



University of Pennsylvania
ScholarlyCommons

Dissertations (ASC)

Annenberg School for Communication

1985

Communication and Ethnic Community: The Case of Landsmanshaftn

Hannah Kliger

Follow this and additional works at: https://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations_asc

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. https://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations_asc/50
For more information, please contact repository@pobox.upenn.edu.

Communication and Ethnic Community: The Case of Landsmanshaftn

Abstract

This study explores aspects of the role of communication in the socialization experiences of immigrant minorities by examining the mass communication, organizational, and interpersonal activities of contemporary American landsmanshaftn. These Jewish voluntary associations, formed by immigrants who typically share common origins in an East European hometown, exhibit changing organizational priorities and evolving expressions of ethnic community affiliation from their founding to today. In looking for and examining the relationships between ethnicity and communication, this study focuses on the changing orientation of a variety of landsmanshaftn to their city or town of origin, to the United States, and to the State of Israel. Interviews were conducted with leaders of sixty-eight American and Israeli organizations from six European locations: Antopol, Bialystok, Czestochowa, Lodz, Minsk (White Russia), Warsaw. These data are supplemented by an examination of reports about landsmanshaftn activities in the Yiddish press, and information from the organizations' own documents and publications. An analysis of the mass media behavior and interpersonal communication networks of the landsmanshaft leadership is also offered. Adaptations in the meaning of landsmanshaft membership evolve from the original hometown-based motive for affiliation. Even during the period of World War II, the landsmanshaftn seem more linked to American rather than European concerns. Organizational agendas are presently delimited by mass communicated messages about appropriate landsmanshaft work, messages which today mainly emphasize fundraising for Israel and the memorializing of the destroyed European hometowns. While the mass media may set the perimeters of associational agendas, landsmanshaft leaders also influence the nature of organizational activity. Leaders' views of their group's purpose reflect, in part, their personal involvement with other types of organizations and causes. In general, the value which members place on the opportunities for interpersonal discussion and fellowship afforded by their organization must be underscored. However, little communication is exhibited between American and Israeli landsmanshaftn deriving from the same hometown. This study of the continuity of landsmanshaftn demonstrates the role that communication plays in sustaining these organizations as adaptive vehicles for the maintenance and modification of ethnic community affiliation.

Degree Type

Dissertation

Degree Name

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Department

Communication

First Advisor

Wright

Comments

COMMUNICATION AND ETHNIC COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF LANDSMANSHAFTN

HANNAH KLIGER

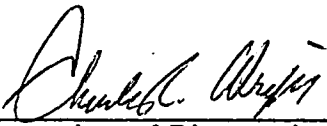
A DISSERTATION

in

COMMUNICATIONS

Presented to the Graduate Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1985



Supervisor of Dissertation



Graduate Group Chairperson

טראַפּנס נאַכט
קאַפּען אויף אונדזערע חלומות.
שׂהערע, בלוטיק-רויטע, גיכע.
דער סע זאָגט:
הי שׂין זי איז, די זריחה,
הי שׂין ס׳גײט אויף דער טאָג --
דער סע זאָגט,
דער שטעלט אײַן זײַן חלום.

(Hadassah Rubin, 1984)

Dedicated to the memory of the six million
Jews, among them family and loved ones,
whose tragic death has become an inspiration
for me to understand their life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals and institutions have nurtured and encouraged the creation and completion of this dissertation project. First and foremost, I am grateful for the important intellectual stimulus and generous financial assistance provided by the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania. It is the academic home in which I grew and developed throughout my graduate training.

I have learned from my many teachers at the University of Pennsylvania. In particular, I would like to thank Ray Birdwhistell, Larry Gross, and Robert Hornik for their interest in my work and for their insightful reading of the final product. Most of all, the persistently keen and careful guidance of my dissertation supervisor, Charles R. Wright, is deeply appreciated. As my mentor, and as a scholar whose work I respect and admire, he has influenced my approach to research in the sociology of communication.

My second academic home, the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research in New York, holds special treasures, some of which I have had the privilege of uncovering. My thanks to the Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies for fellowship support, and for the opportunity to study with Deborah Dash Moore. Thanks, too, to the Yivo staff who helped me utilize the Yivo's Landsmanshaftn Archive and other related materials.

Individuals with whom I consulted at Yivo and in libraries and archives in the United States and Israel are noted throughout the text. Here, I wish to acknowledge their collective efforts in making this project possible. Of course, I

am especially indebted to the participants in my study who contributed their time so that I could hear and record their versions of the story.

At various stages in the research, I have also received the financial support of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, the American Jewish Archives. In addition, the Penn-Israel Exchange Program at the University of Pennsylvania facilitated my travel to Israel to expand the comparative base of my study. I am grateful for the commitment of these various bodies to aiding graduate student investigators during the dissertation process.

The process and content of this dissertation was shared with numerous friends and family members. Each, in their own special way, contributed strength, encouragement, and support: Bob and Mollie Freedman, Bea Hollander, Ann and Ben Peltz, Pam Tate. Tsofi Mitnick, who typed this entire manuscript with great skill, taught me to accept her generous offer to help complete the final product under difficult conditions. My parents, Frieda and Roman Kliger, openly and unashamedly expressed their steadfast confidence, respect and love. I hope they know how much I appreciate that which is so natural for them. Finally, it is Rakhmiel Peltz whom I must thank most of all. For everything.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
PREFACE	ix
CHAPTER ONE	
INTRODUCTION	1
PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	1
FOCUS OF THE STUDY	3
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	5
<u>Conceptualization of Communication and Ethnic Community</u>	5
<u>Sociological Perspectives on Communication</u>	
<u>and Ethnic Community</u>	7
CHAPTER TWO	
THE RESEARCH TASK	11
PREVIOUS RESEARCH RELATED TO THE PRESENT STUDY	12
<u>Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Communication</u>	12
<u>Associations and the Study of Community</u>	15
<u>Ethnicity and Communication in Research</u>	
<u>on Voluntary Associations</u>	17
<u>Considerations in the Study of Landsmanshaftn</u>	19
<u>Anticipating Research on Communication</u>	
<u>and Landsmanshaftn</u>	23
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	24
RESEARCH GOALS AND QUESTIONS	37

	Page
CHAPTER THREE	
THE SOCIAL CONTEXT FOR COMMUNICATION PROCESSES	42
LOCATING THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY	42
THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT	49
THE INDIVIDUAL CONTEXT	73
CHAPTER FOUR	
MASS MEDIA USE AND INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION IN THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY	89
MASS COMMUNICATION AND LANDSMANSHAFTN	91
<u>Uses of Radio and Television</u>	91
<u>The Yiddish Press and Landsmanshaft Readers</u>	92
<u>Landsmanshaft Publications</u>	99
<u>Organizational Correspondence</u>	105
<u>Memorial (Yisker) Books</u>	109
<u>Current Yiddish Press Coverage of the Landsmanshaft</u>	112
<u>A Time in the Past: Mass Media Reports and Personal Recollections</u>	123
INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION AND LANDSMANSHAFTN	131
<u>Companionship and Fellowship in the Landsmanshaft</u>	132
<u>Leadership and Influence in the Landsmanshaft</u>	140
<u>Landsmanshaft Concerns: The Old Home, The New Home, The Homeland</u>	145
<u>Learning to be a Leader</u>	147
A PROFILE OF BIALYSTOK LANDSMANSHAFTN: AN ILLUSTRATIVE CASE	151
CHAPTER FIVE	
THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC IDENTITY	160
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANDSMANSHAFTN	160
COMMUNICATION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN LANDSMANSHAFTN	168
COMMUNICATION AND ADAPTATION IN LANDSMANSHAFTN	177

	Page
CHAPTER SIX	
THE ISRAELI CASE: COMPARING PURPOSES AND INFLUENCES OF COMMUNICATION	181
LANDSMANSHAFTN IN ISRAEL	181
SUMMARY AND COMPARISON OF LANDSMANSHAFTN IN TEL AVIV AND NEW YORK	199
CHAPTER SEVEN	
SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF COMMUNICATION FOR ETHNIC COMMUNITY IDENTITY	206
APPENDICES	
A. LANDSMANSHAFTN INTERVIEW	216
B. LANDSMANSHAFT COMMUNITIES	223
C. LANDSMANSHAFT INTERVIEWS	225
BIBLIOGRAPHY	228

PREFACE

This case study of Jewish ethnic voluntary associations known as landmanshaftn (organizations based on members' shared origins in an East European city or town) explores patterns of communication within these groups. The aim is to understand the apparent role of these immigrant organizations as vehicles of cultural continuity and change in the new country of settlement. In particular, my interest is in the relationship between the paths of ethnic affiliation taken by landmanshaftn in the United States and in Israel and their respective communication activities. To this end, the study makes use of intensive personal interviews with current and past officers and other core members of selected landmanshaftn, organizational archives, and mass media accounts of these groups' activities now and in the past.

In looking for and examining changing relationships between ethnicity and communication in the special setting of the landmanshaft, this study focuses on the orientation of different landmanshaftn to their city or town of origin, to the United States, and to the State of Israel. Interview data and archival sources suggest the diverse responses to issues and events which particular landmanshaftn support. The role of mass media and interpersonal discussion in each group's development is discerned from the vantage point of those participants interviewed, the core sustaining membership of the landmanshaftn under study. These leaders provide insiders' views on the fate of ethnicity in immigrant associations.

In studying the impact of communication for landmanshaftn, the relationship of the researcher to the data at hand was constantly being considered. My

own personal engagement with the issues of ethnic identity and Jewish community life, I feel, was an important component not only in the choice of topic, but in carrying out the research. In the case of landsmanshaftn, my concern for recording their story was unembarrassedly and openly demonstrated to the people I approached.

The relationship between the investigator and the informant, developing as it does from the very beginning of the initial approach by letter and telephone, emerged as a central variable. The presentation of my task as a graduate student project on Jewish community life was substantially enhanced by sharing interest and familiarity about the whole orbit of concerns of which landsmanshaftn are a part. While I was pleased to find relatively little reticence on the part of those who were approached for interviews, my competence in Yiddish turned out to be a crucial factor in gaining entry into certain kinds of narratives and responses. Yiddish was the language preferred by some of the interviewees, but even when the exchange was in English, my knowledge of Yiddish clearly strengthened our bond and the ease with which we could talk. At the very least, it was intriguing enough to some who might otherwise not have so readily asked me to their homes, sometimes even resulting in an invitation to share a meal.

Although a formal interview guide had been prepared for the purposes of this study, flexibility was required on my part during the interview. My intent was for interviewees to serve as much as possible as resource persons --reporting on the history and activities of their organizations -- rather than as respondents in an opinion survey. Often, topics discussed deviated from the prepared schedule, based on the interests and suggestions of the interviewees, thereby enriching the data beyond our preconceived list of subjects.

The interview itself was always regarded by me as being part of a larger situation which had its connections both to a relationship being established between myself and the interviewee, as well as to the larger world of their social sphere and organizational involvements. Thus, on occasion, the interview itself was part of a more complex social context such as a group party, a gathering of officers, or the interaction of couples. My efforts in these cases were directed towards ensuring that the meeting would be as comfortable as possible for the respondent.

The dilemma of being an insider or outsider to the research situation is still a question that needs to be considered (see for example Heilman, 1980, 1984). For me, I was caught somewhere in between the two possibilities, as an insider to the Jewish world, but an outsider to American Jewish landsmanshaftn which were not a part of my own experience, as a former member of the New York City community, but a commuter from Philadelphia to my informants, as a partner in their ethnic concerns, but as a young observer of a world populated mainly by a more elderly subgroup. Despite shared interests, some topics remained difficult to broach, usually financial matters and mainly those parts of the interview directed to the events of World War II. In retrospect, my own position as a daughter of Polish Jewish Holocaust survivors must have influenced the choice to include these reflections, yet the choice seems both rational and necessary.

Given my interest in American landsmanshaftn's communicational ties to the old hometown and their ethnic identifications, it was necessary to ask about events during this crucial historical period. Nevertheless, I did not anticipate my informants' nor my own reactions to the process of recalling emotional and

actual responses to that tragic destruction of a world that is no more. In the process of conducting my research, I also felt deep admiration for the individuals I met, who persevered in their attempts to affiliate and connect with their fellow human beings on whatever level of activity. They have taught me, more than they know, of the vital significance of sociability and fellowship.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Pluralistic societies that attempt to maintain national and social cohesion while also allowing, even encouraging, multicultural identification, provide strategic research settings for the study of the process by which minority groups maintain, modify, learn and share their culture. This study examines aspects of the role of mass and interpersonal communication in the socialization experiences of immigrant minorities and in the promotion and expression of ethnic community identification. In order to do so, it explores patterns of communication, continuity and change among American Jewish landsmanshaftn, voluntary associations formed among immigrants coming from the same East European hometown.

The pertinent tasks are to describe the conditions under which systematic communication develops and to understand the implications of these patterns for individuals, groups and society. In this analysis, then, both the nature and the consequences of the social process of communication are examined. It is hoped that such an approach, by analyzing communication to and among ethnic group members, may help to clarify the changing and heterogeneous meaning of community membership.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In order to examine how communication acts to maintain the community, the major purpose of this study, patterns of communication within ethnic

voluntary associations are examined. Ethnic voluntary associations, agencies organized by nationality groups in America, represent one sort of institution formed around the needs of immigrants to this country to facilitate accommodation while preserving their own culture (Chyz and Lewis, 1949; Ware, 1931). For immigrant groups, voluntary associations are comprised mainly of members of the ethnic group, typically co-villagers or kin from the country of origin. The existing literature points to a profusion and assortment of these organizations, suggesting that the proliferation of such groups may not only be a sign of divergence from the American cultural mainstream, but also a demonstration of internal intragroup heterogeneity. Examining the organizational and institutional complexity of associational life highlights the changing interests and orientations of immigrant-based ethnic minorities. Voluntary associations, because they represent an adaptive response, reflect and contribute to the formation of community affiliations, activities and norms. As important structural frameworks for transmitting the culture and values of the community, voluntary associations provide a fruitful research site for understanding how expressions of minority identification are communicated.

The particular focus of this research on the possible functions of communication for ethnic identity is the activities of the Jewish-American voluntary association, or *landmanshaft*. This Yiddish term, whose plural form is *landmanshaftn*, denotes "immigrant benevolent organizations formed and named after the members' birthplace or East European residence, for mutual aid, hometown aid, and social purposes" (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972). For *landmanshaftn*, in particular, and for ethnic voluntary associations, generally, manifestations of ethnicity are linked to variations in the relations with their country of origin and their country of settlement. The aim of this work is to uncover

patterns of communication behavior which could be correlated with this changing organizational orientation to the European town of origin and to the constellation of social issues and institutions in America. The landsmanshaft community is a valuable and untapped source for such an analysis of immigrant voluntary associations as transmitters of cultural continuity, conditioning the possible role of communication in ethnic socialization.

FOCUS OF THE STUDY

The question of the complex role of communication in the changing orientation of ethnic community members is addressed in this study of interview data, media accounts and archival records of Jewish-American voluntary associations. That we know little of the role of communication in ethnic community life, especially from the perspective of members, applies also to the Jewish experience in America. As a key to understanding the process of ethnic socialization at the grass-roots level, the functions of landsmanshaftn recognized by members are surveyed and compared with the account which the documents and secondary sources reveal.

To date, little of the research on this sector of the American Jewish community extends beyond brief descriptive accounts (Baker, 1978; Benkin, 1978; Curchak, 1970; Doroshkin, 1969; Howe, 1976; Levitats, 1959). Several master's essays contributed to the field (Applebaum, 1952; Levinthal, 1932; Milamed, 1980; Soyer, 1985). However, a comprehensive survey of landsmanshaft activities has not been furthered since the investigation led by Rontch, the full results of which were published in Yiddish (Federal Writers Project, 1938) and summarized in English (Rontch, 1939). The 1938 data, gleaned from the

questionnaire responses of approximately 2500 organizations surveyed in New York, were gathered under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration. An accompanying volume described Jewish family clubs, a more recent evolution of the original town-based landsmanshaftn (Federal Writers Project, 1939), which were later treated by Mitchell (1978). My interviews conducted with members today yield a subjective reconstruction of landsmanshaft participation and also illustrate how people perceive and order their past. This testimony, when possible, is compared with the written and historical record.

A portrayal of the establishment, development and current ongoing work of landsmanshaftn is meant to help analyze the process of community affiliation and the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness. Landsmanshaftn provide a suitable area to observe what Park and others have claimed about ethnic groups in America: as people encounter new conditions, they modify and adjust their attitudes and behavior patterns in the context of their own customs and traditions. In this view, immigrant voluntary associations "are not, in fact, pure heritages, but the products of the immigrants' efforts to adapt their heritages to American conditions" (Park and Miller, 1921:120). Rather than a simple loss or gain of items, the adaptation process is complex and varied. Similarly, immigrants' responses to communication are also varied over time and different for each group. Examining comparative statements made by members of landsmanshaftn, as well as trend data about them, will help detect the differential roles played by communication for these groups. Evidence for this will come from communication activities among members as reported in the interviews and the associations' own documents and memoranda. In order to convey the interaction of numerous parts that shape the role of communication in community adaptation, an integration of multiple approaches is advanced.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Conceptualization of Communication and Ethnic Community

In order to study how certain kinds of systematic communication may contribute to the socialization of ethnic community members, the present study focuses on one type of social institution developed by immigrant-based ethnic communities in the new country of settlement. Consideration of a group's social organization and institutions helps us locate continually transforming and differentially manifested expressions of ethnicity in collective experience. This focus on the internal organization of the community complements the investigation of the conditions under which communication may play a role in the ethnic socialization of group members.

The task is to locate patterned and regular communication activities, and try to assess their role in the continuity of the ethnic community as created and modified over years of organizational existence. Any effects of communication for transformations in expressions of ethnic identity are seen as relative to a group's changing status and position within the social structure over time. In addition, especially in dealing with migration, attention to historical trends and contexts helps illuminate these patterns of change.

By examining a group's own institutional alternatives and networks, this work goes beyond the scope of many previous studies of communication and ethnic identity. The ethnic group is perceived as diverse and heterogeneous, rather than as a homogeneous community. Developments internal to the group and resultant intra-community variance need to be taken into account in our analysis of the socialization potential of communication for ethnic group members.

The conceptualization of ethnicity in terms of the multiple antecedents and consequences of ethnic affiliation encourages the exploration of patterned relations and adaptations that mark the process of group formation. This process, moreover, which encompasses the transmission of the culture and identification of the community is perceived as active and creative. Such a sociological perspective on the mechanisms which sustain social groupings not only amends the restricting tendency of many studies to oversimplify or obscure the varied nature of ethnicity by the models used to locate it, but it also facilitates the synthesis of different kinds of evidence about communication.

This study of how communication acts to maintain the ethnic community adopts a sociological perspective in its presentation of aspects of organizational flexibility and institutional complexity. The interpretation of how communication influences group identity grows mainly from the intersection of interview data, archival records, media reports and secondary sources regarding ethnic organizational dynamics. For analyzing mass and interpersonal communication practices, the synthesis of different strands of evidence draws on the view discussed by Wright concerning the mass media,

that the impact of the mass media must be evaluated in relation to the total complex of social relationships within which the audience members function before, during and after their exposure to the medium (Wright, 1975:154).

This care in locating the social situation of group participation in an account of possible socialization effects is extended in Hyman's counsel not to ignore the "enclaves within the larger mass, some small and some large, who use the general media in special ways and who have their own separate media" (Hyman, in Davison and Yu, 1974:55). The observations of Cooley (1909), Mead (1934) and W.I. Thomas (in Janowitz, 1966) on the primary group structures which link

individuals to their environment to help them interpret situations support these directives. Davison's outline for understanding how communication may contribute to the survival and development of specific collectivities similarly underscores that functions of communication are mediated by the group structure (Davison, in Davison and Yu, 1974).

Sociological Perspectives on Communication and Ethnic Community

Numerous advances in the sociology of the audience have served to turn our attention to communication as a social phenomenon (see for example Wright, 1975:Chapter 4). The present inquiry benefits from these conceptualizations and employs them, in particular, to investigate the possible influences of communication in shaping and preserving the ethnic community as a distinct, though not invariable, unit. This research utilizes the insights of a sociological perspective on communication by suggesting that the consequences of communication are conditioned by the system of patterned social relations which hold an ethnic group together.

Despite numerous descriptive studies of the versatility of associational forms within ethnic communities, the potential social consequences of regular affiliation and participation for members remains undocumented. Beyond a categorization of the content of associational behavior, as in the typology of Babchuk and Gordon (1962), a useful approach is the early discussion by Barber (1948) of the changing goals of associations and the varying interests of members in terms of structural, not psychological, circumstances. Warner (1959) offers helpful insights on the symbolic nature of associational affiliation and activity. Furthermore, from a sociological perspective, the consequences of voluntary

social participation for members and for society as a whole may be seen as functional or dysfunctional for these different social units. In his work on functional analysis, referring more generally to any given standardized activity, Merton (1968) notes the distinction between manifest functions, consequences intended by participants, and unintended latent functions. For ethnic community affiliation, this means trying to specify how immigrant-based organizations serve as adaptive vehicles for the maintenance or change of expressions of identity. Our task is to clarify the transitions which occur in the function of these organizations, including related shifts in patterns of ethnic identification, specifically by exploring the role of interpersonal and mass communication in this process.

This investigation, to summarize, examines the social factors which promote affiliation in ethnic voluntary associations and the significance of the patterned behavior and relations activated thereby. These groups are posed as the adaptive structural base within which to examine how changing social conditions organize and transform the boundaries of the collectivity. How does the changing nature of membership regulate the continuity of the ethnic community as interaction with the American environment brings about different expression of association? A related problem is the way in which participation continues to be expressed, contrary to the predictions of Wirth (1928), even as individuals are geographically and economically dispersed and integrated within the wider urban context (see for example Chrisman, 1981; DeSantis, 1980; Etzioni, 1959). The theoretical orientation which directs our attention to the functions of ethnic group association similarly guides the assessment of the interdependence of this affiliation with communication activities, also viewed as patterned and ongoing.

Wright outlines some of the ways in which mass communication, for example, may be socially functional or dysfunctional (1960, 1974, 1975). He suggests an appropriate issue for future research as "not what kind of order mass communication facilitates, but rather to what degree, in what manner, and under what circumstances..." (Wright, 1974:206-7), a perspective which pertains to an analysis of both media messages and interpersonal communication. In regard to socialization, Wright defines this transmission of culture as "the communicating of knowledge, values and social norms from one generation to another or from members of a group to newcomers" (Wright, 1975:19). Within the broader sociological perspective, we need to know the manner and extent of communication's role in the acquisition and perpetuation of ethnic group identity along with other potential agents of socialization.

The theories and analyses presented by these studies of communication and group membership will be drawn upon in my case study of the functions of communication for ethnic collectivities. This communication-centered analysis of ethnic group association will, hopefully, contribute to an understanding of how community identification is sustained, in general. The ways in which interpersonal and mass communication function in the socialization of ethnic group members will also be considered. If this framework proves fruitful, the research approach could be generalized to the investigation of other minority and special interest groups, thereby enhancing the significance of this study's findings and illustrating the usefulness of a sociological perspective on the interrelation of communication and community.

The following chapters set forth the various components of the exploratory study outlined above. In Chapter Two, we examine the relationship of previous research to the present work, and the resultant choice of research methodology

and goals. Chapter Three, which gives an overview of the institutional innovations and ideological shifts within landsmanshaftn, depicts their present status by describing the social characteristics of organizations and their leaders. In Chapter Four, illustrative examples from the qualitative interviews conducted with landsmanshaft leaders provide information about mass media use and interpersonal discussion in the groups' development, while Chapter Five analyzes the potential role of communication in shaping the ethnic identity of the landsmanshaft community. In particular, the impact of communication on the adaptations of different landsmanshaftn in redefining their organizational purpose is reflected in the varied relations with Jewish communities in the hometown, in the United States and in Israel. The findings for Jewish-American voluntary associations are further illuminated in Chapter Six, where the purposes and influences of communication for Israeli landsmanshaftn are discussed. These two contexts, Israel and the United States, are viewed alongside each other to help clarify the fate of ethnic group continuity and change. Finally, drawing on the results of this study, Chapter Seven suggests some possible social consequences of communication for the socialization of members of ethnic communities.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RESEARCH TASK

The indication that an examination of landsmanshaftn may serve the task of developing methods and insights for the sociological study of communication grows, in part, from the assessments of other researchers who focus on how adaptations to new situations are worked out. Particularly helpful are those research efforts concerning the phenomenon of voluntary associations, in general, as well as the ethnic organizations of diverse cultural minorities. What is important, as Little remarks in his study of West African urbanization, "is not the particular incidence of this form of social organization, but the light it throws directly or indirectly upon general problems of transition..." (Little, 1965:3).

The argument for judging the combined socialization effects of associational membership and communication is also offered by Janowitz, based on his analysis of the urban community press:

If what men define to be real is real, in the words of W.I. Thomas, there is a striking amount of effort to fashion directly the contents of men's definition by the contents of the mass media and the work of voluntary associations" (Janowitz, 1967:xx).

This approach is also evident in Lopata's study of the ways in which Polish Americans are "united by ties of organization, mass communication and personal relations and interactions" (Lopata, 1976:7). This work delineates the activities of the group's voluntary associations, mainly to address the link between conditions of relocation and conditions of communication. By looking at

patterned relations over time, within the community and in its relation to the national culture of Poland and America, the activities and orientations of the community's voluntary associations are used by Lopata to bring forward the emergence of new and diverse forms of communication and ethnicity.

These prior discussions, and those summarized further on, provide guidelines as to the wider understanding which may be derived from concrete cases regarding the impact of communication on socialization, participation and ethnic identification. For this study of landsmanshaftn, these suggestions have been considered. A synopsis of some of the relevant findings is presented below, before the relationship of these studies and the specific case of landsmanshaftn is elaborated. The remainder of the chapter features the incorporation of insights gleaned from the literature and my own earlier work as reflected in this study's research design. The final segment on research goals shows how this dissertation aims to move beyond previous studies to center an understanding of ethnic community identification on the role of communication.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH RELATED TO THE PRESENT STUDY

Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Communication

Formulations regarding the nature of communication in the emergence of group identity necessarily grow from theoretical and methodological frameworks which have been used to conceptualize ethnicity. Newman (1973) traces the social theories of American pluralism, showing the path from assimilation or Anglo-conformity, then amalgamation or "the melting pot" notion, to the idea of cultural pluralism, a vision of harmonious co-existence between groups. The persistence of ethnicity in post-World War II American life demonstrated by

Glazer and Moynihan (1970) matches Gordon's (1981) observation of continued structural pluralism and identificational separateness of minority groups owing to the intersection of ethnicity and social class. In general, a reconsideration of the variable manifestations of ethnicity in different social contexts has facilitated the move away from unidimensional and static inventories. Instead, transformations in ethnic identification are seen as ongoing, influenced by social structural and historical conditions.

Jeffres and Hur (1981) summarize some of the ways in which communication channels have been seen to correlate with the variable expression of ethnicity. However, even among those researchers who share the assumption that communication effects are conditioned by the social relations of ethnic groups members, certain factors remain overlooked. For example, Breton (1964) measures the ability of immigrants to build a complex organized community by distinguishing the groups he surveys along a continuum of institutional completeness. Greater completeness, which is weighed by the number of churches, welfare organizations, newspapers and periodicals, is found to increase the personal associations within the boundary of the community. However, omitted from Breton's scheme is the influence of voluntary associations, as well as the differential impact of length of residence in America or the nature of interpersonal contact.

The process by which immigrant groups build an ethnic community and exhibit subsequent changes in self-identity is also considered by Eisenstadt (1952, 1953, 1954). His thesis on the communicative disposition which conditions the acceptance of information among immigrants mainly evaluates the efficacy of interpersonal relations in determining this receptivity. In addition, concepts like community identification remain insufficiently detailed in regard to the varied

degrees or kinds of identification and participation which would promote the process of community formation. As a result, the applicability of these formulations is difficult to evaluate.

Another more recent attempt to judge how interpersonal or mass communication mediates between the attitudinal and behavioral aspects of immigrants' ethnic identity and variations in their social resources is Kim's survey of Koreans in Chicago (1977, 1979). A path model analysis is offered to elucidate the flow of communication within the ethnic community. Language competence, acculturation motivation and accessibility to communication channels of the host society are considered, yet the variable of intragroup communication is not represented.

It appears that the literature on communication and ethnic identity often tends to exclude heterogeneity within the ethnic community when scrutinizing the process of group formation. This process encompasses the transmission of the culture and social identity of the community and, from the sociological stance, is seen as active and creative. Any hypotheses about the socialization potential of communication for ethnic group members would benefit from a serious consideration of the intragroup dynamics that mark the stages of group life. Hurh (1980) reasons from the Korean-American experience to outline the varieties of "ethnicization," a process also discussed by Sarna (1978), which are likely to characterize the inner life of the ethnic community. In this evaluation, ethnic voluntary associations figure prominently as indicators of transformations in the ethnic distinctiveness of American immigrant communities.

Associations and the Study of Community

The nature and extent of participation in voluntary associations, in particular for ethnic minorities, can provide a useful measure of changes in the meaning of community membership and the role of communication in these variations. The overview of studies of voluntary associations by Smith and Freedman (1972) confirms the traditional role assigned to these organizations as adaptive mechanisms to support individuals in situations of social change (Anderson, 1971; Katz and Bender, 1976), especially migrants in new settings (Kerre, 1974). Importantly, the historical and social settings which encourage such groups to flourish need to be delineated.

In the American environment, a long history of fraternal beneficiary societies (Dunn, 1924, Meyer, 1906) predates the relatively recent interest in the motivations and consequences of entry into these networks. Kornhauser's (1959) theory of mass society and democratic order initiated the specification in subsequent studies of how voluntary associations act as intermediary structures that link the individual and society's political elite (see for example Glasser and Sills, 1966; Hyman and Wright, 1971; Knoke, 1981). Some of this research was prompted by concern about heightened possibilities for social alienation as a consequence of growing urbanization in this country.

Voluntary associations, in general, have been envisaged as counterweights to the spread of modern city life (Tonnie, 1957; Warner and Srole, 1945). In the American metropolis, feared to be steadily undermining the interconnections of its citizens, urban social networks are found to persist (Laumann, 1973), including the formal and informal associations of ethnic minority members. Moreover, numerous descriptive case studies of associational involvements

confirm that inevitable intragroup heterogeneity supports multiple organizational forms within the ethnic community (Feinstein, 1971). Differences in regional background of origin, in the immigration process itself, and in the contact situation in the host society, give rise to the operation of diverse associations as creative adjustments to urban situations. This characterization has been noted for numerous ethnic minorities (see for example Bodnar, 1973; Light, 1972; Sengstock, 1977; Treudley, 1949; Yu, 1980).

From the evidence, which is here only partially abstracted, it seems that the enclave in America is influenced by the pre-immigration experience, yet it is not merely a re-creation of community in the country of origin. Looking at Italian immigrants in Philadelphia, the existence of numerous voluntary organizations based on the principle of village (or paesani) relationships, refutes the notion of a single monolithic community. "Even very small towns could have had several societies in Philadelphia, reflecting opposing factions...or due to ambitious leaders who wanted power" (Juliani, 1971:172-3). The evolution of the Italian community gradually witnesses some decline in these intense regional insularities, and the trend is for paesano to connote all individuals of Italian ancestry. In another study, one that compares citizens of Roseto, Pennsylvania with their former co-villagers in Roseto Valfortore in Italy, the progression from village loyalties to a more far-reaching sense of affiliation is reported.

If a vague - sometimes fantastic - notion of "Italianism" existed at one point among Italian immigrants in America, it was not a concept that came from the Old Country. It was something that emerged later, as a consequence of...events developing in America and in Italy, the Depression and the rise of Facism. The...Italian-American press...contributed to the formation of...feelings which can still be found....(Bianco, 1974:xiv).

The contribution of forces that may influence change in ethnic consciousness is, indeed, our central concern, particularly the role of mass and interpersonal communication in the emergence of communal responses and adjustments.

Ethnicity and Communication in Research on Voluntary Associations

For an investigation of how communication promotes transformations in the cultural and social identity of members of Jewish-American landsmanshaftn, instructive guidelines have been suggested by other researchers, including in the classic statements of the role of the ethnic press by Park (1929) and Soltes (1924). For the case of Jewish community members, the opportunity to observe and participate in the prior life of these people in their European surrounding is not available today, because of the destruction of these communities during World War II. Nonetheless, by utilizing studies of these European communities as they once existed (see for example Heschel, 1945, 1964; Joffe, 1949; Kligsberg, 1964; Zborowski and Herzog, 1952), the life in America can be contrasted with the immigrant background. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1972) and Myerhoff (1978), for example, set the American Jewish immigrant culture they observe against the communitarian experience of Eastern Europe. This approach is appropriate for the study of American landsmanshaftn, whose channels and modes of action evolve from both the conditions in "the old country" and circumstances operating in the new one. In addition to this contrast between the country of origin and the country of settlement, a wider view of patterns of American landsmanshaft activity is also afforded by the comparisons with other ethnic groups.

Of the literature on ethnic voluntary associations, two extensive studies of the Polish network of voluntary associations detail theoretical and

methodological considerations which bear directly upon this analysis of landsmanshaftn. Radecki surveys the total organizational universe of the Toronto Polish community and portrays the efforts of that community in building an "efficient network of communications" (Radecki, 1979:75). Another researcher is Lopata (1954, 1964), mentioned earlier, who updated and extended the work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1938) on Polish migration by surveying the membership and leaders of twenty voluntary associations in Chicago's Polonia community. As a result of monitoring the Polish press, as well, she reserves a special role for mass communication in organizational continuity. Lopata depicts how the Polish press "helped Polish-American associations...as a whole to develop, crystallize, and even change their basic orientation" (Lopata, 1964:117). In addition, she concludes that regular media reports on voluntary association activities cast the ethnic press as a platform for the public expression of community values and goals. The possible consequences of this practice became evident with the arrival of new refugees and displaced persons from Poland immediately after World War II. They, who had

made the old emigration and descendants realize how much they had already acculturated...began a process of 'educating' Polonia through the development of new activities and through the press...laying foundations for current attitudes (Lopata, 1976:27).

This development is seen against the finding that during World War II, in general, "there was much less direct involvement in helping Poland than there was during World War I, reflecting Polonia's Americanization" (Lopata, 1976:25). Analogous work has yet to be done for post-World War II developments in the American Jewish community, including a depiction of the current status of American-Jewish voluntary associations, or landsmanshaftn.

Considerations in the Study of Landsmanshaftn

An inquiry of the variable location of the ethnic group with respect to social structure and communication structure is suitably matched by the nature of landsmanshaftn and the availability of resources about them. Especially significant is the opportunity to interview activists today for information regarding their respective organizations presently and in the past, and to elicit data on communication practices on both the individual and group level. As parallel studies have pointed out for other ethnic voluntary associations, the part played by communication in the expression of ethnic distinctiveness can be effectively explored by focusing on circumstances surrounding critical situations with important repercussions for the existence of landsmanshaftn. The range of affiliations and the responses they engender can be more sharply scrutinized in such time periods, as can the role of communication in this adaptation. For example, the situation of assessing their relationship and responsibility to their European communities faced many immigrant groups in this country, especially before, during, and after World War II. For landsmanshaftn, groups ostensibly formed around members' loyalties to their hometowns, specialized attention is warranted for involvements and concerns around selected focal issues such as World War I or World War II. Organizational priorities of the day, as indicated by the communication flow, highlight variations in the relations between the ethnic community and both the society from which its members came and the society in which they are now located.

Despite their appropriateness for the study of how communication shapes reformulations of ethnicity, and although the prevalence of these associations probably surpasses that of other institutions created to aid immigrants in their

accommodation to American life, the landsmanshaft remains relatively unexplored. Although landsmanshaftn have recently been declared the most innovative of the immigrant Jewish institutions (Howe, in Berger, 1983), these institutions have not been properly represented in descriptions of American Jewish life. A central aspect of landsmanshaft activity, in addition to its pivotal role in the socialization of ethnic group members, is the fact that these groups grew out of the needs of immigrants and were led by an immigrant leadership that emerged from the ranks of the newcomers, themselves. A growing literature on American Jewish social history concentrates on these patterns of change among ordinary people, rather than an emphasis on the public statements of the elite, in order to reconstruct patterns in the life cycle of individuals as linked to the institutions to which they belonged (see for example Gurock, 1979; Howe, 1976; Moore, 1981a, 1981b; Toll, 1982). Yet, the vitality of landsmanshaftn in the past and the viability of the landsmanshaft model of association today has not been adequately addressed.

The record of the work of American landsmanshaftn, beginning in the 1800's to the present, embodies the concepts of social organization and community which Jewish immigrants brought with them to this country (Baron, 1945; Glicksman, 1976). European Jews newly arrived in America banded together in associations of fellow townspeople. Hailing from the same city or town, which they referred to as di alte heym (the old home) among themselves, immigrants drew support from the landsmanshaft. These newcomers and their self-appointed leaders organized themselves to help ease the process of adapting to their new culture, leading to the creation of mutual aid societies variously known as benevolent associations, lodges, fareyns, landsmanshaftn, or simply "the society." Among their activities, landsmanshaftn founded synagogues, provided financial

assistance and insurance benefits, supplied burial services and raised money to send aid to their hometowns. In addition to these economic functions, landsmanshaftn are also marked by cultural, literary and political activities, serving as social centers for people from the same city or village. Though somewhat molded in aspects of the European Jewish community structure which provided similar services, these organizations reflect the acceptance of American traits. For landsmanshaftn, this is evidenced in the adoption of procedures and formalities that characterize American clubs and fraternal orders, in changing patterns of language use (predominantly Yiddish and English) and in the varying responses to issues and events.

The outpouring of communal energies in this country is reflected in the assortment of American landsmanshaftn, resulting in an approximate tally of some 3000 of these groups in New York City alone during the first years of this century. Community surveys conducted in New York (Council of Jewish Communal Institutions, 1914; Federal Writers Project, 1938; Kehillah, 1918) produce divergent counts, some as high as 10,000. The existing figures are imprecise, in part, because the available source materials are generally not valued by their keepers, in addition to being overlooked by researchers. This situation also pertains with regard to the records of fraternal organizations of other ethnic groups (Neutel, 1978; Vecoli, 1981).

The present availability of landsmanshaft materials facilitates the study of people whose life experiences have been neglected for too long. The recent collecting effort by the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research in New York, a research center for the study of Jewish life in Eastern and Central Europe and in the areas to which Jews migrated, provides an assemblage of records for over 800 landsmanshaftn mainly from the New York City region, where an estimated

2000 societies still exist (Schwartz and Milamed, 1981). The range of primary sources includes: certificates of incorporation, charters, constitutions and other legal documents; records of membership, of meetings, of committees, of health and burial benefits, and of organizational transactions; bulletins, anniversary journals, memorial (yisker) books; correspondence, photographs and assorted materials of the organizations. The documentation and publications form an important base for sociocultural and historical data from which to build a study of how expressions of ethnicity change with time and varying circumstances.

In addition to chronicling the affairs and organizational life of associations by examining their own surviving documents and memoranda, trends in ethnic community media have been posited as significant markers of the actions and priorities of voluntary associations. The Yiddish press, in particular, is the main institution which records community life in its columns. Together with the Anglo-Jewish press, it provides a forum for the presentation of activities and new ideas. Apart from these more widely circulated newspapers available to landsmanshaft members and non-members alike, participants in these organizations also benefit from several in-house journals and publications. In sum, archival and media reports on Jewish fraternal networks make it possible to investigate the lives of ordinary people according to their own records. The longer view of expressions of ethnic identification which the historical materials afford points up the character of the bond between communication and community as it changes.

For the interpretation of how interpersonal and mass communication influence the process of community identification, an important component is the juxtaposition of members' own perceptions of this tie with evidence located in the archives. The social historical perspective on landsmanshaftn coupled

with interviews can help us evaluate changes in the manifest and latent functions or dysfunctions of communication patterns for the group. With interview data, the assessment of the role of communication for the maintenance of landsmanshaftn expands to include the contemporary experience, as well as members' vision of the past and future of their affiliations.

Anticipating Research on Communication and Landsmanshaftn

A preliminary perusal of landsmanshaft materials and secondary sources on other ethnic town-based organizations confirms the significance of studying landsmanshaftn as transmitters of cultural continuity. In comparative perspective, the landsmanshaft experience is striking in its scale and in the evidence of the development of numerous societies comprised of immigrants from the same hometown, where simultaneously existing landsmanshaftn of descendants from one locale operate as autonomous groups. Customarily, for the same town or city, there exist congregational societies formed around synagogues, independent men's associations and their sister affiliations, relief groups, federated bodies, branches of national Jewish fraternal orders. This typology of landsmanshaftn was reported by Rontch in 1938 and has been matched in a more recent study (Milamed, 1980) which traced the establishment of approximately fifteen New York landsmanshaftn of immigrants from the city of Proskurov.

The persistent quality of socially organized heterogeneity even today suggests important contrasts not only between Jewish and other ethnic voluntary associations, but also within the landsmanshaft membership, itself. Not only as a result of regional loyalties do we find diversity, but also among sectors of the same town-based community transplanted in America. In some instances, as

many as twenty-four landsmanshaftn are cited from one city, as is found in the case of Warsaw (Federal Writers Project, 1938). When charted, the types of landsmanshaftn bodies reveal the multiple stages through which the immigrant passed, reflecting the resultant variations in social class background, political view, economic status, religious affiliation, and age. Correlating these with variations in the nature of communication activities will contribute a discussion of the different social structural factors which may condition the possible role of communication for ethnic identity, while also pointing to the functions of communication common to all groups.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The assumption that the immigrant experience does not eliminate social and other differences among immigrants, even from the same community of origin, seems grounded in the tentative findings on landsmanshaftn and in a review of other self-organized hometown societies. Not just generational splits, but the existence of more finely divided categories suggests that landsmanshaftn sustain diversity while nurturing identity. Despite their seeming common purpose of affiliation based on hometown origins, individual organizations develop disparate orientations within a basic common framework of activity.

For these organizations, I expect to find that the specific consequences of mass and interpersonal communication for ethnic expression will vary, reflecting the differentiation among landsmanshaftn in their particular interests, leadership and other organizational features. To address this issue, we might ask how communication changes between the landsmanshaft and the hometown, for example. Will the membership ally itself with a particular Jewish-American

newspaper, and what other media are used? This question also reflects a more general concern about the representation of secular and religious elements of the wider Jewish community within the landsmanshaft population. Today's situation is such that news of landsmanshaft activities is found mainly in the Forward, a newspaper that is historically secular and labor-oriented in its direction. Another point of interest is the manner in which representatives of large organizations with various missions appeal to the landsmanshaft for funds. A related matter is the nature of cooperation between the landsmanshaft and other voluntary associations to which leaders may belong.

