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**JUSTIFYING A NEW BEGINNING:
THE CASE OF AN URBAN, JEWISH CONGREGATION IN THE 1970S**

by

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**SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
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**PROFESSOR STEINMAN
PROFESSOR MORALES**

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ABSTRACT

This research applies C. Wright Mills' theory of vocabularies of motive to reveal the collective narratives, which were used to justify the atypical founding of an urban Jewish congregation in the 1970s. Prior to and during this period, US Jewish communities were migrating out of city centers into their surrounding suburbs. Most Jewish congregations followed their congregants and moved into the suburbs. This study identifies the collective justifications within the Hatchala Chadasha community, which are the accepted reasons for the organization's atypical urban location and organizational structure. The findings of this research are based in the examination of interviews with individuals who were community members during the earliest years of Hatchala Chadasha's existence. Patterns of similar accounts across the interviews revealed the collective narratives that defended four of the congregation's fundamental decisions: why the congregation was founded, where the congregation chose to locate, how the congregation acted politically, and what organizational structure the congregation employed. These justifications are further examined, in relation to the behavior and values common within the broader Jewish community and other contextual components, to theorize why certain accounts became the accepted narrative within Hatchala Chadasha. Fundamentally, this research examines informants' motive statements to discern and analyze the collective narratives formed in a community, which justify the community's atypical behavior in the context of a predominant, external culture.

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INTRODUCTION

During the mid-20th century the Jewish community was undergoing an upward demographic shift. Upward demographic change within a community is associated with migration into wealthier neighborhoods, and this was true for Jewish communities across the US. When communities become upwardly mobile, the organizations that intend to serve them adjust to their migration. This process most often enriches the destination neighborhoods with more resources and leads to rapid divestment from the neighborhood of origin. However, some cases deviate from this trend. The Jewish congregation, at the center of this research, chose an urban location after the majority of the Jewish community had suburbanized. This research reveals how external communities, most notably American Judaism and the civil rights movement, shaped the atypical organization's behavior. This study investigates this shaping process through an analysis focused on the collective narrative justifications, most accepted with the congregation, for its atypical behavior. This analysis identifies and contextualizes the motivational language of the participants within the atypical case.

This research focuses on a Jewish congregation that was founded in the 1970s in an urban neighborhood that was transitioning from majority White to majority Black. The congregation's founding, location, political action, and manner of organization all deviate from the standards set by other area Jewish congregations. What this research seeks to understand is the narratives used by the community to explain these actions. To this end, I employ C. Wright Mills' analysis, "vocabularies of motive," to reveal the collective narratives accepted within the congregation. I then posit how external community

standards contributed to the development of these particular narratives, with the intention of discovering the level of impact external standards had on this community. This is all designed to reveal how this community justified its anomalous behavior, and what this can tell us about how organizations successfully form and act in a manner incongruent with surrounding, prevailing, normative culture.

Previous research into the shifting purpose, location, and structure of Jewish congregations in the mid-20th century has taken a historical perspective (Berman 2012; Greenberg 2012; Stanger-Ross 2006). Researchers have tracked development in Jewish religious organizations through analysis of internal documents, publications, and public statements, in combination with a focus on the historical change evident in available demographic data. These studies clearly identify the major values issues that pressured Jewish congregations to change and reveal how the organizations took action. What is not included is how the motivations of individual congregants produced organization-wide collective justifications for the congregations' participation in or opposition to these sweeping shifts. The particular historic and contextual facts of Jewish congregation development are not readily comparable to other instances of demographic shift. However, congregations' accepted, collective justifications, for why they reacted to the contexts in the manner they did, can be compared with the justifications of analogous cases.

This particular case was selected for this research because the development of the congregation was anomalous in comparison to both Jewish congregations in the immediate area and Jewish congregations in other US cities. Through the mid-20th

century Jewish families across the US were moving out of historically Jewish neighborhoods, in urban centers, and into surrounding suburbs. The majority of Jewish congregations followed their members along this movement (Sussman 1985). In the case under study, a group of individuals chose to leave a congregation that was relocating to the suburbs, and found a new congregation which would remain in the central city.

Studies based similarly on understanding atypical behavior have been fruitful for other researchers. Jonathan Stanger-Ross (2006) analyzed changes in the “meaning of community and membership” through a focus on Rodeph Shalom and Mikveh Israel, two congregations that chose to remain within Philadelphia (791). Lila Berman (2012) conducted an analysis of post-war Jewish urban politics through a focus on all of the ways that Jewish congregations in Detroit did not dissociate from urban issues. This research will likewise investigate the particular behaviors and ideals that differentiate the case from the surrounding Jewish community.

Locating specific differences is informed by the contexts of the US Jewish community prior to and in the 1970s. In the post-war period, Jewish religious institutions across the US were determining how to deal with a consumer base that was demographically making a major leap up to a higher socioeconomic status (Wilder 1996). This change in status encouraged a reassessment of what values would guide congregations’ development decisions. Demographic elevation allowed Jewish populations to relocate to wealthier neighborhoods in the suburbs (Sussman 1985). Congregations thus had to weigh moving to the suburbs to provide for congregants’ day-to-day religious needs against maintaining a visible presence in historic Jewish areas, a

decision summed up as choosing between an internal focus or an external one (Stanger-Ross 2006). The prosperity of Jews in the US had been tied to integration and acceptance. Now that the Jewish community had successfully assimilated, congregations had to reevaluate their position on these issues. Contention over the stance and level of investment congregations should have in regards to civil rights and urban issues was significant (Berman 2012; Stanger-Ross 2006; Fobanjong 2002; Greenburg 2012; Dollinger 2019).

Congregations needed to justify the stance they took on these issues. They also needed to justify the manner in which they made these decisions. Penny Edgell, in her 1999 book *Congregations in Conflict: Cultural Models of Local Religious Life*, outlines three congregational structures and typifies the way in which each tends to deal with conflict. She describes family congregations that handle conflicts on a personal relation level, leader congregations that handle conflict by giving deference to the clergy, and community congregations that depend on democratic open discussion (Edgell 1999). Congregation-wide decisions have legitimacy, even if some of the members do not agree with the outcome, as long as the decision is made through a manner with adequate justification within the organization (Edgell 1999). In the case under study, the congregation turned to an organizational strategy not typical of the area Jewish congregations and had to justify doing so to its members.

This research will analyze participants' motivation statements to establish the collective, accepted justifications for the congregation's decisions and its manner of decision making. What encouraged the development of the specific accepted

justifications will be theorized through an analysis of contextual information and the findings of prior research. In the next section I will lay out the historical context and chronology of the case, so that it can be drawn upon in the later analysis. Following that, I will provide a literature review, which will begin with an assessment of the theory analyses which have informed my application of “vocabularies of motive.” I will then review existing research regarding Jewish community transition, Jewish congregations making political decisions, and congregation organization, all of which will be incorporated into my analysis of findings.

I will describe the collection and content of the data and the methods of data analysis, prior to a series of sections in which I will present my findings. These sections are organized around the four main questions that informants developed justificatory accounts to answer: why form a new congregation, should Jewish congregations be urban or suburban, how should Jewish congregations act politically, and how should Jewish congregations be organized. After this I will discuss the major patterns and overall significance of the findings. The conclusion, following the discussion, will further contemplate the ways in which these narrative justification fit into a larger whole, and discuss the possibilities of future research in this area.

THE CASE

This case takes place in Margaret, a post-industrial, port city in the Mid-Atlantic region of the US. Margaret is bordered by Verda County, which lies to the north. Margaret and surrounding county areas are a metropolitan region and have been classified as such since the earliest available census report from 1950 (U.S. Census

Bureau 2018, 1950). The interviewees in this study participated in the foundation of a new congregation, Hatchala Chadasha¹, which established itself in a pre-existing temple-building in Forrest Circle, a historically Jewish neighborhood in the north of Margaret. Many of the interviewees had been congregants at Bet Kneset² which was the prior owner of the temple-building.

Bet Kneset was one of the earliest congregations in Margaret, and was founded with an Orthodox affiliation³. With the influx of Eastern European Jews, Margaret experienced an elevated rate of congregation development, as area congregations transitioned to serve the increasing Jewish population (American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (AICE) N.d.). Bet Kneset switched to an alignment with the Conservative⁴ movement in the early 1900s. Temple Hatchala Chadasha formed as an unaffiliated⁵ congregation in the 1970s, after the waves of Jewish settlement in Margaret, and subsequent congregation development, had ended.

¹ The name of this religious institution, and all others, has been changed. Hatchala Chadasha is a romanized Hebrew phrase which means “New Beginning.”

² Bet Kneset is romanized Hebrew. The translation into English is “House of Assembly.”

³ Orthodox Judaism is the oldest and most traditional branch of the religion. The movement is the most conservative, and members strictly adhere to interpretations of religious law.

⁴ Conservative Judaism became a significant force in the mid to late 1800s. In comparison to the Orthodox tradition, it is less strict about following religious law and puts more weight on the interests of congregants.

⁵ An unaffiliated synagogue is one that has chosen to forgo association with any established denomination. The practices of an unaffiliated synagogues can range from an incredibly strict adherence to religious law to an incredibly lax adherence. The specific practices of Hatchala Chadasha most similarly resembled those of the Conservative movement at the time.

The landscape of Jewish congregation development and the overall Jewish community in Margaret was heavily shaped by the patterns of Jewish settlement in the city. Jewish migration into Margaret began in neighborhoods located centrally in the city. By the 1850s, there was a significant Western European Jewish population in the city, which was then joined by a later migration of German Jews (KCI Technologies 1999). Beginning in the early 1900s, a population of poor Jews, fleeing violence in Eastern Europe, migrated to the city. These immigrants were employed by the established Jewish populations. They moved into the central-city neighborhoods, while the more established Jewish population relocated to wealthier neighborhoods in the north-east of the city (KCI Technology 1999). By the 1950s, the trend of movement out of the center-city neighborhoods had spread to the whole Jewish population. The quality of life and property values in majority White neighborhoods in Margaret were significantly higher than those in majority Black neighborhoods (Stein 2011). Margaret's wealthiest Black residents moved into historically Jewish neighborhoods to gain access to these benefits (Stein 2011). When they did so, the property values in the neighborhoods began to drop, and the majority of Jews responded by moving out of the city entirely, into Verda County (KCI Technology 1999).

