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TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN AN ULTRA-ORTHODOX COMMUNITY: THE HASIDIM OF OUTREMONT

Hasidic Jewish communities, like other introversionist religious movements such as Hutterites (Boldt, 1989) and Amish or Old Order Mennonites (Kraybill, 1989; Kraybill and Olshan, 1994), are faced with the challenge of preserving their distinctive religious ideals while living within a modern, technologically advanced, capitalist world. Jews in North America in the past century have, for the most part, chosen paths of integration into the general society around them. Studies of Hasidic communities in the 1960s and 1970s (Kranzler, 1961; Poll, 1962; Rubin, 1972; Shaffir, 1974; Mayer, 1979), however, have documented the success of Hasidim in safeguarding their religious convictions and creating and sustaining well-functioning ultra-Orthodox communities in contemporary North America. Now there is evidence (Shahar, Weinfeld and Schnoor, 1997, *passim*) demonstrating that, with their unprecedented growth rates resulting from extremely high fertility and minimal defection, Hasidic communities are encountering significant challenges in maintaining their way of life. This work will address some of these issues by focusing on a case-study of the Hasidic community of Outremont, a residential neighbourhood in central Montreal. The paper will outline the social and economic challenges facing the community and argue that, while some important changes have been implemented, there is a need to modify survival strategies further in order to remain viable.

Hasidism

Hasidism is a pietistic, ultra-Orthodox Jewish movement that originated in eighteenth-century Podolia and Volhynia inspired by the charismatic Israel ben Eliezer (c. 1700-1760) known as the Ba'al Shem Tov (Master of the Good Name). The new movement spread to Galicia, Poland, Russia, Lithuania, and other eastern European locations and even to western Europe. Hasidism insists on a high level of religious observance but combines this with a distinctly mystical component that emphasizes the sanctification of everyday life and hope of the spiritual repair of the world (*tikkun olam*). This more experiential traditional form of Judaism was contrasted with the strict legalism of the *mitnagdim* (literally "opponents") who remained convinced that rigorous adherence to the law constituted the only true Judaism (Heilman, 1992, pp. 21-23).

Besides the mystical and experiential dimensions, Hasidic Jews are distinguished from other ultra-Orthodox Jews by their organizational structure which sees them divided into "courts" each led by a *rebbe*, a uniquely spiritual and charismatic intermediary of God. Most Hasidic communities or courts are named after the town in eastern Europe or Russia from which the first *rebbe* originated. (Today's *Lubavitch* Hasidism started in Lubavitchi, Belarus, the *Satmar* Hasidism in Satu-Mare, Romania, etc.)¹ *Mitnagdim* strongly objected to the idea of a *rebbe* who was seemingly beyond Jewish law. By the late nineteenth century, the differences between these two groups began to dissipate, as both realized that the greater threat was the large-scale assimilation of Jews (Belcove-Shalin, 1995, pp. 3-7; Heilman, 1992, pp. 21-26).

The Second World War was particularly devastating for Hasidic Jews. Only a small segment of the once populous Hasidic communities of eastern and central Europe survived the Nazi onslaught. After the war, the survivors emigrated to North America, Israel, and other western countries as refugees determined to reconstruct their distinctive religious life style on new soil (Mintz, 1992, p. 1). They settled in major urban centres

such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, and in Canada, primarily in Montreal with a smaller population in Toronto.

Montreal Jewry

The second-largest Jewish centre in Canada, Montreal, is home to one of the most traditional Jewish communities in North America. In terms of levels of religious observance, Jewish education, synagogue attendance, endogamy in marriage, Jewish friendship networks, and identification with Israel, Montreal consistently ranks among the highest of any Jewish community in North America. This pattern is further evident, when we observe that 22 percent of the community identifies themselves as Orthodox, a figure far above the average for either the United States (approximately six percent) or Canada (approximately 14 percent) (Shahar and Schnoor, 1997, p. 5). Among this large Orthodox community, one can find a high proportion of Hasidic Jews.

Project Description

The data presented in this work emerge from a large-scale sociological study I conducted with demographer Charles Shahar of the Montreal Jewish Federation and Professor Morton Weinfeld of McGill University (Shahar, Weinfeld and Schnoor, 1997).² The objective of the study was to obtain comprehensive demographic information about the Hasidic and Ultra-Orthodox populations in Outremont and surrounding areas³ and to assess the points of social and economic concern to the community. Two methodologies were employed in the study: a community wide mail-out survey distributed to 1,235 households, which formed the quantitative component, and in-depth interviews of twenty-five key informants (both men and women) which included rabbis, *rebbetzins* (wives of rabbis), educators, social-service workers and business leaders, which formed the qualitative component. The combination of these

two methodologies allows for a well-rounded and nuanced understanding of the living conditions of the population in question.