Responses from archival and interview data elucidate the manner in which the landsmanshaft handles problems on a regular basis, including shifts in priorities and pursuits during different time periods. These written and oral accounts also reflect the terms in which reality is constructed for and by community members. The actual content of landsmanshaft publications, for example, indicates redefinitions of organizational purpose; a comparison of their quantity and quality of information with members' evident participation in activities helps show the way the extent of personal involvement varies with utilization of these media. In short, to evaluate patterns of participation and communication, the coordination of several approaches is needed: a research design comprising the compilation and analysis of different types of information and the use of several research methodologies.

Prior preparation for pursuing the dissertation topic at hand includes research for a master's thesis on the consequences of mass media portrayals of minorities for adolescents (Kliger, 1977). This work entailed familiarity with the literature on American immigrant groups, measures of ethnic identification, and the process of socialization, and provided training in the qualitative and

quantitative analysis of questionnaire responses. Additional research projects re-examined the survey data on landsmanshaftn acquired in the 1930's to produce a collective portrait of this sector of the American Jewish community (Kliger, 1981), while another study tested the prominence accorded associational life in pages of the press by inspecting a Philadelphia Yiddish daily for announcements regarding united interorganizational relief efforts (Kliger, 1981). Other preliminary work in Philadelphia libraries and archives, specifically the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, the Philadelphia Jewish Archives Center, and the City Archives of Philadelphia, helped anticipate the problems encountered in the fieldwork in New York. In addition, my studies in Jewish history and Yiddish language and culture supplied part of the specific background for this research.

Before embarking on the fieldwork for gathering interview data during May 1983 through August 1984 to depict the current situation of New York landsmanshaftn, the range of landsmanshaft concerns was reviewed through the examination of materials housed in the Landsmanshaftn Archive at Yivo (LMSA). Prospective paths of inquiry suitable for investigating these voluntary associations were discerned from the analysis of primary sources that report activities as documented in organizations' newsletters, journals, record books, minutes, constitutions, program notes and other assorted materials. These manuscript records also served to illuminate the modes of communicating messages pertaining to the groups.

Several pertinent themes which were initially suggested from the Yivo files surfaced repeatedly when the archival search was extended to the American Jewish Historical Society (AJHS) in Waltham, the American Jewish Archives (AJA) and Library and Periodical Center of the Hebrew Union College (HUC) in Cincinnati, and the New York Public Library's Jewish Division (NYPL).¹ In

addition, attempts to locate the original documentation on the 1938 Works Progress Administration landsmanshaftn project resulted in visits to the Municipal Archives of the City of New York and to the National Archives in Washington, D.C.² The circumstances which led to the rise and fall of this government-sponsored project, though briefly noted in histories of the WPA Federal Writers Project (Mangione, 1972; Penkower, 1977), have yet to be fully explicated.

The scope of the archival records, in addition to raising issues for consideration in planning the research strategy, also helped set guidelines for the selection of interviewees. The clear evidence of an array of diverse landsmanshaft groups for immigrants from the same birthplace in many instances implied that a constructive sampling rationale would be to concentrate on the multiple organizations of a single community of origin.

The predilection for working individually is corroborated in numerous records of efforts to unite the landsmanshaft organizations for purposes of cooperative action, most visibly in times of mass disaster such as World War I or World War II. For these federated bodies, as in the case of the United Jewish Organizations (LMSA, RG 259), widespread calls for support and recognition of the need for consolidation are made through the Yiddish press and personal or organizational networks. Other umbrella organizations and united relief committees similarly called for joint efforts to set aside different outlooks and render aid for European brethren. However, once the crises pass, collaboration is not as likely to continue as many relief groups eventually disband.

One other important addition to the inventory of measures which landsmanshaftn undertake, and also one which points up the potency of the independent nature of their work, is the memorial (yisker) books. The

publication of the yisker books, volumes usually prepared to honor the memory of townspeople killed in Europe during World War II, often replaced the self-help and relief functions of the landsmanshaft once it became clear that plans to rehabilitate a town and its citizens were futile (Baker, 1979-80; Friedman, 1951-52; Kugelmass and Boyarin, 1983; Schulman, 1967-68; Shatzky, 1955). For other groups, it was the felt need for creating a yisker book to document the history of their town and to commemorate its citizens that prompted their formation. Although these albums were often a shared project of all landsmanshaftn from a particular location, even this effort does not always result in a successful show of unity. For the same town or city, there sometimes exist several yisker books distributed by different groups. Moreover, conflicts in memory and varieties of self-definition inevitably leave members dissatisfied with any one final product (Hoffman, 1983).

This recurring theme of diversity in the archival data, besides possibly signalling different founding premises, also reflects the adaptations of landsmanshaftn in redefining their organizational purpose as ethnic voluntary associations. Particularly for organizations whose records allow for a survey of their activities up to recent years, it is possible to more fully trace the evolution of priorities and goals. For the most part, the records and ledgers of such groups exhibit an eventual shift from local and regional orientation to collaboration with national bodies; affiliations with other American organizations, as well as with those institutions concerned with the State of Israel are described. The varying paths and goals which landsmanshaftn embrace are found in organizational bulletins, souvenir journals, meeting protocols and financial records, which provide measures of the development of the groups' interests through changes in language and content. What is the subject of in-house periodicals? How do these change

over time? Do meeting protocols reflect the official matters and rules outlined in the group's charter and constitution? Is there evidence for the differential impact of information received about questions of the day? What seems to be the consequence of members' other organizational affiliations on the direction of the landsmanshaftn under study?

The array of issues brought to light by the archives grew from the detection of a frequently occurring pattern of landsmanshaft organizational dynamics. This standard of intragroup heterogeneity seemed an appropriate base from which to examine, in particular, the use of interpersonal and mass communication in the ethnic identification of participants in the landsmanshaft community up to the present day. With this plan in mind, it was decided to conduct interviews with representatives of various operating groups for their appraisals of their organization, preferably landsmanshaftn with some available archival data. Information about media use and communication behavior for the individual interviewee and for his or her group, past and present, was also collected and contrasted with any historical documentation. For depicting the current scene, publications and programs, newspaper accounts, and participant observation at landsmanshaft events contribute other manners of assessing influences on the diversity of associations and their various expressions of ethnicity.

While assembling a selected list of landsmanshaft activists to match the criteria agreed upon, an open ended questionnaire (see Appendix A) was prepared to guide the interview process. The intent, from the outset, was to gain the respondents' detailed and descriptive reflections. Given the scant information that we have on individuals' concerns and experiences as members of landsmanshaftn, the research priorities at this stage warranted in-depth exploratory

interviews. Some of the questions were borrowed from survey instruments used by prior researchers in their work on Jewish or other ethnic voluntary associations, though adapted in line with the historical deliberations specific to landsmanshaftn. For the most part, new items were constructed to fit the study's aim to see processes and influences of communication in the development of Jewish community identification. Consultations with my advisor and pretesting the questionnaire with four landsmanshaft leaders in Philadelphia led to some revisions, until a final version was readied for use in New York.

The tape-recorded pilot interviews with Philadelphia landsmanshaft representatives in August and September 1983 foreshadowed aspects of the data collecting experience in New York. The director of the Israel Histadrut Campaign, one of the area's Israel fundraising agencies, met with me and offered a glimpse of the link between national community organizations and the American Jewish public. He also agreed to provide a list of potential informants, officials of local Philadelphia landsmanshaftn who regularly contribute to the organization.³ In addition, he volunteered to send out a note of introduction which I could then follow with a letter and phone call. This method became routine in subsequent contacts for appointments.

The interviews in Philadelphia isolated several methodological matters inherent in an investigation of this type. For example, the nature of this kind of fieldwork involves being flexible in the ways in which the data is elicited and in terms of the time it takes to arrange and carry out an interview. It became clear early on that the questionnaire could, indeed, serve only as an outline for the discussion of topics whose specific scope and elaboration varied from respondent to respondent. Without abandoning the focus of the inquiry, it was

also important to discover their questions and issues of importance to them (Spradley, 1979).

Data collection in Philadelphia, in addition to introducing important considerations into the plan of investigation, also presented a preliminary view of parameters of organizational life susceptible to the influence of communication. The interviews revealed some of the following dimensions of landsmanshaftn: the range of backgrounds which characterize landsmanshaft leaders today, the growing Americanization of organizational orientation, variations in connectedness to the hometown, the role of Israel as a focus of philanthropy, the overlapping memberships which individuals sustain and use to judge their landsmanshaft, the opinion flow from leadership to membership regarding current affairs and organizational decision-making, the impact of mass media coverage and campaigns on landsmanshaft activities, the leisure and official business aspects of organizational participation, the domain occupied by women in the landsmanshaftn. In microcosm, initial observations in Philadelphia set the pattern for subsequent fieldwork among a sample of New York landsmanshaftn.

The organizations under study, while not chosen as a fully representative sample of the total universe of New York landsmanshaftn, nonetheless cover a range of types, selected to allow important contrasts during analysis. The absence of any one central coordinating bureau for landsmanshaftn, as well as limitations on accessibility to some groups and their officers, made it unlikely that a completely representative sample could be attained. Instead, the guidelines for selection focused on the intersection of the following traits: current operation of the landsmanshaft, available archival materials, and evidence of autonomous organizations for a single community. The design was not intended to produce a survey or even a cross section of landsmanshaftn.

Several key features differentiate among the numerous landsmanshaftn from one locale. Variations along such lines as the organization's age and its immigration history, political views, religious affiliation, language and cultural orientation, economic status and occupational distribution are the focus, to help account for possible differences in the consequences of communication for ethnic identification.

After determining the breadth of archival records on landsmanshaftn stemming from one locale, representatives of organizations of immigrants from European locations with multiple American groups of descendants still evident at the present time were sought. The current operation of simultaneously existing landsmanshaftn and the availability of papers and written records for as many of these same groups as possible resulted in the purposive sample choice of the following East European locations: Antopol, Bialystok, Czestochowa, Lodz, Minsk (White Russia) and Warsaw (see map and table in Appendix B). These six sites, which will be described in Chapter 3, are not meant as a representation of the cultural geography of Poland or Russia, just as we have not purported to sample American Jewish immigrant organizations with roots in Central Europe or non-European countries.⁴ For the six groups of organizations, the bias is to larger sites. However, the common supposition that only urban centers would naturally foster greater organizational involvement is challenged by the example of Antopol, a small shtetl (townlet) whose members generated as high a level of varied organizational activity in America as the other five prominent cities. As it turns out, within certain constraints, the final sample that was selected reflects the complexity and socially organized heterogeneity of the landsmanshaft network today (see list of interviews in Appendix C).

As a result of contacting various Jewish organizations and community leaders in the New York area, a selected list of landsmanshaft activists was assembled. Members of the staff of the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research and other Jewish organizations suggested that I consult with the two major national Jewish philanthropic and fundraising agencies, the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) and the State of Israel Bonds.⁵ Both of these offices have fraternal divisions that solicit monies from a variety of Jewish lodges, and they maintain the largest rosters of landsmanshaftn. My request to both these bureaus for access to their files was met with cooperation. In both cases, a list of the city or town locations whose landsmanshaftn interested me was submitted, and I was given an inventory of the names and addresses of appropriate contact persons. The combined data from both these agencies formed the base of my interview sample. In addition, it was possible to gain a new perspective on landsmanshaftn in my meetings with officials of these fundraising organizations who maintain relations with the landsmanshaftn registered with their offices.

To ensure the representation of groups that have other organizational ties, I also turned to fraternal orders with branches based on locality. For groups pertaining to my six European locations, today these include the Workmen's Circle, Farband Labor Zionist Alliance, Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies. However, in the course of searching to enlarge my total of landsmanshaftn from Antopol, Bialystok, Czestochowa, Lodz, Minsk and Warsaw, I learned about the development and present status of other Jewish orders such as the Independent Order Brith Abraham and Bnai Zion. Their history, it will be seen, plays a part in the landsmanshaft story.⁶

Another corner of the landsmanshaft portrait belongs to those unallied societies who have no affiliation with other fraternities, and whose work

proceeds independent of the UJA or Bonds offices. These groups were located thanks to personal recommendations from colleagues who knew of my work, and also through interviews with other community representatives. One unexpected source person was a landsmanshaft official who turned out to be a funeral director. Part of his business, as had been true for his father before him, was comprised of making the burial arrangements for numerous New York landsmanshaftn. For landsmanshaftn that sometimes maintain no other signs of their former activity and thus would not necessarily appear as current donors to philanthropies or to Israel, traditional Jewish burial is still a priority. As a result, funeral directors can be important custodians of landsmanshaft data.⁷

A significant dimension of my research on landsmanshaftn and the role of interpersonal and mass communication in their growth was explored during December 1983 to January 1984. A travel grant from the Penn-Israel Exchange program at the University of Pennsylvania enabled me to study landsmanshaftn in Israel stemming from the towns of origin in my sample. This addition to my research design mainly involved conducting interviews with local landsmanshaft activists to complement my U.S. study with comparative Israeli data. Even less is known about Israeli immigrant associations than about American ones, despite the existence of numerous immigrant federations, including a central office for Polish landsmanshaftn with headquarters in Tel Aviv serving approximately 150 registered organizations out of an estimated 250 existing landsmanshaftn (Losh, 1961; Porat-Noy, 1983; York, 1979).

The contrast in purposes and influences of communication between the Israeli and U.S. groups will be discussed in Chapter 6. For now, it is worthwhile to note that even the methods for gathering the list of potential Israeli interviewees revealed interesting differences and significant similarities. For

example, as in New York, most names were obtained through a central office, the Association of Jews from Poland in Israel, an affiliate of the World Federation of Polish Jews.⁸ Despite the American landsmanshaft sector's commitment to aiding Israel, many of the New York interviewees have never visited the country, nor do they have any direct contact with Israeli landsmanshaft groups. Judging by the inability of some American leaders to furnish Israeli references, there is presently almost no alliance between organizations of American and Israeli compatriots, in some instances. The mutual lack of communication between the two communities has consequences for the nature of participation and identification in landsmanshaftn on both continents.

In the United States and Israel, both, individual landsmanshaft representatives were interviewed through a series of face-to-face interviews lasting an hour a piece. Also there were some telephone interviews. In addition, I met with leaders of Jewish communal agencies which work closely with the landsmanshaftn, and I also attended society gatherings. In this aspect of the research, over the course of twelve months of fieldwork, I observed two regular meetings, one group's Purim holiday celebration, one UJA fundraising breakfast, a city-wide banquet of landsmanshaftn, and a large national conference hosted by one of the landsmanshaftn in my study. Throughout, the fieldwork observations were considered alongside the historical records and secondary accounts which were continually consulted for corroboration about the link between the communication network of the organizations and the development of selected events or specific occasions.

Yet another view of the nature and development of current organizational dynamics was generated through weekly monitoring from January 1983 to December 1984 of the Yiddish press. A recent study confirms the frequency of

media reporting on ethnic community events (Gertner et al, 1983). In the past, there was even a special editor assigned to problems of societies (AJA: Kalushiner Society of Charleston, Microfilm No. 849). For landsmanshaft subscribers up to the present day, announcements and accounts of activities are a regular feature.

Interview data on communication behavior coupled with the press record on the amount and type of association life helps establish the potential functions of the media's emphasis on news about voluntary associations. The media may serve as influences on the formation of actions and opinions over time, but do they also act as extensions of readers' social contacts to provide a feeling of community ties beyond the local level? Can mass media reports on certain persons and groups enhance their status and that of their activities?

The study of current media reports was undertaken to address these and other questions regarding mass communication, interpersonal communication and the development of landsmanshaftn. Another path for integrating the role of the ethnic press for community socialization was explored by scanning Yiddish dailies for reactions to the Holocaust on the part of landsmanshaftn. Although not a major portion of my analysis, the example of other researchers who have studied the American media to compare press accounts with the public's responses to the Holocaust (see for example Cutter, 1979; Grobman, 1979; Lipstadt, 1980; Lookstein, 1979; Wyman, 1984) is particularly relevant to my study population. How were these hometown-based, hometown-oriented organizations learning about and acting upon news of the tragedy that was befalling their communities in Europe? Specialized attention to involvements and concerns during the World War II years took the form of a partial survey of the Yiddish press in the initial years of the war (1939 through 1941) and of

interview data on the activities of that period. In deciphering the events of that time, any inferences must, of course, be cautiously drawn with proper recognition of the troublesome problem of respondents' recall of events that occurred more than forty years ago.

It should be clear that multiple methods for the study of communication and landsmanshaftn have been utilized in order to tap the richness of the data that exist. These different methodologies -- interviewing, archival analyses, media surveys -- work together, in one sense, to enhance the reliability and validity of the study's conclusions. By combining these different research approaches, the study's original goals are enhanced by unanticipated findings and analyses.

RESEARCH GOALS AND QUESTIONS

An understanding of the role of communication in ethnic community continuity will hopefully benefit from the synthesis of multiple research paths being used in the study of American Jewish immigrant associations. The interpretation of interview data, archival materials and media records relates the communication behavior and ethnic patterns of landsmanshaftn by using various strands of evidence. Descriptive and analytic segments contribute to the discussion of the consequences of mass and interpersonal communication for ethnic identity, which is this study's major concern.

The research goals and questions of this study are elaborated in the chapters that follow. In the next one, Chapter 3, we depict the backgrounds of the individuals and organizations under study. What is the nature of the landsmanshaft world, as represented by the sample population under study, and

what is the organizational climate for communication? The environment in which landsmanshaftn receive and transmit messages is described in terms of the characteristics of organizations today, and also in an account of the individual representatives who were surveyed. What distinguishes the activists in today's landsmanshaftn and what is the nature of their participation and leadership? In this segment, the individual respondent is the unit of analysis, but it is his or her position as a member in various social groups that directs our question: how are the consequences of communication for individuals conditioned by their social relations?

The characterization of the organizational and individual setting for landsmanshaft activity moves forward to a description, in Chapter 4, of the systematic patterns of communication which occur on both these levels. Illustrative cases exemplify the substance and scope of mass media and interpersonal communication present in the life of landsmanshaft organizations. The role of mass media coverage is introduced in a summary of landsmanshaft-related items in the Yiddish press today, from 1983 to 1985, and spanning the early years of World War II. With regard to the nature of interpersonal discussion, the ties of personal relations for members are explicated. An exploration of the role of interpersonal communication networks for the development of landsmanshaftn leads me to examine how participation and communication behavior may be linked. A related issue is the extent to which the ethnic collectivity can be sustained when the level of communication subsides.

In Chapter 5, the materials of the two earlier chapters are integrated. This analysis treats the impact of communication on American landsmanshaftn in shifting organizational priorities from the hometown to America. The influence of the community at large, particularly the communication channels it provides,

on changing self-definitions is studied. The intersection of each group's communication structure and its location in the social structure is seen to promote varied expressions of ethnic identification. A discussion of these patterns as they relate to Jewish-American landsmanshaftn is offered in Chapter 5, and then set alongside the findings for Israeli landsmanshaftn in Chapter 6. In this comparison, societal values and historical developments specific to each country visibly influence the processes of communication and socialization.

The issue of the social consequences of communication for ethnic socialization is reviewed in the final Chapter 7, where some theoretical considerations about communication's contribution to the maintenance of community are presented. What is the role of communication in the social reconstruction of ethnic community life, for example, in the country of origin? How is landsmanshaft organizational reality of earlier years in America recounted? How does communication shape today's constellation of issues and concerns, and who influences projections of organizational trends for the future? In sum, landsmanshaftn are vehicles for participation in American society, transmitters of culture that organize and interpret for their members. By analyzing the role of interpersonal and mass communication for patterns of group affiliation and ethnic identification among landsmanshaftn, within a sample population ripe with contrasts and diversity, this study endeavors to contribute an understanding of how the consequences of communication are conditioned by the system of patterned social relations which hold the ethnic community together.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. References to landsmanshaft holdings of these collections will be noted in the text by the appropriate abbreviation.
2. Among the assorted papers related to the study of New York landsmanshaftn initiated by Rontch, I had hoped to locate the original survey forms. According to archives staff and Rontch, himself, with whom I corresponded and then met at his home in Los Angeles in November 1984, the files were probably discarded when the project was disbanded.
3. The information provided by David Rosenthal of the Israel Histadrut Campaign included a selected list of eleven associations. Of these, I conducted interviews with: Sidney Landes, Boslover Ahavas Achim Belzer Association, Joseph Kay, Independent Krivozer Beneficial Association, Isadore Trachtenberg, Kaharliker Beneficial Association, and Herman Tuckman, United Jewish Organizations.
4. The six European locations will be referred to according to the names as typically rendered in the Encyclopedia Judaica (1972). However, it should be noted that Yiddish variants of these place names (i.e. Varshe for Warsaw, Tshenstokhov for Czestochowa) exist, as well, and these sometimes figure in the names of specific organizations. The one site that does not appear as an entry in the Encyclopedia Judaica is Antopol, and I am indebted to Lucjan Dobroszycki of the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research for pointing me to reference works with the necessary information. He also shared his views on the characterization of my six locations in light of East European Jewish history, and offered several alternate rationales for sample choices.
5. The following individuals offered their guidance in helping me generate my interview population: Susan Milamed, David Rogow and Rosaline Schwartz of the Yivo Institute for Jewish Reserach; Nina Rogow of the Council of Organizations of the United Jewish Appeal-Federation Campaign and Israel Emergency Fund, whose co-directors Jechil Dobekirer, Norman Gilmovsky, and Emmanuel Mark I interviewed; Sally Delson and Sam Zavelson of the Israel Bonds Greater New York Committee's Department of Organizations-Fraternal Division, including Michael Sabin of Israel Bonds; Joel Plavin of radio station WEVD; Raymond Gebiner of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, or HIAS.
6. Staff members with whom I consulted were Pearl Krupit and Israel Figa of the Workmen's Circle, I.K. Goldstein of the Farband Labor Zionist Alliance, Gedalye Sandler of the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies, Ernest Barbarash, editor of the Bnai Zion Voice, George O. Arkin of the Brith Abraham, and Sophie Hoffman of the American Federation of Polish Jews. I also spoke on the telephone with Morris Siegel of the Knights of Pythias.
7. Abraham Nagel shared the names of numerous societies with whom he maintains business connections as their funeral arranger; Lucjan

Dobroszycki informed me of two independent Lodz landsmanshaftn, American Society of Jews Liberated from Ghetto Lodz, Inc., and American Research Council to Commemorate the Jewish Community of Lodz.

8. Interviews with Anshl Reiss of the World Federation of Polish Jews and Mr. Skurnik of the Association of Jews from Poland in Israel offered insights about the operation of Israeli landsmanshaftn and their link to other Polish Jewish communities around the world, in addition to providing me with names of Israeli associations for my study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT FOR COMMUNICATION PROCESSES

In this chapter, we provide a descriptive account of the individual and group level data concerning the study population of New York landsmanshaftn. The figures and the patterns which characterize the contemporary landsmanshaftn sample reflect the changes in this sector since the last survey of their activities in 1938. One telling feature is that the 1938 data show hardly any locality represented by single societies. In other words, independent societies commonly co-existed, representing different needs, new leadership and evolving social patterns. Presently, the number of localities for which there are multiple societies is lower, reflecting the generally dwindling membership that is the most striking fact of the landsmanshaft community's evolution since 1938. However, the realization that landsmanshaftn from Antopol, Bialystok, Czestochowa, Lodz, Minsk and Warsaw still persist in their separateness indicates the complexity of that network even today.

LOCATING THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY

Many landsmanshaftn, usually representing different landsmanshaft organization types, still echo the original propensity for unallied and separate work such as was the trend in earlier years. It should be noted that the sample which eventually was secured, and which serves as the base for the discussion to

follow of landsmanshaft activities, is selected from an even larger pool of candidates which was gathered from numerous sources. The group that became the study's focus represents landsmanshaftn with accessible and willing representatives who responded to requests for information.

Interviews were usually conducted as open-ended face-to-face meetings from thirty minutes to over three hours. Telephone conversations which substituted for personal interviews that were not possible to arrange varied from fifteen to ninety minutes. The lengthier interviews usually produced data about a greater range of topics relevant to the current operation of landsmanshaftn. However, the lack of information and occasional disinterest which resulted in briefer exchanges also indicate patterns of organizational behavior. What seemed at first a methodological deterrent actually turned out to be a significant finding about the nature of involvement and participation in ethnic organizations today: the fact that present day landsmanshaft leaders did not frequently know of co-existent or pre-existent societies of fellow countrymen emerged as an important statement about communication and ethnic community. The next Chapter 4, on mass and interpersonal communication in landsmanshaftn, details these patterns of communication behavior, while Chapter 5 synthesizes the descriptive material in an attempt to account for how systematic communication influences American Jewish ethnic identity.

In analyzing the role of communication in the development of American Jewish landsmanshaftn, we have the opportunity to consider differences among groups in the receiving society. Handlin (1981) reminds us to bear in mind members' point of origin in Europe and their background prior to immigration. The East European roots of American Jewish organizational life is a subject deserving of a separate study, however it is important at least to remember that

immigrants come from some place. They may discover their identity in the United States, but the immigrant experience does not eliminate differences. Discovering the manner in which communities, not one community, emerge in America is more accurately the challenge which the landsmanshaft data offer. What is the impact of communication on the extent of social and cultural pluralism expressed in the work of landsmanshaftn?

In general, the main problem is the contribution of America to formulations of ethnicity within landsmanshaftn. However, in the same way that pre-immigration European influences figure in the picture that unfolds, it is also likely that the surrounding American environment is influenced in turn, particularly in light of the fact that landsmanshaftn were numerically the most prominent immigrant institution.¹ Again, the major question is what America did to the landsmanshaftn, but the mutual effects of the meeting of cultures can not be ignored. The point of reference for landsmanshaftn is the East European community of origin. Alternatively, at times, the vision changes to incorporate the American neighborhood of primary settlement, such as New York's Lower East Side. How can we account for shifts from local to national concerns? The processes, especially communication, by which these and other transformations occur is our focus.

Before proceeding to discuss how their American setting has produced varieties of ethnic identification, the East European localities which spurred the creation of the landsmanshaftn under study will be briefly portrayed. Especially for the earlier history of landsmanshaft existence, this information would help explain some of the initial premises of organizational formation. For example, the employment practices of Jews in their European communities might have been a factor in perpetuating certain modes of landsmanshaft affiliation.

Although the figures on the occupational distribution of landsmanshaftn members in Rontch's 1938 study refer only to gross categories such as workers or business owners, the names chosen by some organizations are a tangible sign of the continuity between the old home and the new. The Bialystoker Bricklayers Progressive Benevolent Association, for example, may signal the preservation of the Jewish population's pre-eminence as masons and building workers in Bialystok (Sohn, 1935). However, the evidence extracted from the interview data on these kinds of links is less obvious and sometimes non-existent in the 1980's.

The reasons for the diminishing resemblance on the part of landsmanshaft affiliates to properties of the original European community and the repercussions of this reduction for American landsmanshaft activity is, of course, one of our concerns. The historical records on landsmanshaftn that no longer function are a helpful contribution. My analysis of the 1938 data, for example, points up that being landslayt (Yiddish plural term for fellow townspeople) was not the only criterion for membership even then. A certain percentage of non-landslayt relatives and friends were welcomed into the landsmanshaft. Indeed, the very existence of multiple landsmanshaftn from a single locale supports the idea that shared origins in the same birthplace is not the only factor that binds landsmanshaftn members, but that what is at work is rather the interplay of different statuses.

To understand the changing character of landsmanshaftn and of their cultural identity in the American context, some familiarity with the cities and towns of Eastern Europe whose descendants generated the landsmanshaftn under study is in order. Those familiar with the map of Eastern Europe will understand that the continual shifts in national boundaries may have played some part in the salience of more local allegiances. The rich Jewish life in Eastern

Europe (see for example Dobroszycki and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1977; Fishman, 1974; Roskies and Roskies, 1979) was dramatically altered by the Nazi occupation of Europe and the murder of most of the Jewish population. Postwar pogroms followed by emigration and the subsequent anti-semitic campaigns of Poland left very few Jews there after 1968.

Antopol is the smallest community in our sample, and typifies the pre-World War II European shtetl whose Jewish population constitutes a majority in the small town. The census of 1921 shows 1792 of the 2206 inhabitants of the town to be Jews, and the 1897 count found 3137 Jewish citizens in the total population of 3867 (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1928-34; Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia, 1906-14). A Polish geographical dictionary (Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego, 1880-1904) characterizes the wealth and enterprise of the Jewish factory owners in Antopol, but a more recent source adds information about a loan fund that supports close to 200 members in 1924 (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1928-34). Probably because of its size, Antopol is excluded from most maps of Jewish Eastern Europe and from the most recent edition of the Encyclopedia Judaica (1972), a standard reference work which is the main source for the remaining summaries. However, the Antopol memorial book (Ayalon, 1972) attests to the magnitude of diversified activities in the old home and the new one, America.

The industrial city of Bialystok also accommodated a relatively large percentage of Jews, many of whom contributed to the large textile industry from the middle of the nineteenth century. The Jewish labor movement, the various Zionist ideologies, and modern educational institutions were supported by the Jewish population. In 1932, this population numbered 46,000 out of an estimated total of 91,000, while the end of World War II found approximately 1100 Jews

residing in the city (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972; see also Shmulewitz, 1982; Sohn, 1951).

The 2000 or so Jews in Czestochowa in 1946 represented a remnant of a once active Jewish community, officially established in 1808. By 1900, thirty per cent of the total population was Jewish, and a large network of social and educational institutions flourished in the city until the war (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972; see also Mahler, 1947; Singer, 1958).

To the south and west of Czestochowa by 25 miles is Lodz, a textile metropolis whose Jewish population played an active role in this industry. Although not accorded the same position as Warsaw, for example, in terms of being a creative Jewish center, Lodz pioneered a considerable array of cultural and political trends. From eleven Jews in Lodz in 1793, the number rises to over 200,000 in 1931, representing a third of the general population. In 1945, when the Soviet army liberated Lodz, 900 Jews were found in the city which was later to be repopulated by Jews who had escaped the Holocaust period in the Soviet Union. Several waves of emigration, both voluntary and forced, from Poland leaves a considerably shrunken Jewish population in Lodz today (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972; see also Dobroszycki, 1984; Lodzer Centre in Melbourne, 1974; United Emergency Relief Committee for the City of Lodz, 1943).

Of the localities being studied, the city of Minsk probably still has the largest number of Jewish inhabitants today, with an estimated fifty to sixty thousand in 1959. Minsk, the capital of Belorussia in the Soviet Union, was once an important community whose Jewish religious and communal institutions were repressed by the Soviet government when the regime came into power. An estimated 100,000 Jews met the German forces that entered the city in 1941 (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972; see also Even-Shoshan, 1975).

Poland's capital, Warsaw, was headquarters to the country's Jewish movements and ideologies, the arts and scholarship, political and religious parties, and the press. This makes it impossible to draw a synopsis of the social and cultural developments of Warsaw's Jewry. At the outbreak of World War II, 400,000 Jews were to be found in Warsaw, constituting one third of the city. Thirty years later, following Hitler's decimation of Warsaw Jewry and the post-war Polish government's anti-semitic policies, an estimated 5000 Jews remained in 1969 (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972; see also Katz et al., 1955).

This brief sketch traces the properties of our six East European communities. Yet, importantly, even these general outlines can not be assumed to form a common base of knowledge shared by landsmanshaft members. In fact, awareness of the historical position of their organization's namesake in Europe varies as does landslayt's evaluations of their connectedness to this town or city of origin. Just a few illustrations will suffice before proceeding to systematically describe the structure and orientations of landsmanshaftn today.

As one example, the younger American-born leaders of today's organization do not necessarily know the geographical or historical dimensions of their communities. In the case of Lodz, this major urban center is mistakenly referred to as a small town by some of the second or third generation members. As for first generation immigrants, such as the survivors of the Holocaust who settled in New York in the 1940's, their Lodz is different from the city remembered by the pre-World War I immigrant generation. Yet another group of Lodz landslayt choose to recall their home in Lodz only in terms of their incarceration in the Lodz Ghetto during World War II, and have named their landsmanshaft accordingly. For others, Lodz is remembered for its religious Orthodox community, whose commemoration and preservation is the basis for a separate organization.

Additional observations by activists from two Lodz women's associations point out that organizational dedication and activity is not related to any favorable attraction to Lodz per se. On the contrary, memories of the city left behind also carry with them reminders of unpleasant and difficult experiences that often precipitated the journey made to America.

In sum, the landsmanshaft represents a core institution where American Jewish ethnicity persists. Both these components, Jewishness and Americanness, are synthesized in the organization's provision of mutual aid and fellowship. Alternative explanations other than collective solidarity with the city or town of origin need to be found, based on the markers of affiliation which the data reveal.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

The magnitude and diversity of New York landsmanshaftn, when studied systematically, can be arranged according to a schema of organizational types. In 1938, the investigation led by Rontch uncovered a typology of landsmanshaft bodies that reflected the circumstances and needs of different immigrant generations since the mid-nineteenth century.

Rontch (1939) summarizes these types, beginning with the ansheys or khevres. As religious landsmanshaftn of people from a specific locality (anshey meaning "people of," kevre mainly referring to congregation), these initially formed around a synagogue which also served as headquarters. Though principally religious in character, these associations also share some of the mutual aid and relief properties of other types of groups.

The second category, which Rontch labels societies, encompasses landsmanshaftn that typically prevailed soon after the anshey. Usually these groups did not officially identify religiously. Their names carry such designations as "Progressive," "Independent," "Sick and Benevolent Society," "Young Men's." Related to these developments is the growth of the third section in Rontch's typology, the women's societies. Sometimes as affiliates to the mainly male-dominated societies, though also working independently in some instances, the women's organizations carried forth with social and charitable activities. As their name implies, the ladies auxiliaries were a division of the men's organization. On the other hand, the ladies aid or benevolent societies had their own set of benefits and membership requirements as outlined in their particular constitutions.

Another manner of affiliation was evidenced in the coalition of numerous landsmanshaftn with various Jewish fraternal orders. These parent organizations were often characterized by distinct political principles, either based on labor movement ideology or Zionist orientations. Other national Jewish orders such as the Brith Abraham, at one time the largest American Jewish fraternity, were non-ideological. Landsmanshaftn functioned as European hometown-based branches of these larger networks.

The next class of landsmanshaft-type associations incorporates what Rontch calls name societies and family circles. These conform to much of the same organizational structure as the landsmanshaftn, even as they choose to be identified in their titles with either a family name or that of a distinguished individual they wish to honor. In following the extension of the landsmanshaft principle to these non-locality groups, it is worthwhile to note the overlap between kin and landslajt, especially when considering small towns or villages.

Connections to the town or city of origin were also manifested in the formation of separate associations that sent aid to the native community. Particularly during pogroms and wartime, specific relief organizations launched active fundraising campaigns, sometimes succeeding to unify several independent landsmanshaftn in this goal. A subgroup of these relief organizations developed as a result of these efforts, and was noted by Rontch who identified these groups as patronati, or emergency committees whose task was to support political prisoners in Poland.

An assortment of landsmanshaft-type clubs completes Rontch's list. These include occupationally-linked groupings and organizations formed to specifically provide loans or credit to members. The strength of members' geographical link to a common hometown varied, but the landsmanshaft principle was widely borrowed and evident.²

Of the classes of landsmanshaft bodies described in 1938, representatives of each subdivision currently remain. Based on the groups for which archival or interview data were obtained, including data from meetings with leaders of Jewish communal bodies, landsmanshaftn today retain these models of different organizational orientations. Inevitably, the form and distribution of some of these landsmanshaft types has undergone a certain degree of alteration. A collective portrait of landsmanshaft organizations covered in this study offers evidence of the maintenance and shift in patterns of affiliation. The complete table of organizations studied and interviews conducted for this purpose appears in Appendix C.³ After describing this sample as a whole, this section proceeds to present findings for selected groups as related to the topics at hand.

Beginning with Antopol, interviews with twelve individuals elicited information on six Antopol landsmanshaftn. This roster aptly demonstrates the

validity of Rontch's proposed classification: Antopoler Ladies of Harlem, Antopoler Society of Harlem, Antopol Social and Benevolent Society, Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association, Chevra Anshei Antopolier. The sixth group was referred to by one respondent, upon being questioned as to which organization the family supports, as the Antopoler Society. This respondent, whose charitable family has donated generously to Antopol causes and institutions, was known but not claimed as a member by other landsmanshaft leaders. This suggests that the family may, in fact, be the surviving delegates of an additional organization called the Antopoler Society. Alternatively, their participation may not be limited to a particular formal group; rather, it may be that they see themselves as part of a more far-reaching Antopol community that is not delimited by organizational boundaries.

This expression of a more universal sense of social solidarity with fellow townspeople also surfaces among some Bialystok descendants in America. This city generated 46 organizations according to one account (Shmulewitz, 1982). In this study, nine existing groups were located and eleven individuals were approached. The landsmanshaftn include the Bialystoker Bricklayers Benevolent Association, Bialystoker Cutters Social Club, Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary, the Bialystoker Synagogue, Bialystoker Unterstutzungs Verein Somach Noflim, Bialystoker Young Men's Association, Bialystoker Branch 88 of the Workmen's Circle, and a Bialystoker branch of the Farband Labor Zionist Alliance that was not possible to trace fully. For some of these landsmanshaftn, the pivotal institution which provides a foundation for their work is the Bialystoker Center. This building, still standing and functioning as a convalescent home for the aged on New York's Lower East Side, directs the efforts of many Bialystok groups toward support of the facility and of numerous other projects, especially in

Israel. The Center is itself a conglomerate of various older landsmanshaftn, including the Bikur Cholim (modeled after the traditional society for visiting the sick) and the Bialystoker Home for the Aged.

Even recently, a merger with landsmanshaftn of residents from towns surrounding Bialystok has been effected, resulting in the newly formed Bialystoker-Grodner Memorial Committee. Perhaps because of the building's steady presence since 1927, seen as a meeting hall for interested groups or potential living quarters for elderly landslayt, the Bialystoker Center also assumes the role of being the core Bialystok landsmanshaft. The strain of resisting this centralization while acknowledging its advantages is a relevant issue for the existing Bialystok groups.

A tangible sign of Czestochowa landsmanshaft activity remains on New York's Lower East Side in the form of a surviving synagogue building known as Congregation Czenstochauer Chasam Sopher W'Anshei Unterstanestier, in its full name. This reminder of the past existence of a Czestochowa khevre is, however, hardly known any longer to other Czestochowa groups. In addition to the synagogue, four other organizations represented by a total of ten individuals were surveyed: Chenstochover Circle of Brooklyn, Czenstochauer Young Men which presently subsumes the United Czenstochower Relief Committee, and a branch of the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies, a fraternal order that grew out of the restructuring of the Jewish wing of the International Workers Order after its liquidation during the McCarthy assault on its radical political stance (see Zaltsman, 1941). The Czestochowa branch of the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies has actually combined the dropping membership of several other branches located in the Bronx, New York and is officially called Lodzer-Williamsbridger-Chenstochover-Middle Bronx Fraternal Society.

In addition to the above mentioned affiliation, Lodz is also represented in several other national orders. The Farband Labor Zionist Alliance, formerly known as the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, includes geographically-based branches. However, today Lodz has delegates in various sectors of this order that are not recognizably differentiated by territory. This is the case for Masada branch 403, where a large proportion of members stem from Lodz, but their more visible loyalties are a convergence of their identification as Holocaust survivors who support the Farband's commitment to Socialist Zionism and Yiddish culture (see Jewish National Workers Alliance, 1946; Katzman, 1975). Another national fraternal order to admit landsmanshaft branches was the Workmen's Circle, whose original mandate was to bridge the American immigrant's concerns as laborer and secular Jew. Workmen's Circle supporters from Lodz formed Branch 324 as well as Lodzer Ladies Branch 324B, both of which were contributing forces in the work of the United Emergency Relief Committee for the City of Lodz, an organization that coordinated the publication of a memorial book (1943).

The 1938 typology is reflected in interview reports I gathered on the Associated Lodzer Ladies Aid, the Lodzer Chevra Agudath Achim, Lodzer Friends Benevolent Society, Lodzer Young Ladies Aid Association, Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society, almost all of which still exist. Two newer organizations could not have been anticipated by Rontch, for they are landsmanshaftn of Lodz survivors of the Nazi Holocaust: American Research Council to Commemorate the Jewish Community of Lodz, American Society of Jews Liberated from Ghetto Lodz. The World Gathering of Lodzer Holocaust Survivors, though really an assembly that took place in August 1984, also involved the federation of several organizations to create this new body.

Thirteen respondents contributed information on twelve organizations in the present study.

Unlike Lodz, a city whose citizens continued to arrive in the United States up until recent years, emigration from Minsk virtually stopped in the 1920's because of Russia's restrictive policies. As a result, no new influx of members repopulated the Minsk landsmanshaftn. Present organizations for whom information was collected number seven, plus an eighth now disbanded women's organization. The varieties of bases for establishment and operation are intimated by their names: Congregation Chai Odom Anshe Minsk, First Minsker Young Men's Society of Brooklyn, Independent Minsker Brothers, Minsker Ladies Benevolent Society, Minsker Independent Benevolent Association, Minsker Young Friends Benevolent Association, Minsker Young Men's Commercial Aid Association, Minsker Branch 507 of the Workmen's Circle. Here, each landsmanshaft was matched up with one respondent per group.

In an earlier section, the past numerical prominence of Warsaw landsmanshaftn was noted. The tallies of the United Jewish Appeal and Israel Bonds offices are also high, although a percentage of the groups contacted subsequent to examining these rosters appeared to have ceased functioning. The range of Warsaw landsmanshaftn explored were: American Council for Warsaw Jews, First Warshauer Association, First Warshauer Congregation, First Warschauer I.M. Baumgold Society, Independent Warshauer Linas Hazedek, Ochoter Warshauer Young Men's Progressive Society, Povonsker Warschauer Young Men's Benevolent Association, Prager Warshauer Young Men's Aid Society, Sam Frankel Benevolent Society, United Warshauer Sick and Benevolent Society, Warshauer Benevolent Society, Warshauer Brotherly Love Benevolent Society, Warshauer Sick and Benevolent Society, Warshauer Sick Support Society, Warshauer Young

Friends Beneficial Association of Brownsville, and a Workmen's Circle branch whose full title is Warsaw-Mlaver-Tlumatcher-Rakover-Opatoshu Branch #386-639.

Hitherto undocumented according to our data, Rontch's identification of name societies is confirmed by the Warsaw groups. The list also highlights the significance of neighborhood as a reference point for members. We find suburbs of Warsaw connoted in several hyphenated group names, as well as the specification of New York City neighborhoods that generated their own American associations. An addition to the list is WAGRO, or Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization, though its representatives prefer to downplay the Warsaw affiliation in favor of the group's leadership in implementing community-wide Holocaust memorials. Group interviews and the availability of multiple informants able to discuss their organizations resulted in 28 exchanges about 17 organizations.

