

THE JEWISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

Published by Maurice Freedman Research Trust Ltd

VOLUME XXVII : NUMBER 2 : DECEMBER 1985

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American Jews¹

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ISSN 0021-6534

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PUBLISHED TWICE YEARLY, IN JUNE AND DECEMBER
by Maurice Freedman Research Trust Ltd

(Published by the World Jewish Congress 1959-80)

1986 ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION
INSTITUTIONS: £12.00 (U.S. \$24.00)
INDIVIDUALS: £10.00 (U.S. \$20.00)
SINGLE COPIES: £6.00 (U.S. \$12.00)

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A NEW LOOK AT ALIYAH INFLUENCES AMONG NORTH AMERICAN JEWS

Albert I. Goldberg

OVER the generations, Diaspora Jews have been urged to go on aliyah — to settle in the Holy Land. Rabbi Avraham Kook declared: 'It is idle to seek other paths, for there is only one way on which we must tread — that is to Eretz Israel'.¹ With the establishment of a Jewish State in Israel, Jews from 'free' countries, such as the United States and Canada, might have been expected to respond to the aliyah call. Their failure to settle in Israel in substantial numbers has raised both doctrinal issues about the meaning of Jewish existence and practical concerns about the Jewish population of Israel. Published studies of the characteristics and motivations of those Jews who did settle in Israel² have generally neither evaluated fully the interaction of relevant variables nor related them to current conditions in Diaspora communities. This paper develops a comprehensive model of aliyah influences, drawing inferences about the possibility of increasing the number of North American Jews who will settle in Israel. It is based on the findings of a survey of Jewish attitudes carried out in 1978–79.

Since the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, there have been only limited numbers of North American Jewish immigrants. The highest figure for any one year from the USA and Canada (8,122) was in 1975, while only 2,827 came in 1984 — and this from a Diaspora community estimated at about 6 million.³ Instead, the attraction of North America for Israelis has proved to be much greater than the pull of Israel for North American Jews, with four Israelis emigrating to North America for every North American settling in Israel since 1948.⁴ Jews now feel themselves to be an accepted part of the social and economic life of the United States and Canada. They have shown their readiness to assimilate into the majority society of those countries, with growing numbers taking their marital partners from other religious and ethnic groups.⁵

Although few North American Jews are settling in Israel, most of them nevertheless appear to be in general agreement with many tenets of Zionism — an ideology centred on the establishment and development of a Jewish State. Most of them also agree with the view that the

Jews are one people, irrespective of citizenship, and that Jews have a right to political sovereignty; and they are aware of the present dangers of antisemitism and assimilation. Indeed, the existence of the Jewish State has reinforced their determination to ensure the preservation of Judaism.⁶ Israel has become a rallying point for organized community activities and a source of ethnic pride. However, few North American Jews appear to have reached Ben-Gurion's conclusion that 'a Zionist is a person who settles in Israel'.⁷ It is important to ask why the principles intended to lead to a large migration of Jews to Israel have not had that effect in North America — or, for that matter, in Western countries.

Model Building

Standard push/pull models for migration may be useful in developing a model predicting readiness to go on aliyah.⁸ Jewish commitments are the primary pull factor in such models and represent a basically ideological attraction to Israel. The push derives from possible dissatisfactions with an individual's community or life-style, which may, in part, be generated from an incongruence between his or her ethnic consciousness and life as a member of a minority in the country of birth. Pushes and pulls may be particularly intense for those with demographic characteristics, such as belonging to an older generation, foreign birth, or higher education, that might relate to more intensive Jewish commitments and be further supported by other factors facilitating migration.

Demographic variables which are reported in other studies to typify North American Jews in Israel can be made part of this aliyah model (see Figure 1). Thus, olim (immigrants) from North America have been found to be mainly between the ages of 20 and 34 (a factor consistent with the higher prevalence of youth in most international migrations), to be single, and somewhat more likely to be female.⁹ Their educational and professional backgrounds were higher than is usual in international migrations; but they were, on average, representative of young Jews in North America.¹⁰ Most of those who migrated to Israel in the 1970s were born in North America,¹¹ but in the present study a generational factor was included (measured by one grandparent born in the United States or Canada) to discover whether those with a greater family heritage in North America would be less likely to consider a move to Israel.

One might assume that those with a strong Jewish identity would be particularly susceptible to an aliyah call. The Orthodox would obey one of the basic commands of the Torah in Ezekiel 36:28: 'And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be my people, and I will be your God', reinforced by annual Passover and Yom Kippur wishes to be 'next year in Jerusalem'. Those with a more

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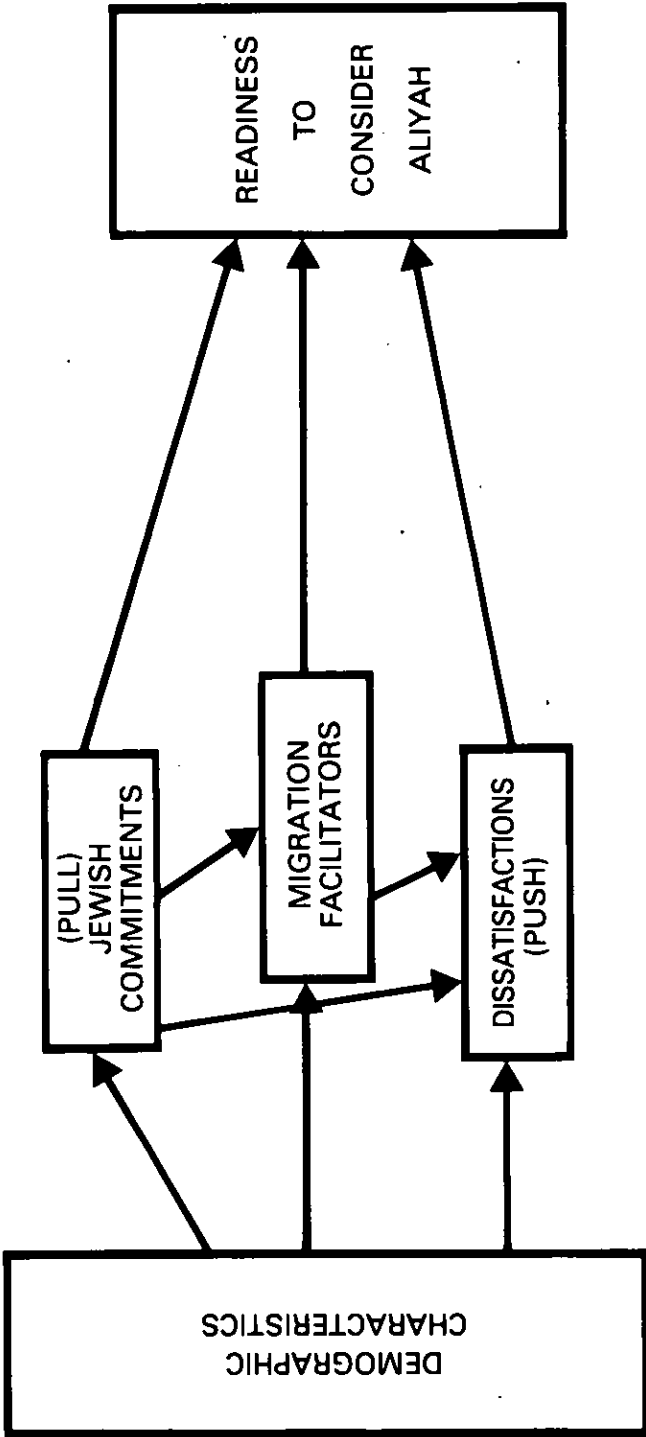


FIGURE 1. Hypothesized Relationships Among Factors Leading to a Consideration of Aliyah (Push/Pull Model)

nationalistic vision of Jewish identity would believe that separate cultural development is possible only within the structure of a nation-state. Those with an ethnic/secular involvement would probably show concern at the threat of the eventual disappearance of the Jewish communities in their countries, either by physical destruction or by absorption into the Gentile society as a result of intermarriage and other modes of assimilation. Finally, idealists would be challenged by the opportunity of participating in an effort to develop a Jewish society and to demonstrate the enduring validity of historical Jewish ethical and social principles.¹²

Those committed to Judaism, however, are not always single-minded in their outlook, and indeed may reject beliefs emphasizing the centrality of Israel. They may argue for an alternative multi-centre view of the history of the Jewish people, with 'golden periods' outside the Land of Israel — and one such period is claimed to be occurring presently in North America.¹³ In the United States and Canada, Jews show little fear of physical destruction; and within those nations' systems of cultural plurality, the conditions necessary for the continued spiritual existence of the Jewish community seem to exist. Thus, those who are aware of the Biblical command to settle in Israel may claim that command to be in abeyance until the dawn of the messianic age.¹⁴ Jewry, in fact, might be considered to be rightfully dispersed as part of a mission to disseminate a belief in Biblical morality among the nations of the world.¹⁵ A strong Jewish identity, then, does not necessarily connote a belief in Israel's centrality; and this focus of attention on Israel would have to be added to the aliyah model in order to specify the direction of Jewish commitment.

The development of Jewish commitment can often be traced to a period of early socialization: initiated in a home with a strong Jewish atmosphere; supported by attendance at a religious/ethnic school; facilitated by a command of the Hebrew language; and reinforced by membership in a youth movement.¹⁶ Indeed, in a study by Gerald Engel reported in 1970, 73 per cent of North American olim came from strongly Jewish homes; and in a paper by Gerald S. Berman published in 1979, nearly 90 per cent had some form of Jewish education.¹⁷ The majority came to Israel with some knowledge of Hebrew, according to Antonovsky and Katz.¹⁸ The Central Bureau of Statistics of Israel in a 1980 publication on American and Canadian immigrants states that the olim's activities connected with Judaism generally started in their youth and continued into adulthood, with most of them being members of Diaspora Jewish community organizations, including synagogues, and over half reporting themselves as 'religious'.¹⁹ Despite the assimilative climate of North America, moreover, many practice a degree of ethnic structural segregation: all their close friends are Jewish.²⁰

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An attitudinal dimension to Jewish identification, measuring the degree to which subjective priority is given to one's involvement as a Jew, can be added to the behavioural dimension.²¹ In the present survey, respondents were asked the extent to which they considered being Jewish was an important part of their lives, whether they felt they were first Jewish and second natives of their homeland, and whether they agreed or not with the statement, 'I feel a personal responsibility to remain a Jew for the sake of my parents and ancestors' (see the Appendix). Reference group orientations further affect this Jewish identity; for example, feeling close to Israeli Jews would increase the commitment to Israel, while feeling close to non-Jews would lead to reduced Jewish commitments.

The possible existence of a push factor in the migration of North American Jews to Israel has been a somewhat controversial subject in the literature. Studies by Antonovsky and Katz and by Berman have emphasized that Jewish migrants are overwhelmingly influenced by the pull to Israel and that they did not flee from their original homeland; that, in fact, most of them were satisfied with their family life and employment conditions when they decided to leave North America.²² Other researchers, however, have reported that migrants did have some general dissatisfaction with American society, arising from the problems of Jewish identity in an American pluralistic context; specific dissatisfaction with the structure of the North American Jewish community; and concern about antisemitism.²³ Finally, some individuals may decide to leave their country for purely personal reasons — such as dissatisfaction with present employment, family relationships, or future prospects.

Beyond the push/pull aspects, a majority of North American olim were aided by migration facilitators, which reduced the strain of being transplanted into another society. Movement is eased when the potential migrant has some degree of contact with those already living in Israel; and through that contact, assistance can be provided to overcome existing difficulties.²⁴ Thus, a majority in one sample had previously visited the country, some within the context of student and work programmes, and made the decision to migrate after returning to North America.²⁵ In another study, a majority also had friends and relatives in Israel.²⁶ Prior contact can also have a positive influence on prospects of employment, a factor supporting a propensity to go on aliyah.²⁷

Method and Data

There are many difficulties in selecting a sample of North American Jews contemplating settlement in Israel and in obtaining an adequate representation of the relatively small and widely distributed North

American Jewish population. However, that task was eased through the active assistance of the Israel Aliyah Center, a branch of the Jewish Agency, which maintains offices in various cities in order to assist those planning migration. A general sample of North American Jews was obtained by using a snowball sampling technique.²⁸ This low-cost method allowed a national sample to be drawn from both affiliated and non-affiliated Jews, who answered a large number of questions related to Jewish commitment and aliyah. An initial sample of known Jews was contacted in various areas of North America, asked to co-operate by filling out a questionnaire, and then encouraged to distribute from one to five questionnaires to others in various occupations in their own communities whom they knew to be Jewish, irrespective of whether or not they were assimilated Jews.

The Aliyah Center sample consisted of 167 individuals who were in contact with offices in eight regions of North America. There were a further 248 in the snowball sample; these were Jews who did not contemplate migrating to Israel. Major concentrations of Jewish population as well as several small, comparatively isolated, Jewish communities in North America were covered. In all, 415 questionnaires were returned from four communities in Canada (Toronto; Montreal; Calgary; and Vancouver) and 14 in the United States (New York City; Philadelphia; Chicago; Miami; San Francisco; North New Jersey; Detroit; Boston; Cleveland; Minneapolis; Eau Claire, Wisconsin; Blacksburg, Virginia; Fairfield, Connecticut; and San Jose, California). These two samples are treated as a single survey population in the Jewish Attitude Survey in order to obtain adequate variance on the key dependent variable in this analysis, a readiness to consider aliyah. Thus, this study should not be seen as providing an accurate picture of the commitments of North American Jews but instead as an analytical study allowing the development of models to measure the impact of different factors on aliyah proneness.²⁹

Table 1 shows the responses to key questions in the Jewish Attitude Survey (JAS) among the two samples: the Israel Aliyah Center respondents and the Comparison Group. Wherever possible, answers to these same questions are shown for the US National Survey of American Jews (NSAJ) which was carried out in 1981–82.³⁰ The basic demographic backgrounds of respondents in both surveys are similar in respect of North American native grandparent, college degree, professional occupation, marital status, and gender. The JAS, however, has a younger population and a higher proportion who belong to an Orthodox synagogue (17 per cent compared to six per cent), attended Hebrew day schools, and associated almost exclusively with other Jews. As to having visited Israel, more than two-thirds in the JAS have done so compared to only 37 per cent in the NSAJ. Respondents reached through the Israel Aliyah Centers were higher than the

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TABLE 1. *Distribution of Responses to Key Items in Jewish Attitude Survey (1978-79) Among Two Samples; and Comparative Items from the US National Survey of American Jews (1981-82)*

	Jewish Attitude Survey 1978-79		U.S. National Survey of
	Israel Aliyah Center	Comparison group	American Jews 1981-82
N =	167	248	700
<i>Demographic Characteristics</i>			
Median age (in years)	28	30	49
	%	%	%
North American native grandparent	26	16	23
College graduate	64	61	59
Professional occupation	34	34	26
Married	64	58	62
Male	53	42	54
<i>Jewish Commitment and Background</i>			
Belief in Israel's centrality index (high)	64	34	
Israel reference group ('very close')	73	43	
Jewish identity index (high)	59	44	
Level of Hebrew ('good' or 'fluent')	51	17	
Attended Hebrew day school	26	19	4
Non-Jewish reference group ('very close')	4	3	
Ethnic structural segregation ('all' or 'almost all' close friends are Jews)	56	48	39
Membership in Zionist organization	33	15	
Previous membership in Zionist youth movement	59	46	
Membership in a Jewish organization	39	47	38
Synagogue affiliation (Orthodox)	20	15	6
(no affiliation)	43	31	32
<i>Dissatisfaction</i>			
Dissatisfied with local community	46	12	
Recently experienced antisemitic acts	43	33	
Experienced antisemitic acts while growing up	72	70	
Dissatisfied with present employment	22	12	
Dissatisfied with present family relationships	15	9	
Dissatisfied with future prospects	8	8	
<i>Migration Facilitators</i>			
Expect few employment difficulties in Israel	70	33	
Israel contact index (high)	72	39	
Visited Israel	89	54	37

Source of comparative items: Reported in Steven Martin Cohen, 'The 1981-1982 National Survey of American Jews', *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 83, 1982, pp. 89-110.

Comparison Group on most Jewish commitment measures and migration facilitators; and they also expressed much greater dissatisfaction with their local communities.

The measure of responsiveness to the call to migrate to Israel was based on the question, 'Are there any circumstances under which you might migrate to Israel?' Respondents were given five answer possibilities; 31 per cent stated that they were ready to go while five per cent declared that they were not prepared to migrate under any circumstances. The rest of the sample divided evenly among the three intermediate categories: 'I am ready to consider the possibility'; 'Perhaps I could be convinced with the right opportunities'; and 'Only under very special circumstances which I do not expect to occur'. The comparatively high proportion who were ready to go on aliyah reflects the sampling procedure: 40 per cent of the respondents (167 out of 415) were contacted at an Israel Aliyah Center office. Steven M. Cohen, in a 1983 American national survey, found that only 17 per cent of his Jewish sample had seriously considered living in Israel.³¹ Almost all those who had indicated in the Jewish Attitude Survey in 1978-79 the highest readiness to emigrate were found ultimately to have settled in Israel.

A step-wise multiple regression was used to assist in the model building. The readiness to consider aliyah was the dependent factor; the independent variables introduced into the regression were generally grouped into the areas of demography, Jewish identity, dissatisfaction, and migration facilitators.

Results

Of 26 variables introduced into a step-wise multiple regression, seven were found to have a direct impact on a readiness of North American Jews to consider aliyah: age, belief in Israel's centrality, Israeli reference group, dissatisfaction with local community, expectation of few employment difficulties in Israel, Israel contact, and previous visits to Israel. These seven factors met a .01 significance level as measured by F and combined to explain 54 per cent of the variance as measured by R². A discussion of these relationships follows, with a further elucidation of two other variables showing strong indirect effects, eight contributing to interactive patterns, and nine having a negligible influence on aliyah readiness (see Table 2). Threats of war or terror in Israel, a lower standard of living, and the disruption of family relationships might have an adverse effect on those contemplating aliyah;³² but such sentiments were not included in this analysis, since they were common to both those planning to emigrate and to those unwilling to leave North America.

Demographic characteristics were least productive among the hypothesized factors explaining a migration readiness (see Table 2),

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TABLE 2: *Factors Influencing a Readiness Among North American Jews to go on Aliyah*

Measured by zero order correlation (r) and standardized beta weights (B) deriving from a stepwise multiple regression. Betas shown only if they meet a less than .01 significance level as measured by F

	Zero-order correlation	Beta weight
N = 394		
<i>Demographic Characteristics</i>		
Age	-.29	-.15
North American native grandparent	+.11	
Number of years of formal education	+.03	
Professional occupation	+.02	
Married	+.02	
Male	+.02	
<i>Jewish Commitments and Background</i>		
Belief in Israel's centrality index*	+.51	+.24
Israeli reference group*	+.42	+.17
Jewish identity index*	+.39	
Level of Hebrew language	+.44	
Level of Hebrew school attended*	+.18	
Non-Jewish reference group*	-.18	
Ethnic structural segregation*	+.14	
Membership in Zionist organization	+.14	
Previous membership in Zionist youth movement	+.12	
Membership in a Jewish organization	-.04	
Synagogue affiliation*	+.01	
<i>Dissatisfaction</i>		
Dissatisfied with local community	+.43	+.25
Recently experienced antisemitic acts	+.16	
Experienced antisemitic acts while growing up	+.01	
Dissatisfied with present employment	+.14	
Dissatisfied with present family relationships	+.06	
Dissatisfied with future prospects	-.04	
<i>Migration Facilitators</i>		
Expect few employment difficulties in Israel	+.34	+.20
Israel contact index*	+.47	+.14
Visited Israel	+.40	+.14
R ² =		.54

*See Appendix for description of how these variables were measured

age being the only one which proved to have a direct influence: young North American Jews were more predisposed to move. The other background factors — a North American-born grandparent, level of formal education, professional occupation, marital status, and gender — dropped out of the analysis.

There were two strong direct effects among Jewish commitment variables: a belief in the centrality of Israel and an Israeli reference group. Indirect influences derived from holding to a strong Jewish identity and from the ability to use the Hebrew language. Other Jewish background variables contributed to the development of these attitudinal variables, and will be used in later path models; but membership in a Jewish organization proved to be an exception, as it seemed to have no bearing on the predisposition to migrate.

Of the various forms of 'pushes', general dissatisfaction with the local community had the most direct impact on aliyah propensity. Recent experiences of antisemitism and dissatisfaction with present employment were only indirect incentives to emigrate by contributing to discontent within one's local community. Other possible 'push' factors, such as having suffered from antisemitic acts in one's childhood, dissatisfaction with present family relationships, and gloom about future prospects, did not appear to lead the respondents to consider aliyah.

The three variables which facilitated movement all proved significant in their impact on the dependent variable. The main factor was found to be an expectation of few employment difficulties in Israel. This showed that far from being 'driven' to another shore solely by ideology, the potential North American Jewish *oleh* is influenced by practical considerations about finding a job in the new homeland. The other two factors were contacts with Israel (such as close friends or relatives living there) and a previous visit to the country.

Path Models

A clearer exposition of the interrelationships among variables and of possible indirect effects on the dependent variable may be obtained through the use of a path model. Since there was a large number of variables, separate path models were developed for each of the three critical dimensions influencing a readiness to consider aliyah: Jewish commitments (pull), dissatisfactions (push), and migration facilitators. A combined model containing these three dimensions is shown in Figure 1.