As will be described in more detail later in this work, the research was unique in that it was commissioned by the Hasidic community itself. It is a rare occurrence for Hasidim to seek out the sociologists rather than the other way around. The research was fully endorsed by all the prominent rabbis in the community, and this was stated in a cover letter in English and Yiddish that was enclosed with the mail-out questionnaire. Without such official endorsement, it would have been quite difficult to get Hasidim to answer the questionnaire, as they are not familiar with social surveys of this type and tend to suspect their motives. We were able to achieve a response rate of over 31 percent, a figure we consider sufficiently high for this type of research. The interviews were also conducted with the understanding that the study was sanctioned by the appropriate religious authorities.

General Demographics

Of the approximately 6,250 ultra-Orthodox Jews in Outremont, it is estimated that approximately 80 percent or 5,000 are Hasidic. The remarks in this paper are directed towards this majority component. There are several different Hasidic courts or groups in Outremont, with Satmar, Belz, and Skver being the largest. Others include Munkacs, Klausenberg, Vishnitz, and Bobov⁴ among others. This study does not include the approximately 1400 Lubavitch community members who tend not to live in Outremont, but in the Snowdon area of Montreal. The Tash Hasidim live approximately 40 kilometres outside Montreal in Boisbriand, Québec. Their number is estimated at 1300.⁵

As is well known, Hasidim usually have very large families. The study revealed an average household size of just over five people. This compares to fewer than 2.5 in the general Jewish community of Montreal or the Montreal population at large. Thirty percent of families had at least seven people in their household and 10 percent had 10 or more.⁶

The Hasidic community is young with 50 percent of the population under 15 years of age. This compares to only 19 percent in this age bracket in the Jewish community as a whole, or the general Montreal population. Such a large proportion of young people has important implications, as will be discussed below. Less than five percent of the population is 65 years of age or over, compared to over 22 percent in the general Jewish community of Montreal (see Table 1).⁷

TABLE 1

Age Cohorts for Outremont Hasidim and Ultra-Orthodox: Comparisons with Jewish and General Populations of Montreal

AGE COHORT	OUTREMONT HASIDIM AND ULTRA-ORTHODOX		JEWISH POPULATION	MONTREAL POPULATION
	#	%	%	%
0-4	1,263	20.2	6.5	6.5
5-14	1,887	30.2	12.5	12.3
15-24	1,194	19.1	12.3	13.7
25-34	556	8.9	11.1	18.9
35-44	581	9.3	14.6	16.4
45-64	469	7.5	20.5	21.5
65+	300	4.8	22.4	10.6
Total	6,250	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Statistics for the Jewish and general Montreal population were derived from the 1991 Census figures. Source: Shahar, Weinfeld and Schnoor (1997), p. 9.

Only 40 percent of the sample is Canadian born. This compares to 63 percent in the general Jewish community. The sample population took shape largely as a result of two main waves of immigration. The first, from just after the Second World War until 1955, came mostly from Hungary, Romania, and Poland and comprises a quarter of the current population. The second wave of immigration, comprising another full quarter of the current population, began in 1986 and continues in 2003. The vast majority of these immigrants has come from the United States (usually males for reasons of marriage).

CHALLENGES FACING THE COMMUNITY

General Financial Difficulties

Hasidim of Outremont could be described as suffering from the “paradox of success.” Because the community is growing so rapidly (both from natural growth and immigration from New York), it is having increasing difficulty sustaining itself economically. As one Hasidic respondent put it:

The community was sustainable until a few years ago, but the way the community is expanding now, with hundreds of births a year, we are definitely at the saturation point.

Of all the concerns listed in the questionnaire the one most commonly indicated as “major” was “financial difficulties” (cited by 30 percent of the respondents). Here it must be noted that Hasidic families tend to have a wide range of expenses that other Jewish families do not have. These include the support of very large families, observing *glatt kashruth*,⁸ buying children new clothes and shoes for the Jewish holidays, paying for the required festive meals at holiday times, paying for numerous ritual circumcision, bar-mitzvah and wedding celebrations, supporting children when they are first married so the male can study full-time for a few years, schooling in the private Hasidic system for so many children, purchasing religious articles such as prayer shawls, phylacteries, etc.