The results of this survey show the accuracy of Rontch's framework of landsmanshaft types, even in the more condensed aggregate available for study today. However, it is important to note the decrease not only in the quantity of organizations, but also in the nature of their activity. The original and unique purpose of the organization may be retained in its name, but not necessarily in its actual work, as in the case of the Chevra Anshe Antopolier, for example, which no longer concentrates around its own religious congregation. Another illustration is the "young men's" societies whose membership is largely a senior citizen population that also now includes women. In general, discounting the post-World War II survivor groups, both smaller membership and decreased frequency of meetings characterize the landsmanshaftn scene. Exceptions to this trend are found in organizations like the Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary and

the Minsker Young Friends who still meet regularly, weekly or biweekly, in part because they have access to a durable leadership and headquarters.

A comparison with the 1938 findings is obviously limited by the selection process used in giving rise to the present data. However, based on the sample at our disposal, the general inclination toward a lessened landsmanshaft population is especially and markedly exhibited by the decrease in landsmanshaftn affiliated with larger orders, in women's landsmanshaftn (although women's participation in men's organizations has intensified), and in united relief organizations.⁴

With regard to the longevity of umbrella organizations, it is not surprising that this aspect of landsmanshaft development is least enduring. That which remains today of the organizational types, in addition to serving as a sign of the vitality of earlier years, also reminds us that insulated and independent work is more the rule. The historical records in the Yivo's Landsmanshaftn Archives show that numerous federations and councils of landsmanshaftn crop up to intervene in crisis situations, for example, or to lobby as a political body (LMSA, RG 123; Committee of Jewish Landsmanshaftn and Societies, Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations, United Committee for Jewish Societies and Landsmanshaftn Federations). Some of these are created to coordinate organizations of a larger geographic territory, such as the Bessarabian Federation of American Jews (LMSA, RG 1028) or the American Federation of Polish Jews. The minutes of this latter organization for September 1944 indicate that the precedent of separate fundraising was difficult to overcome: "At one time we could get something from landsmanshaftn. Today, it is closed. They are very tight, and won't give a penny unless forced to" (LMSA, RG 1015).

A similar problem is echoed in the proceedings of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, a welfare agency which established a landsman-

shaftn department to synchronize and channel the relief activities under one sponsorship (see Handlin, 1964). In the aftermath of World War II, for example, aid sent to refugees in Europe by individual American landsmanshaftn is seen to detract from the effectiveness of the Joint in funneling monies in a cooperative manner (Records of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Landsmanshaftn Department, Folder 601, 13 November 1947). Later, the Joint publicly geared its efforts to becoming a central bureau for immigration problems and for the location of survivors, but it could not harness the energies of landsmanshaftn who independently pursued their own interests in communicating with European landslayt. It is noted that the displaced persons camps in Europe are organized in landsmanshaft fashion, and letters flow between these and American-based societies without regard for the institutional channels established by the Joint to avoid what it sees as wasteful duplication of efforts (Records of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Landsmanshaftn Department, Folder 527, 25 October 1946; Folder 528, 8 August 1947).

This penchant for individualized responsibility and action is seen in the case of the American Council for Warsaw Jews, for example, to contribute to the group's demise. Not only landsmanshaftn representing a large geographic area, but in this case several organizations affiliated with the one major city of Warsaw pledged to come together in 1942 under one banner. According to my informant, an active fundraiser for the Council, factional splits could not be contained and the organization could not survive the stress of pulls in different political directions (American Council for Warsaw Jews).

The groups' continuation was also threatened by the historical realities which contradicted one of its primary aims: to rehabilitate Jewish institutions in

Warsaw at the war's end by means of the united and concerted effort of American landsmanshaftn and affiliated individuals. The original goals as stated in resolutions and programs did not overlook supporting American institutions, including the Haym Solomon Warschauer Home, or upholding the name and deeds of Warsaw Jewry for future generations (LMSA, RG 1041). However, the initial vision of rebuilding Jewish Warsaw was undeniably challenged when a delegation of the Council visited post-war Poland and found its reconstruction a hopeless task, according to my informant. Organizational priorities were not flexible enough, and the American Council for Warsaw Jews dissolved in the 1950's.

A more current development in the American Jewish community shows how external events can work to transform organizational functions. The Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization, WAGRO, formed in 1963 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising (Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization, 1981). The annual April commemoration held in New York City, which WAGRO is instrumental in coordinating, has become a ceremony paying tribute to all the victims of the Holocaust. At recent gatherings of Holocaust survivors in Jerusalem, Washington D.C. and Philadelphia, representatives of WAGRO's executive committee also provide leadership for the newly consolidated American Gathering and Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. Its agenda reflects the shifts and broadening of organizational concerns, which now entail remembrance of the Holocaust, support of Israel, participation in American Jewish life, solidarity with Soviet Jewry, combatting anti-semitism, pursuing Nazi criminals, defending freedom, and collating a national register of Holocaust survivors (Remembrance and Responsibility: An Agenda for Survivors, 1985). The success of this newest of attempts at consolidation and accomodation has yet to be measured.

As has already been noted earlier, the organizational contexts for expression of ethnic identification that landsmanshaftn provide are varied. Different priorities motivate the course of association, differences that are sustained even today when many of the original founders and the organizational paths they intended are forgotten. Bearing in mind the variety of affiliational behavior which the landsmanshaft model embodies, a range which we have recognized as a possible hindrance to cooperative action or organizational continuity when groups remain steadfast in their individuality, it is also important to discover the shared themes of landsmanshaft existence. The backbone of landsmanshaft organizational structure that is common to all groups includes their role in the arrangement of burial, the help and self-help activities in times of need, and the provision of a social center for members.

The primary benefit supplied by landsmanshaftn that today still draws some new members into an organization is the reservation of gravesites and the assurance of a proper Jewish funeral. This important characteristic of American landsmanshaftn finds no parallel in Israel, interestingly, where burial is overseen by the State's Ministry of Religious Affairs. American landsmanshaftn constitutions, usually prepared in Yiddish in their original form with subsequent versions adopting a bilingual text or only English translation, detail the customary procedures. This includes the traditional burial practices, but also the delineation of appropriate organizational responsibilities upon the death of a member. For example, one such handbook declares that in such an event, the secretary must announce the time and place of the funeral in two Yiddish newspapers, morning and afternoon, and postcards are sent to all members to attend. Moreover, a fine will be imposed on any member who does not come to the funeral. If the decedent is buried in another society's cemetery, the

organization is not required to meet any other expenses (LMSA, RG 895:Bogopolier Unterstutzungs Verein). The other costs with which landsmanshaftn assist can include a sum that is distributed to the surviving spouse to help cover charges related to the burial, and allocation of money to compensate family members who observe the traditional Jewish seven days of mourning and do not go to work.

Today, amounts which were stipulated for these benefits in earlier years hardly suffice. Both this allocation of funds and the appointment of special committees to oversee funerals have become outdated. Today, there is more likely to be one officer in charge of assigning gravesites who contacts the organization's funeral parlor when informed by the family of a death. Even organizations that no longer meet still retain this aspect of their former activity when a cemetery committee would have convened monthly, and when plots that sometimes now remain in surplus were bought up in anticipation of ministering to a growing membership. Still, the present level of burial obligations which even weaker landsmanshaftn fulfill for members is not to be lightly dismissed. Interviewees who currently hold the books that map out the placement of graves relate that requests are made by family members and children to be buried alongside their relatives, and that this symbolic act prompts the younger generations to join (Antopoler Society of Harlem; Congregation Czenstochauer Chasam Soper; Czenstochauer Young Men; Ochoter Warschauer Young Men's Progressive Society). One such officer who keeps a computerized list of what he calls the "unburied" members in his Manhattan law office observes that the landsmanshaft experience embraced the route from friendship to burial: members wanted to be together in life and in death (Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association).

Other characteristics of the mutual aid obligations of these organizations remain in some form, but are more likely now to be activated on an ad hoc basis or in a new manner. For example, the doctor's services and sick benefits provided by landsmanshaftn are now mainly superseded by widely available insurance policies. Interest-free loans were offered to needy members, and special funds existed to enable landslayt in America or Europe to make necessary preparations for Jewish holidays. These allocations exist, but the practice now includes sending this kind of relief to Israel. Societies do assist members in need, especially the elderly. When dues can not be met, for example, societies will suspend or reduce them. This may also happen if the treasury is deemed adequate enough for the expected future costs of a small organization seen to have a limited lifespan.

This vision of organizational evolution and impending decline is not shared by all landsmanshaftn today, nor was it reflected in the original nature of landsmanshaft group life. For example, a post-World War II newcomer to the Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society recalls the opposition on the part of the oldtimers to his proposed amendment to discontinue the age limit posed at the organization's inception as a condition of membership. His arguments were grounded in a different view of organizational purpose and were set in a different time, eighty years after the immigrant founders. For one thing, the newer wave of Lodzer "could not join past the age of forty as a regular member. You could have joined as an associate member without benefits. So they turned away a lot of our people from the organization." After the war, the newcomers were too busy getting settled to be able to get involved organizationally:

The first ten years people were busy with themselves. They had to run to work, you had children. You couldn't go to a meeting, you know. So when they had the time to

go to meetings, and they were looking for organizations, at that time already, most of us were past forty.

With his election as president, this gentleman revised the constitution, raising the membership eligibility age to sixty and eliminating the examination by the society doctor to assert prospective members' good health (Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society).

The whole issue of supporting the sick is an interesting example of overall changes in landsmanshaft structure. In addition to benefits and the services of a society doctor, landsmanshaftn had hospitaler (pronounced hospiteyler) who visited ailing members and helped facilitate the distribution of aid. But as one leader of a Bialystok landsmanshaft notes, the office of hospitaler not only institutionalized the traditional Jewish prescription of visiting the sick, but it also was a way to "check out" and confirm the ailments of the potential recipient of sick benefits (Bialystoker Young Men's Association). The records show that multiple hospitalers functioned in some societies, each responsible for a different borough or assigned by gender.

Today, when no hospitaler exists in a group, illnesses may be announced at meetings, as are deaths. At one gathering I attended of a Workmen's Circle branch, participants were asked to stand for a moment of silence in tribute to members who had passed away. One of the officers of that group also attends all funerals of members as a representative of the branch. In general, officers today may be burdened with several tasks that previously were the shared responsibilities of many. The list of nominations at a meeting of the Czenstochauer Young Men where I was present indicates the various posts: president, vice-president, financial secretary, recording secretary, treasurer, trustees, chairman of the cemetery and membership committees, inner guard.

Judging from the comments made by one of the only members there who would remember earlier years, these positions once carried greater meaning: "There was a time when there were fights on the floor - everyone wanted to be an officer; today, people don't want to accept nominations and be officers" (Czenstochauer Young Men). In other organizations, this roster of officers is much abridged, reflecting changes in organizational structure and needs.

In addition to landsmanshaft adherence to principles of burial and mutual aid, even as the manifestations of these practices vary, another common and central tenet is philanthropy. Here, too, patterns of giving have undergone changes over years of organizational existence. Despite the claims about accumulated treasuries that remain out of reach to the community at large, the rule is to donate to numerous charitable causes. Contributions are made locally to Jewish and non-Jewish American organizations, and Israel is the other major recipient of landsmanshaft funds. One group's records, the Associated Lodzer Ladies Aid Society, show that allocations in 1969 were distributed to aid Magen David Adom (Israel's ambulance squad), March of Dimes, research in cancer and muscular dystrophy, and the United Jewish Appeal (LMSA, RG 966). As for the native country, this concern has been largely abandoned today, understandably, although some organizations still support the few Jews that may remain in their European communities, as reported in a recent issue of the Bialystoker Center's publication, Bialystoker Shtimme (1984). Since World War II, however, Israel's enterprises and institutions have largely replaced the prior charities.

The nature of participation in landsmanshaftn can be tracked in the alliance of these groups with Israel, especially in the relationships with fundraising bodies for Israel. Although histories of the United Jewish Appeal (see Karp, 1981; Lurie, 1961; Raphael, 1982) virtually ignore the division which

solicits monies from the landsmanshaftn and other lodges, called the Council of Organizations, this office was instrumental in bringing the masses of the American Jewish public into the Jewish fundraising arena. The landsmanshaft sector's commitment to aiding Israel is highly visible. Once they financed the institutions and needs of their hometowns (see for example Szajkowski, 1965; 1967; 1970), when "the chief activity of the landsmanshaftn is to render aid to their native towns" (Rontch, 1939:375). Today, their names appear on projects and buildings in Israel.

The director of the United Jewish Appeal's Council of Organizations, who aptly observed that "it's hard to get their money, as it's hard to get their history," described that the first meeting of the newly formed Council in 1939 brought out 3500 representatives from 7500 organizations. He observes, furthermore, that along with the shift to support of Israel comes a different emphasis on the kind of aid that is rendered. In the past, landsmanshaftn bolstered their town's schools, the synagogue, and other communal institutions that improved the quality of life. For Israel, they lean towards support of hospitals and old age homes, though not solely, perhaps reflecting their own predispositions at this stage in their lives (Council of Organizations, United Jewish Appeal-Federation Campaign).⁵

More than anything else, it was the Second World War and the shocking destruction of Jewish life in Europe that reshaped the character of the landsmanshaft's orientations, philanthropic and otherwise. The focus of landsmanshaft affiliations now would encompass the well-being of Israel, in addition to relations with the country of origin and the country of settlement. This triangle of concerns appears in one group's meeting notice for September 1948, written in Yiddish, urging members to attend the meeting to help decide:

1) should we help the Jews in Israel? 2) should we also help our landslayt in the old home? if so, how? 3) should we join the central relief organization of American landslayt, or should our relief efforts be conducted independently? (AJA: United Brahiner and Vicinity Relief Committee of Philadelphia, Box 1811). This document aptly represents the concerns of most landsmanshaftn, especially after World War II, upon witnessing the destruction of their European hometowns and the rise of the State of Israel.

The influences on variations in landsmanshaft responses to issues and events, when traced, include the flow of information between organizations and the public opinion process which involves decision-making on the part of landsmanshaft leaders. These proceedings, which are evident in the written and oral testimony on landsmanshaft meetings, will be discussed in a further section on the nature of landsmanshaft leadership. For now, we continue to examine the organizational behavior which characterizes landsmanshaft activity today.

Meetings, for example, illustrate the third major component of landsmanshaft existence, namely the opportunity which landsmanshaftn provide for companionship and fellowship. As a social gathering, the landsmanshaft meeting was an important event in the past. With few exceptions, respondents in my sample speak of the gradual decline in the regularity of meetings. Weekly meetings in a neighborhood meeting hall on a weekday night, once the common pattern, were reduced to a norm of twice monthly meetings by the 1930's (Rontch, 1939). Today, for example, there are societies who meet annually on a Sunday afternoon, in a centrally located Manhattan restaurant or hotel, so that business matters can be aired and to allow contact between the dispersed membership.

Annual meetings, in the past, were more likely to be reserved for special occasions such as society balls or picnics, cultural events or theater benefits. These larger scale gatherings, particularly the anniversary banquets and fund-raising dinners, produce souvenir journals whose contents include histories of the organization as well as evidence of the group's evolution as perceived by its own members. The anniversary jubilee book of the Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society (1977) depicts the organization as having "moved from a 'provincial' entity to finally emerge into the broad stream of Jewish and American life as a powerful force for good." The narrative proceeds to describe affiliations with other American organizations, as well as with organizations concerned with the State of Israel. The language of this particular document is English, this choice being another marker of organizational evolution and acclimatization.

The apportionment of Yiddish, English and other languages is not an unimportant factor in the organizational identity of landsmanshaftn, and is sometimes a source of friction among members. In the case of this same landsmanshaft, which is called the Lodzer Young Men's by its affiliates, the language of its publications and meetings is English. As an organization currently comprised mainly of post-World War II immigrants, it is one of the more active landsmanshaft groups with well-attended monthly meetings, with about 250 members, many of whom come to the meetings held in a Jewish center in Queens.

According to this group's representative, there is overlap between formal and informal patterns of association in the group. When I inquired as to the average length of the meeting, for example, the response indicated that the conclusion of the official meeting is likely to spill over into a card playing session among friends (Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society). Respondents

from other groups also fondly remember how a meeting's end would be a signal for those who lingered to enjoy each other's company at a nearby restaurant or cafe (Bialystoker Bricklayers Benevolent Association; Povonsker-Warschauer Young Men's Benevolent Association). Moreover, proximity of residence and close friendship ties can mean that relationships are pursued also outside of the framework of the formal landsmanshaft meeting. Even the deliberations of the meetings themselves are perceived by some as subservient to the opportunity for camaraderie and communication: "What we discuss is unimportant, as long as we get a chance to talk with one another" (Workmen's Circle Bialystok Branch #88). Since these facts are summoned up retrospectively, it is important to judge them cautiously. Nonetheless, the selection of these kinds of memories is a sign of how organizational life is remembered and reconstructed.

When respondents describe not only meetings, but their location, it is clear that this is also a factor in landsmanshaft metamorphosis. Landsmanshaft meeting halls in Manhattan, whose predecessors were the synagogue buildings which also served as headquarters in the earlier years, had meeting rooms and lockers which housed the documents and supplies of numerous organizations. Today, some landsmanshaftn utilize the Free Sons of Israel building in lower Manhattan, as I witnessed during one Sunday afternoon, which retains the buzz of activity which once was a more common occurrence. Groups also meet in a Manhattan hotel or restaurant; others arrange their gatherings in boroughs where a majority of members presently reside. As membership dwindles and hotel room costs rise, the United Jewish Appeal has offered its offices for organizational get-togethers. One group objects to this inevitable development, in its minutes, fearing that the setting will restrict members and not encourage the desired atmosphere: "We just want our Sisters to come together and spend an enjoyable

social afternoon" (LMSA, RG 966: Associated Lodzer Ladies Aid Society, Box 1, Folder 3, 9 November 1971). For another group, meeting in the home of one of the officers is a dissatisfying arrangement for one respondent. His evaluation is that a private home inhibits the usual manner of society meetings, because it is not a neutral environment. His remarks indicate there are rules for acceptable behavior at meetings, where one is "free to talk and act" in ways for which someone's living room is less favorable (Lodzer Chevra Agudath Achim).

In comparing the texture of meetings today with earlier years, it is not uncommon to hear delegates describe past realities in a nostalgic tone. This is especially true for now weaker landsmanshaftn, even when respondents include episodes that show clashes and discord within the landsmanshaft, something which not all informants are likely to admit without prodding. The recollection of the strength of fellowship and interpersonal relationships in the past represents to many informants the proper mode required for the vitality of present day organizations. Similarly, the organizations that are indeed most active today tend to accept this assignment of their major task as being to serve as a center for communication among members of the group. Thus, despite differences in their manifest goals -- prayer, social welfare, memorializing, political action -- landsmanshaftn play a role in the maintenance of communication and, therefore, of community.

In addition to the nature of communication within the group, communication that occurs between organizations is an important consideration in measuring the ethnic identification of landsmanshaftn, since a particular landsmanshaft's political orientations or cultural background will be reflected in its contributions and endorsements. This network of affiliations has a reciprocal effect on landsmanshaft continuity. The connections that are fostered with

other organizations, be it the associated federation of regional landsmanshaftn, the united relief fronts, or the charity organizations receiving landsmanshaft aid, will have consequences for the reformulation of landsmanshaft identity. In today's landsmanshaft scene, the interconnectedness is most evident in the sphere of support for Israel.

As our sample selection process showed, an overwhelming majority of landsmanshaftn under study are allied with the fundraising bodies for Israel. This relationship, for some groups, is their sole remaining tie with the larger American Jewish community. As organizations, landsmanshaftn are recruited to join various campaigns for Israeli projects. Solicitations on the part of the United Jewish Appeal and the Bonds for Israel, as well as from the Jewish National Fund or the Israel Histadrut Campaign on a smaller scale, occur in many forms. In one case, the Czenstochauer Young Mens, a meeting I attended was visited by an emissary from the Bonds office who delivered an emotional speech in Yiddish about the current crisis in Israel. The otherwise boisterous and bantering crowd was strikingly quieted by the man's appeal. Previous to his appearance, at the same meeting, one item on the agenda due to be settled was the plans for an upcoming testimonial dinner at which monies would be raised for the United Jewish Appeal by honoring an active couple in the organization.

Fundraising for Israel, particularly through institutional channels and for targeted projects, is a major characteristic of strong landsmanshaftn today. However, the communal agencies responsible for coordinating these efforts do not actively cultivate cooperation among the landsmanshaftn. In other words, the UJA or Israel Bonds divisions that canvas the landsmanshaftn facilitate the transfer of dollars, but they do not foster a feeling of joint venture among landsmanshaftn. Instead, these offices deal with individual landsmanshaftn and a

corps of individual volunteers from these organizations. The groups are brought together only on rare occasions, such as annual banquets or festivals, and this contributes to a rather weak sense of a united landsmanshaft community.

My attendance at one such gathering confirmed the observations of one staff member of the UJA Council of Organizations, who remarked that the lack of collective spirit across landsmanshaftn is as much the result of his division's policy as the groups' insular tendencies. The Council is, in actuality, designed to be more than a fundraising arm of the United Jewish Appeal, and in his experience it is the address people know for information on issues relevant to the European Jewish immigrant sector of New York Jewry. However, in past years, when educational and cultural services would have met the needs of a sizable and concentrated landsmanshaft membership, the Council neglected their search for cultural roots. "We could have drawn them in, but we ignored them" (Council of Organizations, United Jewish Appeal-Federation Campaign). In their own assessments, leaders of the organizations that oversee fundraising admit that landsmanshaftn are judged as operant only according to their prospects as donors.

The centrality of Israel support has largely been accepted by landsmanshaftn, even by those who once rejected this priority. Even more interesting, I feel, is the fact that despite their vigorous support of Israel, including as prime builders of the Museum of the Diaspora in Tel Aviv, a major cultural institution and tourist attraction, few of my interviewees can claim to have even visited the country, or to have any direct contact with Israeli landsmanshaft groups. In fact, with some rare exceptions, generalized giving to Israel on the part of American landsmanshaftn has overtaken a sense of personal obligation to Israeli landslayt. This adaptation of organizational principles away from hometown

relief and mutual aid toward endorsement of Israeli causes can lead to new definitions of original landsmanshaft precepts: "We're using up the money for the purpose that the organization was formed, for the betterment of Israel and Jewishness." The aims of this particular organization are further reinterpreted: "The society was formed to help Israel and do for Israel, and that's what we're doing..." (Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association). This society, at the time of its incorporation in New York in 1906, was like most others in not being directed towards aid to Palestine, but rather dedicated

to assemble together for holding meetings or the discussion of the means to improve the social, moral, and intellectual conditions of the members, to voluntarily aid and assist needy members in case of sickness and distress. (AJHS, Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association, Certificate of Incorporation)

This reformulation of goals is a new pattern of behavior which American Jewish landsmanshaftn exhibit.

In addition to the continuity and maintenance of already established groups, be it in altered forms, there are signs of landsmanshaft organizational growth in new and varied contexts. Where do we find these developments? In one example, sons and daughters of Holocaust survivors from the city of Piotrkow recently formed a separate organization, holding meetings independently. The young adult members of one fraternal organization, Bnai Zion, are intent on building what they call a "new landsmanshaft," patterned after the traditional standards of community and belonging. In Florida, branches of older landsmanshaftn transplanted from New York exist.

The range of organizational behavior that emerges from the landsmanshaft model shows shifts in issues and priorities. In order to understand the role which landsmanshaftn play as vehicles of continuity and change, it is important to view

ethnicity and community as constantly evolving entities. The contribution of communication to patterns of ethnicity and community will be considered, after the following discussion on the parameters of affiliations and involvements of individual leaders of landsmanshaft organizations.

THE INDIVIDUAL CONTEXT

The landsmanshaft organizational climate shows the line of continuity that links original goals with modified forms of affiliation evident today. This setting indicates a noticeable reassessment of American Jewish priorities grounded in an established organizational form of community identification. In a similar vein, the social characteristics of individuals involved in landsmanshaft work at the present time reflects a new environment for leadership. Indeed, perhaps even more than on the organizational level, it is on the level of the individual leadership that the range of general characteristics and specific qualities relating to landsmanshaft activity is unexpectedly diverse. The spectrum of individual involvement is summarized in this section through a discussion of selected examples, and the chapters ahead analyze some of the stimuli for change in landsmanshaftn, including the role of communication in members' participation.

Representatives of the groups under study were chosen as key informants because of their level of organizational involvement. In some cases, their designation as leaders derives from efforts, sometimes exclusively theirs, to maintain the minimal organizational functions of their group. In other examples, these are highly active men and women who visibly guide their constituents through the world of American Jewish organizational dynamics. For the possible

configurations of landsmanshaft leadership that exist, the potential influences of interpersonal and mass communication on landsmanshaft decision-making will be considered in light of the intersection of individual leadership properties and the traits of landsmanshaft group life.

The landsmanshaft representatives interviewed for this study span many categories. The age range, for example, begins with men in their thirties who inherited the task of record-keeping from their fathers. The son of the rabbi of the First Warshauer Congregation became supervisor of this synagogue-based landsmanshaft and its members upon his father's untimely death. Although he eventually assumed responsibility for the sale of the building, he shares his sadness about the decision that forced the few congregants still residing within the Lower East Side environs of the synagogue to pray "with people they did not grow up with, did not know from Warsaw, and it hurts a lot..." (First Warshauer Congregation). He is one of the youngest informants to express the attachment voice by many:

Generations continued through the Varshever Congregation. That was their mainstay ... This was their hope ... I grew up with it. It's in me that can never get out of you. I have no love...for Warsaw, Poland...But the fact that we came from there, you know, I really feel that way. Today, I walk on the Lower East Side, and there are still many people who knew my father, knew myself and go, 'o, der rebes zun is dortn' (there goes the rabbi's son).

As a former corporation lawyer, now employed in Manhattan's predominantly Jewish diamond district, the thread of community involvement extends to this respondent's career choice:

I think the wave of the future is that people will join again, and find some strength in numbers, and do things for other people... you have to help people, you have to be part of your community. If it's not Varshe, it's whatever

community you're living in. Be part of the greater Jewish community and be part of this beautiful country.... (First Warshauer Congregation).

Clearly, the lessons about participation were often strongly conveyed by the parent generation. In another group where unusually young leaders now direct its affairs, namely the Bialystoker Bricklayers Benevolent Association, the secretary-treasurer I interviewed also notes the reluctance of people to join organizations today; it is not just the landsmanshaftn that have not replenished their ranks, but also the synagogues and the Jewish lodges. This respondent recalls the entertainment function of landsmanshaft participation, the debates during the meetings and the bialys to eat after them, and attributes the shrinking of the organization to the inconvenience of travel for the older members and to the ubiquity of television as a source of leisure time activity. Still, this stockbroker in his forties remains attached to the organization of which his grandfather and father were charter members (Bialystoker Bricklayers Benevolent Association).

Both a sense of personal obligation and nostalgia are motivating factors for some leaders today to continue the family ties to the landsmanshaft and to perpetuate its European roots. For others, in this case one of the older interviewees, the perseverance to do the necessary organizational work is separate from any such commitments. The president and caretaker of the Congregation Czenstochauer Chasam Sopher, for example, promptly told me to remove the place name, Czestochowa, from my record (Congregation Czenstochauer Chasam Sopher W'Anshei Unterstanestier). Unlike most other synagogue-based landsmanshaftn, this one still functions today. However, in this Czenstochauer synagogue today, as with landsmanshaft organizations in general, the present members may stem from locations other than the original birthplace. The secretary of the organization, who holds that post for fifty-one years,

confirms that the original members of the society are gone, and even he himself never knew anything about Czestochowa (Congregation Czenstochauer Chasam Sopher W'Anshei Unterstanestier). The organization and the synagogue were saved from extinction when the theft of Torah scrolls from the building attracted media attention which helped secure donors for refurbishments (New York Times, 19 December 1976; 28 February 1977). Interestingly enough, both officers speculate that the patrons who contribute to the upkeep may well be children of some of the original worshippers.

Most of the interviewees are men, but women working both in ladies auxiliaries of male-oriented organizations and in independent ladies societies are also represented. Women affiliated with the city of Lodz, for example, could choose to participate in the Auxiliary of the Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society, in the Lodzer Young Ladies Aid, in the Associated Lodzer Ladies, and in a women's Lodz branch of the Workmen's Circle. In addition to the actual administration of their own landsmanshaftn, women are often marked as keepers of landsmanshaft history, a characteristic encountered over and over again in approaching potential informants. Initial phone introductions to the spouse would elicit the fact that she was more knowledgeable than her husband, because it was her family that had ties to the organization: "I know more than him. My father used to belong, my husband became financial secretary." This respondent joined in 1948, because her father pressed her to "do it for me," when she hesitated in making the decision to affiliate as a newlywed (Warshauer Young Friends Beneficial Association of Brownsville). A common pattern in Jewish family life becomes evident, where the son-in-law was taken into the organization upon marriage, eventually to become a principal in the leadership echelon. As one gentleman, secretary of a society of Minsk landslayt, explained: after

thirty-two years of marriage and membership in the organization, "bin ikh gevorn a Minsker" (I myself feel as if my roots are in Minsk) (Workmen's Circle Minsk Branch #507).

The concept of being a compatriot, landsmán in Yiddish singular form and landslayt in plural, is not a crucial factor in recruiting landsmanshaft members. Spouses, relatives and friends supplement the original core of male immigrants originating from the same birthplace. Other pertinent qualifications for belonging may include socio-economic status, as occupational ties do serve to bind some groups. There were guild-like landsmanshaftn such as the Bialystoker Bricklayers, the Bialystoker Operators Club, the Bialystoker Painters, and a Bialystoker Cutters Social Club. In addition, landsmanshaft branches of such national orders as the Workmen's Circle or the International Workers Order specifically attracted laborers.

In general, workers comprised the original flurry of landsmanshaft activity. The tabulations of 1938 show 75 per cent of the membership to be wage earners, 15 per cent retail merchants, 10 per cent professionals (Rontch, 1939). Succeeding developments attracted small businessmen and more professionals, largely but not only the second generation American descendants of the founders. For example, members of the Harlem wing of Antopol landslayt were typically peddlers or shopkeepers (Antopoler Ladies of Harlem; Antopoler Society of Harlem). Their move uptown from the Lower East Side is reflected in the names of their organizations, probably also as a sign of the original immigrant founders' economic mobility and the desire to assert their achievements. Today's distribution of leaders, as reflected in the current sample, in addition to workers, includes accountants, store owners, housewives, lawyers, bookkeepers,

executives, stockbrokers, and is mainly distinguished by its occupational heterogeneity.

Interview sites are also diverse, and when meetings occurred in individuals' homes, firsthand observation of the economic and geographic distribution of the sample was possible. While several interviews were based still in the Lower East Side of New York, most reflected the dispersion away from the primary community of settlement to other boroughs, to suburbs outside of the city, and to New Jersey.

This profile of American Jewish landsmanshaft activists complements the outline of changes in the agendas of organizations which was previously offered. Research has been done on the evolution of Jewish lay leadership in this country, active in public affairs, communal service, Zionist work (see for example Elazar, 1976; Lipstadt, 1984; Shapiro, 1971; Woocher, 1981; York, 1981). As a recent volume on ethnic leadership points out about the founders of voluntary associations of non-Jewish immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe (Barton, in Higham, 1978), the development of associations leads to the emergence of traditions of grass roots leadership that is built outside of larger, formal structures already established. As for the immigrant grass-roots ethnic leaders that shape what Howe (1976) terms "the inner world of the landsmanshaft" (p. 183), these have been overlooked. Quoting from the 1938 New York study, Howe asserts: "When could such Jews have imagined becoming head of a synagogue? But here they could even be president" (p. 186).

Holding the presidency or any other leadership position in the landsmanshaft connotes a different set of responsibilities for various organizations. The broad definition which the Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups offers applies to our study population: "Leaders may be defined as individuals

who exercise decisive influence over others within a context of obligation or common interest" (Higham, in Thernstrom, 1980:642). Officers in the landsmanshaftn, moreover, in accordance with the variations in organizational vigor and their own heterogeneous backgrounds, are engaged in an assortment of dealings within their organizations.

Few are as busy as the director of the Bialystoker Center, who works as a full-time employee to manage affairs related to the Center's maintenance as a nursing home and as a more symbolic home for Bialystok descendants world over. The bilingual magazine of the Bialystoker Center which he prepares, the memorial meetings and holiday celebrations which he stages, his connections with Bialystoker institutions internationally make this leader one of the most visible decision-makers, molding one sector of the New York landsmanshaft world. The active leadership of such community figures was once commonplace, as indicated by oft-repeated names which informants from various societies recalled, names which also recur in archival texts.

There are other landsmanshaft leaders who also appear to be entrusted with the major duties of their organizations. However, these representatives are accountable only to a small membership who survive as an organization often thanks to the devotedness of the one particular individual who agrees to do record-keeping and occasionally to call a meeting. This category of leader includes sons-in-law or sons who reluctantly inherited the position from their fathers. Today, they lament the lack of any assistance from remaining members who may be officials in name, "but it's me, me, me" or else they feel themselves the target of members' grievances and criticisms. In more extreme cases, the present officer may be so distanced from the previous generation of members that when someone calls to relay news of a member's death, the family name is

not necessarily familiar (Antopoler Society of Harlem). On the other hand, others volunteer their services and are insistent about maintaining the integrity of the organization despite the challenge of opponents who vote to dissolve. Even in the face of demise, one such leader expresses his sentiments about organizational continuity and shows how his commitment stems from more than a feeling of merely having automatically inherited the job:

Many of these organizations are dying one by one because...the children today haven't got the same need that our parents had...But I think there'll always be a need of knowing where you came from. And that's my theory. But I enjoy that, as you can see. (Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association).

It is also important to remember that the question of disbanding is not an issue for some groups, even in groups other than the larger and relatively newer so called survivor landsmanshaftn. The Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary, founded in 1923, continues to meet regularly. Weekly meetings, set at a fixed time and place, were reduced in 1983 to biweekly luncheons when the two leaders I interviewed found their other obligations and their generally busy schedules overshadowed by their work for the landsmanshaft (Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary). In short, according to our sample, the post of landsmanshaft leader encompasses a range of responsibility and influence.

The involvements of landsmanshaft leaders with other organizations focuses our attention on how such extended memberships determine policy-making within the landsmanshaft. On a group level, some landsmanshaftn are tightly bound up with the work of other organizations. The United Jewish Appeal leaders single out the Czenstochauer Young Mens as an exemplary supporter, for example, and indeed the work of this landsmanshaft indicates a dedication to the efforts of the UJA, seemingly without much internal debate. However, the

decision-making process regarding donations can cause serious rifts in an organization, since policy is determined often by grass-roots leaders who are exposed to various other groups. One United Jewish Appeal executive recounts:

Most of the meetings, you have some violent discussions, even today, even when we come and we ask for a contribution from the treasury of an organization. Always some people get up and they say 'Charity begins at home...' (Council of Organizations, United Jewish Appeal-Federation Campaign).

The words of one Bialystok representative provide the perspective of an insider to these deliberations on contributions to various causes and organizations:

The person who was the sponsor of that particular (idea) was anxious to show that he had the backing of this society behind him, so in the other society he was looked up to as a man of leadership, because he had a following (Bialystoker Young Men's Association).

Thus, a landsmanshaft activist can also be a leader in the beneficiary organization.

The decision-making process in landsmanshaftn is related to individuals' other affiliations, both formal and informal. The expectations they carry over to the landsmanshaft influence the organization's path, as well as these individuals' evaluation of their landsmanshaft. One analysis of the leadership process in the Jewish community suggests a useful consideration to bear in mind:

It is especially through organized group channels that an individual is able to manifest regular and systematic influences over other members in the group. This is not to deny the importance of informal groupings as they affect formal organization. The problem is precisely to examine the manner in which informal influences permeate and find expression in formal organization (Miller, in Gouldner, 1950: 202).

Even though this kind of analysis is reserved for the next Chapter 4, for now it is important to note the pattern of multiple affiliations and sometimes also multiple leadership positions for the interviewees in this study.

An initially unexpected finding, but one which was repeatedly encountered, is the tendency to join and sometimes lead several groups. Landsmanshaft delegates also enlist in the Masonic fraternity, the Knights of Pythias or other clubs; women enter the synagogue sisterhood or other Jewish women's associations such as Hadassah, Pioneer Women, or ORT. Several of the men, particularly the second generation leaders, proudly exhibit their certificates of merit from the lodges which attracted them because "these fraternities were more American" and different from landsmanshaftn where the older generation was really not ready to give up the reins. In the words of one, subscribing to the society was a moral obligation, while participation in the lodge was for recreation and friendship (Lodzer Chevra Agudath Achim).

In another vein, a second activist describes how certain organizational affiliations were expected of any potential leader in his Workmen's Circle landsmanshaft branch (Warsaw-Mlaver-Tlumatcher-Rakover-Opatoshu Branch #386-639). Not officially, perhaps, but the assumption was that to be active in the Workmen's Circle, one also had to show membership in the Jewish Socialist Verband. This organization embraces the principles of democratic socialism as advocated by the Social Democrats of America, and champions the preservation of modern Yiddish culture (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972). Its close identification was with the Workmen's Circle, the needle-trade unions, and the Yiddish newspaper, the Forward. These overlapping spheres depict the ideological climate which can have a bearing on landsmanshaft leaders and, therefore, on landsmanshaft life.

On the other hand, there are leaders for whom the landsmanshaft is separate from any other organizational engagement, and sometimes it is their sole venture. One Antopol leader, for example, active in a family circle and in

the Workmen's Circle, clearly reserves a special place for the landsmanshaft when asked to comment on her membership choices:

Never vet zayn greser keyn zakh vi di landsmanshaftn nokh mayn farshtand. Dos is geven a lebn. (Never will there be a greater achievement than the landsmanshaftn, in my opinion. That was a life.) (Antopoler Ladies of Harlem).

This woman describes her participation in the Workmen's Circle but notes that the boundaries between her groups were distinct. Another landsmanshaft officer represents those who are not joiners, but remained only in the society and learned norms and values relating to group life from within the confines of their particular landsmanshaft. This lawyer recounts:

It was a good training ground to become a politician...It was like sitting in the Assembly, or the Senate, or Congress and trying to rally the forces behind your issue...Actually, I cut my teeth with the Bialystoker Young Mens...I saw what they were doing, and I realized how I could do it (Bialystoker Young Men's Association).

In sum, the landsmanshaft is a forum for a variety of individual leaders to exercise some influence on their organizations. The leadership is inseparable from the group structures in which these individuals operate. Often facilitated by membership in several organizations, landsmanshaft leaders have access to a variety of channels of communication, which in turn influence the agenda of the landsmanshaft.

The formal and informal group contexts in which leaders are located influence their perceptions of their participation in the landsmanshaft community. These judgments vary along several dimensions. We have discussed how age is one factor that worked in favor of participation in "young men's" offshoots of older landsmanshaftn or in American-based fraternities. Yet, these developments ensured the continuity of landsmanshaft stability by

accommodating new needs. Ideology also is decisive in its ability to mesh with personal ties to landslayt in a constant interplay of priorities, where rootedness confronts political loyalties.

Gender differences play a part, too, in organizational achievements:

Without the women, there would be no Bialystoker Home. This building would not be standing. The women didn't do the actual labor...it was their money that was used as the basis for putting up the home (Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary).

The women organizers of ladies auxiliaries recount their role in sustaining the landsmanshaft when the activity of the male core had already decreased (Antopoler Ladies of Harlem). According to one informant, the independent ladies organizations, "with everything, just like the men," were a contributing factor, along with mothers' Yiddish school board work, in helping women learn "that they're people by themselves, and they could belong, and they could do work" (Workmen's Circle Lodzer Ladies Branch 324B). We have yet to integrate the experience of Jewish women's groups with investigations of the effects of organizational behavior on American women, generally (see Boylan, 1984).

The above description of women's work in landsmanshaftn is relayed with a sense of pride by its teller. But not all interviewees share a positive assessment of their group's performance. Bitterness and resentment also surface in some discussions, in addition to expressions of incredulity that a study of landsmanshaftn could prove to be fruitful or interesting. Underlying this spectrum of opinions and self-appraisals almost uniformly, as mentioned earlier, is an aura of nostalgia and remembrance, sometimes a bittersweet memory. In the following chapters, we address this situation by asking: what is the role of communication in evaluations of the present status of landsmanshaft and in reconstructions of their past?

In discussing the ethnic identity of landsmanshaftn in the next sections, Chapter 4 specifically looks at mass media use and interpersonal communication patterns that pertain to these organizations. We have, so far, alluded to the influence of interpersonal discussion between parents and children, or among friends for that matter, in guiding recruitment of new landsmanshaft members. The mass media, as we will elaborate, also play a role in making landsmanshaft activities known to the readership, thereby activating new and unaffiliated members. In addition, Yiddish press reports help distribute news of the landsmanshaftn to both the organizational network as well as to the larger community. The effect of these and other regular mass communication activities, including also the impact of computerization, is a question to be addressed in our consideration of communication's role in the development of ethnic identity.

With regard to ethnicity in landsmanshaftn, it is already clear that reconciling American and East European Jewish identities remains an ongoing task for these groups and their leaders. This process was and is complex, sometimes puzzling to the participants themselves: they claim a special attachment to Jewry's East European past, yet see themselves as members of the American Jewish citizenry. To some degree, the generational distribution of landsmanshaftn members contributes to this intricacy because the composite includes immigrants, themselves, their children and grandchildren. There is not a direct correspondence between age and immigration, so that the veteran landsmanshaft leaders interviewed may well be American-born. Their non-immigrant position, in fact, is what many of them emphasize in response to my queries, claiming not to be from "the other side," but American.

This was a common reaction on the part of landsmanshaft informants which challenged some of the premises of my original research plan. At the outset, my aim was to compare the orientation of different landsmanshaftn to their city or town of origin, to the United States, and to the State of Israel. Rather than the triangle of relationships which I anticipated, it seems that organizational priorities are mainly shaped by the society in which the group presently resides, be it the United States or Israel. According to the data on American landsmanshaftn, this was the case even in earlier years when immigration and the old home were much more a part of recent memory. Landsmanshaftn may have originated as hometown-based, hometown-oriented associations, but they owe their endurance in America to other factors. What might these be?

