Respondent is married	dichotomous variable
Nmarried	Respondent has never married	dichotomous variable
Kids	Child under 18 in the household	dichotomous variable
Mixed	Intermarried respondent	dichotomous variable
Jfriends	Number of Jewish friends	4 categories
Synatt	Frequency of attendance at religious services	6 categories
Jrituals	Number of Jewish rituals observed	5 categories
Denom	Denominational identification	6 categories
Synag	Membership in a synagogue	dichotomous variable
Jeworg	Membership in a Jewish organization	dichotomous variable
Yjewed	Years of Jewish education as a child	4 categories
Israel	Respondent ever visited Israel	dichotomous variable
Njvol	Volunteer time for non-Jewish organizations	dichotomous variable
Jcont	Contribution to Jewish causes	dichotomous variable
Njcont	Contribution to non-Jewish causes	dichotomous variable
Openness	Involvement would be welcomed by leaders	dichotomous variable
Would	Would volunteer if asked to	dichotomous variable
Contact	Contacted during last year to volunteer	dichotomous variable

attitude toward doing volunteer work, and whether the respondent has been contacted by a Jewish organization to volunteer.

ANALYSIS

The analysis of simple cross-classification tables (not presented in this article) suggests that a number of characteristics influence the likelihood of volunteering for Jewish organizations: female gender, being married, presence of minor children in the household, having a graduate degree, holding a managerial job, higher income level, part-time employment, six or more years of Jewish education, having visited Israel,

reporting most or three best friends as Jewish, non-mixed marriages, frequent attendance at synagogue services, observance of religious practices, membership in a synagogue and a Jewish organization, making contributions to Jewish charities, and volunteering time and money to non-Jewish organizations and causes (see Table 1). The multivariate analysis presented in this section allows the evaluation of which of these characteristics actually have an impact on Jewish volunteering.

Four logit equations were estimated using SAS Logistic Procedure (Harrel, 1983); the results are presented in Table 2. Multivariable analysis is particularly useful in

Table 2
LOGIT ANALYSES OF VOLUNTEERING FOR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

INTERCEPT	-6.028(1.446)***	-6.568(1.478)***	-7.153(1.491)***	-6.461(1.632)***
AGE	0.024(0.052)	0.034(0.052)	0.025(0.052)	-0.005(0.058)
AGESQUARE	-0.000(0.001)	-0.000(0.001)	-0.000(0.001)	0.000(0.001)
MALE	-0.262(0.230)	-0.263(0.230)	-0.236(0.231)	0.040(0.251)
LENGTH	0.245(0.142)	0.227(0.144)	0.236(0.144)	0.144(0.157)
GRADUATE	0.295(0.265)	0.332(0.268)	0.381(0.269)	0.227(0.288)
FIRST	-0.917(0.483)	-0.945(0.484)	-0.989(0.487)*	-1.141(0.532)*
SECOND	-0.905(0.369)*	-0.965(0.373)**	-0.855(0.375)*	-1.097(0.405)**
THIRD	-0.194(0.309)	-0.252(0.312)	-0.125(0.315)	-0.263(0.341)
PT	0.189(0.370)	0.142(0.373)	0.090(0.368)	0.237(0.401)
FT	0.381(0.282)	0.324(0.286)	0.371(0.288)	0.490(0.312)
PROFESS	-0.141(0.254)	-0.157(0.255)	-0.176(0.255)	-0.019(0.279)
MANAGER	0.384(0.254)	0.396(0.254)	0.388(0.256)	0.344(0.276)
INCOME	-0.056(0.086)	-0.083(0.088)	-0.070(0.088)	-0.001(0.094)
MARRIED	0.194(0.316)	0.226(0.318)	0.327(0.318)	0.333(0.346)
NMARRIED	-0.029(0.381)	-0.042(0.382)	-0.073(0.379)	-0.136(0.414)
KIDS	0.003(0.280)	-0.037(0.281)	-0.141(0.286)	-0.203(0.312)
MIXED	-0.252(0.373)	-0.248(0.375)	-0.289(0.381)	-0.429(0.426)
JFRIENDS	0.351(0.109)**	0.343(0.110)**	0.348(0.110)**	0.215(0.122)
SYNATT	0.365(0.114)**	0.370(0.116)**	0.328(0.115)**	0.243(0.122)*
JRITUALS	0.229(0.132)	0.226(0.135)	0.228(0.136)	0.263(0.148)
DENOM	0.044(0.151)	0.058(0.153)	0.105(0.153)	0.187(0.165)
SYNAG	0.513(0.265)	0.479(0.267)	0.592(0.272)*	0.458(0.295)
JEWORG	0.903(0.220)***	0.902(0.220)***	0.844(0.220)***	0.471(0.243)
YJEWED	-0.067(0.100)	-0.077(0.100)	-0.082(0.101)	-0.116(0.111)
ISRAEL	0.213(0.229)	0.238(0.231)	0.280(0.232)	0.260(0.249)
JCONT	0.849(0.274)**	0.838(0.275)**	0.792(0.274)**	0.651(0.291)*
NJCONT	0.128(0.240)	0.075(0.242)	0.096(0.243)	-0.078(0.262)
NJVOL	1.243(0.232)***	1.245(0.233)***	1.158(0.233)***	1.178(0.255)***
OPENNESS		0.627(0.307)*	0.518(0.306)	0.340(0.320)
WOULD			0.982(0.237)***	0.960(0.259)***
CONTACT				1.981(0.236)***
Model Chi-Square	286.27	290.62	289.94	366.44
Correct	68%	70%	81%	84%
Adj. R ²	0.27	0.26	0.25	0.34