While some may believe that Hasidim tend to be wealthy because of their involvement in the diamond and electronics industries, the reality in Outremont is quite different. What is not well known, for example, is the operation of a well-developed internal food bank system in the community run almost exclusively by ultra-Orthodox volunteers. Initiated in 1984, the service has been significantly expanded over the years providing weekly assistance for needy families. Before Jewish holidays, especially Passover, the food bank serves twice as many families and delivers larger food packages. In 1997, Jewish community organizations subsidized less than 10

percent of the bank’s annual operating budget. The balance was collected through donations in the Hasidic community. Due to the general economic circumstances of the community, these donations are becoming more difficult to collect. One community member associated with the food bank complained: “We wish we would have more money, because there are more people in demand for food. We cannot help them!”

In terms of actual annual income, almost 50 percent of all Hasidic households report a total income of \$30,000 or less (Table 2). Considering the large size of families, this means that a startling 41 percent of respondent households live below the poverty line. This is approximately double the rate of the general Jewish community or the general Montreal population. One principal of a Hasidic school reported that many parents cannot afford tuition for their children. Some pay half the tuition or less, and some pay nothing.⁹ And there are many families at the next level, that can make ends meet on a daily basis, but find it extremely difficult to afford extra expenses, such as celebrations. People borrow from other community members in such cases and often have trouble paying the money back.

TABLE 2

Total Reported Household Income of Outremont Hasidim and Ultra-Orthodox

TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME	%
Under \$20,000	24.0
\$20,000–\$29,999	24.0
\$30,000–\$49,999	25.4
\$50,000–\$74,999	18.9
\$75,000– \$124,999	4.3
125,000 or more	3.4
Total n =	350

Source: Shahar, Weinfeld and Schnoor (1997), p. 31.

Employment Difficulties

To a large extent, financial hardship is caused by the difficulties members of the community face in securing gainful employment. The second most frequently cited major concern in the questionnaire, was “unemployment / difficulty finding work” (22 percent). From the outset, it is clear that Hasidim are severely restricted in their choice of work, because of the necessity to keep the Sabbath and holidays and because of their distinctive style of dress that gives them the status of a highly visible minority. One respondent described the attitude of the general business community towards hiring a Hasid in this way:

A [Hasid looking for work] walks into a company of the average secular person . . . what does he need it for? What does he need people who are so vastly different from everyone else? They are certainly not going to enhance the working relationship. What are customers going to say? And what are suppliers going to say? Even if I am more liberal-minded, what do I need it for ?

Another respondent explained the problem differently:

People are ready to work. They have initiative. They are used to working very hard from Yeshiva—12 hour days. The brain power is there. We are a business-oriented people, but there are no jobs.

Young Hasidic males, who are generally expected to be the main bread winners of the family, often find it hard to earn enough to support large families. After marriage, many resume full-time religious study in the *kollel*¹⁰ for approximately one to three years. When they leave the *kollel* and search for work, they often find that their years of religious education have not provided the skills that are required in today’s economy, such as competency in reading and writing English and French, and the ability to design a job resumé. As one social worker put it, “they

feel left in the water, and they don’t know how to swim.” The unemployment rate for this group of young males is particularly high (17 percent). The weak Montreal economy exacerbates the situation.

For those wishing to start a business, there is a “Hebrew Free Loan” service available in the Jewish community, which provides small loans (less than \$5,000) that do not require any repayment for a considerable period of time. Such loans are helpful, although Hasidic respondents felt that larger sums of money are needed for any successful business start-up. Hasidim are also not always aware of government programmes or services that might help them, such as loans or other types of business assistance. The study revealed that only 25 percent of respondents were aware of such programmes.

Family and Child-Care

As is the case for any community, economic problems can cause and exacerbate social problems. Financial debt, for example, creates emotional strain in families and is particularly difficult for a married woman with all the responsibility for managing the household matters and the (often many) children.

While the community has organized a social service organization to help mothers with cooking, cleaning, child-raising and other household duties, the organization works with a limited budget which does not always allow it to provide the level of service required. To help ease the situation for new mothers, a number of female respondents recommended the establishment of a respite/convalescent home to care for women for one to two weeks after they give birth, similar to one which exists in the ultra-Orthodox community of Monroe, New York. A social service worker explains:

Twenty-four hours after delivery they send the mothers home. Mothers come home with all the children, they don’t have that good rest. She needs that time to herself. It would be a very big plus if we could make such a home.