In the period after 1950, the impact of racial integration was the greatest actor on the settlement patterns of Jews, and congregation development, in the Margaret area. Forrest Circle, the location of Hatchala Chadasha, was a frontline in the fight for and against residential segregation. At the turn of the 20th century the neighborhood was home to affluent White residents, some who were preeminent in the fields of politics,

business, and education (Stein 2011). Forrest Circle was one of the aspirational neighborhoods for affluent Black city-residents (Stein 2011). In response, White Forrest Circle residents formed organizations for the purpose of keeping Black individuals from buying homes in the neighborhood. White residents submitted multiple petitions to the Mayor and City Council requesting that Black individuals be prevented from buying property in Forrest Circle (Stein 2011). The government of Margaret chose to support segregation efforts and passed ordinances that prevented Black residents from buying into majority White areas and White residents from buying into majority Black areas (Stein 2011).

This is overturned by the 1917 *Buchanan v Warley* Supreme Court case which ruled that segregation ordinances created a discriminatory infringement on the rights of citizens (Stein 2011). After this ruling, Margaret entered a period of major non-legislative segregation measures. For example, in the 1930s a housing development was built on the edge of Forrest Circle with the intention of creating a separation between it and the majority Black neighborhood to the south (Stein 2011). These tactics largely worked to keep Black residents out of the neighborhood and through the 40s and 50s Forrest Circle had a 5-10% population of Black residents. However, Forrest Circle was bordered on all sides by neighborhoods with higher concentrations of Black residents. This made the neighborhood a good target for blockbusting tactics, and the next two decades marked a massive shift in the racial mix of the neighborhood. By 1970, 80-100% of Forrest Circle residents were Black (Levy and Kulbicki N.d.). As a location of incredible rapid transition Forrest Circle was a center of racial tension. This is reflected in the 1968 MLK

riots in Margaret, when Forrest Circle was one of the small collection of neighborhoods with over twenty recorded riot incidents (Levy and Kulbicki N.d.).

This is the context that prompted Bet Kneset's decision to gradually divest from its urban location and transition fully into Verda County. This occurred over a number of years. Bet Kneset chose to construct a synagogue complex from scratch, and the congregation's programs were shifted one at a time to the county location as each new piece of physical infrastructure was completed. During the transition years, a portion of the Bet Kneset congregation continued to meet in the Forrest Circle building. Once all of the programming had been moved to the location in Verda County, leadership at Bet Kneset had no more reason to maintain the city location and decided to sell the Forrest Circle building. This was the impetus for the formation of Temple Hatchala Chadasha. The group of individuals who had continued to worship in the Forrest Circle location purchased the building from Bet Kneset and took the steps to begin a new congregation.

The split and founding of Hatchala Chadasha is a particularly opportune study subject. The portion of the congregation that chose to split and create a new organization did so for reasons other than seeking out a stricter or more relaxed enforcement of religious law. Much of the early development of synagogues in Margaret occurred because portions of the Jewish community sought a congregation that was more traditional or more progressive than the congregation they attended⁶ (AICE N.d.). Bet Kneset's shift from Orthodox to Conservative, for instance, was in reflection of

⁶ Of the three main Jewish denominations, Orthodox is the most traditional, Conservative falls in the middle, and Reform is the most progressive.

community want for a more relaxed interpretation of religious law. At the time of the split, Bet Keneset was associated with the Conservative movement. Hatchala Chadasha was formed as an unaffiliated synagogue and conducted worship in a manner that was most in line with the Conservative movement. The congregation remained unaffiliated for multiple decades, but then later became a member of the Conservative movement. The differences in interest that lead to the split and new formation are located outside of contention over theological interpretation. They instead have to do with the congregation's atypical choice of location, its political action, and its organizational structure.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Analyzing Motive to Answer Why

In developing this research I wanted answers to how and why Hatchala Chadasha behaved atypically in regards to its location, political action, and organizational structure. I wanted to know generally how the founding occurred and succeeded. I narrowed this broad curiosity by tailoring a question that would be answerable with the data I had available. I did not have a collection of primary source documents that could explain logistically how the founding happened. I did have participants' discussion of their thoughts and opinions of the founding. The next step was finding an analysis that could be applied to the interview narratives to reveal community-wide structures that allowed this anomalous case. The apparent answer was analyzing individuals' motivational narratives to identify the collective justifications that became most acceptable within the Hatchala Chadasha community.

The study of motive in sociology began with C. Wright Mills' publication of "Situating Actions and Vocabularies of Motive" in 1940. Mills wanted sociologists to understand motive statements as belonging to a particular context (1940). He described motives as only being intelligible within, "a *societal* situation" (Mills 1940: 906). Mills wanted to separate motives from related effects and consider them as a rhetorical tool of justification for behavior, instead of as the cause of actions (1940). In culmination, he proposed that, through analysis of vocabularies of motive, sociologists could identify normative social standards within particular communities (1940).

Colin Campbell has questioned Mills' approach (1991, 1996). He argues that it prevents the consideration of motive as a precursor to action, and only analyzes it as a rhetorical tool used to justify an individual's actions to others (1996). Campbell finds this to be limiting and seeks a sociological approach to motive that considers its implication on action (1996). This position is understandable. However, in this research analysis is being conducted on data that narrates events which took place over forty years ago. It would be foolhardy to treat the accounts that the interviewees shared as perfect retellings of their thoughts and feelings at the time. Instead they are much more accurately understood as rhetorical strategies that retroactively attribute motivations for the congregation's behavior.

Other academics have similarly embraced the study of motive in this vein. In a 1997 paper, Terri Orbuch investigates the "sociology of accounts." Orbuch explains that current research on accounts is attribution focused, which she associates with Mills' theory of motive (1997). Orbuch finds Mills' approach useful because it posits motive as,

“a link between culture... and individual behavior” (1997: 463). She refers to this as an “aligning action” through which individuals make their behavior acceptable to their surrounding social culture (Orbuch 1997: 463). In this way the expression of individual motive can be understood as evidence of group social standards.

Prior research has also noted the retrospective nature of motivational language. Emily Honig’s (1997) study on the rhetorical construction of labor organizers’ life stories, exemplifies a retroactive “aligning action” effect. Honig found that the Chicana garment workers she interviewed attributed behavior in their lives and their family members’ lives, which predated their participation in labor organizing, to motivations that reflected the sensibilities of labor organizing (1997). She found that the women’s statements were, “less about history and experience than about their retelling” (Honig 1997: 156). Narratives that justify past behaviors reflect standards that interviewees have since come to value (Honig 1997).

In combination, Mills, Orbuch, and Honig’s theories all inform the analysis in this research. The underlying theory in this piece is Mills’ vocabularies of motive approach. This research interprets motivations as evidence of a wider societal situation. Honig’s theory has informed the approach this research takes to understanding motive language as a retroactive process. The interviewees’ accounts may not be fully accurate to their motives at the time, but they instead reflect the consensus motives, which over the passage of decades have become the standard justificatory account within the congregation. Orbuch’s contribution of the idea of accounts was helpful in actually applying Mills’ theory to the data. Interviewees very rarely make explicit statements that

motivation X caused them to take action Y. Instead they give a narrative account of action Y, in which motivational content is narratively included.

The application of vocabularies of motive in the research of Steven Gold and Chien-Juh Gu further informed the manner in which the analysis of this research was carried out. Gold applied the theory to Israeli migrants' accounts of their move to the US (1997) and Chien-Juh Gu applied the theory to Taiwanese migrants' accounts of the same process (2014). Gold uses motive analysis in tandem with a world system perspective to build an understanding of migration at both a micro and macro level, with attention to the collective meaning systems in both the nation of origin and nation of destination (1997). Gu uses an analysis of motive to investigate the difference between the social community at initial migration and at permanent settlement (2014). Both of these researchers depended on contextual information exterior to their data in order to understand how and why particular justificatory narratives developed. Similarly, the analysis in this piece builds on prior research about the behavior and development of other portions of the US Jewish community, before and during the 1970s.

Jewish Community Demographic Change and Physical Relocation

The behavior of the American Jewish community significantly changed as the demographics of the population shifted. As the community attained higher social and economic class, members gained access to the opportunity to move into wealthier suburban neighborhoods (Horowitz 2015). This mass suburbanization firmly established the Jewish community's middle-class identity. Esther Wilder (1996) investigated the impact of smaller components of this broad demographic change. She found that in 1970

Jews who attended college and postgraduate study participated less in Jewish fraternal associations (Wilder 1996). She posits that, “Jews with advanced study may cultivate friendships and ties based on disciplinary interests rather than ethnic or religious affiliations” (Wilder 1996: 117). In 1970, higher levels of education also correlated with being less observant of Jewish rituals, which Wilder attributed to individuals placing higher value on “cosmopolitanism, cultural relativism, toleration, and individualism” (1996: 121). Wilder also found that economic status had an impact. Jews with greater wealth were more likely to participate in Jewish organizations and activities, but were less likely to take part in devotional religious rituals (Wilder 1996: 123). In summary, the demographic changes caused a shift in the Jewish community’s location and prompted new ways that community members associated and participated.

The demographic shifts also resulted in changes to what elements the Jewish community viewed as most valuable. Bethamie Horowitz (2015) cites the disappearance of physically proximate Jewish communities as the reason that the younger generation of Jews lacked an interest in broad communal religious expression (2015). She explains that there is, in contrast, a new Jewish identity which places emphasis on the individuals’ expression of the religion (Horowitz 2015). Jeremy Kargon identifies an identical process. He found that the move to the suburbs, as encouraged by the Jewish community’s rising socioeconomic status, created, “a lost way of life, lost relationships, and lost proximity to cultural phenomena,” which had been the standards of “Jewish Americanism” (2014: 771). Kargon studied the architectural designs of a religious campus built for a congregation that suburbanized out of Baltimore. Kargon describes the

architectural transition as a move, “from common, exterior space that signified congregational civic-mindedness to private, interior space that promoted a community’s prestige among, primarily, its own membership” (2014: 764) This transition from an extroverted focus to an introverted one and the transition from a communal to an individual focus are subtle .

The movement of Jewish communities into suburban areas and the individual decision of each congregation to transition into a suburban location was a gradual process. These demographic shifts were the end result of assimilation that occurred over more than a hundred years. The development of an internal and individual focus was similarly gradual. However, there were also immediate and abrupt political impacts to how Jewish congregations chose to deal with the community’s suburbanization.

Jewish Communities Making Political Decisions: Civil Rights and Urban Politics

Jewish congregations were free to take opposing political stances without being considered sacrilegious by other congregations because of high Jewish secularism. Kosmin and Keysar (2012) used survey data to establish that both religious and non-religious Jews are “very highly secularized compared to other Americans...” (24). This secularization developed because the Jewish community was and is a minority within the US (Kosmin and Keysar 2012). Jewish settlers depended on protection of individual autonomy and pluralism to maintain their freedom to practice the religion (Kosmin and Keysar 2012). This has changed in recent decades as Orthodox Jewish communities have embraced socially conservative politics, but the 1970s predate this development. In the mid-20th century Jewish communities were mostly likely to support pluralism and self-

determination. As a result, Jewish institutions had leeway to make a variety of political choices, without being censured for taking an irreverent position, because freedom of expression was so prized (Greenburg 2012).

