

LIFE IN AN URBAN CHASSIDIC COMMUNITY:
INSULATION AND PROSELYTIZATION

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with a religious community of chassidic Jews and how they manage to persist in an urban setting. The study's theoretical focus is derived from symbolic interaction social psychology, but generates a substantive grounded theory related to this community's persistence from the collected data. This substantive theory maintains that to persist the Lubavitch community under study must create a distinctive identity for its members and provide them with a tenable way of life. The first few chapters are addressed to how this is accomplished. Defining the outside world as threatening to its distinctive way of life, the community must control the interaction contexts between its members and outsiders. Proselytizing activities, characteristic of Lubavitcher chassidim, while seemingly endangering the community's tenability, serve, in fact, to provide such interaction

contexts with a religious base, making religion the explicit focus of attention. The consequences of proselytizing, including the attraction of newcomers to the Lubavitch community, are dealt with in the study's later chapters.

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PREFACE

This preface, consisting mainly of a brief historical account of the chassidic and Lubavitch movements, is intended primarily to provide some background information to help the reader understand who the chassidim are. I am aware that the brevity of this account raises and leaves many unanswered questions. I emphasize, however, that it is not expected to serve as a complete and detailed analysis of chassidic history, but rather as a skeleton framework within which to view the beginnings of chassidism and specifically the Lubavitcher. The preface also includes a few critical editorial decisions that were made in writing the dissertation and the kinds of difficulties encountered in the process.

The chassidim are a religious Jewish movement who live within the framework of Jewish laws and practises and their own unique customs and traditions. Their everyday way of life is circumscribed by religious ideas and principles through whose implementation they come to be differentiated from other religious minorities dealt with in the literature. The chassidim should not be confused with another element in Judaism--Orthodox Jewry. While the chassidim fit within the realm of Orthodox Jewry, orthodox Jews are not necessarily

chassidim. The distinction between chassidic and non chassidic orthodox Jews are found primarily in particular traditions and customs, "intensity and emphasis in beliefs, varieties in Rabbinical allegiance, and social structure and organization" (Mintz, 1968:25).

Chassidism, as a social movement, arose in the second quarter of the 18th century and became "one of the outstanding developments in the history of Jewish religious thought in modern times" (Mindel, 1969:9). It was founded by Rabbi Yisroel Baal Shem Tov (Master of the Good Name), a native of Podolia--presently part of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine but at the time belonging to Poland. From Podolia, where the Baal Shem Tov first began to preach his doctrine, the movement rapidly spread to other parts of Poland. From there it branched to White Russia, Lithuania, Rumania and Hungary. With the mass emigration of eastern European Jews to America during the period of 1881-1914 and later after the Second World War, the chassidic movement established itself on the North American continent.

The early success and growth of the chassidic movement was undoubtedly a direct result of the social, cultural and economic conditions of eastern European Jewry around the turn of the 18th century (Minkin, 1935; Mindel, 1969). While I do not intend to elaborate upon those conditions, it is important to emphasize that the chassidic movement was not

only intended to make life bearable and liveable under those negative conditions but actually to guide Jews in their everyday way of life at all times. A Lubavitcher put it nicely in an article in Di Yiddishe Heim:

However, it would be wrong to suppose that Chassidism was meant as a kind of spiritual pill, necessary when one was ill but of no value for the healthy. It was an important teaching of the Baal Shem Tov that Chassidism was necessary for the spiritual well-being of every Jew. As a healthy food nourishes the body, Chassidism is a necessity for the daily spiritual life (Vol. 6, No. 3:13).

A basic teaching of the Baal Shem Tov was that it was everyone's duty to serve God and that this duty was not confined to the study of Talmud exclusively. It embraced, on the other hand, every aspect of one's daily life. Mindel writes that the Baal Shem Tov "emphasized the importance of prayer and obedience to the Law above the study of Law where such study tended to degenerate into nothing more than intellectual exercise" (1969:14). In The Romance of Hassidism Minkin writes:

The basic principle of Rabbi Israel's teachings is not that God Is, but that whatever Is, is in God. There is nothing that is void of God; In contrast to the Kabbalists of his time he taught that life is not to be shunned but enjoyed, that the pleasures and appetites of the senses are not to be rejected but refined and purified, for man may serve God with his body as well as with his soul (1935:87).

The Baal Shem Tov's doctrine of prayer placed the accent on sincerity and spontaneity as opposed to the more mechanical

and frigid forms of worship. The latter types of worship, according to the Baal Shem, were without feeling or warmth and therefore useless and ineffective.

Following the Baal Shem Tov's death the most significant leader of the chassidic movement was Rabbi Dov Baer, popularly known as the "Preacher of Mesritch." His magical personality and influence spread all the way from Mesritch to Lithuania, attracting to the chassidic doctrine well-known individuals including a philosopher - Schneur Zalman of Liadi. The latter became the founder of the Lubavitch (Chabad) chassidic movement.

Chabad (Lubavitch) chassidism was founded in Lithuania in 1773 and in time developed into one of the strongest and most dynamic branches of chassidism. The term Chabad is taken from three words which signify the intellectual powers - Chochmoh (wisdom), Beenoh (understanding) and Daas (knowledge) - three basic principles of the Alter Rebbe's (Rabbi Schneur Zalman, the first Lubavitcher Rebbe) interpretation of Judaism as a way of God. The initials of these three Hebrew words form the word "Chabad."

Historically, the center of Chabad chassidism was the town of Lubavitch situated in White Russia. During more than 102 years Lubavitch was the seat of four generations of Chabad Rebbeim and the center of Chabad chassidism. Only since 1915, during the First World War, when Lubavitch was evacuated did this town cease being the seat of Luba-

vitcher Rebbeim and the center of the Lubavitcher chassidim.

A characteristic feature of the Lubavitcher Rebbeim and their chassidim is Ahavas Yisroel - love for the Jewish people. To love a fellow Jew means to love him completely, body and soul. The work of Lubavitch among Jews thus runs along parallel paths: "to improve both the material conditions of their people as well as their spiritual standards" (Outlines Of The Social And Communal Work Of Chabad-Lubavitch:6). The chain of social and communal work both for the physical and spiritual welfare of the Jewish people was carried on by each of the Lubavitcher Rebbeim. In this respect we are informed that the first Lubavitcher Rebbe - "der Alter Rebbe" - was the first to interest himself in the low spiritual standard of the Jews in the cities in Russia's interior.

The first Lubavitcher Rebbe to visit America was Rabbi Jacob Isaac Schneerson. After the outbreak of World War II, at the end of the summer, Rabbi Schneerson was forced to flee Poland (in 1934 he moved his residence to Warsaw, the capital of Poland) and at the beginning of 1940 he, together with his family, came to New York. Upon his arrival in America, the Rebbe immediately began to arrange the rescue of his students caught in war torn Europe. A few days after arriving in New York, he founded the Central Yeshiva Tomchei Tmimim in Brooklyn, New York. Two years later he helped

establish a Yeshiva with preparatory classes in Montreal. A Lubavitcher describes the state of American Jewry during the 1930's before the previous Lubavitcher Rebbe's arrival:

Only one who was here during the Thirties can appreciate the bland hopelessness that characterized Torah Jewry in America before the terrible War. Yiddishkeit was a vestige, maintained almost entirely by immigrants and repudiated almost without exception by their American-born children. Yeshivos, few but valiant, boasted sons of Klai Kodesh (the lay parents could not speak English yet) as their student body. Pessimism about the future seemed quite realistic. Yiddishkeit was a transplant from the Old Country, and the years would take their inevitable toll, until there would simply be no Torah Jews born and raised here.

During that blackest hour, when physical destruction hovered over European Jewry, and spiritual dissolution threatened American Jewry, the Rebbe n'e, before he actually set foot on these shores, was making firm plans for his American Yeshiva, resolved that this country can and will be a home for Torah. In America the Rebbe demonstrated that the spark hidden within every Jewish soul can be kindled. Distressed by the deplorable state of Torah education here, the Rebbe founded the first Yeshivos Ketanos in the smaller communities of the East that never knew of such schools before. The Rebbe's pioneering was soon emulated, the chinuch trails he blazed in America have become highways today, as witness the Yeshivos and Day Schools that are American Jewry's brightest hope (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol. 6, No. 3: 3).

During his years in America the previous Lubavitcher Rebbe scored accomplishments in the field of strengthening the Jewish religion, establishing Yeshivess and Talmud Torah's (schools) and other institutions of Jewish learning. He was also responsible for founding a network of organizations and

institutions, among them the United Lubavitcher Yeshivess Tomchei Tmimim in the United States and Canada, the Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch, schools for Jewish girls called Bays Rivkeh and Bays Sorreh, the Kehot Publication Society "dedicated to issuing books in the true spirit of Torah and traditions" and others.

The founding of the Lubavitch community in this city is best viewed as an extension of the social and communal work of the previous Lubavitcher Rebbe. In establishing a Lubavitch community two ideals, characteristic of the Lubavitcher chassidim, seem to have occupied the attention of the nine Lubavitcher students who arrived in this city in 1941 - organizing a Yeshiva and advancing the cause of orthodox Judaism.

Immediately after arrival in this city the nine Lubavitcher received a letter from the Rebbe, welcoming them and emphasizing that it was a mark of Divine Providence that they were saved in order to bring over and replant Torah on this continent. The letter instructed them to proceed with the daily schedule of the Lubavitcher Yeshiva as if they had not experienced an interruption. A Lubavitcher, paraphrasing what the Rebbe wrote, said: "This is their mission to America to see to it that the Yeshiva should grow, that the Yeshiva should be open to talmidim (students), to children who didn't have any opportunity till now to learn and they should come."

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With the Rebbe's encouragement, along with assistance from his emissaries, the Lubavitcher Yeshiva and community were established in this city.

As the reader will note throughout the study, I have chosen not to translate many Yiddish and Hebrew terms, leaving them in the text in their original. An alternate possibility would have been to substitute these foreign language words with their English equivalents, thus freeing the reader with the burden of keeping track of them. Such a decision would not, I believe, have provided a faithful rendition of Lubavitchers' use of language and, consequently, their view of the world. Lubavitcher seldomly use such words as "pray" and "Sabbath" except when speaking to outsiders, and among themselves these words are "davn" and "Shabbess." For Lubavitcher and those close to them these assume a certain intuitive meaning and thus are consistently used. Their replacement with their closest English equivalent would violate this meaning and is, therefore, not attempted.

A major reason for the above editorial decision relates to the impossibility of translating the exact meaning of Yiddish and Hebrew words into English. The meanings of these words change as the contexts in which they are used differ. Two examples are such words as bocher and Yiddish-kayt. The first word, in Yiddish, means "a young boy, an

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unmarried male." In the Lubavitch community, however, this word is primarily used to designate students--more specifically, students in the Bays Medresh. When a Lubavitcher mentions "the bocherim," he is referring to those students. When he singles out a middle-aged man as a "bocher," this indicates the person's marital status. The word "Yiddishkayt" can also not be translated unequivocally. As with the word "bocher" its meaning is altered by the circumstances surrounding its usage. When a Lubavitcher says about someone: "He knows about Yiddishkayt," Yiddishkayt refers to a familiarity with the Torah's laws governing Jewish life. When, however, this same Lubavitcher inquires: "Do you learn about Yiddishkayt in that school?" the word refers to the degree to which the Torah's commandments are practised. The word can also refer to matters pertaining to Judaism and to Jews, viewed from an orthodox perspective, as when a Lubavitcher once remarked to me: "People sit around talking about Yiddishkayt--young people putting on Tefillin, eating kosher food. . . ." It should, therefore, be possible to appreciate the difficulties involved in organizing the glossary in which the Yiddish and Hebrew words in this study are translated into English.

Although the YIVO Institute of Jewish Research has published governing rules for orthography, they are widely ignored in this study. Instead, the spelling follows the

pronunciation used by the Lubavitcher themselves. The reader will notice, however, that in several instances the spelling of Yiddish and Hebrew words as found in Lubavitch publications and in this study differs. Lubavitcher, for instance, spell Shabbos, Mitzvoth and Yiddishkeit, while I have chosen to spell these words Shabbess, Mitzvess and Yiddishkayt. This spelling, I argue, more accurately reflects Lubavitchers' pronunciation of these words. I have spelled the words phonetically and in so doing have used ch instead of kh to spell such words as brocheh (blessing) chossid and Chumesh. When a word is so widely used as to have become "standardized," I conform to the popular spelling as, for example, in the cases of "Yeshiva" and "Torah."

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CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL COMMITMENTS

The following study deals with a community of orthodox Jews who are Lubavitcher chassidim. The substantive focus centers around the religious community's persistence, while the study's theoretical perspective is derived from that branch of social psychology known as symbolic interaction. In this chapter I present a grounded substantive theory relating directly to the Lubavitch community's persistence. I then discuss problems of the definition of the term community and conclude the chapter by concentrating on the basic theory which guided the study.

The Persistence of a Religious Community:

A Grounded Substantive Theory

Discussions relating to the kinds of theories one might have about communities are directed essentially to the requirements they must meet if they are to survive. From the data collected in the following study, it is possible to generate a substantive theory about religious communities' maintenance and persistence. Below I list the theory's properties and then outline briefly their main focus. Each of the properties is then separately treated in specific chapters in the study. The properties include:

- A. Carving out and maintaining a distinctive identity.
- B. Creating a tenable way of life for both adults and children.
- C. Developing mutual working arrangements and relationships with the surrounding society:
 - (a) relations with the wider Jewish and Gentile communities;
 - (b) proselytization as a response to contact with outsiders;
 - (c) processing recruits into the community.

I will now briefly discuss each of these points in turn.

Creating a Distinctive Identity

Upon examining religious communities studied in the sociological literature, one finds that common to all are efforts organized to shape the members' identity to conform to certain ideal standards. Put otherwise, members are processed into being certain kinds of people and are expected to see themselves as such.

In chapter three I attempt to show how the community under study carves out a distinctive identity. In other words, to be a community at all, it must have available some criteria which must be met if a person wishes to belong. Although the distinction between insider (member) and outsider (non member) is less evident among the Lubavitcher chassidim than other chassidic groups, the former

also insist that those wishing to be recognized as Lubavitcher fulfill certain requirements. These may be analytically separated into two closely related categories:

- (a) observance of the Torah's precepts and
- (b) recognition of the Lubavitcher Rebbe as one's secular and spiritual leader.

This latter requirement, in fact, separates Lubavitcher from outsiders: those who have not established a relationship with the Rebbe or are not yet won over by his sometimes seemingly superhuman achievements.

Although Lubavitchers' style of dress does not conform to the most recent fashions, these chassidim, unlike the Satmarer chassidim, for example, cannot be easily recognized by their attire. In addition, while residing in the city, Lubavitcher are not as insulated as are other chassidic groups and even seek out contact with the wider community. As a result, both dress and insulation cannot be regarded as central features shaping this chassidic community's distinctive identity.

The study's third chapter principally addressed itself to the manner in which the community transforms religion into the center of its identity. We may speculate that simply being religious or being more religious than other people would not achieve this end as such action would only yield a community of religious individuals who are

somewhat more observant than other people. In the Lubavitch community under study, the distinctive identity is cultivated by identifying with, studying and following a particular set of figures in the history of Judaism.

The establishment of a distinctive identity in Lubavitch centers about Lubavitchers' familiarity with the lives, work and teaching of the group's previous Rebbeim (plural of Rebbe) and manifests itself today in the relationship created between the individual chossid and the present Lubavitcher Rebbe. The importance of this link is evident from Lubavitchers' determination to consult with the Rebbe on all matters they consider important requiring decision making. The significance of this relationship may also be gleaned from the efforts expended by Lubavitcher to encourage newcomers to create and sustain a tie with this person. The common relationship with the Rebbe permits the community members to conceive of themselves as being alike in one significant respect and allows for the development among them of a consciousness of kind. As Shibutani and Kwan note, "this feeling of unity arises from a perception of resemblances among themselves and differences from outsiders" (1965:42).

Establishing a Tenable Way of Life

Religious communities must create a way of life that is tenable and attractive to the members. This must be

accomplished to disinterest people from leaving while, at the same time, committing them to stay. In chapters four and five I address myself to how this chassidic community maintains a tenable way of life both for the adults and children. In the fourth chapter I focus on several features characteristic of the Lubavitch community under study - the observance of mitzvess (religious obligations), the Yeshiva, the community's proximity to New York, and the nature of Lubavitchers' occupations - which contribute to the community's tenability. The fifth chapter deals principally with the Lubavitch schools and how their curricula are geared to shape the students' way of life.

The Adult World

The community's tenability is reinforced by its ideology concerning the outside world. The community must effectively impress upon its members that the surrounding society's seemingly attractive features are, in fact, potentially harmful to its distinctive way of life. Since community members, and especially the young, are strongly discouraged from participating in society's popular fads and fashions, the community must offer a suitable replacement which, in the community under study, centers about the observance of mitzvess (religious obligations). The observance of these religious obligations serves as the basic unit of the community's reward system and is the central organizing feature of its persistence. As will be

seen throughout the study, Lubavitchers' activities with other Jews are permeated with the intent to observe mitzvess, both by practicing these themselves and convincing others to do so.

The Yeshiva serves both as a spiritual and social center for the community where Lubavitcher may conduct their daily prayer Services in the company of other Lubavitcher. It is precisely through such continuous contact, in addition to maintaining a relationship with the Rebbe, that the person lives in the community as a Lubavitcher. In addition, the community's celebrations and other social functions are held in the Yeshiva, thus providing the people concerned with a feeling of community involvement.

The nature of Lubavitchers' occupations complement their orthodox way of life. The community is instrumental in channeling the graduates of its schools into occupations which will not interfere with their religious observance. The central place occupied by the Yeshiva along with the community's proximity to the Lubavitcher Rebbe in New York, added to these chassidim's type of work, serve to strengthen their religious chassidic identity.

The Students' World

To ensure the persistence the community must actively do something about assimilative contexts which threaten especially the children. In chapter five I focus on a few

measures adopted by the Lubavitch community to insulate the young from the surrounding society's assimilative influences. These influences are regarded as corruptive and antithetical to the adopted way of life. The secular educational process is viewed as a primary mechanism through which the surrounding society's culture is absorbed by the young. Lubavitcher consequently seek to control the kind of secular education received by their children and to limit and offset its potentially harmful consequences. While the Lubavitcher have their own schools and offer secular studies, both for students of public and high school age, the curricula are streamlined to avoid areas of conflict with religious beliefs.

Religious communities are aware of the public schools' influence over the students. They recognize the conflicts their children will face when exposed to the curricula of these schools. Unlike ethnic communities which gradually assimilate into the surrounding culture, religious communities attempt to channel their childrens' everyday lives toward a segregation of the larger society. The fifth chapter examines several strategies employed by the Lubavitcher in their schools to ensure their young will assume a particular identity. These measures may be regarded as strategies intended to maintain the ranks of the community. They must be distinguished from others which may have the

unintended consequence of helping the community maintain membership.

When the dominant group's schools must be attended, acculturation - acquiring the culture of another ethnic group - is facilitated. As Shibutani and Kwan point out, it is certain that the laws making education compulsory until a certain age have helped to ensure the comparatively rapid acculturation of the various ethnic groups on this continent (1965:477). In its many activities the school acts as an agent for socializing students from different social strata into one common cultural group. As such, the school may be viewed as "an institution for drilling children in cultural orientations" (Hostetler, 1968:193).

An outcome of the religious community's efforts at persistence is that the school comes to be regarded as a threat to its distinctive way of life. Typically, disagreements exist between community members and the public schools' officials over curriculum content and the overall purposes of education and learning. Another objection raised by such communities is that formal schooling, when not completely under their supervision, brings their children into contact with others whose way of life and ideas may be contradictory to theirs and consequently damaging to the community's future.

Developing Mutual Working Arrangements and
Relationships with the Surrounding Society

Religious communities must develop working arrangements with other segments of society. Such arrangements are necessary as the degree of the community's ability and desire to insulate itself is limited. Contact must, therefore, be established even if only for the pursuit of economic transactions. The Lubavitcher chassidim in this study must enter into a working relationship with the surrounding Jewish and Gentile communities, to ensure their institutions' economic viability. A consequence of such contact with outsiders is exposure to foreign influences resulting in a possible contamination of the community's way of life. The proselytizing activities conducted by the community minimize this danger by controlling the contexts of interaction with outsiders.

(a) Relations with the Wider Jewish and Gentile Communities

Chapter six of the study focuses on the nature of Lubavitchers' contact with the larger Jewish and Gentile communities. While contact with the latter is engaged in fleetingly and primarily for economic motives, Lubavitchers' relationships with the larger Jewish community are dominated by these chassidim's financial dependence on the latter to maintain their institutions' viability. Lubavitch schools,

summer camps and the Lubavitcher Yeshiva are able to continue functioning precisely due to such financial support. The larger Jewish community supports these institutions because it regards these chassidim as bearers of culture willing to continue and uphold traditional Jewish scholarship. In the course of their contacts with the larger Jewish community, in return for financial support, Lubavitcher, in effect, provide it with super-Jewish role models. To assume such a role these chassidim must demonstrate their religious behavior publicly thus entering into contact with other less observant Jews. While meeting with such Jews Lubavitcher emphasize the quantitative differences between the two, while minimizing their qualitative distinctions. Unobservant Jews are, in this manner, led to believe that if they so desire, they, too, can become like the Lubavitcher. The base of Lubavitchers' contact with other Jews, then, centers about and emphasizes religion.

The material in chapter six is intended to highlight the mutual benefits for both parties in Lubavitchers' relationship with the larger Jewish community. As a result of the services they perform for this latter community, coupled with their dependence for its financial support, Lubavitcher are faced with a dilemma: their extensive contacts with outsiders expose them to situations which may threaten their distinctive way of life. The Lubavitch

community must, consequently, address itself to solving this dilemma.

(b) Proselytization as a Response to Contact With Outsiders

In response to the dilemma of extensive contact with outsiders, the community engages in a series of proselytizing activities during which they attempt to recruit outsiders into both the orthodox fold and the Lubavitch community. An unintended consequence of such activities is that Lubavitchers are able to control the context of social interaction. While such activities seemingly endanger the community's tenability as, in the course of proselytizing, members are exposed to potentially harmful influences, an unintended consequence of contact with outsiders is its reinforcement of Lubavitchers' beliefs regarding their way of life. In the course of convincing unobservant Jews of the Torah's significance and of the Rebbe's accomplishments, for example, they fortify their own convictions with respect to these matters. This theme is specifically treated in the seventh chapter.

We may distinguish, at this point, between creating or defining an identity and maintaining it. While one must focus on the centrality of the Lubavitcher Rebbe to understand how the community creates an identity, the focus must shift to situations that do not endanger or threaten this identity to comprehend how it is maintained. To maintain

the community's distinctive identity, Lubavitcher are not expected to isolate themselves, but rather to control the contexts in which they meet with outsiders. The context is always expected to assume a religious base, one emphasizing religious differences and making religion an explicit focus of attention or barrier. As I argue in the seventh chapter, such contact, while seemingly threatening the community's distinctive identity, in fact, reinforces it. The kinds of contact situations that may threaten the community would be those in which religion or religious differences are not the focus of concern, where the situational context does not impose religion as the grounds for contact.

To cope with the dilemma posed by extensive contact with outsiders, proselytizing activities serve as a solution. A manifest purpose of these activities is to attract outsiders to further increase the community's ranks. In fact, however, the community is not dependent on newcomers to help maintain or increase its size, as its high birth rate and virtually non existent defection rate serve these ends. While the community's proselytizing activities draw few outsiders to its ranks, some individuals who are lured by Lubavitchers' efforts are attracted to become part of this chassidic community.

(c) The Processing of Recruits into the Community

Lubavitcher chassidim have become known for their recruitment activities among non orthodox Jews. Such activity is deeply rooted in the Lubavitch philosophy which stresses the importance of Ahavas Yisroel - love for one's fellow Jew. The Lubavitch strategy for drawing unobservant Jews who express an interest in and allow themselves to be brought into the orthodox fold and Lubavitch community is addressed in detail in chapter eight. The strategy's major emphasis is to bring the person along slowly at his own pace. The initial goal lies in transforming the person into an observant Jew by urging him to identify with traditional Judaism through a Lubavitch orientation. In time, however, the person is encouraged to make a commitment effectively drawing him into the Lubavitch community. This chassidic community may, therefore, be regarded as a people-processing institution which, unlike total institutions treated in the sociological literature, does not command complete control over its charges. As a result, if the person's movement is conceptualized as a status passage, the community cannot insist on a specific status passage route for all recruits. It must, instead, cater to and satisfy the desires of potential newcomers.

Summary

In discussing the persistence of a religious community, I first deal with the distinctive identity that the group

creates. In chapter three I ask how does a community go about making religion the center of its identity. The answer is that they follow, study and obey the word and works of specific leaders in Judaism, notably their Rebbeim. In chapters four and five I examine the life that the community creates for itself. Chapter four focuses largely on the adult world of work, worship, friendships and leisure time while chapter five deals with the world of children in the community.

Communities always face problems regarding their relationships with outsiders. In many communities isolation is used to avoid such contact entirely. The Lubavitch community under study, however, lives in the middle of a metropolitan area and furthermore actively seeks contact with outsiders. In chapters six, seven and eight I explore why they do this and how they cope with the challenges or threats of assimilation posed by contact with outsiders. In chapter six I argue that Lubavitcher seek contact with outsiders in order to obtain support for community institutions they cannot maintain by themselves, including schools and summer camps. Here they trade largely with the Jewish community serving as role models of Judaism and carriers and upholders of Jewish religion in return for financial assistance. This activity brings them into extended contact with the wider Jewish community. To offset the

potential distraction of assimilative contact with outsiders, Lubavitcher constantly seek to control the contexts in which they come into contact with others. Such contact is never simply social but rather religion is always made the basis for the contact and thus religious identities and differences are always emphasized. Such contact, far from eroding the strength of the community actually reinforces it making the community's distinctive identity stronger.

What Is A Community: Specifying The Unit of Analysis

The above theory assumes that we understand what a community is, when one exists, how to recognize if the community is, in fact, persisting, and how to tell when one disappears. In the remainder of this chapter I will specify what is meant by community, and whether a community may also be regarded as a social system.

The term community tends to imply something both psychological and geographical. Psychologically, it refers to shared interests, characteristics or associations. Geographically, it denotes a specific area where people live. Sociologically, the two connotations may be combined to refer to "the shared interests and behavior patterns of people by virtue of their common locality" (Warren, 1963:6). In The Urban Villagers, Gans writes:

Sociologists generally use the term "community" in a combined social and spatial sense referring to an aggregate of people who occupy a common and bounded territory within which they establish and participate in common institutions (1962:104).

MacIver defines community as " . . . any group, small or large, [which] live[s] together in such a way that they share not this or that particular interest, but the basic conditions of common life . . . " (1941:8).

In The Little Community Redfield presents four qualities which are intended as characteristic of the "little community." These include distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity and self-sufficiency. Their relevance and association with the Lubavitch community under study will be recognized throughout the following chapters. We will briefly examine what Redfield meant by these qualities. By distinctiveness Redfield had in mind that where the community began and ended was apparent to the outside observer and that this quality was expressed "in the group-consciousness of the people of the community" (1967:4). The community's smallness is concerned with its ability to serve as a unit of personal observation or if "being somewhat larger . . . it provides in some part of it a unit of personal observation fully representative of the whole" (1967:4). The quality of homogeneity is discovered in the community members' thinking and behaving which are similar for all persons corresponding in positions of sex and age. In Redfield's words, " . . . the career of one generation repeats that of the preceding" (1967:4). The fourth defining quality - self-sufficiency - relates to the community's ability to provide for all or the majority of the members'

needs and activities. As such, the community may be conceptualized as "a cradle-to-the-grave arrangement" (1967:4).

The degree to which the above qualities are found in all communities varies. As such, it may be useful to conceptualize a group-community continuum in order to emphasize the relative presence of these qualities in social collectivities. Related to this, and closely linked to Redfield's quality of self-sufficiency, is what Breton (1964) has labelled "institutional completeness" - the amount and complexity of the community's organizations which allow it to perform all the services required by its members. It may be suggested, for example, that as the degree of institutional completeness in a social collectivity increases,

- (a) it is more likely to exhibit the characteristics of a community and
- (b) its future presence is more ensured.

Although Breton's research focused on ethnic communities, the suitability of the "institutional completeness" concept allows it to be related to the present study.

A main argument raised in Breton's study is that the ethnic community's ability to attract the newcomer and retain the established member within its social boundaries is largely determined by its degree of institutional completeness. Breton writes:

Institutional completeness would be at its extreme whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as education, work, food and clothing, medical care, or social assistance (1964:194).

Communities in which the degree of institutional completeness is high are said to have developed a formal structure containing organizations of various sorts: religious, recreational, and educational. At the opposite extreme of such highly institutionally complete communities are the ones consisting of an informal network of organizations resulting in the immigrant or community member's necessity to establish his institutional affiliation outside his ethnic group.

In the Lubavitch community under study, the degree of institutional completeness is high. Excepting for economic transactions such as the purchase of certain foods, clothing, household articles and professional services, which only enter community members into fleeting contact with outsiders, the community is able to satisfy its members' other requirements such as earning a living, participating in social life and practising Judaism in an orthodox - Lubavitch manner. It can be argued that the community's ability to satisfy precisely these latter requirements, as these exact the greatest demands on the members' time and interest, enables it to carve out a distinctive identity. This identity, in turn, succeeds in holding the members'

allegiance and prevents excessively personalized contact with persons outside the community. As Breton correctly asserts: "This is achieved by a process of substitution whereby ethnic institutions rather than those of the native community take hold in the immigrants' social life" (1964:199). The formal organizational framework found in the Lubavitch community under study includes a series of social groups and activities catering to various age groups of both sexes. In addition, as will become evident in succeeding chapters of the study, the manner in which the community institutions are strategically organized and directed ensures the community's persistence even when situated in an urban setting, surrounded by influences in opposition to its distinctive way of life.

While sociologists have not agreed absolutely on their definition of community, it is possible to delineate at least two types of communities that have been studied in the literature. What these communities share is that those in them come to think of themselves and/or come to be thought of by others as certain kinds of people. These two types of communities may be differentiated conceptually by their bases, though their substantive characteristics are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

A feature characterizing communities is the property of intentionality. If we restrict our discussion to religious and ethnic based communities, we notice this

property to be different in degree in both. Religious based communities are highly intentional and are characterized by a series of strategies intended to maintain the community's distinctive identity. As efforts are organized specifically for this purpose, religious communities are successful at resisting the assimilative influences of the larger culture, since group members are socialized to become integrated to the community's way of life. Ethnic based communities, on the other hand, are less intentional. Although, by employing certain mechanisms, such communities do seek to maintain themselves and are thus intentional, they are not organized for the specific purpose of persistence and are not coordinated to effectively resist assimilation. The two kinds of communities can be distinguished by their active and passive resistance to assimilation. Active resistance to assimilation includes the organization of a series of institutions and activities to resist both the person's and the community's immersion into the surrounding culture. Such resistance is characteristic of religious communities. Passive resistance to assimilation, however, refers to the efforts of an individual or a family not to adopt the dominant culture. Unlike as in religious communities, efforts are not coordinated by the ethnic community to ensure its survival over time.

As the above discussion implies, a characteristic

feature of ethnically based communities is that they are assimilative. While the first generation immigrants are guided by a variety of perspectives from their native country to help order their everyday lives, these become progressively less firmly grounded in the second and third generations. As the latter begin to take advantage of both educational and occupational opportunities, for which their parents and grandparents were less equipped, the ethnic group is transformed into something different from what it was. Religious communities, however, by strictly limiting the educational and occupational opportunities of their young, are able to exert greater control over them, thus ensure that succeeding generations will not differ qualitatively from previous ones. Such communities' more marked success at persistence may be attributed to the portability of religious identity. Ethnic identity, on the other hand, tends to be grounded in foreign countries and is thus less portable. Whereas the religious community's identity is firmly rooted in doctrinal belief, supported by an explicit ideology regulating everyday behavior regardless of geographical residence, ethnic identity is based in the community's native country and can be transported only in part to another country. As a result, immigrant communities are more likely than religious ones to experience handicaps in defining their boundaries, as succeeding generations

become less familiar with and develop a less intuitive rapport for their elders' native land.

The Community as a Social System

The social system concept is based on the idea of structured interaction between two or more units which may be persons or groups of one type or another. The term is not applied, however, to all instances of interaction, "but rather to structures of interaction which endure through time and can be recognized as entities in their own right" (Warren, 1963:46). Parsons has described the social system as consisting of "a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the "optimization of gratification" and whose relation to their situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols" (1951: 5-6).

In The Social System Parsons addresses himself to the functional prerequisites of social systems: "If such a system is to constitute a persistent order or to undergo an orderly process of developmental change, certain functional prerequisites must be met" (1951:26-27). Although Parsons' argument is tied to his analysis of the personality and

cultural systems, as the three integrally connect and mutually influence each other, it is possible to focus on the social system and its necessary properties if it is to persist.

The social system, according to Parsons, must provide adequate motivation to the participants to secure sufficient participation for the performances which must be completed for the system's continuation. The prerequisite of adequate motivation leads Parsons to a consideration of the mechanisms of socialization and social control - that is, "specific mechanisms... modes of organization of the motivational systems of personalities, which can be understood in direct relation to the socially structured level or role behavior..." (1951:31). In addition, Parsons emphasizes the social system's minimal cultural prerequisites. These, including "sufficiently integrated patterns of expressive symbolism and of value orientation" (1951:34), are to be assimilated by the individuals through "internalization" for without them "it is not possible for a human level of personality to emerge and hence for a human type of social system to develop" (1951:34).

Parsons' analysis of the functional prerequisites of a social system is derived from his comprehensive theory of social systems which is hardly grounded in empirical analyses for supportive purposes. The advantage of the

present study of a Lubavitch community is that while it too focuses on the necessary requirements for a religious community's persistence, those examined are suggested by the data collected. As the reader will notice, some of the prerequisites enumerated by Parsons are examined in detail in specific chapters of this study. Parsons' concern with the social system's cultural prerequisites, for instance, which in the religious community under study centers about the selection and maintenance of an appropriate identity, is treated in chapter three while his references to socialization and social control are chiefly addressed in chapters four and five.

Functionalists have advanced theories about what social systems must do in order to persist. Certain functions, often referred to as functional prerequisites of a society, must get accomplished if the society, or the social unit under investigation, will survive. One group of writers have stated it in this manner: "Functional prerequisites refer broadly to the things that must get done in any society if it is to continue as a going concern, i.e., generalized conditions necessary for the maintenance of the system concerned" (Aberle et al, 1967:317). These functional analyses are at variance with the symbolic interactionist perspective for, as Blumer argues, they tend to be attached to a kind of sociological determinism:

Sociological thought rarely recognizes or treats human societies as composed of individuals who have selves. Instead, they assume human beings to be merely organisms with some kind of organization, responding to forces which play upon them. Generally, although not exclusively, these forces are lodged in the makeup of the society, as in the case of "social system," "social structure," "culture," "status position," "social role," "custom," "institution," "collective representation," "social situation," "social norm," and "values." The assumption is that the behavior of people as members of a society is an expression of the play on them of these kinds of factors or forces (Manis and Meltzer, 1967:143).

The presumption in such kinds of "variable analysis" is that something operates on group life and this is treated as the independent variable and placed at the beginning part of the process. Some form of group activity is then selected as the dependent variable and placed at the concluding part of the process. The independent variable is then believed to automatically exercise its influence on the dependent variable (Blumer, 1956:686). Taken for granted in such analyses is the intervening process, whereby the actors define and interpret their own and others' actions. Peoples' social action, in the functionalist perspective, is viewed as an outcome of forces "playing on them" rather than as acts constructed by people through their definitions of those situations in which they find themselves.

The Basic Theory - Symbolic Interaction

The basic theory guiding the study derives from the social psychology of G. H. Mead, Cooley, W. I. Thomas and

their students, as it relates to the study of society and the particular acting units of which it is comprised. The chief focus of this social psychology, known as symbolic interaction, is that interaction as it occurs among human beings consists in that they do not merely react to each other's actions but rather interpret or define each other's actions before they act. As Blumer has noted, the response "... is not made directly to the action of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions" (Blumer, in Manis and Meltzer, 1967:139). The analysis of group life from a symbolic interactionist perspective must, consequently, include this process of interpretation. I also contend that the incorporation of such a perspective necessitates a particular methodological commitment.

In contrast to the functionalists' views of society's organization, the symbolic interactionist perspective does not view group life to be propelled by abstract forces but, instead, by everyday activities of people responding to everyday threats and difficulties. If, for example, one examines the persistence of a religious community, as in the present study, then it must be attributed to the individuals' collective actions to meet their life situations as opposed to a set of forces acting on the community

members and effecting them in a pre-determined manner. Since the symbolic interaction position requires the researcher to address the process of interpretation through which the individuals under scrutiny construct their action, he must necessarily assume the role of the acting unit with whose behavior he is concerned:

Since the interpretation is being made by the acting unit in terms of objects designated and appraised, meanings acquired, and decisions made, the process has to be seen from the standpoint of the acting unit. ...To try to catch the interpretative process by remaining aloof as a so-called "objective" observer and refusing to take the role of the acting unit is to risk the worst kind of subjectivism - the objective observer is likely to fill in the process of interpretation with his own surmises in place of catching the process as it occurs in the experience of the acting unit which uses it (Blumer, in Manis and Meltzer, 1967:145-146).

A commitment made in this study is to the idea of naturalism. Naturalism, as the term implies, "is a philosophical view that strives to remain true to the nature of the phenomenon under study or scrutiny" (Matza, 1969:5). Matza has recently argued against the common familiar conception of naturalism - the view which committed it to the method of science - and has instead suggested that its only commitment is fidelity to the phenomenon under consideration. He writes:

Naturalism does not and cannot commit itself to external preconceptions regarding the nature of phenomena. Consequently, it does not and cannot commit itself to any single preferred method for engaging and scrutinizing phenomena. It stands for observation and engagement of course for that is implicit

in fidelity to the natural world. But naturalistic observation may also include experience and introspection, the methods traditionally associated with subjectivity (1969:5).

I have relied heavily on accounts provided by Lubavitcher themselves. As a result, they may be regarded as subjective as they are based on such phenomena as experience, intuition and empathy. Yet it is precisely these "distinctive tools of humanism" which can provide a loyal rendition to the phenomenon under study. Although these accounts might not be objectively or externally observable they are, however, the manner in which the people in this study attempt to arrange their ideas and organize their experiences.

Adherents of a symbolic interactionist tradition have found this perspective most suitable for the study of groups or individuals whose behavior elicits negative reactions from the surrounding society. This perspective's theoretical insights, however, can also be used as a guide in the study of a community. The researcher does not commit himself to patterning the data to fit the theoretical framework but, instead, merely uses this framework for whatever useful leads it may suggest.

Since the early 1920's sociologists' interests in communities have led them to undertake a variety of community studies. Today such studies range from those on occupational and deviant communities to ones that focus on communities with ethnic and religious bases. My interest in

the following chapters centers about a religious community and the efforts it pursues to ensure its persistence.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter addresses a few subjects. The first is the presentation of what H. S. Becker has referred to as the "natural history" of the study; that is, a description of "the characteristic forms data took at each stage of the research" (1958:660). This is done in order to acquaint the reader with the kind of data on which the study is based and how they were collected. Second, some of the difficulties I encountered, both ethical and otherwise in studying the chassidim in general and more specifically the Lubavitcher chassidim. Third, the relationship between the nature of the data and the contents of the study. In studying a community one seldom has available data concerning all aspects of community life. I will indicate which data are lacking, the reasons for this and the consequences this has for the study.

The Natural History of the Study

I happened to study the chassidic community by chance. In fact in my final year as an undergraduate I decided to study pool halls and spent considerable time frequenting

a particular pool hall. One evening, my thesis advisor, who lived some fifteen minutes by foot from a chassidic neighbourhood, remarked that he saw several of these Jews and how interesting it would be to do research about them. During the following few days I considered writing my thesis on the chassidim. I knew very little about these Jews, except that while centred around Park Avenue they were often referred to as the "Park Avenue White Socks" as a result of the white socks some of them wore on the Sabbath and other holidays. I mistakenly believed that they spoke only Yiddish and in this respect I considered myself qualified to do the study since I spoke, wrote and read Yiddish fluently.

My first contact with chassidim was during July 1968. At the time I was employed at a summer camp in the Laurentians and discovered that a group of chassidic families spent the summer months in an area nearby the camp. I decided to visit the chassidim once they arrived for the summer. One afternoon a counsellor excitedly ran over to tell me: "Billy, they're here, I saw them down the road." My strategy was to slowly walk by the chassidic area hoping that people would approach me and we would talk. I imagined the possibility of being welcomed immediately, 'making friends' and being asked to return.

During my first visit, on a weekday afternoon, the

chassidic area appeared deserted. A few children were playing near a bridge facing a synagogue and a few Yeshiva students were standing on the porch of the synagogue. I was not approached by anyone and instead the children stopped playing and stared at me as I walked by. I considered walking up to the porch of the synagogue, which also served as the Bays Medresh but, probably because I was afraid, thought this inadvisable and returned to camp. Knowing that the chassidim, being orthodox Jews, prayed three times daily I returned to find out at what time the morning prayers began. This mission was accomplished successfully and I was determined to return the following morning, six o'clock camp time, to davn shachress, the morning Service.

The next morning, upon approaching the synagogue (shul), I heard voices chanting loudly. From the outside I saw mostly bocherim, students, as they paced back and forth wearing Tefillin and reciting the morning prayers. What struck me immediately was the manner of their dress - long black coats, white shirts and black hats. They all dressed alike. In my white jeans and multi-colored sports jacket I realized that I was inappropriately dressed. I quickly rationalized that I was best off leaving immediately, that I would make a better impression if I dressed more conservatively the next time, and returned to camp.

Only after my third visit to the chassidim did I

davn with them. I learned to anticipate their stares, especially from the younger boys, who would purposely stand very close by to watch me put on Tefillin (phylacteries) and pray. My presence, during the next few visits, elicited little noticeable reaction. At best a few people, ballebattim (adults) and bocherim, nodded to me when I came and I was offered a place to sit. One morning, after davning, as I was leaving the chassidic area a young boy informed me that someone wanted to see me. One of the ballebattim, suspecting that my Tefillin were not in proper condition, asked me a few questions about them, for example, when they were last checked, and about myself. He suggested that I put on another pair of Tefillin and thus be certain of having properly fulfilled the mitzveh of Tefillin. During this incident fifteen to twenty bocherim stood around and watched. One evening, prior to the Myriv Service, for a reason unknown to me, most of the bocherim approached me, extending their hands to say: "Sholem Alaychem." Thus my "first days in the field" were a trying experience. Unlike Poll, who studied chassidim in Williamsburg, I never attended a chassidic rabbinical school which he claims, helped him "in comprehending the group norms and the significance of various Hasidic activities" (1962:267). Poll reports that he knew some of the chassidim from Hungary and that his difficulty was finding informants who would talk to him about the community. My

initial difficulty was simply to meet chassidim.

My duties in camp prevented me from visiting the chassidim on a regular basis. During the summer, however, I became friendly with a few bocherim who were followers of the Klausenburger Rebbe. Toward the end of the summer, whenever I came to davn, one or two bocherim would offer to walk with me back to camp. These walks were excellent opportunities to learn about the chassidim. While I would sometimes ask specific questions, most of the information was volunteered. The bocherim were interested in telling me about themselves, about the chassidic tradition and the chassidic community. At the same time they were curious to find out about the summer camp I worked at, especially whether the food was kosher and if religious services were conducted regularly.

In the beginning I decided to speak to the chassidim in Yiddish, thinking they would be more comfortable conversing in that language than English. My reasoning was based on the fact that among themselves they spoke only Yiddish. Also, I reasoned, if they knew I spoke Yiddish they might be less hesitant about speaking to me, especially if their English was poor. While this was probably true for some of the chassidic Jews, others spoke to me only in English. It seemed that some approached me with the expressed intention of practising English, often apologizing at the

outset for their poor command of the language.

The most valuable outcome of the summer's fieldwork was that I came into contact with and spent some time among chassidic Jews. By observing chassidim, talking and listening to them, I became familiar with some of their customs and mannerisms. For instance, I learned that a chossid's grip in a handshake was limp, not firm. I observed that females, women and young girls, were seldomly seen near the shul and Bays Medresh. Except for one instance, I never saw a bocher together with a girl. I discovered that asking the bocherim questions about their relationship with girls resulted in a strained situation and that they were ill at ease and uncomfortable when asked to talk about the opposite sex. It is important to note that my contact during this period was primarily with the bocherim and only infrequently and sporadically with the adults. The main factor contributing to this situation was that my duties at the summer camp enabled me to visit the chassidim only on weekdays. Adult males, however, arrived from the city to join their families on Friday afternoon, in time for the Sabbath, and returned early Monday morning.

Upon returning to the city in September, I began visiting the Yeshivess of the Satmarer and Lubavitcher - two chassidic groups. When I visited the Satmarer Yeshiva, in a section of the city once heavily populated by Jews, I

would sometimes spend several hours walking up and down the streets surrounding it. This exercise proved useful for several reasons. First, by following chassidim to their homes, and observing in front of which houses chassidic children played, I discovered where they lived. By walking the streets and counting those balconies containing a succeh, I was able to estimate the number of chassidic families in that section of the city. Second, I became familiar with a few chassidic shteiblech in the area which I did not even know existed, and third, I discovered where the chassidic schools were located. My ulterior motive in roaming the streets around the Yeshiva was to meet and talk to chassidim. This just never happened. Unlike Williamsburg, Satmarer in Montreal do not own luncheonettes where it is possible to buy something to eat and be in the presence of chassidic Jews. Thus my data about the Satmarer chassidim came from attending the Yeshiva, speaking to several chassidim with whom I became friendly, and by talking to people who were familiar with Satmarer Jews. My presence at Satmar was, to say the least, very conspicuous. Satmar, as I was to discover, is a very insulated chassidic group and it is, consequently, most unusual for 'outsiders' to appear. Once, while in the Satmarer Yeshiva, I was asked if I came to say Kaddish the Mourner's Prayer. The Satmarer who asked me, and probably others too, felt there could be no other motive for my presence.