One impression counterbalances the readiness of many informants to declare their non-immigrant position as Americans, and therefore their unsuitability to respond to my questions despite decades of participation in the organization under study. Here, I refer to the tendency to explain their motivation for joining the landsmanshaft with a rather simple statement: "But I am an Antopoler" or "My parents are from Bialystok," thereby claiming oneness with that identity concurrently with their American allegiance. This unresolved ambivalence is discussed by Soyer (1985), who relegates the landsmanshaftn to a position somewhere "between two worlds" during the first decades of this century. This issue is especially highlighted after World War II, when the landsmanshaft world is infused with newcomers whose Lodz or Warsaw or Bialystok was not the same city as the one recalled by oldtimers. In addition to different perceptions of the Jewish component of their backgrounds, the immigrant survivors also bring a desire to absorb the qualities of their new American surroundings. Thus, the question of an even blending of both identities

within the landsmanshaft experience is taken up again by the leadership. Judging by the archival and interview data in the present study, this issue is unmistakably a part of Jewish organizational dynamics of post-World War II America.

The landsmanshaft leadership of today deals with some of the same questions which their predecessors faced. However, there are some changes in the agendas adopted by this wave of leaders, most evident in the ways in which organizational priorities are interpreted. These changes have implications for the specific nature of American Jewish ethnicity. In the next section, Chapter 4, we detail patterns of mass and interpersonal communication in landsmanshaftn. Following that description, Chapter 5 analyzes the role of these patterns of communication in determining the evolving orientations of landsmanshaftn and in maintaining patterns of ethnicity in the community. A closer look at the inner workings of the landsmanshaftn sector of the American Jewish community reveals the heterogeneity of members choosing to affiliate in this way. How can we account for and interpret the continuity of landsmanshaft membership as a component in personal and group identity? How can we explain the pervasiveness of this affiliation throughout the Jewish community, for men and women, for different socio-economic classes, among different generations, encompassing children of immigrants born in America before World War I and post-World War II immigrants and their children.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. One communal activist, Norman Gilmovsky, holds the opinion that the precedent of landsmanshaft mutual aid in the form of benefits paid to members upon hospitalization or unemployment, for example, prepared the ground for government social security programs instituted by the New Deal.
2. The pioneering study of the Yiddish Writers Union of the Federal Writers Project provides the material for this summary. A longer account of the typology of landsmanshaftn is found in numerous works (Federal Writers Project, 1938; Federal Writers Project, 1939; Rontch, 1939).
3. The Appendix lists the interviews conducted and their dates. In the text, all references to specific interview transcriptions are followed by the name of the organization being discussed. I have tried to retain uniform spelling of organization names, when possible, although the historical materials show variations in group names. The suffix -er, often found at the end of place names, transforms the name into the expression for "people of" or "people from" a particular locale (for example, Bialystoker are people of Bialystok origins). This and other forms of the place name may also appear as a surname, indicating the individual's rootedness in a particular city or town. Finally, the reader is asked to note that all quotes from the interviews are transcribed verbatim, and not stylized in order to improve readability. Any translations from the Yiddish are my own.
4. A summary of the history of Jewish fraternal orders appears in the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia (1939-43). In addition, there is a volume on the history of the Brith Abraham in English (Shelvin, 1937), and accounts of other orders mainly in Yiddish (see for example Jewish National Workers Alliance, 1946; Yiddish Cooperative Book League of the Jewish Section of the International Workers Order, 1940; Zaks, 1925). Some information is available in English (see for example Barbarash, 1983; Hurwitz, 1936; Shapiro, 1970) and in Hebrew (Ivensky, 1939). My records also show the existence at one time of a Lodz branch of the Knights of Pythias lodge (Lodzer Branch 324 Workmen's Circle, 1934).
5. I would like to acknowledge my discussions with Susan Milamed about this and various other aspects of landsmanshaft activity. One of her suggestions, which I develop here, is that the destruction of Jewish community life in Poland redirected landmanshaft energies to helping to build tangible projects in Israel.
6. Newsletters of the Piotrkow landsmanshaft, New Bulletin (1985), and the Bnai Zion organization's publication The Outlet (1983), report these activities. In addition, the Yiddish press has regular reports of organizational activities in Florida.

CHAPTER FOUR

MASS MEDIA USE AND INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION IN THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY

The descriptive portrait of patterns of organizational and individual activity that typify the landsmanshaft sector of the American Jewish community paves the way for closer scrutiny of patterns of communication within this context. Using examples from the archives and the interviews, illustrative cases are culled from the data to depict mass media use and interpersonal communication characteristic of the landsmanshaftn under study.

This chapter begins with a discussion of mass communication practices that mainly include members' use of English and Yiddish language media, but also touches on the introduction of new technology, namely computerization, into landsmanshaft existence. More specialized components of this media environment include landsmanshaft-specific in-house organs and publications that are geared to more than one organization, such as memorial books or newspapers distributed to landsmanshaft subscribers. To understand the present alliance of landsmanshaftn with the Yiddish press, these organizations' main public voice, coverage of landsmanshaft-related events is surveyed for the years 1983 and 1984. The background to this relationship between New York landsmanshaftn and the Yiddish press, historically, is further elucidated in an explanatory overview of landsmanshaft activity as represented in the Yiddish dailies during the early years of World War II, January 1939 to December 1941. Here, the press

and interview materials regarding those years are examined to learn about sources for news on war developments in Europe and for guidance on the course of action for American landsmanshaftn to pursue in response to the war.

Along with mass media behavior, landsmanshaft developments are viewed in light of interpersonal communication that influences the organization's path. What is the contribution of interpersonal discussion among leaders and among members to landsmanshaft continuity? What patterns of interpersonal communication do we find as antecedents and consequences of participation in organizational life? Can we link types of communication behavior with models of leadership? What might be the networks of communication that direct or encourage certain orientations on the part of landsmanshaft leaders, and how are these manifested in organizational priorities?

The portrayal of mass and interpersonal communication within landsmanshaftn, after the general discussion of issues that pertain to the study population as a whole, proceeds to a more focused study of the landsmanshaftn of Bialystok descendants. This more restricted illustration of communication patterns uses the case study of Bialystok organizations to highlight the tendencies that prevail in the total sample, the aim of this more limited approach being to offer greater detail, clarity and focus.

Following this chapter's descriptive account, Chapter 5 uses this material in an analysis of the possible role of mass and interpersonal communication in the development of ethnic identity for American landsmanshaftn. The potential link between communication and community is discussed, based on the regular and systematic patterns of communication found to pertain for Jewish-American ethnic voluntary associations presently and in the past.

MASS COMMUNICATION AND LANDSMANSHAFTN

Uses of Radio and Television

The reports on mass communication behavior in landsmanshaft circles indicate the uses assigned to various media. My study has shown that the Yiddish press is the most popular channel of landsmanshaft news. Interestingly, when television is mentioned, it is cited as one of the forces that deters landsmanshaftn from operating to their full capacity. As we have discussed, the style of organizational activity which most interviewees value is one that supports lively exchanges and friendly ties. In other words, the landsmanshaft is judged positively by members if it caters to their needs for meeting regularly. When organizations fail to provide the opportunity for gathering socially, television is one factor that informants hold responsible (Bialystoker Bricklayers Benevolent Association). Another respondent agrees that meetings used to be held once a week and were eagerly anticipated, continuing "And, of course, social life didn't revolve around television. Going to a meeting was very important" (Lodzer Chevra Agudath Achim).

Television is not mentioned as a purveyor of information that might be considered relevant to landsmanshaft proceedings, as is the case with radio. Radio station WEVD, the major broadcaster of programming for New York's Jewish community, is familiar to interviewees as a source of Jewish news and entertainment in Yiddish and English. The station may not necessarily be followed regularly, but it is recognized for its special attention to Jewish affairs (Chevra Anshei Antopolier). Moreover, a public service provided by the station in the past was its weekly program hosted by the Council of Organizations of the United Jewish Appeal. Apparently, landsmanshaft activists once listened to this

show and even spoke on behalf of the UJA, according to one leader, "but I don't pay attention anymore" (Minsker Young Friends Benevolent Association). At the present time, even when there is not an expressed need for access to Jewish community news, there is an awareness of where to get it. One respondent claims that there is no special place she turns to for Jewish current events, "but I suppose you could always turn on WEVD...You can read the Jewish Week...the Jewish Press... And I know I'm not getting all the news..." (Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary).

Some of the landsmanshaft delegates describe more regular Jewish media habits. Radio station WEVD, in one household, is always on and listened to indiscriminately: "We listen to everything on WEVD... just last week I sent a check after hearing an appeal on the radio." (American Council for Warsaw Jews) This preference, when stated, is matched by attention to the Yiddish press. Asked if she used to read the Yiddish papers, one respondent reacts: "Vos far a frage! What a question. Up until today. Sure, I read the Forward. You can see, I'm surrounded here." In fact, near the radio is a pile of Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish periodicals, closeby to the kitchen table where she mainly sits and reads "until I'm tired." (Antepoler Society of Harlem).

The Yiddish Press and Landsmanshaft Readers

The sample's subscribers to the weekly Forward, which ceased to be a daily in 1983 and now has a supplementary English insert, are of the European-born generation who still rely on the Yiddish press. It may not be the headlines that attract them, since the English news media are certainly utilized for learning about world events. One respondent explains in Yiddish:

I believe that if people don't read the Yiddish press, they don't know enough about Jewish life... the English press only offers a glimpse. What does the Times give about Jewish life? And what do the other newspapers give? I don't know. I read the Forward not for the news. The news I hear on television or radio or from other people when we meet. I skim the front page headlines, then read the inside pages... that's how I read. Very important... For me it's like bread. (Antopoler Ladies of Harlem).

The Forward is not the only regular weekly available to Yiddish readers. Another member of the subgroup within the study population that makes use of Yiddish-language media claims to get his Jewish news from the Morning-Freiheit. This newspaper is politically to the left of the Forward, and there are still reminders of earlier antagonisms between the two publications and their respective readership. Today, however, this Freiheit reader can state: "But if it's not adequate, and I want additional news, I take the Forward. Once the Forward was prohibited" (Lodzer-Williamsbridger-Chenstochover-Middle Bronx Fraternal Society).

The Freiheit, it should be noted, serves as the community bulletin board for the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies in much the same way that the Forward publicizes Workmen's Circle branch meetings. The implications of this respondent's exposure to both newspapers will be of interest when we look at the impact of media reporting on landsmanshaft orientations and activities. Although a brief introduction sketched general patterns of media use, our concern is now directed to an understanding of landsmanshaft-related content in channels of mass communication.

The relationship between the Yiddish press and the landsmanshaftn exhibits some of the traits which pertain to the role of the foreign language media in the ethnic community. Yet, there are also specific ties between these two immigrant-based institutions, the ethnic press and the ethnic voluntary

association, which are cited in early studies by Thomas and Znaniecki (1938) as central foci for the minority group newcomer.

For the Yiddish press, one communal leader observes how it urged Americanization with the retention of Jewishness for its immigrant readers. "The newspapers were the teachers." Yet, in his opinion, special advice was geared to the landsmanshaft members among the readership:

They gave the information where the landsmanshaftn are meeting to get together. Articles were written to Americanize them, to show them the American way of life... Also, up until now, location of relatives... You still have cases where you find relatives long forgotten that they are alive. (HIAS)

This informant worked for many years as the liaison between the landsmanshaftn and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), an international migration agency. The HIAS itself was and is a conduit of information regarding immigration and resettlement (Wischnitzer, 1956; HIAS, 1982), a center where landsmanshaftn come and meet arriving landslayt refugees and collect news about others. The press is still used by this and other organizations to amplify their messages to the wider landsmanshaft public that is linked to the Jewish community through the mass media. Features in the Yiddish newspapers indicate the awareness on the part of writers and editors that landslayt ties carry meaning for many readers, including those that may not actually participate in societies.

In the course of monitoring the current Yiddish press, I found landsmanshaft-related pieces not only among the weekly releases about organizational activities, but also in regular news reports and feature articles. For example, present conditions for Jews remaining in the once thriving Jewish communities of Eastern Europe are described (Forward, 7 October 1983), including an article

about one woman who appeals to her Bialystok landslajt to help her leave her present home in Moscow (Forward, 21 October 1983). Other pieces describe at length the efforts of groups to remember their cities and towns, be it through convening landslajt for a large-scale conference (Forward, 11 May 1984), or by erecting monuments in memory of their destroyed Jewish communities (Morning-Freiheit, 11 September 1983).

Media depictions of the array of modes of action which organizations follow serve to both diffuse this information as well as to lend merit to the activities which the paper's coverage emphasizes. The regular column consists of press releases sent in by organizations. Accordingly, that section of the paper can not be viewed as part of news reporting, but rather as a community bulletin board. By featuring particular societies and certain issues, especially when it is outside of the usual column where such matters are noted, there is the possibility that readers will measure their own organization's work against the achievements which are publicized and therefore seen as worthy.

One example is the prominent display of a letter to the newspaper from Workmen's Circle Lodz Branch 324 on January 27, 1984. This letter proclaims the branch's concern for the Forward's continued publication and urges other societies to similarly show their endorsement by sending in their checks in the campaign to keep the paper alive. This commendation and monetary contribution for the Forward comes from a landsmanshaft branch of the Workmen's Circle, which is a fraternal organization whose officials serve on the board of the Forward Association, publishers of the newspaper; support for their newspaper is a regular item on the agenda of Workmen's Circle branches.

Several weeks later, on February 24, the same column which contains correspondence regarding the newspaper's fundraising campaign, produces a

letter from a non-Workmen's Circle landsmanshaft in Montreal that heeds the call. Its financial pledge is accompanied by a letter that asks landsmanshaftn in the United States and Canada to send in their donations to the Forward. The publishers capitalize on this opportunity to underscore in a postscript that all landsmanshaftn should follow in the footsteps of this Montreal group.

On September 9, 1984, the appeal by the Forward is taken up by a landsmanshaft in Toronto, whose even larger sum and more lavish praise is accorded a similar place. Here, the editorial board responds with promises to print the names and specific amounts given by the group's individual contributors.

It is difficult to judge whether the status conferred upon individuals and groups by the Yiddish press has a part in determining the paths which landsmanshaftn follow. Such an argument holds to the notion that the media play a role in settling the perimeters of acceptable and approved landsmanshaft activity, and ultimately in influencing the expression of ethnic identity in these associations. This view is put forth by Lopata in her treatment of Polish voluntary associations: "The Polish press has helped Polish-American associations... to develop, crystallize, and even change their basic orientation toward the two national cultural societies" (1964:217). For voluntary associations, the press provides a forum for the "recording of community life, the record itself indirectly accentuating trends and building role models..." (1976:63). For the American Jewish community, it is important to approach members of Jewish voluntary associations and assess their perceptions of this relationship between communication and community.

Some participants in the landsmanshaft world readily see the power of public acknowledgement in the media. Judging from the earlier illustration, for

example, the editors exercised their gatekeeping prerogative to allocate space and commentary to what they deem appropriate behavior. One staff member of the United Jewish Appeal's Council of Organizations similarly understands that by appearing in the newspaper, his fundraising office becomes known to landsmanshaft members. In addition, he notes that individuals and groups who are particularly active on behalf of the UJA's efforts are honored at special banquets (Council of Organizations, United Jewish Appeal-Federation Campaign). These testimonial dinners are heavily publicized before and after each event along with an assortment of announcements and reminders that appear regularly throughout the year. Photos and biographies of the honorees and tributes to the organizations involved are unmistakably a part of the campaign.

The press is surely not the only tool which is used to persuade landsmanshaftn of the virtue in giving to the United Jewish Appeal, Israel Bonds, or any other cause. However, it is one step in the process, as one activist attests in recounting his experiences in procuring funds for his group's relief work in Warsaw: "The majority did not want to give. We had to flatter... and give so much honor." Potential donors were drawn in, according to this informant, by paying homage to them in the newspapers: "And we wrote him up and people heard about him. Where? In the Forward, and in other Yiddish newspapers" (American Council for Warsaw Jews).

Most landsmanshaft interviewees do not articulate as clearly as our Warsaw representative the consequences of mass communication coverage for the propagation of organizational directives and goals. On another level, however, several respondents can point to the media's role in leading them to affiliate formally with other landslayt. One longtime member of the Antopoler

Ladies of Harlem was too busy with her store and her household to join when the group first was activated,

but later, you know, one reads in the paper that the Antopoler have a meeting, a get-together, so I went when I had the opportunity... (Antopoler Ladies of Harlem)

A second Antopol delegate whom I interviewed did not join the Harlem landsmanshaft, which he saw as merely a social club without sufficient emphasis on charitable or communal work. His own affiliation is with the Chevra Anshei Antopolier, with whom he became involved as a leader after his retirement. The impetus to become a member was a notice in the Yiddish paper by an editor hired to publish a memorial volume on Antopol.

They gave an ad in the paper, and they asked everybody that has material to send it in... And when I sent in what I wrote, he contacted me... and he said, how about joining up? (Chevra Anshei Antopolier)

Mass communication, the press and the publication of a memorial book, recruits new members into the New York landsmanshaft community. Interestingly, this combination of factors still exists as a potential magnet, as evidenced in a recent notice in the Forward (5 October 1984) which alerts readers originating from Hrubieszow to the task of compiling materials for a planned memorial book. In general, the Yiddish press still provides a forum for announcing associational news and publicizing the activities of leaders, even though such coverage may be more limited than in earlier years.

Other differences exist between the present service provided to landsmanshaftn by the Yiddish press and that of the earlier years. To a greater degree than in the past, today's newspapers operate as house organs for certain fraternal orders that share their ideological stance. This is the case, for example, for the two papers which I covered in my survey of the current New York press. The

Forward, founded in 1897 and linked to the Jewish labor movement and democratic socialism, provides a platform for news of organizations that espouse similar aims, especially the Workmen's Circle. The Morning-Freiheit was founded in 1922, later became a communist organ, and today is the mass media voice of the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies. The mutual support which newspapers and associations provide for each other is probably more pronounced today because there are fewer outlets for disseminating landsmanshaft news than in past years. For one thing, there is a smaller pool of newspapers in which to print such items. In addition, the number of landsmanshaft house organs has been substantially reduced.

Landsmanshaft Publications

In-house organs currently distributed to landsmanshaftn from the six locations in my study include the Bialystoker Shtimme, a semi-annual bilingual Yiddish-English magazine produced by the Bialystoker Center, and periodic souvenir journals compiled for special organizational anniversaries or commemorations (see for example Bialystoker Synagogue, 1978; Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization, 1981).

Secondary sources (see for example Doroshkin, 1969; Howe, 1976; Rontch, 1939; Soyer, 1985) show the greater abundance of such publications, written by and for landsmanshaftn, in earlier times. My own archival research on associations of immigrants from Antopol, Bialystok, Czestochowa, Lodz, Minsk and Warsaw turned up numerous volumes that addressed member groups in the past. For example, the Warshauer Benevolent Society issued a Yiddish and English monthly bulletin The Benevolent Bulletin. The two copies available in

the Yivo Archives (Vol. 10, No. 1, January 1949; Vol. 13, No. 1, January 1953) laud principal officers of the society, provide news of individual members and give a complete roster of addresses, list committee chairmen and hospitalers, and also include witty quips and verse about the inner workings of organizational life. The following is an excerpt from one such poem, entitled "What Kind of Member Are You?":

Are you an active member, the kind
that would be missed?
Or are you just contented that your name
is on the list?
Do you attend the meetings and mingle
with the flock,
Or do you stay at home and criticize
and knock?

(LMSA, RG 1020, Box 1, Folder #4: Vol. 10, No. 1, January 1949)

Another bulletin called the Chenstochover Bulletin, was published by the United Czenstochauer Relief Committee and Ladies Auxiliary. Issues from January 1942 (LMSA, RG 987: Vol. 1, No. 3), October 1948 (AJHS, Box 2: Vol. 5, No. 1) and July 1950 (LMSA, RG 987: Vol. 6, No. 1) are less lighthearted than the earlier example. These pages are monolingual, only Yiddish, except for one English translation of a summary statement about the organization's plans to renew and extend its activities in light of America's entry into World War II. The resolution to widen the scope of the Relief's work describes plans to ally with the American Red Cross, and to allot greater sums for medical and other relief aid from the proceeds of society events such as the annual ball. Moreover,

'United Czenstochover Relief' has to a large extent already adapted itself to the newly created demands of the times and established the Information Bureau... and published the Bulletin, with the one aim to aid our Czenstochover landsleit to get in touch with their families, relatives and friends in Czenstochov and to do all in their power to help them.

The text beseeches the readers to "join in the universal hope of ridding the world of Hitler and Nazism," explaining that "helping to save our own brothers, means saving our own lives." The organization's greater responsibility upon America's entering the Second World War is contrasted with the duty to extend a helping hand that prompted original relief efforts during World War I (LMSA, RG 987: January 1942, Vol. 1, No. 3). The nature of the work of the sponsoring organization is reflected in regular columns that describe contacts with post-World War II refugees still in Europe, developments in other Czestochowa landsmanshaftn in the U.S., Canada and Israel, reports regarding the Relief's finances, and reviews of books about Czestochowa Jewry.

The still current journal, the Bialystoker Shtimme (Voice of Bialystok) also has roots in relief work, specifically that of the Bialystok Relief Committee, created in 1919 to help in the post-World War I reconstruction of Jewish Bialystok. David Sohn, its founding editor, recalls how the impetus for the initial edition emerged from the lack of a central organ which could reach out directly to Bialystok descendants in America (Sohn, Bialystoker Shtimme, September-October 1940). The first issue was printed in November 1921, becoming a monthly in the thirties, and today appearing in September and April in conjunction with the Jewish New Year and Passover. The present format, judging by two recent issues which average one hundred pages each (Volume 63, No. 334, April 1984; Volume 63, No. 335, September 1984), highlights activities of Bialystok landsmanshaftn and milestones of their members, describes projects in Israel funded by the Bialystoker Center, relates the history and present status of Bialystok, and reports on Bialystok Jews in America and around the world. In addition to the Bialystoker Shtimme, as we shall see in a later section, separate

Bialystok landsmanshaftn once published their own tabloids for members' consumption.

In addition to bulletins designed for one specific landsmanshaft, there existed a variety of mainly Yiddish periodicals that addressed several organizations collectively. Sometimes these organizations had shared interests, as was true for subscribers to the Warschauer Center. This monthly, in its first issue in September 1936, announces its aim to unite the many Warsaw landsmanshaftn who are loyal donors to the Warschauer Haym Solomon Home for the Aged, a favorite charity for many groups.

A wider net of affiliates is served by the American Federation of Polish Jews, founded in 1908, which once maintained various publications for its constituent landsmanshaftn. In 1924, the Federation began issuing a monthly organ Der Farband (The Federation). Later, it published bilingual anthologies under the title of Polish Jew. Surviving records also include copies of a biweekly Yiddish news bulletin (LMSA, RG 1015).

There were other federated bodies that produced periodicals ostensibly to publicize news of their member associations and to urge cooperation when required. The Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies, in 1960, introduced its bilingual Club News "with the wish that it will bring all clubs and societies closer together" (No. 1, April 1960).

The forerunner of the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies was the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the International Worker's Order. Although it is difficult to locate records of the IWO because of its liquidation during the McCarthy period, remnants exist of numerous publications which once were available to this organization's members, including those in its landsmanshaft branches. For example, there was the official publication of the JPFO, the

Jewish Fraternalist. In its second issue in May 1945, the column on "Lodge Bulletins of the Month" awards those English-speaking lodges "paying more and more attention to the need for issuing attractive lodge bulletins for their members" (HUC, Vol. 2, No. 2, May 1945). In the next number, landsmanshaftn are pressed to coordinate their work of restoring Jewish life, in general, in the Soviet Union and Poland, and urged not to "persist in the notion of rebuilding their special hamlets or towns" (HUC, Vol. 2, No. 3, June-July 1945). Another source for associational guidelines was a Yiddish-language bulletin, Undzer vort, or Our Word (HUC). In addition, in-house organs meant for all the chapters and remaining national groups which comprised the IWO contributed to the task of disseminating information in a centralized manner.

Other major Jewish fraternal orders with landsmanshaft branches have publications in which they synchronize their communication with member groups. Details of meetings and conventions, as well as articles on organizational matters and various subjects that reflect the outlook and interests of the membership are published in Brith Abraham's The Beacon, the Bnai Zion Voice, the recent Alliance (Farband) Voice and Alliance Bulletin of the Farband Labor Zionist Alliance which previously published Farband News, and the Workmen's Circle Call which was preceded by the Yiddish monthly, The Friend. This sampling indicates the once rich production of regular communication available in separate media for landsmanshaft members who also use the general press.

Several points should be remembered in evaluating the specialized organs mentioned above. One consideration is that the orientation of these media incorporates also non-landmanshaft constituent groups of the orders. In my sample, then, such groups as Workmen's Circle Minsk Branch 507 or Lodzer-Williamsbridge-Chenstochover-Middle Bronx Fraternal Society of the Jewish

Cultural Clubs and Societies would receive their fraternal bulletins as equal partners along with other divisions of the order. It is true that over the years the landsmanshaft presence in most Jewish national fraternities decreased in relation to the total membership. Most organizational bulletins appear less frequently, until some finally cease distribution. Today's circulation reflects this situation in sharp distinction to the existence of multitudinous publications in the past, which we have only briefly and selectively enumerated from the evidence exhibited in archives and libraries.

In years past, in addition to their own bulletins and a wealth of house organs, landsmanshaftn benefited from publications intended for branches of national orders and for group members of interorganizational or supraterritorial federations. There was once more regular apportionment of space for associational news in a greater number of dailies. Yet, despite these conditions, the New York landsmanshaft world was active and prominent enough numerically to warrant several attempts to create independent journals solely for the landsmanshaft sector. These interesting though short-lived experiments have yet to be fully studied.

For our purpose it will suffice to note that this study's interviewees were not acquainted with the two Yiddish reviews, The Jewish Society, for which there are some records from the early 1930's, and Landsleit, which appeared in 1947 and 1948. Yet, a perusal of these editions shows that some of the landsmanshaftn in my contemporary sample are counted among the numerous societies that appear in these pages. We can only conjecture that the same heterogeneity, disunity and desire for autonomy that characterizes organizational behavior played a part in impeding the continued existence of any one

central organ of communication for the complex network of New York landsmanshaftn.¹

Organizational Correspondence

Bulletins and regular periodic journals in various forms supply landsmanshaft members with news of meetings and activities. However, letters and notices sent internally within each organization also figure as modes of communication by which individuals are reminded of their membership in the community. In some cases, when meetings have been discontinued, the annual dues reminder is the remaining link, and dispatching this notice is the major assignment of the present officers (Independent Warshauer Linas Hazedek). At the other extreme are those organizations with meeting schedules that are regular and unchanging, and therefore no memoranda need to be sent out (Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary).

Some illustrations of recent organizational mailings show the range of formats that exist for different groups that operate today. The Minsker Young Friends Benevolent Association, for example, is one group that has fixed meetings every week. Therefore, it dispenses yearly calendars, with the Jewish holidays marked off. Each month's page lists the schedule of regular meetings on the first and third Tuesday, the board of directors meetings on the other Tuesdays, and once monthly gatherings for credit union business. A synopsis of membership obligations regarding sick benefits, dues, and burial arrangements appears on the last page of this timetable.

The letters of invitation to attend the monthly meetings of the Czenstochauer Young Men contain more than the date and time. Get well wishes

are conveyed, as are expressions of appreciation to members who volunteered their time to various projects, particularly the preparation of the group's 95th anniversary banquet. Members residing in Florida are thanked for their joint letter of congratulations on this occasion. In addition, a request is made in this letter of March 1984, that anyone who can help in one individual's search to "find his roots (his letter was enclosed with last month's meeting letter) please let him or the financial secretary know about it."

As for the meeting agenda, readers learn of the upcoming nomination of officers, the induction of a new 38 year old native of Czestochowa, and the fact that a student at the University of Pennsylvania working on her dissertation has written about her wish to attend the upcoming gathering. My presence at the next Sunday afternoon meeting of the Czenstochauer Young Men confirmed that other incoming letters from organizations and individuals are read aloud to the membership and discussed. In addition, it was possible to become acquainted with the individuals who are listed on the organization's stationery, which also includes the name and address of the society's doctor and its funeral director. The letter also notes the hosts who provide the meeting's refreshments, holiday greetings for Purim and Passover are exchanged, and upcoming dates to remember are listed: the memorial assembly at the organization's cemetery, the next regular meeting, Israel Independence Day party (written in the text as Yom Ha'atzmaot, indicating the festival's Hebrew name), and the last meeting of the season in June. With the salutation, "fraternally yours," the secretary and president conclude the letter.

Another one of the organizations in the study, the Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association, sends its meeting notices "with brotherly regards" in a letter of May 1983. "Worthy member" the reader is approached, "you are

cordially invited and urgently requested to attend the next meeting." This landsmanshaft's emblem and date of incorporation appears on top of the page, surrounded by the names of the officers and board of directors, with information about whom to contact "in case of emergency."

The anticipated agenda is detailed: report of the accountant, dues adjustments, election of officers, report of the board and its recommendation of a sum to be donated to the United Jewish Appeal, a suggestion that future meetings be held at a restaurant. The next two items follow each other: the first is a recommendation by an unnamed member for disbanding the organization and dispersing the funds. The next point states, as if to rebut:

we would welcome some of you to come forward and become active in order to continue the existence of our organization.

Further along, any suggestion to the officers is requested to be put down in writing and mailed to the financial secretary. At the letter's end, the names of recently deceased members are listed and condolences are extended to their families. The readers are then informed, in capital letters, that refreshments will be served, and the concluding wish is for "a very pleasant summer and continued good health for a long life of happiness and success."

The next example is a letter of April 1984 from a group that has twice yearly meetings for its "cordially invited" members. In the next paragraphs, the invitation is rephrased in a stronger appeal to members of the Povonsker Warschauer Young Men's Benevolent Association.

Since our meetings are limited to twice a year, it would be so nice to have you attend and enjoy each other's company. Refreshments will be served and we'll be so happy have to you join us.

The third and final section extends sympathy to the family of members who have recently passed away, pronouncing the traditional Jewish words of consolation, "May they find comfort among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem." The bottom of the form then gives a choice of three individuals who may be called in the event of an emergency.

Sometimes special campaigns or meetings are announced to members through organizational correspondence. The Bialystoker Center launches its campaign in a two-sided notice, in Yiddish and English, titled "An Urgent Appeal for our Passover Relief Fund." The Yiddish page emphasizes the merit in upholding this worthy Jewish tradition to aid residents in the Bialystoker Home and also poor landslajt the world over. The English translation pinpoints the beneficiaries of this drive as "the aged men and women in our Home, as well as other needy individuals." In the Yiddish text, the outer boundary of aid recipients stops at fellow compatriots. This is one of the organizations studied that still addresses its members in both languages, Yiddish and English.

In tracing the correspondence files of many landsmanshaftn, the likely progression one finds is from Yiddish only, to bilingual letters, and then commonly organizations resort to using only English. The pace at which this transition occurs is not uniform. It can vary with the nature of the group's membership, or else the language choice may be stipulated even in the landsmanshaft constitution. Often, it is dependent on the linguistic competencies of the secretary in charge.

The language progression in organizational publications and protocols, as well as at meetings, is influenced by the leadership. However, even the new generation of landsmanshaft leaders knows Yiddish well enough to be able to comprehend proceedings that may be bilingual, although their own responses and

record-keeping will be in English (Ochoter Warshauer Young Men's Progressive Society; Bialystoker Young Men's Association). One of the younger officers that understands Yiddish, who attended landsmanshaftn meetings with his parents in his childhood, demonstrates that he is seasoned in organizational routines. Repeating what must have been often heard opening remarks, he relates that he can say 'tayere brider un shvester' (dear brothers and sisters), the requisite terms of address for all official landsmanshaft communication (Bialystoker Bricklayers Benevolent Association).

Memorial (Yisker) Books

In this examination of the documents that contribute to the mass communication environment of landsmanshaft members, one final category subsumes the preparation and distribution of yisker memorial books. These albums, that document a town's history and memorialize its citizens, also often describe the activities of landsmanshaft societies established in America and other countries. When Rontch (1939) surveyed publications of the landsmanshaftn in 1938, he found very few such books. The most updated bibliography (Baker, in Kugelmass and Boyarin, 1983) indicates over 400 such volumes mainly in Yiddish, Hebrew and English. After World War II, the creation of a yisker book by American landsmanshaftn in conjunction with their counterparts in Israel and around the world constitutes a commemoration of pre-war Jewish life in Europe and a documentation of the destruction of their communities by the Nazis.

Of the locations represented in this research, all have some type of a yisker book. Landsmanshaftn from the larger cities, as in the example of Lodz, have yet to produce a text that combines the recent history of their respective

organizations worldwide, and also incorporates the experience of Lodz Jews during and since World War II (see for example United Emergency Relief Committee for the City of Lodz, 1943). One of the problems in these cases of Lodz or Warsaw is sheer magnitude. One informant draws a comparison with New York City's size and diversity, for example, and hints at the difficulty in molding one unit to represent New York Jews (Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization). Indeed, immigrants from smaller suburbs contiguous to Warsaw have been more successful in publishing a memorial volume (see for example Weisman, 1974), in line with their independence from Warsaw landsmanshaftn in establishing their own associations.

Not only size, but also heterogeneity is a consideration in the compiling of articles and memoirs meant for a reconstruction of life in the European home. For one city, Czestochowa, the resolution of this problem came with the publication of multiple texts (see for example Mahler, 1947; Orenstein, 1966; Shuzman, 1967-68; Singer, 1958). To a certain extent, each volume bears the stamp of its editor in terms of orientation and emphasis, and also language. A recent study has recorded the process of compiling a yisker book. It records the conflicts involved in welding the divergent remembrances about the life in one town within the confines of a single album (Hoffman, 1983).

The language adopted in these books is not an unimportant factor for readers, who are mainly landsmanshaft members and their families. The book for Minsk, published in Israel, is totally in Hebrew (Even Shoshan, 1975). Therefore, it is inaccessible to descendants of Minsk not versed in that language, which is the case for most Jews not residing in Israel. None of my informants in America knew of its existence, nor of any other attempts to produce a book on Minsk. In fact, records show that there was once a Minsk Chronicle Publication

Committee (LMSA, RG 123: Box 9) that planned a book on Minsk, but its efforts were unfruitful.

The trilingual Antopol memorial volume (Ayalon, 1972) also raises questions about the consequences for a landsmanshaft of its own group effort to present and recast the history and culture of its community, especially in light of the events of World War II. In this case, language is just one of the problems for this representative, who worked on the committee established to expedite the book's issuance:

We were misled. There's not enough Yiddish, not enough English, too much Hebrew. It took fifteen years for the book to get finished. And what's more, it's a seyfer (Jewish religious tome), oversized. If I should want to read it, I don't even have a place to put it down (Antopoler Ladies of Harlem).

These remarks contrast with those of a second Antopol interviewee, who also volunteered on the book committee, but obviously is more pleased with the outcome. For one thing, he is fluent in Hebrew. In addition, he maintains continued close contact with Antopoler in Israel, especially when he visits every year on an extended stay. The Israeli group was delegated the responsibility of finally publishing the yisker book, with the support of the U.S. landslayt, when the original American-based effort was moving too slowly. Meeting in the office of the synagogue where he is president, our conversation revolved around the Antopol memorial book. It sat open in front of him at the table we shared, and answers to my questions would be accompanied by the rhythm of his turning the pages of the book in a search to find a relevant picture or an article. For him, it is a seyfer, and he judges its contents as appropriate for his identification as an American Jew from Antopol (Chevra Anshei Antopolier).

Current Yiddish Press Coverage of the Landsmanshaft

The impetus and the process for distributing the numerous publications we have discussed, as well as their actual content, have implications for adaptations in the self-definition of landsmanshaft organizations and their members. Of the documents available to members, the continued existence of the Yiddish press record of associational life indicates that these print media still perform complex roles for the subscriber. Although this study focuses on formally affiliated members of specific societies, individual readers who may not officially belong also are addressed by the Yiddish press reports and announcements on landsmanshaftn. Historically, the Yiddish dailies served as a unique mirror and interpreter of associational life. The 1938 study of landsmanshaftn noted the widespread coverage such that "readers of the Yiddish press cannot help seeing that there is a great deal going on within these organizations" (Rontch, 1939:361). In light of this special link between the press and the voluntary ethnic association, which has also been noted for other American immigrant communities, it is important to see how the current Yiddish press chronicles and influences landsmanshaft life today.

The examination of the Yiddish press during 1983 and 1984 was launched in order to obtain a view of the present status of landsmanshaftn complementary to that provided by the interviews. The media survey was intended to corroborate the descriptions of existent concerns of the organizations under study, as offered by their representatives. During this reliability check of the interview data, I was also able to locate landsmanshaftn from the six sites that had not previously been known to me. In addition, information about meeting dates and programs to which I had no other access was available through the press. Moreover, patterns

and trends which were detectable because of the two year span of this newspaper analysis made it possible to situate and understand this study's sample of groups within the larger constellation of landsmanshaftn today.

News of associational activities is communicated in the Yiddish language to the greatest extent by landsmanshaft coverage in the Forward. My survey also included a second Yiddish weekly, the Morning-Freiheit. The other major New York paper, The Algemeiner Journal, is more oriented to the Orthodox religious sector of Jewish organizational life, and does not offer its pages as a platform for landsmanshaft publicity. One representative of a newly formed organization, established by observant Orthodox Holocaust survivors to commemorate the religious institutions of their pre-war community, reads and has contributed articles to Dos Yiddishe Vort (American Research Council to Commemorate the Jewish Community of Lodz). This journal is published by the Agudath Israel of America, a world Jewish movement to preserve Orthodoxy.

For the most part, landsmanshaft leaders interviewed do not follow the Yiddish press today, and English language media are preferred. Yet, the Anglo-Jewish media which were inspected pay very scant attention to the landsmanshaftn. This includes the New York Jewish Week, the weekly newspaper published by the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, which enjoys a widespread circulation and is popular in the community at large, including among some of the interviewees.² It should be noted that readers of the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish media, both, use the newspaper to learn about events in the Jewish community at large. Thus, reports of landsmanshaftn that appear mainly in the Yiddish press are noted not only by the audience members whose organization is being described, but by non-members as well.

The available accounts of landsmanshaftn were scrutinized for 1983 and 1984, in light of the judgments of studies on the American Yiddish press (Cutter, 1979; Soltes, 1924), which claim its special position as a mold of Jewish public opinion, providing information on current Jewish affairs. Lookstein, another observer, views the Yiddish press as "much more than a record of what Jews knew; it was almost a measure of the pulse of the community" (1979:9). Regarding the community's voluntary associations, my study found the Yiddish press to act in accordance with these depictions: publicizing activities of landsmanshaft groups and leaders, spreading community values and norms.

Using the Forward as the main source of news on landsmanshaft events, this section first sketches a general description of media portrayal of landsmanshaftn, and then selects examples from the period under examination. The two year duration of the survey verified an annual rhythm of organizational programming. Frequently, landsmanshaft concerns are highlighted by a swell of activity noted in the press around the time of Jewish holidays, for example. Following the yearly Jewish calendar, another major marker of today's landsmanshaftn are the notices that announce memorial meetings to commemorate the victims of the Nazi Holocaust. Groups choose dates for these meetings to reflect the known anniversary of the liquidation of their community in Europe during World War II, or else in accordance with periods during the year that have been set aside as community-wide times of mourning.

Notices about landsmanshaftn show the groups' adherence to a yearly cycle, and also reflect the observance of events in the life cycle of individual members. Congratulatory notices about birthdays, anniversaries, personal achievements and those of children or grandchildren appear. Obituaries are also submitted by landsmanshaftn, and are printed regularly in the back of the paper,

sometimes with details about the deceased's involvement in the organization. Such notices about funerals or tombstone unveilings will also list present officers of the organization and thus have served as a source of updated information. This purpose was confirmed by the representative of one of the communal fundraising agencies seeking to regain contact with particular organizations through their current leaders (Israel Bonds). Since the Forward network extends nationwide and around the globe, these notices also become the carriers of landsmanshaft developments to landslayt in other parts of the world.³

Tracing two years of landsmanshaft-related news in the Forward also points up the scope of associational activity. For example, the organizational typology which Rontch (1939) outlined is still evidenced. The oldest anshe or congregational form appears in the paper's pages, as does the so-called survivor landsmanshaft which grew out of post-World War II immigration. The nature of the landsmanshaft arena which press accounts reveal includes groups that meet regularly, whose agendas may include: guest speakers, internal discussions on current events or literary-cultural topics, entertainment, reports on society business, films, jubilee balls, dinner dances, memorial ceremonies. Even groups that no longer convene may, nonetheless, publicize a reminder to members, for example to light a candle in their homes in memory of landslayt killed in Europe. In short, the newspaper is the community voice for a variety of operational groups.

The reports on landsmanshaftn programs and membership appear either as paid advertisements and announcements, or in the form of press releases that are printed as separate articles or included as abbreviated listings in the regular column devoted to such items. In the Forward, these pages on community events are headed "gezelshaftlekhe tetikaytn."⁴ Because of the bond between the

Forward and the Workmen's Circle, branches of this fraternal order have a reserved space in this weekly bulletin board. The English-language supplement of the paper also carries a regular feature on community-wide activities, but these listings do not mention the landsmanshaft meetings that are prominent in the Yiddish, not even the Workmen's Circle branch gatherings.

The editorial board of the Forward apparently feels its English audience does not require news of landsmanshaftn, assuming that either these readers are not members or they are not interested in this sector of the Jewish community. Alternatively, landsmanshaftn are not prone to sending their notices in English. A visible exception to this pattern are the announcements in the English insert of the Forward and in the Anglo-Jewish press about survivor associations that sponsor programs about the Holocaust.

An interesting debate in the pages of the Forward touches on this very issue of gatekeeping practices. The August 1984 World Gathering of Lodzer Holocaust Survivors, initiated by the Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society, received wide notice in the English media, including a lengthy feature in the New York Times (13 August 1984). The September 14, 1984 issue of the Forward records the complaint by a reader who chides the paper for not sending a correspondent to cover the event. The editors retort with their own defense that the organizers of the gathering ignored the Yiddish press in their publicity campaign, and are themselves guilty of purposeful neglect of the Forward.

The editorial decision-making about media coverage of landsmanshaftn has implications for the kind of information which readers may expect from the Yiddish press. This content, in turn, can influence the reader's vision of his or her relation to the community whose activities and goals are described in the press.

The Yiddish press, in some cases, is a courier that links landsmanshaft readers who otherwise do not receive communication related to their organizational affiliation. An announcement in the paper reaches people which a group wishes to bring to the sphere of active participation. A matter that requires immediate attention is addressed in an urgent appeal by the Federation of Polish Jews on November 9, 1984, for example. The declaration is directed not only to its own small pool of member landsmanshaftn, but to all organizations and individuals potentially interested in supporting the cause of restoring Jewish cemeteries in Poland. In another illustration on October 28, 1983, a society calling members to a commemoration program admits to not having dispatched letters in time, with the announcement serving as a replacement for the usual mode of communication.