This leeway also allowed for Jews to have political stances of one manner and to behave in another, particularly in regards to civil rights. Cheryl Greenberg (2012) argues that, "...so far as black civil rights are concerned, most Jews behaved as liberal politically but as white people in their personal lives" (453). Greenberg explains that the American Jewish community was not racist, but often acted in a manner which exacerbated racial inequality (2012). John Fobanjong (2002) characterizes the stance of the American Jewish community in the pre-civil rights era as one of Northern open support and significant Southern hesitancy. Fobanjong found that Southern Jews more commonly viewed racial violence and were driven, by fear of retaliation, to minimize their explicit support for civil rights (2012). In contrast, Northern Jews were vocal about support for civil rights in the early years of the movement (2012). As the civil rights movement continued to develop, and black individuals actively fought to enter white neighborhoods, the relationship of Northern Jews to the movement cooled.

Greenberg explains that, as integration, racial tension, and rates of racial violence increased in the mid-60s, expressed Jewish community support for civil rights continued, while Jews individually chose to exit integrated neighborhoods (2012). Historian Marc Dollinger argues against there being a distinct moment of change in the Jewish community's relationship to the civil rights movement (2019). He acknowledges "the limits of white liberal Judaism" in the same way that Greenburg found Jews to be

politically liberal but White in their personal behavior. However, Dollinger contends that Jewish support for, versus inaction or outright opposition to, civil rights was inconsistent. He points to evidence that strong segregationist and strong integrationist positions were taken by Jewish leaders at varied points throughout the time period (2019). Regardless of when and to what extent Jewish opinion of civil rights developed and shifted, members of the Jewish community systematically made logistic choices that undercut a generally widespread liberal Jewish support for racial equality (Greenberg 2012).

Beyond the impact of relocation on civil rights politics, Jewish divestment from areas within city-centers required a rethinking of the urban political focus that had been standard for the Jewish community. Congregations had different strategies to balance historic Jewish urban interest with the new Jewish reality of suburban life. Lila Berman (2012) explains the path taken by a collection of Detroit congregations that fully relocated to the suburbs. She found that these institutions, “shifted the focus of their urbanism away from the neighborhood and toward a more geographically remote legislative and policy-oriented form of political activism” (2012: 495). An urban interest focused politics was maintained, while the specific neighborhood concerns that would have driven prior action fell away (2012). Because the majority of Jewish congregations moved into the suburbs, this would have been the most likely path for maintaining any urban political focus. Jordan Stanger-Ross (2006) investigated a pair of congregations in Philadelphia that did not suburbanize. He found that choosing to remain physically located in urban areas compelled the institutions to redefine what they were trying to achieve (Stanger-Ross 2006). One of the congregations maintained only their center city

location, which required that congregants, “recast the institution as a centerpiece in the future of American democracy and the aspirations of world Jewry” (2012: 796). Instead of being an institution which readily supplied religious services to congregants the institution became a symbol of broad Jewish interest on the national and global level (Stanger-Ross 2006). This broadening of political focus is the same as the broadening that Berman observed in the Detroit congregations that did relocate.

In opposition to this broadening, the other congregation, that Stanger-Ross observed, maintained a highly local focus within their city center location. This congregation opened additional infrastructure in the suburbs to provide congregants with day-to-day religious services (Stanger-Ross 2006). The intention of having the city location became building relationships between the congregation and local residents and sponsoring local programs (Stanger-Ross 2006). The congregation took on a responsibility to be active in the revitalization and maintenance of the neighborhood that had previously served as its home (Stanger-Ross 2006). This continued narrow urban focus is an outlier. The broadening of urban political focus, either after congregations moved into the suburbs or in anticipation of being a symbolic urban institution, was the norm.

Congregation Organization and Development

While many researchers have investigated the macro logistical changes and immediate political decisions of the Jewish community in this period, little attention has been paid to the ways that congregations may have shifted in their behavior on an internal organizational level. The closest research is that of historian Lance Sussman’s (1985)

review of the architectural structures common in post-war synagogue construction. Sussman found that the Jewish community, during the immediate post-war period was invested in building new structures and fully abandoning old buildings (1985). Beginning in the 1970s, he observed a renewed interest in the Jewish community toward the architecture and historical items of older synagogues (Sussman 1985). Some of these historic synagogues were refurbished, and congregations in newly built synagogues sought out relics of older synagogues to incorporate in their interior spaces (Sussman 1985).

The architectural components, common during the period of mass synagogue construction, evidence common organizational structure. Sussman found that a central administrative center was typical, including, “a waiting area, a main business office, and executive director’s office, a mailing and equipment room, and a filing area” (1985: 42). Creating central and expansive spaces for leadership points to a hierarchical organization. Sussman also explains that in many designs the social hall was a larger space than the sanctuary, and the ability to support private events (weddings and bar/bat mitzvahs) was given precedence (1985: 43). This implies that organizational structure, based on personal relationships, was significant. However, it is unclear to what extent either of these elements of organizational structure would have dominated Jewish congregations during this period.

Penny Edgell outlines three main congregation organization patterns. Leader congregations tend to have hierarchical power structure based on members’ official positions within the organization, and family congregations tend to have hierarchical

power structure based on the length of time each member has been a part of the congregation (Edgell 1999). Major central offices align more with a leadership organization, while a focus on infrastructure to support social events is more typical of the family organization. The final organizational pattern is community congregations, which have a flatter power structure, where all members' opinions have equal value (Edgell 1999). Hatchala Chadasha falls most within the community organization pattern, so I will present it in more detail.

Edgell found that community congregations are highly participatory, process focused, and preoccupied with community building (1999). She states that a main goal of community congregation members is to, "figure out together, how their religious traditions are relevant for their contemporary lives" (1999: 104). Further, community congregations tend to value creativity and innovation in the way they do things and are invested in having a tolerant and integrated membership (Edgell 1999). Conflict in community congregations is handled explicitly in an open and active manner (Edgell 1999). Edgell concludes that the organization structure of community congregations is, "a pluralistic democracy, emphasizing tolerance, diversity, and widespread participation..." (1999: 122).

Edgell outlines organization structures, but does not consider patterns of change to these structures. Other researchers have examined the way congregations' current organization will impact the extent to which it will change over time. Elfriede Wedam (2003) analyzed how organizational structure is effected by a high level of commuter members. He describes a "subcultural reinforcement" which turns geographic boundaries,

that are no longer lived, into symbolic boundaries that reproduce the existing race and class demographics of the congregation (Wedam 2003: 56). No matter the extent to which a community congregation is ideologically interested in tolerance and integration, processes of structural reproduction will curtail the extent to which this actually occurs.

Subcultural reinforcement is a force which stagnates change, but there are other forces at play that encourage congregations to experience organizational development. Sister Roseanne Murphy (1966) studied a trio of sisterhood chapters and found that the more the institutions sought out the opinions of members on issues, the greater the rate of institutional change. Daniel Olson (2006) found that congregation size in comparison to the whole population acted as a positive cohesive force. He explains that in relatively small congregations with high turnover, invested members consistently enter while the least invested members exit, which results in a more committed membership overall (Olson 2006). Further, Olson posits that high turnover, “frees organizations from always having to do things “the way we have always done it.”” (2006: 376). So, much like investment in members’ opinions, small congregation size and high turnover correlate with greater organizational change.

These rates of congregational change all factor into the manner in which Hatchala Chadasha developed. The focus of this research is on the collective narratives accepted by the Hatchala Chadasha community as justifications for these developments. This section began with a review of the literature which informs the use of vocabularies of motive in my data analysis. The remaining sections presented existing research on the behavior and values of Jewish communities in this time period. This research focuses on

the broader context of the US Jewish community, because it was the most immediate influence on the Hatchala Chadasha congregation. However, the social standards of the civil rights movement, of the Margaret political community, and many other social groups would also have had impact on Hatchala Chadasha. For the purposes of this research a more finite focus was required. The following sections will describe the data upon which this research is based and the manner of analysis conducted. The available data was participant interviews, so a methodology was designed to identify organization-wide principles from the content shared by individual informants. The intention of this research is to discover how an atypical organization justified its behavior in the context of a predominant, alternate, normative culture.

DATA

This project's data comes from an oral history collection developed by Hatchala Chadasha and a local Jewish museum. The project was undertaken to collect participants' memories about the transformation from Bet Knesset to Hatchala Chadasha, and the early years of the congregation. The impetus for the project was the approach of the fiftieth anniversary of the congregations' founding. The intention of the congregation was to produce a celebratory video including clips from these interviews. The intention of the museum was to collect more oral histories about Jewish life in Margaret.

The oral history project resulted in a collection of interviews with 13 individuals. The interviews range in length, as some were conducted before a full interview schedule was developed. Some of the interviews were conducted with husband and wife pairs. These interviews tend to be shorter because interviewers did not want to impose upon the

participants' time. The shortest interviews were fifteen minutes and the longest were an hour and fifteen minutes. On average interviews lasted forty minutes. The separation of Hatchala Chadasha from Bet Keneset was not acrimonious, and the congregations remain friendly. As such, the participants had no qualms about sharing details of the separation and were comfortable talking in depth on the topic.

A list of potential participants was provided by a representative of Hatchala Chadasha. Individuals on the list were contacted by phone and email, and those who agreed to participate were interviewed. Interviews were conducted in a location specified by the participants, most often their homes. Prior to the interview, the participants signed a "deed of gift" agreement, which functioned as an informed consent document and specified the possible future uses of the interview records⁷. The interviews were both filmed and audio recorded. The interviewer was accompanied by a videographer who set up filming equipment on location. The audio recordings were then transcribed. The analysis of this research was conducted on those transcriptions.

All of the participants were White, residents in the Margaret metropolitan area, and maintained a membership at Hatchala Chadasha⁸. The participants ranged in age from 72 to 91, with a mean of 83.6 years. In 1970, the mean age of the participants would

⁷ The deed of gift document specified that Hatchala Chadasha or the museum could release the interview content to researchers. The transcriptions of the interviews and original interview schedule documents were released to me by the Jewish museum to be used for the purposes of this thesis project.