The ordering of the variables was guided by principles described by Lazarsfeld and by Blalock.³³ Although other directions between variables might have been chosen, they would not have accommodated the logic of time ordering, the assumed greater stability of certain

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factors, and the actual and partial correlations among the items. Following the argument of O'Brien, ordinal scales were used where possible instead of the more standard dummy variables.³⁴ All paths not significant at the .01 level as measured by F were excluded from each model.

1. Jewish Commitments

A strong Jewish identity, although having only an indirect influence in the model, plays a pre-eminent role in readiness to consider migration, as illustrated in Figure 2.³⁵ This group consciousness variable is the basis of the other, more direct attitudes affecting migration propensities — a belief in the centrality of Israel and identification with an Israeli reference group.

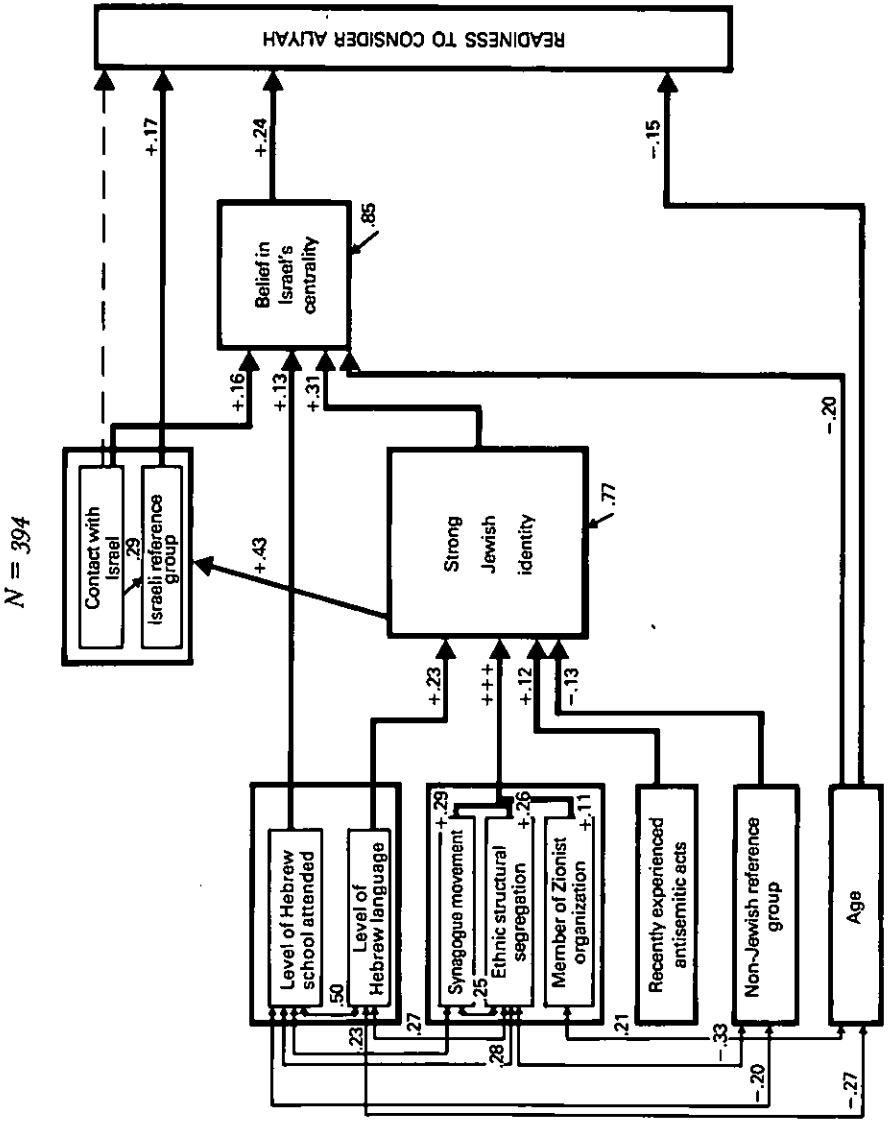
Jewish identity, in turn, stems from an accumulation of group-related commitments: knowledge of the Hebrew language, affiliation with a more traditional (that is, Orthodox) synagogue movement, membership of a Zionist organization, and ethnic structural segregation (such as choosing close friends from the same sub-culture). This Jewish saliency also relates to recent experiences of antisemitic acts. A feeling of closeness to the majority group in North America, the non-Jews in this model, is the only reference group counter-force against the development of strong Jewish attachments.

We have seen that the belief that the State of Israel is central to the Jewish people is related directly to increased aliyah readiness. The impact of a strong Jewish identity on this central belief is further reinforced a) when there has been an extensive religious/ethnic education, such as that given by synagogue-sponsored day schools, rather than the Sunday school or non-formal frameworks; and b) when there is contact with those already living in Israel.

An Israeli reference group is second in importance in influencing migration tendencies and provides a separate path of positive reaction to the aliyah call. This reference group path, nevertheless, derives from the same Jewish background factors influencing the centrality belief, especially a strong Jewish identity and contact with Israel. A reference group in Israel, by increasing relational involvements with those already living in that country, may be seen as reinforcing commitments to migrate.³⁶

Older age, which was shown to have a direct negative impact on the readiness to consider migration (see Table 2), was found in the path model to have additional consequences. Younger Jews are more likely to hold to a belief in the centrality of Israel and to be able to use the Hebrew language. Older Jews, on the other hand, are more likely to be members of Zionist organizations, a path leading to a stronger Jewish identity; but they are more resistant to moving away from family, friends, and familiar surroundings.

FIGURE 2. Path Model of Interrelationships Among Jewish Commitment Factors (Full)



Note: The numbers in the above path model are standardized Betas. Paths are included only if they met a minimum significance level of less than .01 as measured by F.

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Jewish commitment factors are shown in this model (Figure 2) to act both individually and collectively to create a path which increases the readiness to consider migrating from a privileged homeland.

2. The Basis of Dissatisfaction with the Local Community

A general sense of dissatisfaction with the community in which the respondent dwells has been shown to be a direct push factor leading to a readiness to consider aliyah (see Table 2). Three separate Jewish identification paths affect this dissatisfaction: one based on a local hostility to Jews and evidenced in antisemitic acts; a second in which discontent with a local situation is generated by a Jewish attachment to the more distant Israel; and a third that reduces dissatisfaction by providing intensive involvement with the activities of a local Jewish community (see Figure 3).

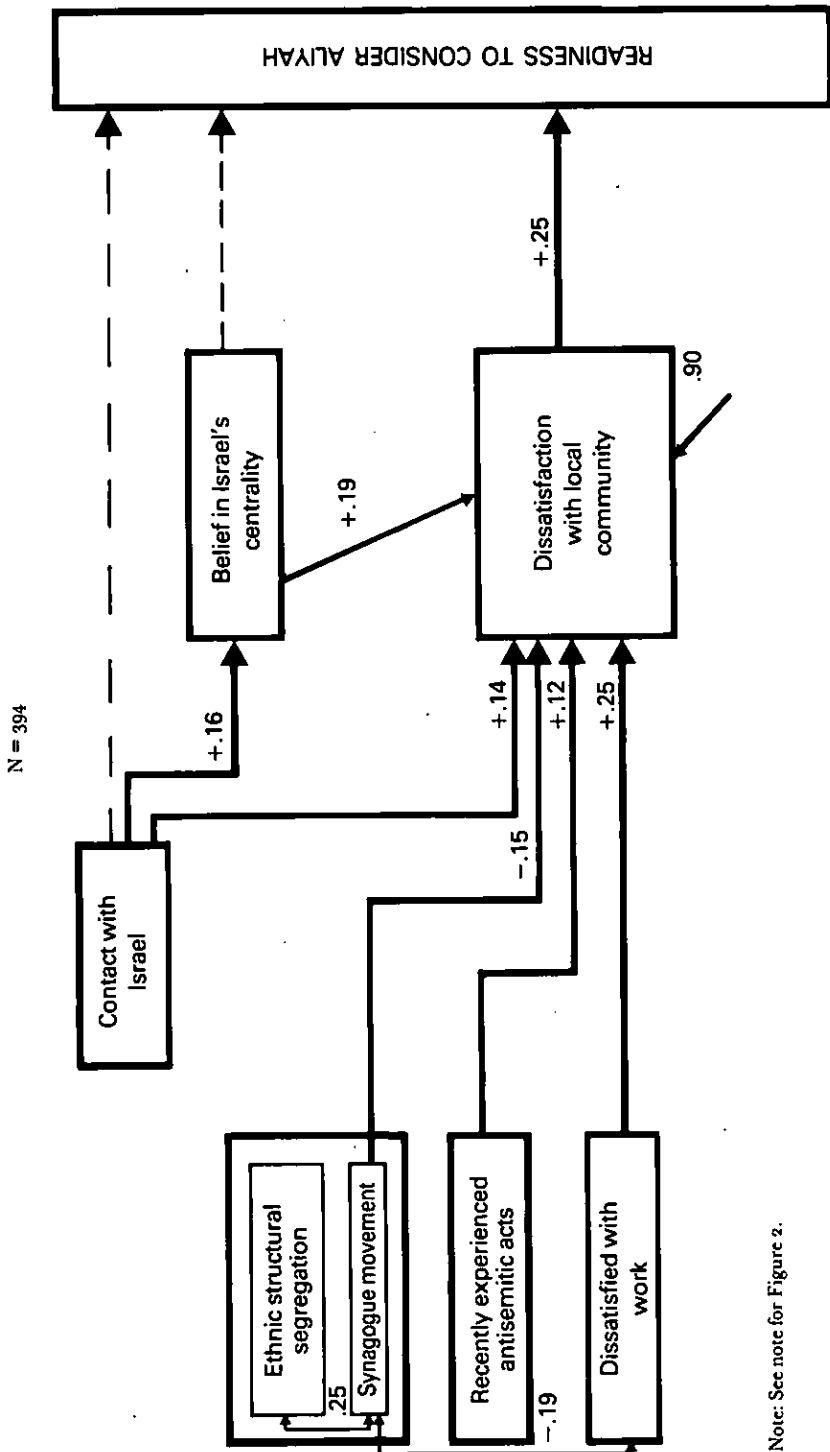
One may also be dissatisfied in one's local community for reasons unconnected with Judaism — such as conditions of employment. Those who find satisfaction in their present job will usually be less inclined to emigrate; but the reverse will be the case if they find their occupation unrewarding. Their discontent, if it is reinforced by Jewish commitments, may encourage them to consider aliyah.

As for antisemitism, although much has been written about its decline in North America,³⁷ 38 per cent of the respondents in the present sample reported its recent occurrence — ranging from verbal expressions of prejudice to actual discrimination at work or in their residential community. These antisemitic incidents were not found to have any direct influence on the propensity to consider aliyah, but instead contributed to the respondent's general malaise in the local community.

Contact with Israel in some cases fosters dissatisfaction with the local community. A period spent in Israel can increase sensitivity to the inadequacy of Jewish community life in North America, because Israelis are more willing to emphasize national and religious factors when describing a 'full' life.³⁸ Such contact also encourages a belief in the centrality of Israel to Jewish life, which in turn leads to greater criticism of day-to-day life in a Diaspora setting.

Membership of a more traditional synagogue movement plays an interesting role in reducing dissatisfaction with a local community. Synagogue affiliation to the Orthodox denomination is related to a strong Jewish identity, which predisposes a respondent to consider aliyah. Ironically, however, more traditional Jews show a greater readiness to express satisfaction with their local community because it is a self-segregated Jewish group. Pressures to migrate to Israel owing to Jewish commitment are neutralized somewhat when there is such self-segregation in one's native country.

FIGURE 3. Path Model of Factors Influencing Dissatisfaction with Local Community (Push)



Note: See note for Figure 2.

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In summary, Figure 3 illustrates a push aspect to aliyah readiness based on dissatisfaction with the local habitat. While this situational factor might have been expected to be independent of a Jewish consciousness, that did not prove to be the case. A good deal of both dissatisfaction and satisfaction with local community life is rooted in one's sense of Jewish identity.

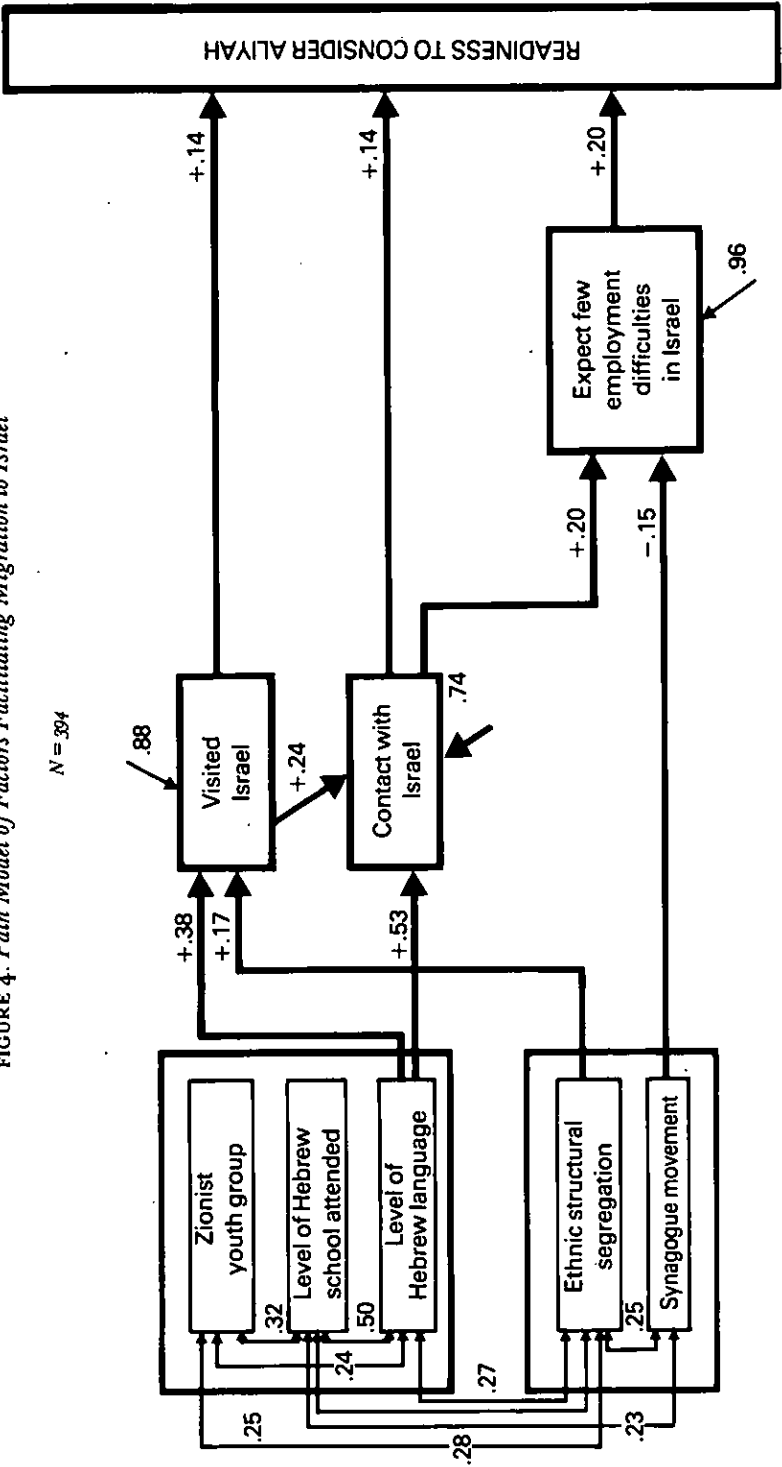
3. Migration Facilitators

Various factors can be seen to facilitate an aliyah decision by North American Jews. One of the most important is a previous visit to Israel which can raise hopes of finding employment. A knowledge of the Hebrew language both increases the likelihood of visiting Israel and intensifies contact with those living there. Self-segregation (selecting mainly Jewish close friends) is also related to an increased likelihood of visiting Israel. Figure 4 illustrates the interconnection of these facilitators and their relationship to aspects of a Jewish background.

Synagogue affiliation and organizational memberships, which might have been assumed to have a positive impact on the ease of movement, reveal unexpected relationships. Synagogue affiliation has a contradictory role. Those belonging to a more orthodox denomination are more likely to have had an intensive religious education and to have acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew language; and they are also more likely to accept ethnic structural segregation — both factors associated with visits to, and contact with, Israel. But on the other hand, they are less likely to state that they expect to find employment in Israel; and they are therefore less ready to consider migration. The expected difficulties in finding a job in Israel might be either objectively or subjectively based. The more orthodox may be over-represented in occupations which are not easily transferred from one country to another, such as ownership of a small business. Or they may have a greater need to rationalize a failure to obey a religious commandment — to settle in Israel — and therefore find self-justification for their decision to remain in North America by claiming employment difficulties if they emigrate. Neither of these two hypotheses could be confirmed by the existing data.

As for the organizational memberships, those who once belonged to Zionist youth movements or were, at the time of the survey, members of Jewish or Zionist organizations might be thought to be better prepared to settle in Israel. Presumably, they had obtained a greater awareness of opportunities through these groups and their information organs. Owing to the limited number of cases in this study, it was impossible to place the respondents into separate membership groups. The general picture, however, shows that Jewish or Zionist organizational membership does not play any important role in the decision to emigrate (see Figure 4) Membership of a Zionist youth group is related both to a

FIGURE 4. Path Model of Factors Facilitating Migration to Israel



N = 394

Note: See note for Figure 2.

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greater ability to use the Hebrew language and to a more intensive religious education, but it does not seem to be an independent path leading to aliyah.

Conclusion

There is an apparent incongruence between the importance of the State of Israel for most North American Jews and the relatively small number of those who decide to settle in Israel. It seems that for North American Jews, as for many other Diaspora Western Jews, a Zionist is one who provides the means for other (usually persecuted) Jews to go on aliyah.

A strong Jewish identity is clearly the main pull factor in deciding to emigrate. The aliyah model, however, shows this variable to have significance only when combined with a view of Judaism that places Israel as central to the survival of the Jewish people. A knowledge of Hebrew is also of great importance. Traditionalism, measured by greater religiosity, is not enough for motivating one to go on aliyah — for although such traditionalism increases Jewish commitment, it can also lead to the personal satisfactions that apparently come from leading a self-segregated existence in a kind of 'golden ghetto' in the Diaspora.

The model also reveals that push factors, based on dissatisfaction with the home community, contribute, along with pull elements, to influencing aliyah readiness. It seems, however, that Jewish commitment must interact with that dissatisfaction before aliyah is considered. Unhappiness in one's present employment and the likelihood of a rewarding job in Israel is another incentive to emigrate. Surprisingly, experiencing antisemitism does not alone lead directly to consider aliyah; it does, however, have an indirect importance by contributing to feelings of unease in one's local community and increasing the likelihood of developing a strong Jewish identity.

Demographic variables might be assumed to have a strong impact on aliyah propensities. In this model, only age has any importance in predicting aliyah readiness. Other variables, such as professional occupation, years of formal education, native grandparent, marital status, and gender, prove negligible. The young are more likely to have studied Hebrew, thereby increasing their likelihood of visiting Israel; but they also show both a greater reluctance to join Zionist organizations and mixed feelings about their Jewish identity. Long-term reactions to aliyah among younger generations of Jews in North America, therefore, will depend on which of the conflicting influences eventually becomes dominant.

Aliyah might be more easily increased by providing a greater number of North American Jews with those factors called migration

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facilitators in this model — factors which are generally most susceptible to organized action on the part of the Zionist movement or the Israeli government. This could include increasing the number of programmes available in Israel to North American Jews, encouraging greater contact with Israelis, and helping to prepare potential olim for the Israeli job market while they are still in North America. The migration of a large proportion of North American Jews to Israel may be unrealistic under existing conditions, but it might still be practicable to increase the numbers of those who are convinced that the fulfilment of their Jewish identity is primarily met by settling in Israel.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the partial financial support of the Technion Vice-President for Research — Fund for New Immigrants and for assistance in collecting data provided by several representatives of the Israel Aliyah Center of North America.

APPENDIX

An explanation of the starred variables shown in Table 2 is given below. Where an index has been constructed, it is based on factor analysis, which determined the weights to be used.

1. *Belief in Israel's Centrality Index*

The respondent was asked to agree or disagree with the following statements:

- a. Every Jew should live in Israel.
- b. North America is as much a center of Judaism as is Israel.
- c. The Jewish community in North America will disappear through assimilation in a few generations.

2. *Israeli Reference Group*

How close do you feel to Jews living in Israel?

3. *Jewish Identity Index*

- a. Does the fact that you are Jewish play an important part in your life?
- b. On a scale between 'feel more as a Jew' or 'feel more as an American/Canadian', where would you place yourself?
- c. Do you agree or disagree with the statement: 'I feel a personal responsibility to remain a Jew for the sake of my parents and ancestors'.
- d-f. How important are the following to you?
— to make a contribution to the Jewish people;

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- to bring up your children to be good Jews;
- to lead a full Jewish life.

4. *Level of Hebrew (Religious) School Attended*

Which type of Hebrew school did you attend? None, Sunday classes, afternoon classes, day school?

5. *Non-Jewish Reference Group*

How close do you feel to non-Jews living in North America?

6. *Ethnic Structural Segregation*

What proportion of your close friends are Jews?

7. *Synagogue Movement/Affiliation*

Do you think of yourself as being associated with a particular synagogue movement in North America? If so, which one? Orthodox, Conservative, Reform?

8. *Israel Contact Index*

To what extent do you

- a. have close friends in Israel?
- b. have close family in Israel?
- c. receive letters from someone living in Israel?
- d. know anyone who went on aliyah (migrated to Israel)?