Whereas caring for the elderly has become a high priority for the general Jewish population of Montreal, the findings of the study underscore the need to pay attention to the needs of a very young population also.

Psychologists and Social Workers

Not surprisingly, the Hasidic community suffers from the same psychological and emotional problems and disorders as other communities. These include problems with parenting or child management, sibling rivalry, intimacy, marital discord, mental illness, etc. The challenge for Hasidim in addressing these issues is twofold: (a) the lack of sufficiently 'culturally-sensitive' mental health professionals available in Montreal, and (b) the high cost of professional mental health care.

Because of different world-views, an ideological gap exists between the Hasidic community and the mainstream Montreal Jewish Federation Family Services Division, which offers therapists, counsellors, and social workers to anyone in the Jewish community. One Hasidic respondent put it this way:

People will not consider discussing their problems with someone who is not Orthodox. Some of the problems are closely linked to issues only found in our community; not even a modern Orthodox person would understand.

The general environment of the Jewish Federation offices is incongruent with the Hasidic principle of *tznius* or modesty. This ranges from how women might be dressed to the types of magazines kept in the waiting room. In addition, Hasidic clientele find it particularly difficult to speak to a social worker or psychologist of the opposite gender about sensitive issues that involve intimacy. While there exists an ultra-Orthodox social service agency that tries to match Orthodox clients with Orthodox mental-health professionals, the organization at this point is not yet fully developed and has limited resources.

STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS CHALLENGES

Sociologist as Insider and Outsider

Sociological researchers conducting research on unique religious communities such as Hasidic Jews are required to negotiate a delicate balance. On the one hand, there is the expectation that the researcher be knowledgeable about Hasidic life and sensitive to and respectful of its world-view. On the other hand, the social scientist is required to be an impartial observer who forms opinions and generates policy recommendations based on "objective" facts and the socio-economic reality of a particular setting. Thus a clash between the role of insider and outsider can occur. The sociologist may want to help by recommending certain courses of action to address some of the economic and employment difficulties the community faces. When dealing with traditional religious communities like Hasidim, however, the researcher must be cautious before suggesting what may seem like the obvious remedy to a problem. What may appear "economically" and "sociologically" sound and logical, may be quite the opposite when seen from an ultra-Orthodox standpoint based on "Torah-perspective" rather than social science. Economist Eli Berman (1998, p. 1), who has documented the financial difficulties facing the ultra-Orthodox in Israel, makes the intriguing statement that "[r]eligious groups seem to ... defy microeconomics." This is an important notion to keep in mind. The paradigms of social science and social policy do not always conform to the paradigms of religious groups like Hasidim. With this caution in mind, the following sections outline some of the strategies the Hasidim have implemented in addressing the economic and social challenges they currently face, and it offers some reflections on additional strategies that could be considered.

Interacting with Government

Insulation from the outside society and institutional self-sufficiency are hallmarks of Hasidic communities. In the case of the Hasidim of Outremont, economic necessity has brought about a shift in thinking among community leaders. Traditionally, the attitude of Hasidic communities toward government has ranged from mistrust to fear. In their decision to work more closely with the Government of Canada,¹¹ the Hasidim of Outremont have developed an innovative strategy that has proved to be successful. Most importantly, they have been able to implement this strategy while safeguarding their religious ideals.

Negotiating with a government that promotes the values of multiculturalism, the Hasidim were able to forge an agreement whereby the government would fund a comprehensive “needs assessment study” which would identify the most pressing needs of the community. Following the model of their flagship communities in Brooklyn, the Hasidim formed a coordinating organization (Coalition of Outremont Hassidic Organizations) and commissioned local sociologists and demographers to undertake the study. The response of the government has been favourable. In 1998, the community was successful in opening a government-sponsored-and-funded office offering vocational and employment services to the Hasidim of Outremont, as well as business advice and assistance. Staffed by Orthodox employees, the office is culturally sensitive to its clientele. From this starting point, there are likely to be more cooperative ventures in the future between Hasidim and government departments as well as other bodies and organizations both Jewish and otherwise.¹²

The Utility of Computers

Another potential strategy to generate more employment possibilities is the use of computers. Of those respondents who claimed that they would be interested in improving their job

skills through special training, 54 percent indicated a desire to improve their computer skills. Computers can be seen as a good, “clean” vehicle with which to conduct business in the comfort of one’s own home, thus limiting exposure to non-desirable influences and allowing a choice of working hours to facilitate the observance of religious holidays. Computer skills, such as data entry, word processing and spread sheet application, are tools that could be of value to Hasidim. Bookkeeping and accounting performed by computer, for example, could become common professions.¹³ The computer, of course, also involves potential exposure to the Internet and the “World Wide Web,” which Hasidim would rather avoid.