The concerns of landsmanshaftn are conveyed to Yiddish readers by reports in the press that regularly and repetitively emphasize activities. Thus, these patterns of communication may influence the actions and opinions of readers who learn about particular organizations' plans for holiday celebrations, memorial assemblies and fundraising events for Israel. These reports can become a basis for comparison with one's own society. On another level, they can potentially provide a shared feeling of community with the wider network of landsmanshaftn around the city. For that matter, landslajt living in Florida remain connected to their Northern compatriots in New York through the press. A Bialystok memorial gathering staged in Miami during the winter months is reported (23 January 1984; 18 March 1984) and a Florida Czestochowa Social Club grieves the passing of one of its members (30 November 1984). In general, the Forward prints news of Jewish organizational life in Florida, Boston, Canada, Chicago, besides New York City.

Besides informing the reader of the existence of associations, what role does the press play in shaping perceptions of appropriate behavior as a member of the ethnic community? Again, Lopata's work provides useful guidelines by documenting the case of the Polish-American reader, who is reminded

of the life and work of persons with the same background as his who have gained a prestige status in various societies...He is appealed to as a person who can contribute time and money to help other people less fortunate than he... Varied groups compete for him as a desirable potential member (Lopata, 1964:217).

A similar situation pertains to subscribers to the Yiddish press, who must continually assess the patterns of affiliation and ethnic expression that the newspapers' coverage of landsmanshaftn offers.

Evaluations of the Forward by its readers have already been cited earlier. The impact of regular exposure to the Forward's descriptions of associational life is more clearly highlighted, by contrast, in the remarks of the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies interviewees for whom traditionally "the newspaper is the Freiheit," yet who also read the Forward (Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies). The present practices of the Morning-Freiheit regarding landsmanshaft-directed pieces differ from that of the Forward. In fact, during the two years in which the papers were analyzed, the landsmanshaft in my sample affiliated with the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies had two notices only in the Morning-Freiheit (7 September 1983; 7 August 1984).

The representative of this landsmanshaft is well aware of this newspaper's role as a bridge between readers. One of the notices in the paper, a get well wish, is his doing: "let the member know that he is not forgotten, let him know we think of him." This informant relates how printing a get well note brought

visitors to the ill member whose condition had not previously been known until his name appeared in the paper:

And when the newspaper arrives, let's say, in Chicago or in Los Angeles... if the name is still there, good. If the name is not there, it's already not a good sign.

Moreover, in addition to preserving communication in this fraternal spirit, these notices in the paper "give more prestige to the organization" (Lodzer-Williamsbridger-Chenstochover-Middle Bronx Fraternal Society).

This informant approves of sending announcements and messages about organizational affairs to the Freiheit. Such actions stand out as a minority trend, however, although it is a regular practice in the Forward, which he also reads. His opinions on other matters are also not typical of his fraternal colleagues:

Those who have strong ties to the old home today feel connections to Israel... but unfortunately not in our circles.

Well aware that other landsmanshaftn "participate directly in campaigns for Israel and collect money for various organizations," he feels that an appeal for the Israel Bonds or United Jewish Appeal will not find as favorable a response in his fraternal order as it does in the Workmen's Circle. In other words, the norms of his own group conflict with those which are evident to him from reports in the Forward of how the landsmanshaftn support Israel.

Donations by landsmanshaftn to Israel occupy a large proportion of the media coverage in the Forward. In fact, one can say that a campaign is waged in the Yiddish press by charities such as the UJA and Israel Bonds to urge landsmanshaftn to contribute their funds to the State of Israel. One manner of persuasion is through publicity in the Forward about landsmanshaftn that give

money through special testimonial dinners, or on a regular basis, or even if they no longer meet as a group:

A society that seldom has meetings, but continues its holy work to help our brothers and sisters in Israel and in all places where Jews live in need or in danger, recently sent in \$2000 for the Israel Emergency Fund Campaign (25 November 1983).

A second announcement applauds another landsmanshaft:

Now, even though the organization only convenes one annual meeting, the Zaromber don't forget their responsibility to our brothers and sisters in Israel (13 July 1984).

Open letters are published, appealing to leaders of all organizations to donate the monies in their treasuries (9 March 1984); reports of landsmanshaftn that respond appropriately as well as photographs of their leaders are continually publicized. The focus is on Israel fundraising activities, be it for UJA, Israel Bonds or Israel's Magen David Adom. In contrast, selected landsmanshaftn such as Nusach Vilne, the Federation of Jews from Vilna in the United States, resist this trend and publicly promote the organization's inclination toward cultural and literary programming "in a heymisher vilner svive," in the spirit of our Vilna home (Morning-Freiheit, 6 March 1983).

Concern for the European hometown still surfaces despite the great interest in Israel causes. Reports from landslayt returning from visits to the European birthplace are featured, as is the addition to the landsmanshaft of recent immigrants. Such attractions are announced in the press to entice landslayt, in this case to a Purim holiday luncheon (2 March 1984).

A yearly Purim party by another group indicates how social gatherings are utilized to meld the celebration of several occasions, as one headline proclaims: "Piotrkower Celebrate Israel Independence Day with an Israel Bonds Purim

Party" (2 February 1983). These activities, reflected in the record of the Yiddish press, attest to the mix of organizational priorities of landsmanshaftn today.

Beyond the surveillance of matters pertinent to the study population, the press survey afforded a more general view of the landsmanshaft sector as represented in its pages. This picture of landsmanshaftn actively underscored the predominance of gatherings for the purpose of Holocaust commemoration and Israel-related fundraising work. Indeed, Holocaust survivors are often featured as the activists in descriptions of landsmanshaftn that sponsor these events. During the two year span, organizations from my interview sample that were listed in the Forward notices included the predominantly survivor landsmanshaftn for the particular city or town: the Czenstochauer Young Men, the Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society, Farband Masada Branch 403, Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization. In addition to the Workmen's Circle landsmanshaftn in my sample receiving the regular coverage accorded to these branches, Bialystok was represented in the press by announcements about Bialystoker Center doings. Leaders of that group today are also post-World War II immigrants, as is the president of the Congregation Czenstochauer Chasam Sopher, a synagogue-based landsmanshaft with several displays about its facilities in the Forward.

Press reports indicate the changed world of landsmanshaft participation and orientation in post-World War II America. The arrival of the post-war newcomers which infused the existing landsmanshaftn world with new members and new goals also meant that a potential new readership would be drawn to the Yiddish press in America. However, loyalty to the Yiddish press among the Holocaust survivors is not universal. One respondent reads it religiously, in his words, along with the New York Times, Jewish Week, the Jerusalem Post, and

assorted Yiddish periodicals. He recalls how an uncle who arrived in America in 1929 used to send the Forward back to Lodz: Then,

when I came here, I started to read again the Jewish Forward and automatically I found out through the Forward where I am and who I am (Farband Masada Branch 403).

Another post-war landsman never reads the Forward. Against the noise of the news ticker tape going constantly in his Wall Street brokerage office, this Lodzer remarks "whatever you have today in the Forverts I read the day before in the New York Times" (Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society). This informant's organization, the Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society, conducts its affairs in English.

The representative of the first group, an avid Yiddish reader, chooses to underline the distinction of his Masada branch:

when they meet, you don't even know that it's a Jewish group... their meeting is conducted in English.

In contrast, his association's identification with Yiddish institutions, including the press, and the utilization of the language to conduct meetings leads to this proud evaluation of the group as "the only organization, the only place where you still have wall to wall Jews." (Farband Masada Branch 403)

Until now, we have explored the reflections of some of today's landsmanshaft members about the role of the current press, and we have suggested possible consequences of following the Yiddish press for the maintenance of landsmanshaft ethnicity. This chapter proceeds to the role which contemporary leaders grant to the press in the past, specifically relating to the early years of World War II.

A Time in the Past: Mass Media Reports and Personal Recollections.

Readers of American Yiddish newspapers in the 1930's and 1940's had at their disposal a more vigorous press than in the present situation. Four major dailies existed in 1933 with a combined circulation of close to 400,000 and an even greater total readership (Cutter, 1979). This discussion of how the landsmanshaft world was reflected in the media in the past, as compared to present conditions, concentrates on the New York Yiddish daily, The Day, which ceased publication in 1972.⁵ It was a well-respected newspaper, noted for its fine columnists, its relatively liberal stance, and its Zionist orientation (Goldberg, 1972). In addition, it was published independent of any particular supporting organizations, unlike the Forward or the Morning-Freiheit. This exploration of landsmanshaftn and the media during World War II years made use of these papers, but less comprehensively.

Readers of the Yiddish Day could find the following exchange on landsmanshaft attachments on page 8, January 5, 1939. In a feature on opinions of the man on the street, the columnist printed the responses and photographs of individuals who were asked: "Where should a person belong, to his landsmanshaft, or to just any other organization?" The question is itself an indicator of the newspaper's recognition of the interest which readers would have in this topic.

Most of the published responses were in favor of belonging among eygene, among one's own landslayt. One opinion, however, draws a broader conceptualization of eygene: "as long as I'm among Jews, it makes no difference if from Lodz or from Boiberik." For this respondent, the locality-based nature of the landsmanshaft has no special meaning. A second statement reverts to a different criterion: "a laborer must belong to a workers' organization... what

good is his landsmanshaft if there are exploiters, bourgeois or dishonest people -- a worker must belong with his class." The other four comments have in common their own preference for landsmanshaft membership, praising the ease of sociability among familiar friends and citing the shared memories and concerns about the old home.

The organizational expressions of these choices of affiliation, and the varied forms they take in the American setting, is of interest to our study. In particular for the proponents of landsmanshaft membership, the ways in which the nature of the declaration of affiliation with the hometown manifests itself in the new home is a key issue.

One way to approach this question is by focusing on a period of time that tests landsmanshaft links to the old and the new home. The early years of World War II represent such an era, when the rule of Nazism was already established, yet the full impact of German aggression had not yet precipitated America's entry into the war. In other words, the years between 1939 and 1941 might be seen as a time when the claims by landsmanshaftn of maintaining close ties with their brethren in the country of origin would be expected to predispose these groups more than other members of the community to exhibit special awareness about the fate of European Jewry. This rationale for studying this three-year period is bolstered by its proximity to the 1938 landsmanshaft survey, whose results offer us the best picture we have to date of the landsmanshaft world.

To begin to examine landsmanshaft responses to the events of World War II, procedures used in the earlier section are adopted. Press reports on landsmanshaft issues and activities are balanced with retrospective evaluations by landsmanshaft leaders today about their source of information in those years. In addition, when available, archival records of organizational proceedings are

consulted. The findings are tentative and require further research, but so far they support the conclusions which have been suggested about the general public response by Americans.

Researchers who have studied the general American press during the Nazi reign (see for example Grobman, 1979; Lipstadt, 1980; 1982) note the relative inattention to the impending annihilation of European Jewry; this disregard on the part of the media is proffered as one of the reasons for what Wyman (1984) terms America's "abandonment" of the Jews. Cutter (1979) monitored American Yiddish newspapers in particular from 1930 to 1933. Lookstein's content analysis used an expanded sample of English as well as Yiddish publications which American Jews would have utilized. His work on American Jewry's public response to the Holocaust based on accounts in the Jewish press and periodicals concludes:

Among the many tragic lessons of the Holocaust, this one may be one of the most instructive. The Final Solution may have been unstoppable, but it should have been unbearable for American Jews (Lookstein, 1979:359).

Do the findings of these studies about the general American public and even the general American Jewish public hold for the landsmanshaft sector? How does the Yiddish press mirror their concern with events of World War II? What role, if any, did the press play in conveying information and influencing landsmanshaft behavior? Overall, based on my exploratory inquiry using several strands of evidence, what has been described for the general public seems true for the landsmanshaftn. Their unanticipated disengagement, contrary to the expectation that these groups would exhibit some disquietude in advance of others, is seen in the newspaper reports and meeting protocols during the war years. This preliminary finding suggests that the widely accepted statement that

Americans did not know about the fate of family and landslayt in Europe and therefore could not act had some basis in reality for the wider masses. It is possible to speculate that there might have been a feeling of distance from these events, that it could not happen to them. Or else, since we find only occasional symbolic gestures on the part of landsmanshaftn in these years, perhaps the events in Europe were not the most important organizational matters of the day. Whatever the case may be, we must be cautious in making retrospective judgments.

The articles on landsmanshaft activities in The Day, for example, show standard discussions on their activities or forecasts about their future (21 January 1939; 19 April 1939; 21 December 1939), such as would be appropriate for any given period of time. Yet, there are also some indications of an awareness that the years 1939 to 1941 are not ordinary ones. Headlines probe landsmanshaftn to reconsider their efforts on behalf of the old home, for example, featuring one society's relief work as a model (3 December 1939). There are calls to renew relief efforts on a broader scale by revitalizing the landsmanshaft federations which functioned during World War I (14 October 1939; 10 March 1940), although the vision is of reconstructing Europe at the eventual end of the war (16 March 1941).

The editorial remarks in a column which appeared in English in The Day summarizes the problems for American Jewry as a whole, but also pertains to the landsmanshaftn:

The fact is that American Jewry has not yet begun to crystallize its reactions to the war situation... such was the terrific impact of the war news upon our conscience that we have been stunned. Large Jewish organizations, ostensibly dedicated to the promotion of Jewish welfare and security, have allowed themselves to drift without deciding on any definite line of action... The fact remains

that thus far there has been no collective Jewish effort to meet the mounting problems... (2 October 1939)

Written on the eve of a conference called by the American Jewish Congress to bring together representatives of Jewish organizations, this article pinpointed the central obstructions to rescuing European Jews, barriers to effective assistance which remained even as the war grew in its dimensions. The actual details of these issues are still being uncovered.⁶

What we have seen from a survey of one daily newspaper during the years 1939 to 1941 is that the preponderant reporting shows business as usual for the landsmanshaft world, with bulletins on their normal meetings and on future programs. Very few items, such as the ones which I have quoted, exhorted landsmanshaft members to become involved in rescue and war relief in this critical period.

For landsmanshaftn, as for other groups, it does not seem that a coordinated plan of action was formulated, nor were these individuals exempt from the inability to recognize the severity of the situation in Europe. Minute books and meeting protocols of the time indicate discussions of routine affairs such as rent and meetings and banquets (LMSA, RG 966, Box 1, Folder 1: Associated Lodzer Ladies Aid). In our sample, the active intervention of specific relief agencies coordinated by the landsmanshaftn of Lodz or Czestochowa is a notable exception, although their work really becomes more intensified in the years following the war (LMSA, RG 987: United Czenstochauer Relief Committee; LMSA, RG 966: United Lodzer Relief).

The efforts of the landsmanshaftn during the war's span are recalled by many interviewees more in terms of the patriotic activities of their organization. This could have included buying War Bonds, or sending packages to the

servicemen overseas, who were then invited to join the organization free of dues obligations upon returning from the Army (Lodzer Friends Benevolent Society). Pictures and letters of these men were printed in souvenir journals from dinners and anniversary balls that were held during the war years (LMSA, RG 1045, Box 1, Folder 1: Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society).

Actually, there is evidence from many years before the war that the hometown was becoming distant for the landsmanshaftn in America. Souvenir journals, compiled at regular intervals throughout an organization's existence, are a telling sign of the progression of affiliation, and can help explain the situation we find during World War II. For example, on the occasion of their twenty-fifth anniversary in 1927, we read the following message of the Lodzer Young Men's president:

Twenty-five years ago, we were wedded to the idea of helping our brethren in Poland, of aiding and serving our needy and neighborly fellowman, and of preparing ourselves to become respected and active citizens of the United States of America. And now it is time, in our maturity, to contribute to the totality of American and Jewish life (LMSA, RG 1045, Box 1).

Remembering this statement, it does not strike the reader as inconceivable that the following suggestion be made twenty years later in a similar album. In 1947, it is proposed to change the name of the organization to U.S. Lodge of the Young Men's Benevolent Society: the once magical word *Lodz* will "discourage those who follow us from taking our places in the organization in future years" (LMSA, RG 1045, Box 2).

This proposal never materialized, but its very suggestion symbolizes a process of the group's Americanization and distancing from the European hometown that was discernable during the war. It was to become exceedingly clear, as shall be discussed later, upon the arrival of the newer emigrants after

World War II. As one Holocaust survivor from Lodz explains about the newcomers and the oldtimers, "We have nothing in common with them...," despite shared origins in Europe (Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society).

Further research is needed to establish the interplay of factors that contributed to the landsmanshaft responses during World War II. It would also be worthwhile to consider the changes in the pattern of identification after World War II, as news of the grim details of destruction came through and surviving witnesses joined the community here. To what extent, we might ask, did the landsmanshaft reclaim its unique link with European Jewry? A related task is to understand the way in which that bond is transposed to a strengthened affiliation with Israel. The boundaries of landslayt ties, their maintenance and flexibility, is the general problem which this study endeavors to comprehend. It is an issue we will return to again.

In searching to uncover the forces which help shape the expression of ethnic identity in landsmanshaftn, this section concentrates on a specific crisis period with important repercussions for their continued existence. The focus on this critical time is used to provide a circumscribed context within which to examine the possible role of the media in the formation of opinions and actions. It is important to bear in mind the limitations of the analysis, including the fact that informants are trying to recall events and feelings that surfaced over forty years ago. Judging from our exchange regarding this time period, these matters still carry with them great emotional impact.

The general pattern of response, when asked about available sources of information about landslayt in Europe, is to point initially to the press:

Well, I think the only way we could have gotten it was like any other group of people, through the media. There was no other way (Warshauer Benevolent Society).

Another respondent specifies "by means of the papers, the Jewish papers," elaborating further, "and the communication, they all had families over there, and correspondence... the majority of us, we all had a person or two or more who lived there" (Warshauer Sick Support Society).

Present landsmanshaft leaders are mainly second generation Americans. They are more likely to remember their parents' predicament during the war rather than to have strong memories of their own concerns, although this respondent knows that 35 members of his family were exterminated.

My mother used to send money to her family that was still over there in Poland... We had no way of knowing. There was definitely a censorship, so we had to get it through the media (Warshauer Benevolent Society).

Another relatively young officer recalls his father's search for information:

I think it was a Jewish organization that contacted him when he couldn't find them, and he was told by the Jewish organization that they were killed (Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association).

One woman who had left parents back in Europe speaks of going to the Red Cross:

And when I came out from the interview talking, I said... it's not good. It's not good. I was reading between her words... You hear the news, you read the news. I know the geography. I know where they're going.

Her sentiments were echoed by many:

What could the Jews do to Hitler? We were on this side...we could do nothing. We could only 'Shray gevalt' (cry out in pain) (Lodzer Young Ladies Aid Society).

What we see from these selected illustrations is that while the press is cited as the first information channel, its potential role in guiding organized responses on the part of landsmanshaftn was probably weakened by the personal priorities of individual members seeking to learn about their families in Europe.

Given the general tendency that the landsmanshaftn by the 1930's were American-oriented, in addition to the fact that press reports were not yet alarming or numerous, the landsmanshaft world could not mobilize its collective forces in a unified and directed way. In this respect, and in their helplessness, the landsmanshaftn looked like the rest of the American community.

Additional data would need to be gathered and analyzed about the conditions which motivated some landsmanshaftn to pursue organized relief work, for example, or to cooperate with the coordinated welfare agencies that tried to win a wide base of support for their overseas aid. The evidence so far suggests that mass and interpersonal communication, both, merit our consideration for understanding the changing identification of American landsmanshaft members.

INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION AND LANDSMANSHAFTN

The orientations of different landsmanshaftn to their city or town of origin, to their new country of settlement, and to the State of Israel is the triangle of relationships which can be studied in order to comprehend the formation and maintenance of the community as a distinct and evolving ethnic unit in America. Communication influences the form which these relationships will take throughout the existence of a particular landsmanshaft. The social structural characteristics of the group, specifically its duration in America and the social characteristics of the membership at any given point in time, condition the effects which communication may have on the manifestation of ethnic identification.

In this regard, the American environment in which the groups function has been seen so far as an important factor in their receptiveness to information and ideas, presently and in the past. The mass media operate as component parts of this environment; even the Yiddish press is a force whose specialized focus on items of concern to the landsmanshaft community is balanced by its position as an American and, according to some, Americanizing institution (Jaret, 1979; Soltes, 1924).

Another consideration affecting the interests and concerns which landsmanshaft members exhibit, in addition to their own selective exposure to various forms of mass communication, is the nature and extent of interpersonal communication. According to the interview data, interpersonal discussion is an important activator of organizational decisions and priorities, and is also claimed as contributing to the preservation of the landsmanshaft and the devotion of its members.

Companionship and Fellowship in the Landsmanshaft

The connectedness and immediacy of interactions with people here in America overshadow the links that exist, if and when they do, with the old home. One daughter who now replaces her mother as president tries to account for her mother's dedication to the Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary:

The feeling for people. Not just the fact that she was born in Bialystok, because let me tell you that my mother was born in Bialystok, moved out of Bialystok when she was a baby, and she was a very young child when she came to the United States anyway.

In addition to the women's "feeling for helping people," especially those in the Bialystoker Home for the Aged, "this was a way of getting together." Regular

weekly meetings obviated the need for a newsletter or reminder; the proximity of the Home to their residences and businesses meant "the women came down and did the cooking, did the serving, did the cleaning." The recollection of the earlier generation's commitment continues: "When this started, this was her Home." Only when this daughter, herself now a leader who stayed on because "we saw what our parents did, what our mothers did," concludes her remarks can the listener detect that she is not referring to the facility, but to the less tangible abstraction, "home" (Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary).

The interview just described took place at the Home, previous to one of the scheduled luncheons of the group. Today, according to my informant, ties to Bialystok are even more likely to be subordinate to the need for fellowship among participants. Members are typically not Bialystoker, but rather women who live in the neighborhood, recruited to the organization by word of mouth. This development is viewed with mixed sentiments: "They don't have the feeling we do, they're not Bialystoker." However, the ultimate appraisal is clearly that this "doesn't mean they cannot be involved in an organization" (Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary). In fact, several organizations no longer stipulate landsman status in its pure definition as fellow townsman, but rather underscore friendship.

The part it plays in ensuring sociability and fellowship is only one of the ways to view the place of interpersonal communication in the development of landsmanshaftn. Judging by the self-reports of different informants it is a central role, almost as if without face-to-face communication there can be no landsmanshaft for them. Respondents speak of their desire for personal contact and for getting together with other group members, even though the dispersal and old age of present day members makes it improbable that most groups can

meet these needs. When it is no longer feasible to have gatherings, regular face-to-face communication is presented as an ideal to strive for, or as a memory of a past when the opportunities for getting together were many.

It remains for us to judge whether it is possible, in fact, for community to exist with reduced interpersonal communication. What adaptations must occur, for such cases, in the conceptualization of community? How does communication vary in its functions for the maintenance of community? These questions are addressed in future discussion chapters. For now, it is important to note the stated preference by landsmanshaft members for direct face-to-face contact among members.

This issue is highlighted in the observations of Workmen's Circle representatives who share misgivings about their organization's new computerized billing system. The attraction to landsmanshaft branches is already weakened because of naturally dwindling numbers, and many such branches are forced to merge. One Lodz branch delegate talks about her fraternal order: "they take in every member... because they need the people," with new candidates placed according to their request for a branch in New York that is geographically convenient for them, rather than one that is geographically connected to their origins in Europe. Yet, in her words, "people don't want to be wiped out entirely... How much does a name mean. But still, when it comes to a merging, they want something to be on it," that the town name should remain. One of the culprits in the loss of visible and active landsmanshaft branches, she feels, is the computer:

People came more to meetings. They had to pay the bills. Now you get the bill in the house, you mail away the check. You don't have to go... (Workmen's Circle, Lodzer Branch 324B)

Other Workmen's Circle activists agree with this assessment of the computer's function in simplifying organizational procedures through the central office, but this thereby sanctions absence from meetings (Workmen's Circle Minsk Branch 507). Computerization effectively depersonalizes the obligation to attend, and this is not the only property of landsmanshaft life which it eliminates. The new system also renames branches according to its specifications. A branch that is a merger of several smaller ones can only be filed under one name. For the computer, Branch 639, must therefore forfeit parts of its identity as the Workmen's Circle base for members from Warsaw, Mlawa, Tlumach, Rakov.

For the president of Branch 639, the shortened title is not the problem, only which affiliation to select is the issue:

I don't approve of all the place names. But some people insist on holding on... they still want a remembrance of home. But there's nothing to hold on to, not even the Jewish cemeteries... they, too, have been destroyed. In other places, not a trace remains of Jewish life. So why cling to the name?

He prefers to disregard the place names entirely and favors retaining the name of the well known Yiddish writer, Opatoshu, who stems from this activist's birthplace of Mlawa. His prediction is that his wish to call this group the Opatoshu Branch of the Workmen's Circle will soon prevail, because "there is no one who protests any more," and he is probably correct (Workmen's Circle Warsaw-Mlaver-Tlumatcher-Rakover-Opatoshu Branch 386-639).

The perception of the computer as an instrument that reduces the prospects of interpersonal communication is seen by Workmen's Circle officials merely as a rationalization for a more serious state of affairs (Figa, 1983). Nonetheless, rationalization or not, the fact that this likelihood is worrisome for members indicates their preference.

Even the more pessimistic of the landsmanshaft leaders I interviewed, bitter in some cases because of their hopelessness about the group's present and future status, eagerly recall and idealize earlier years. In one Minsk group, 1100 members were once active, as opposed to today's twenty. Even in this skeletal group, the presumption is that interpersonal communication should continue to tie landsmanshaft members to each other. The financial secretary speaks:

We just don't get together anymore. What gets me annoyed -- I send them a card from the Minsker Young Men's for the Jewish holidays, and no answer, no call. If I call them, it's 'what took you so long to get in touch?' (Minsker Young Mens Commercial Aid Association).

The mutual expectations which membership and leadership have of each other is revealing of one of the associational norms which landsmanshaft participants accept, namely the active presence of interpersonal communication.

The purposes and consequences of interpersonal communication in landsmanshaftn varies today from earlier years when discussions and meetings, formal and informal, were more frequent. As the previous example shows, personal contact between members of older, waning organizations is uncommon, sometimes non-existent. If people still get together on a rare occasion for a meeting, "it's just friendship... although I don't socialize with them, because they're scattered all over." The main purpose of contact today is friendship, according to this representative of a 120 year old Warsaw landsmanshaft, and also to provide guidance on financial arrangements when needed. He has been a member for 62 years, and therefore was able to take over the presidency because it

entailed the knowledge of how to be able to allot graves. I was the only one who was acquainted with the procedures.

This president's initial introduction to the landsmanshaft was through his father, although he was then not inclined to join. Until today, his more active affiliation is with a different organization:

Yes, I'm very active, even today, in a Masonic fraternity. I'm the secretary of one of the biggest Masonic clubs in the United States. (Warshauer Sick Support Society).

Here, describing his other memberships, his interest perks. The contrast between this choice and the more reluctant involvement in the landsmanshaft compels us to think about the kind of communication which leaders sustain.

The positive correlation of the extent of interpersonal communication patterns, formal and informal, with the maintenance of group cohesiveness is evident in the more vital societies today. An old organization that was established in 1902, but restored to a new level of vigor by arrivees from post-World War II Europe, is the Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society. Besides a monthly circular and announcements of special events outside of regular meetings, a core of active members stays in touch almost constantly. In addition, according to a former president, nine or ten couples play cards in each other's homes weekly (Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society).

Different patterns of communication among members hold for different landsmanshaftn. Consequently, evaluations of experiences in organizational life vary depending on the extent and scope of available communication. One woman recalls her many affiliations, including her Antopol landsmanshaft, as having "sustained" her, agreeing with the comments which friends would make to her about her many activities:

You have such a rich life, she says, I don't mean that you're rich. But your life is very very rich.

Nominated as the singing "Prima Donna of Corona" by friends in her local synagogue in Queens, this immigrant from Antopol never deserted the landslayt in Harlem, in her words:

I liked them very much... because they knew who I am,
who my father was, who my mother was...

For her, the landsmanshaft to which she belonged was a friendly, jovial place. She values this memory of a conflict-free environment, and hints at one reason for that atmosphere:

We had to vote on things... but usually the majority
opinion of the older leaders was agreed upon by all
(Antopoler Society of Harlem).

The mix of company, which her other affiliations also provided, and shared origins, which only the Antopoler landslayt could support, was purpose enough to keep up communication with the landsmanshaft, even after leaving the neighborhood where most of them lived.

The nature of communication among members is one determinant of the durability of a landsmanshaft and its ability to pull members into its orbit. As the previous example suggests, a major attraction is the opportunity to share talk about one's personal past, regardless of the organizational tasks at hand. This is echoed in a second informant's remarks:

So they see each other once in a month, or maybe some of
them meet once in three months. And also they come
together, they have something to reminisce, to talk
about... when you come together, you have a feeling, to
talk about. Otherwise, somebody once said to me, if you
can't talk about who you are... who are you?

When told that some people might join an organization for cemetery reservations, this woman laughs at such an inducement, "I never thought about it" (Lodzer Young Ladies Aid Society).

Both of these women respondents, it should be noted, relate episodes that reveal their own insecurities about being immigrants. To the extent that the stigma of a foreign accent or foreign birth affected landsmanshaft members, the relief of being with people who worried about the same things and had the same concerns must also be considered. On the one hand, for one Lodz activist who belonged to several Lodz groups, "when you belong, you know a lot of people" and "when you belong, you're a doer." But, in addition, belonging to a landsmanshaft is also being on familiar ground:

You know something, what it is. It's strangers, but it's something that comes with your past. There's something you can't close the door. (Lodzer Young Ladies Aid Society)

A second Lodz landsmanshaft leader affirms these sentiments that people were not interested so much in the hometown, but

they were interested in the people. They were lonely. You see, when they came to this country.. they just wanted to be among themselves.

Here, one also learns that shared language is not only metaphorically an underlying motive for seeking companionship in landsmanshaftn, but also in actuality a factor in recognizing a potential social circle:

I'm longer here than I was in Lodz. But when I hear somebody, a Lodzer, I feel it's a kin of mine. You feel like you could express yourself better... To approach people, I'm very shy... But when I hear somebody talking my kind of language, so I ask them whether they're Lodzer. (Workmen's Circle Lodzer Ladies Branch 324B)

Several other Yiddish-speaking informants relate similar sentiments about encountering their special dialect of the language as a welcome sign of familiarity and comradeship (Chevra Anshei Antopolier). Even American-born children of immigrants who are a generation removed from the chore of learning to speak English, but are bilingual, can appreciate this marker of identical

language patterns. Hearing the distinctive tones of Warsaw Yiddish while traveling in London, one informant expresses the immediate bond he feels:

It was the greatest thing... It's like having a family. It's another family, and it's great (Warshauer Benevolent Society).

Leadership and Influence in the Landsmanshaft

Up until now, we have mainly described the interpersonal communication links among members of landsmanshaftn. These patterns have hinted at the role relations and expectations which characterize the group. To discuss communication in landsmanshaftn in these terms necessitates an examination of the role obligations and status sets of individual leaders in these groups. We will want to see antecedents of their participation in interpersonal communication networks as leaders, and the consequences of this position for their performance and influence in their landsmanshaft. A related issue is the way in which leaders confer status on their followers and on particular norms of behavior, and the reciprocal impact of members on their leadership in granting prestige and power. How the world of the leader, particularly his or her communication links, influences the orientation of the landsmanshaft as an ethnic unit is a question which this section will address.

Communication between leadership and membership regarding organizational options often felt the guiding hand of core activists who "always knew which side was right," according to one informant.

Some man would say 'So and so did good for me. We gotta help that group.' If he was right, that's it.

But in the case of disagreements about such decisions, where someone would "rather give to this one than that one, because I'll be a big shot with this one," the leadership would assign priorities:

Was it important to satisfy a man's desire to bloom for a while, or was it a worthwhile organization.

The evaluation of deserving causes appears to have at least some basis in the network in which leaders are engaged. This same landsmanshaft officer is, himself, a member of other national Jewish organizations such as ORT, UJA and Israel Bonds. He describes the situation:

Most of the delegates you see at the various meetings all wear different hats. They come to the UJA, they talk UJA. They come to ORT...(Minsker Young Friends Benevolent Association).

One can conjecture that when they come to the landsmanshaft, they also talk about UJA or ORT. Thus, their social position in one context influences the nature of convictions which they will express elsewhere.

The landsmanshaft leaders are described by some as individuals who would "have to know how to settle...peaceably, so there shouldn't be any dissent" (Warshauer Benevolent Society). The power to exercise this power was often granted to leaders whose social position affords a view of the world that is beyond the perimeters of the landsmanshaft's internal concerns. Among the grass-roots leaders, there are those who joined not only other Jewish organizations, but also American groups, and therefore "had a broader view." One such president was able to enjoy his tenure for as long as he did because of this experience,

because most of the other members, mostly they were very much European. And he was very much Americanized. And they couldn't do what he did (Ochoter Warshauer Young Men's Progressive Society).

Interestingly, even the older immigrant generation of leaders is seen as "very American" by some of the American-born heirs to these positions today.

When this is the case, that attribute is proudly displayed:

I think that they were very American... And the fact that they had come to this country, and they had learned English, and they were able to go to work, join a union, they were able to educate their children... So their allegiance to America was very very strong.

The influence of their American environment as they strove to acclimatize plus their gratitude to this country, to continue, put the original Warsaw home "on the bottom. That was on the bottom, even though they were still called Varshever" (Warshauer Benevolent Society). This development, even in the years when immigration and the old home were more a part of recent memory, needs to be remembered when we judge the orientations of American landsmanshaftn today. The orientation of landsmanshaft activists to the old home and to America is influenced by a process of opinion formation where these individuals figure at times as leaders in shaping beliefs and actions, at times as recipients of information and opinions.

The evolution of landsmanshaft interests and concerns that marks these organizations' development as products of their American setting was especially accentuated by the new immigration wave of European Jews after World War II. The meeting of the newer immigrants with their American landslayt highlighted the differences between the two sectors, particularly in their expressions of affiliation as Jews of Polish descent now in America. In one example, a Holocaust survivor distinguishes between himself and his older sibling, a brother who left Poland to come to this country in the 1920's and who is a veteran leader in the landsmanshaft to which they both presently belong, the younger brother

having joined after the war: "He really knows little about Czestochowa, he's a Yankee" (Czenstochauer Young Men).

One Czestochowa survivor who came in 1947 feels the older immigrants, though they spoke of longing for their old home, really hold in esteem all that is American. His own choice was not to affiliate officially with the Czenstochauer Young Men, for example, which is today mainly populated by other survivors of the war. For him, even this shared background does not compensate for this group's lack of interest in preserving the use of Yiddish at meetings, for example. In earlier years, when the pre-war leaders still predominated, he took exception to the lack of any specifically Jewish flavor in the landsmanshaft's memorial assemblies, protesting that a Chopin march to set the somber tone would not "reflect those who were killed."

Eventually, this man was able to institute changes to meet his standards for representing Jewish Czestochowa at these commemorations and other larger scale programs. However, to satisfy the Jewish interests which he and other like-minded colleagues share, a separate Czestochowa "Circle" was organized where "each gathering was a cultural event... there everything was, of course, conducted in Yiddish" (Chenstochover Circle of Brooklyn). Thus, contact with the larger landslayt association may occur for major events, but a more intimate network is necessary for expressing one's own variety of Jewish ethnic identification.

In other cases, rather than forming new independent landsmanshaftn, separate communication networks exist in the same organizations as conflicting factions. Survivors from the city of Lodz elected to join the already established Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society, though it is clear that there is a strong "we" feeling among this more recent subgroup. When asked whether he ever

talked about his experiences during World War II with the people, this leader asks for clarification:

You talking about our people or people who were here before the war? When I came to the organization, we did not indulge ourselves in discussions with them.

Today, control of the organization rests in the hands of these post-war Lodzer, but in earlier years it took a battle to introduce new ideas:

They called me 'Here comes Moses with his ten commandments'... It was really a fight. And we had some old-timers, they were fighters... 'Came a greenhorn and all of a sudden he wants to turn the whole generation. We already existing 40, 50, 60 years'.

The impression that remains of those years is: "They had a club. We came in. We spoiled it." From their point of view, the senior landsmanshaft members who encountered the new arrivals have their own evaluations of the clash.⁷

Reflecting on one of the major changes inaugurated by the new demographics and the new leadership, we hear:

We had a purpose, Israel... Before the war they used to raise money for Lodz...And, naturally, the war changed the whole thing. There were no more people left in Lodz, so from supporting needy people in Poland, we supported Israel. And now Israel is the main purpose of any fundraising, any function we have in the organization, except social functions. Even some of the social functions.

Indeed, this organization has donated to many projects in Israel. A favorite cause of many American landsmanshaftn, Tel Aviv's Museum of the Diaspora, has benefited from organizational contributions and individual leaders' donations. "My name is right there, among the founders," claims this Lodz activist, and his landsmanshaft's name also has an honored place (Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society).

Landsmanshaft Concerns: The Old Home, The New Home,
The Homeland

Today, Israel is accepted as a major purpose of organizational charity almost universally by American landsmanshaftn. History, as the previous informant claimed, forceful campaigns, and the examples set by leaders who are honored for their support are among the factors that contribute to communicating the pursuit of this kind of activity as a norm for landsmanshaftn. As a result, as seen in earlier sections, the manifestation of a close identification of landsmanshaftn with Israel is added to the landsmanshaft community's other tasks: the development of a relationship with the country of settlement, America, and its orientation to the city or town of origin.

The identification of American landsmanshaftn with Israel is fostered, as we have already discussed, by campaigns in the mass media and in personal meetings between these groups and professional fundraising staffs. This concern with Israel is not mirrored, contrary to our expectation, in the relationship today between most American organizations and their Israeli counterparts. Here, typically, regular communication with landslayt in Israel consists of family ties, and not official links between Israeli and U.S. landsmanshaft groups from a common European locale (Warshauer Benevolent Society).

More as exceptions than the rule, Israeli groups "when they need money for a certain project...write to us" (Czenstochauer Young Men). Such joint endeavors would be the publication of a yisker book, for example. The response to requests is a matter about which Israeli landsmanshaftn express disappointment and frustration, as Chapter 6 will elaborate. In some cases, whether or not

there are even landslaid in Israel is not information that is readily known to the Americans (Ochoter Warshauer Young Men's Progressive Society).

Even when information about the existence of Israeli compatriots is known to leaders who have, unlike many of the interviewees, actually visited Israel, this does not guarantee familiarity. When leaders have no contact with Israel, it is unlikely for the membership to pursue cooperative organizational ventures. Thus, a monument to Lodz Jewry that stands in a cemetery in the city of Holon in Israel is "something else," the interviewer is told, distinct from a monument that stands in another city, Ashdod: "What you saw there is for the Israelis. What I'm talking about, we put up for our organization" (Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society).

When organizations in America contribute to projects or buildings in Israel, it is a particular leader who takes on the responsibility for sustaining open lines of communication. The upkeep of the Antopol synagogue in Tel Aviv, for example, is largely the concern today of one of the New York Antopol landsmanshaftn, Chevra Anshei Antopolier. Its president visits Israel regularly and champions the cause of the synagogue's care. Other monies are donated by the American family members of the Israeli society's chief officer. The existence of the synagogue was news, however, to the leader of the Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association in New York.

Not only in this last example, but also with regard to the existence of other landsmanshaftn on the same continent, I found that a Minsk landsmanshaft would not know of other Minsk ones (Minsker Young Friends Benevolent Association), Warsaw Holocaust survivor groups could not conceive of the continued existence of pre-war Warsaw landsmanshaftn (Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization). In short, the patterns of interpersonal communication which we find for American

landsmanshaftn do not usually result in cooperative work and unified activity as a single community. The kind of regular communication that does exist has other consequences for the ethnic group that will be assessed in the ensuing discussion and summary chapters.

One of the issues which our discussion of the role of communication in the manifestation of ethnic identity will address is how the landsmanshaft leaders today compare to the former ones. For example, are the second and third generation adults more likely to stress aspects of the group's Jewish heritage than the association did in its earlier development? It would be interesting to see whether increasing Americanization is, in fact, a prerequisite of an unanticipated turn to an ideology of preservation and remembrance of Jewish culture. How are the forms of ethnic identification which may arise dependent on the influence of landsmanshaft leaders today? The comparison between the American situation and the Israeli case in Chapter 6, by highlighting the similarities and differences in patterns of communication in each country's landsmanshaftn, will also show how societal conditions influence this communication and crystallization of ethnic expression.

Learning to be a Leader

Since communication between leadership and membership is central to the development of the landsmanshaft's priorities and activities, it seems important to understand something of the process by which individuals assume an activist position. What antecedent communication behavior plays a role in this decision? Many informants speak of the effect of the home environment and the example

of parental involvement, a feeling

we got from our mothers. Because my mother belonged to so many organizations... I think she lost count.

Inspiration and obligation, both, play a part. This respondent continues:

A little encouragement from mother, saying, 'why don't you come down to a meeting, why don't you see what we do (Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary).

Indeed, the appreciation of memorable and lively meetings in the organization's past are also a pull in the direction of taking a leadership role.

The legacy of organizational responsibility, when transmitted from generation to generation, is usually gender-specific. In some instances, however, a daughter will recall the message of an active father: "It was a kind of trust that was handed down." This attitude also extended to the newly acquired family member, her spouse:

But my husband got his marching orders when he asked my father for my hand in marriage (Ochoter Warshauer Young Men's Progressive Society).

Today's leaders who are children of the original landsmanshaft pioneers, besides carrying forth a tradition which they knew and personally observed in the past, also fulfill an obligation to now deceased parents and their friends. One son-in-law recounts:

This was the organization that I was affiliated with. And I felt it, especially now, I feel that it's a mitsve (good deed).

Judging by this very informant, this second generation leadership population, however, is not always as successful in conveying the duty of continuity to its offspring, even when their children are familiar with the organization. Several marriages, for example, as in this man's case, occurred between sons and daughters who "met because their parents were members of the Varshaver Benevolent Society" (Warshauer Benevolent Society).

Children sometimes belong because the parents pay their dues for them. Although it is not widely accepted as a likely scenario, one informant could project ahead to a time when his children might revive the landsmanshaft, albeit in a different embodiment:

It wouldn't have any meaning being Varshever... It would just be another Jewish organization (Independent Warshauer Linas Hazedek).

For another Warsaw group, a development such as this is not problematic. One representative recalls the forecasted demise which their parents' generation had presumed, yet a new form of involvement emerged instead. A similar maturation of the organization is predicted for their children:

Deep down in my heart, we should live till 120, I somehow feel that when we are gone, and there's nobody to take over, our children will continue (Povonsker-Warschauer Young Men's Benevolent Association).

While leadership behavior is an outcome of communication between the generations, another incentive is learned postures acquired in other organizational settings. For example, political work in Europe prior to emigration may have contributed the desire and skill to become a leader in America. Describing his wartime experiences in the Lodz ghetto during World War II, one respondent recounts his activity there in a Zionist group:

I was the youngest secretary of the movement in Lodz. Me, as administrator... became very very active in the ghetto.