NOTES

¹ Rabbi Avraham Izhak Hacohen Kook's statement was reprinted (in translation) in a pamphlet issued by the Jewish Agency Department of Aliyah and Absorption, *The Duty of Aliyah to Eretz Israel*, Jerusalem, 1977, p. 4.

² Relevant works on the aliyah of North American Jews include the following: Aaron Antonovsky and Abraham David Katz, *From the Golden to the Promised Land*, Darby, Pa., 1979; Kevin Andrew Avruch, *American Immigrants in Israel: Social Identities and Change*, Chicago, 1981; Gerald S. Berman, 'Why North Americans Migrate to Israel', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 21, no. 2, December 1979, pp. 135-44; Arnold Dashefsky and Bernard Lazerwitz, 'Success and Failure in Ideological Migration: North American Migration to Israel', Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, 1979; Gerald Engel, 'North American Jewish Settlers in Israel', *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 71, 1970, pp. 161-87; Calvin Goldscheider, 'American Aliyah: Sociological and Demographic Perspectives', in Marshall Sklare, ed., *The Jew in American Society*, New York, 1974, pp. 335-84; Harold R. Isaacs, *American Jews in Israel*, New York, 1967; Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigrants from the U.S.A. and Canada One Year and Three Years After Immigration*, Special Series no. 489, Jerusalem, 1980; Harry Leib Jubas, 'The Adjustment Process of Americans and Canadians in Israel and their Integration into Israeli Society', Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University,

1974; and Ephraim Tabory and Bernard Lazerwitz, 'Motivation for Migration: A Comparative Study of American and Soviet Academic Immigrants to Israel', *Ethnicity*, vol. 4, no. 2, June 1977, pp. 91-102.

³ Statistics on the number of North American olim to Israel are taken from Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel: 1948-1972*, Special Series no. 489, Jerusalem, 1975, and ICBS, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, vol. 36, no. 3, March 1985. A middle estimate of the Jewish population of the United States (5,778,753) is taken from Bernard Lazerwitz, 'An Estimate of a Rare Population Group: The U.S. Jewish Population', *Demography*, vol. 15, no. 3, August 1978, pp. 389-94; and of Canada's Jews (295,000) from U. O. Schmelz, *World Jewish Population — Regional Estimates and Projections*, Jerusalem, 1981, p. 17.

⁴ Estimates of Israeli emigration to North America are taken from the testimony of Professor Roberto Bacchi, former Chief Government Statistician, to the Knesset Aliyah and Absorption Committee, as reported by Aryeh Rubinstein in the *Jerusalem Post*, 30 July 1980, p. 2.

⁵ See Albert I. Goldberg, 'Resistance to Assimilation: North American Jewish Opposition to Inter-marriage', in U. O. Schmelz, P. Glickson and S. Della Pergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography, 1981*, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 183-97.

⁶ On the importance of Israel to North American Jewry, see Daniel J. Elazar, *Community and Polity: The Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry*, Philadelphia, 1976; Charles S. Liebman, 'American Jewry: Identity and Affiliation', in David Sidorsky, ed., *The Future of the Jewish Community in America*, New York, 1973, pp. 127-52; Chaim I. Waxman and William B. Helmreich, 'Religious and Communal Elements of Ethnicity: American Jewish College Students and Israel', *Ethnicity*, vol. 4, no. 2, June 1977, pp. 122-32; and Steven M. Cohen, *American Modernity and Jewish Identity*, New York, 1983, pp. 154-70.

⁷ David Ben-Gurion, 'Zionism and Pseudo-Zionism', *Forum*, vol. 4, Proceedings of the Jerusalem Ideological Conference, Spring 1959, pp. 148-54.

⁸ See J. J. Mangalam and Harry K. Schwarzweller, 'Some Theoretical Guidelines Toward a Sociology of Migration', *International Migration Review*, vol. 4, no. 2, Spring 1970, pp. 5-21; and Judah Matras, *Population and Societies*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1973, pp. 359-84.

⁹ Goldscheider, op. cit., pp. 361-65.

¹⁰ Goldscheider, op. cit., pp. 370, 372; and Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigrants from the U.S.A. and Canada . . .*, op. cit., p. x.

¹¹ Jubas, op. cit., p. 99 and Gerald S. Berman, *The Work Adjustment of North American Immigrants in Israel*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Work and Welfare Research Institute, 1978, p. 23.

¹² For an outline of Zionist ideological perspectives, see Gideon Shimoni, 'Ideological Perspectives', in Moshe Davis, ed., *Zionism in Transition*, New York, 1980, pp. 3-42.

¹³ For an excellent discussion of the various forms of Jewish religious experience in America and how such experiences might influence aliyah, see Herbert Feder, 'Aliyah from America — A Daydream?' *Midstream*, November 1981, pp. 34-40.

¹⁴ For a description of the ambivalent relationships between American Jewry and Israel, see Melvin I. Urofsky, *We Are One: American Jewry and Israel*, New York, 1978.

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¹⁵ See Ben Halpern, 'Zion in the Mind of American Jews', in David Sidorsky, ed., *op. cit.*; pp. 22-45.

¹⁶ See Steven M. Cohen, 'The Impact of Jewish Education on Religious Identification and Practice', *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 36, nos 3-4, July-October 1974, pp. 316-26; and Rina Shapira, 'Attitudes Toward Israel Among American Jewish Adolescents', Occasional Paper, New York Center for Urban Education, n.d.

¹⁷ Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 165; and Berman, 'Why North Americans Migrate to Israel', *op. cit.*, p. 140.

¹⁸ Antonovsky and Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹⁹ Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigrants from the U.S.A. and Canada . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. x. The importance of factors such as relatives and friends in Israel, command of the Hebrew language, and religious orthodoxy is stressed in Michael Roskin and Jeffrey L. Edleson, 'A Research Note on the Emotional Health of English-Speaking Immigrants in Israel', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 26, no. 2, December 1984, pp. 139-44.

²⁰ Steven M. Cohen, 'Socioeconomic Determinants of Intra-ethnic Marriage and Friendship', *Social Forces*, vol. 55, no. 4, June 1977, pp. 997-1010.

²¹ Bernard Lazerwitz, 'Religious Identification and its Ethnic Correlates: A Multivariate Model', *Social Forces*, vol. 52, no. 2, December 1973, pp. 204-20; and Harold S. Himmelfarb, 'Measuring Religious Involvement', *Social Forces*, vol. 53, no. 4, June 1975, pp. 606-18.

²² Antonovsky and Katz, *op. cit.*; and Berman, 'Why North Americans Migrate to Israel', *op. cit.*

²³ Push forces in Western aliyah receive particular emphasis in Sergio Della Pergola, 'Western Migration to Israel: Some Exploratory Hypotheses', Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, n.d. See also Tabory and Lazerwitz, *op. cit.*; Goldscheider, *op. cit.*; Dashefsky and Lazerwitz, *op. cit.*; and Jubas, *op. cit.* Reactions to antisemitism are discussed in Albert I. Goldberg, 'Jews in the Legal Profession: A Case of Adjustment to Discrimination', *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 32, no. 2, April 1970, pp. 148-61.

²⁴ A discussion of factors facilitating migration to Israel is found in Pearl Katz, 'Acculturation and Social Networks of American Immigrants in Israel', Ph.D. thesis, University of New York at Buffalo, 1974.

²⁵ The impact of work and study programmes in Israel on North American participants is fully treated in Fred S. Sherrow, David Caplovitz, and Paul Ritterband, *A Jewish Peace Corps Comes to Israel: An Evaluation of the Sherut La'am Program, 1966-67*, New York, Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1968; and Simon N. Herman, *American Students in Israel*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1970. Previous visits to Israel are documented by Antonovsky and Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 72, and Berman, *The Work Adjustment of North American Immigrants in Israel*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²⁶ Antonovsky and Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 76, and Berman, *The Work Adjustment . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²⁷ See Mario I. Blejer and Itzhak Goldberg, 'Return Migration — Expectation Versus Reality: A Case Study of Western Immigrants in Israel', Discussion Paper no. 7812, The Maurice Falk Institute for Economic Research in Israel, Jerusalem, 1978; Berman, *The Work Adjustment . . .*, *op. cit.*; and Goldscheider, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

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²⁸ Alternative methods have been used to obtain a general sample of North American Jews. Each has its own limitations for data collection. These techniques include: a) list samples of those affiliated to Jewish organizations, missing those who are not joiners; b) area probability samples obtained by door-to-door canvassing for Jewish households — prohibitively expensive and often restricted to Jewish neighbourhoods; c) larger national samples that separate out Jews, but restricted by the type of items originally included; and d) local telephone directories as a source of addresses of those with familiar Jewish names to whom questionnaires can be posted but excluding those whose names are not easily identifiable or those who have changed their names, finding a large number of address changes, and with a high-number of refusals to participate.

²⁹ For the special characteristics of analytical surveys, see Herbert Hyman, *Survey Analysis and Design: Principles, Cases and Procedures*, Glencoe, Ill., 1955.

³⁰ See Steven Martin Cohen, 'The 1981-1982 National Survey of American Jews', *American Jewish Year Book*, 1983, vol. 83, New York, 1982, pp. 89-110.

³¹ Steven M. Cohen, *The 1983 National Survey of American Jews and Jewish Communal Leaders*, The American Jewish Committee, New York, 1984.

³² See Albert I. Goldberg, 'Visions of Zion: The Visitor and North American Aliyah', *Forum*, no. 53, Fall 1984, pp. 45-51.

³³ Paul F. Lazarsfeld, 'Interpretation of Statistical Relations as a Research Operation', in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and M. Rosenberg, *The Language of Social Research*, Glencoe, Ill., 1955; and Hubert M. Blalock, *Causal Inferences in Nonexperimental Research*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961.

³⁴ Robert M. O'Brien, 'The Use of Pearson's R with Ordinal Data', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 44, no. 5, October 1979, pp. 851-57.

³⁵ Path models are based on answers from 394 respondents instead of the 415 making up the full Jewish Attitude Survey. A respondent's failure to answer any one of the questions forced his or her removal from the regression equation.

³⁶ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, revised edition, Glencoe, Ill., 1957, pp. 265-68.

³⁷ Charles H. Stember *et al.*, *Jews in the Mind of America*, New York, 1966; and Gertrude J. Selznick and Stephen Steinberg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in Contemporary America*, New York, 1969.

³⁸ See Simon N. Herman, *Jewish Identity: A Social Psychological Perspective*, Beverly Hills, Ca., 1977, pp. 143-66.

THE BETA ISRAEL (FALASHAS): FROM PURITY TO IMPURITY

Emanuela Trevisan Semi

THIS article is based on research in Israel among a group of Beta Israel — more commonly known as Falashas. They themselves generally object to the term 'Falashas', which means 'strangers' or 'exiles' in Geëz (an ancient Ethiopian language). I shall deal in particular with the problem of pollution which, according to them, is a source of difficulty in their integration into Israeli Jewish society. Paradoxically, their emigration to Israel has made it impossible for them to maintain their traditional rituals of purification. They constitute one of the major branches of those Diaspora Jews who have been traditionally regarded as marginal: they do not recognize rabbinic Judaism. And in Israel they are undergoing a slow and traumatic process of integration.¹

In 1984, I observed their initial phase of adjustment to some Jewish rites and usages, which differ from their own customary practices, in the *merkaz klitah* (absorption centre) situated about three kilometres from the town of Ashkelon.² I interviewed various individuals charged with the task of integrating the Beta Israel in and outside the *merkaz* and, among the newcomers themselves, the more notable of their representatives as well as the ordinary members of the group.³ Those in the *merkaz* had lived in Israel for no more than eight months. Outside the *merkaz*, I interviewed ten households resident in Ashkelon; they had been in the country from three to twenty years and in two households the husbands were not Ethiopian Jews.⁴

In the *merkaz klitah* in 1984, there were 70 families with a total of some 300 persons who had come from the Tigre province of Ethiopia. The families interviewed in Ashkelon also came mainly from Tigre; only in two cases were there spouses originating from the province of Gondar.

I was especially interested in identifying the transformation of some customary rituals concerned with the concept of purity, rituals which had been rigidly observed in Ethiopia and which were characteristic of the group.⁵ There is a vast literature about these practices,⁶ describing

the total isolation of a woman who is in childbirth or who is menstruating, purification by immersion in a river, the isolation and purification of all those who have come in contact with a human corpse, and finally the strict temporary relegation to the outer edges of the village of all those who happened to come into close contact with non-Beta Israel.

I must stress that there was an ever-recurrent motif, with a strong resonance, in the descriptions and comments of my respondents. In my earlier research in Israel among Karaite Jews from Egypt, I noted that the word *assur* (forbidden) constantly recurred.⁷ Among the Beta Israel, what my respondents said again and again were the words *hayyah me'od me'od kasheh* (it was very, very difficult) when they spoke of when they arrived in Israel; and *tahor ve-naki* (pure and clean) when referring to both past and present conditions. The first comment was made by those of longer settlement in Israel; it referred to past difficulties which had been overcome. But the phrase 'pure and clean', uttered by both the veteran and new immigrants, occurred when they described an ineradicable characteristic of their life-style.

The typical and almost ritualistic way in which conversations began, after the introductions, was first a reference by them to the 'historical ignorance' of the Beta Israel to be immediately followed by the assertion of 'the unity of the Jewish people'. The difference between the customs and practices of the Beta Israel and of other Jews was first attributed by Faitlovitch⁸ (and later by many others) to the basic 'ignorance' of the Beta Israel. The latter have come to accept unconditionally that this was indeed the case and I may add that this is also the generally held opinion in Israel. One of the first assertions of those interviewed, without any prompting whatever from me, always was, 'We knew nothing of the customs followed by other Jews' or 'How could we have known, since we lived in utter isolation from all other Jews?' or again, with some malice, 'We knew nothing of all that was added to the Bible'. 'Adding to the Bible' was also used, in the course of the interview, in the context of Christianity for it, too, had 'added' to the Old Testament.

After such general introductory statements about themselves and their group, defending themselves against an accusation which I had not made, they proceeded to deny that they were different from other Jews. Assertions such as 'We are a unique people', 'I cannot see any difference between us and other Jews', or 'In Ethiopia and in Israel it is the same thing' reflected a yearning for similarity and equality rather than an appreciation of present reality, reflected a crisis of identity. For how could the Beta Israel maintain a separate identity when they consciously wished to be identified with all other Jews?

II

In this section, I report my informants' description of the rites concerned with pollution and purification.

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When a Beta Israel woman was menstruating or when she was about to give birth, she was isolated in a hut (*margam biet*) surrounded by stones. Anyone who stepped across those stones became contaminated by entering into the polluted area and at sunset had to become immersed in the river before returning home. Food was brought up to the edge of the enclosure and all utensils and crockery in use within that space as well as anything which had been touched by the woman had to be cleansed at the end of the period of isolation. A menstruating woman remained in seclusion for at least seven days, and longer if the flow of blood had not ceased.

A woman who gave birth to a male child was isolated for forty days but for double that period if the newborn was a girl. At the end of the prescribed period, at sunset, the woman whose menstrual flow had stopped washed herself and her clothes before returning to her home in the village; while the woman who had had a baby first had to fast for a day, then she had to shave completely her head and her body hair and immerse herself and the newborn in the river in the presence of two women who acted as witnesses. All the clothes she had used also were to be carefully washed. When she emerged from the river with her baby, the priest blessed her and only then was the baby given a name. After this rite of purification, in the old days, the woman used to make a propitiatory sacrifice of a kid; but that was later substituted by the reciting of the *ardet*⁹ and sometimes the priest was given an offering of food.¹⁰ Mother and baby were then welcomed back into the village amidst great festivities.

The *brit milah* (ritual circumcision) was never performed by a priest since doing so would have polluted him.¹¹ The ceremony took place on the eighth day after birth, in the morning, and at sunset the circumciser¹² purified himself by immersion in the river. But if the eighth day fell on a Sabbath, the ceremony was delayed until after the end of the Sabbath because it was forbidden to circumcise on the Sabbath.¹³ The circumciser stepped across the circle of stones surrounding the isolation hut, took the baby boy from the arms of his mother, and proceeded with the operation while the onlookers remained outside the enclosure.

The excision and infibulation of the baby girl was performed by the woman who had helped to deliver the child, but there was no fixed appointed time as there was in the case of a boy's circumcision. Opinions differ on that subject both in the literature¹⁴ and according to my informants. Some of the latter told me that the baby girl was subjected to that operation after the eighty days during which she and her mother had been isolated, upon return to the village; others said that the operation was performed two weeks after birth. The woman who operated became a second mother to the little girl, a kind of godmother, and made gifts to her; while the girl was free to turn to her

and spend time with her whenever she pleased. Similarly, the godmother could at any time seek assistance from the girl's family.

Contact with a corpse resulted in the most serious form of pollution for it did not last only one day (until sunset) as in the case of contact with a menstruating or parturient woman: the isolation following such a pollution lasted a whole week. The body was buried as soon as possible, on the day of the death, if practicable. As soon as there was a death, the home where it had occurred was surrounded by stones and the four persons charged with the preparation of the corpse and the burial duties joined the household. These four individuals constructed a litter made out of green wood, fresh cut and not dry, my informants stressed during the interviews — for as the cemetery was a long way from the village, it would have been necessary for others to help carry the litter and if the wood was not green it would have been obligatory on those others to remain also in isolation for a whole week after the burial, in the same house of bereavement. (They explained that dry wood transmits pollution.) During that week, the villagers brought food for the relatives of the deceased and the others who were with them; the food was thrown or hurled into the enclosure 'as if to dogs', as one respondent told me. At the end of the seven days, at sunset, all those who had been isolated shaved every hair on their head and body and went to the river where they immersed themselves and their clothes after having been sprinkled with the ashes of a red heifer, slaughtered according to the ancient Biblical prescription (Numbers, 19:1-10)¹⁵ for such purification, and they were then blessed by the priest.

Another source of pollution, to which very great attention was paid in Ethiopia, was that resulting from contact with a person who was not in a state of purity. Anyone who was not a Beta Israel was believed not to have observed their rules of purity and was hence deemed to be impure. A Beta Israel village was therefore always built well away from other villages and it was surrounded by stones or fences with hedges to show visibly and symbolically the demarcation line between purity and pollution. The villagers never bought or accepted any food from outsiders who did not follow their religion, not even those items which are permitted by the Bible, because they considered them to have become contaminated by contact with the outsiders, whether the latter had held them or cooked them; they would not even take a glass of water or a piece of bread. If there was a wedding or a feast to which outsiders had invited them, they took with them their own utensils and proceeded to slaughter the animals which were offered them by their hosts (usually Copts) in a space kept specially apart for them. Their hosts also placed at their disposal there the unmilled corn for them to grind it and bake their own bread.¹⁶

If a rule of purity was infringed, or if a Beta Israel had remained outside the village for a period of time, it was necessary before being

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readmitted to the community for that person to spend five or six days in an isolation hut (such as the one for a menstruating or parturient woman) and to restrict one's diet only to chick peas or beans soaked in water but not cooked. At the end of the isolation, one took a purge of *muzenna* (a laxative bark) after which one could proceed with the usual ablutions in the river. Only then was readmission to the village allowed.¹⁷ The enclosures fenced in by stones or hedges or palings thus kept those who had become polluted away from the village and were clear symbols for all to see that there had been members of the community who might have endangered the preservation of the purity of the village.

The careful distinction between the pure and the impure, whether in everyday life or on important occasions such as a birth or a death, has characterized and set apart for centuries the Beta Israel. Therefore, a study which aims to discover the manner in which the members of that group dealt with the problems arising from the impact on them of the realities of a greatly different society might help somewhat our understanding of the processes of acculturation of the group.

III

This section deals with the situation in Israel, where nowadays women usually have their babies in hospital. Three days after the birth of a child, if there have been no complications, the woman and her newborn are discharged and expected to return home. I was told both by men and by women that they found it extremely difficult to follow that Israeli practice — but they were helpless to do anything about the matter. A Beta Israel woman so shortly after giving birth in Israel is expected to attend to all her domestic duties as well as care for the new baby and she usually does not have any assistance from female relatives as was the case in Ethiopia, where she was provided with food during the entire period of post-natal isolation in the hut.

But not only does such a woman have the major burden of maternal and domestic duties at such a time — she must also contravene the ritual requirement of isolation. She and the baby are obliged to contaminate the family space, usually very limited in the case of housing for new immigrant's, whether in the absorption centre or elsewhere. At first, one solution in most cases was to put a mattress on the balcony. However, that was not always an easy thing to do and moreover it was dangerous to sleep out in cold weather so that the mattress had to be taken indoors again and placed on the bed in one of the two rooms which, together with a bathroom and a kitchen, constitute the typical dwelling of a new immigrant's household. The old traditional prohibition on marital relations for forty days after the birth of a boy and eighty days after that of a daughter was strictly

adhered to in Ethiopia by all, was deep rooted, and was reinforced by magical fears of retribution such as illness and death of a child conceived during the prescribed period of the woman's isolation from her husband. The Beta Israel olim (immigrants) continue to observe that custom in their new homes, although in rabbinic Judaism marital relations could be resumed as early as two weeks after the birth of a boy and three weeks after that of a girl.

All those I interviewed about the matter agreed that although the Beta Israel had apparently wrongly interpreted the relevant Biblical text (Leviticus 12) in that the prescribed period of abstinence was shorter than that which they observed, nevertheless it was impossible for them to resume marital relations under forty days after the birth of a son or eighty days after that of a daughter. A man who had settled in Israel twenty years earlier told me that if he returned to Ethiopia, he would have to observe the traditional periods of marital abstinence.