My time in the field, during this period, was divided between Satmar and Lubavitch. My first contact with Lubavitch was on a weekday morning. I came when bocherim (older Yeshiva students) were reciting the morning prayers and were putting on Tefillin. Over the entrance to the Yeshiva was a large sign which read: "Join millions of Jews the World Over Who Have Begun to Put On Tefillin." A portion of my field notes from that first day read:

As I stood at the entrance to the auditorium (the basement downstairs) I was approached several times by guys who asked if I was waiting for anyone in particular or if I would want to go inside to pray. ("Are you waiting for anyone?"; "Excuse me, are you waiting to find someone you came to visit?"; "Did you davn this morning yet? Maybe you'll go inside and davn?") I answered that I had been invited to visit the Yeshiva by Rabbi _____ and asked if anyone would mind my presence. It was always made clear to me that I was very welcome. One bocher even offered to give me a tour of the Yeshiva which I naturally accepted.

After a few visits to the Lubavitcher Yeshiva I knew that if I came in the morning I would be asked to put on Tefillin. (I was immediately informed that in 1967 the Lubavitcher Rebbe initiated a Tefillin campaign, whose objective was to get as many Jews as possible to observe Tefillin.) I would always agree to put on Tefillin and ask the person beside me for assistance. Immediately afterwards, I would thank him, introduce myself and ask his name. Sometimes we would sit and talk. At other times I wandered

about the Yeshiva prepared to "strike up" a conversation with anyone who wished the same. It seemed that the mornings were not a suitable time to meet people. Those who came to pray at the Yeshiva appeared very preoccupied and immediately after davning either left for work or, as in the case of the older Yeshiva students, ate breakfast and returned to their studies. I decided to start visiting the Yeshiva in the evenings.

During the first evening that I came a group of people were sitting around a table in the shul. I wandered back and forth in the passage-way hoping that someone would approach me to ask who I was. No one came over. Somewhat disappointed I decided to go upstairs to the Bays Medresh to see if any bocherim were there. My field notes indicate that this decision required much courage. I repeatedly asked myself: "What if someone asks you what you want here?" On my way upstairs a bocher stopped and asked me if I was looking for someone in particular. I answered that being interested in asking anyone some questions about Lubavitch, I was instructed by a Rabbi to go to the Lubavitcher Yeshiva. The bocher invited me inside and very formally said: "OK, what are your questions?" He soon apologized for having to leave but sent over another bocher who introduced himself as follows: "Hello, (extending his hand to shake mine) I understand you're interested in talking to someone. I don't know if I

can answer your questions but I'll try." We spoke for about an hour. The end of our conversation went like this:

Me: Look, it's really late and it takes me about an hour to get home. I want to continue this discussion with you. When are you around?
(X asked whether I put on Tefillin and whether I can come to the Yeshiva tomorrow to put on Tefillin.)
I'll definitely try to come around if I know you'll be here.

X: You should come to put on Tefillin in any case. I don't know if I could see you then because during the day I'm obligated to the Yeshiva till 9:30. But I'm also in charge of the dormitory so I have to run back and forth to make sure that the boys are quiet. But we can talk there.

Me: Since I'm coming to see you, then why don't you set the date and time.

X: Well, how many times a week do you want to come?

Me: How about two times?

X: Fine, what days so I'll know to be here?

Me: How about Tuesday and Wednesday?

X: Fine.

My next move was to set aside Tuesday and Wednesday evenings from 9:30 till 11:00. The plan suggested by X, and to which I agreed, was simple - in order for me to understand the philosophy of Lubavitch we would study the Alter Rebbe's Tanya. I proposed that we set aside some time during each session for a question-answer period to which X raised no objections. My learning sessions with X were extremely use-

ful for several reasons. First, they served as a source for data as X began to keep me posted on the coming events at the Yeshiva. If a Farbrengen (chassidic gathering) was scheduled, for example, he would encourage me to attend. Or if the Rebbe spoke about a topic X felt might concern or interest me he would repeat the essence of the Rebbe's seecheh (discourse). Second, through X I began meeting other Lubavitcher, bocherim and ballebattim (adults), and came to be identified as the person learning with X. These brief encounters also provided opportunities to become acquainted with Lubavitcher. Finally, in the course of my conversations with X, I was introduced to the writings and seechess (discourses) of the Lubavitcher Rebbe. It required little time to appreciate the central place occupied by the Rebbe among the Lubavitcher chassidim.

From the beginning of the research I realized that, at some point I would be asked how and why I came to the Yeshiva. I was faced with the decision of whether or not to make my research intentions public. For some reason I had little doubt that people would raise objections if they were told. I decided, instead, to explain to whoever was interested that I was a student studying sociology at the university and that I would probably write a paper about the chassidim. I also included that, as a Jew, I was interested in what the chassidim, as Jews, had to offer. I felt this

latter reason might prove more impressive to chassidim than the former. My field notes contain the following instance in which I was shown to be right. Toward the end of a discussion at a Lubavitcher's I was asked:

He: May I ask you a personal question? Exactly why are you so interested in asking these questions? Is it for school or are you yourself interested?

Me: There are two reasons, both equally important. One is that as someone studying sociology I'm interested in gathering information on the chassidim and secondly, as a Jew, I have recently become interested in the ideas of chassidism.

He: I'll tell you why I ask. You see, if it is just for school then I can answer your questions without going into the reasons why I feel this way. Then I wouldn't have to let emotion come into the answers. But if you're also interested in this for yourself, then I would not only give you simple answers but I would also try to tell you why I feel the way I do.

During the first few months of the study it was necessary to inform only a few chassidim about my proposed research.

An important contact was made quite unexpectedly in October 1969. During the holiday of Simchess Toireh I introduced myself to a Lubavitcher and asked if I could see him sometimes to talk about Lubavitch. He agreed and also introduced me to his wife whom he thought would be interested in meeting me. His wife, as it turned out, was studying mostly sociology as an undergraduate in one of the local universities. I told her about my research interests and

she became interested in my work. I, in turn, helped her formulate some ideas for a Sociology paper she decided to write on the chassidim. Mrs. Q. and I met quite regularly at her home on Thursday evenings. She was extremely helpful in providing me with the names of Lubavitcher whom she felt would be willing to help me. With her assistance, and that of her husband, I became familiar with some new and different aspects of Lubavitch. For example, our conversations sometimes centered around the kind of work Lubavitcher did; the difficulties facing certain families in disciplining their children or the separation of boys and girls in the community, to list a few matters. Mrs. Q. not only directed me to certain Lubavitcher but usually briefed me about them in advance. She also cautioned me about topics which she felt others might consider too sensitive to discuss, or suggested the kinds of phrases I should use while discussing such topics. For example:

Me: I'd like to talk a little about what might be a sensitive area of discussion among Lubavitcher and that is sex.

Mrs Q: Look, don't use the word sex, but say you would like to talk a little about the physical urge. That's a little more delicate Wait, say you want to talk a little about the animal urge. In Lubavitch it's called the animal, animal urge You have to be very tactful because I think that you might upset quite a number of women.

In the beginning of December I was told by a friend

that the Tasher chassidim, in Ste. Therese, were looking for English teachers. I had heard about the Tasher chassidim and their community in Ste. Therese but was never there. I applied for the job. I felt that teaching at the Yeshiva would be a good way to gather data about the Tasher chassidim and their community. A week after being interviewed for the job I telephoned to find out if I was hired. The Principal of the secular studies informed me that the Yeshiva would be unable to provide transportation to and from the Yeshiva (the Yeshiva is about twenty miles North of this city) and, therefore, I should look for another job. This explanation was actually an excuse. In the middle of our conversation he said: "Will you hold on a minute please?" I quote from my field notes:

A few seconds later a man picked up the phone and started to talk to me in Yiddish. What he said was that there was one qualification which I did not meet - my hair was too long and some of the boys might thus find it uncomfortable to learn with me and I, in turn, teaching them because they might make some derogatory comments about my hair. He explained that if I were to cut my hair very short, then I would be able to teach. He suggested that one solution to the transportation difficulty was that I would come to the Yeshiva in the morning with the Tasher bus which leaves Montreal at 9:15 and for transportation back to Montreal I could take a taxi. But the main thing, he said, was that my hair was too long and it would therefore be improper for the Yeshiva to hire me.

When I spoke to the Principal again he said: "Well, let me put it to you this way. You see, this isn't an ordinary

school here. We have a Yeshiva. And we believe that certain forms of dress are not in keeping with the teachings of the Torah." The man said again in Yiddish: "Ir mist nit hubn a bord un payess ober der chup past nit." ("You don't have to have a beard and earlocks but your long hair is not suitable.") I did not get the job.

In February I was introduced to a young man who, a few months earlier, worked at the Tasher Yeshiva. Through him I found out detailed information about the Tasher community in Ste. Therese, including how the community was started and the kinds of difficulties it now faced. I informed him of my plans to write a thesis about the chassidim. I returned to him a few months later asking for advice on how to secure a job at the Tasher Yeshiva. He immediately phoned the Yeshiva and moments later arranged for me to meet with Rabbi _____ for a job interview. I met with one of the Tasher Rabbis who presented himself as the "External Minister of the Yeshiva" and explained what he thought the nature of my work would be. He was specifically interested in how well I wrote letters and asked me to write an imaginary letter to a Cabinet Minister requesting a financial donation for the Yeshiva.

At the Tasher Yeshiva I was employed as a typist in one of the offices. Briefly, my work entailed writing and answering letters for the Yeshiva. I was there five

days a week, each day from nine till five except Friday when I stopped at two. I worked alongside two Tasher chassidim who, due to their positions, came into contact with almost everyone in the Yeshiva. In time I met and became friendly with several chassidim who lived in the Tasher community.

Along with writing letters, I was also regarded as someone who could be a source of information about the "outside world." I was always questioned both by the ballebattim and bocherim on topics ranging from drugs in the university to newspaper reports on Israel. Their very inquisitiveness, however, also allowed me to ask them questions. My questions centered around the Yeshiva and by the time I left the job, eight weeks later, I was very familiar with the organization of the Tasher Yeshiva as well as the Tasher community. My contacts, however, were limited primarily to the ballebattim. I was repeatedly discouraged from conversing with the bocherim and they were constantly reminded that I was too busy to talk with them.

Those Tasher that were interested knew that I was studying Sociology but all but one did not know what Sociology was. No one, however, knew that I was collecting data. They interpreted my interest in the Yeshiva as a sudden desire to learn more about Yiddishkayt. When I decided to begin writing my Master's thesis I informed one of the Rabbis, an American who was a newcomer to Tash, that I would

have to begin collecting data for my thesis which would probably be on pool halls. I explained that it would (therefore) no longer be possible for me to work full days. He related this information to another Rabbi and both promptly agreed that pool halls were not a suitable place for a Jew. They suggested that, as an alternative, I consider writing a thesis about chassidim. One of them said: "Well, why not do your thesis on Chassidim? Don't you think that could be interesting?" Another said:

You have to write something? O.K. I'll give you things to write about. I mean there are very learned people here that will be able to assist you and you'll be able to speak to them and you'll learn a lot from them. I'm telling you, you'll win a prize, your writing will win a prize. I'll help you, so will others and you'll receive an award. . . . When do you want to start? Let's set a time (translated from Yiddish).

My field notes during this period are fairly optimistic:

I really think that matters are starting to improve in terms of talking to people about their work. One of the people I can talk to is the young Rabbi; there's also _____ and _____. I mentioned to Mr. _____ that I would be calling him shortly and he seemed to be very agreeable. I'm not sure yet that I'll be able to talk to the bocherim but that might be possible if _____ can be convinced that this is important for the work that I'm doing.

At the same time, however, I was somewhat suspicious about the entire matter. A few days later I discovered my suspicions to be well-founded. Two Tasher chassidim informed me that before speaking to anybody I would have to study,

as do Yeshiva students, to learn which were the "proper questions." A few days later one of the Rabbis informed me:

I want to tell you something Binyomin Ze'ev (my Hebrew name). I want to suggest something to you. This is my idea and you can do as you please. I would suggest that you write about Government . . . About what you want to do [chassidim] I don't know what to say. I simply don't have enough time to be able to learn with you You have to understand everything [Torah] in order to write well. If you'll quote from the Torah and you won't understand but you'll write about it and a Gentile would read it, he'd say: "De Jews is funny." I'm afraid of that - the Gentiles will read it - they won't understand it (translated from the Yiddish).

I left the Tasher Yeshiva a few days later.

While working at the Tasher Yeshiva I retained contact with a few Lubavitcher. I was now able to devote more time to the Lubavitcher Yeshiva and began to do some interviewing. My Master's thesis was written in August.

My original intention was to write my dissertation on the chassidic community in this city. I soon realized, however, that such a task was much too time consuming for one person. It was also impractical in that I would have to divide my time between several chassidic groups. Under such an arrangement I could not see myself getting to know any one chassidic group well, given the time I was willing to spend on this project. I decided, therefore, to focus on one group of chassidim and since Lubavitch was the most accessible I chose it.

The Grounded Theory Approach and the Study's Focus

The research strategy in the present study was heavily influenced by Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory model- grounded theory is theory arrived at by empirical induction from the data gathered in the process of research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The strategy is entirely inductive; sociologists are urged to shed all preconceived notions and received theories and to expose themselves to the data. The authors stress that the main goal in the development of new theories is that they be systematically generated from the data of empirical research.

In the beginning I imagined I would study the various chassidic groups from a Sociology of Deviance perspective. This perspective suggested itself since: a) I was to be a teaching assistant in a course on Deviance and had read more extensively in that area of Sociology than any other and b) in talking to people about the chassidim the latter were often referred to as "lazy," "cheaters," "dirty" and other such names. I wrote at around that time: "The central question posed by the following study is the social psychological approach to the study of stigmatization and labelling and how individuals or groups of people on whom certain labels have been conferred are, in turn, affected by the responses they elicit from others." Other excellent studies were available

on labelling and stigmatization. What was unique about the present one, however, was that, unlike other studies which centered around individuals, the focus was on a community. I was certain that Lemert's theory of secondary deviation would be applicable to my research. A memo written at that time read:

It appears that little research has been done on how groups of people, or communities, collectively cope with the problem of managing interaction with "normals." The chassidic Jews, with their unconventional manner of dress, will afford us the opportunity of research in this direction Edwin Lemert, by introducing the concept of secondary deviation" has laid the theoretical groundwork for studying the organized and collective responses toward stigmatized people.

Instead I gradually and disappointedly realized that the stereotypic images attributed to Lubavitcher held for them minor consequences in their everyday lives. Their social world centered almost entirely around other Lubavitcher thus both minimizing and excluding contact with outsiders who held negative opinions of them. In addition, my field notes indicated that discussions or remarks focusing on Lubavitchers' concern with outsiders' impressions of them were almost entirely initiated and directed by me and not volunteered by the chassidim themselves. The disadvantages of "manufacturing" data to fit an existant theoretical framework became apparent and consequently through examination and review of the data an alternate, and more appropriate,

theoretical focus was chosen for the study. The outcome of this focus was the substantive grounded theory concerning the Lubavitch community's persistence outlined earlier. I will now discuss very briefly how the properties of the theory were discovered.

A few of the theory's properties were more easily observed and working hypotheses formulated around these areas of the study were easier to confirm. In turn, these confirmed hypotheses served as a guide and were drawn upon in discovering additional ones. After several months of research my field notes included repeated references from Lubavitcher regarding the following: the Rebbe's centrality in the Lubavitcher chossid's life, the importance of the Yeshiva as a social center in the Lubavitch community, and the bocherim's enthusiastic pursuit of the Tefillin campaign and other similar activities intended to interest non-observant Jews to fulfill the Torah's commandments. Over time, through discussions and conversations with Lubavitcher and others familiar with them, it became increasingly clear that segments of the data could best be interpreted as indicating features considered necessary for the Lubavitch community's persistence. The field notes focusing around the Lubavitcher Rebbe, the Yeshiva and Lubavitch's proselytizing activities, suggested themselves as logical properties of a theory on the community's persistence and resulted in specific chapters

of the study.

Let me briefly describe how the data on new recruits were pursued. From the outset certain individuals were pointed out to me as Lubavitcher whose background was other than Lubavitch. In the beginning I was not especially interested in these people as a special group, so systematic data collection on recruits began only during the first summer of the study. From my reading about recruitment of newcomers into various institutions and religious oriented groups, I imagined that the process of becoming a Lubavitcher would be uniform for all and that recruits' entry into Lubavitch would begin with their immediate observance of basic religious precepts. My main hypothesis was that the community's strategy for processing newcomers was to instantly expect their dissociation from their previous life-style while persuading them to practise instead the religious and cultural principles supporting an orthodox Lubavitch life-style. As I spoke to recruits (I interviewed fifteen - eight males and seven females) and to Lubavitcher who helped socialize them, I discovered my hypotheses were incorrect. The first recruit I interviewed informed me that he began to observe one mitzveh at a time and proceeded to an additional one when he mastered the first. When I inquired who decided which precept was to be observed first or

when he ought to observe others he assured me he did. That interview led me to tentatively reformulate one of my hypotheses to read: recruits to Lubavitch are not expected to immediately observe certain basic precepts. By talking to other recruits I quickly realized that if their movement into this chassidic group were conceptualized as a status passage, the route of their passage was hardly uniform. This led me to reconsider the hypothesis which claimed the process of becoming a Lubavitcher to be identical for all newcomers. Instead the data from the first several interviews indicated that the direction and intensity of a person's movement into Lubavitch centered primarily about such matters as the individual's personal status, his interest in Yiddishkayt (Jewishness), and his level of Yiddishkayt. These became the categories - conceptual elements - of the theory around which the data were integrated.

While certain hypotheses were reformulated but once, others were modified several times in the course of this study. Aspects of a recruit's case history which deviated sharply from what the data suggested was typical for that segment of the process called for me to revise my empirical generalizations concerning that segment to incorporate the deviant case. As a result, the process of becoming a Lubavitcher, described in the final chapter of the study, is applicable, without exception, to all the newcomers contacted.

The attempt to generate a substantive grounded theory necessitated that I gather the data in spurts. I regularly retired from the field after an amount of data were collected to appraise it and determine if and how it might be integrated with what was already available. The analyzed data on hand in turn served as a guide for the kind of information to be sought next. This joint collection, coding and analysis of the data allowed for the formulation of a theory as it emerged from the data, in addition to providing support for the theory's credibility.

Gaining Access, Some Difficulties, and
Related Commitments

One of the distinguishing features that separates Lubavitch from other chassidic groups is its efforts to proselytize Yiddishkayt (Jewishness). An important outcome of this is that outsiders are made to feel welcome in Lubavitch. For example, if someone is interested to learn about Yiddishkayt he can quite easily find a Lubavitcher to assist him. As a newcomer I was always made to feel welcome.

To learn as much as possible about Lubavitch and the Lubavitch community in this city I began putting on Tefillin in the mornings at the Yeshiva davning (praying) there in the afternoon and evening. I tried to make sure that once in the Yeshiva people would notice me. Therefore, I would

not, for example, sit in one place all the time but would wander about. I would try to say hello or at least nod to those people I already knew. I would also find out when certain functions were taking place and then hope to be invited or else invite myself. In short, I spent as much time as possible at the Lubavitcher Yeshiva.

Although some Lubavitcher knew I was doing research, I was identified primarily as a young man concerned about Yiddishkayt and interested in becoming more frum (observant). While continually reminding certain Lubavitcher about the research, I was told that people were interested in me as a Jew, not as a sociology student. In fact someone once said to me: "You know, the Rebbe doesn't mind people doing research on Lubavitch because this way they at least find out about Yiddishkayt." Lubavitcher who saw me regularly in the Yeshiva, but did not know about my research interests, thought of me as someone anxious to become a more observant Jew. This image of me was imputed on the basis of a few observations:

1) When I began to visit the Yeshiva I wore a white yarmlke (skull cap), the kind often distributed at Bar Mitzvehs. In fact, I was the only person in the Yeshiva to wear such a yarmlke. Since I had seen orthodox Jews wearing knitted yarmlkess I bought one partly because they looked more convenient to wear than the one I carried with me. When a Yeshiva

friend saw me with a new yarmlke he said: "Ah, now this looks better than the white one. By the way, it really looks good on you. At least it shows that you're getting serious. That's good." To some, then, the new yarmlke indicated that henceforth my head would be covered at all times.

2) I sometimes travelled to New York to attend a Lubavitcher Farbrengen. Lubavitcher interpreted this gesture to reflect my concern and interest in Lubavitch and Yiddishkayt. I would let it be known that I was planning to attend the Farbrengen and when I returned I saw to it that people knew I was there. On several occasions, upon seeing me at a Farbrengen, Lubavitcher from this city would remark: "Slowly, slowly, you're becoming a Lubavitcher."

3) I sometimes reminded certain Lubavitcher that apart from the research I was doing, I was also interested in learning about Yiddishkayt. I was, in fact, telling the truth. In the beginning the Yiddishkayt aspect accompanying the research was least important and incidental. As I continued, however, it began to assume increasing importance for me as a Jew.

On the basis of these observations certain assumptions were made of me: first, along with all orthodox Jews, my head was always covered; second, since I understood the importance of the mitzveh of Tefillin I observed it regularly.

For example, in the beginning when I came to the Yeshiva in the morning I was immediately asked if I had already observed Tefillin. After several months, however, I was no longer asked. It was taken for granted that I did.

While it may appear that Lubavitcher raised no objections concerning my research activity, such was not the case. While I was never specifically told to stop, I had reason to suspect that several individuals were suspicious of my motives. As Lubavitcher became aware of my research, several began to inquire "what I was trying to show." Several were directly concerned whether I would portray Lubavitch favorably. At times some of my closer contacts would substantiate my suspicions:

You know, I've noticed this about you just by watching you lately. You seem to be very reserved . . . It's like you're not really yourself when you come here. When you talk to people, and by the way there are a few people who say this, that when you talk you watch your words very carefully . . . What you're doing, and I'm telling you this for your own sake, is that you're turning people off. Like people begin to ask what you do around here? . . . I'm telling you this for your own sake because I'm telling you there are people who are getting turned off.

A Yeshiva student, talking about my research, said:

. . . no, it's true that there are some people who don't know what you're doing and are afraid of what you might do . . . It is possible that someone could write something bad about this place. So it isn't necessarily that people aren't interested in what you're doing. In some cases they're just afraid.

Once while interviewing a young Lubavitcher he was called to the phone. I overheard him say that he was talking to Billy "who is something about Lubavitch." After a pause he said: "Look, what's the difference? He's going to find out all these things anyway. It's just a matter of time." On several occasions, after bocherim noticed me observing something in the Yeshiva, they would say: "Put that in your book" or "You know, things like this don't have to go into the paper you're writing." Once while speaking to one of the Rabbis, he said: "Let me ask you something. Tell me, do you know that some of the information you get from people is not right?" He went on to explain that several people I had spoken to and interviewed were not aware that their information about Lubavitch "is false." Consequently, he argued, if I accept what they tell me as "correct," those reading what I write, will receive a distorted view of Lubavitch.

The Interviewing Schedule

Along with participant observation I formally interviewed thirty-three Lubavitcher, mostly in their homes but also in the Yeshiva. The interviewing was unstructured and varied somewhat with each interviewee, according to the difficulty encountered in overcoming his/her initial distrust

and fear in speaking to me. One important outcome of interviewing was that I was able to meet Lubavitch women. As it turned out, interviews were the only means available of approaching them.

Arrangements for an interview were usually made by telephone. I would call up the person, introduce myself as a student and say that I was doing "some research for school that has to do with Lubavitch." I would mention some names of Lubavitcher I had already spoken to and then ask if we might meet, during the day or evening, for about an hour. There were two typical responses: "If you've spoken to Mrs. _____ then I don't see how I can add more to what she said" or, "You're much better off speaking to someone like Rabbi _____. He knows much more about this than I do." It was necessary to develop an approach to convince the person that meeting with them would be more helpful than they imagined. In all but three cases did those approached agree to speak to me. It is probably true, however, that I contacted mostly those whom I felt or was told would be willing to cooperate.

When conducting interviews I sometimes used a tape recorder. In the beginning I decided to experiment with the tape recorder to find out if the interviewees would be distracted by its presence. Would they hold back information if they saw that our conversation was recorded? For example, some people, when asked if I could use a tape recorder, said

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something like: "Well, I'll tell you, I'd probably speak more freely without the tape recorder." I found, however, or possibly rationalized, that a tape recorder did not really effect the nature of the conversation. I would tell the interviewee that the tape recorder could be shut off whenever she/he wished. At times, certain persons said during the interview: "If you turn off the machine for a second I'll tell you something else" or "You can leave the machine on but I don't want what I say now to be included in your report." Using the tape recorder, on the other hand, allowed me to record verbatim what the person said. In one case an interviewee regretted having been recorded. This person did not like my "having everything I said on tape." In that case I suggested I bring the tape recorder and tape to her house where she could erase it. The interviewee became convinced the tape would be erased and declined the offer.

A technique I found helpful went like this. At the end of the interview I would close off the machine and say: "This research is really turning out to be interesting. Lubavitcher have a lot to say." Usually interviewees would then ask: "Which people did you already speak to" and continue to add: "You should speak to Rabbi _____ or Mrs. _____. They can tell you more about _____ than anyone." In this way I added to my list of potential interviewees.

The data for the study were collected over a period of about two and a half years. During this time I tried to visit the Yeshiva regularly and attend as many Yeshiva functions as possible. The interviews, however, were conducted over a period of about a year and a half. These were done, essentially, to supplement the data gathered through participant observation. Often, though, they directed me to certain features of the community of which I was unaware, while also yielding information different in kind from what I collected through observation.

The interviews did not all center around a similar set of questions. In other words, certain Lubavitcher were typed as having access to specific information and the interview revolved around those areas they knew best. For example, when I interviewed a Camp Director the bulk of our conversation focused on the camp and its related activities. Another example were newcomers to Lubavitch. There was little to be gained by asking them about the history of the Lubavitch community in this city except to discover that they knew very little about it. My interest with them was to find out how they came to Lubavitch and the general process they underwent in becoming Lubavitcher chassidim. One consequence of this is that I do not have the same data on everyone I interviewed.

Aside from observing and interviewing Lubavitcher

themselves I also used additional sources of data. The most important in this respect was the literature published by the Lubavitch Kehot Publication Society which includes, among other things, books and pamphlets about the history of the Lubavitch movement and the diverse activities undertaken by these chassidim throughout the world. During my visits to 770, the Lubavitch headquarters in New York, I bought as much of the literature as possible and also subscribed to certain weekly or quarterly publications. In addition I collected articles in newspapers which were written by Lubavitcher or else were about Lubavitch. For example, I spent several weeks searching through Der Kanader Odler, a Yiddish newspaper, from 1941 to the present day for articles on the origins and development of the Lubavitch community in this city. Another source of data were individuals who had connections with Lubavitch but were not themselves Lubavitcher. For instance, I spoke to some of the teachers hired to teach secular subjects who provided me with information about the secular curriculum of the Yeshiva and their experiences implementing it.

Thus, there is not, I think, a clearcut distinction as to "what kinds" of methods were used. A variety of methods, depending upon the kind of data I was interested in, were used.

Discontinuities in the Data

In any study relying primarily on participant observation the researcher will continually discover gaps in his data. Since he is studying a collectivity or individual over time it is almost impossible to prevent the formation of such missing links. The researcher typically coordinates his time schedule to be present for participant observation purposes when he learns about an event which may be important to the study. The situation complicates itself when the researcher is aware of a certain activity, recognizes its possible relevance to the study, but for various reasons cannot gain access to observe it. In the present study events and activities surrounding the women and girls in the community are a case in point.

Since Lubavitch enforces a social separation of the sexes, as is true of all chassidic groups, it is extremely difficult for the male researcher to gain first hand information concerning females' involvement in the community. It is possible to discuss with parents their daughters' participation in Lubavitch organized activities. Such information, however, is second hand and does not allow for the discovery of these girls' interpretations about their involvement in Lubavitch. It closes from observation the nature of the girls' discussions and conversations, the kinds of matters

they consider important, their feelings toward their way of life and the wider Jewish community. Ideally it is best to observe people in their natural setting. I was unable to do so with respect to Lubavitch women and girls during the course of my research. I did, however, manage to collect data surrounding their activities. This data was both quantitatively and qualitatively different from that on the men and older Yeshiva students.

A consequence of the above is that the analysis is less dense and rich than it might otherwise be. Although the available data suggest that females in Lubavitch engage in proselytizing activities, it appears that their encounters with non-orthodox Jews assume a different shape than the mens'. For instance, the Tefillin campaign has become Lubavitch's central proselytizing activity in recent years to publicize Yiddishkayt, yet females' participation in the campaign has been of a different nature than the mens'. Whereas the men can invite prospective recruits to the Yeshiva in order to maintain contact and develop a friendship, the women and girls must seek alternate means to maintain contact with interested newcomers. What these adaptations are and their degree of success are less than absolutely clear. Since the data on females is limited, it is difficult to provide a well-rounded analysis on such matters.

Last Days in the Field

It is useful for researchers who employ participant observation as their methodological technique of gathering data to provide an account of how they went about the research. This account is likely to include the kinds of techniques and strategies employed by the researcher to gain access and become accepted. Excellent examples of the above are found in Liebow's Tally's Corner and W.F. Whyte's Street Corner Society. While the focus in these studies tends to center on how access was gained and contacts established, the implication generated is that the manner in which exit was accomplished and contacts disestablished did not pose any problem. Exit from a community or group is generally not viewed as problematic and is, therefore, left untreated in the sociological literature. Since I experienced some difficulties in leaving the community I studied, I assume that other researchers have also encountered similar hardships.

Clearly, not all researchers will find leaving the field equally difficult. The nature of one's commitments to the community, group or organization determine the relative ease or difficulty with which the researcher will be able to sever ties and move out. Another consideration is whether the research has been officially sanctioned and made public to the participants of the study. An alternate possibility

is that leaving the field will not pose problems since the researcher decides to remain "in the field" even after completing the research.

When I first began visiting the Lubavitcher Yeshiva I did not tell Lubavitcher, except one, that my main purpose in coming was to engage in research. When I would be asked: "What brings you here?" I would say: "I don't know, what brings other people here?" At no time did I try to receive permission from the community leaders to conduct my research. I did not and still do not think that such permission would either have been granted or have made much difference. It soon became clear, however, that Lubavitcher were more willing to speak to me if they recognized that religious motives were responsible for my coming to the Yeshiva. As a result, while I started by wearing a white yarmlke which signified I wore it impermanently, I switched to a knitted one and then to a black felt one, both of which left the impression of permanence. I also began to observe Tefillin, learned with a Yeshiva bocher on a regular basis and even travelled to 770 Eastern Parkway (Lubavitch headquarters) for the Rebbe's Farbrengens. These practises apparently convinced many Lubavitcher, but not all, that I was being drawn closer to Yiddishkayt. Many considered me to be a "successful case."

Some Lubavitcher suspected that my motives for

taking an interest in Yiddishkayt were primarily academic and that once the research was completed I would disassociate myself from it. An indication of this occurred at a Lubavitch wedding, when a bocher revealed part of a conversation he had with one of my Lubavitch friends:

. . . you know I was speaking to _____, and he wondered if you would continue to come here after you finish school. He said he wasn't sure. Do you plan to come?

My standard answer to the above kind of question was a variation of the following:

In the beginning my interests in coming here were for school purposes. As I've continued I've come closer to Yiddishkayt and I now do things and think about things that I never did or thought of before. So, ya, I think my interests here extend beyond my research.

Most Lubavitcher who knew me believed that my interest in Yiddishkayt was more than fleeting. To convey such an impression I was required to manage certain situations so that Lubavitcher would not doubt my sincerity. For instance, I would not drive near the Yeshiva on Saturday or other Jewish holidays; I always carried a yarmлке if I anticipated the presence of Lubavitcher; I avoided certain restaurants so as not to be seen eating in them.

When I felt that a certain aspect of community activity was more or less saturated with data I would be present less often at activities related to that area. For instance, my data indicated that I was familiar with the se-

quence of events between the afternoon prayer (mincheh) and evening prayer (myriv). Consequently, I no longer felt the necessity to be at the Yeshiva regularly during this period. As more and more of the data were collected I realized that my visits to the Lubavitcher would be only periodic.

During the course of the research I consciously appeared more concerned and interested in Yiddishkayt than I actually was. Ethical considerations governing data collection are more complex than imagined. When the research was almost over I faced the following dilemma: would I terminate my association with the Lubavitch community, and, if so, how? I decided to maintain contact on a fairly regular basis for personal reasons. I could, therefore, see myself having to answer for my increased absence but not total disappearance.

Sociologists have provided their readers both with general and specific information on how to cope with difficulties encountered during the first days in the field. Their accounts have also addressed the strategies that were adopted to gain access to certain settings to obtain specific information. Where secret observation has been practised, association networks established, and the sociologist withdraws from the field completely once the research is done, an account should include how this process was accomplished.

Such accounts would not only provide a more comprehensive view of the research project's natural history but might also assist other researchers facing similar situations.

CHAPTER III

ESTABLISHING A DISTINCTIVE IDENTITY

This chapter begins with a discussion of identity while focusing specifically on how the Lubavitch community establishes a distinctive identity. I then consider some strategies employed by religious communities to maintain their identities, including dress, isolation, language, and history, concluding that Lubavitchers' relationship with their Rebbe is the centre around which the community's distinctive identity is constructed. Although the Lubavitch community successfully cultivates a distinctive identity, I suggest that its relationship with outsiders and Lubavitchers' consequent exposure to assimilative influences in fact threatens this identity's maintenance. I conclude by examining the distinction between orthodox Jew and Lubavitcher and present a symbolic interactionist perspective for defining who is a Lubavitcher.

Identity At the Individual and Community Levels

Anselm Strauss has argued that whatever else it may be, "identity is connected with the fateful appraisals made of oneself - by oneself and by others" (1969:9). This implies that the nature of one's identity cannot be apparent by regarding only the individual, but must instead be sought in the individual's interaction with others. The person's identity comes to be shaped by social interaction; that is,

by entering into contact with others he comes to view himself and to be viewed by others as a certain kind of person.

Identities, or self-conceptions, are formed and continually re-affirmed in the interaction of people with one another. Each person develops some notion of the kind of creature he must be from the manner in which he is addressed by those with whom he is in prolonged association. This is what led Cooley to describe a person's sense of personal identity as a "looking glass self." One's self conception - the evaluation of his appearance and behavior - is a reflection of his attributes as he believes they are mirrored by those around him. As Shibutani has noted: "He constructs the personification from the reactions imputed to other people" (1961:239).

G. H. Mead maintained that, in the course of his association with others, each person forms a conception of himself by evaluating his experiences from a generalized standpoint. Human beings, contended Mead, do not merely react to each other's actions but instead engage in a process of interpretation during which they impute meanings to others' behavior believed to represent the standpoints common to the group. A person's identity, therefore, reflects what he imagines others in general and more specifically those in the temporary group in which he participates think of him. This may, of course, differ from what they actually do think.

An important contribution to a person's sense of identity derives from the continuity of his experiences in time, consisting both of memories of the past and aspirations for the future. Shibutani has stated that "The consistency of all such experiences enables each person to integrate them into a unit, a whole which is also treated as a distinctive entity by other people" (1961: 217). Identities are also reinforced by sustained social relationships. These relationships help others recognize the person as a particular human being and to organize their actions toward him in a uniform manner. Thus each person can conceive of himself in a consistent manner, helping to strengthen his sense of identity while allowing him to respond to others and to meet his obligations toward them in an appropriate manner.

If we regard a community as consisting of those who, bounded by a specified territory, conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of a set of common characteristics, and are so regarded by others, we can consider the identity concept at the community level. At this level "consciousness of kind" may be substituted for identity, referring to a feeling permeating those who are classified together and who conceive of themselves as being alike. This feeling of unity arises from a perception of resemblances among themselves and differences from outsiders. Shibutani

and Kwan contend that "Any readily visible means of identification - similarity of physical attributes, distinctive modes of dress, or a common language - certainly facilitates the development of such awareness" (1965:42).

A consequence of consciousness of kind is some degree of sympathetic identification with others in the same category. It is assumed that one's own feelings and emotional reactions will be shared by others like oneself. When consciousness of kind is experienced, the concept of social distance can help designate this variable, and we would discover social distance to be low. In other words, when social distance is low "... people can enter imaginatively into one another's minds and share their experiences; they are able to sympathize with one another's pains, joys, sorrows, hopes and fears. Those who feel close to each other are more relaxed and tend to be less defensive, for each feels that he can understand those around him" (1965: 42-43). Another consequence for those sharing a consciousness of kind is their conviction that outsiders are basically different from themselves and hence are to be treated differently.

Those designated as belonging to a community identify with others so labelled. For the community members they become the most important reference group and the sentiments and ideology underlying the community become the

perspective around which they organize their frame of reference. Members of the community perceive certain aspects of the world from the community standpoint and this standpoint is assumed by the actors in their everyday life. Where consciousness of kind exists one's quest for recognition is confined largely within the collectivity, the latter also becoming an effective agency of social control. The extent to which individuals feel pressured to conform to the community's practises and routines indicates the degree to which they identify with it. Since identification is taken to refer to the person's subjective orientation with the community, a high degree of identification indicates that those included want to become what the community will make of them. The more a person identifies with the community the more control will the community have over him. The less the person identifies with the community the more problems it is likely to have motivating him to do things or keeping him within the community so that he may be shaped into a certain kind of person.

The central organizing feature of any religious community is its own distinctive identity. The cultivation of such an identity is crucial for it effectively separates insiders (members) from outsiders. In addition, the inculcation of such an identity in the young helps increase the community's possibilities for persisting, while insuring

that it will not change greatly from what it is now. Most important, however, I argue that the existence of a religious community necessarily implies the presence of a distinctive identity and that the very presence of such an identity allows us to recognize the entity as a community. In the following section I discuss the main ways employed by religious communities to maintain their identities, focusing on the relevance of these strategies to the Lubavitcher chassidim under study.

Techniques of Identity Maintenance in Religious Communities

As the reader will recall, a section of an earlier chapter focused on some of the techniques employed by religious communities to maintain their distinctive identity. The purpose of their review in this section is to arrive at the main source of the Lubavitch community's distinctive identity. Religious communities try to persist. To accomplish this goal they seek to channel their members' lives to conform to certain standards, thus instilling in them a particular identity. Such an identity is more easily imparted when the community presents its members with a set of expectations, often intended to regulate their contact with outsiders, to which they are expected to rigidly conform. The techniques discussed below include dress, insulation, language and history.

Dress

Styles of dress serve as important identity symbols.

In addition to linking the community with its past history, dress allows for the visible distinction between community members and outsiders. Community members are expected to conform to a particular dress style and extreme deviations are negatively sanctioned. Unlike certain chassidic groups, for example the Satmarer, which insist their dress styles conform to the garb worn by their ancestors, Lubavitcher have adapted their clothes to western customs. This is not to suggest, however, that Lubavitcher favorably regard one of their own's decision to wear the latest fashions. Women and girls are continually reminded about the importance of a modest appearance while the mens' and boys' suits and jackets are expected to be dark colored and simple. A young man in the community who has begun to wear the latest fashion dress has been mildly criticized and at times even censured by some Lubavitcher. One of his peers once remarked to him:

You see what happens when you leave the Yeshiva?
(pointing to the wide tie and flared slacks).
This is what happens and this is only the beginning. You know, it, so what's going to be next?
(translated from Yiddish).

Although certain features of Lubavitch dress permit their being recognized as Lubavitcher, the community's attire is not sufficiently uniform to always allow the distinction between insider and outsider. It would be false to claim that in the Lubavitch community under study its distinctive

identity is strongly reinforced by special dress.

Insulation: Physical, Cultural and Social

Religious communities assign high priority to insulation from the surrounding culture to prevent their dissolution through assimilation. Although insulation is sometimes spatial, it also includes minimal contact with individuals whose behavior and ideas are contrary to the community members' as well as separation from certain of the society's technological advances. Unnecessary contact with outside influences is considered potentially threatening and thus avoided.

The various chassidic groups' degree of insulation varies according to their philosophy of outsiders in addition to their estimate of the surrounding society's threat to the continuity of their way of life. Insulation ranges from actual removal from the city to a rural settlement, as exemplified by the Tasher and Squarer chassidim, to strictly enforced cultural and social separation from outsiders, as occurs among the Satmarer, to Lubavitcher chassidim's less demanding separation requirements. In fact, the main distinguishing feature between Lubavitch and other chassidic groups is the formers' efforts at initiating contact with unobservant Jews urging them to enter the orthodox fold. A consequence of such contact is Lubavitchers' probable exposure to arguments, ideas and sights directly opposite

to their world view. While it may be argued that insulation serves to buttress the religious community's distinctive identity, the nature of Lubavitchers' relationship with outsiders suggests this is less the fact in their case than among other chassidim.

Language

Learning a new language is fundamentally important for as Shibutani and Kwan have asserted ". . . Linguistic symbols not only provide the avenues through which other transactions take place but are the vehicles of thought" (1965:472). Those introduced to a new language learn to organize their experiences differently and eventually become acquainted with a new world of objects. This is what Hostetler meant when he wrote about the Amish: "Roles and functions tend to organize around each language; thus when speaking English the Amishman tends to think and behave like the English-speaking person" (1968:139). People who can communicate with each other are able to develop shared perspectives and understand one another. The means through which these shared perspectives originate is language. To ensure that especially the young will be fitted into and will comprehend the community's conception of the world, they are taught the group's language. Successful instruction both

to the young and newcomers adds to the community's distinctive identity, facilitating the development of shared understandings among the members.

Among chassidim, English will not, in general, be spoken unless the situation demands it. The language of everyday discourse is, for the most part, Yiddish and Yeshiva students' Jewish curriculum is instructed in this language. The attitude toward learning an outside language, in this case English, is not uniform among the chassidic groups or even within the groups themselves. Lubavitcher, for example, are likely to be more fluent in English than are the Satmarer due to the Lubavitcher Yeshiva's greater attention to secular education.

Certain parents in all chassidic groups do not permit their children to study secular subjects until a certain age. As a result, it is not uncommon to find chassidic youth who, except at a most elementary level, neither understand nor speak English. A teacher in a Hungarian-Jewish Yeshiva remarked:

. . . first of all, half of the parents didn't approve of their children learning English at all. You have people who are born in Brooklyn, in X (name of city), who can't read and write English. They can't even sign their name. The only language they speak is Yiddish and the second language, if any, is Hungarian. Most of the parents consider it goyish, not English . . .

While a number of Lubavitch parents refuse to allow their sons to attend the Lubavitcher Yeshiva's secular curriculum,

this figure is probably less than among parents of other chassidic groups.

History

A person who identifies with a group utilizes its history to provide a backdrop before which to reexamine his and other group members' conduct. The history of any group consists of collective memories shared by its members, of their ancestors' deeds, the difficulties encountered throughout its existence and the events which have culminated in the group's present situation (1965:43). Among the many accounts remembered of the historical past, some might include fictitious ones. Shibutani and Kwan emphasize, however, that " . . . the way in which the history of the group is remembered is far more important than what it has actually been" (1965:43). As among other groups, historical events signifying major turning points for the group are recalled and celebrated by the Lubavitcher. They regularly commemorate events marking decisive periods of the group's history - usually centering around an incident relating to a Lubavitcher Rebbe - at Farbrengens (gathering of Lubavitcher on days held sacred by them during which the Rebbe delivers discourses ranging from Lubavitch philosophy to exhortations on how Jews ought to conduct their everyday lives).

Lubavitchers' identity is reinforced by their know-

ledge of the group's history centering about a familiarity with its leaders. "Kehot," the Lubavitch Publication Society, continually publishes collections of histories and anecdotes surrounding the lives of previous Lubavitcher Rebbeim, simultaneously tracing the origin and development of the Lubavitch chassidic movement. The songs sung by previous generations of Lubavitcher have been carefully compiled and published. The central link uniting Lubavitcher since the founding of the movement is their study of the Tanya, written by the first Lubavitcher Rebbe, outlining the principles of the Lubavitcher chassidim.

Summary

I have presented several methods used by religious communities to maintain their distinctive identities, and suggested that dress, isolation and language are less effective identity maintaining techniques in Lubavitch than among other chassidic communities. The central feature solidifying Lubavitchers' self-conception is their general awareness of the lives, work and teachings of the previous Lubavitcher Rebbeim expressed today by their intimate relationship with the present Lubavitcher Rebbe. This relationship is examined in the following section.

Lubavitcher and their Rebbe

I suggest in a later chapter that the Yeshiva plays an

important role in reinforcing the individuals' self conception as Lubavitcher chassidim. In this respect it is appropriate to regard the Yeshiva as the nucleus of the Lubavitch community. Yet the essence of this community, and of Lubavitcher chassidim everywhere, is the Lubavitcher Rebbe. A Lubavitcher chossid put it this way:

770 (the world headquarters of Lubavitch from where the Lubavitcher Rebbe carries out his work) spiritually is more important than the Yeshiva. 770 is our heart. 770 is the heart and soul, is the soul of every Lubavitcher because the Rebbe Shleete is what Lubavitch is and therefore 770 means very much to every Lubavitcher."

Rabbi Jacobson, an emissary of the previous Lubavitcher Rebbe, has written of the Lubavitcher Rebbeim:

In his personal greatness and in the greatness of his leadership, every Lubavitcher Rebbe in the chain of their descent has personified those ideas and ideals which Chabad Chassidus presents to mankind. They brought to perfection the ability to instill in the heart and the conduct of their disciples, chassidim and students, each according to his abilities and devotion to the study of chassidus, that path which is within the reach of everyone, from the highest chosid to the furthest (Di Yiddishe Heim. Vol. 12, No.s 4:9).

When I first started to visit the Lubavitcher Yeshiva a bocher, in the course of conversation, expressed his feelings about the Rebbe. I discovered later that all Lubavitcher display the same high esteem and reverence toward this man:

... He's a tremendous man. I think that as you go on you will understand what the Rebbe means to us and why we believe in him so much. I mean how that one man does so much is beyond understanding. The

correspondence he carries on is just fantastic. It has been said, and I don't know by whom, I mean I didn't get this first hand, but I believe it, that the postmaster general has come out and said that the Rebbe has the second largest correspondence in the United States . . . He has a few secretaries but he should really have a dozen because there is so much work to do. It has been said that sometimes the Rebbe is in the Yeshiva till three or four in the morning. It's also said, and I can believe it, that sometimes he's even up till six o' clock, he has so much to do. I know, I've seen it. There's a story about the Rebbe that when a new summer camp opened in New York they asked the Rebbe to come and give his blessings. Five years later after they made new improvements in the camp they asked the Rebbe to come and see the camp again, and they had a letter from him saying that he still had to catch up on the five hours of work which he lost on his first visit . . . This just goes to show how busy the man is. It is said that the Rebbe has left New York only two times except for his visits to his father in law's grave and there also seems to be more to his visits than meets the eye because it's said that after the Rebbe returns different things happen at the places he has been.

