IDENTITY, SPACE AND BOUNDARIES:
ULTRA-ORTHODOX JUDAISM IN
CONTEMPORARY BRITAIN

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ABSTRACT

Using theoretical concepts concerning space, identity and boundaries, this thesis examines a contemporary ultra-Orthodox Jewish community in Broughton Park, Manchester (located in the north of England). The thesis discusses how these Jews practise and understand their lives within the context of a (post)modern world.

Demographically, the overall population of Anglo-Jewry is declining (by as much as a third in the past forty years), with fears expressed about its future survival. Socially, there are major schisms between the different branches of Judaism, with increasing concerns about a polarisation between religious and secular. These factors provide the background to this thesis, which examines arguably the most extreme and still rapidly growing form of Judaism.

The thesis uses a theoretical framework which takes seriously post-positivist understandings of space and identity, in which movement, inter-connections and, in particular, processes of hybridity are recognised. Same and Other are never pure. Nonetheless, such theoretical conceptions tend to deny particular people's situated attempts to defend, institutionalise and 'slow down' identities and spaces, which are, I argue, key factors in understanding people's everyday lives. While such stabilisations can be described as reactionary, I suggest that they may also be celebrated (although in complex and ambivalent ways) as resistances to forces of homogeneity.

Through the empirical materials collected in Broughton Park, a discussion of the institutionalisation of space detailed in the sacred text of the Talmud, and a reconsideration of post-positivist theories to do with identity and space, the thesis draws upon and extends critiques of hybridity as always a (positive) force of resistance, and boundaries as necessarily reactionary and aligned with powers of domination. Overall, it offers a theoretical and methodological framework with which to interrogate 'geographies of Jewry', taking seriously those calls for 'geographies of religion' to make use of post-positivist understandings of space and identity.

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PREFACE

Several months into my PhD I went home to Manchester and, with my parents, visited some old family friends for dinner. During the meal, the conversation drifted onto the subject of ultra-Orthodoxy, with various people (who are all Jewish, but not religious) discussing what 'they' are like: 'Do you know there is a time during the summer when they don't wash, and they really start to smell'; 'they're all on state benefits and they know how to work the system'; 'they've got enormous families, God knows how the women cope'; 'you know they won't allow televisions'. Listening to these comments, I was reminded of David Sibley's *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and difference in the West* (which I had just read) in which he discusses the stereotypes by which Gypsies are often understood: they are dirty, amoral, exotic and most definitely 'other'. Such stereotypes 'fix' people within particular categories, providing (potentially) negative understandings through which 'we' (whoever that may be) understand 'them' (see Bhabha, 1994; Sibley, 1995).

Ultra-Orthodox Jews look different. Men are (stereo)typically dressed in dark jackets, dark trousers (sometimes three-quarter length and tucked into white stockings), black hats or *streimals* (wide fur hats), white shirts and long ear-locks, while women abide by strict codes of *tznius* (modesty) so that arms, legs and necks are not exposed and hair is covered by either a kerchief or a *sheitel* (wig). These images of ultra-Orthodoxy seem to determine and reinforce exoticised stereotypes, feeding into wider discourses concerning relations between religious and secular, especially in Israel.

> 'The secularists display two sets of reactions to the [ultra-Orthodox]: contempt, revulsion or hatred; and nostalgia, curiosity in the exotic. These reactions color relations between the two groups ... At the emotional level the [ultra-Orthodox] are demonized and given an image that is far from reality.' (El-Or, 1994: 209)

One of the key aims of this thesis is to help counter such myths, mis-understandings and half-truths, doing so through a detailed (primarily) ethnographic account into a

community of ultra-Orthodox Jews living in Broughton Park, Manchester. The aim is not to justify or defend ways of life that in many ways I find troubling, but rather to unlock the particular characteristics of ultra-Orthodoxy as practised in the context of Manchester, doing so in an ethically and politically informed way. Nonetheless, making sense of ultra-Orthodoxy requires much more than a descriptive account of the 'way it is', a characteristic of a number of academic (and non-academic) studies written about these Jews (which have thus tended to further exoticise 'them'). This thesis provides a theoretical and methodological framework through which to understand Broughton Park ultra-Orthodoxy, one which challenges neatly bounded conceptions of a 'them', recognises the (seemingly) inevitable flows and hybridisations that characterise (post)modern society, but which is also sensitive to particular people's situated attempts to stabilise, institutionalise and to bound their *identities* and *spaces*. Through this, the thesis provides a 'geography of (ultra-Orthodox) Jewry' which can also be drawn upon by those studying other religious groupings, and indeed by social and cultural geographers (and other social scientists) more generally. Moreover, the thesis also 'looks back' onto theoretical concepts of identity and space, suggesting that in the rush to celebrate movement and hybridity, the importance of boundaries should not be forgotten.

The thesis is arranged into two halves. In the first half of the thesis I provide four contextual 'cuts' into understanding ultra-Orthodoxy: a historical geographic background to ultra-Orthodoxy; a review of academic literature on Anglo-Jewry and ultra-Orthodoxy; a theoretical framework based on the concepts of identity, space and boundaries; and an analysis of the institutionalisation of space detailed in the ancient sacred text of the Talmud. This first half of the thesis is linked to the second by chapter five, which discusses methodologies and methods, providing a reflexive account of my fieldwork. The second half of the thesis contains the empirical materials of Broughton Park, examining material spaces, imaginations of place and community and the spatial practices of ultra-Orthodox Jews. The thesis is woven together in chapter nine via a discussion of the proposed Manchester *eruv*, a spatial device constructed of poles, wires and pre-existing features that encircle areas, re-classifying space and allowing objects to be carried by religious Jews on the Sabbath.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DECLARATION

This thesis embodies the results of original research carried out by the author between October, 1996 and October, 1999. References to existing works are made as appropriate. Any remaining errors or omissions are the responsibility of the author.

Oliver Valins
Glasgow, October, 1999.

CHAPTER ONE

SITUATING THIS STUDY: HISTORIES, GEOGRAPHIES AND POLITICS OF JUDAISM

Introduction

Anglo-Jewry is radically changing. Demographically, the overall Jewish population in Britain is rapidly declining (by as much as a third in the past forty years) due to low fertility rates, late marriages and high levels of inter-marriage. Socially, the schisms between the different branches (including Orthodox, Conservative, Reconstructionist and Reform interpretations) have arguably, despite certain counter-currents, never been so exposed. Linked to these debates is a growing sense of polarisation between secular and religious, and heightening fears about the future directions and indeed very survival of Anglo-Jewry. These debates provide the context for this thesis, which examines the nature of ultra-Orthodoxy, arguably the most extreme and still rapidly growing form of Judaism. In particular, I examine the identities and spaces of a community of ultra-Orthodox Jews living in the suburb of Broughton Park in Manchester, England.

This introductory chapter details the aims, objectives and the (social and political) purpose of this thesis, doing so through an introduction to important elements in both the history of Judaism and the fractured state of contemporary Anglo-Jewry. In the first part of the chapter I provide a brief historical geography of Judaism, introducing key events in ancient, Medieval and Enlightenment times which (directly and indirectly) underpin the development of contemporary ultra-Orthodoxy. In the second part I concentrate specifically on the historical geographies of ultra-Orthodox Judaism from the seventeenth century CE[1], exploring the impact of the Enlightenment as well as the forces of mass migration, secular Zionism and the Holocaust. In the third part I provide a brief history of British Jewry, including an

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[1] CE (Common Era) or BCE (Before Common Era) are terms used throughout this thesis (rather than the corresponding AD or BC which have Christian connotations which are inappropriate in the context of this study).

introduction to the Manchester community, and to the growth of ultra-Orthodoxy in this country. In the fourth part I discuss the fractured state of contemporary Anglo-Jewry, which, in the final section of the chapter, sets the context for the overall aims and objectives of this thesis.

A Brief Historical Geography of Judaism

The history of Judaism has been the source of academic fascination, with numerous volumes written on the subject (see for example Johnson, 1987; Margolis and Marx, 1927; Neusner, 1992a; Parkes, 1962). It is not my intention to summarise this history, but rather to signpost (and to contextualise) certain key events which underpin the following chapters. In the first section, I introduce the foundations of the religion, including the importance of sacred texts, the construction of the great Temples in Jerusalem and the exiles from the land of Israel. In the second section, I discuss life in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, concentrating on responses to the destruction of the Second Great Temple and on the isolation of Jews in the walled ghettos of Western Europe. In the final section, I introduce the reaction of Jews to the Enlightenment and the formation, and fragmentation, of modern Jewry.

Ancient Judaism

According to the Scriptures, Judaism emerged from the Patriarchal figures of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob sometime in the period 1900 to 1600 BCE (Cohn-Sherbok, 1995). In Genesis and Exodus, the story is told of the move to Egypt, the period of slavery, and the exodus to the Promised Land (probably in the thirteenth century BCE: Cohn-Sherbok, 1995). Arguably the key event in the entire history of Judaism, however, is the divine revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai. According to traditional understandings of this event, God gave Moses the Ten Commandments and the Written Torah (including the Pentateuch, Prophetic and Hagiographic writings), as well as the Oral commentaries (the guide to the Written Torah), which were then passed down through the generations by word of mouth until committed to writing in the sacred texts of the *Mishnah* and *Talmuds*. These sacred texts are at the heart of Judaism (as I discuss in chapter four), although, from the Enlightenment,

claims that they are of divine origin (or at least were written under the single authorship of Moses) have been increasingly questioned (see below).

Following the conquest of the biblical land of Israel (a process that may well have been a gradual infiltration: Cohn-Sherbok and Cohn-Sherbok, 1995), Jews were ruled by a series of charismatic judges who attempted to keep the twelve tribes of Jacob together. In the eleventh century BCE, the Israelites were united under the monarchical rule of Saul, who was in turn succeeded by David. King David captured the city of Jerusalem from the Canaanites, turning it into his capital city and administrative centre, while his son, Solomon, constructed the First Temple (see chapter four). In the eighth century BCE, the northern tribes, who had split from the southern two tribes of Judah and Benjamin after Solomon's death, were decimated by the Assyrians and the population deported. In 586 BCE, the southern kingdom was defeated by the Babylonians, the great Temple destroyed and the Jews forced into exile. By 538 BCE, Jews were able to return to the land of Israel (when Babylonia was conquered by Persia), although Jewish communities continued to spread around the Mediterranean (Cohn-Sherbok, 1995; Cohn-Sherbok and Cohn-Sherbok, 1995; Johnson, 1987).

From c.520 BCE, the Second Temple in Jerusalem was constructed, although the bulk of the construction only took place during the time of Herod (73 BCE to 4 CE), a Jewish king put in place by the Romans[2] who undertook a massive building programme (including innovations such as the courts of women and gentiles: see chapter four). From 445 BCE, through the governor Nehemiah and the scribe Ezra, Judaism became much more ethnically and religiously exclusive, with the rejection of 'foreign' marriages and forms of worship. In the second century BCE, the southern half of the land of Israel (Judah) came under increasing Hellenistic pressures, culminating in the Greek governor Antiochus IV banning circumcision, Sabbath observance and the reading of the Torah. In 167 BCE, a decree was published, re-dedicating the Temple to the Greek god Zeus. Jews revolted, and in 164 BCE the Hasmoneans (under Judas the Maccabee) recaptured Jerusalem and the

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[2] According to Richardson (1996: xiii), Herod should be viewed as 'a third generation Jew who was attentive to his religion - a Jew, however, who was a Roman citizen and a Hellenist, who shared the

Temple. During the following period, various sects appeared, including the Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes and the early Christians. The Sadducees were a small group (including the hereditary priests controlling Temple worship) who accepted the authority of the written law, but rejected the oral interpretations. The Pharisees probably enjoyed the support of the majority of Jews, with the leaders being sages and scribes who, while believing themselves to be the moral successors of Moses, still sat with the Sadducees in the court of the *Sanhedrin*[3]. The Essenes, primarily known through the scrolls found at Qumran by the Dead Sea (see for example, Callaway, 1988; Fritsch, 1956), were an apocalyptic sect who believed that the Sadducees and Pharisees were corrupt, while the Christians (who initially at least saw themselves as Jews) regarded Jesus Christ as the Messiah and developed into a separate religion (Cohn-Sherbok and Cohn-Sherbok, 1995; Johnson, 1987; Neusner, 1992a).

In 70 CE, the Temple was destroyed by the Romans, and Jews were exiled from their homeland[4]. Jewish society was forced to change radically. Ritually, the primary connection with God (the Temple) was severed, and many of the religious commandments which applied only to those living within the boundaries of the holy land could no longer be practised. Socially and politically, Jews had to adapt to diaspora life including the loss of state authority and the disbandment of the Sanhedrin[5] and the subsequent loss of physical force as a legal sanction. This exile provided the origins for the 'diasporic' condition (as imbued with the quest to recover the 'homeland') that has been a key feature of Judaism ever since.

Post-Temple Judaism: Medieval and Renaissance Europe

Judaism survived the catastrophes of the first and second centuries CE through the great schools of learning set up in Palestine and Babylon. Text, always central to

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religious outlook of most Roman citizens ... Much of the time his priorities lay more in accommodation to Augustus than in obedience to Torah.'

[3] Supreme court of seventy (or seventy one) members who judged 'offenders' according to *halachah* (Jewish law), and who had the power to pass capital punishments (Jacobs, 1995).

[4] Although the process was not completed until the failed wars against Roman rule in 132-135 CE, and the permanent banning of Jews from Jerusalem (Neusner, 1989).

[5] Following the Temple's destruction, the Sanhedrin was re-located to various cities for a time until abolished by the Roman government (Jacobs, 1995).

Judaism, became increasingly prominent in the absence of the physical construction of the Temple, with the oral codes and regulations of the religion becoming institutionally fixed as they were committed to paper in the form of the Mishnah and Talmuds. These texts formed the foundation for post-Temple Judaism, with religious Jewish tradition becoming centred on the interpretation and practice of the sacred words of God, and through this striving to hasten the arrival of the Messiah and the return to Zion (see Neusner, 1989, 1992b; Patai, 1967).

By the seventh century CE, Jews had dispersed throughout much of Europe and the Middle-East. Though Judaism largely flourished in the Islamic countries of the Middle-East, North Africa and Spain, in Christian Europe Jewish existence was more precarious. Imperial Roman law had banned both conversion to Judaism and the intermarriage of Christians and Jews, and from the fifth century Jews were barred from governmental positions. After Pope Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade in 1096, Jews were attacked and massacred in the Rhineland, with Christian religious authorities increasingly concerned with the 'Jewish problem'. In 1290, the entire Jewish community was expelled from England, while in the late-fifteenth century Jews fled from Spain (now under Christian rule) through the exile imposed under the Spanish Inquisition (Cohn-Sherbok and Cohn-Sherbok, 1995). During this period, Jews had tended to live separately from the rest of society, often in distinct quarters (especially in the Islamic world: Johnson, 1987), where the religious precepts of dietary laws, synagogue attendance and communal events (along with fears of persecution) encouraged segregation. By the fifteenth century such 'voluntary ghettos'[6] were becoming the legally enforced dwelling places of Jews (Wirth, 1998).

Following the example of the Roman ghetto, established by Pope Paul IV in 1556, the general pattern for the major cities in Western Europe was for Jews to be physically isolated from society in walled enclosures[7]. In Venice, for example, Jews were allowed into public space only during the day, where their role as tradespeople and moneylenders (as in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*) was an important part of

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[6] The origins of the word 'ghetto' are difficult to establish, but it was probably first used in Italy. Possibly it derived from the Hebrew word for divorce (*get*) or from the Italian *borghetto* ('little quarter'), but most likely it was adapted from the Italian *gietto*, the cannon foundry near Venice close to which the first Jewish settlement was established (Wirth, 1998).

Medieval and Renaissance economies. At night (and on Sundays and important Christian holidays), Jews were required to return to the ghetto, where the drawbridges were raised, windows facing the exterior were to be shut, and all balconies removed (Sennett, 1994: see also Johnson, 1987; Roth, 1975; Wirth, 1998). In Rome, there was a failed attempt to convert Jews who were enclosed in the ghetto walls, but elsewhere Jewish life was largely beyond the reach of external surveillance, so that synagogues were built and cultural practices maintained. Despite over-crowding and the threat of disease, the ghettos provided sanctuary from marauding Christian zealots[8].

Jews in Medieval Eastern Europe were probably less segregated than in the West. In Poland, for example, Jews were fairly well incorporated into daily Polish life, so that, although they tended to cluster in particular streets, there was a greater degree of inter-mixing. Indeed, despite the Catholic Church's attempts to restrict Jews to specific quarters and to wear distinguishing items of clothing (Jews in Western Europe were required to wear a yellow item), such injunctions were rarely followed (Hoffman, 1999). From the seventeenth century, most Jews in Eastern Europe lived in small rural towns known as *shtetls*, interacting with the surrounding population (if somewhat uneasily) until the pogroms of the nineteenth century, the effects of the Enlightenment and the devastation of the Holocaust (Cohn-Sherbok and Cohn-Sherbok, 1995; Hoffman, 1999). Both the ghettos and the shtetls point to a 'geography of exclusion' (both enforced and chosen) that provides a key historical reference to the socio-spatial characteristics of orthodox Jews living in contemporary Manchester (chapters six to nine).

Enlightenment responses and the fragmentation of contemporary Judaism

As the Enlightenment - the seventeenth and eighteenth century intellectual movement which argued for reason as the (epistemological and moral) arbiter of truth, rather than religion or tradition - began to sweep across Europe, there was an associated re-appraisal of Jewish attitudes (Mendes-Flohr and Reinharz, 1980: see also Jacobs,

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[7] The ghetto was introduced into Tuscany in 1570-1, Verona in 1599, Mantua and Padua in 1601-3, with only the papal city of Leghorn not having a ghetto of some kind (Johnson, 1987).

1989; Schweid, 1989; Wurzburger, 1989). Beginning perhaps with Daniel de Prado (c.1615-c.1672) and Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), who questioned the basic tenets of Jewish faith (including the divine authorship of the Scriptures, rabbinic authority and the relevance of ritual), by the eighteenth century a move for (middle-class) Jews to take their place more fully in German society had been established (Mendes-Flohr, 1980). Under the figurehead of Moses Mendelssohn (a fully observant Jew equally at home with both Torah and German philosophy and culture), the *Haskalah* movement argued that Jews had to escape from their 'ghetto mentality' by substituting the German language for Yiddish and integrating with 'modern' culture, while still retaining Torah values and beliefs (Jacobs, 1995; Plaut, 1987). This Haskalah movement became associated, although not immediately, with *Jüdische Wissenschaft* ('Jewish science', also sometimes termed *Wissenschaft des Judentums*: Mendes-Flohr and Reinharz, 1980), the academic analysis of the classical sources of Judaism which sought to determine the historical development of Jewish religion, literature and philosophy (and which had apologetic underpinnings through a desire to 'normalise' Judaism by making it seem more respectable: Jacobs, 1995). In turn, Jüdische Wissenschaft became associated with academic claims (known as biblical criticism) that the Torah was not divinely handed down to Moses on Mount Sinai (or at least not in its final form), but had been written and compiled by a number of different authors and editors over a period of several centuries (see for example Cohn-Sherbok and Cohn-Sherbok, 1995; Neusner, 1992a).

In response to the forces of Enlightenment (and underpinned by the processes of industrialisation, urbanisation and increased mobility: Heilman, 1992), Judaism fractured into a number of different branches which, in contemporary times, include Reform, Reconstructionist, Conservative (known as *Masorti* in Britain and Israel) and Orthodox interpretations. These groups represent, in principle at least, a continuum from the 'left', where there is greatest compromise with modernity, to the 'right', the most traditional and (arguably) extreme forms of Judaism. While these branches differ over ideological and practical approaches to the religion, the most serious division concerns matters of conversion. The Orthodox leadership regard conversions by the non-Orthodox as inauthentic, hence creating a situation where

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[8] Although the physical walls still failed to prevent the massacre in 1636, when a mob stormed

some 'Jews' are, halachically speaking, unable to marry other 'Jews' (see Brook, 1989). These concerns, almost certainly irreconcilable, threaten to divide Judaism into completely separate religions.

Reform: Reform Judaism sought to bring Judaism into line with the 'advances' of the Haskalah movement by introducing fundamental innovations to religious practice and belief, including the re-writing and editing of the traditional prayer book, and the conducting of services in German (Jacobs, 1995; Plaut, 1987). In the years following the establishment of the first 'Temple' in Hamburg in 1818, a number of different Reform interpretations developed, based on conceptions of a universal Judaism (although centred on a particular people), with Jews supposed to be moral and spiritual beacons for humankind; in the words of the prophets, a 'light unto the nations'. Reform theology argues that the Torah is a human creation (and hence open to interpretation), representing a fundamental break with traditional views of the sacred texts as the revealed and unquestionable words of God (known as 'Torah from Heaven'). In Britain, an off-shoot of the Reform has been the Liberal movement, founded by Claude Montifiore (1858-1938), which tends to be 'left' of the Reform in terms of permitted practices (see Brook, 1989).

Reconstructionism: This is an American movement founded by Mordechai Kaplan (1881-1983) which argues that Judaism is more than a religion, but is a religious civilisation of art, music, literature and culture. The movement has strong naturalistic leanings, generally interpreting God as a force of righteousness that is present throughout the Universe and in the human psyche. Kaplan saw his ideas as cross-cutting Orthodoxy, Conservatism and Reform, but, despite influencing these branches, Reconstructionism is usually seen as a separate movement and has its own rabbinical training colleges (Jacobs, 1995: see also Staub, 1987).

Conservative Judaism (Masorti): This occupies the middle-ground between Orthodoxy and Reform, and is the largest group in North America. The two key thinkers are Zachariah Frankel (1801-1873) and Solomon Schechter (1847-1915), who argued that, in response to modern historical investigations of classical sacred

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through the Venetian ghetto accusing Jews of harbouring stolen goods (Sennett, 1994).

texts, Judaism needed reappraising. Schechter believed that God revealed His[9] will *through* the Jewish people rather than *to* them. In this way Jews are the creators and authors of the Torah (under divine guidance), rather than its passive recipients. Frankel stressed the idea of 'positive-historic Judaism' in which it was 'positive' in its acceptance of tradition, but 'historic' in that it saw this in dynamic terms. In particular, Conservative Jewry has a more dynamic interpretation of halachah than Orthodoxy, being willing to create new legal categories (based, however, on traditional concepts) to ensure that Judaism can respond to problems. One such case is that of *agunah*, when a woman desires a divorce but her husband refuses, thus (under traditional halachah) preventing her from remarrying in an Orthodox ceremony. Orthodox rabbis try to convince errant husband to change their minds, but ultimately they have no legalistic powers of enforcement. In Conservatism, rabbis are able to annul such marriages (Jacobs, 1995: see also Waxman, 1987).

Despite rejecting Orthodox intransigence on matters of halachah, Conservatives also reject Reform ideology as too willing to abandon traditional practices and doctrines. Indeed, the movement was (indirectly) founded in response to the horror of many following a banquet to celebrate the ordination of the first Reform rabbis at the Hebrew Union College in which shellfish (which under traditional dietary laws are non-kosher) were served (Jacobs, 1995).

Orthodox Judaism: Orthodoxy[10] arose as a reaction against the Haskalah (and the *Maskalim* who were its proponents), through desires by the traditional leadership of European Jewry to resist the changes and challenges of modernity. These Jews sought to defend traditional theology including, most importantly, beliefs in the Torah as the divine and unadulterated words of God (Jacobs, 1995; Schweid, 1989: see also Bernstein, 1987). For these Jews, questioning sacred texts was heretical, contradicting the thirteen principles of faith outlined by the twelfth century philosopher Maimonides (especially the ninth, which states that the Torah is

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[9] Ancient Jewish texts always refer to God in the masculine tense and I also adopt this approach. Nonetheless, there are complex debates about the nature of God (and the relevance or otherwise of terms such as He or She), and, in particular, there are mystical beliefs that the Godhead incorporates both a male and female element (see Jacobs, 1995).

[10] 'Orthodox' was originally a term (derived from Christian theology) used by early Reformers to denigrate traditionalists who they saw as narrow-minded and insular. Nonetheless, the label has been appropriated by traditional Jews, who now use it without the negative connotations (Jacobs, 1995).

eternal)[11]. Nevertheless, Orthodox Judaism is far from homogenous, being further divided according to levels of religiosity and attitudes to modernity. The various sub-groups have been given a variety of different (and often confusing labels), but there are, according to Jacobs (1995), two principal elements: *neo-Orthodoxy* and *ultra-Orthodoxy*.

Neo-(or modern) Orthodox theology holds that the Torah is divine, fully accepting halachah, but with a much greater acceptance of modernity than the ultra-Orthodox. Neo-Orthodoxy is founded on Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch's (1808-1888) beliefs that traditional Jews should officially separate from the Reform (similar to the division between Catholicism and Protestantism), but that modernity was compatible with Judaism providing that it did not interfere with religion; a principle known as 'Torah with *derekh eretz*' (the way of the earth) (Heilman, 1992). In the United Kingdom today, neo-Orthodox approaches represent the major form of Judaism[12], being at the heart of key communal organisations such as the United Synagogue and the position of Chief Rabbi (see below). Neo-Orthodox rabbis tend to dress in a Western fashion, often have university educations, and serve on inter-faith committees of Christians and Jews (Jacobs, 1995). Nonetheless, there is frequently a disjuncture between neo-Orthodox theology and the practices and beliefs of individual followers. As such, although members of neo-Orthodox synagogues may partake of communal events and rituals and attend services (especially on the holy days of *Rosh Hashanah* (the New Year) and *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement)), many do so for cultural and social reasons, as much as (if not more than) because of dogmatic beliefs in the Scriptures. In this thesis I therefore distinguish between those Orthodox Jews with a devout belief in both God and the practice of Judaism (sometimes described as *dati* Jews), and those who follow the religion in a less strict fashion while still retaining strong cultural elements of being part of 'the club'

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[11]Maimonides's thirteen principles of faith are: 1) God is the creator of the Universe; 2) God is one; 3) God has no body, form or likeness; 4) God is eternal - there was never a time when He did not exist, and there will never be a time when He will cease to exist; 5) One must pray only to God; 6) God revealed Himself to the prophets; 7) Moses is the greatest of the prophets; 8) The Torah was given by God to Moses; 9) The Torah is eternal - God will not change the Torah, nor will He allow the Torah to be superseded; 10) God knows all the thoughts and all the deeds of people; 11) God rewards those who keep His laws and punishes those who disobey them; 12) God will send His Messiah to usher in a new and better world; 13) God will revive the dead (Jacobs, 1984, 1995).

[12] Although these arguably have less to do with interpreting Hirsch's theology than with practising traditionalist Orthodoxy in a nineteenth century British setting (see below).

(Brook, 1989) (often described as 'middle-of-the-road' Jews). Nevertheless, there is considerable overlap between the different categories, and indeed between neo- and ultra-Orthodoxy.

The 'ultra-Orthodox'[13] - who number perhaps 550,000 (Heilman, 1992) individuals out of a world-wide Jewish population estimated at 14,343,910 (Jewish Year Book, 1997) - are Jews who most strictly adhere to halachah and traditional practices, and who have a reputation for isolating themselves from modernity. In the ranks of the ultra-Orthodox are the *Hasidism* (followers of an eighteenth century pietistic movement), the *Mitnagdism* ('opponents' of the Hasidim), *Ashkenazi* Jews who try to preserve traditional Eastern European ways, and *Sephardi* Jews who follow pre-modern practices of life from the Middle-East and Mediterranean (Jacobs, 1995). Ultra-Orthodoxy represents traditional Judaism interpreted in modern form, being shaped in response to the Haskalah, as well as by the key inter-related forces of mass migration, Zionism and the Holocaust (Heilman, 1992). These forces have massively influenced the whole of Judaism, but in the following section I introduce only their impact on orthodoxy.

Historical Geographies of Ultra-Orthodoxy

Throughout Jewish history, pietistic groups such as the Essenes, the second century compilers of the Mishnah, and the Medieval mystical (kabbalistic) sects of Safed in northern Galilee (see for example Cohn-Sherbok, 1995; Dan, 1986; Green, 1985) have re-interpreted (and hence re-defined) Judaism, often seeking to shun surrounding societal practices in the process. Ultra-Orthodoxy fits into this categorisation, primarily emerging from two competing versions of Judaism, the Hasidism and Mitnagdism, which sought to determine the 'correct' practice and theology of Judaism.

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[13] 'Ultra-Orthodox' is an uncomfortable term for many commentators (for example El-Or, 1994; Heilman, 1992; Jacobs, 1995), who prefer the Israeli term *Haredi* (the Godfearing). It is noteworthy that ultra-Orthodox Jews are most likely to call themselves *Yidn* (Jews) or *erlicher Yidn* (virtuous Jews), implying a sense that they are the true Jews (Heilman, 1992). Terminology is, of course, motivated by positionality and politics (see chapter five), and categorising people with often very different characteristics necessarily downplays internal differences under a cloak of sameness (Valins, 1999). In this thesis I most commonly use the term orthodox (as opposed to Orthodox) as a shorthand description used by my respondents (see chapters six to nine). The term also has the advantage of downplaying the boundaries between 'dati' and 'ultra'-Orthodox Jews (see below).

Hasidism

Hasidism is founded on the teachings of Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer (c.1700-1760), a man of humble origins, who apparently developed mystical powers, becoming known as the *Baal Shem Tov* ('the master of the good name') or the *Besht*. The Besht's biography is clouded in legend and mystery, with some claiming him to be a profound religious figure comparable to Buddha or Jesus, and others seeing him as a vulgar ignoramus (Rosman, 1996). He originated out of a long tradition of mystics with a mastery of the holy names of God (which could be used to perform miracles and cure the sick: Rosman, 1996; see also Patai, 1967), becoming increasingly popular with common Jews in Poland (then part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) where he lived. Eighteenth century shtetl life was economically perilous and (through periodic pogroms) physically dangerous, with most Jews living in ignorance of the philosophical and theological learning taking place in the rabbinical academies (see below). In this context, the Besht's message that the Divine could be reached not only through prayer and study, but also through dance, melodies and inspiring stories proved extremely popular. He taught that the highest Hasidic ideal was *devekut* (communion or attachment to the Almighty), which could be achieved by any Jew providing they worshipped with *shiplut* (humility), *simchah* (joy) and *hitlahavut* (enthusiasm) (Belcove-Shalin, 1995a: see also Dan, 1987; Rapoport-Albert, 1995; Wigoder, 1992)[14].

Following the Besht's death, his teachings were codified into new social forms by his successor, Dov Ber of Mezeritch (1704-1772), who encouraged followers to spread the movement's ideals. Hasidic sects were quickly established in towns across Eastern Europe, each headed by a charismatic leader known as a *rebbe* who was able to provide spiritual connections between his followers and God (see chapter two). The position of rebbe soon became dynastic, with elaborate courts of hundreds or even thousands of followers, each dressed in distinctive costumes. These courts were generally known by the geographical town from which they were located, with major

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[14] Understanding Hasidic (and non-Hasidic) theology is a complex task, with numerous different interpretations and understanding of this theme. I propose not to address such theological

groups including: *Lubavitch* from Lybavichi in Belorussia; *Satmar* from Transylvania on the Hungarian-Romanian border; *Ger* from the Warsaw district of Gora-Kalwaria; and both *Bobov* and *Belz* from Galicia (see Rabinowicz, 1962, 1997). These sects offered slightly different interpretations and practices of Judaism so that, for example, Schneur Zalman (the founder of Lubavitch[15]) sought to synthesise the Besht's teachings with traditional rabbinical thought, Bobovers emphasised miraculous powers (as reflected in their elaborate rituals, elegant garb and aesthetic flair), while the Gerers sought simplicity and ethical values (Belcove-Shalin, 1995a). Such movements were, however, vigorously opposed by the traditional rabbinic leadership.

Mitnagdism

While the Hasidism sought to reach out to the *am ha'aretz*, the simple folk whose lives were based on everyday knowledge and custom, throughout much of Lithuania, Poland and Russia the traditional leadership was more concerned with educating the *haverim*, those who properly understood Jewish law (as laid down in sacred texts: see chapter four). These latter Jews were, from the turn of the nineteenth century, increasingly educated in the great *yeshivot* (institutes of higher learning) established from the eighteenth century, the most famous of which was that in Volozhin in Russia[16]. These yeshivot were financed by wealthy benefactors, supporting independent, cloistered communities of unmarried men dedicated to Torah study (and hence were another form of 'voluntary' socio-spatial exclusion) (Friedman, 1986). Considering themselves the authentic form of Judaism, these 'Mitnagdism' reacted strongly against the rising tide of Hasidism.

Prior to the spread of Hasidism, Judaism had been rocked by a series of false Messianic claims, the most infamous of which were made by the Shabbetai Zevi

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underpinnings, but rather to examine ultra-Orthodoxy from a geographical perspective. Nevertheless, different understandings of God are an (implicit and explicit) feature of the following chapters.

[15] Note that Lubavitch is also sometimes known by its philosophy of *Chabad* (or *Habad*), an acronym of *Chochmah* (wisdom), *Binah* (understanding) and *Daat* (knowledge) (Belcove-Shalin, 1995: see also Lubavitch Foundation, 1970; Schneerson, 1986).

[16] Although yeshivot had been features of Jewish societies since Talmudic times, before the rise of the great Lithuanian institutes these had primarily been local schools of learning headed by the town rabbi (Jacobs, 1995).

