

THE WINNIPEG JEWISH COMMUNITY: PATTERNS
OF LEADERSHIP IN AN ETHNIC SUB-COMMUNITY

A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

This study examines leadership social characteristics and behaviour in an ethnic sub-community. These factors are thought to provide insight into the process of assimilation. The Winnipeg Jewish community is the ethnic sub-community and the Winnipeg community is the dominant community of this research. It is based on personal interviews with forty-six leaders of the Winnipeg Jewish community.

It hypothesizes that the leaders of the Winnipeg Jewish community will be high in socio-economic status and that their patterns of behaviour will illustrate that leaders fall into a designated typology. The patterns of behaviour are investigated by examining their participation in the associations and institutions of the two communities and their social interaction with people in either one or the other community. The writer contends that when this differential participation and social interaction occurs, it has consequences for the ethnic group in that assimilation can be seen to be taking place.

The significant variables are prestige, income and associational participation. When these variables are processed for correlation the results show that there

is support for the hypothesis that the leaders of the Jewish community are high in prestige and income. The findings also suggest that there is some support for the hypothesis that the Jewish leaders do differ by type. Finally, the results indicate support for the hypothesis that a particular type of Jewish leader does participate in the associations of the Winnipeg dominant community to the extent that assimilation is taking place.

ANNA GORDON

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INTRODUCTION

Originally this study was motivated by an interest in the phenomenon of Jewish group cohesion in the diaspora with specific focus on the Winnipeg Jewish Community. Throughout history, the Jews have maintained themselves as a cohesive identifiable group. This separateness, the familiar image of the Jew as stranger, has been variously attributed to two factors, the exclusion from all other groups as well as the strongly integrative forces from within the Jewish group itself. The phenomenon of this group maintenance has long been a matter of interest to historians and sociologists.

As the study took shape, the problem shifted. At the stage of designing the research, it was deemed desirable to narrow the perspective from the general Jewish community to the leadership of this community. As the leadership of the Winnipeg Jewish community came into focus, other areas of sociological concern emerged. The problem of leadership has been investigated by sociological theorists and the writer considered it worth exploring. One aspect of this problem centred about a dispute over community control. This debate has been over whether power in a community is elitist or pluralist.

This study took the position that leadership hinged on economic elitism. One part of this thesis, then, concerned itself with discovering whether leadership in the Winnipeg Jewish community would support findings, noted by sociologists such as Delbert Miller, C. Wright Mills and Floyd Hunter, that community power was in the hands of an economic elite.

Another aspect of leadership theory that aroused interest was that evolved by Robert K. Merton when he postulated that leaders would exhibit differences by which they could be typed. His suggested typology forms the basis for another area of research that this study was interested in testing.

The construction of research techniques, both in locating leaders and in studying their patterns of behaviour, led to an appreciation of the importance of associational participation for understanding leadership and patterns of community life. Further, it soon became apparent that associational participation in either or both the Winnipeg Jewish community and the larger Winnipeg community had great relevance for minority group and assimilation theories. Thus, the research held promise of yet another area for testing. At the same time it was precisely this area, assimilation, that had engaged

the interest of the writer in the first place.

The unit of analysis for the present thesis was the individual leaders of the Winnipeg Jewish Community. This thesis explored the relationship of class and community leadership; it investigated patterns of leadership behavior to see whether or not Merton's typology of leadership would be applicable in an ethnic sub-community, and finally, it measured the consequences of associational participation in an ethnic sub-community for assimilation.

THE PROBLEM

This chapter presents the statement of the problem, the theory and accumulated research from which the study is predicated and from which the hypotheses derive. It also contains the definition of terms and the hypotheses.

Statement of the Problem

Many community studies conducted over the past two decades have attempted to analyze the patterns of leadership in the hope of answering the question, Who Governs? Answers to this question have been much disputed. Some community studies have found that power structures are drawn mainly from one area of the community, (cf. Hunter, 1953; Miller, 1970), that is, the economic sector. Other studies (cf. Dahl, 1961; Polsby, 1960) have found pluralistic power structures with leaders drawn from various different areas of community life. It has been suggested that these findings are not necessarily contradictory, but reflect rather the differences of the communities that have been studied.

Initially, the present study was an attempt to ascertain the types of leadership in an ethnic sub-community, namely, the Winnipeg Jewish community. The population

which forms the unit of analysis for this study consists of the leaders of the Winnipeg Jewish Community. Familiarity with the literature would lead one to expect this population to be fairly homogenous with respect to objective characteristics such as economic status, prestige, professions, or business and reputations in the community. It would also be expected that the leaders would be drawn from the higher socio-economic strata of the community.

Moving beyond objective characteristics, this study attempted to identify the "locals" and "cosmopolitans" types of leaders suggested by the work of Merton. This was done by analyzing the subjective characteristics of our population using the criteria suggested by Merton. His criteria stated that leaders could be differentiated by their origin, their attitudes toward community, their patterns of social interaction with people, their attitudes towards participation in voluntary organizations and finally, by their perception of themselves as leaders.

Merton discussed a specific small town, Rovere, as the community relative to the "Great Society." The present study used the perspective of the Winnipeg Jewish community as equivalent to Merton's Rovere, and the Winnipeg dominant community as equivalent to Merton's

"Great Society." The references to the Jewish community relative to the dominant community has implications for the literature on minority groups and assimilation theory. This research attempted to study differential assimilation of community leaders with respect to community of participation.

This study is relevant for a number of reasons:

- 1) the existing literature on community studies has pointed up a need for additional studies for comparative purposes, 2) Merton (1957) and Gouldner (1957) have suggested that it would be desirable to seek evidence concerning the theory that leaders or influentials can be differentiated by means of subjective characteristics,
- 3) while most of the existing studies of Jews in North America were concerned with the process of assimilation the present study contributed by presenting a typology of Jewish leaders who differ by orientation. This differentiation is linked to community behaviour and is therefore important for testing assimilation theory.

This study grows out of a body of existing scholarly literature and therefore has relevance for both students and researchers. Relevance is at three distinct levels: 1) for community studies, 2) for typological analysis and, 3) for minority group and assimilation theory.

Review of the Literature

This thesis was based on the literature in three major areas of Sociology: community studies, leadership studies and intergroup relations. The resultant study is a purely sociological thesis based on the convergence of these three theoretical areas. Due to the magnitude of work done in all three areas, the review of the literature confined itself to that which is most pertinent to this thesis. It was reviewed in three sections. The first section reviewed community studies. The second section treated leadership studies. The third section concerned the literature of ethnicity, intergroup relations, minority groups and religion. Emphasis where applicable was upon literature pertaining to Jews since Jews constitute the subject of the present research.

Section 1. Community studies

Since Hunter's (1953) exploration of power in a community, there has been a spate of research studies on communities and leadership. This research has evoked a number of assessments of community studies and of the research methodologies employed. Most researchers agree that Hunter influenced subsequent community studies. Studies of different kinds of communities have come to different conclusions. Hunter found a monolithic power

structure. Rossi (1960) "suggests that Hunter's Regional City may represent more highly concentrated power than is to be found in a more politically competitive community and that control over economic resources, as a basis for power may be matched by leadership of significant solidarity organizations." (Aikens, Mott, 1970:5). This finding is similar to findings by C. Wright Mills (1956) and Form and Miller (1960). Their conclusions were that, in communities they studied, there existed small groups of individuals who wielded power at the top level of the structure. These men were drawn preponderantly from the business and professional sectors of the community and a high percentage of them were of high socioeconomic status.

Spinrad (1965) assessed various community studies and found that there was a conflict about the most effective methodological approach to locating power. In Spinrad's opinion, the various approaches were basically divided in two. He selected the work of Delbert Miller (1960) and Robert Dahl (1961) as representative of these two approaches. He felt that Miller's work is basically the same as that of Hunter, in that both utilized the reputational approach and both concluded that there was a monolithic power structure. On the other hand, Dahl

(1961), using the event analysis approach found that there was a relatively pluralistic or polyolithic power structure in those communities that he had studied. In reviewing the literature of community studies one finds that there is a conflict, both about the methodological approach and about the conclusions. The conflict is between the elitists (Hunter, 1953; Miller, 1960; 1970) and the pluralists (Dahl, 1961; Polsby, 1960). The conflict is basically a conflict between philosophical approaches of two disciplines - political science and sociology. The political scientists argue for pluralistic structure models in contrast with the sociological elitist structure models. The cleavage is not as complete as the above observation indicates, but further discussion about this division is beyond the scope of this work. The basic division does exist.

In the Reputational Approach, (Hunter, 1953; Form and Miller, 1960; D'Antonio, 1962) informants were asked to name "leaders by reputation." A list of "reputational leaders" was then compiled and submitted to a panel of experts. The experts were asked to rank the leaders on the list as to their importance in the community and asked to add any names that they felt had been left out. This process yielded a list of leaders who were then

interviewed. During the interview, information about their social characteristics, their organizational affiliation, their activities in the community, their knowledge and associations with other members of the list, and their own evaluation of who is important in the community was elicited. When this data was accumulated and analyzed, the researcher was then able to distinguish between levels of leadership. In D.C. Miller's terminology, "Key Influentials" were distinguished from "Top Influentials."

The Decision-Making approach is exemplified by Robert A. Dahl in Who Governs (1961). The researcher selected a number of community decisions that were judged to be representative of all community decisions and attempted to follow the sequence of events from the emergence of the issue to its resolution. The researcher observed the initiators and the participants who were both active and influential in the direction of the resolution of the issues as they proceeded to decision. These, then, were the decision-makers and, explicitly, the power structure. This approach indicated the dynamics of leadership. Observations were made of behaviour rather than concluding that an analysis of positions and reputations revealed leadership and power.

The literature points up a need for community research to employ both methods in order to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of leadership patterns, and in order to more accurately determine power relations. The literature also directs attention to the need for analysis of comparative community studies since the different studies have resulted in almost as many different findings.

Section 2. Leadership studies.

In "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials" Merton (1957) described how, in an attempt to find ". . . the place of mass communications in patterns of interpersonal influence," it was discovered that there existed ". . . basically different types of influential persons: types which we shall call the 'local' and the 'cosmopolitan,'" (Merton, 1957:387). Merton made distinctions between types of leaders. His chief criterion for differentiating between these types was in their orientation to their community.

The orientation of the cosmopolitan transcended a particular community. The cosmopolitan was, if anything, more concerned with the outside world than with the community in which he lived. The local was chiefly interested in the community in which he lived and only

minimally aware of the larger world. Merton described him as "parochial."

More specifically, Merton divided this orientation into three areas within what he called "The Structure of Social Relations," (Merton, 1957:395). He discussed the differences between local and cosmopolitan influentials in their attitudes toward the community, their attitudes toward people in the community, and their attitudes toward participation in voluntary organizations.

He found that, in their attachment to community, the cosmopolitans differed from the locals in that the cosmopolitans had no strong sense of identification with their community.

The cosmopolitans had lived elsewhere and were prepared to do so again because of career independence and wider range of experience. The locals had local origins and career patterns within their community.