The Beta Israel continue to consider the rabbinical prescriptions on the separation of husband and wife during the period of abstinence as controversial matters. According to them, it was 'hypocritical' and 'false' to assert that such separation need only mean that husband and wife should not touch the same object at the same time, such as opposite sides of a glass or a plate, or of a door or a window. They also do not look upon a *mikveh* (a ritual bathing pool in rabbinic Judaism) as an adequate substitute for a river in which they immersed themselves in Ethiopia at the end of a period of isolation. But they allege that their reluctance to use a *mikveh* is on practical, not religious, grounds: the *mikveh* 'is not clean' (as the river); 'it is too far', or 'there is no time to go there', or 'one can get lost looking for it', or again, 'there are enough difficulties in everyday life and one cannot add another such one'. Some women, however, in reply to a direct question from me, claimed that they used the *mikveh* in order not to appear estranged from rabbinical Judaism; but when I asked for more details about the *mikveh*, they confessed that they had not in fact used it.

After the birth of a child, the great celebration of the event among Ethiopian Jews in Israel occurs at the end of the period of marital abstinence, just as was the practice in their native land. Before leaving hospital, the baby would have been given a name and later its parents would have been separated at most only by living in two different rooms in their home, but it is still only after forty or eighty days that there will be lavish festivities, with relatives and friends coming from all parts of Israel in response to the parents' invitation. A disproportionate part of the limited family budget is allocated for the celebration, against the advice of various Israeli officials and social workers in the absorption centre. The traditional celebration at the end of the long period of isolation and abstinence with rejoicing at the woman's readmission to the community survives even in the absence in Israel of the conditions

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which justified it in Ethiopia. For the Beta Israel, it is a symbol of adherence to their group origin and identity.¹⁸

However, excision and infibulation, which the women I interviewed had been subjected to in Ethiopia, are not practised in Israel by the community. The women justified the operation on the grounds that it restrained a young girl's sexuality and kept her chaste until marriage. Another justification advanced was that the practice prevented assault or rape by Christians or Muslims when the girls went to market or to draw water. My respondents were aware that infibulation was condemned in Israel as an antiquated practice foreign to Judaism and on the whole they preferred to avoid discussing the subject. They accepted uncomplainingly the cessation of the operation, especially since one of the arguments in its favour (preventing sexual relations with non-Jewish men) was no longer valid in Israeli Jewish society.

As for ritual circumcisions, the Beta Israel now allow it to be performed on the Sabbath, as permitted by rabbinical law; the *mohel* (ritual circumciser) is an Israeli who is not of Ethiopian origin. Moreover, the operation is performed in the home of the boy's parents and not, as in Ethiopia, in a separate enclosure. I was present at the *brit milah* of the second son of an eighteen-year-old woman, in a room set apart for female guests. Traditional Beta Israel food was served, including the special festive bread called *dabu*, but apart from that, everything proceeded according to the usages of rabbinic Judaism in Israel: the mother gave the baby boy to his father, who in turn gave him to the *sandak* (godfather) who was a kinsman. (In Ethiopia, of course, a woman and her newborn boy would have been in isolation for forty days and any person coming into direct contact with her would be contaminated.) At the end of the ceremony, a glass of wine was blessed by the *mohel* and we all in turn took a sip from it, the mother last of all. She was visibly embarrassed and stood at the threshold of the room, trying to distance herself as far as she could. The new norms prevailed completely and there was not a single prayer or blessing offered in the native language.¹⁹ Neither was there any traditional Ethiopian music, such as is heard sometimes at Beta Israel weddings in Israel.

Those Beta Israel who were of longer settlement in Israel stated that the newcomers were generally being received far more favourably than had been the case for the Ethiopian Jews who immigrated some years ago. For example, I was told, nowadays no Beta Israel parents have to face an Israeli *mohel's* refusal to circumcise their baby son, as used to happen in the past.

The most serious traditional pollution, that caused by contact with a human corpse or transmitted through those who have been in such contact, cannot be cleansed in Israel as it was in Ethiopia. Red heifers are not sacrificed for the purpose in Israel (in order to comply with the prescriptions in Numbers 19: 1-10) and although their ashes are still

preserved in Ethiopia in purified sites, these ashes are unobtainable in Israel. The Beta Israel immigrants have had to accept the situation while awaiting, as several of them told me, the advent of the Messiah and the new order which he will impose.

IV

Most of the ancient Beta Israel traditions, as well as most of the norms which regulated behaviour within and outside the group, have ceased to be effective; but the new norms are still neither clear nor well-defined — so that there is almost a cultural vacuum. Although for the generality of those Jews who are not strictly orthodox, rules concerning purity have only a mainly symbolic significance, for the Ethiopian immigrants the concepts of purity and pollution continue to have a real impact. Indeed, they have to resort to infinite precautions to refrain from touching an object which they consider impure; and when they fail, they feel confused and mortified.

My respondents often commented on what they considered to be 'impossible hypocrisies' practised by some Israelis to circumvent the prohibition on lighting a fire on the Sabbath — stratagems to keep food hot.²⁰ With one exception, they were unanimous in stating that they never made use of the hot plate, which for them was a symbol of a hypocritical compromise. They continued to eat only cold meals on the Sabbath, as they had done in Ethiopia.²¹ The exception was a woman who had married a non-observant Romanian Jew and she stressed that she was greatly saddened at being obliged to transgress on the Sabbath.

However, they were all aware that impurity had become widespread everywhere in their homes. Reactions to this state of affairs were varied and differed according to the degree of recognition which the immigrants gave to the authority of the Israeli rabbinate. It must be noted in this context that in Ethiopia the authority of the religious leaders was unquestioned. They were recognized as learned and wise scholars and in cases of conflict such men acted as pacifiers and resolved disputes. Since religious authority in Israel is vested in rabbis and the rabbinate, the Beta Israel are faced with the conflict between the norms set by these rabbis and the norms which were decreed in Ethiopia. While some of the immigrants have uneasily bowed to the new prescriptions, others have resolved the conflict by deferring all problems until the advent of the Messiah. His authority would be supreme, superseding all earlier authorities, and he would institute fresh modes of purification. Others again say that reasons of hygiene justified the old rules in Ethiopia and that nowadays in Israel these reasons do not apply.

There are thus three different types of adjustment. The first, which probably entails minor traumas when a distinctive group characteristic is abandoned, is to recognize rabbinical authority as decisive and to

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adopt the new norms. The second, which probably has more serious effects, is to accept some new norms while adhering as much as possible to a few traditional precepts — such as maintaining the longer period of post-natal abstinence and husband and wife taking special care not to touch the same object together during that period — until the advent of the Messiah who would resolve all conflicts. Either one or other of these two types of adjustment is chosen by the majority. The third type, which is to be found only among the veteran Beta Israel immigrants, who have become somewhat acculturated to the more secular segment of Israeli society, is to accept the modern rationalization about an alleged hygienic basis for the old traditional rituals of purification.

However, an Ethiopian Jew will not always opt for only one of these solutions: indeed, the same person may from time to time pick one or the other, according to circumstances. On the other hand, so far, all the Beta Israel have chosen to preserve the festive ceremonies signalling the end of conjugal abstinence after the birth of a child. That celebration is acquiring ever increasing importance in Israel. But the use of the *mikveh* is not accepted as a valid symbolic substitution for the Ethiopian immersion in a river, apparently because it is considered an alien practice.²² The general preservation of one traditional ceremonial and the rejection of a foreign rite of purification seem to me to be important indications of a persisting strong feeling of group identity.

The various agencies concerned with the integration of the Beta Israel, in the absorption centre, tried to achieve their aim as quickly as possible but attempted to do so without causing great traumas to the immigrants. As part of the process of absorption, Israeli rabbis gave lectures or 'lessons' on Judaism and on Jewish religion in the *merkaz klitah*. I was present at one such 'lesson', attended by adult males and the resident Beta Israel priest (*qes*). The rabbi involved the *qes* in the discussion, raising points which the priest (who was in fact the immigrants' acknowledged authority) had difficulty in arguing about in the style of Talmudic debates. The rabbi seemed to wish to demonstrate both the 'ignorance' of the *qes* and the superiority of rabbinical reasoning. That attitude caused resentment among the immigrants and infuriated the *qes*. It imperilled the cohesive element which the *qes* represented and undermined the Beta Israel's faith and respect for authority centred on their priest. We may well wonder whether such an approach by the Israeli rabbi was not, in fact, counter-productive.

Conclusion

My research both in the absorption centre and among some inhabitants of Ashkelon revealed that the ancient culture of the Beta Israel may be in danger of an excessively rapid fragmentation. In the

important area of pollution and purification, they have preserved one festive celebration but they have lost the possibility of observing several other rites. They have been led to doubt the validity of these rites and they do not openly mourn their abandonment and the loss of several significant characteristics of their group's life-style.

Moreover, when institutionalized reverence for its religious leaders is undermined, the group's cohesion is severely affected. Its speedy disintegration and the loss of some specific cultural and religious values may not necessarily lead the immigrants to accept rabbinical precepts. On the contrary, the result may be to hinder the Beta Israel's absorption into the modern society where they have been so abruptly transplanted.²³

NOTES

¹ See a recent article by Michel Perret, 'Les Falachas d'Ethiopie', *Yod*, vol. 10, no. 20, 1984, pp. 81-99. The social and legal difficulties which the Ethiopian olim encountered, when they came to Israel as individual immigrants, were delineated by Mordecai Roshwald in 'Marginal Jewish Sects in Israel (II)', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1973, pp. 344-51. The cultural adaptation of groups of Beta Israel who immigrated after 1975 (the year when they were officially recognized as Jews by Israel) is described by G. J. Abbink, 'Seqed Celebration in Ethiopia and Israel: Continuity and Change of a Falasha Religious Holiday', *Anthropos*, vol. 78, no. 5-6, 1983, pp. 789-810.

² The absorption centre is in a resettlement area and close to housing for new immigrants, the majority of whom are of Romanian origin.

³ The interviews were carried out in Hebrew in Ashkelon while within the *merkaz* I had the help of interpreters of Tigre, the only language spoken by the Beta Israel there — they were very recent newcomers to Israel.

⁴ Both wives were Beta Israel women: one had married a Romanian Jew and the other, a Yemenite Jew.

⁵ Such concepts of purity are also found among the Karaites and the Samaritans, Jewish groups which do not follow post-Biblical rabbinic halakhah. See Emanuela Trevisan Semi, 'Les Caraïtes de nos jours', *Yod*, vol. 10, no. 20, 1984, pp. 35-52 and Alan D. Crown, 'The Samaritans in 1984', *Yod*, vol. 10, no. 20, 1984, pp. 9-31.

⁶ The customs relating to the rules of purity were recorded by Christian missionaries and in particular by J. M. Flad, who published a book about them in German in Basel, in 1862; it was translated by S. P. Goodhart into English and entitled *The Falashas (Jews) of Abyssinia*, London, 1869; see pp. 55-58 and 63-69. See also the article by the explorer Antoine D'Abbadie, 'Réponses des Falachas dits Juifs d'Abyssinie aux questions faites par M. Luzzatto, orientaliste de Padoue', *Archives Israélites*, vol. 12, 1851, pp. 263f. See also Philoxène Luzzatto, *Mémoire sur les Juifs d'Abyssinie ou Falachas*, Paris, n.d., pp. 81-89 and Joseph Halévy, *Excursion chez les Falachas en Abyssinie*, Paris 1869, pp. 21, 25. Jacques Faitlovitch, a pupil of Halévy at the Sorbonne, made the

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study of the Falashas his life's work; see his *Quer durch Abessinien. Meine zweite Reise zu den Falaschas*, Berlin, 1910, p. 27; his *Notes d'un voyage chez les Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)*, Paris, 1905, pp. 23-24; and his 'The Presumed Laws of the Falashas' (Hebrew), *Tarbiz*, vol. 7, no. 3-4, 1936, pp. 374-77.

Some data are also available in Carl Rathjens, *Die Juden in Abessinien*, Hamburg, 1921, pp. 82-85 and C. Conti Rossini, 'Appunti di storia e letteratura Falascia', *Rivista di studi orientali*, vol. 8, 1919-20, pp. 602f. C. A. Viterbo had lived among the Ethiopian Jews in 1936-37 and recorded on index cards his findings about their views on blood and pollution and the rituals connected with childbirth, but his index cards were unpublished; see Emanuela Trevisan Semi, 'Sangue e contaminazione nei rituali della nascita tra gli ebrei d'Etiopia (Felāšā)' in Francesco Vattioni, ed., *Atti della settimana di studi: Sangue e antropologia biblica nella liturgia*, Rome, in press. See also by A. Z. Aescoly, in Hebrew, 'Law and Custom among the Jews of Ethiopia (the Falashas) in the Light of Rabbinite and Karaite Tradition', *Tarbiz*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1936, pp. 121-25 and his *Book of the Falashas*, Jerusalem, 1973 (first edn, 1943). Wolf Leslau dealt at some length with pollution and purification in the chapter entitled 'Cycle de vie' in his *Coutumes et Croyances des Falachas*, Paris, 1957, pp. 90-98. More recent studies on that subject include Yael Kahana, *Our Black Brothers: Life Among the Falashas* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv, 1977, pp. 41-49 and 151-63; and Veronika Krempel, *Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Stellung der Falascha in der christlich-amharischen Gesellschaft von Nordwest Athiopien*, unpublished thesis, Berlin's Freie Universität, pp. 201-04.

⁷ See Emanuela Trevisan Semi, *Gli ebrei caraiti tra etnia e religione*, Rome, 1984, pp. 127f.

⁸ See Jacques Faitlovitch, *Gli ebrei d'Abissinia (Falascia)*, Impressioni dal vero, Acqui, 1907, pp. 8-10 and his *Notes d'un voyage . . .*, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

⁹ According to Luzzatto, op. cit., pp. 84f., the word *ardel* was used both for the prayer book itself and for the prayer which was recited after immersion in the river.

¹⁰ According to Kahana, op. cit., p. 43, who visited some of the Beta Israel villages in 1971, the propitiatory sacrifice was replaced by an offering to the priest of food. My respondents also told me so.

¹¹ Kahana, however, states (ibid) that it is the priest himself who performs the circumcision. But all my informants, without exception, denied that that was so.

¹² According to the notes made by C. A. Viterbo in his index cards, there were no specialist *mohalim*; the newborn boy's father performed the circumcision, using a knife with a semi-circular blade, like a sickle.

¹³ Those I interviewed explained that circumcisions were prohibited on the Sabbath since no fire could be lit on that day and since it is also forbidden on the Sabbath to accomplish any task which requires the use of tools. Viterbo, on one of his index cards about circumcision, noted that the operation was considered a task and also entailed the spilling of blood — both of which were strictly prohibited on the Sabbath. In this context, it is worth noting that the early Karaites also strictly prohibited circumcisions on the Sabbath.

¹⁴ Luzzatto states (op. cit., p. 83) that the operation takes place on the eighth day after birth; Rathjens (op. cit., p. 83) says that it occurs at the end of the second week; Leslau (op. cit., p. 93) claims that there is no fixed day: it is

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performed whenever it is judged opportune to do so; while Kahana (op. cit., p. 44) states that it is held on the fourteenth day.

¹⁵ Viterbo noted on his index cards that the Ethiopian Jews who had been in contact with a human corpse followed the Biblical injunction and bathed in purified water on the third day and again on the seventh day (see Numbers 19: 11-12). Luzzatto makes the same observation, op. cit., p. 88.

¹⁶ Viterbo noted on his index cards that the only exceptions to the rule prohibiting the consumption of food obtained from those who were not Beta Israel were honey (only pure honey, unmixed with water) which is not in an impure container; raw cereals and vegetables which have not been cooked or steeped in liquid (and in the case of cereals, not milled or ground); and live animals.

¹⁷ Viterbo noted that the Beta Israel received their guests in a hut reserved for the purpose, supplied with provisions and utensils, and with a pallet of grass or straw, which was destroyed when the guest left the village. He himself was accommodated in that manner and he said that his pallet of grass was soft and fragrant.

¹⁸ In the context of traditional festivities, and in particular of the *Seged*, Abbink has commented that '... the *Seged* in Israel is a festival oriented towards Israeli society, in which the Falashas want to fit and to share the values of peoplehood and religion, which will define the outlines of their new identity' (Abbink, op. cit., p. 809).

¹⁹ It is worth noting here that neither in Ashkelon nor elsewhere in Israel do the Beta Israel have their own prayer house where they could intone their traditional prayers in their native language.

²⁰ The Karaite immigrants in Israel, who came from Egypt, also observe the Sabbath very strictly and deplore and abhor the stratagems used to keep food hot. See Trevisan Semi, op. cit., p. 202.

²¹ In Ethiopia, before the start of the Sabbath they extinguished all fires and threw water on the embers. Nothing was warmed or heated, not even coffee, and all work ceased. Moreover, I was told laughingly, even children were not beaten.

²² The Karaites in Israel also do not make use of the *mikveh*.

²³ This paper has been translated from the Italian by Judith Freedman.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON APPROACHES TO FIELDWORK IN HASSIDIC COMMUNITIES

William Shaffir

WHEN I was a graduate student in sociology, I had no intention of studying Hassidim; and when the opportunity first presented itself, I shied away. But my thesis adviser fortunately persuaded me and in the event the Hassidim provided material for both my master's dissertation and my doctoral thesis.

Most sociological writings about field research are primarily concerned with how social scientists ought to think, feel, and act — not with what they actually do.¹ With some notable exceptions,² researchers rarely describe their social and emotional experiences; nor do they reveal the variety of social roles they assume in gathering data. Yet field research, more than other forms of scientific inquiry, abounds with social and emotional complexities which often force the investigator to twist the rules of methodology in order to accommodate both the situation and his own personality. I was fortunate that my research among Hassidim compelled me early in my career to consider the most suitable 'presentation of self' (to use Erving Goffman's term)³ in order to secure and maintain the trust of my subjects. I also became concerned about the intrinsic ethical dilemmas of fieldwork. How far should the researcher deliberately manage the presentation of self? How much deception is inherent in all such research? Is the researcher ever justified in obtaining co-operation through outright dissimulation? If not, how can the social scientist obtain a valid understanding of groups which deliberately isolate themselves from outsiders? There is a fairly extensive literature on the ethics of field research both in sociology and in anthropology.⁴

First Approaches

At my university, I chose to write a master's dissertation based on field research. I had been fascinated by Polsky's study of pool hustling and pool halls.⁵ I wanted to study the dynamics of social interaction in a Montreal pool hall, and had already spent considerable time frequenting it for both pleasure and research, much to my father's sorrow and embarrassment.

One evening, over dinner with my thesis adviser and his wife, the conversation turned to 'those Jews in long black coats and beards' whom they had observed near their neighbourhood and my hostess asked me if I knew anything about them. I knew very little and believed that most of them were against the establishment of the State of Israel. I also mistakenly stated that they spoke only Yiddish. 'Do you know if anyone has ever studied them?' asked my adviser, adding, 'You might even think of studying them. After all, you speak Yiddish'. I was immediately captivated by the idea while my father was relieved that his son had come to his senses and chosen a respectable research topic.

Although I had grown up close to a Hassidic neighbourhood in Montreal, I knew very little about their community. Like many of my Jewish friends, I had called them the 'Park Avenue White Socks' — Hassidim are concentrated around the Park Avenue area of the city and many married men wear white socks on the Sabbath and on holy days. I considered them fanatically observant and virtually sealed off from mainstream Montreal Jewry. Unlike Solomon Poll who had attended a Hassidic yeshiva and studied Hassidim in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, I had never been at a Hassidic educational establishment and their group norms were utterly foreign to me. My family was traditional but not Orthodox, and my own life-style was far removed from Orthodox practices. I believed, rather naïvely, that my secular Yiddish upbringing would stand me in good stead, as would my early education in a secular Yiddish Zionist day school.

I did have some friends who claimed some knowledge of Hassidism, but their knowledge was largely academic and most of them did not encourage me when I told them of my research plans. They said that I would never be accepted, since Hassidic communities are closed impenetrable societies. Moreover, a non-observant Jew would arouse more hostility than would a Gentile. Perhaps a Lubavitcher community, which conducts outreach programmes to proselytize non-orthodox Jews, might tolerate my presence, but no other Hassidic group would. Meanwhile, my supervisor continued to encourage me, suggesting that outsider status might even help the research, and that if the worst came to the worst, I would only be asked to leave.

Since I knew no Hassidim, the initial challenge was to meet some. The only Hassid I had ever met was a great-uncle, whom I had last seen when I was six years old. My parents had no other connections with Hassidic communities, and my friends could offer general advice but little help.

Then, luck intervened. I took a job at a Jewish summer camp in the Laurentians, the mountains north of Montreal, and learnt that some forty Hassidic families from the Satmar and Klausenburg communities rented summer cottages only ten minutes' walk away. I decided to take my courage in both hands and to visit them, dressing appropriately for

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the occasion. As my apparel for camp included neither a skullcap nor a sports jacket, I borrowed both from the camp director. I tried to imagine how they would receive me and what they might ask, and rehearsed a concocted though reasonable-sounding explanation for my interest in them; but I was unsure how convincing I would be.