(1626-76), who was announced in 1665 (by his chief supporter, Nathan of Gaza) to be the saviour of the Jews. Throughout Israel and Europe, rabbis were duped into believing his claims, and it was only when Zevi was arrested by the Turkish authorities and (following a choice of converting to Islam or death) became a Muslim that the movement disintegrated (Johnson, 1987). The eminent Talmudists of the eighteenth century, led by Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon Zalman (the Gaon of Vilna (1720-1797)), believed the Baal Shem Tov to be in the same category as Zevi. Hasidism threatened to split Judaism (as the Messianic claims of the previous century had done), with the cult of the rebbe verging on the heretical. Indeed, in 1772 the community of Vilna, Lithuania issued a *herem* (excommunication) order against what the Gaon described as a 'Godless sect'. Furthermore, they informed the Tsarist authorities that the Hasidism were engaged in subversive activities, and Schneur Zalman was twice arrested. The issue was settled, although only in a legal sense, by Tsar Alexander I in 1804 when granting every Jewish community the right to worship as it wished (Landau, 1993; Rabinowicz, 1960, 1997: see also Meijers, 1995).

Responding to modernity

Despite the bitter arguments between Hasidism and Mitnagdism, the forces of modernity which had threatened Judaism increasingly united the two camps in the face of greater threats such as mass migration, secular Zionism and (later) the Holocaust. While arguments over correct religious practices and the emphases of ritual remained, Hasidism and Mitnagdism were horrified in their fear that the religion would disintegrate if Jews lost their distinctiveness. In 1912 they joined together in Kattowitz in East Prussia, forming the political union of *Agudat Israel*, which became the voice of traditionalist Orthodoxy. Despite numerous internal differences, they organised the *Moetzet G'dolay Ha-Torah*, the Council of Torah Sages whose membership including the most eminent rabbis of the day (such as the Hafetz Hayim, Rabbi Chaim Soloveitchik of Brisk, Rabbi Chaim Grodzenski of Vilna and Rabbi Avraham Mordechai of Ger) whose authority was beyond question for traditionalist Jews. This organisation provided a bulwark against secularism,

providing an authoritative guide for correct traditionalist practice in the modern world (Heilman, 1992).

Mass migration: By the second half of the nineteenth century, Jews were increasingly fleeing from the pogroms of Eastern Europe and, aided by improved transportation technologies, some two and a quarter million left for America (and 182,000 for Israel) between 1881[17] and 1930, creating a new diasporic landscape (Heilman, 1992). The New World represented a place of danger for traditionalist Jews, where assimilation was becoming increasingly prominent (Poll, 1962; Wirth, 1998). Furthermore, America became the heartland of Conservative and Reform forms of Judaism, with traditional Orthodoxy being relegated to a minority status (Jacobs, 1995). Nevertheless, while the New World was problematic, secular Zionism was a theological anathema.

Zionism: Modern secular Zionism was developed in the late-nineteenth century by Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) who argued, in *Der Judenstaat*, that the Jewish 'nation' should be given sovereignty of a tract of land large enough to accommodate their people (it did not initially matter where). Herzl's Zionism was spurred by both anti-Semitism and the importance of nationalism in France (where he worked as a journalist), and his ideas spread throughout European Jewry and beyond. In 1917, the British Government released the Balfour Declaration which favoured the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, proving to be a key turning point and providing an (apparent) legitimacy to Zionism. Despite later British attempts to limit immigration (and a period of violent confrontations between Jews and British troops), the State of Israel was founded in 1948 (Johnson, 1987: see also Mendes-Flohr and Reinharz, 1980). For many traditionalists, however, the idea that Jews could return to Zion without Divine instruction was heretical, amounting to a denial of both God and the Messiah (Jacobs, 1995; Johnson, 1987; Heilman, 1992). Moreover, for Jews to be a people like any other (the secular Zionist dream) went

[17] In 1881 Tsar Alexander II was murdered by a group which included a Jewish conspirator, providing the catalyst for widespread pogroms and anti-Semitic legislation (known as the May Laws) throughout Russia. These laws prohibited Jews from living outside the 'Pale of Settlement' which constituted some four percent of Russian territory (and hence another exclusionary geography), they were forbidden to acquire land by purchase or lease, were required to supply large numbers of army recruits (who were denied promotion) and were limited in admissions to universities (Johnson, 1987; Rabinowicz, 1997).

against the (Orthodox) idealism of Zion being a place where Torah values would be re-instated, not for secular immorality to become the norm. Such a rejection of change meant that traditionalist Orthodox Jews were among the most reluctant to leave for safer lands, and were consequently decimated in the Holocaust (Heilman, 1992).

Holocaust: The Holocaust is arguably the key event in the last 2,000 years of Jewish history, involving the massacre of some six million Jews in the death camps of Eastern Europe, and was a key factor in the formation of the modern State of Israel (Johnson, 1987). Its impact on Jewish identities has clearly been massive, and much has been, and remains to be, written from perspectives both contemporary (in terms, for example, of its impact on the imaginative geographies of world Jewry: see Charlesworth, 1994) and historical (such as an examination of its geographies of exclusions and resistances: see Cole and Smith, 1995). The Holocaust (now commonly called by Jews, the *Shoah*) proved to be a watershed for orthodox Jews, with the landscape of traditional Jewry irrevocably altered. Ninety percent of Polish Jewry (the heartland before the war) had been exterminated, and the great Hasidic courts were in tatters. The Rebbe of Belz had lost his wife, seven married children, twenty-six grandchildren and most of his followers, the Satmar Rebbe was rescued from Bergen-Belsen in a train load of 1,368 individuals who were ransomed for a thousand dollars each, while three-quarters of the Bobov community had been gassed to death (Eisenberg, 1996; Mintz, 1994; Rabinowicz, 1997). In this state, traditionalist Orthodoxy was forced to re-invent itself through the development of communities in the United States, Western Europe and Israel. After the Holocaust there was no return to the ways of the shtetl, and traditionalist Orthodoxy was forced to create a new religious framework based on a reincarnation of the past. For many orthodox communities this involved the transfer of traditional ways of life to new countries, especially America and Israel, leading to the sometimes uneasy relationships with secular governments and societies (especially in the case of Israel: see chapter two).

Contemporary orthodox communities have spread across most of the world. In the United States (where most academic research has been carried out: see chapter two),

the major centres are located in New York: including the suburbs of Crown Heights (dominated by the Lubavitchers), Boro (or Borough) Park (Bobovers), Williamsburg (Satmarers) and the lower east side of Manhattan; together with the suburban villages of Kiryas Joel (Satmar), New Square (*Skverers*) and Monsey. Elsewhere, there are communities in Los Angeles, Chicago, Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland, Miami, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Denver. In Israel (arguably the centre of contemporary orthodoxy), the major communities are in Jerusalem and B'nai B'rak; in Canada - Montreal and Toronto; in Europe - Antwerp, Paris, Switzerland and Gibraltar; as well as sizeable communities in Australia (in Melbourne and Sydney), South Africa and Latin America. The Lubavitch, the most geographically dispersed Hasidic group, have centres across the globe, from Kinshasa to Kathmandu, the Soviet Union to Scandinavia (Eisenberg, 1995; Lubavitch Foundation, 1970; Margulies, 1997; Mintz, 1994). In addition, there is also a sizeable orthodox community in the United Kingdom.

British Jewry

The earliest arrival of Jews into Britain probably dates back to Roman times, when merchants and captives from Palestine began to reach all parts of the Empire. Certainly there is proof of connection between the two countries in the first and second centuries, and by the fourth century there are writings of a diaspora community in Britain. This community seems to have been wiped out by the Anglo-Saxons, and while during the Dark Ages Jewish traders may have visited the country, it was not until the Norman conquest of 1066 that Jews arrived in any numbers. In the reign of Henry I (1100-1135), a Royal Charter was issued affording protection to (at least some) Jews, including liberty of movement, relief from ordinary tolls and provision of fair trials. Jews remained in England[18] until 1290 (despite periodic persecutions, such as the massacre in York in 1190: see Dobson, 1996), when they were expelled by Edward I (Roth, 1964).

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[18] No Jewish settlements were located north of Newcastle-on-Tyne or west of Exeter, although individuals were located in Cornwall, and Jewish financiers carried out occasional business with Scottish sovereigns (Collins, 1990; Roth, 1964).

At the end of the fifteenth century, a handful of Spanish Jews arrived in London, but Jews did not significantly return until officially permitted to do so in 1656. The first families were Sephardis, who established a congregation in Creechurch Lane, London in 1657, before moving to Bevis Marks in 1701 (the oldest synagogue still in active use in Britain). By the 1730s, the Jewish population was estimated at 6,000, including a number of poorer Ashkenazi settlers who arrived from 1690 (Brook, 1989; Roth, 1961; Pollins, 1982). Up until the 1830s, Jews remained barred from Parliament, civic office, the administration of justice and those professions (such as most branches of school-teaching, medicine and Law) that required a Christian oath (Feldman, 1994: see also Katz, 1994; Cesarani, 1990).

In 1835 (male, property-owning) Jews were finally granted the franchise, and in 1847 Lionel de Rothschild won a seat in Parliament (although he was not permitted to take it up until 1858 when the House of Lords finally relented) (Brook, 1989). During this period, a series of Anglo-Jewish institutions were established, most notably the United Synagogue, a network of neo-Orthodox style organisations under the overall authority of the Chief Rabbi. The United Synagogue adopted a form of inclusive Orthodoxy, in that members were admitted regardless of personal observance, providing that they were prepared to accept overall halachic authority in matters such as marriage, divorce and conversion. The watchwords were respectability and accommodation. The United Synagogue took on many of the characteristics of the Church of England, with synagogue services made more decorous and preachers required to be cultured and cultivated. In 1855, Jews' College was founded to recruit and to train these 'gentleman' preachers, who were expected to dress and to perform in a manner similar to their Christian counterparts (Englander, 1994: see also Levin, 1970). Such a process of Anglicisation became active communal policy, where the hope was to acculturate the immigrant arrivals (who were arriving in ever increasing numbers[19]) in the ways of the host society. In Jewish schools, the use of Yiddish was abandoned as children were to be 'civilised' into British society, but, although

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[19] The Anglo-Jewish community increased from sixty thousand in 1880, to three hundred thousand in 1914 (Pollins, 1982).

religious observance was allowed to vary, boundaries were still maintained when it came to matters of inter-marriage (Livshin, 1990)[20].

Despite the United Synagogue's style of approach becoming dominant (if not the institution itself, which remained controversial, especially outside of London), dissension still occurred from both the 'right' (see below) and the 'left'. On the left, the opposition came from those associated with the Reform movement, who sought to establish a more 'British' style of service through the establishment of the West London Synagogue of British Jews (formally opened on Burton Street, Euston in 1842). These 'dissidents' actually had relatively little to do with the Reform movement of Germany, and the changes which they proposed to synagogue services were extremely limited. Nevertheless, the Chief Rabbi Solomon Hirschell denounced them, arguing that they rejected the Oral Law, and issued a herem against the seceders in 1842. Outside of London the ban found little currency, with the authorities of Manchester and Liverpool refusing to publish it, and the congregation of Plymouth going so far as to set it on fire. In 1847 it was lifted, and in 1886 terms were agreed for the Reformers to sit on the Board of Deputies of British Jews which had been established to represent the social and political needs of the entire community (Alderman, 1992).

In Manchester, the earliest Jewish arrivals date back to the 1740s, when a town plan of the city reveals the name 'Synagogue Alley' (Dobkin, 1994). This street seems to have been the headquarters of a group of hawkers who travelled throughout Britain selling household wares. Nevertheless, Liverpool (as an established port with a larger population) was the centre of Jewish life in the north-west, and Manchester (where anti-Semitism was more extreme) was only permanently settled in the late 1780s. As Manchester's commercial reputation as a major textile centre increased, more Jews settled, but by 1806 there were still only fifteen families out of total population now numbering 110,000. In 1825 there were fifty families (the fourth largest in England), made up of shopkeepers, merchants and manufacturers, who prayed together in a purpose-built synagogue in the Old Town (on Halliwell Street). This synagogue became the central source for communal assistance (despite the

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[20] Although evidence from the 1881 Census in Manchester suggests inter-marriage did occur, if only

establishment of the Manchester Philanthropic Society in 1828), and also provided the congregational *shochet* (pl. *shochetim*) for the ritual slaughtering and supply of kosher meat. For the next thirty years there were communal divisions between the early settlers and the newly emerging middle-class, with the community also struggling for increased autonomy from the London based Chief Rabbi and the United Synagogue (paralleling wider schisms between the cities of London and Manchester). These debates tied into the construction of Manchester's first Reform synagogue in 1858, which was to rival the newly constructed Orthodox Great Synagogue (located a mile to the north of the city centre, and built when Halliwell Street was demolished during road extensions) (Williams, 1976: see also Dobkin, 1994).

Between 1861 and 1871, the Manchester Jewish community doubled from 1,700 to 3,400, and in the following years a host of new institutions were established, including the Hebrew School (built in addition to the older Jews' School), the Jewish Hospital, and benevolent societies such as the Friendly Society and the Temporary Shelter for the Jewish Poor (Dobkin, 1994; Williams, 1976). In the following century, Jews steadily migrated further north from the Old Town, settling in the districts of Red Bank and Strangeways, down Cheetham Hill Road (the site of four major synagogues, including the Sephardi synagogue which is now the Jewish Museum: see figure 6.2), and into the prosperous Higher Broughton area (including Broughton Park, the specific site of my ethnographic study: see chapters six to nine). In the twentieth century Jews migrated even further north (reflecting growing economic wealth) to the outer suburbs of Prestwich and Whitefield, and in the south from Didsbury and Wilmslow, to areas such as Cheadle and Gatley, some of the most expensive residential parts of Manchester (Dobkin, 1984, 1994; Lawson, 1995; Williams, 1976).

Ultra-Orthodoxy in Britain

The growth of orthodox Judaism in Britain was, until relatively recently, a slow and fairly undramatic affair, with social commentators of the 1950s and 1960s devoting

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at low levels (Lawson, 1995).

relatively little attention to these Jews, doubtless believing that they represented a relic of the past (Bermant, 1969: see also Alderman, 1992). According to Rabinowicz (1997), a small number of Hasidic congregations were established at the end of the nineteenth century in London, and these Jews, together with other traditionalists, increasingly fought against secularism and the Anglicisation of the United Synagogue. In 1881, strictly observant East European Jews formed the *Machzikei Hadass* ('strengtheners of the law') Society to criticise communal *shechita* (ritual slaughtering of meat) arrangements, protesting (unsuccessfully) to the Chief Rabbi Herman Adler for higher standards. The Machzikei Hadass decided to appoint their own shochet, but Adler (the 'West end *goy* (non-Jew)', as he was termed: Englander, 1994) refused to recognise him, declaring the meat *trefah* (non-kosher). In 1905, though, the Machzikei Hadass accepted the Chief Rabbi's authority by joining the Federation of Synagogues (a more orthodox association than the United Synagogue), although they were allowed to retain their own shochetim and butchers shops (Alderman, 1992; Lipman, 1990). Nonetheless, a section of its adherents rejected this move, appointing a separate rabbinical leader, Rabbi Dr Victor Schonfeld, in 1909, and establishing the independent *Adass Yisroel* synagogue. In 1913, their request to Chief Rabbi Hertz to be allowed to certificate marriages was rejected, and only under legal threat did he relent. In 1926, a separatist orthodox group in Gateshead fought a similar battle, with once again Hertz relenting despite his concerns over the threat to his authority (Alderman, 1992).

Prior to the Second World War, communities of orthodox Jews were established in Gateshead and Manchester, but by far the largest number were found in the East End of London. Centred around Whitechapel, the East End became a Hasidic centre which included a small number of minor rebbes (such as the Sassover Rebbe, Chanoch Heinoch Dov Rubin). Following the destruction of much of the East End in the blitz and in slum clearances, orthodox Jews began to move to the suburbs of Stamford Hill, Golders Green and Hendon. In these suburbs, orthodoxy flourished, with large numbers of schools, yeshivot, *kollelim* (religious colleges), *shtieblach* (small, informal synagogues), kosher butchers, bakers and grocers established to cope with a rapidly increasingly religious population (Rabinowicz, 1997). At present, the major orthodox concentrations are Stamford Hill and Golders Green in

London, Gateshead (which is the site of the largest yeshivah in Europe, and was often described in my interviews as the 'Oxbridge' of European orthodoxy) and Broughton Park, Manchester. In addition, there are smaller communities throughout other parts of London, Leeds and Glasgow (the location of my pilot study: see chapter five), and the Lubavitch have centres in most other major cities (see Rabinowicz, 1997). Nonetheless, as the orthodox population has increased (see chapter two), there are increasing fears in the wider Anglo-Jewish population of a polarisation between left and right, secular and religious.

Contemporary Anglo-Jewry

In 1993, the new British Chief Rabbi, Jonathan Sacks, launched a 'decade of Jewish renewal', a series of initiatives headed by the new flagship organisation *Jewish Continuity*, which was to promote educational programmes and initiatives (Sacks, 1994). Sacks (1994: 2) feared for the survival of Anglo-Jewry, arguing that with a declining population associated with high levels of intermarriage (approaching the United States figure of 52%), the 'chain of continuity' which had lasted for thousands of years was breaking:

> 'Anglo-Jewry, estimated at 450,000 Jews in the 1950s, now numbers barely 300,000. That means we have lost more than ten Jews a day, every day, for the last forty years. The significance of this is more than demographic. Certainly, it means that our community is shrinking, ageing and declining, but it means more than that. It means that young Jews are disengaging, disaffiliating and drifting away from Judaism. This is something that touches our very soul. Paul Johnson begins his monumental *A History of the Jews* with the sentence, 'The Jews are the most tenacious people in history.' That is true no longer. We are losing the collective will to live as Jews.'[21]

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[21] A similar argument is also made by Wasserstein (1996: 282: see also *The Economist*, 1996), who fears for a 'vanishing diaspora' throughout Europe: 'The demographic outlook for Jews in all the major Diasporic centres is bleak. The Jewish family, that stereotypical pillar of the Jewish community, is itself disappearing. In France, for example, only a minority of Jews between the ages of twenty and forty-four live in a conventional Jewish family. Jewish marriages are becoming fewer and tend to occur at a later age. In most of Europe a third to a half of Jews who marry have non-Jewish spouses. Most of the children of such marriages cannot be expected to identify themselves as

The Chief Rabbi's initiatives were given substantial financial support, forming part of a drive to defend Judaism from the forces of assimilation and secularisation, and were responded to by communities throughout the country (see for example, Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, 1994). Nonetheless, within two years Jewish Continuity had folded: 'Unable to please the religious left or right, Continuity became a focus of communal tension ... In the shark-filled sea of religious politics, Continuity was trailing blood, too badly wounded to swim on its own' (Rocker, 1997: 1). For those on the left of the community, the organisation was seen as rigidly Orthodox, an image not helped by Sacks's dismissal of Jews who did not believe in Torah from Heaven (*Jewish Chronicle*, 1996, 1997). On the right, orthodox rabbis refused to back a re-launch of the scheme if it meant the three committees for the Orthodox, Progressive (incorporating Reform, Masorti and Liberals) and community-wide projects were housed in the same building (Frazer and Rocker, 1996). The re-launch did take place in 1997, when Continuity merged with the major Jewish charity the Joint Israel Appeal. The new organisation, the United Jewish Israel Appeal (and note the absence of the word 'continuity') remains, although the Chief Rabbi agreed to end his direct involvement with the scheme (Rocker, 1996).

In 1997, the uneasy (and at times hostile) relations between Orthodox and Progressives were further inflamed when a private letter written by Jonathan Sacks to a leading London *dayan* (judge) was leaked to the *Jewish Chronicle* (the major Anglo-Jewish newspaper). In the letter, Sacks (1997) described the leading, and recently deceased, Reform rabbi Hugo Gryn (an internationally famous Holocaust survivor), as 'amongst those who destroy the faith'. The remarks generated a huge outcry, and attempts to heal the rifts (through a peace deal signed by the lay leaders of the United Synagogue, Reform Synagogues, Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues and the Assembly of Masorti Synagogues) seem only to have heightened tensions (see *Jewish Chronicle*, 1998; Rocker, 1998a).

Inter-related with divisions between Orthodox and Progressives is a growing sense of polarisation between religious and secular, as the centre (represented by the United

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Jews. Moreover, even within all-Jewish marriages, fertility rates are significantly below replacement

Synagogue) is squeezed between the 'left' and the 'right'. 'Middle-of-the-road' Orthodoxy seems to be diminishing, as Jews either abandon the religion (or join the Progressives) or else become increasingly devout, blurring the divisions between neo- and ultra-Orthodox (Alderman, 1992; Brook, 1989; Paul, 1998). This latter process seems to be reflected in a growing number of people taking advanced courses in Judaism, a burgeoning demand for Jewish schools, and the *rabbonim* (rabbis) of the United Synagogue increasingly being educated at orthodox yeshivot rather than at the traditionally more centrist Jews' College[22] (Alderman, 1992; Brook, 1989). These polarisation fears parallel (and no doubt draw upon) the situation in Israel, where there are continuing struggles between secular and religious, reflecting the growing political, social and cultural power of orthodoxy (see chapter two). Anglo-Jewry has always been fractured, whether in the nineteenth-century debates related to the status of Reform or the late-1950s controversies over the establishment of the Masorti (known as the 'Jacobs affair': see Bermant, 1969), but communal divisions have arguably never been greater or so publicly exposed as they are today[23].

Aims and Objectives

The central aim of this thesis is to examine the contemporary orthodox community of Broughton Park, Manchester. In particular, I examine this community from a geographical perspective, reconstructing how conceptions of identity and space (and attempts to bound, stabilise and institutionalise these conceptualisations) underpin the practice of everyday life. Broughton Park, as a rapidly growing orthodox community about which relatively little is known (see chapter two), provides a useful window into the current status of Anglo-Jewry.

Overall, the thesis falls under the heading of a 'geography of religion', an aspect of the discipline with a long history, but which commentators now usually describe as a

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level almost everywhere.'

[22] In Manchester, the growing orthodoxy of rabbonim was highlighted when a number of leading religious figures walked out of a presentation evening at the largest Jewish school in Manchester, King David. These men left the event before a mixed choir was due to sing (due to halachic concerns over listening to such music), causing considerable anger in parts of the community (see *Jewish Telegraph*, 1998a).

[23] Although note there are certain counter currents, most notably the *Limmud* organisation which provides an annual conference and events throughout the country with the aim of providing a forum for discussion on all manner of Jewish issues. Limmud is open to all, regardless of affiliation.

field in disarray, with a lack of coherence and replete with topics left untouched and questions unanswered (Cooper, 1992; Holloway, 1999; Kong, 1990, 1993; Levine, 1986; Pacione, 1999; Park, 1994; Sopher, 1981; Tuan, 1976; Wilson, 1993). Topics that geographers have traditionally explored here include the spatial distributions of religious populations, the impact such groups have on landscapes (with a particular focus on cemeteries), as well as explorations into 'religious ecology' and hence into the impact of Christian theology on the environment (Kong, 1990). Nonetheless, there is great scope for geographies of religion to take seriously, and indeed theoretically and empirically to contribute to, contemporary (social and cultural) geography debates.

> 'In [the] recent re-theorization of cultural geography, the study of religion and religious landscapes has unfortunately been relatively neglected. Unlike attention to issues of race, class and gender, little has been done to expand the frontiers of religious geography concomitantly with the development of cultural geography as a whole.' (Kong, 1993: 342)

In response to calls for a revitalised and more relevant geography of religion, there are growing signs of renaissance as seen, for example, in the forthcoming session on 'Religion and Geography' at the Royal Geographical Society's conference in Brighton, January 2000. Also indicative is Gelder and Jacobs's (1998) analysis of the impact of aboriginal claims for sacredness in the identities of post-colonial Australia, or indeed the cultural geographies of religion now being undertaken by a number of 'young' British academics (Barrett, 1999; Holloway, 1999; Legg, 1997; Naylor and Ryan, 1998). It is not the intention of this thesis to repeat calls for an improvement to the 'sub-discipline', or to review older geographies of religion, but rather to take as a starting point the need for more theoretically-informed cultural accounts in the field. In this thesis, I provide an account of a highly controversial aspect of contemporary Judaism, arguing how a geographical perspective can help us to understand the nature of contemporary orthodoxy.

To achieve (and to elaborate on) these aims, the thesis is structured as follows.

Chapter two: This chapter is a literature review, examining academic studies of Anglo-Jewish communities over the last forty years and the nature of contemporary World orthodoxy. The chapter maps out the *academic* place of this thesis, demonstrating the need for a theoretically informed study of British orthodoxy as a much under-researched aspect of communal life. Moreover, the review works to reconstruct the general characteristics of orthodox life, providing the foundation from which the following chapters develop.

Chapter three: Here I outline the theoretical basis to the study, examining conceptions of space, identity and the construction of social/spatial boundaries. I discuss how post-positivist theorists have challenged static and bounded conceptions of identity and space, recognising the hybridisations that are (seemingly) inevitable in a (post)modern world. Nonetheless, I argue, drawing on the writings of geographers such as Pratt (1999) and S. Smith (1993, 1995), that academics also require an appreciation of how many situated people are fighting to retain clear senses of 'who they are', attempting to stabilise, 'slow down' and to institutionalise space and identity. Such attempts scramble simplistic value-judgements of hybridity as always positive, and the construction of socio-spatial boundaries as always negative and reactionary.

Chapter four: In this chapter, I examine the role of ancient sacred texts in institutionalising the practice of Judaism, detailing some of the precise spatial codes designed to structure every aspect of life. I provide a detailed discussion of conceptions of space recorded in the sacred text of the Talmud, an immense document containing two and a half million words of law, legend, history, philosophy and science. In particular, I describe the concepts of eruvin, devices which can change or 'mingle' the classification of space and/or time (and which, in particular, can be used to allow the elderly, infirm and parents with young children to travel on the Sabbath). Examining these institutional codes provides a key conceptual underpinning to the characteristics of contemporary orthodoxy, and of attempts to practise 'ancient' ways in (post)modern contexts.

Chapter five: This chapter acts as a bridge with the second (more empirical) half of the thesis, detailing the methodologies and methods used in the study. I critique methodologies commonly used to describe orthodox communities, suggesting means by which research can become more ethically sensitive. I then discuss the particular grounded methods that I used, incorporating an account of my own positionality, and introducing some of the key characteristics of life in Broughton Park.

Chapter six: This is the first of the empirical chapters on Broughton Park orthodoxy, providing a detailed description of the *material* landscape of the community. The chapter details the residential and institutional pattern of Jewish settlement in the area, highlighting the extremely high concentrations of Jews, and the often sharp spatial boundaries with non-Jewish areas. In addition, the chapter provides an ethnographic 'walking tour', detailing the environment here within which orthodox Jews live.

Chapter seven: This chapter discusses how the landscape and people of Broughton Park are perceived from within, thus reconstructing the geographical and sociological *imaginations* of local residents. In particular, I explore the extent to which Broughton Park is seen as an orthodox place - involving (complex and ambivalent) imaginations of 'same' and 'other' - and examining how this imagining relates to the politics of 'in place/out of place'.

Chapter eight: Here I explore daily *spatial practices* and the communal interactions of orthodox residents, detailing the power of orthodoxy to structure the everyday. I examine family life, work, consumption and community, discussing the social and spatial interactions of orthodox Jews with 'outsiders'.

Chapter nine: The final chapter of the thesis discusses attempts by the religious authorities in Manchester to construct a communal eruv. This provides me with a useful mechanism for weaving together concepts of material space, imagined space and spatial practice (largely kept separate in the previous three chapters), as well as for understanding the continued importance of ancient sacred Jewish texts, orthodox identities, imaginations of community and processes of hybridisation. These themes

are developed into an overall framework for understanding orthodoxy which takes seriously post-positivist conceptions of identity and space. The chapter also challenges some of the value-judgements implicit in a number of post-positivist theories, before concluding with some final thoughts on how theoretically informed geographical approaches can help in understandings of religion and religious groupings.

Summary

This chapter has 'mapped' out the social and political purpose of this thesis, arguing the need for studies to examine the status of an overall Anglo-Jewish community which is changing radically, replete with internal divisions and controversies. As such, I have introduced the historical underpinnings of these schisms, drawing out how internal dissension and interactions with 'outsiders' are seemingly inherent to Judaism. In particular, I have noted the importance of sacred texts and the formation of Medieval ghettos (key events in Jewish history which are of particular importance to later chapters), and have described the historical geographies of ultra-Orthodoxy. This latter branch of Judaism provides the particular focus for this thesis, which examines the characteristics of a contemporary community of orthodox Jews living in Broughton Park, Manchester.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCHING ANGLO-JEWRY AND ORTHODOXY

Introduction

Chapter one introduced the historical geographies of Jewry, arguing the need for an examination of ultra-Orthodoxy as an increasingly prominent section of an otherwise declining overall Anglo-Jewish population. This chapter provides another 'cut' into contemporary orthodoxy through a review of academic literature concerned with both Anglo-Jewish community life and ultra-Orthodoxy throughout the world. The first part of the chapter introduces quantitative and qualitative social research on Anglo-Jewry over the last forty years, with, in particular, an analysis of geographical studies of residential segregation and assimilation; studies characteristically underpinned by the 'choice and constraint' model, the limitations of which I will discuss. The second part of the chapter reviews the relatively small, but growing literature on ultra-Orthodoxy. These studies are almost all ethnographically based, concentrate mainly on Hasidism, are theoretically weak, and are mostly confined to life in the United States. By reviewing the major research themes, however, this second half of the chapter works to reconstruct some of the general foundations of orthodox life, providing understandings which will help the reader make sense of the study of Broughton Park to follow (chapters six to nine).

Overall, both bodies of literature reveal major lacunae: firstly, social research on Anglo-Jewry is light on ethnographic studies which are (as I discuss in chapter five) necessary for in-depth contextual understandings of orthodox practices and beliefs; secondly, Anglo-Jewish research has typically concentrated on London, with the experiences of the regions largely ignored; thirdly, there is an almost complete absence of academic research on orthodoxy in the United Kingdom; and fourthly, studies of ultra-Orthodoxy are frequently theoretically uninformed, despite being ones where post-positivist conceptions of space and identity could usefully be applied. Moreover, social research on Jewry, and particularly that on orthodoxy, has

tended to concentrate on the dramatic and confrontational, with often little sense of the everyday (even mundane) characteristics that are fundamental to how people practise and understand their lives.

Anglo-Jewish Community Research

Despite the long history of academic interest in the 'Jews' (see chapter one), contemporary community research into Anglo-Jewry has, until recently, been relatively limited. Due in part to methodological difficulties (see chapter five) and a long history of under-funding (Waterman, 1997), communal research has tended to be rather *ad hoc*, typically based on limited quantitative data, and usually London-centred. Indeed, it is only following the Chief Rabbi's initiation of Jewish Continuity (see chapter one) that communal research has been seen as a priority (a statistical weapon against inter-marriage and assimilation), with large financially backed projects being undertaken: primarily the 1995 survey of British Jews undertaken by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) (see below).

From Freedman's (1962) discussions of the Jewish population of Britain - in which he noted that there was a lack of data on Jews in almost every demographic and sociological aspect - there has been a steady stream of research into the size and structure of Anglo-Jewry. Much of this research has been undertaken by, or in association with, the Statistical and Demographic Research Unit of the Board of Deputies, which was established in 1965 and has reported on the size and structure of Anglo-Jewry ever since (Kosmin and Levy, 1983, 1985; Kosmin and Waterman, 1986; Prais, 1972; Prais and Schmool, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1973; Schmool, 1991a; Waterman and Kosmin, 1986a). Using data based on circumcisions, burials and (primarily) synagogue marriages, these authors have highlighted a continuing population decline. In terms of synagogue marriages, for example, these fell from 2,638 in 1935, to 1,765 in 1965, to 1,075 in 1982 (Kosmin and Waterman, 1986). There has also been a decline in the dominance of central Orthodox synagogues, which in 1970 solemnised 73.9% of all marriages compared to 64% in 1986-90 (Schmool, 1991a). Furthermore, weddings in liberal synagogues declined in the same period by 57%, in Reform by 23%, while the only section to see any increase

was the right-wing Orthodox, where numbers rose by 15% (Schmool, 1991a). Despite a host of methodological difficulties, such as problems identifying civil re-marriages, the figures highlight a clear downward spiral (with the exception of the orthodox communities) since the Second World War. Indeed, the most recent Board of Deputies figures (Schmool and Cohen, 1998; Rocker, 1998b) indicate that the overall population has declined by 7.5% from 308,000 in 1985 to 285,000 in 1995, with much of this loss being experienced by regional communities outside of London.

In addition to the general community-wide statistics produced by the Board of Deputies, a number of local case-studies have been undertaken. Krausz (1969a and b) undertook a social survey of 382 Jewish households in Edgware examining issues of religious observance, kinship ties, sociability patterns and relations with non-Jews. In particular, he noted that, while 'ethnic[1] identification' was generally strong - so that, for example, 100% of the males in his survey were circumcised - religious adherence was weaker, with only 13.6% of respondents being regular synagogue attendees and a further 73.9% only visiting occasionally, usually for major festivals. Another survey by Cromer (1974) examined inter-marriage and communal survival in Wembley, London, and highlighted a disparity between adults and children in terms of levels of common affinity with other Jews: 55.6 % of adults felt more comfortable with other Jews, compared with 32.6% of children. In addition, while the most religiously observant Jews in his survey were all in opposition to inter-marriage, 80% of non-practising Jews stated they would consider 'marrying out', prompting Cromer to warn of a threat to communal survival. Other similar studies include both Kosmin and Grizzard's (1975) research into Hackney Jewry and the Redbridge community survey in 1978, based on a stratified sample of 500 households (Kosmin and Levy, 1983; Kosmin, Levy and Wigodsky, 1981).