Later in the interview, describing the multifaceted nature of his present organization, he alludes to his prior exposure where he learned the lessons of group life:

I can even tell you that, even in the ghetto, we were so good organized. We had schools and lectures. We had celebrations (Farband Masada Branch 403).

Similar practice in organizational know-how and a commitment to participation as a leader is described by another informant who fondly recalls "the big good days" of organizational bustle. His self-attained education as a political activist and a union leader drew him into the province of the Workmen's Circle. The landsmanshaft branch he heads provided a Jewish setting for his interest in fraternalism and Jewish labor causes, a place where the rules governing his other organizations could be extended to this specifically Jewish context. An eventual merger with another Workmen's Circle branch results in meetings that he evaluates as

beautiful meetings, all cultural with programs, concert, music. Everything, but there was no place, time for Workmen's Circle reports, reading of the minutes...

and other organizational procedures. For this leader, such violations are a sign of serious omission. His leadership training will not let him disregard this laxity, and he plans to take steps to remedy this situation (Workmen's Circle Minsk Branch 507).

Most leaders, it should be noted, work in this capacity without compensation. In fact, the ability to volunteer one's time without pay is probably a factor in eligibility for taking on a leadership post. On the other hand, some organizations maintain paid officers to oversee secretarial matters. One other realm where financial qualifications may play a role in determining a candidate's credentials as a landsmanshaft leader concerns the particular individual's ability to set an example by his or her patterns of philanthropic donations to organizations which the landsmanshaft values, for example the UJA or Israel Bonds. The leadership symbolizes the values and aspirations of the group and also makes it possible for the members to identify through them with the standards and norms of the larger community.

The communication between participants, leaders and members, as well as between the landsmanshaft and other community institutions has been studied in order to interpret the structural changes which the landsmanshaft sector of the American Jewish community has undergone. The patterns of influence generated by regular mass and interpersonal communication have been described and extracted from the observations of the participants themselves. To help summarize the themes hitherto interspersed in the descriptive narrative, a more focused portrait of mass and interpersonal communication patterns in the landsmanshaftn of Bialystok descendants in America is now presented.

A PROFILE OF BIALYSTOK LANDSMANSHAFTN:

AN ILLUSTRATIVE CASE

The characterization of landsmanshaft ethnicity and communication on an individual and group level has been outlined. In brief, the existing landsmanshaftn associated with Bialystok will now be described to recapitulate the motifs found for the study population as a whole. In addition, this focused synopsis will return our attention to the persistent socially organized heterogeneity which we find in the landsmanshaft sector. This review of major themes will lead to the next chapter, a discussion and analysis of the descriptive data.

The Bialystok affiliates in New York retain one central landsmanshaft body that serves as an axis around which much of today's activity revolves. Communication flows out of the Bialystoker Center offices to its group and individual members, to remind them of their ties and obligations to the Center and to the upkeep of the Bialystoker Home and Infirmary for the Aged. Charitable donations to various U.S. and Israeli projects, as well as any aid to Bialystok, are

disbursed from the Center which acts as the representative of its constituents. Other mechanisms of centralization include the semi-annual publication of the bilingual Bialystoker Shtimme, distributed worldwide, as well as the orchestration of various events that bring together representatives of the Bialystoker landsmanshaftn and Center supporters.

It is clear that the presence of the Center's director, who is known, as was his predecessor before him, as a veritable "Mr. Bialystok" to the landsmanshaft delegates interviewed, is strongly felt. He coordinates the many activities in New York and is in constant communication with Bialystok-related developments in other cities and other countries. Ties to Israel include support of numerous projects for the welfare of Israeli institutions. Relations between the Center and the Israeli village of Kiryat Bialystok, built to provide housing for Bialystok survivors of World War II, are being restabilized after some years of strain.

The power base for decision-making and communication of organizational agendas and norms resides in the hands of the Center's present leadership. They are mainly the Holocaust survivors who organized a Club of Bialystoker Friends in 1945 as a division of the Center, but which today is basically indistinguishable from it. The once unique interests of this most recent landsmanshaft-type group of Bialystok immigrants, for example, in initiating memorial assemblies or perpetuating the cultural accomplishments of Bialystok Jewry, are now established priorities which are reflected in programming and publications.

Of the distinct Bialystok groups which are subsumed under the overarching frame of "the Bialystoker landsmanshaft," which some of the respondents speak of, two show evident signs of the occupational interests which surfaced once as organizing imperatives. The Bialystoker Bricklayers Benevolent Association today is an example of a group that has third generation members represented,

still turning to the Center as a site for the landsmanshaft's not very frequent meetings, participating in major concerts or dinners organized by the Bialystoker Center. The group published The Bialystoker Foundation in Yiddish and English on the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary in 1935, but as with other such publications of individual Bialystok landsmanshaftn, it had the guiding editorial hand of the Center's director at that time.

A second Bialystok group of individuals who shared a trade is the Bialystoker Cutters Social Club. Today, this landsmanshaft no longer seems to be within the reach of the Bialystoker Center sphere of influence. Incoming members who joined over the years identified with a particular aspect of the group's identity. While one might indeed be a Bialystoker working as a cutter in New York's garment industry, other members joined solely because of job considerations, still others only for recreation. In the past, the Bialystoker Cutters Social Club contributed to the Center's matzo fund, to the United Jewish Appeal and HIAS, and also to Boys' Town. This last measure reflects the fact that several non-Jewish members, Italian garment workers, once joined. Thus, in this case, the boundaries of acceptable membership criteria were stretched to the extent that continued communication with the Bialystok landsmanshaft community was not sustained.

Flexibility in eligibility to become a participant in a Bialystok landsmanshaft also describes the situation of the Bialystok Ladies Auxiliary today. This group is still only for women, and still actively supports the Bialystoker Home, but members no longer carry the emotional attachment communicated by the parent generation, which only the leaders still demonstrate. The opportunity for sociability and charity work which the landsmanshaft affords its members, who are recruited today by neighbors and friends, is a result of their proximity to the

Center more than anything else. For a similar reason, although this group published its own Yiddish organ in earlier years, the regular schedule of meetings at the Home makes formal written communication internal to the group superfluous today.

The neighborhood around the Bialystoker Center also supports another edifice that still functions today under the banner of the Bialystok name. The Bialystoker Synagogue, among the oldest on New York's Lower East Side, was originally founded by Jews from Bialystok. The rabbi and members today no longer have this ancestral link and there are friendly but really minimal relations between the Bialystoker Center, the landsmanshaft groups and the Bialystoker Synagogue, yet a name change is not a consideration for this Orthodox congregation. Its visible identification as a Bialystok institution rather communicates the affirmation of its durability, a tribute to the religious life which once characterized the area and has endured at least in this one form.

We are also reminded of the religious component in Bialystok landsmanshaft life by the survival of the Bialystoker Unterstutzungs Verein Somach Noflim. This group's officer still lives in the primary neighborhood of first settlement, in fact adjacent to the Bialystoker Center, but it does not appear that the attraction is very great today. The Bialystoker Shtimme he receives remains unopened; he disapprovingly reviewed it as immodest: photographs of males without the requisite head covering required by observant Jews, female members in sleeveless dresses. In addition, the news which this communication brings is of people who are unfamiliar newcomers for whom the Somach Noflim is a relic of the past. In this group, founded in 1886, we also witness an example of leadership by default, where the remaining officer can be an American-born son, who never welcomed the opportunity that was thrust upon him by his immigrant

parent to join the landsmanshaft. This group's anniversary journals are called The Bialystok Pioneer.

Another surviving group, from 1906, is the Bialystoker Young Men's Association. In contrast to the landsmanshaft leader mentioned above, this Young Men's officer fondly reviews his own tenure in the organization as a training ground for mastering the rules of political life. Another noteworthy difference is the Young Men's appeal to middle class families in its initial stages, drawing in sons who were professionals. It is in pages of this landsmanshaft's journal, the Byma, that these sons are portrayed as soldiers who participated in the American army during World War II. Activities of this association during the war years are indicative of the general pattern of landsmanshaftn to concentrate on the American military effort.

The connection to one's regional identity as a Bialystoker converges with political fidelity to labor causes in the case of Workmen's Circle Branch 88. A Yiddish journal, Bialystoker Friend, throughout the years asserts commonalities and special concerns that arise as a result of the dual loyalties as Workmen's Circle members and as Bialystoker landslayt. The leader of the Workmen's Circle branch, like his colleagues in other Bialystok landsmanshaftn, defers to the Center today as a source of information and insight. The branch is bound up with the Workmen's Circle, particularly as its spokesman is also director of the New York Workmen's Circle Home for the Aged. However, in general, special links do exist between the Workmen's Circle leadership network, with which the Forward is allied, and the Bialystoker Center. This has to do, in part, with affinities traditionally and mutually exhibited by these two prominent forces in American Jewish life. In the pages of the Forward today, one notices wide coverage of Bialystoker Center events.

Another fraternal order also once supported a separate Bialystok affiliate branch. However, only archival records attest to this development, as present-day officials of the Farband Labor Zionist Alliance could not summon forth the information on this branch. Apparently, its independent existence has been submerged by the larger organizational structure of the order. Only in past issues of the Bialystoker Center's Shtimme and the faintly remembered names suggested by the Center director are there hints of a once vibrant collaboration.

An active partnership that does exist today is between the Bialystoker Center and the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. The Center director, himself a Holocaust survivor, is seen as a leader in the survivor community. The pages of the Shtimme detail the participation of delegates at the conventions held so far by the Gathering. The attendance of the Gathering's president at a recent memorial assembly organized by the Center is seen as a coup, symbolic of the close links. In general, the significance of Holocaust-related activity is communicated by the Center, including its recent publication of a Bialystok memorial book.

The variety of Bialystok landsmanshaft activity attests to the release of communal energy which the American environment supports. The range of groups indicates the ethnic community is heterogeneous, and the pattern of affiliation shows that the process of ethnic identification for a member of that community is complex. Using landsmanshaftn to examine the role of communication in that course points up how the ethnic community preserves its distinctness while progressing through many changes. The organizational complexity of the 1980's is not equivalent to that of 1938 or 1908, but it is a persistent quality of Jewish-American voluntary associations. Some of the interpersonal and mass communication patterns that contribute to the continuity of

the landsmanshaft have been described. We now turn to a discussion of the role of communication in the survival of this ethnic community.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Upon discovering issues of Landsleit, I was eager to meet with its founding editor, David Seltzer, who kindly shared his scrapbooks and memories with me. The counsel of David Mates, a journalist on the staff of the Forward, in helping me coordinate this meeting is gratefully acknowledged. As for journals in other countries that also attempt to cater to a wide range of landsmanshaftn, see for example Landsmanshaftn, published in Argentina, and Der Landsman, distributed in Australia.
2. While concentrating on the New York press in my media survey, I also scanned issues of Philadelphia Anglo-Jewish publications, specifically The Jewish Exponent and The Jewish Times. Here, one finds occasional mention of existing landsmanshaftn in the Philadelphia community. Usually this coverage entails a photograph of the officers delivering a contribution check to the local Federation Allied Jewish Appeal. Landsmanshaftn were also described in several New York Times reports during the period under study (see articles on 9 October 1983; 13 August 1984; 24 June 1985).
3. A similar situation is described for Aufbau, a foreign-language newspaper that largely serves the German-speaking Jewish population. An article that appeared in The Jewish Week (31 August 1984) describes how responses to obituaries and personal notices that are printed indicate the community of readers worldwide who learn of colleagues and friends through the press.
4. A telling commentary on the inadequacy of translating concepts in the Yiddish language into English deals with the adjective gezeshaftekh. In this context, of the newspaper column's heading, it is rendered correctly as community. However, the dictionary definition also includes "social" (Weinreich, 1968). Thus, several respondents would describe the main thrust of their activity as being "social work." This, of course, refers to the communal nature of landsmanshaft concerns.
5. When this newspaper ceased publication on December 28, 1971, it was by that time officially known as The Day-Jewish Journal, having merged with the Jewish Morning Journal in 1953. For a discussion of this newspaper's position in light of the history of the New York Yiddish press, see Goldberg, 1972.
6. The publications by Wyman (1968;1984) and Feingold (1970), for example, attempt to unravel the ineffectiveness of America's response to the catastrophe confronting European Jewry.
7. There are indications, from several of the interviews, that the post-war arrivees are viewed by some of the veteran members as being a separate and distinct element in the landsmanshaft. For example, respondents critique the newly acquired wealth of some of the Holocaust survivors, or else point to their lack of formal education as a result of the war's

interruption of their studies. Some of these remarks are made disparagingly, while others are simply clarifications of the distinctions between the pre-and post-World War II immigrants. Overall, if there are these feelings of separateness today, these have less to do with hostility than with felt differences.

8. This discussion of the dynamics of leadership benefits from the sociological analysis of leadership in the American Zionist movement by Shapiro (1971).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Selections from qualitative interviews with landsmanshaft leaders, as well as illustrations from media and archival sources, have depicted patterns of mass and interpersonal communication in landsmanshaftn. While the descriptive data have compelled us at different points in earlier sections to interrupt the report in order to synthesize the materials, this next chapter will mainly serve to analyze the findings. Building on accounts at our disposal, we discuss the significance of communication patterns we have noted. The impact of communication on organizational activities and orientations of American landsmanshaftn, given the heterogeneity and variability observed, is the focus.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANDSMANSHAFTN

The changes that have been traced in the character of landsmanshaftn affiliations, both on the group level and with regard to individual leaders, show that the boundaries of landsmanshaft identification are not fixed, but rather flexible. This elasticity, according to Smith, is related to the fact that voluntary associations and the ethnic communities of which they are a part are "not simply transplanting of Old World... loyalties, but reasoned efforts to deal with new challenges" (1979:1169). As consociations of immigrants in their new destination, ethnic organizations exist with objectives that reach beyond allegiance to

the old home. For landsmanshaft participants, the group's organization of its communal activities reflects their non-static position as ethnic Americans.

The influences on expressions of this multidimensional and constantly evolving identity for any immigrant group are not simple unidirectional processes in a quantifiable continuum, leading ultimately to a resolution that invalidates multiple affiliation. On the contrary, sociological analyses point to the persistence of ethnicity in American society (see for example Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Gordon, 1964), even as groups become increasingly more established in the new home. As Smith notes:

Ethnic organizations coalesced out of both economic and psychic need and found meanings for personal and communal life in the cultural symbols and the religious ideas that their leaders believed were marks of a shared inheritance... (Smith, 1979: 1168)

They are an appropriate place to examine the emergence of new forms of ethnic identity which are developed as a means of social adjustment to new conditions.

The landsmanshaft, which presumes common descent of participants in the new country of settlement, exemplifies this mode of social organization. Its development shows the changing orientation of ethnic community members. Moreover, to study the role of communication in the adaptation to American life, the landsmanshaftn are particularly suitable because of stratification internal to the sector. The fact is that separate and autonomous organizations of immigrants with shared origins in a particular city or town were created and are still maintained. It is possible to analyze the purposes and influences of communication for associational life in light of the social characteristics of these various organizations and their leaders. By highlighting differences and similarities in the manifestation of identification for these multiple groups,

potential social consequences of communication for ethnic socialization are uncovered.

Before proceeding to discuss the possible role of mass media use and interpersonal communication discussion in the development of landsmanshaftn, the major signs of change in their ethnic identification need to be reviewed. Concerning the complexion of the group, as opposed to the characterization of individual leaders, a major shift is the one from local or regional connections to a broader attachment to national concerns. In other words, most landsmanshaftn are established to promote sympathies with the European birthplace, sentiments which are shared by members who formalize this link by establishing the voluntary association. Self-help and self-preservation are the watchwords of this initial organizational effort, and varieties of mutual aid and insurance services are instituted for members of the group.

As the core grows and the landsmanshaft exhibits its durability in the new country, the original precepts are expanded to match the new social structural position of the group. In its tenure as an immigrant organization, the landsmanshaft also adjusts to the new conditions of American society. This occurs in several spheres, such as in language change, in the adoption of precedures and formalities of American fraternities, and also in organizational responses and agendas. The criteria for affiliation are extended beyond like-minded landslajt from a common European locale to include a more far-ranging field of potential members. So, too, are the limits of organizational platforms stretched to accommodate fresh imperatives. A gradual move toward identification with American society, aided by the economic and geographic mobility of landsmanshaft members, generates new priorities and concerns.

The changing goals of American landsmanshaftn reflect the growing familiarity with American culture, and also the reduced need for group responsibility in taking care of its members. These functions remain, but the landsmanshaft was never limited to these economic arrangements. The stated goals of ensuring material benefits also result in regular and socially organized activity that provides fellowship and companionship in this special context. Such occasions, be they regular meetings or special events, provide the opportunity for interpersonal contact with those of similar interests and background, regardless of the manifest reasons for gathering.

Participation in the immigrant association signals some degree of solidarity with compatriots. In addition, it is in this organizational setting that ideas are shared and events in the world are interpreted by the group. Relations with the old home continue as contact with certain aspects of American culture grows, and community involvement in the new society as Jewish Americans becomes increasingly evident.

With each new incoming wave of East European Jews, the development described by Mills for the Puerto Rican migrant in New York is seen to pertain also to the landsmanshaft: the new immigrant who seeks to strengthen links via a hometown association finds "the clubs are often 'American' in type" (Mills, 1950:108). Landsmanshaftn are in a unique position, as voluntary associations that strive to participate in American society while mobilizing members' common backgrounds as Polish or Russian Jews from a particular locality. As such, they provide an appropriate testing ground for judging the kinds of ethnic affiliations and the influences on those choices.

One of the results of landsmanshaft continuance in America is that along with the concentration of efforts on behalf of the hometown, local charities and

causes also receive the organizations' attention. Another development related to the formation of the growing relationship between the voluntary association and American society is the generation of assorted groups that reflect new trends in affiliation. These varieties of landsmanshaftn, sometimes even in their formative stage, are even more distanced from the hometown than were the pioneering landsmanshaft groups. In other cases, this lessened identification with the European birthplace gradually occurs over many years of an organization's existence.

Even the organizational names indicate new considerations: "progressive" or "young men's" or "independent" show the subdivisions within the landsmanshaft community. Other determinants of separate alliances include allegiances with gender-segregated groups or political interests. In the latter category, we find landsmanshaft branches of national orders that espouse a particular ideology. In addition, locality-based wings of non-political American lodges proliferated.

The diversified world of Jewish voluntary associations grows out of the distinctions which members of the ethnic community consciously emphasize by their choice of organizational affiliation. We see this heterogeneity even within sectors that can trace their roots to a common city or town in Europe. The unification of groups into a multipurpose federation usually occurs for the purposes of cooperative relief work in periods of crisis. Not without some difficulty, landsmanshaftn respond in these specific occasions and some join coordinated relief bodies, but these efforts are often short-lived.

Calls for unity during the World War II years were detected, with the Yiddish press intermittently appealing for such steps in its pages. Yet, according to what we see for this time period, the responses of landsmanshaftn to the

progress of the war are conditioned by their own reduced level of identification by that time with the society of their background, Eastern Europe.

The complexity and ambivalences of ethnic group socialization become apparent in examining the seemingly contradictory turn of events which the archival and interview data show. On the one hand, the record shows little evidence of any special knowledge or awareness which might be expected as a result of the position of landsmanshaftn, ostensibly with an eye to the old home. Landsmanshaftn, it seems, exhibited the same inaction as the rest of the American public. Their penchant for autonomous and independent activity was also a factor which remained operant and was applied to the new situation at hand.

According to the archival record, any potential role for the media in guiding a collective response was mitigated by the tendency to work through one's individual organization. Moreover, informants in retrospect acknowledge that the more pressing concern among the organization's participants was in regard to individual family members still in Europe, while as an organization, the landsmanshaft tended to show interest in the American war effort.

There are reasons for this observed behavior, reasons which historians have tried to document, that have to do with the insecure and divided nature of American Jewry at the time and with the content of the mass media in this country. Any impact of mass and interpersonal communication on landsmanshaft actions, then, must be judged in light of this general state of affairs, and in relation to the values and norms internal to the group given this context.

The norms and goals that characterize landsmanshaftn in America are varied and changing. Post-World War II realities, specifically the destruction of their European Jewish communities, dramatically alter the path of lands-

manshaft concerns. Reconstruction of the organization's city or town of origin gives way to commemorating and honoring its martyrs and its past. Gatherings and publications for the purpose of memorializing become a major activity. After the war, aid is distributed to the surviving remnant of compatriots still in Europe or now in Israel.

For the six sites in my sample, the arrival of Holocaust survivors to these shores constitutes for many landsmanshaftn their last chance to welcome new immigrants from their former hometowns. These newcomers frequently become the successors, either within the framework of previously established groups or by forming new ones of their own.

The new circumstances force a re-evaluation of priorities and concerns. These modifications are reflected in the channels of philanthropic activity which landsmanshaftn utilize. One striking shift in orientation is the increasing support for Israel. This inclination to help build the national homeland is seen as a replacement for assistance once sent to the hometown. This norm is also diffused by the press, often acting as an arm of the American fundraising bodies for Israel that canvas the societies and lodges.

With regard to advocacy of Israel, evidenced in terms of new ways of raising and distributing money, the consequences of this pattern for other than material endorsement need to be assessed. In other words, the extent to which the recast focus of philanthropy is also an indication of changes in the identification of landsmanshaft participants is a question which needs to be asked. In this regard, some parallels can be drawn between landsmanshaft orientations today and the characterization of landsmanshaft preoccupations prior to World War II.

Then, as now, the institutional arrangements for ethnic socialization provided by the landsmanshaft are grounded in the American setting. It is the group's relation to American society that is pivotal, even as it deliberates about efforts on behalf of Israel currently or for the European hometown in the past. According to the self-reports, landsmanshaft leaders today may never have visited Israel, for example, nor is there a firm connection with Israeli landslayt. As for the earlier years of hometown aid, an unexpectedly large proportion of leaders then were either American-born or else settled immigrants. The issue today is one of integrating the three aspects of members' concerns -- their East European origins, support for Israel, participation as American citizens -- within the boundaries of the landsmanshaft community.

To this investigator, it seems that the landsmanshaft has adjusted these boundaries to incorporate new priorities as they present themselves. The ability to do so, as original goals are displaced and as the meaning of participation changes, is a major factor in organizational continuity. MacIver describes how an association's interests are modified by historical changes, by the social character of its constituents and its community, by an organizational "will to live" (MacIver 1937:252).

For our study, historical circumstances and the social structural position of members converge to create different manifestations of "landmanshaftness." It will be interesting to see the path taken by future leaders, if they emerge, who would be third or fourth generation Americans or perhaps the children of Holocaust survivors presently active in landsmanshaft life. Their interpretation of landsmanshaft identity may include a return to more active expression of interest and pride in aspects of East European Jewish culture, the culture that spawned the landsmanshaft in America.

COMMUNICATION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN LANDSMANSHAFTN

The way in which landsmanshaftn orient themselves as an ethnic unit reflects their position in American society today. This study of the current status of a selected group of New York landsmanshaftn, because it also considers a view of their past existence, points up how professed interests of an organization change and adapt to meet the demands of new conditions and new members.

Tangible signs of the landsmanshaft's shift toward an American-based identity are found in its imitation of rules of American lodge decorum, for example. The content of in-house communication, such as essays written by members or the self-generated evaluations of the group's history, also show attitudes that match the group's relation to the immigrants' new home. For some informants, the landsmanshaft provided exposure to organizational work in a manner that was a sufficient preparatory step for entering other American circles. In fact, landsmanshaftn frequently bear resemblance to non-Jewish American organizations, although their functions are not duplicated by these groups.

It is not an unimportant point that those who belong to a landsmanshaft today have other options: they are not required to retain their membership, as was once the case for earlier joiners. The landsmanshaft, in its earlier days, was a spontaneous experiment in self-government and self-sufficiency, but also a deliberate reaction to the exclusion of East European Jewish immigrants from certain sectors and certain benefits of their society. Today's participation in landsmanshaftn is perhaps more than ever a voluntary association of individuals with a variety of possible alternative organizational affiliations.

In a similar way, the reader of the Yiddish press today no longer has to read the Yiddish newspaper (Goldberg, 1971). The local English newspaper and the English broadcast media are utilized by landsmanshaft members who continue to turn to the Yiddish press and also to the Anglo-Jewish media. What ideas about the confluence of their American citizenship and their immigrant heritage do these different sources offer? What cultural values are diffused by these media about a host of issues, only one of which is the importance of associational links among members of ethnic groups?

For landsmanshaft members, their Jewish organization and their Jewish media are part of a total and complex American Jewish environment in which "Jews often Americanized within a Jewish milieu; they... were taught how to become Americans from Jewish immigrants who had preceded them" (Moore, 1981a: 7). As with other ethnic groups, the media are only one potential agent of socialization, a process which is multi-institutional. Given the choices of associational patterns which are open to ethnic group members in a pluralist society, what effect does membership in landsmanshaftn have on how individuals and groups learn norms and develop behavior? What role can we assign to mass and interpersonal communication in this socialization process? The consideration of voluntary group affiliation directs our attention "away from concern with what communications do to people toward a study of what people do with communications" (Schramm, in Schramm and Roberts, 1971:391).

In describing the persistence of Jewish ethnicity in American landsmanshaftn, we turn to the communication links between the press and these organizations, as well as to the nature of communication among participants and between leadership and membership. In our introductory chapters, these kinds of patterns were also described for other American ethnic minorities. It should also

be remembered that our sociological perspective views the media as working in collaboration with other agencies to influence public knowledge, beliefs and social change (Wright, 1985). In general, the potency of mass communication for socialization is considered along with interpersonal communication and social networks which may serve to modify or extend mass media effects. In addition, the effect of the communication process on social change can not operate independently and separately from other social structural conditions which support or resist such change. These guidelines direct this summary of the institutional arrangements that exist for ethnic socialization and for the process of communication in landsmanshaftn.

According to the data described in Chapter 4, the Yiddish mass media diffuse information about the landsmanshaft community. In addition to introducing details about meetings and activities, these reports also serve to reinforce certain notions of appropriate landsmanshaft concerns. Readers come to this press with certain concepts and awareness of community affiliation. The newspaper page on community affairs becomes a way to compare one's group's own standing in relation to other groups that are not directly observed. In this way, media content presents a picture of alternatives, suggesting criteria for success as a landsmanshaft organization with which readers may choose to identify. The extent to which readers internalize the norms that appear in the media is difficult to assess and depends in part on how credible media presentations are to them, given their own experience and predisposition.

In general, it is in reading the Yiddish press that individual landsmanshaft members can get a feeling of the importance of community life, both from the coverage accorded the voluntary associations and by the way news items and editorials are oriented to give the reader this impression. The Yiddish press,

more than the Anglo-Jewish papers, appeals to the landsmanshaft sector of the community, and at the very least makes reference to it. The lack of this recognition in other Jewish media, specifically the English-language press which is more widely distributed, is revealing. On the one hand, it tells us that these American periodicals do not cater to the needs of the still active landsmanshaft community, and also they are impervious to the landsmanshaft ties which so many of their readers have, even if these are presently less strong than in the past.

The absence of representation in the Anglo-Jewish media must also be seen as a significant factor in members' evaluations of their landsmanshaft affiliation. For that matter, what is the impact of non-communication about associational activities in the general American media? The consequences for the ethnic identity of cultural minorities whose special memberships in their associational groupings are hardly described or upheld in the American mass media need to be considered. It seems their position as a minority within a minority is both highlighted and reinforced by these media patterns.

To summarize, in this study of American landsmanshaftn, we keep in mind the special place of the foreign-language media as a communication link with the ethnic group's voluntary associations, a situation which parallels that of other immigrant-based minorities. Against this background, the presence of mass communicated news about landsmanshaftn in the Yiddish press is assessed for its role in imparting information and values to the targeted audience. Additionally, these media are seen to work as auxiliaries along with other agencies or services, while it is also important to remember that landsmanshaft members and leaders maintain ties with other potential networks of influence. This perspective can

be applied to the specific setting that has been described for landsmanshaftn from Antopol, Bialystok, Czestochowa, Lodz, Minsk and Warsaw.

The questions raised by Wright (1985) with regard to the functional and dysfunctional effects of using mass communication for socialization activities can be adapted to the more limited context of New York landsmanshaftn. For example, the fact that certain practices, such as Israel fundraising, receive a prominent place in the Yiddish press today serves to magnify aspects of American Jewish identity that unifies the subgroups of the landsmanshaft world. These media patterns in their repetitive exposure of certain standardized trends, stress a broader base of shared norms and foci, which has the positive consequences of unifying a dispersed landsmanshaft population.

On the other hand, another result of this transmission is also the loss of emphasis on varied modes of expressing ethnic affiliation in different landsmanshaftn. Judging by the heterogeneity that still lingers in the landsmanshaft community, separate and autonomous landsmanshaft work once prevailed. Today, the concentration on Israel through philanthropic work and the focus on the destruction of European hometowns through commemoration ceremonies are the major aspects of the community's purposes that are publicized. Of course, it should not be overlooked that these activities are also prevalent in the established American Jewish community today, including other institutional settings such as schools and synagogues. The orientations to Israel and Eastern Europe that have been depicted for landsmanshaftn are supported by the historical circumstances and social conditions of post-World War II American Jewish life.

The role which the system of mass communication plays in convincing individuals of these norms of landsmanshaft life is tempered, for one thing, by

the nature of the particular group. A landsmanshaft will have its own forums for communication in which to express concerns and attachments of the organization. The potential influence of mass communication is mediated, in other words, by participation as a landsmanshaft member. This social category defines a formally created link between individuals, although as Warner and Srole (1945) indicate, membership in informal associational structures also needs to be noted.

In this study of formal organizational affiliations, among the networks of communication within the landsmanshaft, house organs and internally distributed publications and correspondence show and interpret the issues specific to the group. It is also possible to detect the pace at which media messages are accepted, if at all. From this viewpoint, the media may set an agenda of priorities in the context of which change may eventually occur (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). By choosing certain issues for emphasis, the media may have an indirect though not unqualified effect on the acceptance of beliefs regarding self-image and identification. The process by which diffusion of these innovations occurs differentially is related to sociological conditions within each group and its system of mass and interpersonal communication.

Within their landsmanshaft, members can still articulate ties that represent the group's unique identificational boundaries. These links are usually a combination of interest in the birthplace of origin and other socioeconomic and cultural factors underlying the group's existence, be it occupation, education, gender, ideology, or New York neighborhood of residence. In bulletins as well as face-to-face contact, activities and announcements are shared, and the landsmanshaft is informed of community-wide developments and its relation to these events.

In the present situation, on the whole for my study population, face-to-face discussion is not as common as in the earlier days of landsmanshaft popularity. As a result, the letters which are sent out periodically often substitute for interpersonal contact. These documents are indicators of the group's concerns that delimit the margins of landsmanshaft activity, especially when they are the sole medium of communication by and for members.

From the interview data, it seems a letter can work to convince its recipient that there is no longer a viable organization, and it is seen as a sign of impoverishment of a once lively community of compatriots. In other instances, the letter is welcomed more hopefully as a declaration of vitality and sustained activity. Yet another group of landsmanshaft delegates receives these letters as only one of several reminders of their association's dynamics, with other ties strengthened through meetings, journals, regular social intercourse with other members, and directives from an energetic leadership. Still another possibility is, in fact, the absence of a letter as a sign of community endurance when scheduled meetings obviate the need for written notices. Again, here referring to the specialized media of a landsmanshaft, the consequences of communication for instilling a sense of community are seen to vary depending on the organizational context of the individual and the group.

Judging from the sample in this study, apart from in-house media, the extent to which groups can continue to provide a social base for face-to-face communication determines their ability to counterbalance exposure to other outside influences on the nature of their activity. The opportunity to meet, even if infrequently, is cited often as the most beneficial aspect of belonging now, or as the most positive memory of past organizational life. This opportunity enables participants to voice their concerns and opinions, and to discuss and

settle deliberations about organizational priorities and goals. Under certain conditions, such as was suggested by the data on the World War II years, the mass media may serve as initial sources of knowledge and recommendations, with ties of friendship and personal contact playing a more important role in subsequent stages. The outcomes of this process manifest themselves in a group's orientation to the East European birthplace, to America, and to Israel.

Interpersonal communication works in conjunction with the media's influence to redefine the scope of the landsmanshaft's identity. For older organizations that have remained vital up until the present day, such as the Bialystoker Center or the Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society, the changing meaning of landsmanshaft ethnicity can be traced through the varied nature of social ties among different membership waves. In the context of the landsmanshaft structure, diverse expressions of American Jewish ethnicity were supported as Jews reconciled American values with their landsmanshaft ethnicity. Today, when there is decreased contact among the fewer members in many organizations, the flow of communication from leaders to members is particularly decisive in determining the course of the organization.

The nature of the current relationship between membership and leadership varies with the divergent social characteristics of today's landsmanshaftn and of today's landsmanshaft activists. In the preceding chapter, the classification of organizational types and the range of leadership qualities were outlined. For our purposes in this chapter, these categories of leaders are broadened to match the "influential" types described by Merton (1968). Borrowing from Merton's identification of "local" and "cosmopolitan" influentials with regard to their orientation to community and world affairs, landsmanshaft leaders could be placed along a similar continuum.

Adapting this concept of sociological eligibility for leadership to the landsmanshaft setting, we can tentatively suggest a similar division between the "local" influential landsmanshaft leader concerned mainly with the internal affairs of the association, and the "cosmopolitan" leader who is likely to extend his or her vision to the larger Jewish and general community. These leadership tendencies color the nature of the organization's participation and collaboration with other groups.

Further research to gather more complete data on the leadership would be required to make it possible to look at those who become landsmanshaft influentials with regard to a particular issue in terms of their sociological position and communication behavior. Under certain conditions, for example, the interlocking associational memberships of landsmanshaft members elect them to an active role in the opinion leadership process. Allegiances outside of the landsmanshaft framework will result in a multi-step process conceptualized by Wright and Cantor (1967). As applied to the landsmanshaft, an opinion seeker in one sphere, perhaps in a political party or in a philanthropic fundraising agency, becomes a leader on the same issue in the context of the landsmanshaft. Although not the main aim of this particular study, the preliminary findings of this research on the complementary roles of mass media and interpersonal discussion for landsmanshaft leaders could be further scrutinized in the future in a more focused examination of how the influence of communication on these individuals then determines landsmanshaft developments.

COMMUNICATION AND ADAPTATION IN LANDSMANSHAFTN

The landsmanshaft hierarchy today is different, for the most part, from the founding leaders of this network of immigrant organizations. In a similar vein, one can see how present organizations are distanced from some of the original interests posited by the landsmanshaftn in their embryonic stage. It is this adaptability, however, that promotes continuity rather than dissolution of organizations.

In a sense, when a landsmanshaft follows the communication campaigns that press for donations to Israel, this step can be seen to rescue the organization from extinction. Support for Israel, even though personal contact with Israeli society or Israeli landslajt is minimal, is a goal broad enough to unite otherwise disparate landsmanshaft groups to join a community-wide effort. It should also be noted that, limited as it may be to solicitation for contributions, the communication that exists between the landsmanshaftn and the Bonds of Israel fraternal division or the Council of Organizations of the United Jewish Appeal-Federation Campaign is the major sign of interest in landsmanshaftn that is exhibited by the established Jewish community.

The other sector of the community that showed interest in the landsmanshaftn is the post-World War II Holocaust survivor population, many of whom joined the existing groups, thereby revitalizing and re-orienting them. To some extent, though it is not solely their doing, memorial events and publications have become a major feature of landsmanshaft activity. In addition, some of these survivor groups have recently taken on new educational projects, aiming to heighten awareness of the wartime experiences of Polish Jewry and to increase appreciation of pre-war European Jewish culture.

In Israel, interestingly, government channels for memorializing the victims of the Holocaust exist, and national responsibility replaces functions traditionally associated with landsmanshaft work in America. Associations there have taken on the goal of educating the public about Polish Jewry through projects in neighborhood schools, for example, having implemented these programs as early as twenty years ago (see for example Shtekhl and Hurvitz, 1965).

Other differences in the consequences of communication for landsmanshaft ethnicity in America and Israel will be discussed in the next chapter, including the role of memory in sustaining these associations as distinct ethnic units. What aspects of community life are selected for preservation and transmission, and how do societal constraints influence this communication? On different levels, the manifestation of community memory in the various forms it takes plays an important role in sustaining landsmanshaft groups today.

In mentioning new orientations of landsmanshaftn, for example memorializing the town of origin or financing programs in Israel, we should not lose sight of the fact that certain traditional functions have been retained. The securing of burial plots, for example, is still a task which members expect their landsmanshaft to fulfill. The opportunity to gather socially for leisure and entertainment is valued by participants.

One of the dysfunctions of mass communicated presentations of norms of landsmanshaft ethnicity to the extent that they now exist, is that other alternative formulations are seen as aberrant. For one thing, groups that do not or can not follow the prescripts outlined in the Yiddish press, or those landsmanshaftn that never find themselves in the pages of any of the media, are omitted from the media's construction of a publicly affirmed reality of socially approved goals and values for these groups. Yet, the intersection of each group's

communication structure and its location in the social structure supports varied expressions of ethnic identification.

Members have conceptions of landsmanshaft ethnicity, possibly gathered from the media, although these notions may not be congruent with the reality of their particular organization. After the opportunity to extend our contrast, which has so far been based on the internal heterogeneity of American associations, to a comparison with Israeli groups, Chapter 7 summarizes the consequences of communication activities of landsmanshaftn for ethnic socialization. This concluding chapter will try to understand the ways in which individuals, groups and society as a whole are affected by this process.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. In grappling with what about ethnic identity is communicated by landsmanshaftn, and how, a short passage describing a holiday celebration in a Moscow synagogue has proven helpful. The author, a tourist from the States, recalls her encounter with a young American visitor: "Five minutes of whispered landsmanshaft and we rapidly located our mutual acquaintances" (Greenberg, 1983:458). This conceptualization poses landsmanshaft as a noun that describes a state of being, and suggests the task of locating what contributes to "landmanshaftness" and the context in which it emerges.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ISRAELI CASE: COMPARING PURPOSES AND INFLUENCES OF COMMUNICATION

This chapter summarizes the results of one segment of this research project on the development of landsmanshaftn, particularly the impact of communication on their ethnic orientation. An exploratory study of landsmanshaftn in Israel from the same towns of origin as in my American sample was conducted, by utilizing available written documents and conducting interviews in Israel in order to benefit my U.S. study with comparative data. In addition to enabling the examination of similarities and differences in this form of social organization in cross-cultural perspective, using highlights from the data collected, this analysis also makes it possible to judge communication between the two communities as perceived by landslayt counterparts in Israel. Furthermore, the nature of communication is discussed in light of the different expression of ethnic identification.

LANDSMANSHAFTN IN ISRAEL

One of the first contrasts which became apparent between the two national settings in which the work was carried out was the almost immediate consent granted by interviewees in Israel. The New York leaders were also, in the main, cooperative and willing informants. However, the Israeli group was even more strikingly receptive and eager; probably a factor was the investigator's short-term visitor status, but also because the landsmanshaftn in Israel are more

industrious as a whole than the American ones. In other words, the proportion of individual associations in the Israeli total that can still report regular meetings and activities is greater than the ratio we find for American societies. Nonetheless, a similar outlook pervades regarding the future of the landsmanshaft community, which is generally seen in Israel to be weakening and prone to discontinuity in the succeeding generation.

The present location of groups relevant to the study population was begun in New York, prior to the anticipated stay in Israel. While references were furnished by the representatives of Antopol, Bialystok, and Czestochowa, personal contacts were more difficult to obtain for Lodz, Minsk and Warsaw.¹ This sign of the lack of acquaintance between the organizations of American and Israeli compatriots proved to be significant.

For details about groups for whom there was no information, neither a landsmanshaft contact nor a family connection, names were supplied upon arrival in Israel by the Association of Jews from Poland in Israel, an organization founded in 1925 (Losh, 1961). This Israeli branch of the World Federation of Polish Jews is a coordinating bureau for 150 affiliates out of the estimated 250 Polish landsmanshaftn that are registered in Israel. According to its secretary, the office centralizes the activities of these 150 member groups by distributing a newsletter, organizing symposia, providing meeting halls, and awarding scholarships to Israeli students of Polish descent (Association of Jews from Poland in Israel).

One central task of New York's corresponding central agencies that does not figure as prominently here is the fundraising dimension that characterizes the Americans' work. This is one organizational principle for which the resemblance between Israel and the United States is limited.

The analogies between associational practices in the two countries becomes apparent when the Israeli organizations are examined individually. In the case of Israel, this is feasible because the trend is for only one official landsmanshaft to exist for each European location, unlike the situation in New York. Thus, for every East European city or town, descendants may elect to affiliate with the one exclusive organization that characteristically carries the name of the specific birthplace preceded by the words irgun yotsey (Hebrew terms for "association of descendants or immigrants from"). As we shall see further along, subdivisions within the framework of these single representatives of immigrants from a particular locality can develop.

Among the landsmanshaftn that choose not to enroll with the Association of Jews from Poland in Israel is the Antopol society. Its absence from the roster is, however, hardly the sign of non-existence which the Association's secretary assumes. On the contrary, Antopol is represented by its own edifice, a synagogue constructed and still supported financially by landslayt mainly in America. The man who launched the idea and still serves as the head of the organization, speaks of the personal campaign he conducted in America in 1959 to raise the initial capital:

So a man by the name of Kaplan came over to me... Tells me to stay in touch with him... that he'll help somehow. So, what's the contact? A greeting for the Jewish New Year, a wish for Passover. So he sent 7000 dollars. With that 7000 dollars we bought the oren koydesh, the Holy Ark to hold the synagogue's Torah scrolls.

By communicating in this way with the Americans, more intensively with family and specific influential leaders in the States who take a special interest in the synagogue, monies continue to flow in to maintain and refurbish the institution.

One of the synagogue's striking architectural features is a special room on whose walls are inscribed the names of Antopol inhabitants killed during the Holocaust. It is a "holy task" of recording and remembering, according to this leader, a mission which also was the impetus for the group's memorial book. Commemoration and remembrance permeate the structure and the landsmanshaft, which did not formally organize itself as such until after World War II:

Then, when we organized, our motto was that we were the only ones to remain alive... the need was great on the part of all to join together and to remember... after all, we are constructing a monument in tribute to our parents. And for our parents, the house of study and prayer there, in the old home, was everything, everything.

The synagogue is a stopping point for Antopol descendants in other countries who visit Israel, although today its existence is not known to all the New York representatives. The older generation of leaders that more actively participated in fundraising for the building and have visited it, are likely to lament the non-Antopol status of its congregants and students today. Indeed, in much the same way that synagogue-based landsmanshaftn in New York, if they exist at all, no longer service members from the designated place name, Antopol immigrants who once lived in the vicinity of their synagogue in Tel Aviv have since moved away.