During my first visit, on a weekday afternoon, the Hassidic area appeared deserted. The enclave was located at the end of a narrow dirt road and there were two poorly maintained structures which served both as synagogues and *batei-midrashim* (study halls) for the Satmarer and the Klausenburger. The Hassidim's cottages, situated along a path running perpendicularly to the road, were run-down and hidden behind trees and bushes. A handful of Satmarer children played on a nearby bridge throwing stones into a stream and a few *bakhurim* (teenage yeshiva students) were standing on the porch of the synagogue. As I came closer, the youngsters stopped playing. They noticed my skullcap, which made it obvious that I was Jewish. I had intended to enter the synagogue, but I suddenly became apprehensive and hurriedly walked past without talking to anyone, all the while berating my cowardice. Then I braced myself and retraced my steps to ask the students in Yiddish at what time they met in the morning for prayers. A polite, though curt, 'Seven o'clock' was the only answer. 'Where is everyone?' I asked and 'They're not here', came the sharp reply. It was clear that they were unwilling to strike up a casual conversation, so I left, determined to return for the service.

When I came back on the following morning, I could hear voices chanting. Walking closer to the synagogue, I saw a room filled with some forty teenage boys; they all had flowing earlocks and were dressed in long black coats, black trousers, white shirts, and black hats. A number had already donned their *tefillin* (phylacteries). It took me but a moment to recognize how uncomfortable I would feel standing among them dressed in white jeans and a multi-coloured sports jacket. And what would I do once inside? Pray with them? Perhaps. Participation in prayer, however, would require feigning familiarity with the chronology and the rituals of the prayer service. I decided to begin the research on the following day.

On my third trip to the Hassidic colony, I took the plunge and entered the synagogue. Nothing happened. At first, no one acknowledged my presence. Finally, a few youngsters and *balebatim* (married men) nodded to me and offered me a place to sit. Then everyone stared, especially the younger children, who positioned themselves close to me and waited to see whether I donned my *tefillin* correctly and recited the appropriate prayers. I felt anxious and entirely out of place.

I returned several times, and I was treated in the same way. I found the visits stimulating. I was trying to observe a life-style which was utterly foreign to me yet had a vague ring of familiarity. This was, after

all, the world of my grandparents. I wanted to learn more about it but I wondered how I could do so if no one was willing to talk to me.

One morning, just after services, a boy ran up to me as I was leaving the enclave. 'Excuse me', he said in English, 'the rabbi wants to see you. Could you come back now?' I returned and with some twenty *bakurim* encircling us, the Klausenburger rabbi commented in Yiddish: 'I noticed your *tefillin*. I was wondering when they were last checked by a *soifer* [scribe]?' I replied, 'These are my *tefillin* from my Bar Mitzvah. They've never been checked'. As he carefully inspected them, I knew they would be judged less than adequate. 'You see', he continued 'after such a long time, it's likely these *tefillin* aren't kosher. You should have them checked. If you have a few minutes right now, put on my *tefillin* so you will fulfill the mitzvah [commandment] properly'. I did so, and afterwards we exchanged only a few words, but as I was ready to leave he said: 'If you want to meet Hassidic Jews, go see the Lubavitcher Hassidim. They are very open. They're in the Snowdon area, on Westbury'.

Despite his lack of enthusiasm about my visits, the incident was apparently a signal for the young men. The following evening, as I waited for the service to begin, almost every student in the room approached me, extending a hand and welcoming me with the traditional Jewish greeting of *Shalom aleykhem* (literally, 'Peace unto you').

Although I continued to visit the enclave regularly during the summer, I was never fully accepted. Field researchers commonly resort to using impression-management techniques, to present a favourable image of themselves and to win early acceptance. I suspect that novice field researchers are especially likely to over-use them, and I proved no exception. For example, I believed that my knowledge of Yiddish would impress the Hassidim and lead them to accept me and I therefore frequently displayed my facility with the language. But the Hassidim who initiated conversations with me seemed much more interested in practising their English. (In retrospect, I believe that although a command of Yiddish is essential for studying Hassidic Jews, it made little, if any, difference to my status that summer.) I would also carry a Yiddish book about the Baal Shem Tov, the founder of the Hassidic movement. Unfortunately, I absent-mindedly carried it into the enclave on a Saturday afternoon and was immediately berated by three young boys for transgressing the prohibition on carrying any item on the Sabbath.⁶ I entered the synagogue — empty at this time of the day — and sat down. 'Leave the book here and you will get it after *Shabbess*' ordered one of the boys in Yiddish. 'And are you carrying anything else in your pockets? It's *Shabbess* and you're not allowed to carry, you know', he continued. I assured them that I was not carrying anything else. 'But don't I see sun glasses in your pocket?' asked one of them. 'Oh yes, I forgot', I said, handing them over to him.

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Thus, my initial tactics seemed to backfire, and any advantages that did accrue were promptly undone when I later invited a female friend to visit the Hassidim with me. Although I had taken the precaution of warning her to wear a skirt and long sleeves, I was quite unaware that their strict separation of the sexes would render suspect her very presence with a male companion. They voiced no objection, however; they simply withdrew from us.

Despite these gaffes, I did become increasingly friendly with a few of the older students. Probably because we were of about the same age, they were interested in me, and several of them began walking back with me to the summer camp. I explained to them that I was keen to learn more about the Hassidic way of life, and they seemed eager to answer my questions. They were equally eager to ask about my lifestyle. What went on at the University? What was summer camp like? Were my friends and I engaged in religious studies? And they rarely hesitated to ask for a cigarette or two.

By observing their behaviour and by talking with (and listening to) them, I became familiar with some of their customs, values, mannerisms, and priorities. I was able to begin to understand their perspectives. I noted the cloistered quality of their lives (the *bakhurim* spent nearly all their waking hours in religious studies), their stereotyped impressions of Jews in the larger community, and their fear of secular influences. I also noted the absence of talk about girls and that they were visibly embarrassed when I raised questions about relationships with members of the opposite sex. I understood at last why I never observed young unmarried men and women together.

The time I could spend there was too brief, and the enclave too small, for me to gather much detailed information. Nevertheless, during that summer, I slowly, and rather painfully, learned how to study Hassidic Jewry. I also learnt a good deal about social clues. For example, a limp handshake is a Hassidic custom and not an indication of lack of enthusiasm. I realized that it was important to pay regular visits, for eventually the men would enter into conversation in spite of the wide differences between our backgrounds and life-styles.

Presentations of Self and Accompanying Dilemmas

My trial-and-error experience of the summer stood me in good stead when I returned to my university classes in Montreal in the autumn and embarked on my 'real' field research. I decided to concentrate on the Lubavitcher community partly because I knew by now that it was comparatively large (about ninety families, I would learn later), partly because it was conveniently located, and mainly because everyone, including the Hassidic rabbi in the Laurentians, had suggested that it would be the most accessible of all the Hassidic groups.

On a weekday morning in September 1969, I went to the Lubavitcher yeshiva — similar in appearance and in size to other schools situated in the predominantly Jewish neighbourhood — and saw a large sign in English over the entrance: 'Join millions of Jews the world over who have begun to put on tefillin'. If asked by anyone why I had come, I was prepared to answer that a rabbi whom I had recently met had recommended that I do so; and if need be, I could add that I was interested in finding out more about Hassidim and about Orthodox Judaism. But I still felt tense as I entered the yeshiva.

My fears proved groundless. Unlike the Hassidim in the Laurentians, the Lubavitcher actively welcomed me and urged me to come again. At first, as soon as I entered the yeshiva, I was asked if I had put on *tefillin* that day. I replied that I had not. I was reluctant to lie and believed (rightly) that such an answer would evoke a response and initiate a conversation. Most of that early, casual conversation related to the importance of observing various religious commandments. To anyone who asked why I had come, I said that I was a university student and that I wanted to learn more about Judaism. Few people asked.

The presence of an outsider naturally arouses suspicion. Irrespective of the researcher's declared purpose, members of the group quickly develop their own explanations for the sudden appearance of a stranger.⁷ But the Lubavitcher did not seem to find my presence peculiar or unwelcome. Indeed, it was a witness to the success of their proselytizing efforts in the larger Jewish community. The Lubavitcher see it as their mission to reach out to all Jews, regardless of their degree of non-observance, and to guide them toward Orthodox Judaism. To them, I was just another Jew interested in rediscovering my faith. (The Satmarer Hassidim had also reached their own conclusions about my presence in their yeshiva: they had assumed that I attended an evening service in order to recite the mourner's prayer, as I later discovered.)

The Lubavitcher's zeal in befriending Jews made it very easy to engage them in conversation. The older students of the yeshiva especially seemed delighted. They were eager to tell me about their spiritual leader, the Lubavitcher *rebbe*, about his outstanding leadership of his own followers and his role in world Jewry, and about the successful *tefillin* campaign which he had initiated in 1967, before the Six-Day War.

I believed that the Lubavitcher generally enjoyed answering my questions. Schechner has maintained that the fieldworker encourages people to be reflexive by making it clear that he or she is an interested listener.⁸ A number of students were particularly attentive, and in the end it was arranged that one of them and I would meet twice weekly in the evening, from 9.30 to 11.30. I cannot recall which of us initiated that idea of regular sessions, but I was delighted to have established such a

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permanent relationship in the field. I agreed to study Hassidic philosophy with him — a topic that we soon abandoned in favour of the *rebbe's* discourses, which clearly interested me more — and he accepted my suggestion that we set aside time during each session for me to ask questions about the Lubavitcher. Our study sessions were very informal, and we were often joined by one or more of the other students. In this manner, I gradually came to know several of them.

These study sessions were extremely useful for several reasons. First, I was able to learn about, and encouraged to attend, community events. Second, I began meeting other Lubavitcher, not only young students but also married men, and they seemed to believe that my aim was to acquire more knowledge about religious Judaism. Finally, our sessions introduced me to the discourses of the Lubavitcher *rebbe* and I soon realised that though physically distant (he lived in Crown Heights, Brooklyn), he was very much the focal point of that Montreal Lubavitch community.

These conversations also gave me an opportunity to explore other topics which interested me: the reactions of the disciples to the *rebbe's* pronouncements and exhortations; the organization of the outreach campaigns; the relationships of the group and its members with the mainstream Jewish community; the teaching of secular, as well as religious, subjects in the two Montreal Lubavitch schools; and how and why people joined the community and the way newcomers were treated.

Soon after I began the regular evening sessions, I made an important and quite unexpected contact. In the course of a conversation, a Lubavitcher pointed to a man absorbed in prayer and asked, 'Do you know him? He teaches mathematics at the university. A very interesting person.' His name had been mentioned during an earlier visit to the yeshiva — in fact, I was informed that three Lubavitcher were university professors. I introduced myself and asked him whether I could discuss my work with him. He invited me to his house, where he introduced me to his wife. She was enrolled in a university course on the sociology of deviance, much to my surprise for Hassidic women are very rarely college students. She proved an important source not only because she was a woman — unlike other Hassidic groups, Lubavitcher mores did permit me to talk to married women — but also because she was university-educated and therefore familiar with the concept of field research. She became interested in my work, and I visited her quite regularly to keep her informed of my progress and to seek her advice. She was extremely helpful in familiarizing me with various aspects of the community, providing names of individuals whom I would find useful to contact, and suggesting ways in which I might approach difficult topics such as sex.

The questions of a curious outsider cannot be tolerated indefinitely. The prospect of conducting research covertly was unappealing. Apart

from the moral and methodological constraints which such a 'presentation of self' would impose, it seemed that such deceit was unnecessary. It was clear that the Lubavitcher found my curiosity understandable in view of my secular background and that they heartily approved of my furthering my knowledge of Orthodox Judaism. Indeed, this supposed interest, which I offered initially as a ruse for securing an entrée, became real the more I was exposed to the world of the Lubavitcher. Nevertheless, I had come primarily to do research; my personal religious attitudes were secondary. I suspected also that the Lubavitcher would raise objections to my work if I declared it to be my sole motivation.

My suspicion that I would gain better co-operation if the Lubavitcher believed that I had a personal, religious stake in the research was confirmed in one of my first conversations. One man asked me, 'Exactly why are you so interested in asking these questions? Is it for school, or are you yourself interested?' I told him briefly about my various academic and personal concerns, and he explained, 'You see, if it is just for school then I can answer your questions without going into reasons why I feel this way . . . But if you're also interested in this for yourself, then I will also try to tell you why I feel the way I do'.

Because the yeshiva served as the community's spiritual and religious centre, it was sensible to spend most of my time there, attending morning, afternoon, and evening services. I did not, however, seek or receive formal permission to conduct the research. (A Lubavitch yeshiva, like any synagogue, is readily accessible to Jews.) To enhance my visibility, I usually arrived well before the services began and sat around until well past their completion. I also attended some of the study classes, initiated conversations when appropriate, and in due course began to feel at ease. I was also mindful, however, that I had to give a favourable impression of myself and to that end I was prepared to modify any style of dress that might be offensive to them. I replaced my white skullcap with a knitted one such as is worn by Orthodox Jews and then later bought the black felt skullcap which is worn by the Lubavitcher. I tried to attend all public functions and, whenever possible, I travelled with my new acquaintances to Lubavitch gatherings in Crown Heights, Brooklyn (the group's headquarters). I shied away from non-kasher restaurants, particularly in streets where Lubavitcher might see me entering or leaving, and if I drove on the Sabbath I avoided the Lubavitch part of town.

In many other ways, I let the Lubavitcher assume that I was gradually becoming an observant Jew. After a few months, I was no longer asked whether I had observed the commandment of laying *tefillin*: it was taken for granted that I had. On more than one occasion, I was told, 'Slowly, slowly, you're becoming a Lubavitcher'. They were seeing in me what they wanted to see — someone concerned with

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Yiddishkayt (Orthodox traditional knowledge of Judaism). Although I frequently reminded them that I was conducting research (I had pointed that out from the outset), they repeatedly stressed that they were concerned about me as a Jew, not as a sociologist. In fact, most of them did not have much understanding of what a sociologist is. Many of those who did, I suspect, saw my research as a means through which my return to Judaism was to be achieved. As one man remarked, 'The *rebbe* doesn't mind people doing research on Lubavitch because this way they at least find out about *Yiddishkayt*'.

Some people are doubtful about the fieldworker's real motives from the outset, while others sooner or later discover inconsistencies in self-presentation. I always suspected that many Lubavitcher saw through my pretence of becoming an observant Jew, yet no one openly challenged my presentation of self. The comments were indirect. For example, on several occasions older yeshiva students, watching me observing them, said, 'Put that in your book' (it was assumed that I was writing a book), or 'You know, things like that don't have to go into the book you're writing', apparently worried lest I misinterpret what I had seen or heard. Certainly, some were deeply suspicious of what my work would reveal about the community and its followers. Once, a Lubavitcher whom I was interviewing was called to the telephone. I overheard him say that he was talking to '... Billy who is writing something about Lubavitch'. After a pause, he said, 'Look, what's the difference? He's going to find out all these things anyway. It's just a matter of time'. Other people questioned whether I was correct in my observations, a refined way of encouraging me to censor my findings. One of the rabbis once asked, 'Do you know that some of the information you get is not correct?' He hinted that several people had provided me with either false or inaccurate data in an attempt to tell me what they believed I wanted to hear and what they hoped would impress me. Those who were comparatively new to Lubavitch, he maintained, did not always have an accurate understanding of the community's organization, or the philosophy underlying the approach to secular studies in its two schools, and their statements should not be taken as facts. Unfortunately, although invited to do so, he refused to offer concrete examples.

In retrospect, I think he was wrong. Some Lubavitcher might have, at the outset, altered their usual behaviour in order to impress me, but it is unlikely that many could have pursued such a course for long without being unmasked. As Becker has observed,⁹ the subjects of field research must respond to the ordinary social constraints operating within their group and are usually neither able nor willing to adapt their actions to what they believe the researcher expects. The Lubavitcher, as my relationships with them evolved, began to recognize that my understanding and appreciation of their life-style and

community organization were becoming more detailed and thorough. More than one observed that it would now be difficult to mislead me intentionally with factually incorrect information. The changing nature of my relationship with them reflected their more personal acceptance of me and mine of them.

While always aware that I was at the yeshiva for research purposes, I gradually began to feel more relaxed in that milieu. I became involved in the community: I travelled to New York *farbrengens* (Hassidic gatherings), was present at community celebrations, and participated in and even helped to plan some community events. Moreover, in the course of time, I became familiar with the more private concerns of several Lubavitcher and they in turn learnt details about mine so that our encounters assumed a more personal orientation and centred less exclusively on my research objectives. To some extent, however, the relationship was characterized by pretence: I was not becoming as religiously observant as I claimed and at least some of them were aware of that fact although they did not openly say so. However, my research was not adversely affected; and as I became increasingly aware of the tacit understanding between us, I devoted less attention to self-presentation and more to the actual fieldwork. For instance, I decided that it was no longer necessary for me to go regularly to the yeshiva in order to be seen as committed to the cause and instead I spent more time in interviews with particular individuals to gather specific information which I lacked. It is extremely difficult to engage in deception with people one has come to regard as friends.

Throughout that period, however, I was not especially concerned about the ethics of deceit. My textbooks reinforced what I was already discovering through experience: field research often involves carefully constructed and managed self-presentations. In other words, deception is, to a large extent, inherent in participant observation. Researchers generally provide a carefully rehearsed line to account for their presence in the setting, and once in, feign interest and excitement to enhance their acceptance and maintain relations. Even if they openly tell those they are studying something about the research, they rarely find it politic to tell all.¹⁰

Covert Research and its Dilemmas

Within a few months, however, I encountered a situation which I believed called for considerably more deceit, and I came to realize that covert research can be very complex indeed. Since I had never intended to restrict my study to the Lubavitcher, I began an attempt to establish contacts with some of the metropolitan area's other Hassidic communities and paid a few visits to the Satmar group in Montreal. My summer acquaintance with members of the Klausenburger community seemed

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too unpromising to pursue; and, moreover, their group was very small and they lived in a district of Montreal which was inconveniently situated for me. Then the existence of the Tasher Hassidim was brought to my attention. They had once resided in Montreal, but because they became alarmed by the secular influences of the city, eighteen families moved their community and its yeshiva of about eighty students to a rural area in Sainte Thérèse, some eighteen miles north of the city. After a brief visit there at Hanukkah, I concluded immediately that my description and analysis of Hassidic life in Montreal would be fuller and more accurate if I included these Tasher who were so different from their Lubavitch Hassidic counterparts.

Securing access to the Tasher community proved to be considerably more difficult than in the case of the Lubavitcher. When I paid them a first casual visit, they received me politely but unenthusiastically; and those familiar with the community told me that it was wary of outsiders. I decided therefore not to present myself to the Tasher as a sociological researcher nor even to hint at the possibility of conducting fieldwork. My greatest and most immediate challenge was to devise a means of visiting the community fairly regularly without arousing strong suspicion. Its isolated location meant that I could not often pretend that I happened to be in the area and had just dropped in and its distance from the city made it impossible for me to claim that its synagogue was conveniently situated to cater to my religious needs.

I believed that I had the solution when I learned that the Tasher were seeking a part-time instructor for secular studies. A school-teacher would have the opportunity of acquiring data about many aspects of the community. My hopes were raised before the interview when I realized that I was the best qualified applicant — I had had a chance to assess the others as we drove to the Tasher in one car. Alas, I was promptly turned down. The official explanation my interviewer gave me was that I would be bored teaching students whose interest in secular studies was minimal, but another Tasher commented: 'We believe that certain forms of dress are not in keeping with the teachings of the Torah. You don't have to have a beard and earlocks, but your long hair isn't suitable.' They must appoint a man whose life-style would not adversely affect the student body. In fact, I later learned that teachers of secular subjects are often Gentiles, since the Hassidim generally prefer to employ non-Jews rather than non-observant Jews, whom they consider likely to set a bad example to the pupils.

I had to accept that the Tasher would not knowingly co-operate in my research plans. Moreover, I did not know anyone inside the community who might be of assistance. But a chance remark some months later solved my problem. In talking with a former employee of Tash, himself a non-Hassidic Jew, I mentioned the subject of my thesis and wondered how I might gain access to Tash. 'Get a job there', he

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said and he immediately telephoned Tash and arranged an interview for a clerical position.

When I was asked during the interview what attracted me to the job, I replied that I was looking for part-time work but that I was also interested in learning more about the Hassidic way of life. I certainly had the qualifications for the position: an ability to draft and type letters. (In fact, to test my suitability, I was asked to draft a letter to a Canadian cabinet minister requesting financial support for the Tasher yeshiva.) I was appointed by the same man who had considered me unsuitable for the teaching position.

Since I suspected that members of the community would not sanction any sociological investigation, I did not inform the Tasher that I was collecting data about them. (Neither did I tell them about my connection with the Lubavitcher, a community they disapproved of, because of the involvement of its members with non-Orthodox Jews.) I did, however, tell those who were interested that I was a sociology student at McGill University. Invariably, I was asked to explain the meaning of sociology, a term that was entirely foreign to the Tasher and which I soon dropped from my vocabulary. But I was able to define it sufficiently to use my interest in sociology to add legitimacy to the kinds of questions I regularly asked about the organization of the community — for example, the reason for its move to Sainte-Thérèse, the members' relationships with the Tasher *rebbe*, socialization, and secular and religious studies. Some people were surprised at my curiosity about topics unconnected with my clerical duties. However, others seemed convinced by my explanations and volunteered information about themselves which they believed might interest an outsider. But several members looked at me so oddly that I felt they considered me an intruder and were (quite rightly!) suspicious of my presence.