In their sociability, their acquaintance and knowledge of people, the cosmopolitans tended to limit the range of their relations with local people. The locals emphasized the number of people whom they knew locally and with whom they interacted. In effect, the locals had a greater amount of social acquaintance in

the local community.

In their participation in voluntary organizations, the locals were ". . . primarily interested in associations not for their activities, but because these provide a means for extending personal relationships." (Merton, 1957:399), whereas the cosmopolitans were, ". . . concerned with associations primarily because of the activities of these organizations," (Merton, 1957:399). This is because the associations are a way of exhibiting the skills, knowledge and expertise which the cosmopolitans possess.

Finally, Merton pointed out that these differences were not due to differences in education or occupation. He felt that; "Educational and occupational differences may contribute to the differences between the two types of individuals but they are not the source of the differences," (Merton, 1957:402). Merton found that the locals used personal relationships as a way of influencing people much more than did the cosmopolitans. He, therefore, concluded that, ". . . it is the pattern of utilizing social status and not the formal contours of the status itself which is decisive." (Merton, 1957:402).

Following Merton's explication of patterns of influence, Gouldner (1957) published

"Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles - I, II." In this article Gouldner dealt with the types of leaders in the following way: he hypothesized that certain variables would be positively correlated. He hypothesized that the locals would be high in organizational loyalty, low in commitments to specialized skills and would make use of an inner reference group orientation, that is, that they would interact socially among themselves to a greater extent than they would interact with cosmopolitans. He then hypothesized that the cosmopolitans would be low in organizational loyalty, high in commitment to specialized skills and they would make use of an outer reference group orientation, that is, they would interact minimally with locals and maximally with people who shared a similar professional discourse, although they did not live in the same geographical community with the outer reference group.

Gouldner also felt that these types would have differing self perceptions and identities and that they would be differently perceived and identified by others in their respective group. Some of Gouldner's findings were that locals tend to have higher social interaction with other locals than they have with cosmopolitans and

and that the locals seem to have a slightly higher rate of sociability, that is, a greater frequency of social interaction than do cosmopolitans.

Section 3. Intergroup relations and religion

Minority group theory deals with the social processes involved in the relationship between different groups within one territory where one group is subordinate to another group because of size, differences in language, religious beliefs and value and normative systems. The following discussion will focus on the Jews in America and will deal with religion in so far as it is necessary to account for the persistence of the Jews as a group and how religion functions for the group.

Sociology deals with minority group theory in various ways: Park (1921) postulated a theory of assimilation that followed through stages of contact, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. The fact is that the Jews have survived as an identifiable group in North America to the present day. The present study is, in great part, concerned with the phenomenon of group maintenance and survival in the face of theoretically predicted assimilation. It is generally thought that the Jewish group has survived because of its religion. Some writers in the 19th century saw America as a sort of

utopian ideal of group amalgamation wherein all immigrant groups would gradually blend together to form one new homogenous American group. In retrospect, this seems to be a romantic view held by many and known as the Melting Pot Theory. Careful research, however, has demonstrated that this has not occurred. In fact there persists a stubborn resistance to assimilation and minority ethnic groups exist and adhere to their different types of shared values, norms and culture all over North America.

The melting pot theory was superceded by a theory propounded by Will Herberg in Protestant-Catholic-Jew (1955) in which he postulated that the different national immigrants would disappear over a few generations, although maintaining their separate religions, so that North America would have a homogenous people differentiated only by their main religions, Protestant, Catholic and Jew.

A group of scholars, (Sklare and Greenblum, 1967; Gans, 1958; Gordon, 1964), have subscribed to a theory which is based in part, on studies which they conducted between 1950 and 1970, on the behaviour of Jews in the suburbs. This theory contradicts what seems to be a Jewish religious renaissance. They maintain that the social composition of the Jews has changed over time.

When the majority of the Jews arrived in North America they were poor and formed a part of the lower working class. Their rise from the lower class to middle and upper middle class status affected this social composition because Jewish upward mobility was characteristic in that it applied to large numbers of Jews. This large population of middle and upper middle class Jews resulted in a remarkable homogenous Jewish middle class.

To begin with, the Jews had settled largely in voluntary ghettos in urban centres, where they were free to pursue their own differences. These differences were in ideology, religion, and language. As they became more affluent, they moved to the suburbs. In the suburbs they were exposed for the first time to members of the middle and upper middle class who were not Jews. Whereas before they had no need to identify themselves as Jews, it now became obvious to them that they were perceived as Jews by their Gentile neighbours and they found that their neighbours expected them to behave as Jews. These Jews were aware of the North American ethos emphasizing religious behaviour as respectable. The Jews in the suburbs responded to the needs for acceptance and respectability by again becoming religious. This resulted in the building of synagogues and by a growing numerical

affiliation with synagogues, Jewish social recreational institutions and the rise of Jewish education. The increasing number of synagogues would seem to suggest a Jewish religious revival. However, the kinds of synagogues have changed as well as their content. The synagogues do not seem to be as devoted to religious or spiritual concerns as they are devoted to cultural recreational concerns. They seem to function less for religion and more for cultural and social needs of the community. However, they are a locus for certain necessary observances that are basic for specific needs of the Jewish community. For example, the Bar Mitzvah, marriage and funerals.

Many observers, such as Yinger (1968) and Lenski (1963) feel, therefore, that the Jews, although increasingly affiliated with synagogues, are not as religious as the number of synagogues and memberships would indicate.

Some researchers in the area are concerned with the concept of cultural pluralism which seems to mean that minority groups have maintained their boundaries (either maintained or imposed) in the dominant society. The groups have maintained their sense of peoplehood, rituals, traditions and endogamous practices, while at

the same time, living in the dominant society and conforming behaviorally to it. Milton Gordon (1964:135) feels that this is equivalent to structural pluralism. The theory is that such groups maintain their boundaries, that is, live together with a high degree of interaction and endogamous practices, while at the same time interacting across the boundaries in attempts to achieve economic and political advantages that are available to them only in the dominant society. In many cases Jews have been very successful in this undertaking. Some theorists feel that the concept of cultural pluralism lacks meaningful longitudinal validity and that it is based on the assumption that society is static. They point out that social change brings about more contact which tends to break down boundaries. As boundaries break down, contact is made leading to further interaction which must inevitably be followed by social contact, intermarriage and assimilation.

Glazer (1957) suggested that cultural pluralism was not tenable for the above reasons, and therefore, assimilation was almost inevitable. He felt that the Jewish groups are aware of this, though not always at a conscious level, and that they do not accept it because it threatens group survival, a value which many Jews

cherish.

Sklare (1971) has pointed out that one of the reasons why Jewish group maintenance is difficult to study is that assimilation takes place over generations. He pointed out that Jews are in conflict about the pull of assimilation on the one hand, and the need for Jewish identification on the other. He suggested that the resurgence of Jewish identification and assertions of Jewish group survival are a result of the growing alienation of these people in an ever more complex society. This has been suggested as an explanation for the self conscious group awareness of many other groups in the United States. Sklare further stated that, as occupational mobility brought great benefits to the Jews, it also presented serious problems for Jewish group survival. The more successful the Jews are socially and professionally, the more assimilated they become.

In sum, community studies have found that power and decision making rests in the hands of small groups who have high socio-economic status. Leadership studies have theorized that a pattern of leadership can be discerned by distinguishing between types of leaders, basic to assimilation theory is the prediction that when groups come into effective contact they eventually

assimilate. These three areas of sociological theory inspired the ideas around which this thesis developed.

Definition of Terms

Jews. For the purposes of this study, a Jew is defined as one who perceives himself as Jewish and is so perceived by others.

Jewish Leader. A person who was selected by a panel of experts on the basis of position, reputation and that panel's perception of Jewish Leadership.

Income. Income is the dollars per year reported by informants as family income for the year preceding the research.

Prestige. Prestige is the individual informant's scale score as measured by Blishen's Socio-economic Index for occupations in Canada.

Activity. Activity is the degree and extent of associational participation in the Jewish community and the dominant community. It is the individual informant's scale score derived from an associational participation scale.

Associational Participation. Associational participation is the extent to which the individual informant participates in the associations of the Jewish and dominant communities.

Extensity of Associational Participation. Extensity is

the number of organizations to which the informant belongs.

Intensity of Associational Participation. Intensity is the number of organizations in which the informant attends regularly and the number of organizations in which the informant holds office or serves upon committees.

The Jewish Community. The Jewish Community is made up of the Jews who reside in Winnipeg. They share Jewish institutions, organizations, values and they have significant social interaction.

The Dominant Community. The dominant community is the City of Winnipeg. It comprises the total population of the city, its shared institutions and organizations.

Social Acquaintance. Social acquaintance is a measure of social interaction of the informant as measured on a social acquaintance scale.

Origin. Origin is defined as the informant's place of birth.

Locals. The local is defined as a type of community leader whose orientation is primarily towards the Jewish community, its people and its institutions.

Cosmopolitans. The Cosmopolitan is defined as a type of leader whose orientation is primarily toward the dominant community, its people and its institutions.

Assimilation. Assimilation is defined in terms of

Gordon's (1964) assimilation model using the variable of structural pluralism. For present purposes the measure of assimilation was the extent to which the individual informant participated in the associations of the dominant community.

Leadership Self Perception. Leadership self perception is defined as the individual informant's agreement or disagreement with seven statements relating to how he sees himself in a Jewish leadership role.

Statement of Hypotheses

This research involved the testing of major hypotheses directly derived from the literature previously cited. The hypotheses are grouped according to the three bodies of literature from which they were derived.

Section 1. Community studies

1. The higher the prestige of the individual, the more likely the individual will be to hold a leadership position in the Winnipeg Jewish community.

2. The higher the income of the individual, the more likely the individual will be to hold a leadership position in the Winnipeg Jewish community.

Section 2. Leadership studies

Type I: Cosmopolitans

3. The greater the associational participation of the individual extensity and intensity in the dominant community the less the social interaction of the individual with others in the Jewish community.

4. The greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity of the individual in the dominant community, the more likely will the individual be foreign born in origin.

5. The greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity of the individual in the dominant community, the less likely he will be to have a Jewish leadership self-perception.

Type II. Locals

6. The greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity of the individual in the Jewish community, the greater the social interaction of the individual with others in the Jewish community.

7. The greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity of the individual in the Jewish community, the more likely that the individual will be native born in origin.

8. The greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity of the individual in the Jewish community, the more likely he will be to have a Jewish

leadership self-perception.

Section 3. Minority group and assimilation theory

9. The higher the prestige of the individual, the greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity of the individual in the dominant community.

10. The higher the income of the individual the greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity, of the individual in the dominant community.

This chapter has presented the statement of the problem, a brief review of the relevant theory and accumulated research, the definition of terms used in the study, and the hypotheses which were tested.

CHAPTER II

This chapter will present the history of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and a description of its leaders.

The Winnipeg Jewish Community

The history of the Winnipeg Jewish community is similar to the history of many North American Jewish communities. Canada and Winnipeg, however, differ in a few important ways.

The Jews in the United States are descendants of Jews who immigrated from different countries at different times in history. Jews are known to have been present from the beginning of settlement in North America. However, the immigration of Jews to North America can best be understood when viewed as a series of immigrations categorized by time and origin.