While most of the social research examining specific Anglo-Jewish communities has concentrated on London suburbia, several studies outside of the capital have been

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[1] The term 'ethnic' was, until recently, used relatively unproblematically by geographers and others to refer to minority groups who were assumed to be different from their hosts. The boundedness of the categories implied within this terminology - a 'them' which can neatly be separated from 'us' - has been challenged by post-positivism, which is sensitive to the ideas of social constructionism, and the (often implicit) power relations imbued in the use of such terms (see below).

undertaken: for example, Leeds has been studied by Krausz (1961) and Grizzard and Raisman (1980), and Sheffield by Kosmin, Bauer and Grizzard (1976). Both Manchester and Glasgow, my two fieldwork sites, have largely been studied only from a historical perspective (Collins, 1987, 1990, 1993; Dobkin, 1984, 1994; Levy, 1949; Williams, 1985: see also chapter one), which is surprising considering that these are the second and fifth largest Jewish communities in the country respectively. According to the Jewish Year Book (1997), Manchester has a Jewish population of 27,000 and Glasgow of 6,700. The only quantitative social survey of Manchester is Schmool's (1991b) pilot study into whether religious and ethnic self-identification can be determined over the telephone. The survey was designed as a preliminary for a much larger project that was eventually subsumed into the Institute for Jewish Policy Research's 1995 study of British Jewry (see below). Glasgow was the site for a larger piece of research by Benski (1976), a PhD study examining inter-ethnic relations in the middle-class suburb of Newton Mearns. Through a sample of 280 individuals, Benski determined the extent to which Jews separate from non-Jews in social, cultural and employment environments. She argued that, despite low levels of religious observance (only 11.8% of respondents ate kosher food outside of their home), Jews tended to prefer their own company and largely avoided close friendships with non-Jews, especially outside of formal employment.

Overall, these quantitative studies indicate an Anglo-Jewish situation marked by population decline and assimilation, but where, despite relatively low levels of religious belief, cultural identity remains strong. Nevertheless, it is only with the large survey of British Jewry by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (Goldberg and Kosmin, 1997; Kosmin *et al*, 1997; Miller *et al*, 1996) that a comprehensive picture of general community characteristics has become visible. This survey was based on 2,180 self-completed postal questionnaires of self-identifying Jews, and sampled Jews from across the religious, cultural and social spectrum. Its principal findings are worth summarising:

• British Jews tend to be left of centre in terms of their political preferences.

- Respondents tended to be more environmentally radical than the general population, although strictly orthodox and traditional Jews tend to be less environmentally friendly than those who are progressive or secular[2].

- A substantial majority favoured continued membership of the European Union (although it was not seen as a safeguard against anti-Semitism).

- Two-fifths believe that racism has worsened over the past five years, whereas only a third said there was more anti-Semitism.

- 42% had a strong attachment to Israel, although there was a lessening of traditional ideological support for the State.

- There is clear evidence of communal divisions between secular and progressive Jews and the more Orthodox in matters of religious dogma, but also in perceptions of moral and social characteristics. Compared with secular or Progressive Jews, Orthodox respondents tended to feel more comfortable with other Jews, felt more Jewish than British, believe Jews are more tolerant than the rest of society and strongly believe they have higher standards of sexual morality.

- Jews vary widely in the strength of their religious beliefs, ritual practice and ethnic identity. For most Jews, religious observance is more a means of ethnic identification, than an expression of religious faith.

- 44% of Jewish men in the under forty age group are marrying non-Jewish women (compared to a 52% inter-marriage rate in the United States).

- One in three British Jews between the ages of 20 and 49 is single.

- One in three Jews is not formally associated with a synagogue.

- There is a growing section of British Jews who feel firmly rooted in British society, with no sense of living in 'exile', who do not see the Torah as the actual words of God, and who believe that Jews are, in most ideological respects, little different to the rest of society.

This study gives a good indication of the general attitudes of British Jewry[3], and of particular relevance for this thesis are the distinctions drawn out between the strictly Orthodox and the rest of the population. These divisions support claims of a

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[2] The survey asked respondents to identify themselves as either secular, just Jewish, progressive, traditional, or strictly Orthodox.

polarisation between orthodox and non-orthodox (as discussed in chapter one), most notably in beliefs about morality and the importance of Jewishness as the salient feature of identity. Despite the value of this survey, being a questionnaire-based approach necessarily limits its access to in-depth contextual understandings of how people practise their lives, and also leads it to obscure the differences subsumed within a statistical category such as 'strictly Orthodox'. In addition, the survey takes no account of regional variations, nor of the importance of local geography to people's attitudes. Both criticisms are ones that an ethnographic approach can usefully address (see chapter five). In the following section, though, I discuss those studies of Anglo-Jewry which have had a specifically geographical focus.

Geographical studies of Anglo-Jewry

Amongst the small groups of academics concerned with Anglo-Jewish social research, geographers such as Kosmin and Waterman have been pivotal. While much of their research has entailed inter-disciplinary, statistical analyses of demographics (reviewed above), they, along with several other academics, have also conducted a number of specifically spatial studies relating to the community (Lipman, 1975; Newman, 1985, 1987; Waterman, 1989, 1997; Waterman and Kosmin, 1985, 1986a, b, c and d, 1987a and b, 1988). These studies have primarily been concerned with issues of ethnic segregation (or 'congregation', the term preferred by Kosmin and Waterman) and assimilation. Waterman's (1989) study of Barnet - as the last of a series of empirical studies on British Jewry, and on London in particular (mostly carried out in association with Kosmin) - is worth examining as an exemplar.

Waterman (1989) examined the extent to which Jews spatially 'congregate' in the London borough of Barnet, seeking to provide a model of ethnic spatial characteristics for use by the Jewish community itself, or for comparison with other similar populations. Using data taken from the electoral role (the methodologies for which are discussed in chapter five), he mapped out concentrations of Jews primarily at a ward level (see figures 2.1 and 2.2). From this data, he marked off enumeration

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[3] Note that the JPR is currently working on a second major survey of British Jewry, a four-year study into the social and demographic characteristics of the population, and of the voluntary sector which services them; the project will be completed in 2001 (*JPR news*, Winter 1998; see also Harris, 1997)
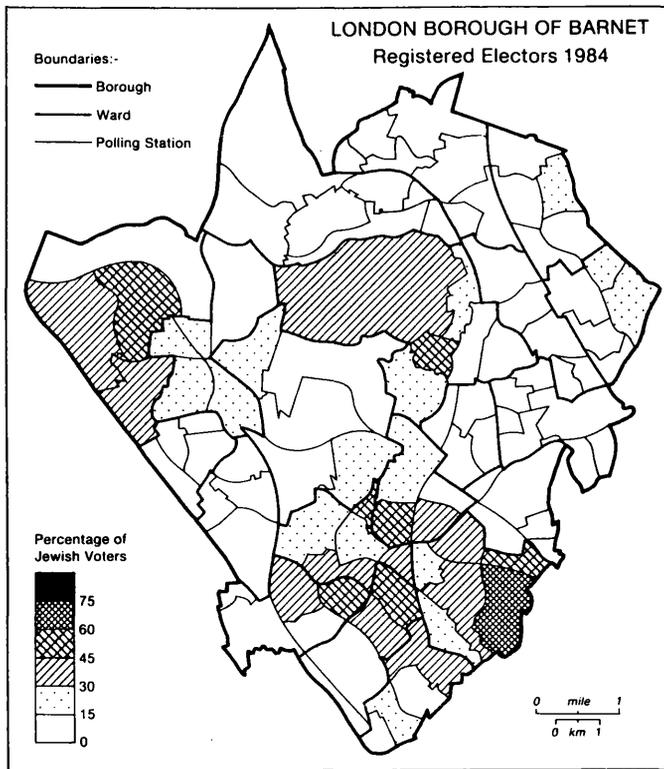
Figure 2.1: Percentage of Jewish voters in Barnet (Waterman, 1989: 21).
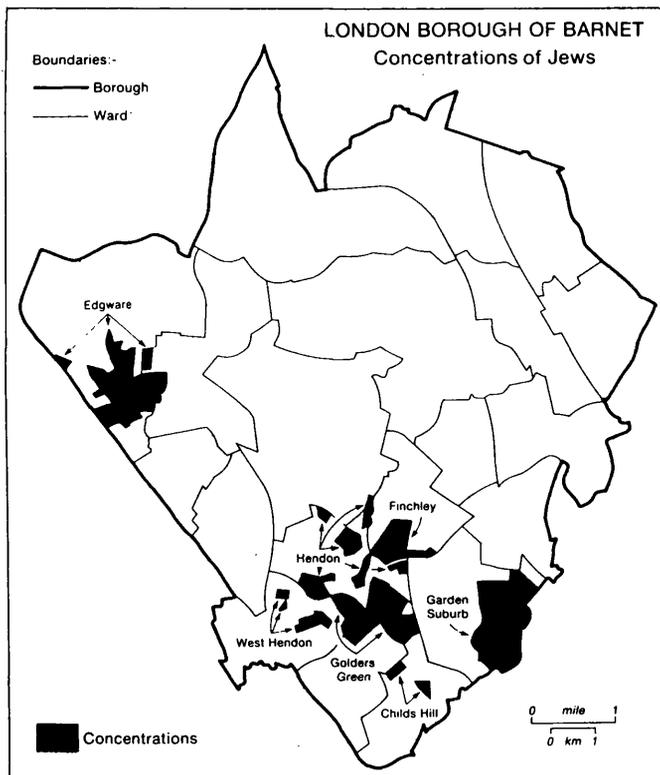
Figure 2.2: Concentration of Jews in Barnet (Waterman, 1989: 21).

districts (normally containing approximately 150 households) where Jewish populations were highest, and then 'mapped' socio-economic statistics taken from the 1981 census (including characteristics such as 'place of origin', 'household size and age structure' and 'occupational structure, education and employment') on to the populations of these localities (see for example figure 2.3). Through this, he was able to compare the characteristics of generally Jewish with non-Jewish areas in Barnet. Moreover, he was able to draw out differences between the various districts of Barnet, and to compare the figures with similar studies carried out in other parts of the capital.

Waterman's (1989) study has numerous methodological difficulties (see chapter five), and his approach here is also open to criticism through its underlying theoretical framework of choice and constraint, which can be traced back to the 1920s Chicago School of sociology.

The Chicago School and spatial sociology:

'Reduce all social relations to relations of space and it would be possible to apply to human relations the fundamental logic of the physical sciences. Social phenomena would be reduced to the elementary movements of individuals, just as physical phenomena, chemical actions, and the qualities of matter, heat, sound, and electricity are reduced to the elementary movements of molecules and atoms ...' (Park, 1926: 13, in Peach, 1981: 19)

The human ecology school of Robert Park established in Chicago provided, according to Peach (1975: 1-2), 'the fountainhead from which all else flows.' It was the belief that human interactions could be mapped, and hence explained, through a scientific approach of 'social physics' which underlay geography's turn to spatial science in the 1950s and 1960s. Moving away from the regionalism associated with Hartshorne and Vidal de la Blache, 'cutting edge' geographers sought the explanatory power of the nomothetic, so that, as Johnston (1971: 17) explained: 'In line with recent trends, geography is viewed [here] not as a vehicle for elucidating

Economically Active Population by Socio-Economic Groups

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Jewish EDs	**34.1**	**12.4**	**10.2**	**22.3**	**3.8**	**8.1**	**0.3**	**6.3**	**2.6**
Highly Jewish EDs	28.7	20.6	11.8	23.5	1.5	8.1	0.0	2.9	2.9
Edgware	33.1	13.0	8.1	22.9	4.5	16.3	0.3	9.6	2.1
Garden Suburb	37.3	16.6	11.2	13.6	2.4	14.2	0.0	3.0	1.8
Finchley	34.3	13.7	11.8	5.9	0.0	7.8	1.0	6.9	8.8
Hendon	34.5	8.6	7.1	24.9	7.6	9.1	0.5	5.1	2.5
West Hendon	29.6	13.0	13.0	27.8	5.6	1.9	0.0	1.9	3.7
Golders Green	32.7	10.9	12.2	26.9	2.7	7.5	0.0	5.8	1.4
Childs Green	41.7	13.9	16.7	13.9	0.0	5.6	0.0	5.6	2.8
Residual EDs	21.8	10.1	11.8	26.9	8.8	10.1	2.7	5.6	2.2
Barnet	18.8	7.2	12.6	26.7	11.5	12.3	2.7	5.3	2.8
Redbridge Jews (1978)	26.3	9.1	6.9	29.0	7.6	4.6	0.1	16.3	0.1
Hackney Jewish EDs (1971)	19.6	2.8	10.7	19.5	13.1	18.1	2.5	13.5	0.2

A - Employers and Managers (SEGS 1&2)
B - Professionals (SEGS 3&4)
C - Intermediate non-manual workers (SEG 5)
D - Junior non-manual workers (SEG 6)
E - Foremen, supervisors, skilled manual workers (SEGS 8&9)
F - Personal service workers, semi-skilled manual workers (SEGs 7, 10, 15)
G - Unskilled manual workers (SEG 11)
H - Own-account workers (SEGS 12,14)
I - Others (SEGs 16, 17)

Figure 2.3: Table showing economically active population percentages according to socio-economic group. The table shows those enumeration districts (EDs) and areas of Barnet with high Jewish concentrations, and compares these with 'residual' EDs where Jewish populations are low. The table also compares the figures with similar surveys carried out in Redbridge and Hackney (Waterman, 1989: 35).

the particular features of unique places but as a search for regularities and order in man's [sic] spatial organisation of the earth's surface.' Such ideas underpinned the methodologies of geographers studying ethnic groupings and segregation, so that, for example, in examining territoriality along the Shankill-Falls divide in Belfast, Boal (1969, 1975) mapped Catholic and Protestant residential patterns before explaining these differences through a statistical analysis of difference using the index of dissimilarity[4].

Intimately linked with the analyses of these 'new' geographies, was the choice and constraint model which explained residential patterns through a balance of 'pull' (for example people's desire to live with others from their own ethnic background) and 'push' (typically discrimination) factors (Simmons, 1981). This model was a central theoretical foundation of much social geography until the 1980s (Jackson and Smith, 1981; Peach, Robinson and Smith, 1981), and for Anglo-Jewish geographers in particular. Indeed, for these latter academics the influence of the Chicago School was especially strong, with Wirth's (1998[5]) classic study of Jewish ghettos effectively being the foundation for modern Jewish sociology[6]. Nevertheless, such approaches have been heavily critiqued by geographers of the 'cultural turn'.

Jackson's (1987) edited collection *Race and Racism: Essays in social geography* was intended to serve as a radical departure from traditional studies of racial and ethnic minorities. Critiquing the ethical and philosophical underpinnings of spatial science, Jackson argued against the political discourse running through such studies whereby

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[4] $Id = \frac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1}^{k}|x_i - y_i|$

The index of dissimilarity (Id) was one of a number of statistical tools, such as the index of isolation and the Monte Carlo Simulation (see Robinson, 1981), commonly used to describe residential patterns. In this formula, Id is equal to half the sum of the differences of the x and y populations contained in each of the *i* units which comprises the *k* universe. The index represents the percentage of a population that would have to move residence to produce a spatial distribution equivalent to a 'normal' one with which it is being compared (see Peach, 1981: 3).

[5] Originally published in 1928.

[6] Wirth was a graduate student of Robert Park, and was one of the first academics to study Jews from a social scientific perspective. In his classic work *The Ghetto*, Wirth examined the history of Jewish segregation and assimilation from the Middle Ages to the 1920s, drawing out internal and external (push and pull) mechanisms to explain how and why Jews live together. Arguing from an ecological perspective, he believed that it was the spaces and places where Jews lived (i.e. their geographical and social isolation) that influenced their characteristics, rather than notions of biological determinism or race (Diner, 1998).

assimilation was seen as the socially desirable opposite of ethnic segregation. In particular, he was extremely critical of the choice and constraint model, citing Bridges (1982: 83-84) who described it as at best 'narrow empiricism' and at worst 'socio-cultural apologism for racial segregation'. Central to his argument was the conception that 'race' is not a natural division of humanity, but rather a social construction (Berger and Luckman, 1967). Through this approach, 'races', or indeed any other groupings, were no longer to be analysed as fixed, monolithic and neatly bounded. Moreover, while spatial patterns do undoubtedly express (at least some) social differences, the recursive relationship between these two elements also required recognition (Smith, 1999a). Individuals may choose or be constrained into patterns of spatial segregation, but such exclusions frequently serve to reinforce differences: living in a run-down council estate may involve limited access to the labour market (and hence the difficulty of moving to different areas), and the separation of people into crime-ridden areas may serve to enhance imaginations of difference and thus processes of discrimination which encourage segregation (Smith, 1999a). Finally, the choice and constraint model, as centred on the rational decisions made by individuals (which can then be mapped and statistically analysed), offers little recognition of the *mechanisms*, such as racism or patriarchy, which translate social differences into spatial patterns, or of the contested and conflated identities which make-up people's sense of 'who they are' (Smith, 1999a).

Critiques of spatial science, and of the Chicago School more specifically, have now become increasingly accepted in geographical studies (although see Philo, 1998a), so that social and cultural groupings are now typically conceptualised as fluid, dynamic and hybrid. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that while the models expounded by the Chicago School have largely been abandoned, the role of ethnography (central to Park's methodology: see Entrikin, 1980; Jackson and Smith, 1981), has become increasingly valorised (see chapter five). Moreover, the choice and constraint model still retains value through its recognition of agency: individuals do still make choices about where they want to live, even if such decisions are structured and informed by broader economic, social and cultural forces. Despite processes of globalisation and cultural inter-mixings, particular peoples (in particular places) are still struggling to maintain identities and spaces.

In the following chapter I discuss (post-positivist) conceptions of identity and space, providing a theoretical framework for understanding contemporary orthodoxy as practised in Broughton Park. While such conceptions have fed through to a number of Jewish geographies - particularly in relation to the politics of space and place as they apply, for example, to Arab-Israeli conflicts (Falah, 1996; Falah and Newman, 1995; Hasson, 1997), divisions and policy concerns within Israel (Fenster, 1996, 1998; Kellerman, 1996; Lavie, 1996; Waterman, 1998), and issues of the Holocaust and memorialisation (Azaryahu, 1996; Clarke, Doel and McDonough, 1996; Cole and Smith, 1995) - their application to geographies of Anglo-Jewry are almost singularly lacking.

Qualitative studies of Anglo-Jewry

While the current state of Anglo-Jewry has received considerable attention in newspapers such as the *Jewish Chronicle* and the *Jewish Telegraph*, in the Chief Rabbi's books (for example Sacks, 1991, 1994) and in magazines such as *Judaism Today* (see chapter one), in-depth social studies are extremely limited. According to Cooper and Morrison (1991), despite the range of Judaic literature (covering everything from theology to philosophy to history), Jews in Britain simply do not buy books about their contemporary lives and identities. As such, Cooper and Morrison attempted to address this issue through *A Sense of Belonging*, a personalised, even romantic journey into contemporary Jewish identities, with an underlying theme of challenging the prevailing splits between the religious and secular. The book is divided into four sections dealing with the family, Jews living in secular society, the effects of the State of Israel on Jewish consciousness, and general issues of Jewishness such as the influence of the Holocaust and relationships with God. These themes are undoubtedly at the heart of contemporary Jewish identities, and Cooper and Morrison pose some difficult questions about the future of Jewry, which is, they argue, presently moribund, ossified and characterised by polarisation. Still, while the book is certainly interesting, it mostly acts as a personal sense of the author's own identities, and its usefulness to this thesis is limited.

Brook's (1989) *The Club* offers a more substantial review of contemporary Anglo-Jewry, although this too is an explicitly personal (and at times polemical) account of Jewish social life. After an introduction to the history of Anglo-Jewry, Brook firstly examines the nature of the various religious sects and the polarisations between them; secondly, he discusses communal organisations such as the Board of Deputies, educational facilities and charities; thirdly, he reviews the communities of the East End of London, Manchester, Glasgow and the other provinces; and fourthly, he explores social, cultural and political characteristics of British Jewry. Despite a journalistic style that seems to revel in disputations, *The Club* is useful (in terms of this thesis) for introducing the fractured nature of contemporary Judaism (as discussed in chapter one), outlining some of the features of Manchester and Glasgow, and offering one of the very few surveys of British orthodoxy.

In his account of Manchester life, Brook begins by criticising the pomposity of the Jewish Representative Council (JRC), before commenting on general political in-fighting, attacking the *Beth Din* (religious court: see chapter six) for intransigence over religious dogma (such as their banning of sprouts and asparagus for fear of contamination by unkosher micro-organisms), and finally condemning the two local newspapers, the *Gazette* and the *Telegraph* (which have since merged), as parochial, badly written and banal. Glasgow receives a more favourable review, since Brook considers it to be relatively free of in-fighting, much more Zionist than religiously observant, and having a much higher quality local newspaper, the *Jewish Echo* (which has since closed down). The comments on Manchester and Glasgow, while offering a certain insight into community life, are still little more than petty gossip, a characteristic which also permeates his account of ultra-Orthodoxy.

Brook devotes three (of his thirty-one) chapters to the subject of ultra-Orthodoxy, his account beginning with an (uninvited) visit to a *Viznitzer* Hasidic shteible for a *shabbas* (Sabbath) morning service.

'In the course of three hours of prayer, it is not considered lacking in reverence to switch off for a few minutes, either by chatting to a neighbour or by wandering around or even leaving the room for a few

minutes. There will be plenty of time to catch up on your prayers after your return. Although much of the recitation appears to be mindless mumbling, individual worshipers mark their progress through the liturgy by giving emphasis to those prayers or phrases that in their view require it. This is achieved either by standing up - though many ultra-Orthodox Jews pray on their feet as a matter of course - or by shouting, swaying, jabbing a finger in the air, or swishing the air with a flattened palm. You can make as much noise as you like; nobody will stare or make you feel out of place.' (Brook, 1989: 51-52)

Brook clearly has a sense of ultra-Orthodoxy as romantic and exotic (perhaps reflecting his usual profession as a travel writer), but this is tempered by a belief that such Jews are extremist, puritanical, intractable, holier-than-thou (especially in regards to their perception of themselves as morally and ethically superior) and even 'nuts' (Brook, 1989: 85). After running through some of the primary characteristics of ultra-Orthodoxy - distinctive styles of dress, arranged marriages, the large number of children, the rejection of most secular forms of the media - he attempts to understand why the movement has become increasingly popular (and here he concentrates on the success of the Lubavitch's missionary activities). While not coming to any specific conclusions, he implies that it is religious certainty which is attractive, and that the creation of a bounded, safe and secure way of life ensures that people do not stray. Brook's discussions only scratch the surface of orthodox identities and beliefs, and his criticisms (based on minimal research) of a lifestyle he clearly does not understand are certainly inadequate. Moreover, his opinions reflect a wider ignorance of orthodoxy which this thesis specifically seeks to address.

The only other ethnographic study which deals with United Kingdom orthodoxy in any depth is Eisenberg's (1996) chapter on one of the yeshivot in Gateshead. Eisenberg's discussions of the Gateshead yeshivah are part of a travelogue through world Jewry, in which he visits many of the primary orthodox sites in the United States, Belgium, Poland, Britain and the Ukraine. He is interested in ideas of Jewish intelligence, and in his visit he questions the students and the *Rosh Yeshivah* (yeshivah head) about why Jews consistently achieve high IQ scores and include

such a large percentage of Nobel prize winners. He comes to no specific conclusions, but in his discussion he does give some sense of the yeshivah's atmosphere, the intense studying which takes place from early in the morning to late at night, and the power of the Rosh Yeshivah to influence his students (see below). Eisenberg, while not as guilty as Brook (1989), also concentrates on the dramatic and exotic features of orthodoxy, and by so doing tends to obscure the 'everydayness' of people's lives. This approach is typical of studies of orthodoxy, in which ethnographies often border on a voyeuristic desire to capture the 'other' (see chapter five).

In addition to the studies by Cooper and Morrison (1991), Brook (1989) and Eisenberg (1996), two other bodies of literature are worth noting. Firstly, there have been several psychological and medical studies of orthodox Jews in Britain. Lowenthal *et al* (1997a and b) examine levels of stress among orthodox Jews in London, Cunninghame *et al* (1994) discuss rates of immunisation, while Law and Wallfish (1991) show how Hasidic Jews gave similar results to non-Jews in terms of their objections to speech therapists on the grounds of sex or religion. Secondly, orthodox communities (especially in the United States) have produced vast quantities of theological, historical and philosophic literature, designed to educate Jews in the ways of 'righteousness'. In Britain such works include the Lubavitch Foundation's (1970) analyses of their successes and Finkelman and Weiss's (1997) history of the head of the Manchester Yeshivah. An examination of this literature is not attempted here, but Landau's (1993: 28) acidic comments on these accounts are worth noting.

'The hasidim themselves wrote biographical accounts that tended to be long on miracle-making, prophecy and telepathy, but woefully short on the more mundane aspects of the subject's personal development and public career. That is still a favoured genre in the haredi world, and is now equally popular among hasidim and mitnagdim. In haredi biographies, the rabbi or rebbe hero invariably exhibited academic genius by the age of three, was endowed solely with good and kindly character-traits, and usually had supernatural or at least extra-sensory powers.'

Research on Contemporary Ultra-Orthodoxy

Research into ultra-Orthodox theology has an illustrious history from its origins in the 1930s. Through authors such as Gershom Scholem (1965; see also Mendes-Flohr, 1994) and Martin Buber (1991; see also Idel, 1996; Kamenetz, 1995), the passion, ecstasy and mysticism that characterised Hasidism from its foundations in the eighteenth century was, and remains, a major source of academic interest (see for example, Rapoport-Albert, 1996; Rosman, 1996). Nevertheless, early studies tended to see Hasidism as a romantic relic from previous centuries that was surely destined to perish in the age of 'Modernism' (Gurtwirth, 1996), or, in more recent works, have solely been concerned with the movement from a historical perspective (as outlined in chapter one). It is only with Poll's (1962) and Kranzler's (1961) analyses of the Hasidic communities of Williamsburg, New York that the modern study of orthodoxy (or rather of Hasidism, which largely constitutes the field anyway: see below) is usually considered to have begun (Belcove-Shalin, 1995a; El-Or, 1996[7]). Since these early studies, orthodoxy is now increasingly recognised as vibrant and rapidly growing, and has been the focus of a number of ethnographic accounts. In this part of the chapter I review the principal themes of these studies, which include a small number of geographical accounts, before discussing theoretical critiques[8].

Studies of orthodoxy have traditionally focused on a desire to explain the curious and exotic lifestyles of small communities of Jews who dress strangely, are reluctant to assimilate into the surrounding population, and, as such, seem remarkably anachronistic to the modern world. In their analyses, researchers have basically sought to 'tell it like it is', typically producing descriptive accounts that have attempted to understand orthodoxy via four overall emphases: firstly, social structure and systems of authority (especially the power of rebbes, and the position of

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[7] Wirth's (1998) study of the religious, cultural and social life of the 1920s Chicago Ghetto arguably predates all these studies, although he was not concerned with a specific analysis of Hasidim or ultra-Orthodoxy *per se* (and he too believed that, as anti-Semitism declined, assimilation into mainstream American society was inevitable).

[8] Note there are also a number of fictional works on ultra-Orthodoxy, such as the books by Chaim Potok, and the Hollywood films *A Stranger Among Us* and *A Price Above Rubies*, which could provide useful source materials for future studies. In this thesis, however, I confine my research to non-fictional studies.

women); secondly, key institutions (particularly schools and yeshivot); thirdly, issues of community and communal events; and fourthly, construction of boundaries and interactions with others, which has been the focus of most geographical accounts. These four emphases provide a useful framework for understanding the key characteristics of orthodoxy, although two provisos need to be acknowledged. Firstly, although I discuss the emphases separately, there is necessarily a great deal of overlap, which is also reflected in how authors frequently switch between different themes. Secondly, most of the research on orthodoxy has concentrated on Hasidism rather than on Mitnagdism, with only the studies by Eisenberg (1996), Heilman (1992), Helmreich (1986) Landau (1993) and Meijers (1996) including much discussion of the latter. In part this is because the historical rivalries discussed in chapter one now appear to be less important than before, so that, for example, the importance of Talmudic education stressed by the Mitnagdism is now also a feature of Hasidism (Landau, 1993). Still, the lack of attention to non-Hasidism is a further gap in the literature that this thesis addresses.

Social structure and authority

Acknowledging the highly stratified social hierarchy of orthodox life is a common feature of academic studies, which have discussed how the religious values of piety, observance of laws and Torah scholarship are more important indicators of status than socio-economic factors. According to Poll (1962: see also Kranzler, 1961, 1995a), Hasidic communities can be divided into six distinct social classes. At the bottom are the *Yiden*, Hasidic Jews who are neither wealthy, particularly scholarly or especially intensive in their religious practice: while at the bottom, these Jews still rate higher than non-Hasidic Jews or non-Jews. Above the Yiden are the *Balebatishe Yiden* ('house-owning Jews'), wealthy Jews who are closely involved in the community through financial support of Hasidic institutions and other charitable organisations. In the next social class are the *Talmidei Hachamim* ('students of the wise'), learned men whose intensity of religious observance is greater than the previous two categories. The *Sheine Yiden* ('beautiful Jews') are even more intensely observant, and typically become religious professionals such as Talmudic teachers, ritual slaughterers or circumcisers. Next in line are the *Shtickel Rebbes*,

minor religious leaders whose position is second only to the top-ranking Rebbes. This latter category of people, and the power they possess to influence how their followers behave, has been a particular source of academic fascination (Arden, 1975; Eisenberg, 1996; Heilman, 1992; Kranzler, 1995a; Landau, 1993; Mintz, 1968, 1994; Poll, 1995).

Rebbes are the spiritual leaders of groups of Hasidim - which for larger sects such as Lubavitch, Satmar, Belz, Ger, Viznitz and Bobov can number tens of thousands of Jews - and are believed by their followers to have extraordinary powers through their holiness, religious devotion and their links to the great *zaddiqim* ('righteous persons') of previous generations (Poll, 1995). Hasidim typically have a powerful personal relationship with their rebbe, customarily visiting him at least once a year for a blessing, as well as consulting him on all major decisions (especially before agreeing to a marriage) and if there are particular problems (for example a family illness or business difficulties). The rebbe's advice is usually followed unswervingly:

> 'Visitor[s] present a *kvitl* (petition) which contains the names of the petitioner, the problem to be resolved, and the blessings needed. It also lists the names of the petitioner's mother, through whom it is possible to trace the lineage of the petitioner's soul. In this way the Rebbe is able to determine the root of the problem and to pray for its resolution. The Rebbes are thought to move in spheres not understood by ordinary men. It is believed that Rebbes can, in dire circumstances, intercede on behalf of their followers with the Heavenly Court.' (Mintz, 1994: 3)

Rebbes also traditionally hold a regular *tish* (lit. 'table'), a ceremonial Sabbath or festival meal where followers can hear his words of wisdom (see Heilman, 1992; Landau, 1993). According to Poll (1995), rebbes are the central force that binds Hasidic groups together, and their power to shape everything from voting patterns (see below) to style of dress is all-encompassing. Perhaps the most extreme example of this power was the belief held by many Lubavitchers that their rebbe, Menachem Schneerson, was, and would shortly reveal himself as, *Moshiach*, the Messiah who

will lead the world to salvation (Landau, 1993; Mintz, 1994). When he died in 1994, hundreds of thousands took to the streets outside of the movement's headquarters (in Crown Heights, Brooklyn) in mourning. For others, however, his death was expected to be the moment when Moshiach would appear, and they danced in the street in expectation of a revelation (Gideon Leventhall, pers. com.); needless to say, they were disappointed.

Mitnagdism do not have a rebbe as such, but the growing similarities with Hasidism are indicated by the role of the rosh yeshivah. Traditionally, the head of a yeshivah was a leading Mitnagdism scholar, but such men are now increasingly known for their charisma, rather than their levels of learning *per se*. Similar to rebbes, the position of rosh yeshivah is now often determined according to family and dynastic ties. Such an influence highlights that, while status is still primarily determined by religiosity, a person's *yichus* (their family connections to people of high (religious) status) is also crucial to social standing (Heilman, 1992; Kranzler, 1995a; Landau, 1993). People whose yichus is strong can expect to have the best arranged marriages and achieve higher positions of authority. By contrast, those with low yichus, for example *ba'alei teshuva*[9] or people related to someone who has lapsed in their faith, may be considered 'damaged goods'. While social status is certainly related to the above factors, it is, as researchers have only recently discussed in any depth, also highly dependent on gender.

Kaufman (1995) complains about the lack of research on orthodox women. She argues for the need to give voice to people otherwise silenced (at least within academic spheres), particularly those living within a deeply patriarchal society such as the Hasidic world. As a feminist she is left with a conundrum, however, of how to research people who support a system built on the authority of men (where women are unable to receive rabbinical ordination, serve as interpreters of the law, read the Torah before a congregation or testify before religious courts, and who, like all

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[9] The ba'alei teshuva are new converts to orthodoxy, and who thus have few or no social connections. According to El-Or (1994), the ba'alei teshuva occupy a paradoxical status (at least in the context of the Israeli Ger community she researched) in that on the one hand their 'return' to righteousness reaffirms the orthodox position, but on the other they are still associated with the filth and impurity of 'outside' life (see also section on 'conceptualising secular Jewry'). As such, ba'alei teshuva often find it difficult to gain complete acceptance into Haredi society.