N = 720

* = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$, *** = $p < 0.001$

determining which variables, among all those that are hypothesized to influence an outcome such as volunteering, are actually relevant (Aldrich & Nelson, 1984). Each equation presented in Table 2 introduces a new explanatory variable.

The first equation estimated in Table 2 includes only background and structural variables, as well as several behavioral variables that measure involvement (social, religious, and institutional) in the Jewish community and in the general community. The analysis indicates that the only variables having a direct influence on volunteering for Jewish associations are generation in the United States, frequency of synagogue attendance, number of Jewish friends, membership in Jewish organizations, contribution to Jewish organizations, and volunteering for non-Jewish organizations.

In relation to the effect of generation in the United States, the data show that Jews born in the United States from immigrant parents are less likely to volunteer than are fourth-generation Jews (whose grandparents were born in the United States). Members of the first and third generations do not show significant differences in their likelihood of volunteering as compared to members of the fourth generation.

The other significant variables have a positive effect on volunteering, indicating that those who volunteer for non-Jewish organizations, are members of Jewish associations, make financial contributions to Jewish institutions, attend synagogue services more often, and have a number of Jews among their best friends are more likely to be volunteers beyond what their other characteristics are in the other variables would indicate. In other words, sociodemographic variables, socioeconomic variables, and Jewish background variables, other than generation in the United States, do not have an independent effect on volunteering for Jewish organizations. This does not mean that variables in these groups of factors may not have an effect on frequency of synagogue attendance, number of Jewish friends, membership in Jewish organizations, or volunteering for

non-Jewish organizations. If this is the case, their effect on Jewish volunteering would be indirect (channeled through the effect of other variables).

However, it has been suggested that attitudinal, organizational, and situational variables play a larger role in explaining the level of involvement in voluntary associations than do demographic, socioeconomic, or other background variables (Smith, 1975, 1980; Tomeh, 1973). Jewish community studies rarely include questions that tap these kind of variables. An exception to this is the study of the Jewish community in Dallas, which allows the incorporation of three additional variables in the analysis of volunteering: the respondent's perception about the openness of Jewish organizations to his or her personal involvement ("Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statement: I believe that Jewish leaders would welcome my involvement in any Jewish organization or agency"); the disposition of the respondent to engage in volunteer activities ("Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statement: I would volunteer time if someone asked me to"); and whether the respondent has been the target of recruitment efforts ("Have you been contacted in the past year or two to do any volunteer work for a Jewish organization?").

The original predictive model of volunteering for Jewish organizations changes when perceptions about the openness of Jewish organizations, favorable disposition toward volunteering, and having been contacted by a Jewish organization are accounted for in the analysis. Those who believe that their involvement in Jewish organizations would be welcome are more likely to volunteer than those who believe otherwise. The perception of openness of Jewish organizations is no longer significant when disposition toward volunteering is introduced in the equation. In addition, first generation in the United States becomes a significant variable when disposition toward volunteering is added, meaning that foreign-born Jews are less likely to

volunteer for Jewish organizations than are fourth-generation Jews.

