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ETHNIC BOUNDEDNESS AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF CHARISMA: A STUDY OF THE LUBAVITCHER HASSIDIM

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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ABSTRACT

ETHNIC BOUNDEDNESS AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF CHARISMA: A STUDY OF THE LUBAVITCH HASSIDIM

by

Sydelle Brooks Levy

Advisor: Professor Ernestine Friedl

In this stud , the meaning of ethnic symbols and ethnic group persistence are explored. Ethnographic data dealing with the Lubavitcher Hassidim in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, New York are examained in an effort to understand how ethnic group members manipulate symbols of ethnic identification as an adaptive strategy in an urban, plural society. It is suggested that the Lubavitch leader, the Rebbe, is an institutionalized charismatic leader, who directs strategies of members by virtue of his personal charisma and ability to control economic resources for the benefit of members. Although individual group members employ ethnic symbols in differing ways, the persistence of Lubavitch, as a group, is enhanced by the charismatic leader's success in controlling group ideology, and the social structural consequences that derive. Lastly, the importance of power over group ideology is discussed as a major factor in ethnic persistence.

PREFACE

There are few parallels that can compare with an anthropologist's first experience in the field. All of the anxieties, all of the fears and all of the doubts of professional ability tend to climax at the time when a dissertation proposal is approved. My own decision to study the Lubavitcher Hassidim stemmed, in part, from my childhood in Brooklyn, New York, when I lived adjacent to the Lubavitch community and observed their somewhat strange practices and mode of appearance. But, in addition, as a graduate student in anthropology, I recognized that my personal obligations precluded the possibility of my leaving home, and travelling to a distant, esoteric spot to do field research. For a while I worried that I could not be an anthropologist if I could not establish my credentials with a publication based on field research in a place at least 1,000 miles from home. And, more than anything, I did not want to be known as an armchair anthropologist or a sociologist in disguise.

My decision to study the Lubavitcher Hassidim proved very valuable on many accounts. First and foremost, it convinced me tnat it was not necessary to travel far afield in order to apply anthropological methods and theory to human behavior. I also learned that there is a vast anthropological laboratory sitting right in my back yard, as yet hardly tapped, awaiting the anthropologist's keen eye.

The Lubavitcher Hassidim accepted me right from the start, not only as a friend but as a possible convert to their way of life. My own Jewish heritage proved to be both a blessing and a punishment in disguise. The Lubavitchers were most anxious for me to learn their way of life,their practices and their beliefs. But I quickly learned that in large part,

it reflected their effort to convert me to orthodox Judaism. I remain quite convinced that had I not been Jewish I would not have received such open acceptance from them.

Nevertheless, many Lubavitchers are still my friends. Their openness and their kindness to my seemingly endless, mundane inquiries persists as one of the high points of my field experiences. My initial contacts were provided by non-Lubavitch acquaintences who introduced me to some Lubavitchers that they knew. As expected, each Lubavitch contact led to another, and so it went throughout the year. Any number of Lubavitchers invited me to their homes for holidays and weekends; some were persistent in their insistence that I try to follow at least a few of their practices. Most were warm and friendly. I remember just prior to the Passover holiday, my Lubavitcher friends kept asking whether I had appropriately prepared my own home for the Passover holiday. Those familiar with the orthodox Jewish Passover ritual recognize that it is a two week task to properly prepare for Passover. In addition, they offered to buy Matzoh (unleavened bread) baked to special orthodox specifications, for my family. I shared Lubavitch rituals, Lubavitch homes, Lubavitch stories and Lubavitch attempts at conversion.

My year in the field was not without its difficulties. It was a year of deep personal experience and much questioning about myself and my own values. In particular, the Lubavitch (and perhaps orthodox Jewish) emphasis on sex role division and differentiation created an undue amount of hostility on my part toward Lubavitchers. During the early stages of my research I learned that in practice, women are regarded as lowly inferiors of men. Men, through study and good deeds, can achieve a level of holiness that women cannot even aspire to. Theirs is a wholly different

role. Women regard themselves as men's helpers, and in this role feel that proper ritual performance of their domestic duties determines the extent to which a husband can be a God loving, observant Jew. Although Lubavitch women consider themselves the equals of men, actual practice reveals a totally different picture. As a woman and mother of three daughters I could not help but be offended at many of the practices that Lubavitch women supported and encouraged. As a "participant observer," the feelings evoked in me as an observer often stymied my abilities as a participant. At other times, in different situations, the role of participant so enveloped me that my powers as observer were impaired.

Because my "field" was an urban area I suffered the difficulties encountered by any urban fieldworker. Too many times people refused to open their doors and I was forced to discard any ideas about a house to house survey of Lubavitchers. The strict sexual segregation of men and women precluded my involvement in many Lubavitch male activities, especially those surrounding study in the boys' schools. I was never privy to any male gossip, nor can I say very much about how Lubavitch males spend much of their free time. But my involvements with women were sufficiently developed to facilitate my inclusion in many family discussions and male oriented conversations. I emerged from my field experience feeling that I had not missed too many important socio-cultural items. In all, it was a productive, satisfying and rewarding year.

Writing a dissertation based upon a year's field research is quite another matter. One's field notes must be appropriately mixed with classroom anthropology culled from years of graduate study. I extend my sincerest appreciation to the faculty of the Anthropology Department of the City University of New York for their efforts in my behalf. The

reasons for course requirements, reading lists and term papers were not always self evident. But in looking back it was all a necessary and vital part of my training.

In particular, I want to extend my gratitude to my advisor, Professor Ernestine Friedl. More than anyone else, she served as my teacher and my role model of the anthropologist. Although I accept full responsibility for the material and ideas in this dissertation, it was Professor Friedl who sharpened these ideas and taught me how to transpose a concept in my head into a coherent, anthropological argument. I am also much indebted to the members of my dissertation committee, Professors Delmos Jones and Henry Orenstein of the City University and Professor Paula Brown Glick of the State University of New York at Stony Brook who gave so willingly of their time during summer vacations to read and comment on the text of the dissertation. To all, I extend my sincerest thanks.

In part, the present research was supported by a Dissertation Year Fellowship from the City University of New York and an NDEA Fellowship. But I cannot forget the emotional support offered by my husband throughout the many years that I have attended graduate school. Without his assistance, my work would have been much more difficult.

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INTRODUCTION

For some time now, anthropoligists have avoided the well known phenomenon of ethnic persistence. The vast literature of ethnic studies overwhelmingly dwells on "assimilation," "accultruation," "minorities," "melting pots" and "deviance." These studies assume that discrete ethnic groups will, over time, lose their distinctive cultural forms and merge into a dominant society. The assimilationist orientation implicitly places a negative value on the retention of distinctive cultural traits. In an effort to correct this bias, more recent sociologial and anthropological research has focused on the possible reasons for retention of distinctive cultural forms. In our efforts to understand cultural persistence, we have introduced concepts such as "boundary," "ethnic identity," and "strategic decision making." To some extent the pendulum has moved to the opposite direction; ethnic identity as revealed through distinctive cultural forms is currently regarded as acceptable social behavior.

The extent of this re-orientation may be judged from a new crop of recently published ethnic studies (many written by ethnic group members themselves) highlighting the advantages of retention of cultural forms in a plural society. To some extent, I too, am guilty of this. The present study, although dealing with a distinctive, bounded ethnic group, will focus on the opportunities and constraints that face <u>individual</u> ethnic group members as they pursue specific life strategies.

In particular, this study deals with the Lubavitcher Hassidim, one of more than one hundred diverse Hassidic sects. Hassidim, including Lubavitchers, are known to Jews throughout the world as ultra-religious

Jewish mystics who spend the greater part of their lives worhsipping God and practicing the many precepts of traditional Jewish law. Most Hassidic sects differ from each other in one primary area; allegiance to a particular leader, or Rebbe. Each Hassidic group believes that its Rebbe is the most righteous, most knowledgeable, and most holy. Lubavitchers also follow the wisdom, guidance, and advice of their Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem Schneerson. To all Lubavitchers and many non-Lubavitch Jews the Lubavitcher Rebbe can best be described as a charismatic leader. Personal magnetism pervades his relationship with his followers. They regard him as an extraordinary person in every sense that Weber used the term "extra-ordinary" when he introduced the concept of charisma to social science.

The Lubavitcher Hassidim are unique not in the way they relate to their Rebbe, but in the particular way that the Rebbe utilizes his power and influence to bring material and spiritual benefits to his followers. The Rebbe's efforts are based on an old Lubavitch ideal that "a Jew must live with the times." Anthropologically, the Lubavitch community provides and excellent field laboratory to test our theories about the nature and function of ethnic identity.

Among anthropologists it is common to identify an ethnic enclave as a group of people who share fundamental cultural values expressed by unified cultural forms (Narroll 1964). This "cultural" approach to the study of ethnic groups incorporates two central ideas. The first, shared cultural values, applies, in general, to a macro-culture and denotes an ascribed status vis a vis other such groups. The single term -- ancestry -- is the key idea which reflects this ascribed status. You are what you are by virtue of your birth. The second idea, cultural forms, are the particular behavioral traits, customs, and patterns, which embody the values

and frequently create a social boundary around the group. Although the boundary markers are distinctive cultural forms, the very existence of clear markers which differentiate those who are encapsulated from those who surround them, leads us to consider the sociological significance of the boundary and raises the possibility of a social definition of ethnicity.

In non-urban settings, ethnic groups, with sharply defined social boundaries, present distinctive cultural forms articulated in a social organization which impinges little on the surrounding society. These kinds of groups voluntarily separate themselves from the larger encapsulating culture (see Zborowski and Herzog 1952; Orans 1965; Mayer 1961). Alternatively, ethnic groups may persist because policies and attitudes of the encapsulating society deliberately exclude them from participation in the mainstream culture (see Siverts 1969; Smith 1965; Ablon 1965). In both situations the boundary is not only social but may be spatial as well. Neither the anthropologist nor the ethnic group members have any difficulty specifying those who are the insiders from those who are the outsiders.

Now let us consider ethnicity in urban centers. The growing literature on urbanization and urbanism reveals many technological, political, economic, and demographic factors which mitigate against the development of spatial boundaries to demark one urban ethnic group from another and from the surrounding society (see Whitten 1969; Hodge 1969; Little 1966). More significant, is the fact that, given a cultural definition of ethnic identity -- where status as ethnic group members is ascribed -- any distinctive cultural forms shared by the members must be seen by the anthropologists as markers for ethnic identification. Empirically, this position is not verifiable. Each successive generation of ethnic group

members carry an ethnic designation by virtue of ancestry alone. However, they may continually discard some of the cultural forms that have traditionally characterized their group (see Cronin 1970; Moynihan 1963). Ultimately, the ascribed status persists even though the associated cultural forms may be totally absent. The meaning of a culturally defined category of ethnicity is thus totally obscured by the historical record.

One of the major premises underlying this study is that the processes is involved in building and maintaining ethnic identity are similar, if not identical for national groups, religious groups, territorial groups, racial groups and any nother sub-societal groups for whom ethnic identity holds a strong positive value. Individuals who "identify" with an ethnic group utilize and manipulate some or all of the total array of cultural forms that are associated with ethnicity. This process of activating ethnic identity through the selected use of cultural forms is identical to use and manipulation of other types of resources. Cultural forms, like material resources are invoked in pursuit of specific goals and hence may be treated as cultural resources.

Leaders of ethnic groups manipulate resources in a similar structural manner, but their goals differ from the goals of individual members. The leaders' goals relate to the maintenance of ethnic symbols and material strategies among the members so that a continued power base and maintenance of the social group is assured.

I shall argue that over the last one hundred and fifty years, the charismatic relationship that characterizes the Rebbe and his followers provides the foundation and power source for substantial control of members' strategies and opportunities. Lubavitch ideology gives the Rebbe power to develop and control structural links between Lubavitchers

and institutions of the surrounding society. Lubavitchers do not state their goals and strategies in terms of material opportunities. Rather, they speak only about living a proper Jewish life according to Torah and seeking to show non-observant Jews the road to repentance.

Although Lubavitch may appear to be a strongly bounded and distinctive ethnic group, their cultural practices cannot be explained as a specific effort to achieve strong ethnic identity. Rather, I shall demonstrate that cultural forms and practices are manipulated by the Rebbe and individual group members, as other resources are utilized, in the pursuit of specific goals. With this approach, ethnic identity is best conceptualized as a shifting or floating identity, more obvious at some times than at other times.

The ability of the Rebbe to manipulate resources of all kinds depends on continual affirmation of his charismatic position vis a vis his followers. Since he has no coercive power, his followers are free at any time to drop all attachments to him and the group. That this happens only on rare occasions leads one to suspect that he has successfully incorporated control over material opportunities of members into his original ideological power base. The merging of these two separate and distinct types of power, together with Lubavitch cultural forms and the structural patterns that derive from them create a social relationship between Rebbe and follower that I call institutionalized charisma

The precise way that these socio-cultural variable are linked together in an interactive system within Lubavitch and with members of other sub-societal groups and institutions is the subject to which we now turn.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF HASSIDISM AND LUBAVITCH

Mystical movements invariably stress the mystical religious experience as a source of inspiration, redemption, revitalization or salvation for its adherents. In Judaism, mysticism and mystical beliefs in oral and written form have flourished side by side with Rabbinical Judaism [1] for well over 1000 years. The documents and literary works contained in the Kabbalah (literal meaning: tradition) comprise the sum of Jewish mystical thought. The theological ramifications and symbol system of the Kabbalah has been explained in sophisticated and scholarly fashion by historians, theologians, and philosophers. Most prominent among them is Gershom Scholem, whose works on Jewish mysticism include "On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism" (1965) and an epoch making book on the role of mysticism in Jewish life and thought (1941). Kabbalistic interpretation has been studied intensively for centuries by members of the religious Jewish community. From time to time, over the course of history, their pursuits culminated in the development of social movements based on mystical ideology.

The latest mystical movement to develop in Judaism is known as Hassidism. Originating with the mystical revelations of Israel Baal Shem Tov in the second half of the 18th century, Hassidism followed closely on the heels of the ill-fated Sabbatian movement of the previous century. [2] Ideologically, the foundation of Hassidism is inseparable from earlier Jewish mystical thought. As a social movement, Hassidism represents an attempt to make the world of Kabbalism, through transformation and reinterpretation, accessible to the masses of the people, and in this it

was for a long time extraordinarily successful (Scholem 1941: 327-28). Hassidism may be differentiated from earlier mystical or messianic sects in Judaism by the enormous following it gathered and ultimately, the influence it exerted on the Jewish population in Eastern Europe in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Presently, Judaic scholars regard Hassidism as having passed its peak period of influence on Jewish life (Minkin 1935: 335, Scholem 1941:350). However, the total number of adherents of Hassidic sects may well still number over one million people throughout the world.

Like the earlier, but ill-fated Sabbatian and Frankist movements, the rise of Hassidism in Eastern Europe is associated with the ideology and activities of one man. Israel Ben Eliezer, commonly known as the Baal Shem Tov, [3] a name he adopted as an adult, was the son of poor and obscure Jewish parents in Poland. During his early years the Besht, [4] as he came to be known, was hardly a distinguished person in any of his undertakings. Although not regarded as a scholar, he was known to spend many hours alone studying Kabbalah, fasting and praying. Many thought of him as a eccentric and a maniac (Dubnow 1916:222). After marrying the daughter of a well known Rabbi, the Besht held a number of menial odd jobs and, as he continued his studies of Jewish mystical philosophy, garnered somewhat of a reputation as a magician and healer. He travelled from town to town throughout Poland, earning a following as a teacher, albeit hardly one of the traditional Jewish type. After spending some years in seclusion and obscurity, the beginning of his "public mission" was marked in the 1730's with a revelation in which his role as leader and miracle worker appeared to him. He gradually attracted a small group of people in Poland, known as Hassidim, who regarded him as a magician and

a man of supernatural powers. At this time his followers hardly numbered more than thirty. Israel Baal Shem Tov and his circle of "believers" were deeply convinced of his supernatural powers and accepted his visions (Ency. Judaica: 1391-92). He taught that salvation lies in whole-hearted devotion to God and fervent prayer. But more relevant for increasing the number of his followers was his insistence that devotion to God did not necessarily include years of Talmudic and Torah [5] study. Hence, salvation was assured for the poor masses of Jews who were totally ignorant in matters of Judaic scholarship.

His attraction for the more than 700,000 Jews who lived in Poland and Lithuania (Rabinowicz 1970:93) was heightened by their material conditions of extreme poverty. At the same time, the collapse of the Sabbatian and Frankist movements left many Jews with doubts about mystical philosophy and contributed to the strengthening of Rabbinical Judaism. The leaders of Rabbinical Judaism frowned upon the unlearned, impoverished masses and regarded them as "am ha-aretz," [6] lowly citizens. Under these conditions, the Besht's charismatic appeal to the masses was an answer to the stress and sorrow of Jewish public life, for although it could not change the objective conditions of hardship in which the Jews lived, it created an ideal world for them, a world in which the despised Jew was master (Dubnow 1930:35-36).

Hassidism was born in Eastern Europe in the late eighteenth century because of a combination of economic hardships and social oppression created jointly by the Polish and Russian governments and Rabbinical Jewish authorities. The primary economic problem related to the involvement of Jews in the liquor trade. During this time Jews in Russia and Poland actively participated in leasing distillaries, inns and taverns,

and distributing liquor throughout a wide geographic area. Laws were enacted within Russia and Poland to restrict the involvement of Jews in distilling, brewing, and selling liquor, depriving them of their previous right to lease inns and sell liquor. Other laws that were enacted permitted such excessive rentals that leasing was economically unfeasible thereby prohibiting Eastern European Jews of the economic enterprise that had been their mainstay for some time (Dubnow 1916:311). The brunt of the repression fell on the rural Jews because there were no other avenues of economic opportunity open for them. The urban Russian and Polish Jewish population [7] were also heavily involved in leasing taverns, distilling and brewing liquor and were also subject to severe occupational restrictions. Nevertheless, liquor traffic remained the central occupation of Jews in Russia and Poland with commerce (both wholesale and retail) second, and crafts and spiritual occupations a distant third. Pauperism was the inevitable companion of this economic organization and people without definite occupations were counted by the hundreds of thousands (Dubnow 1918:72).

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the ruling monarchy in Poland and Catherine of Russia made some attempt to reduce the oppression of Jews in their countries. Although the interests of feudal noble over serf were maintained, each country was compelled to promote economic development which fostered industry and trade. It was by accident rather than by design that the Jewish population derived some economic benefits under a national policy of economic development. These gains were offset in Poland in 1768, with the passage of a new group of laws expelling Jews from a number of Polish cities (Mahler 1971:432). In addition, poll taxes were increased, lease rentals of property were increased,

and those Jews who could not meet their contractual obligations were subject to incarceration and other abuse from feudal nobles (Mahler 1971:chapter 11).

The disasterous economic situation of the Jews in Russia and Poland was compounded by the existence of autonomous Jewish communities whose leaders supervised religious affairs and also acted as agents of the national government in tax collection and judicial matters. These communities, known as Kehillot (singular: Kehillah) were municipalities within municipalities. The Kehillah held full religious and civil authority over the Jewish residents in each town. In fact, a Jew had to get permission from the Kehillah leader before he was permitted to move to another community. If a Jew filed suit in a Gentile court,the Kehillah had the power to excommunicate him (Mahler 1971:416). The officials of each Kehillah government were either the learned Judaic scholars and Rabbis or the wealthy Jews of the town. Both statuses held high rank and controlled the few economic resources available to Jewish residents of the town. It was the task of the Kehillah to govern Jewish political and communal affairs. In pursuit of this, the Kehillah not only had rights to collect taxes and perpetuate the feudal system, but on a municipal level, provided for the poor[8]and enacted community rules that were enforced by fines, loss of jobs, and loss of participation in community affairs (Mahler 1971:418). Except for their participation in the national economy, Jews were autonomous in civil, political, social and religious affairs.

By 1800, the economic opportunities had worsened and the Kehillot were in a period of great decline. Jews in Poland and Russia had been denied access to means of employment. The Kehillot leaders, as a class, were growing increasingly oppressive in that they favored the wealthy and

learned over the vast masses of people who were living at a poverty level. The Jewish masses were discriminated against and regarded as ignoramouses by the very Jews to whom they looked to for guidance, assistance and spiritual salvation. Excommunication, a power vested in the Kehillah, was frequently applied to poor Jews not only for theological transgressions, but also for unsanctioned political and economic activities. Many Jews felt that the Kehillah created a ruling oligarchy which exploited ordinary people and kept them from close ties to Christians (Ettinger 1971:251). A new mystical Hassidic movement found acceptance in the heart of the Jewish masses in Poland and, to a lesser extent in Russia, because it answered the emotional and ideological needs of the oppressed masses of Jews in a form and manner which they could understand.

From one perspective, Hassidism appears to be a class based social movement of the poor and impoverished Jews. The general opinion of historians is that the Jewish scholar class and Kehillot leaders were detached and secluded from the majority of unlearned Jews (Mahler 1971:437). Rabinowicz (1970:27) suggests that Jewish scholars had as little in common with the unlettered Jewish masses as Polish nobles had with the peasantry. But the appeal of Hassidism was so widespread that it eventually took root among the Jewish intelligensia as well as among the poverty stricken masses. There is no doubt that Hassidic philosophy and life style spread across class lines of the Jewish community. Not only was Hassidic ideology presented in an intelligible form but unlike previous mystical movements in Judaism, Hassidism idealized the mystic who leads the people and lives among them (Ettinger 1971:255).

The Baal Shem Tov assumed leadership of the Hassidim by way of divine revelation. Scholars and interested persons came from all over

Eastern Europe to be with him, study with him, and carry home with them some wisdom from the Besht. The Besht preached salvation for all Jews. Most of his program involved intimate personal ties to his disciples made necessary by the fact that his teachings were primarily oral. Nearing his death in 1760, the Besht passed over his son and sought one of his disciples, Rabbi Dov Baer to assume leadership of a growing Hassidic movement. Converts and disciples were rapidly increasing in two major areas of Eastern Europe:1. Poland and Ukraine and 2. White Russia and Luthuania. Rabbi Dov Baer attracted a large group of men from both areas who studied with him and learned the Besht's secrets and philosophy. Nearing his death, Dov Baer did not choose a successor, but asked his disciples to disperse throughout Eastern Europe to teach the Jewish masses the ideology of Hassidism. His disciples departed to their respective towns, where they recruited large followings. With this begins the history of many distinctive Hassidic sects, each with its own Rebbe regarded by his followers as an extraordinary leader and savior.

The first half of the nineteenth century was the period of greatest florescence of Hassidism. In Poland and Ukraine, the followers of one or another Hassidic Rebbe included a majority of the Jewish population. In Lithuania and White Russia, where Rabbinical authority was more entrenched, the Hassidim were counted as a significant minority. Tales of the lives, deeds, and teachings of the most famous Hassidic leaders (Nachum of Bratzlav, Levi Isaac of Berdichev, Menachem Mendel of Vitebsk, Aaron of Karlin, Mendel of Kotsk, Jacob Isaac of Lublin and many more) have been collected and published by Newman (1934), Weiner (1969) and(Mintz 1968 and 1970). Hassidic parables, tales and legends still serve as the basis of instruction for teaching Hassidim values and ethics.

Fortunately, Hassidism never came into widespread open conflict with established Rabbinical orthodoxy. Here and there, throughout Europe, some Rabbis made attempts to punish Hassidic followers, to excommunicate them under the authority of the Kehillah government [9] and to re-establish the authority of the scholar-rabbi in civic and religious affairs. Many rabbis were appalled that Hassidic leaders were men of little traditional Jewish learning. Coincident with the conflict of orthodox rabbis and Hassidic leaders came the Haskalah (Enlightenment) which gained adherents in the larger towns and cities of Eastern Europe. Those who regarded themselves as "enlightened" not only rejected Hassidism and orthodoxy in general, but emphasized secular learning instead of religious learning. Both the Hassidim and the orthodox rabbinate perceived the Haskalah as a threat to traditional Jewry. Out of this threat grew a most unholy alliance of Hassidim and scholarly rabbis working together to counteract the effects of secularism sought by advocates of Haskalah. As a result, Hassidism acquired acceptance and greater status among traditional rabbinical leaders. By the mid 19th century, marriage of Hassidim to non-Hassidim was accepted and approved by both families involved. This is not to say that there was not a residue of resistance to this merger of Hassidic and traditional orthodox beliefs. However, there was more antagonism between members of different Hassidic sects, fighting over whose Rebbe was more holy, than there was between Hassidim and traditional orthodox families. From its roots as a "radical" social and religious movement, and within 75 years after its beginning, Hassidim were regarded by Jews everywhere as the staunchest supporters of the traditional way of Jewish life.

The major difference between traditional orthodox belief and

Hassidism lies in the Hassid's blind faith and veneration of a holy man, or Tzaddik. [10] Each Rebbe, or Tzaddik, is characterized by strong personal magnetism. His followers offer him blind obedience, not only in matters of faith but also in social and economic affairs. His personal charisma abounds, as does the charismatic response he evokes among his followers. At its height, Hassidic life was characterized by the establishment of Hassidic "courts," the home of the Rebbe. Each "court" was resplendent with pomp and ceremony that focused on the Rebbe. In large part, personality takes the place of doctrine. The opinions particular to the exalted individual are less important than his character and mere learning (Scholem 1941:344). A legend is told of a Hassid who, when asked what he had learned from his visit with Rabbi Dov Baer, replied: "I did not go to Rebbe Dov Baer to learn Torah. I went to watch him tie his shoe laces." Zborowski and Herzog describe the Tzaddik in the following way:

> "The words of the Tzaddik are beyond question, his activities are beyond criticism. His is an absolute authority no rabbinical scholar achieves. It is not based on learning like the authority of a talmid chochem (bright or outstanding student), and therefore is not subject to discussion. It is based on pure faith in his direct contact with God. If anything in Jewish culture has a similar authority it is the Torah which was dictated directly to Moses by God. Thus the relationship of the Hassid towards his leader is the uncritical attitude of a lover toward the object of his love, of a devoted son toward his mother. (1952:180)."

The history of Hassidism is replete with fact and fiction describing the life of the Tzaddik and the efforts of each Hassidic sect to assert the greater holiness of its Rebbe over that of the Rebbe of another sect. Their extreme devotion to one man at the exclusion of all others led each Hassidic group to establish its own dynasty of leaders, [11] and shunned contact with other Hassidic sects. The splintering of

Hassidism began when Dov Baer (successor to the Besht) sent his disciples out to spread the word of Hassidism. Hassidism experienced a further decline in its unsuccessful attempt to stem the growing Jewish attraction for the Enlightenment philosophy of secularism.

The effects of the Haskalah and the pogroms in Europe during the 19th century, followed by World War I and World War II virtually eradicated the members and leaders of most Hassidic sects. Those Hassidim who survived the second World War returned to their homes with their Rebbe. Others settled in Israel [12] and still others re-established their life styles in the United States. [13] Among the more successful Hassidic groups, Lubavitch stands out as a thriving, growing Hassidic sect, headquartered in Brooklyn, New York, but counting members in all parts of the world.

Among the disciples sent out by Rabbi Dov Baer to spread the word of Hassidism was one, Shneur Zalman. For three years he had sat at the feet of the great Maggid, [14] Dov Baer, learning mystical doctrine to supplement his Torah study. Although he was one of the younger disciples and had studied with the Maggid for a relatively short period of time, Shneur Zalman was known among his contemporaries for his erudition and insight.

Returning to his home in White Russia, he began preaching Hassidic doctrine and writing extensively on a multitude of Judaic subjects. Unlike his counterparts in Poland, Shneur Zalman emphasized Torah learning and stressed that the Tzaddik must be a teacher rather than a miracle worker. He also rejected the "court" life of pomp and wealth that was the vogue among Hassidic sects in Poland and Ukraine. Instead, he chose an ascetic life of study, worship and teaching.

In part, Shneur Zalman's efforts to develop a "rational Hassidism"

was structured by the prevailing intellectual mood in White Russia in the e' .nteenth century. Lithuania and White Russia were seats of Jewish intellectualism and scholarly rabbinicism. Lithuania was the home of the Gaon of Vilna, the most highly regarded authority on Jewish law in eighteenth century Europe. Unlike its spread in Poland and Ukraine, Hassidism never attracted a majority of the Jewish population in Lithuania and White Russia. Shneur Zalman tempered the extreme mystical anti-intellectual philosophy of Polish Hassidism with the scholarly tradition in which he was raised, and preached a type of "rational Hassidism" that was acceptable to a large section of the White Russian Jewish population.

His philosophy stressed that Jewish intellectual pursuits, i.e. the study of Torah, Talmud, Gemarrah, etc., were more important than pure emotional response to God. He taught that the intellect consists of three parts: wisdom (Hebrew: chochmoh), understanding (Hebrew: binah) and knowledge (Hebrew: daat). The three Hebrew words form an acrostic "Chabad," the name given to Shneur Zalman's followers. The word Chabad also denotes the specific intellectual philosophy that is unique to this Hassidic sect. In the early nineteenth century, the successor to Shneur Zalman moved the headquarters of the group to the town of Lubavitch, in White Russia. The name Lubavitch, or Lubavitch-Chabad, or Chabad has been associated with the followers of Chabad Hassidism ever since. Lubavitch-Chabad is recognized throughout the world for its scholarly intellectual tradition expressed within the mystical framework that characterizes Hassidic philosophy in general.

No one contributed more to the development of this philosophical approach to Hassidism than Shneur Zalman. He was a prolific writer and left

many Torah commentaries and mystical interpretations of Jewish prayer ritual. His most important contribution to Chabad is the Tanya (literal translation: It has been taught) which has only recently been translated into English (Zalman 1962-69: 5 volumes). The Tanya consists of the collected writings of Shneur Zalman explaining the mystical interpretations of Judaic law and philosophy. It is the intellectual mainstay of Chabad. [15]

Like other Hassidic leaders, Shneur Zalman's life was fraught with difficulties in his attempt to gain acceptance in the larger Jewish scholastic community (see Mindel 1971). Although he was able to clear himself of most of the charges constantly brought against him by Kehillah leaders, he never enjoyed scholarly recognition from those leaders because he preached mystical doctrine. Through periods of trials, imprisonment and eviction from his home, he stood strong and maintained his following. His oppression was especially severe at the hands of the Gaon of Vilna who, in 1772, excommunicated the "godless sect" from the Jewish community. [16] Shneur Zalman's major social efforts were aimed at sending teachers to small towns in inner Russia, where people knew little about Judaism, to promote Torah learning. He also encouraged all Jews to learn agricultural techniques and craft skills when their jobs in the liquor trades were threatened (Kehot 1953:16). This constitutes the first evidence that the ideology of Lubavitch-Chabad was developing around a deep involvement with the social and economic problems of all Jews. Over the next two centuries Lubavitch interest in Jewish life, their "mission" to spread Torah to all Jews, has become their hallmark and the single most distinctive characteristic of Lubavitchers among the numerous Hassidic sects.

In 1812 Shneur Zalman was succeeded by his son, Rabbi Dov Baer,

but the succession was not without an inner struggle. One of Shneur Zalman's disciples, and star pupil, who had studied with him for eight years, sought to acquire leadership of Chabad (Rabinowicz 1970:130). However, the consensus of followers accepted Shneur Zalman's son, Dov Baer. [17] With Dov Baer's accession there began a Lubavitch dynasty that has continued to the present day (see figure I).

Dov Baer spent his years as leader of Lubavitch-Chabad continuing the work started by his father. He was known as a gifted orator and writer. In addition, he supported his father's economic programs designed to encourage Jews to leave the precarious occupations in which they were engaged and learn to till the soil or learn a craft that would provide a steady income (Lubavitch 1970:26). As early as 1823 he sent financial aid to a Jewish settlement in Israel (then Palestine). In Hassidic circles he is well known for his simple life style, having distributed most of the funds given to him to needy Jewish families in his community. Shneur Zalman, his father, is remembered for his original and creative thinking; Dov Baer, the son, for his consolidation and advancement of the doctrines and activities espoused by his father.

The third generation of Lubavitch leaders was Rabbi Menachem Mendl. He was the grandson of Shneur Zalman. A Lubavitch tale relates that "on the second day of the Jewish New Year (1790), Shneur Zalman called his daughter and her husband, Rabbi Schachna, into his room. What was spoken there and then is not known, but Rabbi Schachna was heard saying amid tears:'What is to happen to the two year old boy?' The following day Shneur Zalman's daughter passed away. Zalman took the young orphan into his room and took personal charge of his upbringing. The boy grew up to be the famed and saintly Rabbi Menachem Mendl of Lubavitch." (Mindel 1971:101).

GENEOLOGY OF LUBAVITCH LEADERS

(To the extent that I can reconstruct it)

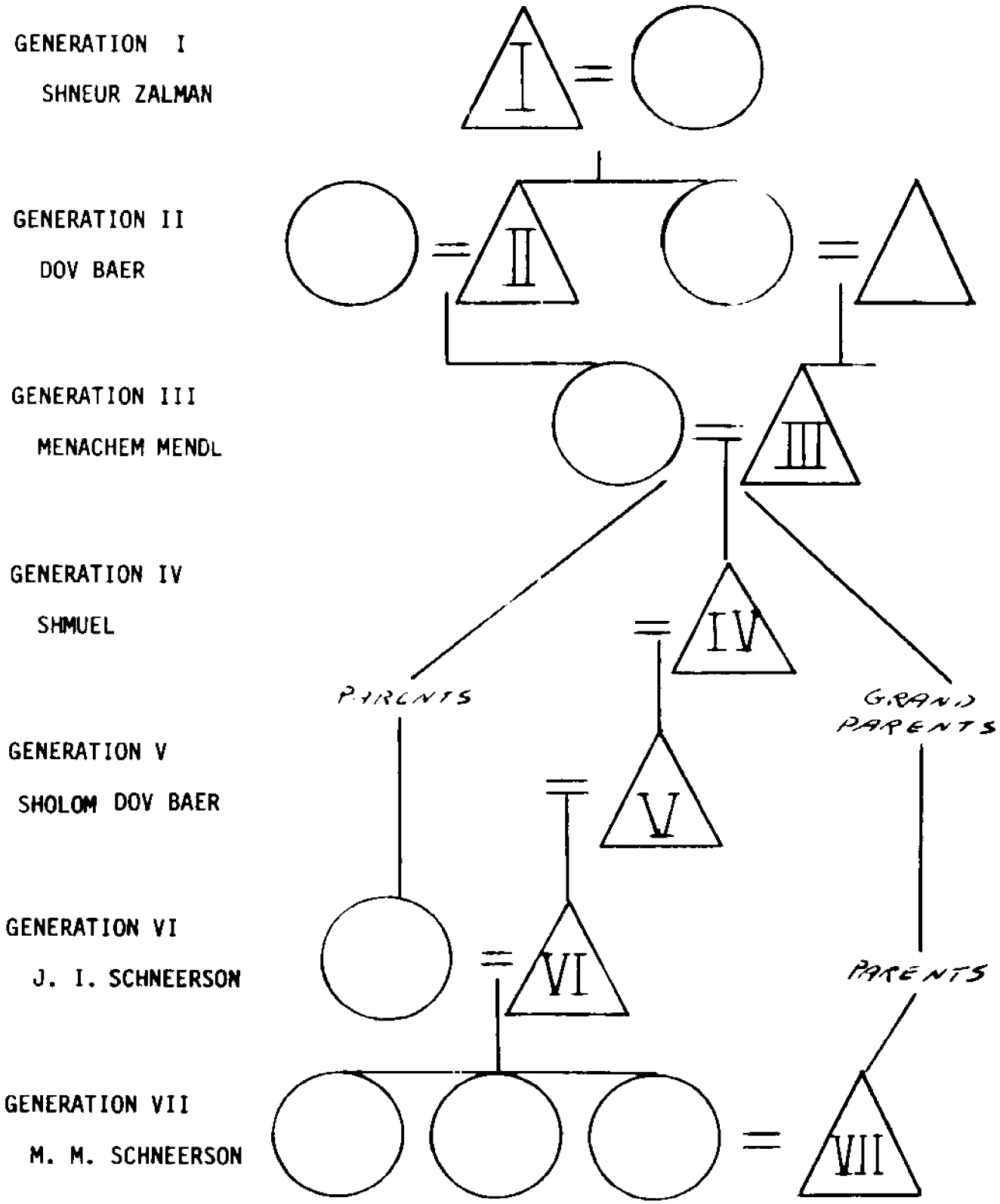


Figure I

Although Rabbi Dov Baer left two sons and six daughters, it was known that he preferred one of his sons-in-law to his sons, so Menachem Mendl became the third Rebbe of Lubavitch (Rabinowicz 1970:132).