⁸ Specific demographic information about each participant is available in Appendix A, which includes the interviewee's name, their age in 1970 and their age at the time of interview, whether they grew up in Margaret, their childhood denominational affiliation, the highest level of education they achieved, and their major career position(s).

have been 36.6 years. The participants include seven women and six men. Nine of the participants were born and grew up within Margaret. The other four participants grew up in states within the Mid-Atlantic region. Eight of the participants grew up going to an Orthodox congregation, two grew up Reform, and one Conservative. (Two participants did not specify affiliation.) One participant had some college, all others had bachelor's degrees, and five had a secondary degree of some kind.

The interviews were collected over the summer of 2017. The interview schedule was developed part way through the summer (Appendix B). There were multiple interviewers who conducted the oral history collection, including myself. A selection of the interviews occurred prior to the creation of the full interview schedule. The questions asked in these earlier interviews are consistent with the questions that were later developed. However, the interviews conducted without the full interview schedule tend to have omissions of areas of questioning.

Interviewers did not follow the exact order of the interview schedule. Oral histories are by design more narratively and chronologically oriented than the typical qualitative interview. Because oral histories are a more organic approach to data gathering, participants were not asked typical demographic questions. However, other questions asked of the participants captured demographic information. Oral histories have a particular bi-focus style, which holds true in this collection. The first area of focus is on the participant's early life, their education and career, and their memories of the regional area. The second is on the specific subject at hand, in this case, the formation and development of Hatchala Chadasha.

The level of openness the participants had in speaking freely and in detail about their experiences and opinions on these topics was an effect of the credibility of the project. The intention to perform the oral history collection was developed within Hatchala Chadasha and sponsored by a local museum, with which participants were familiar. The institutional backing gave the project a legitimacy. Further, interviewers, either through participation in Hatchala Chadasha or through preparatory education, were familiar with the case before conducting interviews. Thus, effective follow up questions were asked and participants had the experience of being understood.

Participants included both individuals who had been members of Bet Kneset and made the switch to Hatchala Chadasha as well as people who had joined shortly after Hatchala Chadasha's founding. Therefore, some questions have two different wording options and some questions only applied to a portion of the participants. The interviews were broken up into eight topic sections. Participants were asked to give certain biographical information about their early life, education, and career path. This was followed by a section on the metropolitan region in the 1970s, where participants were asked to give their perceptions of the area and of the relocation pattern of the Jewish community in the area. Then they were asked about the founding of the congregation, which led into a section on their reasoning for joining. They were then asked questions about the congregation's relation to the neighborhood, and about the perceptions they have of the temple-building. This was followed by a collection of questions about the congregation's values, and then a last section where the questions were designed so the particular interest of the participant directed the interview.

METHODS

Analysis of these interviews occurred in two manners. One was a careful combing of the data for demographic information, which could be used to create a profile of the participants. The other was an open grounded-theory coding intended to find patterns of motive across participants' responses.

Building Demographic Information Profiles

Part of the demographic information collected was where the participants were born and where they live now. This data was mapped by hand through copying the location point of each address, as it was positioned on the map of Margaret available through Google Maps (Google N.d.). The details of Margaret's boundaries and features were eliminated to maintain anonymity. What remains is the relationship between location points and the general position of the city boundary. Mapping was used to represent this data so that the relationship between the location of participants' homes and the Hatchala Chadasha temple could be examined, as well as, the difference in location between the participants' childhood homes and their current residence. Because patterns of migration are a central issue of this case, mapping location to reveal the collective migratory tendencies of a segment of Hatchala Chadasha's founding members is useful.

A review of the data was also conducted to determine participants' level of education and to characterize their careers. Because the interviews were oral histories they lacked questions designed to quantify participants' socioeconomic status. Participants were, however, asked about the path of their education and career. The

highest level of education each participant described completing and short descriptors of each significant career period mentioned by the participant were recorded. This information was further used to build profiles of the participants.

A final demographic search was completed to track the childhood denominational affiliation of participants. Some participants stated that they grew up in a particular denomination of Judaism, and other participants specified a congregation to which they belonged as a child. In the absence of a direct statement, internet searches were conducted to determine the denominational affiliation of the named congregations and that denomination was recorded for the participant. This completed the final element of the participant profile.

Open Coding of Interviews with Attention to Motive

The interviews were reviewed line by line and coded with the intention of capturing interviewee's motive language. In practice, codes noted when interviewees attributed value, their expressions of pleasure or displeasure, and generally their judgement of any specific component of the case. During this process I used both the coding software HyperResearch and the comment function of Microsoft Word to log codes. Every piece of interview transcription received a double-pass, one when it was first coded in HyperResearch and then another when it was coded in Word. The function of this strategy was twofold. Most obviously it forced two reviews of the text, which multiple times caught items that could have been coded, but were missed in the first pass. Secondly, the double process allowed the strengths of a more fluid and a more rigid code book to exist in tandem.

In HyperResearch the user adds codes into a code list which can then be applied to the data. The wording of the codes remains static unless the user makes changes to the codes in the overall list. Working within the Word processor allowed for more organic development in the wording of the codes. When typing out the codes, a phrase identifying one category of text would be slowly reworded into another phrase that better identified the pieces of data being collected. Once new preferred wording became clear, the change could be copied into HyperResearch. Using Word alongside HyperResearch increased the level to which the final codes actually reflected the data set. Using HyperResearch also benefited the more fluid use of the Word commentary. Having linguistic freedom in the Word comment coding encouraged a proliferation of direct language codes, which would have been unwieldy. However, the hierarchical formatting available in the HyperResearch code list made it possible to conceptually lump similar codes and move whole groups of codes around in relation to each other to maintain organization and usability.

The final result of this coding process was an extensive collection of codes that were very tied to the content of the data and relatively organized. Analysis began by locating patterns in the codes where multiple informants used similar motive language to explain a particular element. These patterns revealed the collective accepted justifications for Hatchala Chadasha's behavior. This resulted in distinctions between four main segments of the codes. These categories were motive language used to justify the congregation's founding, motive language used to support the congregation's suburban location, motive language used to justify the congregation's political activity, and motive

language used to justify the participatory, democratic manner in which the congregation operated. All of the codes were then considered in relation to these four categories, which led to the construction of smaller topic divisions within them. Some of the original codes proved to be totally irrelevant to the analysis at hand, but all others were categorized. After this initial sorting, I began writing up findings. During this process the coded content was further evaluated, in conjunction with information about the Jewish community context, to analyze how the collective justifications in the data operated and why they became the accepted narratives within Hatchala Chadasha.

FINDINGS

Why Form a New Congregation?

The Hatchala Chadasha community chose to undertake founding a new congregation. This is the most fundamental of the many decisions the community made. Before presenting the specific, context-based, motivational narratives that interviewees used to justify the founding of Hatchala Chadasha, I want to examine the general manner in which the participants characterize the founding.

The “conflict” of congregation formation.

Interviewees express that the separation from Bet Knesset and subsequent foundation were not acrimonious. Participants narrated the bifurcation of the congregation and transition to the new congregation as devoid of conflict, imperceptible, and insignificant. Multiple people reference that the transition from one congregation to the other was a smooth process without any single, conspicuous moment of change. Edna

Frankel,⁹ one of the two eldest interviewees, remarked that, “there was no... all of the sudden now we’re Hatchala Chadasha we’re not Bet Kneset...” Saul Kessler, who was an early member of the congregation’s board, explained, “we kept the ball rolling, nothing stopped by virtue of our taking over, it just was in our own hands.” Motivational accounts that denied the existence of transitional difficulties were common among the interviewees, as well as those that disavowed any conflict. One of the informants, Sharon Hecht, objected to calling the break from Bet Kneset a “split.” She characterized the issue as such: “I never really saw it as splitting, quote, the congregations as much as people simply making a choice that was offered to them of which way they wanted to go.” The narrative account that the navigation of the transition was simple was repeated by other informants. Martha Cohn referred to her participation as a founding member of the congregation as being, “along for the ride.”

The narrative characterization of the transition as straightforward by interviewees is a collective justification for the process of separation and the foundation of the new congregation. Realistically, there is no way that choosing to leave and creating a new organization from scratch was not a difficult process. However, a collective characterization of their actions as simple worked to diminish the amount of community scrutiny the action merited. Part of the reason this justification is accepted within the Hatchala Chadasha community is that the members believed that other Jewish individuals, outside their community, would be convinced. The high secularity of the US Jewish community would have encouraged members to incorporate this motive language.

⁹ All names used are pseudonyms.

Kosmin and Keysar found that the US Jewish community is highly invested in religious pluralism because it protects their minority religious interests (2012).

A motive narrative that casts the conflict as simple transition avoids any perception that the Hatchala Chadasha community was casting aspersions against the religious choices of Bet Kneset. The minimization of disruption, in particular, presents Hatchala Chadasha as a capable religious organization, deserving of the same religious acceptance commanded by the more established congregations in Margaret. These narratives validate both Hatchala Chadasha as an institution and the decision of each individual to join the organization. Founding and early members had to justify joining Hatchala Chadasha instead of choosing to maintain membership at Bet Kneset, join another local congregation, or cease belonging to a congregation altogether. The motivational narratives of simple transition and organizational stability provide reasoning for the behavior of both the organization and its members.

Interest in atypical Jewish religious practice.

One motive narrative used to explain why the informants did not remain at Bet Kneset or sought out a different area synagogue is that their religious devotion was limited or out of the ordinary. Individuals stated that they were not typically religious. One member described that he would prefer a goyish (secular) funeral and another remarked: “I have to witness that the religion is okay, not that I’m reverent.” These two participants make a motivational claim that they do not interface with the religion in a manner that would be typically common.

Narratives which positively convey the abnormality of the congregation were shared by other informants, particularly in regards to specific practices within Hatchala Chadasha. The interviewees point out that the congregations' early spiritual leader, its music, its High Holiday traditions, and its approach to prayer were all out of the ordinary. A statement by Martha Cohn best exemplifies these narratives:

There was something very appealing about that, that there was nothing regular about this synagogue.¹⁰ In the beginning, it was all, everything was different. We had a non-ordained rabbi [for] our spiritual leader. We renamed a synagogue. We were sort of in the hood.

Cohn begins by claiming the congregation's difference as a positive point, and then enumerates some of the ways that Hatchala Chadasha was doing things differently than other Jewish congregations. The congregation's collective justifications for their behavior in relation to suburbanization, political action, and organizational structure will be explored in depth in subsequent sections.