The first series of immigrants came from South America, fugitives from the Spanish inquisition, (Sachar, 1958:501-505). Such Jews were known as Sephardim.¹ In other waves of immigration Jews who came from North Africa and the Levant, were also known as Sephardim.

¹from Sepharad, Obadiah I, 20.

The second series of immigrants came from Germany. The final series came from East Europe. Both the German and East European Jews are known as Ashkenzim.² The East Europeans originally came from Germany and central Europe. Ashkenaz is the Hebrew word for Germany.

The Sephardim constituted a relatively small group but they left significant impact in terms of their culture. Sephardic Jews still exist throughout North America and their synagogues and congregations remain, but they are insignificant numerically.

The German Jews, coming later than the Sephardim, maintained their German heritage which distinguished them from the Sephardim. These Jews brought a rich cultural heritage with them when they immigrated during the late 18th and 19th centuries. Although most of them arrived without resources, they became very successful, especially in finance and business, as did the Sephardim before them. They took on the customs of their host country while maintaining their Jewish identification. They were also, as a result of their financial success, able to found and maintain many institutions, including, of course, their synagogues. Their

²from Askenaz, Genesis X, 3.

most notable contribution to Judaism was the radical reform of Judaism which had its genesis in Germany, (Glazer, 1957). This reform was a liberalization of the orthodox dogma and ritual of Judaism. It resulted in changing forms of liturgy, custom and the synagogue. The Reform Temple replaced the synagogue and orthodox Judaism. Its program stressed universal ethics rather than ritual observance.

By mid 19th century, a migration of Jews from Eastern Europe began. These Jews were readily identifiable as different from the acculturated, and, in some cases, assimilated Sephardic and German Jews. The East European dress and customs were those of orthodox, ritual conforming East European shtetl Jews, (Zborowski and Herzog, 1953). They spoke another language, Yiddish. The Sephardic Jews also had a characteristic language, Ladino. It has been observed by historians of this period (Glazer, 1957; Sachar, 1958) that the German Jews, who formed the majority of the Jews in North America at this time, circa 1840 - 1880, were not pleased to see the East European Jews arrive. The German Jews had outwardly acculturated into the North American situation. They were sensitive to the attention which the kind of Jewishness that East European arrivals received when they

arrived in North America. Anti-semitism had become a force in the United States, which, although not as cruel as that practiced in Europe, had to be contended with. German Jews had had their experience with it whether they were poor or affluent. They dealt with anti-semitism in a variety of ways, but discreetly. At the same time, they responded to the needs of the East Europeans.

The East Europeans arrived without resources, with few skills, and in great numbers. The German Jews initiated organizations to help their "oriental" brothers. The organizations took the form of social welfare agencies where East Europeans could get guidance as well as financial assistance. This was the beginning of the voluntary agencies in which funds were raised for the help of needy Jews. It also fell within the tradition of Judaism in which philanthropy is considered to be the highest good. Philanthropy is an extension of the biblical commandment of charity: "Thou shalt surely open thy hand unto thy poor and needy brother."³ To help where help is needed or even to anticipate another's

³Deut. XV, II.

need is a great mitzvah.⁴

From 1880 to 1930 Eastern Europeans continued to arrive in such numbers that their descendants gradually formed the majority of the Jews in the United States and continue to do so to this day.

This period of immigration, from 1880 to 1930, during which the East European Jews grew in population, had another significant effect on the North American Jewish population. The East Europeans, were, on the whole, devout ritual-conforming Jews. Ritual-conforming is almost synonymous with what is referred to as Orthodox Judaism.⁵ The form of ritualism that the East Europeans had brought with them, had been relatively untouched by those movements such as the Enlightenment which had led to Reform in the German Jewish population both in Germany and in North America. The contact between the rising tide of East European Jewry and German

⁴a mitzvah is a commandment of which 613 derive from the Torah, the Judaic testament. The word has come to be understood in two ways: it is an obligation required by Jewish law and its fulfillment is perceived as a blessing.

⁵The terms Orthodox Judaism and ritual-conforming are used interchangeably in this narrative.

Jews in the North American areas of settlement led, over time, to a compromise between some who held to Reform and some who held to traditional Judaism. This resulted in a religious movement of moderate reform which is known today as Conservative Judaism, (Sklare, 1955; Glazer, 1957).

Western Canada and Winnipeg, because of its geographic position, was the last frontier for the East European Jews in North America. The Jewish immigrants were attracted first to the United States where they settled in the larger urban centres. From about 1890 to 1924, two factors influenced and altered their immigration patterns. As immigration to the United States (not only Jewish) increased, American immigration laws were changed to make entry into the United States more difficult. As the Jews continued to arrive they went to Canada because of its proximity to the United States.

The Jews had started to migrate to Canada much earlier than 1890 and had formed communities in the larger urban centres in Eastern Canada with much the same population characteristics as found in the United States, but on a smaller scale. The Sephardic population was even more insignificant than that in the United States, but there were both Sephardic and German Jews in Montreal

and Toronto. The East Europeans also followed the pattern described above. Then, by 1890 the immigrants started to arrive in Western Canada. Chiel (1961) notes that the Jews who arrived in Winnipeg just before and in 1890, were German, and that some of them had come via the United States. Larger waves of immigration began to arrive in Winnipeg in the 1890's. This continued until 1930 with an interruption during the first World War. These immigrants were nearly all East Europeans. From the beginning, the Winnipeg Jewish community was formed by a majority of Eastern Europeans. This accounts for the fact that the synagogues in Winnipeg are either orthodox or conservative. The only Reform Temple is recent and very small.

There are still a number of the original immigrants living in Winnipeg today. The young Jews of today are either third or fourth generation depending on the age of their fathers or grandfathers when they arrived. Data illustrating the Jewish population growth for Winnipeg between 1881 and 1961 are presented in Table I. The decrease in the growth during the 1920 - 1930 decade is due to the change in immigration laws for both the United States and Canada.

The original settlers generated an extended

Table 1. Number and Density of Jewish Population of
Winnipeg, 1881 - 1961

	Total Population	Jewish Population	Percentage Jews to Total
1881	7,985	21	0.3
1891	25,639	645	2.5
1901	42,290	1,156	2.7
1911	136,035	9,023	6.3
1921	179,087	14,449	8.1
1931	294,162	17,663	6.0
1941	302,024	17,453	5.8
1951	354,069	18,514	5.2
1961	475,989	19,376	4.1

Source: Rosenberg, Louis, "The Jewish Population of Winnipeg 1961, Canadian Jewish Population Studies, 2, 1961, 4.

kinship and friendship system within the city. Group cohesion was, and is facilitated because of the size of the Winnipeg Jewish community which has remained fairly stable for the last thirty years.

Whether due to external pressure or internal needs, Jews tend to cluster geographically. Such clusters are known as ghettos, or ethnic enclaves, (Wirth, 1928). The original area of settlement for the Jews in Winnipeg was an area known as Point Douglas, which was then the centre of the city. Later, about 1915, they moved from this area to the area of the city which is known as the North End. From about 1915 to the beginning

of World War II, they lived almost exclusively in the North End. After the war, coinciding with a general economic change in the country, the economic status of many Jews improved. They became financially successful. This success brought a geographic shift. Jews started to move to the South End, an area that had been populated almost exclusively by upper and upper middle class Anglo-Saxons. They also moved further north. After the war new housing in both these areas was developed as a response to the general need for housing. The need for housing was due to urban population growth resulting from the rural urban shift which occurred in Manitoba. It also reflected the general economic change after the depression.

During the time the Jews have lived in Winnipeg, they have built institutions which include synagogues, schools, cemetaries and a social recreational centre. Like their counterparts everywhere in North America, they have also engaged very actively in self help organizations and social agencies. As soon as the community was able to do so, it engaged rabbis and formed a rabbinical council made up of a Chief Rabbi and at least two other rabbis who supervised the religious needs of the community. Until the mid 1930's this council (known as the

Kehilla), had considerable control. It controlled the rabbis, Jewish education, and the rituals concerned with food, (known as kashrut).

Table 2: Percentage of Jews to Total Population in each of the Three Main Geographic Areas in the City of Winnipeg, in 1931, 1941, 1951 and 1961.¹

Geographic Area	1931	1941	1951	1961
Winnipeg North	20.4	20.8	16.2	7.5
Winnipeg Centre	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.5
Winnipeg South	1.6	2.0	3.2	5.5
City of Winnipeg	7.9	7.7	6.8	4.7

Source: Rosenberg, Louis, "The Jewish Population of Winnipeg 1961, Canadian Jewish Population Studies, 2, 1961, 4.

¹This is an abstract from the original table, the entire table includes percentages for the other municipal areas of Metropolitan Winnipeg.

As the Jewish community developed, there was considerable behavioural acculturation. This was accompanied by gradual abandonment of strict orthodoxy. For example, people started to drive to the synagogue on the Sabbath and places of business were operated on Saturday, the Sabbath. A portion of the community remains strictly orthodox, conforming to all the required rituals. This group conforms to the requirements of institutions such as the Vad Hoir, (the present day Rabbinical Council), orthodox

synagogues and kashrut. There are no available figures to indicate the size of this extremely orthodox population. This is partly due to the fact that many Jews still attend orthodox synagogues and purchase kosher meat, but are not strictly observing. Therefore, attendance figures at orthodox synagogues are not reliable indicators of their numbers. They are, however, a small minority.

With the Jewish arrival in numbers, self help societies were formed by which arrangements could be made for loans, medical help and to fill other social needs. To maintain the necessary organization for these activities, the Jews were immediately involved in raising money among themselves. Raising money for the community is a social process that began with Jewish settlement and continues to the present. It remains one of the paramount activities today.

During the 1930's the Jews became aware of the worsening plight of their fellow Jews in Europe. Winnipeg Jews responded by organizing to raise money for assistance. So many appeals arose in response to the needs, that a plan was formulated to amalgamate all the fund raising under one organization. The Jewish Welfare Fund was founded in 1938, (Morantz, 1964). It was a combined appeal for funds. This fund undertook to collect

money to support the needs for education, the needy, the orphans and the aged which had previously been supported by individual appeals for money on an ad hoc basis. The synagogues, however, continued to support themselves by raising money directly among their congregants.

The founding of the Jewish Welfare Fund coincided with the gradual shedding of orthodoxy previously referred to. This also coincided with growing behavioural acculturation. The locus of power of the community shifted from the Rabbinical council to the fund raising apparatus that had been created. The wealthy, powerful and influential members of the community devoted more time and interest to fund raising than to religion and synagogues.

The community is remarkably cohesive today considering differences of opinions with respect to ideology in the past. This narrative will discuss briefly several incidences of conflict in the history of this community.

In 1905, (Herstein, 1964), a small but very vocal group arrived in the city who cohered about a distinct and somewhat different set of attitudes towards language, religion and politics. The group was actually made up of diverse groups, but they agreed strongly that Yiddish should be treated as the language of the Jewish community.