Some recent studies on the chassidim deal with the Rebbe's importance to his followers. Mintz (1968), for example, tells us that one aspect of the Rebbe's role is that he serves as a mediator between his followers and God. Mintz continues with an analysis of the Rebbe's functions regarding his followers and the interrelationship resulting between the two. Weiner (1969) in his chapter on "The Lubavitcher Movement" describes his personal audience (yecheedess) with the Lubavitcher Rebbe. Along with the documentation in these and other studies, indications of the Rebbe's centrality to the Lubavitch movement can be gleaned from the frequency with which

Lubavitcher refer to him in conversation, the kinds of miraculous stories they relate about him, the efforts they make to attend his Farbrengens, and the kind of advice his chassidim and others seek from him.

Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, is the seventh Rebbe in the line of Chabad chassidim founded by Rabbi Schneur Zalman. He is reported as being a quiet intense man with a kindly expression and, as reported by Mintz, gives the impression of "a man restraining a well of emotion" (1968:152). The world headquarters of Lubavitch are located at 770 Eastern Parkway in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. From an office near the entrance the Rebbe receives visitors and attends to his various other matters. Due to the tremendous demand on the Rebbe's time each Lubavitcher is granted a private audience with him only once each year, usually around the time of one's birthdate. During this personal audience the Rebbe may be asked for advice and/or a blessing (brocheh). Requesting the Rebbe's advice or his blessing is not confined to this personal audience and is possible throughout the year by correspondence.

I suggest further on that Lubavitcher agree upon a central criterion for defining someone as a Lubavitcher - that the person listens to and follows the Rebbe's advice to him personally and the Rebbe's general instructions to all his chassidim. It is therefore essential that the Lubavitcher is familiar with and understands the Rebbe's

arguments on particular topics relevant to orthodox Judaism and to Jews in general.* This occurs in several ways, the most desirable of which is attending as many of the Rebbe's Farbrengens as possible. I once asked an older Lubavitcher student about the necessity for travelling to the Rebbe for a Farbrengen since it was possible to listen to the Farbrengen via the telephone "hook-up" with "770":

Did you eat supper tonight?... What did you eat? Did you eat meat? Do you ever eat meat? Why don't you eat bread and water? When you want something, you want the best... It says: "Listening does not come close to seeing." You want to hear the Rebbe's Farbrengen. You want the best. You want to be there. You want to be from the people who are listening to the Rebbe. You want to see the Rebbe. You want to be part of it. This is why we go to New York for Farbrengens.

A married Lubavitcher put it like this:

C'mon, you've been there, you know what it is. Are you kidding? What's the difference you ask? When you're there you see the Rebbe and you can actually feel what he's saying. You can see how holy the man is. Alright, here you can listen but it's not the same thing as seeing, my friend.

Since not all Lubavitcher can afford to travel to New York for every Farbrengen, a telephone "hook-up" from the Yeshiva to "770" allows Lubavitcher to listen to the Rebbe. A main advantage to this arrangement is that each person can listen to the Rebbe's discourses directly and form his

* Two topics which have aroused much discussion in the last year, for example, have centered around demonstrations on behalf of Soviet Jewry and the matter of "Who is a Jew?"
- Mi Hu Yehudi?

own interpretation of what the Rebbe meant. In addition, a greater number of people can now be exposed to a Lubavitch Farbrengen. Rows of chairs are arranged in the Yeshiva's auditorium and as on all occasions when men and women are present the two sexes are separated by a mecheetzeh (a partition). When the Rebbe farbrengs on a Jewish holiday, however, the arrangement of a "hook-up" is forbidden and Lubavitcher are informed about the Farbrengen by those who were present.

The Rebbe's discourses and events surrounding his person serve as the basis for discussion and argument with others during Lubavitchers' proselytizing activities. The arguments used by Lubavitcher urging people to practise traditional Judaism are mainly drawn from them. For example, a young man suggested to a Lubavitcher that demonstrations for Soviet Jewry were important and, in fact, helpful to the Russian Jews - a position not shared at the moment by the Rebbe. The Lubavitcher replied:

Well, the thing is, I'd say this. I'd take the Rebbe's opinion anytime against any other person. First of all, he's a much more knowledgeable person than the average person Let's say you have a person going to Russia and they may come into contact with one person, two people, three people. Let's say even one hundred people, right? The Rebbe, when he has his contacts, I'm sure he has contacts of a much more sophisticated nature

On another occasion a Lubavitcher argued with a college student about recent trends among Jewish youth. The Luba-

vitcher's main point was that the student's parents' generation compromised away their religion, leaving young people to believe that traditional Judaism (Yiddishkayt) is outdated and thus irrelevant in today's society - precisely the Rebbe's thesis in his discourses on Jewish youth.

Along with the arguments underlying the Rebbe's discourses, stories reflecting the Rebbe's foresight and miraculous powers are sometimes offered as sufficient reason for agreeing to observe a particular mitzveh. Weiner (1969) presents such a story which, in Lubavitch circles, is repeated fairly regularly:

Stories of miracles are readily to be heard at 770 Eastern Parkway, but they are of a peculiar Lubavitcher flavor, that is, with a rational explanation. An example is the story of the American soldier in Korea who one day wandered off from his squad looking for a stream in which to wash his hands before opening his can of C rations. A shell struck the squad's position, killing every one of his comrades. Today the young veteran vows he owes his life to a visit he had made, just before shipping out to Korea, to the rebbe of the Lubavitcher movement. The latter had counselled the young man to observe, even while in combat, as much as he could of the Jewish law, including the commandment to wash one's hands before eating (1969:141).

A young man who came to the Yeshiva for the morning Service was asked when his Tefillin were last inspected. He replied "Never," since, as he explained, he began to observe the mitzveh only recently. The Lubavitcher standing with him stressed the importance of having Tefillin regularly inspected by a scribe (soifer) and added:

You know, this is a true story just to show you what I'm talking about. This person was very sick and wrote to the Rebbe that he should wish him a refooeh shalaimeh (speedy recovery) so he could get better. The Rebbe answered that he should have his Tefillin checked by a soifer and that's all. So this guy figures "Well, if the Rebbe says so..." So it was found that in the saying, "You should love God with all your soul and serve Him with all your heart," the word heart was scratched away. And it turned out what was wrong with this guy? Heart trouble. So, you see, it's really important to have the Tefillin checked.

Although a private audience with the Rebbe is granted to each Lubavitcher only once each year, they, along with non-Lubavitcher, feel free to consult with him whenever necessary. This takes the form of "writing in" to the Rebbe and asking his opinion about a specific matter. No guidelines exist to regulate the kinds of problems the Rebbe will consider and each person decides on which matters to seek the Rebbe's advice. Since Lubavitcher are convinced of the Rebbe's special powers, they also encourage prospective recruits (baal tshuvess) to seek his advice. One need not be faced with a critical situation to "write in" to the Rebbe. One may simply ask for a blessing (brocheh), for example, as is customary on one's wedding anniversary. The Rebbe's brocheh is believed to ensure the eventual success of an undertaking. For example, when I mentioned to some Yeshiva students that I was preparing for an examination, one suggested: "Why don't you write in to the Rebbe for a brocheh. It can only help. "A recruit discusses a dilemma

which prompted him to consult with the Rebbe:

. . . Now, let's see. I was unemployed. I became a lawyer and didn't like the practice, and I didn't do well in my job I didn't enjoy going after clients. Anyways, I was trying to get another job and I was unemployed for six months with a family and everything. So anyway, things were getting ha ha ha difficult and I tried to turn to advice and what I should do Anyways, so I wrote to the Rebbe, . . . telling him my situation. . . . the problems I had about going back to school was because I had a family and there was the question of my wife having to work, that I was interested in Social Work, I think, or teaching or something else.

In another instance a woman requested from the Rebbe the kind of advice one usually receives from a pediatrician:

You asked me about asking the Rebbe. I'll give you a very cute example . . . which somebody just recently told me. They went to the Rebbe, and they have one child, this couple, and so they went to the Rebbe and had a big problem. The child was the first . . . and he was very spoiled. She can't put the baby to bed. Now, to me, this is comical. She told the Rebbe that she's very nervous with the child . . . it doesn't sleep and doesn't eat and they get crazy. And the child gets nervous itself. To me this is a comical thing. But yet, I can understand why she asked it, because actually this was a problem to her. Now the Rebbe didn't laugh at all but understood this was a problem to her, and said: "Probably you're over anxious with your child, so relax more." You see, that's how the Rebbe will answer. You see, the pediatrician will tell you the same thing.

The above remarks indicate two important characteristics concerning the Rebbe's relationship with his followers. First, the person is left to decide on which matters to seek the Rebbe's counsel. Second, it is believed that he, a Tzaddik (a righteous man) has the ability to offer only helpful advice regardless of the problem's nature. As a

Lubavitcher counsellor told a camper:

... But assuming that he (the Rebbe) is a plain human being, nothing at all. But the very fact is that whenever he advises someone to do something, or if someone comes to him and says: "I need advice" that person will get it. I mean I never saw the person yet to say that "I asked the Rebbe to do so and so and he said "yes" and that he should regret it. It's either that he tells them "yes" or "no" and they never regret what he tells them.

Since Lubavitcher believe the Rebbe's advice only to be helpful, it is always interpreted as so being. This is what a recruit referred to when he said: "I mean the brochess (blessings) have a certain effect and you wonder to what extent the person reads into the situation, rather than the brocheh objectively producing something." This attitude closely reflects W. I Thomas' dictum that what men believe to be real becomes real in its consequences. Because Lubavitcher trust in the Rebbe's power to foresee the future, they consider pursuing his advice as the most logical and therefore wisest course. They are willing to claim to have misinterpreted or not "really" understand the Rebbe's advice if it should prove objectively false. Consequently, it is impossible to have a disconfirmation of the Rebbe's teachings. Lubavitcher attribute special powers to the Rebbe and inevitably check with him about the possible consequences of their actions. A few examples follow:

... I feel like I can rely on him. And I don't want to be like the ones who write to him and ask him whether to buy a chain lamp or a pole lamp. But I definitely would be the one to ask him, you know,

whether I should go back to college or not or whether I should, you know, what school I should send my kid to or if I have a problem I really feel like I could rely on him.

The Lubavitcher chassidim feel that it's important to consult with the Rebbe because he has such a great understanding of everything. He is the person who can advise you on what is best for you. For example, if you wanted to go to university then he could perhaps tell you if it were best if you were to go to university full-time or else that you only go for three semesters and you study for another semester or whether you should only go to certain classes and not to others. I mean we believe that the Rebbe can help us the best and so we go to him whenever we have any problems.

The Rebbe is seen by Lubavitcher as the center of the Lubavitch movement around whom Lubavitch continues to function. The Yeshiva is the place where one maintains contact with events surrounding the Rebbe. It is precisely this contact, whether in the form of yecheedess, attending Farbrengens, or "writing in" which allows people to think of themselves and be considered by others as Lubavitcher. A Lubavitch woman expressed the relationship with the Rebbe as follows:

The Rebbe is like your soul, like you feel like he means your soul's well-being. That's how you know what you know, you know. So you listen to him differently. And you want to listen to him and like you want him to tell you. That's what you want that he should tell you the right way

Another woman expressed the relationship this way:

We're [Lubavitcher] united . . . because we all stand for the Torah and the one above. Now by the same token, Lubavitch is, I think, united by only one complete thing and that's that we believe in this way of life and the Rebbe Many times this way of life might not be strong enough to really unite them [Lubavitcher] . . . but this belief, this tremendous belief in the Rebbe Now I wouldn't call it belief because

belief is something that you don't understand, and most of them understand why they love the Rebbe and look up to him and feel so close to him, so belief isn't a good word. It's rather a complete given-ness, a total admiration and as a result a total, how should I say it, honor and will to do as a person leads you to do. After all, he's not only a righteous man, the most righteous man of our time, but a leader as well.

I have tried to show above that the Lubavitch community's effort to maintain a distinctive identity is reached through its relationship with the Rebbe. Our theoretical argument states that for religious communities to persist they must cultivate and possess a distinctive identity. While I have focused on the means employed by religious communities to achieve this end, I now shift to a situation which may menace and adversely effect the community's identity.

A Threat to Identity Maintenance in Religious Communities - Assimilation

While religious communities seek to enhance their distinctive identities, certain conditions threaten and compromise these efforts. These conditions are determined by each religious community's distinctive features, but are sufficiently common to them to be discussed together. An alternate way of viewing our previous discussion of religious communities' efforts to maintain their identities is to regard them as means employed to resist the assimilative influences of the surrounding urban society. I

will now focus on two features discussed earlier as helping to produce a distinctive identity - dress and insulation - and examine their decreased effectiveness when the larger society's assimilative influences begin to penetrate the community's barriers. These influences, to be analyzed with reference to the Lubavitch community, result in the entry of outsiders, thus blurring the boundary between member and outsider.

Dress

As the larger society's influences permeate the community, the group's distinctive garb is modified by the fashions regulating dress on the outside. These modifications are likely to be more apparent among the young who are sometimes embarrassed by their parents' old-fashioned clothes. Hostetler reports that among the New Order Amish distinctive dress and hair styles show a marked modification. These Amish trim their hair and beards shorter and shorter and "with the dwindling of the beard an Amishman may no longer identify himself as an Amish person" (1968:329). That writer also remarks that "Secularization in apparel appears to be greater among men than women, and more advanced among the young than the old" (1968:329). A young man, raised in a chassidic milieu, once told me:

A lot of the older guys wear these baggy pants and the suits they get for their kids don't look too good on them either. But you'll see the younger guys, those who can afford it, buying suits that are in style.

OK, they won't be the real fancy stuff, but the suit will be made well, at a good place. All they do is give the guy the material.

Insulation

Efforts initiated by the community to achieve insulation from outside influences are less easily accomplished with the onset of assimilation. Societal influences penetrating the community's life-style result from the difficulty in maintaining insulation in the physical, cultural and social spheres. In an urban setting community members are inevitably exposed, both visually and aurally, to influences considered detrimental to the community's special life-style. Community elders are especially concerned with the consequences of these influences on the young, as it effects their retention of the group's ways. Conversations with the young from different chassidic groups indicate they are aware of the styles and fads in the outside world as well as their elders' concern of this awareness. A Yeshiva student said: "They [teachers and elders] realize it's impossible or very impractical to keep us from seeing things which the Yaytzer Ho'Ro (Evil Inclination) puts in our way. It worries some of them a great deal." Redekop reports that among the Mennonites there is increased contact with the outside world resulting from many Mennonites' view that the traditional isolation strategy is increasingly impractical (1969:221).

A method assisting the religious community to maintain its distinctive identity is separation from outsiders. Encircling the community are a set of boundaries distinguishing between who is really inside and who is outside. Such boundaries are maintained most effectively when the community insulates itself from those conditions in the outside world contradictory to its life-style. When these boundaries become less efficient at repelling outside influences, and outsiders begin to appear at various community functions, its distinctive identity becomes threatened and endangered. I will now consider the effect of outsiders on the Lubavitch community's ability to generate and retain a particular self-conception.

Outsiders' Effect on the Community's Identity

Unlike most chassidic groups, which attempt to minimize contact with outsiders, Lubavitchers' behavior toward them differs. The Lubavitch philosophy teaches, and the Lubavitcher Rebbe continually reminds his chassidim, that all Jews must be brought into the orthodox fold and it is their duty to help accomplish this goal. As I indicate elsewhere in the study, Lubavitcher organize a series of activities especially designed to be attractive to Jews varying in degree of religious observance.

One outcome of the above kinds of activities is that

outsiders are invited and encouraged to return to the Lubavitchers' Yeshiva, their homes and other social and religious functions. The Lubavitch strategy aims to extend a warm welcome to these Jews, in the hope of drawing them progressively closer to observing the practises of traditional Judaism. Since outsiders are invited to mingle with Lubavitcher, the boundaries guarding against outside influences are less effective than among, for example, the Satmarer chassidim. As such, our theoretical argument suggests that Lubavitcher will experience difficulty in maintaining their distinctive identity, since the boundaries separating insider from outsider are less clearly demarcated. In fact, however, we discover that Lubavitcher are successful at maintaining their identity and that, paradoxically, outsiders contribute toward that effort. I discuss in a later chapter that a latent function of Lubavitchers' proselytizing is that it serves to reinforce their own beliefs.

I have argued above that the Lubavitch community under study is successful at establishing a distinctive identity, thus helping to ensure its persistence. One way of focusing on the nature of this identity is by examining Lubavitchers' definitions of what constitutes a Lubavitcher. Our analysis now shifts to consider that question.

Lubavitchers' Definitions of Who is a Lubavitcher

One way to determine who is a Lubavitcher is by examining the nature of the group's boundaries. We would analytically separate insiders from outsiders, the former constituting Lubavitcher chassidim. We would then specify the minimal requirements which would have to be satisfied before a person was considered a Lubavitcher. Such an approach, however, is more suitable for other chassidic groups such as the Satmarer and Tasher. These chassidim strategically minimize contact with non-orthodox Jews and seek to isolate themselves from the remainder of the outside Jewish community. Lubavitcher, however, are anxious to initiate and maintain contact with unobservant Jews for the purpose of drawing them into the orthodox fold. As a result, the distinction in Lubavitch between insider and outsider is less clear and meaningful than among the Satmarer and Tasher chassidim. A Lubavitcher once remarked:

Groups of the Satmar type talk about "they" and "we" but in Lubavitch a Jew is a Jew and Lubavitch isn't interested in detaching itself from that which surrounds it.

(It should be understood that like other chassidic groups Lubavitch too recognizes the necessity to establish insulating mechanisms to retard assimilation. In this respect the differences between Lubavitch and other chassidic groups

are more one of degree than kind).

An alternate way of focusing on who is a Lubavitcher is by approaching the related matter of how one becomes a Lubavitcher. As I show in a later chapter, becoming a Lubavitcher ultimately involves the acceptance of the Lubavitcher Rebbe as one's personal guide and leader, including participation in a set of activities in which he is recognized as the central figure. When Lubavitcher are asked to comment on what characterizes a Lubavitcher chossid, all replies include mention of recognition of the Rebbe as the central figure in one's life and a willingness to practice and accept his views and their consequences. The following comments by three Lubavitcher reflect those of all others contacted. Common to them is the idea that a Lubavitcher is one who patterns his life as closely as possible to the Rebbe's teaching and instruction:

(... what exactly constitutes a Lubavitcher? Who is a Lubavitcher?) Well, I would say, that you're asking the same kind of question as what constitutes a Jew? What makes a Jew? Now if I tell you that man's a good Jew you might have a different picture in your mind of what a good Jew is, than what I have in mind. So, therefore, the thing of being a Jew is so very vast that to pin down being Jewish would be very hard because there's so much... to being a Jew. By the same token I'd say this about Lubavitch... There's so much that it takes to be a Lubavitcher, but nevertheless there are some essentials that when you ask me: "What's a good Jew?" you and I would probably see alike on many points by saying that a good Jew is one who's trying to observe a large part of the commandments. We'll probably agree that it's someone who keeps Shabbess, who keeps Tefillin and a few other

essentials. We would say that even if he bypassed a lot of others, if he did these essentials, he would probably be considered a good Jew . . . By the same token, I would call a Lubavitcher someone who starts along any of these paths, who believes and wants to get there. Not someone who got there. A good Jew is someone who tries to be observant . . . someone who believes and has this feeling about the Rebbe and has a sort of understanding of what chassidess is and would like to live his life this way. Even though he's at step number one, along each of these lines, to me he's a Lubavitcher.

Or:

It's hard . . . what makes a person a Lubavitcher. It's simply someone who decides that the Rebbe is someone he will look up to, his advice he will follow, his direction he will go and follow, and he tries to take on minhogim (customs), one might say, of Lubavitch as much as he can. It doesn't necessarily mean that he does everything in one day . . . The main idea is, I would say, following the Rebbe.

And:

. . . who is a Lubavitcher chossid? Am I a Lubavitcher chossid? I try to be a Lubavitcher chossid. Am I everything which the Rebbe wants to see from me. (So what you're really saying is that the Rebbe comes to be very important . . .) To me and how I would want to be a Lubavitcher chossid. . . . I try to be a Lubavitcher chossid. On the other hand, we can take somebody that knows far less than me, that doesn't have a Yeshiva education, just comes to the Rebbe's Farbrengens, and he would be considered, he would be called a Lubavitcher too . . . there are two different types of what you call a Lubavitcher. I mean the way I look at it there is a chossid like, maybe there are more than two. Like, for instance, there are those who sit and daven six seven hours everyday and learn chassidess and are real chassidishe yidn (chassidic Jews). Those are Lubavitcher chassidim foon amol (from the past). (What is another type?) For instance, if you go and you would call yourself a Lubavitcher chossid, no one will say you're not. If you listen to what the Rebbe says, if you train your thoughts upon what you would know to be the basic tenets of Lubavitch, so you're a Lubavitcher chossid just as good as I am.

Along with being an observant Jew, a Lubavitcher is expected to assume a particular attitude toward his fellow Jews. This attitude, known as Ahavas Yisroel, has led Lubavitcher to establish contact with Jews regardless of their previous Jewish background or extent of religious observance. The purpose of such contact is to recapture these Jews' interest in orthodox Judaism. Lubavitchers' pursuit of this activity was once well illustrated at a Farbrengen by the present Lubavitcher Rebbe when he said:

I was privileged to hear from my father in law of saintly memory the following story . . . :

His father, of saintly memory, was once asked, "What is a Chosid" and he replied, "A Chosid is a 'street-lamp lighter.'" (In olden days there used to be a man whose job it was to light the street-lamps by means of a light which he carried at the end of a long pole). The lamps were there in readiness but they needed to be lit. Sometimes the lamps are not as easily accessible as lamps on street corners; there are lamps in forsaken places, or at sea, but there must be someone to light even those lamps, so that they should not be wasted, but should light up the path of others (Teachers Programme, 1969:334).

As the above discussion suggests, being an orthodox Jew and being a Lubavitcher, while closely related, are not synonymous. I now address myself to the main differences existing between the two.

Orthodox Jew and Lubavitcher Chossid: A Distinction

While all Lubavitcher chassidim adhere to the precepts underlying the Jewish religion, the majority of orthodox

Jews are not Lubavitcher chassidim. The distinction between these two categories of people has already been intimated in our discussion of Lubavitchers' relationship to their Rebbe, and will be considered later in our analysis of newcomers to the Lubavitch community. It is useful to single out the differences now, however, for they form the basis of Lubavitchers' distinctive identity.

The basic difference between Lubavitcher and orthodox Jews not affiliated with Lubavitch centers about the formers' relationship with their Rebbe. As I have already suggested, it is precisely the nature of the person's connection with the Rebbe which allows him to be designated as a Lubavitcher. This difference was expressed by a Lubavitcher in this manner:

They don't have a Rebbe. . . . today, truthfully, there are no misnagdim (opponents of chassidism) . . . because even if they don't have a Rebbe, so they listen to their mashgiech (kashruth supervisor), or to the Rabbi of the Rosh Yeshiva. Now, they'll ask many of the same things that we ask the Rebbe, except he's not a Rebbe, so they have a way out You want to ask, you ask. If you don't want to ask, you don't ask. You listen. If you don't want to, you don't listen. . . . You see, a Rebbe is a different thing altogether. The Rebbe is like your soul, like you feel like he means your soul's well-being So you listen to him differently

Related to Lubavitchers' ties to their Rebbe is their specific heritage encompassing the history of the Lubavitch movement principally in terms of the previous Lubavitcher

Rebbeim's work. The Lubavitch movement, founded almost two hundred years ago, with its specific heroes and unique line of historical development, provides the fundamental base for Lubavitchers' distinctive identity. When these chassidim reflect upon the course of Jewish history over the last two hundred years, they necessarily include the accomplishments of their Rebbeim. In contrast, orthodox Jews' affiliation with the past does not center about a specific group of individuals.

A less important but relevant distinction between Lubavitcher chassidim and non-Lubavitch orthodox Jews revolves about their attitude and behavior toward unobservant Jews. Lubavitch's emphasis of Ahavas Yisroel urges these chassidim to initiate and sustain contact with Jews varying in degree of religious observance to encourage them to fulfill traditional Judaism's requirements. The Lubavitch philosophy teaches that "A Jew can be whole only when he has attained the true fulfillment of the mitzvah of ahavas Yisroel - of loving each and every Jew without exception as he loves himself" (Challenge, 1970:176). As a result, though it is possible to be a good Jew simply by observing the precepts of traditional Judaism, Lubavitchers are not content merely to fulfill these requirements. Unlike the majority of orthodox Jews, as well as certain

chassidic groups, which while organizing their lives around the Torah display little, if any, concern for unobservant Jews, Lubavitcher interest themselves in precisely these Jews, encouraging and assisting them to reorganize their lives around Yiddishkayt (orthodox Judaism).

Conclusion

I have argued earlier that for the Lubavitch community under study to persist, it must cultivate and maintain a distinctive identity. I focused above upon what this identity consists and how it is maintained. I now conclude with an analysis of who is included in the Lubavitch community and, in so doing, define who is a Lubavitcher from a symbolic interaction perspective.

To arrive at a definition of who is a Lubavitcher chossid we can construct the following typology (see Table 1). Two dimensions which form this typology are 1) the person's self-conception and 2) other Lubavitchers' conception of him. When the two dimensions are cross classified they produce four cells which comprise the Lubavitch community.

TABLE 1

Do other Lubavitcher regard
this person as one of them?

Yes

No

Yes

Does this person regard
him/her-self as a
Lubavitcher?

Lubavitcher 1 2 (deviants)*

shtikl

3 4

affiliates

No

Cell 1 includes those who think of themselves as Lubavitcher and are so regarded by other Lubavitcher. The majority of the individuals in this category stem from a Lubavitch background although tzukekumenne (recruits) are also found there. A segment of this category includes what Lubavitcher label as "hard core" or "right wing" Lubavitcher. This group is best characterized by its resistance to secularizing influences within the community. The boys of these parents typically do not receive a formal secular education but study religious subjects the entire day.

* Parentheses indicate this category is logically possible but no such persons were encountered.

Cell 2 consists of those who may be called deviants. These would be persons who regarded themselves as Lubavitcher chassidim but whose self-definition was not shared by other Lubavitcher. Although this category is logically possible, I have not encountered any such individuals.

In Cell 3 we find those called shtikl Lubavitcher. Their chief characteristic is that while other Lubavitcher are prepared to consider them as Lubavitcher, they are either unwilling or unprepared to regard themselves as such. For example:

There's a popular word in our community that's cropping up - shtikl Lubavitcher - and it's probably because there are some people . . . like we have a neighbour across the street. He wouldn't do a thing of business without asking the Rebbe and if the Rebbe's answer would be contradictory to his own, he'll still do it because the Rebbe said so. Yet he doesn't study any of the Rebbe's chassidic discourses. He doesn't keep a lot of the laws that chassidim would want him to . . . and I don't know, if somebody would ask him: "Are you a Lubavitcher?" if he would like to be called one . . . but he hasn't reached the stage of considering himself as one.

Some of these shtikl Lubavitcher are recruits (baal tshuvess) who, with Lubavitchers' assistance, are being processed into orthodox Judaism and Lubavitch. Since status passage through Lubavitch is not marked off by signs clearly signifying the passage's termination, these individuals often face the dilemma of whether or not to regard themselves as Lubavitcher chassidim:

There's a X [type of occupation] in our community Well, . . . he probably told you how long he's been in Lubavitch. This dates back to about a year or two ago and he told us this problematic question that he had once answered was when someone came to him to him all of a sudden . . . : "Are you a Lubavitcher?" And it was the first time he was confronted with the fact, is he yet or isn't he yet? And he had to do a lot of analysis to come to a positive answer. He just worked along those lines and he wasn't quite sure that he's hit them And he realized that sooner or later he'd have to give such an answer on what it would be, and because he had spent so many years with the learning and the Farbrengen, he wasn't ashamed to be called Lubavitch whereas a year before he might have been ashamed to be called one because he felt that he hadn't been accepted or would even like to be tied down by the name.

Cell 4 incorporates those who are affiliated with the Lubavitcher and their activities, but do not consider themselves nor are they judged by Lubavitcher to be chassidim of this group. This affiliation is marked by varying degrees ranging from those whose contact ends with their financial contribution to those who pray at the Lubavitcher Yeshiva and send their children to the Lubavitch schools. For example, I once asked a Lubavitcher about a specific individual and he replied: "He davns in the Yeshiva He's not a Lubavitcher but he has strong feelings for the Yeshiva." About another person he said: "Mr. _____ davns in Lubavitch. . . . Like we're going to name some of them like semi-Lubavitcher, like tied to Lubavitch." On one occasion I asked one of the people if he considered himself a Lubavitcher. He replied: "Me, no, I'm not a Lubavitcher and these people

sitting here [pointing to six people who sat at the same table] are also not Lubavitcher."

A major distinction between those in cells one, three and four lies in the nature of their relationship with the Lubavitcher Rebbe. Those in cell one experience the closest relationship whereas for those in cells three and four the relationship typically becomes progressively weaker.

The boundaries surrounding these cells are best viewed as permeable, allowing for the possibility of movement from one to the other. Since the Lubavitch movement remains "open" for those wishing to enter, such movement occurs continually. Although individuals can transfer themselves and/or be transferred from one cell to the other, movement typically occurs along certain routes. Thus passage from cell one to cell three, or from cell three to cell one is more likely than passage out of cell one. Similarly a person's movement from the first to the fourth cell is likely to include the second cell as a transition point.

In Anti Semite and Jew Sartre, following the symbolic interactionist tradition in social psychology, writes:

For us, man is defined first of all as a being "in a situation." That means that he forms a synthetic whole with his situation - biological, economic, political, cultural, etc. He cannot be distinguished from his situation, for it forms him and decides his possibilities; What men have in common is not a "nature" but a condition, that is, an ensemble of limits and restrictions: . . . (1965:59-60).

Further on Sartre emphasizes the meaning assumed by a situation in labelling people to be of a certain kind:

What is it, then, that serves to keep a semblance of unity in the Jewish community? To reply to this question, we must come back to the idea of situation. It is neither their past, their religion, nor their soil that unites the sons of Israel. If they have a common bond, if all of them deserve the name Jew, it is because they have in common the situation of a Jew, that is, they live in a community which takes them for Jews The Jew is one whom other men consider a Jew: . . . (1965:67).

Lubavitcher chassidim share the situation of being identified by each other and outsiders as Lubavitcher. Common to all these chassidim is a personal relationship with the Rebbe - the figure around whom the Lubavitch community's distinctive identity is based.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAINTENANCE OF A TENABLE WAY OF LIFE

In the previous chapter we argued that for a religious community to persist it must cultivate a distinctive identity for itself and for each of its members, and we presented several means how this becomes accomplished. In this chapter I will elaborate on a point raised briefly in the theoretical chapter - to persist the religious community must create a way of life that is tenable. By way of life I mean an ideology collectively maintained and supported by the community members both disengaging and engaging them in a set of activities which reinforce their loyalty to the community's rules and sanctions. By tenable I refer to conditions which allow for the maintenance and support of the community's way of life. As should be noted, establishing a distinctive identity and the organization of a tenable way of life are closely linked, one strongly supporting the other. I begin by suggesting certain characteristics present in the community which make its way of life tenable. I then address myself to that segment of the community's ideology providing Lubavitcher with support for their insulation from cultural features of urban life which they define as conflicting with their conduct as orthodox Jews and Lubavitcher chassidim. This is followed by an examination of the other segment of the community's ideology arming

Lubavitcher with a determination and desire to organize their lives around the Torah's teachings and abide by their practical consequences as these are interpreted by their Rebbe.

Features Contributing to the Community's Tenability

I wish to clarify at the outset that I do not intend to provide an exhaustive list of characteristics helping to fashion the community's tenability. The provision of such a list would necessarily include those features discussed in the previous chapter which, as I argued, helped affirm the community's identity. Instead I will focus on three of the community's distinctive characteristics which help advance its institutional completeness - and hence its tenability - ; the Yeshiva, its distance from the Lubavitcher Rebbe's headquarters, and the nature of Lubavitchers' occupations.

The Lubavitcher Yeshiva: Its Centrality in the Community

On my way to the Lubavitcher Yeshiva I encountered a Jewish man. In the course of our conversation I mentioned that I sometimes visited the Lubavitcher Yeshiva and asked if he ever heard of it. He quickly replied:

Don't tell me about them. I once went there just out of curiosity. Like downstairs they have the shul where they hold their Services. Really, I mean it was just dirty and messy - that's all I could say. Tables were pushed around and so were benches. Some drink was spilled on the floor. Prayer books were all over the place. Cigarette butts were on the floor. And some people were sitting there and they just

couldn't seem to care less about the mess. It's like they were used to it. I mean I've gone to synagogues and I've never seen one like this

A few weeks after the above incident I was sitting in the Yeshiva waiting for the Service to begin. The Yeshiva's shul (synagogue) was filled and in the basement, beside the shul, younger Yeshiva students were preoccupied with their soccer games. A Lubavitcher sat down beside me and said:

This place is really something. I mean, can you imagine if someone from the outside who didn't know about this place came in? I mean, just imagine. If he has been to shul, he's going to compare this place with his shul. Here there's no carpets, the benches aren't so comfortable, tables are pushed together There's only one or two ash trays so people use the floor. And by Olaynoo they spit. I mean, what does such a person think about this place? I'll tell you this, if he doesn't understand this place, he'll leave with a bad impression.

I once asked the shul's shamness (beadle) what was most difficult about the work he did. He answered: "Everyone thinks he is the owner. Everyone thinks he is the boss. How can I be expected to keep this place orderly if nobody wants to listen (translated from the Yiddish)? I once spoke to an older Yeshiva student about possible reasons for the apparent disinterest in synagogue attendance among young Jews. He spoke about synagogues in general, also referring to the Yeshiva:

If you go into a synagogue you'll notice how quiet it is, how formal everything is. And that's very simple - it's like most of the people are guests in the synagogue because they go there so little and,

you know, guests have to act properly. But here, because people spend so much time here, they feel at home.

Since men and boys spend as much time as they do in the Yeshiva (I have estimated the average to be approximately thirty five hours weekly for the men) they learn to be comfortable and relaxed there. Unlike those attending Services at a synagogue and promptly leaving as soon as they end, Lubavitcher remain in shul even to "just sit around and talk". As Lubavitcher insist, such an activity is especially important since the topics of conversation are mostly related to Yiddishkayt. A Lubavitcher who spends at least part of each day in the Yeshiva feels himself to be part of it. He considers the Yeshiva to be his, just as it belongs to other Lubavitcher. If, for some reason, he decides to move some tables and benches together, he feels free to do so. If he feels inclined to study from one of the sforim (holy books) he does not request permission to open the cabinet in which they are enclosed, but simply helps himself. The chossid feels himself at home in the Yeshiva and teaches his children to respond likewise from an early age.

The Yeshiva occupies the most central place in the Lubavitch community. It serves not only as a spiritual center where Lubavitcher come to pray (davn) but also as a social or community center where various community functions such

as weddings, Bar Mitzvess and circumcision ceremonies are regularly held. The person can continue to be a Lubavitcher primarily by attending the Yeshiva for it is there that he encounters other Lubavitcher, davns and studies with them, and becomes familiar with the most recent events related to the Rebbe. In the course of a conversation about Lubavitch a chossid told me:

. . . you see, this marks the real Lubavitcher. There you have it now, this is the real Lubavitcher. The real Lubavitcher can go to a wedding, to an oifrufn, to a Bar Mitzveh somewhere else, but he's not at home. He's at home in Lubavitch. (In the Yeshiva?) In the Yeshiva. The time that it goes by that for one reason or another he's not in the Yeshiva, if he's from X (name of city), and he's not in the X Yeshiva or in another Lubavitcher Yeshiva, he is not his own self because this is, this is, that's him.

In his chapter on "Court Life" Mintz (1968) claims that the Bays Medresh, which for our purposes constitutes the shul in the Lubavitcher Yeshiva, is the central point for the activities of the chassidic group. "It serves" he tells us "not only as the place of study and prayer but is also the hub of hasidic social life - a place of rest, meditation, conversation, politicizing, children's play and storytelling" (1968:48). The spiritual and social activities carried out in the shul and other areas of the Yeshiva serve as the source of Lubavitchers' "spiritual nourishment" - their tie with God. Coming to the Yeshiva is not, therefore,

relegated to specific times of the week but instead occurs as often as Lubavitchers' work schedule and other commitments allow. The Yeshiva's centrality to the community is illustrated well in the following by a Lubavitcher:

(It seems that people spend much of their time in the Yeshiva. Why do you think this is so?) It is the central, it is the life, the Yeshiva is the life of the Lubavitcher. It is the nucleus, the source of their existence, their spiritual nourishment, it's their tie with God, in fact To some people, that's life. The Yeshiva is life . . . that is life. Actually the home and the house is a necessity. You have to live in a certain place, you have to be married, you have to have children. You have to lead a physical life, but the spiritual life - that is the Yeshiva. And for certain times for a spiritual uplifting you go to the Rebbe, for a higher spiritual uplifting and for guidance and for moral fiber. The Yeshiva fulfills many functions. You davn in the Yeshiva. Reb _____, . . . said that when he came to the Yeshiva in Russia, he said all they knew was the Yeshiva is their life. You studied in the Yeshiva as a boy. If you came there before Bar Mitzveh you got Bar Mitzveh in the Yeshiva. You got married in the Yeshiva. You had children while being in the Yeshiva. You brought up your children in the Yeshiva. Your life, from when you came to the Yeshiva, from the cradle to the grave The Yeshiva is . . . that is not escaping life. That is the most realistic way of life because to Lubavitcher the world is to be enlightened because the Alter Rebbe says in the Tanya that as the days go by the world is getting darker and darker. That means that wickedness gets stronger all the time. So one needs, one is interested in moral values, one needs moral support all the time and one needs to go out in the world to purify the air So we get this stimulus and the moral fiber from like the sheeur (study session) we just had and after the sheeur we have Tanya.

(i) The Yeshiva as Social Space

I would like to examine certain features of the Yeshiva's layout - the shul including the basement, the auditorium and the schoolyard - in terms of their contribution to the community's tenability. While intended to serve specific purposes, they additionally help maintain the community's distinctive identity by the side benefits they provide.

The shul's architectural and decorative simplicity are its most striking features and stand in marked contrast to the more stylish design of an orthodox synagogue directly across the street. While used primarily for prayer, it also serves as the center for various other activities including study classes and Farbrengens. The interior is roughly furnished with benches and tables which are often shifted about for particular conveniences. As indicated by its often disorderly appearance by western standards, it is used much both by adult males and younger boys attending the Lubavitch school located in the Yeshiva. In contrast to worshippers in modern synagogues who sit along pews, Lubavitcher face one another seated on benches around tables. This seating arrangement allows for more intimate social contact as suitable conditions for dialogue initiation are present. The absence of pews also provides Lubavitcher with easier immediate access to one another. The particular

seating arrangement, then, helps maintain the spirit of unanimity underlying this chassidic community. Adjoining the shul is a basement, the two usually partitioned by a sliding wooden wall, which during religious holidays is replaced by a mecheetzeh. The basement's relatively large size is used, when necessary, to accommodate the female guests at a wedding or Bar Mitzveh. It is also where Services are sometimes held, Bays Medresh students eat breakfast and lunch, Lubavitcher and other Jews assemble for study classes and Yeshiva students spend their recess period, lunch hour and other spare time playing.

The Yeshiva's main floor consists of administrative offices, an auditorium with a seating capacity for approximately five hundred persons, and a corridor lined with classrooms for the elementary grades. The availability of an auditorium allows Lubavitcher to organize their simchess (celebrations), primarily weddings, in the Yeshiva. In contrast, the Satmarer chassidim's Yeshiva does not include an auditorium consequently forcing them to rent a place for their celebrations. (The Lubavitcher Yeshiva's auditorium is sometimes rented to other chassidic groups for such purposes.) The presence of kitchen facilities, including kitchenware and electrical appliances, adjacent to the auditorium, supervised by Lubavitcher, eliminates problems related to Kash-

ruth which might arise if they were forced to rent an auditorium elsewhere. This auditorium is also used for another set of Lubavitch functions - proselytization activities, such as the Encounter With Chabad, the Chanekkeh and Purim rallies and rehearsals for the Lubavitch women's drama group. Finally, such affairs as money-raising rallies, testimonial dinners and graduation exercises are also held there.

One other part of the Yeshiva's facilities bears mention - the schoolyard. As with all schoolyards, Yeshiva students use theirs for whatever recreational activities are popular at the time. The Yeshiva's schoolyard, however, serves additional purposes. On certain Jewish holidays which occur on weekdays driving, according to Jewish law, is prohibited. Since the city ordinances allow for parking on the same side of the street only on alternate weekdays, the individual risks a violation if his car is not parked on the appropriate side of the street. To avoid this problem, those Lubavitcher without access to a garage leave their car in the schoolyard for the holiday's duration. Finally, as is customary among chassidic and non-chassidic orthodox Jews to perform the marriage ceremony outdoors, the schoolyard serves as the most convenient place to observe this custom.

(ii) The Yeshiva as a Spiritual Center

We possess a Yetzer Hora (Evil Inclination) whose entire purpose and *raison d'etre* is to cause us to do the opposite of G-d's will. He may clothe and

camouflage his aim and claims that the precept is too difficult etc. etc., but his real intention is to persuade us to go against G-d's will. Hence, the more vital a certain precept is for a particular person, the more effort the Yetzer will invest to dissuade the individual from performing the command. Even though the injunction may, in fact, be a very easy one to observe, it will seem extremely difficult, due to the devious cunning arguments employed by the Yetzer - who knows how important it is that the individual perform this "Mitzvah" - (precept) (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol. 9, No.2:inside cover).

The Yeshiva serves as the inspirational source from where the Lubavitcher arm themselves in what is regarded as a war against the Yaytzer Ho'Ro. While the Yeshiva is used as a place for prayer, it is also the meeting place for those who come to learn and study. It is, in fact, the central place where Lubavitcher assemble for the majority of the community functions and thus where their identity as orthodox Jews and Lubavitcher chassidim is continually reinforced. A Lubavitcher once put it this way:

I'll tell you this. I'm not the same person when I don't go to the Yeshiva. You know, I mean, sometimes I just can't go. I mean just being there, sitting in the shul, seeing certain people like Reb _____ or _____, I mean that's so important. Sure, you can say to yourself that you can dayn at home but it's not the same thing. You have to come to the Yeshiva because only there is it possible to be a Lubavitcher. Only when a person is in the Yeshiva is he in his element and when you're not there you can feel the difference.

Like all practising orthodox Jews, those Lubavitcher who can, meet in the shul three times daily for Services - at any time from dawn until noon for the morning prayer (Shachris), and at dusk for the afternoon and evening prayers (Mincheh).

and Myriv). Lubavitcher begin to arrive in the shul as early as seven o'clock in the morning to prepare themselves for the morning Service. As only ten men are required to begin the Service, there are several Services beginning at different times and sometimes overlapping. Those who can, return to the Yeshiva later in the day for the Mincheh and Myriv Services. Since the times for these vary with the sunset, certain persons' type of work prevents them from coming to the Yeshiva in time to pray with others. They must, therefore, pray alone. As with the morning Service, there are usually several afternoon and evening Services, some overlapping and others spread apart. Since the week is sharply divided by the Sabbath, during which time any activity which might be construed as work is to be avoided, those unable to be at shul during the week attend the Sabbath Services.

The Lubavitch philosophy stresses that each Jew resides momentarily at a particular level (madraiggeh) in Yiddishkayt, their objective being to raise themselves to the next higher level. Put otherwise, a Jew must not become complacent with his degree of religious observance but must continually strive to achieve even more. A Lubavitcher once put it like this:

. . . Actually, it is a chassidic philosophy that what you do with a person is you recognize that every person is on a level and his job is to get to the next level. Not to get ten levels ahead, and not to get on someone else's level, but it's his particular

level. So when you're with a person, you try to get him to take the next step, to go to the next level. For a person who doesn't keep Shabbess at all, maybe for that person to give up smoking puts that person on a different level.

Studying the Torah's laws serves as the most effective way for such advancement to occur. Torah exposes the individual to its precepts, allowing him to gain an understanding of their significance and relevance. The Yeshiva serves as the central place to fulfill the mitzveh of learning Torah since, for the majority of Lubavitcher, it is the most convenient place to meet.

The Lubavitcher Rebbe continually emphasizes the importance of studying Torah. Lubavitcher share their Rebbe's concern but their ability to observe his request is tempered by such considerations as work and family obligations. To facilitate matters study classes are organized to meet during the time separating the afternoon and evening Services. One such class studies the Alter Rebbe's (the first Lubavitcher Rebbe) Code of Jewish Law (Shulchn Orech). The number of participants often vary between seven and ten and the class usually lasts one half hour. As the different Jewish holidays approach, the relevant sections of the Code of Jewish Law, explaining the specific mitzvess pertaining to the holiday, are studied. Another class, meeting later in the evening, studies Gemoreh. A Lubavitcher, referring to the participants

of this class, remarked: "Now these are people who because of press of business and working, they wouldn't learn anything if there was no Daf Yoymee (name of the class). This class meets every single day except when it is practically impossible as, for example, Yom Kipper. The usual number of participants approximates twenty.

Since the necessity of learning is heavily stressed, why do not more Lubavitcher participate in these classes? Several explanations are available, each relevant to a portion of the nonparticipants. First, some come together as a group and study on their own. One such group of approximately five meet three times weekly and study Gemoreh. Second, certain people learn together secretly. In this respect a Lubavitcher said:

Now at certain times there has to be certain people learning together that not many people know about it because there's a brocheh (blessing) in it when not everybody knows about it, and they learn Chassidess and they learn Gemoreh.

Third, since the various study classes are intended to attract individuals with a particular knowledge of Yiddishkayt, they do not draw those at different levels. A Lubavitcher reported the following about the class studying the Code of Jewish Law:

. . . well, usually you won't find at the Shulchn Orech very learned people because the very learned people tend to learn something deeper, because Shulchn Orech they can learn by themselves or they

have learned it and they can learn it at home.