Of particular interest are the results obtained in Dallas when being the target of recruitment efforts is added to the model. This variable has the largest coefficient of those included in the equation, which indicates that to be contacted to volunteer is the single most important predictor of someone volunteering for Jewish organizations, above and beyond the effect of being a member of a Jewish organization. Its introduction to the model eliminates the significance of the influence of number of Jewish friends, membership in Jewish organizations, and synagogue membership. In addition, it decreases the magnitude of the influence of synagogue attendance and giving money to Jewish charities. Moreover, there is about a 35% increase in the explanatory power of the model (as denoted by the change of values in R²) when being the target of recruitment attempts is introduced in the analysis. This new finding provides another clue into the factors influencing the likelihood of volunteering for Jewish organizations: the most important factor determining whether an individual volunteers time on behalf of a Jewish association is the mobilization effort of these organizations.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

The study findings suggest that a limited number of variables have explanatory power in a statistical sense in predicting volunteer behavior for Jewish organizations. It is striking that neither sociodemographic variables (sex, age, length of residence in the community, marital status, presence of children) nor socioeconomic indicators (education, occupation, income, labor force participation) suggested by previous research as influencing social participation in general and of Jews in particular have a direct impact on volunteering. Rather, when attitudes and situational factors are included with sociodemographic and other background characteristics in the analysis of formal social participation, the latter decline

sharply in direct explanatory power. This indicates that attitudes and situational factors tend to mediate the usually observed relationship between participation in voluntary associations and social background characteristics.

It is particularly interesting that one of the factors with strongest effects on the likelihood of volunteering for Jewish organizations is whether the respondent volunteers for non-Jewish organizations. It might be suggested that there is some type of causal relationship between these two activities. However, we cannot state from our findings in which direction the causal path works. Do these activities have a reciprocal relationship in the form of a feedback loop, meaning that involvement in Jewish organizations and non-Jewish organizations enrich each other, or is there a path operating in the way suggested by Lazerwitz (1979) and York (York & Lazerwitz, 1987) in which involvement in Jewish organizations leads to greater general voluntary associational participation? If a reciprocal relationship exists, Jewish organizations might benefit from including volunteer tasks in spheres that are not specifically Jewish and even from initiating joint volunteer projects with non-Jewish organizations, since participation in volunteer activities for non-Jewish associations enhances involvement in Jewish organizations. If the second pattern prevails, it might suggest that involvement in Jewish organizations plays an integrative role in the general organizational world. However, the long-term consequences of that integrative role for continuous involvement in Jewish organizations remain unclear. Put another way, the question that would have to be answered by future research is whether greater involvement in general associations leads to lower participation in the Jewish community. The time is long due for a longitudinal study of how patterns of Jewish organizational affiliation and involvement change over time.

Of particular interest is the importance of the number of Jewish friends on the probability of volunteering for Jewish causes.

It is noteworthy that the number of Jewish friends is no longer a significant predictor of volunteering after having been contacted to volunteer by a Jewish organization is introduced into the equation as an independent variable. Smith et al. (1972, p. 335) summarize the evidence on the importance of personal influence in inducing membership and participation in voluntary associations in these terms:

When respected acquaintances or close friends are involved in these processes, there appears to be a greater likelihood of a decision being made and of membership and participation. The personal influence of significant others, as well as other situational stimuli, serve to create and to form a vital part of the "decision field" that confronts the individual about to make his choices of whether to affiliate or not with a given organization, as well as a continual series of choice as a member regarding whether to continue activity and, if activity is to be continued within the organization, what forms or types it will take and how extensive it will be.

The importance of friendship networks for reaching potential participants of social reform and collective action movements has also been repeatedly indicated in the literature on social movements (Klandermans & Oemega, 1987). Friendship networks provide interpersonal rewards that are attached to ongoing participation in any established group. These rewards help mitigate or solve the effects of the free-rider problem (Olson, 1965), whereby individuals in large organizations do not have an incentive to bear the costs of providing collective benefits because their contributions are unnoticeable and they will enjoy the benefits of what is provided by their organizations whether they contribute to them or not.

A large body of empirical research has shown that social network channels are the richest source of organizational recruits (Snow et al., 1980), suggesting that those individuals who are linked to organizational activists through pre-existing extra-organizational networks will have a greater probability of being contacted and recruited

into that particular organization. In other words, friendship networks influence whether people become targets of mobilization attempts. Thus, those persons with a greater number of Jewish friends are more likely to be part of pre-existing social networks of individuals involved in Jewish organizations; this is shown in the general population by Babchuk and Booth (1969). When actual recruitment efforts are taken into account in our analysis of factors affecting volunteering, being contacted to volunteer becomes the strongest predictor of giving time to an organization, and the previously found impact of the number of Jewish friends disappears.