As a result they founded a Yiddish speaking parochial school. They were secular, which reinforced their ideas about the language. The traditional Jewish school had as its main focus the study of the Torah and used biblical Hebrew as the language for that purpose. The language used in the homes of all these immigrants upon arrival, however, was Yiddish. Politically, this smaller group was socialist, although their socialism took different forms. Some were purely socialist but willing to adapt to and adopt Canada as their home. Others were Zionists who wished to have socialism in Palestine. There were also anarchists, and later, communists who believed in the Russian experiment. On the whole, this group concentrated on their desire for a Yiddish, secular socialist community in Winnipeg. They founded a school and a Yiddish speaking newspaper. The larger group was made up of religious traditional Jews who supported the Rabbinical Council. In schools of the traditionalists boys were taught the Torah and were prepared for the Bar Mitzvah. They were responsible for the building of synagogues and all other religious institutions. The differences between these two groups has faded through the years. Accommodation has taken place. Although numbers of Jews remain secular, Jewish community concern over

Jewish group survival has transcended this division.

Another aspect of conflict in the community centred around control of the Kehillah over kashrut. During the 1930's, the Jewish population was divided about the power vested in the Kehillah. As a result, there was outspoken criticism which threatened the organization of the Kehillah. The Kehillah was made up of Rabbis and religious inspectors known as mashgihim who supervised ritual slaughter and who depended on a tax for its maintenance. The tax was levied on retail sales of meat which made kosher meat expensive. During the thirties, the tax was increased and kosher meat became even more expensive. The tax increase was an arbitrary decision made by the Kehillah. The butchers and the consumers resented and questioned the size of this increased cost. This led to a split. Some butchers broke away from the Kehillah, imported their own Rabbi and built their own synagogue. This situation was resolved when certain leaders of the community interceded. The Jewish Welfare organization established the Vad Hoir in 1945. As the organization itself indicated, "Through it a pattern of rabbinical supervision of the Kosher meat provisioning was established, and still commands the undivided allegiance and support of the entire observant

community." (Morantz, 1964).

The fact that the Jewish Welfare Fund could step in, reorganize and restructure the Kehillah into the Vad Hoir is an indication of the importance attached to this organization which today is the fund raising institution of the Winnipeg Jewish community. This is a fact of central importance for the present research.

The leaders of the Jewish community are active in the various Zionist and local organizations. Their power stems from the fact that they raise and are responsible for allocating large sums of money. This money is raised for two major purposes: 1) to support the local community, which means the Jewish institutions of education and social agencies, 2) to support the state of Israel. Thus the most important organization today takes the form of an annual combined campaign appeal in which the community is asked to meet the requirements of both needs. The amount required and stated as a goal in specific money terms increases year by year. These goals are established by the combined Winnipeg Jewish and Israel appeals. The Winnipeg Jewish community is very proud of its ability to raise the designated sum. The power of the leaders who hold key positions in these organizations derives, in part, from the fact that they

make the decisions about fund allocation. Fund allocation, however, poses problems for the decision makers. At the time of writing, the cost of the educational system exceeded the allotment granted to it. This was because Winnipeg had several flourishing day schools and educational costs were rising for them as they were in all educational systems. It should be noted that funding was needed, even though all students paid tuition fees. At the same time, Israel-Zionist needs were open ended. Each group saw its own needs in terms of group survival. The one insisted on the diaspora community retaining its identity in the diaspora. The other believed that should Israel perish, all the Jews of the world would perish. Thus two factions vied for money, and in the process produced yet another example of community conflict.

It can be seen from this description of the rise of the voluntary charitable organizations that they provide positions and activities in which people rise to leadership in the Jewish community. There are, however, other important organizations in the community. For example, an identifiable religious sector exists. The premises of the synagogues are also used for social, recreational, educational and fund raising activities.

The Canadian Jewish Congress and the B'Nai B'Rith are two additional organizations which must be mentioned because of their importance in the life of the community. One of their main functions was and is to meet and deal with anti-semitism and discrimination on behalf of the community.

Examples of anti-semitism have taken conventional forms ranging from vandalism in Jewish cemetaries and schools, through quota systems in admission to professional schools, to exclusion from a prestigious country club and a gentleman's club.

No history of any Jewish community would be adequate without some mention of the work of women. The institution of the family, and the role of the wife and mother are very important in all Jewish communities. There are many organizations in which women are involved in affairs concerning Jewishness, religion, Zionism and community. It is noteworthy that one of the most famous Zionist organizations in the world, the Hadassah, is a women's organization, something that the Gentile world is not altogether aware of, identifying it only with Zionism. It is, therefore, significant that, when the Jewish Welfare Fund was established, women were separated from the main organization by the setting up of a women's

division. There was nothing unusual in this at the time. It is, however, clearly reflected in the leadership structure and, therefore, important for this research. Although women are very active in the Jewish community, the real decision making takes place in the organization of the campaign and in the fund allocation committee. No women sit on this particular committee.

Finally, there is a segment of the Winnipeg Jewish population which has not been mentioned but which requires some discussion. The decade of the 1940's is known to all for the events which had the most traumatic consequences for world Jewry: the war, the holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel. One of the consequences of this chain of events must be made clear as it is important for an added understanding of this particular community. Before the war, the largest Jewish population in the world lived in Europe. Several years after the end of World War II, the United States and Canada were the countries in which the largest population of world Jewry resided, (Elazar, 1969). This represents a major population shift. It also signifies a major Jewish community organizational shift. Specific to this study, is the fact that a new immigration of Jews arrived in Winnipeg from Europe. These were the Holocaust

Survivors, the Szerith Hapleita, (sh'erit hap'letah).

Their number in Winnipeg is not known. It was estimated by one of the informants as a stable population of approximately 1,000. These people have, in the past twenty years, followed the acculturation patterns of the early immigrants. They tend to live together geographically, in West Kildonan and Garden City. They also tend to have similar occupations and their children seem to be both achievement oriented and successful. It is probable that this group accounts for some of the increase in the population figures presented in Table I. While a documentation of these observations falls beyond the scope of the present study, it would undoubtedly constitute a fruitful direction for future empirical research.

This description of the Winnipeg Jewish community has presented the setting for this study. The next section deals with the social characteristics of the leaders of the community.

The Community Leaders

This thesis was primarily concerned with patterns of leadership in an ethnic sub-community. Hypotheses were generated that leadership would have specific social characteristics and would be differentiated into

designated types. Finally, it was hypothesized that their patterns of behaviour, using the criteria of their participation in the associations of two communities, would support theories about assimilation.

This section of the study deals with a description of the leaders in terms of their objective social characteristics. Straightforward variables such as age, sex, income and prestige were dealt with separately in order to present a picture of the kind of people that constituted the basis of research.

Sex

Since leadership is related to power, the division of power between men and women in the community is of interest to this study. Power in the Jewish community is closely related to fund raising and to the fact that decisions have to be made about fund allocation. Men held the positions in the organizations where these decisions were made. This was reflected in the sex distribution among the informants. This stands in sharp contrast to the sex distribution of the total Jewish population in Winnipeg. The Winnipeg Jewish population reveals a normal sex ratio. There were 9,123 males and 9,227 females according to the 1961 census, (Census, 1961). The sex ratio of the Jewish community

leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972 is presented in

Table 3.

Table 3: A frequency distribution by number and percent of the sex composition of 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Sex	Number	Percentage
Male	36	78.3
Female	10	21.7
Totals	46	100.0

Age

The respondents ranged from 40 to 73 years of age. It is reasonable to expect that leadership in any community would be in the age categories above 40 years. In the Winnipeg Jewish community this is true because leadership is usually dependent on achievement, success, money, commitment and involvement. Therefore, in order to have important position, reputation and leadership in the Jewish community, one has to be in the position to devote time and considerable amounts of money to the community. Since leadership in the community is on an entirely voluntary basis, it is to be expected that only those who have been financially successful would be

found in leadership ranks. Although many may have been dedicated to Jewishness and community, not all were able or willing to take the time from their labour or their careers to do what was required to achieve formal leadership positions. This would explain the large number of informants who were in the 55 - 59 age category. These people are usually those who have spent the early part of their mature lives working at their businesses or professions.

Table 3 shows a bimodal age distribution. The relatively large observations noted in the 40 - 44 age category indicates that a fairly young group holds leadership status. An explanation for this is that because Winnipeg's population is now in its third and fourth generation, some of the people who are known as leaders are people who have been born into wealth and have been able to start on their leadership careers very early in their life cycle. Given the advantage of inherited wealth, or quick success in business or profession, there is a trend for younger people to take leadership positions in the community.

Table 4 shows the age composition by number and percent of 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Table 4: A frequency distribution, by number and percent, of the age composition of 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1972.

Age	Number	Percentage
40 - 44	12	26.0
45 - 49	8	19.0
50 - 54	5	10.5
55 - 59	10	21.5
60 - 64	6	13.0
65 - 69	3	6.6
70 +	2	4.0
Totals	46	100.0
Mean Standard Deviation	53.00, 9.17	Median 51.50, Range 33.00

Marital status

All but two of the respondents were married. The two who weren't married at the time of the interview were widowed. One was over 70 years of age and one was in the sixties. Previous research (Reiss, 1971:249; Glazer, 1957), has indicated that marriage rates are higher and divorce rates are lower among Jews than among most other groups that have been studied. The marital status of the respondents is consistent with the literature.

Occupations

Occupational analysis made use of Blishen's Socio-economic Index for occupations in Canada. Blishen's Scale ranges from 25.36 to 76.69. The prestige

score ratings of the present informants range from 40 to 75. Studies of Jews in North America and Canada, (Glazer, 1957; Kramer and Leventman, 1961; Porter, 1965), indicate that Jews as a group, have achieved high socio-economic success relative to all other minority groups. The data from the present study are consistent with these findings. Of the 46 informants, 18 were businessmen, 12 were lawyers, 10 were housewives and three were Rabbis. The remaining three occupied managerial salaried positions.

A frequency distribution by number and percent, of the prestige ratings of the informants, is presented in Table 5.

Education

The literature concerning Jews as a minority group in North America has documented the unparalleled achievement of the group in terms of education. Sklare (1971:56) referred to this as an "education explosion." Several explanations have been advanced to account for this phenomenon. One of these is that many Jewish immigrants came from East Europe with a value system that placed great emphasis on education. The typical 18th and 19th century "shtetl" culture placed great value on studying and learning. The Torah and the Commentaries

Table 5: A frequency distribution by number and percent, of prestige ratings of 36 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.¹

Prestige Score	Number	Percentage
40 - 49	3	8.3
50 - 59	12	33.3
60 - 69	9	25.0
70 - 75	12	33.3
Totals	36	100.0

Mean 62.75, Median 62.5, Range 35.0

Standard Deviation 9.17

¹There were 10 women in the sample. These women responded to the question of occupation by designating themselves as housewives. No prestige scores were attributed to them. If the education or personal wealth of these women were taken into account, the prestige scores might be altered upward. The women in this sample were educated but did not work for income. Of the ten women, one had a Master's degree in social work, three had their Bachelor's degree and two had attended university. The remaining four had completed high school.