The several study classes organized in the Yeshiva are accessible to every Lubavitcher. It is expected, however, that for a person to benefit maximally from a class, it be at a level most suitable to him. For example, a recent baal tshuve's (recruit's) participation in the Gemoreh class is considered less beneficial than his meeting privately with a Lubavitcher to concentrate on such basic mitzvess as Kashruth and Tefillin. A Lubavitcher once pointed to a small group learning in a corner of the shul and said: "That is an elite class." When I inquired whether anyone could attend that class he replied:

If I'm interested in going to such a sheeur, I would speak to one of the participants and OK it with him I sometimes thought of sitting down there but that class is really above my speed and I don't know how much I would get out of it.

On the other hand, it is not unusual for someone at a more advanced level of Yiddishkayt to participate in a class in which the overall level is less advanced. Such participation is simply intended to fulfill the mitzveh of learning:

Tonight you had different people [attending the class]. _____ can learn. And Rabbi _____ can learn. And I can learn Shulchn Orech. But it's a sheeur and it's between Mincheh-Myriv and there's a mitzveh of learning, so one learns.

In certain instances Lubavitcher meet with others in someone's home and learn there. This is the case especially for those who live many blocks from the Yeshiva and must go

there on foot. The popular choice of the Yeshiva rests in that it is more than just the spiritual center of the Lubavitch community.

(iii) The Yeshiva as a Social Center

The Yeshiva also serves as the focal point in the Lubavitch community's social life. This should not imply the existence of a definite break between the spiritual and the social life. Lubavitcher continually emphasize that Yiddish-kayt must be regarded as a way of life to be lived twenty four hours daily, rather than a series of commandments to be performed at certain prearranged hours. What may, therefore, appear as a purely social gathering to an outsider is, in fact, infused with religious activity and significance.

One often finds in the Yeshiva pairs or groups of individuals who are, it seems, "just sitting around and talking." The Yeshiva, however, is the central place where information can be exchanged. As a Lubavitcher told me:

. . . but you'll also have a lot of people just sitting around and talking. It's a curious thing In a sense among Misnagdim that would be a horrendous thing. How can you just sit around and talk? And yet, that's a very important thing, just sitting around. It's learning, but in a sense it's, it's . . . what is a Farbrengen? One of the claims of Misnagdim . . . what do the chassidim do? They get together . . . and they sit and talk And yet that's a type of friendship. It means a lot, and that's as much a community activity as a bazaar is and perhaps even more.

"Just sitting around", however, involves more than it suggests.

The conversation might, for example, center about a recent Farbrengen or the Rebbe's discourse about a particular issue. On other occasions the nature of this exchange may focus on laws (deenim) and their practical implications. Most frequently conversations are linked to Yiddishkayt but others ranging from sports to politics and business are not uncommon. Consequently sitting and talking to others is not necessarily wasted time. While not regarded as learning in the traditional sense, it is viewed as a different kind of learning. A Lubavitcher's account best illustrates this:

. . . Here, for instance, I wasn't home today at all. I went away in the morning, it was Shabbess Mevorchim, I had to start saying Tillim (Psalms). I just managed to come home for Havdolleh and that was it. Why? I came in the morning to shul, I started saying Tillim. There came up a question whether you're allowed to open a container Shabbess. I mean it's a result of talking, it's true, but meanwhile I found out . . . a whole group of people, we found out a couple of deenim whether you're allowed to do so and so Shabbess or not. It's called, you know, doing something against Shabbess. Now it went from opening a container to . . . opening a can, to opening those cans that you zip open, to opening these no deposit no return bottles, if you're allowed to use a hot plate, for instance, Before you know it, it must have been three hours shooting off. (In the shul?) In the shul. I didn't waste any time. I can't say I wasted time. I can't call it learning definitely, although it is. We didn't have no books. Now take a person who just walked into the Bays Medresh upstairs. He sees a whole bunch of guys just sitting down and just chatting away. He doesn't know exactly what. He would say: "Ah, these guys are just fooling around." Actually these guys are actually learning. Alright, you can learn from the book and you can learn from question bringing to question, thing to thing. For instance, whether you're allowed to open the hot water on Friday night

and let it run throughout the Shabbess. To open Shabbess you're not allowed to. But to open it on Friday and let it run straight through. Are you allowed or not? Let's say "Yes." If I'm allowed, am I allowed to open the cold water? If I open the cold water while the hot water is running through the sink, I'm warming up the cold water. Am I allowed to do that? One thing leads to another thing. Before you knew it two hours went away and a lot of things you still didn't come up with. Then you have davening Now if you want to look at it from the outside . . . it surely looked like we were sitting and talking, just nothing. But it was constructive. So here you have a Shabbess where no one went home, I mean of this crowd anyway, and you have some constructive things that came out of it.

The Yeshiva also serves as a social center to another segment in Lubavitch - the younger students of the Yeshiva. They often use the basement to play soccer, football, hockey and other games. In fact, it is not unusual for such games to be played concurrently while Lubavitcher pray in the shul. Lubavitchers' attitude is that the practise of such activities in the Yeshiva as opposed to elsewhere, reduces the students' possibilities of exposure to undesirable influences.

The Community's Proximity to 770

I have already stressed the significance of the Lubavitcher's relationship to the Rebbe and argued that the nature of this link identifies the person as a Lubavitcher. It is difficult to overemphasize the Rebbe's centrality to his chassidim for as one chossid said: "The Rebbe is the center of Lubavitch. Whatever Lubavitcher do as Lubavitcher is because of the Rebbe." The author of an article in Di Yiddishe Heim

put it like this:

We must admit, however, that Lubavitch hardly has a monopoly on spiritual devotion; many others have it too. Yet the performance of the Lubavitcher chassidim is unmatched. Why? What is their secret? Any one of them will be only too glad to reveal it - THE REBBE Should you try to praise any Lubavitcher chasid or group for their marvelous work, you are bound to hear the same, "It's not really my own credit," reply. Australia, Europe, Eretz Yisroel, across the North American continent, everywhere you will inevitably hear it sooner or later in the conversation, "It is the Rebbe's achievement, not ours" (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.13, No.4:7).

Since the Rebbe is the leader and spiritual guide of his chassidim, they are naturally eager to see and hear him whenever such occasions are possible.

The previous chapter briefly considered two occasions during which the Rebbe and his chassidim come together - yecheedess and Farbrengens. While yecheedess is experienced once yearly, the Farbrengen, occurring regularly throughout the year, serves as the central opportunity when the chassidim can observe their Rebbe perform. Lubavitcher attend Farbrengens as frequently as possible for, as many claim, observing the Rebbe leaves them spiritually rejuvenated to carry out the Rebbe's demands of diffusing Yiddishkayt. One Lubavitcher put it this way:

If I lived in New York I would be at all the Farbrengens, so here I make sure to go whenever there's a hook-up. That's the least I could do. But whenever I can I go to the Rebbe's Farbrengen. I don't have to tell you that the hook-up and being there are not

the same thing. You know, as much as you can you help the Rebbe carry out his work to spread Yiddishkayt but once every while you get a little lazy or maybe you do it, but your heart isn't in it so much. But when you're in New York and you see the Rebbe and you can tell from the way the Rebbe talks how important all this work is to him, you come back and it's like you're a new man.

An older Yeshiva student had this to say:

The Rebbe is the head of our generation, the Rebbe is the head of Yiddishkayt now. As Yeshiva bocherim we have more opportunity of absorbing the Rebbe than we will when we'll be out of the Yeshiva. We don't want to miss any bit of that. We came here to X (name of city) because it's away from home, but we don't want to be away from the Rebbe. And the Rebbe's Farbrengen is worth that much time to us to give away three days of learning

While Lubavitcher desire to attend the Farbrengens, their geographical location often prevents this. The number of times that Lubavitcher in London, Australia or Israel, for example, can travel to New York is obviously limited. Lubavitcher chassidim in those communities usually settle for a telephone hook-up with 770 (the Lubavitch headquarters) or a written report from there summarizing the contents of the Rebbe's discourses. The Lubavitch community under study, however, is only seven hours from New York by bus, while flying time is approximately one hour. Since the number of Lubavitcher desiring to travel to New York is sufficiently large, a bus is chartered by the Yeshiva for which the return trip cost is twenty dollars. As a result of the community's distance from New York, in addition to the traveling costs involved,

Lubavitcher are able to attend Farbrengens on a regular basis.

The community's proximity to New York contributes to its tenability in another manner. Since that community's size is larger than any other such Lubavitch community, it contains many marriageable males and females. As such, it indirectly serves as the center to which Lubavitcher from smaller communities can turn to find suitable spouses for their children. Although the Lubavitch community in this city is one of the larger such communities on the North American continent, it does not always produce a sufficient number of males and females of marriageable age. Its proximity to New York, however, greatly reduces the possibility of Lubavitchers' outgroup marriage, ensuring that they will marry either into families with a Lubavitch ancestry or strictly orthodox families positively attracted to the Rebbe.

Lubavitcher and their Work

As all other activities, employment too is balanced on the scale of religious values. Lubavitcher, as is also true of other chassidim and non-chassidic orthodox Jews, are concerned to earn a living in a manner which will not interfere with their religious observance. Certain jobs are, consequently, more difficult to retain as the chossid must ensure that the job's demands do not conflict with his religious beliefs and practises. For example, a Lubavitcher (although

this applies equally to any orthodox Jew) will not work on the Sabbath, which commences with Friday's sunset. Before that time a variety of commandments guide the person's behavior until the Sabbath's end. Greeting the Sabbath involves certain preparations and, as travelling on this day is forbidden, the chossid will be required to leave work early Friday afternoon. In addition, several Jewish holidays, spread throughout the year, prevent the person from working on those days. Finally, jobs which include working on the Sabbath must be declined. For example:

I would have to say that if you're from a religious home then this makes it difficult. First of all, because of Shabbess. But you also have Friday afternoon. When I left High School I found it difficult to get employment because the office was open five and a half days a week. There was no work on Shabbess but there was office work which had to be done.

Or:

No hospital will employ her with her needs for religious observance. The Torah says that a doctor must care for the sick, not that he may work on Shabbess but that he must. It is written. But there is no such dispensation for any other group.

Studies of chassidim and chassidic communities report on the kinds of work these people do. Mintz (1968), for instance, tells us that most chassidim in New York belong to the ranks of the skilled workers and are employed in the diamond center as cutters, polishers, and dealers; they hold jobs as linotype operators, electricians, carpenters, upholsterers, sewing

machine operators, pattern cutters and other such trades. Poll (1962) informs us that other chassidim have responded to the particular needs of the chassidic community and have established enterprises concerned with meat, milk, cheese, bread, noodles, salt etc. Still others are connected with the supply of religious books, Tefillin, yarmlkess (skull caps), wigs and candles. Finally others enter religious oriented occupations and become ritual slaughterers, Rabbis, teachers, Kashruth supervisors and fund raisers. In his discussion of economic behavior in the Williamsburg chassidic community, Poll notes that " . . . The occupational mobility most desired is from dependent to independent labor situations" (1962:94). In other words, social mobility is aimed at self employment. Being occupationally independent, we are told, is preferred to earning a large salary in a subordinate position. To quote Poll again: " . . . self employment in one's own business is the most desirable to most community members" (1962:96). While self employment is, apparently, the most desired occupational preference, no explanation is provided as to why this is so.

If we examine the occupational breakdown of the Lubavitch community in Table 1, we notice that over 54% are involved in religious oriented occupations including Rabbi, teacher, ritual slaughterer (shoichet), fund-raiser and Kashruth supervisor

(mashgiech). Due to the nature of their work, these individuals never experience difficulty in leaving their work to observe the Sabbath and other Jewish holidays. Individuals placed into the category of "Businessman", 20%, are owners of stores, companies or factories and thus, without interference from employers, determine their working hours. Of those employed by a company (4), their employer is a Lubavitcher, thus ensuring the establishment will be closed on all Jewish holidays. Two of the jewelers are self employed, while the third works for an orthodox Jew. The remainder, the owner of the Dry Cleaning store, the real estate agent, electrician, electrical contractor and pharmacist are self employed, while the teachers' and professors' schedules are sufficiently flexible to allow, when necessary, for the re-scheduling of classes. If we examine the occupations of those who pray at the Lubavitcher Yeshiva (see Table 2), we find that an overwhelmingly large proportion are either self employed or work at such jobs which allow them to observe the religious holidays.

Since Lubavitcher chassidim maintain a network of Yeshivess and girls schools, most of the Bays Medresh graduates serve as teachers in their own Yeshivess or other schools. For instance, the entire Jewish curriculum staff at the Bays Rivkeh, the Lubavitch girls' school, are graduates of the Bays Rivkeh schools. The Yeshiva also trains its graduates

TABLE 1

Occupational Breakdown of the Lubavitcher
Chassidim in the Lubavitch Community

Religious oriented work	41
Company employee	4
Businessman	15
Jeweler	3
Dry cleaning store	1
High school teacher	2
Real estate	1
Professor	3
Teacher	1
Electrician	1
Electrical contractor	1
Pharmacist	1
Printer	1
Total	75

TABLE 2

Occupational Breakdown of Congregants
in the Lubavitcher Yeshiva

Religious oriented work	41
Butcher	2
Company employee	9
Businessman	29
Jeweler	3
Dry cleaning store	1
Manufacturing	6
High school teacher	3
Real estate	2
Wholesaler	2
Professor	4
Insurance salesman	1
Teacher	1
Electrician	2
Printing business	2
Electrical contractor	1
Locksmith	2
Pharmacist	1
Total	112

to enter other religious oriented occupations such as those mentioned above. In the Lubavitch community under study we find that not all Lubavitcher are Yeshiva graduates and that Yeshiva graduates do not necessarily enter religious oriented occupations. We do find that in all instances, however, these individuals engage in such work which allows them to regulate their every day life according to the Torah's precepts. Individuals' occupational preferences aim toward self employment precisely for this reason. A Lubavitcher and I once spoke about the difficulties an orthodox Jew might experience in observing the Torah as an employee of a non-orthodox Jew. I mentioned that a young man affiliated with Lubavitch was not permitted to wear a skull-cap while employed at one of the universities. He replied:

. . . it depends what situation they're in. A lot of them, . . . you see, the thing is, for people who are Lubavitcher they generally will direct themselves to professions where they won't have that problem. Like certainly if they work for the Yeshiva they won't have that problem. Teaching, or if they go into their own business I know one person who had a job as electrician and, you know, he had that problem. He changed his job .
. . .

Another Lubavitcher, a businessman, once spoke to me about the advantages to being one's own boss:

. . . and, you know, I've had the chance to make more money. I've been offered a partnership with two other people. But I don't want it and it's very simple, my friend. This is where I belong,

here in the Yeshiva. If I want to stop working an hour earlier to come here, no one stops me. When you're not your own boss you can't do that, you know. Some people work and work and work They think that the more they work the more money they earn. It's not like that, my friend. You get what's coming to you and no more. It doesn't matter how much you work. But I have to be here when I want because this is the place to be, my friend.

Within the Lubavitch community work is viewed as a means to an end. The end, however, does not revolve primarily about material acquisition but upon the pursuit of a way of life guided by Torah. One's work, then, must not lead to the Torah's profanation. The nature of one's work is, therefore, conditioned by the person's religious attitudes and beliefs as opposed to these being shaped by one's work.

The above discussion on the Yeshiva, the community's proximity to New York and Lubavitcher and their work was intended to focus on features about the community making it tenable. This tenability's foundation is concentrated in Lubavitchers' ideology concerning the surrounding society's life-style and its results. A consequence of this tenability, and also contributing to it, is that the community can collectively select which features of the society's culture and technology to incorporate into its every day life. Defining various fads and fashions of urban society threatening its distinctive life-style, the community develops a set of beliefs supporting their disapproval including, among

others, movies, television, drugs, mini skirts and the pleasureable reading of newspapers. I now address myself to Lubavitchers' view of modern society, focusing on two central arguments provided by these chassidim to support their withdrawal from some of its popular features. I omit intentionally a discussion on the observance of mitzvess to which I turn in a following section.

Lubavitch Ideology and their Disengagement
from Popular Fads and Fashions

Lubavitcher view modern society to be in a deteriorated state and point to such phenomena as drugs, crime, lust for material possession and sex as evidence for their argument. While many of these phenomena are common to all segments of society, Lubavitcher are mainly concerned with their consequences for Jews. As such, the Lubavitcher Rebbe continues to urge his chassidim to befriend all Jews whose observance of orthodox Judaism is minimal, and special efforts are coordinated to make Lubavitch accessible to Jewish youth alienated from religious observance. These chassidim contend that while many Jews are searching for something more meaningful in life, they, Lubavitcher, possess the answer. As a Lubavitcher put it:

Some people think this might be the answer and others turn to this religion to find something missing. We

have the answer and we want to share it. When you have something that's proven and priceless, you want to share it with others.

Based on conversations and discussions with Jewish students, and their reading of the printed media, Lubavitcher conclude the course of modern society to be misguided. Morality standards, as they see it, are continually in flux, the majority of campus youth experiment with drugs and indulge freely in sex, and peoples' disenchantment with their accomplishments in life has resulted in such actions as divorce, separation and crime. Addressing himself to "the alienation of certain segments of Jewish youth," the Rebbe remarked:

. . . today's problem is to be attributed in great measure to the distortion of values among parents who are concerned with external appearances and superficialities, and with making a favourable impression upon the 'next door neighbour', than with raising their children in accordance with the tenets of their faith. . . . The lack of self-discipline and moral principles on the part of the parents, and their laxity in matters of religion, are easily discernible to their children. Children seek firm direction; they long for sincere and solicitous parental authority. But the atmosphere in the home is one of permissiveness - after all, we live in a free society ("An Encounter With Chabad", 1971:12).

The first paragraph of an article in Di Yiddishe Heim titled "On College" reads:

This is the second introduction I have written for this article. The first simply describes the obscene posters, photographs, drawings and diagrams to be seen in the corridors and classrooms of most

colleges and universities. But it was evident that by their very nature they were unsuited for "Di Yiddishe Heim". My own feeling at first was that this milieu needed to be described to be believed, since imagination could never by itself conjure up images to match the reality. But it may be that the very fact that they cannot be described for publication here, surely indicates how outrageously they violate our whole way of existence (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.13, No.3:3).

Emphasizing the greater philosophical importance attached to the religious curriculum in the Lubavitch girls' school, a Lubavitcher asserted:

. . . And besides, what's going on on campus now, who would dare to direct any of his kids to this environment?

Lubavitchers' discussions and exhortations surrounding modern society's goals and priorities are always related to their emphasis of traditional Jewish practise as a guide to every day life. These chassidim's encounters with unobservant Jews of various ages are specifically geared to impressing them that orthodox Judaism must, in time, become the basis of their lives. It is precisely this gradual commitment to and practise of orthodox Judaism which Lubavitcher offer as the solution to those Jews concerned with the purpose and meaning of life. As a Lubavitcher said:

Take a look at what's happening, my friend. Doesn't it make you think? The kids in college today care about drugs, sex and protests. But what about Judaism? Where does Yiddishkayt come in? For most of them it doesn't. And a lot of those students are unhappy, they got problems, they don't know what they want to do, they don't know why they're there. They got no

purpose. But take a look at the kids here, my friend. You won't find me one in the Bays Medresh who's confused about life, why he does things. I'm not saying they don't got problems, I'm not saying that. But they know there's a purpose in life, that they're Jews and as Jews they have to do certain things. If these college students realized this, I'm telling you, they wouldn't have their problems with drugs and everything. They wouldn't need it.

Referring to Jewish youth, the Lubavitcher Rebbe declared:

Our youth must be imbued with the truth, free of compromise and personal bias. Only the unadulterated truth of Torah can make an everlasting impression upon our youth. This is not only the proper, but the only, approach, and anything less would be a continuation of the compromise which led to their alienation in the first place ("An Encounter With Chabad," 1971:13).

Convinced that certain of society's popular fads and fashions directly contribute to its negative features, Lubavitcher predictably insulate themselves from these.

Two mainstays of Lubavitchers' negative views toward certain popular fads and fashions are a) these constitute an unproductive use of time and b) they do not contribute positively toward shaping the individual into a better person who organizes his life about the Torah's precepts. While separable analytically, these arguments are fused during discussions or arguments with outsiders. They are strongly supported by the Rebbe who has oftentimes addressed himself to the potentially harmful consequences resulting from seemingly attractive features of North American society.

As do many people, Lubavitcher regard time to be a pre-

cious commodity and efforts must consequently be made to spend it productively. Certain popular pastimes, however, are considered overly time-consuming and thus replaced by approved alternatives. The following remarks help illustrate Lubavitchers' expectations that a person's time ought to be utilized for the pursuit of specific objectives:

. . . it is just that a boy's time should be taken up with studying The outside world thinks that Lubavitch is trying to shut everything out, whereas in Lubavitch you don't have the time for other things There is nothing wrong with reading a newspaper except for the fact that in the time that you are reading the newspaper, you could have studied the Gemore.

I like to read a lot. I know that if I get my hands on a newspaper I read it from beginning to end and that would take about three hours, and I don't think it's worth three hours of my time to read the Star or to read any sort of newspaper. I think I would much rather spend my time reading a sayfer (a book of religious content) where I know I would be learning something.

Do you really get anything out of watching television? I mean can you actually learn something from watching something stupid like westerns? What I am asking is what is added to yourself by watching other people on T.V.? Now I can pick up this sayfer and begin to read it and know that I am getting something out of it.

Another facet of their argument centers about the potential danger of peoples' exposure to ideas contrary to the Torah's teaching. These might effect the person negatively and thus ought to be avoided:

The contents of many T.V. programs consist of either some type of sexual connotation. It's usually overloaded with sexual activity or many aspects of violence.

And I feel a lot of it has to do with other religions, other forms of religious observances, the worship of the Church and other religious ways. . . . I don't feel it's to their (the childrens') benefit to see all the programs on television.

What does it mean to have an education? You see, when you say that you want to educate someone, what this means is that you want him to be a good Jew, a good human being. You want them to have Yeerass Shomayim (fear of God), you want them to have respect. I mean watching television, going to movies, spending hours reading newspapers - you read and see things that the Torah says to do the opposite. The Torah says you should not steal, you should not kill, and movies and newspapers deal with stealing and killing. A young person can think that what he sees is real. Why should he see this?

Lubavitchers' negative feelings toward certain popular activities characteristic of this society's urban life mirror their Rebbe's views as these are expressed during Farbrengens and in his letters which have been publicized. The Rebbe has addressed himself, on several occasions, to the disenchantment with established religious values which he claims "inevitably follows permissiveness and compromise". He has said:

The lack of self-discipline and moral principles on the part of parents, and their laxity in matters of religion, are easily discernible to their children. Children seek firm direction; they long for sincere and solicitous parental authority. But the atmosphere in the home is one of permissiveness - after all, we live in a free society ("An Encounter With Chabad," 1971:12).

In this respect, the Rebbe repeatedly reminds Jewish women not to be swayed by the most recent fashions but, instead, to abide by the laws of Tzneeus (modesty). Referring to the laxity in modesty of attire, especially during the summer

months, the Rebbe wrote to a group of women:

I particularly urge you to continue your good efforts in this area of Tznius, which, although basically reflected in the manner of attire also concerns general conduct and conversation.

An article in Di Yiddishe Heim reiterated the Rebbe's stress for modesty in appearance as the author wrote:

In a society that is so free that there are virtually no moral standards whatsoever, Chabad (Lubavitch) women above all can demonstrate ideals and principles of Tznius, modesty, that a woman and girl dress and speak and conduct herself with an awareness of her true worth. She will be free because she will not be "the servant of servants," a slave to every insane immoral whim of fashion designers and the entertainment world (Vol.10, No.1:4).

The Rebbe continually reminds his chassidim, including Jews in general, of the importance of patterning their lives in line with the Torah's teaching. Speaking about alienated Jewish youth the Rebbe said:

Our youth must be imbued with the truth, free of compromise or personal bias. Only the unadulterated truth of Torah can make an everlasting impression upon our youth. This is not only the proper, but the only, approach, and anything less would be a continuation of the compromise and deception which led to their alienation in the first place It is not sufficient that only one's feelings, thought and speech be in accordance with the Torah, but one must observe the Mitzvos in actual deed the fulfillment of one precept (mitzvah) will no doubt bring about the observance of other precepts The observance of Tefillin will surely lead to the practise of many Mitzvos, and to true Yiddishkeit in the day to day life ("An Encounter With Chabad," 1971:12-13).

On a separate occasion, while underlying the Torah's significance and the importance of observing its precepts, the Rebbe

said:

The one and only common factor which has been present with Jews throughout the ages, in all lands, and under all circumstances, is the Torah Mitzvoth, which Jews have observed tenaciously in their daily life . . . The essential factor of our existence and survival is our adherence to the Torah and the practise of its precepts in our everyday life. Let no one delude himself by taking the easier way out, nor be bribed by any temporary advantages and illusory gains (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.4, No.2:2-3).

Lubavitchers' development of the above ideology contributes to the community's tenability. To be tenable the community must provide individual Lubavitcher with sound reasons why popular recreational attractions such as television, bowling or movies ought to be avoided and must, instead, offer a suitable substitute. I have discussed two main arguments accepted by Lubavitcher as justifying their behavior and suggested earlier the arguments' base to be the observance of mitzvess. Our analysis now shifts to a consideration of mitzvess in Lubavitch, which provide the necessary substitute mentioned above.

A Sociological Interpretation of the Centrality of Mitzvess

A mitzveh* may be defined as a religious obligation incumbent upon all Jewish adults and mitzvess are the life-

*The Old Testament includes 613 mitzvess composed of 365 negative commandments and 248 positive ones. As Mintz indicates: "As elaborated by the talmudic writers and their successors . . .

blood of the Lubavitcher chassidim as they are expected to be among all orthodox Jews. The feature most prominently characterizing the Lubavitch community is these chassidim's observance of the Torah's religious obligations. Their centrality among Lubavitcher is indicated by these chassidim's strict observance of them, their continuous reference emphasizing their importance in everyday life and their Rebbe's constant reminders underlining their significance to all Jews. The Rebbe once said, for example, : "The Jew must observe the Mitzvoth whether or not he understands their deeper significance; his experience of the Mitzvoth eventually will develop the faculties of his understanding, and in this he has Divine Providence" (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.10, No.4:1). On another occasion, replying to a letter, the Rebbe wrote:

The Torah and Mitzvoth are the channels to receive G-d's blessings also in one's material needs, as the Torah declares: "If you will walk in My statutes" - then G-d will send all blessings mentioned in that portion. This is, therefore, the way to ensure one's lasting happiness, materially as well as spiritually (Teachers Programme, Vol. 2:355).

The circumstances embraced by the mitzvess (religious obligations) represent the sum total of the orthodox Jew's daily existence, including prescriptions and proscriptions concerning

the mitsves comprise a vast compendium of custom, ordinance, and law encompassing all the activities of life, and they represent the legal and social needs of diverse ages" (1968: 122).

marriage, charity, care of the sick, business practises, sexual relations, property law and a number of other subjects (Mintz, 1968, Chapter 6). An orthodox Jew regards God to have decreed to mitzvess and their requirements, thus believing them to represent the complete code of the Jew's moral conduct.

I suggested in the previous section that Lubavitchers' rejection of much of modern life necessitates them to provide a suitable substitute. Since sensual indulgent fun is rejected as a goal or system of reward, they must create their own medium of exchange. The basic unit of this system of rewards in the community is the fulfillment of mitzvess. Analogously speaking, mitzvess are to religious life what money is to commercial life and as money, mitzvess can be collected in numerous manners - all focusing around the Torah's observance. Such activities as prayer, eating only kosher food, observing the Sabbath prohibitions, learning Torah, helping others thus add to the individual's accumulation of mitzvess. The extent of the person's observance and collection of mitzvess is believed to have a bearing on his soul both in this world and in the afterlife, on the welfare of his family and on innumerable other contingencies in his everyday life (Mintz, 1968, Chapter 6). It is not surprising, therefore, that parents regard the religious education of their children as one of the most important considerations.

Since observance of mitzvess is a central organizing feature of the Lubavitch community's persistence, we may expect special activities to be coordinated to ensure their fulfillment. Lubavitchers' proselytizing ventures, including the Tefillin campaign and the Sukkehmobile, may be seen in this manner. As the Tefillin campaign is discussed in detail elsewhere in the study, I will briefly illustrate the above with reference to the Sukkehmobile which is best understood as a Sukkeh on wheels. During this holiday all male adults are required to recite the appropriate blessings over the looley and essreg - symbolic objects bound with the Sukcess holiday. To guarantee that as many Jews as possible will observe this mitzveh, Lubavitcher construct a Sukkeh on a truck and drive about the Jewish sections of the city inviting all Jews to bench looley and essreg. Although, as I suggest later in the study, proselytizing activities serve to reinforce Lubavitchers' distinctive identity, their organization may also be viewed as examples of mitzvess in action culminating in nonreligious Jews' observance of Torah commandments.

While mitzvess constitute the medium of reward in the Lubavitch community, and Lubavitcher are impressed and impress others with their importance, they must account for the majority of Jews' neglect of these religious obligations. If the observance of mitzvess is as crucial as Lubavitcher claim,

why do more Jews not attend to their requirements? The concept of Yaytzer Ho'Ro (Evil Inclination) helps Lubavitcher, including other orthodox Jews, account for this situation. The reason for failing to observe the commandments (mitzvess) is charged to the Yaytzer Ho'Ro which "leads one to commit misleading acts of passion, to have skeptical thoughts of God and His works, and to rebel against God's decrees" (Mintz, 1968: 26). "A Torah Thought Of The Week", in Di Yiddishe Heim, informs us that:

We possess a Yetzer Hora (Evil Inclination) whose entire purpose and *raison d'etre* is to cause us to do the opposite of G-d's will. He may clothe and camouflage his aim in claims that the precept is too difficult etc. etc., but his real intention is to persuade us to go against G-d's will. Hence, the more vital a certain precept is for a particular person, the more effort the Yetzer will invest to dissuade the individual from performing the commandment. Even though the injunction may, in fact, be a very easy one to observe, it will seem extremely difficult, due to the devious cunning arguments employed by the Yetzer - who knows how important it is that the individual perform this "Mitzvah" - (precept).

. . . There are many who argue that Jews would become more observant - if only the "burden" of the Torah's laws would be lightened. If there were only just a few simple laws to observe, they claim, all Jews would devoutly adhere to them. These people show an unfortunate misunderstanding of the basic "spiritual make-up" of the Jew, and the aim of the Yetzer. For even when there was but one simple solitary commandment - and that for only three hours, it nevertheless seemed impossibly difficult to fulfill (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.9, No.2:inside cover).

Lubavitchers' philosophy of the Yaytzer Ho'Ro's intentions and

powers help them rationalize Jews' unconcern and disinterest in the Torah's mitzvess, while simultaneously offering an explanation for their deviations. Their belief that these unobservant Jews "possess the self-determination and inner strength to conquer the Yetzer and implement G-d's will" (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.9, No.2:16) helps us explain their proselytizing zeal among these Jews.

Summary

The present chapter has argued that the religious community must design a way of life that is tenable - a condition which must necessarily be met if the community is to persist. We discussed several conditions which contributed to the community's tenability - the Yeshiva, its distance from New York and the nature of these chassidim's occupations. I then presented that segment of Lubavitchers' ideology assisting them to minimize their participation in particular fads and fashions. Finally I offered a sociological interpretation of mitzvess, arguing that these religious obligations provide the base for the community's system of rewards. We arrive, in the following chapter, at an examination of how the community helps maintain a tenable way of life for its students.

CHAPTER V

ANTI-ASSIMILATIVE SOCIALIZING AGENTS:

THE SCHOOLS

This chapter focuses on the world of students in the Lubavitch community and examines how the community integrates them into its way of life. The main part of the chapter is addressed to a strategy utilized by the Lubavitcher to minimize their childrens' contact with assimilative influences within a specific situational context - the school.

Religious communities typically view public education as a threat to their distinctive life-style and seek to offset its potential influences. This is generally accomplished by moulding the secular curriculum to ensure that it does not conflict radically with the contents of the religious studies. More specifically, the nature and degree of a religious community's manipulation of the secular curriculum is determined by its calculations of the potential disruption assimilative contexts might introduce in the community's, and especially the youngs' way of life. Since the public school is the most potent agent for equalizing the differences between children from varying backgrounds, it has traditionally served as the battleground between the public school authorities and leaders of the religious community. This chapter includes an examination of the Lubavitchers' efforts to minimize the secular curriculum's

impact on students attending the two Lubavitch schools. As the reader will notice, the Rebbe's views on secular education are presented in considerable detail. It is important to stress that Lubavitchers' views on this topic, and the secular curricula in Lubavitch schools, are shaped directly by this man's ideas and beliefs.

While the Lubavitcher Yeshiva serves as a spiritual and social center, it is used as a school for the children of school age. Since classes in chassidic schools are not coeducational, the Yeshiva serves as the boys' school while the Bays Rivkeh Academy For Girls, two blocks from the Yeshiva, is for the girls. Both schools contain a pre-school department, starting from pre-nursery, nursery, kindergarten, and then eleven grades. Whereas the Yeshiva maintains a Bays Medresh - Rabbinical College - providing further education to High School graduates and graduates ordained Rabbis, ritual slaughterers and teachers, Bays Rivkeh graduates must leave for New York or Paris if they wish to continue their studies at a Lubavitch Teacher's Seminary.

Both those who administer the two schools and parents sending their children there, see themselves as providing the students with a certain kind of Jewish education. Although the Jewish curriculum in the Lubavitcher schools and several other non-Lubavitch schools is similar, Lubavitcher regard their schools as being qualitatively different. The

major difference lies in the manner in which Jewish studies are presented. Whereas they are taught in the Yeshiva as a way of life grounded in Torah, they are approached in another Jewish day school as part of the Jewish culture and tradition - principally as a series of facts to be recalled. The principal of one of the Lubavitch schools described the difference this way:

You see, X(a Jewish day school) is a very good school. They have good quality teachers, their methods are good . . . and they achieve results. But where we differ, I would say we have polarized philosophies of living. They are an expressly secular school and even the Jewish studies, Hebrew studies, are also presented in a secular way. They do not stress the religious part. Religion is only treated in the best case as culture or as part of tradition - take it or leave it as much as you please. It's not a religious school. They might teach Sidder, they might teach how to davn, but it's a way of social life. It's important to learn how to say the Maftir because he might be in a shul where he would have to know how to do it before the congregation. And by us it's an extremely different approach. It's entirely different. In our school it is being taught as a way of life.

One of the ballebattim argued as follows:

Here in the Yeshiva, in the Bays Rivkeh, the student finds out what Yiddishkayt is. I mean they're explained that Yiddishkayt is a way of life and they can actually see Yiddishkayt in practice by watching their teachers. I mean when someone looks at Rav _____, you know what I mean. But take the _____ (a Jewish school). So the kid learns Sidder. But who's teaching him? I'd bet you that it's someone who's not frum, does not keep Shabbess or kashress and I could go on. So sure, the kid is influenced by his teachers, but in this case he's influenced in the wrong way.

Students From Non Lubavitch Families in Lubavitch Schools

The majority of students both in the Yeshiva and Bays Rivkeh are from non Lubavitch families. In each school Lubavitcher students comprise approximately forty per cent of the student body. One of the Bays Rivkeh administrators remarked: "As I said before, Lubavitch can't put together that many. If it would be only up to Lubavitch to open Bays Rivkeh it would just be ridiculous to open." Although numerically Lubavitcher students are a minority in the schools, the schools' spirit is said to be Lubavitch oriented. Thus, together with the Jewish department teachers, students from Lubavitch families try to influence the students from non orthodox homes toward Yiddishkayt. For example, the Yeshiva organizes a trip to a Lubavitch Farbrengen in New York for a certain segment of the student body. In the Bays Rivkeh, for instance, the editors of the school's newspaper, being from Lubavitch families, write and insert articles which relate directly to traditional Judaism through a Lubavitch orientation. A Lubavitch parent expressed the views of many when she said: " . . . the children grown up with the concept of Lubavitch can have ten irreligious kids in their class, twenty, and they'd be perhaps three, and they'd do beautifully."

Jewish students from varying backgrounds, religious and non religious, are welcomed to attend the Yeshiva's schools. Since Lubavitcher see it as part of their task to

influence less religious Jews of orthodox Judaism's relevance and significance, they view the school environment, which is conducive to "working on" younger people, as an optimal setting in which to accomplish this goal. With such a philosophy, Lubavitch schools are not selective as to the kind of Jewish student accepted. This, however, is precisely the opposite in other chassidic and certain orthodox schools where student selectivity is regarded as necessary. The following, by the principal of a Lubavitch school, illustrates this:

It's much harder to find differences between us and the Bays _____ (an orthodox girls' school). (But is there a difference?) I would say no difference in the way of basing instruction with the students, but there's a difference in the philosophy of the school. Bays _____ is a religious school for religious girls. In other words, there is, I don't want to sound fancy, but this is a ghetto type attitude, a defensive ghetto. Let's say there's a hundred, two hundred families in X (name of city) who have children. I was one of them at the time. I didn't send my girl neither to Coronation nor to the Folk Shulle because it's not religious. I want a school for my girl which will teach her a way of life, so here is a school for us. But if my next door neighbour who is not religious would want to send in his girls to this school, under different pretexts, reasonings, she would be refused. This girl would not be accepted because they would say: "The whole purpose of the school is to create a religious atmosphere for our girls, they should live out their life at home and at school without conflict. If we'll introduce in the school girls from non religious families who can come and say that they drove in a car on Shabbess, we don't want conflicts. This is Bays _____. It's a healthy attitude, it's a very relaxed way, no problems, smooth ride. We, as you know, Lubavitch in general, and therefore Bays Rivkeh being part of it, we are absolutely open to anyone and I do not discriminate the child. On the contrary, I have

many children from homes where parents know nothing about Jewishness, practise very little, and thanks to God we never had yet a case in the Lubavitcher Yeshiva or here, that an outside boy, or an outside girl, should mislead a boy or girl of ours philosophically. But we do know of cases where outside boys and girls came in looking sarcastically and became very serious.

Unlike other chassidic schools, the Yeshiva and Bays Rivkeh cater to non chassidic families. It is therefore not coincidental for these schools to include well rounded and progressive secular departments. Although a core of Lubavitch families see potential danger in allowing their sons to participate in the secular program, neither all Lubavitcher nor parents from non Lubavitch backgrounds share this view of secular education. Non Lubavitch parents sending their children to the Yeshiva's schools for a religious education, recognize this society's demand for secular educational training and expect their children to receive such an education. In order for the Yeshiva and Bays Rivkeh to attract and retain students from such backgrounds, they must meet those parents' demands of modern secular departments which compare favorably with those in other schools. The optimal situation, to immerse students in a religious atmosphere and separate them from surrounding contrary influences, cannot be practised. The Yeshiva's control over these students is only temporary since they return to their homes once the school day is completed.

The Processing of Bays Medresh Bocherim

The Lubavitcher Yeshiva attempts to expose its students to Yiddishkayt and to process them to understand the significance and relevance of traditional Judaism in their everyday lives. Although Lubavitcher believe their derech (approach) to orthodox Judaism to be the most complete and personally satisfying, they are anxious but reluctant to impose their system of beliefs on elementary grade students from non Lubavitch families. Those Lubavitcher connected with education are aware that some orthodox parents select the Lubavitcher Yeshiva as the lesser of two extremes. Rather than send their children to a Hungarian Yeshiva which is regarded as too extremist in its methods, or to a Protestant school in which a religious Jewish curriculum is non-existent, they elect to send them to Lubavitch schools where they expect them to receive a solid base both in Jewish and secular studies. Consequently, efforts to influence younger students from non Lubavitch families toward orthodox Judaism and Lubavitch are limited.

The Yeshiva includes a Bays Medresh where students (bocherim) between the ages of fourteen till twenty-two study. During the last three years the number of students in the Bays Medresh has been between fifty-five and seventy. Depending on their age and background, some of these bocherim

have completed High School and might even have attended college for a time, while others have received only a religious education. Whereas the older bocherim study in the Bays Medresh "full time", that is, without interruption of secular studies, some younger ones attend High School courses at the Yeshiva as part of their afternoon curriculum. Unlike the Yeshiva's public schools which draw students only from this city, the Bays Medresh includes students from cities across the United States and Canada. Although Lubavitch has established Yeshivas in a few of these cities, Bays Medresh facilities might not be available or the parents and son, in consultation with the Rebbe, decided it worthwhile for the boy to pursue his studies at a Yeshiva away from home. A number of students are either from non-orthodox or non-chassidic family backgrounds who became attracted to Lubavitch. As I mention elsewhere, a strategy adopted with such individuals is to encourage them to enroll in a Lubavitcher Yeshiva.

The Yeshiva's facilities include a dormitory within easy walking distance from the Yeshiva. The dormitory, consisting of several apartments in an apartment building, serves as sleeping quarters for those bocherim whose permanent residence is in a different city. Thus the dormitory is filled with students who are at the Bays Medresh level in their Jewish studies. Students in the Bays Medresh,

residing in this city, live with their families. The two groups, however, spend the majority of their time in the Bays Medresh or elsewhere in the Yeshiva. A bocher describes a typical learning day:

The schedule of the day consists of getting up at seven o'clock, coming to the Teshiva here. If you're on time, going to the mikveh (ritual bath) , if you're not on time - later. Learning chassidess for an hour, then preparing yourself for davening. If you didn't go to the mikveh before, you go. Davn at nine o'clock. You have till ten thirty to finish your breakfast. Ten thirty up-stairs and then Gemoreh or whatever you are learning till a quarter to two. Quarter to two - mincheh-(afternoon prayer) . Two o'clock - lunch hour till three. If you've got to go shopping, got to buy something, got to write a letter, you do it then. Three o'clock back to studies. Six thirty - myriv - (evening prayer) , in the winter. Supper - again you get an hour. Seven thirty - chassidess. Nine thirty you're free.

Thus the typical day is so structured that bocherim are expected to spend almost their entire time either in the Yeshiva or in the dormitory, which is considered part of the Yeshiva. They are immediately immersed in a religious atmosphere and adhere to the Bays Medresh learning schedule. Although their attraction to the Lubavitcher Yeshiva is voluntary, the Yeshiva's administrators exercise direct control over their everyday activities. In addition, they are under the informal supervision of other bocherim with whom they are in continuous contact. As a result, the pace of their status passage into Yiddishkayt and Lubavitch is more rapid since they exert less control over its shape.

While the younger students at the Yeshiva are taught Yiddishkayt and to be observant Jews, bocherim in the Bays Medresh are groomed to be Lubavitcher chassidim. They study chassidess, regularly travel to the Rebbe to attend Farbrengens and are exposed to stories and incidents about Lubavitcher chassidim and Rebbeim. The Yeshiva is where one learns to be a Lubavitcher and therefore where bocherim are expected to spend the majority of their time. Chassidess, chassidim and Yiddishkayt are seen as a way of life, as opposed to a set of segmented activities, which for the bocher can best be observed and discovered in the Yeshiva. Two bocherim describe the importance of the Yeshiva in discovering this way of life:

Well, first of all, I'd say that by living in the Yeshiva you pick up the warmth that chassidess has to offer within Yiddishkayt. It is very difficult for somebody, a student, to live a way of life. Generally a student who lives at home goes to school and he knows that at five o'clock or whatever time it may be, he's out of school and then he's back at home in his different world and he forgets about school until the next morning. This is a very big block in picking up a way of life. You go home and your mother tells you you got to visit relatives, you've got to do this, you've got to do this. All these things take away from the Yeshiva. While whereas you're in the Yeshiva, whatever you're doing whether you're eating or you're sleeping, or you're davening or you're learning, or you're going to put on Tefillin with other people, or you're going down to campus to arrange for a Pegeesheh or whatever you're doing, you're always doing it with other bocherim, in a chassidic atmosphere and you pick up the Yiddishkayt and the chassidische warmth that Torah wants a person to have.

Another bocher put it like this:

You can sit and learn and learn and learn and, believe me, that's very important. You have to do that. But I think that's only part of it. You can have a lot of knowledge but there's more to Lubavitch than that. You have to learn how to be a certain type of person with certain attributes. You have to learn manners and the place to get all this is right here (in the Yeshiva) . Just look at some of the people walking around this place. You know them, people like Rabbi _____, Reb _____, Reb _____. Where else can you get this if not here? You learn a lot just by watching these people.

The bocherim's activities in the Yeshiva can be grouped into two categories - formal and informal. In fact, both these types of activity are seen as different only in degree, with one an extension of the other. Thus they complement each other - the absence of one reducing from the way of life the Yeshiva tries to transmit.

The formal activities consist of the classes the bocherim are expected to attend as students of the Yeshiva. As mentioned, the bocherims' learning schedule is intensive and they are expected to satisfy its demands daily. Bocherim recognize that to live Yiddishkayt fully, studying the Torah and its commentaries is necessary, and that to understand the system of Chabad chassidess at a progressively deeper level, learning Tanya is essential. In addition, they see the necessity of the Rabbis who teach them and supervise the classes and regard them as best qualified to determine when a student is ready to graduate to a more advanced class. A student meant this when he said:

. . . being that chassidess and chassidism is a way

of life that can't possibly be lived in its fullest sense by a nine to five day or even by a nine to nine day. It has to be lived in a twenty four hour atmosphere and that can only be done by living in a Yeshiva, and being completely dependent on the hanholle of the Yeshiva, on the Dean, Mashpeea and mashgiech of the Yeshiva as your guidance counsellors.

Along with the scheduled classes, informal activities occupy the bocher's time. These largely consist of sitting around and talking about such things as the Rebbe's latest sicheh (discourse) , encounters made during mivtzas Tefillin, secular ideas or whatever is of popular interest at the time. Such discussions may originate in the Bays Medresh and carry over to the dormitory, may last from several minutes to a few hours and might include three or four bocherim to a few more. While the bocher should be interested in gaining knowledge about Yiddishkayt, which results from his formal study classes, he should also be concerned about learning a way of life. Examples relating to this way of life including attitudes, feelings and beliefs toward fellow Jews, may be gleaned through these informal encounters. As bocherim insist, however, one can take greater advantage of these encounters by living in the Yeshiva than at home. Two students discuss the benefits of these kinds of gatherings:

Like, for instance, guys pick up much more than they do from their studies, they pick up from their dormitory when they see how an older guy, a good guy, how he conducts himself on his own, you know, in his own private time, in his own personal life. He sees the convictions or whatever it may be and he gets a lot more out of that, or else, you see

before he goes to sleep, . . . you start the bull sessions and you get into personal things which we call a minor Farbrengen - two guys get together and this cannot be done at home.