Although Menachem Mendl was a scholar and spent many hours learning and studying, his primary achievements are in the area of social and economic programs for the benefit of Jews. He worked anonymously and secretly and few knew precisely what he was doing (Kehot 1953:21). As his father-in-law and grandfather before him, he encouraged Jews to enter agricultural activities. With his accumulated funds he was able to buy large tracts of land and settled many hundreds of Jews there. More than that, he gained a widespread reputation because of his efforts to minimize child conscription of Jewish children. [18]

To encourage Torah study, Menachem Mendl opened Yeshivot for Jewish children in many of the towns and cities in White Russia. He worked actively with rabbinical leaders to counteract the effects of a growing Haskalah (Enlightenment) movement which he deemed to be most threatening to Jewish identity. But unlike other Hassidic leaders, Menachem Mendl was willing to make concessions to the demands imposed by government and Enlightenment forces. Rather than take a strong minority stand against any change, he approved schools for Jews that included instruction in secular subjects and did not use traditional methods for teaching Bible (Dubnow 1918:118). Many Hassidic leaders were appalled at the thought of any concessions to Haskalah forces, but Menachem Mendl, and Lubavticher leaders after him, actively accepted any programs and policies that aided Jewish learning and Jewish identity.

His personal magnetism and charismatic qualities drew many thousands of supporters to the ranks of Lubavitch. Although the nineteenth century

was a period of great economic and social hardship for the Jews of Eastern Europe [19], the third Lubavitcher Rebbe promoted economic and social welfare programs and religious study that proved to be most attractive to a large number of Jews. At a time when many Hassidic groups, especially those in Poland and Ukraine, were experiencing a depletion of their following, because of the widespread influence of the Enlightenment, Lubavitch was able to maintain its core of supporters. To be sure, some Hassidic sects had initially attracted so many thousands of followers, that their loss in membership in the mid 1800's merely brought their number of followers to a point comparable to the following of the Lubavitcher Rebbe. The Lubavitch following never reached the thousands of members as did some Polish Hassidic sects, but the Lubavitch program of outreach into the larger Jewish community constantly supplied them with new converts whereas the narrow focus of Polish Hassidic groups caused them to lose members to the growing influence of secularism.

Rabbi Menachem Mendl was succeeded by his son, Rabbi Shmuel. His leadership from 1866-1882 coincided with one of the stormiest periods of Russian anti-semitism and Rabbi Shmuel is known for his efforts in defense of the Jews (Lubavitch 1970:37-39). The Russian pogroms against the Jewish population were at their height. Rabbi Shmuel organized a council of Jewish leaders in the St. Petersburg area whose task was to be informed and active in all matters concerning Jews. This council included Hassidic and non-Hassidic Jewish leaders. Lubavitch spokesmen strove to bridge the chasm separating Hassidism and rabbinical Judaism for the broader interest of all Jews. Rabbi Shmuel personally pleaded the Jewish case to the Russian nobility after the pogrom at Kiev in 1880. Moreover, he was able to muster support for Russian Jews from Jewish leaders in Western Europe. During Rabbi Shmuel's tenure as head of

Lubavitch, the activities of Chabad expanded into Poland, Palestine and the Baltic countries.

The fifth in the dynastic line of Lubavitch was Rabbi Sholom Dov Baer, the son of Rabbi Shmuel. He was the Lubavitcher Rebbe from 1883-1920, a period covering continued Jewish persecution in Europe and the establishment of Reform Judaism in the United States. Rabbi Sholom Dov Baer worked to eliminate both developments in Jewish life.He was guided by a tradition established by previous Lubavitcher leaders before him. Sholom Dov Baer acted to strengthen the belief in Torah Judaism everywhere. He sent teachers throughout Russia to set up Yeshivah day schools. He is known for his support in the establishment of Talmud Torah schools [20] for those who could not devote full time study to Torah pursuits (Kehot 1953:30). One of his major educational projects concerned Jews living in the Caucasus provinces of Europe, who were most distant from Torah Judaism. Sholom Dov Baer also set up training centers for rabbis, cantors, and other religious related occupations. He felt the pressure of assimilationist forces around the world and devoted his major efforts to maintain traditional orthodox practices in Jewish life.

Working together with his young son Joseph Isaac Schneerson, Rabbi Sholom Dov Baer founded a textile factory in Dubrovna where 2,000 workers were employed. He also appointed his son to be director of the growing system of Lubavitch Yeshivot. Joseph Isaac also served as his father's personal secretary and, in that capacity, travelled throughout Europe in behalf of his father to improve economic and social conditions for Jews living in Europe.

It was not unexpected that when Sholom Baer died in 1920, his son, Joseph Isaac, was asked to become the next Lubavitcher Rebbe. For the next

thirty years he continued an unceasing task of spiritual and material aid for his followers and for other Jews in Europe. His tenure in office included the years following World War I, when oppression of Jews in Russia was still a crucial problem for world Jewry, through World War II and its aftermath, when he was forced to re-establish the Lubavitch center in Brooklyn, New York.

Rabbi Schneerson expanded the Yeshivah system of Lubavitch to Poland where hundreds of students were enrolled. Because of his personal difficulties with the Russian government, including arrests and jail sentence, he was forced to leave Russia and relocated in Riga, Latvia and later in Warsaw, Poland. His personal difficulties notwithstanding, Rabbi Schneerson made notable gains for Lubavitch by establishing educational and charitable organizations throughout Europe, the United States and Canada. The details of his work in this area are recorded in his memoirs (Schneerson 1956, 1960).

During the early twentieth century many Jews emigrated to the United States and a few Lubavitchers were sent here by the Rebbe to set up the first of many Lubavitch Yeshivot in the United States. However, the Rebbe himself refused to leave his home in Europe. At the outbreak of World War II, Rabbi Schneerson insisted on remaining in Warsaw and from there, directing whatever efforts were possible to save Jewish lives. His work evacuating Jews, his courage and fearlessness, and his unswerving devotion to God are remembered by many Lubavitchers now residing in New York. Many Jews who came to the United States during and after World War II received some assistance from the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

In March, 1940, Rabbi Schneerson arrived in New York with the statement that "it was not for his own safety that he had made the trip

to the United States, but because he had an important mission here, to make America a Torah center to replace the ruined communities in Europe" (Lubavitch 1970:54). During the ensuing ten years, he established a network of educational institutions similar to those which had been destroyed in Europe. He also assisted Jews in relief work, organized a publications company to print Lubavitch materials and established the first Lubavitch settlement in Israel, Kfar Chabad.

There is no adequate way to determine the number of followers of Rabbi Schneerson. No doubt, during the height of Hassidism in Europe (1780-1830), Lubavitch could count adherents in the thousands. The oppression of Jews in Russia and Poland, followed by two major wars, seriously depleted the Jewish population in general. When Rabbi Schneerson arrived in New York, it is safe to estimate that there were not more than 30 - 40 Lubavitch families in New York. [21] Considering their small and insignificant numbers, Lubavitch educational and spiritual influence on the larger Jewish community was extremely great.

The present Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem Mendl Schneerson, is primarily responsible for the substantial growth of the New York Lubavitch community and similar Lubavitch communities throughout the world. He is the great grandson of the third Lubavitcher Rebbe, for whom he was named. The Rebbe is married to the second of the previous Rebbe's three daughters. His selection does not follow a direct patrilineal line of succession. His personal charisma and his indefatiguable efforts on behalf of spiritual and material assistance for Jews everywhere is the subject of a later chapter.

This year, the Rebbe celebrated his seventy first birthday and his twenty third year in office. He has no children and discussion of

succession among Lubavitchers is a tabooed subject. But Lubavitchers are not terribly concerned about his successor. They are confidant that the elders of the group will choose someone who can carry on the tradition of Chabad Hassidism. Theirs is a viable and growing social unit; one of the few Hassidic sects to have survived from the birth of Hassidism through an unbroken line of leaders into a period of unprecedented growth.

NOTES

1. Rabbinical Judaism is a term used to denote traditional orthodox Jewish practices, especially during the 18th century under the system of autonomous Jewish communities. The rabbis of a town held power over theological and civic affairs and are typically characterized as detached, intellectual and scholarly. Rabbinical Judaism is a term that is frequently used in opposition to Hassidic Judaism to contrast the intellectualism of the former and the emotionalism of the latter. When used in this fashion rabbinical Judaism is synonymous with the term Mitnagdim which denotes a group of scholarly Jews opposed to Hassidism.

2. The Sabbatian movement was a mystical Judaic movement in the 17th century. Its name comes from its leader, Sabbatai Zvi, who preached mysticism and Kabbalah doctrine. He proclaimed himself a messiah and gained many adherents. However, his conversion to Mohammedanism proved to be the beginning of his decline. The mystical movement he started never survived his death in 1676. Some years later in the mid 1700's, Jacob Frank led a mystical but obviously charlatan movement known as the Frankists. After his death in 1790, the movement lingered for a few more years under the leadership of his daughter Eve. The Frankists, like the Sabbatians, underwent conversion and were never regarded as a serious threat to Judaism. But the mysticism practiced by both groups created increased suspicion on the part of the traditional rabbis of mystical ideology.

3. The Hebrew words Baal Shem Tov mean "master of the good name."

4. The popular term Besht represents an acrostic of the Hebrew words Baal Shem Tov.

5. Study of the 5 Books of Moses, known as Torah, and the most widely studied commentary, the Talmud, are standard texts for any student studying the Jewish religion. There is also a vast number of other commentaries on the Bible which are studied by rabbinical students. Moreover, schooling for Jewish boys considered these texts as the most important for any scholarly pursuit.

6. The Hebrew words am-ha-aretz translates literally as people of the earth, or peasants. Its connotation is of a boor or ignorant person and is used in a most derogatory way in Jewish circles.

7. According to Mahler (1971:372), the 1772 census revealed 50,000 Jews in White Russia. However, since these figures were used for tax collection, many Jews vanished during the count. He estimates that there were probably closer to 65,000 Jews living in White Russia. Mahler also indicates that 29% of the population of White Russian cities and towns was Jewish. However, there is no definition of "city" or "town" numerically.

8. Although the Kehillot had social welfare programs that "provided for the poor," they were very careful not to give sums of money that would create a "burden" for the wealthy Jews of the Kehillah.

9. A historically significant example of this power concerns the famous Gaon of Vilna. He "excommunicated" a number of Hassidic leaders in Lithuania and White Russia. Excommunication for a poor Jew in Eastern Europe could very well mean loss of means of livelihood. However, excommunication had no demonstrable effect on the Hassidim or their leaders.

10. The Hebrew word Tzaddik means the saintly, or the just . In traditional Judaism it is an honorific term applied to a very learned man. In Hassidism, it is the term applied by Hassidim to their leaders.

11. Not all of the Hassidic sects formed dynasties. Some sects, upon the death of their leader, or Tzaddik, merged with other Hassidic groups in their vicinity. One group, the Bratzlav Hassidim, decided that no human being could possibly replace their dead leader. For the past 150 years, the Bratzlav Hassidim worship with an empty chair in the place of honor in the synagogue, believing that their Rebbe is still with them. They also speak of him in the present tense. The Bratzlav Hassidim are known as the "dead Hassidim." (Weiner 1969:198).

12. Some Hassidic sects settled in the Meah Shearim section of Jerusalem and Bnai Brak, near Tel Aviv. Lubavitch also has a settlement in Israel known as Kfar Chabad.

13. Most of the Hassidic groups who re-settled in the United States are headquartered in New York. There are many such groups in the Crown Heights, Williamsburg, and Boro Park sections of Brooklyn. Others have recently chosen a more suburban life style and started communities in Monsey, New York and New Square (Rockland County), New York.

14. Maggid is the Hebrew word for preacher of high regard.

15. All boys in the Lubavitch school system study Tanya as part of their curriculum. In addition, most Lubavitch men claim to study at least a page of Tanya each Sabbath. They say that it is impossible for a human mind to understand the writings of the Tanya without many years of devoted study. Even then, most people will still not understand its teachings and revelations.

16. The expression "godless sect" was given to Hassidic sects by leaders of the Kehillot to specifically express the Hassidic deviation from traditional Judaism of that time.

17. It is interesting to note that in my reading of Lubavitch literature, there was never any mention of an inner struggle for leadership in this period or any other period. I guess it is to be expected that their conception of history will have a very definite bias, and for that reason, their literature did not prove very useful in recounting the history of Hassidism. However, Lubavitch publications remain one of the few sources for a historical account of the Lubavitch movement.

18. By a decree in 1827, Jews were made liable to military service between the ages of twelve and twenty five. Each year the Jewish community had to supply ten recruits per thousand of population. Among non-Jews the ratio was seven per thousand. (Rabinowicz 1970:132).

19. Statutes and laws of the Russian Empire severely discriminated against Jews in the nineteenth century. Jews were permitted to live only along Russia's Western border which came to be known in history as the Pale of Settlement. By 1890, ninety four percent of the Jewish population of Russia were restricted to the Pale. (Rabinowicz 1970:156). These restrictions created severe economic hardships to Jews who were accustomed to trading and commercial relations with non-Jews.

20. The Hebrew term talmud torah refers to a specific type of school for Jewish children. Originally established in Europe as a school for poor or orphaned children, it describes a school of part time study. The children could work for part of the day and study for the remainder of the day. This stands in contrast to a Yeshivah, which is a full time Jewish school. In the United States, the term talmud torah is applied to after school institutions of Jewish learning, where a student may attend a public school for secular subjects and a talmud torah for religious training.

21. This rough figure has been established on the basis of interview data accumulated from Lubavitcher Hassidim who were already living in Brooklyn when Rabbi Schneerson arrived. A much larger number of Lubavitch families arrived after World War II.

CHAPTER 2

SHIFTING PATTERNS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Although many studies have documented the loss of cultural forms among culturally defined ethnic groups, we are currently experiencing a resurgence of ethnic identification throughout the world. Selected cultural forms, both old and new, are displays of positive ethnic identification. It is likely that today, many ethnic groups in urban areas use cultural forms not only for purposes of self identification, but also to articulate a social organization (Cohen 1969). Barth has expressed this social definition of ethnicity as self ascription and ascription by others (1969:13).

I approached the field situation with hypotheses based on Barth's model of ethnic identity. I expected that my research would reveal a group which used many distinctive cultural forms to develop and maintain strong self identification and which articulated a corporate type of organization. But the longer I stayed in the field, the more difficulty I had determining who was a Lubavitcher Hassid and who was not. The cultural forms not only display a broad range of variation within the group, but are differentially used by individual members in pursuit of particular goals. Moreover, it became quite clear that the criteria for ethnic group membership defined by the Lubavitchers themselves was significantly different from the way in which members of the larger society defined the Lubavitchers.

The problem of deciding who is, and who is not a member of a particular ethnic group is critical for the urban anthropologist. It is not unique to my own field study. Cultural forms among self ascribed

ethnic group members are frequently diffuse, extremely variable, or even non-existent. They do not adequately define boundary markers for urban ethnic groups. Cultural forms are even less useful to explain the intensity of ethnic identity of those who count themselves as group members on the basis of ancestry alone (see Leibow 1967; Hodge 1969).

This paper proposes that ethnicity is a symbolic system which may be activated by members of a group or its leaders as one of many strategic alternatives in the pursuit of individual or group goals. By using selected cultural forms as charters and banners, group members may be extraordinarily flexible in their choice of behavioral alternatives. Particular cultural forms which express a group's boundaries will be invoked as meaningful and appropriate behavior by individual members only at certain times. At other times, in different situations, members will use a range of symbols which are so different that they deny ethnicity. Such members, in these situations, deem the use of non-ethnic symbols as strategically relevant.

When Lubavitch is viewed as a group by outsiders, an image of homogeneity in shared values is projected. This suggests cultural uniformity among all of the members as well as a strongly bounded group. But, if we observe an individual Lubavitcher, a vast array of acceptable behavioral alternatives are available within a cultural framework that suggests great heterogeneity.

An individual member's decision about when to employ particular ethnic symbols, or when to wave the ethnic banner, is situationally determined and based upon that person's assessment of his goals and his options to attain those goals. When deemed appropriate, an individual can neatly tuck the flag of ethnicity in an inconspicious

drawer. At the same time, he will creatively employ a whole new set of symbols which may or may not be related to his ethnicity, to use for particular desired ends. The decision to employ ethnic identification, like all other role behaviors, is situationally defined, strategically determined, and goal oriented.

Sociologically, the roots of strategic decision making may be traced to Thomas' work on the Polish peasant in which he spoke of the "definition of the situation" as a primary behavioral determinant (1918: Vol. I). Individuals identify and classify not only with whom they are dealing, but also the goals and consequences of the intended social action. The selected use of relevant ethnic symbols is one of many alternative models available to an individual in his choice of situationally appropriate role behavior.

While the Lubavitchers are viewed by the world at large as a single ethnic group, the Lubavitchers themselves can be divided into four distinct sub-groups or categories. Each category uses the ethnic charter differently. Together, these four categories reveal the enormous range of flexibility within that charter for alternative behavioral choices. For any given social interaction there are special markers to determine who is and who is not a member of each category.

In part, the four ethnic categories reflect status groups within the community. They are easily understood in terms of concentric circles. At the center is the leader, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, who personifies those symbols which uniquely set Lubavitchers apart from the rest of the Jewish population and from society in general. As one moves from the center outward, the identification with Lubavitch changes, both in terms of its intensity and the cultural forms associated with each category.

Within each category individuals manipulate the ethnic charter in a two directional way. On the one hand, symbols and cultural forms are employed to preserve the markers between categories. At the same time, with reference to non-Lubavitchers, the barriers between categories are totally obliviated and efforts are made to display a unified Lubavitch image. Only Lubavitchers themselves, or those outsiders who are intimately familiar with Lubavitch, recognize the different ethnic categories. To the outsider, all Lubavitchers appear very much the same.

Let us consider the four categories as they tend to be defined by Lubavitchers:

Category I (core group) - These are people who are defined as Lubavitch if their ancestral ties, especially in the parental generation, are Lubavitch. They live a full ritual Jewish life and have the closest personal and organizational ties to the Rebbe.

Category II - The second group, working outward from the center, are those who have been raised in orthodox Jewish homes. [1] Their immediate ancestors were not Lubavitch. They accept and have always accepted Jewish law as divine and practice the proper Jewish ritual, but only as adults have come to accept the Rebbe as spiritual leader of all the Jews.

Category III - In the third concentric ring are people who are regarded as recent converts (Baal Tshuvah). [2] They have no long term ties to orthodox Judaism; in fact most came to Lubavitch to learn the basic Jewish law and ritual. They profess acceptance of the divine nature of Jewish law and agree to try to practice the appropriate ritual. In so doing, they also claim strong allegiance to the Rebbe as spiritual leader of all Jews.

Category IV - On the outer perimeter, is a group of both observant and

non-observant Jews who have not accepted many of the cultural forms or even the ritual that is normally associated with orthodox Judaic belief. However, they acknowledge an emotional tie to Judaism. These people, in what they deem appropriate situations, will accept the sanctity of the Rebbe and will follow his advice and identify with Lubavitch. They may also frequently participate in Lubavitch ritual.

There is much interaction between members of all categories. Many live within the spatial limits of a Lubavitch community but each category manipulates the Lubavitch charter in very different ways. During the course of a Lubavitcher's daily routine, his activity and movement is sometimes limited by the markers between groups, and it is not always possible or even necessary to bridge the gap between categories. A Lubavitcher's identity - and this may be true of all ethnic identity - is constantly affected by his general need and desire to elevate himself within the matrix of his ethnic group as well as his need and desire to accomplish certain ends within the larger society. An individual's use of an ethnic charter must be viewed from this double purpose; namely, the need to succeed within and the need to succeed without. Because ethnic identity depends on the existence of a larger encapsulating cultural group, it may be analyzed in terms of this double edged sword. This paper demonstrates precisely how such a two pronged approach is strategically viable and successful for the Lubavitch ethnic group.

Today, the largest and most important Lubavitch community is located in Brooklyn, New York in what is called the Crown Heights area. Crown Heights is one of many Lubavitch communities around the world. It is also the home of the present Lubavitcher Rebbe and the geographical nerve center of a vast world-wide communications network of Lubavitcher

Hassidim. Crown Heights, like other sections of Brooklyn has no hard and fast boundaries. Although it is well known in Brooklyn as a Hassidic section, it houses a multitude of other people, most notably Blacks and non-Hassidic Jews. The total Lubavitch population of Crown Heights is smaller than other Hassidic communities in the Williamsburg and Boro Park sections of Brooklyn. Lubavitchers tend to congregate between Schenectady Avenue on the South side to Eastern Parkway along the the Northern perimeter. The Western border may be roughly indicated by Rochester Avenue at which point there is a large park providing a natural boundary. There are few Hassidim beyond Utica Avenue. On the Eastern side we may use Bedford Avenue as a boundary marker. (See figure 2)

The residential pattern of the community is determined by each person's desire to live as close to the Lubavitch headquarters as possible. This not only represents a status symbol, of closeness to the Rebbe, but is also dictated by a prohibition against travelling in any fashion except on foot during the Sabbath and all holidays. In order for a Hassid to pray with his Rebbe on these days, he must walk to his "shul" [3] which is located at 770 Eastern Parkway. Interestingly enough, many people would be much closer to "770" if they chose housing in the Northern area of Crown Heights. There are few, if any, Hassidim who live there because that section is heavily populated by Blacks, is in a slum condition, and therefore is rejected.

Even within that small area of about 10 square blocks, the Lubavitchers do not predominate. They live side by side with Hassidim of other sects, non-Hassidic Jews and Blacks. Many streets are totally integrated, a few have all white population, and some others are primarily Black. The Director of the Crown Heights Community Council

MAP OF LUBAVITCH SECTION OF THE CROWN HEIGHTS COMMUNITY

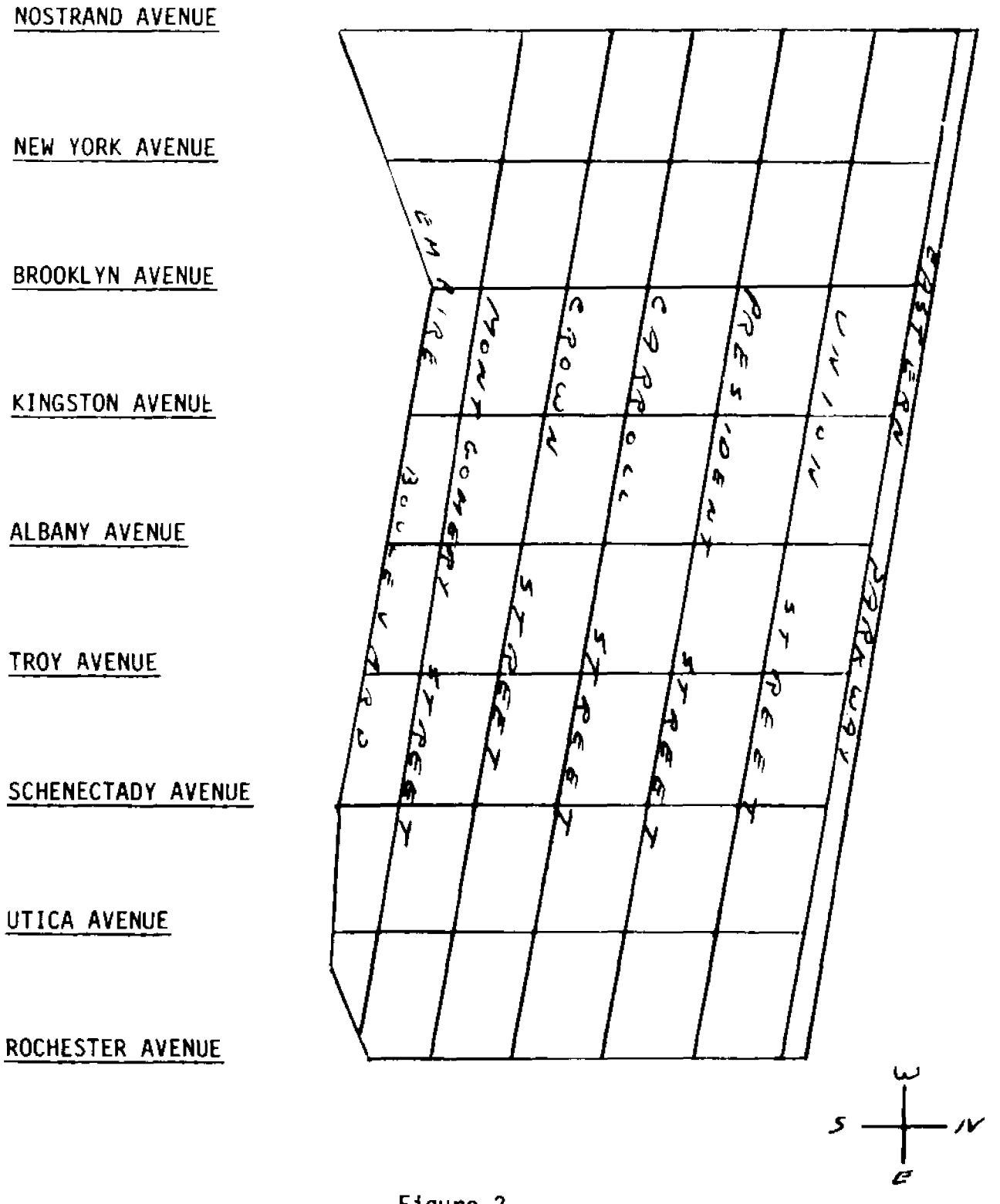


Figure 2

describes Crown Heights as one of the very few totally integrated areas in the city. However, integration exists only insofar as people of different ethnic backgrounds reside in close geographic proximity. The Jewish population, including the Hassidim, do not participate in the Crown Heights Neighborhood Action Program, which has become a Black group. Although they are neighbors, they are not friends. Little communication is exchanged on any level. [4] In contrast, friendly interaction occurs between Lubavitchers, members of other Hassidic sects living in Crown Heights, and non-Hassidic Jewish residents.

Most of the homes within the area are one or two family dwelling units. However, on the fringes of Eastern Parkway and Schenectady Avenue one finds large apartment houses occupied by Hassidim and non-Hassidim alike. In general, Crown Heights is regarded as a high crime area and as will be discussed in a later chapter the Lubavitch group has mounted many projects to help ensure the safety of its community.

Because of the way in which the New York City census data was collected, it was impossible to construct an ethnic or religious breakdown of the community. [5] A door to door survey was attempted, but proved fruitless in the face of the pervasive attitude of residents who refuse to open their door to strangers. Ultimately, I was forced to rely on a 500 family mailing list which gives the total Crown Heights Lubavitch population in categories I, II and III. To a much lesser extent, this list includes some members of category IV. Population figures are approximate because these lists are only brought up to date periodically and the list is not accurate for any given point in time.

"770" is the heart of all Lubavitch operations as well as the locus of the expression of distinctiveness of all people who wave the Lubavitch

banner. Because these people espouse the divine nature of Jewish law and constantly strive to achieve the divinely given Mitzvot (good deeds), we must recognize that in many respects they are more similar to, than different from, other observant or orthodox Jews. Lubavitchers are set apart from other Hassidic groups not in terms of a range of distinctive cultural forms, but rather, in terms of one central value, which is recognition of the Rebbe, their leader, as the leader of all Jewish people. Lubavitch distinctiveness is manifested through the assertion of this single symbol that implies sociological goals as well as institutionalized behavior. This symbol is the charismatic leadership of, and response to, the Rebbe.

Devotion to the Rebbe and associated cultural forms are glorified through "770." "770" is a rather large and old building on Eastern Parkway and Kingston Avenue which houses the Lubavitcher synagogue, the Rebbe's offices and administrative machinery designed to coordinate world-wide Lubavitch communications, education, and missionary work. "770" is a meeting place, a house of worship, a place to congregate to exchange gossip, an employment agency, and the place where a Jew shows himself to be a Lubavitcher. It is the physical manifestation of an emotional and ideological decision to carry forward the banner of Lubavitch.

On most of the Jewish religious occasions, "770" is open to anyone wishing to participate in Jewish ritual. All people are welecomed as brother and sister Jews and no distinctions are made among any of the categories of Lubavitchers. In addition to Lubavitchers, one will find, on any ritual occasion, visitors - almost always Jewish - who have had no prior affiliation with Lubavitch, but who have been encouraged to

participate. They are not only welcomed but accorded the grandest treatment possible. Members of categories I, II, and III always urge non-adherents to join them in a ritual that is "Jewish." Frequently, members of category IV attend these functions and bring others in their networks along. In this fashion, many people who have only a token identification with Judaism are incorporated into Lubavitch circles.

In addition to "770," there are many "shtibles" throughout the neighborhood. A "shtibl" is the Yiddish word for a very small, poorly furnished synagogue. Each shtibl is associated with a particular group of Jews, either Hassidic or non-Hassidic, but always orthodox. Generally, members of these groups are tied to one another by common ancestry; i.e. all coming from the same town and/or allegiance to the same Rebbe. Since each prefers to worship with its own members, and since in each place the ritual has a slightly different interpretation, every group forms its own shtibl. The shtibl also reflects the Jewish mode of organizing around a synagogue. Lubavitchers feel free to attend services in most of these places. Sometimes they use them as arenas for potential conversion, but more frequently, a man who lives too far from "770" to come and pray every morning will attend services at a shtibl closer to his home. In addition, many members of other shtibles feel free to attend the larger gatherings at "770." When a Lubavitcher frequents a shtibl, generally he is known to be a Lubavitcher but is treated and accepted as another Jew without distinction.

Members of the encapsulating society often demark Hassidim on the basis of dress. The popular image of Hassidim in the minds of other Jews is one of extreme conservatism in dress. More specifically, it is regarded as carrying over traditional Eastern European dress to contemporary

United States fashions. Perhaps this is an adequate description for those Hassidic groups where men not only have long beards and sidelocks but are frequently seen in black coats, white shirts without ties, black knickers, white knee socks and black ballet type slippers (Poll 1962; Levine 1972). The Lubavitcher Hassidim do not reflect this image.

The Lubavitcher style of dress is dictated by Jewish precepts of ethical and moral behavior (modesty). [6] But more important,while preserving the rules of modesty, the dress code illustrates how well a group can integrate into the larger society while, when necessary, make themselves fairly indistinguishable. For a Lubavitcher, dress is not one of the distinctive cultural characteristics that set him apart from the larger society. Moreover it is never possible to differentiate members of categories I, II, III, or IV on the basis of dress.

A Lubavitch man is far more distinctive than a Lubavitch woman. He is usually seen with a narrow brimmed hat, dark suit and a beard. His sidelocks, if he has grown them at all, will be tucked behind his ears. Most Lubavitch men do not grow sidelocks. In recent years, men frequently wear colored shirts and patterned ties. There are two basic deviations from this style. The first occurs on the Sabbath and festival days when many Lubavitchers, though not all, don black silk suits. The jacket is longer than is customary for everyday wear. This type of suit serves to identify each man to the other and is a method of marking the many non-Lubavitch guests at "770." But even this is a rather insignificant pattern because even on special days, there are many Lubavitch men who maintain ordinary dress patterns. The seccnd deviation occurs among young unmarried males in categories I - III. These men also dress in dark suits, white shirts and narrow brimmed hats, but they are distinguished by the absence of a tie. Although this is not an enforced

rule it is commonly observed. It immediately differentiates Hassidic and non-Hassidic young men.

The more important function of this custom is to identify a male who is "learning." [7] This status cuts across the boundaries of categories I - IV and marks one who is involved in learning, the highest pursuit of all. In practice, not wearing a tie denotes two particular male categories. The first, an unmarried male, is observed as a potential spouse. The second includes those men who are married, but spend most of their time learning in "kolel" class. [8] During the early years of marriage, Lubavitchers encourage a woman to work and her husband to "learn." In most cases, by the time the first child is born, the father has received his rabbinical degree and stops full time study. Usually, he takes a job and this is his signal to put on a tie. I have also observed some older men, returning from work, who remove their ties when they go to "770" to "learn."

There is an array of other cultural forms which Lubavitchers practice but which do not specifically mark them as Lubavitchers. Every male wears a "Tallis Katan" underneath his shirt. This white garment covers his chest and ends with long strings exposed outside of the trousers. The strings hang between the waist and the thigh. The "Tallis Katan" has a religious significance and may be worn by any Jewish male. It identifies an observant Jew, not necessarily a Hassid. Like many other observant Jews, a Lubavitcher male always has his head covered. If he is not wearing a narrow brimmed black hat he is wearing a skull cap. Many men wear skull caps underneath larger hats. If the outer hat falls off, their heads will not be left uncovered. Many observant Jews put on hats only for prayer and ritual functions, but a

Hassid wears a head covering at all times.

The customary dress of a Lubavitcher male places him directly in the center of a diversity of dress styles, ranging from those of the larger society on one extreme, to those of other Hassidic groups on the opposite. Non-observant Jews and non-Jewish members of the larger society interpret the conservative Lubavitch dress, the beard, and the hat, as markers of a distinctive cultural group - Hassidim. However, my field observations reveal that a large number of Lubavitch men do not fit this pattern and are thus undistinguishable by members of the larger society.

Women are even less identifiable. The female code of dress varies with current styles of the larger society but stays within the limits of what Lubavitchers regard as appropriately modest. The general guide-line is that arms should be covered at least up to the elbow, and legs should be covered at least up to the knee. This rule is not a Lubavitch, or even Hassidic rule, because it derives from Jewish law and is applicable to all observant Jewish women. When miniskirts were fashionable, a Hassidic woman was most conspicuous,but the years of midiskirt popularity provided a more adequate disguise for them.

All married women are required by Jewish law to keep their heads covered. Unmarried women are permitted to display their natural hair. This, of course, reflects a status marker, but does not make it possible to differentiate a Lubavitch woman from any other othordox Jewish woman. A married woman usually wears a wig (called shaytl) in public. Because the wig industry is so popular with all urban women, the presence of a wig is no longer an identifiable marker of an orthodox Jewish woman, and certainly not a Lubavitch woman.

Because of the rules of modesty, an observant Jewish woman is more easily discernible in the summer than in the winter. Even in the hottest weather she will wear clothing that covers her arms and has a high neckline. Frequently, Hassidic women are not able to wear fashionable clothing and are commonly regarded as old fashioned. No Hassidic woman or girl passed the age of twelve wears trousers. They are regarded as immodest if they do and, in my year in the field, I never saw a Lubavitch woman in pants.