Learning and education in the secular areas constituted the subject matter and the most learned were rewarded with high status. This cultural orientation towards learning was translated into formal education for the Jews in North America. In North America, however, the learning and studying was that of the American Society and diligence in learning brought achievement and success in secular areas. This line of reasoning held that the emphasis on learning and the sacrifices made for it in East Europe was in part due

to expectations of rewards. The rewards in that culture were meant to be and were, religious, but they often coincided with material and earthly rewards, such as status and money.

It has been suggested that the Jews arrived in North America, although impoverished and facing discrimination, with an internalized set of middle class values. Such values as deferment gratification, future orientation to work and the goals of achievement were part of the Jewish psychology. They did not have to be learned by emulating the Protestant middle class. Therefore, the Jews had, in that way, a head start over many other immigrant groups who arrived at approximately the same time.

Combined with this is the view that the situation awaiting the Jews in North America was unique in their history since the dispersion. North America offered the Jews full and equal opportunity for access to its educational institutions. The Jews, conditioned to being refused entrance to secular educational institutions in Central and eastern Europe, were quick to seize the opportunities presented to them. The transfer from religious studies to secular education was rapidly accomplished. This process was so rapid that the

incidence of younger immigrants achieving professional status is not insignificant. This rapid upward mobility is altogether remarkable when one considers the hardships of overcoming poverty, cultural differences, language differences and attaining that upper level of education to professional status in a single life span.

Of the 46 informants in this study, all but one had completed high school; 34 had attended university; 25 had completed university with one degree and thirteen held more than one degree.

Income

The income of the informants was viewed in a way that parallels the discussion about their education. Those Jews who had high education and had achieved professional status were high on the income variable. Those who had achieved financial and business success were also high in income. The literature, (Glazer, 1957; Sklare, 1970), shows that upward mobility among Jews has been more rapid than among other minority groups. This mobility was achieved in two ways: by emphasis on education to profession, and by business, manufacturing and finance enterprize. Although it is true that not all Jews are successful, it was the successful ones who were found in leadership positions.

Table 6: A frequency distribution by number and percent, of incomes of 36 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.¹

Annual Income by Thousands of Dollars	Number	Percentage
15 - 24,9	6	6.67
25 - 34,9	7	19.44
35 - 44,9	6	16.67
45 - 54,9	7	19.44
55 - 64,9	2	5.56
65 - 74,9	1	2.78
75 - 84,9	6	16.67
85 +	1	2.78
 Totals	36	100.0

Mean 46.7 Median 43.4 Range 80.0

Standard Deviation .4

¹The ten women in the sample did not respond to the question about income.

A frequency distribution by number and percent, of the informants incomes are presented in Table 6.

The amount of income of these informants was difficult to determine. The question that was asked concerned the total family income for the preceding year as reported for income tax. The informant was presented with income categories which he was requested to check. These categories ranged from \$15,000.00 to \$105,000.00 per year. Many informants told the writer that the question had little relationship to their actual worth in terms of property and real wealth. The women, omitted

from Table 6, responded to this question by saying that they had no incomes. When it was pointed out that the question asked for family income they insisted, either that they did not know their family income because this was not their domain, or by refusing to supply a figure. By reputation, however, some of these women were known to be independently wealthy, even though they declined to provide income information.

Origin of the leaders

The section of the history of the Winnipeg Jewish community discussed the growth of the community and its origins. As previously indicated, immigration began in 1890 and most of the immigrants from 1890 to 1930 were of East Europe origin.

A frequency distribution by number and percent of the origin of 46 Jewish leaders is presented in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 7: A frequency distribution by number and percent of the origin of 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Origin	Number	Percentage
Born in Winnipeg	22	47.8
Born outside of Winnipeg	24	52.2
Totals	46	100.0

Table 8: A frequency distribution by number and percent of the geographic origin of 46 Jewish Leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1972.

Geographic Origin	Number	Percentage
Winnipeg	22	47.83
Canadian but not Winnipeg	6	13.04
United States	6	13.04
East Europe	12	26.09
Totals	46	100.00

Respondents' parents origin

The history indicated that a majority of the people in the high age categories of this study would have originated in East Europe. To check the validity of this observation, the informants were asked where their parents were born.

A frequency distribution by number and percent of the geographic origin of the informants' parents is presented in Table 9.

Father's prestige scores

The literature (Glazer, 1957; Sklare, 1971; Teller, 1970; Gans, 1956), everywhere indicated that there has been considerable intergenerational mobility in the Jewish minority group in North America. The term

Table 9: A frequency distribution by number and percent of the geographic origin of the parents of 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1972.

Geographic Origin	Mother	Percentage	Father	Percentage
Canada	3	6.5	2	4.3
United States	2	4.3	1	2.2
England	2	4.3	-	-
East Europe	<u>39</u>	84.9	43	93.5
Totals	46	100.0	46	100.0

intergenerational mobility refers to socio-economic movement from the father's generation to the son's generation. Porter (1965) showed that there is not much difference between occupations of fathers and sons in the dominant community; that generally people do not achieve more success than their fathers and as a result there is some reason for Porter's conclusions that class stability is maintained. On the other hand, minority group studies about Jews (Porter, 1960; Kramer and Leventman, 1961; Glazer, 1957; Sklare, 1971) have shown that wide intergenerational discrepancies in class are frequently encountered.

The present informants were asked to indicate their father's occupations. These occupations were

carefully matched to Blishen's Socio-economic Index for purposes of comparison between informants and their fathers. Results suggest that the informants in this study are similar to the findings of other minority group studies.

A frequency distribution by numbers and percent showing prestige ratings of informants and their fathers is presented in Table 10.

Table 10: A frequency distribution, by number and percent of prestige scores for 46 Jewish leaders and their Fathers in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.¹

Blishen's Prestige Score	Fathers		Sons	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
27 - 29	4	8.7	-	-
30 - 39	20	43.5	-	-
40 - 49	9	19.5	3	8.33
50 - 59	10	21.8	12	33.3
60 - 69	-	-	9	25.0
70 - 75	3	6.5	12	33.3
Totals		46	100.0	36²
				100.0

¹The difference between informants' Mean of 62.75 and Fathers' Mean of 42.022 is 17.73

²The total figure of 36 for Sons is due to the absence of prestige ratings for the women in this study.

Geographic characteristics

An additional characteristic of the informants

related to the history of the Jewish community, was their geographical mobility. The literature in this area of Jewish studies (Wirth, 1928; Glazer, 1957; Kramer and Leventman, 1961) has shown that the Jews have moved from ethnic enclave to ethnic enclave, the difference being from enforced and poverty stricken ghettos, to voluntary exclusiveness in suburban middle to upper middle class neighborhoods. As discussed in the section of the history of the community, Winnipeg has shown this characteristic of movement from one area of settlement to another.

A frequency distribution by number and percent of a geographical shift within the city of informants is presented in Table 11.

Table 7 shows that of the 46 informants, 22 were born in Winnipeg and 24 were born outside of Winnipeg. Table 10 indicates that only 11 gave "out of town" as their original address. A small discrepancy occurred in the way some of the informants interpreted the question about origins. This resulted in a seeming contradiction between the original address and the place of birth being other than Winnipeg. The fact was, that some of the informants arrived as young children and perceived their original address as given, whereas the clearly stated "out of town" responses were from those informants who

Table 11: A frequency distribution by number and percent of the geographic shift of 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.¹

Original Address	Number	Percent	Present Address	Number	Percent
North End	31	67.0	North End	5	10.9
West			West		
Kildonan	-	--	Kildonan	6	13.0
Garden City	-	-	Garden City	3	6.5
Central			Central		
Winnipeg	2	4.0	Winnipeg	8	17.4
River			River		
Heights	2	4.0	Heights	17	37.0
Tuxedo	-	-	Tuxedo	7	15.2
Out of Town	11	25.0			
Totals	46	100.0		46	100.0

¹ A space has been left to indicate the division in the city known as North End and South End. The upper half of the table indicates the North End, the lower half, the South End.

arrived here as mature adults. Since the basic hypothesis of this aspect of the leaders' social characteristics is to demonstrate the geographic shift of the community, this discrepancy can not be considered a distortion of the evidence.

In terms of the geographic division between South and North, 31 out of the 35 of the Winnipeg born or Winnipeg socialized informants had spent the early part

of their life in the North End. Today, 32 out of 46 live in the South End. This is supporting evidence for the contention that the probabilities that vertical mobility is related to geographic mobility, and that specifically, in terms of Winnipeg, the more successful people have moved to the South End.

This chapter has dealt with the history of the Winnipeg Jewish Community which provides the scenario for the study, and with a description of the leaders; the setting and the informants. The history took as its perspective, the emergence of the fund raising apparatus as the primary decision making organization in the community. The leaders were described using variables such as sex, age, prestige and income in order for the reader to acquaint himself with the kinds of people with which this study was concerned. The description of the social characteristics of the informants indicated evidence for the hypotheses of this research. This research had hypothesized that leadership would be high in socio-economic status.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the methodology employed in locating the leaders, and the ways in which the data were collected. It also contains a discussion of the measurement instruments used as well as a discussion of the measures of association. Finally, the analysis of the data is presented.

The Sample

As discussed in the review of the literature, community studies are characterized by different approaches in locating leadership. These are the positional, reputational and decision-making techniques. This study employed the reputational selective technique following Hunter (1953) and Miller (1960).

The process of selection of leaders of the Winnipeg Jewish Community began with an analysis of the contents of the printed media in the city. Winnipeg is served by two English language newspapers. It also publishes three Anglo-Jewish weeklies. The contents of all five of these publications were scrutinized over a period of nine months. The reasoning was that people who are

highly visible in the local press are people of some prominence in the community. Other materials put out by Canadian and United States Jewish organizations were also reviewed as they were considered relevant. In many cases Jewish organizations are connected to national and international organizations. These organizations distribute various kinds of information bulletins on a regular basis. Also, a few organizations put out periodic pieces of literature describing their activities and their histories. Clippings from the Winnipeg newspapers, the Anglo-Jewish weeklies and the organizational material were taken.

At the end of nine months, the clippings were reviewed. Frequency of mention, write ups, events were tallied and a preliminary list of individuals was prepared. The list contained the names of 400 people. Since the local newspapers (Anglo-Jewish) record most events that take place in the Jewish community from week to week, the list contained names of people from every sector of the Jewish community. The community roughly divides into the following sectors: religious, education, social, recreational, social welfare agencies, Zionist and fund raising.

The next step taken was to submit the list to a

panel of experts, in this case, five knowledgeable informants. The writer's knowledge of the community helped in locating these knowledgeable informants.

It is a truism that generally people who know a great deal about activity in any area are not only those people who are most prominent, but people who are so placed as to make objective observations. For example, a key secretary would usually know a great deal about the activities of her employer. This knowledge would extend to knowledge about her employer's department and, depending on the size of the organization, to knowledge of the organization. This is analogous to the kind of knowledgeable informants that constituted the panel of experts mentioned above. For purposes of anonymity, the examples of "knowledgeables" used for this study are disguised by combining characteristics. One of the knowledgeables held an administrative position in a synagogue. Another was a keenly perceptive organization woman who had worked in the community for twenty-five years. Yet another was a professional participant in an agency in the community. Men and women who were knowledgeable, active, committed and had long experience with the community were selected to assist in identifying the leaders of the community.