Wherever there's a common interest, that's where you get together and the common interest in here, in the Yeshiva - learning in general, even bull sessions. The kinds of bull sessions that go on here is of common interest. It might have to do with what the Rebbe said today, or it might have to do with stories, or it might have to do with secular ideas, but it's still common interest Like the kinds of things that you can pick up here, not that they are as important as learning, the form of learning that you do, but they seem to complement the learning that goes on.

The Yeshiva, both as a school and community institution, tries to shape the minds of those who regularly go there. For the younger students this takes the form of providing a traditional Jewish interpretation of Creation and stressing the importance of orthodox Judaism. Students at the High School and Bays Medresh levels are expected to assume a Lubavitchly orthodox perspective of the world and one's role in it. The optimal situation is one where the teachings of the Yeshiva and the religious practises in the home are complementary. Although one could study the Yeshiva's curriculum at home, being enrolled as a Yeshiva student is regarded as mandatory for becoming an orthodox Jew. As a bocher said:

The Rebbe spoke about this at a Farbrengen. In the old days it used to be different. The person can be the most religious person and he will not send his kids to the Yeshiva. The kids go to college and everything else. The person could be the most religious person and not go to the Yeshiva and everything would be alright. And the home would be enough for them. Today it's not like that. Today it's impossible. You can come from the most

religious home but if you don't go to a Yeshiva, forget it. You haven't got a chance. That's the way it is because the Yeshiva is the backbone, it's the nucleus, it's the center point. That's the way it is. It's very true. When you think about it you'll see how true it is.

Lubavitch Schools and their Curricula

Lubavitcher view certain schools' Jewish curricula as influences in an opposite direction from what a Torah education ought to be. In fact, a main selling point of the two Lubavitch schools is that the students will be exposed to Yiddishkayt in its traditional sense and that compromise of the Torah's precepts will neither be practised nor encouraged.

The Lubavitcher Rebbe has addressed himself on several occasions to the importance of a Torah education. A number of the Rebbe's sichess, as well as articles in Di Yiddishe Heim have urged parents to fulfill their obligation by providing their children with a thorough Jewish education. "It is ludicrous to begin thinking of a child's education six months before his Bar Mitzveh, " the Rebbe once declared at a Farbrengen, "it must begin at earliest childhood." At that same Farbrengen the Rebbe said:

The physical necessities and desires of the child must be filled in a manner congruous to its spiritual drives. The soul of a Jew is actually a Divine part of G-d and it therefore has an inherent longing for its source. Expression of this natural tendency can be found only through a life in accordance with the Torah, as prescribed for a Jew

by his Creator. Consciously or subconsciously the soul's craving prevails. If only the child's physiological needs are cared for, and his education is not compatible with the uplifting characteristics of his soul, opposing gravitations are apt to create a split personality.

We witness much too often . . . the Jewish child, whose Torah education has been neglected, when becoming aware of what has happened, pleading helplessly with his parents over the irretrievable past, crying 'why have you done this to me' (Teachers Programme, 1969:396-397).

On a separate occasion the Rebbe stated:

One of the greatest frailties in contemporary Jewish life is the complacency toward the Torah true education of our youth In our generation we have become the unfortunate witnesses of the tragic fruits of this complacency - intermarriage and assimilation. Parents who neglected the Torah education of their children thinking that matters would somehow take their proper course without it, or that it just wasn't that important - without realizing the consequences - have become victims of devastated homes and disgraced families because of their children's behavior. Elements foreign to Torah way of life beckon the Jew to come and share their society. But the Jew can never acquiesce to this society, for a Jew cannot survive in a life devoid of Torah, just as a fish cannot live without water (Teachers Programme, 1969:392).

Since a Torah education is considered vital, Lubavitcher are likely to stress its significance whenever possible.

The Lubavitch summer camps, as well as other activities through which Lubavitch comes into contact with non orthodox Jews, serve as occasions where the significance of orthodox Judaism is stressed. It is, therefore, to be expected that Di Yiddishe Heim will periodically contain articles whose major focus is Jewish education. These articles emphasize that religious education is "the very basis of our life and

survival" (Vol.2, No.2:15). The following two excerpts from articles exemplify this:

One of the fundamental fallacies of the present day thinking on the question of Jewish education is based on a basic misconception of Judaism. While many parents will readily admit that Jewish values are very important and useful, they believe that the modern child should be allowed to find his own way towards G-d when he is older and maturer; as if Torah is something purely rational, and would come of its own accord to the intelligent person. The truth of the matter is that religion is basically an EXPERIENCE. It is only when the child is given an opportunity to experience it at an early age, when he is more receptive and responsive to emotional experience, that such experience will leave an indelible impression on him

This child should be taught Yiddishkayt everywhere - in the home, at Hebrew school, in the synagogue, and in all his social activities as well. This ideal can be realized in a Yeshiva Day School (Vol.2, No.2:16).

. . . Today too, Pharaoh the King of Egypt still exists in the guise of the mores and norms of the country, in the guise of the demands that Jewish children should be cast into the mould of the behavior patterns and customs of the land. Our children, say the modern Pharaoh, should immerse themselves and be submerged in the river, in whatever will ostensibly provide them with economic sustenance. Jewish children should be placed into the walls of Pithom and Ramses, the treasure cities of Egypt; they should be wholly involved in those matters which symbolize the economic power and most intensive pre-occupation of the land Consequently we must stand with the greatest fortitude against his decrees and educate our children in the spirit of Eternal Israel.

4) Practically, this means that at the time when we are involved with the education of Jewish children it is not only unnecessary, but actually forbidden to immerse them in the paganism of the land. It is prohibited to overwhelm children with concern about the pursuit of adult economic and occupational goals. The sole way of life is a complete and thorough Torah education - with the

"Torah of Life" (Vol.10, No.4:15).

The present Lubavitcher Rebbe's emphasis on Torah education together with a similar emphasis by previous Lubavitcher Rebbeim has led certain Lubavitcher to expose their children to only a Torah education. While some of these Lubavitcher admit the possible benefits of a secular education, they are also quick to point to its potential dangers. These dangers center around exposure to ideas which conflict with a religious interpretation of the creation and development of the Universe. A bocher once told me:

I mean some people might call these people, these parents, fanatics because their views are so extreme. But I can understand their point of view. These parents are afraid that some wrong ideas might get into their kids' minds and they poshet (just) don't want to take a chance on it. And why should they?

While the Rebbe continually emphasizes the importance of a religious education, it is not clear that he specifically discourages secular learning for all of his followers. I have been told by Lubavitcher, however, that "on the whole" the Rebbe is opposed to secular education "where it is not needed". On the other hand, the Rebbe has adopted a definite negative attitude toward a Yeshiva bocher's pursuit of a college education. As one examines the Rebbe's argument, it is possible to understand how certain Lubavitcher have extended his views to refer to secular learning even at the primary school level. From a copy of a letter written by

the Rebbe, we are told:

. . . There is a well-known parable for this, about the boy who strayed from the road and later found himself in the midst of the woods. He got there by making a small false step off the road, which led to another, and yet another.

The conditions and environment in a country such as this call, therefore, for an even greater spiritual reinforcement of the Jewish boy and girl than even before and elsewhere. This reinforcement must be of such strength and duration that the Jewish child will always be conscious of the fact that no matter what the environment is, he is the bearer of the sacred tradition of the Divine Torah and Mitzvoth, and belongs to a people that is holy and different. For this, it is essential that right from the earliest childhood to adolescence the Jewish child should receive the fullest possible Jewish education, throughout his formative years.

Hence when a Jewish boy completes his compulsory education, it is an absolute must that for a couple of years, at least, he should dedicate himself to the exclusive study of the Torah and sacred subjects, in a most conducive atmosphere of a Yeshivah, without distraction of secular studies, all the more so as the teen-age are crucial and formative and of lasting effect, in the crystallization of the character.

This would have been my opinion even if the college entailed no more than the distraction of secular studies. Actually there is much more involved. Theoretically a college and its faculty should not try to impose any particular views, much less a way of life, on the students. Actually, however, the student cannot help being impressed, on the conscious and subconscious level, by the views, outlook and way of life of his professors. These, as well as the whole atmosphere of a college are unfortunately not compatible with the Jewish way of life, and frequently if not always quite contradictory to it. This is so even in colleges which are theological, or having so-called religious studies. Needless to say, the whole atmosphere of college is in violent conflict with the Shulchan Aruch way of life - whereby the Jew is totally committed - in every detail and aspect of his personal daily life - to the Torah and Mitzvoth and the service of G-d, as is written "You shall know Him in all your ways",

In other words, the Jewish boy (or girl) entering

college, yet desiring to retain the Jewish way of life in accordance with the Torah, finds himself tossed about in the raging waves of conflict between two contradictory worlds.

He is at a further disadvantage in finding himself in a minority camp, since those sharing his views and convictions are few on the college campus, while the forces pulling in the opposite direction are overwhelming; forces he must confront at every turn - among the student body, faculty members, textbooks, newspapers and periodicals. It is very doubtful whether even an adult and mature person who is subjected to such "shock treatment" day after day, would not be shaken; how much more so a teenager.

. . . Some people ask, is there really such a conflict between attending college and remaining an observant Jew. I can speak from experience and personal knowledge, having attended various colleges and seen the painful inner upheavels of Jewish students, and having for many years been the confidant of Jewish students who are otherwise reluctant or ashamed to open their hearts, I can therefore state with the fullest measure of conviction and responsibility that he who sends his child to college during the formative years subjects him to shock and profound conflicts and trials and invites quite unforeseen consequences.

In view of all the above, it is my definite and considered opinion that all Jewish children, upon completing their compulsory secular education, should devote at least several years to the exclusive study of the Torah, without the interference of other studies, not even for training for a trade, in order to obtain the maximum insurance against all risks and dangers that their future life may hold, when they attain adulthood and settle down to a family life (Teachers Programme, Vol.1:173-174).

When Weiner, during a personal audience with the Rebbe, asked: "But you too have studied in two worlds, and your Hasidim are rather proud of the fact that you once attended the Sorbonne. Why then do you discourage them from studying in the 'other world'?" , the reply was:

Precisely because I have studied, and I know what

the value of the study is, I recognized its usefulness. If there are people who think they can help God sustain the world, I have no objection. We need engineers and chemists, but engineering and chemistry are not the most important things. Besides, to study does not mean only to learn facts. It means exposure to certain circles and activities which conflict with a believer's values and faith. It's like taking a person from a warm environment and throwing him into a cold water shock treatment several times a day. How long can he stand it? In addition, studies in college take place at an age when a man's character is not yet crystallized, usually before the age of thirty. Exposure then is dangerous (1969:174).

The Rebbe's attitude toward secular education is characterized by two underlying thoughts: first, that secular studies inevitably expose the person to secular ideas which may be in conflict with his religious upbringing; second, that attention to secular studies detract from the most important task of acquiring knowledge of the Torah. For example, the Rebbe once urged someone to continue learning in the Yeshiva and provided him with this analogy: Just imagine if someone were offered to invest one franc in order to earn a thousand francs in return, he would not regret the one franc investment, but on the contrary, would wish to invest even more and more" (Teachers Programme, 1969:357). Consequently, certain parents, often referred to as "hard core" Lubavitcher, fear that a formal secular education will interfere with their son's religious upbringing. When one woman was asked whether her son will "go to English" she replied: "I firmly believe that the only way to educate boys

is to give them the best possible Jewish education. They won't learn any English subjects." Another woman: ("Did your sons learn Jewish all day?") "Of course, the only way to educate a Jewish boy is to give him a thorough Jewish education."

Parents whose sons begin school by only receiving a Jewish education are not necessarily opposed to every form of secular learning. In certain instances their sons might begin to attend the secular program at a later date than his peers:

My son thirteen and a half went to grade one at nine years, he skipped grade two because I helped him with his phonetic sounds at home. My second son went straight into grade three, skipped out grade four and then continued five as normal. My youngest who is eight is still going to Jewish full-time.

In other cases, a tutor is hired to instruct the boy in certain secular subjects - those which are thought will be important to him later on. One woman admitted that her boys had private lessons when they were "in the higher grades." Another said: ". . . when they were about thirteen to sixteen they may get lessons in arithmetic, reading and writing." As these parents will argue, their main responsibility is to ensure their son's becoming a mentsh (a person whom they can be proud of). Anything which might interfere or conflict with this goal is reduced to a lesser importance. For example:

Let me put it to you this way. I'd say that this really proves a certain amount of subservience to

the movement of Lubavitch on the part of a chossid. After all, a chossid realizes that his child will have to come up in the world and one day will have to make his own living. And it takes a lot of belief, so to speak, . . . to say: "God will help if I make him a mentsh first, and I feel that secularist training will prevent him from becoming a mentsh," Then I don't really care what will happen to his livelihood. I do, but I'm not going to spoil any of his chances in becoming a mentsh. Therefore, even if it means at the cost of his livelihood or how he is going to do The Rebbe many times stresses that if you go on the right path, there can be only blessing, because good and good can only bring good and we know that . . . this is the right derech (approach) , this is the right path, therefore it can only bring blessing and bounty with it.

The curriculum in both the Bays Rivkeh and the Yeshiva are similar in that three and a half hours each are officially devoted to religious and secular studies. In fact, however, there are two educational programs taught concurrently at the Yeshiva. The so called "hard core" Lubavitch children, those whose parents are completely subservient to the Lubavitcher Rebbe, refrain from learning secular subjects and tend to assume negative feelings toward those who do. For example, it is usual for these students to be the closest friends. As one bocher put it:

But there are these kids who take a vos darfstu gayn in Ainglish (why study secular subjects) attitude, you know, what do you need it for, and any kid who comes in for some reason is looked down. His going to English to a large degree is looked down upon.

Those enrolled in the secular program follow the curriculum of the Protestant School Board with which the schools have gained affiliate status. In the Bays Rivkeh, on the

other hand, as opposed to the Yeshiva, all girls, without exception, attend secular studies in the afternoon. Whereas not all grade ten and eleven students in the Yeshiva write matriculation examinations, the principal at the Bays Rivkeh has insisted that all such girls, regardless of their intentions to continue their studies at the college or university level, be required to complete the High School matriculations. Yet in both schools, High School graduates are not encouraged to pursue their studies at college or university. Graduates of the Yeshiva are expected to devote themselves to religious study at the Bays Medresh level, while Bays Rivkeh graduates are encouraged to attend one of the Lubavitch seminaries to become a teacher.

Excepting those who do not attend secular classes, students both at the Yeshiva and Bays Rivkeh find the school day divided between religious and secular studies. While the practical emphasis between the two is balanced, greater philosophical importance is attached to the religious curriculum. One of the principals explains:

Let's say, I'm insisting and I'm trying to see to it that all girls should take the Provincial exams and we are trying to give them, to equip them, to pass them. High marks on the one hand. On the other hand, I am definitely not promoting college entrance. I definitely think that every girl who finishes High School now should rather go to teacher's seminary, if she has some flair to it, and get more knowledge in Hebrew studies, get also the professional instructions on psychology and methods of teaching . . . And besides, what's going on on campus now, who would, who would, who would dare to direct any of his kids to this environment?

It is precisely the religious curriculum, where students are taught the importance of practising and living traditional Judaism, that sets the Yeshiva's schools apart from the rest of the Jewish parochial schools.

Finding teachers to fill the positions in the schools' Jewish departments presents little difficulty. Those presently teaching in the Yeshiva are ordained Rabbis, the majority of whom are middle aged, having taught in the Yeshiva for many years. If younger teachers are required, the Rabbinical College graduates students with the necessary basic teaching skills. As for the girls school, High School graduates are encouraged to attend a teacher's seminary and return to join the schools' Jewish department. The Lubavitch community, then, is able to produce its own teachers to staff its Jewish departments. Such, however, is not the case with staffing the secular departments as graduates of both schools are discouraged from pursuing their secular studies. As a result, teachers for the secular program must be recruited from the outside.

The teaching qualifications of those hired are likely to vary from those who have both a university degree, a teacher's certificate and teaching experience to those pursuing graduate studies at a university with little, if any, teacher training. One of the principals believed he had "the best teaching staff of any High School in the city". Most of this staff was comprised of former department heads from Protestant

schools who had either taken on a second job or were retired. Both principals (there are three - one at the Bays Rivkeh and two at the Yeshiva, one for Jewish studies and the second for secular studies) claimed to be primarily concerned with hiring qualified teachers. Unlike certain chassidic groups' secular departments, where a teacher's religious observance is a factor in their being hired, the Director of the Yeshiva once told me: "In Lubavitch when we want someone to teach mathematics we're concerned with his mathematical capabilities." The ideal appointment is a Jewish teacher with a teacher's certificate from a university, who once attended a religious school and who is practising traditional Judaism. One of the principals said about such a teacher:

. . . Then for this teacher it would be easier to control the material which she is presenting. I mean, let's not kid ourselves. Even in the secular department we have to watch our steps. In the textbooks there are things that are contradictory . . . so, therefore, it is my duty to see that the teachers should remember not to get into controversial problems at a certain stage where the kids are not yet ready to digest them properly.

Since the ideal teachers are difficult to recruit, those who are hired are expected to teach only the 'subject matter' and not the child (Poll, 1962:173).

One of the striking features of secular education among the chassidim is the degree to which they screen the subject matter. This often takes the form of explicit instructions to the teachers informing them about what they are not expected to discuss with their students. A teacher at an orthodox

girls' school, which included girls from chassidic families, remarked:

. . . at the beginning of the year the Rabbi made up a manual for all the teachers. A section of this manual was devoted to explaining to teachers what we must not teach It said something to the effect of: everything contrary to Jewish religion must not be taught . . . such as evolution. Anything philosophical and contrary to Judaism must not be taught. Sex is absolutely out. If a teacher feels a serious need to communicate these ideas to the students, then she is consult the Rabbi first, but under no circumstances is free discussion to be allowed in the classroom.

In some cases explicit verbal instructions are given by the principal. For example, a university graduate who was teaching chassidic boys from various shteeblech (chassidic groups) had this to say:

He[the principal] told me a few things that I shouldn't be discussing with the kids. (Like?) Things that would be conflicting with their religious beliefs Don't talk in terms of time, long periods of time, because they just won't believe you. They all just sort of block it out or they'll challenge you . . . because the earth has been in existence for a certain amount of time for them and if you talk in terms of millions of years

In some chassidic schools there is an actual inspection of the reading material to ensure that both the written and pictorial contents will not suggest anything contrary to what the students are expected to believe.

Compared with other chassidic schools in the city, the Yeshiva's secular programs most closely pattern the guidelines set out by the Protestant School Board. Nonetheless, the

schools' administrators see the need to screen the material taught and check the kinds of discussions teachers will enter with their students. This, they claim, is to avoid situations where material contradictory to the student's religious beliefs will be brought into the open. In this light one of the Yeshiva's administrators told me:

"Teachers are told in the beginning two things they are not supposed to discuss - one is religion and the other is politics." When I asked one of the Lubavitch principals if he gave his staff explicit instructions as to what not to discuss, he replied:

I don't make it so formal, but while talking to a teacher I give the teacher to understand, and besides having three hours in the afternoon that a teacher has to cover English language, composition, spelling, arithmetic, geography, there's so much to do before coming to these problems. And let's say that you take a kid and you'll tell a kid in grade five or six how dinosaurs lived ten million years ago, his concept of time is so limited and it actually wouldn't enlighten him. It might mix him all up. I see no educational purpose in it even from a secular point of view I just say: "Don't get involved in problems that are clashing with religious beliefs" On the contrary, I do believe that kids should not be even involved in these abstract discussions whatsoever, because their concept of time and numbers at this age is so much limited and they take it only religiously. They believe because the teacher told them so.

An example of the "contradictory material" to be avoided centers about the age of the Universe:

Let's say the famous problem, the scientific hypothesis approach of the age of Creation. To

a person who is backed a little bit by general knowledge and by Jewish philosophy knowledge, first of all, there's no scientist to make a clear cut statement that the age of the world or of the Universe is so old as they hypothetically suggest. But I wouldn't want them in grade four or grade five, for some of the teachers to come in and say: "Oh, we know that the world is, or four or five million years ago something like this happened." This five million years ago she should say: "We suppose" or "It's suggested that the scientific guess, hypothesis . . .". Therefore, I would rather avoid this problem in general.

Along with the above, readers are inspected to ensure that stories related to another religion or in direct conflict with traditional Jewish beliefs are not studied in class. Whereas at certain chassidic schools such "negative content" is lined through with a black pen, in the Lubavitch schools it is simply replaced with another story. The following illustrates the above:

Let's say, you know, the reader series Cage or whatever there is, they are oriented to, if they are from the Protestant School Board, they are oriented to the Protestant School Board way of thinking. So, therefore, sometimes, when they plan a book to be finished in grade one or in grade two, in the last quarter of the book, right in the middle of the book when they consider it three months after school begins, there'll be stories about Christmas and about Pere Noel. We just replace it by something else. (Do you replace the pages?) No, I don't replace the pages. I just tell the teacher: "Don't get into these stories, leave this story, take the other one." (So the children can still read it.) You cannot close the child. Anyway the child goes out in the street and he sees this Pere Noel. On the other hand, in the Hebrew department the child gets this: this is not for me, this has nothing to do with me.

The Yeshiva is best seen as both an assimilative and anti-assimilative institution. As the former, its schools provide students with a Torah education, its congregants inform non-orthodox Jews about orthodox Judaism and Lubavitcher keep one another informed on matters concerning the Rebbe and Lubavitch's work in the community. In order for Lubavitch men and boys to live within the spirit of Lubavitch, the Yeshiva must be utilized as a place where one can davn and learn as well as come together and chat. The Yeshiva helps one see oneself as a Lubavitcher since it is there that one is seen by others as a Lubavitcher. As an anti-assimilative institution it attempts to channel its youth into an orthodox and Lubavitch way of life and away from the fads and fashions of the surrounding culture. While the Yeshiva serves as a base from which Lubavitcher make contact with non-orthodox Jews, it also acts as an insulator against the dominant social values of the larger society.

With respect to the above a bocher said:

There are various reasons besides the fact that to learn Torah a Jewish boy should go to Yeshiva - that's one thing. Of course, it's not an argument that Jewish kids should be given the best possible religious education available. There you have right away the Yeshiva And it's more, of course, than a place just to learn Torah Here you have a living example of the epitome of the old chassidim. Rabbi _____ is an example Secondly, there's the environment As far as I'm concerned and as far as others are concerned in general, . . . the environment in the world today is very bad Kids, generally, nowadays, first thing should be brought to the

Yeshiva. They go out into the world and they're faced with tremendous ideas which are especially nowadays floating back and forth and someone who's fresh, it'll really hit them. You have to be faced with an armour of Torah. The environment in the Yeshiva, on the other hand, is Torah oriented, Chabad oriented. If they go out, including poshet going shopping downtown they'd know continuously, they know what is right as far as Torah is concerned, know what they see in the world is not necessarily correct

Lubavitchers' network of activities in the Yeshiva, for ballebattim and students, appear to separate them from the surrounding non-Lubavitch community. As the data indicate, the Yeshiva serves as a non-assimilative barrier and channels Lubavitchers' everyday lives to help maintain their chassidic identity. In the case of students from non-orthodox backgrounds, the Yeshiva's curriculum aims to instill in them a positive feeling toward traditional Judaism and make of them observant Jews.

Lubavitch Schools and Intergenerational Conflict

When children of ethnic and religious minority groups attend schools provided by the dominant group, intergenerational conflict is a potential outcome. In addition to providing its students with knowledge, the school serves as a socializing agent for students of various ethnic and religious based groups. As Hostetler has written, the school may be seen as " an institution for drilling children in cultural orientations" (1968:193).

As the child attends the native society's schools, assimilation gradually seeps in. As Shibutani and Kwan indicate: "The decisive change that occurs in assimilation is the displacement of reference groups (1965:504)," and, in time, the minority group member redefines himself from his new associates' standpoint. He becomes increasingly sensitive to their opinions and seeks to gain an acceptable rating among them (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965:504). As a result of the schools' curricular and extra curricular influences, the assimilating minority group member begins to view his own peoples' ideas and customs as he believes them viewed by significant others.

When assimilation is confined to the younger generation, the two generations do not share a similar perspective and intergenerational conflict results (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965: 484). While their elders remain ethnocentric and defend their moral order, the children find these beliefs dull and old-fashioned. They often become infuriated because the older people are unable to understand what they regard as obvious, often concluding their parents to be obstinate and unreasonable. As many studies of immigrants to America have shown, for instance, their children become self-conscious after mingling with outsiders (Gottlieb and Ramsey, 1964; Hapgood, 1902; Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; Wirth, 1928; Young, 1932). Reporting on the young Molokans,

Young writes:

In their attempts to mingle intimately with the outsider, the young Molokans become self-conscious. Table manners betray them; they are sensitive to a slight but detectable foreign accent or to a limited fund of general information; they are embarrassed by the appearance of their homes and by their inability to reciprocate their friends' invitations; the young women are uneasy when newly made men acquaintances escort them home (1932:177).

Processing those who enter them, schools are most influential institutionalized means of socializing minority group members into the dominant culture. Sociological literature focusing on ethnic and religious groups' efforts to socialize their young, inevitably refer to the public schools' influences over their children - often contradictory with the group's way of life. Young, for instance, quotes a Molokan parent:

We recognize the value of an education but also see its evils when stripped of Christ's teachings. Our children have not learned respect for God, for home, for elders. They have gained a little knowledge, but they have no fear of God in their hearts. They have no conscience. We can't appeal to them any more (1932:147-148).

The two Lubavitch schools, as already discussed, are organized and coordinated by these chassidim. Although both include a secular curriculum, both the materials studied and the hired secular staff are carefully screened to ensure conformity with the community's life-style. Since students in these schools are minimally exposed to such information and ideology diametrically opposed to the community's beliefs, inter-

generational conflict resulting in family disorganization is negligible.

We have argued that assimilation frequently serves as a catalyst for intergenerational conflict among ethnic and religious minority groups. Since middle class society regularly experiences such conflict, as middle class youth develop autonomous social worlds that exclude their adults, including their parents, from understanding them, we must conclude that the assimilative context cannot be claimed as one of its prerequisites. Referring to the origin of such conflict among the middle class, Coleman writes:

This setting-apart of our children in school - which take on ever more functions, ever more "extracurricular activities" - for an ever longer period of training has a singular impact on the child of high-school age. He is "cut off" from the rest of society, forced inward toward his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age. With his fellows, he comes to constitute a small society, one that has most of its important interactions within itself, and maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society Any parent who has tried to talk to his adolescent son or daughter recently knows this, as does anyone who has recently visited a high school for the first time since his own adolescence. To put it simply, these young people speak a different language. What is more relevant to the present point, the language they speak is becoming more and more different (1961:3).

There are, then, at least two processes which might lead to intergenerational conflict. Since the latter process is also absent in the Lubavitch community, we will suggest a possible reason.

In contrast to middle class society, where children attend schools set apart from adult society, the Lubavitch school is not a childrens' world separated from adult society. Since the Lubavitcher Yeshiva is utilized both by students and adults, the formers' school life is filled with adults from the community. The two age groups davn in the same shul and meet at many of the community's celebrations and Farbrengens in addition to being linked by their bond with the Lubavitcher Rebbe. We may conclude that, in fact, the school is permeated with an adult controlled culture.

While Coleman's adolescent society "maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society", (1961:3) Lubavitch youth are in continuous contact with adults whether at home or in the Yeshiva. One may argue that a major incentive for students' various activities, ranging from davning to organizing the Tefillin campaign, is it permits them to enter the same world as their parents, both becoming concerned with similar goals. Although the two generations do not always agree how to best achieve certain goals, the bases of the Lubavitch way of life - the observance of mitzvess and affiliation wit the Rebbe - are not challenged. As an older Yeshiva student remarked:

. . . Now, of course, the world has gone through a generation gap, a big one. Lubavitcher take this generation gap and use it for the good. My father . . . was asked a question: "Did the generation gap effect the Lubavitcher?" He said: "Yes." "Was the division caused between the young and old?" "Yes." "Did the young stop putting on Tefillin?"

"No." "Did the young stop feeling close to the Rebbe?" "No." "What happened?" "On the contrary. The young became better chassidim. The young cling to the Rebbe more than the older do." In other words, the generation gap came out for the better. Do you understand? Whereas the generation gap has taken society and is trying to break society and have not yet formed a society of their own, in Lubavitch this is not the case. They did not try to break society. They did not form a society of their own - they bettered Lubavitchers' society.

The absence of intergenerational conflict within the Lubavitch community, resulting in the development of dissimilar perspectives among adults and youth, helps guarantee the latter will be socialized and view themselves as certain kinds of people. Lubavitchers' ability to separate the young from many societal influences, while immersing them in an adult world from early childhood, supports the community's tenability and ensures its persistence.

Summary

This chapter has mainly centered around the Lubavitch schools' role as an anti-assimilative institution integrating the students into the community's way of life. I began the chapter by discussing the presence of non-Lubavitch students in both Lubavitch schools. Their contribution to this community's tenability will become increasingly clear in the following chapters. Continuing with an analysis of how older Yeshiva students are groomed to be Lubavitcher chassidim, I then focused on both schools' secular curriculum.

These two sections were intended to highlight Lubavitchers' efforts to screen their youth from societal influences contradictory with the community's ideology. Finally I suggested that such insulation, coupled with these students' immersion in an adult world, results in the community's negligible intergenerational conflict.

I have suggested till here that in order to persist the Lubavitch community must create and maintain a distinctive identity while, at the same time, provide its members with a tenable way of life. The last three chapters were addressed to how the community achieves this end. As we shall argue in the sixth chapter, however, the community's tenability is directly related to its relationship with the larger Jewish community, whose financial contributions and interest in traditional Judaism support the community's institutions' viability.

An outcome of these chassidim's contacts with outsiders is their possible exposure to situations which may threaten and be in opposition to their distinctive way of life. I will argue in the seventh chapter that Lubavitchers' solution to this dilemma are a series of proselytizing activities in which they seek to attract newcomers. In addition, though unintended, these activities permit them to control the interactional context with outsiders, ensuring its central focus will pertain to religion. Although these chassidim's

proselytizing efforts do not attract many newcomers to the community, some persons do decide to alter their way of life and become integrated into the Lubavitch community. The manner in which such persons are processed by the community into becoming orthodox Jews and Lubavitcher chassidim is treated in the last chapter.

CHAPTER VI

LUBAVITCHER AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS:

GENTILES AND JEWS

The Lubavitcher, as a community, must establish a relationship with the outside community as they are institutionally incomplete. Although they have some dealings with non Jews, these are engaged in fleetingly and impersonally. These chassidim require relationships with the larger Jewish community for material support including money, school children and campers. In addition, Lubavitcher need support of various kinds and people to fulfill their mission - observing the Torah's precepts and influencing unobservant Jews Jewishly. As Mauss (1967) and others have shown, a relationship must be two sided to continue and to receive one must also give. This means that those with whom one party would relate must have something desired by the other party, and be willing to give it to them, in return for something available to the first party, and desired by the second, which the first party is willing to give to them. We may now inquire about the larger community's benefits resulting from its relationship with the Lubavitcher chassidim. For some, Lubavitch's schools, summer camps and other organized activities ensure their childrens' exposure to a traditionally orthodox view of life, thus securing the base for their future religious observance. The larger community's majority

of Jews familiar with the Lubavitcher regard these chassidim as ultra-orthodox or super-Jews, and desire their presence precisely for their strict orthodox observance. While the majority of unobservant Jews' contact with Lubavitcher is minimal, they utilize Lubavitchers' presence in whatever manner they consider fitting. This is similar to what occurred in Williamsburg with the chassidim's arrival. The presence of these orthodox Jews led to the establishment of kosher butcher shops which less observant Jews were glad to patronize, but not sufficiently concerned about to establish such shops themselves (Kranzler, 1961:61-62).

The following chapter focuses on the nature of the Lubavitch community's contacts with the larger community. I begin by examining the mutual benefits gained by Lubavitcher and the larger Jewish community resulting from their relationship. I then discuss these chassidim's relationship with the larger Jewish community, basing the discussion on how Lubavitcher serve as role models to this larger community, and provide three Lubavitch organized activities through which these chassidim attempt to initiate and sustain contact with other Jews. The chapter is concluded with an examination of Lubavitchers' ties with the surrounding non-Jewish community.

The Relationship Between Lubavitch and the
Larger Jewish Community: Mutual Benefits

Since the establishment of the Lubavitch community in this city in 1941, various segments of the Jewish population have utilized this chassidic group for whatever purposes it deemed necessary. It is important to add, however, that the larger Jewish community is heavily responsible for the Lubavitch community's tenability.

Some of the services which Lubavitcher perform for this larger Jewish community are less tangible than others. Their very presence in this city, for example, signifies to many, among them unobservant Jews, that orthodox Judaism still flourishes. As such, it may be said that these chassidic Jews serve as orthodox Jewish role models. It was this feeling which prompted the following to be written in 1941 in this city's daily Yiddish newspaper:

. . . till now one can only say that Canadian Jewry can have no regrets that they helped the Yeshiva students to immigrate to _____ (name of city). Tremendous moral strength has been added to the city, young people who have something to say to Canadian Jewry, who will unrelentingly utilize their influence toward furthering orthodox Jewish life in this country (translated from Yiddish, Der Kenneder Odler, October 31, 1941).

Although a majority of the city's Jews do not experience sustained contact with Lubavitcher, and prefer this arrangement to continue, they recognize these chassidim's contribution as a segment of the Jewish population. Expressing the

feeling of several Jews contacted in the course of the study, one, who was unobservant, remarked:

I really have nothing to do with them, but I'm pleased they're around. You see, there are plenty of orthodox Jews in this city without the Lubavitcher. Take the other chassidim, for example, and a lot of others who aren't chassidic. But Lubavitcher put in a lot of work into getting people to understand their position. Even though you're not observant, to them you're still a Jew and they care about you. They also remind you that you're a Jew and that's important too.

Many non-Lubavitch parents, wishing to provide their children with an orthodox education or immerse them in an orthodox Jewish environment, utilize Lubavitchers' institutions. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Lubavitcher chassidim are regarded by these parents as less extremist in their teaching methods and attitudes regarding orthodox Judaism than are the administrators and teachers of the Hungarian Yeshivess. They, consequently, prefer to send their children to these schools and summer camps. In addition, these students are likely to attend other Lubavitch functions such as rallies, parades and youth group meetings. Although the majority of these students are from families in which a degree of orthodoxy is practised, several stem from backgrounds where orthodox Judaism is completely absent.

Although Lubavitcher eagerly welcome all Jews to their institutions, these chassidim primarily service individuals

from orthodox families. As such, it is useful to view the establishment of these institutions as attempts to fill a void in the Jewish community in general and the orthodox segment of this community specifically. The founding of the Lubavitcher Yeshiva and Pardess Channeh - the Lubavitch girls' camp - serve as excellent examples of the above. With respect to the former a Lubavitcher, affiliated with this chassidic community since 1943, remarked:

Well, at the time, Jewish education in _____ (name of city) was at a very low state, low level. Even the Talmud Torah, as we know it now, was on a very small scale. The idea of parochial education, day schools, was not very much known You see, at the time, many of the parents, I would say most of the parents, were first generation immigrants and they themselves did not have any education as far as English education is concerned. Then, I would say in the beginning of the forties, it was just after the thirties and the recession and all this, I suppose that people did not even have the money to send their children to private schools, like a day school, like a Talmud Torah or a Yeshiva. There was no Yeshiva in the first place. So it was something that everybody did, send their children to Protestant schools. And, of course, not too many children visited afternoon schools. It was mostly, as it's known now, a Bar Mitzveh education. So when Lubavitch opened their doors many of the children joined

The opening of the Lubavitch girls' camp was also due to the absence of such an institution in this city. Although there are many coeducational Jewish camps available nearby, none was considered suitable for girls from strictly orthodox Jewish homes. Camp Pardess Channeh was organized to provide

a summer camp for precisely such girls though others were welcomed to attend. Said the Camp Director:

In _____ (name of city) you probably know . . . that there is no religious girls' camp whatsoever around. Now we've been dreaming about having a girls' camp for I wouldn't even know the number of years, but at least twelve or thirteen years. Either there was no place or there was no one to run it or there was no site . . . whatever there was, there was always something I don't think I'll have trouble filling the camp next year. I think this camp will be around for a long time. I mean it was important that there be such a camp. There was a great need for it.

Lubavitcher, it should be noted, do not restrict their services to youth, as programs and activities are also available for interested adults. The Lubavitch women's groups and drama group readily welcome interested outsiders and all Jews are free to davn (pray) at Lubavitch, attend the Lubavitch study classes and seek from these chassidim advice pertaining to Judaism. While the Lubavitch community provides the above mentioned services to the larger Jewish community, let us now consider the benefits it receives in return.

While Lubavitcher contribute toward the maintenance of their institutions, a sizeable proportion of the community's revenue derives from outside support. The exact amount of this revenue is unknown to me but its importance was suggested by several Lubavitcher. As one said:

Do you know what it costs to keep the Yeshiva going, the Bays Rivkeh, the camps, the youth groups and whatever else there is? I don't know the exact figures, but it's plenty. But how much can Lubavitcher pay? I mean there's a limit. So we need to get contributions from the outside - you know, from people who may not use the Yeshiva themselves but, for whatever reason, have feelings for it.

The degree of such outside support could be gleaned by attending the Yeshiva's fund-raising dinners and banquets where approximately half of the guests were strangers to me. At one such affair, for example, more than five and a half thousand dollars were pledged by those in attendance. Although many of the guests maintained a peripheral relationship with the Yeshiva, their financial contribution was necessary to assist the Lubavitch community's institutions meet their obligations.

As I indicated in a previous study (1969), the chassidim are viewed by many Jews in this city as supporting themselves from donations solicited for their Yeshivess. It is not unusual for Jews to ask: "Do these chassidim work for a living?" or "Who supports these Jews? Where do they get money?" While many Lubavitcher are aware of this image of them, as they sometimes refer to it in conversation, they quickly disclaim its validity. They admit, however, that certain Lubavitchers' occupations center about collecting money for the Lubavitcher Yeshiva. When one such Lubavitcher was asked about the sources of the community's fund-raising,

he replied: "The money comes from donations, from different people, Jewish and non-Jewish." This person also claimed that "each Jew has a hidden need for Torah" and regarded financial support to the community as "a partnership between the scholar and businessman." As he put it: "The businessman by giving money helps people to learn and study and gets some of the benefits from this." While data surrounding the Lubavitch community's fund-raising in the larger Jewish and Gentile communities are scarce, it appears that since this group's arrival in this city, Lubavitchers have attracted individuals who today are expected to contribute regularly to this community. Those whose occupations center about fund-raising are expected to ensure that monetary pledges are fulfilled, canvass in the larger community for additional sources of support while assuring the community's supporters of the mitzvess they perform through their contributions. While information concerning the Lubavitch community's financial dependence on the surrounding society is partly speculative, this writer is more familiar with the nature of the Tasher chassidim's fund-raising activities.

The Tasher chassidim's efforts at fund-raising were directed principally by three individuals, two of whom were concerned with contacting specific individuals for contributions while the third's responsibilities included soliciting

material goods required by the Tasher community from both Jews and Gentiles. While their efforts appeared haphazard they were, in fact, guided by what these chassidim regarded as strategies for successful fund-raising. Soliciting contributions typically consisted in the following sequence.

- 1) A decision was taken that contacting a particular individual, or person representing a company, may be advantageous to the Tasher community.
- 2) A letter, providing general background information about the Tasher Yeshiva, its accomplishments and present financial difficulties, was sent to the person.
- 3) This letter was immediately pursued by a telephone call in which the potential donator's attention was drawn to the letter and requested to consider it favourably in light of the Yeshiva's financial crisis.
- 4) Several days later another letter was sent reminding the individual of the previous telephone conversation, urging him to help ease the community's financial burdens.
- 5) If, by this time, the individual did not respond positively to the requests, another telephone call, approximately two weeks later, informed him that "all in the Tasher community, and especially the Grand Rabbi (the Tasher Rebbe) were anxiously awaiting his positive reply."

While this series of steps was typical for the duration of my employment at that Yeshiva, variations to the above

sequence were determined by potential contributors' background and community status. It is not my purpose to present a detailed account of the Tasher chassidim's strategies and general considerations for their fund-raising efforts in the outside community. I have tried to indicate that their high degree of dependence on outsiders may be measured by a) the community's allocation of three individuals whose full attention was devoted to soliciting contributions (in addition to at least one person who engaged in such work, part time, for a commission) and b) the presence of a general strategy for soliciting donations, suggesting the frequency of such efforts.

The Lubavitch community's dependence on outsiders for monetary support is suggested by the regular coordination of testimonial dinners and banquets, whose main purpose is to collect funds for the community's institutions. We may conclude that financial assistance from individuals in the larger community contributes heavily to the community's persistence and is, therefore, regularly canvassed.

While discussing features contributing to the Lubavitch community's tenability in a previous chapter, we focused on the Yeshiva. This discussion could be extended to include other community institutions such as the schools and summer camps. Lubavitchers' ability to maintain a boys' and girls' school, for instance, allow them to provide their children

with a special Jewish education, thus helping to ensure their acceptance of the Lubavitch way of life. The two summer camps' programs are best viewed as an extension of the schools' Jewish curricula for their base, as the schools' Jewish curricula, is the practise and understanding of precepts regulating orthodox Jewish life. Upon examining who attends these institutions, we discover the majority not to be students from Lubavitch families but, instead, from homes varying in degree of religious observance. Due to this community's size it is incapable of filling its schools and summer camps only with Lubavitcher. As one of the Bays Rivkeh administrators remarked: "As I said before, Lubavitch can't put together that many. If it would be only up to Lubavitch to open Bays Rivkeh it would just be ridiculous to open." In each of the schools Lubavitcher children comprise approximately forty per cent of the student body. When we investigate camper registration we find that, as in the schools, children from Lubavitch families are the minority. Camp Gan Israel's registration for the 1970 season, for example, included only between thirty to forty per cent of its campers from Lubavitch families, the remainder coming from the larger Jewish community. When the Camp Director was asked if Pardess Channeh included only Lubavitch girls, he replied:

No, you see, the funny thing about it was why we really never got that camp before, was because in the past Let me put it this way. Lubavitch

over here would not be able to put together more than . . . camping age . . . thirty five, forty kids altogether

The above analysis indicates that outsiders are a crucial factor in these institutions' viability. The Lubavitch community is able to maintain them precisely due to such support since, if outsiders could not be attracted, the community's size would make their upkeep impossible. One may even suggest that, with respect to Lubavitch schools, it is precisely the presence of students from non-Lubavitch families which ensures the schools' retention of the kind of secular curricula qualifying it for "associate status" rank. Non-Lubavitch parents, agreeing to the importance of a traditional Jewish education for their children, recognize the necessity of a satisfactory secular studies program, and insist that the Lubavitch schools provide one of acceptably high standards.

In addition to assisting the Lubavitch community maintain its vital institutions, these chassidim's relationship with the larger Jewish community allows them to perform various mitzvess. Whereas certain mitzvess may be observed privately, such as reciting the appropriate prayer before eating or abiding by certain Sabbath regulations, others are easily fulfilled in the presence of unobservant Jews. If, for example, all Jews in this city observed Tefillin or recited the prayers related to the holiday of Sukcess, there would be no need for

Lubavitchers' Tefillin campaign or their Sukkehmobile. It is precisely because of the large number of unobservant Jews in the community that Lubavitchers' proselytizing activities result in these chassidim's observance of various mitzves. This very activity - proselytizing in the larger community - is highly consistent with the Rebbe's constant reminder to his chassidim - unobservant Jews must be contacted and persuaded to conduct their lives in an orthodox manner. Since, as argued earlier, Lubavitchers' self-conception is centered around their execution of the Rebbe's advice and requests, we conclude that the Lubavitch community's relationship with the larger Jewish community is central to the maintenance of its distinctive identity.

Lubavitcher are set apart, and set themselves apart, from chassidim of other groups by their efforts to establish contact with unobservant Jews to direct their attention to orthodox Judaism. Unlike those chassidim who have isolated themselves from the larger Jewish community, Lubavitcher have organized strategies to penetrate this community to infuse it with a feeling for traditional Judaism. In the following section I address myself to Lubavitchers' proselytizing relationship with the larger Jewish community, suggesting that these chassidim serve as role models to this community. The analysis is focused around three Lubavitch projects - the Tefillin campaign, the Encounter With Chabad and Lubavitch

summer camps.

Relationship With the Wider Jewish
Community: Lubavitcher as Role Models

I mentioned above that Lubavitcher chassidim provide the larger Jewish community with a super-Jewish role model. To understand Lubavitchers' proselytizing activities in this larger Jewish community - around which their relationship with this community is centered - it is necessary to focus on how such a role model is executed and its accompanying requirements.

Strict observance of orthodox precepts, while a prerequisite to being a super-Jewish role model, is insufficient by itself. The Satmarer chassidim, for example, while strictly observant but isolated from and hardly seen by the larger Jewish community, do not serve as super-Jewish role models. To assume such a role, one must necessarily come into contact with the larger Jewish community in an activity emphasizing super-Jewishness. The Tefillin campaign, Encounter With Chabad, and summer camps' programs are activities centering about exactly such contact. These activities are not intended to convert people to Lubavitch but rather to convince unobservant Jews that they, Lubavitcher, are simply different from them in degree and not in kind - in this case, more observant. Execution of a role model successfully

requires that qualitative differences are minimized while the quantitative ones are stressed. If, in the course of their proselytizing activities, Lubavitcher underlined the distinctive differences between themselves and less observant Jews, the latter would become alienated rather than regard Lubavitcher as role models of super-Jews. Thus, while meeting and conversing with other Jews, Lubavitcher continually emphasize madraigges - levels - in Yiddishkayt, noting that their attainment of a particular level of Yiddishkayt is accessible to all willing to practise orthodox Judaism:

I mean, really, what is the difference between us? O.K., I might have reached a higher madraiggeh (level) of Yiddishkayt but that's because I practise the mitzvess. But you could reach a higher madraiggeh too if you begin to put on Tefillin, observe kashress, davn. I mean everyone should be interested in reaching a higher level of Yiddishkayt. O.K., so I'm at step two and you're at step one, but you can reach step two if you work at it.