My status as a graduate student at the university was common knowledge, but few people inside the community could comprehend what it involved. This particular Hassidic group is so insulated from the wider society that only a handful of its members were even vaguely familiar with the secular academic world. One man, a recent newcomer to Tash, had graduated from university before joining the group and served for some of the Tasher as a source of selective information about the outside world. Thus, for example, because many of them were unable to read or speak English fluently, he would help them understand material they received from the government or he might initiate telephone inquiries on their behalf. For the most part, however, he only reluctantly revealed information about the secular world, requests which came only intermittently from senior students who were curious about things they might see or hear when they occasionally travelled to Montreal for a medical appointment. His recollection of university, coloured by his intense religious awakening, gave them a

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distorted image of campus life. Basically, they imagined the university to be a place where the illicit use of drugs and premarital sex were rampant. Unlike the Lubavitch students, many of whom visited the university campuses as part of their proselytizing efforts in the Jewish community, most of those at Tash had never been near a university. Consequently, the Tasher found it easier to see me as a Jew interested in becoming more familiar with the requirements of Orthodox Judaism. Far from discouraging or objecting to this presentation, I actively and passively nurtured it: I listened attentively to explanations for the observance of various Jewish laws, participated in prayer services when called upon to do so, and appeared enthusiastic about broadening my knowledge and understanding of the Tasher view of Judaism.

Whereas my position as an office employee helped me to gain access to considerable information about the community's organization and financing, in the final analysis my role as a covert observer severely constrained the range of data I could collect. My position both entitled and required me to read many of the institutional files, especially those pertaining to financial matters and to the outsiders who were regularly called upon to assist the community in various ways. I thus learned a good deal about the group's fund-raising tactics. Regrettably, however, that position gave me regular access to only two men. It also limited the activities in which the leaders expected me to become involved, and they consistently discouraged my queries about topics which were unrelated to my work.

Older students often appeared eager to talk with me because they regarded all outsiders as potential sources of information about the wider society. The community's by-laws ban English- and French-language newspapers while those in Yiddish or in Hebrew are frowned upon; and radio and television sets are forbidden. They would ask me about the use of drugs at the university and the latest news from Israel and the Middle East. Whenever that happened, one of the rabbis called the students away, explaining to them that such conversations interrupted some of my important office duties; I was then reminded that the pupils had studies which were too time-consuming to give them leisure to engage in idle talk. Although my clerical skills were appreciated, my doubtful influence on the young was not. I soon discovered that there were strict limits to the range of data I could gather. Analysis of my field notes showed gaps in what I considered to be important areas — such as the socialization of children and the organization of secular education — and I saw no way in which I could collect such data systematically. As a result, I began having doubts about my entire research among the Tasher.

Meanwhile, I was getting very tired. For two months, I had been commuting every weekday, working from nine to five from Monday to Thursday and until 2 p.m. on Friday. Evenings were almost always

spent among the Lubavitcher, in participant observation or in personal interviews. Moreover, I had to set aside several hours to write up and analyse my material. Since I could not sustain that frantic pace, I told the two Tasher men with whom I worked (one of them was a rabbi) that I would have to curtail my hours because my commitments at the university required me to conduct research and to write a thesis. That thesis, I explained, would probably be about pool halls. 'Pool hall, what is that?' asked the rabbi in Yiddish. The other man, who had graduated from university before becoming a Tasher Hassid, gave his version of a pool hall, 'It's a place where you play with balls on a table', and turning to me, he asked: 'How can I describe a pool hall to him? He's never been'. Then he elaborated: 'It's a dirty place that attracts the criminal element. It's suitable for Gentiles, not for Jews'.

They both quickly agreed that I ought to be discouraged from pursuing that research and suddenly the rabbi said, 'Look, you know us. Why don't you write about us and we could help you . . . I'm telling you, you'll win a prize. I'll help you and so will the others and you'll win an award . . . When do you want to start? Let's set a time'. The other man seemed to be of the same opinion. Stunned, I managed to say calmly that I would consider the suggestion and meet them the next day to pursue it further.

Of course, I intended to tell them that I would do as they advised. By the following afternoon, however, both men had changed their mind. The rabbi took the lead by saying: 'I thought about what we discussed yesterday and I'm not sure it's a good idea. There are problems. First of all, people won't be able to understand what you're writing about. I mean, they don't know Hassidim. The *goyim* [Gentiles] will read about us and conclude, "They are funny". It's not right. Also, do you know how long it would take to write about us? It would take three years just to know the right questions to ask. You would have to study in the yeshiva. I don't think it will work out.' The university graduate added, 'Also, I don't want my name in print. I don't want strangers to read about me. And why should the community's name appear in print?'

Having come prepared to discuss how I proposed to conduct the research, I was completely taken by surprise. I said to them, 'But I do know the questions I want to ask. And peoples' names won't appear in anything I write'. But they were obviously unconvinced. They had not come to discuss the matter but to inform me of the decision they had reached. My assurances about confidentiality and anonymity had no effect whatever. On the other hand, the rabbi was concerned lest I now return to the study of the pool halls. 'I have a new idea for you to write about', he announced. 'You'll write about good government in Canada. I have ideas about this matter. I also know a lawyer who can tell you what to write. We can talk whenever you want.' Towards the end of the meeting, he also informed me that the community was

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unable to continue paying my salary. That was the end of my first attempt at fieldwork among the Tasher.

I was to be more successful a few years later in the same Tasher community. There were new administrators in charge of the community's day-to-day affairs who were quite receptive to my request to visit and chat about matters of community life that interested me. I candidly explained my research interests to them, thus dispensing with the pretence of being interested to learn about Orthodox Judaism. The chief administrator appeared to adopt a 'We have nothing to hide' attitude, and I believe that he and his colleagues found my visits refreshing. For my part, I always showed myself sympathetic to their points of view and agreed with them that the arguments they used to defend their life-style were convincing.

Establishing Rapport and Maintaining Relations

In the years since I first studied the Hassidim, I have confirmed again and again what I first learned: that the problems involved in gaining access to the social setting usually pale in comparison with the efforts needed to secure and maintain the co-operation and trust of those concerned. The researcher must both frequently renegotiate permission to conduct the research with virtually every individual whose co-operation is sought, and give continuing attention to maintaining the human relationships that are essential to securing and retaining an entrée into their world of meaning. One of the most essential requirements for successful field research is the maintenance of rapport, while achieving a delicate balance between objectivity and involvement. It was essential that I be perceived from the outset as a decent, pleasant individual, since first impressions often determine initial acceptance or rejection. I tried projecting an image of an easy-going, relaxed person who enjoyed listening to people's experiences. I am certain that this image was at least partly responsible for my ability to gather a wide range of data from the Hassidim — many of whom welcomed me to their homes on several occasions, thus allowing me to have some direct insight into their life-style and community organization.

In recent years, however, I have learned not to rely on carefully crafting a convincing presentation of self. I have tried, rather, to be straightforward about my research intentions when dealing with Hassidim. My main technique can best be described as 'hanging around' and I let my informants know that I wish to acquire an appreciation of their community, not to judge it. I tried to follow Polsky's cardinal rule for field research: 'Initially, keep your eyes and ears open *but keep your mouth shut*'.¹¹

At the same time, as Goffman has shown,¹² in the course of everyday life we all shape the presentation of self both as we wish to be seen and

as others expect us to be. A fabricated presentation of self inevitably requires that one be constantly on guard to preserve one's credibility. For example, I stopped frequenting non-kasher restaurants in the vicinity of Lubavitch, kept a skullcap in my pocket in case I saw a Hassidic acquaintance from a distance, and became adept at describing my activities in a manner becoming to an observant Jew. Unfortunately, I was not always successful, much to my embarrassment. Once, for instance, when invited by a Satmarer Hassid for a Sabbath meal, I unthinkingly rang his door bell. I immediately recognized my error but it was too late. Opening the door, he remarked: 'But why did you have to ring the bell today? It's *Shabbess*. I purposely left the door open'. On another occasion, again on a Saturday, two Hassidim whom I knew saw me driving my car. I had stopped at a red light and although I then jumped the light to avoid detection (or perhaps because I did so), I caught a glimpse of them staring in my direction.

The dynamics of maintaining field relations are indeed complex. Rapport sometimes becomes the basis for deeper friendships, stronger identification with the group, or both. What Miller has called 'over-rapport'¹³ can weaken or even destroy the investigator's objectivity. While I strove to acquire an appreciation of the Hassidim's life-style, I found it quite easy to separate my research interests from my personal feelings towards them. Listening to the Satmarer condemn the State of Israel disturbed me but I could simultaneously regard the denunciation as valuable data, as I did the Lubavitchers' criticisms of the very school in which I had received my formal Jewish education. Perhaps as a result of my more extensive contact with the Lubavitcher, I found myself reacting to their criticisms and concerns less severely than I did in the case of the Satmarer. The former's admonitions were generally tendered with sincerity for my well-being as a Jew. They reminded me that the differences between us were of a quantitative kind: we were both Jews but I was not as observant as they were. By contrast, it was far more difficult to bridge the chasm separating me from the Satmarer. It seemed to them that I was a fundamentally different kind of Jew. Early on in the research, I stood with a Jewish friend outside the Satmarer yeshiva talking to some children in Yiddish. Suddenly, one of the boys yelled at my friend '*Goy, goy, di bist a goy*' ('Gentile, Gentile, you're a Gentile'). One of the rabbis approached and asked what the commotion was about. My friend explained, in Yiddish, that one of the boys had called him a *goy*. The rabbi replied: '*A goy bistu nit, ober a Yid bistu oikhet nit*' (literally, 'A Gentile you are not, but a Jew also you are not'). It was indeed the opinion of many Satmarer that the Jewishness of men like me was suspect.

The anxiety and unease which marked my initial feelings about the Hassidim disappeared by the end of the research, when I had spent more than three years with them, visiting them with frequent

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regularity. Their distinctive physical appearance, while jarring at first, became far less striking; the relative untidiness of their yeshivot became understandable since that was where they spent numerous hours not only for prayer and study, but also for socializing. Although I felt increasingly at ease visiting them, I never attempted to pretend to be one of them. I did not grow a beard nor did I ever consider altering my style of dress to conform to theirs. Instead, I would deliberately remind them that I was not one of them — for instance, by mentioning that I had recently seen a good film, attended a fine play, or, at times, by wearing sneakers and jeans to the yeshiva.

I came to know some men well, but did not develop any strong and enduring friendships with the Hassidim. Although the Lubavitcher certainly opened avenues for establishing such relationships, I was reluctant to pursue them, largely because I was aware that I would be doing so under false pretences. They hoped that I would eventually adopt the Hassidic view of Judaism, but I knew that I was not prepared to embark upon a radical change of life-style and to submit willingly to the requirements of orthodox Judaism.

However, my contact with Hassidic Jews, and with the Lubavitcher in particular, did have an impact. I came to appreciate the extent of it gradually. Towards the end of my research, I found myself looking forward to a time when I would visit the Hassidim without being preoccupied by data collection, when I could strike up conversations simply because I appreciated a person's wisdom and knowledge. One man had some fascinating insights into the dynamics of Jewish assimilation and intermarriage, while another entertained me with the details of the accomplishments of the Lubavitcher *rebbe*. After completing the doctoral dissertation, I did indeed continue to spend 'free' time with Hassidim. My religious observance remained minimal but I had come to admire and respect their commitment to helping Jews in the larger community and even today I often find myself envying the strength of their convictions and the sense of order and purpose of their lives.

More Recent Contacts with Lubavitch and Tash

I completed the doctoral dissertation in 1972 and it was published in book form in 1974.¹⁴ Although I have lived some four hundred miles away from Montreal since 1972, I remain in touch with members of the Lubavitch and Tash communities and pay them visits at least once or twice a year. Despite continued contact, it is difficult to know how the Lubavitcher received my book about their community. A number were sent copies and the volume was sold in a Lubavitch-owned bookshop, so many among them are aware of its publication. I have never initiated conversations on the topic, and only three Lubavitcher have ever

questioned me about the book, saying that it was interesting, I was to be congratulated for trying to tackle the subject from the perspective of the Hassidim, but that I had failed to appreciate that perspective well enough to present it fully and adequately. In fact, I was once informed that a newcomer to Lubavitch was furious with what I had written, claiming that I had done the community a disservice. (Unfortunately, my informant was either unaware of the details of the criticism or unwilling to reveal them.) I have also been told by a third party that the professor's wife who helped me at the beginning of my study of Lubavitch was deeply embarrassed by my account of her assistance. I now realize that it was imprudent to quote her directly on how to approach the topic of sex with respondents. Although I did try to disguise her identity, the attempt proved unsuccessful because the assistance she gave me was well-known. Nevertheless, whatever discomfort my book may have caused, the Lubavitcher continue to cooperate fully in my fieldwork. I am well-received in their yeshiva and am often asked about my current research on the community.

I don't believe that any of the Tasher Hassidim have read my book on Lubavitch, although I have told a number of them of its existence. Upon re-establishing ties with the Tasher some years after completing my doctoral dissertation, I informed them that I was now a sociology professor at a university, and that part of my work involved studying and writing about Hassidic Jewry. Since then, I have twice asked Tash for permission to conduct interviews, and they very readily granted it on both occasions — and much to my surprise gave me their full cooperation. The result of one of these series of interviews was published in the December 1983 issue of this Journal (vol. 25, no. 2).¹⁵

Conclusion

In any social setting, the sociologist or anthropologist must both deal with the general problems of field research and adapt to the particular social and moral requirements of the members of the community. But it is usually more difficult to overcome the more routine challenges of negotiating access, establishing trust, and maintaining relations in the field. One cannot do so through a fixed methodology. Ultimately, one must rely upon common sense and tact.

Friends and colleagues alike have often expressed surprise that I was able to conduct research among Hassidic Jews. They have heard that these communities are closed to outsiders and suspect that I must possess some special talents — which is flattering but unwarranted. Hassidic Jews, like most groups, tolerate a researcher providing that they can be reassured that he does not constitute a threat. In order to persuade them, the social scientist must modify his presentation of self as the research unfolds. It does not necessarily require a deliberate

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misrepresentation of his identity or of the character of the research. In retrospect, I think it was lack of experience, rather than the requirements of the setting, which led to my attempt to deceive the Tasher Hassidim. Now I believe that communities such as Tash can be researched as overtly as Lubavitch. Here, as in all research, of course, the investigator must willingly accept the constraints imposed by the setting and must be prepared to invest considerable time and energy in order to be accepted and to receive co-operation. In the case of Hassidim, who separate the sexes socially, one's gender will directly affect the kinds of data one will be allowed to collect.

All researchers frequently pretend to participate fully in a community's activities when in fact they are detached observers. And often they ask deceptively innocent questions to gather data which would not otherwise be readily available: Such deceptive practices, I believe, are as inherent in field research as they often are in day-to-day life. More blatant and outright dissimulation is rarely necessary. Co-operation depends less on the nature of the study than on the perception informants have of the field researcher as an ordinary human being who respects them, is genuinely interested in them, is kindly disposed towards them, and is willing to conform to their code of behaviour when he is with them.*

NOTES

¹ See Robert K. Merton, 'Forward', in Bernard Barber, *Science And The Social Order*, revised edition, New York, 1962.

² See Jay Ruby, ed., *A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology*, Philadelphia, 1982.

³ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Garden City, NY, 1959.

⁴ See, for example, J. A. Barnes, 'Some Ethical Problems in Modern Fieldwork', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1963, pp. 118-34; Martin Bulmer, 'When Is Disguise Justified?: Alternatives to Covert Participant Observation', *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1982, pp. 251-64; Fred Davis, 'Comment on "Initial Interaction of Newcomers in Alcoholics Anonymous"', *Social Problems*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1960, pp. 364-65; Kai T. Erikson, 'A Comment on Disguised Observation in Sociology', *Social Problems*, vol. 14, no. 4, 1966, pp. 366-73; and Joseph H. Fichter and William L. Kolb, 'Ethical Limitations on Sociological Reporting', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 18, no. 5, 1953, pp. 544-50.

⁵ Ned Polsky, *Hustlers, Beats, And Others*, Chicago 1967.

⁶ There is no prohibition on carrying things within prescribed communal boundaries on the Sabbath. As I was an outsider, it was clear to the boys that I was unfamiliar with the prescribed boundaries.

* This paper was presented at the Conference on Ethnographic Research, University of Waterloo, 15-17 May 1985.

WILLIAM SHAFFIR

⁷ See Morris Freilich, ed., *Marginal Natives: Anthropologists At Work*, New York, 1970.

⁸ See R. Schechner, 'Collective Reflexivity: Restoration of Behaviour', in Jay Ruby, ed., op. cit.

⁹ Howard S. Becker, *Sociological Work: Method and Substance*, Chicago, 1970, pp. 39-51.

¹⁰ Julius Roth, 'Comments on "Secret Observation"', *Social Problems*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1960, pp. 283-84.

¹¹ Ned Polsky, op. cit., p. 128.

¹² Erving Goffman, op. cit.

¹³ Steven M. Miller, 'The Participant Observer and "Over-Rapport"', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1952, pp. 97-99.

¹⁴ William Shaffir, *Life in a Religious Community: The Lubavitcher Chassidim in Montreal*, Montreal, 1974.

¹⁵ William Shaffir, 'Hassidic Jews and Quebec Politics', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 25, no. 2, December 1983, pp. 105-18.

A NOTE ON RECENT RESEARCH ON THE JEWISH EAST END OF LONDON

Aubrey Newman

WHEN, in October 1980, the Jewish Historical Society of England and the Jewish East End Project (JEEP) of the Association for Jewish Youth (AJY) sponsored the first conference on 'The Jewish East End 1840-1939', they were responding to a growing interest in Anglo-Jewish roots.

In September 1978, according to Harriet Karsh, the AJY had been asked whether it would 'consider training a group of people to act as tour guides for youth groups and visitors wishing to explore the Jewish East End. . . . it was decided to stage a Pilot Course on the history of the East End in 1979 . . . The success of that course was so phenomenal that it was decided to form a Jewish East End Project Steering Group, and to develop the Association's involvement in promoting educational programmes on Anglo-Jewish Roots. The agreed aims of JEEP were to bring the Anglo-Jewish Community face to face with their ethnic past using the East End of London as a focal point to raise the morale of the existing Jewish East End population . . . , and to put the Jewish population at large more closely in touch with their Jewish identity'. She adds that JEEP outlined a programme of work priorities which included the systematic collection of demographic data about the Jews in the East End today; the systematic collection of oral histories; staging courses on the East End; and providing 'advice and guidance to community workers interested in promoting ethnic roots projects in their clubs and centres'.¹

The full 'conference volume', *The Jewish East End 1840-1939*,² which was published in 1981, was not of course the first work to appear on the subject. Indeed, a bibliography of the Jewish East End would be both extensive and go back almost a century, to 1900, when C. Russell and H. S. Lewis published their classic work, *The Jew in London: A Study of Racial Character and Present-day Conditions*. What the conference did reveal, however, was not merely how much work remains to be done on the Jewish East End but also the intense enthusiasm which still exists at

all levels of Anglo-Jewry. If the success of a meeting is to be gauged by the numbers who wish to participate, then that conference was an outstanding success. Nearly two hundred persons registered their interest and they included not only university teachers and students but also many others unconnected with academic pursuits who desired to acquire much more knowledge about their communal and personal roots.

The conference certainly provided various opportunities for information to be given and received. There were standard discussions in the plenary sessions about the frontiers of the Jewish East End, about the topographic and statistical significance of Jewish settlement there, and more particularly about the data available in Booth's survey of *Life and Labour of the People in London* and in the *New Survey of London Life and Labour*.³ But perhaps of greater value were the workshops which allowed small groups of people to exchange views and to gather information from other participants who had either studied East End Jewry or who had been themselves residents of that district.

There were three workshops on various aspects of everyday East End Jewish life, evoking a wealth of reminiscences; while three other workshops (on education, housing, and working men's clubs) referred to a great deal of published material. Not surprisingly, the workshop on education led to memories of the Jews' Free School in its earlier location in the East End; and it also led to a detailed analysis of the 'achievers', those children who had been able to take full advantage of the educational opportunities opened to them through the various schools set up after the Education Act of 1870. Under that Act, local 'School Boards' were authorized to build and maintain a State system of elementary education and these 'Board schools' had to ensure that their pupils would not receive religious instruction at variance with their parents' wishes. The Jewish parents of the pupils had therefore no fear that their religious upbringing would be undermined. One of the conference papers documented the high proportion of Jewish children who were awarded scholarships enabling them to proceed to secondary (grammar) schools.

When Jewish landlords and tenants were discussed, there was an amount of heat generated about the provision of improved tenement accommodation by the Four Per Cent Industrial Dwellings Company, which was established in 1885 under the patronage of Lord Rothschild. One firmly-held opinion was that the Company represented an essentially class-based attempt to maintain a subservient working population; but another opinion, equally firmly advanced, was that it was basically a philanthropic approach to a major housing problem. A workshop on the political life of the East End also aroused a great deal of interest. There were debates on the political impact of Zionism and on the immigrant Jewish anarchists.

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The conference thus stimulated both the professional and the amateur historians who attended it to initiate further research. It also led to the establishment of the Museum of the Jewish East End in 1983. That Museum states that it has set itself the following tasks:

to rescue and preserve the heritage of the Jewish East End by seeking out photographs, documents and objects reflecting the everyday life of East End Jews in the past;

to mount a programme of exhibitions showing the vitality of East End Jewish life — in the workplace, the home, the synagogue, at school and even in the cinema;

to stimulate an interest among Jewish people in their 'roots';

to organise seminars, tours, and workshops among people of all ages;

to serve as a Research Centre and to provide resources for the growing number of people interested in the history of the Jewish East End.