Occupational Diversity

Another strategy to pursue is the idea of further diversifying the range of occupational possibilities. The most common occupations for male Hasidim are teacher and principal (indicated by 22 percent of employed respondents) and managers and administrators (indicated by 19 percent). What are not popular are “working-class” jobs. While blue-collar jobs are not usually associated with Hasidim, in Williamsburg, a predominantly Satmar region of Brooklyn, the employment of Hasidim in occupations such as bus drivers, truck drivers, fork-lift operators, construction workers, and similar occupations has gone a long way towards easing financial difficulties in that community (Kranzler, 1995b, pp. 192-96). As the community in Outremont grows, it may want to consider this route taken by their American counterparts.

Another idea which may hold promise is the opening of a trade school for the training of Hasidim to become electricians, carpenters, plumbers, machinists, locksmiths, and the like. As one respondent explained:

There is a need for this in the community. People could make a respectable living from it and it could be the start of businesses. Start with learn-

ing the basic skill, then build it up into a business with employees; pass the skill on to your son. Keep it in the family. This is how it was done in the Old Country. It directly translates to a job. This would expand the base of opportunity for the community.

The concept of becoming a tradesman is also one that would involve a shift in thinking. But, as the community grows and alternative forms of employment are considered, it is possible that this type of work may gradually gain greater acceptance. An educational institute or college for the ultra-Orthodox could offer instruction in these areas and, as well, general courses in language, accounting, computers, and other important job-related skills.

Education

By any account, the Hasidic school must be considered an overwhelming success in socializing young Hasidic children and transmitting "Torah values." As mentioned, most Hasidic children grow up, marry other Hasidim, and pass on Hasidic values, belief, and practice to their children. What became evident during the course of the study was the relatively minor emphasis that the schools put on secular studies in comparison to religious studies, particularly for boys. With more emphasis on general language and math skills at the early stages of life, students would likely be better prepared to meet the challenges of the competitive job market later. As one of the essential agents of educating the young, the school system and its curriculum are, of course, carefully safeguarded and not easily modified. The idea of effecting significant change to the school curriculum is one that could threaten the very essence of what makes up the Hasidic *hashkofeh* or world view. For these reasons, this is a delicate matter that offers no simple solutions.

Gender and the Division of Labour

Because Hasidim believe that girls should receive a somewhat less intensive religious education than boys, schools compensate by providing them a relatively more intensive secular education. The exposure to relatively more advanced instruction in language and other general skills often gives women an important role in family bookkeeping and in interacting with the non-ultra-Orthodox community. What is sometimes not noticed when examining Hasidic communities is the prevalence of women in the labour force. Our study found that 15 percent of women are employed full time (usually immediately after marriage when the husband is studying full time in the *kollel*), and an additional 35 percent are employed part time. As women continue to develop their skills, these figures are likely to increase. Entrepreneurial women in Williamsburg, for example, have established many successful business operations. Some travel to Europe, the Orient, and beyond in search of fashion, jewelry, and other luxury merchandise to be sold to their clientele in Brooklyn (Kranzler, 1995a, pp. 182-183).

Contemporary Hasidic women often have higher expectations of their husbands in terms of household duties than did their mothers or grandmothers. The concept of feminism is not normally used in the context of ultra-Orthodoxy or Hasidism, but the evidence suggests that Hasidic women will play an increasingly important role in confronting the community challenges of the future.¹⁴

CONCLUSION

The study found a community whose resources are being stretched to the limit in meeting its financial and social needs. The Hasidim of Outremont are a community in transition but not to a less observant form of Judaism; if anything, the Hasidim appear to be more devout than even a generation ago.¹⁵ The transition involves finding new ways to generate resources

so that their distinctive religious life style can be maintained in the face of difficult challenges.¹⁶