A lot of the informant accounts of atypical worship center on the congregations' first spiritual leader, Marcus Scher. Scher was a Russian, Jewish child-immigrant, who became prominent in the field of education in Margaret, where he served in high level positions in both Jewish and State Universities. Joseph Glick provides a narrative of the atypical approach Scher's took in his spiritual leadership:

He would find writing about the Torah portion, and he would have distributed these to the members of the congregation, and each of us would read these passages, these critiques,

¹⁰ I have used the word "congregation" to identify Jewish worship organizations, and "synagogue" to refer to the buildings which house these organizations. The interviewees often use "synagogue" and "congregation" interchangeably to refer to Jewish worship organizations. They will then also use "synagogue" to refer to the buildings which house these institutions. In this quote Cohn first uses synagogue to refer to the organization as a whole and then in the line after to refer to the building.

ideas, and challenges, to the Judaism, as we had been practicing it, and then he would entertain questions, there was a dialogue... What it succeeded in doing was attracting Jewish people from across the religious spectrum.

Glick characterizes Scher's intention to challenge the congregants' religious beliefs as a positive goal. He also positively characterizes another irregularity, which is that Jews who had been previously affiliated with a variety of denominations participated in this single religious enterprise.

Member motivational language is united in recognizing that Hatchala Chadasha is not a standard religious institution and that this is a positive. No interviewee voiced disappointment about the congregation's non-normative behavior. In 1970, Jews that had a college or post-graduate education were more likely to form social ties based around interests instead of common ethnicity or religion, which had been the standard in the past (Wilder 1996). These more educated, younger Jews would have presented collective narratives to the generation above them to justify their participation in social circles with norms outside of the Jewish standard. Thus, narratives that positively interpret communities, atypical by Jewish standards, would have been common. Hatchala Chadasha members were aware of this and collectively produced a similar narrative of positive difference.

Discontent with other area congregations.

The collective justifications of simple transition and positive difference have an external focus. They work to rationalize the members' behavior within the contexts of the broader Jewish community. Hatchala Chadasha members also needed to collectively tell the story with an internal perspective, which is how narratives of dissatisfaction come

into play. Multiple informants related motivational statements that pointed out disapproval of either the specific congregation they had previously belonged to or other Margaret congregations in general. Harold Danziger shared that he and his wife had been attending services elsewhere and “weren’t thrilled with it.” When asked why she joined Hatchala Chadasha, Rebbecah Lewin replied, “Well, I wanted the opposite of what I had at [my prior congregation].” Those narratives of displeasure are specific to the prior congregations these interviewees attended. Other participants shared general narratives about disinterest in area congregations at large. Sharon Hecht describes trying to find a suitable congregation to join: “In part because of our young couples’ age, they recommended we try these other synagogues, which we did, and we were not particularly impressed.” Martha Cohn points out what she termed a “reverse snobbery” that encouraged her, and other Margaret residents, to look down upon the other congregations that moved into Verda County.

Narratives of displeasure were less commonly shared by the informants and a majority did not relate motive statements of displeasure at all. I suggest that this is due to the implied broad audience of the interviews, which were collected with the intent of being incorporated into a celebratory video. The collective justification that something was missing from Margaret congregations had to be accepted within Hatchala Chadasha, otherwise there would be no reason to exist. However, this justification would have been meant with disbelief and resentment from the broader Jewish community and been ineffective in convincing that external audience.

The informant motive statements examined in the last three subsections were meant to respond to the question: Why form a whole new congregation? To answer this, interviewees shared motivation declarations of lack of conflict, positive variance, and discontent. These patterns of similar statements within the interviews show that these are the justificatory accounts that are accepted within the Hatchala Chadasha community. Considering other research into Jewish communities in the 1970s, it is apparent that the justification narratives of lack of conflict and positive difference were designed to convince an external audience. In contrast, the collective narrative of displeasure was less common in informants' responses because it was designed with an in-group audience in mind.

Should Jewish Congregations be Urban or Suburban?

As described in the section on the case, Hatchala Chadasha took over a synagogue building from Bet Knesset, in a historically Jewish neighborhood that was rapidly transitioning to a majority Black residency. In the interviews, members shared motives to explain why they made this location choice, which was so dissimilar from that of the rest of the suburbanizing Jewish congregations. When participants explained choosing the urban location generally, they drew on motivations that were personally emotional and professional. When they explained choosing the specific location, they developed a narrative that involved the general Jewish community.

Personal emotional investment in Margaret.

Informants explained Hatchala Chadasha's urban location by highlighting their personal emotional interest in Margaret. Statements of personal, emotional motivation

included: “My personal life was Margaret,” “I just happened to like the city,” We were devoted to the city,” and “The city was important to us.” These statements suggest that the particular member has a long standing relationship with Margaret, and the implication is that they seek to maintain this relationship. Samuel Berger, a member of Margaret’s labor bureau, narrated this relationship on a larger scale: “if you looked at the list of original members, there were at least fifteen couples who were involved... who cared about the city, cared about the renaissance of the city.” The fact that all of these interviewees told narratives of prior personal investment is evidence that previous emotional connection to Margaret was an accepted justification for Hatchala Chadasha’s urban location.

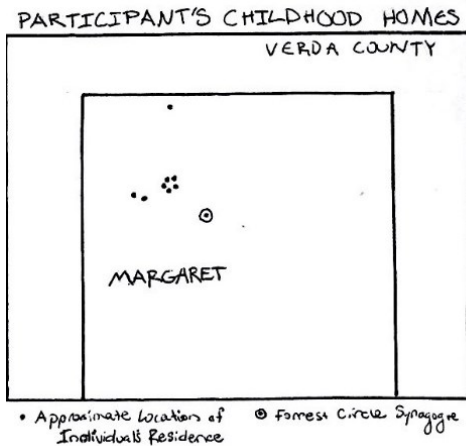
The community developed this collective justification to differentiate the level to which they cared about the city from other area Jews. Northern Jews were vocally in support of civil rights, but also left neighborhoods when Black residents entered, in reaction to the risk of economic loss (Greenberg 2012; Fobanjong 2002). The Hatchala Chadasha community needed to explain why they were not willing to do the same. Establishing the collective narrative that they had an intense personal, emotional connection to Margaret helped justify why they would overlook the threat of economic insecurity. However, this narrative was faulty on the grounds that there were congregations that moved to the suburbs and maintained an urban focus, so arguably Hatchala Chadasha could be suburban and maintain a Margaret focused identity (Berman 2012).

Professional investment in Margaret.

Therefore, Hatchala Chadasha needed a more extensive justificatory narrative. To this end, interviewees also shared motivational statements that focused on members having professional responsibility in the city. Ruth Abramson remarked, “There are a lot of people who had very important positions in the city, Isaac Iskowitz, a lot of politicians...” Simon Muraskin, who worked for the Margaret urban planning bureau used his professional position to strengthen this narrative. He states: “I was a fairly new low level bureaucrat in the government... and there were a number of other people who were members who were, I viewed as being, high ranking officials in the city...” Members’ professional ties to the city are an additional agreed upon collective justification for why the congregation would maintain an urban location.

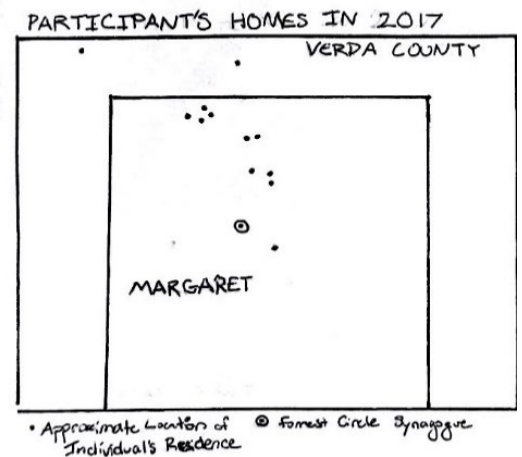
This justification resembles the arguments made by other congregations as to why they needed to suburbanize. Kargon, in his research into the architecture of new synagogue construction, found that many congregations had a private, interior focus on supporting their own membership (2014). The majority of congregations sought to be relevant to their members’ day-to-day experience by moving to where their community resided (Stanger-Ross 2006). The Hatchala Chadasha members did move into places of residence farther from the Forrest Circle synagogue, (see maps on the following page,) but their members’ careers continued to be in and about Margaret. The justification provided by the Hatchala Chadasha community substitutes being relevant to members’ professional lives in place of being relevant to their home lives. This developed as an

acceptable justification within Hatchala Chadasha because it aligned with the kind of justification other area synagogues were making to explain their location.



The community also likely developed these collective justifications, based in the members' personal and profession investment in the city, because they were observable facts for the members. It is impossible to establish the members' emotional relationship the city, but the available data does reflect their professional and financial investment in the city. Of the thirteen

interviewees, six were either civil servants or political operatives in Margaret. The maps illustrate where the informants lived as children and where they lived at the time of the interviews¹¹. The majority of members have maintained personal financial involvement in Margaret. The Hatchala Chadasha community would have been



¹¹ Of the eight members who were born in state and specified the location of their childhood home, all lived within the city. All but one of the informants lived in the north-east center of the city, in neighborhoods with a high concentration of Jewish residents. Margaret covers around ninety square miles, and these seven individuals all lived within two square miles of each other. The outlying location is one of the more suburban areas within the city, which was a destination for residents who wanted to move into a wealthier area without moving out of the city.

The map of members' residences in 2017 reflects this move. Two of the members now live in Verda County. None of them live in the historically Jewish neighborhoods, and all remaining city dwellers have moved into neighborhoods in the wealthier central-northern corridor and suburban north-east.

aware of the facts of members' lives. The justifications that became most acceptable in the community, members' emotional relation to the city and professional ties to the city, were successful in-part because these facts were known to members and could be employed as evidence of the justifications' credibility.

Reciprocal community relationship with the synagogue building.

Members needed to further explain why they chose their particular urban location in Margaret. The concept of maintaining an existing relationship between the building and the general Jewish community was used as a motive statement by many of the interviewees. Samuel Berger stated, "For my part, it was important to me that we keep this building a synagogue," and claimed members felt "loyalty" to the building. Multiple interviewees stated that they "loved" the building. In addition to narrating their own relationship to the building, interviewees told stories about the strong historical relationship that others had with it. Multiple informants mentioned the ties that one very involved, early member, Gerald Stein¹² had to the building. Martha Cohn told the story as such:

I think that Gerald, part of Gerald's commitment to the synagogue, related to his father... I think he may have made a promise to his father...that the building would always remain a synagogue, and I think all of us were engaged, we were committed to that principle.

Samuel Berger claimed an even closer relationship, stating: "Gerald and the building are one." Saul Kessler pushed the narrative of a relationship with the building further, saying, "The building itself... is important and the building itself has a memory," implying that

¹² Gerald Stein was Marcus Scher's son-in-law. He married Miriam Scher, who was also very involved in founding Hatchala Chadasha.

the structure has an active relation to the Jewish community that has been housed in it. Clearly a collective justification of maintaining the relationship between the Jewish community and the building was accepted within the Hatchala Chadasha community.