Friendship networks are particularly relevant in understanding involvement in voluntary associations. The larger the number of Jewish friends someone has, the greater the chances of being recruited as a volunteer for a Jewish organization. This seems to be reflected in the fact that the number of Jewish friends is no longer a significant predictor when having been contacted by a Jewish organization is incorporated into the model. The relationship between volunteering and having been contacted by a Jewish organization to volunteer may seem obvious. However, when it is put into the context of pessimistic assessments of the prospects for Jewish involvement in the face of demographic changes that erode Jewish identification, this provisional finding acquires its real dimension: the level of Jewish volunteering might be expanded if outreach efforts on the part of Jewish organizations were increased. The fact that close to seven out of ten respondents in Dallas would volunteer if asked to reveals that the reservoir from which organizations can draw remains great. However, only two out of five of those expressing willingness to volunteer were contacted by Jewish organizations. Therefore, it is time to move from over-emphasizing the macro-level factors and processes, such as Jewish population density, population shifts, changes in family formation, adaptation to modern life, etc., and

their influence on the individual level and to start to pay increasing attention to what takes place within Jewish organizations.

Our findings suggest that Jewish organizations face three key challenges: (1) to affect the attitudes of those who do not seem to be motivated to volunteer; (2) to increase their recruitment efforts, since the data indicate that to be invited to give time is the most powerful predictor of volunteering; and (3) to reach out to those who volunteer time for non-Jewish organizations, since involvement in volunteer activities for general associations increases considerably the probability of volunteering for Jewish organizations.

Our findings can be interpreted in the context of current theories of mobilization in social movements, which highlight three critical components of the participation process: mobilization attempts, arousal of motivation, and removal of barriers to participation on the part of organizations (Klandermans, 1984; Klandermans & Oemega, 1987). Mobilization attempts entail two processes. On the one hand, organizations must initiate campaigns in which they propagate their views, justify their purposes, and show how they can be effective with people's support. Through these campaigns—called consensus mobilizations—using mass media, educational programs, and public relations events, organizations build positive attitudes among people, who may become their conscience constituents as a result of these efforts (McCarthy & Zald, 1978). On the other hand, however large the mobilization potential of an organization, if it does not have access to recruitment networks, an organization cannot succeed in transforming conscience constituents into active supporters.

Arousal of motivation is the component of the participation process that has received most attention in the literature. Motivation to participate is a function of the perceived costs and benefits of participation. Klandermans (1984) extends this approach, proposing that the anticipated

costs and benefits are related to an individual's assessment of the likely actions of others and the expectation of efficacy of participation. Individual involvement is more likely when people have high expectations that others will participate as well, that individual participation makes a contribution to the achievement of a common goal, and that the common goal can be achieved if many people participate. Therefore, organizations trying to arouse individual motivation to participate face two critical tasks: (1) to make the perceived benefits of participation and costs of nonparticipation as high as possible while making the costs of participation and the benefits of nonparticipation as low as possible, and (2) to influence individuals' expectations about their possible contributions and about the likelihood of success in achieving the goals proposed by the organization. Applying these principles to the tasks confronted by Jewish organizations can provide a promising reference framework for their educational, communication, and recruitment campaigns.

The kind of incentives and rewards that are more effective in motivating individuals to participate in voluntary organizations has been debated extensively (Clark & Wilson, 1961; Knoke, 1986, 1988; Marwell et al., 1988; Olson, 1965). Evidence is pointing toward a multifaceted account of individual participation, in which actors are motivated to become involved by their interests in a variety of incentives (Van Til, 1983). The organizational provision of incentives is the major exchange mechanism through which a voluntary association secures the resources necessary for its maintenance and growth. Incentive system theory has proposed that personal involvement depends on the individual's responsiveness to the combination of inducements offered by organizations.

Future research is required to answer these questions. What are the different motives and interests that various segments of the Jewish community have that might lead them to get involved in Jewish organ-

izations? What kind of inducements are Jewish organizations using to appeal to potential and current members? What are the differences between successful and less successful Jewish associations in terms of the motivations-incentives match?

However, willingness to participate is a necessary but insufficient condition of participation (Klandermans & Oemega, 1987); barriers to participation in collective efforts must also be considered. Therefore, assuming that the perceived benefits of involvement in Jewish organizations exceed the perceived costs, the critical task for organizations is to remove barriers to participation. Organizational barriers to the use of volunteers in voluntary associations may seem paradoxical, but they are far more common than a normative view of voluntary institutions would suggest (Smith, 1985). It has been argued that "such barriers may reflect an inherent conflict in the concept of unpaid work in partnership with paid worker and/or reflect an unwillingness on the part of those in power to allow citizens to assume full responsibility for the control over their lives" (National Forum on Volunteerism, 1986, p. 29).