Lubavitch distinctiveness, within the ethnic group and with respect to the larger urban population, is created and maintained through their marriage system. The geneological data reveals a major trend of preferred endogamous marriage. Marriage patterns are used by Lubavitchers to differentiate members of categories I - IV. Although most Lubavitchers marry other Lubavitchers, the preferred pattern is to seek a mate from within your particular category. In order to accomplish this,family name assumes an important role in mate selection. Status markers within the community are most evident in this area.

A concerted effort is made by members of categories I, II, and III to create an image of egalitarianism between the categories. Lubavitchers speak of total acceptance of each other, rich and poor, educated or uneducated. They argue that every Jew has equal consideration from, and access to, the Rebbe. To some extent this is true. But some are more equal than others. Much covert conflict is generated within the Lubavitch community by members' overt insistence of equality between categories, and the strong desires of members of category I to marry spouses from that same category. By and large members of categories I - III marry others in their category. However, no Lubavitch male is ever publicly regarded as "ineligible" for any Lubavitch female. On one

occasion I heard a woman speak about a group of Baal Tshuvah (category III) young men. She said, "Oh, they will find nice Baal Tshuvah girls." The community repercussions of this public comment were severe. There was much negative gossip about this woman who, in effect, voiced what everyone practices; that is, she indicated that members do not usually seek spouses outside of their own category. Over ninety percent of all marriages recorded in my geneologies were either marriages to members of the same category or, the one deviant form that is acceptable, hypergamy. Hypergamy is a frequent occurrence but hypogamy is rare. Cases of hypogamy are usually marriages to men who have no Lubavitch connections at all.

A newly married couple always sets up an independent nuclear household, separate and distinct from either set of families. Yet, marriage is regarded as a bond between two families. This is especially true for Lubavitchers of Russian descent, who trace their roots to the original Lubavitcher Rebbe. Russian Lubavitchers are the dominant members among category I Lubavitchers and occupy the highest status positions. The men of Russian descent are usually those closest to the Rebbe and provide the core of Lubavitch organizational and administrative strength.

Although marriage of two Russian Lubavitchers is the preferred pattern in category I, such marriages do not always occur. A marriage between any two people of category I Lubavitch families is regarded as an approved union. But it is also acceptable to choose a spouse from category II since both categories have a known background of strict ritual observance. However, the status accruing to a marriage in these categories depends upon the status of the particular families involved in the union.

One major deviation from this pattern is that a Lubavitch male can gain approval to marry a non-Lubavitch female, provided that she is an observant Jewish woman. Hypergamy is effective because Lubavitchers believe that a woman usually follows her husband's customs and beliefs. If she can maintain a ritually correct Jewish home, [9] Lubavitchers expect that the husband will keep his Lubavitch ties and raise his children accordingly. Many women who marry into Lubavitch come to accept the sanctity and authority of the Rebbe. If they participate in the Lubavitch ideals of service to the Jewish people and good deeds, they are generally accepted by the community as members of their husbands' category. The old nature - culture dichotomy looms large here since Lubavitch status is carried through males only, but the biologically ascribed "Jewishness" is traced through the female (a Jew is a child born of a Jewish mother).

One interesting case concerns a young man from a wealthy and prominent Lubavitch family. He married a girl who had no prior observant Jewish background. Her parents lived in a town that had a small Jewish population, and were convinced that their daughter had to be placed in a more Jewish environment so that she would marry a Jewish man. They sent her to the Lubavitch school in New York. During her years at the school she made many friends and began to practice Jewish ritual. Within five years of her marriage to a prominent Lubavitch man, she became a respected member of category I. She no longer regards herself as an outsider, nor is she so considered by others. In cases where the woman does not embrace Lubavitch, but only maintains a Jewish home in the appropriate way, her husband and children do not suffer a significant loss of status.

The reverse situation, hypogamy, occurs infrequently and is generally disapproved. Because of the belief that a woman follows her husband's life style, Lubavitchers discourage hypogamous marriages. My geneological records bear this out. In cases where a Lubavitch woman marries a non-Lubavitch man, she either moves to another Hassidic group or out of Hassidism altogether. One of my female informants wanted permission to marry a non-Lubavitch orthodox Jewish man. Her family did not overtly oppose the proposed union. They sought to convince her that he was not sufficiently orthodox and that, over time, he would lose his ties to Judaism. In particular, they pointed to his custom of wearing a hat only for ritual occasions instead of at all times. Her family felt that he was not very proud of his Jewishness. The marriage did take place and the girl has since given up many of her associations with Lubavitch.

Aside from selected cases of exogamous marriages as discussed above, the most frequently occurring unions are endogamous within categories. These marriage patterns are encouraged by the fact that most Lubavitch marriages are arranged by families. From the time of puberty, boys and girls are separated and have little contact with each other. When parents feel their child is ready for marriage (ages 18-20 for girls and 20-24 for boys), a meeting is arranged between two potential mates. Very often, a girl's brothers know the boy who has been recommended and will answer any questions she may have. A similiar scene occurs for a boy who speaks to his sisters about a proposed "match." The boy and girl have their first meeting in the presence of a married couple who knows them both. The four people spend several hours together. If the boy wishes to see the girl again, he will call her directly. She agrees

to see him alone, only if she considers him a prospective bridegroom. Dating patterns among Lubavitchers differ significantly from the larger society in that a boy and girl never touch each other. They take walks, visit friends, and within a few weeks decide whether to marry. They need not seek parental approval because the initial arranged meeting carries with it implied parental consent. The young couple needs only to gain the Rebbe's approval. If both individuals are members of the same category, the Rebbe's approval is assured. He also generally approves most hypergamous marriages. But he has been known to withhold his letter of blessing in hypogamous unions.

The primary cultural mechanisms which encourage Lubavitch endogamous marriages are sexual separation and self maintained schools. Sexual separation, which I shall consider first, is one of the most significant influences in a person's life during the formative years. Because there is so little contact between the sexes, young adults are ill-equipped to handle socio-sexual interaction with members of the larger society. Lubavitchers, as young adults, turn inward to other Lubavitchers for social contacts. An informal separation begins during early childhood when sons accompany fathers to the synagogue while daughters remain at home with sisters and mothers. This pattern is reinforced at school as early as kindergarten where girls, attending sexually segregated classes hold Sabbath parties. [10] Girls play the role of father, mother and children and re-create the scene that occurs each Sabbath at home. Boys tend to concentrate on their studies and have little involvement in domestic life during their early years. Sexual separation is an enforced rule on all age levels in the Lubavitch schools in Crown Heights. Most Jewish orthodox day schools have sexually segregated classes. Lubavitchers

simply carry the separation to a greater degree by sanctioning more behavior patterns which demand sexual separation.

Outside of the school environment pre-pubescent children are permitted to interact and join in games of mutual interest. However, a child perceives adult patterns of strict separation and tends to mimic behavior of the like sexed adults. Beginning at age twelve, boys and girls have separate social functions, activities, clubs, and rarely interact with members of the opposite sex outside of their home environment.

The theory underlying sexual separation of adults stems from the code of Jewish law which defines a menstruating woman as ritually unclean (polluted) and forbids a male from coming into contact with her until she has been ritually purified. Since womans' pollution - purity status is indeterminable by appearance, men insure their own purity by sustaining customs that prohibit physical contact between men and women, except for the marital relationship. Therefore, males and females of marriageable age have had no physical contact whatsoever with members of the opposite sex. During the period of courtship a young couple will discuss feelings, attitudes, life goals and aspirations but avoid all physical contact. Such avoidance creates great anxiety among both males and females and they claim to have a far deeper understanding of each other than would be possible if physical contact were permitted.

Anxiety is particularly obvious among Lubavitch women. When a girl is engaged, she is expected to attend Kallah (bridal) classes. They are a series of lectures about Jewish rituals of family purity. Essentially, the bridal classes teach girls how to obey laws of ritual purity and pollution. There is no need to discuss other aspects of a Jewish home since all Lubavitch girls are familiar with these laws. Young girls in

category III who have had no prior study of family purity laws usually learn them well during their first year living with Lubavitchers. In this fashion all women know how to keep a kosher home and are familiar with the general expectations of the husband - wife relationship. Subjects that are sexual in nature are never openly discussed. The Kallah classes provide a forum where some of the girls' questions may be answered.

The classes that I attended included a group of "radical" students. They were engaged girls who were to be married during the following 6 weeks. At the first session they politely asked the instructress if she could tell them about "living with a man." She replied, "These things are never discussed among Lubavitchers, but, trust God, all would work out well." Not being satisfied with that answer, the girls' anxieties about sex and marriage emerged through further questions. A heated verbal exchange put pressure on the instructress who finally, said, "They (the girls) should not be the ones who were upset." "Rather, think about the groom, who must be the aggressive one, who knows just as little as you do." The girls accepted this statement and during the 6 weeks of lectures, grew openly happy about their ignorance. They felt that their grooms were only one step ahead of them. This step consists of having studied that part of Jewish law and commentary which deals with data of a sexual nature.

There is no doubt that cultural forms expressed under the rubric of sexual separation mitigate against any outmarriage. Little opportunity exists for a category I or II Lubavitcher to meet anyone outside of the Lubavitch group. In addition, lack of knowledge of appropriate behavior between the sexes acts as a deterrent to social contacts. Category III

Lubavitchers have generally spent their early years among members of the larger society. But in choosing to identify with Lubavitch, they adopt the appropriate cultural rules of behavior. Even so, they do not have the status necessary to acquire marriage partners outside of their category. Most significant, is that for purposes of marriage, members of category IV are considered non-Lubavitch and are not deemed appropriate mates for members of any of the other categories.

Education for Lubavitch children in the Lubavitch Yeshivah[11] day school system is the second cultural mechanism which maintains boundedness and distinctiveness. The establishment of separate schools for Lubavitch children minimizes any real or potential contacts with non-Lubavitchers. Close knit and bounded peer group relationships that are formed at school are maintained in other areas of life. These friendships cut across categorical groupings of the parental generation. Frequently, category I children form close friendships with category III children. Such relationships provide a vehicle of upward mobility for the children of categories II and III when they mature and marry.

In all Jewish orthodox day schools the primary emphasis is on Jewish studies. In this respect, Lubavitch schools compare favorably with non-Lubavitch Yeshivah schools. For the male student, a Rabbinical degree is offered and Lubavitch students are not encouraged to pursue higher secular learning. The Lubavitch school is distinctive in that it provides an addition to traditional Jewish studies, namely. Hassidus, but the emphasis on this subject is greater in the boys' school. Unfortunately, I did not have access to classes in the boys' schools and the information presented here depends on the accuracy of my informants.

The teacher of Hassidus is the most respected teacher in any Lubavitch

Yeshivah for boys. He is known by the special title of Mashpiah. In addition to instruction in Hassidus, he also acts as the guidance counselor for the young boys. His dual role is not perceived by Lubavitchers. They assume that a man well versed in Hassidus must possess Hassidic attributes of warmth, emotional concern for people and kindness. Above all the Mashpiah communicates a love for the Rebbe to the boys. Thus, one qualificaton for the job is extreme devotion to the Rebbe. Reverence for the Rebbe is highlighted in the school curriculum from the earliest years, and serves to reinforce the sanctity and authority of the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

In his role as a guidance counselor, the Mashpiah encourages boys to discuss with him both personal and educational problems. He frequently acts as intermediary with their teachers and parents. A Mashpiah works long and irregular hours in order to be available to students whenever they need him. He is one of the most highly respected members of the community. One does not apply for this job. One is selected by the Rebbe and asked to assume the role. It is therefore not so surprising that a Lubavitcher's devotion to the Rebbe is so strong.

No similar position can be found in the girls school. Although girls are taught principles of Hassidus, Torah, and Jewish law, they do not intensively study any of these topics. The curriculum for girls emphasizes Jewish history, and reading and writing in Yiddish, Hebrew and English.

In Brooklyn, there are three Lubavitch Yeshivas for boys. One of them is new and is located outside of the Crown Heights area. Many Lubavitch boys are bussed to school there. This Yeshivah maintains an English and Hebrew curriculum. The second Lubavitcher Yeshivah is

located in Crown Heights and differs significantly from the first in that it does not have an English studies program. All instruction is given in Yiddish, which is the preferred language of Hassidim. Each Lubavitch family is free to decide which Yeshivah they prefer for their children.

Within the Lubavitch community, the Yiddish school is the most prestigious one. It is the preferred school for children of category I parents because the curriculum is completely Jewish in orientation. Earlier, I asserted that peer relationships formed at school provided a vehicle of upward mobility for the students. Although this is true, we may now introduce a constraining mechanism on such mobility. Parental selection of a school is partially determined by the family's desire to reinforce the boundaries between categories. A Yeshivah is a manifestation of a status position. Parents pick and choose a school according to status criteria, thereby limiting the range of peer group associations for a child. The potential for upward mobility through school relationships is thus somewhat constrained.

It is common to find members of category III, the recent converts, more rigid in their interpretation of Jewish law and more overtly demonstrative of their devotion to the Rebbe. In an effort to establish themselves as "real Lubavitchers," many category III families elect to send their children to the Yiddish speaking school. In so doing, they increase the possibility of upward mobility for their children within the ethnic group and decrease the probability that these children will gain the secular and technical skills necessary for employment in the economy of the larger society. All Lubavitchers are aware of the potential usefulness of secular skills and an English curriculum, but few category I

families elect the bi-lingual school for their children.

There is another important strategic factor that a Lubavitcher considers when choosing a Yeshivah. The bi-lingual Lubavitch Yeshivah is located in a section of Brooklyn that offers better housing and lower crime rates than Crown Heights. Each Lubavitcher must weigh a desire to be close to the Rebbe against a desire for improved environmental conditions. The choice of school can create a reasonable excuse to seek better housing, albeit further away from the Rebbe. A family choosing this alternative will not lose its Lubavitch status, but moving out of Crown Heights will impair its potential for upward mobility. The factors to be considered in the decision making process are very great and it is possible to implement personal goals within the framework of the Lubavitch banner.

The purpose of the third Yeshivah is quite different. It was established as a Jewish school for college age boys who have had little or no prior Jewish learning. Lubavitchers provide housing and jobs and encourage boys to spend at least one year "learning." During this time, the boys are introduced to Hassidism and participate in Lubavitch life. Those who choose to remain as Lubavitchers enter the community as members of category III.

There is only one Yeshivah for Lubavitch girls and it teaches both Jewish studies an English program. Girls enter school at three and one half years of age in a full day nursery program. Classes continue until graduation from the high school. Lubavitch features an optional two year Seminary program for girls who complete the high school curriculum that trains students to be teachers. The afternoon English program does not have New York State accreditation. My many hours of

classroom observation demonstrates why. The library facilities are inadequate. The curriculum highlights reading and math, and other subjects are included tangentially. Because the school administration does not regard the English program as an important feature of the Yeshivah training, most of the money, energy and initiative is channeled into the Hebrew program. The salary scale for teachers is very low and it is difficult to attract New York State licensed teachers. The school administration is attempting to up-grade the English program and, toward that end, offers higher salaries to accredited teachers than to teachers who are graduates of the Lubavitch Seminary. I interviewed one licensed teacher at the Yeshivah. Her college major is in the field of Speech. In the Lubavitch school she taught speech, history and hygiene. In each of these fields (other than speech) she had had one college course.

When a girl completes the high school curriculum, she is not encouraged to pursue a secular college education. This is true for all categories of Lubavitch females. Instead, she is directed to the Seminary program which will train her to be a teacher in any Hebrew day school. When a girl completes the two year course of study at the Seminary, she is either married, or, seeks a job in the educational field. Since she is not qualified in a New York State certified school, her employment opportunities are limited to the Lubavitch school system, a non-Lubavitch Yeshivah, or an after school Talmud Torah (school of Jewish studies).

Because the Lubavitch status system encourages Jewish, rather than secular learning, most of the graduates of the top one half of the Seminary class accept employment as Hebrew teachers in the Hebrew or Yiddish part of a bi-lingual Yeshivah program. Graduates who rank in the

lower one half of the class accept positions as English teachers in similar bi-lingual Yeshivah schools. Since these positions do not carry much respect, many young women choose to take non-teaching jobs. Many are secretaries, switchboard operators, clerks, or assume other positionswhich permit them to take days off on Jewish holidays and to depart early on the Sabbath. There is currently a shortage of teachers in the English program at the girls' Lubavitch Yeshivah. In an effort to fill teaching vacancies, many girls who are Seminary students accept part-time jobs as English teachers in the school. As a result, the level of instruction is exceedingly poor.

Rarely does one find a teacher in the Lubavitch girls' school with more than a few years of teaching experience. A Lubavitcher girl reaches marriageable age after approximately one year of teaching experience. The most frequent pattern is for a girl to maintain her teaching position for only one year after marriage. During that first year of marriage, her husband is "learning" and she is the major source of financial support. After one year, she is usually pregnant, and leaves to have her baby and raise her family. The coordinator of English studies for the lower grades of the girls' Yeshivah complained to me about the lack of "commitment" of teachers to students. The teachers argued that they had demonstrated their good will and dedication to the Rebbe by accepting a position in the Yeshivah at a lower salary than New York State certified teachers who were employed there.

Secular college education and professional training is a good example of conflicting Lubavitch values. Lubavitchers, following Jewish tradition, place great stress on education of any kind. The Rebbe is not only a Torah scholar but has attended classes at two universities.

Children are encouraged to study and learn, but are discouraged from entering a secular college immediately after high school graduation. This is generally not a problem for boys, since they are committed to study full time for a Rabbinical degree. This degree is usually conferred between the ages of 20 and 25. At the time of ordination most men are married, frequently with families of their own to support. Only a few will decide to pursue a secular college education. Girls have greater opportunities to attend a secular college because Rabbinical degrees are prohibited to women. But they meet greater resistence when they attempt it. Instead, they are encouraged to attend the Lubavitch Seminary for two years, marry, bear children, and then if they wish, return to school for a secular education. The pervasive attitude among Lubavitchers is that if a Jewish women is married to a Lubavitch man and is raising children, there is little possibility of her losing a Jewish life style![12] But if a Lubavitch woman attends a secular college prior to her marriage. they feel she will be exposed to a dangerous secularizing influence in terms of intellectual pursuits and social interaction.

Lubavitchers are very proud of their college graduates and boast of their achievements. Moreover, individual skills, talents, and abilities are used whenever and wherever possible to promote Lubavitch activities throughout the world. Simultaneously, people are not encouraged to develop their secular abilities. By and large, members of category III have achieved the greatest amount of secular schooling. Many were highly skilled before they joined Lubavitch and continue in their fields of endeavor. These fields include medicine, dentistry, engineering, mathematics, chemistry, and many more. Fewer members of

categories I and II have secular degrees of any kind. A large number of category I Lubavitchers, probably a majority, came to the United States after World War II, and their children, who are now of college age, show little evidence of seeking higher secular education.

The strategies discussed above are visible only to members of the Lubavitch group. How do people beyond the boundary see the Lubavitchers? There are a multitude of cultural forms, expressed through ritual behavior, that appear to distinguish Hassidim from other societal groups. Are these cultural forms sufficient to provide markers for a Lubavitch ethnic group? Most previously published accounts of Hassidim dwell either on their mystical beliefs (Buber 1947-48; Mintz 1968; Scholem 1955), or on descriptions of orthodox Jewish ritual which Hassidim are known to practice (Levine 1972; Gersh and Miller 1959; Weiner 1969). Virtually all of the ritual practiced by Lubavitchers stems from the Bible and its commentaries and hence, is an integral part of traditional Jewish life. Empirically, there is no way to differentiate any Jew who observes prescribed ritual, and a Lubavitcher, except by the latter's allegiance to the Rebbe. Currently, in the larger Jewish community, there has been much movement away from adherence to ritual. Today, there is only a small percent of the Jewish population who attempt to follow the full traditional Jewish ritual. Intense ritual observance, as a cultural form, has come to characterize Hassidim by default. Hassidic groups, defined by the larger society as keepers of traditional Judaism, are often confused with observant non-Hassidic Jews. It would be a most difficult, if not impossible task, to separate these groups on the basis of cultural forms. Most differ only insofar as minor interpretations of ritual is concerned. For example, when a Jewish woman attends a ritual

bath for purification after her menstrual period, the number of times she immerses herself in the water will vary from group to group. But the fact that all observant Jewish women must attend a ritual bath and must immerse themselves in the water is constant among all the groups.

In general, rituals are associated with religious occasions and festival days. They also mark a transfer from one status in the life cycle to another. Ritual serves as a method of communication between all Jews and especially between observant Jews. Among all Jews, observance or non-observance of ritual marks the extent an individual wishes to be identified with other Jews. But traditional Jewish ritual rarely differentiates between Lubavitchers and other observant Jews.

One of the most pervasive forces in the lives of Lubavitchers and other orthodox Jews is observance of laws relating to family purity. One aspect of these laws is a mandated period of sexual separation during the time a woman is "impure." A woman is considered impure or polluted a minimum of five days during her menstrual period and at least seven days thereafter, to insure that all signs of bleeding are gone. For at least twelve days a woman is untouchable to any man. Her period of pollution ends when, having counted seven "clean" days, she immerses herself in a ritual bath. Lubavitchers explain that pollution occurs when any potential life creating force is destroyed. Menstrual blood is polluting because it is associated with an unfertilized ovum. Semen is polluting for the same reason and many Lubavitch men purify themselves in a ritual bath [13] the morning following sexual intercourse. The Bible does not mandate a ritual bath for men but does specifically indicate the necessity for female purification. Many observant Jewish men never attend a ritual bath because it is not specifically required. The explanations may differ but the ritual behavior is similar among all observant Jews.

The behavioral consequences of these cultural forms are exceedingly varied among different Jewish groups. Many orthodox men refrain from any physical contact with their wives during her polluted state. Most Hassidic men avoid contact with all women since they never know which ones are impure. This is a simple procedure for husbands and wives. A wife, during her period of pollution, does not touch her husband,sleeps in a separate bed, and avoids all physcial contact with him. However, a Hassid's relationship with other women may cause him problems. How does he know whether he may touch a woman? Is she polluted at that given moment? A Hassid's answer to this problem is never to touch a woman. This rule is extended to unmarried men as well, such that after puberty, but before marriage, male - female physical contact is prohibited.

Except for those rituals specifically mandated in Jewish law, the Lubavtich community exhibits much variation in the range of accepted behavioral patterns. The amount and type of interaction with the larger society varies from individual to individual. For example, the Rebbe has made public his negative feelings about television, but many Lubavitchers have T.V. sets which they watch with moderation. In a Lubavitch home, with its total dedication to Judaism, it is not uncommon to find copies of Yiddish publicatons as well as The New York Times, Life Magazine, and New York Magazine.

Lubavitch participation in many areas of mass culture is tacitly discouraged by the Lubavitch elite of category I, but is ultimately an individual decision. Many Lubavitchers attend movies, but only those rated G or GP. When they see a film, sexual separation is the rule, and women will attend with other female friends. More women than men attend films. Concerts and theatre are occasionally part of a Lubavitcher's

social activity. Whenever possible, people carefully choose seats near members of the same sex. Some Lubavitchers choose not to attend these activities because proper seating arrangements cannot be assured. From time to time, Lubavitch organizations sponsor concerts of Jewish music or other cultural items. They are very well attended.

There is no particular behavioral pattern that can be discerned within each category of the Lubavitch community. Rather, a random assortment of individuals select activities of the larger culture that they deem desirable and appropriate. For many Lubavitchers, guidelines of participation are determined by rules of modesty and educational value. For example, Lubavitch participation in sports is minimal, but apparent. Many men and women swim, but only at separate times. Lubavitch men often report that athletic activities are a waste of precious time that should be spent learning.

Although many Lubavitchers view the social mores of the larger society with disdain, they understand that they are intrinsically tied to the larger society for political, economic, and material benefits. Many aspects of Lubavitch life styles differ from those of the encapsulating group, but Lubavitchers glean every possible advantage from the larger society. Lubavitchers are assimilated in that they are capable of merging with the surrounding group in many different fields. Virtually all Lubavitchers speak English as well as many other languages. They participate in the economy of the larger society through very varied occupations. The range includes shopkeepers in all branches of retailing, owners and employees of wholesale and manufacturing businesses in the soft and hard goods industries, computer programmers, engineers, printing businesses, teaching, secretarial services and many more. Many Lubavitch

men and women are teachers in the Jewish day school system or the after school Jewish educational programs.

Lubavitchers accept many different kinds of technological innovations. They use electrical systems that automatically turn lights and T.V. sets on and off on those days when Jewish law prohibits an individual from so doing. Most men, and many women, drive late model automobiles. In terms of cars, patterns of conspicious consumption abound. Lubavitchers are an integral part of the urban system of charge accounts and credit cards. They are known for their political acumen in that they form a strong voting bloc. They have been able to maximize benefits to the Lubavitch community from community based,city funded projects. In addition, Lubavitchers take advantage of food stamp programs, social security benefits and other government programs. Whenever possible, Lubavitch political activity concentrates on projects which offer benefits either directly to the Lubavitch community or the the Jewish community in general.

The emergent idea about ethnic boundedness for this particular group is that distinctive cultural forms which enhance ethnic identity are few. If an ethnic group is viewed as a cultural type in a complex society, then Lubavitchers cannot be differentiated from other Hassidic or non-Hassidic orthodox Jewish groups.[14] Indeed, a cultural definition of Lubavitch will grow to include many other Jewish groups because ritual observance creates behavioral similarities among all of them. If our theoretical emphasis can be shifted to the area of social relations, to self identification in particular, then a strong ethnic tie to a specific group emerges.

The degree of identification and expression of ethnicity within

Lubavitch is situationally determined. But when it is expressed, ethnicity is distinctively Lubavitch. More significant than the clothing one wears, the way the ritual is practiced, or where one lives, is the successful manipulation of kinship, marriage, educational institutions, and other types of social relations to promote individual goals while simultaneously preserving the image of Lubavitch to the larger society.

NOTES

1. The term orthodox describes a constellation of ritual and beliefs which dictate a life style for those Jews who choose to observe most aspects of traditional Judaism. It is applied to any Jew regardless of his affiliation to a particular sub-group.

2. Baal Tshuvah is a Hebrew term which means Master of Repentence. It is used by Lubavitchers to specifically mark those individuals who were not observant Jews when they came to Lubavitch and have since "repented" and are now living a good Jewish life. In many ways, Lubavitchers believe that a Baal Tshuvah can attain a higher state of goodness, because he has spent many years as a sinner.

3. Shul is a Yiddish word for synagogue. Lubavitchers never use the word snyagogue but always refer to their houses of worship as "shul."

4. Black and White residents of Crown Heights frequently live in adjoining homes along many streets. However, the usual pattern is to ignore each other.

5. New York City census data does not indicate Lubavitch or even Hassidic affiliation. Therefore, the census data was not useful to construct a profile of Hassidim.

6. The rules governing modest behavior are called "Tznias." This term is used to denote improper behavior by saying that something is not Tzniasdik.

7. In some respects the word learning is similar to studying. But its meaning goes beyond the term study, and reflects a total immersion in certain scholarly pursuits. It is not used for secular study. One learns when he studies Torah.

8. Kolel classes are special classes for men who are newly married. During the first year, and sometimes for two years, Lubavitch men "learn" while their wives work and support them. Lubavitchers believe it to be very important for all men to spend at least one year full time at Kolel class.

9. Jews believe that the home is the core of Jewish life. Without a "Jewish home," no individual can be a good and proper Jew. Therefore it is exceedingly important to marry a woman who can observe the appropriate ritual and provide an environment in which the husband can observe Judaism in its entirety.

10. Not all orthodox Yeshivah schools are sexually segregated in all the grades. Many have co-ed classes in the lower grades, or separate classes of boys or girls in the same building. All high school classes are single sexed. However, where there are enough students to fill a school with one sex or the other, this pattern will generally be found.

11. A Yeshivah is a Rabbinical Academy. However, in modern usage it refers to a Jewish parochial school (for boys or girls) which practices and teaches orthodoxy.

12. One of my informants is a convert to Judaism, and a new member of Lubavitch. She is a professor at a secular university and argued strongly for not permitting Jewish children, especially girls to attend a university before they are married and have families. At that time, she felt it is "safe."

13. Since a ritual bath for men is not mandated by Jewish law, there are no ritual baths that operate for men only. Rather, among certain groups, designated periods of time are set aside for the men to use the baths, and at all other times the bath house is reserved for women.

14. The term "orthodox Jew" as used throughout the text is used to designate that group of Jews who practice either some or most of the prescribed six hundred and thirteen rules of Jewish behavior. Orthodoxy is not a constant, but rather represents a continuum of more or less observant behavior within a range of acceptable norms. The larger question of what is a Jew cannot be adequately dealt with here. According to Jewish law, any person born of a Jewish mother is a Jew. In actual practice it is often necessary to differentiate between Jews by birth, by conversion, by self identification, and/or amount of participation in ritual practice.

CHAPTER 3

INSTITUTIONALIZED CHARISMA

In the previous chapter I have only alluded to the Rebbe and the way he influences strategic decision making among his followers. The patterns of ethnic identity manifested by followers of the Lubavitcher Rebbe are a result of his ability to maintain a charismatic relationship with his followers. As charismatic leaders, he, and the previous Lubavitcher Rebbes have capitalized on the emotional response of the followers to create and maintain an ideological power base that I propose to call institutionalized charisma.

The sociological significance of the concept of charisma lies in its utility as a description of certain personality attributes as well as in its relevance for analyzing certain kinds of power relationships. Because of this double edged sword, much theoretical conflict has been generated. Social scientists speak about the charismatic personality, the charismatic situation, the charismatic response, charismatic leadership, charismatic movements, etc. The seeds of these concepts may be traced to the original Weberian definition of charisma, [1] which is utilized as the starting point for studies of differing theoretical orientations. When seen as a constellation of personality attributes, the concept of charisma gives rise to studies of prophets and millenarian movements as well as studies of the influence of personality factors on the course of history. Based on Weber's own writings it is clear that his major contribution to the understanding of charisma lies along these "personality" lines.

It is also evident that Weber regards the charismatic relationship as a legitimizing source of power and control of social groups. This

position has generated theory dealing with the nature and function of charisma in major social institutions. Weber did not explicate the theoretical ramifications of charisma in its "routinized" state because he defined charisma in highly personalized terms and argued that such personalization is antithetical to institutionalization. Hence, it was his contention that if successful, charisma will always be transformed into another institutional form (Weber 1947:364).

The present chapter will discuss some weaknesses and strengths in the Weberian concept of charisma in an effort to justify a social relationship that I propose to call institutionalized charisma, and also suggest its applicability to certain kinds of social groups. Weber posited three ideal types of legitmate authority whose claims were validated in the following ways:

1. Rational - legal validation
2. Traditional (patriarchal) validation
3. Charismatic validation

Although these types are conceptual models against which social reality is measured, Weber felt that one or another of these models reflected the dominant form of legitimate authority in a given social system (Weber 1947:130). A careful reading of Weber reveals that his definition of legitimacy is intimately tied to notions of order, i.e. order occurring on the basis of rational action, or traditional beliefs and practices. Charismatic legitimation rests on devotion to an exemplary person and the normative ordering of life revealed or ordained by him.

Although each society institutionalizes norms that support the dominant form of legitimate authority, there are in every social system dissident factions who seek to modify or alter the dominant institutional

forms. These groups may or may not be regarded as legitimate. Weber's emphasis on the legitimacy of a social order reflects his concern with macro-social theory and his discussion of institutionalized social behavior is limited by his desire to understand the social processes supporting the dominant authority structure.

As a result, he constructs an argument which goes as follows:

> "Bureaucratic and patriarchal structures /that develop with rational legal and traditional domination respectively/ are antagonistic in many ways, yet they have in common a most important pecularity: permanence. In this respect they are both institutions of daily routine. Patriarchal power especially is rooted in the provisioning of recurrent and normal needs of the workaday life.....bureaucratic structure is only the counter image of patriarchalism transposed into rationality. As a permanent structure with a system of rational rules, bureaucracy is fashioned to meet calculable and recurrent needs by means of normal routine." (Weber 1958:245)

> "In contrast to any kind of bureaucratic organization of offices, the charismatic structure knows nothing of a form or of an ordered procedure of appointment or dismissal....nor does it embrace permanent institutions like our bureaucratic departments which are independent of persons and of purely personal charisma." (Weber 1958:246)

> "The sharp contrast between charisma and any patriarchal structure that rests upon the ordered base of the "household" lies in (this) rejection of rational economic conduct. "Pure" charisma is contrary to all patriarchal domination (in the sense of the term used here). It is the opposite of all ordered economy. It is the very force that disregards economy. Charisma can do this because by its very nature it is not an "institutional" or permanent structure, but rather, where its "pure" type is at work, it is the very opposite of the institutionally permanent." (Weber 1958:247-8)

> "It is the fate of charisma, whenever it comes into the permanent institutions of a community, to give way to powers of tradition or of rational socialization." (Weber 1958:253)

The sociological significance of the Weberian concept of charisma is limited to an explanation of specific historical events in a particularistic framework (see Fagen 1965; Apter 1963; Erikson 1965; Tiger 1966; Davies 1954; Ake 1966). Weber treated charisma as an individualistic, non-recurring, non-permanent and hence, non-institutionalized form of social action.

Much of Weber's published work was taken from his notes and organized and translated postumously by his students. Therefore, his work is open to speculation, reformulation and interpretation by his students and other social scientists. The broad meaning of charisma was never fully explicated by Weber and is one of the areas in which social scientists have attempted to incorporate charisma, as a social relationship, with institutionalized societal norms. Bendix (1960), Eisenstadt (Weber:1968), and Shils (1965), are among those who suggest a connection between the charismatic and the institutional. Eisenstadt, for example, argues that his analysis of the Weberian concept of charisma and institution building...."brings out again the fact that a crucial aspect of the charismatic personality or group is not only the possession of some extraordinary, exhilarating qualities, but also the ability, through these qualities, to reorder and reorganize both the symbolic and cognitive order which is potentially inherent in such orientations and the institutional order in which these orientations become embodied; and that the process of routinization of charisma is focused around the ability to combine the reordering of these two spheres of human existence and of social life." (Weber 1968:XI). If I read Eisenstadt correctly, he suggests, like Weber that the charismatic is intimately woven into the process of institution building; that it may, in fact, be a primary

cause of institutional change. But like Weber, his concern is more with macro theory and whole societies and he does not consider the possibility that behavior patterns supporting a charismatic relationship can themselves be institutionalized.

A broader and more detailed contribution has been made by Shils (1965) who begins with the Weberian idea of the quest for order, and suggests that in any society, those positions most involved with order are ones which combine ideas of an earthly order and a transcendant order. These positions of "centrality" as he terms them, inspire awe and a charismatic tendency. He argues for an institutionalized charismatic propensity in the routine functioning of society (Shils:200), by positing that "great power announces itself by its power over order; it discovers order, creates order, maintains order, or destroys it." Power is indeed, the central, order-related event."(205) He argues that the attribution of charismatic qualities....is a response to great ordering powers (204). Shils suggests that charisma inheres in those positions of centrality and great power and that dispersion of charisma within a system differs among different types of social systems. For example, "In the rational-legal system, the charisma is not concentratedly imputed to the person occupying the central role itself, but is dispersed throughout the heirarchy of roles and rules. The charisma is felt to inhere in the major order-affecting system of roles." (205) Therefore, "Corporate bodies - secular, economic, governmental, military, and political - come to possess charismatic qualities simply by virtue of the tremendous power concentrated in them." (207)

This argument may be interpreted as a step beyond Eisenstadt in that Shils not only recognizes the function of charisma in institution

building but also suggests that charisma is an integral and institutionalized aspect of power in any social system.