The Tefillin campaign is an activity highlighting the Lubavitcher in their role of super-Jews as models for the community. As role models do, the activity surrounding the Tefillin campaign emphasizes that others can easily embark on the same path as Lubavitcher with a simple start. Thus the Tefillin campaign, the Encounter With Chabad and other Lubavitch organized activities are best regarded as public, observable super-Jewish activities. Although chassidim of other groups, including the Satmarer and Tasher, are strictly

observant Jews, sometimes regarding Lubavitcher as less observant, their isolation prevents people from knowing about them or ever coming into contact with them. As a result, these chassidic Jews serve less as role models than Lubavitcher chassidim who organize themselves to contact all Jews regardless of their religious practises.

Lubavitchers' pursuit of proselytizing activities emanates from their shared belief that those Jews whose practise of traditional Judaism does not conform to the orthodox version must be persuaded to regulate their lives by the Torah's precepts. This belief has been central to the previous Lubavitcher Rebbeim and has also been reiterated by the present Lubavitcher Rebbe. A story told by a Klausenburger chossid aptly highlights Lubavitchers' proselytizing zeal:

I'll tell you an example. There's a storm at the water, a gale. Anybody who goes near the water drowns. Someone is drowning. Here are the thoughts of three people: One says, "I don't care. I'll jump in even if I drown. I'll give up my whole body." Another says, "I'll run away. Look at the terrible storm. He's lost but I can save myself if I run away." The third person answers - he gets himself down to the water and he sets himself strong. He throws a rope and calls out: "Catch it and I'll pull you out."

Lubavitch is like the first. Their way is to give out everything to pull in. They'll live in the worst community in the world, even though the person can get spoiled himself, even though something could go wrong with his children. Satmar is like the second: "If I see a person not religious, not only will I not have anything to do with him, but I'll chase him away." We (at Klausenburg) put down a Yeshiveh, make it as orthodox as we want. If a man who is not religious sends us his son, we take him in. If he wants to grab on to us, we take him in. We don't chase after him. . . . (Mintz, 1968:154).

The Tefillin campaign, Encounter With Chabad and Lubavitch summer camps are not the only activities planned by Lubavitch to draw Jews into the orthodox fold. Additional events include, among others, the Institute for Brides and Grooms to inform young couples about the Jewish laws regulating marriage, Messibbess Shabbess groups to maintain younger boys' and girls' interests in orthodox Judaism, Chanekkeh and Purim rallies, a Lag Bo'Oymer Day parade and a women's drama group. The common feature shared by these activities is their coordination for the expressed purpose of bridging and eventually closing the gap presumed to exist between the orthodox and unobservant in the Jewish community. A Lubavitch woman explains how the drama group helps achieve that goal:

. . . and the drama group attracts women that aren't Lubavitcher really. They seem to like this [the group] very much. This year we have a few women that . . . they have a feeling for Lubavitch, they sympathize, but they're not religious, they don't keep Shabbess Once they're in it they get to know the other women and we become friends and we don't feel we have to stay away from anyone if they're not religious. As long as they're Jewish we associate with them. We may not be able to eat at their house, but we could still be friendly and talk to them and meet with them. And this way we have an open door to their houses, to them. (So was this group instituted for that kind of reason?) No, we thought about it as a fund raiser. We didn't realize it would have this effect. But now we feel this part of the play is just as effective, is just as important as the money part because either way we're gaining.

A primary purpose of all Lubavitch proselytizing activities is to establish and maintain contact with Jews to influence

them Jewishly. The three activities to be discussed in this section differ from those briefly mentioned above in that greater energy is invested in them to ensure their success. This should not suggest that the various activities can be easily ranked in importance. For example, after the completion of a Lag Bo'Oymer outing a Yeshiva student said to me: "Wow, can you imagine what we did today? We got a thousand kids who have probably never made a brocheh (blessing) in their life to make a few brochess. That's fantastic."

Lubavitch sponsored activities are not intended for conversion purposes into this chassidic group. The absence of a prolonged and sustained drive to process non-orthodox newcomers into Lubavitcher indicates that conversion is not the immediate goal. The activities ought, instead, to be regarded as strategies to persuade those contacted of traditional Judaism's significance. A Lubavitcher expressed this well when he said:

Look, the idea is not to get hold of someone and say: "Hey, you have to become a Lubavitcher because that's the best thing you can do." What we're really after is that people should realize that we have to lead our lives according to the Torah. This is what has kept the Jews together for so long.

The Tefillin Campaign

The Tefillin campaign, while not organized exclusively by the Lubavitcher chassidim, was initiated by the Lubavitcher Rebbe and became associated with Lubavitch. It started shortly before the outbreak of the Six Day War in June 1967 when the

Lubavitcher Rebbe urged his followers throughout the world to ensure that as many Jews as possible observed Tefillin. The following notice, also translated into other languages, was displayed prominently wherever Lubavitcher gathered:

In view of the present situation in the Holy Land, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson, has emphatically reiterated his appeal concerning the specific need - TO STRENGTHEN AND DISSEMINATE THE OBSERVANCE OF THE MITZVAH OF TEFILLIN AMONG JEWS.

The Rebbe emphasized that the fulfillment of this Mitzvah in addition to its essential aspect as a Divine Commandment which must be observed for its own sake, is even more imperative at this time not merely for its protective quality as indicated in the Torah, "and they shall fear you" - the fear that is instilled in the hearts of the enemies as a result of the observance of this mitzvah . . . - but even more so for the Divine strength which the Mitzvah of Tefillin bestows upon its defenders TO VANQUISH THE ENEMY IN THE COURSE OF BATTLE.

The Lubavitcher Rebbe appealed:

a) Each and every Jew should scrupulously observe this Mitzvah every weekday. Also, one should have his Tefillin examined periodically as stated in the Code of Jewish law.

b) By every possible means everyone should spread and foster the observance of this precept among his fellow Jews, especially those in the military defense forces, their relatives and friends, by explaining to them the vital importance of this mitzvah.

May it be G-d's will, concluded the Rebbe in his appeal, that in the very near future the current situation will be a thing of the past, for peace shall reign over the entire world, especially in the Holy Land about which it is stated:

"AND I WILL GRANT PEACE IN THE LAND!" and that every Jew should be able to study Torah and observe the mitzvot in peace and tranquility.

Announcements regarding the campaign appeared in both the English and Yiddish press. One, appearing in a Yiddish newspaper in this city, read in part:

. . . Millions of Jews have been saved miraculously.

Now let us add millions of Jews who will add to their Mitzvah observance, beginning with the Mitzvah of Tefillin . . . (from a proclamation of The Lubavitcher Rebbe, shlita)

Shortly before the outbreak of the "Six-Day War" last June the Lubavitcher Rebbe . . . initiated an unprecedented Tefillin campaign

This campaign has received the support of the most prominent religious leaders both in Israel and the Diaspora. Already, thousands of Jews who formerly neglected this Mitzvah are observing today as a result of this campaign.

. . . IN X (name of city) - A TEFILLIN CAMPAIGN IS BEING PROCLAIMED by the undersigned religious leaders of our Community, beginning this week of Parshat Yisro (February 17th). We call upon our Jewish brethren , from teenagers to senior citizens, who have until now not observed this Mitzvah regularly to commence to do so this Sunday morning, preferably at Services held in their synagogue. Anyone in need of guidance and assistance is invited to call one of the undersigned of the Tefillin Campaign headquarters

The above text was signed by thirty two Rabbis in this city representing different synagogues and religious affiliations within Judaism. In addition, a section of a pamphlet circulated by Lubavitcher read:

In X (name of city), the religious leaders of the community proclaimed that starting Parshas Yisro Feb.17, there will be a strengthened effort to make the Jewish populace aware of the importance of this Mitzvah. Lectures and newspaper articles are being devoted to this subject. Hospitals and organizations, offices and homes are some of the places where visitations have accomplished undreamed of results. Many, inspired by this, have decided to continue putting on Tefillin daily; thousands are responding to this call as the campaign steadily expands.

The Tefillin campaign's main objective is to persuade Jews of the significance of Tefillin observance in Jewish life. All Jews, regardless of their feelings toward orthodox

Judaism, are encouraged to observe this mitzveh. While all Lubavitcher display interest in the campaign's progress, the older Yeshiva students are primarily responsible for the proselytizing activity that surrounds it. Such proselytizing takes the form of establishing "Tefillin booths" at strategic Jewish locations as, for example, the Young Men's Hebrew Association. In addition, invitations are extended to people to perform this mitzveh in the Yeshiva.

In spite of the campaign's importance, the Yeshiva students' participation in this campaign occurs during their spare time, including their lunch period and primarily Friday afternoons when their studies end earlier. Two older Yeshiva students (bocherim) recount episodes from their participation:

. . . We would ask people to put on Tefillin for Israel. Sometimes we would go to the person's house in the morning, or sometimes we would even go to the factories or stores. It's really fantastic how many people we got. Have you ever heard of (name of restaurant)? We even got him to put on Tefillin. There are so many stories about the number of new people that we got to put on Tefillin.

(Is the campaign going as strongly today as when you started?) Well, when we started it was really an all out effort. We still learned but everyone was really involved. The stories from the campaign are really something. We used to go down to the St. Lawrence to the Israeli ships. This was once every two weeks or once a month. And, after a while, we really got to know the people there. And so we would come on the ship and we would say: "Oh, he's a good guy, let's get him." . . . Another time we were on our way to New York and the bus broke down. . . it was near a college town. So we got off the bus and we davned (prayed) and then we went looking for people. It's something [Tefillin] which has

gotten in everyone's veins, it really has.

Although bocherim are the campaign's most energetic participants, all Lubavitcher are encouraged to become actively involved. Involvement, however, can take different forms, and those feeling bashful or insecure about approaching others can assist in other ways such as offering to drive Lubavitcher to their Tefillin routes, helping distribute literature related to Tefillin, or contributing financially toward the campaign's expenses. A Lubavitcher, teaching at an English High School, remarked:

I'll be very open with you. At the beginning I was very skeptical about it. I mean why should anyone believe that people would begin to put on Tefillin again? But then slowly I began to hear stories and also saw new faces at the Services. I thought: "Maybe the idea isn't so far-fetched after all?" You know I'm a teacher So one day I decided to take along with me a pair of Tefillin. This was done secretly and I would approach a few boys and say: "Excuse me, may I know if you have already put on Tefillin today?" I knew beforehand what their answer was going to be and then I would say: "Would you mind if you took five or ten minutes to put on Tefillin?" They would usually say "Yes" mostly because I was the teacher But then, more and more students would come to put on Tefillin.

Although the Bays Medresh students' involvement in the campaign is restricted to certain hours, all have participated in it. When actively participating, the bocher occupies a Tefillin route which, as one student explained, was: "A route can be anywhere from a certain street downtown to

standing outside _____'s (name) bookstore and just asking people if they want to put on Tefillin." Another bocher described it this way:

. . . It actually means that you have two or three blocks and along these two or three blocks you have about eight stores who put on Tefillin. So you establish a route, where somebody with less guts or less English can go next week and say: "I'm here again to put on Tefillin" and the guy'll say: "Oh, sure". Establishing that route means coming in and hammering and hassling with the guy. No put on, yes put on, getting thrown out.

Together with one or two other students, a particular route is the bocher's responsibility for a few months. The route may be already organized, in which case the bocher is informed about the people to visit, or may yet require organization thus calling for initiating contact with new people. If the latter is necessary, it is usually left to those gifted in this respect.

Once a Tefillin route is established it is essential that a specific place to put on Tefillin is obtained. Lubavitcher recognize that less people will be agreeable to observe the mitzveh if the activity's setting allows interested onlookers to stare. Office buildings are considered "good places" for this reason as they contain private spaces. One Yeshiva student put it like this:

. . . If you're asking people in the street you have the problem. You can't put on Tefillin with them on

the street. You have to have a place. You have to have a place nearby that would offer to let you put on Tefillin with them inside, in the back room somewhere You know, I can't imagine a grocery enjoying people putting on Tefillin as the dealer is concerned.

While initiating and / or maintaining a Tefillin route, the Lubavitcher must learn to cultivate a convincing argument to persuade the approached person to consent to his request. Part of a conversation with a Yeshiva student illustrates this:

(. . . you mentioned that there's this sort of speech) . . . Each person has his own set thing. What I mean is that you can't come in to somebody and say: "I'm here to put on Tefillin. Roll up your left sleeve." (Well, let's assume that you're going to a place that you've never gone into. Do you make sure, somehow, that the people in there are Jewish?) Oh, I'd walk in, I would say: "Good afternoon" or "Good morning, are you Jewish?" And some people say: "No, I'm sorry." I'd say: "It's O.K." Some people will say: "Yes, can I help you?" And it's, you see, actually what we're trying to do when we're trying to put on Tefillin on somebody, so we're going to use the best approach. If it's around a holiday, like if it's around Chanekkeh, we're going to tell them: "Listen, Chanekkeh is approaching. Being as it's a Jewish holiday, we got to show our solidarity to Judaism. Why don't you put on Tefillin?" If something happened in Israel last week, I'll say: "Listen, our brothers are having a tough time in Israel and the Lubavitcher Rebbe, he's a very great leader among the Jews, said that putting on Tefillin helps our soldiers fight in Israel. Would you like to help us out and put on Tefillin?" Or I might say: "How about doing a mitzveh? When was the last time you put on Tefillin?" You have to warm up to a person.

A student, whose Tefillin route was by a store which sold

religious articles, remarked:

Well, we don't just look for a customer to come in. We stand outside. Any passerby who looks like he's Jewish is required, you know, . . . so, you know, we ask him if he wants to participate in mitzveh's Tefillin. You know, would he like to? And a lot of them think you have to give money right away and so you have to get that settled with. A lot of people are surprised at this, ha ha. And so they say: "Fine." This is great and so you take them into the store to put on Tefillin. If they don't really like the idea too much we ask them why and you would like to get them into a discussion.

Since participation in the Tefillin campaign is an activity common to the older Yeshiva students, they often compare their experiences. This proves to be an extremely useful exercise as it permits others to discover how their peers confront people and the tactics they employ. When a bocher recounts an unsuccessful experience, others might inform him how they would have handled such a case, thus offering advice for similar future encounters. Such discussions also serve to prepare bocherim for coming experiences during their involvement in the campaign.

The Tefillin campaign's ultimate objective, centering about the matter of Yiddishkayt, is more encompassing than simply convincing others to observe Tefillin. Lubavitcher hope that once the person begins observing Tefillin regularly, the practise of additional mitzvess will follow naturally. This is nicely illustrated by the following:

. . . Like, for instance, last year for the Pegeesheh,

we went to visit _____ (person's name)
And we were sitting there and she was telling us:
"Oh, by the way, you guys are Lubavitcher? I want
to tell you something very interesting. Some of
your fellows came to my husband on Decarie . . .
and they put on Tefillin with him and they came
again and again and he started putting on Tefillin
every day and he asked if there is anything that
can be done, that a woman can do, and they told
him: "Yes, she can light the candles Friday night."
You guys are really doing a wonderful job.

While various religious and mystical reasons may explain
why Tefillin observance was selected as the basis of a
campaign for Yiddishkayt, a practical reason influenced the
choice. Compared with other salient mitzvess such as
kashruth, family purity and the Sabbath, Tefillin is relatively
simple to observe as it requires little time to perform.
In addition, it demands few, if any, initial changes in
the person's life-style. Note the following:

. . . Why davke (necessarily) Tefillin? . . . why
didn't you pick kashress? Why didn't you pick .
. . ? Because it's an automatic thing. It's not
hard, it's easy. It's not like you have to go into
a guy's house and say: "Listen, throw out all your
dishes." You can argue with them and you're not
asking for money, you're not telling them to give,
you're just asking them to put on Tefillin. And
it's a positive thing that can be done on the spot,
immediately.

Or:

. . . one of the reasons that I said why Tefillin
was picked because it's a positive thing to do
at the moment. A normal person would not refuse
this too vehemently because he doesn't lose
anything by it at the moment. Tell him: "Go start
kashress, go keep Shabbess", these things are hard.
He'd have to give up in other things. On the

other hand, all you're asking him to do at the beginning is to put on Tefillin.

Tefillin observance is regarded as a critical step in a process whereby the person is urged to become more observant. Lubavitcher hope that the regular practise of Tefillin will encourage him and his immediate others to observe additional mitzvess:

(Is the idea to try to get the person to put on Tefillin on his own, so that you don't have to keep coming around all the time?) No, . . . you want to remain in contact with him because eventually it would be great if these people would, of course, not only just put on Tefillin but would observe kashress and become baal tshuvess and shoimrai Shabbess and everything. But that's a very long ranged goal. But the beginning, the first part, is to get him to put on Tefillin.

Or:

. . . And we sit with them and we explain our view and they become quite receptive after a time and afterwards they'll start putting on Tefillin on their own. That's generally the goal. The eventual goal, of course, is that that can lead to other things.

As shown elsewhere in the study, the element of time is a main feature of the process leading a person to traditional Judaism. Lubavitcher are aware that the observance of new mitzvess, especially if the person was unobservant before, can be a trying experience both for the individual and those close to him. They try to ensure, consequently, that the person himself will monitor his degree of increased observance. I was once told, for instance, : "To tell

someone to put them on every day right away, chances are it won't happen. Generally it takes a lot of work."

While Tefillin is observed only by men, women have also been given a role in the campaign. Shortly after the campaign's initiation, a release from the Lubavitch News Service claimed:

. . . The Rebbe said that although Tefillin is observed by men only, women can also take part in the campaign by influencing those who are obligated to observe the Mitzvah, and by contributing funds for the distribution of free Tefillin among those who cannot afford to purchase them.

I once asked a Lubavitch woman: "Is there any kind of work that the girls helped do with respect to the Tefillin campaign?" Her reply fell into line with the Rebbe's instructions:

Yes. They've raised money. They gave their own money, whatever they managed to save up in the bank, and they've paid for Tefillin, to buy Tefillin for those who don't have and can't afford and want to put on Tefillin. But at the same time while this Tefillin campaign came out the women and the girls were giving their money. For a pair of Tefillin I think they gave an amount, let's say, eighteen dollars Ya, they were up in arms. "What are we going to do?" "Why don't we have something to do?" This is what they were told. They can give their money and in this way they can have a share in the mitzveh.

Since the campaign's outset, Tefillin's importance has been repeatedly stressed by the Lubavitcher Rebbe. Lubavitcher chassidim have tried, as a result, to persuade unobservant Jews in this city to observe this mitzveh. Their

degree of success is determined by their manpower resources and the amount of time devoted to proselytization. Although both are limited, Lubavitcher have labelled the campaign an overwhelming success. Success, however, is not defined solely by the number of people who consent to observe Tefillin. Such a definition is too restrictive for it detracts from an important aim of the campaign - to emphasize to Jews the urgency of guiding their lives in accordance with Jewish law.

Encounter With Chabad

Unlike the Tefillin campaign, aimed at males above the age of thirteen years, the Encounter With Chabad is intended for college and university students, and is designed to expose them to orthodox Judaism and attract them to its principles. Lubavitcher consider it the main vehicle for establishing contact with Jewish students of post High School age.

The Lubavitcher chassidim's concern for Jewish students at universities and colleges reflects their Rebbe's views on Jewish youth - a topic to which he has addressed himself on numerous occasions. The Lubavitch leader once wrote in reply to a letter:

Fortunately, one has been able to clearly discern a new trend among our young Jewish men and women, especially academic youth who come closer to the world of ideas and thought. Being children of The

People of the Book, of essentially spiritual and holy people, they are by nature and heredity inclined, subconsciously at least, towards the spiritual. Their disillusionment and dissatisfaction have prompted them to search for a new way of life which would give them a sense of terra firma under their feet, make their life meaningful and put their mind at peace with themselves. Some of them have been fortunate in making fateful encounters, by design or "accident" (everything is, of course, by Divine Providence) which have put them on the right track. Others, unfortunately, are still groping in the dark. It is the momentous duty and challenge of our day to help these young Jewish men and women to find their way back to the "fountains of living waters" to quench their thirst for life. We of Lubavitch have made it our "business" to do all we can to help them (Teachers Programme, Vol.2, 1970:336).

The Encounter With Chabad programs, organized by the Lubavitch Youth Organization, "serves the Jewish college community with varied programs designed to enlighten the student in a straight manner on the meaning and significance of Torah Judaism in the modern world" (A Thought for the Week, Vol.3, No.10, 1969). The programs' objective is to convince the participants that it is necessary to practise traditional Judaism, while attempting to refute the popular claim that many of its laws are irrelevant and ought to be altered to conform to today's society.

The Encounter program, in this city, began two years ago - the first one occurring in February 1970. Several older Yeshiva students, with the nominal support of a few Rabbis, directed the Encounter's publicity and made the other necessary arrangements to organize the event. Publicity

was coordinated so that advertisements were inserted in the press, were heard on the radio, appeared on university and college notice boards and in store windows. An advertisement in one of the university dailies read:

An Encounter
With Chabad
Chassidism

An invitation to Jewish College Youth to
experience a joyful, authentic Shabbos
within a Chassidic milieu

When: Weekend of March 5 - March 7
What: An opportunity to live, study and discuss
in a Chassidic environment inspired with
joyful heart warming song and dance
Why: To give students seeking a meaningful
commitment a chance to explore Torah
Judaism and Mysticism and to see how
Chassidism can be the answer
Where: Rabbinical College of Canada

.PARTICIPANTS WILL BE HOUSED
WITH CHASSIDIC FAMILIES
.NO PRIOR BACKGROUND OR COMMITMENT
NECESSARY

As the advertisement indicates, the Encounter's program is intended to allow participants to explore an atmosphere of orthodox Judaism and chassidism, accomplished primarily through lectures and discussions. For instance, one of the schedules included:

Fri. March 5th:
3:00 - 5:00 P.M. Arrival and registration
6:15 P.M. Introduction to Encounter
6:30 P.M. "Kabbolas Shabbos"
8:30 P.M. The Identity Crisis

Sat. March 6th:

- 9:00 A.M. Chassidus - A Study in Chassidic Philosophy
- 10:00 A.M. "Shachris" (morning service)
- 3:00 P.M. The Status of Women in Judaism and Chabad
- 4:00 P.M. "Shalosh Seudos": Chassidic Discourse Talks and Melodies
- 8:30 P.M. "Melave Malke" Main session "Chassidism, the Mystical Aspect of Judaism"
- 11:00 P.M. Chassidic Song and Dance
- 12:00 Midnight "Farbreng-In" (Chassidic Gathering) getting "high" Chassidically

Sun. March 7th:

- 10:00 A.M. "Shachris": Explanation Tefillin
- 11:30 A.M. Breakfast: Closing session: Who am I?

The lectures and discussions are oriented toward a Lubavitch perspective in that they stress particular issues Lubavitchers feel are critical to all Jews. Thus, for example, a lecture on "The Identity Crisis" relates to Lubavitchers' concern over recent trends in Israeli law regarding conversion of Gentiles to Judaism.

To complement the program's intellectual emphasis, participants are housed with a Lubavitch family for the Sabbath's duration. This practice is designed as a demonstration for students on how a Lubavitch family celebrates this holy day. This aspect of the program serves additional advantages. For the participants it serves as an opportunity to establish a more personal relationship with a Lubavitch

family. The family, in turn, is able to impress upon someone, usually with a limited knowledge and practise of orthodox Judaism, the profits to be gained from living a fully orthodox Jewish life.

During registration the participants are handed an "Encounter Kit" which, they are told, will familiarize them both with the Encounter's purpose and the Lubavitcher chassidim. It includes a booklet titled "An Encounter With Chabad", a pamphlet about Tefillin and several of the Lubavitcher Rebbe's discourses translated into English. While the sessions are intended to be informative and thought-provoking, Lubavitcher hope that students will pursue informal questioning at all times and older Yeshiva students are available for precisely this purpose. Older girls and women are similarly available to respond to the female participants' queries. Lubavitcher have learned to anticipate the kinds of questions they will be asked. The "standard" questions, as they are sometimes referred to, include, for example, the relevance of the Torah's laws in today's society, why God allowed six million Jews to perish since Jews are identified as His chosen people, a proof for God's existence. Such questions present minor difficulty for the majority of Lubavitcher since the Rebbe has addressed himself to precisely these matters on numerous occasions and his replies are well rehearsed by his chassidim.

Although the Encounters' organizers hope it will attract a large audience, they prefer that the majority will not be comprised of individuals positively committed to orthodox Judaism. During preparations for the first Encounter one of the students mentioned to me: "I hope we don't get too many of the Yavneh (a religious organization on the university campus) crowd. They're alright. They know where they stand. A few, fine, but not too many." Another said: "I hope we get a couple of radicals and extremists. Do you know X (a student believed to be a radical)? He's coming for sure and he's going to get some of his friends." Of the thirty students who participated in the first Encounter, approximately half were observant. While attendance for the Saturday night session was considerably larger than the number of registered participants, over half the audience was comprised of members of synagogue groups and young orthodox Jews. We must remember that those who arrived for this time did not observe this day with a Lubavitch family - a basic purpose of the program.

Lubavitcher view the Encounter as a catalyst for stimulating contact with college and university students. During the weekend of the Encounter little effort is made to win people over to Lubavitch. The only formal proselytizing, for example, occurs Saturday night when a table, arranged in the main auditorium, displays Lubavitch liter-

ature and music. During the Encounter, however, participants are informed that Lubavitch is anxious to arrange a study group for those interested and that individual tutelage is available.

The Encounter serves as an initial contact setting where traditional Judaism is stressed. Since the program's organization relies on formal sessions, individual attention is hardly possible. When, however, the person accepts Lubavitchers' invitation to study Yiddishkayt, his individual needs are considered and planned for. The male typically meets with an older Yeshiva student or adult at a prearranged time and place. During the first meeting they negotiate their course of study which is mainly determined by the person's Jewish background. They might decide to concentrate on the Tanya (Lubavitch philosophy), for example, the weekly reading of the Torah or reading and discussing the Rebbe's discourses. Females meet at a Lubavitch woman's home where they too embark on a course of study relevant to their Jewish background.

Attendance is not considered the only criterion by which to judge the Encounter's success. Equally important are Lubavitchers' impressions concerning their accomplishment with those that attended. One Lubavitcher, disappointed with the Encounter's seemingly lack of organization and poor attendance, voiced his complaints to one of the organizers.

The latter replied:

What do you think, that it's so easy? And let's say that of those who came three will now start putting on Tefillin. Do you think that's such a little thing? And let's say that one or two will begin to come here once a week to learn. This is also something. I grant you that it would have been better had more people attended but the question has to do with what was accomplished (translated from the Yiddish).

The Encounter With Chabad program is reportedly successful wherever it has been organized. As an article in the Yiddish press, written by a Lubavitcher, informs us:

Today as one visits Lubavitch, regardless of where these visits occur . . . one can see young men, who a few years earlier, were members of S.D.S. or other leftist activities, or concerned with similar events, with little to do with Jews and Judaism and almost lost and forgotten.

Today you can find these same people immersed in Torah study, observant of Torah and mitzvess and conducting themselves accordingly (translated from the Yiddish).

In this city this program, though begun only two years ago, has served as an effective vehicle for contacting unobservant Jewish college youth. Although some Lubavitcher argue it will have to be better organized and publicized to profit from its potentially high return, the program has already resulted in numerous relationships between Lubavitcher and non-religious Jewish students.

Lubavitch Summer Camps

Lubavitcher concentrate their efforts in their summer camps to initiate and maintain contact with Jewish youth during the summer vacation period. Three such camps are

organized by the Lubavitcher in this city - a boys' camp - Camp Gan Israel, a girls' camp - Pardess Channeh and a Messibbess Shabbess day camp. The first two are situated in the Laurentian mountains - the site of numerous summer camps, while the third is centered in the Lubavitcher Yeshiva.

The Lubavitch camps' main attraction is that the campers are exposed to a traditionally orthodox way of life. While many Jewish summer camps are situated a short distance North of the city, the Jewish content included in their programming is planned for specific periods and centers around cultural phenomena. When religion is incorporated into the programs as, for example, the organization of Sabbath Services, it too is treated as an aspect of Jewish culture. The Lubavitch camps, on the other hand, introduce no distinction between the religious and secular content of the programs, as the various every day activities are intended to be infused with traditional Jewish ideals. A brochure on Camp Gan Israel claims:

[Gan Israel] . . . was established to fulfill the long-felt need for a summer camp where Jewish boys can relax and enjoy the summer vacation in an atmosphere of Torah-true Judaism The program of studies, as well as the daily religious services, are designed so that the children themselves participate with zeal and devotion.

The three Lubavitch camps are organized to service both the orthodox and non-orthodox segments in the larger Jewish

community. A primary purpose of each camp is to exert a maximum influence on the youth it attracts from non-orthodox homes. A bocher, speaking about Gan Israel, remarked:

. . . they're interested in just to influence non-frum (observant) Jews, so for someone who isn't religious who wants to send their kids, it gives them an opportunity to send them. That's one of the important, well, that's the purpose of the whole Lubavitch movement, so that camp functions in that respect, in that they get people to go there and influence them. The basic purpose of the camp, one of the purposes no doubt, is to have a camp for kids, you know, for Lubavitcher, but that's in a certain way secondary.

Campers from Lubavitch families are a minority in each of the three camps. The Messibbess Shabbess day camp, for instance, in 1971 registered one hundred and ten campers of which approximately fifteen were students from the Yeshiva. Camp Gan Israel's registration for the 1970 season totalled near two hundred of which only thirty to forty percent were from Lubavitch homes. Although Lubavitcher campers are a minority in each of the camps, the Camp Directors encourage unobservant Jewish parents to register their children with them. The ideal attraction are campers from the so called frye - the non-orthodox - element. At a Lubavitch organized Purim rally one of the prizes consisted of a month's vacation at Camp Gan Israel. As the winner's name was to be announced, a former Yeshiva student whispered to me: "If a Lubavitch kid wins this prize, then they're [Lubavitch] crazy. What sense does that make? I think last year a kid from Luba-

vitch won. That's stupid." Since a majority of the camps' staffs are from a Lubavitch background, together with Lubavitch and other orthodox campers, they are expected to influence those from non-orthodox homes toward traditional Jewish practise.

Each of the camps' programs is guided by the belief that the summer vacation must not prevent Jewish youth from learning about and living in a Yiddishkayt atmosphere. Each morning in Camp Pardess Channeh, for instance, one of the Rabbis spoke briefly on a topic pertaining to Jewish religion, such as "making a brocheh (blessing)". After breakfast the camp was divided into study groups for an hour where again themes centering on the religion were discussed. In the day camp, catering to children between the ages of six and nine, the boys' program included study classes from nine till ten o'clock and depending on the class' level of Yiddishkayt, consisted of "aleph bays" (alphabet), Sidder, Chumesh and Mishnaiyess. At ten o'clock this section of the camp departed to a park for sports activities and afterwards to a swimming pool for water games and swimming.

Both in Gan Israel and Pardess Channeh the Lubavitcher Rebbe's accomplishments are the topics of many stories and discussions. Counsellors stress the importance of the Torah's precepts and urge their campers to conduct themselves accordingly. Once, during a visit to Gan Israel, a bocher

told me: "You wouldn't believe what it was like on Friday night. We sang for about two hours and I mean it was real lebedik (lively). The spirit was so high it was tremendous." The signs and posters on the walls of the dining and recreation halls are constant reminders regarding the importance of Torah observance. A few include: "Work All Six, Rest On Seven, As it is Done in Heaven, " "Teach Torah to our young generation, Ensure the future of our nation, " and "Fight Assimilation with a Torah education."

As with the Tefillin campaign and the Encounter program, the purpose in attracting non-orthodox youth to Lubavitch summer camps is to impress upon them the significance of their Jewish heritage. It is not, claim Lubavitcher, to convert them into Lubavitcher chassidim. Since the expressed aim is to imbue the individual with a feeling for Yiddishkayt, the camp setting is the optimal place to accomplish this goal, for intensive contact can there be maintained with the camper. Meeting at the Yeshiva in the city, in contrast, reduces contact to predetermined periods. In addition, the person can "live" Yiddishkayt in the camp setting and be together with others who do likewise. Acquiring knowledge of Yiddishkayt on a regular basis in the Yeshiva, however, often becomes an abstract and distant endeavor, thus creating a lesser impact on the person concerned. Whereas one gains knowledge concerning Yiddishkayt in the city, camp provides

the person with an opportunity to "live" it. A Yeshiva student put it like this:

Camp is the best place for this person (to whom we're trying to teach Yiddishkayt.) He lives Judaism better than in the Yeshiva. I used to get them to go to New York for a couple of weeks because in the Lubavitch Yeshiva you can't do anything to fit the person. The person has to go to school and the Yeshiva is too much of a change. You can't just keep him there and just study with them. You have to let him live Yiddishkayt which is at camp.

The Lubavitcher summer camps in this city offer this chassidic group the opportunity to organize relationships with Jewish youth and their parents. Lubavitchers' contact with other Jews is not confined only to specific age groups but, as the data in other chapters indicate, extend to all segments of the Jewish community.

Whereas Lubavitchers' involvement with the larger Jewish community is dominated by their proselytizing fervor, their relations with the surrounding Gentile community are marked by distance and lack of emotional commitment. We now turn to an examination of these relations.

Contact with the Wider Non-Jewish Community

As mentioned in a previous chapter, some religious communities, fearing contact with outsiders threatening to their identity, insulate themselves from relationships with others not of their own kind. The Lubavitcher, in the

community under study, recognize the potentially harmful consequences resulting from their relations with unobservant Jews. Philosophizing that every Jew contains a Jewish soul, however, they are determined to befriend such Jews to attract them to traditional Judaism. These chassidim must, however, establish relations with the surrounding Gentile community. Unable to be self-sufficient, the community cannot always perform certain essential services required by its members as, for example, provide clothing and medical care, thus necessitating them to use native institutions for these. If Lubavitchers' relations with the non-Jewish community were conceptualized along their bases, we would find them dominated by economic considerations.

By virtue of its establishment in a Gentile society, the Lubavitch community and its members enter legal relations with non-Jews. At the various levels of Government, for example, Lubavitcher pay taxes, although as a synagogue group the community's Yeshiva, girls' school and summer camp properties are tax exempt. To be granted "associate status" with the Protestant School Board in this city, the Yeshiva's and Bays Rivkeh's (the Lubavitch girls' school) administrators are required to supply evidence that their schools satisfy the Protestant School Board's criteria of physical structure, curriculum and admission policy. Associate status entitles these schools to receive grants (approximately three hundred

dollars per pupil) for their teaching of secular subjects, since these Jewish day schools perform the same function that the Protestant schools would provide were these pupils to attend them. Finally, as citizens and residents of this country, Lubavitcher are governed and must abide by the same laws as all others.

Breton's institutional completeness concept (1964) refers to the extent of a community's ability to provide for its members' various needs. The degree to which the community succeeds at this task limits its members' use of native institutions. As stated earlier in the study, the Lubavitch community's high degree of institutional completeness circumscribes these chassidim's contact with unobservant Jews and their Gentile neighbours. Certain services, however, required by the community and individual Lubavitcher, such as janitorial staff for the Lubavitch schools, clothing, teachers for secular studies, medical and other professional services, household appliances and decorations are unable to be provided by the community and are required to be sought elsewhere. At such times Lubavitcher must turn to the surrounding Jewish and Gentile communities.

Lubavitchers' purchase of clothing and various household necessities are based along practical considerations. I never heard a Lubavitcher remark that certain stores were

preferred as they were "Jewish" or others avoided since Gentiles (goyim) were their owners. Instead, those stores known to provide a decent service and containing the desired goods are visited. An older Yeshiva bocher remarked:

A few of the bocherim get their suits made by this goy (Gentile) on _____ street. We bring him the material and he makes the suit. His price is very reasonable and the work is done very well - no complaints. There's a Jewish tailor not far from the Yeshiva. I'd go there except that he wants to charge almost twice as much.

Certain stores are known to have available certain styles of clothing and Lubavitcher will shop there. An excellent example is provided by the requirements of the womens' dresses. Since their length is expected to reach the knee, these women frequently experience difficulty in finding stores which stock such styles. As one of these women recalls:

It sure is very very difficult [to shop for cloths]. And at the end, most of the time, the only place that you can find them is where . . . people put it out on their racks, what they made four or five years ago but, if we would go for the latest style, during the winter when we went shopping, we came home with nothing most of the time. We couldn't find anything. It was at these sales . . . we found everything because, like I said, we were getting rid of their very old styles.

When such stores are discovered, whether owned by Jews or Gentiles, Lubavitch women purchase there. Such pragmatism also governs their shopping for such items as radios, record players, kitchenware and other household furnishings.

Lubavitcher and their children must sometimes enter

relations with non-Jewish teachers hired to teach secular subjects. As mentioned in a previous chapter, graduates of the Lubavitch seminaries and Botai Midroshim are qualified to teach the Jewish curriculum in Lubavitch schools. Since graduates of Lubavitch schools are strongly discouraged from attending university, they are unqualified to fill positions on the schools' secular staffs. If these schools wish to retain their "associate status", however, they must hire teachers sanctioned by the Protestant School Board. Lubavitch schools must, as a result, recruit a proportion of their secular staff from the outside, often including Gentiles. While the ideal secular teacher - a practising orthodox Jew - is difficult to recruit, the schools' principals claim to hire such staff solely on the basis of the applicants' qualifications. In certain other chassidic Yeshivess, however, Gentile secular teachers are preferred to unobservant Jewish ones, to reduce students' exposure to individuals claiming to be Jewish though unmindful of the Torah's precepts.

As with the purchase of clothing and household furnishings, Lubavitchers' contact with various professional institutions is also guided by practical considerations. Since the community is unable to produce such individuals as, for example, doctors and lawyers, the latter's services must

be sought among the ranks of outsiders. The professional's religious affiliation, although kept in mind, does not surpass his recognized competence and qualifications as the major criterion for requesting his services. A Lubavitcher's preference for a Jewish physician usually stems from the former's inability to express himself adequately in English, and his belief that Jewish doctors may speak and understand Yiddish and are naturally more sympathetic and understanding. While Jewish institutions are preferred for those that must be committed to them, those directed by Gentiles are sometimes selected due to the Lubavitcher's belief concerning their staffs' greater devotion to such patients.

The main feature characterizing Lubavitchers' relations with the surrounding Gentile community is lack of personal involvement. While some Lubavitcher retain an acquaintanceship with non-Jews, either for business or political motives, such individuals are never befriended and invited home. The relation is never intimate and is maintained simply as a result of the mutual benefit it offers to both parties. Lubavitcher see no reason for engaging in such relations for friendship purposes as there is believed to be nothing in common between the parties. In addition, there is the possible risk that the association will effect the Lubavitcher negatively by influencing his ideas about his way of life.

It is, therefore, understandable that Lubavitch children are forbidden to foster such relations.

Summary

This chapter was intended to focus on that property of our grounded theory claiming the religious community will have to coordinate working arrangements with other segments of the society if it is to maintain itself. At first I showed the mutual benefits gained by both parties - Lubavitcher and other Jews - as a consequence of their relationship. By directing the analysis around a few Lubavitch activities, I then concentrated on this chassidic community's relationship with the larger Jewish community stressing its proselytizing nature and that the Lubavitcher served as role models. I concluded by discussing Lubavitchers' contact with the surrounding Gentile society, emphasizing such contact was engaged in for what are considered practical reasons and carry for these chassidim no affective commitment.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMMUNITY'S WORK AT PROSELYTIZATION:

A LATENT CONSEQUENCE

In this chapter I deal with the function of proselytizing for the community. The usual theoretical purpose of proselytizing is to add to the social system's ranks so that it may either maintain or increase its ranks. This, I will argue, does not apply to the Lubavitch community for the following reasons. First, few outsiders are attracted to join the community as a direct result of these chassidim's proselytizing activities. Second, the community's birth rate is high to allow sufficient members to be generated internally. Instead, as I will show, the important consequence of proselytizing centers about its support of Lubavitchers' religious beliefs and the community's tenability. In the preceding chapter I explained proselytizing activity, for example, the Tefillin campaign, as visible super-Jewish role modeling. In the present chapter I will analyze another aspect of seemingly recruitment oriented activity, showing that it serves ends other than expanding the ranks.

At the beginning of the study I mentioned that if the

religious community intends to persist, it must actively address itself to the assimilative contexts threatening its members. A previous chapter focused primarily on the Lubavitch schools, emphasizing how the community attempts to inculcate in the young its distinctive way of life. I also suggested that closely related to this property of community persistence is the community's possible expansion by attracting outsiders which may have the consequence of helping it maintain membership. I will discuss in this chapter the effects of outsiders - contacted by proselytization - on the community under study in terms of their contribution to the community's tenability. I first present Lubavitchers' rationalizations for engaging in proselytizing work, intended to provide the reader with background information connected with Lubavitch's concern for other Jews. I then examine possible conditions about the Lubavitch community which may initiate proselytization in its behalf, but conclude these do not exist. Finally I argue that while contacts with outsiders potentially threaten the community's distinctive identity, a latent consequence of such proselytization for this community is its reinforcement of Lubavitchers' belief regarding their way of life.

The Sacred Context of Recruitment

The Lubavitch community's relationship with other Jews is best understood by presenting this religious movement's attitudes and feelings with respect to these people. Its perspective toward Jews has characterized Lubavitch throughout its history and, today, is the chief characteristic distinguishing this chassidic group from others.

The essence of the Lubavitch movement's teaching is Ahavas Yisroel - love for one's fellow Jew. The Alter Rebbe, founder of the Lubavitch movement, once said:

Ahavas Yisroel means to love a Jew regardless of whether he is able to learn or not. The manner of love in Ahavas Yisroel should be a brotherly one. Brotherly love, i.e., love to a brother does not cease or change, because it is natural. One cannot divorce himself from a brother, since he and his brother are the same flesh and blood. Just as the love of the Torah is shown by valuing and keeping precious the "mantle" - the cover of the Sefer Torah, so too should our attitude be to our brethren in the Mitzva of Ahavas Yisroel (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol. 14, No.3:18).

The Alter Rebbe's interpretation of Ahavas Yisroel has become the foundation of Lubavitchers' conduct. All the Lubavitcher Rebbeim have reflected this basic philosophy in their devotion to and interest in Jews regardless of their degree of religious observance. They have all insisted that one is to love a Jew not because of his future, that is, what can be accomplished with him in the realm of Torah and

mitzvess, but because of what he is now. The present Lubavitcher Rebbe emphasized the importance of this philosophy when he asserted:

There are various incidents related about the Rebbe, my father-in-law, regarding his efforts to perform acts of kindness, even for individual Jews, whether in a spiritual or a material matter. This was done even to the neglect of his own material and spiritual concern, and for persons utterly remote from his lofty spiritual degree

Each individual is required to know that if he desires for himself the ability to "call out G-d's name," then he must inspire others to do so. One is not required to provide knowledge for the other person, but must cause him to "cry out." This person may have been utterly ignorant, but you must see that he cries out . . . that G-dliness and the world are one, that G-d constantly animates and sustains all of created existence (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.10, No.3:13).

Among the chassidim, Lubavitcher are unique in their efforts to establish channels of communication with less orthodox Jews. Realizing their commitment to orthodox Judaism to represent a minority among Jews today, they are nonetheless convinced that even with small numbers they can make an impact on their fellow Jews. To help reach the goal of preserving the orthodox precepts, while simultaneously drawing less religious Jews into the orthodox fold, the Lubavitcher Rebbe sends his chassidim to Jewish communities to serve as his emissaries. Mintz writes:

To help further that end the Lubavitcher Rebbe sends Rabbis to synagogues that need leaders, readers to congregations where there is a lack of learned men, and shohtim to communities where there is a need to maintain orthodox standards for the slaughtering of cattle (1968:153).

Not only are Lubavitch's efforts directed at American Jewry in large cities, but representative are also sent to outlying Jewish congregations throughout the world. Di Yiddishe Heim, the Lubavitch womens' quarterly publication, contains articles focusing on the necessity of accepting the task of disseminating orthodox Judaism. It is worth examining a few excerpts from them:

More and more women are journeying forth with their husbands in the shlichus of the Rebbe Shlita. This was the underlying spirit at the home of Rebetzin Jacobson. Rabbi and Mrs. Gorelik, were leaving for Milan, Italy, as emissaries of the Rebbe Shlita.

Bessie herself, one of our old-time chaveros, knew what this would mean - leaving her home and her friends - everything that had been part of her life here. Yet, she also clearly saw what it meant, to help bring Jews closer to the life of Torah. This, overpowered any doubts that may have arisen in her mind. Our shluchim understood that this was to be their mission, and were thankful for the opportunity which would enable them to do that one favor, for that one Jew, who might be waiting for the light of Torah to be shown to him. This, in itself, would be an accomplishment. To bring warmth, to bring a good word, to kindle a spark of light somewhere in the darkness . . . (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.1, No.1:13).

Another story tells of Miriam and her husband, in a small town in Europe, where they intend to settle, "in order to establish a Jewish religious center, to teach and spread Judaism among those unfortunate ones who had strayed far from the path of the Torah (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.2, No.4:17)". That same issue includes an interview with a Lubavitcher

Rabbi who moved to Australia with his family to head the Lubavitch activities there. He is quoted:

"We hope to carry out the wishes of our Rebbe Shlita. We hope that many, many more people will go on assignments to strengthen Yiddishkayt in remote places and that some of them will choose to join us in Australia, for Yiddishkayt has no limits and knows no bounds. And as those who have already gone know, they will find contentment in their work and great happiness in knowing that they are fulfilling a shlichus - which will bring us closer to the coming of Mashiach (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.2, No.4:20)."

If one of the major goals of Lubavitcher chassidim is to draw Jews closer to traditional Judaism, a primary prerequisite must include establishing contact with them. During the Fourth Annual Convention of the Neshai Uvnoys Chabad (Lubavitch women's groups) one of the resolutions passed read:

Every group should try to organize periodic special meetings, to which Jewish women of all backgrounds should be invited. Fundamental laws and ideals of Judaism, such as Shabbos, Kashrus, etc., should be explained at these meetings (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.1, No.3:20).

When Lubavitcher women in Montreal were once asked to sell raffle books, they were reminded that such an activity was also intended to establish contact with women who might later start attending the womens' groups' meetings. An indication of the first Lag Bo'Oymer parade's success in London was not only the appreciation expressed by the children but also that "several mothers of the children

showed a keen interest in the Movement and have already enlisted in the Ladies Section (Di Yiddishe Heim, Vol.2, No.3:21)".