This justification builds on the Jewish community's growing interest in historical preservation. Lance Sussman identified the 1970s as the period in which the Jewish community re-evaluated its disavowal of pre-war, Jewish architectural construction (1985). The congregations in the Margaret area that moved into Verda County, and constructed new buildings, did so prior to 1970. The collective justification for their new construction was that they were making buildings that would serve the future of US Jewish communities (Sussman 1985). Hatchala Chadasha founded during the 1970s, after the change in architectural interest. Logically, the community built a collective justification for its location that aligned with the broader Jewish community's renewed interest in historical preservation.

How Should Jewish Congregations Act Politically?

The collective justifications around personal and professional investment in Margaret and maintaining a relationship with the building explain Hatchala Chadasha's choice of location. Because of the context of civil rights, racial segregation in Margaret, and the particular shifting racial demographics of the Forrest Circle neighborhood, Hatchala Chadasha further needed to clarify if their location decision was or was not political. The first following section establishes that they did collectively justify the decision as political, and the second will reveal the specific political justification for their location.

Establishing a liberal perspective.

Members shared motivational language that positioned liberal politics as a reason for the congregation's cohesion and purpose. When characterizing Margaret in the 1970s, several of the contributors shared that they were pleased the government was undertaking major redevelopment efforts. Samuel Berger states, in a previously mentioned quote, that the early members were people who, "cared about the renaissance¹³ of the city." At the time, being in support of reconstruction efforts was taking a politically liberal position. Multiple informants explicitly state that Hatchala Chadasha was formed to have a liberal perspective. Sharon Hecht shared a narrative that this liberal politics, as carried out by Marcus Scher, was a major draw of people to the congregation. She stated that, "Scher was very liberal in his thought, and his preaching, and his sermons... His political views, his outspokenness... were the major force in attracting people to Hatchala Chadasha." She also connects this liberal politics back to the members' investment in Margaret. She notes that, "people that stayed wanted to be sure that there was a Jewish presence still, in downtown Margaret, and one that was liberal in its philosophy."

The members did not need to justify their liberal position, because it was common within the Jewish community at this point in time. The US Jewish community was heavily politically aligned with secularism, pluralism, and freedom of choice (Kosmin and Keysar 2012). These communal values placed the majority of the US Jewish community squarely within liberal politics (Kosmin and Keysar 2012). Liberal politics

¹³ In the context of Margaret in the 1970s, renaissance refers to the massive demolition and reconstruction efforts that were being undertaken to refurbish the dilapidated, post-industrial areas of the city-center.

was an established commonality within the broader Jewish community. In the individual motive narratives, shared by interviewees, liberal politics is identically established as a bond between the members. Hatchala Chadasha easily formed a collective justification for their cohesion around being liberal because it was a collective justification common to the broader Jewish community.

Choosing an urban location for broad and symbolic politics.

The majority of congregations were behaving in a manner their congregants believed to be liberal, without maintaining an urban location. The Hatchala Chadasha community needed to justify their location choice as an effective political decision. In comparison to the general Jewish community which was liberal broadly and from afar, Hatchala Chadasha was liberal broadly from within. Members share narratives that describe disinterest in a liberal, revitalizing intervention within the Forrest Circle neighborhood. Martha Cohn identified that remaining in the neighborhood was not about renewal on a local level. She stated: “I don’t think that people thought we were going to become a stable institution within Forrest Circle.” Harold Danzinger shared: “I didn’t think about keeping up the neighborhood... the neighborhood would just go on.” Multiple other respondents compared the high level of Hatchala Chadasha’s community outreach now, to a lack in the earlier years. Sharon Hecht explained, “It’s... a little more neighborly than we probably were before,” and Edna Frankel stated, “before in the beginning... [there] wasn’t much neighborhood [integration].” Members share the narrative that they were not motivated by an interest in local political action.

From this collection of motive statements it is apparent that the Hatchala Chadasha community did not accept local political intervention as a collective justification for their location. This lack of successful justification for local action is informed by the behavior of congregations in the broader Jewish community. Lila Berman found that suburban Chicago congregations maintained an urban focus, through a broad policy-centered activism instead of a local approach (2012). Cheryl Greenburg reported a similar effect across the entire US Jewish population. She found that Jews would interact with the civil rights movement politically in a liberal manner, but would not support civil rights locally by maintaining residential integration (2012). Direct, local liberal action was not a tenant of the Jewish community's values, and thus the Hatchala Chadasha community refrained from claiming their location decision was in anyway justified as local political action.

Instead, when members constructed narratives to justify the city location for political purposes, they share accounts that foreground a broader political interest. Isaak Iskowitz stated:

I thought it was important that Jews maintain a presence in Margaret... when Bet Keneset moved out to the suburbs and for a while maintained two congregations simultaneously, I thought it was important to support the Forrest Circle congregation. I thought it was imperative that a synagogue be in, maybe not the absolute heart of the city, but close to the heart of the city, at its roots

Iskowitz describes explicitly wanting an emblematic Jewish presence in the city. The Forrest Circle location, beyond being somewhat central, is otherwise irrelevant. The motivation statement notably implies an audience larger than the broader Jewish

community. Sharon Hecht shares a similar account and also gives a more specific idea of who this outside audience might be:

I think there was a certain commitment that our age group had to keep something downtown. We went through, we lived through the 68' riots in Margaret, and there was [intention], partly because Scher, but also because the inclination was there, to be more involved in the civil rights movement and in Hatchala Chadasha or even Bet Kneset downtown being very welcoming and open. [A] synagogue that didn't make distinctions among people particularly, so that was part of our reason...at that time.

Hecht describes the Jewish community as a political player and denotes maintaining a city location as a symbolic political action.

This justificatory angle is built on the broader Jewish community's common support for a general liberal politics, but from there it diverges. The root of the accepted collective justification is that Hatchala Chadasha's location is an effective symbolic political action. This justification is very similar to that of Mikveh Israel, one of the two congregations in Jordan Stanger-Ross' Philadelphia based study (2006). Mikveh Israel justified its urban location through asserting it would be an aspirational symbol of Jewish interests for a national or global audience (2006). The narrative element of a wider audience, than just the US Jewish community, is also apparent in Hatchala Chadasha's justification. This idea of a larger audience is crucial to the acceptance of the justification within Hatchala Chadasha. This justification is not capable of convincing the external Jewish audience. As stated before, the broader Jewish community had a general liberal politics and believed their suburban locations were adequate. This collective narrative is designed specifically to justify conduct to in-group members, on the grounds that the location decision will be understood politically by the appropriate audience.

How Should Jewish Congregations Be Organized?

Similarly to the justification of the congregation's location as symbolic political action, the justifications for the manner in which the congregation should operate are shaped by an in-group focus. Hatchala Chadasha developed a very different organizational structure, one that was more democratic, which would allow minority stances, similar to the choice to remain urban, to be meaningfully addressed. In the same way that the area Jewish congregation felt they were doing liberal politics in their suburban locations, they also felt that the structure of their organization was the correct method. There was no point to developing a justification to convince the external community, but to maintain an invested membership Hatchala Chadasha needed an internal justification for why their choices would produce better results. The two collective justifications that emerged in this data, to do this work, are that self-determination will result in the best religious organization, and that guidance through discursive methods will achieve that self-determination.

Self-determination will result in the best religious organization.

Many informants shared motivations that revolved around the self-determination of the members. Saul Kessler tells the story of the congregation's naming, and points to the value members saw in having personal control over the congregation:

The name was made by Dr. Scher's wife, Harriet Scher, who said since this is going to be a house of the people... Hatchala Chadasha, was house of the people¹⁴, and that's the name given and that's the name that stayed, and when people heard that and said we'll be

¹⁴As stated before, Hatchala Chadasha, the pseudonym used in this paper, means "new beginnings" in Hebrew. The congregation's actual name translates to "house of the people."

in charge of our own religious destiny and fate in terms of what we provide and what we can do.

Kessler clearly accounts for the congregation's formation via a logic of self-determination. Informants also shared motive statements, about the importance of the community's membership, that tangentially contribute to the narrative of self-determination. They said, "the people are very important to me," "it was a very distinct community of people," and "we thought of almost everyone there as part of an extended family." These statements act as a narrative short hand for the impact of the membership on the congregation.

Sharon Hecht shared a more clear account of this connection in her response to a question asking the congregation's biggest strength: "It's members. The people that are active and involved and care about the synagogue are committed. It's an elective congregation... It's a congregation...willing to take on tasks that need to be done." Multiple informants echoed this idea by calling the congregation a "do-it-yourself" or "volunteer" organization. Saul Kessler provided an extended version of this narrative: "Well, when Hatchala Chadasha was created, it was created to serve a group of people who were, I would say, like minded. They wanted to belong to a religious organization that appealed to them in the sense that it would be Jewish [and] it would be volunteer."

The organizational structure that these narratives imply is that of Penny Edgall's category of community congregations (1999). These are congregations that are invested in having a flat power structure where congregants "figure out together" how their organization should progress (Edgall 1999). As previously noted, Edgall describes community congregations as, "a pluralistic democracy, emphasizing tolerance, diversity,

and wide spread participation...” (1999: 122). Hatchala Chadasha’s collective justification for this organizational structure focuses on pluralistic democracy and participation. Part of why pluralistic democracy became collectively accepted as part of the narrative justification is that it resonates with the US Jewish community’s secular interest (Kosmin and Keysar 2012). The high participation was also central to Hatchala Chadasha’s justification because it is the element of difference from the bureaucratic and socially focused structures of newly-suburban, Jewish congregations, which would allow the congregation to have a different kind of result (Sussman 1985). The combination of pluralistic democracy and participation in one justification narrative asserts to the community members that Hatchala Chadasha has chosen a different approach, which will lead to a result that is actually more aligned with Jewish consensus, than the approach of other congregations.

Representing participatory democracy as a religious organizational method.

Hatchala Chadasha collectively justifies that self-determination based in democracy and participation would result in a better organization. The remaining contention is whether this organizational structure, common to governments, is appropriate for a religious group. Members’ accounts answer this question by representing democratic and participatory practices as a discursive method led by a spiritual leader, resulting in an intellectual approach to worship. Multiple members gave accounts that implied ample discussion. Edna Frankel shared that at Hatchala Chadasha, “you can express your opinions about anything.” Isaak Iskowitz recounted that there was

“more politics at Hatchala Chadasha than in the [state] senate.” Judith Edelman directly stated the congregation had a discursive practice:

You're allowed to discuss, especially at the open forum, you're really allowed to discuss your view and what you think, and the person who's conducting it, whoever it may be, is very excepting... In many cases, after the discussion, whatever somebody wanted is implemented, as it was in my case.