Power involves the ability of one individual or group to gain compliance to its specific wishes, requests or orders. Power that is expressed by leaders, or in roles and positions, has been recognized in sociological theory as stemming from three generalized sources: coercion, material interests, and values (Etzioni 1961:5). Even Weber's definitions of sociological concepts were an effort to "decompose" (these) three areas of social life - authority, material interest and value orientation - into their separate parts "(Bendix 1960:290). Individuals or groups who can gain control over one or another of these areas of social life are said to possess the resources to gain compliance behavior from others.

Coercive power is based on brute force, possession of weapons or the threat of such, or threat of physical punishment. Each of these will assuredly influence compliance behavior. Coercive power may exist with or without the sanction of legitimacy of the constituency. The second source of power, control of material or economic interests, accrues to those individuals or groups such as landlords, business elites, some tribal chiefs, and others who can effect compliance by the threat or actual withholding of the economic goods necessary to sustain or improve life. Like coercion, material power need not have the sanction of legitimacy and may even operate in an environment in which the populace deems such control to be totally illegitimate (or illegal). In these cases, as for example, when the Mexican government refused to allow the Indian peasants to farm their lands and disregarded their land claims (Womack:1969), the question of whether or not the Indian communities saw this as a legitimate action is a moot point.

Lastly, the ability of individuals or groups to achieve compliance behavior may come about when a constituency follows the directives of those

individuals recognized as controlling or representing the group's values, ideology, moral code, etc. This has been called normative power, hardly a felicitious label, but perhaps adequately descriptive. Normative, or what I prefer to call ideological power, differs from coercive and material power in one key way: compliance to such power is totally dependent on, and a result of, the constituency's belief in its legitmacy. The sanctions of ideological power are couched in people's beliefs about afterlife, good and proper life, ethics and morals. Because such power poses little threat to the individual's survival, his willingness to accept such authority depends on his belief in the ideology and agrees to abide by the sanctions that accompany the ideology (See Heine-Geldern,1956 for an application of these ideas to Southeast Asia).

The power that attaches to charisma is ideological power. Charismatic power is one of many different kinds of ideological power. The hallmark of charisma as defined by Weber (1947:359), is not the qualities of the individual leader, but how that individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his followers or disciples. Personal charisma accrues to those individuals who possess the ability to merge the earthly and transcendant orders into a unified system and program of action. In particular, a charismatic leader must be able to manipulate the transcendant order that incorporates values, ethics and ideology. It is therefore not surprising that charismatic leaders are most frequently recognized as religious leaders or leaders emerging from religious movements.

Weber also regards charismatic leaders as revolutionary because they tend to arise in situations of social or economic crisis when a portion of a constituency is ready to accept a new or partially revised ideology offered by that individual, (Weber 1947:363), (See rise of Hassidism in chapter I). In many crisis situations, it is impossible for a given social group or class to effect changes in the distribution

of material resources because that group does not control economic or coercive power. One potential solution is to alter the ideological framework of the group through the actions of a charismatic leader, such that the group believes it is the "chosen" or preferred, or has the secret to material success in the present life, or preferred treatment in the afterlife. Contrary to Worsely who suggests that the concept of charisma contributes little in understanding cargo cults (1968:liii), I believe that our understanding of social behavior is increased in a new dimension if we employ the concept of charisma to explain aspects of ideological change and leadership in situations of crisis. [2] Whether we consider a cargo cult, a denominational sect, a revitalization movement or an ethnic group, the group which accepts a charismatic leader is still subject to the rules of coercive and economic power in that society. The interrelationships of these power elements is a subject needing more investigation.

It is not unusual to find ideologies built to sustain a developing economic system, or contrariwise, economic or coercive power may be sanctioned by a group to support a particular ideological system. Similarly, there is always an ideological support for coercive or material power. The three power variables can only be isolated for heuristic purposes. Although we recognize that the three power variables are operative in all social systems, we also observe that one or the other occupies primary importance in determining compliance. Therefore, it is logical to assume that if institutionalized behavior patterns can support coercive or material power as a primary power source, so too institutionalized behavioral patterns can maintain ideological power as a

primary power source. But unlike coercive and material power, charisma, a form of ideological power, cannot be the sole institutionalized power source of a society because decisions made by charismatic leaders are not subject to authoritative enforcement.

In complex or plural societies, the dispersion of power in the system and the differing ideologies of the members create a greater likelihood that distinctively different sets of institutionalized norms operate in each sphere of social life. Differing ideological orientations of members of a plural society are particularly relevant for understanding the power relationships of each group to the whole. A plural society also presents a particularly good laboratory to study the way in which each sub-group in the society develops certain kinds of power and manipulates that power to promote its own interests.

Our theories about the functioning of plural societies suffer to the extent that we fail to consider the effects of, and relevance of, smaller, micro groups that are encapsulated within the larger sturcture. To be sure such groups influence institution building in the macro-structure. But they also exist semi-independently; that is, each sub-group supports its own distinctive ideological power structure and at the same time, accepts the coercive and economic control of the larger surrounding institutional structure. Such groups provide data from which we may develop useful concepts about charisma and its relationship to other power forms in social life.

On a sub-societal level, different groups or classes within the society may oppose the institutionalized norms, may seek to change them, or conversely, to reinforce them (Eisenstadt 1964:246). Also, such groups may accept the norms of the larger society as they reflect

authority and material pursuits, but maintain separate and distinctive ideological norms that support a charismatic leader and evoke a charismatic response. These groups will participate in selected societal institutions but their normative orientation will be outside of the dominant institutional framework.

A plural society presents the greatest, but not the only opportunity to institutionalize behavioral patterns based on charismatic domination. Sub-societal groups in a plural society are involved in a reciprocal relationship with the dominant institutionalized power structure. To some extent they are forced to adhere to behavioral codes that specifically apply to political and economic opportunities and constraints. [3] But in a plural society the rules generally permit each sub-group to remain distinctive to the degree that they do not disrupt the dominant norms. Many leaders of sub-groups of a plural society control and manipulate their constituency because of their control over the ideology of the group. Some of these leaders may be charismatic leaders.

In many cases, the rise of a charismatic leader is associated with a social situation in which a group or class is denied access to or benefits from the dominant institutionalized social structure (Light 1972:141-151). The charismatic leader generally presents a program designed to increase his followers benefits and participation in that structure. However, the leader may also propose a program of separatism from the dominant structure. Most charismatic movements die when the leader dies, or when it becomes evident that the benefits and rewards that were promised in the leader's ideology are not forthcoming.

The present analysis suggests that it is possible for the original charismatic response to be re-created with each successive leader, if that leader is able to combine his major power source and support (ideology) with some power and control over the material existence of the constituency. Ideologically, the leader is regarded as possessing certain extraordinary attributes, and because he is the personification of all significant values held by his followers, they are willing to extend to him a generous line of credit, [4] thereby assuring compliance. In return, their expectation is that he will "make good" on the material programs he espouses. When, a charismatic leader can manipulate at least some of the resources of the larger society for the benefit of his followers, he adds a degree of economic power to his original ideological power base. That the economic power is ancillary to the ideological power is evidenced by the fact that a follower, at any time, is free to leave the group, to disavow allegiance to the charismatic leader, and to choose an alternative strategy by following another subsocietal group or following the norms of the dominant institutionalized power structure. [5]

The availability of optional or alternative strategies is crucial for the establishment of institutionalized patterns that support charismatic leadership. Without alternative strategies, individuals are forced to comply with the system of norms of the dominant power holders. To insure compliance these power holders must rely on coercive or material power. Ideological power only provides additional legitimation to reinforce their position. (see Maquet 1961 for a description of such a system). Charismatic domination cannot be supported by coercive means and therefore can never be the dominant source of power in a whole society.

Institutionalized behavior that supports charisma can be effected only if and when some other power structure controls an authority system and permits the charismatic group to pursue its distinctive ideology.

The quality of an "extraordinary person" and that person's direct unmediated relationship with individuals stand out as the crucial elements of charisma. Both are essential to create the original charismatic relationship and for its continued maintenance in an institutionalized form. The original appeal of the extraordinary person, in direct and close contact with supporters must be maintained in order that the charismatic response continue. The moral bond thus created between leader and followers enables the leader to seek power in non-ideological areas of life. Each successful endeavor to achieve material benefits for the followers extends the charismatic leader's line of credit even further. Once the charismatic leader gains control of material options and strategies of his followers, the organization he creates and the associated norms may become institutionalized.

The principle of succession is particularly important in the process of institutionalizing charisma because it is in this area that Weber suggested that charisma will either "traditionalize" or "rationalize." In fact the reader may be tempted to judge Lubavitch as a traditional system on the basis of the historical data presented in chapter 1, where a generalized patrilineal line of descent is noted. There is also no question about the fact that the Lubavitcher Rebbe is not only a particular person, but an institutionalized "office" that must be filled. But I suggest that the qualities of extraordinariness and direct unmediated contact override the "traditional" or "rational" elements that have come to be part of the Lubavitch system.

The office of Rebbe is partially determined by heredity, but has an eligibility requirement as well. All previous Rebbes are descendants of the founder of Lubavitch. But the line of descent is hardly direct. Some are related matrilineally; others patrilineally. The significant point is that the system has no built in principle of heredity. Rather, the individual under consideration must pass unwritten tests of eligibility determined by community elders. For example, the previous Rebbe had no sons. His three sons-in-law were considered by the elders for the office of Lubavitcher Rebbe. The husband of the oldest daughter was passed over in favor of the husband of the middle daughter. Lubavitchers frequently tell the story of how it took three years to convince Rabbi Schneerson to accept the position of Rebbe. How many others were considered is not known. A similar problem will be presented at the death of the present Rebbe because he has no children at all to succeed him.

At the time of each succession the individual so designated assumes office on the basis of "traditional" principles of selection. But his effectiveness in office, i.e. his ability to maintain and attract followers, depends on his personal characteristics, especially his ability to create a moral indebtedness between himself and his followers upon which he can build more extensive power. Because his followers are free to disclaim identity to Lubavitch at any point in time, I suggest that the initial bond created between each Rebbe and his followers, although partially traditional, is essentially a function of the Rebbe's particular individual qualities and his direct emotional contact with his followers. Therefore, institutionalized charisma, as I employ the term, refers to patterns of behavior that relate to the key variables in

the Weberian concept of charisma even though there is an overlay of traditional and rational factors.

The following chapters will describe the ways in which the Lubavitcher Rebbe, starting with an ideological power base, manipulates resources and ideas, determines goals, and successfully implements these goals for the benefit of individual group members. I shall describe how members always retain options to leave the group and situationally determine whether to follow the Rebbe or to pursue an alternative goal in the larger society.

Institutionalized charisma, as I have defined it, is not necessarily inconsistent with Shils' idea of a charismatic "aspect" to certain offices and positions in a society. Shils accurately recognizes that many bureaucratic offices generally carry a greater or lesser amount of charisma. He sees charisma attaching to positions of great power. Because positions of great power are frequently positions that are furthest from contact with the masses, both Shils and Etzioni (1961:213-214) argue that charisma varies directly with distance from a populace. Etzioni proposes that the greater the distance of a position or office from the populace, the greater the charisma that attaches to it. Shils discusses the same idea in terms of his observation that positions of great power inspire great awe. The problem with this view is that social scientists instinctively recognize that some charisma attaches to a given set of offices, but the individuals who occupy these offices at any given time, will significantly influence the amount of charisma that is evoked from the followers. I have argued that charisma varies inversely with distance from the followers; that the closer the charismatic leader is to his constituency, the greater will be the

charismatic response. How can these views be reconciled?

Charisma, in the final analysis, is a very personal and individual response. To claim otherwise is to negate the very core of the concept as outlined by Weber. Few people would dispute the claim that Franklin Roosevelt or John Kennedy evoked a greater charismatic response from the American populace than does Richard Nixon. [6] Yet all three men occupied the same office. Similarly, few would argue that Pope Paul has as much charisma as did Pope John.

Following an earlier suggestion that charisma is not only a function of a particular personality but also of the ability to influence and control ideology, I suggest that the possible evokation of a charismatic response attaches to any bureaucratic position that has ideological power. One of the features of modern bureaucracy is the dispersal of power throughout the offices. Economic power and coercive power are differentially dispersed throughout the system but shaping ideology usually attaches to offices at the apex of the system. These are the "positions of centrality" described by Shils. What are the factors that will determine whether or not a charismatic response is evoked? There are two factors that must be considered. First, and most important is the personality of the individual who occupies the office. Can such an individual relate to his followers in a way that motivates them to follow him as an exemplary person, without any rational basis for so doing? Second, we must consider the ideological message itself. Is the leader voicing ideas to which the group will comply? A specific combination of these two variables will produce a charismatic relationship and provide the environment to create a strong following based on the charismatic response. These qualities and abilities differentiate a Kennedy, a Gandhi, a Nixon or a Pope Paul.

But even in bureaucratic societies, we must take care to differentiate the charisma of office with the deference behavior. Deference is not necessarily a charismatic response. High status and appropriate deference is certainly accorded to charismatic leaders. But similar behavior patterns will be evoked even more easily toward people who hold economic and coercive power. And this, I suggest, is the major weakness in Shils argument; the confusion between different kinds of power, and the personalized response to the charismatic leader.

The effort to unravel deference response and charismatic response lies in evaluating whether the response is evoked by the individual's ideology or the other powers inherent in the position he occupies. Although the response may appear to be the same in both cases, we must seek the motives behind the actions of individual members. When there are no options, and when significant material benefits are at stake, or when coercion is a real threat, then it is likely that the response is one of deferring to the leader's judgments and wishes on the basis of courtesy, fear or the opinion that the leader can withhold significant benefits. However, when an individual's response is voluntary, exceedingly personal and non-coercive, the choice to follow the ideology of the leader provides that leader with charisma. Then too, a particular leader's following may include some individuals who regard the leader as charismatic and others who defer to him not because they believe him to be "exemplary," but because they have made a judgment that deems support of him as the best alternative among many choices. This was the situation in Germany under the leadership of Hitler. Hitler's power was not only ideological but coercive and economic as well. Some of his supporters regarded him as a charismatic leader; others supported him and

accorded him appropriate deference because his coercive power was of such a great degree of magnitude that they opted for support of him. This latter path is deference, awe, fear, but not charisma. Leaders of rational-legal bureaucratic structures probably have more deference accorded them then charismatic response because they combine ideological and economic power with an overriding threat of coercive power.

Pure charisma depends ultimately on personal contact of the leader and the constitutency. For example, all people who accept the Catholic ideology accord a reasonable amount of deference to the Pope. But given the bureaucratic organization of the Church and the dispersion of power throughout the Church heirarchy, it is more likely that a local parish priest, having the greatest amount of personal contact with a constituency, is in a better position to evoke a charismatic response. The parish priest is far more involved with ordinary life problems, both material and ideological, than is the Pope who sets policy for large masses of people and need not concern himself with specific individual situations.

However, in every bureaucracy there is an inner core of supporters, usually those people who occupy positions in the bureaucracy, or who depend on its continuance for their material success. These people stand to profit both materially and ideologically if the leader continues in power. This inner core of supporters, or elite, may be found among Lubavitchers as well as among Church bureaucrats and civil servants. In these cases, the core supporters affirm the leaders charisma, but the larger, more diffuse group of followers offer deference, perhaps some charismatic response to the leader, and pursue alternative courses in the larger society.

In the following chapters, I propose to demonstrate that the greatest charismatic response among Lubavitchers for their leader is evidenced by those supporters who are closest to the Rebbe, i.e. either geographically residing in his community, or actually dependent on the Rebbe for material survival. I shall describe the personal charisma of the Rebbe and the response he evokes from Lubavitchers who are geographically close and far. Lastly, I shall try to describe the development of an elite group of Lubavitchers, who are closest to the Rebbe and have the greatest material stake in Lubavitch continuity.

NOTES

1. The term charisma was introduced into the sociological literature by Max Weber. In a 1947 translation of his book The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Parsons and Henderson offer the following definition: "The term charisma will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional power or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader.." (p.358-9). When speaking of legitimate authority, Weber states: "Charismatic authority - resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him." (328)

2. See Ratnam (1964) for an opposing view in which he suggests that the term charisma is not a useful term and has not in any substantial way improved our understanding of the problems it touches on.

3. See Barkin and Bennett (1972), Hodge (1969) and Jones (1972), for ethnographic studies which describe different sub-societal or ethnic groups and the specific opportunities and constraints of the larger society that effect the strategies of the members.

4. The idea of using "debits and credits" in anthropological analysis has been introduced and developed by Bailey (1969) in his book Strategems and Spoils.

5. This is very different from that of an ethnic group member as for example, A Mexican peasant or an American Black where few, if any options exist to leave the group.

6. See Friedrich (1961) for a somewhat different analytical approach in which he differentiates between leadership based on personal dynamism and belief in an ideology for which a given leader is spokesman.

CHAPTER 4

THE REBBE AND HIS HASSIDIM

A Lubavitch woman told me about her attempt to kindle a fire in her home in Australia. Even though she had witnessed others lighting fires, she could not combine the proper proportions of logs, wood splinters, and paper, so that a warm fire would grow. Discussing her inability to light the fire, she likened it to the proportions of three ingredients that kindle and create the feelings of Yiddishkeit [1] and Hassidism.

1. The Tzaddik (Hassidic leader) is like the paper - an enormous spirit that catches fire immediately.

2. Hassidim are the wood splinters - they catch the fire of Yiddishkeit from the Tzaddik and are essential in order for the logs to catch fire. Paper alone is incapable of creating a lasting fire of heavy logs.

3. The heavy logs are other Jews that are not affected by the fire of the burning paper, but need encouragement and support of the splinters in order for them to burn.

The subject of this chapter is the relationship of the paper and the wood splinters - the Tzaddik and the Hassidim. A Tzaddik is a very difficult status to obtain, reserved only for the great men of Judaism. The Lubavitcher Rebbe is regarded by his followers, and other non-Lubavitch Jews, as a Tzaddik. This chapter describes and explores the relationship of the Rebbe and his followers. In particular, the first part of the chapter discusses the charismatic role of the Rebbe and the charismatic response of his followers.

Moreover, I shall attempt to demonstrate the way in which the Rebbe's charisma, translated by Lubavitchers to mean sanctified authority, is utilized by him to create the feeling of elitism among all Lubavitchers.

The second part of the chapter will describe the structure of authority within the Lubavitch ethnic group. I shall argue that the intense charismatic relationship between Lubavitchers and their Rebbe can be maintained in an institutionalized form because the authority structure and the distribution of power is non-hierarchical. Coordination of a worldwide organizational network is totally in the hands of the Rebbe and a few chosen assistants. Unlike other cases of office charisma, [2] the leader inspires and directs by virtue of a one to one relationship that is typical in Rebbe - Hassid interactive patterns.

Menachem Mendl Schneerson is the 7th Lubavitcher Rebbe. He was chosen by the community elders and "reluctantly" accepted the position of Rebbe when his father-in-law, the previous Rebbe died. He is now 71 years old and has been the Lubavitch leader for 23 years. Rabbi Schneerson is the husband of the second of the previous Rebbe's three daughters. Because the previous Rebbe had no sons, there was much question among Lubavitchers about his successor. Community elders, though reluctant to discuss the process of choice, do admit that a few other likely candidates were passed over when Menachem Mendl was chosen. They describe this process in much the same way that they describe the process of choosing a spouse. They say that God knows the right one. It is the task of a human being to exert his intelligence and will, to know which choice is the right one. The choice of Menachem Mendl does not break a patrilineal dynasty which

is now in its seventh generation.

Born in Russia in 1902, Rabbi Schneerson carries the name of his great-grandfather who was the third Lubavitcher Rebbe in the dynastic line. Rabbi Schneerson combines a unique set of attributes that make him eminently qualified to assume the role of leader of Lubavitch. He is the son of a prominent Lubavitch family from a Russian town where his father was the Jewish spiritual leader. Menachem Mendl studied with his father and at local Yeshivoth and grew to have a fine reputation as a Torah scholar and devout Lubavitcher. Unlike most Lubavitchers, he sought a secular education as an adult. This quest took him to the University of Berlin, University of Leningrad and to the Sorbonne. (Lubavitch 1970:57) He has a degree in engineering and speaks at least 5 or 6 languages with great proficiency. His combination of Torah study, a broad knowledge of secular affairs, and his linguistic ability, make him uniquely qualified to organize and coordinate Lubavitch activities in all parts of the world. Unlike other Hassidic leaders, M.M. Schneerson is not to be regarded as an insulated man. He has travelled widely and has been exposed to many different social situations. However, since he assumed leadership of Lubavitch in 1950, he is not known to have taken any vacations, nor to have done any travelling. He remains at "770" where his work and study schedule is inordinately heavy.

The intense charismatic relationship between the Rebbe and his followers may best be illuminated by describing two institutionalized areas of cultural behavior within Lubavitch. Both institutions must be rated "top priority" for the maintenance of an intense personalized charismatic relationship. The Lubavitch institutions of "farbrengen" [3] and "Yichidus" [4] highlight the personalized contact and direct appeal of

the Rebbe to his followers.

Farbrengen

There is no adequate translation of the word "farbrengen." It is used in both noun and verb forms. As a noun, a farbrengen denotes a Hassidic gathering with the Rebbe. The verb form "to farbreng" expresses the intense emotional interaction between the Rebbe and his followers at such gatherings. A farbrengen is a symbol of unity and provides Lubavitchers with the opportunity to demonstrate strong ethnic identity. Each farbrengen is a public display of the equality of every Lubavitcher to the Rebbe. As such, it overrides the distinctions between Lubavitch categories I-IV and functions in a formal manner as a status levelling mechanism between all Lubavitchers.

1. It is a perfectly ordinary day. Most Lubavitch men are working or studying. Women are busy at jobs or at home. At some point during the day or early evening, the Rebbe informs his secretaries that he will have a farbrengen in one hour. Telephones begin to ring. Calls are made to the Yeshivot to alert the students. Classes are suspended and Lubavitchers head for "770." People emerge from their homes in Crown Heights into the streets. Every Lubavitcher is told "farbrengen in an hour." Within fifteen minutes, those who received the message were home calling others. Telephone lines were now jammed, announcing to all that there would be a farbrengen in 30 minutes. Boys and girls left their classrooms and called taxis to take them to "770." Within one hour, all people who were available, mostly men, but also young women who were not working, were gathered at "770" waiting for the Rebbe. Spontaneous farbrengens, such as this,

occur with some frequency but usually for a specific reason. The Rebbe wishes to communicate something important to his followers. Since there has been little advance warning, the people gathered are almost exclusively Lubavitch.

2. "770" begins to fill as the sun sets. Some men are there following the evening prayer. Others come as the hour approaches nine. Women hurry through their tasks so that they too, can get to "770" in time for the farbrengen. Tonight is a holiday and the farbrengen celebrations will be very large. Many observant non-Hassidic Jews have made plans to come to Crown Heights to hear the Rebbe. Lubavitchers who do not live in Crown Heights arrange to come. The earlier one arrives, the better the chance to get a good position in a crowded room. This is particularly true for women who must crowd into three rows of seats in one room and three rows in another room, high above the men's section. Many Lubavitchers from out of town have come to Crown Heights to celebrate the holiday, and will not leave until well near morning when the farbrengen is over.

3. The mid-day Sabbath meal has just concluded. Everyone around the table feels the joy of the Sabbath atmosphere. A feeling of relaxation pervades the room. In a short while, perhaps after a brief afternoon nap, most of the Lubavitch men and their numerous guests will gather at "770" for a Shabbos farbrengen. The high activity levels of the past week will be totally forgotten as people socialize with each other and enjoy the sanctity of the Sabbath day. Lubavitchers and guests will hear the Rebbe "give Torah." [5] But in addition, the Shabbos farbrengen is most often the scene of an important event. The Rebbe takes this opportunity to speak to Lubavitchers about community affairs

and problems. Since his voice cannot be broadcast on Shabbos and no one is permitted to record his words, he feels free to speak about community affairs and the role of Lubavitchers in these affairs. This makes the Shabbos farbrengen particularly important for Crown Heights Lubavitchers and is an arena for their demonstration of ethnic strength.

When a Hassid farbrengs with his Rebbe, he is demonstrating his deep and revered love for the Rebbe. The Rebbe, in turn, takes advantage of the ritual of a farbrengen to reaffirm his love for his Hassidim and to promote the feeling of Lubavitch as an elite group vis-a-vis other Jews. He also uses the farbrengen as an arena for communicating his authoritative decisions and opinions to his followers. Of greatest significance is the observation that a farbrengen provides both leader and followers a public arena in which to reassert and affirm the charismatic relationship that exists between them.

All farbrengens take place in the large auditorium in "770." This very same room is also the Lubavitch synagogue and therefore contains the Holy Arks and Scriptures. Near one wall a long table is covered with a white tablecloth. The Rebbe sits at this table in an ornate red velvet chair. There is usually a plate of cake on the table from which he nibbles, intermittently. Behind the Rebbe sit the Lubavitch elders. Although they can see only the back of the Rebbe, they occupy positions of honor and are separated from the rest of the group because they are community elders. On either side of the Rebbe one can always find one or two of his assistants (secretaries). They stand near him to assist in answering his questions or providing him with aid in any way whatsoever. Directly facing the Rebbe, and sitting on long benches are Lubavitch men, most of whom appear to be between the

ages of 30-50. There is no evidence to suggest that separation by age is rigidly enforced. In fact, anyone can take a seat anywhere in the room. In practice, many men tend to informally segregate into age grades, probably to be part of their peer group. Along the remaining two walls, half facing the Rebbe, are rows of benches arranged as risers. The younger men gather on these benches. They cannot sit because it is too crowded. They stand facing the Rebbe, very close together, each man touching the back of the individual in front of him. Every man places his hands on the shoulders of the man in front of him.

The total number of people at a farbrengen varies greatly, depending on the occasion for the farbrengen and the time of day it is held. The smallest gatherings, 100-200 people, occur at impromptu farbrengens. On certain religious occasions,holidays like Simchat Torah, or on Lubavitch celebration days, attendance is at a peak. At these times, when the number of non-Lubavitch guests is greatest, 600-700 men are present in "770." At a larger farbrengen, age grading is less obvious; every person in attendance takes a space wherever room is available. In addition to the crowded quarters inside "770," small boys stand outside the building and watch the Rebbe through the large open windows. Many visitors block the doors because there is no space inside the auditorium to accommodate them.

All women in attendance watch the farbrengen from positions in a balcony. Seating in the balcony is quite limited and, on very crowded occasions, another separate area is opened for women. The amount of available space for women is much smaller than for men. Women who arrive very early occupy the few available seats. All the others stand on benches and the backs of pews. They stand in the same manner as do

the men. 200-250 women can be accommodated in this fashion.

There is an informal age grading among women also, but it can be explained by external factors rather than as Lubavitch custom. Women who occupy the front seats constitute a group that arrives a few hours before the farbrengen begins. They are, by and large teenagers and young adult women who do not have family responsibilities. Women who must tend to children and young babies arrive much later and must take standing positions in the back of the room. In the very back of the room are a few benches which are generally unoccupied because they offer no view of the Rebbe. Some older Lubavitch women sit there. I suspect that they take these seats because they are physically incapable of elbowing into the crowd up front. The balcony is surrounded by opaque glass, permitting the women to view events downstairs, but giving the men only a clouded view of the women.

There are no distinctions made between any Lubavitch categories at a farbrengen. Recent converts (category III) may occupy seats adjacent to long term (category I) Lubavitchers. There is a strong feeling of comraderie that pervades the room. Many Lubavitch men can be recognized by their typical black hat and dark coat and beard. Other Lubavitch men do not dress in a distinctive manner and it is easy to mistake them for category IV Lubavitchers or non-Lubavitch guests. I did not become aware of the great variability of dress styles until my research was well under way. By that time I could observe long term Lubavitchers without the "customary" dress patterns.

The charismatic relationship that exists between the Rebbe and his followers may best be described by the events of a particular farbrengen. This farbrengen was held on the holiday of Purim. Purim

is a most **festive** occasion and a holiday of few behavioral prohibitions. Unlike other holidays, Lubavitchers are permitted to travel on Purim. Hence, the attendance at this farbrengen was exceedingly large. In addition to Lubavitchers, there were many guests,including large numbers of men from other Hassidic sects. [6] In all, there were about 650 men and 250 women. There were also more children at the Purim farbrengen than I had previously observed. Many Lubavitchers who live outside the New York metropolitan area come to Crown Heights to be with the Rebbe as often as possible. A Lubavitchers' decision to come to New York is made primarily on the basis of proximity to New York and time considerations.

During the Purim farbrengen the Rebbe could use a microphone and therefore he could be easily heard throughout the auditorium. In addition there was one major innovation; the women's section contained two closed circuit T.V. sets. Not only was the Rebbe visible to the women at "770" but his message was carried live to all Lubavitch centers throughout the world. Lubavitchers and their guests, gathered in synagogues in major cities to hear the Rebbe even though in some cities it was 3 A.M.

A farbrengen ritual consists of alternating periods during which the Rebbe speaks and the group sings. The evening begins with a talk by the Rebbe, usually about the meaning of a particular section of Torah for Hassidic life. His talk lasts for about 30 minutes. Then, with a nod of his head, the men break into song. They sing various Hassidic **nigunim**, melodies without words. Their singing may last for about 15 - 20 minutes. During this time the Rebbe confers with a few different people and from time to time eats some cake that is on the

table. When he gets involved in individual conversation, the singing in the auditorium tends to diminish in intensity. Within a few moments, the Rebbe's attention returns to those gathered and, with another nod or clap of his hands, the singing re-awakens with rousing voices. When the Rebbe is ready to speak again he concludes the singing interval and a hushed silence pervades the room. He never speaks from notes or a prepared text. Once again, he speaks about Torah, its interpretation and meaning for Jewish life. Sometimes his theme is the importance of Yiddishkeit - of being Jewish and observing ritual. Other times his topic highlights the particular value of a Hassidic life. After the same 20 - 30 minute period, his talk is concluded and the singing resumes.

Tucked under the table, at the Rebbe's feet is a case or carton filled with bottles of liquor which Hassidim call "mashke." During a singing interval the Rebbe may open a bottle and pour himself a drink. Then he distributes paper cups filled with liquor from the opened bottle to men dispersed throughout the room. By nodding his head or indicating direction with his finger, he marks the particular individual for whom the drink is intended. The cup is then passed among the men until it arrives at the intended recipient. The recipient will then offer a toast of blessing to the Rebbe and drink the contents of the cup. Following a few toasts, the Rebbe often calls someone to the table, speaks privately with him for a few moments, and gives him the bottle with the remaining contents. Most frequently he distributes liquor to men who do not reside in the New York City area, instructing them to share the mashke with members of their community.

In these cases, the Rebbe is promoting a Lubavitch custom of having

a drink from the "Rebbe's bottle." This is part of a generalized Hassidic custom of sharing food and drink of the Rebbe with the followers. It permits a Hassid to transfer part of the holiness of the Rebbe into himself. Many Lubavitchers, who live in distant parts of the world, and do not have much opportunity to see the Rebbe, often find that the "Rebbe's bottle" in their home may be almost empty and a new one not immediately available. When this occurs, a Lubavitcher will take the last ounce of liquor from a "Rebbe's bottle" and pour it into any full bottle, making the new bottle a "Rebbe's bottle." This process can go on indefinitely.

Drinking from the "Rebbe's bottle" is a method of personal participation in something connected with the Rebbe. Aside from its community functions within Lubavitch, the ritual enhances the charismatic position of the Rebbe by permitting a Lubavitcher - no matter how distant from the Rebbe - to share a small part of the Rebbe's sanctity and incorporate that sanctification into himself. The Lubavitchers who surrounded me at the farbrengen tried to indicate to me how often the Rebbe offered a drink or his bottle to a non-Lubavitcher. This occurred with some frequency. Lubavitchers explain this by saying that the Rebbe loves all Jews equally, and is concerned about them all. No doubt, the custom of drinking from the "Rebbe's bottle" is also used by the Rebbe in his attempt to convey his love and blessings for category IV Lubavitchers and for all Jews. If a non-Lubavitch male guest attends a farbrengen and is able to communicate to a category I Lubavitcher a desire for a blessing from the Rebbe, the guest will most often have his request granted at some time during the

evening. Lubavitchers are very proud of their Rebbe and are most anxious to incorporate into their group a Jewish individual who shows any interest in the Rebbe's blessing.

In describing the farbrengen, I have deliberately used male pronouns, not only to indicate a "person" in the singular tense but specifically to mark behavior and responses of men to the Rebbe. Throughout the entire evening women were observers, not participants. During the periods of the Rebbe's talks, the women's section grew noisy with small talk and gossip. For most of them, the Rebbe's talk about Torah is not easily understood. Although he speaks in Yiddish, a language intelligible to virtually every Lubavitcher, the Rebbe's talk is interspersed with Hebrew and Aramaic words and phrases. Because Lubavitch girls do not study Torah and commentaries in the same detail as do boys, they are less familiar with the ideas and the vocabulary of the Rebbe. Total comprehension of the Rebbe's talk is thus, rather difficult for women. When his talk is finished and the singing begins, there is a massive push to the front of the balcony to see the Rebbe. The women want to observe what the Rebbe is doing, and to whom he is giving mashke. They want to watch the men rhythmically sway back and forth while they sing.

As the evening progresses, each of the Rebbe's talks grow shorter and shorter while the singing intervals grow longer. Beginning with an initial talk of perhaps 30 minutes, each discourse is reduced in time, the final one lasting no more than 10 minutes. His subject matter also changes as the hour grows later. The Rebbe begins with lectures on Torah interpretation and progresses to less philosophical and more

political issues directly affecting the Lubavitch community. Before closing the farbrengen, he always directs at least one portion to matters specifically related to women. Many women do not come to "770" until rather late in the evening. Therefore, when the Rebbe speaks to the women at the close of the farbrengen, he usually has a large female audience. And, during this time, the womens' section is particularly quiet.

The Purim farbrengen was very lively and well attended. Because there were so many non-Lubavitch guests,the Rebbe tended not to dwell on issues directly affecting the Lubavitch community but concentrated on matters relating to all Jews. He, and his staff, are particularly sensitive to the tone of the group and the Rebbe's discourses are geared to appeal to major segments of the guests.

At about 2:30 A.M. the Rebbe concluded the farbrengen. Many people, anticipating the end of the farbrengen, were beginning to leave the building. No one went home. Many left the auditorium in order to get a good place outside of "770" from which they could watch the Rebbe emerge from the building into his automobile. While we were standing outside, word came out that some of the Rebbe's cake had been sent upstairs for the women. Many women ran inside to get a bite of the cake, but quickly came outside again. Everyone watched the window of the Rebbe's Study. Within 20 minutes the light was turned off and everyone knew that the Rebbe was coming. Men lined the path from the door of the building to his car. Women congregated along the street. As the Rebbe emerged, the men broke into a song honoring him. The Rebbe never broke his brisk stride, but nodded his head and waved his hand to encourage the

song. As his car drove off, a large group of Lubavitchers followed, singing, as it disappeared for the 6 or 7 block drive to the Rebbe's home. The crowd then dispersed. Men and women sought spouses, friends and parents for the return trip home. Although it was early morning, many Lubavitchers who had come to New York for the farbrengen began for home to places like Connecticut, Montreal, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and some as far as Ohio and Illinois. They would all return shortly for another farbrengen.