Lubavitch philosophy teaches that no Jew is ever wholly lost to God. Within every Jew there is a point of authentic religious faith, "dos pintele Yid," which gives to the Lubavitch movement its missionary spirit (Weiner, 1969:145). A Lubavitcher expressed this idea when he said:

You know, I've met a number of Jews who say they don't really care about being Jewish, Shabbess and kashress aren't for them - they don't need it. But one day a Lubavitcher is going to bring these people back because no matter how hard they try to lose their Jewishness, dos pintele Yid is still going to remain and once you reach that point in a person, and you'll reach it eventually, you're going to make an impression on him.

Appreciating Lubavitch's emphasis on this matter helps to understand these chassidim's relationship with other Jews in the larger community.

A characteristic feature of religious communities is their effort to insulate themselves from the influences of the surrounding culture. One approach to focusing on a religious community's persistence is by examining the nature of its boundaries as it attempts to insulate itself from outsiders in the encircling society. The Tasher chassidim, for instance, continually discouraged their Yeshiva students

from conversing with outsiders and, in fact, regularly chose to pay a taxi fare totalling seven dollars rather than allow their students to travel in my car to the city. Similarly, the Satmarer chassidim prefer to be left alone by curious onlookers who sometimes appear at their Yeshiva. As both chassidic groups believe the effects of such contact, especially for the younger persons in the community, are negative, they insulate themselves from the surrounding Jewish and non-Jewish communities. Since Lubavitcher chassidim are engaged in the process of attempting to attract individuals to orthodox Judaism, unlike other chassidic groups, they have no desire to achieve any sort of physical isolation.* Mintz writes:

The Lubavitch movement is growing steadily, with clearly defined purposes of educational proselytism . . . While the other courts accept donations from non observant Jews as a matter of necessity, the Lubavitcher maintain that it is part of their program to draw in the nonreligious - or, to put it another way, to develop what is good in the nonreligious as well as the religious for the overall good of the Jewish community (1968:155).

The Lubavitch community in this city has organized various activities to satisfy the intellectual level of several age groups. A woman mentions the available

* Lubavitchers' proselytizing is much to the chagrin of other chassidic Jews who believe that " . . . Hasidism is meant for only a select few for fear it will be diluted, and . . . because they question the merit of inducting American novices into such an intense religious life (Mintz, 1968:154)".

activities for females:

. . . well, there's a P.T.A. that works for the Yeshiva; those are parents of the students. And we have projects throughout the year. We sponsor a Chanekkeh evening, the Chanekkeh festival that takes place every year and that has a little campaign with it for Chanekkeh gelt for the Yeshiva. We send out the invitations and prepare the place for it, the hall, and we prepare entertainment with children. And we have a P.T.A., a lady's auxilliary that's part of the girls' school. And we have an organization called Nachess They work for the dormitory students . . . and go personally into the dormitory to see how things are . . . and if the students are happy and . . . there are other organizations like that. There's the drama group which we have . . . Neshai Chabad . . . mostly a learning group

While the above activities are organized mainly for themselves, Lubavitcher hope that outsiders will also be attracted to participate. The drama group's composition provides a good example:

It's funny that a lot of the people who became actresses in these plays were of a very different background, really, from having very little to do with Lubavitch And at the end, the warming up toward Lubavitch and the airing of questions and views was, I think, more successful . . . than in any of our direct attempts through these study groups

Another example is the Junior Neshai group (young Lubavitch women's group) which, according to one member "was originally supposed to be for the religious women themselves to get together and to encourage themselves about religion . . . that they shouldn't begin to feel that it's

a drag" Several of the women attending the groups' meetings, however, are from backgrounds whose identification with Yiddishkayt is minimal.

Certain activities, however, are specifically intended for those from non-orthodox Jewish families as, for instance, The Institute for Brides and Grooms, the Encounter With Chabad and the Messibbess Shabbess groups, although Lubavitcher participate in them. These and other such programs' purpose is to confront the participants with their Jewish heritage, expose them to traditional Judaism, and attempt to correct their misconceptions about it. By examining the Messibbess Shabbess program we can see how this is partly accomplished.

The program's main aim is exposure to Yiddishkayt. The groups, reserved for boys and girls between the ages of six and twelve, meet on Saturday afternoons in as many as eight separate locations. The leaders of the boys' groups are younger Yeshiva students while older students from the Bays Rivkeh and Bays Yankev schools serve as the girls' leaders. A former organizer of this program describes a typical Saturday afternoon meeting and relates to the program's underlying philosophy:

Alright. As a group, the first thing is that they sing songs. [He names a few.] You acquainted with these songs? Very good songs. One's called "I ain't gonna work on Saturday" and the kids learn

the songs. Then they're told about the Parsheh (weekly reading of the Torah) of the week, what it is, the meaning of it and of the different holidays, what they have to do for the holidays. Then they'll have refreshments and play games. Also, before refreshments they hear a story with a moral. At the end, the main objective, well there's a dispute about what our objective of Messibbess Shabbess should be. I always feel it should be to get the kids to a summer camp. Or if the kid doesn't attend Yeshiva, to attend Yeshiva. That everyone holds with, the kids should walk into a Yeshiva So most people who come to Messibbess Shabbess are going to learn a lot and they'll keep on making brochess (blessings). A Rebbe said that if a Yiddish kind (Jewish child) makes a brocheh then the melochim (angels) could not but hear his brocheh. That's a big thing. It's worth the whole business just for that. So the most we get out of this . . . is to make a lot of brochess, to make a lot of malochim happy

The National Council of Messibbess Shabbess has printed a Messibbess Shabbess Leaders' Guide, containing program suggestions for the group leaders. One program titled "The Different Brochos We Make" begins with the following:

Last week, we taught you how to begin most of the brochos we make everyday. Before we teach you the different ways how to end the brochos, we will see how many children are able to recite the first six words by heart. (Have each child recite the first six words for the rest of the group.)

Now, we are ready to learn the different ways how to end the brochos. Though all the brochos begin almost the same way, they all have a different ending. Now, this all depends upon what we are making the individual brocho for.

There are many different types of brochos that we make every day. Here are a few:

- 1) Brochos for food and beverages
- 2) Brochos before performing a Mitzva
- 3) Brochos we say in our daily prayers

First, we will teach you how to make the brochos for food and beverages. The brocho which we will teach you today is a very easy one to learn. All you have to do is add only four words that you already know

Children, now I am going to tell you when we are to make this brocho. This brocho is to be said before we eat BREAD. (Explain to the children that each week they will be taught how to make a new brocho.) . . . (1960:54).

While children from Lubavitch and other orthodox homes are familiar with these brochess, the successful execution of such a program, especially with children whose contact with Yiddishkayt is minimal, is considered a great accomplishment. As the Messibbess Shabbess leader said, having non-orthodox children make even a single blessing is "a big thing" and "worth the whole business." Other activities reflecting a similar dimension include rallies which, occurring during the Jewish holidays - Chanukkeh (Feast of Lights) and Purim (Feast of Lots), are held in the Yeshiva. Three years ago, for example, the Chanukkeh rally was attended by approximately three hundred children who were treated to a program of comedy skits and the traditional lighting of the Chanukkeh candles. The youngsters' names, addresses and telephone numbers were recorded and then added to the mailing list for the Purim rally which is celebrated a few months later. These students will now also be invited to the Messibbess Shabbess groups. As with

these groups, the rallies' main objective is to attract children from non-orthodox Jewish homes and, even if only for one afternoon, expose them to orthodox Judaism.

Lubavitcher view the non-orthodox Jewish community as comprised of a body of persons who, for whatever reasons, have not recognized the importance of practising orthodox Judaism. As a result, efforts must be initiated to strengthen these Jews' ties to their heritage.

Possible Motives for the Community's
Proselytizing and their Disconfirmation

System theorists have argued that recruitment of new members is a functional prerequisite of a social system (Aberle et al, 1950). If the community cannot maintain its ranks through internal production, it will seek outsiders as recruits to maintain itself. The purpose of proselytization, then, is to attract new members to enlarge the community or to maintain its size. In the remainder of this chapter I will show that while the Lubavitcher proselytize, they do not do so in order to expand as few members are attracted to the community in this manner. In addition, the community does not lack for members generated internally as it experiences a high birth rate. As a result, the argument usually mounted for proselytizing does

not apply to the Lubavitch community under study.

A possible reason leading to the recruitment of outsiders is depletion. This may result from the loss of members of various age groups including adults, adolescents and young children. To help retain a stable population figure, the community shops in the larger Jewish community for interested people to join it. To arrive at the main effect of Lubavitchers' proselytizing in the larger Jewish community, we must first examine the relevance of the above possibility to the community under study.

The community's size may decline due to adults who, dissatisfied and disappointed with the community's lifestyle, leave. I have already argued about the Lubavitch community's ability to provide a tenable way of life for its adult members. The Yeshiva strongly supports this tenability for adult members whereas women's interest in the community's way of life is sustained by their social groups and their acceptance of an ideology related to their household role. These chassidim's frequent contact with one another, added to the common bond with their Rebbe, reinforces their identity as Lubavitcher while imposing social barriers for those considering desertion. Lubavitchers' daily affirmation of their way of life, accomplished through prayer, performing mitzvess and contact with the Rebbe,

enables the community to satisfy those within it providing them with reasons to remain.

The community's size may decline if Lubavitcher are unable to offset the surrounding society's assimilative influences in their young. Should Lubavitcher experience serious difficulty attending to this task, the community would lose younger members through intergenerational conflict and intermarriage. When exposure to the surrounding culture is not controlled, family disorganization frequently results for the two generations do not share a similar perspective. Several studies have pointed to the kinds of cultural conflicts which developed between parents and their children when the latter were submitted to a secular education which, at points, openly contradicted the parents' living habits (Gottlieb and Ramsey, 1964; Hapgood, 1902; Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; Wirth, 1928). What these parents did not realize, apparently, was that the kind of socialization offered at home and in the school was often at sharp odds. An additional outcome of such conflict is serious disagreements between the two over appropriate selection of mates. As already indicated several times, Lubavitcher, in the community under study, do not experience such difficulties with their children. The availability of two schools allows that the secular programs' curricula be carefully

screened to avoid students' exposure to ideas contradicting with traditional Judaism's ideology. In addition, the community's younger generation's culture does not lead to the development of an autonomous social world that excludes adults from understanding it. As shown, it is, in fact, closely linked to the set of understandings and every day assumptions governing their parents' lives. Finally, as argued elsewhere in the study, the community's proximity to New York's Lubavitch community ensures that its marriageable males and females will not be forced to wed outside the group. The latter community's size serves as a mate selection center for the present community, thus guaranteeing its ranks will not decline through intermarriage.

Although I do not have available exact figures showing the community's growth rate, it is safe to argue that its size has increased in the last several years. This argument is based on several comments offered by Lubavitcher emphasizing the community's growth to have centered primarily about large family size. As one remarked:

There's no question that Lubavitch in _____ (name of city) has grown in the last few years. You've probably noticed this yourself that Lubavitcher have large families. It's hard to say how many babies are born but it seems that all the time there's someone else who's having a baby.

Along with growth due to childbirth, though not constituting

the main source of the community's growth, Lubavitchers' proselytizing activities have attracted several newcomers. Even while investing considerable time in such activity, the overwhelming proportion of Lubavitchers' contacts with unobservant Jews is fleeting and success at winning such Jews to orthodox Judaism is, in fact, minimal. Since efforts at proselytization do not, apparently, yield benefits commensurate to the time invested, why are they continued? This question is especially relevant in light of which people engage in most of the proselytizing in the larger Jewish community and the potential harmful consequences this activity may hold for the Lubavitch community's distinctive identity. It is to this matter that I address myself next.

Who Does the Proselytizing? A Threat to
the Community's Distinctive Identity

The actual practise of proselytizing is not officially delegated to a specific age group within the Lubavitch community. Unofficially, however, the community's formally organized activities are primarily coordinated and administered by the older Yeshiva students (bocherim) - those studying in the Bays Medresh. The Tefillin campaign, for example, discussed in the previous chapter, serves as an

excellent illustration. While all Lubavitcher are interested in the campaign's success, the older Yeshiva students are mainly responsible for the proselytizing activities surrounding it. Added to this, these students visit the college campuses to contact Jewish youth, call on the orthodox synagogues in the city on Saturday afternoons to recount the Rebbe's discourses, organize the Encounter program and serve as counsellors in the boys' camp. The organization of these activities calls upon them to enter situations with outsiders - both Jewish and Gentile - which may expose them to ideas and appearances contradictory to their way of life. Unlike the bocherim of the Satmarer and Tasher chassidim in this city, whose respective community leaders strongly discourage and sometimes forbid them from conversing with unobservant Jews, Lubavitcher bocherim regularly devote periods of time to befriending precisely those Jews with minimal religious observance.

An argument introduced earlier claimed that the religious community must cultivate and maintain a distinctive identity if it aims to persist. One could argue, as do the chassidim of various groups, that such an identity is best preserved by insulating their communities from outsiders. As Mintz writes:

The exotic customs of the hasidim are used in part as a protective fence around their community. By distinguishing themselves from the gentiles and

nonreligious Jews, the hasidim believe that they can best preserve their identity, keep their children from becoming acculturated, and prevent possible infractions of the religious law This need to maintain their insularity is a recurrent theme in hassidic tradition (1968:138).

Attempting to fortify the boundaries surrounding their communities, these chassidim, including the Satmarer and Tasher, discourage outsiders from mingling in their institutions. Lubavitchers' recruitment of outsiders, however, produces a potentially opposite outcome - it may threaten the maintenance of the community's boundaries. Since outsiders are invited to the Lubavitcher Yeshiva, and are welcomed to these chassidim's organizations and celebrations, the definition between insider and outsider, so crucial to the very existence of a community, is obscured. It appears that Lubavitchers' proselytizing in the larger Jewish community threatens their preservation of a distinctive identity by diluting the community's boundaries and thus ineffectively separating insiders from outsiders.

Upon summarizing our discussion of Lubavitchers' proselytizing efforts, several points have become clear. First, the Lubavitch community does not require outsiders to keep its ranks from shrinking. Proselytizing activities, in fact, add relatively few newcomers to the community. Second, such activities engaged in primarily by older Yeshiva students, who at an impressionable period in their lives,

are inevitably exposed to arguments, discussions and appearances not in keeping with traditional Jewish principles. Third, accepting outsiders into the community's institutions, including non-Lubavitch students into the Lubavitch schools, potentially dilutes the clarity of these chassidim's self-definition. In spite of the appearance that proselytizing work produces very little gain for the Lubavitch community, such efforts are feverishly pursued by many Lubavitcher. I will now consider why this is so.

Proselytizing Activities - An Unintended Consequence

Whereas Lubavitchers' contacts with nonreligious Jews appear to jeopardize the community's distinctive identity, such relationships, in fact, reinforce this identity and support the community's tenability. Our analysis, thus far, has suggested that the manifest consequences of proselytizing render such activity ineffective. I intend to show, however, that it is the latent consequences of proselytizing which make it important to the community's persistence.

Festinger et al., in their presentation of cognitive-dissonance theory in When Prophecy Fails, suggest that a consequence of a group's successful proselytizing is reduced dissonance (1956:28). If the group's central beliefs are either questioned or disbelieved by others, proselytizing

is an effective means to reaffirm the members' identity with the group. As the writers assert: "If more and more people can be persuaded that the system of belief is correct, then clearly it must, after all, be correct" (1956:28). As I mentioned in a previous chapter, Lubavitcher must recognize that a large proportion of Jews in this city do not share their conviction concerning orthodox Judaism. In spite of this, Lubavitcher do not become discouraged and continue to order their lives according to precepts underlying traditional Jewish law. I argue that it is precisely the act of proselytizing in the larger Jewish community, thus reinforcing the members' beliefs, which enables the Lubavitch community to retain its identity. When a Lubavitcher attempts to influence and convince another of orthodox Judaism's relevance he is, in fact, becoming influenced and convinced himself. As G.H.Mead noted, this results from the person's ability to act socially toward himself just as he acts toward others and thus becoming the object of his own actions (1934:199-246). An important consequence of Lubavitchers' proselytizing activity, therefore, is that by discussing and arguing with unobservant Jews about orthodox Judaism, the Lubavitcher Rebbe's accomplishments, or the everlasting significance of Torah observance, thus exposing themselves to certain information, they reinforce their identity as Lubavitcher chassidim. As Festinger et

al. argue about the increased proselytizing activities of messianic movements whose prophecies have been disconfirmed, one may similarly claim that as the larger Jewish community drifts away from the tenets of traditional Judaism, Lubavitchers' proselytizing efforts will increase.

Having argued that Lubavitchers' proselytizing efforts serve, in effect, to reinforce their identity as orthodox Lubavitch Jews, the older Yeshiva students' major involvement in such activities is now understandable. These students, ranging in age from fifteen to twenty years, are the very people whose beliefs require strengthening. Their commitment to the Lubavitch way of life is less intense than adults' who have raised families and have chosen their friends from within the community. Living with their parents, and exposed to the latter's influences concerning Torah observance, younger children's identity as orthodox Lubavitch Jews is continuously manipulated by these adults. As the majority of Bays Medresh bocherim, coming from other cities, reside at the Lubavitch dormitory by themselves, they are the ones whose self-conceptions as Lubavitcher must be supported. Co-opting bocherim into recruitment is no doubt a major mechanism of building their own belief system. By teaching and becoming witness to their beliefs by urging them on others, they learn to think of themselves as Lubavitcher chassidim.

Another factor contributing to Lubavitchers' interest in proselytization has already been discussed in the context of benefits they derive from their relationship with the larger Jewish community. Successful proselytization results in the presence of non-Lubavitch students in the Lubavitch schools and summer camps. In order for this community to maintain such institutions, it must recruit outsiders as its relatively small size does not permit it to be self-sufficient. Since such institutions are advantageous to the community, for they help ensure its persistence, Lubavitchers are prepared to invest considerable time and energy in proselytization work.

Summary

This chapter focused on the importance of Lubavitchers' proselytization in the larger Jewish community which, I suggested, is closely linked with their ability to retain members and survive as a community. First, I presented some background information intended to demonstrate Lubavitch's concern for other Jews, regardless of their piety, since the movement's founding. I then claimed that the manifest consequences of Lubavitchers' proselytization work seemed to endanger the community's ability to maintain a distinctive identity and appeared, therefore, unnecessary. Upon examining the latent consequences of this proselytiza-

tion, I argued that these provided an essential support for the community's tenability, for they reinforced Lubavitchers' beliefs about their way of life. Having earlier referred to the Lubavitch community's attraction of newcomers (baal tshuvess), the following chapter examines Lubavitchers' strategies in transforming these individuals into Lubavitcher chassidim. In addition to adding to the community's population, these individuals provide concrete evidence concerning the success of Lubavitchers' proselytizing efforts.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMMUNITY AS AN INSTITUTION PROCESSING PEOPLE: PROCESSING VIEWED AS A STATUS PASSAGE

Introduction

This chapter views the community as an institution which processes people and analyzes what happens to those who, through Lubavitchers' proselytizing activities, are attracted to this chassidic community. Since people processing is viewed as a status passage, I begin by considering the general properties of the status passage. I then consider the different types of recruits with respect to their interest and level in Yiddishkayt. Next I turn to the processing of the recruit, presenting first the general strategy, and then examining the specific sequence of tasks and dilemmas in this process. First, I suggest, one must determine the recruit's level in Yiddishkayt to direct his observance in an appropriate and efficient manner. This is followed by introducing the recruit to religious practises while simultaneously encouraging his disassociation from his previous life-style thus committing him to the Lubavitch community. Next, the recruit's processing must be assessed to determine his degree of progress in matters pertaining to orthodox Judaism. The section on processing is concluded with an examination of

"dropouts" - persons whom the community begins to process but who remove themselves from Lubavitchers' contact and influence. The chapter is continued with an analysis of how recruits learn the relevant information required to organize their lives in an orthodox Jewish manner. I conclude by focusing on some community organized efforts to assist newcomers' attempts at meeting and befriending Lubavitcher while simultaneously ensuring that newcomers' intensive contact with Lubavitcher will eventually commit them to the community's way of life.

Outsiders participating in Lubavitch organized activities may be regarded as potential newcomers to the Lubavitch community. In fact, of those that come initially only a small number express the desire to become observant, thus eventuating in the possibility of becoming Lubavitcher chassidim. In this chapter I examine the process of becoming a Lubavitcher chossid. More specifically, if this transformation is conceptualized as a status passage, what are the typical stages involved? I begin by examining the main categories of the recruit's status passage and then proceed to focus on the newcomer's processing as viewed from the institutional perspective. The Lubavitch community's lack of formal control over the newcomer's movement is, I suggest, the central feature characterizing this status passage.

Some of the literature in the sociology of deviance and sociology of organizations has addressed itself to how members

of institutions are processed by the institution and shaped by it into becoming easily handled. Goffman deals with this aspect in his work on admission procedures in a state mental hospital:

Admission procedures might better be called "trimming" or "programming" because in thus being squared away the new arrival will allow himself to be shaped and coded into an object that can be fed into the administrative machinery of the establishment, to be worked on smoothly by routine operations (1961:16).

Cicourel and Kitsuse in The Educational Decision Makers (1963) deal with the organizational processing in a high school and investigate the processes by which students are defined, classified and recorded into the categories of the high school's statistics.

Along with the literature on institutional processing, Strauss has argued that studies dealing with changes in status might be conceptualized as status passages (1968). He has noted that the primary interests of most sociologists has been directed at the typical characteristics of status passages. Their emphases, consequently, have been on the prescribed sequences of steps that must be taken by the subject and by relevant others in order for the subject's passage to be successful. The sequel of this approach has been the neglect of additional properties of status passage.

Categories of the Status Passage for the Recruit

While in some institutions a passagee will have virtually

no control over the route of the status passage, in others this passage is partially shaped by the newcomer and fitted to his needs. Lubavitcher do not insist that the newcomer pass through a specific sequence of regulated steps within a given time before admitting him to the community. These chasidim often remark that they do not use such formal membership devices as membership cards:

. . . you see, there's no rules and regulations. Like, we're not a club where you, say if you wear a certain uniform, you're in. Like, we have girls who don't cover their hair, I mean they're frum (observant) - they keep the mitzvess. This is a very hard thing for them to attain. Nobody would ever say to them: "Don't come."

Another Lubavitcher said:

Well, the technical definition of a Lubavitcher is a person who holds by the Rebbe one hundred percent. But there are no membership cards. I don't even know if there's a mailing list of Lubavitcher.

The data suggest that the categories of the status passage include: the individual's personal status, his interest in Yiddishkayt and his level of Yiddishkayt. The baal tshuvess' (newcomers') passage into Lubavitch is determined to a great extent where he is placed and/or places himself in relation to each of these categories. In this section I deal only with the status passage's categories, while the latter's properties will emerge throughout the chapter.

(a) The Individual's Personal Status

Although the individuals' sex is important in determining which mitzvess they will be required to learn, I am referring

more specifically to their age and marital status. These two are regarded as making the passage more or less complex, involving to a greater or lesser degree obstacles which the passagee will have to surmount. The two are often linked as in the following:

Taking somebody who comes closer to Yiddishkayt, they'll be different, depending upon the status of the particular person. If you're going to be working with somebody who's fifty, sixty years old, it means that he has to be changed. Even thirty, forty years old it means that he has to be changed. Not only himself, but his wife and his kids. He has to make his home kosher. His wife has to start observing tahress hamishpocheh laws. It's a big change. Take a kid, a university kid, it's much easier for him in different steps.

What follows is from a discussion with a Lubavitcher student regarding how an unmarried university student may be drawn closer to Yiddishkayt and Lubavitch. As he suggests, less changes are generally involved for the single individual than for a married couple:

Well, let me start with the university kid. Obviously there has to be his first contact. It could be some Lubavitcher who met him at a school dance, possibly someone who put on Tefillin with him. Possibly he came to a pegeesheh, a concert, and he gets interested. Why he gets interested? Undoubtedly he's missing something. He wants a meaning in life. He's dissatisfied with what society has to offer him. Fine, he comes. Tefillin? He dosen't dig the Tefillin with the leather boxes. He dosen't dig the whole business. O.K. he puts them on because a nice guy's working with him. . . . So they start learning. They learn a little Tanya, philosophy. Then he comes to a Farbrengen and he sees so many thousands of people and he sees the respect everyone has for the Rebbe. And he sees the way people are singing, the way people are quiet, and his heart starts feeling. Before, his head was working. Now his heart starts working. He says: "These guys got

something." Then he learns a little more. He wants to learn a little Chumesh. He learns Chumesh and he sees what Chumesh is, and he sees it interpreted by a frumer Yeed (observant Jew). . . . Then he learns a little bit Gemoreh, and he learns a little bit more chassidess, and he realizes the significance of the six hundred and thirteen commandments, and he starts getting into the mitzvess more. Then he starts appreciating what the Rebbe is. And while all along this line, there are hundreds of times, literally everyday, he says to himself: "Man, what the hell am I doing here? These guys are nuts. These guys are out of their minds. I can't ride a car on Shabbess. These guys are crazy." They go through it every day, but they hold on. They say: "Wait a minute, they've still got something to offer." And hardly anybody falls out if they're stable. I mean there are lots of nuts who've come and gone.

The situation, however, differs with a married couple where one is no longer "working on" one person but must include his/her spouse:

This girl came to me about four years ago and her husband had been frum (observant). She hadn't. He had married her because he was under the impression that she would want to become religious. She thought she wanted to become somewhat religious, but she didn't have any religious upbringing in her background, nor did she have too much education. But she liked him and she liked what he stood for, but she didn't know what it meant. When she got married she quit smoking on Shabbess and a whole lot of other restrictions which she wasn't too happy about. Now he was a Yeshiva boy, rebellious Yeshiva boy, so he didn't mind marrying a girl of that type because he didn't care all that much for the Yeshiva. Anyhow, although he came from a religious home and he had always kept Shabbess and kosher and so on, but all the "too much," as he labeled it, that was all out. They were at ends with each other for the first year because she had to smoke cigarettes in the bathroom. At the end, after about a year, he decided what the heck and tossed in the ball and decided to become as non frum as she was. . . .

Age and marital status influence the shape of the newcomer's status passage. The community's socializers or processors

consider these personal data in their efforts to assist an individual in transition. As I once asked a Lubavitcher bocher:

(You mentioned that it [coming closer to Yiddishkayt and to Lubavitch] very often depends upon the status of the individual. What do you mean?) I mean depending on his age, depending on who is dependent upon him changing. X had to change his wife with him so we're working on two people now. Mr. Y. had to change his wife and kids, so we're working on a family. Z had to change himself.

(b) Interest in Yiddishkayt

Gaining an interest in Yiddishkayt and becoming attached to Lubavitch are not perceived by Lubavitcher as a suddenly total commitment. The newcomer is, instead, viewed as someone who is interested initially in only certain mitzvess and these are the ones he is encouraged to fulfill immediately. A Lubavitch woman put it this way:

. . . each person is different and has different interests. It depends what age group they're in, and how much they want to know. O.K., it depends on the person. It doesn't depend on me. And I can only tell that person what I know, and if I don't know anymore, I can say: "Go to someone else." It depends on how much you're interested . . . you see, like in Judaism, it's not like you have to believe everything, or you have to accept everything, or you . . . because nobody's like that. Nobody's perfect.

It is expected, however, that the newcomer will, in time, become curious about other mitzvess and the correct manner in which they ought to be observed. For example:

You see . . . as in anything that you do, you know, you get an appetite. When you eat you want to eat more. When a person stops eating he loses his

appetite eventually. The same thing with Yahadess (Judaism). You begin with small little things. You begin with the essential points of Yiddishkayt and then gradually you get an appetite for more, and you do the asking, and you're going to come up and say: "O.K. I have kashress, I have this, I have that. What can I do more?" Instead of I should be the guide of that person, he's guiding me really, because he's edging me on, so to say. He says: "I even want more things to do." And I say: "All right, if you want, do what I do you know." . . . So when you speak to a person and that person says "I'm interested in Yiddishkayt" - from your part you try to give him a basic understanding of Yahadess, and that's all you can do. You don't have to convert him really and say: "Become a Lubavitcher," but that person seeing that he's a Lubavitcher . . . and has a special flavor of his Yiddishkayt, wants to become like that person eventually.

As we shall see, there is no fixed program and related time scheduling guiding the newcomer's initiation. Once undertaken, teaching is pursued gradually so as to avoid imposing excessively difficult demands on the person. We see, again, that the status passage's shape is determined by the specific needs and desires of the individual as opposed to a master scheme applied indiscriminately to all.

(c) Level of Yiddishkayt

Newcomers to Lubavitch arrive from a variety of religious backgrounds, ranging from strictly observant to nonreligious, and can be separated into at least four distinct types. First is the individual whose upbringing was orthodox although not chassidic. For example: "My family is shoimer Shabbess orthodox. I had an orthodox type of upbringing. I had a Yeshiva education all along." The major difference between such a person and someone from a chassidic home, is that the former's

parents were not affiliated with a chassidic Rebbe. A second type is the one whose parents were moderately observant and kept a kosher home and traditionally lit the Sabbath candles. These and other Jewish laws, however, were not observed as strictly and faithfully as the newcomer observes them now. For instance:

(Do your parents keep a kosher home?) Very kosher. The whole family is that way. . . . As far as kashress in the home, it has always been that way. Of course, there are different degrees of kashress, you understand, but God forbid there should be trayf (nonkosher) in the home. During my growing up years we weren't shoimer Shabbess. My father would never work on Shabbess but mainly we were leisurely on Shabbess.

A third type is the person with minimal religious training. Stemming from an unobservant home, with negligible religious education, his relationship with Yiddishkayt is tangential at best. The following is excerpted from a discussion with such an individual:

(I want to talk a little about your background. I understand you do not come from a chassidic family.) I don't even come from a religious family. I couldn't even read Hebrew. (And your parents?) Raised in a Reform Temple. My father came here this week and he couldn't even read the "Shema" in Hebrew. (Were the candles lit for Shabbess in your parents' home?) My mother did light Shabbess candles, usually after Shabbess had already begun. But we had a trayf home. We didn't observe Shabbess.

A final type of newcomer is the convert to Judaism. His level of Yiddishkayt would generally be similar to that of the tangential Jew previously mentioned.

In the course of his contact with Lubavitch the newcomer becomes committed to its philosophy and orthodox way of life

after concurrent periods of socialization and desocialization. Initially, however, newcomers range from those who identify with Yiddishkayt immediately to those who do not. Since disparities of religious background exist, the degree of familiarization with Yiddishkayt will vary among the different types.

As a newcomer from an orthodox background notes:

I didn't really have that many questions, because . . . when it came to kashress I had done enough of it in my home before, so I didn't need to ask questions about it in terms of my husband and myself.

Discussing with a Lubavitcher the difference for newcomers between coming from an orthodox and nonorthodox background, he claimed: "X (from an orthodox family) wasn't a person that had to, that you had to start from scratch, like, for instance, . . . Y or Z (from unobservant families)."

The data indicate that newcomers set the pace for their learning experiences. Upon examining the socializers' conception of the socialization process, we understand why they have adopted this strategy and not another. Although newcomers regulate their socialization pace, they are encouraged to observe certain basic mitzvess immediately. These are performed sooner or later, depending on their background, yet the importance of "making a start" is strongly impressed on them.

Processing the Baal Tshuveh (Recruit)

The sociological literature dealing with institutions which process people suggest that there is a typical sequence

of steps by which the newcomer is inducted into the institution. The institution, in this literature, assumes the shape of a well-oiled machine where newcomers are expected to conform to the existing rules and regular sanctions are brought to bear against the transgressors. In short, there exists in these institutions a clear conception about the direction that the socialization process is supposed to take. The literature on people processing institutions derives principally from the Sociology of Deviance in which we find studies on prisons, mental hospitals, schools and other total institutions.

The movement of individuals from one status to another may be seen as a status passage (Glazer and Strauss, 1971). Consequently, the processing of individuals through total institutions may be conceptualized as a status passage. In this literature we find the dominant properties of status passage in total institutions to be a) the person making the passage does not do so voluntarily and has no choice in the matter and b) the institution exercises formal and legal control over the passagee and may proceed with or without his consent or willingness, while the latter may exercise only informal control over the institution's officials. Since these kinds of institutions typically deal with people who have been defined as deviant, they may be called deviant processing systems. In contrast to the above, recruits' status passage through Lubavitch allows us to focus on a non-deviant proces-

ing system in which a) the passagee enters voluntarily and b) the institution exercises no formal control over the passage and the newcomer helps determine the passage's shape and direction.

(a) The General Strategy

The initial central organizing principles of Lubavitch's strategy with new recruits are a) to make of the person a more observant Jew and b) bring them along at their own pace. Since the recruit submits himself to such processing voluntarily Lubavitcher realize that the person is not committed to continuing and can back out at any time. Since, at least in the beginning, Lubavitcher exercise little if any control over the person, insisting that they follow a rigid initiation schedule does not seem a successful way to draw these people into the orthodox fold and Lubavitch circles.

The data indicate that recruits set the pace for their learning experiences. Although recruits help regulate their socialization pace, they are encouraged to perform certain basic precepts immediately. Males, for example, are urged to observe Tefillin while married females are impressed with the importance of attending the mikveh (ritual bath) regularly. Depending on their background recruits will perform certain precepts (mitzvess) sooner or later, though the necessity of "making a start" is urged upon them immediately.

Lubavitcher share an understanding of how recruits are to be brought closer to Yiddishkayt (traditional Judaism). This understanding does not manifest itself into a regularized and scheduled sequence of steps. It does, on the other hand, call upon the recruit to determine when they are willing and prepared to begin observing additional mitzvess. As such there is no definite time period during which the recruit must be ready to adhere to the majority of laws and customs regulating an orthodox Jew's life:

I can think of a Lubavitch family right off, right off like this, that I think ten years ago it was the time, it was the time they became interested in Lubavitch. And her sons were wearing beards and this woman, just last year, maybe a year and a half ago, she covered finally her hair. It took her ten years to cover her hair, but I'm sure that now she is doing it. . . . You see, it's real. Now she's not doing it just to be like everybody else.

Lubavitcher have discovered that fanatic recruits, those seeking to alter their lifestyle immediately and completely in conformity with orthodox laws and chassidic traditions and customs are more likely to experience personal and familial difficulties as a result of the abrupt disassociation. It is not surprising, then, that Lubavitcher suggest to those recruits eager to perform as many mitzvess as possible to wait some time before accepting additional ones. A Lubavitcher explains the reason for this:

We don't want to come and then label you. . . . here, this is our group and you have to dress this way, and you have to put on this and that. . . . As long as it doesn't come from his own feelings . . . what's the

purpose? What's the use of it? Why put on a shytl . . . when you don't even feel the word shytl? What's going to happen later on, you're going to take off the shytl. You wouldn't put it on ever again, because once you have taken it off . . . so, therefore, with a mitzveh. Don't grab too many mitzvess together and then it will be too hard on you. So then you're going to drop them off. It'll be double hard to take them on again.

The Lubavitch strategy calls for the recruit to "make a beginning"; that is, to start observing at least one mitzveh. There is not, however, a basic mitzveh with which all recruits must begin. The recruit's beginning is determined by his background and marital status. As an instance of the former:

I would say to a person . . . it wouldn't make any difference which mitzveh you want to do. Whatever appeals to you, whatever is easiest, and just the opposite, you never pick a hard mitzveh because then you're very discouraged. (What, for example, is a difficult mitzveh?) It depends on the person. Not to answer the phone on Shabbess may be terribly hard and to keep kashress would be easier. . . . You see, it depends on the person.

In fact the recruit is initially encouraged to select a mitzveh which will not interfere drastically with his present way of life. Thus the practicality of the Tefillin campaign, discussed in the previous chapter, is clear. Compared with other mitzvess such as kashruth, family purity and the Sabbath, Tefillin is simple to observe since it requires little time to perform and demands few, if any, changes in the person's lifestyle. Additionally, the observance of Tefillin need not be performed as a group activity thus perhaps embarrassingly publicizing the person's intentions. The selection of an "easy" mitzveh is considered potentially less disruptive for

the recruit's way of life as the following comment suggests:

. . . why davke (actually) Tefillin? . . . why didn't you pick kashress? Why didn't you pick . . . ? Because it's an automatic thing. It's not hard, it's easy. It's not like you have to go into a guy's house and say: "Listen, throw out all your dishes." You can argue with them and you're not asking for money, you're not telling him to give, you're just asking them to put on Tefillin. And it's a positive thing that can be done on the spot, immediately.

Although the recruit is permitted to progress at his own pace, he is, nonetheless, encouraged to perform additional mitzvess. Such encouragement occurs, however, when the recruit is considered ready for advancement. While he selects those mitzvess he feels confident to begin observing, the Lubavitcher in contact with him has a planned "mitzveh route" which he hopes the recruit will eventually follow:

. . . and chances are, and we hope that this person himself, the next main step will be kashress and Shabbess and we hope we wouldn't push him to Shabbess like we push him to Tefillin. This person himself . . . will himself decide to come (to shul) on Shabbess. Smoking will be difficult for him to stop. Movies will be more difficult. To maybe not drive his car to the Yeshiva on Shabbess might be easier for him. . . .

The Lubavitch strategy just described is a consequence of having recruits who are neither committed nor identified with traditional Judaism. They are not committed because they can leave at any time and, at least in the beginning, lose nothing. They may not be strongly identified because they are not people seeking to become fanatics but rather those willing to become more observant, who may in fact have been approached through recruitment activities rather than be self

selected. As a result, Lubavitcher recognize the advantages of not exacting many demands of newcomers since such demands may lead them to terminate their involvement with Lubavitch:

I know when I deal with people. I deal, you know, with a lot of kids. I dealt with X, I deal with Y now. I know there are some things which I don't tell them to do because I know that he's not ready to do it, and he's just going to get up and take the next bus home. You cannot push anything on a person until he is ready.

(One of the first things that you mentioned was that you get the person to put on Tefillin. Are there other things that you try to make sure to tell the person?) Such as keeping Shabbess? It depends on how he says it to you. If he comes in and he wants to have questions, you're not going to tell him: "You're not allowed to write on Shabbess." It'll scare him before you're started. He'll be chased off. We wouldn't start with Tefillin either except that the Rebbe explained Tefillin is the basis of the religion. . . . There's no other mitzveh which we play up, you know. Rather, the best opportunity which we always looked for before the Tefillin campaign came up, is to try to learn with them, to try to get them learning something and then, as he learns, he'll want to hear more.

(b) Determining the Person's Level in Yiddishkayt

The Lubavitch philosophy stresses that each Jew resides momentarily at a particular level in Yiddishkayt, the objective being to raise themselves to the next higher level. Put otherwise, a Jew must not become complacent with his degree of religious observance but must continually strive to achieve even more. Two Lubavitcher expressed this philosophy as follows:

. . . Actually, it is a chassidic philosophy that what you do with a person is you recognize that every person is on a level and his job is to get to the next level. Not to get ten levels ahead, and not to get on someone

else's level, but it's his particular level. So when you're with a person you try to get him to take the next step, to go to the next level. For a person who doesn't keep Shabbess at all, maybe for that person to give up smoking puts that person on a different level.

You're just beginning and I'm beginning and you're holding at stage one, and I'm holding at stage two, but we're all beginners. . . . A person after he passes away, after he's one hundred and twenty years in this world, he's never satisfied with what he had in this world, physically I mean, and the same thing spiritually. The moment you're satisfied, you're already down . . . because when you're satisfied this feeling of . . . well-being creates a laxity . . . and you fall. It's like climbing a mountain. If you don't climb higher . . . you can't hang on in the middle. Either you go further or you go down.

Thus the role of a Lubavitcher is maximally defined and can be achieved only by a Tzaddik.

Lubavitchers' initial concern is to determine the person's level in Yiddishkayt. This entails seeking certain information about his history, including type and extent of Jewish education and degree of religious observance. Such information is vital for determining the shape of the person's passage and is acquired in the following manner. First, the person's appearance provides relevant clues. It is, therefore, possible to gain certain facts by noting his dress. For example, a young man entering the Yeshiva without a head covering, or a woman attending a Lubavitch women's meeting in a low-cut dress indicates their unawareness or unconcern about the impropriety of their appearance. Yet gathering clues from a person's appearance is unreliable. One's manner of dress does not "give

off" sufficient information which is considered relevant-- for instance, whether the person observes the laws of Kashruth. In addition, they may dress appropriately when in Lubavitchers' presence thus leading others to believe that such is their usual style of dress. Thus a young man may wear a certain kind of yarmulke which suggests his head is always covered, or a woman might lower the hemline on a few of her dresses which she will wear only to Lubavitch functions. A more reliable way to learn about the person's background and religious practises is by engaging him in conversation. In the course of such conversation the person will probably be asked whether he observes Tefillin or the Sabbath. The question is often phrased in such a way so as to let the person realize that Lubavitcher are tolerant of their fellow Jews' shortcomings. For example:

Lubavitcher: Do you try to keep Shabbess? Of course it depends on your background. Like sometimes the parents are not shoimer Shabbess and they just don't feel it's important enough and so in this case it's likely that the children will also not be observant.

Gaining the above kind of information about the individual helps Lubavitcher determine how to best proceed to encourage him to become more observant.

(c) Bringing the Recruit Along: Socialization and Disassociation

(i) Socialization

Depending on his background the recruit is familiarized with certain religious practises. These are expected to instill

in him an identification with traditional Judaism and is best accomplished when the passagee begins practising Yiddishkayt immediately. To link the person to Lubavitch he is gradually informed about the Lubavitcher Rebbe and his views, and about events sponsored by this chassidic group. As a recruit the passagee is engaged in a simultaneous process of socialization and disassociation intended to identify him with and commit him to Judaism from a traditional and Lubavitch perspective. What male and female passagees learn is, in general, highly similar, for example the laws regulating Kashruth, as both learn to become more observant. Yet certain features of the socialization process assume greater relevance for the male or female.

A basic starting point for the male (also the female) is that he practise being a more observant Jew. A baal tshuveh emphasizes this point:

Well, first of all the idea is not to become a Lubavitcher. The idea is to become a more observant Jew and this is what Lubavitch is after. . . . What is important is that someone becomes a Jew.

While he will eventually become familiar with and understand the traditions and customs linked to Yiddishkayt and Lubavitch, he is encouraged initially to behave as much as possible as an orthodox Jew. This may take the form of beginning to davn, davening on a more regular basis, observing Tefillin and coming regularly to the Yeshiva, to give a few examples. Although praying and observing Tefillin are relatively simple to perform

they must be learned by those who previously never practised these activities. A young man, recounting his first days in the Lubavitcher Yeshiva, recalls: "I davned, I learned how to davn . . . you know, to put on Tefillin, you know, that's a trick in itself at first." As the baal tshuveh becomes familiar with the precepts of orthodox Judaism, he is encouraged to choose among those he will find less demanding to observe initially:

I remember when I stopped writing on Shabbess. I didn't do anything else. I didn't davn. I listened to the radio, I answered the telephone, but I didn't write.

While he is becoming acquainted with the details of Jewish law, the recruit is expected to incorporate as many of them as he sees feasible into his everyday life. He is impressed with the idea that Yiddishkayt is a way of life and not a mere series of acts to be performed at specified times. In time he becomes increasingly observant by performing additional mitzvess and/or performing the same ones more devoutly. As an instance of the former:

. . . and we just decided to do one thing at a time. We started benching. That was the first thing that we did. Then we stopped driving on Shabbess. Then we took one additional step--we built a Sukkeh. We started to keep Kashress properly. We stopped turning out the lights on Shabbess.

One may also become more sincere and serious in performing the same mitzveh:

Since I got married, I've taken a lot of things more seriously. I didn't care too much the time I was learning before I was married. Now it seems more important

to me I put on a talless when I davn and I guess I'm more serious. I think more of what I say when I davn than I did then. The urge to learn is there a little bit.

In Lubavitch circles, and among all chassidic and orthodox Jews, the woman's place is in the home for which she is held primarily responsible. An article in Di Yiddishe Heim, a Lubavitch quarterly publication, tells us that:

The lady of the house cannot see herself apart from her home, her husband and her children. She understands her role as mother. She can find the time for her home and for her children. A mother sees the importance of putting aside time to talk to the children, read to them and review their lessons. She comprehends that the major of the child's basic education rests with her, the chinoch - training - of the formative years, a period before school, is mainly the responsibility for the woman (Vol.1, No.1: 1).

Consequently she must carefully familiarize herself with those laws which will ensure for an orthodox home and family life. Two such important sets of laws are those pertaining to Kashruth and family purity (taharas hamishpocheh). The female passagee, if she is married, must learn certain information to help her manage her home and herself in an orthodox manner.

In keeping a kosher home one must see to it that all food products, including the utensils in which the food is cooked and served, are pure. This involves learning how to be sure that a particular food product is kosher and where it might be purchased. For those who previously did not observe Kashruth, food products will have to be substituted by kosher

ones:

I wanted to know what butcher they take from and fish and things like that Some things were hard, like, I used to use these cheeses, this Kraft sliced cheese, and now there is this kosher cheese and it's about twice as expensive as this one. I'm not a stingy person, but somehow I couldn't. I wouldn't mind spending money on something that's healthier. It's hard especially since I thought both were the same.

Keeping informed about kosher food products is a continuous learning experience. New kosher products continually appear but, more importantly, old ones may disappear; that is, the ingredients of the product are altered thus no longer ensuring its Kashruth. A recruit describes some of her experiences:

And probably there were a few things that I had bought that I found out later on that they were no good You bring in a product sometimes and you find out about it, and all of a sudden someone will tell you that this product is really dairy and it's not really kosher. So, it's a matter of learning every single day, and always watching what you bring into the house because there will always be something new that they'll change and you don't know when they're going to change a product in the market and put something in that is not kosher. So you always have to keep your pantry up to date and watch for these things.*

*The necessity to remain informed about kosher meat and dairy products is common to all Lubavitch and orthodox women. A Lubavitch woman, moving from a large city to a smaller one, might experience similar difficulties as the recruit:

Alright. Now when I came to X (name of city), for instance, you want to speak about products in the super-market. I didn't know most of the products because, as a matter of fact, many products in New York have a

Along with those pertaining to Kashruth the female passagee must familiarize herself with laws relating to family purity. She will begin attending the mikveh (ritual bath) and study those laws accompanying such attendance. With respect to these laws, both husband and wife will probably have to alter their sexual habits. During the period of the menstrual flow, and for seven days after it has ceased, and until the woman has immersed herself in the mikveh, sexual contact between them is strictly prohibited.