Approximately one day was spent with each knowledgeable. The project was described to them and their co-operation was enlisted. The identical list was presented to each member of the panel.

Each knowledgeable was asked to review the preliminary list of names, to strike out those names which they felt were not community leaders and to add names which they felt had been omitted.

Interviews with knowledgeable informants yielded much more than a reduction of the leadership lists. These informants were indeed knowledgeable about the community. When they were told what information was required, very similar responses were elicited. Each person talked about the names they were reviewing and discussed their perception of the people and the people's relationship to the organizations and to the community. From these interviews, the writer obtained a good grasp of the dynamics, problems and issues of the Winnipeg Jewish Community.

Following the interviews, revised lists of leaders were compiled. No new names were added. This was not surprising. People who are active in any aspect of the Jewish community are active because of organizational involvement and every conceivable organization

reports their activities through the press. People who are not as actively involved, but who have achieved prestige in any area of the general society, are also written up in the papers. Deletions were a result of very systematic suggestions by the knowledgeables. Where there was not agreement the decision was made to eliminate those names which had been struck off by three or more of the five knowledgeables. This process resulted in considerable narrowing of the list, so that it contained 115 names.

To increase confidence in the selection, the revised list was then submitted to a second panel for judgment. This panel consisted of three people. Like the first panel, these were people who were strategically placed in the community to assist in making the selections. Once again the same procedure was followed except that the second panel of knowledgeable informants had fewer names to deal with. The list was again reviewed and the writer eliminated all the names that were struck off by two or three of the second set of informants. There remained fifty-five names on the list. This list comprised the informants for the present study.

Data CollectionThe Interview

A focused interview was conducted with each of the community leaders. The focused interview (Selltiz, Jahoda, 1959; Young, 1966) was selected for use because it was considered most suitable for this type of research project. This type of interview:

". . . is differentiated from other types of interviews by the following characteristics:
1) it takes place with persons known to have been involved in a particular concrete situation (these persons . . . have participated in an observed social situation); 2) it refers to situations which have been analyzed prior to the interview; 3) it proceeds on the basis of an interview guide which outlines the major areas of the inquiry and the hypotheses which locate pertinence of data to be secured in the interview; it is focused on the subjective experiences, attitudes and emotional responses regarding the particular concrete situations under study." (Young, 1966:219)

The interview was designed to elicit information from the leaders about themselves, their social characteristics, their social interaction patterns, their participation in community organizations and their self-perception as leaders.

A copy of the interview schedule will be found in Appendix A.

Each individual on the final leadership list was contacted by the writer by telephone and appointments

arranged. Of the fifty-five names on the list, forty-six were interviewed. Of the nine people not interviewed, four had left the country, two refused to be interviewed and three could not be interviewed because of personal reasons. The omission of these nine does not cause a systematic bias in representation. The people not interviewed were from different sectors of the Jewish community. For example, those that were away were people who were semi-retired and were in the habit of spending the winter in Israel or the Southern United States. Other semi-retired people with similar interests were on the list and were interviewed. Those people who refused to be interviewed were professional and business people. Some others on the list were similar and these were interviewed. This was true as well for those who tried to accommodate the writer but could not do so because of the press of their business. One of the informants who had cancelled three appointments was finally interviewed because of the fortunate occurrence of a nationwide air strike which kept him in the city for one week.

After the first few attempts, it was discovered that telephoning and asking for the individuals was ineffective because secretaries took messages but calls were not returned. A second approach was formulated to

contact the informants. The writer outlined the precise nature of the call to the secretary and asked her to arrange for an appointment. The writer then telephoned back to find out if and when the appointment had been made. This technique worked very well for most of the male informants. A problem involved in contacting female informants was finding them at home. Telephoning early in the morning or in the evening usually resulted in contact and appointments.

Even with appointments, it was not uncommon to find that when the writer presented herself, something had occurred requiring cancellation and subsequent call back. After some time it became routine to telephone for confirmation before leaving for the appointment. Finally, it was sometimes found that the informant had not allowed enough time for the researcher's purpose but would schedule a reappointment to complete the interview. In some cases, as many as four call backs were required to complete one interview. There were some interviews in which the informants simply carried on the interview for as long as necessary, issuing orders to their secretaries to hold telephone calls so that the interviews were uninterrupted. It was satisfying to the researcher that a great many of the

informants expressed gratitude and appreciation for the opportunity which the interview had afforded them to air their views.

Each interview required an average of two hours to complete. In some cases the interviews lasted up to three and one half hours. Many interviews were grudgingly granted on the basis that the people were too busy to spare the time. In a few cases, informants were older and had the time for this purpose. Those who claimed they were too busy included women as well as men. The men were occupied with their business and community activities, but the women were equally occupied with their organizational work, their social lives and their home and families.

However, once an informant could be induced to keep an appointment, the writer found that the subject matter was of great interest, and, as a result, the informants took much more time than they had originally expected.

Most of the interviews with the male informants were held at their places of business. With but a few exceptions, these were luxurious and opulent offices, which was consistent with one of the hypotheses of this study, that these men were indeed very successful

financially.

With but one exception, the women were interviewed in their homes. The homes and apartments in which these interviews were held also testified to a style of living that was consistent with the hypotheses previously mentioned. Veblen's (1953) phrase "conspicuous consumption" is apt in this context.

A total of forty-six interviews, thirty-six men and ten women provided the data upon which this thesis was constructed.

Measurement Instruments

The interview schedule contained questions about the social characteristics of the informants. These social characteristics were straightforward and resulted in data about age, sex, marital status, income, occupation, origin and other such variables. These variables were analyzed and are discussed in the section of this study that deals with the community leaders.

An Associational Participation Scale was designed to gain the extensity and intensity as well as the total participation score of the informants. A copy of this is presented in Appendix B. Two separate scales were needed, one for participation in the Jewish community and one for participation in the dominant community. This scale was

based on a technique developed by Delbert C. Miller (Form and Miller, 1960).

A Social Acquaintance Scale was used to measure the extent to which the leaders interacted with each other. An example of this scale is presented in Appendix C. This scale was also based on a technique developed by Miller as cited above.

A Leadership Self-perception score was constructed to indicate the extent to which each informant perceived himself in the leadership role. The informants were asked to respond to seven statements by indicating agreement or disagreement. The literature (Baha Abu Laban, 1959), indicates that many people who agree in response to such statements perceive themselves as leaders. A copy of these statements is presented in Appendix D.

The Analysis of the Data

The data obtained from the interview schedule were analyzed in the following way. All the questions were coded and programmed for the computer on IBM cards. The computer program used was the Statistical Package For the Social Sciences, (Nie, Bent, Hull, 1970). This program has been simplified and arranged for use by social scientists.

The data were processed for all statistical measurements. They were also processed through a correlation program. In view of the fact that the reputational selective technique was used in obtaining the list of leaders, the selection of informants did not constitute a random sample. This obviated the need for tests of statistical significance.

The data dealt with in this study were classified as ordinal data. For purposes of the social sciences, where data have to be measured, processing of data involves making decisions between several levels of measurement. Ordinal scales (Blalock, 1960:13) denote a level of measurement in which individuals and/or their attributes are grouped into categories and the categories are ordered or ranked. Thus, the categories can have the properties of being either higher or lower, or more or less.

A correlation coefficient describes the degree (or strength) and direction of relationship between two variables (Blalock, 1960:285-303; Dornbusch and Schmid, 1955:178-179). The correlation coefficient used in the present study was introduced by Karl Pearson. It is denoted by r and is often referred to as product-moment correlation. r shows degrees of relationship ranging

from +1 to -1. The literature in this area (Borgatta, 1968) indicates that Pearson's r is appropriate to the analysis of these data.

The strongest correlation found in the data was .48. It should be understood that this provides the context for considering the strengths of relationship between the variables as weak, moderate or strong within the following discussion.

Among the variables used, were a number of items pertaining to leadership self perception. These consisted of seven items to which the respondents were asked to indicate agreement or disagreement. These items were individually item analyzed for Pearson's r by the computer. They were not combined as a single score. The correlation coefficients between these items showed a very high relationship.

Two scales were used in this study; the Associational Participation Scale and the Social Acquaintance Scale. As explained above, two separate Associational Participation Scales were needed, one for each community.

Tables 12 and 13 show the means and variances for each of the scales used.

Table 12: Mean and Variance of Associational Participation Scale in the Jewish Community Sample and the Dominant Community Sample.

Community	Mean	Variance
Jewish	45.773	22.144 S.D.
Dominant	30.583	27.368

Table 13: Mean and Variance of Social Acquaintance Scale in the Sample

Social Acquaintance	Mean	Variance
	2.71	.23 S.D.

This chapter has dealt with the sample, the data collection, the measurement instruments and the analysis of the data. Chapter IV will present the findings of this study.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter the findings relevant to the hypotheses are presented with some discussion following the presentation of findings. The hypotheses will be dealt with in the same order as they were generated in Chapter I. In each case where the findings appear to lend some support to the hypotheses, the results are presented in cross tabular form as an aid to interpretation. There was one general finding which has general application to this thesis and this will be dealt with first.

General Finding

Basic to understanding the differences in the types of leaders was the way they participated in the organizations of the two communities, the Jewish community and the dominant community. Their participation, extensity and intensity, in these two communities, was analyzed. It was found that in support of the hypotheses related to leadership studies, patterns of participation yielded data that indicated observable differences among these leaders. Some leaders were found to be high in associational participation in the Jewish community and low in participation in the dominant community while

for others, relationship in the opposite direction was found.

Differential participation of 46 Jewish leaders in activity in the dominant community and activity in the Jewish community is presented in Table 14.

Table 14: Relationship between associational participation in the Winnipeg Jewish community and Associational Participation in the dominant community for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

		Activity in Dominent Community		Totals
		High (30+)	Low (0 29)	
Activity in Jewish Community	High (45+)	11	17	28
	Low (0-45)	9	9	18
Totals		20	26	46

Results Relating to Community Studies

Hypothesis 1

This hypothesis asserted that the higher the prestige of the individual, the more likely the individual will be to hold a leadership position in the Winnipeg Jewish Community.

The relevant correlation coefficients are given in Table 15.

Table 15: The Relationship between Prestige and Associational Participation extensity and intensity, in the Winnipeg Jewish Community for 46 Jewish leaders.

Associational Participation	-.07
Extensity	-.08
Intensity	-.14

As indicated by the small correlation coefficients of -.07, -.08 and -.14, prestige was found to be negatively related to associational participation in the Jewish community. This appears to indicate that the higher the prestige of the individual, the less the participation in the Jewish community. The hypothesis predicted a relationship in the other direction. This is considered as no support for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2

This hypothesis asserted that the greater the income of the individual, the more likely the individual will be to hold a leadership position in the Jewish community. The relevant correlation coefficients are given in Table 16.

The small correlation coefficients of .04, .10 and .08 obtained in Table 16 provide very mild support for the hypothesis that income and associational participation, extensity and intensity in the Jewish

community are related in the direction predicted.