When Herbert Weiner wrote about his experiences with Lubavitch he observed that many Hassidic men appeared to be sleeping while the Rebbe was talking. He asserted that the Rebbe's talks were too difficult for most Hassidim to understand because they dealt with questions of Jewish law in a scholarly and frequently esoteric manner (Weiner 1969:169). I too, observed many men seemingly asleep, but all awoke to join the rousing periods of song. Is it therefore fair to conclude that the social function of a farbrengen is far more important than its educational value? Lubavitchers, though not denying the social aspect of a farbrengen, repeatedly say that they are going to hear the Rebbe "give Torah." What in fact, is being communicated at a farbrengen? What are the functions of a farbrengen? We turn now to these questions.

A farbrengen is an event unique to Hassidim. Among smaller Hassidic groups, there is a pervasive custom to be with, and learn from, the Rebbe. This general pattern developed quite early in Hassidic history when every Rebbe had a court. Many followers came to learn, pay homage to the great leader and be part of the Rebbe's entourage. Some left their homes for short trips but stayed for months or even years. The Lubavitch farbrengen has its roots in this general Hassidic pattern but has been ualized and adapted to various aspects of urban life. All Lubavitchers

know which holidays and events will include a farbrengen. The structure of a farbrengen, and to a large extent, the nature of the discourses "given over by the Rebbe" [7] are standardized to the extent that they follow the pattern previously described.

The farbrengen is one of the most important rituals employed by Lubavitchers to express the personal charismatic relationship between themselves and Rebbe. It can be compared to a Fundamentalist revival meeting in its emotional fervor and religious experience. All evening Hassidim stand in reverence and awe of their Rebbe. Although his talks are frequently too deep for a Hassid to understand (and thus appear to be dozing) he rarely loses a feeling of direct communication with the Rebbe. The Rebbe is "lighting a fire" in the Hassidic soul and the Hassidim are "burning brightly." They sing to the Rebbe, toast him and listen to him. That Hassidim often do not understand the Rebbe reflects a sign to them of his superior intellect and feeling for people. It is this image of Tzaddik that his followers strive to attain.

Lubavitchers seek to be a part of the Rebbe; to be guided and inspired by him; to be taught by him; to be loved by him. The Rebbe is regarded as the one individual who lives a most righteous life, whose concern for himself is always placed behind his concern for all Jews. He is a father figure to all Lubavitchers. Not only is his love of Torah and his wisdom about Torah subjects communicated during a farbrengen, but his followers recognize, in his discourses, his outstanding qualities as a psychologist, community leader,sociologist,and foreign diplomat.

The Rebbe, in his discourses, encourages his followers to lead a

ritually proper Jewish life. But above all, he communicates to them their particular role: to bring Torah Judaism to Jews throughout the world. In so doing a Lubavitcher, under the guidance of his Rebbe, feels an elitist status among the larger Jewish population. The Rebbe displays his love for all Jews, but at the same time, communicates to his Hassidim their special Godlike mission among world Jewry. The Rebbe is the "paper" who lights the "splinters"(Lubavitchers) and tells them that they are essential to light the great "logs" (Jewish people). "Paper" cannot ignite large logs but only wood splinters which, in turn, create the larger burning fire. In this fashion each and every farbrengen reiterates the Lubavitchers charismatic response to the super-human qualities of the Rebbe as leader. At the same time, the Rebbe affirms his charismatic leadership by imbuing in his followers the feeling of elite status.

The elitist feeling among Lubavitchers is evident when a Lubavitcher notices an individual who does not usually attend a farbrengen. At that time the Hassid attempts to place the guest in a position where he will have a good view of the Rebbe. Many Lubavitchers often give up their own standing places in order that the guest may better observe the Rebbe. Then, the Lubavitcher begins a stream of conversation designed to convince the guest that the Rebbe has all the qualities of a Tzaddik. If the Lubavitcher meets with any acceptance at all, he proceeds to tell the guest about the enormous value of a ritually correct Jewish life. Lubavitchers ask a Jew to do only one Mitzvah (good deed; according to the Torah). They are confident that one good deed will create the desire to do another and another, until the value of traditional Judaism is self evident.

The farbrengen also accomplishes another major ethnic group goal - the reaffirmation of Lubavitch egalitarianism vis-a-vis the larger society. Although intra-group affairs are guided by the principles of stratification discussed earlier, the farbrengen stresses brotherhood and comraderie between Lubavitchers. "770" is filled to capacity, each person standing with his/her hands on the next one's shoulders with little regard for categorical status within the community. Lubavitchers sing together, pray together, and hear the Rebbe as equals. The only deviation from this pattern is recognition of Lubavitch elders by their special place behind the Rebbe. The categorical distinctions between groups is completely obliviated. No one questions who you are, or asks why you came to the farbrengen. In fact, a farbrengen is one of the few times when category IV Lubavitchers are incorporated into the group and treated as equals. The pervasive feeling conveyed to all is that the Rebbe loves every Jew. The effectiveness of the Rebbe's charismatic appeal is manifested in the behavior of category IV Lubavitchers who constantly reappear at farbrengens. They feel that the Rebbe is indeed concerned about them, their welfare, and frequently feel that he is talking directly to each as individuals.

It does not matter upon whose shoulders your arms are, as long as you participate in the spirit and feeling of the farbrengen. This aspect of a farbrengen is similar to a "horizontal levelling" (Whitten 1969) in anthropological terms. It is the mechanism whereby the broadest definition of Lubavitchers join hands as an egalitarian group before the Rebbe. A farbrengen also gives status to those category III Lubavitchers who, in intra-group affairs, tend to be regarded as low status.

The egalitarian and elitist functions of a farbrengen are never in conflict because each applies to a different set of conditions. The egalitarian principle is operative in intra-group affairs. Lubavitchers, as discussed in the previous chapter, differentiate among members with ancestral ties to Lubavitch, recent converts, etc. Each group may be distinguished as a status category. However, the Lubavitch claim that neither wealth, ancestry, nor scholarly ability affect one's status before the Rebbe or to another Lubavitcher is confirmed at every farbrengen. Here, they are all equals. The feeling of elitism is reinforced at a farbrengen as the Rebbe discusses the "task of Lubavitchers to bring Yiddishkeit to non-observant Jews." The entire Lubavitch group is elevated in status when measured against the larger Jewish population because Lubavitchers regard themselves as the "keepers of Torah Judaism" and feel they have a special mission to perform in the larger Jewish community.

One of the largest celebrations, and one that suggests the enormity of the Rebbe's charismatic appeal as well as his sanctified position, took place on the Jewish calendar date of Yud Aloph in the month of Nisan (April). It was the Rebbe's 70th birthday. At least two months of activity culminated in his birthday farbrengen. The turnout was overwhelming, especially in the large numbers of category IV Lubavitchers, non-Lubavitch Hassidim and non-orthodox Jews. The singing was vociferous and enough liquor was consumed to have toasted 500 Rebbes. In addition to the farbrengen, each Hassid undertook to do some special deed, related in some way to the number 70. Since the season was Passover, the women decided to study 70 Jewish laws pertaining to the celebration of Passover. Prior to the farbrengen they held a group of

5 study sessions. Although I have attended many Lubavitch gatherings, not one of them could compare with this one in terms of the number of women who attended. A large number of them were women with small children who do not usually attend the farbrengens. The study session lasted for 1½ hours, and after each a social evening was planned. Many women remained, but at least 40% left after staying just long enough to do their deed for the Rebbe. It was only out of deep feeling for him and the sanctity of his position that so many women were present.

The Rebbe, in his familiar and humble manner, clearly instructed his followers at a farbrengen prior to his birthday, that they ought not to leave their families to celebrate his birthday. He noted that it was hardly an important enough occasion to encourage people to leave spouses and children for an evening of celebration. In his usual and altruistic manner, he offered a gift to all Jews in honor of his birthday. For every Lubavitcher who could persuade a Jewish man to put on Tfillin, the Rebbe offered to personally pay for the Tfillin. He instructed the Lubavitchers to present, as a gift from the Rebbe, a set of Tfillin to any man who would wear it. Because the motivation was honor to the Rebbe the Lubavitchers distributed many sets of Tfillin, individually and through the Lubavitch Tfillinmobile. Even in this, a very personal moment, the Rebbe acted out a Lubavitch core value of service to the Jewish people.

Yichidus

The second important area in which the Rebbe's sanctity, authority and charisma may be easily demonstrated is the Lubavitch practice of Yichidus. Yichidus is a Yiddish word meaning together. It is specifically

applied to individual conferences between the Rebbe and a follower. Three evenings a week the Rebbe's office is lit well into the night. During these hours there is a steady stream of people coming into his office for private meetings with him. People come for a multitude of reasons. First, and most important, is to seek the Rebbe's assistance in solving personal problems. These problems involve health, financial and business affairs, family relationships, and problems with children. The Rebbe listens to their problems, is known to be very sympathetic, and suggests solutions. These solutions vary from one extreme of sheer practicality to the other extreme of spiritual advice. He may, for example, suggest a specific physician to care for a health problem, or in cases where a married couple are unable to have children, he will offer his blessings and prayer.

Whenever possible, the Rebbe combines utilitarian and spiritual assistance. Many of my informants described their experiences with the Rebbe as a blend of practicality and spirituality for which the Rebbe is famous. Moreover, this same attitude pervades the life of a Lubavitcher in the sense that he attempts to maximize every utilitarian opportunity within Torah Judaism. The Rebbe has no standard formulae for problem solving. Each and every case is evaluated on a personal basis and the advice given by the Rebbe is based on his assessment of the individual's goals and motives. In those cases where an individual is known to have a deep and staunch faith, the Rebbe's advice may include a course of action that brings the individuals into greater contact with non-observant Jews. On the other hand, he always encourages Torah Judaism so that, if the individual is a recent convert (category III) the

Rebbe's suggestions may specifically limit the range of activity of that person in the pursuit of specific goals.

The following case involves a category IV Lubavitcher and illustrates the above point. A British Jew, who had never been observant, met a Lubavitcher and a friendship developed. Slowly he began to participate in Jewish ritual. At this time his children were teenagers. About 5 years ago his business interests were failing and he planned a business trip to New York. The Lubavitcher persuaded him to go and see the Rebbe. On the airplane to New York the Britisher wrote 40 pages of notes outlining his business problems. The Rebbe welcomed him and spent one hour reading the pages of handwritten notes. Then, he turned the notes face down on his desk, and went over each item point by point. In general, the Rebbe advised him to extricate himself from many business actitivites and return to his original profession. The Britisher followed his advice and was successful. This not only brought him closer to the Rebbe, but after this meeting, the Britisher encouraged his children to join Lubavitch.

In another case a category I Lubavitch family went to see the Rebbe about a chronic and severe medical problem afflicting their child. In addition to offering a blessing for the child, the Rebbe suggested the name of a particular physician to treat the child. He also recommended a special place for the child to live.

Every member of Lubavitch categories I,II and III, bring their sons to see the Rebbe just prior to Bar Mitzvah. Many Lubavitchers who live in distant places will take special trips to Crown Heights to get a Bar Mitzvah blessing for their child. This practice is largely inspirational and is regarded by Lubavitchers as a significant and

important blessing and honor for the child.

A category III Lubavitcher asked the Rebbe if her son could finish secular high school while attending Yeshivah. The Rebbe said yes. Shortly after his graduation, the mother asked the Rebbe if her son could apply and seek acceptance for professional training. The Rebbe replied that he thought the son had had sufficient secular education and should concentrate on Torah studies. Although the mother was quite dismayed, the son remains convinced that his Rabbinical studies are the most important and profitable undertakings of his life. To one category I Lubavticher, the Rebbe granted permission to attend a secular college. To another in that same category he actively discouraged the pursuit of secular studies.

On two occasions during the year the Rebbe has special fabrengen for women. This farbrengen is quite short and is followed by individual Yichidus for any woman who wishes to speak to the Rebbe. In a period of four hours, he spoke to about 200 women. Women seem to have a greater awe for the Rebbe than do men. Most women have great difficulty speaking to the Rebbe. Some cry, others become tongue-tied or speechless. Therefore, most of the women who wanted to speak with the Rebbe carried with them a written note or letter. They presented the letter to him and he read it. He spoke to each individually, questioning some, replying to others, apparently solving many many problems.

No person can be coerced into obeying the Rebbe's advice. Ultimately, the individual is free to act either in accordance with the Rebbe's wish, or contrary to it. There are no formal compliance mechanisms within Lubavitch to coerce an individual into obedience. Nor can a Lubavitcher

be removed or "excommunicated." The only mechanism which acts to bolster the Rebbe's authority is gossip and community ostracism. Even in these cases, the sanctions are generally not severe, and, unless there are repeated infractions of Torah Judaism, all other personal decisions will be tolerated by the community. [8]

No individual ever feels that the Rebbe must be consulted before making certain decisions. Everyone feels that he is free to act on his own. Therefore, when an individual does go to the Rebbe for Yichidus, he is generally prepared to follow the Rebbe's word. Because the Rebbe is regarded as a sanctified person his judgments are beyond question. Although an individual may not immediately understand the reasons for the Rebbe's judgment or even the ultimate purpose of his decision, Lubavitchers believe that the Rebbe's decision has their best interests at heart. The Rebbe is regarded as a totally altruistic person with a capacity to understand situations and psychological motivations far superior to their own. Lubavitchers believe that everything he says or does will ultimately prove to be good.

The Lubavitch group is currently spread throughout the world. The number of followers grows each year. It has become most difficult for the Rebbe to deal with the problems of his followers in personal interviews for two reasons. First, because distances are so great that many people are not able to come to Crown Heights to see him. Second, because the number of Lubavitchers seeking counsel with him is greater than one man could possibly handle. In an effort to meet these difficulties, Lubavitch has developed a variation of Yichidus, in the form of letter writing rather than personal visitation. At present, the Rebbe communicates with many more people through letters than through

personal visits. All letters are read by the Rebbe and replies are personally dictated. If a letter comes from a distant place it is answered by mail. If a letter is received from a Crown Heights Lubavitcher it is frequently answered by telephone. Inquiries that are made via the mail are of the same nature as personal visits except that the problems discussed are usually simpler to understand, or the problem lacks the intense emotional involvement of the writer. Those who write to the Rebbe not only seek advice to solve a problem, but may also seek the Rebbe's blessing for either an occasion or a problem. Letters of this sort are far more numerous from Crown Heights Lubavitchers in categories, I, II, and III thereby allowing more time for personal visits from Lubavitchers who live in distant places and who may not see the Rebbe for long periods of time. It also permits visits from category IV Lubavitchers in New York who need more personal encouragement in developing their Torah Judaism.

Lubavitchers in all categories write to the Rebbe asking for his personal blessings on special occasions such as birthdays, marriage, or birth of a child. In reply to these requests the Rebbe sends his letter of special blessing. Included in every Lubavitch wedding approved by the Rebbe, is a reading of the letter of blessings from him.

Many of the "special occasion" letters of blessing are sent as a standard form letter, personally signed by the Rebbe. This practice has developed in response to the increasing load of correspondence that the Rebbe must answer. However, there was never any indication that an individual felt slighted or offended because the letter was a form letter. In our bureaucratic system form letters are regarded as impersonalized

and computerized. Lubavitchers however, feel sufficient other personal contact with the Rebbe so that they are not offended when they receive a form letter of blessing. Instead, they are very proud to have a communication from the Rebbe, and would not miss an opportunity or occasion to receive such a letter.

A large number of letters deal with personal matters. As one moves from category I to category IV the number of letters about personal affairs decreases. Many category I and II Lubavitchers will not make any major decisions before consulting with the Rebbe and getting his approval. One of my informants wanted to sign a contract to buy a house in Crown Heights. Before the sale could be finalized, the wife, on the instructions of her husband contacted the Rebbe for his approval. The husband insisted that the question to the Rebbe be phrased in a particular way. She was instructed to ask whether this particualr house would be "mazeldik" (lucky). Only after the Rebbe replied affirmatively was the contract signed. Members of category III consult the Rebbe less frequently because they feel free to make some major decisions without ascertaining his opinion. Members of category IV consult the Rebbe primarily in situations of personal crisis, or, situations involving moral, ethical or psychological judgments.

The frequency with which Lubavitchers seek the Rebbe's consent and advice is best illustrated by the sequence of letters when two people entertain the possibility of marriage. When an individual meets another whom he feels would be a potential spouse, a letter is sent by the male and female indicating the name of the proposed mate and asking the Rebbe's approval to consider marriage. (In some cases letters

are sent even prior to a meeting, asking "Should I marry now?") If the Rebbe replies affirmatively, and if a few future meetings of the couple results in the possibility of engagement, a letter is sent to the Rebbe prior to the engagement announcement asking for his blessings and approval. The engagement is formally announced when the Rebbe approves, then, a wedding date is set. Just prior to the wedding the couple send a letter asking for the Rebbe's blessings for the marriage. The reply to this request is a standard form letter which is read at the wedding ceremony.

Many Lubavitchers, on an individual basis, send many more letters to the Rebbe. Some inquire about where to live, others ask where to work. The following list is a collection of topics, gathered through interview data, of the most frequent requests made of the Rebbe:

1. which school to send children to
2. blessing and approval for purchase of a home
3. approval of a particular job offer
4. advice about what kind of job to seek
5. advice about how many children to have
6. asking whether or not to move.
7. asking whether or not to do a home renovation
8. asking whether to seek a secular education
9. asking which school to attend
10. asking for assistance in child rearing problems
11. asking for help in financial problems
12. asking assistance in medical problems

Many category III and most category IV Lubavitchers make some if

not all of these decisions on their own. They choose a strategy and pursue it without consulting the Rebbe. Category I and II Lubavitchers, in that order, are less apt to make any strategic decisions without prior consultation with the Rebbe. The Rebbe can thus exert particularly strong control over the behavior and life styles of a large number of Lubavitch families.

Because Lubavitchers believe that the Rebbe makes no errors in judgment, his status and sanctified authority are reconfirmed each and every time a Lubavitcher seeks and follows his advice. Lubavitchers argue that, at times, the benefits of the Rebbe's decisions are not immediately evident, but that in the long run, his ultimate wisdom will be revealed. This general attitude creates an explanation of behavior very much like a self-fulfilling prophecy. At the same time, since no one is ever forced to consult the Rebbe, there is much leeway for individual decision making and much community tolerance of a broad range of behavioral patterns.

The Rebbe's sanctified position of unquestioned rightousness is pervasive. In the words of one Lubavitcher: (when asked if the Rebbe understood each person as an individual) "They say, what is a Rebbe? Every person has soul. The Rebbe has a little bit of everyone's soul in him. Therefore, when you go into the Rebbe, he lifts himself out of his chair slightly. You say why? Because the person that went out, the Rebbe is letting that person go out from him and he's taking your being into him. So when he sees you, he doesn't see a girl with a shaytl (wig) and a brown skirt, the Rebbe sees you as a N'shamah (soul) who has something to fulfill. He sees you on a spiritual level, not on a

material level."

Every individual has direct and quick access to the Rebbe. Sometimes a letter may go unanswered for a few weeks. In such cases an individual does not know if his letter has been lost or ignored or awaiting reply. He may call "770" and ask if the Rebbe has seen the letter. This procedure is followed because on some occasions, the Rebbe chooses not to answer a letter. Such action is considered, in and of itself, a reply. To a Lubavitcher, no answer is also an answer, and it remains for the individual to do what he thinks the Rebbe would have wanted him to do.

Unlike many charismatic movements that disband following the demise of the leader, Lubavitch has successfully institutionalized the position of leader. Each successive Lubavitcher Rebbe chosen by the elders of the community (category I Lubavitchers) has successfully carried out the personalized one to one relationship that reinforces institutionalized charisma. In addition, each Rebbe maximizes his personal talents and gains additional prominence for specific skills that he possesses. The present Lubavitcher Rebbe is known among Lubavitchers for his organizational abilities, and, under his leadership Lubavitch has grown in numbers throughout the world.

In this period of expansion the Rebbe must coordinate and direct Lubavitch affairs in distant and diverse places as well as in Crown Heights. He must also provide contact with individual Lubavitchers on a personal basis. The institutionalized structure of authority reflects an organizational system in which administrative and coordinative functions are carried out by agencies created by the Rebbe. Specific individuals are

selected by the Rebbe to take charge of each administrative agency. These officials, who serve at the pleasure of the Rebbe, need not have specific technical skills to receive an appointment. They need only demonstrate a sincere devotion to Lubavitch ideals and a general ability to handle positions of responsibility. Some individuals hold positions for a lifetime; others for no more than one or two years. There are no rules that enable a man to "move upward." Moreoever the concept of heirarchy is missing from the Lubavitch structure.

At first glance the Luabvitch system appears to be a bureaucratically organized system. Areas of responsibility are specifically determined in a rational manner. Each position carries with it the responsibility of substantive area of coordination or administration of Lubavitch programs throughout the world. But if we compare the Lubavitch system to the description of bureaucracy outlined by Weber (1947:333-341) many differences appear. Lubavitch administrators are subject to authoritative controls that far exceed the boundaries of their official obligations. There is no heirarchy of offices. Although the incumbent may regard his office as his career, there are no promotions built into the system.

But the most significant difference between a bureaucracy and the Lubavitch system is that bureaucracy, in the Weberian sense, implies distribution of power throughout the positions of the bureaucracy. (See Weber 1960:418-425). In the Weberian view, bureaucracy means differential allocation of power to positions throughout the structure. It is this crucial aspect of bureaucracy that is missing from the Lubavitch system. No Lubavitch administrator is free to set policy, but may only act on decisions made by the Rebbe. If a problem arises, he must consult the

Rebbe before he acts. It is my contention that the most significant aspect of modern bureaucracy is the ability of bureaucrats to enforce decisions on the basis of limited power allocated to them. In Lubavitch, the allocation of power from the Rebbe, to other officials, is totally absent. No one but the Rebbe can make authoritative decisions. Each person is free to appeal his case directly to the Rebbe. The Rebbe is in constant touch with all aspects of decision making. Instead of a hierarchical system in which the leader at the apex becomes more awesome because of his distance from his constituency, the Lubavith structure allows a rational administrative system to function effectively while concentrating all power in a charismatic leader.

The Rebbe has a staff of seven secretaries. They work at "770" and each is responsible for one area of administration. Although a few secretaries have specific functions, the remainder work in areas of overlapping responsibility. All of the secretaries are males, prominent Lubavitchers, and members of categories I or II. One secretary stands out above the others. He is the Rebbe's personal secretary, schedules the Rebbe's appointments, and has easiest access to the Rebbe. Another is responsible for the Rebbe's personal correspondence, opens all mail and sees to it that the Rebbe sees all letters. Two secretaries work with correspondence, one for Yiddish correspondence and another for English letters. These seven men keep the Rebbe informed of all important events and situations in Lubavitch communities throughout the world, as well as in the larger Jewish community.

In a heirarchical system, these positions would be equivalent to cabinet status. However, Lubavitch secretaries like other administrators

have little decision making power of their own. They can neither screen the Rebbe's mail, nor intervene between the Rebbe and his followers. The most power is vested in the appointments secretary who may refuse to make an appointment for an individual to see the Rebbe. In such cases, individuals can request appointments by letter with assurance that the Rebbe will see the letter. The Rebbe reads his mail, indicates the general nature of the reply, and gives it to a secretary to compose a letter or to telephone a reply. Form letters of blessing are handled by the administrative staff with the Rebbe's approval. Secretaries also receive telephone calls from Lubavitch administrators throughout the world, seeking the Rebbe's opinion, decision, or advice. A secretary acts only as a vehicle, transferring the information to the Rebbe and communicating his decision to the caller. The extent to which the Rebbe relies on advice from his secretaries to help him in decision making is completely unknown. It is likely that he turns to them more frequently for advice regarding organizational decisions rather than those involving personal problems.

In an effort to coordinate Lubavitch activities, the following groups operate with the guidance and direction of the Rebbe:

1. Merkos Kehot Publications - the publications arm of Lubavitch. This group is responsible for all popular publishing for the orthodox and general Jewish community. Their works include books, records, pamphlets, etc. about Judaism and particularly about Lubavitch.
2. Otzar Hassidim - the Lubavitch Yiddish publication group. They publish Yiddish materials primarily for Lubavitchers. They not only publish translations of Hassidic writings, but also print copies of the Rebbe's

talks. Both publications groups are charged by the Rebbe with the responsibility of providing literature for Lubavitchers and for the general Jewish public in an effort to familiarize them with Hassidism and Torah Judaism.

3. Tziray Agudas Chabad, known as Tzach is the Lubavitcher Youth organization. In most cases, its membership is restricted to men who have completed their formal Yeshivah training and are married. There are at least three people who work for Tzach as full time employment. Others volunteer their time and take on short term assignments. Their work includes bringing young boys and girls to Crown Heights to spend holidays and Sabbaths, and participate in Lubavitch life. They sponsor encounter programs of all kinds to attract non-observant Jews to Lubavitch. Tzach also brings students into the Lubavitch Yeshivah, and arranges for housing and employment for these students. Better known is a program that sends Lubavitch men and college age Yeshivah students to different college campuses as lecturers and speakers to attract followers and converts. This program has been so successful that some regional Tzach offices and programs have been instituted. The Tzach program takes its direction from the Rebbe, who needn't approve every decision, but who is consulted on all new or innovative programs. Tzach is supported by funds allocated by the Rebbe from the general Lubavitch treasury of monies collected through donations.

4. Machne Yisroel - is closely related to Tzach and does much the same kind of work. It may be differentiated from Tzach in that this organization owns a large house in Crown Heights that is used as a dorm for out of town students and housing for visitors. In addition, Machne

Yisroel is more involved in fund raising activities than is Tzach. It is a self supporting organization.

5. Shebro - is a corporation organized by prominent Lubavitch men, at the Rebbe's request, in an effort to keep Lubavitchers in the Crown Heights community. When a house in Crown Heights is put up for sale Shebro will try to buy it, and then resell it to a Lubavitch family. Shebro is prepared to pay highest market prices for such homes and resell it under more lenient financial arrangements. [9] Shebro has also been active and successful in obtaining government subsidies on mortgages in situations where individual families would not be capable of getting adequate financing. At one Shabbos farbrengen, when his talk was not recorded, the Rebbe indicated that Shebro had become lax in its activities. This led to a flurry of activity and a renewed interest in the work of Shebro. The Rebbe does not give specific orders; he merely indicates the direction and intensity of activity. His followers, in their effort to bring the Rebbe "nachas ruach" [10] (spirit of pride) carry out his wishes.

6.N'shay Chabad (women) and Anash Chabad (men) - are voluntary organizations. Lubavitchers in any category may become members. These sexually separate voluntary organizations function within Lubavitch to promote Lubavitch ideals and to provide an arena for social activity within the community. Each organization has branches in major cities throughout the United States. They hold regular meetings that combine "business affairs" with social programs.

7. Crown Heights Jewish Community Council - is another group created at the Rebbe's request. This organization is another facet of the Rebbe's effort to maintain Crown Heights as a viable Jewish and Lubavitch community. The present Director of the CHJCC formally held a most responsible

position in industry. He left this job at the request of the Rebbe to assume leadership of CHJCC. This group has three major purposes:

a. Housing - they assist in finding housing for Lubavitch and non-Lubavitch families in Crown Heights. They are more apt to help a non-Lubavitch family than a Lubavitch one because of a belief that the latter family will not leave Crown Heights as quickly as the former if good housing is not available.

b. Manpower - CHJCC attempts to place Lubavitchers in jobs. They frequently act as a referral agency, sending clients to appropriate sources for employment.

c. Economic development- The Rebbe has charged CHJCC with the responsibility of instituting programs that will protect local business enterprises and increase opportunities to start new businesses. Because the crime rate in Crown Heights is high, anything that CHJCC can do to improve the safety and desirability of the neighborhood is regarded as an asset to the community.

8. Fund Raisers - Lubavitch employs a group of full time fund raisers who travelextensively throughout the world seeking financial aid for Lubavitch. Pleas for financial assistance are always made within the context of "doing a good deed for yourself and for Judaism." Many Lubavitch men are long time fund raisers who, over the years, have made friendhsips with people willing to make large donations to Lubavitch. Many of these contributors do not profess allegiance to Lubavitch ideals or to the Rebbe but make large contributions to "Jewish" causes.

Each city having a Lubavitch community -- especially those with a sufficient Jewish population to have a Lubavitcher Yeshivah -- there is

one Lubavitcher who holds the informal title of "the one in charge." Men occupying such positions may be found in New Haven, Cleveland, London, Montreal and other cities. Their formal title is usually that of director or principal of the Yeshivah. In this position each man administers the school program. But in addition, "the one in charge," is responsible for fund raising activities in his city and educational programs designed to reach the larger Jewish community of that city. For example, a Lubavitch community might decide to institute a series of classes for young married couples in order to teach them about Jewish ritual. They may plan an encounter group weekend for college students [11] or a program to distribute Matzoh or wine during Passover. [12] The Rabbi in charge is responsible for any of these local programs. If a program is new and has not been utilized in other cities, local Lubavitchers will contact the Rebbe for his approval. The Lubavitcher Rabbis who are local leaders in their cities and, Lubavitcher Rabbis who occupy pulpits in New York often achieve very high status and recognition in the larger Jewish community of their city. Many Jews think of them as selfless workers for traditional Judaism.

As local representatives of the larger Lubavitch organization, the roles of these Rabbis are purely administrative and have little, if any, policy making power attached to them. Never would an individual Lubavitcher consider the possibility of seeking advice from a local leader in matters that are normally reserved for the Rebbe. Certainly, the local leader, as a Rabbi, does offer blessings. But a Lubavitcher regards this as an addition to, rather than a substitute for, blessings from the Rebbe. The personal relationship and deep feeling between an individual Lubavitcher and the Rebbe remains the overriding consideration. Moreover, a local

leader would never deem himself capable of advising in a matter where the Rebbe's opinion is usually sought.

Although the function of local leaders is primarily administrative, this does not detract from their high status positions within the Lubavitch group. The activities of Lubavitch throughout the world are coordinated at "770," but implemented on a regional level by the local leader. Any policy decisions made centrally, will be communicated to Lubavitchers through the local leaders. The status of the local Lubavitch leader derives from the fact that, in his position, he has the trust and confidence of the Rebbe. The local leader's direct link to "770," albeit administrative, is sufficient evidence of his dedication to Lubavitch. Thus, among Lubavitchers, his status in the community is raised by virtue of this link. The larger Jewish community of his city recognizes him as a ritual and religious expert, a Rabbi. The status and respect accruing to him as religious leader may be reinforced both within the Lubavitch community and to the larger Jewish community by his humanitarian deeds and record of social service to his city.

It is interesting to note that a Rabbinical degree confers status in and of itself within a Jewish community, but among Lubavitchers, where most of the adult men are ordained Rabbis, high status is not accorded simply on the basis of the degree. High status in the Lubavitch community is accorded those Rabbis who have attained special distinction for their knowledge of Jewish law and ritual. Such men constitute a separate category of individuals with authority over ritual and are called by the title "Rov." Each Lubavitch family is informally attached to a particular Rov in order to solve problems and get opinions on questions of interpretation of Jewish law. Any ordained Rabbi is capable

of answering questions about the interpretation of laws of Kashruth,[13] or most questions of observance. The questions brought to the Rov do not so much depend on a knowledge of law as they do upon interpretation of the law gained through his experience and scholarship. When, for example, a woman is counting 7 clean days in order to purify herself in the ritual bath, she may notice during one of her periodic vaginal examinations that a stain appears. In this case, she is likely to consult her Rov, show him the stain and ask him whether it is the kind of stain that demands her to begin her count of 7 clean days over again. Only a Rov is capable of making such decisions. Similarly, if a woman is fitted with a permanent birth control device, she needs permission from the Rov to go to Mikvah because a birth control device may be regarded as a foreign object in her body and this will preclude her from attending Mikvah. Alternatively, the Rov may say that it is a "permanent" part of her body, like a dental filling, and therefore she may attend Mikvah. A Rov will also perform marriage ceremonies, officiate at funeral rights and conduct all ceremonial affairs in accordance with traditional Jewish ritual belief. Because the issues brought to the Rov reflect questions of interpretation, and because the answers to specific questions differ among different Rovim (plural), families are encouraged to select a Rov and maintain allegiance to him regardless of his opinions in ritual matters. Usually the Rov selected by a newly married couple has served as the Rov for one of the families.

Perhaps the most significant point for our discussion of power and charismatic authority is the fact that the Rebbe is rarely consulted in questions of individual observances or interpretation or ritual. A man

need not be a Rov to be considered for the office of Rebbe. Although he is regarded as the personification of the "good Jew" and held in highest esteem as the most knowledgable Lubavitcher and the keeper of traditional Judaism, he does not offer opinions in questions of individual practices. Rather, these questions are totally the responsibility of the Rov. There are no definitive policies on ritual interpretation and each Rov is free to make his own decisions. The individual who consults a Rov is morally bound to follow the Rov's judgment. It is considered improper for an individual to shop around for a Rov who will make a decision beneficial to that person.

The power of the Rebbe in ritual matters rests with issues that concern the general Crown Heights and worldwide Lubavitch group. His power is, therefore, far more political than religious or ritual oriented. He is consulted on ritual interpretations only when it concerns the politics of Lubavitch in general. One of the major problems facing the Crown Heights community is the high crime rate and feelings of insecurity on the streets. Jewish law states that on the Sabbath and certain holidays, one is not permitted to carry packages, push baby carriages or do work of any kind outside of the home. Because of this rule, street activity in Crown Heights on the Sabbath and holidays is minimal. Most people stay at home. Lubavitchers reason that if the concept of "home" could be expanded to include all of Crown Heights, then more activity would be possible in the community and, with more people on the streets, residents would feel safer. Therefore, Lubavitch has developed an idea that would alter the definition of "home" to include all of the geographic area of Crown Heights, and still remain within the limits of

Jewish law. The suggestion has been made to string a wire around the borders of Crown Heights. This would bring all of Crown Heights into the concept of "home" according to Jewish law and would permit more street activity. In order to do this, the Rebbe's opinion on ritual interpretation was necessary since it affected a large portion of the Lubavitch population. The issue is now under consideration and, if approved, will lead to discussions with the telephone company about the feasibility of running a wire with an alarm system to inform residents if the wire is ever severed. If enacted, Lubavitchers believe that the broad effects will be to encourage people to remain in Crown Heights rather than move elsewhere.

This is one example of how the Rebbe's power is activated in political matters. There will be no further action on this proposal until the Rebbe gives his approval. But why, we may ask, does the Rebbe not get involved in personal, individual questions of interpretations of Jewish law? Although he counsels and assists Lubavitchers in the most mundane problems of life, he does not, to my knowledge, offer advice in ritual areas that are the province of the Rov.

I suggest that the distinction of personal ritual matters and group political policy functions to mitigate against any factional disputes that might arise to create deep or permanent schisms within the group. The decisions of the Rov can never be used to align support for a faction because each decision is specific for a given individual. A person with a similar problem, might emerge from a meeting with the Rov to find that the opinion given was decidedly different from an opinion given to another. The Rov has no authority to make any decision that will effect anyone other than the person who consulted him. A Rov will never make statements

about religious practices and observance within the Lubavitch community, unless so directed by the Rebbe. In short, the Rov does not have the opportunity to act on issues that effect the community, or publicize his views about questions of ritual that are of concern to all.