The synagogue also serves as a center for the local Antopol population, who come from all over the country to meet there for annual memorial assemblies. This informant recalls the personal ties which still bring individuals together, similar to the ones which originally brought him to Tel-Aviv upon his arrival from Antopol in 1933:

The landslayt here asked me why I stay in Haifa, where there isn't even one person from Antopol. So I came to Tel Aviv.

These sorts of links among the townspeople of Antopol in Israel is a continuation of patterns of community responsibility and interchange which is remembered from the old home.

The town depended on the help of individuals who had earlier departed for the United States or Israel. In addition, these emigrants often sent for family members to join them, creating a pattern of chain migration. Such was this man's experience, and at least according to his reconstruction of that past, the town's Jews always helped each other. Manifestations of these practices translate themselves into an interest-free loan arrangement mainly used today by younger people, who also are eligible for a scholarship award distributed at Israel Independence Day celebrations. In addition, a fund exists that monthly gets divided among the synagogue, the loan system, and needy members who remain anonymous.

The ongoing work is carried forth by a committee of volunteers, independent of the Association of Polish Jews, because "we have no need." The group perceives itself as a modest yet supportive community, non-political and autonomous, successful in erecting a tangible and meaningful tribute to its town. The synagogue also served to draw together Antopol landsmanshaftn in America, and in the case of the Chicago society, the sale of their synagogue provided the seed money for construction in Tel Aviv (Association of Immigrants from Antopol; Ayalon, 1972).

This exchange is symbolic of the general shift in focus to Israel, which is also reflected in the influence of the Israel group in the Antopol yisker book. In an earlier chapter, the negotiations and sentiments regarding the volume that was finally published in Israel have been described. The originally appointed

American editor, presently retired in Israel, was able to offer further elaborations on the various proceedings.²

In sum, a relatively small landsmanshaft of a small shtetl community provided a focus and purpose for many Antopol groups in America, at least in the past. In part, because a physical structure still stands, there is the potential for the American groups to have direct communication with their Israeli counterpart. This was the case for the current president of the Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association in New York, who expressed interest in the synagogue's existence after learning about it from a returning tourist and from this investigator.

Another kind of concrete reminder of a once thriving East European Jewish center exists in Israel for the city of Bialystok. Outside of Tel Aviv, a community called Kiryat Bialystok was built after World War II, and occupied by arriving Holocaust survivors from Bialystok beginning in 1951. In this village, the original homes and institutions stand and some of the first settlers who benefited from this subsidized housing project still reside there.³ During a tour of this community, constructed with the financial assistance of landslayt throughout the world, it was possible to see not only the homes, but also a community center, schools, a synagogue and streets named to commemorate the hometown.

The interviewees from Kiryat Bialystok agree that the local population has changed, and many of their own children have moved away, both physically distanced from Kiryat Bialystok and in terms of their identification:

After us, our children... I don't know if they will have such a feeling. We were born in Bialystok. And we remember and we miss the city. And we get together for these sentimental reasons.

Undeterred, however, the three representatives of the regional Kiryat Bialystok Committee concur that the tendency is "to inspire love for Bialystok even among the new non-Bialystok settlers here... our adopted children," since many of them are interested in finding such connections.

The special bond among Bialystok descendants is fostered by the New York Center's Bialystoker Shtimme:

It connects all Bialystoker in the the world... they send Israel sixty or seventy copies, and there's much to read, because it reminds us of our bygone Bialystok. It talks about friends. For example, I read about someone who visited the Center in New York... who remembered me as his teacher in Bialystok many years ago. It holds us together and brings us closer.

In addition, news of Kiryat Bialystok is submitted to the journal by one of the committee members who serves as the correspondent from Tel Aviv.

Besides connections maintained by this written communication, visitors from the Bialystoker Center come to Kiryat Bialystok "because they do much work for Israel." The question of the Center's endorsement of Kiryat Bialystok is a sensitive issue, since for many years the backing of the Center halted due to "personal friction" between the leadership of the Center and the head of the fundraising agency for the village based in New York, the Kiryat Bialystok Foundation.⁴ In recent years, the present Center leadership has taken up a more active interest in Kiryat Bialystok, but its much more vigorous and publicized initiatives in support of other projects in Israel are noted critically by the Israeli contingent. In the past, the Center's people would visit Israel, but not specifically to help build Kiryat Bialystok.

Kiryat Bialystok today is home for some former inhabitants of Bialystok, but it is also talked about as a center for landslajt throughout the world. For

the Israelis,

preservation of our Kiryat Bialystok in a proper form...
well kept and cultivated, can easily stand instead of the
old Bialystok, which perished during the Holocaust...
Nothing is left of the old Bialystok that you remember.

The fact that their hometown and their families were destroyed by the Nazis is what holds these former Bialystok citizens together, they claim. Their recollection of Polish Bialystok and the personal need to memorialize their loss is stronger than for many of the counterpart landsmanshaft leaders interviewed in New York. The Americans have usually heard of Kiryat Bialystok, but it is not nearly as fervently depicted as a reincarnation of the old home.

Variation in expression of affiliation as Bialystok Jews can occur also within the same Israeli context, despite the presence of only one official landsmanshaft, Irgun Yotsey Bialystok. The official structure of this Israeli Association of Immigrants from Bialystok, incorporated in 1949, is such that Kiryat Bialystok delegates meet with representatives of the organization on an executive board that convenes in the city of Tel Aviv. The two major leaders interviewed in Tel Aviv were instrumental in creating Kiryat Bialystok, but stand quite apart from the villagers. One is a well-established lawyer who escaped from Bialystok to Israel in 1941, the other is a prosperous industrialist who immigrated in 1925. Both are recognized as communal activists in Tel Aviv and even nationwide. In the renewal of official communication and joint work with New York's Bialystoker Center, these men represent the Israeli Bialystok community, as they are well known to the Center's staff.

Highlights of their remarks regarding the nature of ethnic identification as Bialystok descendants in Israel indicate that their social positions encourage a more "cosmopolitan" orientation to this question. One of the leaders is engrossed with plans for a new project he wants to see built in Kiryat Bialystok,

a memorial hall that will serve as a museum and archives about Bialystok. Describing himself as a dreamer and an adventurer, even at his present age of eighty-five, he is trying to rally support for this idea from his Israeli colleagues and from the U.S. leadership, who he thinks should concentrate their energies and monies on Bialystok-related projects. He knows that "without America, we can't do anything," and is frustrated by the unenthusiastic response in his own country.

Unlike his broader outlook, the Kiryat Bialystok delegates have smaller demands, he says: to refurbish the community center or for other renovations. He, however, is fixed on a larger vision. His planned memorial center would attract Bialystok and non-Bialystok visitors. His project would kindle the memory of Bialystok in those who do not make time to read the Bialystok yisker book or the Bialystoker Shtimme. The eagerness to implement this plan is matched by his energy and personal resources, which he has utilized in other settings to promote various educational and social welfare projects, and which he wants to summon up now for the perpetuation of Bialystok.

A strong opponent to this plan is the second major figure in the Israel landsmanshaft. His concerns are analogous to the goals of the early American landsmanshaftn:

As soon as we help them... we are interested he should become an Israeli, first of all. And this is what we try to convince them. Don't be a local patriot. Become a member of the State of Israel... We don't want you should always be a Bialystoker.

In this approach, espoused by this sophisticated professional who has traveled worldwide as a representative of Israel, the message which is communicated is that "we must not try to make out of landsmanshaft an ideology, it must be something temporary, transitory."

This kind of assertion does not preclude concern for the future preservation of Bialystok ties. A step he favors is the preparation of a book on Bialystok to supplement the American memorial volume, which has no Hebrew, with a more academic work. The seeming paradox of championing "Israeliness" yet promoting Bialystok attachments is the challenge which, even in one organization, is perceived and handled in different ways (Association of Immigrants from Bialystok; Losh, 1961; Shmulewitz, 1982; Tsanin, 1958).

The problem of reconciling old and new loyalties concerns all landsmanshaftn in Israel, an issue with ramifications unique to that country, but with parallels in America. Of the six Czestochowa representatives approached in Israel, friends of some of the American contacts, three were interviewed at length. The extent of affiliation with the Association of Immigrants from Czestochowa varies, and includes individuals who respond to the dues notice only, some who participate in the annual memorial service for Holocaust victims, still others who meet weekly in informal subgroups of the landsmanshaft as residents of the same neighborhood. Yet, even the most active member interviewed exhibits the ambivalences about expressing ties to Czestochowa in the Israeli context.

Echoes of our Bialystok respondent's opinions reverberate in the remarks of an officer of the Czestochowa landsmanshaft. Especially in describing the Israeli-born children of his post-World War II immigrant cohort, it appears that these sons and daughters do not participate, not even in the Holocaust memorial gatherings. Their absence and disinterest saddens him, but it is explained away by contrasting Israeli and American youth: in Israel, all are Jews, and the worries are of another magnitude. Oftentimes, the predicament of Israel's constant state of war with the resultant economic hardships is cited as the root

of the inevitable decline in the legitimacy of landsmanshaft ties. In general, the imperatives of Israeli life and the influence of the nationalistic ideology of a young state counterbalance the attempts to retain specific local bonds.

Israeli society, many landsmanshaft delegates claim, is by nature a Jewish society, and the Hebrew media are inherently filled with news and commentary of Jewish interest. The Czestochowa landsmanshaft publicizes events in the Hebrew newspapers, and occasionally in Letste Naves (The Latest News). This Israeli Yiddish daily is read by some members, as is the Polish-language newspaper, but meetings and organizational correspondence are in Hebrew.

The program of this Czestochowa landsmanshaft, with a mailing list of approximately 700 in Israel, includes the regular schema of activities one finds for almost any such group: organizational meetings every two months, biweekly regular meetings, elections biennially, holiday celebrations, annual memorial assemblies at the Czestochowa monument erected in one of Tel Aviv's cemeteries. Special events may include a report by members recently returned from a visit to Poland, or an organized group trip around Israel. At the time of the interview, for example, a tour of the Holocaust museum at Kibbutz Lohamei Hagetaot (Kibbutz of the Ghetto Fighters) was planned for all landsmanshaftn affiliated with the Association of Jews from Poland in Israel. The Czestochowa landsmanshaft is a registered member group that sends a representative to the Association's meetings and also utilizes the meeting rooms available there.

Directives to the landsmanshaft communicated by the Association of Jews from Poland or received from institutions like Lohamei Hagetaot serve to reassure this Czestochowa landsmanshaft leader that, even should his organization weaken, these larger bodies will remain intact, especially the government-financed ones such as Yad Vashem. As a landsmanshaft comprised today mainly

of post-World War II immigrants from Nazi-ravaged Europe, this group is especially interested in work related to the Holocaust, and has decided to turn over any assets to Yad Vashem in the event of dissolution.

The special interests and experiences of Holocaust survivors often lead to the creation of separate New York landsmanshaftn of immigrants from the same hometown. In Israel, however, "it didn't happen. Instead, we took over the reins. The older pre-war members understood." This man arrived in 1949, at which time the transfer of power was not so effortless:

There was a group of landslayt still from the previous generation. They just didn't understand us newcomers. But after a while, we new immigrants began to participate.

Not all refugees from Czestochowa want to join in the work of the Czestochowa Association. Political distinctions do not find expression within the group, and as a result there is no room for different ideological loyalties to merge with geographical ones, as in some American fraternal orders. One gentleman who had stayed in Czestochowa to head the reconstruction of its Jewish community is dissatisfied with the Israeli landsmanshaft, for it never acknowledges the role he played in leading the minority of Jews who chose not to emigrate after the war. His outspoken non-Zionist stance then and now, he feels, places him on the outer margins of the group.

More important, this informant is angry that the six thousand Jews who remained in Czestochowa were never sent any relief aid from the Israeli landsmanshaft, and he is bitter about the utter silence of Czestochowa groups in America during the war, which left him isolated. In general, a lack of regular communication between landsmanshaft organizations, in particular those in the

United States and Israel, is described in the interviews and the written records (Association of Immigrants from Czestochowa; Singer, 1958).

Another community whose respective landsmanshaft groups in Tel Aviv and New York are not in contact about organizational affairs is Lodz. The Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society in New York proceeds in its work unconnected to the Israel Irgun Yotsey Lodz. This includes its charitable efforts on behalf of Israel, and its organization of the recent World Gathering of Lodzer Holocaust Survivors. One of the Israeli Lodz representatives interviewed not only knew nothing about these plans, but expressed regrets that a conference professed to be international in scope virtually excludes the Israeli chapter because of the expense involved in traveling abroad. This delegate, who was a teenager when World War II broke out, represents the younger generation of survivors of the Lodz ghetto now settled in Israel; his personal contacts in the United States and in Israel are other individuals whose relation to their city of birth is also colored by this ordeal.

Within the Lodz landsmanshaft in Israel, factors such as age or one's pre-immigration experience subdivide the unit. In 1957, a formal separation was effected by the establishment of the Committee to Commemorate Polish Jewry, which now is merged with the larger Association of Immigrants from Lodz. The original split indicated the gap that existed between the older Lodz landslajt and the ones who came during the post-war decade. It is this latter generation of immigrants that felt compelled to document, memorialize, and support study of Jewish life in Lodz.

The emphasis on recalling the life, rather than only the death, of Lodz Jewry was introduced by this informant, who once took the lead in the Committee. This attitude inspired the inception of special assemblies for Israeli

schoolchildren, for example, about the unrelenting drive to create a semblance of life in the Lodz ghetto. These programs were meant to help dispel some of the stereotypical myths about the Jews' passivity during the war years, a premise accepted by many Israeli-born youth.

Not only for the school age population, but also for his own peers, this informant feels the Lodz landsmanshaft should serve to remind the public of the rich legacy of Polish Jewry. Although now a Hebrew journalist, when he was initially working for Israel's Polish daily, he urged his readers to record their memoirs for publication in the paper. According to this writer, the Polish media in Israel were once more closely allied with the concerns of the post-war wave of immigrants. Currently, however, language choices in his circle are dictated by the following evaluation:

When I dream about the past, it's a dream in Yiddish, or Polish. But if I dream about the present, it's in Hebrew.⁵

Among those friends with whom wartime experiences were shared, Polish is the language of communication. These social gatherings occur regularly, weekly with a smaller clique, annually at a picnic for approximately 200 people who gather together on or near the date of May 9, the day when they were liberated. These meetings occur outside of the official framework of the Association of Immigrants from Lodz, and are seen as more of a family affair among a special subgroup of Lodz landslajt whose common experiences in the Lodz ghetto yields relationships of intimacy and camaraderie.

Not all post-war immigrant survivors from Lodz seek out the Association or any subcommittee of it as a social outlet. One respondent remains apart from such organizational networks, and selectively participated only in the work to erect a monument to Lodz Jewry.

Even today's chairman of the Association of Immigrants from Lodz did not actively affiliate until recently, choosing to remain distanced from anything to do with his past, with the Holocaust. Today, he directs the organization from his business office in Tel Aviv, which also serves as headquarters. The group's main goal is the convening of the twice yearly memorial assemblies.

Publicity for these events takes the form of invitations sent to approximately 2500 names in his file, and announcements in the Yiddish and Hebrew press and radio. He adds, "but the public knows, between Rosh Hashone and Yom Kiper, they know to come," and also on the day in April that is proclaimed throughout the country as a national day of mourning. Israeli landsmanshaftn, in concert with and as a supplement to the nation's focus on Holocaust commemoration, will sponsor their own private memorial gatherings. For the Lodz landsmanshaft, these meetings occur at the sculpture in tribute to Lodz erected by the Israeli Lodz community, and not at the monument built by New York's Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society in Israel. In character with the groups' independent functioning, these monuments which are meant to communicate a shared heritage, remind us of the separate and distinct operation of the landsmanshaft organizations (Association of Immigrants from Lodz; Losh, 1961, Tsanin, 1958).

The lack of communication between the Israeli and American groups is most pronounced in the case of Minsk landsmanshaftn. None of the New York informants could identify Israeli compatriots, nor were they aware of the yisker book published in Israel about Minsk. With this volume and some biographical information on its compiler in hand (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972), it was possible to locate this editor at his kibbutz home. Our conversation offered some insight into the current composition of the Irgun Yotsey Minsk. Its exceptional

property, in contrast to the other sites in my sample, is the opportunity afforded by the recent arrival of Soviet immigrants to welcome a new influx of members into the organization's ranks.

The Minsk landsmanshaft leader contacted in Tel Aviv explained that the organization was formally chartered in 1957, although a landsmanshaft-type group existed when he arrived in 1946. In line with Minsk associations in New York today, the group is probably among the weakest in terms of the durability of personal ties, with similar complaints voiced in Israel about an unconcerned membership. Only at the annual memorial meeting do people congregate and socialize. From the placards commonly posted throughout the city, this informant concludes that the Polish landsmanshaftn are more vital than his own. Contrary to his hopes and expectations, the newly arrived emigres from Minsk to whom he reaches out, including by the use of announcements in the Russian press, are disinterested. The continuity of the organization cannot depend on them, according to him, for they choose not to embrace the spirit of friendship and landsmanshaft (Association of Jews from Minsk; Even-Shoshan, 1975).

The landsmanshaft model is, however, known to some of the recent immigrants. In fact, one of the two existing federations of Jews from the Soviet Union borrows the Yiddish term and appends a Hebrew plural suffix as part of its name, landsmanshaftim. The group's representative, a professor at Bar Ilan University, details the way in which arrivees from a particular city would be guided through the initial stages of adjustment by more veteran settlers. Even before their arrival, bulletins sent secretly to the Soviet Union describing former residents who had successfully integrated into Israeli society would be targeted to specific communities. Once the newcomers arrive here, it does not seem that the landsmanshaft principle is as actively reinforced. Russian language

publications, radio broadcasts and clubs are geared to the population as a whole, not to former residents of one city.

This informant confirms, in a regretful tone, that connections with the older existing landsmanshaft were not pursued. Some of his comments offer a hint as to why:

We came in special circumstances, because many of us were refused visas . And we know each other for a long time in Moscow.

He continues: "And we are mostly intelligentsia, medical doctors, scientists, engineers."

Another kind of bond more potent at times than the geographical link, besides the ones just alluded to, is political affinity. Although this leader inquires about new Russian-Jewish associations in America, during his own recent sabbatical in the States, he did not seek them out:

Frankly, I'm more close, much more close with Israeli Jews than with former Russians. I'm maybe more Zionist than Russian Jews.

From this one case, it is possible to see how the complex layers of affiliation and identification are variously brought to the fore in different contexts, with shifts in the relevance of one or the other related to the backdrop of Israeli, American, or Soviet society (Association of Immigrant Societies from Settlements in the USSR/Landsmanshaftim).

The divergent ways in which affiliation with one's place of birth takes on meaning are also evident for the sixth, and final cluster of Israeli landsmanshaftn. From the interview data on immigrants from Warsaw, patterns we have noted so far apply to this group, as well.

The current president of the major Warsaw landsmanshaft, a member for thirty years, came to Israel after surviving World War II. He is eager to

distinguish himself from the wider masses of Warsaw Jews presently in Israel, pointing out that the leadership of his organization is composed of intelligentsia, that he himself was active in a Warsaw Zionist fraternity for professionals and academics.⁶ The social class and political lines of demarcation are highlighted, as in the former example, including by the emphasis on Polish as the language of communication at meetings; this language is considered of higher prestige than Yiddish, for example, by upper class Polish Jews.

This leader is also anxious to paint a picture of Warsaw as a large and sophisticated metropolis, different from the smaller Polish communities. As a result of its size and the anonymity of urban life, he does not deem it feasible to expect close ties to exist among landslajt. This is one reason he gives for the meager relations between American and Israeli Warsaw groups. Yet, he knows some of the leaders in New York, including the very same man who similarly protested that a unified representative body or a single yisker book for Jewish Warsaw is an unlikely prospect. Still, when speaking of proposed plans to attempt to put out such a volume, the Israeli informant expresses anger about the generally unresponsive attitude of American Warsaw landsmanshaftn who send "not even one dollar" for any of the local group's projects (Association of Jews from Warsaw; Losh,1961).

One group that has succeeded in publishing a yisker book is a Warsaw-based landsmanshaft that attracts former residents of a neighboring suburb, Prage, and carries the names of both communities in its name.⁷ As in New York, the independence from a broader Warsaw identification prevents the submersion of the special qualities and memories of life in this community before and during the war, which are pointed out in the book and relayed during the interview. Thus, even though this landsmanshaft's membership is decreasing, it is unlikely

that the Prage group will combine forces with the Association of Immigrants from Warsaw. An additional reason which this leader cites is that he is used to being a "doer," not just a functionary. Judging from his self-report, he does assume an activist position in many organizations, including his workers' cooperative and several that promote Yiddish culture. He intimates that he is aware that the formal and informal circles he travels in are quite distinct from the ones our Warsaw leader claims (Association of Immigrants from Prage-Warsaw; Losh, 1961; Weisman, 1974).

While another suburb of Warsaw, Povonsek, is represented by an official organization in New York, the Israeli landslayt gather only informally, though regularly. The initiator of this yearly get-together is a woman who extends a dinner invitation to her former neighbors from Povonsek on the occasion of her husband's yortsayt, the anniversary of the day he fell as a soldier during Israel's War of Independence in 1948. She knows the Warsaw landsmanshaft in Israel has an annual memorial service, and does sometimes attend, but her attachments are more private and familial. When visitors come from abroad, her home is where the bonds of kinship are renewed. As she offered the interviewer, "If you want to meet Povonsker, I can make a meeting" (Povonsker in Israel).

SUMMARY AND COMPARISON OF LANDSMANSHAFTN IN TEL AVIV AND NEW YORK

The opportunity for this investigator to attend landsmanshaft meetings in Israel did not materialize, but from the interview and archival data collected, patterns in the communication and crystallization of ethnic identity in Israeli landsmanshaftn do emerge. A significant theme that regulates the present

condition of the Israeli landsmanshaftn as summarized in this chapter is their age and maturation level. The relatively younger stage of development at which Israeli landsmanshaftn are found, as compared with most of the New York organizations, means that the groups in Israel resemble more the earlier status of American landsmanshaftn, when primary ties to fellow townspeople from the old home were still a salient factor in formal affiliation. The Israeli immigrant organizations are still a one generational phenomenon, not having yet generated new activity on the part of the offspring of the immigrant cohort.

Another major trend is that the Israeli groups are mainly headed by Holocaust survivors who came after World War II, with the war being the main reference point, the nucleus of landsmanshaft concerns and activities. Due to this overriding focus, and because there is usually only one official organization per East European community, it appears as if the Israeli immigrant associations are better able to hold their constituents together in one integrated representation. However, by looking more closely, we have seen that there is evident expression of heterogeneity within the ethnic unit.

The ethnic identification of landsmanshaft members as Jews from a particular locale in Europe is colored by various factors that come into play alongside this attachment to the hometown. In a manner analogous to the situation of the American groups, Israeli landsmanshaftn attempt to balance multiple identificational concerns. Their course is marked by virtue of their position as organizations whose members are at once Israeli citizens, Jews of Polish descent, former residents of a particular East European city or town. Even the connection to a particular locality, not to speak of the internal diversity we find for each specific landsmanshaft, is a notion which the umbrella World Federation of Polish Jews attempts to discourage. The director of this

group strongly objects to this local orientation and entreats the member groups to ally themselves with their national identity as Polish Jews.

Toward this aim, the Federation newsletter is sent to seventeen countries, books about Polish Jewish culture are published, research on Polish Jewish history at Israeli universities is funded, and ties are maintained with the Polish government. This is not a fundraising organization strictly, but rather a cultural-political body that attempts to coordinate the Polish Jewish presence in Israel and around the world.

This central agency is especially disappointed and frustrated about the lack of reciprocal signs of support from the American organizations. Letters go unanswered, requests for monetary aid are unheeded, and generally "we are waiting for a response from America, for an answer from the Polish Jews from America." However, having seen both sides, a response in kind will not likely be forthcoming because the nature of organizational life in the American Jewish community does not support this orientation. The leadership and membership of American Jews today can hardly identify with a vision of Polish Jewry, and there are no institutional arrangements to support such a posture. According to the World Federation head, American landsmanshaftn are the paradigmatic example of individual and "egotistical" loyalty only to the local home, a model which the Israeli landsmanshaftn then emulate (World Federation of Polish Jews).

There are similarities, it is true, between the Israeli and American landsmanshaftn in terms of the tendency to work autonomously. However, there is little evidence that the path of influence moves from the Americans to their Israeli counterparts or vice versa.¹ In fact, the lack of communication from across the ocean is mentioned on both sides. Coordinated work occurs relatively infrequently, considering the shared common origins. Even in the case of joint

ventures, usually the publication of a memorial book to commemorate the hometown, there are differences in reminiscences and reconstructions.

One difference between the Tel Aviv and New York groups is the collecting for Israel that is carried forth by the Americans, and that is publicized in the media. The press coverage of groups that rally to this philanthropic cause offers a single axis of activity that unites the landsmanshaft community. There is no such issue in the Israeli case. The dissemination of information on Polish Jewish culture, which could be an analogue to the Americans' Israel focus, is not communicated as a major public issue in Israeli society. In general, as far as could be assessed, voluntary organization activity is not as openly and regularly portrayed in the media there.

Similarly, the interpersonal communication between fundraising leaders for Israel Bonds or the United Jewish Appeal and the landsmanshaft leaders in New York that presses the landsmanshaft to be active in this purpose has no parallel in Israel. The World Federation of Polish Jews has landsmanshaft constituents in Israel, but chooses not to reinforce individual landsmanshaft identity through tributes or publicity for their work. It is interesting that specific town identity is also not the focus presently of American groups' aid for Israel. In other words, American landsmanshaftn donate in a generalized manner to Israeli charities and projects. Thus, communication between landsmanshaftn from a common birthplace is not strengthened by this practice.

As for the Israeli groups, there is little history of specific landsmanshaft orientation to sending relief to the hometown in Europe, rather these contacts were mainly personal. This legacy is therefore not a part of the organizational record which is communicated to members. In the United States, there is at

least the memory of such organizational activity. In Israel, landsmanshaftn were built without emphasis on this function.

What we find in Israel is that the entire society, officially and in a standardized fashion, memorializes the extinction of the European communities. As a result, the impact of the individual landsmanshaft's memorializing activity is not as great as in America. Communication in Israel in the media about attending a memorial service is more of a reminder to members than an assertion of the need to memorialize, as it is in the United States.

Another difference we find is that burial functions and social services are typically not provided by Israeli landsmanshaftn, but rather by the state. In this regard, the landsmanshaft in Israel is not as much a social haven in which to congregate and crystallize one's identity as an immigrant. "Everyone" is an immigrant in Israel, and government channels exist for helping newcomers.

A striking example of a development unique to Israel is the establishment of Kiryat Bialystok. This sort of community structure built around a town identity was never attained in the United States. On the other hand, neighborhood groups of landslajt did flourish in America, fostering constant face-to-face communication within the formal association and also outside of the official framework of the landsmanshaft. The tendency in Israel for supporting a single organization, and also Israel's geographical small size, leave little possibility for such a development.

In general, the memories of a rich organizational existence and diversity in America is absent from the recollections of Israeli landsmanshaft leaders. In addition, there is no indication that the landsmanshaft identity has been transferred to the second generation, although in America there is evidence for the inclusion of this generation at early stages of landsmanshaft growth. In

America today, we no longer find the tendency to consciously develop an American identity within the framework of the landsmanshaft. For some Israeli associations, however, the need to develop a national identity is still the case. In part, this is due to the relative youth of the nation and of its landsmanshaftn.

Related to the still strong need to assert Israeli national identity, the language of communication in most groups is the official language of the greater society, Hebrew. This practice reflects the ideological value placed on the language and facility in it. In America, the shift from Yiddish to English, as exhibited in written reports and communication, was more gradual.

With regard to mass communication, the Yiddish press in America was seen to be an Americanizing agent, but also one that serves as a mirror of landsmanshaft activity and as a medium for mustering this activity. In Israel, such a role does not seem to exist at the current time for the Hebrew, Yiddish or Polish press. Further research in this area is needed.

The imperatives of contemporary life in Israel and America, and the institutional arrangements for the transmission of cultural norms and values, lead to divergent interpretations of ethnic affiliation on the part of landsmanshaft organizations, even as certain basic functions remain the same in both countries. Social fellowship, financial self-help and commemoration are shared elements to varying extents for both Israeli and American associations, but the constellation of issues and the total complex of concerns reflect different patterns of communication about community.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. New York interviewees from landsmanshaftn of Antopol, Bialystok, Czestochowa supplied names of potential interviewees in Israel. I would also like to acknowledge the kind advice of Wolf Glicksman of Philadelphia, who sent me off to Tel Aviv with a long list of his Czestochowa colleagues. For Lodz respondents, I thank Lucjan Dobroszycki for his suggestions. In New York, Jechiel Dobekirer and Benjamin Meed recommended a meeting with Anshl Reiss, and Norman Gilmovsky directed me to Moshe Ron; these were worthwhile contacts that provided me with a broader perspective on landsmanshaftn in Israel.
2. Akiba Ben-Ezra graciously consented to discuss his work on the Antopol memorial volume. Thanks to him, I was able to obtain the Horodetz yisker book, which he edited, and I thank Julius Greenberg for delivering a copy to me upon my return to New York.
3. One of the most memorable adventures during my research stay in Israel was boarding the public bus to Kiryat Bialystok from Tel Aviv, only to be asked by the driver, "Do you want to go to Bialystok?" This question made me realize how exciting yet impossible the prospect of returning to this once thriving center of Jewish life in Eastern Europe is.
4. The records of the Bialystok Center in New York are housed in Israel at the Archives in the Mehlman Library of the Diaspora Research Institute at Tel Aviv University. I would like to thank Yoel Raba and Ilana Kedmi of the library's staff for their assistance during my visits to their institute.
5. This informant, Aleksander Klugman, is also a writer in several languages. He generously furnished me with copies of two of his publications, a picture album of the Lodz ghetto and an essay in Hebrew about post-war Polish Jewry.
6. Moshe Ring, who discussed the work of his landsmanshaft, also described the activities of his Polish Zionist fraternity. In addition, he was kind enough to give me a copy of a monograph on these groups (Slobes, 1964).
7. I want to express my appreciation to Khanokh Hazanfus for the copy of Seyfer Prage which he offered me. I would also like to thank Yitskhok Alperovitsh and Mordkhe Tsanin for books which they secured for me, as well as for their comments on landsmanshaftn in Israel.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF COMMUNICATION FOR ETHNIC COMMUNITY IDENTITY

The role of communication in sustaining the community identification of ethnic group members has been the focus in this study of landsmanshaftn, Jewish immigrant voluntary associations. We analyze how interpersonal and mass communication influences American landsmanshaftn in terms of their organizational priorities and evolving ethnic orientations. A comparison with findings for Israeli landsmanshaftn highlights the societal constraints and historical circumstances specific to each country that have an impact on the process of communication and socialization.

In Israel, interviews and available written records provided data on the changing self-definitions of immigrant associations. These data illustrate how social structural conditions influence the regular and patterned communication available to landsmanshaft members through institutionalized channels. The mass media and the official agencies that routinely communicate with local landsmanshaft groups, as well as the personal leadership of individuals who direct these organizations, contribute to the maintenance of these immigrant associations as Israeli products. From the evidence, it also does not seem that the shared town-specific identification of both Israeli and American landsmanshaftn, the impetus for initial formation, is fostered by the communication practices in each country or by communication between analogous organizations in the two countries.

In the American setting, where landsmanshaftn have a longer history and a more variegated presence than in Israel, the influence of mass communication and interpersonal discussion on aspects of organizational flexibility was explored. Interview data, archival records, media reports and secondary sources were synthesized to depict the impact of mass and interpersonal communication on ethnic organizational dynamics.

To help understand the possible differences in the consequences of communication for ethnic identification, representatives of organizations of immigrants from six East European communities were located: Antopol, Bialystok, Czestochowa, Lodz, Minsk (White Russia), Warsaw. The typical trend of multiple operant landsmanshaftn stemming from one hometown, existing simultaneously and independently of each other, was considered in the selection. The evident variations in group bonds were along such lines as age, gender, immigration status, occupational distribution, political ideology, religious affiliation, language use.

The sample was initially defined by its diversification, and the assortment of groups from a single city or town attests to the salient ties that once brought former residents of a particular locale together. However, the task of this investigation was to identify the actual spectrum of affiliation currently, rather than to be content with the outer signs of past variegation as indicated by organizations' names, for example. My work involved describing and analyzing the texture of these ethnic organizations today, especially the varied expression of group identity which they support.

The diversity of members choosing to affiliate as landsmanshaft members is reflected in the range of social characteristics which participants interviewed in New York exhibit. The task of reconciling American and East European

identities is addressed by these representatives and their groups in a constantly evolving manner.

The continuity of immigrant-based organizations in American society suggests their position as adaptive vehicles for the maintenance or modification of expressions of community affiliation. The way in which participation continues to be articulated, even as interaction with the American environment transforms the boundaries of the ethnic group, was assessed in relation to communication activities of the organization and the individual participants. Both media messages and interpersonal communication were considered as potential agents of socialization in the perpetuation of ethnic group identity.

Beginning with mass communication activities, indicators utilized in this study include reports in ethnic community media, particularly the Yiddish press, on organizational life. Evaluations of this coverage and self-reports on media use were also secured. In addition, the affairs and concerns of American landsmanshaftn were monitored in their own documents and publications. Our survey of mass communicated messages to landsmanshaft members today has shown emphasis on meetings and programs that comply with the goals set forth by the larger Jewish community, within the framework of the organizations' ongoing internal operations. For example, the fundraising activities help to sustain the regular functioning of the group, to strengthen social ties, and to reinforce the status of individual leaders.

As for interpersonal communication networks affecting landsmanshaft developments, these were traced through the interview responses obtained for different levels of engagement, as well as by my attendance at meetings. From the vantage point of the membership and leadership, and also based on the observations of professional staff at the supra-organizational agencies that deal

with New York landsmanshaftn, it was possible to gain insight into patterns of personal influence. The value which members place on the opportunities for sociability and fellowship must be underscored. Face to face communication remains the single most important factor of organizational activity. In all landsmanshaftn, but especially in those in which members meet infrequently, the influence of leaders determines the nature of organizational agendas. They evaluate their group's purpose as a result of their involvement with other types of organizations and causes. Further research would be required to judge the corresponding impact of the landsmanshaftn leaders on the course taken by other associations with which they affiliate.

Landsmanshaftn do not merely provide a setting for leisure time pursuits or for the acquisition of certain kinds of material benefits. In today's mass society, these ethnic organizations are creative adjustments to urban life. They offer a context in which to discern the rules of the larger society, while demonstrating the special interests unique to the cultural minority. As the adaptive structural base in which such learning occurs, landsmanshaftn are integral to the life of the individual member, to the immigrant-based community, and to the society as a whole.

Though rooted originally in ties to the old home, the new country of settlement is a significant influence on the direction which landsmanshaftn take. In a sense, these groups must conform to the larger culture while nurturing consciousness of their own special bond. This duality has repercussions that result in the categories of associational behavior we have seen, where "Americanness" or "Israeliness" will color the path of ethnic organizational life in the respective culture. This finding was first extracted from the American data, and was strengthened by the comparative research. Further explication of

the position of other ethnic associations would help to test the validity of the claim that immigrants attune their ethnicity to the American situation.¹

Along with the assertion that changing self-definitions as ethnic group members are influenced by the community at large, this study clarifies how participation in ethnic voluntary associations and communication behavior are linked. The system of patterned social relations which characterize the ethnic community conditions the consequences of communication received through channels provided by the larger society. The landsmanshaft has its own communication structure, by which the group is held together and knowledge and values are transmitted. In the setting of the landsmanshaft, the potential influence of communication is related to the changing nature of the group's identification as a distinct ethnic unit. Importantly, we have shown that the boundaries of ethnic group participation are flexible. Communication plays a role in crystallizing the matrix of issues and concerns that define the group's ethnic orientation at different points in time.

One way in which we judged how the borders of American landsmanshaft ethnicity are negotiated was by tracking the progression of goals and activities concerning the group's orientation to the city or town of origin, to the United States, and to the State of Israel. We observed that organizational priorities regarding this triangle of relationships are shaped by the society in which the group presently resides. Adaptations in the meaning of landsmanshaft membership occur as the original hometown-based motive for affiliation shifts to a concentration on support of local American charities, for example, or philanthropic work for Israel. Strong indications from my archival and interview sources point to the predominance of the landsmanshaft's grounding in America as a Jewish ethnic subcommunity.

While groups may contemplate and ultimately choose their level of commitment to various activities, the perimeters of the deliberations frequently are set by the mass media. Organizational agendas are delimited by mass communicated messages directed to the Jewish community about appropriate landsmanshaft work, messages which today mainly emphasize Israel fundraising and the memorializing of the destroyed European hometown. Throughout the history of American landsmanshaftn, their salient functions often reflected goals approved by the larger society: Americanization of immigrant populations, imitation of the practices of American voluntary associations, focus on the American military effort in World War II, and support of the State of Israel.

In general, it is important to remember that these norms of behavior are also presented regularly and repeatedly by other socialization sources, such as the Jewish community's schools, synagogues and the federation of agencies. The tenor of social and political policies in the United States reinforces directions of organizational actions. These also reflect the historical circumstances and new social conditions of post-World War II American Jewish life. In America, the symbolism of landsman status has necessarily changed. It will be interesting to see how the stricter interpretation which prevailed in the past of the landsmanshaft as a gathering of fellow townspeople will give way to a wide acceptance of the term landsman as a designation for fellow Jew. We should remember that as the group modifies its character, it nonetheless remains primarily a context in which Jewish ethnic identity is expressed.

The way in which many present landsmanshaft leaders perceive the future of their organizations indicates the inclination to devalue the link to a common birthplace or residence in Eastern Europe. Their own distance from the European hometown, especially but not only for those born in America, accounts

for this approach. Such an attitude is also encouraged by the media patterns found in the Yiddish press, the major voice for landsmanshaft affairs, which serves to emphasize a broader shared base of concerns that unites all landsmanshaftn with the American Jewish community as a whole.

An even stronger sentiment expressed by landsmanshaft activists is the pessimism about the viability of this form of organization. In this respect, my expression of interest in the present and future status of their organization was often met with surprise on the part of those respondents who feel the landsmanshaft experience is inconsequential. In some instances, as described earlier, an unanticipated result of the investigatory process was that communication between organizations in Israel and America was engendered as a result of the researcher's initiative. In other cases, informants were made aware of developments in other landsmanshaftn taking place in their own city.

Among the reactions to the research task, it was interesting to note that a minority of the interviewees show little self-esteem in their appraisals of the nature and history of their organization's work. In reflecting on this situation, it seems at least possible that the very minimal level of dissemination of news about landsmanshaft activities in the Anglo-Jewish press, the media at large, and in other community institutions supports the commonly held notion, accepted by some of the participants themselves, that these associations have finally lost their purpose.

This evaluation of landsmanshaft affiliation is one of the dysfunctional outcomes of mass media coverage of associational activities. The current communication practices succeed in promulgating a notion of unity among different sectors of the landsmanshaft community with regard to their aims and foci, but another outcome is the reinforcement of the silence about differences

that may exist. The landsmanshaft sector is not a uniform entity, even in its reduced state of existence today, just as the ethnic community of which it is a part is not homogeneous. One function of present day communication about and for landsmanshaftn is the maintenance of consensus within the ethnic group, yet the special background and interests of segments of that community are neglected.

For the ethnic socialization of many landsmanshaft participants, one consequence of present media practices is that landsmanshaft identity is learned to be experienced as nostalgia. There is little chance for these groups to assume a politically powerful position, for example, in their society; as such, communication contributes to the maintenance of the social system of which it is a part by subordinating the special ties of ethnicity to the realm of past memories.

The issues of memory, and how the ethnic community is reconstructed by its members, is interestingly manifested in the landsmanshaft documents and interviews. Variations even in reminiscences of the past are also rooted in the present relationship of groups to this society. From the shores of the new home, America, the old home tends to be remembered as a harmonious and unstratified place. For many, the memory of the past is communicated only in terms of America, and the earlier years of organizational existence. The vision of present and future associational concerns links the group in America with support for Israel, which is sometimes mistakenly recalled as a longtime part of the organization's legacy by current leaders.

Reconstructions and redefinitions of community are related to the mass and interpersonal communication messages about appropriate expressions of affiliation. At the present time, for American landsmanshaftn, their survival as a community is linked to their activity as American groups that commemorate

the destruction of Jewish life in Eastern Europe and advocate the preservation of Jewish life in Israel. In this, they conform to the contours of American Jewry, generally. In future years, perhaps one way in which landsmanshaftn could develop would be through the renewal of interest in their East European Jewish heritage; there are presently a few signs in this direction.

In line with the process noted for landsmanshaft identification in the past and the present, the growth of the organizations in the future will require the approval and complicity of the larger American social system and its communication channels in regard to the significance of ethnicity. Landsmanshaftn will embrace new functions only with the help of the dominant society. They persist as Jewish ethnic groups if they can integrate with currents in American society.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. For a forceful demonstration of this process for second generation American Jews in New York City, see Moore (1981c). Little work has been done on the comparisons between Jewish ethnic associations of other non-European immigrants. For a discussion of these developments for Syrian Jews in Israel, see Zenner (1967). Israel, in general, would be a fruitful research site for such investigations, being probably one of the few countries where "immigrant associations" appears as an entry in the local telephone directory. The role of ethnic associations of new immigrants to New York City has recently been studied in a project sponsored by the Community Council of Greater New York (see Bollman, 1984-85). As for other settings where landsmanshaftn, in particular, have been studied, see Boyarin (1985) on Polish Jews in Paris.

APPENDIX A

LANDSMANSHAFTN INTERVIEW

1. I would like to verify that you hold the position of _____ in this organization _____, and that is the full name of the organization?
2. Please tell me about your own involvement in the organization.
 - a) how long have you been a member?
 - b) what goals of the organization are/were you involved in?
 - c) how long have you been in a leadership position?
3. When did you first learn about the organization? How did that happen? Through whom?
4. Where were you born? (city, country)
5. What year was that?
6. What about your parents? Was your father born there/here, too? If no, where was he born? Now, what about your mother? Where was she born?
7. Who else in your family had ties to the same town? For example, did your spouse come from the same town? If not, where was she or he born?
8. When did you/your parents first arrive in the U.S.? How old were you/your parents?
9. Tell me about the town or city you/they came from.
 - a) Where was it located? How large was it? Describe the economy?
 - b) How many Jews lived there? Were there many organizations?
 - c) Do you remember people leaving for America? What were their reasons? Did they have ties with those that had left earlier?

I will want to come back to your work in the organization in America, but first I'd like to ask some questions about the organization, itself.

10. To review, the exact name of the organization in English is _____, and in Yiddish _____.
11. Does the organization maintain, or have use of, a relatively permanent headquarters?
If yes:
 - a) What is the address?
 - b) For how long has this been the headquarters?
 - c) How is the headquarters used by members?