Table 16: The relationship between income and associational participation, extensity and intensity in the Jewish community for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Associational Participation	.04
Extensity	.10
Intensity	.08

Results relating to leadership studies - Type I, Cosmopolitan

Hypothesis 3

This hypothesis stated that the greater the associational participation of the individual, extensity and intensity, in the dominant community, the less the social interaction of the individual with others in the Jewish community. The relevant correlation coefficients are presented in Table 17.

Table 17: The relationship between associational participation, extensity and intensity, in the dominant community and social interaction between 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Associational Participation	.07
Extensity	.10
Intensity	.07

The correlation coefficients of .07, .10 and .07 shown in Table 17 are consistent with the hypothesis but are weak and will therefore be considered as showing little support for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4

This hypothesis asserted that the greater the associational participation of the individual, extensity and intensity in the dominant community, the more likely that the individual will be foreign born. The relevant correlation coefficients are present; in Table 18.

Table 18: The relationship between associational participation, extensity and intensity, in the dominant community and foreign born of 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Associational Participation	-.32
Extensity	-.14
Intensity	-.27

This indicates that the variables are moderately related but in the opposite direction than that predicted by the hypothesis. Since the relationships are in the opposite direction than that predicted, the resultant figures are considered as not supporting the hypothesis.

The relationship between these variables is presented in cross tabular form in Table 19.

Table 19: The relationship between associational participation in the dominant community and origin for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

	Activity in Dominant Community		Totals
	High (20+)	Low (0-19)	
Origin	Native	10	12
	Foreign	10	14
Totals		20	26
		46	

Hypothesis 5

This hypothesis asserted that the greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity, of the individual in the dominant community, the less likely that he will be to have a Jewish leadership self perception. The relevant correlation coefficients are presented in Table 20.

These data suggest that there is a little more than moderate relationship between the variables but in the opposite direction than the one predicted. This is considered as non support for the hypothesis.

The relationships between the variables are presented in cross tabular form in Tables 21 and 22.

Table 20: The relationship between associational participation, extensity and intensity, in the dominant community and Jewish leadership self perception scores for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

	Item 1 ¹	Item 2 ²
Associational Participation	.34	.36
Extensity	.24	.32
Intensity	.29	.34

¹Response to the statement "I frequently advise and encourage active persons to work on issues up for settlement in the Winnipeg Jewish Community."

²Response to the statement "At times, I act as a mediator between groups of leaders in order to help get things done in the Jewish community."

Table 21: The relationship between associational participation in the dominant community and Jewish leadership self perception for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

	Activity in the Dominant Community		Totals
	High (20+)	Low (0-19)	
Item 1 ¹	Agree	13	26
	Disagree	1	9
Totals		14	35 ²

¹Response to the statement "I frequently advise and encourage active persons to work on issues up for settlement in the Winnipeg Jewish community."

²Eleven informants failed to respond to this item.

Hypothesis 6. Type II. The Locals

This hypothesis asserted that the greater the

Table 22: The relationship between associational participation in the dominant community and Jewish leadership self perception for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

	Activity in the Dominant Community		Totals
	High (20+)	Low (0-19)	
Item 2 ¹	Agree	13	13
	Disagree	1	8
Totals		14	21
		35 ²	

¹Response to the statement "At times, I act as mediator between groups of leaders in order to help get things done in the Jewish community."

²Eleven informants failed to respond to the item.

Table 23: The relationship between associational participation, extensity and intensity, in the Jewish community and social interaction between 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Associational Participation	.22
Extensity	.30
Intensity	.18

associational participation of the individual in the Jewish community, the greater the social interaction of the individual with others in the Jewish community. The relevant correlation coefficients are presented in Table 23.

These data indicate moderate support for the

hypothesis in the direction predicted.

The relationship between the variables associational participation in the Jewish community and social acquaintance are presented in cross tabular form in

Table 24.

Table 24: Relationship between associational participation in the Jewish community and social acquaintance between 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba 1972.

	Activity in Jewish Community		Totals
	High (45+)	Low (0-44)	
Social Acquaintance	High (2.65+)	15	9
	Low (2.37-2.64)	11	22
	Totals	26	20
			46

Hypothesis 7

This hypothesis asserted that the greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity, of the individual in the Jewish community, the more likely that the individual will be native born, in origin.

The relevant correlation coefficients between these variables are presented in Table 25.

The relationship between these variables, as indicated by the small correlation coefficients in Table

Table 25: The relationship between associational participation, extensity and intensity, in the Jewish community and nativity of 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Associational Participation	.07
Extensity	.10
Intensity	-.01

25 are not considered sufficient to lend support to the hypothesis.

Table 26: The relationship between associational participation, extensity and intensity, in the Jewish community and Jewish leadership self perception by three items for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

	Item 1 ¹	Item 2 ²	Item 3 ³
Associational Participation	.35	.31	.44
Extensity	.17	.13	.34
Intensity	.19	.16	.21

¹Response to the statement "Important people in the Winnipeg Jewish community often come to me for advice."

²Response to the statement "I frequently advise and encourage active people to work on issues up for settlement in the Winnipeg Jewish community."

³Response to the statement "I have frequently helped get things done in the Winnipeg Jewish community."

Hypothesis 8

This hypothesis asserted that the greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity, of the individual in the Jewish community, the more likely

Table 28: The relationship between associational participation in the Jewish community and Jewish leadership self perception for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

		Activity in the Jewish Community		Totals
		High (45+)	Low (0-44)	
Item 2 ¹	Agree	14	14	28
	Disagree	4	1	5
Totals		18	15	33 ²

¹Response to the statement "I frequently advise and encourage active people to work on issues up for settlement in the Winnipeg Jewish community."

²Thirteen informants failed to respond to the item.

Table 29: The relationship between association participation in the Jewish community and Jewish leadership self perception for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

		Activity in the Jewish Community		Totals
		High (45+)	Low (0-44)	
Item 3 ¹	Agree	22	12	34
	Disagree	0	1	1
Totals		22	13	35 ²

¹Response to the statement "I have frequently helped get things done in the Winnipeg Jewish community."

²Eleven informants failed to respond to the item.

Results Relating to Minority Group and AssimilationTheoryHypothesis 9

This hypothesis asserted that the higher the prestige of the individual, the greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity, of the individual in the dominant community. The relevant correlation coefficients are presented in Table 30.

Table 30: The relationship between prestige and associational participation, extensity and intensity, in the dominant community for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Associational Participation	.48
Extensity	.42
Intensity	.47

Table 31: The relationship between prestige and associational participation in the dominant community for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1972.

		Activity in the Dominant Community		Totals
		High (20-99)	Low (0-19)	
Prestige	High (50+)	11	10	21
	Low (0-49)	9	16	25
Totals		20	26	46

These data showing correlation coefficients of .48, .42 and .47 indicate a fairly strong relationship between the variables in the direction predicted. This relationship is presented in cross tabular form in Table 31.

Hypothesis 10

This hypothesis asserted that the higher the income of the individual, the greater the associational participation, extensity and intensity of the individual in the dominant community. The relevant correlation coefficients are presented in Table 32.

Table 32: The relationship between income and associational participation, extensity and intensity in the dominant community for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

Associational Participation	.23
Extensity	.12
Intensity	.36

A correlation coefficient of .23 for relationship between income and associational participation in the dominant community was found. This is moderate support for that part of the hypothesis. The correlation coefficient for relationship between income and extensity is .12 which indicates mild support. However, the correlation coefficient of .36 for relationship between income and intensity

shows fairly strong support. This relationship is presented in Table 33.

Table 33: The relationship between income and associational participation in the dominant community for 46 Jewish leaders in Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1972.

		Activity in the Dominant Community		Totals
		High (20-99)		
Income	High ¹	13	11	24
	Low ²	7	15	22
Totals		20	26	46

¹High income is thirty-five thousand or more dollars per year.

²Low income is fifteen thousand to thirty-four thousand nine hundred dollars per year.

Discussion

Findings Related to Community Studies

The two hypotheses which predicted that prestige and income would correlate positively with associational participation in the Jewish community, yielded discrepant findings as indicated in Tables 2 and 3.

Findings related to Leadership Studies

It was asserted in Hypotheses 3, 4 and 5, that being a cosmopolitan leader would correlate negatively

with social acquaintance in the Jewish community, correlate positively with foreign born, and correlate negatively with leadership self perception. The data did not support these hypotheses.

It was further asserted in Hypotheses 6, 7 and 8, that being a local leader would have a positive relationship with social acquaintance in the Jewish community, with native born origin and with leadership self perception. Of these hypotheses, numbers 6 and 8, were supported by the data. Hypothesis number 7 was not supported by the data. This will be discussed in the conclusions.

Findings related to Minority Group and Assimilation

Theory

Hypotheses 9 and 10 predicted that prestige and income would be positively correlated to associational participation in the dominant community. These hypotheses were supported by the data.

In this chapter the results relevant to the hypotheses were presented. The hypotheses were presented as generated in three sections. The results showed little support for the hypotheses in the first section, but tended to support some of the hypotheses in the second section. The results provided considerable

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support for the hypotheses in the third section. These results will be dealt with in the summary and conclusions.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A close examination of the literature suggested that associational participation would be an important variable in examining patterns of leadership, with implications for assimilation theory. The purpose of this thesis was to examine leadership, utilizing associational participation, by focusing upon the leadership of the Winnipeg Jewish community.

Referring to Chapter IV, the present findings in the area related to community studies, did not support the theory. The literature of community studies which was cited for generating the hypotheses of this thesis was Form and Miller (1960), Mills (1956), and Hunter (1953). Their respective conclusions were based on various communities which they studied. It was the contention of this study that the Winnipeg Jewish community fulfilled the criteria of a community and would, therefore, if properly investigated, yield data consistent with that body of literature. The Winnipeg Jewish community was found however, to differ markedly from the communities cited in the literature in that the Winnipeg Jewish

community is an ethnic sub-community. It is this difference that may explain the fact that the data in this study were not consistent with the theory. The present findings are consistent however, with other sub-community studies, (Barth, 1959; Hunter, 1953). To this extent, what we have is an analysis of an ethnic sub-community using general theory in a special situation.

Alternatively, another explanation for the failure of the present findings to support the theory is here advanced. The Winnipeg data contained prestige and income frequencies. These data are illustrated in Tables 5 and 6 on pages 50 and 53. Both prestige and income are high when compared to the Winnipeg Jewish population. For example, the mean income of the informants in this study was \$45,000.00 per year. There are no income figures by ethnicity in the 1961 census so that we cannot compare the income of the informants to the income of the Winnipeg Jewish population. The average wage and salary income for Metropolitan Winnipeg as recorded in the 1961 census was \$3,907.00 for men and \$1,961.00 for women, (Census, 1961). These were the latest census figures available at the time of writing. It is possible that the average wage and salary income for the Jewish population would be higher. Given this differential, however,

it is reasonable to state that the figure of \$45,000.00 per year is much above the mean for the Jewish population in Winnipeg.