These questions are the province of the Rebbe. His decisions are never subjected to question or doubt as there are no other potential leaders of his caliber to recruit support for an alternate or dissimilar position. At the same time, there are few mechanisms of enforcement other than gossip. When the Rebbe felt that Lubavitch women were wearing their skirts shorter than he deemed appropriately modest, he took the opportunity, at a farbrengen, to indicate his displeasure and to suggest that Jewish rules of modest behavior suggest a longer skirt length. In the final analysis, skirt length still remains an individual decision, subject only to group ostracism. The Rebbe's personal charismatic appeal is reinforced by a system in which it is impossible to question his opinions but where an individual may decide that his behavior is acceptable because the Rebbe was not speaking to or about him. In addition, charisma is maintained by the Rebbe's personal aid and assistance to specific individuals when they choose to consult him.

Another category of Lubavitchers who deserve recognition as having limited ritual authority, are Rabbis. As Roosevelt sought "a chicken in every pot," so Lubavitchers strive for a Jewish ideal of a "Rabbi in every home." Many Lubavitch homes do indeed contain a least one Rabbi. A Rabbi offers judgments about ritual that are clearly specified in Jewish holy books. Among the questions that a Rabbi entertains are questions of Kashruth. For example, how to kosher a pot that has become non-kosher, or how to clean a water spigot for Passover use, or how long to boil

unkoshered silverware to make it acceptable for use. The general rule is if the answer is clearly delineated in Jewish law, a Rabbi is authorized to answer the question. Most Lubavitch homes are capable of strict adherence to Jewish law because of the presence of a Rabbi. Another consequence of having a Rabbi in every home is that woman's position as a decision maker is constantly undermined and a patriarchy is reasserted. A woman does not study Torah or its commentaries in the same manner or depth as a man. Therefore she is forced to consult an adult male to answer all questions of ritual interpretation, even questions about domestic issues and personal hygiene.

The prestige system and interrelated power system that emerges is one based on two sets of related variables. First, the ethnic status, of category, and second, a male index of authority. There is no question that in order to attain position on the basis of the second set of variables, one must first possess adequate prerequisites from the first set of variables. This means that one must be a category I or II Lubavitcher, and have married "properly." Although ritual and political authority are judged on separate scales, high status goes to those people (men) who can combine both. Ritual positions tend to accrue greater status than secular administrative authority. I have evidence from Lubavitchers, gleaned from personal interviews, indicating that administrative positions yield high status. But that person will be separately judged and rated in terms of his qualities as a good Jew, one who follows the ritual, and displays humane qualities as a person. I have come across at least two men, both of whom have positions as local leaders and are accorded high status because of that position, who are regarded as low

status in terms of their qualities as "good people." Ultimately, the specific characteristics used by Lubavitchers to measure status within the community is based upon a combination of traits possessed by the Rebbe: family and ethnic background, ritual status, administrative status, and individual personal factors that denote the humanitarianism that Lubavitch stands for.

The Rebbe combines all of these qualities and is held as a role model for all Lubavitchers. His qualities are beyond question, thus serving a goal setting function. Because of his position, Lubavitchers extend to him a very large credit rating that he can use against the returns that he builds for his followers. Much of his secular political activity takes on the typical picture of a self-fulfilling prophecy because his credit rating is so large. The effects of his decisions are evaluated only after the "good" can be seen. If there are no visible short term benefits, his followers will continue his policies under the guise of "we cannot see the benefits that the Rebbe knows about." Eventually, some positive results can be garnered from any situation, thereby reinforcing his positions regardless of its spiritual, material or personal effects. Our task, Hassidim say, is to find the good in all situations. If the Rebbe sees it, we too can eventually find it.

In an effort to help find the "good," and to pursue the "good and proper life," every Lubavitch home contains at least one photograph or painting of the Rebbe. In all of the homes that I visited, there was a picture of the Rebbe in every room except the bedroom and bathroom. [14] Often, there was a large oil painting of the Rebbe hanging in the living room. His photographs and portraits are seen as inspirational and remind

people of the dual purpose of the Rebbe: to provide Lubavitchers with a role model, and to offer constant blessings in their daily lives.

Notes

1. The term Yiddishkeit means Jewish way of life. In common usage it refers to a multitude of cultural forms associated with Judaism.

2. Especially office charisma as defined by Shils (1965) and Etzioni (1961), in which they argue that greater charisma is attached to those offices and positions that have the least contact with the masses.

3. The term "farbrengen" is a Yiddish word that refers to an informal gathering of Hassidim, usually with their Rebbe.

4. The term Yichidus is a Hebrew term from a root word meaning "together." It specifically refers to individual interviews with the Rebbe.

5. In Hassidic parlance, the Rebbe "gives Torah." It means that he speaks on some aspect of interpretation or commentary on the Bible. At these discourses, a Hassid learns Judaism from his Rebbe. But it is not unusual for Hassidim to appear asleep while the Rebbe is "giving Torah."

6. Some non-Lubavitch Hassidim, especially those from Williamsburg section of Brooklyn are visible by their distinctive style of dress. Men frequently wear knickers, or large fur hats. One Lubavitch woman told me that I could always recognize a Satmar woman because she wears stockings with seams.

7. Similar to the term "giving Torah," the expression "given over by the Rebbe" refers to any lectures, advice, interpretation or discourse that is "given over" from the Rebbe to his Hassidim.

8. One informant a Black Lubavitcher Hassid informed me that he had accepted a job in an organization representing Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism. Lubavitch is actively opposed to Reform Judaism and the Rebbe was rather displeased at my informant's decision. Although he experienced some group ostracism, my informant weathered the storm and within a few weeks, the entire episode had been forgotten.

9. Most Lubavitch families are able to arrange mortgages with local banks. However, when the banks turn down a mortgage application, Shebro is prepared to offer financing or to guarantee the mortgage.

10. Though literally translated as the spirit of pride, the Hebrew expression has a far greater meaning. It is the task of a Lubavitcher to actively seek to bring the Rebbe a feeling of pride. His pride is their pride. Appeals are made to Lubavitchers on the basis that "it will bring Nachas Ruach to the Rebbe."

11. Lubavitch has recently instituted a widespread program of college campus programs which they call encounter weekends. Programs are run separately for males and females and these programs aim at familiarizing Jews with Lubavitch in a setting where any and all questions can be explored and answered.

12. Lubavitchers will only eat "Shmirer Matzoh" which is Matzoh baked under the most stringent conditions of Kashruth. During Passover many Lubavitchers distribute Kosher wine and Shmirer Matzoh to other Jews. In return they frequently get contributions to Lubavitch.

13. The laws of Kashruth are a codified group of rules outlining food restrictions and limitations for observant Jews. These laws also detail procedures to be followed in the kitchen with respect to cooking, care of pots and dishes and silverware, and permissable food combinations. They are commonly called Jewish dietary laws.

14. Pictures of the Rebbe are not placed in the bedroom or the bathroom because these rooms are associated with physical, bodily functions and are considered too "lowly" to be associated with the Rebbe. Women argue about whether to place the Rebbe's picture over a baby's crib. Some say that it is a good idea since it creates a blessing for the newborn baby. Others suggest that the picture of the Rebbe is much too close to dirty diapers and therefore should not be placed near a crib.

CHAPTER 5

THE SYSTEM AT WORK

In an ongoing social system or sub-system, a concern for economic benefits to members is no less important than their ideological commitment to that system. Control, utilization and distribution of resources is a central concern of any leader because it directly affects power relationships. Some theorists argue that economic concern is a more significant variable than ideology in that access to resources is judged to be a determining influence on an individuals life strategy and serves to shape his ideological committments. When Max Weber considered economic and material pursuits in connection with charisma, he concluded that personal charismatic domination is antithetical to economic or mundane considerations. Weber argued that if a charismatic leader attempts to establish control over the distribution of resources, the legitimizing power principle will change from charisma to some other type. [1] He concluded that a movement based on personal charisma cannot be institutionalized in that form.

I agree with Weber's argument when the unit of analysis is a whole society. All societies must have rules to enforce decisions made by power holders and hence cannot rely on a non-coercive charismatic power base. But if the unit of study is a sub-society, or part-society (i.e. ethnic group), then it is possible for a charismatic leader to control some of the resources of the larger society and act as an agent of redistribution of those resources among his followers. In its early stages, charismatic domination rests on ideological grounds alone and retention of members is wholly dependent on the leader's personal magnetism. In

such cases, a follower may experience the "pulls" into the larger society to acquire material benefits that the charismatic leader may not be able to provide. An individual is then more apt to relinquish some of the social and cultural behavioral traits that mark him as a member of the charismatic group as he pursues a material strategy in the larger society.

Unlike the power base in a society where rules must be enforced, charismatic domination of a sub-societal group rests on voluntary non-coercive means. Because of the existence of a larger encapsulating group, there is always the possibility that an individual may sever his affiliation to the charismatic leader and opt for a strategy in the larger group. Therefore, an institutionalized charismatic leader must not only provide an ideological base and special personal qualities for initial recruitment of members, but must maintain that allegiance through his ability to successfully influence the economic strategies of his followers in a wholly non-coercive way.

Charismatic leaders in non-urban situations frequently fail in their quest to institutionalize a power base for two reasons. First, resources and economic alternatives in the encapsulating group may be limited by ecological factors and the charismatic leader may not be able to control even a portion of such limited resources. Second, the value orientation of the encapsulating group may reject the ideology of the charismatic group and stifle all attempts of the leader to extend his power to material concerns.

Similarly, many charismatic leaders in urban situations cannot sustain a long term following because they cannot control, create or re-distribute resources and extend benefits to members. The ability of the

charismatic leader of a sub-societal group to manipulate resources depends upon the willingness of the larger encapsulating society to tolerate the oftimes differing customs and mores of the charismatic group. In addition, the charismatic group must be organized so as to provide some points of articulation with the larger society in order to validate its claim on resources. These include participation in the economic system and the possibility of political rewards in that larger system. If a charismatic movement develops in which the organizational system, goals, and the leaders access to resources are such that the leader can exert non-coercive control over the followers, then a personal charismatic movement may grow into a sub-societal group with an institutionalized power base of charisma.

It is the intent of this chapter to demonstrate how the Lubavitcher Rebbe creates, controls, and allocates resources for material benefits and how his followers resanctify his position with every decision he makes. I have already discussed the Rebbe's sanctified position and the Hassidic philosophy that provides the foundation for the charismatic bond between leader and follower. In this chapter I shall also discuss the ways in which the economic power of the Rebbe articulates with the goals of a larger encapsulating group. The Rebbe provides a range of successful economic strategies for his followers that keep them within the group. I suggest that the material power of the Rebbe is a natural outgrowth of a Lubavitch goal of increasing Judaic awareness among all Jews. Successful implementation of this goal and its translation into material rewards for Lubavitchers rests on acceptance of that goal by the larger Jewish community, and on the Rebbe's ability to manipulate some of the resources of

the larger community.

Lubavitch flourishes in an urban environment where the options are many, but in particular where there are more great logs that have not been lit (non-observant Jews) than there are logs afire(observant Jews). The range of acceptable strategies for a Lubavitcher includes economic pursuits in the larger Jewish community as well as the pursuit of occupations and professions that are an integral part of the national economy. These strategies are not only permitted, but encouraged. No matter which economic route one chooses, the only limiting factor is for a Lubavitcher to remain within the boundaries of ritual as defined by Jewish law. For those Lubavitchers who either cannot succeed independently in the national economy, or who choose to spend their lives teaching and promulgating the principles of Judaism, the Rebbe controls and creates a wide range of economic options that serve as successful life strategies for members.

Lubavitch is unique among Hassidic groups in that one major expressed goal is to convert Jews to traditional Judaism. Whereas other Hassidic groups prefer to worship among themselves and to avoid contacts with the surrounding society. Lubavitchers see themselves as having a mission among Jews. They are, in terms of our previous analogy, the wood splinters afire, whose job it is to light the great logs. Their ideological commitment to proselytizing is reactivated at every farbrengen when the Rebbe urges them to bring other Jews back to "tradition." Aside from their own ritual observance and the practice of "mitzvot," their commitment to other Jews is the philosophical feature around which political and economic activities are developed and coordinated. An individual's

conversionary activities not only provides tangible evidence of a personal commitment to Lubavitch, but has also become an important adaptive life strategy. Under the Rebbe's direction, these group goals and concomitant individual material benefits are successfully achieved.

Let us consider the political realm first because many economic benefits that accrue to Lubavitch depend on successfully organized political action. In political affairs, Lubavitchers act as a lobby group for specific goals set by their leader, the Rebbe.

The Rebbe has consistently reiterated his desire for his followers to remain in Crown Heights and to improve the community. Unlike other ethnic groups who may leave a slum or a deteriorating community when they are materially able to do so, most Lubavitchers are inclined to stay in Crown Heights regardless of their income level. [2] Political activity focuses on improving neighborhood safety, viability, and the expansion of government benefits for observant Jews in Crown Heights. Some years ago, Lubavitch formed a private patrol of the area. Under the leadership of a Lubavitcher, this group of volunteers attempted to reduce crime in the area. Moreover, they also served as a vocal lobby to improve regular police responsiveness to the community. So vociferous were the Jewish community's protests that the City not only strengthened the police force but offered the Lubavitch leader of the voluntary patrol a job in City government. He is currently serving as Director of the New York City Neighborhood Action Program. In this position he acts as the de facto liaison between New York City and the Lubavitch community in New York. His knowledge about city and state programs and their funding, and his position in the city bureaucracy, enables him to exert overt and covert

influence to channel many government programs into Crown Heights. The extent of Lubavitch activity in civic affairs and their strength as an organized politisized group will be demonstrated with a description of a few actual events.

Because Lubavitchers have taken a vocal and active interest in the stabilization and continuation of their community in Crown Heights, they must also assume responsibility for failures and lack of achievement. Here, as in other areas of life, Lubavitch not only seeks community improvements but attempts to improve relationships with white non-Lubavitchers in Crown Heights as an aspect of their **conversionary activities.**

Very recently,the Rebbe announced his disappointment about the "Shechunah" (neighborhood). Without elaboration, most Lubavitch residents of Crown Heights knew that he referred to lack of adequate housing and lack of Luabvitch interaction with non-Lubavitchers in the area. Since Lubavitch has taken upon itself the responsibility of preserving the neighborhood as a stronghold of Judaism, many non-Lubavitchers tend to blame Lubavitchers for projects that do not succeed, for ineffectiveness in dealing with city government, etc. The Lubavitch response to the Rebbe's request was a renewed committment and rededication to building a more solid base in Crown Heights. Many Lubavitchers are now making specific and special attempts to interact and socialize with their non-Lubavitch Jewish neighbors. For example, one Lubavitch man who could easily "daven" each morning at "770" chooses to go to a smaller non-Lubavitch shul in the neighborhood in the hopes of serving these purposes:

1. Increasing their minyan [3]

2. Showing Lubavitch interest for others in the community

3. Attempting to influence and convert other Jews to Lubavitch.

There is also the attempt to broaden the base of responsibility so that when a street light is broken, neighbors will not be so anxious to blame the Rebbe for not having it repaired. Lubavitchers hope, that in time, there will be a united effort to aid the community. [4]

Most residents of New York City are aware that in the last few years the City has opened a large number of Day Care Centers throughout the five boroughs. This program is designed to assist working mothers and fathers who must have adequate provisions for their children during their working hours. A City Day Care Center is run in the Crown Heights area, where, for the most part, the register of children is primarily from Black families. Lubavitchers and other orthodox Jews in Crown Heights cannot send their children to this center because the kitchens are not kosher and because most orthodox Jewish residents of Crown Heights prefer to have their children in an environment where they can learn some Judaism. This year, the City was persuaded to open a Day Care Center in Crown Heights that caters specifically to orthodox and Lubavitch residents. [5] The Director of the Center is a Lubavitcher; the kitchen is "kosher", and the children participate in a program with Jewish emphasis. The City indicated that a religious program was not permitted but that a "cultural" program is acceptable. The Lubavitch program of Jewish education has been deemed acceptable to the City. They have also agreed to employ teachers and aides hired with the approval of the Lubavitch Director.

The political strength of Lubavitch is evident in its ability to exert influence in political decisions and to act as a solid voting bloc.

Lubavitch offers any candidate acceptable to them, a strong and solid vote, determined less by the candidate's ethnic or religious affiliation than by his or her opinion on specific issues that affect the Lubavitch community. Lubavitchers are conservative in politics and somewhat frightened of liberal or left wing political associations. They feel that the New Left represents a loss of the ethical and moral values they strongly support.

In the 1972 Democratic State Senatorial Primary, 3 Black candidates sought to acquire the seat representing Crown Heights. The Lubavitch community was not heavily involved in this primary fight and did not particularly encourage a heavy vote. Waldaba Stewart the incumbent, was challenged by Vander Beatty and Simon Levine. The 41st A.D. representing the largest part of the Lubavitch area, gave Simon Levine a plurality of votes. Mr. Levine is a Crown Heights resident and a member of the Crown Heights Community Council, an inter-racial council that includes Lubavitch participation. The final primary returns (see figure 3) indicated that Simon Levine received a plurality only in the 41st A.D. and ran a poor third in the Senatorial District. It is also possible that some Jewish voters in the 41st A.D. mistook Levine to be a Jewish candidate because of his name, when in fact, he is not.

The final vote for Stewart and Beatty was very close. Because of a large number of proven voting irregularities, and a very close vote, a Special Primary was declared by the courts. The Special Primary was set for September 19th. Lubavitchers became actively involved when they learned that Mr. Stewart sponsored an anti-Israel resolution at a Black caucus meeting. Realizing that Simon Levine was no longer a viable

18th SENATORIAL DISTRICT

Primary - June 20

Primary - September 19

A.D.	Stewart S #	Stewart S %	Beatty B #	Beatty B %	Levine L #	Levine L %	Stewart S #	Stewart S %	Beatty B #	Beatty B %	Levine L #	Levine L %	% Of First Vote
41	223	31	227	32	261	37	89	15	470	82	16	3	81
43	26	51	19	37	6	12	12	57	8	38	1	5	41
53	1221	40	1342	44	483	16	776	45	886	51	65	4	57
54	427	47	315	35	169	18	107	35	181	59	17	6	33.5
55	859	52	497	30	293	18	545	65	252	30	38	5	51
56	626	35	889	50	257	15	317	47	340	50	20	3	38
TOTAL	3382	41.5	3289	40.4	1469	18.1	1846	44.6	2137	51.6	157	3.8	
TOTAL VOTE							8140						4140

Figure 3

MAP OF THE 41st ASSEMBLY DISTRICT, BROOKLYN,N.Y.

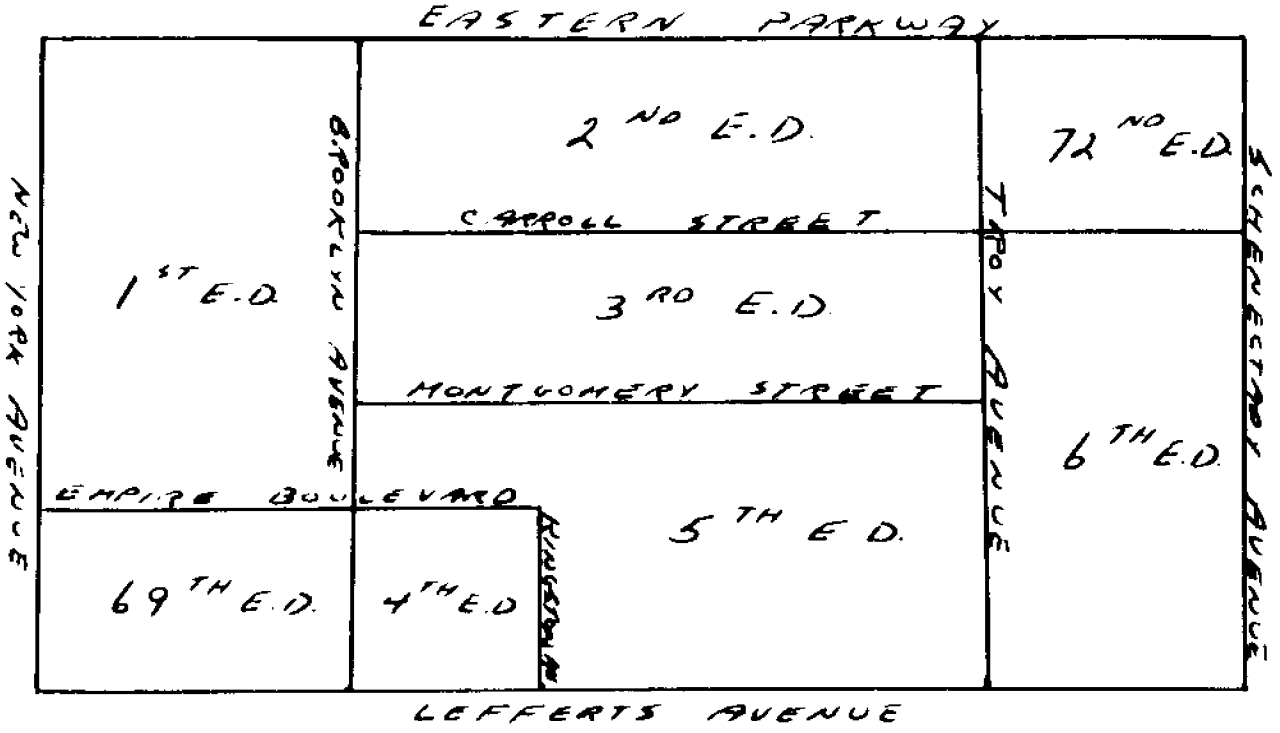


Figure 4

candidate, the Lubavitch community threw its active support to Vander Beatty. Mr. Stewart claimed that a deal had been made between leaders of the Hassidic community and Mr. Beatty, but no evidence has been presented to substantiate this assertion.

The 41st A.D. is unique in that the percent of the voter turnout for the Special Primary was unusually large. More than 80% of the total vote in the original primary turned out for the Special Primary. A comparison of the figures in figure 3 for the first and second primaries indicate that throughout the Senatorial District the vote in the Special Primary was significantly lower than in the 41st A.D. In the 41st A.D. the plurality for Mr. Simon Levine shifted to Mr. Vander Beatty who went on to win the primary. The New York Times (October 8, 1972) attributed Mr. Beatty's victory to the heavy Lubavitch vote in the Special Primary voting solidly for Mr. Beatty. Mr. Beatty's margin of victory was larger than Mr. Stewart's plurality in the first primary. A victory in the Democratic Primary is tantamount to election. Vander Beatty went on to win the State Senatorial seat in the November election.

Lubavitchers organize politcally for those local elections that specifically concern them. For many years they have supported Stanley Steingut as Democratic Assemblyman from their district. I personally witnessed a meeting of Lubavitch women during which, a politically active Lubavitch man addressed the meeting. He told them that they had a "job to do in the primary to nominate Stanley Steingut." Not one person ever questioned why Steingut deserved their support. Stanley Steingut has always been regarded as a friend of Lubavitch and they offer him support in all of his electoral contests.

Political activity is not regarded by Lubavitchers as an end in

itself. They do not seek power for themselves in the larger society. Rather, Lubavitchers act in support of those candidates both Jewish and non-Jewish who offer them a larger share in material benefits, government programs and are generally sympathetic to Lubavitch aims. Their strength as a political body is evidenced by the fact that most political candidates seeking Lubavith endorsement communicate with the Rebbe. [6] Steven Solarz, a candidate in the Democratic Primary for Borough President from Brooklyn recently remarked that the only person in Brooklyn that can really be counted on to deliver votes for a candidate is the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

In this fashion, political activity is used by Lubavitch leaders as a strategic maneuver to attain a strong bargaining position in their quest for improved material conditions for indivduals and community. A variant of this same strategy guides Lubavitch economic success. Their policy is one of selective merging of certain Lubavitch institutions with those of the larger society, and utilizing the points of merger for Lubavitch material opportunities. The strategy used by Lubavitch is not unique but rather, is one that has received little attention from anthropologists studying ethnic populations. [7] The Lubavitch strategy dating back to Europe before migration, involves interaction and participation in the larger society in both economic and political realms. Very few Lubavitchers attain material wealth, or even subsistence, from the Lubavitch community itself. [8] Within the limits of Torah Judaism that provides much of their cultural distinctiveness, Lubavitchers also participate in the social life of the communities in which they live. Their ethnic identification and promulgation of Torah Judaism provide a set of conditions which differentiates Lubavitchers from other non-observant Jews and creates a successful material strategy for many that is dependent

on a large population of Jews who do not adhere to, or believe in, a Torah way of life.

I shall try to demonstrate that although Lubavitchers encourage all Jews to lead good Torah lives, Lubavitch material success depends on the maintenance of a population that chooses not to adhere to Torah Judaism. Firstly, I shall argue that Lubavitch represents a fringe membership of a larger Jewish ethnic group upon whom they thrive, yet whom they seek to convert. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate another related and important strategy that permits affiliation with Lubavitch for those who elect to seek material benefits totally from the larger non-Jewish, or American economy. Thirdly, I suggest that these two broad based strategies operate under the same umbrella, and are accepted and encouraged by, but most significantly directed by, the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

The Lubavitch ideals emphasize not only observant Judaism for all Jews, but also encourage Torah study for males. Most category I and II Lubavitchers are educated in the Lubavitch Yeshivah system. At some point during their early twenties, young men have completed their schooling and are ordained as Rabbis. At this time they are also married, and spend the first year of their married life "learning," while they are supported by their wives. After one year, Lubavitch men are ready to enter a "job market" and must plan and provide for their future material lives. In an urban context, their skills,secular education and hence job opportunities, are extremely limited.

Among those Hassidic groups who seek to practice their orthodoxy in a self contained environment and who seek to be left alone, the lack of job opportunities is critical. Many are poverty stricken, on welfare,

and are a distinct liability to the City. This is not the case among Lubavitchers because the Lubavitch ideal of proselytization encourages and permits them to accept employment in the larger Jewish world where conversionary opportunities are constantly present. Lubavitch men and women accept employment in a variety of fields related to the practice and belief in orthodox Judaism. The general occupational range in this area includes: Rabbi (in synagogue that is non-Lubavitch), Cantor, Yeshivah teachers, Talmud Torah teachers, Mashigiach, Mohel, Shochet, Temple Youth Activities Director. All Lubavitch men have the academic qualifications for one of these jobs. Employment opportunities of this kind depend on the existence of a broad Jewish community that is not committed to strict Torah ideals. If the Jewish population, now reaching in the millions of members were themselves committed to Torah observance, they would be trained to perform ritual and educative functions and would not need the services of members of the smaller Lubavitch population. Lubavitch maximizes the probability that Jews, who are not committed to Torah Judaism, will still maintain and seek to express some Jewish identity by participation in selected Jewish ritual. The demand for ritual experts is indeed present. For example, circumcision is no longer a ritual confined to certain religious groups. Rather it has become a widespread practice for purposes of health. Many doctors are trained and capable of circumsizing male children. But a very large number of Jewish families choose to have their sons circumsized by the Mohel, a ritual expert, who need not have medical training. Some argue that his techniques are superior to the techniques of many doctors. But this is not the crucial variable. What is important is the fact that many Jewish parents elect

to have their son circumsized in a ritual, rather than medical fashion. The reasons for this decision may be relevant in other contexts. We must recognize that ritual circumcision is practiced by a large number of Jewish people who are not observant Jews. The very same argument may be used for other ritual practices. In general, the larger Jewish population chooses to conform to, and accepts those rituals which mark a status transfer in the life cycle.

In the light of these opportunities the Lubavitch decision to be a proselytizing sect, rather than to reject non-obervant Jews is a rational economic decision. The data from questionnaires, gathered from students at the Lubavitch girls high school (see appendix) indicates the following employment record among those Lubavitch parents who have religious-related occupations. The sample included 106 Lubavitchers. Of this group 88, or 83% reside in New York, 39% of New York Lubavitchers hold religious-related occupations in the following order:

Teacher - 11

Slaughterer- 7

Rabbi - 7

Butcher - 5

Rabbinical assistants - 3

Sexton - 1

This list does not include all of the occupations mentioned earlier. Because the sample is so small (the total community in New York is only 500 families) it is more than likely that sampling techniques will not reveal every religious-related occuaption. This sampling problem, could have been overcome if a door to door survey of all Lubavitchers had been possible.

It is easy to explain the order of appearance of these occupations. The four most numerous occupations are those which have the widest applicability to the larger Jewish community. Most non-observant Jewish families choose to give their children some form of religious education. Many such parents are particularly interested in training their sons for the Bar Mitzvah. [9] This involves after school or Yeshivah classes for a few years prior to the age of 13. Hence, many orthodox and conservative synagogues frequently hire teachers from the ranks of Lubavitch. The rather low salaries paid to Yeshivah teachers may not provide sufficient income for many Jews who have the job capabilities, but a teacher of Hebrew studies is regarded by Lubavitchers as a noble and adequate occupation. Similarly, some Lubavitchers occupy pulpits in non-Lubavitch orthodox synagogues, in which a Lubavitch Rabbi can function very well. He might try, over time, to introduce aspects of Lubavitch ritual and practice, but in general, will accept much deviance from his personal beliefs and practices. He feels it is his task, over the years, to gently try to promote Torah Judaism among his congregants.

Slaughterers, butchers, and the Mashgiach (who is not represented in this sample) fall into a somewhat different category. Each holds a position of importance in keeping the laws of Kashruth in Jewish homes. These laws are essential for observant Jews, but here, as above, many non-observant Jews selectively express Judaism by keeping their homes Kosher, but not personally observing food rituals in other contexts. Meat must be properly slaughtered and sold under certain strict conditions in order to be approved for orthodox Jewish use. Therefore butchers and slaughterers are necessary to provide an appropriate market for those Jews

who wish to purchase meat and provisions that conform to Jewish law. The Mashgiach occupies a somewhat different position. He is responsible for supervising the laws of Kashruth for a Kosher catered party. All catering halls and restaurants that advertise Kosher catering employ a Mashgiach to ensure that the laws are enforced. Similarly, many large food corporations employ a Mashgiach so that they may label their products "U" or Kosher. Such an occupation is a necessary product of any Jew's desire to maintain the laws of Kashruth. [10]

Religious related occupations of approximately 40% of the New York Lubavitch population are secured in one of two ways. One possibility is that the individual hears of a job opening and applies. These situations occur because there is already a network of Lubavitchers employed in the larger Jewish community who hear of openings in their schools or synagogues and recommend other Lubavitchers in their networks for employment. The second source of jobs is the Rebbe's office. Schools and synagogues who seek teachers and aids know that Lubavitchers are well suited and willing candidates for such employment. If no one at the school or synagogue has any personal contacts, one simply telephones the Lubavitch headquarters and places a job request. The Rebbe's secretaries, or the Rebbe himself, will inform members of the position. A member of the Rebbe's staff might, for example, call the Lubavitcher Yeshivah and tell the principal that a given school needs a teacher. The principal will then inform a few students that a job opening exists and suggest that they apply. To this extent the Lubavitch headquarters, under the direction of the Rebbe, acts as referral agency for jobs. In addition, the Crown Heights Jewish Community Council also serves as a source of employment for religious and secular occupations.

In many cases the Rebbe himself screens applicants. He has the option and prerogative to veto or to approve any employment, especially in religious related occupations. Virtually all category I and II and many category III Lubavitchers communicate with the Rebbe, usually in writing, before accepting any job offer. Informants frequently report that their letters to the Rebbe include a few possible job alternatives, sometimes a choice between specific offers, and sometimes a choice between a few fields of employment. On occasion it is necessary to write a few letters to the Rebbe before a specific job offer is approved. The Rebbe has many alternatives open to him. He may:

1. approve the job selection made by the individual.
2. suggest alternative employment, either in specific job or field.
3. recommend specific positions that he knows need to be filled.
4. recommend different action than the one suggested by the writer.
5. suggest the same type of job, but in a different place.

The letter to the Rebbe is itself a promise to abide by his decision. This has been discussed earlier in relation to personal decisions. I suggest that the same rule operates in relation to job (material) considerations. In most cases the Rebbe tends to approve the decision of the individual. Occasionally, he feels that someone should be pressed into service for Lubavitch, or turned into a different pursuit entirely. One of my informants discussed her husbands job offer in Canada to be the Mashpiah in the Lubovitch Yeshivah in Montreal. As indicated earlier, this is a most highly respected position. Because it is the position of the teacher of Hassidus. The job offer from the Yeshivah in Montreal came to him directly. He had spent 5 years studying at the Yeshivah in Montreal and was now back

in Crown Heights, recently married, and studying in Kolel class. He had not yet received his Smicha (Rabbinical degree) but was quite close to completing his studies. However, he had developed a fine reputation since childhood as an excellent student of Hassidus. If his reply to the offer was a definite "no", then the issue is closed and another individual would be sought. But if he is inclined to accept the offer, or, is in doubt, then a Lubavitcher communicates with the Rebbe.

In this case my informant was not certain about whether or not to accept the offer. He wrote a letter of inquiry to the Rebbe, stating both sides of the case. This is the most common procedure among Lubavitchers who seek the Rebbe's advice. My informant listed all the reasons why he should go and all the reasons why he shouldn't go. And then he asked the Rebbe's opinion. If my informant was more positive in his desire to accept the job, he would have written a more positive letter asking the Rebbe's blessings. But even in this kind of situation the Rebbe is free to suggest that the proposed employment may not be suitable and suggest an alternative course.

My informant then awaited the Rebbe's reply. At the same time, officials from the Yeshivah in Montreal sent a letter to the Rebbe requesting this particular individual and asking the Rebbe if it was a good choice. The entire decision now rested with the Rebbe. At about this same time the Rebbe's mother passed away and the Rebbe, during the period of mourning, did less work than is normally his pattern. The school semester was quickly approaching and both parties knew that a decision had to be made quickly. My informant therefore, wrote another letter to the Rebbe. The Rebbe replied in the affirmative and offered his blessings for the new job. Within one week both husband and wife had relocated in Montreal.

In order to understand the role of the Rebbe it is necessary to dif-

ferentiate the two major kinds of employment found in the Lubavitch community: religious-related and secular occupations. First I shall consider secular occupations. According to our statistics, (see appendix) approximately 60% of the New York Lubavitch males are employed in secular occupations. Their major fields of employment are textile manufacturing, printing and jewelry enterprises. The jewelry field is well known to be populated with Hassidim of many different sects. Similarly, textile manufacturing attracts a vast number of immigrant Jews upon their arrival in America. Although their numbers in this industry are diminishing, many older men are still employed in various aspects of textile production. It has become quite clear from interview and extended geneological data that most jobs in these fields stem from relatives and friends who immigrated to the United States at an earlier date and who offered opportunities to the newer Hassidic group after World War II. Some Hassidim have gone on to open businesses of their own in which they employ other Hassidim. I would argue that similar network contacts supply the bulk of the opportunities in the printing and jewelry businesses as well.

One case in point is a Lubavitcher who arrived in the United States in 1950. One of his non-Lubavitch relatives owned a successful clothing factory and provided him with a job as janitor and caretaker. The Lubavitcher maintained this job for about 5 years. During the last year, he "moonlighted" as a middleman, buying and selling seconds of soft plastic fabrics. His overhead was low, and his markup very small. Eventually the demand for plastics grew to the point where he was able to leave his caretakers job and buy and sell plastics as full time occupation. In 1958, he decided to manufacture plastic fabrics. He opened a factory in Connecticut and employed a few Lubavitchers from New York to work with him. Over the last 15 years his

business has proved extremely successful. He now operates the factory in Connecticut, a sales office in New York and a few warehouses throughout the Northeast. Whenever possible, he employs other Lubavitchers in his business. The original New Haven Lubavitch community was composed of people employed in his factory. Today, this community has grown much broader and members have entered many other fields. One of the most outstanding features of this business growth is that the Lubavitch business owner never makes an important business decision without first consulting the Rebbe.