Hasidic Jews, submit themselves under the power of a male rebbe[10]: Morris, 1995) without reducing these women to the status of dupes. Kaufman, like Morris (1995), prefers to see women as agents rather than as victims of religious ideology, and concentrates on their role as key mechanisms in propagating and supporting Jewish ideology. Furthermore, while these women undoubtedly live in a patriarchal environment, they occupy a position where divorce rates are low, family support and communal care are highly developed (c.f. Hayden, 1997), and where they have a high degree of control in the private sphere. Such lifestyles, both Kaufman and Morris argue, challenge, at least in part, many of the ideals of a liberal feminism largely expounded by those who are white, European and Protestant (see chapter nine).

In contrast to Kaufman (1995) and Morris (1995), El-Or (1994) is more critical of Haredi women for internalising a way of life that depends on, and actively promotes, a belief that women are (because of their nature) educationally and intellectually inferior. El-Or reviews the rise of the women's educational movement which was, she argues, designed to keep women 'educated and ignorant' (the title of her book). By tightly defining what and how females learn, women are taught (under the paternalistic guidance of men, of course) to be good mothers and wives, and to practise their lives according to orthodox values (see also below). Similarly, Blumen (1999), in her study of Israeli ultra-Orthodox women working in high-technology firms outside of their community, describes how these individuals remain trapped within a (male-dominated) Haredi system. Despite their economic potential, these women are, according to Blumen, powerless providers, with their income giving them relatively little status other than its ability to support their husbands in their kollel studies (and hence an important factor in a family's yichus).

Alongside the importance of religiosity, yichus and gender, authority in orthodoxy is also determined according to the rules and regulations written in sacred texts (as interpreted by leading (male) religious figures). These texts have received relatively little attention from ethnographers (although see Landau, 1993), despite their fundamental importance in structuring orthodox beliefs and practices. I discuss this

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[10] Indeed in the morning prayers, Orthodox men recite a blessing thanking God for not having made them women (women thank the Lord for having made them according to His will) (in Scherman, 1986: see also Jacobs, 1995).

aspect of orthodox life in chapter four, where I concentrate on the spatial codes and regulations detailed in the sacred text of the Talmud.

Orthodox institutions and the dangers of assimilation

The study of institutions has been another central plank of research, with academics seeking to understand, in particular, the roles of prayer and education (Eisenberg, 1996; El-Or, 1994; Heilman, 1976, 1992; Helmreich, 1986; Jacobs, 1972; Kranzler, 1995a; Krausz and Bar-Lev, 1978; Landau, 1993; Semi, 1978; Shaffir, 1995). These two central pillars of orthodox life are frequently intertwined in the bricks-and-mortar institutions of schools, yeshivot, *mikvot* (ritual baths) and synagogues, in which prayer reflects the practices and beliefs taught to children (and to adults: learning is considered a life-long process) and where education is inculcated with religious ideology and theology. Academic studies of these institutions have typically concentrated on two key facets: their role in propagating orthodox ideology and theology, and their importance in resisting 'outside' influences. In this way, Heilman (1976) analyses an Orthodox (though not ultra-Orthodox) synagogue, examining day-to-day characteristics such as the gossiping, joking and formation of social status. Other researchers such as Eisenberg (1996), Landau (1993) and Brook (1989) have also discussed the style of orthodox services, although in-depth analyses are surprisingly rare. Much more common are academic studies of schools and yeshivot, stressing the importance of education (Eisenberg, 1996; El-Or, 1994; Heilman, 1992; Krausz and Bar-Lev, 1978; Landau, 1993; Shaffir, 1987, 1995; Schneller, 1980).

> 'Among haredim, education was everything: the purpose of Jewish existence and at the same time a barrier against its decay. It was the essence of what they believed was demanded of them as Jews. To this end, they created a network of schools that embraced life from youth to age and that, wherever possible, evaded the harmful influence of secular education - what was called by insiders "alien wisdom" (*chochmos chitzonios*). In their schools the young were turned into haredim. They were taught to speak and write in a

separate Haredi version of a Jewish language that kept outsiders at bay - Yiddish, encrusted with acronyms and insider expressions, even more than modern Hebrew. They were confirmed in their distinctive appearance and dress that made assimilation in the outside world impossible. They were introduced to their customs, folkways, values and versions of the life that made them conscious of their own traditions, which were also presented as the true Judaism. Anything short of that was "putting darkness into light".' (Heilman, 1992: 171)

Heilman explains how Israeli orthodox children are taught (often using stories as parables) to see their lifestyles as righteous, to be contrasted with the goyim who personify stealing (with Arabs, in particular, portrayed as the worst of all). Such an education reifies from the earliest age the (imagined) differences between yiden and goyim, righteous and immoral, and is a key mechanism in ensuring that assimilation does not take place. Central to the practical application of this strategy is a highly restrictive education system which limits 'outside' influences as far as possible. As such, knowledge of the world beyond orthodox schools may be extremely limited, which Heilman shows through a simple geography test. Heilman asked upper school (6th grade) children to name the countries surrounding Israel, and they were unable to do so: answers he received included 'England', and '*chutz la'aretz*' (the rest of the world). Yet the children knew their biblical geography; for example, they knew that Abraham took three days to travel from Jerusalem to Beersheba. Yet when asked how long the journey would take today (normally about two hours), the children gave all answers longer than three days (and some up to eleven days), reflecting orthodox ideology in which the ancients are considered superior to contemporaries. Such a restrictive education is ensured by limiting access to outside sources, as Shaffir (1995: 45-46: see also Shaffir, 1987) highlights by listing the instructions given to secular teachers at a Satmarer school in Montreal:

- 'Every book, workbook, reading book, which is used in the classroom by the teacher or the students has to be checked and approved by the religious committee appointed by the school ...

- No stencil or photocopy of any book except school books which are stamped approved are allowed.

- Sending students to libraries or reading to students from library books is strictly forbidden.

- No reading of newspapers is allowed in class.

- No tapes or recors [sic] are allowed in the classroom.

- All books are strictly edited from harmful influences according to our religion [usually involving the drawing of thick black lines through 'offending' material]. If you notice anything which might have been overlooked, please notify us promptly.

- Avoid discussing any subject involving Zionism or the State of Israel.

- Do not speak Hebrew.

- Do not discuss adult subjects which are not for children.

- Do not discuss any religious subject, including the Jewish faith.

- Please behave in school in a way befitting for a religious school such as dressing and talking in a modest way.

- Certain subjects should never be discussed when in the classroom: the theory of evolution, the creation of the world ...'

Education is a rapidly growing sphere of orthodox life, with new schools frequently opening to cope with the rapid rise in orthodox numbers, and religious leaders talk of a 'learning revolution' (Landau, 1993; see also Kranzler, 1995a). Most studies have concentrated on boys' education (reflecting the difficulties for male academics - who until recently have dominated the field - in gaining access to girls' schools), but resisting assimilation is also fundamental to the teaching of girls (El-Or, 1994; see also Schneller, 1980). Indeed, the movement to educate women was only institutionally organised (some eighty years ago) as a direct response to fears that females would otherwise be drawn towards Enlightenment values and practices: previously, women had received very little education because, it was argued, the Torah did not command them to study. Moves to educate women have still met much opposition from religious leaders, who, to quote one rabbi, argue that it may be 'better to burn words of Torah rather than to give them to women, which means that it is an insult to the Torah that it be subject to the judgement of women' (Rabbi

Shmuel Vazner, quoted in El-Or, 1994: 76). Thus, while education is certainly a key mechanism in resisting the outside world, it also ensures, as far as possible, that the Haredi system of life (including its patriarchal underpinnings) remains secure. Such a system is also reproduced in the third major research theme, the analysis of community and communal interactions.

Community and communal events

Discussions of Hasidism, and of orthodoxy more generally, have typically examined issues of community in at least some respects, with researchers tending to concentrate on economic behaviour, social welfare systems or communal gatherings and events. In his classic study of Williamsburg, for example, Poll (1962) outlines occupational patterns, including employment in non-Hasidic firms (typically in the textile industry) but looking more particularly at the economic services available within the community itself. This latter category includes the activities provided by religious professionals such as the shochet, *melamed* (religious instructor), *sofer* (scribe), and *mohel* (circumciser), as well as the various secular services of dentists, doctors and lawyers. In addition, Poll examines the manufacture and sale of a range of religious articles including *yarmelkas* (skullcaps), *sidurim* (prayer books) and *tefilin* (phylacteries[11]). He explains how economic activities, whether secular or religious, are all incorporated within an overall community structure that requires specific services and products (for example kosher food), but which must also have a sound financial basis for its survival. Without a secure economic base, the various orthodox institutions, the network of social support (see below) and an overall system that privileges learning over material labour[12] could simply not be sustained (Blumen, 1999; Kranzler, 1961, 1995a and b; Poll, 1962).

Social welfare is another aspect of orthodox life that academics have discussed, with most authors noting the extensive network of communal facilities. Eisenberg (1996) comments on how the Satmarers of Williamsburg operate a van (disguised as a

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[11] Small leather boxes (containing paasages of sacred texts) worn by Jews during morning week-day prayers.

[12] Although employment is not denigrated (but the desire of luxuries is), it is primarily considered as a means to study Torah. As a practical necessity of life, it is often left to women to earn the family's income, while husbands concentrate on Torah studies (El-Or, 1994)

grocery-store truck to avoid embarrassment) that drops off food packages to the disadvantaged late every Thursday night, while El-Or (1994) notes the existence of the systems of *gemachim*, charitable operations that distribute items ranging from medical equipment, to books for individuals to borrow. One of the few in-depth studies of social welfare is provided by Kranzler (1995a: although see also Landau, 1993), who discusses the Satmar community's 'mobilisation for *chesed* (kindness)' campaign in Williamsburg. This scheme, set up by the late Satmar rebbe Yoel Teitelbaum in 1947, was designed to aid a community of Jews who had escaped war-torn Europe and the horrors of the Holocaust, and which contained many people who were simply too old or ill to make the transition from Hungary to America unaided. As such, Teitelbaum established a variety of social service and welfare programmes, including: *Hatzollah*, an emergency medical service; *Shomrin*, a civil patrol organisation; *Tzedakah Vechesed*, distributing food to the needy; and *Bikkur Cholim*, a network of associations caring for the needs of the ill at home or in hospital. As Kranzler (1995a) explains, this system of social welfare has formed the template for orthodox communities throughout the world, and indeed is a key feature of Broughton Park which I discuss in chapter eight.

The final area of communal research has explored specific community events such as marriages, deaths and festivals. Epstein (1995) is one such author who discusses the *Purim* celebrations held by the Bobover Hasidism in Boro Park, Brooklyn every Spring. Purim is a festival that marks the deliverance of the Jews of Persia in the fifth century BCE from a plot to destroy them by the King's vizier Haman, and which in orthodox culture is marked by a (carnavalesque) inversion of societal norms. In Boro Park, the central feature of the festival is the *piremshpiyl*, a folk drama which celebrates the continued survival of the Jews (and in recent times survival from the Holocaust):

> 'The Bobover piremshpiyln are incorporated into the *groysen siyde*, "the great banquet," the central Bobover event on the night of Purim ... A special Purim *Rav* [religious leader] presides over the event, and the Rebbe becomes part of the audience. A large chocolate cake in the shape of a fish, the zodiac sign for Purim, is broken into pieces and

distributed by the Rebbe to all of the audience; large quantities of beer are drunk; songs from the Yom Kippur [the antithesis of Purim] repertoire are sung both at the beginning and the end of the event; and the piremshpiyl is performed ... [T]he piremshpiyl engages the community in ludicrous, playful behaviour antithetical to everyday norms. In effect, it is the only occasion in which the world order is temporarily inverted - young men become actors and wear costumes, and the physical separation between males and females is relaxed.' (Epstein, 1995: 242)

A similar analysis is also followed by Heilman (1992: see also chapter eight), who discusses how Purim is a mechanism that allows Jews to escape (if only for a short time) the structured and serious world of orthodoxy. Heilman discusses various other celebrations, including the bar mitzvah of the Belzer Rebbe's son (see chapter five), the festival of *Hanukah*[13], the importance of marriages and funerals, and the pilgrimage to Meron on *Lag b'Omer*[14] that many orthodox Jews take to pray at the tomb of the mystical Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochai. Nevertheless, one of the most interesting festival descriptions (particularly with regard to global geographical interactions) is provided by Eisenberg (1996), who describes how orthodox Jews from around the world journey to the grave of Rabbi Nachman every Rosh Hashanah. Rabbi Nachman died in 1812 and is buried in Uman in the Ukraine (see also Rabinowicz, 1960), and thousands of orthodox Jews - and particularly those from the *Bratslaver* sect[15] who regard him as their spiritual leader - make the difficult journey through the Ukrainian landscape to the grave side. Such festivals are central features of the orthodox calendar, providing opportunities publicly to state the faith and, as such, to reconfirm the overarching nature of orthodoxy (discussed in chapter eight).

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[13] A minor winter festival celebrating the victory of the Maccabees over Antiochus (Jacobs, 1995).
[14] A minor festival celebrating the day the disciples of the famous first Century CE Rabbi Akiva stopped dying in a plague: see Jacobs (1995).
[15] The Bratslavers are the only major Hasidic branch without a living rebbe (and are consequently known as the "Dead Hasidism"), although the Lubavitchers are also, following the death of Menachem Schneerson, currently in a similar position. There is speculation that a new Lubavitch rebbe will not be appointed because of mystical beliefs that Schneerson, as the seventh leader, would be the last in line (interview with a Broughton Park rabbi).

Boundary construction and interactions with others

Recognising the social boundaries constructed by orthodox Jews is probably the most common element of academic studies, especially amongst geographers (Arden, 1975; Blumen, 1999; Glinert and Shilhav, 1991; Hershkowitz, 1987; Margulies, 1997; Shilhav, 1983a, 1984, 1993). Through limited interactions with non-orthodox Jews, insular communal and welfare programmes, resistance to the secular media, differences in social, cultural and religious outlooks, and most obviously through style of dress, the boundaries (or at least the differences) maintained against 'outside' influences are immediately evident. Such boundary construction runs (implicitly or explicitly) through most analyses of orthodoxy, but in this section I want to draw out three particular aspects discussed in the literature: firstly, the maintenance and construction of spatial boundaries; secondly, social boundaries with secular Jewry; and thirdly, boundary crossings, and interactions with others.

Constructing spatial boundaries: orthodox residential segregation:

> 'In the early 1970s ... the Satmar Hasidism moved to create a suburban community. The older Satmar Rebbe had long harboured a dream of founding a community a safe distance from the city which would be governed by ultra-Orthodox religious tenets. The isolated and remote location strengthened by the invisible barriers of culture and language would shield residents from outside forces. In this traditional environment the children would grow up safe from drugs and crime and free of heretical influences.' (Mintz, 1994: 206)

Mintz (1994) describes the creation of the Kiryas Joel settlement, located in Orange County fifty miles from New York. This settlement, and others like them, were directly founded on the importance of geographical isolation and the re-creation of a way of life free from the immorality and profanity of the urban sphere (see also Shaffir, 1987)[16]. Most communities, and hence most studies, are nonetheless located in urban environments (Gutwirth, 1996), and here academics have discussed attempts

to create 'homes in exile' (Belcove-Shalin, 1995c). Such concerns have been particularly central to Shilhav (1983a, 1984, 1993; Glinert and Shilhav, 1991), who has sought to describe and to explain the Haredi population's desire to segregate from mainstream Israeli society, and to construct defensive spatial boundaries. Shilhav (1984: 411; see also Hershkowitz, 1987) argues that Haredi Jews wish to 'create a "cultural dominance" in a given territory' so as to be able to socialise their children without 'negative' influences. In Israel, desires for separation have resulted in Haredi communities blocking streets to their neighbourhoods on shabbas, and harassing women (through name-calling and even stone throwing) who walk through the streets dressed immodestly (Shilhav, 1983a, 1984). In addition, orthodox communities frequently construct the spatial devices of 'eruvin' (discussed in chapters four and nine).

Constructing social boundaries, conceptualising secular Jewry: Differences between (moral) yiden and (immoral) goyim are, as we have seen, a central and indeed institutionalised aspect of orthodoxy. Nevertheless, while non-Jews are easily portrayed in orthodoxy as fundamentally different, conceptualising secular Jewry is far more difficult: on the one hand such Jews are halachically 'same', while on the other their lifestyles almost entirely ignore the Torah's teachings (at least as orthodoxy interprets them) and so, in a practical sense, they are also 'other'. While a number of authors are certainly aware of this issue, and make use of it in terms of their access to the community (see chapter five), only El-Or (1994) examines the paradox in any depth. She argues that the issue is resolved in orthodox thinking through a portrayal of secular Jews as 'captive children':

> 'This generation is one defined by Jewish law as a "captive child."
> Jewish law recognises that a man who was imprisoned among gentiles and desecrated the Sabbath, ate forbidden foods, and committed transgressions will not be punished. Or, alternatively, he will receive a lesser punishment than a [sinning] man who grew up his whole life in a religious home, with a Torah background.' (Tsvi Weinman, quoted in El-Or, 1994: 159)

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[16] Note that similar anti-urban, separationist sentiments are associated with other religious groups such

Secular Jews are thus compared to the story of Plato's cave, in which the public believe the only truth to be that displayed inside, unaware that outside is a world of light and colour only dimly reflected inside as shadows. Such Jews thus live in ignorance and filth, but do so because they do not know any better. Furthermore, the entrance to the cave is guarded by secular leaders and their false ideologies (especially secular Zionism), together with the profane ideas propagated by the media (and hence the orthodox rejection of television - and, selectively, radio, secular newspapers and the internet - about which almost all authors comment). For most orthodox communities, therefore, secular Jews as thoroughly mired in this impurity are, wherever possible, largely ignored.

Crossing the boundaries, interactions with 'others': While most orthodox groups seek to limit as far as possible their interactions with others, there are some who actively seek to 'reach out' to the 'lost' generations of secular Jews. Of the latter by far the most (in)famous are the Lubavitchers (although there are others such as the Bratslavers and the yeshivot of *Ohr Sameach* and *Aish Hatorah* in Jerusalem: see Shaffir, 1983a), whose mission is to encourage secular Jews to become more religious (and by so doing they believe that they will hasten the arrival of Moshiach: see Schneerson, 1986). This desire to make contact with non-orthodox Jews also means that the Lubavitchers have been the most open to the intrusions of ethnographers, and, as such, they are undoubtedly the best known of the Hasidic groups (Davidman and Stocks, 1995; Kaufman, 1995; Koskoff, 1995; Loeb, 1995; Mintz, 1994; Morris, 1995; Shaffir, 1995). While the Lubavitchers intentionally seek to cross the boundaries[17], even those who seek isolation must, by living under the authority of local and national governments, maintain at least some contact with 'outsiders'. Moreover, such contact is not only inevitable, it also economically essential (Friedman, 1986; Kranzler, 1995a and b; Margulies, 1997).

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as the Shakers of rural North America (Philo, 1997).

[17] Schneerson (1986: 31), the late Lubavitcher Rebbe, argues that the essence of Hasidic ideology can be compared to oil: 'on the one hand, it is in itself distinct and separate from everything ... yet at the same time, because it is "essence," it must also pervade and be found within everything.' As such, Lubavitch ideas seek to influence Jews throughout the world, without being changed by such contacts. Such a conception is one that I theoretically challenge in chapter three.

Margulies (1997) and Kranzler (1995a and b) both comment on the considerable state aid (including food stamps, rental assistance and Medicaid) that the Hasidic communities of New York receive, without which the community could simply not survive (at least in its present form). The Hasidic community of Williamsburg, for example, receives considerable funds because of its formal status as a 'disadvantaged minority' in which close to fifty percent of its inhabitants are below the poverty line. This status certainly reflects Williamsburg's location as a relatively deprived inner-city area, although levels of poverty are also directly related to the very high family sizes (average families contain 7-9 children) and to the large numbers of adults who are either elderly and unable to work or are scholars in full-time education (Kranzler, 1995b). The status is also directly tied to the considerable political power of the Hasidic communities. Because of the power of rebbes over their followers, politicians who are able to gain their support (in return, of course, for improvements in social conditions) are virtually guaranteed a block vote in their favour (Mintz, 1994). Thus, while economically most orthodox communities are dependent on outsiders, their increasing demographic growth has also resulted in a concomitant political and policy influence on surrounding populations, especially in Israel.

In Israel, the block votes of orthodox Jews are tremendously important in the balance of power (especially in Israel's system of proportional representation), and their influence in 1990 led directly to the fall of the Labour government when they switched their allegiance to the Likud party (Belcove-Shalin, 1995a; Landau, 1993; Mintz, 1994)[18]. Such political power has inflamed already considerable anti-orthodox feelings, given, in particular, continuing battles over whether the state should finance Haredi institutions (and allow yeshivah students to avoid the draft) even though many of these organisations utterly reject the principles of Zionism (see El-Or, 1994; Landau, 1993; Shilhav, 1993; Shindler, 1998)[19]. Indeed, this polarisation between secular and religious has now recently taken to the streets, and

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[18] In addition, the orthodox communities also have an increasing degree of economic power. In the late-1980s, for example, they effectively forced the Israeli airline El-Al to stop flying on the Sabbath for fear of a boycott. The airline has now adapted to the wishes of their Haredi customers so that cabin crew are trained to turn a blind eye to mid-flight prayer quorums, and even the in-flight radio includes a channel of Talmudic discussions (Landau, 1993).

[19] While all orthodox sects look forward to the arrival of Moshiach when the Jews will return to Zion, some organisations such as the Lubavitch are happy to work with the present state, while others, such as Satmar, will have nothing to do with an entity which they see as a 'mortal sin against God and Jewish destiny' (Landau, 1993: 154).

earlier this year there were rival mass public demonstrations in Jerusalem over a High Court decision that questioned the legality of yeshivah students' exemption from the army (Shindler, 1999).

While Israel is undoubtedly the centre of secular and religious conflicts, academics have also discussed similar problems in the United States and Canada. In the United States, Mintz (1994) describes the series of violent conflicts between black and Hasidic communities that have marred relations in the Crown Heights area of New York. Following the Second World War, the area has seen a 'white flight' and an increasing black and Latino population. Tensions between the communities have risen through the years, escalating particularly in the 1980s, and culminating in 1991 in a riot sparked off by the death of a young black child killed by a Hasidic driver. In addition, New York is also the site of friction *within* the orthodox world, where Satmar and Lubavitch have been involved in angry scenes concerning the latter's attempts at proselytising to the former. In Canada, Shaffir (1997; see also Shaffir, 1983b) describes the anger that many non-orthodox Jews felt when the Tasher Hasidic community of Boisbriand (located eighteen miles outside of Montreal) publicly stated their support for Quebec's sovereignty in the 1995 referendum; most secular Jews supported the status quo, fearing a rise in anti-Semitism associated with heightened nationalism. In addition, the Tasher also courted controversy when they attempted to turn Boisbriand into an autonomous region in which they would have the power to turn their religious rules into bylaws. Despite initial government support, their claim was eventually turned down when the newspapers latched on to the story, and forced the authorities to reject the proposals on the grounds that it would be legalising a ghetto. Interactions are not always related to conflict, though, and Shaffir (1987) also tells a remarkable story of how Tasher paramedics (dressed, of course, in their usual orthodox attire) rushed to give assistance to some nearby Hell's Angels whose bar had been blown up by a rival biker group.

When discussing boundary crossings, the majority of authors have examined these as mechanisms through which orthodox communities attempt to propagate or to defend their ideologies. Boundary crossings may be much more complete, however, with individuals choosing to abandon the orthodox fold. Such 'deviance' is considered by

Helmreich (1986) and Heilman (1992), although the only in-depth study is provided by Shaffir and Rockaway (1987), who interviewed twenty former Haredi Jews. Shaffir and Rockaway show how these Jews became disaffected and disillusioned, usually in response to doubts over the validity of the religious dogma. This study hints at processes of resistance that are under-explored by academics, although, as I discuss in chapter five, there are major methodological difficulties in finding orthodox Jews willing to raise such doubts with 'outsiders'.

Theoretical critiques of orthodox research

Research on orthodoxy provides some fascinating insights into the characteristics of the various communities, but as Belcove-Shalin (1988) argues, the ethnographies conducted here have typically been theoretically weak. Shaffir (1995) admits that when he began his thesis on Canadian Lubavitchers in the late-1960s, he did so with little theoretical or sociological understanding. Since then he has adopted a symbolic interactionist[20] approach to explain orthodox lifestyles centred on three premises: firstly, human beings act towards things on the basis of attached meanings; secondly, such meanings are derived from interactions with other humans; and thirdly, these meanings are interpreted differently by different individuals. Symbolic interactionism is primarily used by Shaffir (1995: see also Heilman, 1976) to justify in-depth ethnographic accounts (rather than the perspective of the detached observer), and, while this is undoubtedly appropriate (see chapter five), he fails to show the value of the approach beyond its methodological possibilities.

El-Or (1994) uses a more advanced theoretical approach, arguing that orthodoxy can best be understood through an examination of boundary conflicts and the ways in which potential paradoxes are resolved (as in the conceptions of secular Jewry: see above). El-Or's approach (which has obvious parallels to Barth's (1969) study of boundaries; although strangely she does not reference him) is one with which I have much sympathy, and in the following chapter I also outline the importance of studying boundaries (although from a different perspective). El-Or's account is

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[20] The symbolic interactionist approach has also been used in geography, notably by Duncan (1978) who sought to extend the schema to include, for example, Berger and Luckman's theories on social constructionism and the processes of reification and alienation (see also Gregory, 1994a).

influenced by feminist concerns, and similar to Blumen (1999), Davidman and Stocks (1995), Kaufman (1995) and Morris (1995), she argues for studies that go beyond neutral academic accounts of 'the way it is', and which question, in their examples, the patriarchal structure of orthodoxy. Feminist approaches are one of the few spheres of orthodox research that have made theoretical progress since the time of Wirth (1998). As such, while a reasonably large knowledge base regarding the primary features of research on orthodox communities has now been established (at least in the United States and to a lesser extent in Israel), theoretical understandings remain weak.

In terms of identity and space, studies of orthodoxy have tended to characterise their subjects in fairly static and bounded ways. This criticism applies particularly to the (few) geographical accounts of orthodoxy so that Shilhav (1983a, 1984, 1993: see also Hershkowitz, 1987), for example, characterises how 'they' (Haredi Jews) attempt to separate from 'us' (secular Israeli society) by defending 'their' neighbourhoods (see above). Such a conception downplays the enormous differences within orthodoxy, labelling people as either 'same' and 'other'; a characteristic fundamental to his use of the choice and constraint model (as also discussed earlier). Other academics pay more attention to differences between the various sects, but theoretical understandings of the fractured and contingent nature of orthodox identities remain limited. In particular, little use has been made of post-positivist conceptions of identity and hybridity, tools which are potentially central to understanding contemporary orthodox lifestyles and for recognising the positionality of researchers' accounts (see chapter five). These absences are ones that I specifically address in the following chapter, which maps out a theoretical framework for understanding contemporary orthodoxy which is sensitive to issues of identity and space.

Summary

In the first half of the chapter I reviewed social research on British Jewry, noting how the majority of these studies have been quantitative analyses into changing demographic or residential patterns. Such studies map out many of the general

characteristics of Anglo-Jewish life, but are necessarily limited in their ability to gain in-depth contextual understandings. In addition, studies have tended to have a London bias, and have also largely ignored ever-increasing orthodox populations. Moreover, these studies, and particularly those concerned with geographical patterns, have been informed by theoretical models which have since been extensively critiqued.

In the second half of the chapter I examined research on orthodox communities, which has tended to examine four (overlapping) themes: social structures and systems of authority; key institutions; community and communal events; and the construction of social and spatial boundaries. These studies reveal many of the foundations of orthodox life, providing key substantive details that will help the reader make sense of the Broughton Park community discussed in the second half of this thesis. In some measure, my thesis acts as a dialogue with this previous research, providing new inflexions on their findings through the theoretical, methodological and empirical discussions of the following chapters (as drawn together in chapter nine). In particular, the thesis addresses three key absences and failings in the literature: firstly, theoretical approaches have been inadequate in terms of the importance of identity and space (see chapters three and four); secondly, research has tended to concentrate on dramatic and conflictual events, with a tendency to exoticise orthodox lifestyles (see chapter five); thirdly, there are very few studies outside of the United States and Israel (see chapters six to nine).

CHAPTER THREE

IDENTITY, SPACE AND BOUNDARIES

Introduction

> 'All attempts to institute horizons, to establish boundaries, to secure
> the identity of places, can ... be seen to be attempts to stabilize the
> meaning of particular envelopes of space-time. They are attempts to
> get to grips with the unutterable mobility and contingency of space-
> time ... For such attempts at the stabilization of meaning are
> constantly the site of social contest, battles over the power to label
> space-time, to impose the meaning to be attributed to a space.'
> (Massey, 1994a: 5)

Boundaries, as Smith (1995) informs us, are at the heart of social science research. Whether it is the drawing of lines on a map, the physical construction of the 'peace-line' in West Belfast (Boal, 1969), the symbolic boundaries of carnivals and fairs (Cohen, 1985; Jackson, 1988, 1992), or the divisions 'in the mind' that separate 'them' from 'us' (see for example Sibley, 1981, 1995), it is clear that boundaries matter. Nevertheless, academic conceptions of boundaries have changed dramatically through the intervention of post-modern, post-structuralist and post-colonial thought (summarised as 'post-positivist' from here onwards): simplistic divisions separating nation from nation, coloniser from colonised, self from other are no longer tenable in a globalised world. Binaries are increasingly challenged, so that boundaries enclosing space and identity are no longer conceived of as fixed and stable, but rather as fluid, fragmented, constructed and porous. Essentialisms (as 'natural' and 'authentic' divisions of humanity) are (and should be) abandoned according to these analyses, so that identities are conceived of as the product of hegemony, constructed out of the myth of narration: '[i]dentity is a fiction which must be continually established as a truth. Indeed, the practice of authority is revealed in the moment where identity is considered as truth and forgets that it has been authored at all' (Pile and Thrift, 1995: 49).

This chapter analyses such post-positivist conceptions of identity and space, building on the critiques of older geographic (and sociological) understandings of ethnic groups and segregation (discussed in chapter two), and serving to frame the empirical (and also methodological: see chapter five) materials in this thesis. Nevertheless, while acknowledging the value of post-positivist understandings of space and identity as dynamic and potentially resistant, I also discuss, following the work of geographers such as Pratt (1999), Smith (1993, 1995) and Wheatley (1971), the need to be sensitive to the attempts by particular people in particular contexts to resist these movements so as to *stabilise, fix* and *institutionalise* notions of identity and space.

In the first half of the chapter, I discuss recent theoretical understandings of identity and the processes of hybridisation that are (seemingly) inevitable in a (post)modern world. I then examine attempts to resist these processes through the construction of exclusionary identities and communities. In the second half of the chapter I discuss conceptualisations of space which are similarly conceived of as fluid and in motion, before examining attempts to stabilise and to bound particular localities. In this way, I show how conceptions of space and identity mirror (and are intertwined with) each other. I suggest that, in resisting global homogenising forces, attempts to stabilise and to defend identity and space can, in certain circumstances, be moments to be celebrated. Nonetheless, integral to such attempts is the denial or institutionalisation of internal differences, and the exclusionary markings of 'insider' and 'outsider'. Bounding identity and space involves a complex mixture of hegemony and subversion which clouds attempts at simplistic value-judgements.

Identity

'Identity is people's source of meaning and experience' (Castells, 1997: 6). It resides in 'the senses of self, of who one is and is not, of what one can do and cannot do' (Parr and Philo, 1995: 199). It is given by 'who one thinks one is, what one believes and what one does' (Sarup, 1996: xv). Gay, straight, bisexual; Sunni Muslim, Presbyterian Protestant, Jehovah's Witness; black, white; British, Scottish, Highlander; male, female; child, pensioner: 'identity provides a way of

understanding the interplay between our subjective experiences of the world and the cultural and historical settings in which that fragile subjectivity is formed ... [I]dentity can help us to comprehend the formation of that fateful pronoun 'we' and to reckon with the patterns of inclusion and exclusion that it cannot but help to create' (Gilroy, 1997: 301-302). Identity can be a messy and complex business. For the performance artist Gomez-Peña (in Watts, 1997: 494) it is a source of confusion, a changing process of de-Mexicanisation, a journey with no definite end or at least no definite name:

> 'Who are we exactly? The off-spring of the synthesis, or the victims of the fragmentation; the victims of double colonialism or the bearers of a new vision ... What the hell are we? De-Mexicanised Mexicans, pre-Chicanos, cholopunks, or something that still has no name.'