This discursive activity is represented as a scholarly approach occurring under the tutelage of a spiritual leader. Five of the informants referred to a part of their experience at Hatchala Chadasha as “intellectual.” Eva Jacobson recounted an anecdote where a prominent Jewish intellectual visiting the congregation shared that, “not only did [Scher] make you think, but he made you think higher.” Saul Kessler gave an account that Scher “shepherded” the congregation and then “handed off the leadership.” Isaac Iskowitz gives a narrative that represents the membership’s relationship to Scher as scholastic and enlightening: “He was really spellbinding in his approach... He ran Beth Am, as its Rabbi mentor, [for] many of us, [and] had no fee... He was really a very generous, wonderful, brilliant person...” Joseph Glick gives an account with nearly identical content. He relates that Scher, “began to talk about a different way to handle Jewish liturgy, and he talked about [how] we’re gonna substitute learning for ritual... and we went to lecture after lecture.”

The Hatchala Chadasha community collectively justifies their organizational structure through the narrative that their willingness to discuss is a scholarly approach directed by their spiritual leader. The most immediate example of participatory democracy for members would have been the Margaret, State, and federal governments. The community needed to frame the interaction within their approach as appropriately

religious, and thus as different from the often hostile interactions common in government procedure. The narrative construction of discussion as an enlightening approach, led by a spiritual leader justifies its usage as the structure of their religious organization. The presence of a distinguished, spiritual leader resembles the structure common in most other Western religious communities. The positioning of discussion as a scholarly enterprise redefines the community's interactions as intellectual growth rather than conflict. This narrative was accepted within the Hatchala Chadasha community because it justified to members the legitimacy of the community's organizational structure.

DISCUSSION

How Do Atypical Cases Function?

My original curiosity was how this Jewish congregation was able to behave so differently from other congregations in the area. I wanted to know how and why the community was able to break away from convention. More generally, I wanted to know how this atypical community managed to function within the broader culture's conflicting standards. Organizations that act counter to the standard are anomalies. They require that a significant number of individuals turn away from convention. This research exposed the rhetorical justification process of one particular atypical case. The overall structure of the entire justificatory project reveals strategies integral to the development of atypical cases generally.

The collective justifications clumped around particular points of contention. These points, the congregation's founding, location, political activity, and organization fall into two groups. The congregation's founding and location are highly visible

decisions. These behaviors needed to be justified because they were visible to, and at risk of being challenged by, the broader Jewish community. The congregation's political activity and organizational structure were very contentious choices. One of the justifications for each of these behaviors stops short of being convincing to the external Jewish audience. Instead, the point of these justifications is to convince the internal membership of the community that their side, of the discrepancy in behavior, is the correct one. Atypical cases must build justifications around their behaviors which are most likely to be challenged, either explicitly by an outside audience or implicitly in the minds of community members.

The justification project was also characterized by having one most central justificatory enterprise, which many of the other collective narratives peripherally supported. The location of the congregation is justified by four separate collective narratives, and justifications for the congregation's other behaviors also work to sustain this essential justificatory initiative. Two of the justifications for founding the synagogue are that the members seek an atypical religious experience and that they are dissatisfied with other options. The narrative of avidly seeking difference further justifies the atypical location. The collective justifications for the congregation's organizational structure champion self-determination, which also justifies the congregation's decision to locate where they wanted. All of these collective justifications work to affirm a single piece of the organization's behavior. The membership perceived the location of the congregation as the behavior that was most likely to be challenged. The justifications for this behavior likely became accepted within the community first. Justifications for the congregation's

other behaviors then had to develop so they would align with the narratives that already existed. The justificatory projects of atypical cases are likely to have this structure. The narrative initiative, to justify one most central choice will affect all other narratives built within the community.

In this case the justifications for the congregation's central issue, its location, are that members are emotionally invested in Margaret, members' professional lives are located in Margaret, the Jewish community's relationship to the building should be maintained, and that the location will be a politically symbolic. These are the narrative that directly justify the congregation's location, but all of the other justifications also align to substantiate this behavior because it was seen as the most contestable. The narrative that the transition was easy, which was used to justify the organization's founding, also implies that remaining in the urban location was not difficult and that the motivations given, to do so, easily outweigh any complications the congregation faced. The dual narratives that the members were looking for a different religious experience and were dissatisfied with other options, which were mostly intended to justify the organization's founding, also imply that the membership was seeking different behavior and that an urban location would be in the community's best interests. These justifications broadly support the narratives around the congregation's location.

Other justifications more specifically contribute to one of the location narratives in particular. The justification of liberalism as a cohesive force directly supports the narrative of the location as a political symbol. If the community will be made stronger by taking political strides together, then they should base their location in a political

purpose. The narratives that self-determination will result in the best organization and that participatory democracy is a religious method both contribute directly to the weight of the justification that members are emotionally invested in Margaret. The narratives imply that if the majority of members want to be invested in Margaret, then the community should be invested in Margaret.

The entire justification project of the community was shaped by the community's perception of what behavior was the most likely to be externally challenged. The congregation's location, the behavior the community viewed as most contentious, was established as the center around which all other narrative components must function. The individual justifications were then shaped by the broader community context within which the organization was located. Behaviors that were highly visible, including the congregation's founding and location, had to be justified with a higher level of attention to the external community. Internal behaviors, like the congregation's organizational structure could be justified with less attention to the external context. The imperative to form collective narratives was the community's perception that its behaviors would be judged as atypical by an external or internal audience. The community is then tasked with building a narrative structure which best justifies these behaviors.

Identical Context Results in Identical Justificatory Narratives

Both what is classified as atypical behavior and the adequate justifications for atypical behavior are influenced by the predominate, external culture. Terri Orbuch refers to the process whereby individuals within a community discover what accounts are acceptable to that community as an "aligning action." I posit that the same thing is

happening one scale up with atypical communities. The nature of a community's atypically is defined by the external culture. Any other Jewish congregation in the 1970s would have had to justify moving into an urban location because the standard of the broad Jewish community was that congregations would suburbanize.

Some of Hatchala Chadasha's justifications for its location, like maintaining the Jewish community's relationship to the building, are very specific to the individual context, but others, like members seeking a new kind of religious experience could be common to other cases of the same behavior. The narrative that justified Hatchala Chadasha's location as a symbolic political act is nearly identical to the narrative that Jonathan Stanger-Ross identifies within the Mikveh Israel congregation in Philadelphia (2006). Hatchala Chadasha's narrative that self-determination will lead to the best congregation is duplicated in all of the six community congregations that Penny Edgell identified in her research (1999). For all that Hatchala Chadasha is atypical, its particular atypicality resembles and is handled similarly to that of other cases.

Atypical cases develop in a more controlled fashion than what might be assumed. The constraints for atypical communities' behavior are provided by external culture. The amount to which these constraints can be successfully broken is dependent upon the resolve of the community to justify its difference. The collective justifications communities build, to support the atypical behaviors they seek to participate in, then develop in a structured manner around the behavior the community perceives as most likely to be challenged by the external cultures. Additional narratives, designed to justify other atypical behaviors, are then produced in line with the most central justification. In

many cases these narrative also continue to be directly shaped in reference to external culture. The nature of what is atypical and the justification for atypical behavior are both influenced by external culture. The justificatory enterprises of different atypical cases may be constrained by analogous external cultures and can then be expected to share similarities.

CONCLUSION

Justification for Atypical Behavior within a Predominant, Normative Culture

The informants shared accounts which grouped around four justificatory enterprises. These collective, narrative enterprises supported the congregation's decision to form, to be urban, to act politically, and to be a participatory democracy. Many of the collective justifications accepted within the community were informed by the values and behavior of the Jewish community in general. However, some were likely impacted by the normative understandings of communities outside the scope of this research, and some were enterprises fully internal to the community which did not need to align as closely to external standards.

The collective justifications for the congregation's founding were that the split and foundation were not a conflict, that members sought a different religious community, and that members were dissatisfied with other available options. The first two justifications were constructed to function for both an internal and external audience. The broader Jewish community was meant to accept that the founding had been a simple action and that the founding members were looking for a different religious practice much like the younger generation sought out new practices. The final justification, of dissatisfaction

with what existed, is instead designed to be highly motivating within the Hatchala Chadasha community.

All of Hatchala Chadasha's justifications for its urban location were designed to function for both the community members and the broader Jewish community. The narratives that the members were emotionally and professionally invested in Margaret generally justify maintaining an urban location. Both of these justifications mirror reasons for the behavior of other Jewish congregations at the time. These congregations remained invested in urban politics and had the same intention to support the community in which their constituency had significant investment. The justification narrative of wanting to maintain the Jewish relationship to the building was also very in-line with the broader Jewish community's renewed interest in historical Jewish architecture. The decision to remain urban is the most contentious of the behavioral changes Hatchala Chadasha made. It is understandable why all three of the accepted justificatory narratives for the behavior would be so tightly aligned with the values within the general Jewish community.

The next section included another justification for the congregation's location, specifically for the location choice as a symbolic political action. This narrative was designed for the members of Hatchala Chadasha and for an audience external to the broad Jewish community. This is where this research's focus on the Jewish community context leaves out other external cultures that informed why this justification became accepted within the Hatchala Chadasha community. However, the general liberal justification for

the community's cohesion and purpose was aligned with the values of the broad Jewish community.

The final justificatory enterprise revolved around the community's organizational structure. These justifications were wholly internal as the only audience that needed to be convinced was the congregants. That said, the narrative that self-determination would lead to the best outcome was influenced by the value attributed to pluralism by the general US Jewish community. The other narrative, which redefined the community's participatory democracy as a leader guided scholarly method, was informed by general Western, and Jewish, understandings of what the interactions within a religious organization are supposed to be.

Limitations of this Research

This research considered the impact of external cultural influences from the US Jewish community, the Margaret Jewish community, the civil rights movement (and the movement against it) in Margaret, and Western religious culture in general. There is a high likelihood that other external communities were a part of what Hatchala Chadasha members interpreted as their broad cultural context. Members would have likely been cognizant of the Israeli Jewish community, which might have bearing on the way they understood Jewish heritage. The anti-Vietnam War movement was in full swing and could have contributed to members' conceptions of how White communities should behave when occupying non-White areas. Many external communities, which were not considered in this research, may have been a significant part of what shaped Hatchala Chadasha's justifications. Future research into the behavior of Jewish institutions in the

mid-20th century would be benefited by asking participants open ended questions about the communities and movements that impacted their life at the time. Particular attention can then be paid to the cultures the participants identify during the data analysis.