The Rebbe would have no cause to dissuade an individual inclined to enter one of these occupational fields, because each of these business enterprises offers a Hassidic man the opportunity to earn a stable and adequate wage, in many cases working amongst other observant Jews. Moreover, Lubavitchers may gain increased status in the community if they share wealth by contributions to Lubavitch enterprises.

If an individual operates a successful business from which he realizes a large profit, his charity will bring him additional blessings from the Rebbe for increased success in his business.

Although Lubavitchers are encouraged to seek economic benefits from the economy of the larger society, there are not an unlimited number of jobs for Hassidic men. Firstly, the Lubavitch population of Crown Heights is growing. It is not unusual for a family to have 6 or more children. All of these male children and many females will seek employment when they are older. It is extremely difficult for observant Jews to find employment among industrial concerns whose principals are not sympathetic to religious observance. Such observance entails many holidays and early departures. The City of New York is becoming a major source of employment

for Hassidic people because of a liberal policy of time off on religious days. Additionally, many Lubavitch children do not receive the kind of secular education that offers training for a variety of employment opportunities. At best, their skills provide for office jobs or administrative positions. Rarely, do they receive any technical training. Hence both secular and religious-related jobs are held with some frequency by category I and II Lubavitchers, but most if not all, Lubavitchers with professional training, or people in fields demanding graduate degrees are category III Lubavitchers who have joined Lubavitch after completing their education. Many do not have a developed network of Hassidic relatives who would provide employment in other fields. Neither are they trained for religious-related occupations. Many such Lubavitchers are employed in skilled professional positions with New York City and New York State governmental agencies. From time to time, a few category III Lubavitchers are employed by large major United States corporations. The Rebbe encourages them to utilize their acquired skills in any fitting employment and utilize non-working hours in service and study to Lubavitch.

As Lubavitch grows in population, more and more children of all categories are educated in a Yeshivah system that specifically trains them for religious-related occupations. Only a limited number of these individuals can enter secular fields. If the number of secular jobs available to Hassidim are limited in number and scope, then the number of religious-related jobs, which depend upon the Jewish community at large, are also limited. Thus an employment problem arises which, for other Hassidic groups has led to great difficulties and economic hardship. The Lubavitch community has successfully met this problem to the extent that I

never met an adult man in good health who was not employed in some fashion. I could not establish any family or individual on welfare although food stamps are not uncommon.

The ability of Lubavitchers to satisfy material needs more successfully than other Hassidic groups (in general) rests on the development of one philosophical principal that is unique to Lubavitcher Hassidim. Lubavitchers ardently believe that it is their task to increase Judaic awareness among Jews, that is, to act as the wood splinters in lighting the large logs. Toward this end, the Lubavitch organization under the direction of the Rebbe has developed a program of "Shlichus" that virtually guarantees employment for a large number of Lubavitch males as long as there is a viable world Jewish community.

The Hebrew word "shlichus" comes from the Hebrew root meaning "to send." From the root are words for message and messenger. "Shlichus" is the term that expresses a "mission." In its most general form it means spreading the word of orthodox Judaism and especially Lubavitch beliefs to the larger Jewish community both here and abroad. Shlichus involves a program on three distinct levels:

1. Lubavitchers believe that a Jew is always on shlichus, that is, through service and deeds constantly encouraging Torah Judaism to all Jews. Whenever possible, a Lubavitcher's actions are directed at conversionary activities, Crown Heights Lubavitchers welcome non-observant Jews, especially students and other young people, into their homes during the Sabbath and other festival occasions. In many cases this means spreading cots and sleeping bags on all available floor space in a small apartment as well as an extra stipend from the family budget for food. Some Lubavitchers are better known than others in the Crown Heights community for such activity. On the

questionnaire that I distributed to the Lubavitch girls, I asked if "your father was ever on shlichus, and some replied, "Every Jew is always on shlichus."

2. The second level of conversionary activity is volunteered time in organized events designed to bring non-observant Jews closer to Judaism. The most active groups in this pursuit are Machne Israel, Anash and Nshay Chabad.Tzach and Machne Yisroel are especially involved in these voluntary missions of conversion. As indicated in the previous chapter, they send men to college campuses for speaking engagements, sponsor summer study and travel programs. Machne Yisroel maintains a house in Crown Heights especially for visitors to the community. The womens and mens organizations hold "encounter weekends" at least twice during the year. At these times they invite young men and women (separately) to spend a weekend in Crown Heights. These weekends are specifically designed to encourage young Jewish people to practice more orthodox ritual. From time to time other voluntary service groups are formed for the same purpose. One such group that has been active in Brooklyn is the Jewish Institute for Brides and Grooms. In the spring and fall, they hold a series of four weekly lectures to which they invite engaged and newly married Jewish couples, from lists supplied by local Rabbis.

3. The third level of conversionary activity is by far the most important for the economic integrity of the Lubavitch community. A program of encouraging employment for Lubavitchers in the outside Jewish community is a primary mechanism by which a growing, technically unskilled Lubavitch population can obtain stable, well paying employment and, at the same time, remain openly proud of their Lubavitch connections. The program of

shlichus is so designed as the following description will show, it is the Rebbe who ultimately approves and frequently offers the job possibility, thereby encouraging and reinforcing a Lubavitchers allegiance and indebtedness to him. At the same time, the Lubavitch ideal of service to the Jewish community is so highly regarded and so important, that although each individual is placed in a "job" his employment is seen not so much for material benefits but for its service ideals. All positions designated as shlichus, carry with them the sense of mission which, in an of itself, confers additional status to the individual so designated. Thus, a relatively poor family, on a shlichus "assignment" are usually regarded by other Lubavitchers as more dedicated, zealous, and higher status individuals, than other Lubavitchers who have found acceptable employment in secular non-religious occupations.

By and large, the shlichus assignments go to category I and II Lubavitchers considered by the Rebbe for this kind of job. Rare cases include category III Lubavitchers with specific talents necessary for the job and a demonstrated loyalty to Lubavitch. Considering the fact that category III Lubavitchers are often more anxious to demonstrate the staunchness of their faith, their children frequently receive the least secular education, even though the parents, as a group, have the greatest amount of secular learning of all Lubavitchers. In the childrens'generation then, category I, II and III have equal opportunity and access to the Rebbe's consideration for shlichus employment. I contend that at the present time, as the total number of Lubavitchers increase both through conversion and proliferation of large nuclear families, a specific program aimed at providing high status jobs throughout the world for untrained

people in a highly technologized society acts as the primary force for maintaining strong ethnic identification and, as a result, strong ethnic boundedness.

The other crucial aspect of this argument is to validate my contention that it is specifically the Rebbe, who directs plans, and maintains this program. Toward this end, we now turn to a description of shlichus employment and the process by which an individual is recruited to fill such a position.

1. Job potentials: There are two alternative forms of employment that fall into the shlichus category.

1. Employment in a religious-related occupation in the larger Jewish community. These jobs include Rabbis in orthodox non-Lubavitch synagogues, and on occasion Conservative Temples. Also included are teachers and principals of diverse Yeshivah day schools and after school Talmud Torahs. Some jobs may best be described as Temple Directors of Youth or Adult activities (or any temple related job). There may be calls for Cantors, Shochets, Masgiach, etc. However, most jobs are either directly Rabbinical (for which Lubavitch men are well trained) or teaching positions.

2. The second kind of shlichus position is related to a new or ongoing Lubavitch project in a particular city. Although these include Rabbincal and teaching positions, they also cover full time employment in "Chabad Houses" which are houses established by Lubavitch on college campuses throughout the country and designed to inculcate Jewish ideals and ritual to young Jewish college age students. In their operation, Chabad Houses are very similar to the program run by the Hillel organization on the

campus. Lubavitch also employs full time fund raisers and educators attached to existing Lubavitch programs in various parts of the country and the world.

II. "770" as a recruitment agency. In this area there are three possible alternatives for job action.

1. Jewish leaders in the non-Lubavitch orthodox community are well aware of Lubavitch's offer to recruit people for jobs. Most frequently, when a person is needed to fill a specific vacancy, a Jewish leader will telephone a staff member at "770," and rely on the Rebbe's judgment for a candidate to fill the vacancy. Often, the Rebbe may suggest a few people and leave the final choice to the employing group.

2. Specific job offers in the larger Jewish community may be offered to Lubavitch individuals but at the same time a written request for that person is sent to the Rebbe. Both the employing institution and the individual selected always await the Rebbe's approval. In many of these offers, the reference for a particular individual comes from a Lubavitcher previously or currently employed by that institution. If the employing institution is satisfied with one Lubavitch employee, they are eager to recruit another Lubavitcher for their organization. In this fashion, Lubavitchers themselves act as network contacts and agents to acquire jobs for their Lubavitch friends and colleagues. Many organizations and educational institutions have a long and successful history of hiring Lubavitch individuals to fill vacant positions. Lubavitchers are unique among Hassidic people in their ability to adapt to, and accept practices of the larger Jewish community that deviate somewhat from their own. This strategy is indeed materially beneficial, but is expressed ideologically as

service to the Jewish community. Even in situations where a specific individual is requested, the Rebbe may have reasons for requesting that the potential employer interview a few other Lubavitchers. When the Rebbe says "no" to a particular individual's request for approval, that person is likely to refuse the job. Furthermore, any Lubavitcher with network connections to the potential employer will actively support the individual whom the Rebbe suggests is best qualified and suited for the job.

3. Specific offers to staff Lubavitch projects, programs and schools are made concurrently, to selected, qualified individuals and to the Rebbe who is also asked to suggest a qualified applicant. These positions require a different kind of scrutiny by the Rebbe since they request Lubavitchers for Lubavitch programs. They do not require an individual to constantly reflect an appropriate image of Lubavitch, but only to promote Lubavitch ideals. The considerations for this kind of position are quite different than those for a job in the non-Lubavitch community. In the latter cases, the Rebbe is more likely to accept the candidate recommended by the employer. However, in staffing new Lubavitch programs, the Rebbe will carefully select an individual who he considers well qualified to assume the position.

When a new program is operationalized the Rebbe may request that an individual leave his present employment to work for the new Lubavitch program. Few Lubavitchers will consider refusing a request made by the Rebbe. Most will be delighted at the opportunity to serve both the Rebbe and the Jewish community, in what is ultimately regarded as a high status position.

III. Job application. Requests by individuals about their availability

and desire to go on shlichus comes as a direct result of the kinds of job offers.

1. Since the Rebbe accumulates a number of job offers that do not go to specific individuals but come as general requests, he usually chooses a farbrengen to announce that all people finishing their schooling, seeking employment, and wishing to go on shlichus, should send a letter outlining their qualifications, education and the locations they desire. Most important to his request that they write to him stating the reasons they wish to go on shlichus. Perhaps this is one way that the Rebbe can assess the staunchness of faith and committment to Lubavitch.

2. The second type of job application refers to those Lubavitchers who, on their own, have received specific offers of employment in the larger Jewish community or in Lubavitch related programs. These individuals submit letters to the Rebbe indicating the pros and cons of why they should or should not accept the offer of employment and also seek his blessings in their new endeavor.

IV. Job placement. The Rebbe seeks to place as many Lubavitchers as possible in jobs in the wider Jewish community. His task is to match a job offer with a specific individual or to approve or disapprove proposed employment.

1. Sometimes the preformulated arrangements between a Lubavitcher and a specific job offer are approved as demonstrated in the case below.

2. On some occasions, when no specific individual is requested, the Rebbe will select one individual from a group of people who have voiced interest in the position. Because each applicant's letter to the Rebbe lists the pros and cons of the job offer for them, the Rebbe is always on safe ground should he decide to reject a particular applicant. His rejection

is never couched as such, but instead utilizes the reasons presented by the individual himself for suggesting that the position is not quite right for him.

3. At other times, especially for new Lubavitch projects the Rebbe may ask a particular individual to leave his present employment and accept a position of special Lubavitch service. This occurred in the case of the Director of the Crown Heights Jewish Community Council, when the Rebbe asked a category II Lubavitcher who held a managerial position in a large New York financial institution to request a leave of absence to head up this new Lubavitch agency. Although he works much longer hours for far less salary, he is proud to have been personally requested by the Rebbe to do this special task.

The following case study, gathered from interview data, reflects a typical and common pattern of behavior in a Lubavitcher's quest for a shlichus position.

Masha and her husband were married just a few months before I interviewed them. Masha's husband Mendl, thought he would go to kolel classes but he also wanted to go on shlichus. Both of them had agreed before their marriage that shlichus was a mutual goal. They were both excited at the idea of "going far away and really being able to make a contribution." Mendl had completed his studies at the Yeshivah in Montreal. While he was there, he met Mr. Bacher, an orthodox Jew from South Africa. Masha estimates that there are about 65,000 Jews in Johannesburg, but only a handful with any affiliation to Lubavitch. These people would be considered part of our category IV Lubavitch. Most of the orthodox Jews in Johannesburg are involved in business enterprises. There is no Lubavitch shul as such, but those people with Lubavitch

connections gather at a shul which uses the Lubavitch prayer book. Mr. Bacher is a member of that group, a South African Jewish business man who has some connections with Lubavitch. Currently, he runs a family business and spends his spare time promoting Lubavitch projects and interests.

During the past 5 years, Mr. Bacher has made a few trips to the Yeshivah in Montreal (where he met Mendl) and to the Rebbe. He asked the Rebbe to send a Lubavitcher to Johannesburg because there was much "opportunity" and no one to do it. [11] Mr. Bacher also spoke to the principal of the Montreal Yeshivah about possible people and kinds of programs that could be worked out in Johannesburg. Each time the Rebbe said "no, the time is not right." Masha explained that the Rebbe might have had other reasons for his decision but they remained unclear. In her own words: "The reasons don't really matter because he said no, not yet." This is sufficient to drop the entire matter.

About a year ago another request was sent to the Rebbe again asking for a Lubavitcher to come to South Africa. This time the Rebbe replied that it could only be done if the man had a "position." In part, this can be explained by the restrictions placed by the South African government. Immigration and resident alien rules are strictly enforced in an effort to discourage further racial agitation. There was no position available. The Rabbi of the synagogue was not a Lubavitcher. Moreover, he was a volunteer and received no salary. Because of this Mr. Bacher reported that the Rabbi did little work to encourage Judaism. More important is that the congregants felt that they could not fire him. A few months ago he retired and Mr. Bacher came to New York to see the Rebbe and discuss

the possibility of filling the vacancy with a Lubavitcher. He also spoke to the principal of the Montreal Yeshivah and after that, called Mendl and asked if he would be interested in the position.

Mendl had already started kolel classes. Before his wedding he wrote to the Rebbe asking whether he should go on Shlichus or spend a year "learning." The Rebbe said it would be acceptable for him to look for a position. Mendl wanted the Johannesburg job. When the Rebbe said that it was not the right time to send someone to South Africa Mendl turned down a few other job offers and entered kolel classes.

When Mr. Bacher returned to New York and announced a "position" was available, it appeared likely that a Lubavitcher would be sent. Mr. Bacher submitted the names of 6 Lubavitchers who he felt could adequately fill the position. Mendl's name was among the six. Also on the list was the son of a very prominent Lubavitch Rabbi in London.This Rabbi is the only Lubavitcher who had made a few trips to South Africa as a Lubavitch fund raiser. The Rebbe wrote to London asking the Rabbi's opinion of the six candidates. Mendl reports that the London Rabbi gave him a good recommendation, but that he did not know what was said about the other candidates (including this man's son). The principal of the Montreal Yeshivah also sent a recommendation for Mendl.

Mr. Bacher then arranged another conference with the Rebbe. Mendl expected that he would hear something the next day. When Masha left for work that morning, he told her to say "Thillin" (Psalms) so that they would be successful. However, he heard nothing. Both Mendl and his wife were convinced that someone else had been selected and proceeded to find many reasons why the Rebbe rejected them. The following evening Mr. Bacher

called and told Mendl that one name had been crossed off the list because the applicants command of English was not strong enough. (The applicant was a Russian immigrant). Shortly thereafter, one of the Rebbe's secretaries called Mendl and the other four applicants and asked them to write letters to the Rebbe informing him why they should be selected. Masha does not know whether the others wrote letters or decided at that point that South Africa was not the place for them. Although she knows little details of the others, she speculated that there would have probably been some parental opposition to an assignment so far away that visiting would be most difficult, or that others may not have been sincere enough in their desire to go since it meant separation not only from family and friends, but also from a potential network of other Lubavitchers.

Mendl knew that this letter was really important. It could be the turning point for him personally, and the key factor in the Rebbe's decision. He went to the Mikvah (for a ritual of purification), returned home and performed a ritual handwashing ceremony, put on his white kittl [12] and both he and his wife sat down to compose a letter to the Rebbe. In the letter they listed all the reasons why they were a good choice. They also listed reasons why they were not a good choice. For example, Mendl indicated that he had no experience as a fund raiser, and that he would be terribly far from all his family. On the positive side he noted that he is not only a Rabbi, but also a teacher with some experience in community work. At the end of the letter they raised questions about when they should go, how they should travel, etc. The reply from the Rebbe came shortly thereafter. It was short and very direct. The Rebbe said, "There is no reason to delay your departure." The Rebbe wished them well and blessed them. Within one month, the time

necessary to move furniture, visit family, get passports and visas, they left for Johannesburg.

This case study is unique only insofar as it relates to a geographically distant place and discusses employment of the first Lubavitcher in that place. However, the procedures and the structural pattern remains the same for employment near or far. Many years ago, when the Lubavitch community was new and quite small, most requests for employment went to the Rebbe directly. Today, because of the growth of Lubavitch,this system had to be replaced with one more adequately designed to meet the needs of a larger population. With larger numbers of young men seeking employment it is impossible for the Rebbe to be personally familiar with the qualifications of each individual. Hence, it is more common now for young men to make their own initial contacts, even solicit their interest in various positions. But, as demonstrated in the above case study, two factors remain constant:

1. The Rebbe is presented with a few candidates to fill the job, and
2. His personal decision is the final one.

Even among women, where a job is invariably temporary (until her first child arrives) or part time after the children are of school age, the Rebbe's approval is sought before any final acceptance is given. Certainly the Rebbe has less of a vested interest in placing women in secular office jobs, but his approval and blessing is deemed a necessity by all Lubavitchers in their job ventures.

The concept of shlichus is unique to Lubavitcher Hassidim. In its ideological context, all Lubavitchers are on "shlichus"in that they have an obligation to open Jewish hearts and minds to the Torah way of life. In practical context, shlichus provides the means whereby potencially

unemployable Lubavitchers may gain access to decently paying jobs and thereby become economically independent. Moreover, the system of shlichus is the means whereby the Rebbe controls and **redistributes** to his followers, a portion of the resources of the larger Jewish community that has been allocated by them to him. The rules governing shlichus employment enhance the Rebbe's position and create an indebtedness to the Rebbe of each Lubavitcher so employed. This indebtedness is only effective as long as Lubavitchers seek the Rebbe's approval for employment positions.Because each situation is personalized, the charismatic appeal of the Rebbe is enhanced. At the same time, the ideological committment of each Lubavitcher to the Rebbe reinforces structural links of Rebbe-Hassid. Each of the Rebbe's decisions or opinions help to maintain a personalized contact between follower and leader.

The system of shlichus derives from a basic ideological precept that allows for employment in a system that otherwise would render many males and heads of households unemployable. In addition, it is a system which encourages a spreading of Lubavitch infiltration to a variety of communities in all parts of the world. In the long run, it will introduce Lubavitch to many Jews who would otherwise not even be familiar with them. Contact of this kind potentially increases the number of category III and IV Lubavitchers, but its larger reward is for category I and II Lubavitchers because it provides a job market for a sizable group of people who might otherwise have great difficulty finding jobs. Possibilities for economic expansion are limited only by a very small Jewish population, or that populations rejection of Lubavitch ideology.

There is another aspect of resource control which adds to the strength of Lubavitch and thereby to the effectiveness of the Rebbe, namely,

the Rebbe's ability to create resources and hence, economic opportunity. The Rebbe's decisions are never binding on his followers. Rather, he only suggests or recommends and his followers implement his suggestions as a strategy designed to bring some "nachas ruach" to the Rebbe. It is their firm belief that bringing him "nachas ruach"will always prove in their best interests.

Lubavitchers may not understand the economic, political, or ideological consequences of some of the Rebbe's plans and proposals but few will question the ultimate wisdom of his actions. Overt support and justification for his proposals but a few will question the ultimate wisdom of his actions.Overt support and justification for his proposals are always couched in ideological terms. But the importance of economic strategies to an individual cannot be minimized, even among a group of people so dedicated to religious principles and practices.

The Rebbe's creation of a new area of economic opportunity involves a very subtle maneuvering of his followers ideological committment to him and his provision for their continued material success. The crucial importance of both variables is demonstrated in the case described below, involving the establishment of a new Lubavitch settlement in Israel, Nachlat Har Chabad. One Lubavitch informant said that the growth and development of Nachlat Har Chabad is a perfect example of the strength of the Rebbe and "how the Rebbe puts emphasis of something that he wishes and how it is done."

The Israeli government supports a policy of accepting an unlimited number of Jewish immigrants who wish to relocate in Israel. Because of this policy, the government is constantly building new settlements. About 3 years ago, the Rebbe "gave over" a message to his Hassidim in Israel. He

told them to find a spot for a Kfar Chabad place (Kfar Chabad is the name of the original Lubavitch settlement in Israel). Lubavitchers in Israel could not understand the message since he gave no reason and no special purpose for a new settlement. Neither did he direct them to any particular place. He stated only "go and find a Kfar Chabad place."

A group of Lubavitchers from the original settlement crossed the country looking for "a place." They did not really know what they were looking for until they came across a new settlement that had just been completed by the Israeli government. The newly constructed site included 13 buildings, each 4 stories high, providing space for 250 families. The Lubavitchers communicated to the Rebbe that this place was available and the Rebbe replied that they should arrange to take over this community. Long and involved negotiations between Lubavitch and the Israeli government were complicated by the fact that the Lubavitchers did not really know who would settle there. Finally, the Israeli government appointed Lubavitch as agents of the Israeli government, on the provision that the community would be filled, If Lubavitch could not fill it with immigrants, then the government would take over.

Just at that time Russia released 80 Georgian Jewish families. Forty of these families were sent to Nachlat Har Chabad along with 10 young Israeli Lubavitch families who volunteered to acquaint the immigrants with the new country. After a year, there were still only 50 families in a settlement designed for 250. The Israeli government threatened to settle it with other immigrants since Lubavitch was not fulfilling its role. When the Rebbe learned of this he said: "the place must remain Chabad and must be filled." The Rebbe offered special blessings

to any Lubavitch family in Israel who would move there. But the response was very poor. Few families were encouraged to come even with this special blessing from the Rebbe because the location of Nachlat Har Chabad was far from any major city. Jobs were not easily available and the general quality of life was much more difficult than in an established urban place.

Nevertheless, about 20 families responded to the Rebbe's plea. Even for them the move was considered temporary. They left their homes and apartments with furniture intact and came to Nachlat Har Chabad not knowing how long they would stay. There were about 70-80 families. But the 40 Georgian families were not happy about the prospect of living in a rural, undeveloped area and were planning to seek other housing. Many, in fact, did leave. No matter how many statements the Rebbe made indicating special blessings, each time one looked out of a window there was another truck and another family moving away. At about the same time, a large group of Moroccan Jews living nearby in deteriorating housing sought to take over the settlement, encouraged by the active support of the Israeli government.

No one knew why the Rebbe was so insistent that Lubavitch keep this settlement. At the moment of greatest crisis, when it was fairly certain that Lubavitch could not populate the new settlement and the Israeli government was ready to take over the community, the Russian government released a large number of Jewish families, many of whom were orthodox Jews. When they arrived in Israel they were placed in this settlement. This was the moment when Lubavitchers saw the "wisdom," "insight" and "perserverance" of the Rebbe. In the words of my informant: "The prophet came.

We all knew that in this case the Rebbe was God's messenger (Shaliach) who was sent on a mission to prepare this community. Where would these families have gone? It was a ready made, organized community with a synagogue. It was "bashert" (divinely ordained). Now the community is filled and many more people want to come. We have a shul, a school and many stores."

One member of Nachlat Har Chabad wrote to the Rebbe asking about employment. The Rebbe wrote that Nachlat Har Chabad will one day be great. He said: "darf nor legen der hant ufun krant, vus et gissen." Literally, this means one has only to put his hand on the spigot and the water will pour out. That is, there will be no problems with employment.

Needless to say, once the community was filled, a large number of job opportunities were immediately created. A number of other residents of the community have found employment in adjacent towns. Moreover, plans are now underway to start more business enterprises in Nachlat Har Chabad. It should be apparent at this juncture, that Nachlat Har Chabad, as a Lubavitch settlement of 50 families was on the verge of collapse because the material conditions and opportunities were so poor. Whether the influx of immigrants that gave life to the settlement was a miracle, or the Rebbe's wisdom and insight, is irrelevant. But it is quite clear that without the initial ideological committment of Lubavitchers to the Rebbe, Nachlat Har Chabad would never have approached reality. Furthermore, without material opportunities it could not survive.

Those who live in Nachlat Har Chabad consider it a privilege to live in a place that has such blessings from the Rebbe. In the words of one resident: "There are many problems, but we are all burning with confidence in the Rebbe and we know that we will very soon see revealed all the blessings that we know are now hidden."

Notes

1. Weber wrote: "Indeed, in its pure form charismatic authority may be said to exist only in the process of originating. It cannot remain stable, but becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both. The following are the principal motives underlying this transformation: (a) the ideal and also the material interests of the followers in the continuation and the continual reactivation of the community, (b) the still stronger ideal and also stronger material interests of members of the administrative staff, the disciples or other followers of the charismatic leader in continuing their relationship." (Weber 1947:364)

2. The available housing in Crown Heights ranges from deteriorating slum apartment houses to well kept large "mansion-like" single family dwellings. Most of the streets in Crown Heights contain one or two family attached homes.

3. In order for a Jewish male to pray in a public place (synagogue) it is necessary to gather a quorum of ten males. The word minyan in (Hebrew) describes the quorum of ten.

4. On the basis of my research it is fair to state that the term "united" refers only to a united white community. Lubavitchers have little interaction with, or interest in Black residents of Crown Heights.

5. Because the Day Care Center is run under the auspices of New York City, it is technically open to all children of the neighborhood. When Black parents brought their children to register, they were told that the Center was filled and that they would be placed on a waiting list. Lubavitchers agree that the Black children were brought as a test of Black political strength in the community. At the time of this writing there are no Black children or non-Jewish children in the Center. Lubavitch residents of Crown Heights feel very strongly that they are entitled to their "fair share" of City services and act to protect their own interests. They have little concern for Black residents of the community, except when it suits their needs. During the past year, the City announced plans to reduce services to Day Care Centers to any resident who earned more than $5,000 per annum. Such a rule would virtually eliminate all Lubavitchers from eligibility in the program. It would also eliminate a large number of Black parents for eligibility in another Crown Heights Day Care Center. This crisis precipitated united action by Black and Lubavitch parents, who joined together to protest curtailed services. They marched together and met together in an effort to save the program. At this writing the curtailment is still a threat, but no action has been taken.

6. The late Senator Kennedy met with the Lubavitcher Rebbe during his campaign for election to the United States Senate from New York.

7. Only recently have anthropologists and sociologists moved from the assimilationist approach typified by works such as Gordon (1964), Marden and Mayer (1968), Glazer and Moynihan (1963) and Simpson and Yinger (1958) toward a consideration of strategic alternatives and choices by ethnic group members to retain or reject ethnic identity. These newer studies include Cohen (1969), Light (1972), Mitchell (1969), Liebow (1967) and Valentine (1968).

8. This situation is quite different from other Hassidic communities in Brooklyn described by Levine (1972) and Poll (1962) where large segments of the population are employed in intra-community businesses created by restrictions of Jewish law.

9. A "Bar Mitzvah" is a religious ceremony after which, a thirteen year old Jewish male becomes an adult member of the community. At the Bar Mitzvah ceremony, the young man demonstrates his ability to read Torah and prayers in the same manner as an adult male.

10. During the season of Passover, when foods must be especially Koshered and properly prepared, all major food manufacturers hire a Rabbi to act as Mashgiach and certify that the food has been properly prepared. Here again, a number of employment opportunities are offered to people trained in the appropriate aspects of Jewish law.

11. The word "opportunity" is used by Lubavitchers in this case to indicate the conversionary opportunities open to Lubavitch.

12. A "kittl" is a white robe worn by very orthodox Jews and Hassidim on certain holidays and special occasions. It represents the attempt to achieve purity of body and mind.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The anthropological questions emanating from the ethnographic data in the preceding chapters may be charted along two dimensions. I have attempted to construct a conceptual model of institutionalized charisma that adequately describes the basis of ethnic identity among the Lubavitcher Hassidim. Central to the model is its limitation to part societies or sub-societal groups. The second dimension of the present research is concerned with the nature of the links of the part-society (Lubavitchers) to the larger society.

The norms, values and strategies that are created and maintained by an institutionalized charismatic leader are utilized by followers in different ways toward different ends. At the same time, Lubavitchers recognize that together they compose a distinctive group loyal to their Rebbe and capable of concerted action in many different facets of life. The manipulation of ethnic identity as a symbol or charter of group strength and distinctiveness is a method by which individual action prompts and encourages group integration. In similar fashion, symbols of group identity reinforce individual actions by sanctioning a range of strategies available to those individuals who support Lubavitch goals.

Individual actions generally occur within the context of group goals. The constant interplay between individual and group has its locus in the person of the Rebbe, who controls the direction of group goals through his influence on individual opportunities and strategies. Let us examine some hypotheses that emerge from a consideration of the Rebbe's leadership as it affects individual Lubavitchers and the Lubavitch ethnic group.

The Rebbe and his organizational system support a charismatic relationship that I have suggested is essentially personal and individual. This being the case, it is possible to predict that distance from the leader results in a decreased charismatic response. This prediction is made on the basis that followers more distant from the leader are exposed to less of his influence on their daily lives. Moreover, the organizational elite who are most dependent on the Rebbe, tend to live close to the Rebbe (in the Crown Heights community) and can exert their greatest pressures of conformity and possible ostracism on other members of that same community. Those Lubavitchers who are not in frequent contact with either the Rebbe or his organizational staff will enjoy greater leeway in their permitted activities as well as fewer sanctions from the social pressures of community conformity.

But the term distance, as indicated above, is not measured only in terms of geographical distance, although that remains an important factor. Social distance i.e. the communicative availability of the Rebbe must also be assessed. Some Lubavitchers are category I Lubavitchers who have been sent on shlichus to different parts of the world. Because their employment depends on Lubavitch and the continued charismatic leadership of the Rebbe, they tend to be most supportive of him and regard him as extremely charismatic both in their own lives and to the rest of the community. At the same time, the continued success of the organization depends on close communication between the elite supporters and the Rebbe for direction and problem solving. He is, of course, available for them. Although the geographic distance between these Lubavitchers and the Rebbe may be great, the lack of social distance offsets the geographic chasm.

This is not the case for many group III and IV Lubavitchers who reside in the areas distant from contact with the Rebbe. Rough data

accumulated during the course of this study confirms the hypothesis that as the combined influence of social and geographical distance from the Rebbe increases, primarily in areas where the category III and IV Lubavitch population predominates, the cultural form denoting boundedness decrease and the accepted range of behavioral patterns increases. The following points can be made with some certainty and some may be verified from the data presented in the Appendix:

1. The more distant one is from the Rebbe, the less visible are the cultural forms of boundedness and distinctiveness. Many New York Lubavitchers (category III) who may not have known the Yiddish language when they affiliated with Lubavitch, study and learn Yiddish. More importantly, they make a concerted effort to teach their children to speak and understand Yiddish. However, many category III Lubavitchers in other places hardly know one word of Yiddish and show little interest in learning the language even though it is the Rebbe's chief language of communication. In terms of dress codes, some rules are observed by everyone but many Lubavitchers living outside of New York will deviate to a greater degree in what they consider to be "modest" wearing apparel.

2. The Lubavitch followers outside of New York demonstrate a greater willingness to ease many of the social restrictions that New York Lubavitchers feel it necessary to observe. One key example regards patterns of schooling. In the New York community, schools are sexually segregated from nursery years to adulthood. In most other Lubavitch communities, nursery school and elementary grades may be found in the same building, with sexual separation only by class. In Boston, the Lubavitch graduating high school class, decided to have its ceremonies

in caps and gowns, with boys wearing suits, and colored shirts, and many appeared in tuxedos. This is a significant break with New York Lubavitch tradition which demands separate ceremonies for each sex. To some extent, these deviations are explained by the Lubavitch residents of the Boston community by their insistence that there are too few Lubavitchers to fill a school. Therefore, they must join forces with the orthodox Jewish community in that city and obey their regulations, which are often less stringent than those of Lubavitch. But I suggest that this explanation is less true than it appears because of the next generalization.

3. Many New York Lubavitchers who are sent on Shlichus to other Jewish communities, send their children back to Crown Heights (or to Montreal, another Lubavitch stronghold) for high school and post high school education. It is common practice among category I Lubavitchers to place their children in environments where the greatest chance exists for the child to continue as a Lubavitcher and have the fewest worldly paths opened for them. Therefore, a practice of sending children to New York to study and complete their schooling is common among category I Lubavitchers living outside of Crown Heights. It is the Rebbe's belief and practice that exposure to Lubavitch influences during childhood is important to maintain the symbols of Lubavitch distinctiveness in adulthood.

4. The Rebbe's decreased control of economic resources for category III and IV Lubavitchers is most noticeable as the distance from his New York base increases. Most category I and II Lubavitchers in cities throughout the country (except New York and Montreal) are people on Schlichus from New York. There are few category I and II Lubavitchers who elect to settle outside the greater New York area (except in rare cases like New

Haven, where a particular employment opportunity was present). These "displaced" New York Lubavitchers are the ones who send their children to schools in New York, Montreal, and now Israel, while others, mostly category III and IV Lubavitcher, remain in their native cities seeking economic opportunities in the larger American economy and keeping their children at schools in their own communities. Data gathered from the Crown Heights High School sample indicate an overwhelming preponderance of fathers from Lubavitch families outside of New York who are employed in religious-related occupations. On the basis of personal interviews I can suggest that these men represent either New York Lubavitchers on Shlichus assignments, or in much smaller proportions, those category III Lubavitchers who are closely attached to the Rebbe. Category III Lubavitchers from outside of New York who send their children to Lubavitch schools in New York provide some insurance for themselves that if they lose their jobs, the Rebbe will attempt to find some employment for them.

The constantly recurring variable of material opportunity provides the crucial insight into the phenomenon of institutionalized charisma. In effect, those people who do not,or need not, rely on the Rebbe or his sanctions for material survival, tend to be less committed to the personal appeal of the Rebbe, whereas followers of any category who benefit from the Rebbe's control of material resources tend to be most supportive of his ideological committment and his charismatic appeal.