Research on voluntary associations has suggested several organizational factors that have an impact on the level of individual participation. First, eligibility requirements for membership and participation, such as a minimum level of financial contributions in various Jewish organizations, have a major impact on who participates and why. Second, the size of an organization is expected to have a negative effect on the rates of membership participation. In other words, the larger the number of members, the smaller the proportion of those members who participate actively. Third, higher proportions of association members holding office or chairing committees may be associated with higher rates of participation and involvement. Finally, decision-making procedures for allocating collective resources to diverse associational goals may encourage or suppress membership participation. In this

last regard, studies of interest groups have shown that a democratic/participatory decision-making process promotes greater individual commitment and contribution to organizations (Knoke & Wood, 1981). Congruently, Knoke's national association study (1988) found that frequency of communication with organizational officers and other members was the most consistently powerful predictor of organizational involvement in general (consistently across the five measures of involvement used), and members' perception of decentralization in policy making was the second strongest predictor of organizational commitment in particular. Jewish organizations must explore these issues and adapt their operations in light of these findings if they want to create opportunity structures that facilitate and encourage individual volunteering and participation.

In sum, attempts to increase the number of volunteers in Jewish organizations should be as inclusive as possible, emphasizing a mix of strategies. First, communication, educational, and marketing campaigns aimed at fostering individual involvement in Jewish organizations are important in their own right. Their aim is to show the work of Jewish organizations is important and to link individual interests, values, and beliefs to the purpose and goals of Jewish organizations. Second, recruitment efforts must be strengthened using existing volunteer and organizational networks, word-of-mouth campaigns, friendship circles, mass media campaigns, organizational open houses, and the use of volunteer banks. Third, incentive systems used by Jewish organizations must be designed keeping in mind that congruency between them and the motives and interests of potential volunteers enhances organizational effectiveness. Fourth, Jewish organizations must look inward and become self-exploratory since barriers for greater involvement are many times built within themselves. Underlying these efforts should be attention to the ongoing production of meaning and ideology within the Jewish

voluntary enterprise, providing legitimizing and inspiring accounts to support activism and involvements.

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CALL FOR PAPERS

Impact of Technology on the Field of Jewish Communal Service

In today's information-based society, powerful computer systems, sophisticated communication devices, FAX machines, and the like have come to be part of each professional's repertoire; in so doing, they are having a great impact on the way Jewish communal professionals do business.

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Format: All papers should be typed double-spaced and submitted in triplicate. When possible, an IBM-compatible disk containing the article in the WordPerfect format should be submitted as well. Optimal length varies according to the type of submission.

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INCOME AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Do Identity, Marital Status, or a Child in the House Matter?

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The relationship between family income and each of two forms of Jewish involvement—synagogue membership and federated campaign contributions—is examined, as is the influence of Jewish identity, marital status, and the presence of a child aged 18 or under in the household. Income and identity are found to be important predictors of involvement, whereas surprisingly, marital status and the presence of a child aged 18 or under are not particularly good predictors of involvement.

Recently, the relationship of income to involvement in the Jewish community has found a place on the communal agenda. Clearly, a financial commitment and, therefore, financial resources are aspects of living Jewishly in the United States. Synagogues or Jewish Community Center dues, annual federated campaign contributions, and day or religious school tuition all call for the expenditure of discretionary funds. Thus, the Council of Jewish Federations has issued a report on the cost of Jewish affiliation (Levin & Winter, 1985), the matter has been discussed at regional professional meetings of Jewish communal professionals, and the American Jewish Committee has discussed Monson and Feldman's (1990) study of the cost of affiliation in Philadelphia.

In an earlier article published in the *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* (Winter, 1985), I provided estimates of the income level needed by a family of four to live Jewishly while maintaining a given standard of living. These estimates took into account the likelihood that the relationship between meeting the cost of

living Jewishly and the level of family income is neither simple nor direct. In particular, estimates were made of the influence of the level of Jewish identity on the decision as to how much money to commit to one form or another of Jewish involvement.

In a subsequent article, also published in this journal (Winter, 1989), I have shown that two forms of involvement—synagogue membership and contributing to a federated campaign—are not solely related to family income. The level of Jewish identity was also shown to be related to these two forms of Jewish involvement. That study, however, examined the relationships among income, identity, and involvement for only one type of family—a two-parent family with at least one child under 18 in the household. It was suggested that the dynamics of other family structures be examined in future studies. Cohen (1983, pp. 124-131) has also suggested that family structure, as reflected by marital status and the presence of children in the household, is related to Jewish involvement. This study is a step in the suggested direction. It examines the relationship between income and involvement and how it is affected not only by Jewish identity but also by marital status and the presence of a child 18 years of age or under.

Professor Winter spent his 1990-91 sabbatical year as a consultant to the Research Department of the Council of Jewish Federations concentrating on the recently completed National Jewish Population Survey.