The Museum has already attracted a significant archive of correspondence, records of Jewish societies and associations, and memorabilia of life in the East End. These items have been saved from decay, neglect, or destruction. The Museum has also reprinted, in full colour, the map of Jewish East London which was originally published in the book by Russell and Lewis, cited above. That map had been commonly available only in its (inadequate) black and white reproductions.

The Museum of the Jewish East End and Research Centre (which incorporates the Jewish East End Project of the Association for Jewish Youth) is in Finchley, north London. There is now a regular programme of East End studies at the Research Centre, where various specialist historians present papers at seminars and where researchers have the opportunity of discussing the problems they have encountered in their own work. Some of them are studying the links between the areas of first settlement in the East End and the other London districts to which the children or grandchildren of the immigrants moved. The Centre has demonstrated that individuals with little or no professional training but with enthusiasm and determination can engage in fruitful research — for example, in studies of family histories and of the links between London Jews and communities in eastern Europe. In some cases, eastern European cultural patterns apparently endured, complete with magical practices and even shamanism, as recently as the 1950s in London's East End.

One of the continuing features of these research programmes has been an analysis of various streets in the heart of settlement. By using the data available in the notebooks of the enumerators of the 1871 and 1881 Censuses and linking them with those culled from the Booth maps and notes as well as from the *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, it has been possible to reveal details of family structure and to open many new fields for a demographic study of the Jewish East End. The full 1891

Census records will be available after 1991 and should provide a wealth of data. But meanwhile, there are the records of various friendly societies, and above all of the Jews' Temporary Shelter, which should throw further light upon the relationships between recent immigrants and the long-settled Jewish bourgeoisie.

Another field is that of religious observance in the East End: the synagogues, the small houses of prayer (*shtiebels*), and the *hedarim* (which provided religious classes for children) as well as the records of Jewish burials. Some say that Jewish immigration at the end of the last century raised the level of religious observance while others can point to clear evidence of strong secularization.

There has recently been increasing interest in the East End of London in the History Departments of some British universities — mainly in Queen Mary College in London and at Leicester. Some of those who participated in the October 1980 conference have registered for higher degrees and engaged in research on various aspects of Jewish life in the East End. One of these graduate students is looking into the provision of medical services. There were conflicts which arose not only between the Jewish immigrants and the Christian Dispensaries but between the immigrants and the leaders of the Jewish establishment. The latter were in favour of making Jewish facilities available at the London Hospital while the newcomers insisted on the building of a completely Jewish hospital where they would have not only kasher meals but also a total Jewish environment in which they could be treated by Jews and where they would eventually die as Jews. They themselves were prepared to provide the necessary funds for a Jewish hospital if no other help was available.

The concepts and techniques which historians of Jewish communities in North America have skilfully developed are now being used and adapted by historians of East End Jewry. The amateurs are told that they must be rigorous in their attention to detail and in verifying their sources and they are being generally guided by the professionals to the benefit of both parties.

NOTES

¹ See Harriet Karsh, 'The Jewish East End Project of the Association for Jewish Youth (JEEP)', in Aubrey Newman, ed., *The Jewish East End 1840-1939*, The Jewish Historical Society of England, London, 1981, p. 324.

² Aubrey Newman, ed., *op. cit.*

³ The first volume of Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London*, on East London, appeared in London in 1889. His survey was published in its final and revised form in 17 volumes in 1902. The *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, carried out under the auspices of the London School of Economics and Political Science, was published in nine volumes between 1930 and 1935.

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LEWIS A. COSER, *Refugee Scholars in America: Their Impact and Their Experiences*, xviii + 351 pp., Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1984, £25.00.

As Professor Coser makes clear at the outset, the aim of this book is to analyse and assess the contributions to American scholarship and culture made by European refugees who arrived in the United States between 1933 and the end of the Second World War. They came mainly, but not exclusively, from Germany and Austria. A very high proportion of them were Jews, at least by Hitler's standard. They left Nazi Germany and Nazi-dominated Europe because of their origins and also because they were repelled by the values of the new order. Their contributions to American and international intellectual life have been considerable. Professor Coser is all too conscious of the problem of doing justice to the wealth of talent treated in his capsule sketches of career patterns and scholarly attainments. Indeed, he has also limited the scope of the volume primarily to the social sciences and humanities with a short section on *belles-lettres*. Even so, he has felt obliged to restrict himself further to those major areas in the social sciences and humanities that are relatively familiar and of central interest to the non-specialist.

These intellectual pen-portraits are of intrinsic interest, given the stature of the personalities treated. This is not the place to comment on the merits of Professor Coser's observations on the scholarly contributions of luminaries such as Erich Fromm, Karl Wittfogel, Albert Hirschman, Hannah Arendt, and Hans Morgenthau — to name but a few. More significant in a special sense, given the sub-title of this book, is his assessment of why some scholars made their mark and others stayed on the margins of intellectual recognition. Professor Coser has encapsulated only in a general sense a common experience — namely, emigration and exile. He does not suggest a uniform experience in the groves of American academe. On the contrary, the subjects of this volume enjoyed mixed career fortunes, to some extent owing to their individual qualities of personal adjustment. But a most important consideration, given particular attention by the author, is the American intellectual climate of the time in the disciplines involved. As he explains, for example, in discussing the enthusiastic reception of the psychoanalysts: 'It was the fortunate conjunction of developments internal to the American psychoanalytic movement and the timing of the refugees' arrival that accounts for their tremendous success in this

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country' (p. 47). Correspondingly in political science, the reception of the work of Karl Deutsch was facilitated by the rise of the behavioural persuasion. In other words, an important part of this book is about the American environment which the refugees encountered, an environment which favoured the interests of some and not of others.

Professor Coser writes not only about the impact and experiences of individual scholars. He considers also the transfer of the group of thinkers known as the Frankfurt School and traces the degree of accommodation in language at least that permitted both adjustment and new careers in an environment less than congenial to their fundamental beliefs. Of the exceptional case of Herbert Marcuse, he notes: 'He even wrote an unfortunate essay in which he argued that tolerance was an antiquated and regressive idea and that the intolerance of the New Left was justified when it served the battle against oppression' (p. 100). The other collective enterprise discussed is the New School for Social Research which had been founded in 1919 but assumed a transformed identity with the addition of its Graduate Faculty of Political and Economic Science whose staff comprised a 'University in Exile'.

There is much evidence in this volume of an acute understanding of seminal developments in scholarship. The subjects are treated with sympathy, whether they conformed or went against the grain of intellectual traditions. For readers of this Journal, however, there is a missing dimension. So many of the biographical sketches attest not only to Jewish origins but also to a background in which Jewish identity had some relevance. Moreover, most of those Jewish scholars who made their way to the United States did so to avoid being consumed by the Holocaust. Academic interests do not have to reflect any measure of religious or cultural identity. Indeed, those Jewish scholars whose careers are discussed in this volume had in most cases chosen their secular intellectual paths before being driven to emigrate. However, it is notable that, with very few exceptions, being Jewish does not seem to have found special expression in the American lives of these celebrated individuals, except perhaps to the extent that their career prospects were hampered by antisemitism. Only in the two cases of Bruno Bettelheim and Hannah Arendt is it possible to cite substantive examples of concern with Jewish themes. For the vast majority, being Jewish was incidental to their interests and their attainments. The author does not feel the need to address himself to this issue.

Professor Coser introduces his book with a general account of the problems of refugees in coming to terms with, and in trying to overcome, loss of prestige. He then deals successively with Psychology and Psychoanalysis, Sociology and Social Thought, Economics and Economic History, Political Science and Political Theory, Writers, the Humanities, and finally Philosophy and Theology. There is no

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separate conclusion. The individual chapters indicate the cumulative legacy of intellectual attainment not only in monographs and papers but also in graduate students who have sustained and enriched the traditions of scholarship of their refugee mentors.

MICHAEL LEIFER

DANIEL J. ELAZAR and STUART A. COHEN, *The Jewish Polity: Jewish Political Organization from Biblical Times to the Present*, xi + 303 pp., Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985, \$27.50.

The classical Jewish sources nowhere offer a systematic political philosophy, and the formative period of rabbinic Judaism largely fell after the loss of Jewish political independence. Jewish medieval philosophers were not on the whole exercised with political philosophy, though questions of political organization and authority figure frequently in halakhic literature such as codes and responsa.

Elazar and Cohen offer not so much an account of Jewish political philosophy as a description of 'political behaviour', of the traditions of Jewish political organization. They maintain that there has been continuity within the Jewish 'body politic' for almost four millenia, and that much in present-day Jewish behavioural patterns both in Israel and in the Diaspora is best understood in terms of extensions and modifications to a Jewish political tradition stretching back to Biblical times.

The book consists of an introductory essay on the Jewish political tradition, and a further fourteen chapters each examining the constitutional history of a particular 'epoch' in terms of the parameters laid down in the opening essay. There is much stress on the 'covenant' or 'federal' base of Jewish political tradition. According to the authors, the covenant, or federal, approach is concerned with relationships and sets the Jewish tradition apart from the Greek, which they see as concerned primarily with structures. *Edah*, they maintain, has from the earliest denoted 'a body politic based on consent' (p. 11), and with its medieval spin-off, *kehillah*, points up the essentially democratic nature of the Jewish body politic whether at national, regional, or local level. To describe the traditional separation of the powers of civil rule, priesthood, and divine Word (prophetic or rabbinic), Elazar and Cohen make use of the Mishnaic terminology of the three *ketarim* (crowns): *keter malkhut*, *keter kehunah*, and *keter Torah*; they rightly stress 'the autonomy of each of the *ketarim* and the interdependence of the tripartite system as a whole' (p. 17).

The framework enables Elazar and Cohen to give a highly stylized presentation of each of the special periods; for each epoch, for instance, one is given 1) dominant events, 2) constitutional history, 3) constitution, 4) constitutional structure of the *edah*, 5) *medinot*, 6) *kehillot*, 7)

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representative personalities, 8) terms (indigenous and foreign), and 9) bibliography. This stylization is heightened by the numerous circular and triangular flow diagrams which helpfully demonstrate the structures of each epoch. The stylization should not blind readers to the inherent variety of the material assembled by the authors. However, whether or not the philosopher finds the imposed framework a little contrived, the newcomer to this field will find the presentation helpful and stimulating and will be given access to a wealth of relevant material which it might otherwise have taken him many years of research to assemble.

A work surveying four thousand years of history within many countries and civilizations is bound to come under fire from specialists in each place and period. Epoch VIII, the Sanhedrin and the Patriarchate (c. 140–425), may serve as an illustration. The authors specify as the constitution for that period *Torat Moshe* and *Mishnah* (pp. 124–25). It is difficult to know what they mean by *Torat Moshe* (if the Hebrew Scriptures, it begs the all-important question of interpretative authority). Further, many scholars would very much doubt that the authority of the *Mishnah* or 'Sanhedrin' were at all widely regarded amongst Jews through much of that period; and the Talmudic assessment certainly cannot be taken at its face value. Similar questions could be raised with regard to every chapter; but it is sufficient that the book provides a framework within which the answers to such questions can be sought.

The volume lacks an index. It took me some time to discover where Isaac Abrabanel gets a mention (on p. 201). He was probably the greatest Jewish political thinker between Biblical and modern times, and it is a pity that there seems to be no presentation of his political philosophy.

The Jewish Polity is to be highly recommended as a text-book — perhaps the first ever in which the student can find material and guidance in his quest for an understanding of Jewish ways of political behaviour. Whether the authors' analysis is correct, or whether they have succeeded in demonstrating the inner continuity of Jewish political behaviour, is something we will not know until scholars have subjected the ideas to careful criticism. What is certain, however, is that the study of Jewish political thought has now been shaped as a serious academic discipline. The authors are to be congratulated on bringing to a wider public the work pioneered by Daniel Elazar himself at the Center for Jewish Community Studies.

NORMAN SOLOMON

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GERSHON DAVID HUNDERT and GERSHON C. BACON, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Bibliographical Essays* (The Modern Jewish Experience Series, Paula Hyman and Deborah Dash Moore, eds), xii + 276 pp., Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1984, \$25.00.

This book will prove enormously valuable to all students of eastern European Jewish history. The authors provide not only a multilingual bibliography but also introductory guides to the literature listed. Moreover, all this material is arranged in clearly defined categories. It is worth describing how this has been achieved. There are two overall divisions: Hundert covers Poland–Lithuania from the twelfth century until the first partition of Poland in 1772 while Bacon deals with eastern European Jewry from the first partition to the present in separate subsections about the Jews in Poland from 1772 to 1795, in Tsarist Russia, in interwar Poland, and during the Holocaust; and about Soviet Jewry from 1917 to the present.

Rabbinic literature seems to be under-represented as compared, for example, with the number of references to works on Hassidism and on the Haskalah. But that may perhaps reflect the direction of historiographical interest. Indeed, the remarkable claim is made on p. 161 that there are 'no overall studies of the traditional rabbinate in Russia and Poland in the period under consideration' (that is, from 1772 to 1917).

These two bibliographical guides demonstrate the ability of each author to provide a running analysis of the works listed together with a pithy — and sometimes sharp — evaluation. All in all, this is a volume to be treasured for its usefulness to student and research worker alike.

LIONEL KOCHAN

ZOE JOSEPHS, ed., *Birmingham Jewry Volume II: More Aspects 1740–1930*, 148 pp., The Birmingham Jewish History Research Group, distributed by Mrs Zoë Josephs, 10 Lenwade Road, Oldbury, Warley, West Midlands, B68 9JU, 1984, £8.95.

Elsewhere in this issue, Dr Aubrey Newman tells of recent research on the Jewish East End of London by both professional and amateur historians in response to a growing interest in Anglo-Jewish roots; and in another number of this Journal (vol. 26, no. 2, December 1984), Marlena Schmool cited in her 'Register of Social Research on the Anglo-Jewish Community, 1983–84' the Birmingham Jewish History Group who had published in 1980 *Birmingham Jewry Volume I: 1749–1914* and who were engaged in several studies, including one of the city's Jewish occupational structure.

Birmingham Jewry Volume II: More Aspects 1740–1930 was published at the end of last year, with a brief Foreword by Aubrey Newman, and it

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does indeed report on the gainful occupations of Birmingham Jews — the tailors, the cap makers, the shoemakers, the cigar makers, the antique dealers, and the cabinet makers and furniture retailers as well as the doctors, dentists, and solicitors. All but the section on hospitals and doctors are by Mrs Josephs and they vary in length from half a page about the solicitors to ten pages about the tailors. She also writes briefly on the Birmingham Jewish Working Men's Club, Jewish friendly societies, the Jewish Lads' Brigade, and social clubs and associations. Her longest contribution is on Jews in the entertainment industry. Apparently, Birmingham Jews had a great liking for amateur dramatics but there were very few professional actors among them. There were musicians; successful theatre managers; and later, prosperous cinema owners.

There are records of Jewish settlement in Birmingham since the middle of the eighteenth century. By the 1820s, the Birmingham Hebrew Congregation began to preserve the Minutes of its proceedings and R. E. Levy has made a scholarly study of those Minutes. In 'The History of the Birmingham Hebrew Congregation (1829-1914)', he recounts the brief schism that occurred in the 1850s between the native residents and immigrants and the inauguration of the Singers Hill synagogue and school in 1856. That school had a remarkable headmaster, Moses Berlyn, from 1865 until 1904; and Berlyn also simultaneously acted as secretary to the Congregation (in which occupation he continued until 1913), conducted the overflow synagogue services during the High Holy Days, and was an active member of the National Union of Teachers.

The Congregation frequently had to give assistance to 'the foreign poor', those Jews who were immigrants or who came from other parts of Britain. It also contributed to funds for the relief of oppressed Jews overseas — in Morocco in 1864 (after the return of Sir Moses Montefiore from his mission to that country), East Prussia and Russia in 1869, Romania in 1877, and Russia again after the Kishinev pogrom of 1903. Jerusalem's poor were also regularly assisted by the Congregation. Meanwhile, Birmingham Jewry did not neglect its own destitute co-religionists. P. Johnson and E. D. Lesser state that the Birmingham Hebrew Philanthropic Society was established in 1828; it gave food, coal, and blankets to the poor and paid for their medical care and for their funeral expenses. It also helped the needy to emigrate, mainly to America and to Australia, as early as in 1837.

The picture that emerges from the data in this volume is of Birmingham Jewry in the nineteenth century as a close-knit and hard-working community, which valued both secular and religious education, cared for its disadvantaged members, and was generally respected by the Gentile host society for its industry and its benevolence.

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It is regrettable that no clear indication is given of the contents of the first volume of *Birmingham Jewry*, especially since it is already out of print. It was awarded the A. S. Diamond Memorial Prize in 1982. Some of the very short contributions in the second volume appear to be footnotes to the chapters in the first volume.

There are numerous illustrations, including one of a young Jewish anarchist, impeccably dressed and holding in one hand a pair of gloves and what seems to be a top hat in the other. Another illustration reproduces a Jewish tailor's price list of 1852, which states that 'mourning may be had to any extent, at five minutes notice' and a complete suit for thirty shillings (p. 34).

J. FREEDMAN

SONIA and V. D. LIPMAN, eds, *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, xii + 385 pp., The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization in association with the Jewish Historical Society of England, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985, £18.00.

Moses Montefiore stands out like a gentle giant in Anglo-Jewry, and not only metaphorically: he was well over six feet in height. He also lived to celebrate his own centenary, esteemed not only in Great Britain (*The Times* published leaders honouring him on his ninety-ninth and hundredth birthdays, reprinted in this volume) but throughout the world.

He retired from active business life in 1824, when he was only forty years old, and with his beloved wife's total approval he became a full-time philanthropist — in the popular sense of distributing charity as well as in the full sense of seeking to benefit mankind. He tried to remedy wrongs and to stop the persecutions which afflicted both his co-religionists and non-Jews.

Historians have been reassessing his achievements; and in his short Preface to *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, Dr V. D. Lipman states that the contributors 'have corrected previously accepted statements about Montefiore, brought to life new facts from archival sources, and given a new evaluation of many of his activities'. The range of subjects covered is very wide: from 11 pages about 'Montefiore and the Visual Arts', by Helen Rosenau, to 77 pages about 'The Saga of 1855: A Study in Depth' by A. Schischa. The latter is a very detailed chronicle of Montefiore's travels in the summer of that year across Europe to Constantinople (where he obtained from the Sultan permission to acquire land for building a hospital in Jerusalem and for agricultural pursuits) and then to the Holy Land. The 'saga' is meticulously documented with 385 Notes, which alone take up 23 pages.

Some of Montefiore's other travels are also detailed: his journey to Egypt in 1840 in connection with the 'Damascus Affair' (the infamous

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blood libel), to Russia in 1856, and to Romania in 1867. He was treated everywhere with great respect and had audiences of the Queen of Spain, the Sultan of Turkey, the Sultan of Morocco, Prince Carol of Romania, and the Tsar. He was also received by Napoleon III and on that occasion was accompanied by Dr Thomas Hodgkin, a devout Quaker who was his friend and physician. Hodgkin later described how the 'Emperor showed marked attention to Sir Moses, placing a chair for him with his own hand' (pp. 92-93).

Amalie Kass, in 'Friends and Philanthropists: Montefiore and Dr Hodgkin', comments on the 'deeply engrained sense of the need for charitable giving, a spirit which both Montefiore and Hodgkin epitomized. Montefiore's benefactions were legion and not limited to Jews' (p. 74). When news reached England in July 1860 of the Druze massacre of Christians in Syria and of the destruction of about 150 Christian villages and the plight of thousands of refugees, Montefiore immediately wrote to *The Times*, suggested the formation of a committee to raise funds, and made an initial contribution of £200.

Dr Hodgkin accompanied Montefiore on the latter's sixth visit to the Holy Land, in 1866, but was very seriously ill when they reached Jaffa and died. In his last letter to his wife, he said: 'Dear Sir Moses . . . has been boundless in his kindness, and spared nothing for my relief'; and the physician who attended the dying man wrote to her that nothing could exceed Montefiore's kindness and solicitude. Sir Moses ordered an obelisk of Aberdeen granite to be erected on his friend's grave in Jaffa's Anglican cemetery 'In Commemoration of A Friendship of more than 40 years And of Many Journeys taken together in Europe, Asia and Africa'. All the evidence shows that the pious Quaker and the observant Jew had a great deal of respect and warm affection for each other.

Several of the contributors to this volume greatly deplore the destruction of most of Montefiore's diaries, of his correspondence, and of other archival material a few years after his death by his heir, Sir Joseph Sebag-Montefiore. Fortunately, however, many of Sir Moses's letters have been preserved; and Raphael Loewe quotes from some of those addressed to his great-grandfather, Dr Louis Loewe, who was Montefiore's 'aide and confidant' for several decades and who accompanied him on many of his travels.

Montefiore received a very great deal of active co-operation from the British authorities; and British diplomatic and consular staff in the various countries through which he journeyed were instructed to give him every assistance. Indeed, as Dr Tudor Parfitt notes in his contribution on the Damascus blood libel, when he set out in 1840 for Alexandria, 'Queen Victoria . . . gave Montefiore the use of an official state vessel to cross the Channel on the first leg of his voyage' (p. 134). And the Admiralty sent a frigate to convey him from Gibraltar to

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Morocco and back to Gibraltar in 1864. David Littman, in 'Mission to Morocco (1863-1864)', recounts Montefiore's triumphant return to England after the Sultan of Morocco granted his petition for the removal of the disabilities which burdened and humiliated his Jewish subjects and issued an Edict to that effect. But the Sultan's orders were disregarded by many of his officials and Littman reproduces documents which show that within weeks of Montefiore's departure from Morocco, the British Foreign Office received news of 'several acts of tyranny and cruelty' against the Jews of Tangiers; he also quotes from Joseph Halévy's 1876 report that the condition of Jews in Morocco had 'in fact worsened since Sir Moses Montefiore's visit . . .'. It seems, therefore, that the acclaimed baronet was not always as successful in his intercessions as was popularly believed.