Identity is not a stable substance, a natural prescription with which one can say for certain 'who one is'. Identity is a process, a point of 'suture', 'points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us' (Hall, 1996: 5). Identity is moving, although it is rarely presented as such:

> "[W]hat one always sees when one examines or opens up ... [a national identity is that it] represents itself as perfectly natural: born an Englishman, always will be, condensed, homogenous, arbitrary. What is the point of an identity if it isn't one thing?" (Hall, 1991a: 22, in Pred, 1997: 127)

One only needs to think of the ideologies of nationalism, patriarchy, apartheid or homophobia to see how identities are often presented as fixed and stable. Sarup (1996: xv) asks the simple question 'who am I?', and turns to his passport for guidance: it tells him that he is a British citizen. The identification he has been given does not fit in with his sense of self, however, since 'it reminds me of the scars of imperialism, the days of the Raj.' Yet equally his passport states that he is male, his photograph here positions him (depending on who is asking the question) in the category of 'black' or 'Asian', while his surname may place him within a particular caste or religion. What post-positivist social theories have made clear is that the

identifications with which we (and there are few, if any, who fall outside of this 'we') are so commonly ascribed (and which we ascribe to ourselves) are not natural, but are constructed.

The conceptual realisation that identities are not 'natural' and are socially constructed has been one of the central underpinnings of the 'new cultural geography' that has developed over the last decade. Drawing on theories of nationalism that cast nations as 'imagined communities' (B. Anderson, 1983: although see also Sharp, 1996; Chatterjee, 1996) centred around 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), as well as on ideas of social constructionism (Berger and Luckman, 1967), social theorists have demonstrated how, in particular, ideas of 'race' and nation are not 'natural, God-given way[s] of classifying men [sic]' (Gellner, 1983: 48: see also K. Anderson, 1991; Jackson, 1987, 1989; Jackson and Penrose, 1993; Penrose, 1994). Yet beyond these critiques has been the recognition that individual identities and subjectivities are equally constructed:

> '[W]hat about the subject? About the exactitudes of this term there is remarkably little agreement, except that the subject is a primary element of being and that the Cartesian notion of the subject as a unitary being made up of disparate parts, mind and body, which is universal, neutral and gender-free, is in error. Nowadays, the subject and subjectivity are more likely to be conceived of as rooted in the spatial home of the body, and therefore situated, as composed of and by a 'federation' of different discourses/persona, united and orchestrated to a greater or lesser extent by narrative ...' (Pile and Thrift, 1995: 11)

Pile and Thrift (1995) attempt to provide a map of this fragmented and constructed subject using the metaphor of 'wandering' to represent different and sometimes contrasting subject positions, and to steer away from an all-seeing vision of a bounded self.

> 'Identity is always a temporary and unstable effect of relations which define identities by marking differences. Thus the emphasis here is

on the multiplicity of identities and differences rather than on a singular identity and on the connections or articulations between the fragments or differences.' (Grossberg, 1996: 89)

Crucial to these debates are questions of hybridity, on which I now concentrate.

Hybridity

'The legacy of colonialism negates the possibility of a unitary, stable English identity. Colonial powers superimposed European knowledge, and thus also European value-systems, upon indigenous peoples across the globe. After colonial contact, how could either the colonizer or colonized represent itself as culturally 'pure'?' (Sharp, 1994: 67)

'The notion that identity ... [can] be told as two histories, one over here, one over there, never having spoken to one another, never having anything to do with one another, when translated from the psychoanalytic to the historical terrain is simply not tenable any more in an increasingly globalised world. It is just not tenable any longer.' (Hall, 1991b: 48, in Pile and Thrift, 1995: 21)

Ideas of hybridity, creolisation, *mestizaje*, syncretism, interculturation and in-betweenness are at the centre of postcolonial studies (Loomba, 1998). This represents a recognition that subjects are often positioned 'in-between' (or across) domains of difference like race, class and gender, in the 'interstices' where these domains intersect (Pile and Thrift, 1995: 18). It arises to address the difficulty of explaining the experiences of 'the Korean Buddhist chemical engineer, recently arrived from three years in Argentina, who becomes a Christian greengrocer in Harlem', or of the 'Guyanese Indian New Yorker who served on the Howard Beach trial jury' (Watts, 1997: 494). Global interconnections are increasing as people, products and ideas come into ever greater contact (Hannerz, 1996: although note Massey's discussion of 'power geometry' discussed below), and academics have responded. As Cartesian notions of identity are increasingly abandoned, and the

stability and 'naturalness' of 'races', nations and the like are revealed as myth, the movements and flows of cultural practices become increasingly central (see Lavie and Swedenburg, 1996).

To make sense of these flows and movements I concentrate initially on Bhabha's (1994) controversial ideas about both hybridity and the moments where 'cultures' interconnect. Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* opens with a quote from Heidegger: 'The boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which *something begins its presencing*' (in Bhabha, 1994: 1). This opening quote sets the basis for his argument for thinking *beyond* the singularities of 'initial' subjectivities such as class and gender, and instead to focus on the 'in-between' spaces, the interstices and the overlaps of primary identifications. Developing the thoughts of the African-American artist Renée Green, Bhabha (1994: 4) uses the metaphor of the stairwell as a 'liminal space', the 'connective tissue' that constructs the difference between binary categories, an interstitial passage which (crucially) 'opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy'. This act of going 'beyond' suggests future possibilities, a 'Third space' (Bhabha, 1990a, 1994) that, by its very act, disrupts and displaces the present by re-describing cultural contemporaneity and commonality:

> 'All forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives ... The process of cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation.' (Bhabha, 1990a: 211)

Bhabha's hybridity rests on the disruption of binaries and the challenging of colonial domination: 'there is no recognition of master and slave, there is only the matter of the enslaved master, the unmastered slave' (Bhabha, 1994: 131). Through

understandings of 'ambivalence', 'mimicry', 'sly civility' and 'stereotypes', Bhabha disrupts conceptual notions of a unidirectional colonial power over the colonised[1]. Identity does not reside in isolated self-images, but always in relation to the Other:

> '[T]he question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a *self*-fulfilling prophecy - it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image. The demand of identification - that is, to be *for* an Other - entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of otherness. Identification ... is always the return of an image that bears the mark of splitting in the Other place from which it comes.' (Bhabha, 1994: 45)

As Childs and Williams (1997) explain, it is only through the Other that the subject can locate its desire for difference and construct its fantasy of the same. What is the coloniser without the colonised? Bhabha draws on the writings of Fanon to show how there is a splitting of the colonised subject (and note the importance of psychoanalysis in conceptions of hybridity), a desire to be in the master's place while retaining the slave's '*avenging* anger'. Yet for Bhabha, the coloniser is equally split, and through (intentional or otherwise) acts of resistance, the slaves can disrupt the master (narrative). In this way, Bhabha describes the colonial strategy of mimicry which seeks to create an Other which is moulded according to the definitions of the dominant authority (it is also a strategy, as Childs and Williams (1997) point out, that seeks to exclude through inclusion so that, by offering to accept the 'good native', the 'bad native' can be rejected). Yet mimicry is ambivalent, requiring the native to be both similar and dissimilar to the coloniser, and this disturbs and threatens colonial subjectivity: '[w]ith mimicry the authoritative discourse becomes displaced as the colonizer sees traces of *himself* in the colonized: as sameness slides into otherness' (Childs and Williams, 1997: 130). If a 'dirty Nigger' can be Anglicised, what does it mean to be 'English'? 'The effect of hybridity on the colonizer is

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[1] Here Bhabha moves away from Said's (1978) notions of *Orientalism*, in which the West constructs an imaginative geography of the East (as mystic and romantic, but also cruel and less human than 'us' in the West), which serves to legitimise Western colonialism. Bhabha argues that Said's binaries - East/West, coloniser/colonised - are too simplistic and are, in reality, more imbued with resistance (Childs and Williams, 1997).

paranoia, a feeling of persecution; and once more resistance, in the shape of an anxiety spread throughout authority, is built into the application of colonial power' (Childs and Williams, 1997: 137).

These rather abstract notions of hybridity, ambivalence and mimicry can be grounded in Bhabha's tale of 'Signs taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817' (see also Childs and Williams, 1997). In this essay, Bhabha recites the experiences of an early Indian catechist, Anund Messeh, who comes across a number of people sitting under a tree talking about the Bible:

> 'Anund pointed to the name of Jesus, and asked, 'Who is that?' 'That is God! He gave us this book.' - 'Where did you obtain it?' An Angel from heaven gave it us, at Hurdwar fair.' - 'An Angel?' 'Yes, to us he was God's Angel: but he was a man, a learned Pundit.' (Doubtless these translated Gospels must have been the books distributed, five or six years ago, at Hurdwar by the Missionary.) 'The written copies we write ourselves, having no other means of obtaining more of this blessed word.' - 'These books,' said Anund, 'teach the religion of the European Sahibs. It is THEIR book; and they printed it in our language, for our use.' 'Ah! no,' replied the stranger, 'that cannot be, for they eat flesh.'' (The Missionary Register, in Bhabha, 1994: 103)

At the background of this narrative has been a meeting of two cultures - missionary and native - and it is at this point of contact that the *process* of hybridisation begins. In this tale there is no passive acceptance of the '*English* book' that comes from the colonial masters: 'that cannot be, for they eat flesh.' In this borderline experience, the binary between master and slave is disrupted as the meaning of the Bible is twisted beyond the control of the English colonisers, and this, for Bhabha, is an act of resistance. Bhabha (1994: 100) argues that resistance is not necessarily an oppositional and intentional political act, or even the exclusion of another culture, it is also the effect of an ambivalence inherent to the process of dominant discourses:

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'The native refusal to unify the authoritarian, colonialist address within the terms of civil engagement gives the subject of colonial authority - father and oppressor - another turn. This ambivalent 'and', always less than one and double, traces the times and spaces between civil address and colonial articulation. The authoritarian demand can now only be justified if it is contained in the language of paranoia. The refusal to return and restore the image of authority to the eye of power.'

Bhabha's ideas of hybridity and Third space as mechanisms for resisting domination parallel those of bell hooks (1991) and Anzaldúa (1987), who both examine the margins as (potential) sites of resistance:

'When Bob Marley sings, "We refuse to be what you want us to be, we are what we are, and that's the way it's going to be," that space of refusal, where one can say no to the colonizer, no to the downpressor, is located in the margins ... Understanding marginality as position and place of resistance is crucial for oppressed, exploited, colonized people. If we only view the margin as a sign marking the despair, a deep nihilism penetrates in a destructive way the very ground of our being.' (bell hooks, 1991: 150)

bell hooks refuses to be imprisoned by a colonial discourse which equates black with non-white, arguing that it is for African-American women to define who they are, and which for her means *choosing* the margins as a site of resistance. Anzaldúa (1987) also sees the margins, or rather the borderlands (in the spatial sense of the *tejas*-Mexican border), as a site for a new (*mestiza*) consciousness in which the hybridisation of different cultures can (in admittedly complex and problematic ways: see below) be celebrated. Similarly, Gilroy (1993, 1997) and Hall (1990) use the term 'diaspora' as a metaphor for celebrating the routes (not roots) of black identities, in which, out of the fusions of forced migration, slavery and inter-cultural contacts, something new and vibrant is produced. For Gilroy (1993) this becomes apparent through the black music of blues, reggae, jazz, soul and rap which have all been formed through the fusions of different cultural traditions from across the 'black

Atlantic' (see also Dwyer, 1999). Such celebrations of diaspora directly contrast with the more traditional use of the term in relation to the (mythical and practical) Jewish desire for a return to Zion.

> 'I use this term [diaspora] here metaphorically, not literally: diaspora does not refer us to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must return at all costs, even if it means pushing other people into the sea. This is the old, the imperialism, the hegemonising, form of 'ethnicity'. We have seen the fate of the people of Palestine at the hands of this backward-looking conception of diaspora - and the complicity of the West with it. The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity.' (Hall, 1990: 235)[2]

The potential value of conceptions of hybridity, Third space and diaspora to challenge and disrupt static conceptions of identity, and hence the dualistic epistemologies of male/female, public/private, white/black, culture/nature or time/space (in which the first term is invariably privileged: Pile, 1994; Rose, 1993; WGSG, 1997), is certainly exciting. Nonetheless, conceptions of hybridity and Third space have generated criticism from accusations of vagueness and detachment, to arguments that they theoretically erase the distinction between the powerful and the less powerful while, in practice, these systems of domination remain in place (Bondi, 1993; Mitchell, 1997; Peet, 1997; Pratt, 1999; Rose, 1995)[3]. Indeed, notions such as hybridity are potentially as discriminatory as they are emancipatory, and which is most clearly seen through an examination of the origins and definitions of the term.

R. Young (1995) traces the origins of the term 'hybridity' to biology and botany and to Victorian discussions about different 'races', and to the envisaged consequences, in terms of fertility and moral retention, of 'interbreeding'. In these nineteenth

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[2] This use of the term 'diaspora' obviously has particular relevance to this thesis, and I will return to its claims in chapter nine.

[3] Academics have been particularly critical of Soja's (1996) use of 'Thirdspace' as a mechanism to radically re-think human spatiality through the (theoretical) destruction of dualisms. Soja has been accused of an over-exuberance which verges on the ridiculous (see Barnett, 1997).

century discussions about hybridity, Young (1995: 18) identifies five different positions:

'1. the straightforward polygenist species argument: the denial that different peoples can mix at all; any product of a union between them is infertile, or infertile after a generation or two; so that even where people intermingle physically, they retain their own differences ... ;

2. the amalgamation thesis: the claim that all humans can interbreed prolifically and in an unlimited way; sometimes accompanied by the 'melting pot' notion that the mixing of people produces a new mixed race, with merged but distinct new physical and moral characteristics;

3. the decomposition thesis: an admission that some 'amalgamation' between people may take place, but that any mixed breeds either die out quickly or revert to one or other of the permanent parent 'types';

4. the argument that hybridity varies between 'proximate' and 'distant' species: unions between allied races are fertile, those between distant either are infertile or tend to degeneration. ... This became the dominant view from the 1850s to the 1930s;

5. the negative version of the amalgamation thesis, namely the idea that miscegenation produces a mongrel group that makes up a 'raceless chaos', merely a corruption of the originals, degenerate and degraded, threatening to subvert the vigour and virtue of the pure races with which they come into contact.'

In its most simplistic (biological) sense, hybridity implies 'a disruption and forcing together of any unlike living things, grafting a vine or a rose on to a different root stock, *making difference into sameness*' (Young, 1995: 26, my emphasis). This definition (and at least four out of the five positions outlined above) hardly ties in with post-positivist conceptions of the term that often emphasise the political potential of the term. In the nineteenth century, 'hybridity' was incorporated into the language of the Victorian extreme right (through fears of inter-mixings), and hence the warnings for present-day usage (Mitchell, 1997; Young, 1995). Young (1995: see also Werbner, 1997) suggests that one way to clear up definitional confusions is by distinguishing between 'organic' senses of the term (whereby cultures or

languages 'naturally' mix and fuse) and 'intentionality' (where discourses are intentionally subverted in acts of resistance). According to Bhabha's (1994) analysis, however, these two uses of hybridity are intertwined, and resistance is inherent (whether intentional or otherwise) in any power-laden interaction. It is Bhabha's use of the term that I principally adopt in this thesis, although I take issue with the idea of hybridity as always such a resistant and celebratory process, as I now explain in more detail.

For Anzaldúa (1987: 194: see also Rose, 1995), ideas of *mestizaje* certainly offer the hope of a 'new consciousness', but nonetheless it would be myopic to downplay the Borderlands as a place that is also imbued with violence, prejudice and fear.

> 'To live in the Borderlands means you
>
> > are neither hispana india negra española
> >
> > ni gabacha, eres mestiza, mulata, half-breed
> >
> > caught in the crossfire between camps
> >
> > while carrying all five races on your back
> >
> > not knowing which side to turn to, run from;

> To live in the Borderlands means knowing
>
> > that the india in you, betrayed for 500 years,
> >
> > is no longer speaking to you,
> >
> > that mexicanas call you rajetas,
> >
> > that denying the Anglo inside you
> >
> > is as bad as having denied the Indian or Black[4].'

Moreover, Bhabha's (1994) vision of the relationship between Self/Other (as inherently resistant), can also be read through a much more negative, and less optimistic lens.

> '[I]dentities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing notion that it is only through the relation

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[4] '*gabacha*, a Chicano term for a white woman ... *rajetas*, literally, 'split', that is, having betrayed your word' (Anzaldúa, 1987: 195).

to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its *constitutive outside* that the 'positive' meaning of the term - and thus its 'identity' - can be constructed ... Through their careers, identities can function as points of identification and attachment only because of their capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render 'outside', abjected.' (Hall, 1996: 4-5)

Identity as defined against the Other (I am Serb because I am not Croat) remains a powerful (conscious and unconscious) component of identity construction (Woodward, 1997). While the relationship between Same and Other may not be unidirectional, exclusionary identities (or at least the attempts to secure exclusionary identities) have hardly been abandoned (Bondi, 1993). Boundary construction remains central to how individuals and groups practise and understand their lives, and recognising these *anti*-hybrid forces remains critical (Friedman, 1997; Werbner, 1997).

Taking seriously the writings of Bhabha and other post-positivist theorists means that thinking in terms of isolated *Gemeinschaft*[5] groups has become theoretically invalid: hybridisation is always taking place. Nevertheless, the world has not suddenly become homogenous, and group identities, for example in terms of revived nationalism, remain incredibly powerful. Moreover, recognising that the boundaries around self and group are fluid, and that identities are constructed, does not (or should not) deny that many people still retain a strong sense (or imagination) of 'who they are', and that this in itself can be an important element of resistance.

Pratt (1999) discusses Filipino domestic workers attempts to carve out identities (and spaces) within the confines of other people's homes. Through, for example, simple acts such as choosing to cook food that reminds them of home, or decorating their personal bedrooms in a style of *their* choosing, these women construct (social and

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[5] The Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft dichotomy is associated with Tönnies, with the former referring to 'forms of human association based on sentiment, loyalty, informality and close personal contact' (often associated with the traditional village community), and the latter, 'associations which are contractual in nature, rational, depersonalised and purged of emotion' (Cater and Jones, 1989: 171). Tönnies believed that through industrialisation and urbanisation, society was moving from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft which, he argued, was a trend to be deplored; 'membership of state,

spatial) boundaries as mechanisms of resistance. As such, Pratt warns of the dangers of over-valuing mobility and hybridity at the expense of boundaries:

> 'Marking boundaries, insisting on the materiality and persistence of differences, may be as politically productive as blurring them in notions of mobility, hybridity and thirdspace.' (Pratt, 1999: 164)

This conception is at the (theoretical) heart of this thesis. While recognising that boundaries may be porous, and the basis for identity grounded in myth and narration (see Bhabha, 1990b[6]), it would be foolish (theoretically and practically) to pretend that there has been a universal loss of meaning (see Woodward, 1997).

> 'This new society is characterised by mass migrations and bizarre interracial relations. As a result new hybrid and transitional identities are emerging ... The bankrupt notion of the melting pot has been replaced by a model that is more germane to the times, that of the menudo chowder. According to this model, most of the ingredients do melt, but some stubborn chunks are condemned merely to float.' (Gomez-Peña, in Bhabha, 1994: 218-219)

While such 'stubborn chunks' (recognising that these are themselves constituted and constructed out of different 'ingredients') can, similar to Hall's conceptions of diaspora, be seen as reactionary, they may also be considered as moments to be taken seriously, even celebrated on occasion. What I will argue in the next section is that we need to consider these 'stubborn chunks' of identity, and the processes whereby certain groups (and in particular ultra-Orthodox Jews) attempt to create identities and communities which are exclusionary. Through the erection of social boundaries, a firm separation between 'them' and 'us' is sought, a stabilising and a fixing of identity (see also Pratt, 1999).

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nation, firm, trade union or professional association was no substitute for community as a source of personal identity' (Cater and Jones, 1989: 171).
[6] As Bennington (1990: 121, see also Sharp, 1996) argues, 'we undoubtedly find narration at the centre of nation: stories of national origins, myths of founding fathers, genealogies of heroes. At the origin of the nation, we find a story of the nation's origin.'

Resistant identities and exclusionary communities

'The ideal of community ... privileges unity over difference, immediacy over mediation, sympathy over recognition of the limits of one's understanding of others from their point of view ... [Furthermore] a desire for unity or wholeness in discourse generates borders, dichotomies, and exclusions.' (Young, 1990: 300-301)

I.M. Young's (1990) analysis challenges (romantic) notions of community which seek to present a unified collective as an alternative to (liberal) individualism[7]. Young (1990: 316) argues that in these notions of community, differences are suppressed, racism and bigotry may be far from absent, and boundaries are still created between different groups. As a universal model of society, it is therefore 'wildly utopian and undesirable'. For Young (1990: 319), the solution lies in a 'politics of difference' which 'lays down institutional and ideological means for recognizing and affirming differently identifying groups in two basic senses: giving political representation to group interests and celebrating the distinctive cultures and characteristics of different groups'. While acknowledging the importance of Young's critiques, it is also necessary to recognise that community constructions may, as Mohammad (1999) shows, involve the clear demarcation of *internal* boundaries. Mohammad discusses the reassertion of Muslim identities that have occurred following the Salman Rushdie affair (involving demonstrations against the publication of *The Satanic Verses*), arguing that reactions to the book have highlighted differences between the Muslim diaspora and surrounding British society, creating a more cohesive imagined community in opposition to the West. Nonetheless, there has also been a corresponding reassertion of gender discrimination, involving male pressure to restrict (through dress, education, work and other social interactions) women's interactions with potentially corrupting 'others' (such as men who are not close family members or white people). In this example, reassertions of community have reinforced and *institutionalised*[8] gender roles and internal boundaries.

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[7] 'Under the liberal model of selfhood, communitarians say, not only can we not develop ourselves as good persons, we cannot develop good (or stable) societies, because there is no possibility of common moral discourse or idea of the common good' (Bounds, 1997: 4).

[8] In the sense of structuring, ordering and regulating behaviour (see Eisenstadt, 1964).

Both Young (1990) and Mohammad (1999) emphasise the importance of boundaries (even though Young seeks a model of community that tolerates and even celebrates differences), but for Rose (1997a, drawing on the ideas of Nancy) it is possible to conceive of a radical alternative in which the lines are purposely left undrawn. In this 'inoperative community' labels are never defined, and community works through participation and performance (in this case, community arts projects in Edinburgh) in the spaces between fixed categories. By never defining 'insider' and 'outsider' (except when strategically appealing for funding), 'community' can be envisaged as connections which are constantly in process. In this way, Rose argues, the participants resist the binary labelling of powerful and powerless by stepping outside of the positions structured for them by discourse. For Rose (1997a: 187), this conception is a much more radical option than the appeal to the 'myth' of community, with its appeal to sameness:

> 'Nancy ... makes clear the political failure of this myth of community, whether deployed by Nazism to authenticate both Volk and Reich or by Soviet Communism to legitimate labour as the essence of the human. Myth, for Nancy, is nothing less than the will to power. The myth of community is the myth of rational, transparent, transcendent subjects denying difference from themselves.'

Without denying the potential value of notions of 'inoperative community' as a radical alternative, as a more generalised conception it may be unrealistic and indeed counter-productive for attempts by certain groups to maintain survival. Thinking about the 'black' community in the United States, for example, Bounds (1997) highlights two radically different conceptions for black emancipation; those of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. For King, the 'beloved community' was one where black identity was integrated into a unified (yet plural) United States that was free from slavery and intolerance. Malcolm X, in contrast, argued for separation (rather than segregation which is 'forced' by others) of blacks from whites: 'I'm not an American. I'm one of the twenty-two million black people who are the victims of Americanism' (in Bounds, 1997: 98). Both models are certainly open to criticism: King's for a romantic and unrealistic harmonious vision similar to that of the communitarians, and Malcolm X for advancing a model based on exclusion and

reaffirming beliefs of racial purity[9]. Nevertheless, both models maintained a clear identification of, and pride in, black identity. Freedom from slavery meant standing up and being counted as part of a shared tradition: community required a clear sense of identity (and *vice-versa*). In terms of African-American traditions, survival has necessitated a strong sense of shared responsibility, 'for as isolated individuals, black people could not have endured and resisted' (Bounds, 1997: 108).

Bounded notions of identity are also particularly evident in Gypsy[10] cultures in which there are definite boundaries separating 'insider' from 'outsider', 'pure' from 'defiled' (Sibley, 1981, 1995). Gypsies live in an marginalised state, frequently excluded from mainstream society as 'other' and labelled through a host of stereotypes (dirty, disorderly, promiscuous, exotic). Nevertheless, just as the dominant seek to exclude others, minorities may likewise attempt to create and to defend their own 'purified communities'. For Gypsies, maintaining purity involves clear rules about sexual conduct and interaction with 'gauje' (non-Gypsy) practices. The desire for separation can come from 'within' as well as 'without'. By exploring both sides of this boundary, it is possible to salvage some of the ideas of the choice and constraint model (see chapter two) so that, while recognising that identities are constructed, fragmented, never pure and are structured by power relations, individual and group agency is not downplayed. Gypsy 'culture' is certainly 'exclusionary', but as a term this should not entail an automatic value-judgement. As bell hooks (1990: 130) explains: 'One exciting dimension to cultural studies is the critique of essentialist notions of difference. Yet this critique should not become a means to dismiss differences or an excuse for ignoring the authority of experience.' Experiences remain 'valid', even if they are not simplistically 'true' or uncontested (Bondi, 1993).

Sibley's (1995, 1999) discussions of Gypsy cultures are centred on people's unconscious desires to separate from those imagined to be different, which he explains with reference to a psychoanalytic object-relations approach[11]. The merits

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[9] Although note that his ideas did change prior to his assassination (see X and Haley, 1965).
[10] Note that the term 'Gypsy' is sometimes used in a pejorative sense, with terms such as 'travellers' or 'travelling people' preferred (Sibley, 1981). In this thesis, however, I am guided by Sibley (1995) who uses 'Gypsy' in his discussions of geographies of exclusion.
[11] According to an object-relations approach, the child gradually develops a sense of self that is separate from its mother. This realisation leads to an ambivalent relationship (the mother is 'good'

of object-relations approaches are open to question, although the importance of many people's desires to classify and to structure their universe is less controversial (Woodward, 1997). Douglas's (1966) work is seminal in this respect (particularly in relation to this thesis) in which she shows how, for example, the Books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy are dominated by a desire to divide the world into pure and impure, sacred and profane, wherein hybridity is considered a threat to community[12]. In these sacred texts, a system is established to classify the world through, for example, permissible food consumption and admissible sexual practice.

'[I]deas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgressions have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience. It is only by exaggerating the difference between within and without, above and below, male and female, with and against, that a semblance of order is created.' (Douglas, 1966: 4)

This system of regulation, control and ordering of society is central to understanding ancient and contemporary Judaism; an institutionalisation of society and space underpinned by beliefs in the divine authority of sacred texts (see chapter four). These attempts (always in progress and never uncontested) to create a coherent, regulated and above all bounded society run through the heart of this thesis, in which the construction of social and spatial boundaries to resist 'corrupting' outside influences (and the forces of hybridisation) is a major element. While bounded constructions of identity and community are, as we have seen, frequently conceptualised in negative terms, it is also important to recognise that the exclusion of others can be an act of the weak, as well as of the strong. In resisting homogenising forces, exclusionary tactics can be conceived of as moments to be celebrated (although, of course, this is itself a value judgement and open to dispute). Nonetheless, this is not to deny that the price of exclusionary identities is potentially to deny or to regulate internal difference, and to silence counter-hegemonic voices.

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because she provides nourishment, shelter and love, but also 'bad' because she does not constantly and instantly provide for all that the child desires). In response, the child learns to displace negative feelings on to those perceived to be different. This leads to processes of abjection whereby the subject seeks to expel the 'unclean', a condition which is impossible to completely achieve (Pile, 1996; Sibley, 1995).

Space

> 'Not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area. In scholarly use it was generally accompanied by some such epithet as 'Euclidean', 'isotropic', or 'infinite', and the general feeling was that the concept of space was ultimately a mathematical one. To speak of 'social space', therefore, would have sounded strange.' (Lefebvre, 1991: 1)

Contemporary human geography has seen an increasing alertness to the importance of space in understanding social relations. Drawing in particular on the French theorists Lefebvre and Foucault[13], geographers have attempted to insert the spatial into social theory (for example, Soja, 1980; Driver, 1985; Philo, 1992). With Massey and Allen's (1984) claim that 'geography matters!', and Soja's (1980, 1989) call to heed the importance of the 'socio-spatial dialectic'[14], critical human geography has moved to a realisation that, not only is space socially constructed, but so too is society spatially constituted (see for example Peet, 1998). That space matters is no longer controversial, yet theorising exactly how the spatial interacts with the social is more difficult.

Space is, as many geographers have recognised (Gregory, 1994b; Massey, 1994b; Sharp, 1999a), an extremely difficult word to define. Blaut (1961), for example, classically distinguished between *absolute* and *relative* conceptions of space, with the chosen definition informing whether geography was to develop as a particularising or a generalising science. Conceptions of absolute space are associated with regional geography (the classic work being Hartshorne, 1939), in which the earth's land

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[12] Note also the importance of Durkheim's discussion on divisions between sacred and profane, and on how culture, in the form of rituals, symbols and classifications, is central to the (re)production of meaning and social relations (see Woodward, 1997).

[13] Foucault's (1980: 149, cited in Agnew and Duncan, 1989: 1) classic argument is that: '[s]pace was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the other hand, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic ... The use of spatial terms, seems to have the air of anti-history. If one started to talk in terms of space that meant that one was hostile to time. It meant, as the fools say, that one 'denied history' ... They didn't understand that [these spatial terms] ... meant the throwing into relief of processes - historical ones, needless to say - of power.'

surface is divided into more or less neat natural and human units: effectively *space* as made up of separated *places*. The failings of older regional geography are well known (see for example Gregory, 1994c), but in particular the notion that the world can be divided into homogenous areal units has been heavily criticised (in many ways mirroring the attack on the Cartesian view of the subject as equally bounded and secure).

In response to the perceived failings of regional geography, post-Second World War spatial science (heralded by Schaefer, 1953) adopted relative conceptions of integrated *spaces*. Such conceptions concentrated on relations, understood in terms of distance and geometry, between different phenomena through which it was possible to replicate and to generalise theories (see Gregory, 1994b, 1994d). Spatial science has, of course, been heavily criticised itself, ranging from humanistic calls for the acceptance of human agency and a recognition of 'sense of place' (Ley and Samuels, 1978), to Marxist complaints that, in concentrating on the spatial, the (political) importance of the social is ignored (Harvey, 1973). Furthermore, as Sharp (1999a: 258) points out, it can be argued that, 'despite their apparent central focus upon space, spatial scientists actually reduced space to a transparent and homogenous backdrop to their neoliberal calculations of friction of distance, location and so on'. While not denying these criticisms (far from it, in fact), there is a danger of cartoonising spatial science, and of denying potentially useful notions here for understanding space. In particular, visions of space as involving movements, networks, nodes and geometries parallel more recent understandings of, in particular, the space of capital (Swyngedouw, 1992[15]). It is possible to salvage certain spatial-scientific understandings of space (too often conceived of as the demon 'other'), chiefly by applying them through the lens of a post-positivist geography in which difference and power are taken seriously. As such, I draw on Massey's (1994b: 264-265) conception of space (/time) as a network of nodes and flows:

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[14] Now conceived of as a 'trialectic' (Soja, 1996, 1999).

[15] In this way, capital flows between the key financial nodes (such as New York, London, Tokyo, Hong Kong) almost instantaneously, reflecting 'a desire of capital to annihilate and get rid of space and 'location' and to produce in a spaceless world, while simultaneously recognising the impossibility of spaceless accumulation and the need to envisage place and space in the value production process' (Swyngedouw, 1992: 40).

'We need to conceptualise space as constructed out of interrelations, as the simultaneous co-existence of social interrelations and interactions at all spatial scales, from the most local level to the most global ... There is no choice between flow (time) and a flat surface of instantaneous relations (space). Space is not a 'flat' surface in that sense because the social relations which create it are themselves dynamic by their very nature.'

Massey's insistence on the interconnections of space and time, while not perhaps exceptional (McDowell, 1996), offers a model of space which is truly dynamic and infused with power. Space and society are seen as inextricably linked (space is effectively 'social relations stretched out': Massey, 1994a: 2), offering a mechanism for conceptualising, and politicising, the global interactions that make up the (post)modern world (Massey, 1994a and b, 1997, 1999).

'Imagine for a moment that you are on a satellite, further out and beyond all actual satellites; you can see 'planet Earth' from a distance ... You can see all the movement and tune in to all the communication that is going on. Furthest out are the satellites, then aeroplanes, the long haul between London and Tokyo and the hop from San Salvador to Guatemala City. Some of this is people moving, some of it is distribution networks, financial flows and transactions. Look in closer and there are ships and trains, steam trains slogging laboriously up hills somewhere in Asia. Look in closer still and there are lorries and cars and buses, and on down further, somewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, there's a woman on foot who still spends hours a day collecting water.' (Massey, 1997: 317)

Massey (1997) argues that to make sense of these flows requires an understanding of 'power geometry' whereby the network of social relations (including all manner of economic, political, social, cultural and religious relations) is unevenly manifested. This conception contrasts with Harvey's (1989) ideas of 'time-space compression' (whereby capital seeks to conquer space and time through improved communications) by recognising that, for example, whereas the business person can

fly across the globe in search of capital accumulation, refugees and migrants may equally fly half way round the world only to be held up in a Heathrow interrogation room. Similarly, while the *favelas* of Rio produce global football superstars and the Latin music heard in the clubs of London and Paris, most people in these slums remain imprisoned by poverty. Massey's conceptions of space/time recognise these movements, and she uses them to generate a more 'progressive' sense of place than that given by traditional ideas of fixed boundaries.