In the process of becoming more observant the passagee learns not only about Jewish laws and traditions but about the Lubavitcher Rebbe and the kinds of attitudes and feelings his chassidim display toward him. They are impressed with the Rebbe's supernatural powers and will hear a series of accounts testifying to these extraordinary attributes. From the outset they will be encouraged to write to the Rebbe, either for a blessing (brocheh) or specific advice:

hechsher (orthodox dietary stamp of approval). Hershey's cocoa has a hechsher in New York. It doesn't have one here. I really didn't know about them. Even to this day I keep getting mixed up with . . . like Heinz has a hechsher in New York. Here they don't So you learn I think it's trial and error. Also, the Vaad Ho'Eer gives a listing partially, and you look for the C.O.R., M.K., O.U. let's say in the grocery store itself. In the home there are laws which you can learn.

Now, I was going this way and I was going that way and, of course, I discussed it with X [a Lubavitcher] and I talked to the bocherim about it. And what they suggested was that I write a letter to the Rebbe. I wrote a letter to the Rebbe but I never got an answer, and by this time I had already been accepted by Shayrut La'am and I didn't know what to do one way or the other

Encouraging the individual to establish contact with the Rebbe is a Lubavitch strategy. Lubavitcher are willing to assist recruits compose the letter and ensure them of the advantages of establishing such contact. It appears, however, that initially recruits experience difficulty in accepting the Rebbe as do other Lubavitcher. This sometimes results in a reluctance to arrange for a personal audience with him:

(Sometimes you find people who go to the Rebbe. Did you go?) For some reason or other, I don't know what it was, it's something I just couldn't quite accept, because in my knowledge of Judaism it doesn't mean that just because you become an observant Jew you have to accept a Rebbe. With the chassidim it's almost part and parcel, especially with Lubavitch.

and:

Their [Lubavitch] main objective is to influence you to become religious, and after he's religious, to become a Lubavitcher. A Lubavitcher is someone who has contact with the Rebbe. They got me to write. Writing is the next step. Then personal contact or at least to go to New York where the Rebbe talks As a matter of fact, this weekend someone was trying to get me to go If I was really keen, I suppose I would go and try, . . . but I don't know. A Lubavitcher would do that.

The recruit soon realizes what other Lubavitcher would like to see of him and his consent to the organization of the

necessary arrangements for yecheedess is taken both by him and others to indicate the beginning of a commitment to the Lubavitch orientation to Yiddishkayt. When the person first comes into contact with Lubavitch he is taught laws, customs and traditions relating to Judaism and Lubavitch. As he applies what he learns to his everyday life he begins to identify with Yiddishkayt and sees himself trying to practise and observe traditional Judaism. The Lubavitch strategy recognizes the importance of first offering the recruit activities to build his identification with Yiddishkayt. In time, however, after becoming immersed in a Lubavitch milieu, recruits find themselves increasingly committed to this different - orthodox - way of life. The transition from mere identification to identification with commitment is very gradual and is signaled by certain kinds of activities.

(ii) Disassociation From Previous Life-Style and Commitment to Lubavitch

As recruits learn to be more observant they begin to feel compelled to display evidence indicating that they regard this new way of life earnestly. This may be accomplished by practising to reallocate one's time and to be taken up with religious-related activity. For example, whereas previously the recruit may have spent several hours at a movie, such time will now be devoted to learning about Yiddishkayt, partici-

pating in the Tefillin campaign, helping to coordinate an Encounter With Chabad or some other related activity. The person may begin attending the Yeshiva or davn with a minyen (quorum), and be together with Lubavitcher. If possible he may participate in a sheeur (study class) that meets regularly or become involved in some of the Yeshiva's social functions.

Initially Lubavitcher stress the importance of becoming a more observant Jew. While this calls for the person to abstain from certain activities, he is impressed with the necessity of performing others. Along with the observance of Jewish laws, he is encouraged to establish a relationship with the Rebbe- the center of the Lubavitch movement. The recruit's relationship with the Rebbe is likely to assume a different shape depending on his level of identification with traditional Judaism and the Lubavitcher chassidim. At the outset of his contact with Lubavitch he inevitably discovers the reverence Lubavitcher display toward their leader and the central role he occupies in their lives. He becomes acquainted with this information not through strategic information manipulation by Lubavitcher but instead because the Rebbe's ideas, attitudes and actions are a constant topic of conversation in Lubavitch circles. The recruit recognizes the Rebbe to be a holy man but remains skeptical of the powers that Lubavitcher claim to be vested in his person. Since Lubavitcher regularly travel to New York to attend the Rebbe's

Farbrengens (large gatherings of Lubavitcher chassidim during which time the Rebbe delivers chassidic discourses) and encourage the newcomer to experience a Farbrengen first hand, he is likely to accept their invitation albeit with some trepidation. During the course of his stay at a Lubavitch family while in New York he is again exposed to a series of stories testifying to the Rebbe's superhuman powers. Through contact with Lubavitcher he discovers the intensity of the chossid's relationship with the Rebbe and that the former regularly seeks the Rebbe's advice and blessings before proceeding along an important course of action. In time the recruit becomes interested in the Rebbe to the point of inquiring from Lubavitcher about "what the Rebbe said" or "what the Rebbe has to say" concerning various topics. During this period of interest in the Rebbe the recruit might even "write in" to the Rebbe for a blessing having been urged to do so by his Lubavitcher friends. He might even have agreed to the arrangement of a personal audience with the Rebbe and travelled to New York expressly for this purpose. Unlike other Lubavitcher, however, he has not yet entrusted himself completely to the Rebbe. When faced with a consequential decision, for example, he still relies primarily on his personal judgement for a suitable solution. It is only when the recruit places himself completely under the Rebbe's direction and is prepared to abide by the Rebbe's advice however contrary it may be to

his own and others' thinking that we may consider the recruit to be emotionally and intellectually committed to Lubavitch.

In the beginning the recruit's attachment to orthodox Judaism and to Lubavitch are tenuous. If he feels inclined to observe a precept he does; if he does not feel so inclined he does not. Although during this time he becomes increasingly preoccupied with orthodox Judaism and Lubavitch, he still meets with his nonreligious friends who do not necessarily share his new found interests. In time, however, he begins losing contact with many of them. For instance, he will no longer meet with them on a Saturday afternoon to drive to a non-kosher restaurant. What further separates him from them is his feeling that he shares little in common with them. As one Lubavitcher expressed it:

You know, you do lose contact. . . . if I'm visiting X (name of city) having contact with them (previous non-orthodox friends) or trying to renew contact with them is sort of futile because we have so little in common. You know, so little interests in common other than our family and home and furniture. I did go see one of my old friends when I was back last spring and we had a very enjoyable afternoon. But I don't think we could ever establish a close friendship together because there is so little to go on.

The alternative is to chose new friends with whom common interests are shared:

I enjoy the friends that I do have and I have quite a few friends whom I'm quite close to here in X (name of city) and I enjoy their friendship and I depend on that very much. But it's meaningful to me.

There is a definite exchange of interests and I think that there are things that we share, and these are very important to me, that I would be reluctant to do without.

The majority of new friends are likely to be from Lubavitch and it is with these people that the recruit finds most in common. It is they who teach him what he desires and is expected to know. Since they spend a considerable amount of their time in the Yeshiva, he is likely to do the same. His social life begins to center around the Yeshiva and he begins to invest much of his time in the presence of Lubavitcher.

The female recruit also experiences a disassociation from her previous friendship circle. For her increasing involvement in the Lubavitch community comes by way of attending meetings of one of the women's groups, getting hooked into one of the Lubavitch women's telephone circles or participating in the various other women's activities. Along with this, certain changes are expected and come about in her appearance. She may resist these changes initially but she is made to recognize the importance of conforming to certain standards of dress. She notices that Lubavitch women do not consider it necessary to keep abreast with the latest styles and fashions. Instead she is informed of the Rebbe's emphasis on tzneenus - modesty - in appearance. By seeing others she learns that one's hair is to be always covered in public,

preferably with a shyt1, that dresses are to be long-sleeved, high-necked and of approximately knee length. Though it may be difficult to conform to these expectations with one's old wardrobe, the change occurs gradually. In the privacy of her home she may not be meticulous about the length of her dress or sleeves, yet when before others she tries to present herself appropriately. Conversations with two baal tshuvess help illustrate this:

(Did you have to change your dress?) Well, it came about gradually. At first I didn't think anything about it. No one told me anything, but I gradually heard and learned that they wear their sleeves three quarter length. At first I didn't know. Even when I knew, somehow I don't feel it would be wrong if I came in short sleeves. Up until last year I would sometimes go. I have a lot of short sleeved dresses and I don't feel undressed if I wear them, although lately . . . all of a sudden . . . it just comes over you and you feel in their presence at least . . . this is how I should be dressed and I would feel uncomfortable if I did otherwise Now, I try it. If I know somebody is coming over I'll probably wear long sleeves. If I do housework I have to wear a sleeveless dress and I'm often embarrassed if the bell rings and you have these men collecting. So I feel I'm not dressed properly.

and:

Well, if I go out and forget my hat, I go back and get it. Or if I go out and realize that I'm wearing a dress that might be bothersome to someone, I will go back and get a sweater. I don't want to be disrespectful.

Male recruits also experience changes in dress. The prominent features identifying them to be and committing them to behave like orthodox Jews include wearing a hat and/or yarm1ke at

all times, a dark colored suit or appropriate substitute, a talless kotn (fringed undershirt) and in most cases a beard.

The disengagement from certain kinds of activities also indicate gradual commitment to Yiddishkayt and to Lubavitch. Recruits learn that time is a precious commodity and that one must spend it productively. More importantly, they discover that certain activities are regarded as constituting an unproductive use of time, some of which they might be engaging in at the time. For example:

(. . . giving away your T.V., did it have something to do with the fact that most Lubavitchers don't own T.V. sets?) The fact is that there was in some way a religious motive, because you want to make and do the most with your time. You consider your time very precious, and we just felt that many times we just watched and we felt badly afterwards. We watched a program . . . and we felt that we could have spent our time doing other things. Life is short.

Newcomers to Lubavitch learn to reallocate their time taking into consideration their new way of life. More specifically, they realize that certain activities are regarded as either too time consuming or not compatible with someone of their demeanor, and consequently try to refrain from them. For example, men assume the attitude that the time spent at movies ought to be put to more valuable use:

. . . and you have to recognize that to go to a movie for three hours and spend a half hour getting back, that's four hours. Now . . . time is generally too valuable to find a block of time that's available.

or:

You're not supposed to go to a movie If you had the time you could do with others or with yourself, I mean, you could learn or do a good deed or go to put on Tefillin with somebody.

Since the person begins to think of himself as a religious Jew fitting into the Lubavitch community, and is anxious to be so regarded by others, activities which may lead others to question his sincerity are halted. It is, therefore, not unusual for the recruit to sell his television set since many of the programs' contents are contrary to what an orthodox Jew should see and hear.

The recruit's intensified contact with Lubavitcher is accompanied by a process of disassociation from his previous life-style. He gradually assumes the Lubavitch attitude concerning the role and purpose of an orthodox Jew and realizes that continued participation in some of his previous activities is not in conformity with his new self-perception. He is now likely to focus his attention and devote his time toward practising to be a better Jew; that is, to elevate himself to a higher level of Yiddishkayt (Jewishness). The recruit is fully aware that he is drifting from his past way of everyday life since his change of status is undertaken voluntarily. Although a complete break with his past never occurs, his degree of contact with his former nonreligious friends and relatives slowly diminishes. The texture of his

everyday social world is heavily colored with Lubavitcher and they become his reference group and constitute his significant others. At this point the recruit can be said to be socially committed to Lubavitch. The perceived costs of terminating one's involvement with the Lubavitch community or deviating sharply from the expected orthodox way of life are too enormous and the recruit becomes structurally locked in to the community's way of life.

Although it may be possible to analytically separate the recruit's intellectual and social commitment to Lubavitch, the two processes evolve simultaneously, one leading to or resulting from the other. Since the Lubavitch strategy allows recruits to set their own socialization pace, the status passage of becoming a Lubavitcher is mediated by innumerable contingencies influenced by the person's social and religious background.

(d) Assessing Success With Recruits

In the process of meeting with recruits and instructing them in matters of Yiddishkayt, Lubavitcher wish to know if the former are practising what they learn and are becoming more observant. Unlike total institutions which can gain access to any aspect of their charges' everyday lives, Lubavitcher cannot exert such control over recruits. Consequently they must adopt alternate means by which to discover this

information.

Some evidence indicating whether the person is advancing in Yiddishkayt can be observed publicly. In other words, certain activities signify that the individual is assuming a serious attitude and is progressing satisfactorily. For male recruits such activities may include attending the Yeshiva regularly, studying Torah with a Lubavitcher, going to the mikveh (ritual bath); for females, altering their dress to conform with the standards acceptable within the Lubavitch community, buying certain food products at one of the kosher bakeries and attending Lubavitch womens' meetings. If the recruit unit is a family with children of school age, enrolling the children in a Lubavitch school is taken as an indicator of the family's serious intent.

While certain mitzvess are performed publicly, thus allowing others to note the recruit's progress, others are observed privately. For instance, Lubavitcher cannot check whether a recruit is observing the Sabbath properly or if a family is purchasing only kosher food products or keeping the laws of family purity, for these mitzvess are observed primarily in the privacy of one's home. Certain situations, however, allow Lubavitcher to learn about the recruit's progress in even such matters. When a recruit meets with a Lubavitcher to study Torah or Chassidess (Lubavitch philosophy) the sit-

uation is optimally conducive for the exchange of such information. The recruit is told at the outset that the study sessions should also serve as occasions where questions are asked and problems discussed. After a period of time both the Lubavitcher and the recruit feel free to acquire information from and about the other. At these times Lubavitcher can inquire about the recruit's observance of such matters as the Sabbath, Kashruth and, if married, family purity. At the same time the recruit is anxious to inform the Lubavitcher of his progress since their last meeting. In this manner the recruit's efforts at observing certain mitzvess are rewarded if only by the congratulatory remarks he receives from the Lubavitcher.

The recruit's progress in the observance of mitzvess is also judged by the nature of his questions. If certain questions are not asked about particular mitzvess, chances are they are not observed. Lubavitcher stress certain aspects of Jewish law sooner than others and it is expected that recruits will seek information concerning these. Such questioning, especially by telephone, indicate to others that the recruit is concerned about his progress in Yiddishkayt. It also informs Lubavitcher of their degree of success in drawing the person into the orthodox fold.

Although particular activities reflect a person's pro-

gress in Yiddishkayt, it is not actually possible to know if he observes those mitzvess he publicly avows. What is certain, however, is that the Lubavitcher knows the recruit is aware of those mitzvess he ought to be observing. The assumption made by the Lubavitcher is that the recruit has no reason to lie about his accomplishments in Yiddishkayt and thus ought to be believed. The reason he returns to the Yeshiva is because he wants to and not due to external pressures. Also, the recruit realizes that lying only commits him to observe additional mitzvess and exerts pressure on him to conform to new expectations which others now have of him.

(e) Dropouts

Since passage into Lubavitch is initially a voluntary act, individuals are free to terminate the process when they so desire. In fact only a minority of those with whom Lubavitch comes into contact agree to change their life-style and begin observing Jewish law. As already mentioned, the Lubavitch strategy calls for these individuals to begin with the basic and "easy" mitzvess and, in time, to progress to additional ones requiring greater commitment. The majority of recruits travel the route of the status passage in typical fashion; that is, they conform to the kinds of expectations made of them by others in the community. Others, however, begin and continue to show progress but then reverse their field either

by failing to progress or by discontinuing to observe those precepts practised to date. Thus another property of the status passage into Lubavitch is reversibility.

Recognized criteria constituting success or failure with recruits are not clearly marked, as either complete success or total failure are not imagined by Lubavitcher themselves. Complete success implies that success is no longer possible and that the person has reached a level in Yiddishkayt which cannot be surpassed. The Lubavitch notion of levels, or madraigess, mentioned earlier, strongly discourages this claim. At the same time, even those who have only come into contact with Lubavitch and have not begun to practise traditional Judaism are not recorded as failures. As one Lubavitcher said: " . . . I feel that whoever has come into touch with Lubavitch that no one comes out less from the experience." In other words, whatever contact a Jewish person has with Yiddishkayt, whether fleeting or continuous, is superior to no contact at all.

Those recruits who reverse their field offer varying tales to account for and justify their decision. A common feature to these accounts is the person's inability or undesire to accept and maintain what are perceived as restrictions on their life-style. For example, a former Yeshiva student who recently left the Yeshiva to learn a trade and

who has begun to dress quite stylishly remarked to me:

You know, there are certain things that I enjoy doing which they [Lubavitcher] don't like. That doesn't mean that I can't do them. Now that I'm no longer here [studying at the Yeshiva] I do what I want and if they don't like it, it's too bad. I don't tell them how to run their life and they won't tell me how to run mine. Some don't like these pants because of these things [points to the flares] and others think this tie is too fancy. What's it their business what I wear?

A Lubavitch woman, regarded as a most experienced processor of recruits, related to me an incident concerning a girl with whom she learned Chumesh. The girl made it clear at the outset that she did not believe in God but rather in Fate. The two studied together for six months when one day the girl announced that a good Jew can only be a committed Jew and that henceforth she would observe the Sabbath and other mitzvess she learned in the course of her studies. "Recently," the woman said,

she decided to go away from it all. She had realized, she thinks at least, not to completely divorce herself but certainly to retreat. She feels that it had posed many too many problems, and given her an insecure feeling and has made her belong nowhere almost. She can't really be friendly with her friends because they no longer share that much in common. She is not able to rip herself away enough from that past environment to face this type of restricted environment. She decided twice to go away, once to X (name of country), another time to Y (name of city) to go into a seminary and start really learning, but then it petered out at the end because she felt it would be much too much restriction on her. At this point she isn't ready. So there was only

one answer for her - recede. I don't know how long she'll stay at that point. But here's a typical example. I think she's typical at least.

Lubavitcher recognize that if most of the people they encounter are not already observant Jews, they will not become so. They are also aware that there is no guarantee that those whom they impress with the importance of traditional Judaism will live a fully Jewish life. The number of Lubavitcher Yeshiva graduates who either leave the orthodox fold or become lax in the observance of many precepts testifies to this phenomenon. Even so, Lubavitcher claim to be unanimous in their belief that one should not feel discouraged in his efforts to draw people closer to Yiddishkayt, that a person's observance of even one precept if only for one occasion is superior to no observance at all. A recruit, then, does not have to become an orthodox Jew and Lubavitcher chossid to be considered a successful case. Convincing an individual who had no connection with Judaism to observe Tefillin is viewed as a great accomplishment. A woman expressed this idea nicely when she said:

. . . There's no insurance . . . of what you're going to get done. Every little bit is better than nothing. A person is human and he's going to face the forces of the world which are so utterly against our forces and my husband keeps telling me: "Look, you know, every little bit is better than nothing and that is all we have to keep saying to ourselves and aim for the highest we can possibly get." It might not be very high but

Who Teaches the Recruit?

We now focus on the means through which recruits to this chassidic group acquire relevant information for their new way of life. The Yeshiva serves as the center where the male will learn much of what he is required to know. As it is also the community's social center, he meets and becomes friendly with other Lubavitcher by being there. It is they who teach him not only the various mitzvess but also Yiddishkayt.

The male recruit's learning is accomplished through two channels - one formal and the other informal. The formal channel consists of an organized study session with a Lubavitcher which the two negotiate upon first meeting. Since, at this point, the Lubavitcher's objective is to retain the recruit's contact, the latter's preferences greatly determine what they will study. For example:

I was once with B I wanted to learn some Chumesh, he wanted to learn Chassidess I told him we should be doing Chumesh better but he was complaining still to learn Chassidess, so we learned Chassidess.

Along with this the recruit may learn about Yiddishkayt and Lubavitch by reading various Lubavitch literature which the chossid is eager to lend him. The second type of channel is informal in that information is not accumulated in a structured and systematic manner but through a variety of informal

measures. The recruit may, for instance, listen in on a discussion concerning Torah or might approach Lubavitcher to ask them specific questions.

The recruit typically becomes more involved in Lubavitch by attending the Yeshiva either to davn or study. In some cases he studies with someone whom he meets regularly:

So he (the Rebbe) said, among other things, . . . when I came back to X (name of city) I should get involved with this bocher. I used to go to study with him. You see, we lived way out in Y (neighborhood) and the Yeshiva was here, so there wasn't really that much contact except when I would go down to study

Or:

I started by hooking myself on to someone and then found a teacher.

In other cases, though not meeting with someone regularly, he nonetheless visits the Yeshiva hoping to find someone with whom to study:

(Did you ever go to the Yeshiva to learn?) Yes. Not as much as I should, but I do. (About how many times a week do you go?) Informally, about a couple of times a week. (Do you learn in a class or by yourself?) By myself. I try to grab it with whatever teacher I can find around there.

Learning is usually accomplished through informal contact with Lubavitcher. While a number of Lubavitcher, including the recruit, embark on a Tefillin route they may discuss the Rebbe's recent discourse while reaching their destination. This manner of learning may also occur when the recruit travels

with Lubavitcher to attend a Farbrengen:

. . . I would always go with a carload of people, and, you know, I always used to say I got more coming and going. Just general talking

Often by simply sitting in the shul or elsewhere in the Yeshiva the recruit absorbs information from the general gossip and discussion:

You know what a Farbrengen is. Not only in New York, but you get a number of people sitting around a table. There's a little bit of cake and a bottle of whiskey. Just talking. I can get a lot more out of that than a whole sayfer of mymorim or a whole Farbrengen in New York.

Or:

. . . but you'll also have a lot of people just sitting around and talking. It's a curious thing. . . . But I don't know. In a sense among Misnagdim that would just be a horrendous thing. How can you just sit around and talk? And yet, that's a very important thing. Just sitting around.

These informal gatherings not only bring recruits into contact with Lubavitcher, but also serve as an information source. There they can acquaint themselves with what Lubavitcher consider worthy topics for discussion and gain the Lubavitch perspective on them. The following, by a newcomer, illustrates this:

For example, the latest thing with the moon, the going to the moon. So Rabbi Goren, the chief Rabbi for the army, instituted some changes in the prayers. The Rebbe came out with a blast. About a number of things, there's always something to talk about. It's learning but in a sense, it's, it's What is a Farbrengen? One of the claims of Misnagdim . . . what do

chassidim do? They get together . . . and they sit and talk And yet, that's a type of friendship. It means a lot, and that's as much a community activity as a bazaar is and perhaps even more.

With the assistance of other Lubavitcher the male recruit learns about Yiddishkayt at the Yeshiva. Unlike female recruits who often visit other Lubavitch women at home, the practise is uncommon among the men. The Yeshiva serves for them as the central meeting place in the community:

. . . they [women] come over to our house or my wife goes elsewhere. This type of thing happens a lot more with the women than with the men. I can't imagine . . . going over and visiting at someone's house. I just never do, whereas getting together at the Yeshiva is a sort of standard thing.

As by the males the learning process for the female recruits only commences after contact is initiated with Lubavitch women. While men may meet at the Yeshiva, no such central meeting place exists for the women and, consequently, other means must be found for acquainting female recruits with these chassidic women. Where men are expected to set aside time daily for prayer and study, similar expectations are not had of a woman. Her primary concern is to care for her home and family, thus leaving her with little time to encounter other women. As a result, women use the telephone to substitute for daily social encounters.

Before contact can be maintained regularly, it must first be initiated. This usually takes the following form: the prospective recruit mentions to a Lubavitcher or some-

one in contact with this group that she is interested in learning about Yiddishkayt. She is, in turn, referred to or contacted by a Lubavitch woman who suggests arrangements for studying - either with someone privately or within a group:

I was working . . . and the first year they were always employing the Yeshiva bochers and I happened to meet one of the bocherim from the Lubavitcher Yeshiva. And I was discussing with him my desire to learn because I wasn't able to go out of town to learn and time was slipping by. And he mentioned the possibility for my learning privately with one of the Lubavitch women

During these "Yiddishkayt sessions" the recruit studies something appropriate to her level of Jewish knowledge. She will, usually, be taught Chumesh as well as mitzvess related to Kashruth and, if married, family purity. A recruit, already partly observant when she arrived at Lubavitch, remarked:

So like at the beginning . . . she didn't want to push because she wasn't trying to get me religious because at the time, when I was going to her, I was already shoimer Shabbess and I was kosher But there were certain things that I wouldn't have eaten after. So as far as trying to push any religion, no, she wasn't. But we just got to Chumesh and that was it, and we'd get carried away a little bit here and a little bit there.

Another recruit, at the time not observant, recalled:

I used to go down about once or twice a week and she started learning with me, laws and things like that. And it started like that, and then I got really interested, you know. (What sort of things did you learn?) We used to do Chumesh, you know But we did mostly laws because that's what I needed at the time.

Since not all female recruits receive private instruction, how do they learn about Jewish laws, customs and traditions? This may be accomplished by meetings and telephone conversations. If married, her husband will be a carrier of such information. In the course of study, he too is familiarized with specific laws and they will review them together. This process was described as follows:

The husband is usually encouraged to learn with another Lubavitcher in the evenings, and they go over these things [laws related to family purity] and they come across it and they ask questions and their questions are answered. It's this general process of learning that goes on and they become familiar with the law. In the evening when he returns home he will probably go over with his wife what he learned and they will discuss it and again if they have questions

The recruit helps decide what she will learn initially on the basis of her interests. Certain laws, however, such as family purity, are considered basic and she is pressured to learn about and observe those immediately:

I mean, there were a lot of things when she first came . . . she didn't even observe niddeh (separation). She didn't go to the mikveh, and that point we just couldn't let go. So I spoke to her husband and she started to observe that, and she goes to the mikveh now.

Attending women's meetings is the most common way for female recruits to meet Lubavitch women. The women's group is called Neshai Chabad and the younger married women have organized the Junior Neshai Chabad. Lubavitcher comprise the membership majority in both groups but non-Lubavitcher are

continually invited and encouraged to return. The Junior Neshai Chabad meetings always center about a different topic as, for example, the woman's duty at home, the importance of Kashruth, baby care and serve as occasions where recruits may discuss with others certain difficulties they experience which others might share. These meetings also allow the new-comer to become aware of Lubavitch women's interests, the kinds of joys, hardships or inconveniences they encounter as orthodox women and the measures adopted to seek solutions.

A recruit remarked:

Well, you ask them questions and they answer your questions and you ask them for advice and opinions about how things are done. And then you have, well, just being in contact with these women. I guess you just sort of come into contact with them. This is one way in which you sort of grow into the batter more.

As the above suggests, contact at meetings may lead to additional contact elsewhere. While meetings serve to bring recruits and Lubavitch women together, they also function as information centers from which the former draw upon to acquaint themselves with pertinent gossip and general information. Considerable energy is, consequently, devoted toward encouraging the recruit to attend the group meetings. Efforts are made to welcome and interest her and she is shortly encouraged to assume certain responsibilities:

. . . I was very active in a group called Bnos Chabad
. . . and we were very interested in establishing this

group and arranging lectures and arranging for speakers and meeting times and writing up the meetings afterwards and sending them out to the various girls. And I became active that way and I think, though, in general, that's what they try to do Lubavitch is very good in drawing people in They seem to have a knack for this type of thing and they make everyone who comes into the group really feel at home, mostly by working for the group.

Since much of her time is spent at home, and as some of her problems must be attended immediately, the recruit telephones others for specific information. She might, for example, wish to question a particular Rabbinical ordinance (hechsher) or whether a product labelled as kosher is indeed so. The two types of persons frequently called are those whom she has come to trust in areas pertaining to religious and personal affairs and second, recognized authorities in religious matters:

Like, if I had a question to ask I would call X or anyone else. Mostly X. She was the one I sort of turned to all the time when I was first married If I had a question I would just ask. I still do. I mean, sometimes it happens. You spill milk on a flayshikeh (meat) cup or something and you don't know what to do. You call up.

Or:

Ya, there were always questions. First we had an orthodox Rabbi . . . and we began to consult another Rabbi, a Rabbi from Lubavitch. We usually consult him about questionable things.

For questions pertaining to Kashruth the recruit may telephone the Vaad Ho'Eer Board. As a Lubavitcher remarks:

. . . we have two Rabbis who are on the Vaad Ho'Eer Board, that is, the Rabbinical Council. Now they

serve as a sort of . . . center of information. Even if I want to get an O.K. on something or want to know something or more detailed information on how come or who's the one who's giving the hechsher there, and so on and so forth, I'd call Rabbi Y or Rabbi Z, who being there on the Council, will be able to give me all the information. So usually if they [recruits] had a question that could be answered like generally, like meat or what have you, like mustard . . . they could get in touch with these Rabbis.

Not all information is communicated verbally to the newcomer. While expected to become aware of certain matters, information surrounding these may come to her attention visually. Observing how others behave enables her to learn what constitutes appropriate behavior within the Lubavitch community. While attending a celebration in the Yeshiva, for instance, she does not have to be told to refrain from mingling with the men. Since all other women are separated, so must she be. A similar learning process occurs with clothing. Dresses are expected to be long-sleeved, high-necked and of approximately knee length. While not informed explicitly that these are the requirements, the recruit realizes the importance of patterning her wardrobe to meet other Lubavitchers' approval. By observing how Lubavitch women comport themselves, she learns how to conduct herself appropriately when in their presence.

Both male and female recruits must first come into contact with Lubavitcher if they are to study Yiddishkayt from a Lubavitch orientation. Contact is essential for it

places individuals in a milieu wherein they may become attuned to attitudes and ideas Lubavitcher consider important. Initial contact easily leads to a variety of occasions where Lubavitcher and recruits continue to meet, thus assisting the latter to learn about Yiddishkayt and Lubavitch.

Whose are the Recruits?

Newcomers are expected to fit themselves into the available community's activities with Lubavitchers' assistance. These chassidim initiate efforts to establish contact with recruits for they consider it a mitzveh to show concern toward someone interested in Yiddishkayt. Most are willing, therefore, to lend the person their assistance. There is no community institutionalized process, however, which introduces them to Lubavitcher. This lack of formality led a female recruit to remark:

. . . but I think that they should put out something like a guide to a housewife, because you do things and you don't realize that you should do them another way. You think you're perfectly kosher and it really isn't. I feel that when people come in, they come from varying degrees of background. Some know what it's all about and some know nothing. I think there should be some sort of a guide, certain basic things, like how that stove should be set up and how a sink should be set up

Informal strategies are pursued, instead, - their purpose being to introduce the recruit to Lubavitcher chassidim.

Persons displaying interest in Yiddishkayt are contacted

and invited to meetings and other social gatherings. Inviting the person (and their family) for the entire Sabbath, for example, serves as an excellent opportunity to establish lines of friendship. Note how contacts are often made:

. . . maybe someone will come over to me and say: "You know, Mrs. so and so has shown a tremendous amount of interest in this particular group or this facet of Lubavitch and perhaps you would become closer with her. You know, to invite her and to become friendly with her."

Or:

Almost everything that exists in Lubavitch is almost as efficient as the _____ faculty here in its total disorganization. There's an ad hoc . . . you know, someone calls up so and so: "Well, I don't know. Why don't you call up so and so?" until something gets done which, in a sense, is as bad as it can be but it seems to work

Learning groups and other social activities are on-going in the community, and are sufficiently diverse for recruits to find at least one compatible with their interest and level of Yiddishkayt. The Junior Neshai Chabad group, for instance, consisting of young married women, meets regularly every second week. Available each alternate week for those interested is a study class in Chassidess - Lubavitch philosophy. Kinds of activities available to recruits include:

Well, it ranges from all age groups Young ones have the Messibbe . . . and they have all different things that they can be connected with. They have learning groups of one sort or another for all ages. They have for the older girls, for the younger girls, for the newly married women, for the older women. They have groups which are directly affiliated with

the Yeshiva, you know, parent teacher groups and chapters connected with the Yeshiva, and those that make the rummage sale and the bazaars and the teas to raise money for the Yeshiva and the Bays Rivkeh. They have . . . the drama group that puts on plays each year, and so there seems to be a lot of groups and a lot going on during the course of the year.

There aren't enough days in the year for the person who wants to volunteer his services. No matter what capabilities a person has . . . they will put his efforts to good use in many different fields and it's principally not money raising because money raising is done by organized people Different people have different interests. Yes, there are some people who are interested in the camp. There are other people who are interested in the Bays Rivkeh and other people in the Yeshiva.

These contact situations serve a twofold purpose: on the one hand they bring Lubavitcher and recruits together, thus providing the latter with a feeling of community involvement. At the same time, these occasions easily lend themselves to discussions and to exchanges of attitudes and opinions between the newcomers and Lubavitcher. A Lubavitch woman discusses a side effect of the drama group's rehearsals:

It's funny that a lot of people who become actresses in these plays were of a very different background, really, from having very little to do with Lubavitch. They just like drama. They didn't mind getting into a play and at the end, the warming up toward Lubavitch and the airing of questions and views was, I think, more successful in this drama group than in any of our direct attempts through these study groups. Since they had met, I think two or three times a week, and they grew on each other, and they were playing for the same cause, and it has been one of our most successful ways of airing views, ways and means and so on.

Another channel through which Lubavitch initiates and maintains

contact with newcomers is by inviting them to Lubavitcher religious and social functions such as weddings, Bar Mitzvehs and Farbrengens. I asked a recruit if she and her husband were invited to weddings:

Always. They have a standard list of Lubavitcher. Every family has this list. That's the way they work it They invite, like, you know, the usual crowd, and they invite that standard crowd all the time to these affairs.

Newcomers are encouraged to attend Farbrengens at the Lubavitch headquarters in Brooklyn, New York. Lubavitcher consider this activity important for recruits as it permits them to experience Lubavitchers' relationship with their Rebbe. The strategy underlying the above is that the person will be impressed with the Farbrengen and maintain contact with Lubavitch. If a person agrees to attend a Farbrengen, Lubavitcher provide eating and sleeping accommodations, thus ensuring they will be immersed in a religious atmosphere. These chassidim see to it that newcomers will fit themselves in and will become hooked into the various social and religious community activities. While different activities are available for men, women, boys and girls, their ultimate objective - involvement with Lubavitcher and others who base their lives around Yiddish-kayt - is similar.

Individuals attempting to organize their lives along a traditional Jewish line experience a learning process. The

data suggest that in the case of married couples, the female is likely to encounter more difficulty in accommodating herself to this process. Attending the Yeshiva the male engages in more informal contact with Lubavitcher than does his wife and while there he is more likely to become involved in activities committing him to be with Lubavitcher. As well, others in the Yeshiva keep him attuned to the latest news from 770 - the world headquarters of Lubavitch. While he becomes enmeshed in a network of Lubavitch relationships, his wife, on the other hand, finds herself mainly occupied at home with the children. A Lubavitch woman with much experience in assisting newcomers noted:

. . . a lot of the newly married couples, who have one or two children, who feel that their husbands have become quite entwined with the Yeshiva, some of them [husbands] who go to the Yeshiva to study in the evening, some of them will go out on a Tefillin campaign Now, these women are stuck at home with the kids. They don't go out together hardly to a social function or so What I have noticed is that men conform a lot faster and a lot easier, and at a much less dreadful process than the women do. The woman usually takes . . . at least twice as long as the men, at least, with its aches and pains, so to speak. And I've seen this time and time again, whereby women sort of have it in, in some way, for what their husbands are doing and sort of can't go along with it all the way. They will, perhaps, in the end result, you know, after they've struggled through it point by point, but it's much harder on them.

The individual's movement to Yiddishkayt and to the Lubavitch community may be conceptualized as a status passage in

which the key properties include: a) the passage's centrality to the individual and others, b) its occurrence over a period of time and c) the institution's lack of formal control over the participant. In that recruits learn about and are eventually expected to conform with specific Jewish laws and rituals, the status passage is prescribed. The passage's scheduling, however, is not institutionally determined but, instead, is organized to fit the particular needs of the individuals concerned. As a Lubavitcher remarked:

Lubavitch has this . . . axiom: don't ever push upon a person what he can't do. If the individual Lubavitcher, the individual chossid, will see that this guy is ready for the next step, then, of course, he'll go on to the next step We're dealing with a person here. We are not dealing with a rock or a piece of wood. A person has to be ready to accept the next step. A person has to be ready to accept the first step.

The absence of an institutionalized rite of passage, separating insiders from outsiders, allows the person to identify himself with Lubavitch when he feels ready and to do so gradually. This may be called gradual identification or creeping commitment. As such there is no definite point at which the person must make an important decision about his life committing him to a career of a Lubavitch lifestyle.

GLOSSARY

Ahavas Yisroel (Hebrew). Love of Jews.

Aleph-Bays (Heb.). The first two letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

Alter Rebbe (Yiddish-Heb.). Refers to the founder of the Lubavitch movement - Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liadi.

Baal Tshuveh (Heb.). Literally, repentor. Used in this study to mean a newcomer to Lubavitch. (Baal Tshuvess. Plural.)

Ballebattim (Heb.). Literally, householders; owners. (Balleboss. Singular.)

Bar Mitzveh (Heb.). Literally, son of good deed. The initiation of a Jewish boy into adulthood at the age of thirteen.

Bays Medresh (Heb.). A place for prayer and study.

Bays Rivkeh (Heb.). The name of the Lubavitcher chassidim's girls' school.

Bays Sorreh (Heb.). The name of a network of schools organized by the previous Lubavitcher Rebbe.

Bays Yankev (Heb.). The name of a Jewish orthodox girls' school.

Beenoh (Heb.). Second initial of the three letters composing Chabad; understanding.

Benchn (Yidd.). To bless; to say the grace after the meal.

Bnos Chabad (Bnoys) (Heb.). Lubavitch girls' club.

Bocher (Heb.). A young boy; also unmarried male. (Bocherim. Plural.)

Brocheh (Heb.). Blessing. (Brochess. Plural.)

Chabad (Heb.). Initials of Chochmoh (wisdom), Beenoh (understanding), Daas (knowledge).

Chanekkeh (Heb.). Feast of Lights; Jewish mid-winter holiday.

- Chassidess (Heb.). The teaching of chassidism.
- Chinuch (Heb.). Education.
- Chochmoh (Heb.). First initial of the three letters composing Chabad; wisdom.
- Chossid (Heb.). Follower of the chassidic movement.
(Chassidim. Plural.)
- Chumesh (Heb.). The five books of Moses.
- Daas (Heb.). Third initial of the three letters composing Chabad; knowledge.
- Daf Yoymee (Heb.). Daily portion of Talmudic learning.
- Davke (Aramaic). Just; in spite; also necessarily.
- Davn (Yidd.). To pray; davening (praying); davned (prayed).
- Der Kanader Odler (Yidd.). Yiddish daily newspaper.
- Derech (Heb.). Way; approach.
- Di Yiddishe Heim (Yidd.). Literally, The Jewish Home. A Lubavitch quarterly publication.
- Din (Heb.). Law. (Deenim. Plural.)
- Dos pintele Yeed (Yidd.). The inner Jewish feeling; or spark.
- Essreg (Heb.). Citrus fruit. Used with the loolev during morning Services on the Sukkess holiday.
- Farbrengen (Yidd.). Literally, to spend time. A chassidic gathering.
- Flayshike (Yidd.). Referring to meat or meat products.
- Folk Shule (Yidd.). Name of a Jewish parochial school.
- Foon Amol (Yidd.). From the past.
- Frum (Yidd.). Observant; pious.
- Frye (Yidd.). Free-thinkers.

Gelt (Yidd.). Money.

Gemore (Aramaic). The portion of the Talmud discussing the laws of the Mishneh.

Goyish (Heb.-Yidd.). Non-Jewish. The word may include derogatory implications for non-Jews and Jews alike.

Hanholleh (Heb.). Leadership; administration.

Havdolleh (Heb.). Literally, separation. The prayer separating the Sabbath or holiday from the coming week.

Hechsher (Heb.). Rabbinical license concerning the manufacture of foods; permit.

Kashress (Heb.). The dietary laws.

Kehot (Heb.). Name of the Lubavitch Publication Society.

Klai Kodesh (Koydesh) (Heb.). Literally, holy utensils. Those (one) holding ecclesiastic office.

Lag Bo'Oymer (Heb.). Children's festive day. Thirty-third day between the second day of Passover and Shvooess.

Lebedik (Yidd.). Lively.

Loolev (Heb.). Palm branch. Used with essreg during morning Services on the Sukkess holiday.

Madraiggeh (Heb.). Level. (Madraigghess. Plural.)

Malochim (Heb.). Angels. (Malech. Singular.)

Mashgiech (Heb.). Supervisor of religious laws, for example, in the preparation of kosher food products.

Mashpeea (Heb.). Person exerting influence.

Mecheetzeh (Heb.). Partition separating men from women.

Mentsh (Yidd.). Decent person.

Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch (Heb.). Literally, Center of Educational Affairs. The educational branch of the Lubavitch movement.

Messibbe (Heb.). See Messibbess Shabbess.

Messibbess Shabbess (Heb.). Shabbess gathering of Jewish youth.

Mikveh (Heb.). Ritual bath. Usually used by men on days preceeding holidays and the Sabbath and by women after menstruation.

Mincheh (Heb.). Afternoon prayer.

Minheg (Heb.). Custom. (Minhogim. Plural.)

Minyen (Heb.). Necessary quorum (of ten) for the public performance of Services.

Mishnaiyess (Heb.). Code of Jewish Law. Plural of Mishneh.

Misnagdim (Heb.). Opponents of chassidim.

Mitzveh (Heb.). A prescribed religious command; a good deed.

Mivtza Tefillin (Heb.). Tefillin campaign. Sometimes wrongly pronounced by Lubavitcher bocherim as mivtzas Tefillin.

Moshiach (Heb.). Redeemer. A descendant of the House of David that is hoped will come and deliver Jews and the world.

Mymor (Heb.). Treatise; written article. (Mymorim. Plural.)

Myriv (Heb.). Evening prayer.

Nachess (Heb.). Initials of Neshai Choyvevai Toyreh. Women of Torah lovers.

Neshai Uvnoys Chabad (Heb.). Lubavitch women's group.

Niddeh (Heb.). Literally, impurity. Related to the precepts governing a woman's conduct during her menstruation period.

Oifrufn (Yidd.). Literally, to be called (to the Torah). In this case, it is when a groom is called to the Torah before marriage.

Olaynoo (Heb.). Literally, "it is upon us". Last chapter of the prayer.

- Pardess Channeh (Heb.). Literally, Channeh's Orchard.
Name of the Lubavitch girls' camp.
- Parsheh (Heb.). Weekly reading of the Torah; also section
of that reading read to the individual called to the
Torah.
- Pegeesheh (Heb.). Meeting; encounter.
- Poshet (Heb.). Simple; plain.
- Rebbe (Heb.). The religious leader of a chassidic group.
(Rebbayim and Rebbeim. Plural.)
- Refooeh Shlaimeh (Heb.). Complete recovery.
- Saifer (Heb.). Holy book. (Sforim. Plural.)
- Shabbess (Heb.). Sabbath.
- Shabbess Mevorchim (Heb.). That Sabbath when a new month is
inaugurated.
- Shachris (Heb.). Morning prayer.
- Shammess (Heb.). Beadle.
- Shayrut La'am (Heb.). Israeli version of Canadian University
Students Oversees.
- Sheeur (Heb.). Literally, measure. In this study used
to mean study class.
- Shema (Heb.). Literally, listen. The first word of a
prayer recited several times daily.
- Shleeta (Heb.). Initials of sheyeechye l'oyrech yomim
toyvim, omayn, meaning he shall live good long years,
Amen. Referring only to a Rebbe.
- Shoichet (Heb.). Ritual slaughterer. (Shochtim. Plural.)
- Shoimer Shabbess (Heb.). A Sabbath observer.
- Shteebl (Yidd.). A moderately sized chassidic house of
prayer. (Shteeblech. Plural.)
- Shtikl (Yidd.). Literally, piece or part. In this study
used to mean partly Lubavitch.

- Shul (Yidd.). A house of prayer.
- Shulchn Orech (Heb.). Literally, a set table. Sorted Code of Jewish Law.
- Sicheh (seecheh) (Heb.). A discourse. (Seechess. Plural.)
- Sidder (Heb.). Prayer book.
- Simcheh (Heb.). Literally, joy. Celebration of any kind. (Simchess. Plural.)
- Simchess Toyreh (Heb.). The last day of Sukkess celebrating the end of the yearly cycle of reading the Torah.
- Soifer (Heb.). Scribe. A writer of the Torah scroll and Tefillin and Mezoozeh.
- Sukkeh (Heb.). Temporary booth erected for the holiday of Sukkess.
- Sukkess (Heb.). The holiday of Tabernacles. Jewish fall holiday.
- Tahress Hamishpocheh (Heb.). Literally, family purity. Laws pertaining to Niddeh (viz.).
- Talless (Heb.). Prayer shawl.
- Talless Kotn (Heb.). Literally, "small prayer shawl." Worn by a religious Jew (also boys) either under the shirt or jacket.
- Talmid (Heb.). Student; pupil. (Talmidim. Plural.)
- Tanya (Aramaic). The book written by Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liadi, the first Lubavitcher Rebbe, dealing with the philosophy of the Chabad movement.
- Tefillin (Heb.). Phylacteries. Religious objects containing excerpts from the Bible worn on arm and forehead during morning Services of weekdays.
- Tillim (Tehillim) (Heb.). Psalms.
- Tomchei Tmimim (Heb.). Literally, Supporters of the Righteous. Name of the Lubavitcher Yeshiva.

Trayf (Heb.). Not kosher.

Tzaddik (Heb.). An extremely righteous man; usually synonymous with Rebbe.

Tzneeus (Heb.). Modesty in appearance and in conduct.

Tzukekumenne (Yidd.). Newcomers.

Vaad Ho'Eer (Heb.). Community Council.

Yahadess (Heb.). Jewishness.

Yarmlike (Yidd.). A skullcap. (Yarmlkess. Plural.)

Yaytzer Ho'Ro (Heb.). Evil Inclination. Counterpart to Yaytzer Tov - Good Inclination.

Yecheedess (Heb.). Literally, privacy. Used in connection with a private audience with a chassidic Rebbe.

Yeerass Shomayim (Heb.). Literally, fear of heaven. Fear of God.

Yiddishkayt (Yidd.). Literally, "Jewishness." Refers to a Jewish way of life within traditional Judaism.

Yom Kipper (Heb.). Day of Atonment.

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