Israel Finestein considers Montefiore's role as the communal leader of Anglo-Jewry. He was the President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews for thirty-nine years, from 1835 until 1874, with short intervals while he was travelling; and Finestein speaks of 'the degree of personal bitterness, communal disharmony and long-term discord engendered by Montefiore's autocracy. By holding on to office he marred the growth of new cadres of leadership and delayed the development of adequate communal machinery for the expanding, multi-faceted and increasingly diversified community' (pp. 46, 48). He shows that, contrary to popular belief, Sir Moses had critics both at the Board and in the Jewish press.

This scholarly volume, most ably edited by Sonia and V. D. Lipman, will stimulate historians of Anglo-Jewry to engage in further researches in order to give us a realistic portrait of the towering figure of Moses Montefiore as he was, warts and all.

J. FREEDMAN

BERNARD MARINBACH, *Galveston: Ellis Island of the West*, xx + 240 pp., SUNY Series in Modern Jewish History, State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y., 1983, \$49.50 (paperback, \$14.95).

In 1928 Morris D. Waldman, the first manager of the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau at Galveston, published an article in the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, entitled 'The Galveston Movement: Another Chapter From the Book Which May Never be Written'. Fifty-five years later, Waldman's fears have been laid to rest: the book about the Galveston Movement has appeared. It was originally a doctoral dissertation which received the 1976 Louis Finkelstein Prize of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; and it is a new kind of history.

The recent years have seen the publication of many community studies centering around one locality and analysing a community from

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its 'usually humble beginnings to its present state. Others have described and analysed the ideological, organizational, financial, and particularly the political aspects of the great Jewish migration from eastern Europe to the United States. Marinbach does both. His well-researched and tightly-written book plays throughout on the double meaning of 'movement'. In its narrowest sense it refers to the fact that people were moving, or being moved, through Galveston. In a broader sense, it analyses the Galveston Movement as an alternative to the Zionist, the Bundist, or the Yiddishist movements.

Marinbach skilfully shows that the American initiative of settling European Jews in the American West was an American idea, financed by German-born American Jews, especially Jacob H. Schiff. However, it was only made possible by an extensive network of European Jewish organizations, especially the Jewish Territorial Organization (ITO) and the *Hilfsverein*. The first was an organization 'in search of a project' (p.9), which it found in the Galveston Movement. These European networks, together with the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau (JIIB), their American counterpart, brought to the United States between 1907 and 1914 some ten thousand Jews, who settled overwhelmingly in the American West. Many of them, however, ended up eventually in the North-East, as did the millions of others who had entered via the real Ellis Island. The work of these organizations was seriously hampered by ideological and political disagreements between the ITO, the ICA (the Jewish Colonization Association), and the JIIB, by the immigration restrictions of the American government, and by internal problems which caused the Rothschilds, for example, to withdraw their support. By 1914, all internal conflicts had become academic in the face of growing immigration restrictions; and the outbreak of the First World War put an end to the existence of the Galveston Movement in both its meanings.

Marinbach is at his best when describing these political and organizational struggles. He is weaker in describing the immigrants themselves, and this reviewer cannot but regret the missed opportunities. For example, the author had at his disposal 'records of all immigrants who arrived in Galveston between the years 1907 and 1914' (p. xviii); but he used those records only sporadically and never systematically analysed them. Extensive socio-demographic information could have been gleaned from them: age and sex ratios, places of origin, social status, etc. He quotes at length from a 1912 report on the condition of the immigrants, claiming that 'all the immigrants [more than 600] were employed in gainful occupations, earning anywhere from \$9 to \$30 a week' (p. 140). Local archives could have provided more precise detailed information, giving simultaneously a much clearer picture of the immigrants themselves.

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There is also occasionally a faintly eulogistic tone to parts of the book, perhaps best typified by Marinbach's decision not to identify people accused of unfairly treating the immigrants. He admits that their names appear in initials only 'in order to protect the memory of those individuals, some of whose descendants may still live in these communities' (p. 207). Such parochial attitudes have hampered Jewish historiography for a long time and it is unfortunate that the author of this solid contribution to Jewish scholarship has seen fit to continue a misguided tradition.

Nevertheless, Marinbach's final pronouncement on the Galveston Movement also holds true for his own book about it: 'With all its shortcomings, [it is] ultimately a success'.

ROBERT COHEN

ELIEZER SCHWEID, *The Land of Israel: National Home or Land of Destiny*, translated from the Hebrew by Deborah Greniman, 225 pp., Associated University Presses, London and Toronto, 1985, £18.50.

Eliezer Schweid, in this stimulating, closely argued book, examines attitudes towards Eretz Yisrael through four distinct periods. In the Biblical age, the stress was on the physical land; 'flowing with milk and honey'; rich in minerals and other natural resources; a land of lofty mountains, clear air, watered by the rains of heaven to produce abundant crops; a land in which the families and the tribes could live in comfort, safety, and security; a homeland pure and simple. Yet it was also far more than that. It was a land of destiny both in the sense that it had been 'promised' to the children of Israel and in the sense of a place on earth where the people could have an intimate relationship with God, the truth about whom they would eventually spread for the benefit of all mankind.

The homeland concept was never entirely abandoned in the second period, even when the majority of the people had been living in exile. Indeed, with life in the Diaspora as the reality, tragic or comfortable, a process of idealization made it become a *dream* of destiny. This process reached its culmination in the Kabbalah, in which both land and people reflect cosmic relationships and disharmonies among the *sefirot*, the powers or potencies of the Godhead. One of the *sefirot* is called by the kabbalists the *Shekhinah* while another name for its is the Community of Israel because it is the heavenly counterpart of the Jewish people on earth. The *Shekhinah* is conceived of as a part of God, now exiled, as it were, from the totality of the *Sefirot*, to be assisted in the great restoration through the prayers of Israel directed towards the site of the ruined Temple, the link with the Supernal House of God.

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In the third period, that of the Hibbat Zion Movement and political Zionism, the emphasis shifted back towards the Biblical concept of the homeland, though, again, the other concept was not abandoned even when expressed in secular terms.

In the fourth period, that of the early colonies and the later establishment of the State of Israel, the tensions between the two concepts became and still are especially acute. Native-born Israelis naturally have accepted as axiomatic the homeland concept, defending it, when necessary, with their very lives. But the land of destiny concept has receded until many Israelis see little meaning in it. The author believes that it is vital for the land of destiny concept to be maintained, for otherwise there is no guarantee that the homeland concept will retain its power. After Schweid's acute analysis, however, his conclusion is weak and uncertain (p. 212): 'The founders had concealed the positive wellsprings of Zionism that lay within the Jewish heritage because of their rebellion against the exile, which demanded that they transform the image of the land that had crystallized over the centuries while the people languished abroad. A return to the image that can be gathered from the sources will oblige us to reorient ourselves in this respect. While this does not necessarily mean a total affirmation of the vision that guided the exile, it does require an affirmation of the "religious" motif that stems from the biblical concept of the promised land . . . While the continuation of the Zionist endeavour may depend upon this happening, it is only by dealing directly with the spiritual values of Judaism that this transformation can be brought about'.

The placing of the word 'religious' in quotation marks is very revealing. What Schweid seems to be saying is that it is essential to recapture the spiritual values of Judaism even for those who would not describe themselves as religious in the conventional sense; and he appears to believe that exposure to the picture he paints will achieve the desired result. Will it and, if not, how else can it be achieved? To be fair, Schweid, on the same page, prefaces his concluding remarks by saying: 'This may appear a simple matter, but in fact it is not. The proper image of the homeland cannot be formulated through learning alone. It takes its shape from the people's way of life, and from the whole cultural pattern that is gradually worked together in the land, and it is here that the really big question arises'. Indeed, it does!

Many readers of this admirable book will also be disappointed by the total silence on an issue of much import. Given Schweid's didactic aim, he is justified in limiting his theme to the question of the sub-title: national home or land of destiny. But such readers will want to know on what grounds he implies throughout that the land of destiny concept is *ethically* superior to the other. There is destiny and destiny and while, throughout, Schweid's understanding of the concept is solidly on the side of the angels, it is notorious that for an individual or a people to be

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obsessed by a sense of destiny can be a very dangerous thing. Not that Schweid is so obsessed. Quite the contrary. But he ought, at least, to have discussed this ethical question and sounded a warning note that a too strong identification of even the most worthy of ideologies with a God-ordained destiny can result in the kind of fundamentalist violence from which the world has suffered enough. Churchill believed that he was walking with destiny but so did Hitler. In theological language, when a sense of destiny is used to serve God, care must always be taken that the process is never reversed, using God to achieve a sense of destiny. That, for Judaism, would be idolatry.

LOUIS JACOBS

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According to the Central Bureau of Statistics of Israel, the total population of the country last September, at the end of the Jewish year 5745, was 4,255,000 — an increase of 1.8 per cent over the previous year: the Jewish population of 3,511,000 rose by 1.6 per cent while the non-Jewish population of 744,000 (including East Jerusalem but excluding the West Bank and Gaza) increased by about three per cent.

*

According to Volume V of the 1981 Irish Census of Population, published last summer in Dublin, 2,127 persons were returned as Jewish in the Irish Republic; there were 1,086 males and 1,041 females. The respondents in the Census could say they had no religion or could ignore the question about religion.

The overwhelming majority, 1,952, were in the city and county of Dublin. Cork, the only other town with a Jewish community and synagogue, had a total of 62 in Cork and district. The remaining 113 were spread throughout Ireland, from 19 persons in Galway to only five in Limerick. The total Jewish population declined by 19.2 per cent since the last Census in 1971, when there were 2,633 Jews, while the general population rose by 15.6 per cent.

*

The Statistical and Demographic Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews reported that there were 1,153 synagogue marriages in Great Britain in 1984 — 27 fewer than in the previous year (1,180), but 43 more than in 1982 (1,110).

In 1984, the Central Orthodox group led with 743 marriages (64.5 per cent of the total), followed by the Reform (179 or 15.5 per cent), the Right-wing Orthodox (110 or 9.5 per cent), the Liberal (72 or 6.3 per cent), and finally the Sephardim (49 or 4.2 per cent). More than two thirds of the marriages (72 per cent) were solemnized in London and the remaining 28 per cent in the provinces — the same geographical distribution as in 1982. In 1983, 74 per cent of the synagogue marriages took place in London and 26 per cent in the provinces.

The total number of burials and cremations under Jewish religious auspices in 1984 was 4,945, an increase over each of the previous two years (4,869 in 1982 and 4,715 in 1983). There were 3,869 Orthodox burials (78.3 per cent of the total number of burials and cremations) while the numbers of burials and cremations under Reform and Liberal auspices were 580 (11.7 per cent) for the former and 496 (10 per cent) for the latter. This represents a great increase for the Liberal (in 1983, the number was 317 or 6.7 of the total) and a smaller

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increase for the Reform (from 522 or 11.1 per cent in 1983). In 1983, there had been 3,876 Orthodox burials: 82.2 per cent of the total number of burials and cremations that year. The geographical distribution in 1981, 1982, and 1983 was 66 per cent in London and 34 per cent in the provinces; but in 1984 there was a slight variation with 65 per cent in London and 35 per cent in the provinces.

*

The Soviet Union allowed 174 Jews to emigrate in July 1985 and only 29 in August. The majority chose destinations outside Israel: in July, 55 out of 174 went to Israel and in August, 13 out of 29.

*

The Spring 1985 issue of *News from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem* states that the University has established a Center for Security Studies. 'Among the aims of the Center will be development of intelligence theory to deal with conditions of uncertainty; sophisticated planning for the complex battlefield of the future; crisis management; and development of prediction methods. Use will be made of strategic games and of the University's simulation laboratory. . . . An effort will be made to create an interdisciplinary approach for the study of national security issues from technological, military, economic, social, political, and additional points of view. . . . The Center will encourage research projects, hold workshops and symposia, establish working groups, and create contacts with strategic study centers and researchers in Israel and abroad.'

*

The Hadassah Medical School of the Hebrew University has established a Center for Prevention of Risk Factors for Coronary Heart Disease, the first of its kind in Israel. 'Research on heart disease and its causes takes on great significance in view of the fact that the primary cause of death in Israel as well as the Western world is diseases of the blood vessels, including heart and kidney diseases and damage to the blood vessels of the brain. From 42% to 46% of all deaths in Israel in the last decade were due to these diseases.'

The Israel Institute of the History of Medicine and the Division of the History of Medicine in the Hebrew University's Hadassah Medical School organized the Second International Symposium on Medicine in Bible and Talmud. The scholars who attended the symposium came from Austria, France, Great Britain, Israel, the United States, and West Germany; they attended lectures on various aspects of illness, medical treatment, and public health and hygiene as viewed through the Bible and the Talmud. The symposium was sponsored by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, the American Physicians Fellowship for Medicine in Israel, and the Israeli Ministries of Health and of Education and Culture.

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The NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education, in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's School of Education, was founded some sixteen years ago by the National Council of Jewish Women of the United States. It pioneered the 'Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters' (HIPPY); the Hebrew acronym is HA-ETGAR (the Challenge). HIPPY is 'designed to upgrade the learning ability of school-entering disadvantaged children by teaching their mothers how to stimulate their learning readiness. . . . Ten years ago, it was brought to 1500 families in 21 Israeli towns and communities by a network of trained instructors who work with the mothers, giving them teaching materials and showing them how to use them. . . . Today, HIPPY serves 14,800 families in 100 locations.' Directors of community centres and social workers attended a symposium organized by HIPPY and the NCJW Research Institute to evaluate progress and hear of new developments. Until now, the starting age for children involved in HIPPY was four years; but in the light of 'new approaches and methods in the field of early childhood education, an experimental effort has been launched . . . to extend HIPPY to children from age 3. . . . Some 70 families in three Jerusalem neighborhoods are in on the experiment'. Even illiterate mothers find their self-image improved when they realize that they can help their children to make progress in school.

*

The Hebrew University's Hadassah School of Public Health and Community Medicine has an international Master's programme in Public Health; it is given in English and is parallel to the MPH course in Hebrew for Israelis. At the international programme's eleventh annual graduation ceremony, the 17 graduates came from 13 countries: Bolivia, Burma, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Jamaica, Kenya, Nepal, Panama, the Philippines, Thailand, and Uruguay. They included physicians, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, an occupational therapist, a psychologist, a health instructor, and a statistician.

*

A Chair in Human Rights has been established in the Faculty of Law of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The first holder of the new Chair is reported to have stated in her inaugural lecture that despite the fact that Israel does not have a bill of rights, civil rights in Israel are well defined and protected as a result of court precedents.

*

The Spring 1985 issue of *Tel Aviv University News* states that the University's Interdisciplinary Center for Technological Analysis and Forecasting was commissioned by the National Council for Research and Development of Israel's Ministry of Science to carry out a study about the numbers of Israeli engineers, scientists, and technicians living abroad. 'The study found that, as of the end of 1982, only between 135,000 and 170,000 Israelis were living

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permanently in the United States (as opposed to estimates that had run as high as 400,000 or more). Of these, between 100,000 and 130,000 were permanent residents or citizens. There were 6,800–8,700 scientists among them, including 3,500–4,400 engineers. While these figures are significant, bringing the emigrants home would not solve Israel's manpower problems, the study concludes.'

One of the authors of the study stated: 'The solution is not in the U.S., but in Israel. We should encourage and enable more students to enter scientific fields, and invest in the institutions that provide scientific education. Our findings do not preclude the importance of bringing these people back, however. This is where industry can help — by providing more jobs and better incentives. If high tech industry develops here, I believe many emigrants will come back.'

The estimates of Israelis in the United States 'do not include Israelis who entered the U.S. before 1950; American-born children of Israelis; Americans who returned to the U.S. after residence in Israel; Israelis who reached the U.S. after residence in a third country; or illegal immigrants. The researchers utilized the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's annual statistics of permanent residence, as well as data from Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics'.

The same issue of *Tel Aviv University News* states: 'Many Israeli youngsters finish high school without receiving the matriculation (*bagrut*) certificate needed for university entrance. To help them complete their certificates, each of Israel's universities conducts a one-year preparatory program known as *mehina*. Now qualified students can combine *mehina* studies with living and working on a kibbutz, in a new program for discharged soldiers and kibbutz members. The first of its kind in Israel, the program was organized by Tel Aviv University, the Pre-academic Studies Department of the Society for the Advancement of Education, the Discharged Soldiers Placement Department of the IDF and the Hof Hasharon Council.' Students who complete the programme will receive both *mehina* and *bagrut* certificates and will be eligible to apply for university entrance.

*

A Chair in Pediatric Nephrology has been established at the Faculty of Medicine of Tel Aviv University. The first incumbent of the Chair, in his inaugural lecture, stated that 10 to 15 per cent of the children admitted to Israeli hospitals suffer from some form of kidney malfunction.

*

'Tel Aviv University has more than 30 co-operation agreements with universities in Europe, South America, and the United States, as well as 17 student exchange agreements with U.S. institutions', according to the Spring 1985 issue of *Tel Aviv University News*. The most recent agreements have been with the College of Letters and Sciences of the University of California at Los Angeles, with the University of Frankfurt, and with three Brazilian universities.

*

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The May 1985 Report of the International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization states that according to the head of the Israeli Academic Center of Cairo, about a thousand Egyptian students 'are taking courses in Hebrew and Jewish Studies at Cairo University, Ein Shams University and Al Azhar University. . . . all three universities have departments of Jewish Studies which grant BA as well as higher degrees'.

Jewish law is to be taught at the Pontificia Universita Lateranense of Rome, which also offers a course on post-Biblical Judaism in its Faculty of Theology. Another religious institution of higher learning in Rome, the Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, now has a programme in Jewish Studies and a Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at Tel Aviv University has been appointed Visiting Professor for the academic year 1985-86; he 'will teach a course on the Jews in the Mediterranean World from the Spanish Expulsion through the seventeenth century'.

The November 1984 Report of the International Center stated that the French Ministry of Education had decided to establish a chair in Ladino and Judesmo (see our 'Chronicle' in the last issue, vol. 27, no. 1, June 1985, p. 67). That chair has now been inaugurated at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) of the Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle; its first incumbent is the president of 'Vidas Largas', an association for the preservation and promotion of Sephardi culture.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Heidelberg have signed an agreement 'for a cooperative program aimed at the development of the College of Jewish Studies . . . in Heidelberg. The college has an enrollment of about 300 students, both Jews and non-Jews'.

The Faculty of Law of Buenos Aires University and the Faculty of Law of Tel Aviv University have entered into an agreement for co-operation between both institutions.

*

The International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization organized in Jerusalem last summer (25 July to 2 August 1985) several workshops and colloquia. The subjects of the workshops were Hebrew Language and Literature; Contemporary Jewish Civilization; Jewish History; Sephardi and Oriental Studies; Jewish Political Studies; and University Teaching of Jewish Civilization in Latin American and Iberian Universities.

The Colloquia subjects were Interaction Between Israeli Law and Jewish Law; Medieval Jewish History and Culture; Diaspora Jewish Communities in their Social and Cultural Contexts: The American Jewish Experience as a Case in Point; University Teaching of Modern Hebrew Literature in Translation; and Jewish Studies in European Universities: Special Project.

The address of the International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization, which is under the auspices of the President of Israel, is PO Box 4234, Jerusalem 91042, Israel.

*

The Institute of Jewish Studies of University College London and the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies sponsored last June a

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Conference on 'Assimilation and Community in European Jewry, 1815-1881'. It was held in London and papers were delivered by scholars from Great Britain, Israel, and the United States.

*

The International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem was established in 1980 by Christians in Israel and throughout the world. Last summer, it organized the first international Christian Zionist Congress in Basle; it was attended by about five hundred Christian leaders and theologians from 25 countries. The chief organizer of the Congress is reported to have stated: 'It was in Basle that the foundation was laid for the renascent State of Israel, and this is the reason for choosing the same convention site where Theodor Herzl opened the first Zionist Congress in 1897'.

A 'Basle Programme' was issued, called the 'Basle Credo', which emphasizes Christianity's ties with Israel and the Jewish people.

*

The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture has allocated almost one million US dollars for 361 scholarships and fellowships in 1985-86. The largest number, 124, is for community service scholarships; 92 are for post-rabbinic scholarships and 75 for doctoral scholarships while the remaining 70 are for fellowships.

*

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies held its thirty-third National Congress on 30 May-2 June. The June 1985 issue of *Jewish Affairs*, a publication of the Board, reproduces the resolutions adopted at the Congress. One of them states: 'Congress further records its support and commitment to justice, equal opportunity and removal of all provisions in the laws of South Africa which discriminate on grounds of colour and race and rejects apartheid'.

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- Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi. Jews and Christians Under Islam*, with a Preface by Jacques Ellul, translated by David Maisel, Paul Fenton, and David Littman, 444 pp., Associated University Presses, London and Toronto, 1985, £7.50 (hardback, £18.95).
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- Weingrod, Alex, ed., *Studies in Israeli Ethnicity: After the Ingathering*, xix+361 pp., Gordon and Breach, New York, 1985, \$49.00.
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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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THE
JEWISH JOURNAL
OF
SOCIOLOGY

EDITOR Judith Freedman

VOLUME TWENTY-SEVEN 1985

Published by Maurice Freedman Research Trust Ltd

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