> 'How, in the face of all this movement and intermixing, can we retain any sense of a local place and its particularity? An (idealised) notion of an era when places were (supposedly) inhabited by coherent and homogenous communities is set against the current fragmentation and disruption ... But the occasional longing for such coherence is none the less a sign of the geographical fragmentation, the spatial disruption, of our times. And occasionally, too, it has been part of what has given rise to defensive and reactionary responses: certain forms of nationalism, sentimentalized recovering of sanitized 'heritages', and outright antagonism to newcomers and 'outsiders'.'
> (Massey, 1997: 315)

Massey's (1997) call is for a 'global sense of place' in which the geographical search for an area's boundaries is abandoned by concentrating (as in her definition of space) on the meeting and weaving of networks of social relations occurring at particular loci. Place is seen as a *meeting point* into which flows are channelled in and branch out, recognising the (global) interconnections that make up people's lives. Taking her home metropolitan district of Kilburn as an example, she notes the links to a variety of other 'places', whether the Muslim man selling newspapers ('silently chaffing at having to sell the *Sun*': Massey, 1997: 320), or the walls adorned with the letters of the IRA: it is these links which make up 'place', offering a more 'progressive' vision than one where there are fixed boundaries determining 'them' from 'us'. Massey highlights the dynamism and interconnections which are evident in the most bounded attempts to create place, yet her calls (for a global sense of place) are perhaps over-romantic, labelling those who seek to stabilise and to institutionalise space and identity as 'reactionary'. In the following section I

examine such attempts to 'capture' particular localities (arguing that these might also be considered as moments to be celebrated). Before this, however, I continue exploring different understandings of space, arguing, following Lefebvre (1991), for conceptualisations based on the interlinkages of *material space*, *imagined space* and *spatial practice*.

Lefebvre's (1991) *The Production of Space* is an epic attempt to provide a unitary theory linking physical, mental and social space. Arguing from a Marxist perspective (although drawing also on the psychoanalytic material of Lacan: see Gregory, 1995, 1997), Lefebvre (1991: 33, 38-39) centres his understanding of space around a 'conceptual triad':

1. Spatial practice - the way society 'secretes' its space, involving daily routine and urban reality ('the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure').

2. Representations of space - 'conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners and urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers ... This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production).'

3. Spaces of representation[16] - spaces linked to the 'clandestine or underground side of life', a space in the imagination of certain artists, writers and philosophers who seek to change and to appropriate dominant space.

Lefebvre argues for seeing space as a *process*, and his analyses offer a future vision through which it is possible to escape from capitalist 'abstract' space, which 'neutralizes whatever resists it by castration or crushing' (Lefebvre, 1991: 23). Lefebvre's vision of contemporary society is a dark one in which the wheels of capitalism seem to overrun all (he was writing after the 'failed' uprising of May 1968), and where only a select few - some artists, writers and philosophers - seem capable of resistance. In particular, spaces of representation are described as *lived*, whereas spatial practice is merely the *perceived* (as if the world enters passively

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[16] In the English translation, 'representational spaces' is used, but most commentators prefer 'spaces of representation' (Stewart, 1994; Gregory, 1994e; Pinder, 1999; Soja, 1996).

through a 'logic of visualisation' and where recursivity seems to be denied). Resistance, as Bhabha (1994) shows, is inherent (indeed entangled: Sharp *et al*, 2000) to/with domination, so that, as de Certeau (1984) also explains, individuals constantly (intentionally or otherwise) subvert and create ambiguities within the system. In this way, it may be better to re-work Lefebvre's conceptions of space, and to think instead in terms of the *material* and the *imagined*, which, although already interconnected, are further interwoven through *spatial practice.*

In this conception, *material* space relates to 'solid space', the physical, the tangible, the concrete (buildings, roads, trees, mud, rivers, bridges, stairs, people). *Imagined* space relates to individual and collective understandings of the material and of spatial practice, and includes geographical imaginings such as: Occidental conceptions of the Orient (Said, 1978); Protestant representations of Ireland (Graham, 1994); the symbolism of Auschwitz (Charlesworth, 1994); the controversy of a statue to Arthur 'Bomber' Harris (who organised the carpet-bombing of Dresden) in London (Johnson, 1995); or Lefebvre's own notion of the conceived representations of space possessed by the urban planners and designers. Recognising the imagined necessarily accepts the importance of agency, even if that in turn is structured within certain grids of power (Foucault, 1977). Of crucial importance is that both the material and the imagined are far from passive (there will always be contradictions, contestations and slippages of meaning), and both are inherently inter-linked (effectively paralleling the socio-spatial dialectic: Soja, 1980, 1989). Nevertheless, envisioning space as the interlinkage of material and imagined may suggest a static, frozen conception of space in which time is marginalised. If we are to take Massey's understandings of space/time seriously, we need to set the system going, and hence the importance of spatial practice. *Spatial practice* is, in this schema, the movements through space of, for example, people, capital, ideas, animals and transport: it is through this movement, as both Lefebvre and de Certeau show, that society is secreted (or performed) and that humans (and animals) make sense of the world. Spatial practice is the glue that helps link material and imagined space, and also the engine that drives and produces society. In this definition, therefore, space is understood as the complex interactions of material space, imagined space and spatial

practice; an understanding that provides a useful (though certainly not complete[17]) basis for asking important questions about how people actually think and behave, and also about the politics (in its broadest sense) of society (see chapters six to nine) .

Institutionalising space

> 'The manifest danger in an essentialist conception of social space is given by the strategic fact that hegemonic cultural practices will always attempt to fix the meaning of space, arranging any number of particularities, disjunctures, and juxtapositions into a seamless unity: the one place, the one identity, as in, for example, the "Nation." Yet hegemony, as the process that naturalizes both space and social relations, is like any form of power: never fixed or inevitable, but always open to exposure, confrontation, reversal through counter hegemonic or disidentifying practices. Attempts at normalization can never therefore be fully complete ...' (Natter and Jones III, 1997: 150)

Envisaging the dynamic interaction of material space, imagined space and spatial practice abandons static and fixed conceptions of space. As Natter and Jones III show, social space is rarely, if ever, apolitical, and there are always hegemonic attempts to control, define and bound, as well as inevitable resistances (see Keith and Pile, 1993; Pile and Keith, 1997; Sharp *et al*, 2000). Recognising the untenability of essentialist notions of social space is (like abandoning conceptions of bounded identity) undoubtedly important in making sense of society. Nevertheless, just as there are continual attempts to bound, stabilise and institutionalise identities and communities, so too are there parallel and intertwined attempts to stabilise, to 'slow down' and to capture space. In this section I examine such attempts which, similar to the discussions on identity, potentially counter simplistic value-judgements.

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[17] It is, of course, possible to theorise contemporary orthodoxy in any number of ways (for example through explicitly feminist, Marxist or humanistic approaches). In particular, though, there is scope for developing the schema outlined above through the incorporation of actor network theory and/or a more embodied approach (see for example Hetherington, 1997; Holloway, 1999; Whatmore, 1999). Such approaches might allow the relationships between humans and various (human and non-human) objects that are integral to orthodoxy to be analysed in more depth, potentially providing a useful additional framework for future research (see also chapter nine).

Wheatley's (1971) study on the importance of sacred space in the construction of ancient Chinese cities is a useful starting-off point[18].

> 'The general order of existence was the ceremonial centre, which afforded a ritual paradigm of the ordering of social interaction at the same time as it disseminated the values and inculcated the attitudes necessary to sustain it. In other words it projected images of cosmic order on to the plane of human experience, where they could provide a framework for social action ... There had evolved a new and powerful instrument for the organization of economic, social and political space, which was at the same time a symbol of cosmic, social and moral order.' (Wheatley, 1971: 478)

In his epic *Pivot of the Four Quarters*, Wheatley (1971) reconstructs the emergence of ancient Chinese cities in the second millennium BC, examining how cosmo-magical symbolism was central to the creation and functional unity of these sites as social institutions. Through a detailed analysis of ancient documents and archaeological evidence, he explains how the urban form of Chinese cities was, and to an extent still is, channelled according to principles such as geomancy (*feng-shui*) and cardinal axiality, designed to create an intimate parallel between heaven and earth, macrocosmos and microcosmos. The ideal city type was constructed as a 'map' of heaven (although adapted according to local currents of the cosmic breath) and located at a point of connection between the supernatural and the earthly, an *axis mundi* about which the kingdom revolved, and an *imago mundi* designed to ensure the protection and prosperity of the population by maintaining harmony with the gods (see also Eliade, 1957; Pennick, 1994). Through this sacred geography, governmental institutional control was created and preserved via the positioning of king and palace at the material and symbolic centre of the city (and surrounding world), able to watch and to rule and, of course, to tithe the local population.

Divine authority, as manifested through the material and symbolic spaces of the city and palace, was central to the genesis of the first ever cities, and these spaces were

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[18] Wheatley's (1971) study also provides much of the inspiration for chapter four (which reconstructs the importance of space recorded in sacred Jewish texts), and is hence particularly worth examining in

key features of urban societies, at least until more recent Enlightenment times. Such mechanisms were fundamental to the landscape of the nineteenth century Kandyan royal capital (which Duncan (1990) shows was intended to reproduce, reinforce and legitimise the political power of the elite through its construction as a mirror of the city of the Gods), while Harvey (1979) similarly shows how the construction of the Basilica of Sacré-Couer in Paris was designed to restore a conservative and Catholic moral order following the insurrection of the Paris Commune. Such spaces never went uncontested, however, and Duncan and Harvey demonstrate how attempts to fix ideas about sacred space became embroiled in struggles over authority and power. Since the Enlightenment, institutionalised sacred space has lost much (though certainly not all) of its power (at least in the West), but hegemonic attempts to stabilise and to control space have hardly dissipated: to recognise this, one only needs to think of the guarded borders of nation-states, or the barb-wire fences of the Nazi death camps.

Hegemonic attempts to fix space may be seen as reactionary, yet the capturing of space can also be seen in more resistant ways. Routledge (1997), for example, discusses the tactics of road protesters who sought to block the extension of the M77 motorway through Pollok Park on the south side of Glasgow. The road protesters created an encampment consisting of tents, shelters, totems and tree houses which was labelled, through a large banner hanging by the road-side, as 'Pollok Free State'. This attempt to capture (material and symbolic) space (and, as such, to prevent the *flow* of traffic) was an active form of resistance which Routledge, as a member of the campaigners (see also chapter five), largely supports as a moment to be celebrated. In relation to orthodoxy, however, the institutionalisation of space is politically more ambiguous (which is not to deny that the examples discussed above can be read in different ways), and which, in this particular context at least, muddies simplistic value-judgements. The attempts by orthodox Jews to define and to bound space are protective mechanisms against the fluidity of the 'outside' world, and, I suggest, it is important to be sensitive to such desires at the heart of maintaining minority lifestyles. Without this sensitivity, academics run the risk of promoting modernist discourses which promote assimilation and the 'melting pot' as a social ideal (see chapter two). Nevertheless, support for minority cultures does not have to entail an

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respect to the institutionalisation of space.

abandonment of political perspective, or the requirement to romanticise ways of life that may be exclusionary, patriarchal and racist. To highlight the complexity of these value-judgements, I consider attempts by people living in the borders of Scotland to define particular identities.

In her analysis of border identities, S. Smith (1993, 1995, 1999b) discusses local attempts to 'claim space' and to 'make place' through communal events such as galas and ridings[19]. In these events, tradition and history are presented and celebrated in an active attempt to 'bound the borders', resisting the disintegration of identity as residents leave in search of employment and as 'outsiders' (in the form of commuters and retirees) arrive. With the location on the borders on the margins of Scotland away from the (political and commercial) centres of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and with a rural life perceived to be under threat, the festivals and ridings are a resistant way of fixing space and claiming identity. Nevertheless, the celebrations involve a clear identification of 'insider' and 'outsider' (defined in the Peebles Beltane as 'gutterbluid' and 'stoorifoot')[20], and hence of who is 'in place' and 'out of place' (see also Cresswell, 1996). The hegemonic view of the celebrations are laced with patriarchy and 'common sense' racism: '[t]he celebration of self is, however innocent it seems, inextricably harnessed to the subjugation of the other' (Smith, 1993: 304). In the Beltane example, the event is certainly a resistance to the homogenisations of globalising forces, but it is also hegemonic and exclusionary: 'oppressors can also be oppressed and the marginal also marginalize' (Smith, 1993: 304).

In Smith's (1993, 1995) analysis, the drawing of boundaries (symbolic, social, physical) is ambivalent: while they celebrate difference, they may also signal inequality. In this way, making political or ethical judgements becomes increasingly

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[19] Smith (1993: 293-295) discusses, in particular, the Peebles Beltane which involves a series of events spread over several days. The event opens with a procession to the Cross Kirk where at an outdoor service the new Kirk warden is installed. The next event occurs on the following Wednesday and involves the installation of the Cornet (a young man who takes charge of the Burgh standard) who, together with *his* cavalcade, ride around and inspect the Burgh boundaries. The Cornet is also installed together with 'his lass', whose task is to 'help and support' him in his duties. The culmination is on the Saturday with the Beltane Fair and the crowning of the Beltane Queen. Other events include games, competitions and a fancy dress parade, in relation to which Smith discusses the controversy that occurred in 1991 over whether or not the 'traditional' golliwog costumes should be banned.

[20] Although Smith herself is an example of the ambiguity of the boundary: she is in some respects an 'insider' because she plays in the Burgh band and is resident of a nearby village, but also an 'outsider' in that she is an English immigrant who lives just outside of the 'Tweed/Clyde watershed.'

difficult, especially when it is the marginalised and the oppressed who are setting up the boundaries. 'Purification of space' (Sibley, 1988, 1995) or the delimiting of community may well entail the rejection or institutionalisation of internal difference, but the simple judgement of this as 'good' or 'bad' practice is, as Smith shows, problematic (although see also the questions of relativism discussed in chapter five). According to Massey's (1997) analysis, however, such boundary formations would seemingly be labelled as 'reactionary'[21]. Making sense of domination and resistance, hegemony and subversion, is a messy business (see Sharp *et al*, 2000).

Summary

This chapter has provided a theoretical foundation for conceptualising contemporary orthodoxy (and Judaism more generally), in which matters of space and identity are central. I discussed how post-positivist theorists have challenged static and bounded conceptions of both space and identity, demonstrating how movement, interaction and hybridity are inevitable processes in a (post)modern world. Notions of purity become untenable in the moment that 'cultures' meet: in the process of hybridisation, neither One nor the Other can remain the same. Nonetheless, academics also require an appreciation of the way that many people are fighting to retain a clear sense of 'who they are', and to stabilise, to slow down and to institutionalise space and identity. These attempts at fixing can be celebrated (depending on one's position) as resistances to global homogeneity and the loss of difference, yet in other respects such notions are tied in to forces of hegemony and the marking of 'them' from 'us'. Despite the radical conceptions of authors such as Bhabha, Gilroy, Hall, Massey and Rose, bounded notions of identity and community remain important to many people's everyday lives, and making value-judgements on their worth can, particularly in the case of marginalised groups, be difficult.

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[21] Although note in more recent writings, Massey (1999: 292) does acknowledge the contextual nature of conceptions of space: 'In writing up some recent research, even as I was railing against the closed and purified compartments (although of course they can never *really* be purified) within which so much intellectual labour is performed, and in which so much that is legitimized by the labels of 'science' and 'knowledge' is produced, I was also aware of Virginia Woolf's impassioned plea for a room of her own, and too of the fact that to write this stuff I had retreated to that most closed and elitist of spaces, the Reading Room at the British Museum.'

Introduction

Chapters one and two detailed the history of ultra-Orthodoxy (and Judaism more generally), reviewed studies of contemporary Anglo-Jewry and world orthodoxy, and laid out the social, political and academic purpose of this thesis. Chapter three theoretically framed these accounts (and the empirical materials contained throughout the thesis) through conceptions of identity and space, and the ways in which orthodox Jews seek to stabilise, control and bound a highly institutionalised way of life. In particular, chapter three discussed the social and political power of institutionalised sacred space, referencing Wheatley's (1971) use of archaeological and textual records to reconstruct ancient Chinese society. This chapter builds on these foundations by detailing one of the key elements in the institutionalisation of contemporary orthodoxy, the belief in the authority of sacred texts. I examine, through a (secondary) archival study, the precise ordering of space and spatial practices detailed in the sacred text of the Babylonian Talmud (*Bavli*), a vast document containing two and a half millions words of law, legend, history, philosophy and science, written over several centuries following the destruction of the Second Temple (Steinsaltz, 1976). Reconstructing these spatialities provides a window not only into ancient Judaism, but also, and of prime importance to this thesis, into the practice of contemporary orthodoxy.

In the first part of the chapter I introduce the particular importance of the Talmud in structuring Jewish life, raising the difficulties of reading and interpreting this vast and often confusing document. In the second section I discuss the uses of space recorded in the Talmud (and other sacred and historical texts), concentrating on the ordering and division of space in the Second Temple, agriculture and community organisation. This section initially concentrates on the work of the few geographers that have studied sacred Jewish texts, before (in the section on communal

organisation) specifically concentrating on my own interpretations and empirical examples taken from the Talmud. The third section extends these discussions, examining spatial laws applicable only on the Sabbath, the Talmudic system for classifying space and the (associated) concept of eruvin, devices that 'mingle' areas of space and/or time for the purpose of easing Sabbath restrictions. In the final section of the chapter, I discuss the difficulties of applying eruvin to contemporary (post)modern cities, introducing some of the problems faced by the Manchester religious authorities who are attempting to construct such a device (see chapter nine).

Reading the Talmud

> 'The idea of the 'Torah from Heaven' was, even before it was explicitly formulated, far more than a belief about the origin of a text. It was a belief about the origin of a destiny. 'Torah from Heaven' did more than negate the idea that a people was the author of its own texts. It reversed it. It suggested that the *text was the author of the people.*' (Sacks, 1992: 209)

Judaism is rooted in text. Through the sacred texts of the Pentateuch, Prophetic and Hagiographic Writings, the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds, and the mass of related commentaries and interpretations, Judaism is finely structured and defined. It is text that provides the codes and the systems of living adopted by generations of Jews. Reading, commenting upon, and interpreting sacred texts is fundamental to religious Jewish life, providing the basis for all halachic judgements and as a means to determine 'correct' practice (covering every aspect of life, from food to sex, dress to washing), but also because studying for its own sake is considered valuable (*mitzvat talmud Torah* - the positive religious duty of studying Torah). Central to these texts is the Babylonian Talmud[1], the primary source of Jewish law (although not, in itself, able to be cited as an authority for legalistic purposes[2]), and arguably

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[1] The Babylonian Talmud is considered by religious Jews to be more authoritative than the Jerusalem Talmud (actually mostly written in Tiberias, Palestine) which was completed earlier and without the same breadth of exegesis. Both texts are, however, considered to be sacred (Steinsaltz, 1976).
[2] The *Shulhan Arukh*, a sixteenth century codification by Rabbi Joseph Karo, is considered the final authority in halachah.

the most important book in Jewish life (Steinsaltz, 1976; see also Neusner, 1989, 1991, 1992b; Ouaknin, 1996; Stemberger, 1996).

The Talmud is structured around the sixty-three tractates of the Mishnah (see chapter one), and divided into six principal orders: *Zera'im* ('seeds', relates to agriculture); *Mo'ed* ('Festival days'); *Nashim* ('Women'); *Neziqin* ('Damages'); *Qodashin* ('Holy things', relates to the Temple and sacrifices); and *Toharot* ('Purities', divisions between clean and unclean). The Talmud is arranged into specific Mishnah passages, followed by *Gemarah* (in-depth commentaries, interpretations and narratives of the great rabbis of the period), and then by the later comments of the great eleventh century French rabbi Rashi and the twelfth and thirteenth century 'masters' known as the *tosafists*. Such an incorporation of centuries of knowledge and wisdom (together with other sacred Jewish texts) offers an incredibly rich source of materials for academic analysis, a 'literary reservoir'[3] (Brodsky, 1997: 37) that geographers are just beginning to explore (Davies, 1991; Grossman, 1997; Felsenstein, 1997; Katz, 1991; Kunin, 1994; Kay, 1997; Patai, 1967: see also Baly, 1957, Houston, 1978, Maier, 1975; Pennick, 1994; Shilhav, 1983b). In this chapter I discuss such studies of ancient Jewish space, although I mainly concentrate on my own readings of the Talmud, based primarily on the tracts *Baba Bathra* ('the last gate'), *Eruvin* and *Sabbath*[4], as well as orthodox commentaries and summaries of these texts (Apel, 1989; Eider, 1968; Goldwurm, 1995; Schorr, 1996a). Throughout, I quote extensively from the original source material so as to let the text breathe[5], opening up scope for different interpretations. Before discussing Talmudic orderings of space, however, two key methodological difficulties need acknowledging.

The first difficulty to recognise is that my reading has been reliant on English translations (from the original Hebrew and Eastern Aramaic), which can never be true copies of the original (c.f. Smith, 1996). In the preface to his second edition translation of the Talmudic tract 'Sabbath', Rodkinson (1903) refers to the volume of criticism that his first edition created. Rodkinson (1903: xiii) defends his project,

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[3] Indeed, the Talmud is, because of its vastness, often compared by scholars to a sea (*Yam haTalmud*) (Brodsky, 1997).
[4] Baba Bathra comes from the order Neziqin, Sabbath and Eruvin from Mo'ed.

arguing that to attempt to reproduce the text as in the original would be impossible: 'If it were translated from the original text one would not see the forest through the trees.' As such, he edited the original, included modern punctuation, and omitted 'irrelevant' material and repetitions. Making the document more 'readable' certainly helps in basic understandings, but there is an inevitable loss of some of the multiple meanings of the original, as associated with any translation from a Semitic to an Indo-European language. Other translations (such as Epstein, 1935; Schorr, 1996b) are more faithful to the original, but any changes from a document considered sacred, and written in a language believed to be holy (Glinert and Shilhav, 1991), will necessarily invite criticism, particularly from religious Jewish authorities[6].

The second difficulty is that, even with the aid of modern English translations which include explanatory notes, understanding large parts of the Talmud can be difficult, a fact which Neusner (1989: 6-7) explains by citing the opening and closing passages of the Mishnah:

'From what time do they recite the *Shema* ["Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one"] in the evening? From the time that priests enter their home to eat food in the status of priestly rations, "until the end of the first watch," the words of R. Eliezer. And sages say, "Until midnight." Rabbi Gamliel says, "Until the rise of dawn."

'Honeycombs: from what point are they susceptible to uncleanness in the status of liquid? The House of Shammai say, "When one smokes out [the bees from the combs, so that one can get at the honey]." The House of the Hillel say, "When one will actually have broken up [the honeycombs to remove the honey]".'

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[5] Although obviously the particular quotations chosen (and the order in which they are presented) are still subject to my authorial control, and are influenced by my interpretations and positionality (see chapter five).

[6] Indeed, Schorr's (1996b) translation (produced by the Mesorah publishing house) was at one time believed to be facing a religious ban from the hugely influential Israeli Rabbi Shach. In the end the edition was not banned, although an earlier translation by the leading Talmudic scholar Adin Steinsaltz was deemed heretical by Rabbi Shach, who accused him of denying the divine origin of the entire Torah (Landau, 1993).

These passages highlight the challenges of reading the Talmud, which can appear incomprehensible, enigmatic and even irrelevant. With a little contextual background, however, the meanings become more apparent. The first paragraph here deals with the correct time to recite the Jewish declaration of faith known as the Shema (to be recited in the morning and evening: see Jacobs, 1995), while the second records the debate between two rival ancient schools of thought, Shammai and Hillel, over the purity of honeycombs (questions of purity and impurity were, and are, central themes of Judaism: see chapter three). Nevertheless, my reading of the Talmud does need to be recognised as not one of an 'expert' (religious students may spend their entire lives studying Talmud, and a complete reading is usually carried out over a seven year cycle), but neither is it that of a complete outsider either (I was brought up in a middle-of-the-road Orthodox environment). Such a positionality, along with a host of other factors (not least of which is my status as an academic geographer), necessarily determine how I interpret the text (see chapter five).

Sacred Geographies of the Talmud

Space is central to Judaism. Through, for example, beliefs in the land of Israel as a holy place which God commanded the Jews to conquer, the Ark of the Covenant as the physical location of His presence, the Temples in Jerusalem representing the centre of the world, regulations regarding the use of land for agriculture and the requirements for residential dwelling, geography underpinned the practice of ancient (and indeed contemporary) Judaism (Davies, 1991; Katz, 1991; Kunin, 1994; Patai, 1967; Pennick, 1994). In this section I discuss three aspects of these geographies, the Temple, agriculture and community organisation.

The Temple

'The Temple is still more holy [than the rest of Jerusalem, walled cities in Israel, and the land of Israel], for no man or woman who has a flux, no menstruant, and no woman after childbirth may enter therein. The rampart is still more holy, for no Gentile may enter therein and none that has contracted contamination from a corpse. The Court of the

Women is still more holy, for none that has immersed himself that day may enter therein. The Court of the Israelites is still more holy, for none whose atonement is incomplete may enter therein. The Court of the Priests is still more holy, for Israelites may not enter therein except when bringing their sacrifices. The area between the porch and the altar is still more holy, for no priest who has a blemish or whose hair is unloosed may enter therein. The *hekhal* [the sanctuary, the actual Temple building] is still more holy, for no priest may enter therein without first washing his hands and feet. The holy of holies is still more holy, for none may enter there at all save the High Priest on Yom Kippur.' (Jacobs, 1995: 541-542, drawn from Mishnah *Kelim* 1: 6-9: see also Davis, 1991)

The First and Second Temples in Jerusalem were, as the direct conduits to God, the heart of Jewish life in ancient times[7]. Both were designed as miniature pictures of the world, with the Second Temple (to which the above description relates) designed so that the courtyards represented the sea, the hekhal the land, and the holy of holies (the centre of the Temple where the Ark was initially placed[8]) the heavens (Patai, 1976). All dimensions were precisely determined (including size, colour and building materials), as was the particular location of the Temples which, according to Jewish mysticism, was situated at the spot where the first ray of light illuminated the world[9].

In addition to the material construction of the Temples, the interior features and ritual practices were also precisely regulated and had cosmological significance. For example: the twelve loaves on the Altar table represented the months of the year; the seven candlestick lamps the number of (believed) planets; the vestment of the high

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[7] Although by the time of the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, the synagogue had also become an important centre of worship for the Pharisees (Alon, 1980).

[8] Following the destruction of the First Temple the Ark was lost, and its whereabouts remains unknown (Jacobs, 1995).

[9] There are many other mystical elements associated with the Temple, such as belief that the floor of the holy of holies was the Navel of the Earth (an *Omphalos*, called in Hebrew the *Ebhen Shetiyyah*, the Stone of Foundation), the first solid thing created by God amongst the primeval waters. 'Legend has it that just as the body of an embryo is built up from its mother's womb from the navel, so God built up the earth concentrically around this stone, the Navel of the Earth. And just as the body of an

priest being made of linen (representing earth), blue cloth (sky), pomegranate (lightening) and bells (thunder); and the seventy burning lamps to keep the surrounding seventy nations of the world in submission (Patai, 1967). Such features mattered because the welfare of Israel (and indeed the whole world) depended on the proper performance of the Temple services, with each earthly aspect having divine consequences on the forces of nature. Disruption to any aspect of the Temple, such as the incorrect performance of any rituals (or indeed the breaking of commandments not directly related to the Temple) could potentially lead to drought, famine or other catastrophe, and had to be avoided at all costs (Eliade, 1959; Kay, 1997; Patai, 1967)[10].

Integrated with precise orderings of Temple practice, was the requirement for all individuals to know their place, with ancient Jewish society structured according to ethnicity, caste and gender (as integrated with conceptions of pure and impure, sacred and profane: see chapter three). At the top of the social hierarchy was the High Priest, followed by the priests, Levites, women and the surrounding seventy nations, as reflected in the material geography of the Temple. Nonetheless, this strict social hierarchy was probably never stable, as evidenced, for example, in the struggles for power between the Pharisees and the Sadducees (discussed in chapter one)[11].

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embryo receives its nourishment from the navel, so the whole earth too receives the waters that nourish it from this Navel' (Patai, 1967: 86).

[10] According to Deuteronomy 11: 13-17 (quoted in Kay, 1997: 45): 'And it will come to pass that if you continually harken to My commandments ... then I will provide rain (*matar*, showers) for your land in its proper time, the early and the late rains (*yoreh* and *malkosh*), that you may gather your grain, your wine, and your oil. I will provide grass in your field for your cattle and you will eat and be satisfied. Beware lest your heart be seduced and you turn astray and serve gods of others ... Then (I) will restrain the heaven so there will be no rain and the ground will not yield its produce. And you will swiftly be banished from the goodly land which (I) gave you.'

[11] Patai (1967) provides another interesting example of the difficulties of maintaining the social hierarchy. In the festival of water-libation (probably the most spectacular and joyous event in the Temple calendar), the sages had great difficulties in trying to separate the two sexes. Originally, women used to stand within the Women's Court while the men stood without, but the two sexes apparently inter-mingled, committing what the Mishnah euphemistically describes as 'light-headedness'. The sages then ordained men and women to change places, but 'light-headedness' still occurred, and so galleries were built round three sides of the courtyard and women ordered to sit down (so as to prevent temptations by the 'evil inclination').

Agriculture

Just as the Temple was precisely ordered and regulated (so as to promote beneficial weather), so too was the use of agricultural land. According to Katz (1991), there are five groups of commandments which relate to agricultural labour. The first of these is the law of *shmita* (the Sabbatical year) in which once every seven years Jews are forbidden from working on the land, including caring for existing vegetation, sowing, planting, irrigating and fertilising. Moreover, any species growing naturally during the Sabbatical year are considered public property and may be eaten by anyone. A second commandment is that a percentage of each year's crop must be set aside by the field owner and given to the priests and Levites. It is forbidden to eat from a crop until the tithes and offerings have been set aside. A third is that a sixtieth of each crop must be left to the poor, in addition to any wheat or fruit which falls from the scythe during reaping or is dropped from the hand during picking. The fourth is the hybrid law (c.f. chapter three), which prohibits the growing together of different seeds or the grafting together of two types of trees. Finally there is the *orla* commandment, which requires Jews not to eat the fruit of trees during the initial three years of planting.

The commandments relating to agricultural labour are affected according to whether farming is taking place within the boundaries of the land of Israel, and whether the Temple is standing. Laws relating to the Sabbatical year, offerings and tithes and the hybridisation of seeds apply only within the land of Israel, although gifts to the poor, the grafting of trees and the eating of fruit during the first three years apply regardless of geographical location. Outside of Temple times, the giving of tithes to the priests and Levites can no longer be directly applied, although halachah does obligate Jews to set aside and to destroy a specific amount of each crop. In addition, during Temple times fruit from the fourth year's crop was supposed to be brought to Jerusalem and eaten in a state of holiness. Following the Temple's destruction, the fruits of the fourth year must be redeemed for a quantity of money which is then destroyed (Katz, 1991).

Communal organisation

A considerable amount of Jewish law details the spatial requirements for communal living. Laws determine the correct construction of communal ritual buildings such as mikvot and the requirements for synagogues to be positioned at the summit of cities[12], as well as dictates controlling residential dwellings such as the prohibition against windows facing directly into a neighbour's place of residence: windows are permitted if there is an intervening street in which case 'visual damage' is prevented. In addition, there are also laws prohibiting loud, 'deviant' noise (even if neighbours consent: the noise of Torah study is, of course, exempt), the production of smoke which could harm other inhabitants, and the failure to maintain a standard of cleanliness (Katz, 1991). These laws are intended to ease communal living by detailing how individuals are to interact and maintain urban life.

'He [a resident of a courtyard] may be compelled [by the rest] to [contribute to] the building of a porter's lodge (a gate house) and a door (in the main gate) for the courtyard. Rabbi Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, says that not all courtyards require a porter's lodge. He [a resident of a city] may be compelled to contribute to the building of a wall, folding doors and a cross bar. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel says that not all towns require a wall. How long must a man reside in a town to be counted as one of the townsmen? Twelve months. If, however, he buys a house there, he is at once reckoned as one of the townsmen.' (Baba Bathra 7b[13])

In this passage, and in the wide-ranging Gemarah debate that follows (7b-11a), the definitions of who belongs to a town are discussed. Belonging to a town is based either on specific time periods or on property rights. If a man (note the distinctions between men and women raised in chapter two) resides in a town for thirty days, he is liable for contributions to the soup kitchen and is seen as a town inhabitant, but not

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[12] There is ambiguity as to whether synagogues should be built on the highest part of a city, should be the tallest structure, or should be at the (functional) centre of a settlement (Katz, 1991; Shilhav, 1983b).

as a full member. After three months he is liable for contributions to the charity box, six months to the clothing and nine months for the burial funds, and twelve months for the costs of contributing to the repair of the town walls[14] and at which point he is considered a full member. If, however, he buys a house within a town he is already considered a full member. Community status (and the consequent obligations) are thus clearly stated, as indeed are the requirement for the upkeep of the whole town. In particular, there are laws to ensure that trees are kept at a suitable distance from towns (a minimum of twenty-five cubits[15]), as indeed are cemeteries, which must be located fifty cubits away (Baba Bathra 24b-25a).