The mean prestige score of the informants in this study was 62.75 as measured on the Blishen Scale. According to 1961 census, 49.4 percent of the Jewish labour force is in the managerial and professional and technical levels. This is a very high percentage of the labour force. Blishen's socio-economic Index shows that 62.75 is close to the upper end of the scale. It can be seen then, that although the prestige and income scores of the informants that did not correlate with associational participation in the Jewish community, those informants that were active in the Jewish community, were high in income and prestige, relative to the general Jewish population of the community. The lowest prestige score for the informants in this study was 40 and the lowest income was \$18,500.00 per year. These findings, therefore, indicate that high income and high prestige are characteristic of leadership in the Winnipeg Jewish community.

The hypotheses relating to leadership theory were generated from the work of Robert K. Merton (1957) and Alvin Gouldner (1957). Merton theorized a typology of

leadership yielding two basic types, locals and cosmopolitans. He also described variables that would distinguish these types. The hypotheses included in the present study followed the characteristics described by Merton for each type.

The findings in this study were that leaders were differentiated by their patterns of participation in the organizations of the two communities; the Winnipeg Jewish community and the larger Winnipeg community. That is to say, that the leaders in this study differed in that some held positions and were active in the organizations of one community to the exclusion of the other community.

The set of hypotheses relating to cosmopolitans by characteristics of social acquaintance, origin and leadership self-perception were not supported.

It is evident from the present findings that Merton's theory does not adequately describe an ethnic sub-community. This indicates an area for future research. It would be of value if an ethnic sub-community study could be undertaken in Winnipeg using another ethnic group. Winnipeg is noted for its ethnic groups. The Mennonites and the Ukrainians, to name just two other groups, could be examined in this way. Replication of the present methodology applied to other minority groups

would be valuable in establishing whether it was the peculiarities of a specific group such as the Jews that account for this deviation from the theory.

The set of hypotheses relating to locals were supported by the data except for the findings relating to the nativity of the leaders. Merton theorized that leaders who were designated as locals would be local or native born. It is entirely probable that the main thrust of Merton's thinking, when he predicted that locals would be native born, was in terms of socialization. The rationale would seem to be that, a person does not literally have to be born in a community to be considered a local in Merton's sense of the term. The Winnipeg Jewish community has been described in the chapter on its historical development as a fairly young community. This is especially true when contrasted with the kind of community that Merton was discussing. An individual could have come to settle in Winnipeg during his formative years, have been socialized in that community and have acquired characteristics that would result in his being localistic in orientation. The point being that the informants in this study may have been born in East Europe but many have been socialized in Winnipeg. In this way they could be viewed as being equivalent to

native born for present purposes. This would then be consistent with the theory. Future research should be more specific regarding the age at which individuals who are foreign born arrive and settle in a community. Perhaps a replication of this study, a generation hence, would confirm this part of the theory.

It is the opinion of this writer, that, for the above reasons, the hypotheses relating to leadership typology theory, although not supported entirely by the findings in this study, cannot be rejected.

That literature cited in this study, (Sklare, 1971; Glazer, 1957; Gordon 1964; Park, 1921), related to minority group and assimilation theory seemed generally to predict assimilation over time. The findings in the present study were consistent with the theory. This study operationally defined assimilation as participation in the associations of the dominant community. Complete assimilation means loss of group identity. One of the more tangible aspects of assimilation is intermarriage. According to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Vol. 4, (1969), the Jews in Winnipeg have the highest rate of endogamy among the various groups in Winnipeg. Using intermarriage as a criteria, complete assimilation does not seem imminent and certainly one

should be cautious about reaching such a conclusion.

The informants were very strong in their feelings about the vital necessity of positive Jewish identification and Jewish group survival. Contrary to these emotions and attitudes which seem very popular, the present research suggests that assimilation is taking place.

It is important, therefore, to bring out the implications of the findings of this study. The findings imply that success brings participation in the larger society. The more successful they are, the more they participate to the exclusion of participation in the Jewish organizations. It is necessary at this point to re-emphasize that the informants in this study were those people who were the visible leaders of the Jewish community, selected by a panel of experts, and perceiving themselves as active Jewish leaders. It is in light of these facts that the writer wishes to stress the significance of the findings of this study. The findings did support assimilation theory.

The present thesis then, has added significantly to accumulated knowledge in the areas of community studies, leadership typology theory and assimilation theory. In addition it has opened new and important avenues for future research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Background Information

1.1.What is your sex? Male 1 Female 2

2. What was your age at your last birthday? _____

Under 30	<u>1</u>
30 - 39	<u>2</u>
40 - 49	<u>3</u>
50 - 59	<u>4</u>
60 - 69	<u>5</u>
70 or over	<u>6</u>
	NR <u>9</u>

3. What is your present marital status? Check

S 1 M 2 D 3 W 4 Other 5 NR 9

4. What is your occupation? (Probe) _____

Managerial	<u>1</u>
Professional	<u>2</u>
Clerical	<u>3</u>
Sales	<u>4</u>
Service &	
Recreation	<u>5</u>
Housewife	<u>6</u>
	NR <u>9</u>

5. How many years of formal education have you completed? Circle

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

6. Did you attend University? Yes 1 No 2

NR 9

7. If, what is your highest earned degree?

BA 0 MA 1 PhD 2 LLB 3 MD 4
 BTH 5 ENG. 6 BSW 7 OTHER 8 NR 9

8. Are you a native of Winnipeg? Yes 1 No 2
 NR 9

9. If not, where were you born? Canada 1
 U.S.A. 2
 East Europe 3
 Other 4
 NR 9

10. If Canada, Name of city or town _____

11. Have you lived in any other community?

Yes 1 No 2 NR 9

12. If yes, specify where _____
 How long? _____

13. Where were your parents born?

Father: Canada 1 U.S.A. 2 East Europe 3
 Other 4 NR 9

14. Where was your mother born?

Canada 1 U.S.A. 2 East Europe 3
 Other 4 NR 9

15. What kind of work does/did your father do?

Managerial	<u> </u>	1
Professional	<u> </u>	2
Clerical	<u> </u>	3
Sales	<u> </u>	4
Service &		
Recreational	<u> </u>	5
Other	<u> </u>	NR <u> </u> 9

16. What is your present home address?

RH O TX 1 CW 2 NE 3 WK 4
GC 5 NR 9

17. What was your previous address?

RH O TX 1 CW 2 NE 3 WK 4
GC 5 NR 9

18. What was your first address in Winnipeg?

RH O TX 1 CW 2 NE 3 WK 4
GC 5 NR 9

APPENDIX B (a)

**ASSOCIATIONAL PARTICIPATION SCALE
(DOMINANT COMMUNITY)**

We are interested in your community organizational activities. Would you please co-operate with me in answering the following questions?

19. Have you ever held office in any non-Jewish organizations?

Yes 1 No 2 NR 9

20. Would you please tell me to which organizations you belong, attend regularly and hold office?

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Name of Organization	Belong	Attend Regularly	Hold Office

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Name of Organization	Belong	Attend Regularly	Hold Office

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Name of Organization	Belong	Attend Regularly	Hold Office

APPENDIX B(b)

ASSOCIATIONAL PARTICIPATION SCALE
(JEWISH COMMUNITY)

21. Would you please tell me to which of the following organizations you belong to at the present time, attend regularly and hold office.
 (PRESENT INFORMANT WITH CARD LISTING ORGANIZATIONS)

Name of Organization	Belong	Attend Regularly	Hold Office
<u>ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS</u>			
Zionist Organization of Canada			
Mizrachi			
Women's Mizrachi			
Labour Zionist			
Histadrut			
Pioneer Women			
Hadassah			
Other			
<u>SYNAGOGUES</u>			
Shaarey Zedeck			
Rosh Pinah			
B'Nay Abraham			
Chevra Mishnayes			
Herzlia-Adas Yeshurun			
Libavicher			
Teferus Israel			
Talmud Torah			
<u>CAMPAIGNS</u>			
Winnipeg Jewish Welfare			
Israel Emergency Fund			

Organizations - continued

Name of Organization	Belong	Attend Regularly	Hold Office
Montfiore Club			
Y.M.H.A.			
Glendale Country Club			
Va 'Ad Ha 'Ir			
B'Nai B'Rith			
<u>CULTURAL</u>			
Jewish Historical Society			
Jewish Library			
Jewish Men's Musical Club			
Jewish Women's Musical Club			
Jewish Community Choir			
Jewish Community Orchestra			
National Council of Jewish Women			
O.R.T.			
Hebrew Fraternal Lodge			
Hebrew Sick Benefit Association			
<u>LOAN SOCIETIES</u> (Please list)			
<u>LANDSMANSCHAFT SOCIETIES</u> (Please list)			

Organizations - continued

Name of Organization	Belong	Attend Regularly	Hold Office
<u>SCHOOL BOARDS</u>			
Ramah			
Talmud Torah			
Joseph Wolinsky Collegiate			
Peretz Folks School			

APPENDIX C

SOCIAL ACQUAINTANCE SCALE

22. Will you please tell me how well you know the people whose names I have listed here?
(PRESENT LIST OF NAMES)

Name of Leader	Don't Know	Know Slightly	Know Socially and Worked with on Committees
<u>Joe Brown</u>			
Jack Smith			
John Gray			
Jim Doe			

APPENDIX D

LEADERSHIP SELF PERCEPTION ITEMS

23. One other aspect of community leadership that I would like you to help us with concerns the way in which you look upon yourself as a community leader. A method which social scientists have devised for studying self concepts of leaders involves having them respond to a series of statements about themselves in terms of agreement or disagreement, with what the statements say. There are five possible ways to respond to each statement. If you agree strongly, circle the letters AS which appear after the statement.; If you merely agree then circle the letter A. If you don't know or are undecided, then circle the letters DK. Finally, if you strongly disagree with the statement as it may apply to you, then circle the letters SD.

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|----|
| 1. | Important people in Winnipeg Jewish community often come to me for advice. | AS | -0 |
| | | A | -1 |
| | | DK | -2 |
| | | D | -3 |
| | | SD | -4 |
| | | NR | -9 |
| 2. | I am usually among the first to be contacted when certain problems, with which I am familiar, require a decision. | AS | -0 |
| | | A | -1 |
| | | DK | -2 |
| | | D | -3 |
| | | SD | -4 |
| | | NR | -9 |
| 3. | I frequently advise and encourage active persons to work on issues up for settlement in this community. | AS | -0 |
| | | A | -1 |
| | | DK | -2 |
| | | D | -3 |
| | | SD | -4 |
| | | NR | -9 |
| 4. | I have frequently helped in getting things done in the Winnipeg Jewish community. | AS | -0 |
| | | A | -1 |
| | | DK | -2 |
| | | D | -3 |
| | | SD | -4 |
| | | NR | -9 |

5. At times, I act as mediator AS -0
between groups of leaders, in A -1
order to help get things done DK -2
around here. D -3
SD -4 NR -9
6. I am definitely a member of a AS -0
leadership group in the A -1
Winnipeg Jewish community. DK -2
D -3
SD -4 NR -9
7. I spend much of my leisure time AS -0
with influential leaders of the A -1
community. DK -2
D -3
SD -4 NR -9