- If no:
- a) Where do meetings take place?
 - b) Did the organization have a headquarters in the past?
 - c) How was the headquarters used by members in the past?

12. What year was the organization established?
13. When was the organization incorporated?
14. How was the organization founded? Who were the original leaders?
15. What about the membership at the time the organization was founded? About how many members were there? How old were the members then? What was the percent of men and women?
16. What would you say were the main goals and activities of the organization, at the time of founding? (religious practices, mutual aid and insurance, social/recreation, meeting other townspeople, others).
17. And today, what are the main goals and activities?
18. Would most members agree with this description?
19. Who are the members today? What are the characteristics of your membership today?

Let's see if I can ask some specific questions:

- a) How many individuals are currently members in good standing?
 - b) What was the highest number of members ever?
 - c) How would you describe the proportion of males and females in the present membership? Is it all male, mostly male, about evenly divided, mostly female, all female?
 - d) In which of the following age groups would you say most of the members could be placed? Is it in their fifties, sixties, seventies, over eighty? Younger?
 - e) Are most members retired?
 - f) How would you describe the kind of work which members are/were employed in?
 - g) What percent of the membership would you estimate is comprised of:
 - landslayt?
 - non-landslayt? (explain)
 - American-born?
 - 2nd or 3rd generation?
 - post-World War II immigrants?
20. Where do most members live today? Has geographic dispersal affected the organization? How do members keep in touch?
 21. In general, what interests would you say the present members have in common which would help explain their membership in this organization?

22. Do members identify with any particular political orientation or ideology?
23. How would you describe the religious affiliations of your members?
24. Officially, is your organization totally independent, or is it an auxiliary, an affiliate, a branch, a coordinating body, or other?
25. Has this always been the case? In other words, have there been mergers, splits, or changing affiliations?
26. In general, over the years, what kinds of problems and issues have come up in the development of the organization? Disputes?
27. As far as you know, are there any other organizations of landslajt from your town? (if yes, why did they develop?)
 - a) In the same city: do they keep in touch? how? when?
 - b) What about landslajt in other cities?
 - c) What about landslajt in other countries?
 - d) What about landslajt in Israel?

Now I would like to learn about the kinds of things I would need to know in order to be a member of your organization.

28. Perhaps you can help me get a sense of how the organization works:
 - a) Is there a constitution or by-laws?
 - b) Who is in charge of the organization? Is it a president or a committee? How often are elections held?
 - c) What is the annual dues requirement?
 - d) What about benefits?
 - e) Does the organization have any assets?
 - f) What about buildings or institutions in Israel?
29. What is the customary procedure by which individuals become members of your organization? In other words, briefly describe how a typical member becomes a member.
30. Excluding dues, what are some of the other requirements for membership in this organization?
31. Let's talk about the past year. I'm interested in the main activities in which your organization has been engaged, and which of these are established functions of the organization.
 - a) How often are meetings of the total membership held?
 - b) How are members notified of regular or special membership meetings?
 - c) In numbers, what is the average attendance at a typical membership meeting?

- d) About how many people would you say there are who hardly ever miss a membership meeting?
 - e) What happens at a typical membership meeting? Could you describe the agenda and program of such a meeting?
 - f) Over the past year, what have been the main activities at meetings?
32. You've told me about meetings of the members. What about meetings of the officers -- how often do these take place, and how many people are involved?
33. Does your organization have permanent committees? Please explain them, and tell me how often they meet? Have there been any special new committees recently?
34. Is this organization represented by delegates in any groups or organizations? Which ones?
35. Does your organization ever engage in joint activities or projects with other organizations in the community? Please describe a few of these activities.
36. Please describe for me the most memorable meeting that you can recall in the years in which you have been a member.
37. Are minutes kept of meetings? How? In what language(s)?
38. What language(s) are used for meetings, correspondence? publications? in general, among members?
39. Do members keep in touch, apart from meetings? Informally?
40. Have you published any material? Do you have your own publications, for example, newspapers, bulletins, yisker (memorial) book?
- a) How often are materials published?
 - b) How are materials distributed?
 - c) In what languages are materials printed?
41. I am particularly interested in the role of community publications.
- a) Do you publicize your activities in the press?
 - b) Do you read announcements of other groups and organizations?
 - c) Do members read the Yiddish press? use other media?
 - d) Was there ever any special place where landsmanshaftn could read about each other (community page, Landsleit)?
 - e) Do you get publicity in local media? Who takes care of that? Which media?

Now I would like to focus on some specific issues. In particular, I am interested in learning your views, as a leader in this organization, on some issues concerning the landsmanshaft.

The first set of questions will require thinking back to the 1930's and 1940's.

42. I'd like to hear about when and how you first heard about what was happening in Europe to the Jews. I'm interested in hearing about everything that you can remember about it.
43. Can you tell me when you first learned about the situation of your landslayt?
44. How interested would you say you were in keeping up with the news of your town?
45. How concerned would you say you were about the events?
46. Were you that interested and concerned all along, or did your interest and concern become greater or lesser as time went on? If your feelings changed, can you recall when? and why you became more interested?

Now I'd like to learn about how you got your information.

47. Where would you say you got most of your information about your town? about Jews in Europe during World War II? (Probe)
48. Can you think of any other sources of information?
49. Did you discuss the situation with other people? Can you remember with whom? In general, what were these discussions about?
50. Can you remember any discussion in any group you belonged to? In any meetings?
51. What about among landslayt? How did people find out? What sorts of decisions were made?
52. As far as helping you form opinions about what steps to take, was any particular information source (mass media or other people) especially important to you? If yes, which ones? How did they influence your thinking?
53. What did you think about the way the news media covered the situation? Did you think they did a good job of covering the events?
54. Did you turn to any special sources of information? What about the organization? Did it turn to any special source?
55. And what about after the war was over? What and how did you learn about your town?

The next few questions have to do with your media habits today.

56. Where do you get your Jewish news? With whom do you discuss this news?
57. How often do you usually read a newspaper? Which paper or papers do you usually read?
58. How often do you usually listen to the news on the radio? Which station?
59. How about television news? How often do you usually watch the local evening news on TV? Which station? And national news?
60. What about a newsmagazine, like Time or Newsweek? How often do you usually read a newsmagazine?
61. What other magazines do you usually read?
62. How about other members of the organization, where do you think most of them get their news? And what about news about Jews? about Israel?

Now, I would like your opinions on the relationship of the landsmanshaft with your town, with America, and with Israel.

63. In general, what ties did your organization maintain with the old home over the years? Did the organization raise funds for the benefit of the native town? how? through an agency? independently? Did you send a representative? money? What institutions did you support?
64. Please describe your organization's relief activities before, during and after World War II? pre-World War II?
65. Did you provide any services for new immigrants who came after World War II? What about now? (Russian immigrants?)
66. How has the organization viewed its relationship with the State of Israel over time? Has the organization raised funds? What can you tell me about ties with landslajt in Israel?
67. How do you see the relationship of the organization with the United States? In other words, how does the organization help support Jewish or general American organizations? How are these relationships maintained?
68. Let's see if we can sum up: how do you view the place of your landsmanshaft in the development of American Jewish life?
 - a) What changes in the organization would you highlight?
 - b) How do you view the future of your organization?
 - c) Is there a place for landsmanshaftn today?
 - d) How could individuals born or raised in the United States be attracted to support landsmanshaftn?
 - e) What aspects of Jewish culture should be maintained in the U.S. among immigrants and their descendants?

So far, I have asked you questions as a representative of your organization. Now, I would like to learn directly about your own involvements and activities.

69. You've already told me about your involvement in this organization. To what other organizations do you belong? Are there clubs or organizations to which you belonged in the past in which you are no longer active?
70. In which other organizations have you/do you hold office? Have you helped found other organizations?
71. What experiences in your past, including organizations you have belonged to, do you think contributed the most in preparing you for organizational leadership?
72. With respect to this organization, what particular problems have you had to face as leader?
73. In what ways have your membership and present position of leadership in this organization affected your personal and social life?
74. How many members of the organization are close personal friends of yours? How many are family members?
75. Do you speak Yiddish? read? write? Is Yiddish the language used largely in conversation in your family? with friends?
76. What other activities do you participate in, enjoy? Hobbies?
77. What is/was your occupation? What kind of work did you do before coming to this country?
78. How many years of schooling have you had?
79. Are you married?
80. What about your husband/wife? How many years of school has he/she had? What is his/her occupation?
81. Which of the following categories best matches your total family income for the last year?

less than \$5,000
\$5,000 to \$15,000
\$15,000 to \$30,000
over \$30,000

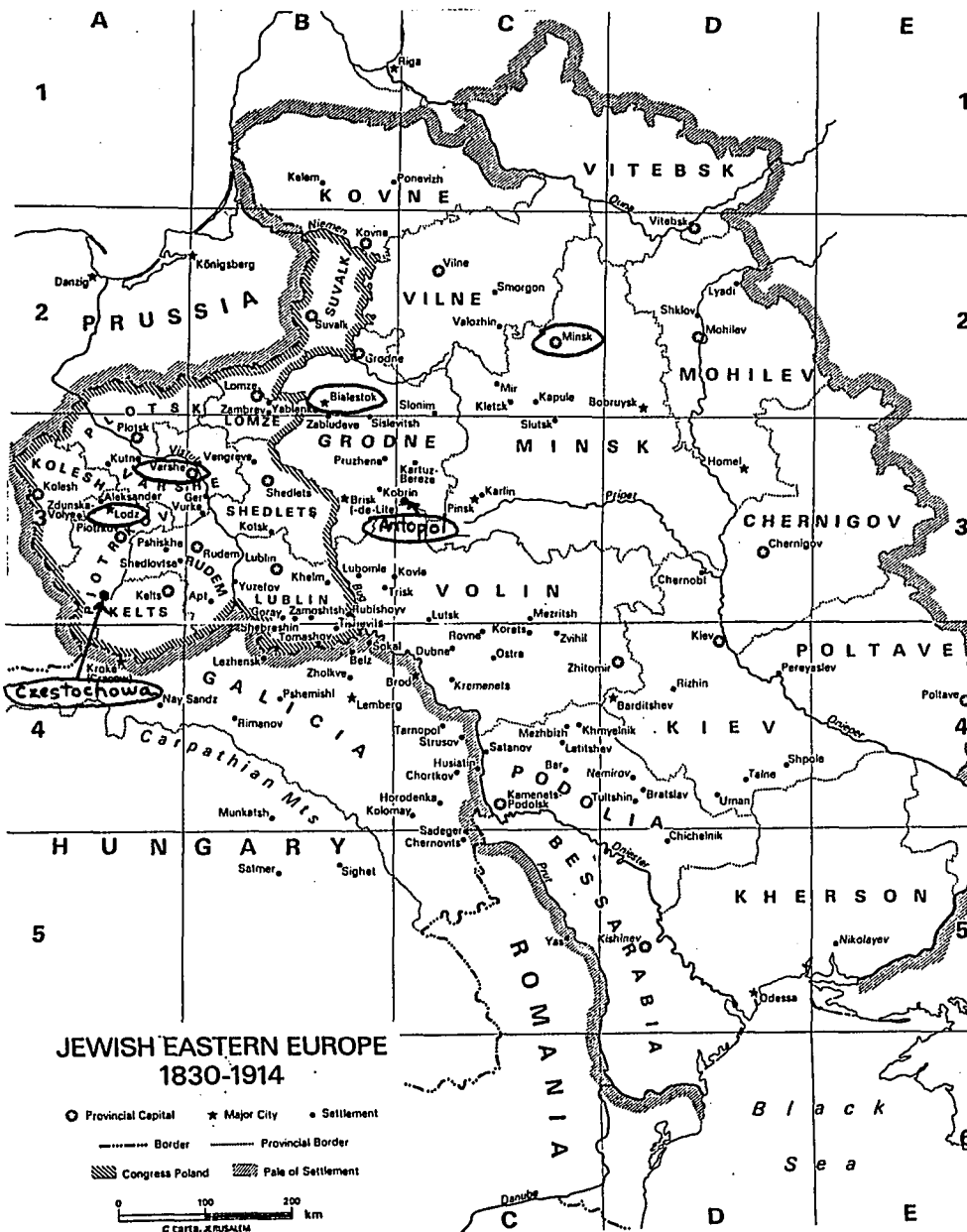
APPENDIX B
LANDSMANSHAFT COMMUNITIES

The map on the following page shows the hometown locations for the landsmanshaftn under study. Before the partitions of Poland, 1772-1795, all of the six locations were part of Poland. After the partitions until the end of World War I, all of the towns and cities studied were part of the Russian Empire. They were all in the Pale of Jewish Settlement, the area where Jews were permitted to live in the Russian Empire. Three were administratively part of Congress Poland (set up by the Congress of Vienna in 1815); Czestochowa, Lodz, Warsaw. All of the cities except for Minsk were part of the Polish Republic between the two world wars. Minsk was part of the Soviet Union. The chart below shows the estimated size of the six locations; see Chapter 3 for best historical estimates of the Jewish population in these communities.

Community of Origin for Landsmanshaftn Under Study

(as of early 20th century)

Small Community (approx. 2000)	Medium-Sized City (75,000-150,000)	Metropolis (approx. 500,000 and up)
ANTOPOL	BIALYSTOK CZESTOCHOWA MINSK	LODZ WARSAW



APPENDIX C

LANDSMANSHAFT INTERVIEWS

ANTOPOL

Antopoler Ladies of Harlem
Antopoler Society of Harlem
Antopol Social and Benevolent Society
Antopoler Young Men's Benevolent Association
Chevra Anshei Antopolier
Antopoler Society

BIALYSTOK

Bialystoker Bricklayers Benevolent Association
Bialystoker Cutters Social Club
Bialystoker Ladies Auxiliary
Bialystoker Synagogue
Bialystoker Unterstutzungs Verein Somach Noflim
Bialystoker Young Men's Association
Bialystoker Branch 88 -- Workmen's Circle
Bialystoker Branch 408 -- Farband Labor Zionist Alliance
Bialystoker Center
Bialystoker-Grodner Memorial Committee

CZESTOCHOWA

Congregation Czenstochauer Chasam Sopher W'Anshei
Unterstanestier
Chenstochover Circle of Brooklyn
Czenstochauer Young Men and United Czenstochover Relief
Committee
Lodzer-Williamsbridger-Chenstochover-Middle Bronx Fraternal
Society of the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies

LODZ

Masada Branch 403 -- Farband Labor Zionist Alliance
 Lodz Branch 324 -- Workmen's Circle
 Lodzer Ladies Branch 324B -- Workmen's Circle
 Associated Lodzer Ladies Aid
 Lodzer Chevra Agudath Achim
 Lodzer Friends Benevolent Society
 Lodzer Young Ladies Aid Association
 Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society
 American Research Council to Commemorate the Jewish
 Community of Lodz
 American Society of Jews Liberated from Ghetto Lodz
 World Gathering of Lodzer Holocaust Survivors
 Lodzer-Williamsbridger-Chenstochover-Middle Bronx Fraternal
 Society of the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies

MINSK

Congregation Chai Odom Anshe Minsk
 First Minsker Young Men's Society of Brooklyn
 Independent Minsker Brothers
 Minsker Ladies Benevolent Society
 Minsker Young Friends Benevolent Association
 Minsker Young Men's Commercial Aid Association
 Minsker Branch 507 -- Workmen's Circle

WARSAW

American Council for Warsaw Jews
 First Warshauer Association
 First Warshauer Congregation
 First Warschauer I.M. Baumgold Society
 Independent Warshauer Linas Hazedek
 Ochoter Warshauer Young Men's Progressive Society
 Povonsker Warschauer Young Men's Benevolent Association
 Prager Warshauer Young Men's Aid Society
 Sam Frankel Benevolent Society
 United Warshauer Sick and Benevolent Society
 Warshauer Benevolent Society
 Warshauer Brotherly Love Benevolent Society
 Warshauer Sick and Benevolent Society
 Warshauer Sick Support Society
 Warshauer Young Friends Beneficial Association of Brownsville
 Warsaw-Mlaver-Tlumatcher-Rakover-Opatoshu Branch #386-639-
 Workmen's Circle
 Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization (WAGRO)

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors
 Bnai Zion
 Brith Abraham
 Council of Organizations -- United Jewish Appeal-Federation Campaign
 and Israel Emergency Fund
 Farband Labor Zionist Alliance
 Federation of Polish Jews
 Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS)
 Israel Bonds -- Greater New York Committee, Department of
 Organizations-Fraternal Division
 Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies
 Knights of Pythias -- Lodge 609 (Lodzer)
 Workmen's Circle

ISRAEL LANDSMANSHAFTN AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Association of Immigrants from Antopol
 Association of Immigrants from Bialystok
 Kiryat Bialystok
 Association of Immigrants from Czestochowa
 Association of Immigrants from Lodz
 Association of Immigrants from Minsk
 Association of Immigrant Societies from Settlements in the
 U.S.S.R./Landsmanshaftim
 Association of Immigrants from Warsaw
 Association of Immigrants from Prage-Warsaw
 Povonsker in Israel (informal association)
 Association of Jews from Poland in Israel
 World Federation of Polish Jews
 Yad Vashem, Heykhal Volin branch

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Robert T. "Voluntary Associations in History," American Anthropologist, Vol. 73, No. 1, February 1971, pp. 209-22.
- Applebaum, Karl. "A History of the Jewish 'Landsmanschaftn' Organizations in New York City." Unpublished MA thesis, New York University, 1952.
- Ayalon, Ben-Zion H., ed. Antopol (Antepolie): sefer yizkor (Antopol(antepolie): yisker book). Tel Aviv: Antopol Societies in Israel and America, 1972.
- Babchuk, Nicholas and C. Wayne Gordon. The Voluntary Association in the Slum. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Studies, October 1962.
- Baker, Zachary M. "Landsmanshaftn and the Jewish Genealogist," Toledot, Vol. 2, No. 1, Summer 1978, pp. 10-12.
- _____. "Memorial Books as Sources for Family History," Toledot, Vol. 3, No. 2-3, Fall 1979-Winter 1980, pp. 3-7.
- Barbarash, Ernest E. Bnai Zion, 75 Years, A Stellar Role: A Historic Review. New York: Bnai Zion, 1983.
- Barber, Bernard. "Mass Apathy" and Voluntary Social Participation in the United States. New York: Arno Press, 1980 reprint of Harvard PhD, 1948.
- Baron, Salo Wittmayer. The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution, 3 vols., Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945.
- Ben-Ezra, A., ed. Horodets, a geshikhte fun a shtetl, 1142-1942 (Horodec, history of a town, 1142-1942). New York: Horodetz Book Committee, 1949.
- Benkin, Richard L. "Ethnicity and Organization: Jewish Communities in Eastern Europe and the United States," Sociological Quarterly. Vol. 19, No. 4, Autumn 1978, pp. 614-25.
- Berger, David, ed. The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and its Impact. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- The Bialystoker Synagogue. The Bialystoker Synagogue: A Pictorial Album. New York: The Bialystoker Synagogue, 1978.
- Bianco, Carlo. The Two Rosetos. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974.
- Bodnar, John E. "The Formation of Ethnic Consciousness: Slavic Immigrants in Stillton" in John E. Bodnar, ed. The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1973, pp. 309-30.

- Bollman, Nick. Program Plan, 1984-85. New York: Community Council of Greater New York, 1984.
- Boyarin, Jonathan. "Landslayt: Polish Jews in Paris." Unpublished PhD dissertation, New School for Social Research, 1985.
- Boylan, Anne M. "Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organizations in New York and Boston, 1797-1840," The Journal of American History, Vol. 71, No. 3, December 1984, pp. 497-523.
- Breton, Raymond. "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70, September 1964, pp. 193-206.
- Chrisman, Noel J. "Ethnic Persistence in an Urban Setting," Ethnicity, Vol. 8, No. 3, September 1981, pp. 256-92.
- Chyz, Yaroslav J., and Read Lewis. "Agencies Organized by Nationality Groups in the United States," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 262, March 1949, pp. 148-58.
- Cooley, Charles Horton. Social Organization. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.
- Council of Jewish Communal Institutions. List of Members of Jewish Communal Institutions in New York. New York: Council of Jewish Communal Institutions, 1914.
- Curchak, Mark P. "The Adaptability of Traditional Institutions as a Factor in the Formation of Immigrant Voluntary Associations: The Example of the Landsmanshaften," The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 42, April 1970, pp. 88-98.
- Cutter, Charles. "The American Yiddish Daily Press to the Rise of Nazism, 1930-1933." Unpublished PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1979.
- Davison, W. Phillips and Frederick T.C. Yu., eds. Mass Communication Research: Major Issues and Future Directions. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.
- De Santis, Grace and Richard Benkin. "Ethnicity Without Community," Ethnicity, Vol. 7, 1980, pp. 137-43.
- Dobroszycki, Lucjan, ed. The Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto, 1941-1944. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- _____ and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. Image Before My Eyes. New York: Schocken Books, 1977.
- Doroshkin, Milton. Yiddish in America: Social and Cultural Foundations. New Jersey: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1969.

- Dunn, E.J. Builders of Fraternalism in America. Chicago: The Fraternal Book Concern, 1924.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. "Communication Processes Among Immigrants to Israel," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1952, pp. 42-56.
- _____. "Conditions of Communicative Receptivity," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1953, pp. 363-75.
- _____. The Absorption of Immigrants. London: Rutledge and Regan Paul Ltd., 1954.
- Elazar, Daniel J. Community and Polity: the Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1976.
- Encyclopaedia Judaica. Berlin: Eschkol, 1928-34.
- Encyclopedia Judaica. Jerusalem: Keter, 1972.
- Etzioni, Amitai. "The Ghetto -- A Re-evaluation," Social Forces, Vol. 37, No. 3, March 1959, pp. 255-62.
- Evreskaia Entsiklopediia (Jewish Encyclopedia). St. Petersburg: Brokhaus-Efron, 1906-1914.
- Even-Shoshan, Shlomo, ed. Minsk: ir veem (Minsk, Jewish mother city: memorial anthology). Israel: Minsk Society, Ghetto Fighters' House, Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1975.
- Federal Writers Project. Di yidishe landsmanshaftn fun nyu york (The Jewish Landsmanshaftn of New York). New York: Yiddish Writers Union, 1938.
- Federal Writers Project. Yidishe familyes un familye krayzn fun nyu york (Jewish Families and Family Circles of New York). New York: Yiddish Writers Union, 1939.
- Feingold, Henry L. The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945. New York: Holocaust Library, 1970.
- Feinstein, Otto, ed. Ethnic Groups in the City: Culture, Institutions and Power. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1971.
- Fishman, Joshua A., ed. Studies on Polish Jewry, 1919-1939. New York: Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, 1974.
- Friedman, Philip. "Di landsmanshaftn-literatur in di fareynikte shtatn far di letste tsen yor" (The Past Ten Years of Landsmanshaftn Literature in the United States), Jewish Book Annual, Vol. 10, 1951-52, pp. 81-96.

- Gertner, Michael H. et al., "Language and Ethnicity in the Periodical Publications of Four American Ethnic Groups," Multilingua, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1983, pp. 83-99.
- Glasser, William A. and David L. Sills. The Government of Associations. Totowa, N.J.: The Bedminster Press, 1966.
- Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan. Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1970, 2nd edition.
- Glicksman, William M. Jewish Social Welfare Institutions in Poland. Philadelphia: M.E. Kalish Folkshul, 1976.
- Goldberg, B.Z. "The American Yiddish Press at its Centennial," Judaism, Vol. 20, No. 2, Spring 1971, pp. 223-28.
- _____. "The Passing of The Day-Jewish Morning Journal," Midstream, Vol. 18, No. 4, April 1972, pp. 12-38.
- Gordon, Milton, M. Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- _____, ed. "America as a Multicultural Society," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 454, March 1981.
- Gouldner, Alvin W., ed. Studies in Leadership: Leadership and Democratic Action. New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1950.
- Greenberg, Blu. How to Run a Traditional Jewish Household. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983.
- Grobman, Alex, "What Did they Know? The American Jewish Press and the Holocaust, 1 September 1939 - 17 December 1942," American Jewish History, Vol. 68, pp. 327-52.
- Gurock, Jeffrey S. When Harlem was Jewish, 1870-1930. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.
- Handlin, Oscar. "Response." Paper presented at the Yivo 55th Annual Conference, New York City, November, 1981.
- Heilman, Samuel C. "Jewish Sociologist: Native-as-Stranger," The American Sociologist, Vol. 15, May 1980, pp. 100-108.
- _____. The Gate Behind the Wall: A Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. New York: Summit Books, 1984.
- Heschel, Abraham Joshua. "The Eastern European Era in Jewish History," Yivo Annual for Jewish Social Science, Vol. 1, 1946.

- _____. The Earth is the Lord's: The Inner World of the Jew in East Europe. London: Abelard-Schuman, 1964.
- Higham, John, Ed. Ethnic Leadership in America. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Hoffman, Miriam. "Memory and Memorial: A Survey into the Making of a Yizker-bukh." Unpublished MA thesis, Columbia University, 1983.
- Howe, Irving. World of our Fathers. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.
- Hurh, Won Moo. "Towards a Korean-American ethnicity: Some theoretical models," Ethnic and Racial Studies. Vol. 3, No. 4, October 1980, pp. 444-64.
- Hurwitz, Maximilian. The Workmen's Circle: Its History, Ideals, Organization and Institutions. New York: The Workmen's Circle, 1936.
- Hyman, Herbert H. and Charles R. Wright. "Trends in Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Replication Based on Secondary Analysis of National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, Vol. 36, April 1971, pp. 191-206.
- Ivensky, M. "Hamisdarim hayehudiim bamerika" (The Jewish Fraternal Orders in America) in Menachem Ribalow, ed. The American Hebrew Year Book, New York: Histadruth Ivrit of America, 1939, pp. 388-404.
- Janowitz, Morris. The Community Press in an Urban Setting: The Social Elements of Urbanism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952, 1967 edition.
- _____, ed. W.I. Thomas on Social Organization and Social Personality. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Jaret, Charles. "The Greek, Italian, and Jewish American Ethnic Press: A Comparative Analysis," Journal of Ethnic Studies, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 1979, pp. 47-70.
- Jeffres, Leo W. and K. Kyoon Hur. "Ethnicity, Communication and Urban Stratification," Paper presented at the meeting of the International Communication Association, Acapulco, May 1980.
- Jewish National Workers Alliance. Yidish Natsyonale Arbeter Farband 1910-1946 (Jewish National Workers Alliance 1910-1946: History and Achievement). New York: Jewish National Workers Alliance, 1946.
- Joffe, Natalie. "The Dynamics of Benefice among East European Jews," Social Forces, Vo. 27, No. 3, March 1949, pp. 238-47.

- Juliani, Richard N. "The Social Organization of Immigration: The Italians in Philadelphia." Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1971.
- Karp, Abraham J. To Give Life: The UJA in the Shaping of the American Jewish Community. New York: Schocken Books, 1981.
- Katz, Alfred H. and Eugene I. Bender. "Self-Help Groups in Western Society: History and Prospects," Journal of Applied Behavior Science, Vol. 12, No. 3, July-August-September, 1976.
- Katz, P. et al., eds. Pinkes Varshe (Book of Warsaw). Buenos Aires: Former Residents of Warsaw and Surroundings in Argentina, 1955.
- Katzman, Jacob. Commitment: The Labor Zionist Life-style in America. New York: Labor Zionist Letters, 1975.
- Kehillah. Jewish Communal Register of New York City 1917-1918. New York: Lipshitz Press, 1918.
- Kerre, James Nwannahwu. "Anthropological Studies of Voluntary Associations and Voluntary Action: A Review," Journal of Voluntary Action Research, Vol. 3, No. 1, January 1974, pp. 10-25.
- Kim, Young Yun. "Communication Patterns of Foreign Immigrants in the Process of Acculturation," Human Communication Research, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1977, pp. 66-77.
- _____. "Toward an Interactive Theory of Communication-Acculturation," in Dan Nimmo, ed., Communication Yearbook 3, ICA: Transaction Books, 1979, pp. 435-53.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Traditional Storytelling in the Toronto Jewish Community: A Study in Performance and Creativity in an Immigrant Culture." Unpublished PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1972.
- Kliger, Hannah. "Communication and Community: Ethnic Media Images and Jewish Group Identity." Unpublished MA thesis, Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, 1977.
- _____. "Voluntary Association and Community: The Case of New York Landsmanshaftn," Unpublished paper, 1981a.
- _____. "Communication and Community: A Research Proposal for the Study of Ethnicity." Unpublished paper, 1981b.
- Kligberg, Moishe. "Di tsvey dimentsyes fun virklekhkeyt in traditsyoneln veltbanem fun mizrekh-eyropeyishn yidntum" (The Two-Dimensional Conception of Reality in the World Image of Traditional East European Jewry), in For Max Weinreich on his Seventieth Birthday. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1964, pp. 354-345.

- Klugman, Aleksander. "Haperek Haakharon" (The Last Chapter), reprint from Betfutsot hagola, No. 1-2, 1970.
- _____, ed. The Last Journey of the Jews of Lodz. Tel Aviv: S. Kibel Publishing, n.d.
- Knoke, David. "Commitment and Detachment in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review. Vol. 46, April 1981, pp. 141-58.
- Kornhauser, William. The Politics of Mass Society. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959.
- Kugelmass, Jack and Jonathan Boyarin. From a Ruined Garden: The Memorial Books of Polish Jewry. New York: Schocken Books, 1983.
- Laumann, Edward O. Bonds of Pluralism: The Form and Substance of Urban Social Networks. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.
- Levinthal, Helen Hadassah. "The Jewish Fraternal Order: An Americanizing and Socializing Force." Unpublished MA thesis, Columbia University, 1932.
- Levitats, Isaac. "The Jewish Association in America," in Joseph Blau et al., eds., Essays in Jewish Life and Thought Presented in Honor of Salo Wittmayer Baron. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959, pp. 331-49.
- Light, Ivan. Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese and Blacks. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Lipstadt, Deborah E. "The New York Times and the News about the Holocaust: A Quantified Study," Proceedings of the 1977 Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1980.
- _____. "Pious Sympathies and Sincere Regrets: The American News Media and the Holocaust from Krystalnacht to Bermuda, 1938-1943," Modern Judaism, Vol. 2, No. 1, February 1982, p. 53-72.
- _____. "From Noblesse Oblige to Personal Redemption: The Changing Profile and Agenda of American Jewish Leaders," Modern Judaism, Vol. 4, No. 3, October 1984, pp. 295-310.
- Little, Kenneth. West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Lodzer Branch 324 Workmen's Circle. Lodzsher Almanakh (Lodzer Almanac published in honor of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Jubilee of the Lodzer Branch 324 Workmen's Circle, 1909-1934). New York, 1934.
- Lodzer Centre in Melbourne (Australia). Yidish Lodzsh (Yiddish Lodz: A Yiskor Book). Melbourne: Lodzer Centre in Melbourne, 1974.

- Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society. Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Jubilee Book. New York: Lodzer Young Men's Benevolent Society, 1977.
- Lookstein, Haskel. "American Jewry's Public Response to the Holocaust 1938-1944: An Examination Based Upon Accounts in the Jewish Press and Periodical Literature." Unpublished PhD dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1979.
- Lopata, Helena Znaniacki. "The Function of Voluntary Associations in an Ethnic Community, Polonia." Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1954.
- _____. "The Function of Voluntary Associations in an Ethnic Community: 'Polonia,'" in Ernest Burgess and Donald Bogue, eds. Contributions to Urban Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, pp. 117-37.
- _____. Polish Americans: Status Competition in an Ethnic Community. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1976.
- Losh, L., ed. Landsmanshaftn in yisroel (Landsmanshaftn in Israel). Tel Aviv: Association of Jews from Poland in Israel, 1961.
- Lurie, Harry L. A Heritage Confirmed: The Jewish Federation Movement in America. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961.
- MacIver, R.M. Society: A Textbook of Sociology. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937.
- Mahler, R., ed. Tshenstokhover yidn (The Jewish of Czestochowa). New York: United Czestochower Relief Committee and Ladies Auxiliary, 1947.
- Mangione, Jerre. The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writers' Project. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972.
- McCombs, Maxwell E. and Donald L. Shaw. "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 36, Summer 1972, pp. 176-87.
- Mead, George Herbert. Mind, Self and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1968.
- Meyer, B.H. "Fraternal Beneficiary Societies in the United States," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 6, No. 5, March 1901, pp. 646-61.
- Milamed, Susan. "Proskurover Landsmanshaftn: A Case Study in Jewish Communal Development." Unpublished MA thesis, Columbia University, 1980.
- Mills, C. Wright. The Puerto Rican Journey. New York: Harper and Row, 1950.

Mitchell, William E. Mishpokhe: A Study of New York City Jewish Family Clubs. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978.

Moore, Deborah Dash. At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981a.

_____. B'nai B'rith and the Challenge of Ethnic Leadership. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981b.

_____. "Defining American Jewish Ethnicity," Prospects, Vol. 6, 1981c, pp. 387-409.

Myerhoff, Barbara. Number Our Days. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.

Neutel, Walter. "The Necessity of Having Ethnic Archives Programmes," Archivaria, No. 7, Winter 1978, pp. 104-9.

Newman, William. American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Orenstein, B., ed. Tshenstokhover landsmanshaft in Montreal (Czenstochover Landsmanshaft in Montreal). Montreal: The Czenstochover Society in Montreal, 1966.

Park, Robert E. The Immigrant Press and its Control. New York: Harper and Bros., 1929.

_____ and Herbert A. Miller. Old World Traits Transplanted. New York: Harper and Row, 1921.

Penkower, Monty Noam. The Federal Writers' Project: A Study in Government Patronage of the Arts. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

Porat-Noy, Zvi, ed. Sefer hashana lekehilot veirgunim yehudiim 1983 (Yearbook for Jewish Communities and Organizations 1983). Ramat Gan, 1983.

Radecki, Henry. Ethnic Organizational Dynamics: The Polish Group in Canada. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1979.

Raphael, Marc Lee. A History of the United Jewish Appeal, 1939-1982. Scholars Press, 1982.

"Remembrance and Responsibility: An Agenda for Survivors," American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, April 1985.

Rontch, I.E. "The Present State of the Landsmanshaftn," The Jewish Social Service Quarterly. Vol. 15, No. 4, June 1939, pp. 360-78.

Roskies, Diane K. and David G. The Shtetl Book. New York: Ktav Publishing Co., 1979, 2nd edition.

- Sarna, Jonathan. "From Immigrants to Ethnics: Toward a New Theory of Ethnicization," Ethnicity, Vol. 5, 1978, pp. 370-378.
- Schramm, Wilbur and Donald F. Roberts, eds. The Process and Effects of Mass Communication. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971.
- Schulman, Elias. "A Survey and Evaluation of Yizkor Books," Jewish Book Annual, Vol. 25, 1967-68, pp. 184-91.
- Schwartz, Rosaline and Susan Milamed. Guide to the Landsmanshaftn Archive. New York: Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, 1981.
- Sengstock, Mary C. "Social Change in the Country of Origin as a Factor in Immigrant Conceptions of Nationality," Ethnicity, No. 4, 1977, pp. 54-70.
- Shapiro, Judah J. The Friendly Society: A History of the Workmen's Circle. New York: Media Judaica, 1971.
- Shapiro, Yonathan. Leadership in the American Zionist Organization, 1897-1930. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971.
- Shatzky, Yankev. "Yisker-bikher" (Memorial Books), Yivo bleter, Vol. 39, 1955, pp. 339-54.
- Shelvin, B. History of the Independent Order Brith Abraham, 1887-1937. New York: Independent Order Brith Abraham, 1937.
- Shmulewitz, I., ed. Der byalistoker yisker-bukh (The Bialystoker Memorial Book). New York: Bialystoker Center, 1982.
- Shtekhl, Dina and Dalya Hurvitz, eds. Kovetz lezekher kehilat Lodzsh (Anthology in Memory of the Jewish Community of Lodz). Tel Aviv: Basel Municipal High School, 1965.
- Shuzman, M., ed. Sefer Tshenstokhov (Memorial Book of Czestochowa). Jerusalem: The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora, 2 vols., 1967-68.
- Singer, S.D., ed. Tshenstokhov: nayer tsugob-materyal tsum bukh 'Tshenstokhover yidn' (Czenstochow: a new supplement to the book 'Czenstochover Yidn'). New York: United Relief Committee in New York, 1958
- Slobes, Shalom, ed. Shivim semesterim lekorporatsya haakademit hatsiyonit "yardenya", Vilna (Seventy Semesters of the Zionist Academic Corporation Yardenya in Vilna). Tel Aviv, 1964.
- Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego I Innych Krajów Słowiańskich (Great Geographical Dictionary of Congress Poland and other Neighboring Slavic Lands). Warsaw: F. Sulimierski, 1880-1904.

- Smith, Timothy. "Religion and Ethnicity in America," The American Historical Review, Vol. 83, No. 5, December 1978, pp. 1155-85.
- Smith, Constance and Anne Freedman. Voluntary Associations: Perspectives on the Literature. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Sohn, David, ed. Der byalistoker fundament (The Bialystoker Foundation). New York: Bialystoker Bricklayers Progressive Benevolent Association, 1935.
- _____, ed. Bialystok: Bilder album (Bialystok: Photo Album). New York: Bialystoker Album Committee, 1951.
- Soltes, Mordecai. The Yiddish Press: An Americanizing Agency. New York: Teachers College Press, 1924.
- Soyer, Daniel. "Between Two Worlds: The Jewish Landsmanshaftn and Questions of Immigrant Identity," Unpublished MA thesis, New York University, 1985.
- Spradley, James P. The Ethnographic Interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979.
- Szajkowski, Zosa. "Jewish Relief in Eastern Europe 1914-1917," Leo Baeck Institute Year Book, Vol. 10, 1965, pp. 24-56.
- _____. "Private and Organized American Jewish Overseas Relief (1914-1938)," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, Vol. 57, No. 1, January 1970, pp. 14-42.
- Thernstrom, Stephan, ed. Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Thomas, William I. and Florian Znaniecki. The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. New York: Dover Publications, 1938.
- Toll, William. "'The New Social History' and Recent Jewish Historical Writing." American Jewish History, Vol. 69, No. 3, 1980, pp. 315-41.
- Tonnies, Ferdinand. Community and Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1957 edition (originally published in German, 1887).
- Treudley, Mary B. "Formal Organization and the Americanization Process with Special Reference to the Greeks of Boston," American Sociological Review, Vol. 14, No. 1, February 1949, pp. 44-53.
- Tsanin, M. Tsen yor medines yisroel (Ten Years of the State of Israel). Tel Aviv: Letste Naves, 1958.
- United Emergency Relief Committee for the City of Lodz. Lodzsher yisker-bukh (Lodzher Yisker Book). New York: United Emergency Relief Committee for the City of Lodz, 1943.

Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, 1939-43.

Vecoli, Rudolph J. "Diamonds in your Own Backyard: Developing Documentation on European Immigrants to North America," Ethnic Forum, Vol. 1, No. 2, September 1981, pp. 2-16.

Ware, Caroline. "Ethnic Communities," in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931, Vol. 5, pp. 607-13.

Warner, W. Lloyd. The Living and the Dead. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.

Warner, W. Lloyd and Leo Srole. The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.

Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization. Commemoration Journal: Thirty-eighth Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, 1943-1981. New York: Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization, 1981.

Weinreich, Uriel. Modern English-Yiddish Yiddish-English Dictionary. New York: Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, 1968.

Weisman, Gabriel, ed. Sefer Praga: mukdash lezekher kdoshey ireynu (Praga book: dedicated to the memory of the martyrs of our town). Tel Aviv: Praga Society, 1974.

Wirth, Louis. The Ghetto. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928.

Woocher, Jonathan. "The 'Civil Judaism' of Communal Leaders," American Jewish Year Book, 1981, pp. 149-61.

Wright, Charles R. "Functional Analysis and Mass Communication," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1960, pp. 605-620.

_____. "Functional Analysis and Mass Communication Revisited," in Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, eds. The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974, pp. 197-212.

_____. Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective. New York: Random House, 1975 edition.

_____. Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective. New York: Random House, 1985 edition.

_____ and Muriel Cantor. "The Opinion Seeker and Avoider: Steps Beyond the Opinion Leader Concept," Pacific Sociological Review, Vol. 10, No. 1, Spring 1967, pp. 33-43.

Wyman, David S. Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938-1941. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1968.

- _____. The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
- Yiddish Cooperative Book League. Almanakh (Almanac: Tenth Anniversary Jubilee of the International Workers Order). New York: Yiddish Cooperative Book League of the Jewish Section of the International Workers Order, 1940.
- York, Alan S. "Voluntary Associations and Communal Leadership of the Jews of the United States of America." Unpublished PhD dissertation, Bar Ilan University, 1979.
- _____. "American Jewish Leaders from the Periphery," Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 23, No. 1, June 1981, pp. 25-36.
- Yu, Elena S.H. "Filipino Migration and Community Organizations in the United States," California Sociologist. Vol. 3, No. 2, Summer 1980, pp. 76-102.
- Zaks, A. Sh. Di geshikhte fun arbeter ring, 1892-1925 (The History of the Workmen's Circle, 1892-1925). 2 vols., New York: National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle, 1925.
- Zaltsman R. Der ordn in der itstiker epokhe (The Order in the Present Era). New York: Yiddish Cooperative Book League, 1941.
- Zborowski, Mark and Elizabeth Herzog. Life is with People: The Culture of the Shtetl. New York: Schocken Books, 1952.
- Zenner, Walter. "Sephardic Communal Organizations in Israel," The Middle East Journal. Vol. 21, No. 2, Spring 1967, pp. 173-86.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Alliance Bulletin
Alliance (Farband) Voice
The Beacon
The Benevolent Bulletin
The Bialystoker Foundation
Bialystoker Friend
The Bialystoker Pioneer
Bialystoker Shtimme
Bnai Zion Voice
Byma
Chenstochover Bulletin
Club News
The Day
Der Farband
Farband News
Forward
The Friend
The Jewish Exponent
Jewish Fraternalist
The Jewish Society
The Jewish Times
Jewish Week
Landsleit
Der Landsman
Landsmanshaftr.
Letste Naves
Morning-Freiheit
New Bulletin
The New York Times
The Outlet
Polish Jew
Undzer Vort
Warschauer Center
Workmen's Circle Call

Archival Collections and Libraries Utilized

American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati
American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham
American Jewish Periodical Center, Cincinnati
Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Philadelphia
Diaspora Research Institute, Tel Aviv University, Ramat Aviv
Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute for Religion, Cincinnati
Municipal Archives of the City of New York, New York City
National Archives, Washington, D.C.
New York Public Library - Jewish Division, New York City
Philadelphia City Archives, Philadelphia
Philadelphia Free Library, Philadelphia
Philadelphia Jewish Archives Center, Philadelphia
Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, New York City