The Talmud also discusses interactions between different communities, both in regard to the requirements for all townsfolk to visit Jerusalem (on major festival days, for sacrifices, to visit the Sanhedrin, and to apply the orla commandment) and in relation to smaller towns: for example, the Talmud prohibits the residents of one town from preventing access through to another settlement (Baba Bathra 12a). Another example is the case of the *Elgah arufah*, a heifer whose neck had to be broken in a ceremony to expiate polluted land following the discovery of a dead person in open space (Felsenstein, 1997). The Talmud requires (although note since Talmudic times the law is no longer applied) that the nearest town to the corpse must perform this ceremony so as to absolve themselves of any possible responsibility (for example by not giving the deceased enough hospitality). Determining which is the nearest town is problematic, however, and there are disputes amongst authorities as to whether size is also a relevant factor, with the assumption that larger cities maintain a greater responsibility.

In addition to relationships between towns, the Talmud also goes into great detail to limit (and to rule upon) intra-communal conflicts, especially in relation to property rights:

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[13] 'Baba Bathra 7b' refers to the particular Talmudic volume, followed by the standard notation showing the original (untranslated) page number, and whether it is the obverse or reverse side of each leaf. Translations are taken from Epstein (1935).

[14] The cost of repairing walls is collected through a poll tax (though moderated according to means and proximity to the walls). Note, however, that rabbis are exempt from paying these taxes; the righteous are apparently already protected.

[15] A cubit (*amah*, pl. *amos*) measures between 18 and 22.9 inches (authorities have different interpretations), and is six times the length of a handbreadth (*tefach*, pl. *tefachim*) which is equal to the width of four thumbs (Schorr, 1996a).

'If joint owners agree to make a *Mehizah* [division] in a courtyard, they should build the wall in the middle ... if the wall falls [it is assumed that] the place where it is customary to fence off, either can be compelled to do so. But in a stretch of cornfields, in a place where it is usual not to fence off [the fields], neither can be compelled. If, however, one desires to make a fence, he must withdraw a little and build on his own ground, making a facing on the outer side. Consequently, if the wall falls, the place and the stones [are assumed to] belong to him. If, however, they both concur, they build in the middle and make a facing on both sides. If the wall falls, [it is assumed that] the place and the stones belong to both.' (Baba Bathra 2a)

'A man should not plant a tree [in his own field] close to his neighbour's field unless he keeps it at a distance of four cubits; this applies both to a vine and to all other trees. If there is a fence between the two fields, each may plant close up to the fence on his own side. If the roots [of one man's tree] spread into his neighbour's field, [the latter] can cut them to a depth of three handbreadths so that they should not impede the plough. If he digs a pit, ditch, or cave, he can cut right down [to any depth], and the wood belongs to him.' (Baba Bathra 26b)

These two examples highlight the Talmud's intricate dealings with the use and ownership of property in which every conceivable difficulty is sought to be addressed. Such issues include whether a person has the right to close a public path (that passes through his land) if it is exchanged for a similar area elsewhere, when a person may pass through another's property to reach their own or to visit a cistern, and even how far trees may overhang public thoroughfares (they should be cut to a height sufficient to let a camel and rider pass underneath) (Baba Bathra 26b, 99a and b). This ordering of space even applies to the burial of the dead:

'If one sells a plot [of ground] to another as a [family] grave and, likewise, if one accepts [an order] from another to construct for him a [family] grave, the central space of the grotto must have [an area of] four cubits by six. And eight sepulchral chambers are to open out into it; three from [the wall on] one side, three from [the wall on] the other, and two [from the wall] in front. The chambers must be four cubits in length, seven [handbreadths] in height, and six handbreadths in width. R. Simeon says: The central space of the grotto must contain [an area of] six cubits by eight, and thirteen chambers are to open out into it; four on one side, four on the other, three in front [of the entrance], one on the right of the entrance and one on the left ... ' (Baba Bathra 100b-101a)

The orderings of space so far discussed have largely been unaffected by time (although whether the Temple is still standing is of primary importance to the applicability of many of these laws), but a number of key spatial laws are only invoked on the Sabbath. These laws I discuss in the following section, which examines the prohibition on transferring objects between different domains on the Sabbath, the Talmudic system for classifying space and the construction of eruvin.

Space on the Sabbath

'The carrying out of the Sabbath are two which are four within, and two which are four without. How so? The poor man stands without and the master of the house within: [i] If the poor man stretches his hand within and places [an article] into the hand of the master of the house, or if he takes [an article] from it and carries out, the poor man is liable, and the master of the house is exempt. [Again] if the master of the house stretches his hand without and places [an object] in the poor man's hand, or [ii] takes [an object] therefrom and carries it in, the master is liable, while the poor man is exempt. [iii] If the poor man stretches his hand within and the master takes [an object] from it, or places [an object] therein and he carries it out, both are exempt; [iv] if

the master stretches his hand without and the poor man takes [an object] from it, or places [an article] therein and he carries it inside, both are exempt.' (Sabbath 2a)

In this paragraph the Mishnah begins to deal with the thirty-nine acts prohibited on the Sabbath[16], the final one of which deals with the transfer of objects between different spatial locations. The Talmud explains, through the example of the rich man and poor man, how it is biblically prohibited to carry an article from public to private space, although as the text makes clear, this is allowable if the act is not wholly completed by one party: for example if a rich man picks up an object in his private domain and places it through a doorway into public space whereby the poor man takes it off him. Even so, although such incomplete acts are biblically permitted, the Mishnaic sages nevertheless decreed them unacceptable, and thus any movement of articles between public and private domains on the Sabbath is forbidden[17].

The lesson of the rich and poor man maps out the foundations for how space is conceived in the Talmud, providing the basis for an extensive debate in the Gemarah over precise spatial classifications, with questions concerning, for example, the transference of objects via parts of the body other than hands (for example carrying an object on one's back) (3a-3b), the throwing of articles (4b-5a), or whether persons in motion are guilty of transference (5a-6a). Overall, the Talmud divides space into four distinct categories (Schorr, 1996a: see also Bechhofer, 1998):

Reshus hayachid: This is a private domain, an area at least four tefachim square and enclosed by walls at least ten tefachim high (see also later). A reshus hayachid could be a flat piece of ground surrounded by high walls, a raised plateau or a pit ten

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[16] These acts are: 'sowing, ploughing, reaping, binding into sheaves, threshing, winnowing, selecting, grinding, sifting, kneading, baking, wool-shearing, bleaching, hackling, dyeing, spinning, stretching the threads, the making of two meshes, weaving two threads, dividing two threads, tying [knotting] and untying, sewing two stitches, tearing in order to sew two stitches, capturing a deer, slaughtering, or flaying, or salting it, curing its hide, scraping it [of its hair], cutting it up, writing two letters, erasing in order to write two letters [over the erasure], building, pulling down, extinguishing, kindling, striking with a hammer, [and] carrying out from one domain to another' (Sabbath, 73a).
[17] Exceptions to this include items of clothing and emergency cases (for full details see Apel, 1989), and where space is reclassified through the use of eruvin: see later.

tefachim deep. The airspace above private domains extends upwards without limit, and private ownership is not a pre-requisite.

Reshus harabim: This is a public domain, and includes areas such as highways, streets and squares, providing they are at least sixteen amos wide, are not roofed or enclosed by walls, pass through the city entirely and are frequented by many people. This latter requirement is the source of considerable halachic dispute (see section on eruvin). Airspace above a reshus harabim extends only to a height of ten tefachim, above which it is classified as exempt space (see below). Carrying an article on the Sabbath more than four amos in public space is also biblically prohibited.

Karmelis: This is a legalistic term with no simple translation, sometimes described as 'semi-public', and which resembles both private and public space. The Mishnaic sages ruled that to prevent any infractions of the law, areas ruled as karmelis were to have many of the stringencies of both public and private space. As such, transferring between public and karmelis, or between private and karmelis, is forbidden on the Sabbath. Moreover, carrying an object more than four amos in karmelis space on the Sabbath is prohibited. The definition of a karmelis is unenclosed land not classed as reshus harabim, or areas in public space that are at least four tefachim by four tefachim wide and are surrounded by walls between three and ten tefachim high (plateaus or ditches with similar dimensions are also classed as karmelis). The airspace above a karmelis only extends to a height of ten tefachim, beyond which it is deemed to be exempt.

Mekum petur: This is an exempt area, a place located amidst a reshus harabim which measures less that four tefachim by four tefachim and is at least three tefachim high (mounds and ditches are also included in this definition). Airspace above public and karmelis are also classified as mekum petur.

The classification of space has direct relevance in terms of the thirty-nine prohibited acts on the Sabbath, and which are important in terms of correctly fulfilling God's

(fourth) commandment to sanctify the seventh day[18]. To break a commandment, whether intentionally or otherwise, was effectively contradicting the wishes of God, with the potential divine repercussions discussed earlier. Moreover, violation of God's wishes could also have earthly consequences in terms of the penalties that were at the disposal of the Sanhedrin: for unintentional infractions the penalty was the sacrificing of a sin-offering; if the action was intentional (and two witnesses testified as such) then no penalty was imposed, but the party was informed they would be punished by *korath* (shortening of time on earth); however, where the culprit openly defied an authority in spite of forewarnings, a penalty of death by stoning could be imposed[19] (Rodkinson, 1903; Schorr, 1996a). For ancient Jews, the entire social system was governed by a fear and love of heaven, but also by the human courts who were its guardians; as such, the institutionalised spatial practices and behaviour of individual Jews mattered. While ancient Jewish life was undoubtedly highly structured and institutionalised, the Talmud also details mechanisms for easing the difficulties.

The concept of eruvin

An eruv (lit. 'mixing' or 'mingling') is a legal device which enables two areas or periods of time to be combined so as to ease certain Sabbath restrictions. There are three types of eruv - *eruv tashilin, eruv techumin* and *eruvei chatzeiros*.

Eruv tashilin: This is a mechanism which permits cooking on a festival day that falls on a Friday in order to prepare food for the Sabbath. While cooking on the Sabbath is always forbidden, it is permitted to cook on a festival providing the food is only intended to be eaten for that event. As such, cooking on a festival Friday for the following Sabbath is, without the invocation of an eruv, forbidden. The eruv procedure involves setting aside two simple cooked dishes (such as a piece of fish

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[18] 'Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt not do any manner or work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested on the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it' (Exodus 20: 8-11, translation in Cohen, 1947).

[19] Note that capital punishment could be imposed not only for breaking the thirty-nine acts of labour, but also for a host of other 'crimes' including murder, selling a person into slavery or cursing one's mother and father (see Exodus 21-23).

and a boiled egg) on the day before the festival, which then act to 'mingle' the weekday with the festival, hence allowing cooking for the Sabbath (Jacobs, 1995).

Eruv techumin: It is forbidden on the Sabbath to travel more than 2,000 cubits from a person's dwelling place as halachically defined on the onset of that day. In open areas the size of this dwelling place is an area four cubits by four cubits (other authorities believe it to be eight cubits by eight cubits), but when in a building the classification extends to cover the whole of that construction, as indeed it does for the whole locality of a city. Nonetheless, it is possible to establish a place of dwelling other than a person's particular location by making an eruv techumin. The procedure involves depositing a specified amount of food (and reciting the appropriate blessing) 2,000 cubits from a person's place of dwelling before the onset of the Sabbath, hence allowing a distance of 4,000 cubits to be travelled in that direction (2,000 cubits to the eruv, and a further 2,000 beyond). Note, however, that such a device can only be installed for the purpose of performing a *mitzvah* (commandment) such as to console a mourner or to go to a wedding feast (Goldwurm, 1995; Jacobs, 1995).

Eruvei chatzeiros: This is a mechanism which permits the merging of courtyards so that it becomes possible to transfer an article from one person's private domain to that owned by another. Although not biblically prohibited (unlike the transfer from public to private space: see above), the sages decreed that the transfer between a person's private residence and a courtyard (which is shared by a number of residents, and is also classed as private space) is not to be allowed. What matters is not legal ownership, but present occupancy, and so those living in a shared courtyard are said to restrict each other's ability to carry (if all the residents bar one household were absent during a Sabbath, carrying for the latter would be permitted[20]). Eruvei chatzeiros permit all the houses opening up into a courtyard to be viewed as a single consortium. By collecting a loaf of bread (or *matzah*: unleavened bread[21]) before the onset of Sabbath and placing it in the house of one of the residents (and the appropriate blessing recited), all the members of that courtyard become symbolically merged. Because the yard and houses are all considered to be under single

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[20] The members of a household are considered as a single unit and do not restrict (Goldwurm, 1995).
[21] Matzah is usually preferred because it lasts longer, meaning that the procedure only has to take place once a year rather than before every Sabbath (Bechhofer, 1998).

ownership, the prohibition of transferring objects between private domains no longer applies (Bechhofer, 1998; Goldwurm, 1995: see also Eider, 1968).

In addition to the eruvei chatzeiros, there is also a provision to permit carrying from a courtyard into an alley. This mechanism is known as a *shitufei chatzeiros*, and allows the members of several courtyard to unite under one ownership, hence allowing transfers to and from an alley which they all share (Goldwurm, 1995). Both eruv and shituf must be made before the onset of Sabbath, so that if any resident of the courtyard or alley forgot to join, their presence nullifies the procedure. Nonetheless, if the forgetful person formally nullifies their right to carry (and which may be orally declared even on the Sabbath), then the rest remain able to transfer articles. If a gentile (or a non-observant Jew) lives within the courtyard, the only mechanism to avoid that person restricting the eruv or shituf is symbolically to rent that person's dwelling. This is the mechanism that is used for large urban eruvin (see below).

Eruvei chatzeiros and shitufei chatzeiros only apply to areas classified as private space, and which, as explained above, must be enclosed by partitions ten tefachim high. Nevertheless, all such enclosures require openings for people to pass through, and so the sages differentiated between 'breaches' (which invalidate partitions), and 'entrances' (which are classed as valid sections of the partition). Entrances can only be classed as such if they are not wider than ten cubits, or if they do not exceed the amount of standing segments. In terms of this latter requirement, however, actual doorways are classed as part of the standing segments, as indeed are devices known as *tzuros ha'pesach* which consist of vertical posts whose tops are connected by bars, wires or string, and which thus resemble the form of a doorways. Moreover, gaps in partitions less than three tefachim wide are not considered relevant, partitions of ten tefachim also incorporate any areas above and below[22], and roof edges similarly extend downwards (Goldwurm, 1995).

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[22] For example, a partition ten tefachim high located on a balcony, extends downwards to incorporate the area below it: although in practice this feature is limited by the rule that where small goats can

Contemporary eruvin

The concept of contemporary large-scale urban eruvin is centred on the opinion of most authorities that it is possible entirely (or, more commonly, in combination with pre-existing natural or human constructed features) to surround an area with tzuros ha'pesach (Bechhofer, 1998). By surrounding an area with posts and wires[23], space which would otherwise be classified as karmelis becomes designated as private, and hence can be merged under single ownership through the mechanisms described above. By doing so, religious Orthodox Jews are able to carry on the Sabbath, but, more importantly, those who are infirm, and parents with young children are also able to leave their homes: under halachah, using devices such as prams, walking sticks or wheelchairs on the Sabbath without an eruv is forbidden, because their use is classed as carrying (Apel, 1989). Nonetheless, the plans for constructing eruvin were designed for use in ancient Jewish settlements, and the application of these principles to contemporary (post)modern cities is halachically and socially problematic.

Halachic problems: Constructing contemporary eruvin revolves around three legalistic problems: reshus harabim issues; correctly constructing the devices; and renting the area from the authorities (Bechhofer, 1998).

The reshus harabim issue is probably the most controversial legalistic problem in constructing eruvin, and divides leading orthodox authorities. As we have seen, large urban eruvin are centred on the principle of tzuros ha'pesach, but this device only works for areas that were previously classified as karmelis. For areas that are deemed to be public, actual doors (rather than tzuros ha'pesach) are required which are capable of being closed at night, otherwise the area's classification cannot be changed. In contemporary Western cities, it is unrealistic to seal an entire area with actual doors, and so only karmelis areas are, in practice, ever surrounded with eruvin. Classifying areas as either public or karmelis is extremely difficult and controversial (Bechhofer, 1998).

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pass through the imaginary partition they become invalidated. The main application of this principle is therefore where balconies extend over bodies of water (Goldwurm, 1995).

According to the interpretations of Maimonides, public space should be defined as those domains consisting of deserts, forests, marketplaces and the roads (providing they are sixteen cubits wide and not roofed) which lead onto them. The authorities that follow this ruling do not, therefore, accept the construction of modern eruvin which almost always include such roads. Other authorities disagree, however, and follow Rashi's contention that public space also requires the presence of 600,000 people (the number of Jews camped in the wilderness when the Torah was given). Many cities clearly have more than 600,000 residents, and which would still seem to make eruvin non-viable in these places. Nonetheless, there are questions as to what space and time these 600,000 must be present, whether for example they must all traverse the same street every day to be included in the figure. These and a number of other reshus harabim difficulties mean that, while some authorities may deem the construction of eruvin in a particular area valid, there will almost always be others who reject its use (Apel, 1989; Bechhofer, 1998).

Once an area has been classified as karmelis, the next stage is to construct the eruv. Typically, authorities try to use pre-existing features as far as possible, such as walls, fences, embankments, riverbanks, bridges, viaducts, telephone posts and wires, thus avoiding the requirement to construct new tzuros ha'pesach, which can be problematic (see below). Nonetheless, incorporating such features is legalistically fraught, with numerous questions concerning, for example, whether telephone wires can act as doorways if that was not their original purpose, whether wires pass over the top of poles (if the wires are attached to the sides of posts they become invalid), and even the correct angle for vertical posts. Moreover, there are also problems of how to react if the wires or posts that constitute an eruv break. Most contemporary eruvin are checked the night before the Sabbath, but authorities generally rule that the population should not be informed of any problems because there will always be some who are sceptical of such a declaration and will carry articles regardless: it is better to commit a sin unintentionally than intentionally (Bechhofer, 1998; Eider, 1968).

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[23] Note that the term 'eruv' is colloquially understood as this procedure, rather than any of the other

Presuming that an areas is deemed to be karmelis (which is then re-classified as private through the construction of halachically acceptable partitions), the final set of difficulties concern the unifying of residents. Because contemporary cities invariably contain a mixture of Jews and non-Jews, for a large-scale eruv to be valid, the land must be symbolically rented (usually by the payment of a nominal fee) from the authorities. The difficulties here concern who is in overall control the city - whether the police, mayor or council - and whether such individuals or groups actually have the right to enter every property. In totalitarian countries, authorities are able to access all areas, but in democratic countries there are debates as to whether or not private property can be entered at will. Nonetheless, these problems are not so intractable as the previous two, and most eruvin are able to proceed by symbolically renting the streets from an authority figure.

Social problems: Leaving aside halachic problems, the construction of eruvin can often be highly controversial in terms of the reactions of non-Jews and (especially) non-orthodox Jews. In London there has been a long-running attempt to construct an eruv in the suburban district of Barnet, arising out of an alliance between a local (neo-) Orthodox rabbi and the United Synagogue (Cooper, 1996; Rothenberg, 1996a and b, 1997a and b, 1998, 1999; Wainwright, 1997). While the eruv has now received final planning permission and looks certain to go 'live' very shortly, it remains highly controversial (Clark, 1999).

Proponents of the eruv argue that the device will improve the lives of otherwise disadvantaged Jews, will cause minimum visual damage (the posts and wires will be virtually unidentifiable from similar objects in the area) and, as such, there are no sensible reasons for objection (Cooper, 1996). In contrast, opponents (both non-religious Jews and non-Jews) view the eruv as the creation of a fundamentalist, exclusionary space, tying into concerns over the fundamentalism of the Israeli ultra-Orthodox where (it is imagined) stones are thrown at those who break the Sabbath commandments (see chapter two). They fear that the eruv will re-create the landscape of the old European ghettos and shtetls (see chapter one), and thus promote anti-Semitism. They reject the public display of (religious) Judaism, arguing,

definitions outlined above. Unless specified otherwise, I also use the term in this way.

furthermore, that the eruv will disfigure the local landscape[24] (especially in the middle-class suburb of Hampstead Garden Suburb; a prime example of the early twentieth century garden suburb movement which is architecturally protected) (Cooper, 1996).

In analysing the controversies, Cooper (1996) argues that opponents view the eruv via a 'traditional', liberal perspective, perceiving it to be a challenge to ideas of secularism, the public-private divide and Enlightenment rationality. The eruv thus seems to 'symbolically stain space' (Cooper, 1996: 533), inscribing alternative (and unwelcome) meanings into what was previously a 'neutral' (although, in fact largely hegemonic Christian) middle-class landscape in which 'difference' is confined to the home:

> 'On the one hand, an eruv allows orthodox Jews more easily to use public space on the Sabbath. At the same time, an eruv *normalizes* orthodox Judaism by enabling observant Jews to come out as 'ordinary' citizens. Yet, the essential otherness of the orthodox Jew remains. The eruv's danger is it allows such 'otherness' public expression. Orthodox congregants are able to publicly express aspects of their private identity in ways deemed antithetical to a modernist allocation of personhood.' (Cooper, 1996: 537)

Cooper (1996: 541) positions the eruv within debates about modern governance and nation-states, and the rights of minorities to, as opponents view it, 'racialise' or 'territorialise' space against the wishes of many individuals:

> 'Modernist conceptions of nation require boundaries at both a physical level, and at the levels of the imaginary ... This imaginary or 'map' is troubled by the eruv with its marking of new borders - a Berlin wall separating insider from outsider on the basis of religious demography. But the eruv also troubles because its construction *centres* the perimeter. Partly this is the effect of planning law whose gaze

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[24] Although the eruv will mainly use pre-existing telephone posts and wires, a further eighty-seven

interrogates structures, thus often ignoring an interior space; but it is also produced by the eruv itself which begins with exterior 'walls'.' (Cooper, 1996: 542)

Cooper's discussions on the Barnet eruv have clear (empirical and theoretical) resonances with similar proposals by the Manchester Beth Din to construct such a device. When ideas for a possible Manchester eruv were raised some ten years ago there were, similar to Barnet, concerns from secular Jews who feared the re-creation of a ghetto landscape, although now the principal objections are coming from the religious right (who Cooper notes have also opposed the Barnet eruv). In chapter nine, I discuss these various controversies (particularly those from the religious right), using the eruv as a focus for formally drawing together the theoretical and empirical understandings of space, identity and boundaries which run throughout this chapter and the rest of the thesis.

Summary

In this chapter I examined the role of space and spatial practices as detailed in the sacred text of the Talmud, a document that provides the institutionalised codes and regulations regarding the 'correct' practice of life in both ancient Judaism and contemporary orthodoxy. In the first part of the chapter I introduced the importance of the Talmud, and the difficulties of reading and interpreting such a vast and complex document. I then examined spatial rules and forms for the construction and practice of the great Temples, agriculture and community organisation, before discussing requirements for the Sabbath and the Talmudic system for classifying space. In the final part of the chapter I discussed the concept of eruvin, explaining the mechanisms for their construction, and the many halachic and social problems. By examining these Talmudic conceptions, the importance of institutionalised space, and the detailed ways in which all aspects of orthodox life are sought to be regulated, controlled and categorised, is made evident.

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posts have to be constructed (Rothenberg, 1998).

METHODOLOGY, POSITIONALITY AND ETHICS

Introduction

In chapter one I outlined the social and political purpose of this thesis, explaining the
need for a detailed study of 'ultra-Orthodoxy' in this country as set within the context
of a rapidly changing (demographically, socially and culturally) overall Anglo-
Jewish community (and the often bitter internal tensions and polarisations). Chapters
two, three and four fleshed out different ways of understanding orthodoxy, through
discussing work on other Jewish communities (both orthodox and non-orthodox),
theoretical discussions of space, identity and boundaries, and the institutional spatial
codes and dictates that underpin religious lifestyles. The aim now is to bridge this
first half of the thesis with the second, which examines orthodox life as practised
within the grounded context of Broughton Park, Manchester. As such, this chapter
examines how I approached and undertook this research, discussing firstly, overall
methodologies (the theory and analysis of research procedures: see Madge *et al*,
1997), and secondly, specific *methods* (techniques for gathering evidence) used in the
study.

In the first half of the chapter I discuss the quantitative and qualitative methodologies
of mapping communities and ethnography (specifically participant observation and
semi-structured interviews), examining how such approaches can be useful in
researching orthodoxy. I then critique these methodologies (especially ethnography,
the most common strategy for research on orthodoxy), examining how such
approaches can be exploitative and voyeuristic. I discuss how research may become
more ethically sensitive, both through overall justifications for undertaking studies
and in specific strategies for undertaking fieldwork. In the second half of the chapter,
I explain the particular grounded methods used in my study. I begin by outlining
different methods for mapping Jewish communities, and the reasons why I chose an
approach based on the electoral register. I then discuss my use of participant

observation, providing a reflexive account of the realities of fieldwork which serves both to outline my positionality and to flag up key characteristics of life in Broughton Park. Finally, I examine my use of semi-structured interviews, discussing gatekeepers, interview strategies and asking the 'right' questions, before concluding with brief profiles of my interviewees.

Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies

Philo (1998a: 191), in a theme issue of *Environment and Planning A* ('Reconsidering quantitative geography'), notes the way in which, since the 1960s at least, there has been a 'quite often antagonistic divide within academic (human) geography' between qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Philo asks whether it is possible for a truce to be called between the two rival camps, a theme developed by Philip (1998), who notes how quantitative methodologies are often dismissed by younger cultural geographers who are either 'turned off' the mathematics (and/or statistics) or buy into the backlash against the 'quantitative juggernaut of spatial science' that seemed to 'abolish intentionality, culture and man himself [sic]' (Ley, 1981: 250, in Philip, 1998: 266). Philip argues against a simplistic binary that equates quantitative methodologies with (now disgraced) positivism, and qualitative strategies with humanism and post-modernism (see also Madge *et al*, 1997). Instead, she argues for a greater acceptance of combining (circumstances depending) multiple research methods:

> 'Essentially my argument is that researchers should think beyond the myopic quantitative-qualitative divide when it comes to designing a suitable methodology for their research, and select methods - quantitative, qualitative, or a combination of the two - that best satisfy the needs of specific research projects.' (Philip, 1998: 273)

As explained in chapters one and two, the aims of my research project were to uncover the daily life practices and understandings of orthodox Jews living in Broughton Park, and to develop current research on Anglo-Jewry. As such, the project was suited to a combination of methods, providing a quantitative backdrop to

the spatial patterns of Jews living in Broughton Park together with a qualitative account of the 'truths', meanings and understandings of individual lives. Specifically, my research revolved around two principal research strategies: firstly, the construction of maps detailing the population of Jewish residents in and around Broughton Park, and the spatial distribution of communal institutions (see figures 6.1-6.3); and secondly, the use of ethnographic methods, in particular the use of semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

Mapping communities

As chapter two discussed, the vast majority of earlier geographical work on Anglo-Jewry concentrated on determining the demographic and spatial concentrations of Jewish communities. These studies used a range of largely quantitative techniques, such as surveys based on distinctive Jewish names (taken from synagogue records or electoral registers), with the results typically being displayed in cartographic format. As a central foundation for my study, I have also mapped the spatial concentration of Jews living in and around Broughton Park through a survey based on the electoral role and on the distribution of *mezuzot*[1]. This survey provides key information on the Jewish community, contextualising the ethnographic material around which this thesis is based. In the second half of this chapter I detail the precise methods used to undertake the survey and to map the results, but here I want briefly to raise some broader conceptual issues about cartographic systems of representation.

Maps have of course been central to the geographical tradition for centuries (Lindsay, 1997; Livingstone, 1993: see also Sharp, 1999b), but claims of cartographic objectivity and neutrality (underpinned by positivist epistemologies) have been increasingly challenged.

> 'Power comes from the map and it traverses the way maps are made. Maps are a technology of power, and the key to this internal power is cartographic process. By this I mean the way maps are compiled and the categories of information selected; the way they

are generalised, a set of rules for the abstraction of landscape; the way the elements in the landscape are formed into hierarchies; and the way various rhetorical styles that also reproduce power are employed to represent the landscape. To catalogue the world is to appropriate it ...' (Harley, 1997: 164)

Harley (1997) deconstructs the cartographic process, highlighting how maps are imbued by the politics of knowledge (and as such are not innocent or impartial), and need to be seen within wider theories of representation (see also Dorling, 1998; Gregory, 1994[2]; Monmonier, 1991; Pickles, 1995). Such critiques of representation, involving, for example, challenges to the objectivist, 'masculinist' gaze of the all-seeing academic eye (Rose, 1993), are discussed in the following sections and I will not dwell on these here. My point now is simply to acknowledge how the maps that I have drawn (see chapter six, figures 6.1-6.3) are not neutral representations; the particular ways in which I have constructed these maps serve to include and to exclude, and to paint a necessarily partial picture. While there is inevitably a gap between reality and my diagrammatic (as well as textual and photographic) representations, by outlining at least some of the methods by which I constructed the maps, I can make this process more visible, and hence reduce my authorial power to claim 'others'.

Ethnographic methodologies

Interviewing and participant observation are key research tools for ethnographers seeking to uncover the experiences of everyday life through the 'acquisition of insider knowledge' (Eyles, 1988: 2) and via contextually sensitive methods (Holloway, 1999: see also Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994; Philip, 1998). The use of qualitative methodologies by geographers has become increasingly popular in recent years, especially by feminists and those involved in the 'cultural turn' who seek methods 'capable of exploiting the realities of everyday lives as they are

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[1] *Mezuzot* are small icons (containing parchment with two hand-written sections from Deuteronomy) which are supposed to be attached to the door-posts of Jewish homes (see Jacobs, 1995).
[2] Gregory (1994) uses the term 'cartographic anxiety' to refer to the critiques of the all-knowing, all-encompassing power (and ocularcentrism) of spatial science (and of many other intellectual positions,

explained by the people who live them' (Pile, 1991: 458). In terms of my aims and objectives, ethnographic methodologies seem ideally suited because of their potential to give voice to 'others', and to provide a (necessarily partial and positioned) 'window' into the lives of orthodox Jews. In my study, the two principal ethnographic methodologies were participant observation and semi-structured interviews[3].

Participant observation: As in semi structured and unstructured interviews, the aim of participant observation is to uncover insiders' understandings of life practices. Jorgenson (1989: 12) argues that participant observation is 'exceptional for studying processes, relationships among people and events, the organisation of people and events, continuities over time, and patterns, as well as the immediate sociocultural contexts in which human existence unfolds.' In particular, he suggests that the methodology is especially appropriate if the phenomenon being studied is little known, is obscured from the public and there are major differences between the views of insiders and outsiders. Jorgenson's definition is extremely wide-ranging, but he does stipulate certain minimum conditions that are necessary if participant observation is to be viable:

- '- the research problem is concerned with human meanings and interactions viewed from the insiders' perspective;
- the phenomenon of investigation is observable within an everyday life situation or setting;
- the researcher is able to gain access to an appropriate setting;
- the phenomenon is sufficiently limited in size and location to be studied as a case;
- study questions are appropriate for case study; and

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popular discourses and political practices) through which it is possible to explain, map and thus 'capture' the world (as exhibition).

[3] Note that one of the early decisions I made was to reject the use of questionnaires. Such a strategy could potentially have gathered some very interesting results on the overall characteristics of the community, providing a quantitative backdrop particularly suitable for future comparative research. Because I sought a much more personal and in-depth account, however, I rejected this method, adopting instead participant observation strategies and face-to-face interviews. Furthermore, I was also concerned about low response rates to a questionnaire because of the, as I perceived it at least, relative isolation of the community and the distrust of outsiders.

- the research problem can be addressed by qualitative data gathered by direct observation and other means pertinent to the field setting.' (Jorgenson, 1989: 13)

Semi-structured interviews: As Cook and Crang (1994) discuss, interviews range from the highly structured (constructed similar to questionnaires) to the unstructured in which the conversation has no pre-determined focus, and is free to go in almost any direction. In between, there is the semi-structured interview, where the researcher sets parameters to the discussions, and has a set of topics or broad questions which they wish to raise. Valentine (1997), writing principally about semi-structured or unstructured interviews, contrasts these with questionnaires which tend to ask a rigid set of questions, 'forcing' respondents to categorise their answers in structured and partial ways. Instead, she explains how interviews can/should take a more conversational, fluid form, allowing researchers to go back over the same ground, new material to be raised, and interviewees to describe and even to explain the complexities and contradictions of their daily lives. Valentine argues that interviews are not designed to be representative of overall populations, but rather to aid understandings of how people make sense of, and experience, their lives:

'[Interviews] are a dialogue rather than an interrogation ... [they are] sensitive and people orientated, allowing interviewees to construct their own accounts of their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words.' (Valentine, 1997: 111)

Both interviewing and participant observation, at least at first sight, dovetail neatly with my research aims and objectives. Because these techniques aim to uncover the contextualised life meanings of research 'subjects', they would appear to be ideal ways of getting to the heart of orthodox identities as practised and understood within Broughton Park. In many ways, interviewing and participant observation do provide such opportunities to 'get inside' orthodoxy (as I will detail in the second half of this chapter), but these techniques are also ethically and epistemologically problematic.