Numberous interviews with category IV Lubavitchers and non-Lubavitchers in a few cities around the United States[1] consistently point to a wide range of conversionary activities carried on by the Lubavitch organization in these communities. The core supporters of these programs are generally

people with "old" Lubavitch ties and hold positions in religious-related occupations. Their very means of survival depends on a community that is both receptive and supportive of their activities. But these activities differ widely from similar conversionary activities undertaken by Lubavitch in the New York area. For example, it is not uncommon for Lubavitch social events outside of New York to include men and women seated together at tables. In California, a Chabad house [2] sponsors many programs jointly for young men and women. These patterns, absent in the New York Lubavitch community, reflect the wide variability in the use of symbols of ethnic identification in the pursuit of individual material opportunities and group goals.

It is only from outside the geographic area of New York that I uncovered any evidence to suggest that occasionally, the Rebbe's advice is sought, but not followed. In each city except New York and Montreal, there exists an elite group of Lubavitchers who have either been sent there by the Rebbe on a shlichus assignment, or who have opted to become core supporters by placing their destinies in the hands of the Rebbe. The remaining group of Lubavitch followers in these cities support the Rebbe's ideology and many of the accompanying practices, but their general style of life demonstrates a more diffuse and less charismatic tie to the Rebbe than can be found among the New York or Montreal Lubavitchers.

The immediate question that emerges is why the Montreal Lubavitch community reveals behavioral patterns that more closely resemble those of the New York Lubavitch community instead of the patterns in Lubavitch communities in other cities? Our answer to this question sheds even more light on the nature of Lubavitch as a sub-societal group and the significant influence of the larger surrounding society on the behavior of ethnic group members. Unlike many cities in the United States, Montreal's Jewish population is a large and recent immigrant population. Many Canadian Jews

arrived just prior to, or shortly after World War II. These immigrants remain ideologically closer to traditional Judaism than do most Jews in the United States. Perhaps this is because the networks of Canadian Jewish immigrants have fewer points of contact with the dominant socio-cultural group, significantly reducing their material opportunities in the larger culture. Another possible explanation of the differing ideological beliefs of American and Canadian Jews is reflected by the fact that Canadian Jews are more closely connected with the German holocaust than are American Jews. Although Canadian and American Jews appear to have similar life styles, their differing religious ideologies are evident in religious practices. At those times and life junctures that Montreal Jews practice religious observance, they tend to support more orthodox practices than do Jews in the United States. Therefore, there is a greater acceptance of, and more job opportunities for, Montreal Lubavitchers in religious-related occupations than would be possible in most cities in the United States except where the Jewish population is quite large. The Lubavitch community in Montreal currently numbers between 100 and 150 families [3] and is second to New York in Lubavitch population. Sheer numbers not only maintains but also encourages a more stringent behavioral code that includes strong ties to the Rebbe. In these respects the Montreal Lubavitchers resemble the New York Lubavitchers more closely than they resemble Lubavitchers in other American cities for whom the general hypothesis appears to be true.

I have noted that the Rebbe's influence and sanctification decreases not only as the geographic and social distance between himself and his followers increases, but also as he looses control over economic resources for members of a community. As proselytization continues,

and Lubavitch incorporates an increasing number of people whose commitment is primarily ideological and not material, I conclude that the Rebbe will be regarded by these new followers as a man of great wisdom who can give assistance on religious, ethical and moral issues. This suggests the potential expansion of category III and particularly category IV Lubavitchers and also suggests that core supporters will regard themselves as an elite group among other Lubavitchers as well as among non-Hassidic Jews. To some extent this is already happening as in our example of marriage, where members of each Lubavitch category are pressed to marry members of the same category.

Hence it is reasonable to conclude that as Lubavitch expands its membership, it may grow to the point where institutionalized charisma is no longer a viable power base or form of social control because the charismatic leader is incapable of personally communicating with, and inspiring the bulk of his followers. I have uncovered shreds of evidence to suggest this possibility. In recent months, many letters written to the Rebbe have gone unanswered. Some Lubavitchers have to write two or three times, even telephone the office seeking a reply. The Rebbe's mail is usually inordinately heavy, and, if he reads each letter himself, there will only be a limited number of letters that he can possibly answer each day. Although Lubavitchers still insist that "no reply" from the Rebbe is itself a form of reply, more and more followers have begun to question this practice because their questions cannot be adequately explained by "no reply." One informant told me that after she had written her second letter and had not received any reply, she called a friend at "770" (one of the Rebbe's secretaries) who personally found the letter, brought it to the Rebbe's attention and

telephoned her with the Rebbe's reply.

In this single statement lies the key to a developmental cycle of institutionalized charisma, namely, its transformation as the number of followers increase, to a larger more bureaucratic system in which the core supporters become elite members because they have greater access to the leader than do other followers. With a continual expansion of membership, the primary alternative to personal contact is a pyramidal bureaucratic structure with dispersed power. The apex of the structure is a leader who enjoys a charismatic relationship with his core supporters because he controls and creates resources for them alone. For the large bulk of followers, the leader loses the personal charismatic tie because the group has become too large for him to control and coordinate their material options, and too large for him to support a feeling of personal concern and attachment to each member.

To some extent, the potential maximum size of the group of followers has been expanded by the technology of closed circuit T.V., cross-country and trans-Atlantic flights, and other technological advances yet to come. Each of these steps increases the communicative ability of the charismatic leader with his followers. Some innovations act to enhance personal contact; others create the possibility of mass communication which, in and of itself, will not affect the charismatic relationship in a positive way. If carried to its logical extreme, the increasing membership of Lubavitch through conversion and very high birth rates accompanied by a low percentage of members who choose to leave Lubavitch, will lead to another type of ideolgoical power. This may be represented by the Church heirarchy, where ideological power is self evident, but where a charismatic tie exists only between the leader at the apex of the

system and his core supporters, who invariably have a material stake in the perpetuation of the leader's ideology. Precisely what is the breaking point at which an institutionalized charismatic relationship changes to a different kind of ideological power is impossible to say at this time. However, it is possible to say with some certainty, that, on the basis of the present research, the transformation of charisma to another kind of power is not a logical consequence of a charismatic group that survives beyond the lifetime of the leader. Rather, I suggest that such a relationship may institutionalize along lines similar to those of the original personal appeal of the leader. At that point it is possible that the institutionalized behavioral patterns denoting a charismatic relationship may continue indefinitely. Such is the case of many, small non-Lubavitch Hassidic groups, who, I suspect, continually lose members to the larger society and this acts as a device to offset the high birth rate of the members and keep the group small. [4]

Another major factor in the perpetuation of an institutionalized charismatic relationship depends on the receptivity of the surrounding dominant culture to the control of resources by the charismatic leader. At any point in time, the outsiders, on whom the Lubavitcher Rebbe depends for acquiring control of resources, may withdraw support, leaving the Rebbe without the economic base necessary for the maintenance of his charismatic power. Acceptance of ethnic pursuits by the larger society is a function of the nature and type of ethnic group goals and activities. Symbols of Lubavitch identity as a group now become important as we seek to understand the structural links between an ethnic group and a dominant culture or another sub-societal group.

Lubavitch flourishes as a sub-societal group because the Rebbe controls or creates resources from the larger Jewish population of which he is a part. The success of Lubavitch programs hinges on reciprocity between that larger Jewish community and Lubavitch. [5] Analytically, the linkage of the Lubavitch ethnic group to the larger Jewish community and to the dominant power structure may be seen as a series of interlocking feedback loops, each having a two-directional relationship with Lubavitch. (figure 5)

Analysis of our data in terms of feedback loops enables us to explain the persistence and strength of a bounded ethnic group in terms of its points of articulation with a larger socio-cultural system. According to the feedback model of the Lubavitch community, it is evident that within group relationships in Loop I are structured primarily by a system in which the Rebbe, an institutionalized charismatic leader, is able to control strategies of members that in turn, reinforce his sanctified position. But the persistence of Lubavitch as a sub-group of a plural society demands that we appreciate its points of articulation with the larger socio-cultural units that surround it. In this case, and, I suspect, most other cases of urban ethnic groups, the primary points of articulation must be in the economic sphere. The ethnic group may provide a service deemed necessary by the larger society or another sub-societal group. Or, the power structure of the ethnic group may be able to control at least a portion of the resources of the larger society for the benefit of ethnic group members. The lack of opportunity or exclusion of ethnic group members from participation in the economic sphere of the dominant society provides another method of articulation, albeit negative, to maintain ethnic group ideology and

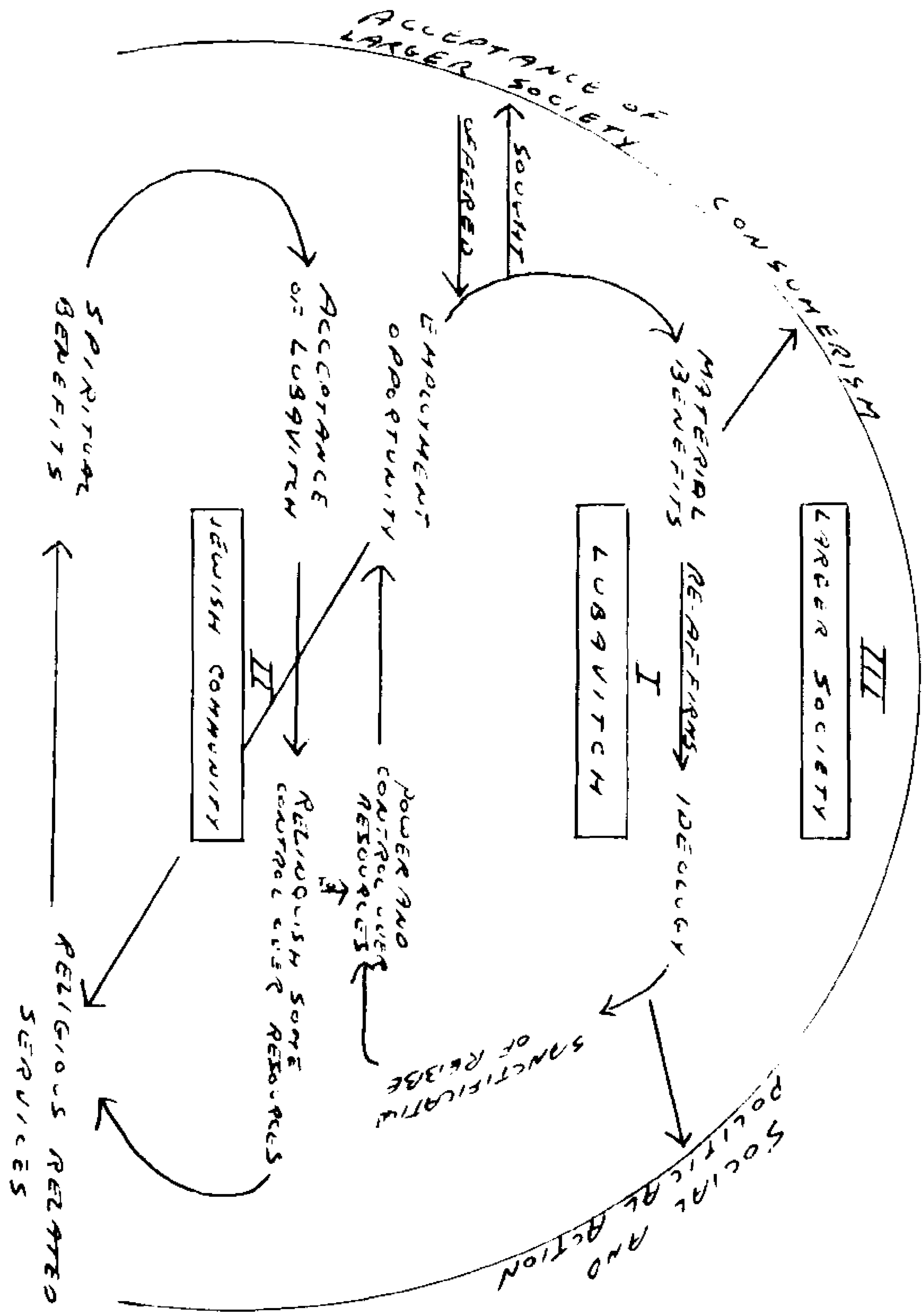

Acceptance of Larger Society
Sought
Offered
Consumerism
Employment Opportunity
Material Benefits
Acceptance of Lubavitch
Spiritual Benefits
Jewish Community
II
Lubavitch
I
Larger Society
III
Re-affirms
Ideology
Power and control over resources
Relinquish some control over resources
Religious Related Services
Social and Political Action

Figure 5

cultural forms.

The analytic advantages of a feedback model is that it combines the explanatory powers of a functionalist approach for intra-group behavior with a systematic view that highlights the points of articulation of each loop with other similar loops or sub-systems. These models de-emphasize the traditional anthropological importance of cultural forms and practices per se, and highlight social interactive relationships between an encapsulated group and other groups surrounding it. This is not to say that the importance of cultural forms in social life is down-graded. Rather, a systems perspective enables the anthropologist to better explain the particular role of the "cultural" in shaping, motivating, and/or constraining behavior. The potential strength of this model lies in its utility as a predictor of social action and its consequences within the sub-societal group, between that group and other similar groups, or a dominant socio-cultural unit.

In this particular study we may observe the critical status of the larger Jewish community (another ethnic group) for the continued material success of the Lubavitch community. Our data demonstrate how Lubavitch uses that Jewish community to further its own goals and substantiate its values. At the same time, the model reveals the major points of articulation of the Lubavitch groups to the power structure of "American" society. It is possible to suggest, for example, that if a portion of loop II is broken, the economic consequences for loop I will be disasterous. Loop II may be broken if that group no longer wants or accepts the services of Lubavitch, or, if the larger Jewish community strengthens its own ideological committment to Torah Judaism such that

members wish to fill religious-related positions with people of their own. Another possible break-point occurs if the larger Jewish community rejects the ideological base of the ethnic sub-group and will no longer want to share resources with that group.

Loop III is deliberately left open ended. Social scientists are only beginning to understand the ways in which ethnic and other sub-societal groups articulate with a surrounding society and for that reason, there are more points of articulation that are unknown than points that we can actually chart. Secondly, the structural relationshps of another sub-societal group to its encapsulating society may be quite different from the particular system operative among the Lubavitcher Hassidim. Therefore, generalizations about the relations betweeen Loop III, and I and II can only be approximated and suggestive. If the primary unit of study was the larger Jewish community, or a group that does not find acceptance in the larger society, the points of articulation and the points of potential breakage may be quite different. For example, we have concluded that the existence of a larger non-obervant Jewish community is an essential aspect of Lubavitch strength as a strongly bounded ethnic group. But the existence of such a buffer group may hardly be important for the material success of other bounded ethnic groups in multi-ethnic societies.

The extent to which ethnic studies focus on intra-ethnic cultural patterns and social relationships is the extent to which we, as social scientists, miss the crucial meaning of sub-societal cultural codes. Barth's (1969) pioneering study in the area of ethnic boundedness does not focus on urban, poly-ethnic interrelationships. Studies which have considered the relationships of ethnic groups to their surrounding

societies often deal with "minority groups" where the larger society is viewed as colonialist in philosophy, policy, and behavior and the minority group is analyzed in terms of fighting these colonialist practices. In these studies we may observe an overt or covert rejection of minority or ethnic group members by members of the dominant socio-cultural group. Other studies focus on the assimilation of minority groups into the dominant "mainstream" culture with the implicit assumption that there is a positive value in such behavior and a negative value on retention of distinctive ethnic cultural forms (Gordon 1964; Glazer 1954; Rosenthal 1960; Social Science Research Council 1954). The merits of these studies are open to judgment; I would hardly place myself in the position of criticizing their findings because for certain purposes, or a given historical context they may prove quite valuable. However, an additional task for social scientists, is to develop theories or models that explain ethnic group behavior in groups which are accepted by the larger society and groups which are not.

The questions we ask must not be formulated from the perspective of the dominant culture but from the perspective of points of articulation of a sub-group with other groups. We must understand the meaning and role of ethnic identity for maintaining or promoting any proposed interrelationship. This is especially important because small snifts in political policy by the larger encapsulating power structure will result in shifts in ethnic group behavior. Decisions made by the encapsulating group affect life strategies of ethnic group members; the extent to which they can succeed and still remain a bounded group, or, the need to disband or reinforce ethnic identity. Hence our concerns must focus on the relative

advantages of persistent ethnic distinctiveness as a strategic alternative in an urban, plural society.

Cultural forms that denote ethnic distinctiveness may be treated as a resource of an ethnic group, growing from its ideology, and manipulated as any other "natural" resource. Cultural resources are manipulated and controlled by ethnic group members and their leaders in an effort to establish inroads into other economic, political and social sectors of the dominant power structure of the encapsulating society. The ultimate end is to bring material and ideological rewards to members of such groups. To this extent, the manipulation of cultural forms is indeed similar to the manipulation of any non-cultural resource. The goal is specific benefits for a group of people who choose to follow the strategy set down by the leaders of the group.

The ability of the first Lubavitcher Rebbe (Shneur Zalman) to form a distinctive sub-societal group of his followers may be traced to his ability to successfully manipulate the cultural resources that emanate from ideology. This is especially significant because at that time,having a following of exceedingly poor people and no acceptance in the larger Jewish "establishment," Rebbe Zalman had no other resources under his control. It was not until much later, that subsequent leaders of Lubavitch were able to combine ideological and cultural resources with control of material resources. When the center of Lubavitch activities was re-established in Crown Heights, the ideological principles espoused by the American power structure enabled the Lubavitcher Hassidim to retain their distinctive ideology and cultural forms. But more significantly, the Rebbe was able to manipulate these very resources open to him in a manner that led to Lubavitch acquisition of a portion of the material

resources furnished by the larger Jewish population.

If the reader has followed the arguments of the preceding pages, it is not necessary to ask whether a single variable, religious belief and ideology, can be the primary variable motivating ethnic persistence and guiding ethnic strategies. It is true that religious institutions and associated cultural forms often persist among ethnic group members long after other distinctive cultural forms have been dropped in favor of corresponding behaviors from the encapsulating society. (Cronin 1970; Rubel 1967; Sklare and Greenbaum 1967). Many groups including Amish, Hutterites and Hassidim (Smith 1958; Bennet 1967; Poll 1962) display the expressions of a distinctive religious belief. A belief system provides for them, the primary structuring feature of their distinctive behavior patterns. When examined in terms of persistence and change vis a vis a host culture, one cannot help but conclude that symbols, rituals and behavioral patterns emanating from religious ideology are the most lasting and most distinctive aspects of ethnic identity. In the United States this blending of cultural forms and religious ideology is often labelled "denominationalism" (Simon, personal communication).

I have attempted to demonstrate that religious institutions offer an easy source of emergent power and leadership in groups whose members are subject to control of a larger society. This occurs because religious beliefs and ideology are least subject to external ecological and technological variables in the encapsulating society. Religion then becomes an organizational framework for potential ethnic strength and distinctiveness, and its leaders are spokesmen, mediators, redistributors and power politicians with the dominant culture. While we recognize the

importance of religion in ethnic persistence, the present conceptual framework suggests that the religious ideology and its associated cultural practices, be explained as the most accessible resource that a group's leaders can control. From this initial start, in any given environment, three alternatives are possible:

1. The group will disband if the leader can offer no other benefits and if acculturation is pursued.
2. The leader will become a leader of an ideological group in a complex urban society, where institutionalized behavior in any one area of life is totally separate from institutionalized behavior in any other area of life.
3. The ethnic group can become a distinctive sub-societal group if the leader can manipulate cultural forms and provide material opportunities in such a manner that it provides ample and rewarding strategies for the members.

Each of these paths involves a choice between different strategic alternatives open to an individual in the course of a lifetime. The effort to place strategic alternatives and inter-group relationships as central variables results in the need to examine economic, political, religious and social behavior as pivotal aspects of stragegic decision making for ethnic group members. Most important is the need to determine the goals of the individuals within the ethnic group, for this will provide the major influence on their choice of strategy. Persistence of religious institutions in sub-societal groups can then be partly explained as the affirmation of a symbol system and an organizational system through which various benefits and resources of the larger society are sought.

Institutionalized charisma is one type of organizational system that,

as has been demonstrated, can effectively express and control life strategies through the manipulation of ideology, cultural and material resources that serve to benefit the ideology. Surely other types of organizational systems function in similar manners among other ethnic groups and sub-societal groups. These organizational systems and the social structural patterns that emanate from them yield more fruitful hypotheses about behavior than are possible using a strict cultural orientation.

The larger questions that are suggested by this study relate to the social structural features that surround the concept of cultural pluralism. The extent to which we, as social scientists, can re-evaluate and determine the role of cultural forms and practices in shaping ethnic identity is the extent to which we can begin to comprehend the factors that provide input into an individual's life strategy. We must be able to isolate the inputs of the individual's decision making process as well as the consequences that may possibly derive. The present study is intended as an initial, small contribution toward this end.

NOTES

1. I was able to gather interview data from people in Crown Heights, other sections of New York, New Haven, Montreal, Cleveland, New Jersey, Michigan, Boston, Philadelphia, Montreal Canada and London.

2. A Chabad house is the location of organized activities of Lubavitch on or near college campuses. Lubavitch either owns or rents the house and uses it as a base of operations and programs aimed at conversionary and educational activities.

3. The figure of 100-150 Lubavitch families in Montreal is based completely on estimates given to me by Lubavitchers living in Montreal. I had no way of verifying the number, but the estimates were given independently and varied only between a low of 100 and a high of 150 families.

4. Recent evidence presented by Rubin (1972) for the Satmar Hassidim in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, indicates a probable population increase. But his statistics are based on a household sample taken in 1961. At that time there were few people in the 16-20 year old category (due to specific historic reasons) and Rubin assumes that with the high birth rate among Satmar Hassidim there would be a natural population increase in the ensuing ten years. It is not possible to confirm or deny his projection. Judging from the efforts of New York City government agencies to institute job training programs for the Williamsburg Hassidim and the large number of people in that community who live at, or near the poverty level, I would assume that over time, more and more young Hassidic people will elect to drop their strong ties to Hassidism and choose another, more viable life strategy.

5. In addition to the data presented in the body of the text, many non-Lubavitch orthodox Jews send their children to Lubavitch sponsored schools and summer camps throughout the United States. There are no statistics on the breakdown of Lubavitch vs. non-Lubavitch. On the basis of numbers alone, Lubavitch affiliated people could not fill all of their schools and camps.

APPENDIX

My field work activities spanned the course of one year. During that time I spent most of my days in Crown Heights and many evenings attending Lubavitch gatherings. However, my field work differed from the traditional anthropological field experience in that I always returned home in the evening. My activities included extensive interviews, geneological collections, and large blocks of time spent in conversation, gossip and other activities of routine daily life. Some of my Lubavitch contacts took advantage of my secular knowledge and often sought my help with various and sundry problems. At the same time, they sought to impart to me a greater knowledge about Judaism.

The weekly and holiday farbrengens were crucial for my data collection. It was during these times that I met many new people whom I later approached for interview. The farbrengen was also the time to feel the pulse of the Lubavitch community; to recognize problems, to see goals and ideas set into motion, and to feel the emotional response of each Hassid to the Rebbe. The impact of the farbrengen on me personally, grew over time. Initially, I could not understand the reasons why men packed together like sardines to doze while the Rebbe spoke. Neither could I appreciate the even worse conditions in the women's section, just to watch what the men were doing. However, over time, I too began to understand some of the flavor of this close, deep and personal tie of Hassid-Rebbe.

The following questionnaire was administered to the student population at Beth Rivkah High School for Girls, a Lubavitch sponsored institution. It includes responses from girls attending grades nine through twelve and a two year post high school seminary program.

The responses to most of the questions have not been tabulated for

presentation because they were designed as open ended questions to elicit information about family and background that could be confirmed through personal interview. The questionnaire was administered very early during the year of field research and served to generate hypotheses about Lubavitch organization that I could pursue further. Moreover, the questionnaire was my vehicle of admission to the school. During my visits to the school I made many contacts for personal interviews, and some of the students or their parents were key informants.

The results of the questionnaire are valid only insofar as they provide trends and patterns about the Lubavitch community. Although I was denied access to the Lubavitch boys' school, it is fair to assume that in most respects the results should be similar to responses given by the girls. One major difference must be noted. At the high school level, the Lubavitch school for boys will have a higher proportion of out of town Lubavitch students than the statistics reveal for the girls' school. Lubavitch boys receive greater encouragement to attend one of the Lubavitch major Yeshivah centers, i.e. Brooklyn or Montreal, than do Lubavitch girls. Boys must learn not only the traditional Yeshivah subjects but Hassidus as well. The stress on Chabad Hassidism will only be found in a Lubavitch Yeshivah. In Crown Heights there are teen age boys from Lubavitch homes throughout the world. Therefore the trend presented by the data gathered in the girls' high school represents a direction that would be intensified if data were available from the boys' school.

The reader will observe that the number of out of town Lubavitchers in the girls' school is greatest in the post high school Seminary classes. A Lubavitch Seminary program is not available in many cities outside of

New York. Some of these girls have attended Yeshivah day schools in their cities and have come to New York for Seminary training. But many of their brothers are sent to New York for the complete high school curriculum.

The scant amount of data collected about female occupations support the general thesis presented earlier. Of those Lubavitch women who are either presently employed or worked in the past, a full forty percent were or are employed in Hebrew school teaching positions. This figure will probably increase over the next few years as more girls attend Seminary and receive teacher training.

The data collected on migration proved to be inadequate for analysis because most of the students did not know when their parents arrived in the United States. The questions about shlichus assignments gave me some insight into the geographic range of Lubavitch activity and led to further inquiries about these activities. The last few questions had no value at all. Most Lubavitch girls regarded such inquiry as silly and chose to ignore the questions.

Because Lubavitch keeps no census records I was forced to work from a mailing list from which I verified my own estimate of 500 Lubavitch families in Crown Heights. Although I attempted to assess the numbers of people in each Lubavitch category, I have no basis for making any generalizations about size of each category.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Age_____ Grade_____

Where were you born?_____

In what cities have you lived?_____

What schools have you attended?

Grade	School	City

Where was your mother born?_____

Where was your father born?_____

If they were not born in the United States, when did they arrive?

Mother_____ Father_____

Is your mother a U.S. citizen?_____ Is your father a U.S. Citizen?_____

What is your father's present occupation? (If either parent is deceased, please fill in whatever is possible)_____

What other positions or jobs has he held?_____

_____

Is your mother employed now?_____

What is her occupation?_____

What other jobs has she had in the past?_____

_____

Is your father Lubavitch?_____

Is your mother Lubavitch?_____

If yes, were they born into a Lubavitch family? Mother_____ Father_____

If they were not born into a Lubavitch family, please describe what you know about how they came to embrace Chabad.

Mother_____

_____

_____

Father_____

_____

_____

How many brothers and sisters do you have: Brothers_____ Sisters____

Has your father ever been sent on Shlichus?_____

Where has he been sent?_____ _____

Is he on Shlichus now?_____

Are your parents fluent in English? Mother_____ Father_____

What language or languages are generally spoken in your home?_____

_____

In what language do you usually communicate with your friends outside of school?_____

Does your father regularly daven at a Lubavitcher shul?_____

If not, why?_____

_____

Does your father have a beard?_____

On weekdays, does your father wear work clothes, business suit, caftan?

_____

Does your mother wear a shaytl?_____

Please list the name of any groups, clubs associations or organizations that your mother or father belongs to:

Mother Father

Please list the name of any groups, clubs associations or organizations that you belong to:

What kinds of activities do you pursue outside of school?_____

_____

_____

Do your close friends attend school with you?_____

Are they Lubavitch?_____

Do you have any non-Lubavitch friends?_____

How did you meet them?_____ _____
_____

Do you ever meet your teachers outside of school?_____

If yes, please explain_____ _____
_____

COMPOSITION OF SCHOOL POPULATION

LUBAVITCH HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Grades	LUBAVITCH			Non-Lubavitch	No Answer	Grand Total
	New York	Out of Town	Total			
9	11	2	13	19	3	35
10	17	1	18	15	-	33
11	25	2	27	9	-	36
12	11	2	13	10	-	23
Seminary 1	16	6	22	6	-	28
Seminary 2	8	5	13	4	-	17
TOTALS	88	18	106	63*	3	172
% of Totals	83%	17%	100%			
% of Totals			62%	38%		100%

* 80% of this group of respondents indicated that their attendance at the Lubavitch school was self motivated.

OCCUPATIONS

LUBAVITCH MALES

	NEW YORK		OUT OF TOWN	
	Total	%	Total	%
***Religious Related Occupations**				
Teachers	11		5	
Slaughterers	7		3	
Rabbis	7		3	
Butchers	5		2	
Rabbinical Assistants	3		-	
Sexton	1		-	
Fund Raisers	-		1	
TOTAL	34	39%	14	78%
Secular Occupations				
Manufacturing	12			
Printing Industry	10			
Storekeepers	7			
Jewelers	6			
Diamond Cutters	4			
Insurance,Real Estate	3			
Physician	-		1	
Electrician	-		1	
Civil Servant	-		1	
Miscellaneous	3		-	
TOTAL	45	51%	3	16%
No Answer	9	10%	1	6%
GRAND TOTAL	88	100%	18	100%

* This category does not represent men who are trained in the occupations listed, but only those actually employed in income producing jobs in these fields.

ב"ה

AGUDAS N'SHEI UBNOS CHABAD
NATIONAL COUNCIL

אגודת נשי ובנות חב"ד
הלשכה המרכזית

770 EASTERN PARKWAY | **BROOKLYN 13, N. Y.** | **Telephone: HY 3-9251**

25 Nissan, 5733

Dear Member & Friend,

Being a member of N'shei Chabad means being responsive, caring about and obeying the directions of the Rebbe Shelita. This is why we expect every single person who receives this letter to come to the "Algemeine Farzamlung" this Wednesday, May 2.

This is far more than a general meeting! It is the answer of Lubavitcher women to the Rebbe's Shelita expression of disappointment about the "shechunah". N'shei Chabad is resolved to recommit and rededicate its efforts, individually and collectively, to remedy this situation. Join us on Wednesday, 8:30 P.M. - at the Young Israel of Eastern Parkway - 937 Eastern Parkway.

The Sichas Kodesh of the Rebbe Shelita from the Pesach Farbrengen will be given over by the well-known lecturer, Rabbi L. Groner.

The prominent educator, and active member of the Jewish Community Council, Rabbi Shmuel Fogelman, will present a detailed battle plan for us; what each one can and must do, because the Rebbe Shelita wants us all involved in this campaign.

Mrs. Rivele Rosenbloom will briefly speak on behalf of the Executive Council, inspiring us, and calling us to action.

We expect, and look forward to your presence at this emergency meeting! "B'lev echod, K'eesh echod"!

Sincerely,

Rochel [illegible], Esther Sternberg
Chairmen, Executive Council

REGISTRATION FORM

AN ENCOUNTER WITH CHABAD

A sabbath-weekend program
Dec. 21-24, 1972 — for women students
Dec. 28-31, 1972 — for men students
770 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York

Name .....

School Address .....

..... Phone .....

Home Address .....

..... Phone .....

College or University .....

Major .....

Any previous Jewish education.....

.....

Do you speak Hebrew? ..... Yiddish? .....
(Not at all necessary — but helpful for housing purposes)

Approx. arrival time .....

Remarks: .....

.....

.....

.....

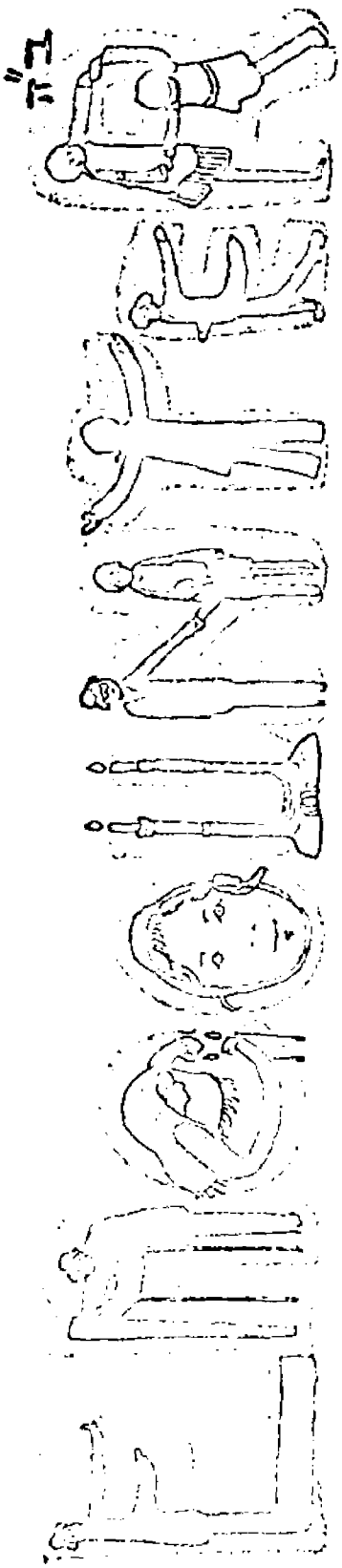
Applications should be received no later than one week before the program, but late applicants will be accomodated according to housing availability.

Mail to:

Women Students	Men Students
AN ENCOUNTER WITH CHABAD	AN ENCOUNTER WITH CHABAD
1717 President Street	Lubavitch Youth Organization
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11213	770 Eastern Parkway
	Brooklyn, N. Y. 11213

For further information write to the above addresses or phone:

(212) 778-4270 — 493-8449 — 493-6581



dec. 21-24, 1972
women students

dec. 28-31, 1972
men students

ENCOUNTER WITH CHABAD

an invitation to Jewish college students to participate in a sabbath-weekend program with the chabad (lubavitcher) chassidim

AN ENCOUNTER WITH CHABAD

AN INVITATION

The Chabad (Lubavitcher) Chassidim invite Jewish college students to spend a sabbath weekend with them. This "encounter" will comprise almost four days of active participation in chassidic living. Seminars on the general theme of "Liberation — Chassidic Style" will form the intellectual milieu for the weekend.

PURPOSE

In a recent article in the New York Times, Chassidism was referred to as the "spark" of Judaism. Any Jewish college student, *irrespecitve of prior background and commitment,* is invited to come and join hundreds of his or her fellow students in a weekend of spiritual exploration into the "spark" of Judaism.

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS.

(1) A farbrengen (a unique chassidic gathering) where we will hear "Torah" from the Lubavitcher Rebbe שליט"א.

(2) Seminars led by University Profs who are themselves Lubavitcher Chassidim.

(3) Classes in Chassidism led by Chassidic scholars brought to New York from many parts of the U.S. and Canada.

(4) Workshops on Mitzvah — handicrafts, Chassidic Arts and Music.

(5) The now famous midnight farbrengen with Dr. Yitzchak Block.

HOUSING

To further an appreciation for the warmth of chassidic living, all the participants will be housed with chassidic families in the immediate area.

LOCATION

Registration headquarters will be at 1408 President Street corner Kingston Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11213 — (212) 771-2500.

All meetings will take place in the vicinity of the synagogue of the Lubavitcher Rebbe שליט"א, 770 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York.

> "A Jew — neither wants to be nor can be divorced from G-dliness."
>
> Lubavitcher Rebbe

FEE

A fee of $15 is required to help defray expenses. Checks should be made payable to the Lubavitch Youth Organization and be enclosed with the registration form (found on the other side of this page).

DATES

Women Students	*Men Students*
Registration:	Registration:
Thursday, Dec. 21	Thursday, Dec. 28
5 — 8 p.m.	2 — 8 p.m.
First session	First session
Thur. Dec. 21, 8 p.m.	Thur., Dec. 28, 8 p.m.
Last session	Last session
Sun. afternoon, Dec. 24	Sun. afternoon, Dec. 31

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