This research is also limited by the members that were interviewed. Some of the other members, who joined in the early years of the community, declined to participate. One reason these members might have declined is if they knew that the account they would tell would be misaligned with the motivational forces identified by most members. A preselection of the most accepted version of the justifications may have occurred prior to the interviews ever taking place. Further, the only members asked to participate were those who were still members of the congregation. Accounts told by members who joined early on and later left would likely be different from the accounts of those who have stayed with the congregation for decades. The list of possible participants for the oral history collection was created within the institution. This is yet another moment where a further pre-selection could have occurred. Future research into the manner in which atypical organizations collectively justify their behavior should strive, when possible, to interview a much more randomly selected portion of the organization's population.

The pool of interviewees was also limited to individuals who had participated in the original events around which the justificatory accounts were meant to function. The Hatchala Chadasha community currently has multiple younger generations. The motive statements of younger members around these same issues may be very different. In fact, the behaviors that the participants in this research worked to justify may not be perceived by the younger generation as questionable. This may be in part because the justificatory

enterprise of the older generation is fully accepted by newer members of the congregation, but it may also be because changes in the beliefs of the broader Jewish community or other contextual communities have changed the way the, previously atypical, behaviors are understood.

Future research into the justificatory enterprises of anomalous organizations may seek to interview organization members with varying lengths of membership.

Interviewing a more random sample, with higher temporal diversity will likely reveal more discrepancies between the motivational accounts told by participants. Attention to the correlation between demographic variables and certain justificatory narratives would be a fruitful analysis. However, there is a trade-off between sample diversity and the level of clarity the data can provide about community-wide justifications. This research revealed the justificatory enterprise of a very particular cohort of individuals. This analysis provides specific detail about how one group of Jews in a Mid-Atlantic city perceived and navigated the standards at play in their experience of the 1970s. The consistency of the participants' narratives is an effect of the extent to which they were a tight cohort. This is what made it possible to detect a very detailed and comprehensive justificatory enterprise in the data.

Directions for Future Research

The incorporation of new method strategies will produce a more complete study of motive within an atypical organization. I also suggest that a component of evaluation be introduced to understand the level of impact a successful justification project can have on the future of an organization. This research established that Hatchala Chadasha

behaved atypically in the 1970s and built a network of collective justifications to support their behavior. These justifications suggested that the congregation sought to develop in a manner different from that of other area congregations. I would like to know the extent to which Hatchala Chadasha's current behaviors and justifications differ from that of other comparable congregations. Was the justificatory enterprise simply a rhetorical tool, which explained a small chunk of behavior, and is the congregation now typical? Does the community remain slightly atypical in comparison to the broader Jewish community? Or, has the divergence of the community from the standard grown? Future research should examine the extent to which having a collective justification for developing differently leads to further justifications for some level of behavioral difference.

Elfriede Wedam's research implies that subcultural reinforcement will reproduce the race and class demographics of a congregation, regardless of whether the organization seeks to allow difference (2003). This would imply that the current membership of the congregation would still resemble the founding White, middle-class Jewish population and be largely similar to the current populations of other Margaret area Jewish congregations, regardless of differences in behavior. However, Roseanne Murphy found that religious institutions that most readily requested member input changed most rapidly (1966). The importance of member input was a key component of the narratives that Hatchala Chadasha used to justify its atypical organizational structure. Would this result in greater difference from the current standard? Further, David Olson found that members who newly join a congregation are the most invested and argued that more invested members produce more rapid change (2006). It would follow that a congregation of only

new, invested members would have the potential to continue to diverge from the standard.

It would also be insightful to research similar cases with attention to the extent to which they differ from each other. The justifications for Hatchala Chadasha's behavior are very specific to its time and place. Just ten years before, the Jewish community was still very actively moving away from historic Jewish architecture. The choice to develop in an existing synagogue building would have been even more suspect. Or, if a similar congregation founding was attempted, in the 1970s, in a similarly sized city with a smaller percentage Jewish population, the pressure from the area Jewish community to maintain unity might have been stronger. Of course, in the same exact way these other situations would make room for new justifications. Ten years earlier, many more Jews still lived in Margaret. A new synagogue in the city could have justified its existence as serving that community. The justifications for a similar case in a city with a smaller portion of Jewish population might be entirely about the symbolic political impact that an urban location would produce. External contexts constrain and enable atypical behavior.

This research considered the justificatory enterprises in the context of the time and place in which they developed. An approach that included the current behavior and current collective justifications, in addition to discerning the collective justifications for prior atypical behavior, would be able to evaluate the reverberating impact of the prior justifications. Research into analogous cases would indicate the specificity and complexity of justification projects, and more fully reveal how atypical cases function. This research effectively revealed how a community's collective justifications for

atypical behavior were structured in relation to the broader context of this particular case. This is major step towards unraveling the full question of how anomalous cases develop, function, and progress when they are surrounded by a culture that resists their development.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

Participant	Age in 1970	Age at Interview	Childhood Home	Childhood Denomination	Highest Level of Education	Career
Ruth Abramson	39	86	Margaret	Orthodox	Some College	Business Owner
Samuel Berger	ND	ND	Out of State	ND	Law Degree	Civil Servant
Martha Cohn	ND	ND	Out of State	ND	Bachelor's Degree	Civil Service, Business Owner
Harold Danzinger	37	84	Margaret	Orthodox	Bachelor's Degree	Business Owner
Judith Edelman	39	86	Margaret	Orthodox	Bachelor's Degree	Accountant
Edna Frankel	44	91	Margaret	Orthodox	Bachelor's Degree	Lab Technician
Joseph Glick	44	91	Margaret	Reform	Bachelor's Degree	News Writer, Author
Sharon Hecht	31	78	Out of State	Orthodox	Bachelor's Degree	Political Campaigns, Hill Staffer
Isaac Iskowitz	36	83	Margaret	Orthodox	Law Degree	Teacher, Elected Official, Lawyer
Eva Jacobson	ND	ND	Margaret	Orthodox	Graduate Degree	Librarian,
Saul Kessler	33	80	Margaret	Orthodox	Law Degree	Lawyer
Rebecca Lewin	38	85	Margaret	Reform	Bachelor's Degree	Teacher, Administrator
Simon Muraskin	25	72	Out of State	Conservative	Master's Degree	Civil Servant

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. Biographical

A1. Name/Address

A2. When and where were you born?

A3. Can you restate your name and tell me where you grew up?

A4. Can you identify your parents and any siblings?

A5. What was your Jewish upbringing? Before Hatchala Chadasha, what, if any, synagogue did you belong to?

A6. What schools or other youth education programs did you attend? Did you attend any higher education institutions?

A7. Tell me about your career path.

A8. Tell me about where you live now. How does it compare to where you grew up?

B. Margaret

B1. What do you remember about Margaret, at the time of the creation of Temple Hatchala Chadasha? Does anything specific stick out to you?

B2. What were your reasons for staying in the city rather than finding a synagogue in the suburbs? Did other original members have similar reasons? If not, what were reasons that other people expressed? [OR] What were your reasons for joining a synagogue in the city rather than finding a synagogue in the suburbs? Did other Hatchala Chadasha members have similar reasons? If not, what were reasons that other people expressed?

B3. At the time of Hatchala Chadasha's creation, where did you think Margaret was headed?

B4. And, again, at the time of Hatchala Chadasha's creation, where did you think the Margaret Jewish community was headed?

B5. What do you see as the difference between the people who wanted to move to the suburbs and the people who wanted to stay in the city? [OR] What do you see as the difference between the people who found synagogues in the suburbs and the people who wanted to stay in the city?

C. Founding Hatchala Chadasha

C1. What do you remember of the period of time where the congregation was divided between the city and suburban locations? Did this system work well, were there problems?

C2. Why did you personally attend the original Hatchala Chadasha organizational meeting? What were you looking to see achieved?

C3. Describe what you recall from the initial organizing meeting. Who else was there? How well did you know each other beforehand? How did the discussion go?

C4. What were the arguments for or against starting a new congregation? Were there disagreements? How were they resolved?

C5. At the end of the meeting what had been decided? What were the steps needed to become a congregation and how were they going to be achieved?

C6. Did members of the founders' group immediately start talking to others about the possibility of the new synagogue or was there a period of just doing organizational work?

D. Joining Hatchala Chadasha

D1. Why did you decide to join Hatchala Chadasha? [OR] How did you find out about Hatchala Chadasha? Who or what introduced you to the congregation?

D2. Why did you choose Hatchala Chadasha over one of the other synagogues that had moved into the suburbs?

D3. Why did you personally join Hatchala Chadasha? What were you looking to see achieved there that you hadn't experienced with other congregations?

D4. Do you remember anyone else who joined Hatchala Chadasha when you did? Do you think others had the same reasons for joining that you did?

E. Forest Circle

E1. While Bet Keneset owned the synagogue building, what was it being used for outside of services? Were there youth programs or community groups? Do you remember any particular events in the building?

E2. Describe the Forest Circle neighborhood at the time of Hatchala Chadasha's founding. How have you seen the Forest Circle neighborhood change? [OR] Describe the Forest Circle neighborhood at the time you joined Hatchala Chadasha. How have you seen the Forest Circle neighborhood change?

E3. How did Bet Keneset interact with the Forest Circle neighborhood? What about the group during the transition period? Early Hatchala Chadasha? Hatchala Chadasha now? [OR] How did early Hatchala Chadasha interact with the Forest Circle neighborhood? How does that compare to Hatchala Chadasha now?

F. The Building

F1. How much did the new congregation remaining in the same synagogue building matter? Would you have been as likely to stay with the congregation in the city if the building had not been offered? Do you think others would have been as interested? [OR] Did the Forest Circle building factor into your decision to join Hatchala Chadasha? Would you have been as likely to join the congregation if it was in a different building or out in the county?

F2. Tell me about a favorite part of the synagogue building.

F3. Can you share an important memory in the building?

G. Why

G1. What were the initial values and concerns that led to the founding of Hatchala Chadasha? Do you still feel those values are at play today in the congregation's current direction? Are there new or conflicting values that have arisen? [OR] What were the values and concerns of early Hatchala Chadasha? Do you still feel those values are at play today in the congregation's current direction? Are there new or conflicting values that have arisen?

G2. In the early years of Hatchala Chadasha how were issues of diversity addressed, including race, sexuality, gender, etc.? How does address of diversity then compare to now?

G3. How else have you seen the synagogue grow and change over time? What have been its strengths?

G4. What challenges have you seen the congregation face? How has it created solutions?

G5. Why do you continue to make you spiritual home at Hatchala Chadasha? What do you imagine in Hatchala Chadasha's future?

H. Closing

H1. Are there any photos or memorabilia from Hatchala Chadasha that you would like to share?

H2. What didn't I ask? Is there anything else you would like to talk about?