Despite their seemingly total isolation from the outside world, Hasidic communities are neither hermetically insulated nor static entities. Hasidim are quite skilled at finding ways to respond to the economic, political, and social realities that surround them. Change can be an important strategy for continuity (Shaffir, 1995, pp. 90). Making changes while maintaining essential cultural boundaries is not an easy negotiation, but the Hasidim of Montreal appear to be achieving some success. The Hasidim of Outremont provide a fascinating example of a Jewish community that is committed to remaining in the province of Québec in spite of any economic or political uncertainty.¹⁷

As the community continues to grow, the social and economic challenges indicated above will increase. In order to insure the survival of their distinctive religious way of life, the Montreal Hasidim will need to consider further modifications, including more interaction with outside bodies, the use of computers, more occupational diversity, or other, as yet unidentified, strategies. Monitoring the strategies—as well as the results of their implementation—provides a new and important direction for scholars of the Hasidic experience. Comparing the behaviour of Hasidim to that of other introversionist religious movements such as Hutterites, Amish, and Mennonites, may offer an important comparative context.

Update: *In the fall of 2002, I had the opportunity to speak with a key political leader of the Hasidic community of Outremont. He felt that the 1997 study succeeded in raising awareness in government about the needs of his community. The employment centre for Hasidim funded by the government continues to operate and has now expanded to five employees. It now offers specialized assistance to business entrepreneurs as well as immigration services. As well, the government has begun to fund a French-language instruction program. Between 25 and 30 Hasidim per semester learn French in a local synagogue.*

This will likely help these people find employment. Some social services have been expanded as well, such as a government-funded program to help women care for the young and elderly in their midst. Plans to develop a respite home for women who have just given birth have not materialized.

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NOTES

¹One partial exception to the rule is the *Bostoner Rebbe* named after the city in Massachusetts where his group originates.

²I gratefully acknowledge the support of Charles Shahar and Morton Weinfeld who have granted permission to me to serve as sole author of this work.

³The respondents targeted by the survey included residents of the municipality of Outremont, as well as those living between Outremont and Darlington Street to the west and between Outremont and Jeanne Mance to the east. Laurier Avenue and Côte Ste-Catherine Avenue form the southern boundary of the targeted area. The CP train tracks form the northern boundary.

⁴One of the few Hasidic sects with a larger community in Toronto than in Montreal are the Bobover Hasidim, many of whom are located in Toronto's Bathurst-Wilson corridor.

⁵For more on the Tash Hasidim see Shaffir (1987, 1997).

⁶In some households it is possible to find grandchildren who are older than the youngest children of the family.

⁷This is partly a result of the Holocaust. The majority of children under age 15 did not survive the Nazi onslaught. It is this cohort which would have formed a good part of the senior citizen population at the time of the study (1997).

⁸*Glatt* is an especially stringent form of *kashruth* observance.

⁹This situation forces the school to subsidize heavily a number of the parents putting significant strain on its operating budget.

¹⁰A *kollel* is a school for Talmud study for married males.

¹¹The government bodies which funded this study (and the employment initiatives which came about as a result of it) all belonged to Canada's federal government. These bodies were Human Resources Development Canada, the Office of Regional Development (Quebec Region), and Heritage Canada.

¹²The Tash Hasidim of Boisbriand, Québec have also forged some important alliances with the Québec provincial government (Shaffir, 1997, *passim*).

¹³Interestingly, on the topic of computers as a possible avenue of employment, a Toronto *Globe and Mail* article of 6 February 1998 describing the published study concluded: "So, in the end, modern technology may prove the salvation of an ancient religion."

¹⁴More direct expressions of "Hasidic feminism" can be found in Van Praagh (1996). Further discussion of feminism in ultra-Orthodoxy can be found in L. Davidman, *Tradition in a Rootless World: Women Turn to Orthodox Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) and D. Kaufman, *Rachel's Daughters: Newly Orthodox Jewish Women* (New

Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1991). Kaufman examines the important role of the father in child-care (pp. 90-91).

¹⁵The survey found that men aged 25-44 have *lower* levels of secular education than men aged 45-64, likely reflecting greater levels of devotion.

¹⁶The same types of financial and social challenges faced by the Hasidim of Outremont are encountered by the *Haredim* in Israel. See, for example, Berman (1998) and Heilman and Friedman (1991). Future comparative research in this regard would be fruitful.

¹⁷This is in contrast to many less traditional Jews who have left the city in the last twenty years.