Ethical and positional critiques of ethnography

> 'Ethnography is the work of describing a culture. The central aim of
> ethnography is to understand another way of life from the native
> point of view. The goal of ethnography, as Malinowski put it, is "to
> grasp from the native's point of view, his [*sic*] relation to life, to
> realize *his* vision of *his* world". Fieldwork, then, involves the
> disciplined study of what the world is like to people who have learned
> to see, hear, speak, think, and act in ways that are different. Rather
> than *studying people*, ethnography means *learning from people*.'
> (Spradley, 1980: 3)

Spradley's description of the goals of ethnography offers, in principle, the possibility
of getting to the heart of how people understand and practise their daily lives,
countering the critiques of positivist-inspired methodologies which seem to 'fix'
those researched under a mythical veil of objectivity. Ethnographic methodologies
have been frequently used by feminist and other socio-cultural geographers as part of
a strategy of countering the arrogance of the neutral, positivist, academic all-seeing
eye:

> 'For me, part of the feminist project has been to dismantle the
> smokescreen surrounding the canons of neopositivist research -
> impartiality and objectivist neutrality - which supposedly prevent the
> researcher from contaminating the data (and, presumably, vice
> versa).' (England, 1994: 81)

England (1994: 81) critiques ideas of a neat dichotomy between subject and object,
supported by research methods that 'position the researcher as an omnipotent expert
in control of both passive research subjects and the research process.' In such
accounts, researchers are imagined as being detached and value-neutral, downplaying
the personal as a threat to objectivity. In a similar way, Miles and Crush (1993)
argue for the abandonment of the myth of detachment, and too of the illusion that
researchers can objectively gather the 'facts'. Nevertheless, while ethnography is

often used as a way of countering critiques of positivism, it is also a potentially exploitative methodology.

Looking more closely at Spradley's (1980) ethnographic goals, especially once seen through the lens of feminist-inspired critiques of positionality, a whole series of concerns become apparent about the way in which the 'other' is represented, and about the relative locations and power relations of 'object' (researcher) and 'subject' (researched). Conjuring up, at least for me, images of white, male, middle- (or upper-) class researchers going into 'deepest darkest Africa' to look at the 'strange' black people and their 'primitive' ways, Spradley's goals are ones that I find potentially disturbing and ethically questionable. Despite his claim that it is the *learning from* (rather than the *studying of*) people which characterises ethnography, the two, in practice, can hardly be separated. In Spradley's account, it is the (almost inevitably Western) researcher who chooses to undertake the project, who decides what information he or she requires, and leaves when they are finished, in the course of which the wishes of the 'natives' to have this stranger enter their world seem largely irrelevant. In this way Katz (1994: 68-70) talks about the 'arrogance of research', in which the lives of individuals who have been researched can so easily be subsumed into 'the scholarly equivalent of war stories' for use in journals, conference halls and classrooms. This critique cannot only be levelled against older ethnographic accounts, but is arguably just as relevant to contemporary socio-cultural geographers:

> 'The colonial mentality which seemingly allowed regional geographers to go region-collecting, never questioning their right to travel the globe, accessing all of its regions and (as it were) appropriating them to be represented in written treatises, is not wholly absent from the activities of socio-cultural geographers looking around for new 'others' to paste up in the academic album. There is arguably a not dissimilar arrogance: a failure to consider whether the researcher really has (or should have) the right to identify, isolate and depict all of these 'other others'. What real

intellectual benefits accrue, beyond satisfying a Western academic taste for the 'exotic'.' (Philo, 1998b: 20)

As such, the particular question is what *right* do we (as researchers) have to study other people, and here I examine three possible (often interrelated) justifications: firstly, Philo's (1998b) defence of (at least certain types of) research for the purposes of creating a 'consultable record of otherness'; secondly, defence of research on the basis of being an insider; and thirdly, justification based on political projects to counter oppressive discourses and power relations. I will examine this question with particular reference to work on orthodoxy, especially Heilman's (1992) *Defenders of the Faith* (see also chapter two).

A consultable record of otherness: Philo (1998b) explores the ethics of research into minority ways of life, and, specifically, into "outsiders' ... beyond the obvious categories of otherness such as women, people of colour and the 'underclass''. Indeed, Philo introduces his concerns with a discussion of 'gricers', people who break on to (then) British Rail property, and take pictures of themselves without clothes as a way of challenging privatisation and the 'corporate enemy' that restricts where people can and cannot go. Philo defends such research for being part of compiling a 'consultable record of otherness' (although he also acknowledges various dangers including the difficulties of where and how should such a record be maintained, as well as who should be the gatekeepers). While Philo restricts his discussions to 'other others' (such as the gricers), the argument can be extended to consider the ethics of all research, whether on minority groups or otherwise. Do geographers (and academics in general) have the right, perhaps even a responsibility, to collect information on the world as a record of 'who we (as human beings) are'? Is one of the principal roles of academia to serve as an archive of otherness or, indeed, of sameness? What happens if particular groups do not want to be researched, or if accounts about their lifestyles would be harmful?

As discussed in chapter two, Heilman's (1992) ethnographic account of orthodox life in Israel is extensively researched and extremely detailed, and, as such, his contribution to a 'consultable record of otherness' is highly valuable. Reading

through his account, however, I was frequently troubled with ethical questions as to why he had undertaken the research. Heilman, although largely sympathetic to Haredi culture, clearly revels in the 'juicy' gossip of the (to outsiders at least) strange practices of the lives of his subjects. He opens his account with a description of how he first entered a Haredi mikvah, a time when naked men immerse themselves in purifying waters, and finishes with a discussion of the 'triumph of sex' (which is also the longest chapter in the book). His descriptions are undoubtedly fascinating, yet by reading his work I often felt implicated in a process whereby we (author and reader) are free to rummage through people's private lives, to gather interesting information to take back to the 'folks at home'. Indeed, Heilman prides himself on his ability to enter the deepest recesses of orthodox life, and the discussions of sex (a subject normally too immodest for everyday conversations) is his *pièce de résistance*. In many ways my criticisms of Heilman relate to the specific, often deliberately covert, and at times dishonest methods he chose to adopt (which I discuss shortly), but it also ties in with the more general question of whether it is ethically appropriate to undertake research merely because it is interesting. *Defenders of the Faith* reads, to me, as a fascinating, though at times disturbingly voyeuristic, tale of the exotic. What I am suggesting is that without a more defined ethical underpinning, research for the purposes of knowledge or an educational record may not, in itself, be enough to justify the intrusive nature of ethnography.

Insider/outsider: A second possible justification for undertaking research is the claim that academics are representative of those being researched, and that they have the right to speak for/about 'us'. Kobayashi (1994), for example, examines her role in fighting for government redress for human rights abuses against Japanese Canadians in the 1940s. As a Japanese Canadian woman, Kobayashi (1994: 74) felt that she had the right to represent 'her' group: 'Working within my own cultural community, I have gained legitimacy, access, an insider's view of cultural practice, and the potential to achieve political ends more effectively.' By working from the inside, she provides a potentially firm counter to claims of voyeurism, and of academics 'bagging' others to add to the research profile.

Returning to *Defenders of the Faith*, Heilman identifies himself as someone who is both insider and outsider. On the one hand he is Jewish (and a practising Jew at that), is hence part of the 'club' (Brook, 1989), and indeed would be halachically defined by his respondents as 'same'. On the other hand, his lifestyle and beliefs are in many ways very different from orthodoxy, and he has a definite sense of a (topological) gap between them and him. As such, while his partial insider status provides in one sense a justification for his research, his being an outsider may also label him as a potential 'tourist of the other':

> 'The post-modern venture is a 'new kind of gender tourism, whereby male tourists are able to take package trips into the world of femininity,' in which they can 'get a bit of the other' in the knowledge that they have return tickets to the safe, familiar and, above all, empowering terrain of masculinity.' (Bondi, 1990: 163)

Bondi's criticism of 'them' travelling over to represent 'us' clearly rests on an acceptance of an insider/outsider division in which, when it comes to feminist research, she clearly positions herself as part of the former. Using this same argument, England (1994: 84) questions, and eventually abandons, doing research on lesbianism because of her fears of voyeurism, in which, as someone who is heterosexual, she was concerned about the ethics of trying to represent this 'other': 'Am I trying to get on some cheap package tour of lesbianism in the hopes of gaining some fleeting understanding of, perhaps, the ultimate "other"?'. For Heilman, Bondi and England's critiques seem particularly pertinent. Nevertheless, positions of insider and outsider are arguably more unstable and contextually contingent than even Bondi's and England's arguments imply.

Drawing on black and lesbian women's critiques of universal feminist claims to knowledge - feminisms usually propagated by women who are white and straight (Rose, 1997b: see also Radcliffe, 1994) - Gilbert (1994) argues that, in her research on low-waged women, she did not consider herself an insider even though her respondents were women from the same city where she lived. For Gilbert, the fact that the women whom she interviewed were all mothers (she was not), were poorer,

had less education, belonged to different racialised groups, and were often on welfare, meant that being of the same sex was not enough to make her feel 'one of them'. Pushing this argument further, there is potentially a complete crisis of representation in which knowing or representing anyone else (and arguably even ourselves) becomes theoretically invalid, and where the possibility of ever being an 'insider' is thus rejected:

> '**If one is to push the antifoundationalism of postmodernism to its extreme, it would imply the collapse of all value hierarchies, thus creating a situation of incommensurable relativism**' (Duncan and Sharp, 1993: 476).

Duncan and Sharp (1993) are concerned with the power relations of representation(s), and the possibilities for avoiding (textual and material) exploitation by colonial 'Selves' of postcolonial 'Others'. While problematising representational issues, they argue the need for a deliberate and intentional '*politics* of representation' whereby researchers maintain a position - albeit a tentative one - from which to challenge exploitative colonial discourses and power structures. I will discuss such a politics in a moment, but acknowledging the contingent nature of insider/outsider relations certainly undermines any simplistic positioning of oneself as the former (and hence any adoption of this claim as an unproblematic justification for research). Besides, speaking from the inside does not necessarily prevent one from reporting damaging or hurtful information about vulnerable people (and which Heilman is arguably guilty of in this respect).

Politics of representation: Interwoven with conceptions of insider/outsider, academics have often deliberately positioned themselves with/in groups that are resisting systems and discourses of domination. Such approaches have been integral to the 'identity politics' of the 1990s in which academics have struggled against hegemonic discourses of, for example, race, gender and sexuality (see for example Bell and Valentine, 1995; Jackson and Penrose, 1993; Keith and Pile, 1993). Hall (1990: 222-223) firmly positions himself as a black man fighting against racism and post-colonial oppression: 'I was born into and spent my childhood and adolescence

in a lower middle-class family in Jamaica. I have lived all my adult life in England, in the shadow of the black diaspora - 'in the belly of the beast'.' Nevertheless, Hall also problematises the way in which identity is always in production and in process (see chapter three), and thereby disrupts claims to authority and authenticity based on appeals to (stable and bounded) notions of 'cultural identity'. Having a politics to academic research remains, in practice, laced with ethical and positional difficulties.

Positioning himself with/as one of the anti-roads protesters demonstrating against the extension of the M77 motorway through Pollok Park in Glasgow, Routledge (1997: see also chapter three) aims to combine his two roles of activist and academic: a position that is part of his overall project of countering systems of domination. Reflecting on his positionality, however, Routledge (1996: 405) argues that in many ways he occupied a 'third space' in which he was 'never an insider nor an outsider in any absolute sense. The boundaries between my roles as "activist" and "geographer" were always in flux, always being negotiated.' While Routledge actively supported the cause, he also at times felt a gap between them and him, whereby, for example, he (unlike most of them) was employed, and more so because his profession as an academic geographer positioned him as someone with differing life practices and with sometimes critical views on the conduct of the protest.

In a follow-up paper, Routledge (forthcoming) further problematises his role as activist/academic in working with/for environmental resistance movements in Goa, India. Because of his direct support for these movements, Routledge wanted to avoid an exploitative researcher-researched relationship whereby academics appropriate information and then leave without contributing anything back (see Sidaway, 1992). As such, he decided to work for the environmentalists by pretending to be an overseas business representative directly seeking information on potentially illegal hotel developments. Through this covert role, he obtained evidence which was subsequently used by the environmentalists to help block several of the hotel developments. Routledge occupied a position of both insider and outsider in that, while on the one hand he was directly involved in the environmental resistance, on the other he was a transient figure who spent most of his time thousands of miles away in an academic institution. Moreover, once he returned to Glasgow, both of the

two groups for whom he had worked maintained very little contact with him (despite his best attempts) because they had little interest in him as a (Western) academic: what was relevant to them was his activist skill; insider mattered, outsider did not.

As Routledge's accounts highlight, the roles of insider (activist) and outsider (academic) are messy and contingent, dependent on time, space and the particular individuals and groups considered (the personal realities of who will talk to us and engage with the research). Furthermore, questions of how to define a *principled* politics of representation are perhaps even more problematic: for example, what ethical and political grounds does Routledge have for supporting his particular projects? Such a question is, of course, in danger of sliding back into the terrain of 'incommensurable relativism' that Duncan and Sharp (1993) warn about, but my point is that, while a political stance *may* justify undertaking research, in itself it is no guarantee of ethical work. It would, for example, be easy to imagine contemporary research championing Nazism (and indeed there are many accounts of Holocaust revisionism) which, while certainly politically motivated, would from my position (which I will outline later) be classed as morally[4] dubious.

The three possible justifications examined above are all problematic, and none, I think, can be simplistically invoked as an ethical *carte blanche*. In many ways, more important than the specific justification(s) chosen is the overall acknowledgement that ethics are important when undertaking research. If academics are sensitive to the dangers of voyeurism and to issues of representation, and specifically outline an ethical defence of their work, then this will at least go some way towards ensuring that the researcher-researched relationship becomes less exploitative (or at least exploitative because of being ignorant of ethical issues). Just as important, however, are the grounded ways in which fieldwork is undertaken and the particular research strategies chosen and represented. In the following section I address how academics have considered particular grounded ethical issues such as reflexivity, positionality and the choices of covert or overt approaches.

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[4] Note that distinctions are sometimes drawn between 'ethics' and 'morals', so that it is customary to refer to professional ethics (for example medical ethics), but to conduct in other spheres as morality (as in, say, sexual morality). Nonetheless, as D.M. Smith (1997) argues, there is little to be lost in taking both terms to mean the same: both are concerned with evaluation of human conduct, with 'right' and 'wrong', 'good' or 'bad' and with what people ought or ought not to do.

Ethical research strategies

May (1993) outlines two possible ethical systems for undertaking social research: *deontology* and *consequentialism*. In deontology, research ethics take on a universal form in which there are a series of set principles which should be followed, regardless of context. One such principle, for example, would be 'informed consent' which, as outlined by the British Sociological Association (see Hornsby-Smith, 1993: 63), 'implies a responsibility on the sociologist to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking it and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be disseminated.' Yet, while deontology may, at first glance, appear ethically sound, in practice such an approach is often unviable;

> 'My position is that a professional code of ethics is beneficial as a *guideline* that alerts researchers to the ethical dimensions of their work, particularly *prior* to entry. With formal organizations and certain communities, where entry has to be negotiated through hierarchical channels, a statement of purpose is normally essential to satisfy gatekeepers. Thereafter it may be *situationally* inappropriate to repeat continually that purpose and to identify oneself ... To negotiate access and consent with everyone would be almost futile, while matters would become absurdly complex if some said "yes" and some said "no". In natural settings involving public behaviour, such as watching crowd behaviour at a football match or studying avoidance rituals on a crowded pavement, then consent seems superfluous and physically unattainable[5].' (Punch, 1986: 37)

Punch (1986, 1994) follows a consequentialist approach that gives researchers the freedom to adapt ethical approaches according to particular situations. Furthermore,

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[5] Similarly, Holloway (1999) speaks of participant observation that he carried out on top of the tor in Glastonbury in which various New Age people were watching the sunset. In the public context of the tor, a disclosure of his identity would have been strange and inappropriate. As such, Holloway indicates how attempts at an overall ethical strategy, for example only to undertake overt research (as

Punch argues that adopting rigid ethical policies, such as informed consent, may result in the protection of the powerful through the inability of researchers to uncover harmful practices. The danger of consequentialism is, however, of an 'anything goes' mentality whereby ethical responsibilities are abandoned on the shifting grounds of relativism. In *Defenders of the Faith*, Heilman speaks of how he 'penetrated' the bar-mitzvah of the Belzer rebbe's son by pretending to security personnel that he had been invited, lying to officials that his name was on the guest list. Through this strategy, he was able to gain access to the inner room where the bar-mitzvah celebrations took place (while tens of thousands of Haredi Jews, including many Belzer Hasidism, were outside), and his account gives some remarkable details of the inner circle of Haredi life. Nevertheless, his research strategy was intrusive and dishonest, and, while such an approach could perhaps be defended if uncovering acts of oppression, as a voyeuristic account centred on the exotic it was, to me at least, ethically dubious (even if, as Heilman argues, Haredi Jews have very little interest in what outsiders think of them).[6] Despite these concerns, consequentialism does allow researchers to move from a simple binary of overt as always good, and covert as necessarily bad, and to use methods that are situationally appropriate.

'Overt research is not assumed always to be free of covert practices, since much consensual participant observation involves the recording of social moments and processes, of which the 'research subjects' are often unaware. The geographical gaze implicated within both covert and overt ethnographies is problematic, unstable and both institutionally and personally produced ... Overt and covert

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I will discuss shortly), are - as in the *public* space of the tor - spatially (though also temporally) contingent.

[6] For more controversial uses of covert research, see the debates surrounding Humphreys's (1970) infamous dissertation on homosexual acts in public toilets. Adopting the role of a 'watch queen' (lookout), Humphreys kept a record of the events he observed, including the car licence plate numbers of 134 of the men involved. By pretending to be a market researcher, he obtained their names and addresses from friendly contacts in the police, and, a year later, called on these same men under the guise of a health survey. As May (1993) notes, the project raised considerable controversy over its rather dubious ethics, and Humphreys was accused of deceit, the invasion of privacy, and of increasing the possibility that the sample would be detected by the police. May also notes, however, that in many ways Humphreys did adopt a rigorous ethical code in that the names of the men were kept in a safe deposit box, interview cards were destroyed after their use, and that, furthermore, in bringing into the public domain issues which American society had repressed, it could be argued that the (political) ends justified the means.

research should not be seen as opposing strategies, but as problematic and intertwined processes.' (Parr, 1998: 29)

Parr (1998) uses embodied covert research strategies in her studies of 'mad' spaces, so that, when researching a drop-in centre for people with mental health problems in a deprived inner-city location, she deliberately dressed in old, dirty clothes, did not wash her hair and presented her physical body so that she sat slumped, often staring into space for hours at a time. Such an approach could leave her open to critiques of exploitation, but to undertake overt research here would potentially have been much more harmful to the vulnerable people being observed: as May (1993) argues, ethical research may require lying if to do otherwise would be harmful or offensive. In a related argument, Routledge (forthcoming) defends his use of covert research (as outlined earlier) as part of an ethics of 'lying to the enemy'. If he had only used overt research strategies, such as maintaining a policy of informed consent, it is doubtful whether the research would have been successful, and environmentally damaging hotel developments may not have been stopped. The work of Parr, Routledge and others clearly challenges conceptions of a universal professional code of ethics, but what is important is that these authors have considered the morality of their respective approaches. As in my discussions of the overall right of academics to undertake research, there are, I think, no set justifications for adopting particular research strategies that can be applied in all contexts. What matters is that ethical justifications are considered and defended, forming part of an overall strategy of reflexivity and positionality.

Reflexivity and positionality

If academics are to adopt ethical stances in their work, a central component, according to many feminist and other geographers, is for researchers to be reflexive about their positionality *vis-à-vis* their research: 'we must recognise and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and *write this into our research practice*' (McDowell, 1997: 112). The purpose of such approaches is to counter academic claims of detachment and neutrality through a recognition that knowledge is situated, so that who (and where) we are as researchers directly

influences the accounts which we provide (England, 1994; Haraway, 1988; McDowell, 1992a; Nast, 1994). In this way, for example, Routledge's (1996, 1997) stated position as an environmental activist clearly influences his writings on the events taking place, and would inevitably contrast with, say, an account provided by a supporter of road construction. By accepting the positionality of research, academics acknowledge the partiality of their understandings, countering (in theory at least) positivist-inspired claims of authorial power in which others can be unproblematically represented.

Rose (1997b) outlines how attempts to recognise that 'position matters' typically involve researchers trying to 'map out' where they are situated in relation to those being studied, usually with respect to identity markers such as race, nationality, gender, age and class. Rose (1997b: 309) notes how such discussions often argue for the relationship between researcher and researched to be 'made visible and open to debate' (Gilbert, 1994: 90), and that 'the real constraints under which all forms of communication occur are made clear' (Nast, 1994: 61). Reflexivity in these debates is imagined as being visible, meaning that it is possible to place oneself in a landscape of power, with researchers positioned as higher or lower, more central or more marginal, or as being the same (i.e. an insider) to those being researched. Rose denies that such a landscape of power is knowable, arguing that to imply a knowledge of relative positions would be to repeat the 'god-trick' of the positivist all-seeing eye through which we can confidently claim to know ourselves and others:

> '[I]dentity ... does not exist in isolation but only through mutually constitutive social relations, and it is the implications of this relational understanding of position that makes the vision of a transparently knowable self and world impossible.' (Rose, 1997b: 314)

Still, if self-reflection cannot transparently reveal the locations of self and other, that does not, Rose argues, indicate the failure of reflexivity and of the project to situate knowledge. Instead of trying to position oneself on the landscape of power, we should question the authority of academic knowledge by giving space to the gaps, uncertainties, tensions and conflicts that are integral to research. Drawing on

Butler's understanding of identities as not pre-existing the performances of them (meaning that identities are profoundly uncertain: see chapter three), academic accounts of reflexivity should thus concentrate on the uncertainties of research (see also Nast, 1998[7]):

> 'We cannot know everything, nor can we survey power as if we can fully understand or redistribute it. What we may be able to do is something rather more modest but, perhaps, rather more radical: to inscribe into our research practices some absences and fallibilities while recognizing that the significance of this does not rest entirely in our own hands.' (Rose, 1997b: 319)

Effectively Rose (1997b) seeks to destabilise simplistic claims of positionality - such as 'I am white, middle-class and male' - scrambling such understandings through a recognition of identities as fluid, dynamic and dependent on context. While Rose is certainly right to muddy fixed positions of identity, people also seek (as I argued in chapter three) to bound and to slow down the identities and spaces of their lives. Through institutional and everyday practices, orthodox Jews, for example, practise ways of life that actively seek to reassert certainties and the knowability and hierarchy of power relations (of which Hasidic rebbes and leading Mitnagdism rabbis are firmly positioned at the top: see chapter two). While the landscape of power may not be transparent, it is not, I think, entirely opaque. Whereas thinking about positionality in terms of an interval or ratio scale (where there are somehow precise measurements of identity) would imply a return to the god-trick, ordinal understandings (allowing an approximation of, for example, higher or lower) is surely a vital tool for conceptualising ways in which people *do* understand and practise their lives. Notions of insider and outsider (and note that these are also positions on the landscape of power) are still useful ways for understanding the *relative* locations of researcher-researched, providing that there is a recognition that such positions are, as outlined earlier, unstable and contingent. What then becomes

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[7] Here Nast (1998: 96) argues for the importance of writing embodied reflexive accounts that include the failings and disjunctures of research: 'Unfortunately, mis-fitting and the resulting discomfiture are commonly effaced from fieldwork narratives. Researchers typically present a flawless story - one effect of which is that they become inflated, powerful figures (in control and therefore considered

important are the *ways* in which such positions are unstable (though not necessarily completely adrift either), and where Rose's call for a detailing of the uncertainties and messiness of research are reflexively more valuable than simplistic statements of position ('I am white, male, middle-class' etc.). I incorporate these ideas into the second half of the chapter, which examines the specific research methods adopted in my research on contemporary Anglo-Jewish orthodoxy. Before discussing these methods, however, I offer a few overall thoughts on ethics and research.

The place of ethics in geographical research

In this first half of the chapter I have stressed the importance of ethical approaches to research. Such an emphasis runs the risk of inflating the importance of ethics, however, so that geographical accounts become embroiled in a holier-than-thou mentality and ethical one-up-personship, producing timid methodologies and stultifying research[8]. While I am not advocating an over-enforced navel gazing, I do share similar feelings to geographers such as D.M. Smith (1997) and Cloke (1999) who argue for an increasing recognition of the place of ethics within academic Geography (see also Proctor, 1998; Sayer and Storper, 1997). With the modern discipline's foundations being directly tied up with imperialism and colonial domination (Livingstone, 1993), the 'masculinist', objectifying gazes of spatial science and positivism (Rose, 1993), or links between Geographical Information Systems and the military (N. Smith, 1992), the importance of ethical approaches certainly needs recognising. This is not to say that (moral and political) values in geography have been absent until now, with much geographical work since the 'cultural turn' - although also by many earlier geographers as well (for example Harvey's (1973) *Social Justice and the City*) - being explicitly aimed at countering forces of oppression. Yet, by specifically considering ethical approaches (in terms of research strategies), academics can reduce the risk of undertaking research in a supposedly ethically neutral way, but which ends up being exploitative and voyeuristic (a characteristic of much work on orthodoxy). What I have argued is that recognising the importance of ethics does not/should not require a rigid and binding

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"good" researchers) ... What is needed is a means for recovering, re-membering, and re-claiming the uncontrollable - those emotion-laden bits we typically, in our writing at least, ignore.'

system of professional codes of practice, but should nonetheless involve researchers providing (or at least having) an ethical defence of their work.

In terms of this thesis, my aims and objectives fit into each of the three overall ethical approaches discussed. Firstly, the research contributes to the 'consultable record of otherness', providing a detailed geographical account of a way of life about which relatively little is known in wider British/Western society (especially as practised and understood in the context of Manchester). In addition, the research contributes - albeit in an indirect way - to current work on the social, cultural and demographic characteristics of Anglo-Jewry being undertaken by national organisations such as the Institute for Jewish Policy Research and the Board of Deputies (see chapter two). Secondly, as someone born Jewish I have a partial insider status in the orthodox community, although such a position is certainly messy and contingent (I will return to this issue shortly). Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the research has a (political) stance of trying to bridge some of the gaps, and (often vicious) polarisations, between secular and orthodox ways of Jewish life. These ethical underpinnings do not, I think, totally mitigate charges of voyeurism, and indeed one of the prime motivators behind the initial project was my fascination with a way of life which, while partially the 'same' to me, in other respects was fantastic and definitely 'other'. In some ways having a fascination for the topic is a vital and enjoyable aspect of the research process, and this should not be shrouded by a cloak of (supposed) ethical purity. Nevertheless, the line between interest and voyeurism is sometimes indistinct, and hence my criticisms of Heilman's *Defenders of the Faith*. To try to reduce the ways in which my accounts are exploitative or voyeuristic, I have sought to adopt research strategies that are as open as possible, and which I detail in the following section. Even so, as Parr (1998) makes clear, the realities of fieldwork are always messy.

Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

While the first half of this chapter analysed overall conceptual approaches to fieldwork, here I examine the grounded research methods used in my study of

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[8] Paralleling some of the critiques of reflexivity as potentially self-indulgent and narcissistic (Keith,

Broughton Park. These methods were adopted following a pilot study carried out into the characteristics of a small community of orthodox Jews living in Giffnock, Glasgow. This study took place in Spring 1997, and involved the trial of both quantitative and qualitative methods, including mapping the Jewish community, interviewing eighteen local Jews (some of whom were strictly orthodox, others who were more secular) and some limited participant observation. Giffnock was chosen because it is the institutional centre of Scottish Jewry, is local (and hence inexpensive to survey), is under-researched and most importantly is the location for a small kollel (containing eight full-time members and their families). The empirical findings from this survey are recorded elsewhere (Valins, forthcoming), and rather than repeat these, I confine my discussions of Giffnock to how it influenced the methods finally adopted in Manchester.

Mapping Jewry

Quantitative surveys of Anglo-Jewry have adopted a range of different research methods to uncover residential distributions, with almost all commenting generally on the problems of reliable statistical sources on Anglo-Jewry (for example Newman, 1985, 1987; Waterman, 1989; Waterman and Kosmin 1986b, 1987a) and particularly on the lack of a religious affiliation question in the national census[9]. With no official census figures available, geographical (and sociological) studies of Anglo-Jewry have typically used two sets of data sources: (i) community generated sources; and (ii) ethnic names (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986b).

(i) Community generated sources: As Waterman and Kosmin (1986b) note, research into Anglo-Jewish communities has often relied on sources such as community mailing and synagogue membership lists. Using the names and addresses taken from the databases of, for example, major Jewish charitable organisations, these can be used to provide population and residential statistics. Such sources are often unreliable for several reasons: firstly, young households (especially singles and newly-weds) are often not included on such lists because they may well not yet be

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1992; Marcus, 1992; Pile and Thrift, 1995).
[9] Note that the Institute for Jewish Policy Research is actively campaigning to have such a question included in the 2001 census (see Kosmin, 1999).

fully integrated into the community; secondly, many identifying Jews do not contribute to these charities, and hence would not be on the mailing lists; thirdly, many of these lists are inaccurate, often being based on canvasses of synagogues, whose sources are also often questionable (see below); fourthly, there are major problems concerning definitional questions of 'who is a Jew', which is perhaps the principal difficulty in such surveys (see also below).

Alternatively, synagogue membership lists can be used, potentially providing a good indication of the level of practising Jews. These sources are also problematic: firstly, there is a commonly a time-lag between people moving residence and changing synagogues; secondly, records are often poorly maintained; thirdly (as in the use of charity mailing lists), there is often a gap between the date that couples marry and the joining of a synagogue; fourthly, there are difficulties of equating synagogue membership with the size of families (often it is only the head of the household who is registered); fifthly, large numbers of 'Jews' (however defined) do not belong to synagogues because they no longer practise the religion or feel little communal attachment (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986b: see also chapters one and two)

(ii) Ethnic names: A second approach to gathering statistical data is to use the distinctiveness of Jewish names. The majority of Jews living in the United Kingdom are of Ashkenazi or (less common) Sephardi origin, often having distinctive sounding names such as Cohen, Levy, Isaacs or Feinstein which can be counted from sources such as electoral registers and telephone directories. Nevertheless, as Waterman and Kosmin (1986b) explain, many Jewish names have been Anglicised (often at the point of immigration), so that, for example, surnames such as Grodzinksi and Schwartzmann become the less foreign sounding Black, Shaw or Sawyer. Furthermore, it is often difficult to distinguish Jewish names from those of other Eastern European ethnic groups.

Making decisions on who to class as Jewish in any kind of survey is politically charged, feeding into the fractures characterising contemporary Judaism discussed in chapter one. Possible definitions include ones based on Orthodox halachah (where a person is only classed as a Jew if their mother is Jewish or else they converted under

the auspices of Orthodox authorities: this would therefore exclude many non-Orthodox 'Jews'), and those which only include people who personally identify with the religion or culture in some way, hence excluding many assimilated 'Jews' (who may well be included in the first definition). Research on ethnic names is largely blind to these issues, however, because examining surnames provides little indication of religious or cultural ties. As such, a family could be classed as Jewish because their surname was Cohen even though they practice another religion, but equally a Jewish woman could marry a non-Jew (with a non-Jewish surname) and would not be included in the survey even though the family may be religiously (or culturally) active.

Using ethnic names is certainly problematic, and researchers using this method have tended to use two methods to limit the difficulties (see Waterman and Kosmin, 1986b). The first is to use Distinctive Jewish Names (DJN), most usually the surname Cohen, and to establish a ratio of these to a known population of Jews and so determine concentrations at a ward of borough level (see chapter two). Because the Cohen:Jew ratio varies between different areas, however, a strong local knowledge is required, which hence limits its applicability to places that have been little studied. A second method is to attempt to identify each individual Jewish household, which is best achieved using a source such as the electoral register that includes details of forenames to aid identification when surnames are indistinct (Hebrew forenames such as Rivka or Moshe are easily identifiable, and Anglicised Bible names such as David or Rachel are also commonly Jewish, unlike those such as Christopher, Christine or obviously Asian names). For my project, I wanted to determine Jewish concentrations on a street-by-street basis so as to uncover the micro-geographies of people's everyday lives. As such, a DJN method was impractical (especially because of the paucity of academic research outside of London), and so I adopted the second of these methods which I piloted in Giffnock.

Using the electoral register in Giffnock, I noted down the house numbers of all the different streets, recording which names sounded Jewish. It quickly became apparent that most of the streets had householder names which, from the basis of the register, were impossible to establish whether or not they were Jewish (surnames such as

Rose, Black, Davidson and Collins). The use of forenames was here of little help. To overcome this problem, I noted down indeterminate names and visually verified their Jewish status by checking for the presence of mezuzot. This secondary method certainly limits errors, but it is not foolproof. In particular, mezuzot are sometimes difficult to observe (for example if houses are set behind large gardens), and the presence of the icons may only indicate previous Jewish ownership. Nonetheless, if the name sounds like it is Jewish, and the house has a mezuzah attached, it is a reasonable assumption to mark the property as occupied by Jews. As such, while the results certainly contain inaccuracies, they probably do not markedly affect the overall picture (although they may well do so for individual streets).

The use of the electoral register in combination with the visual identification of mezuzot proved to be an effective source for baseline residential data on the Giffnock community, and I adopted this method in the larger study of Broughton Park, Manchester. In the latter survey, however, I also included a second map detailing the locations and functions of the key Jewish institutional facilities (as well as a third which is a street plan of the area). While Giffnock only contains a handful of communal institutions, Broughton Park (and the surrounding area) has at least fifty-four such buildings. These maps are printed (figures 6.1-6.3), and their implications discussed in chapter six, but how I have represented the data requires, following the discussions in the first half of this chapter, some consideration.

Constructing maps inevitably involves a series of practical and strategic decisions about what it is designed to show, and about what data to include and to exclude. Such decisions have major presentational implications, which is particularly evident in the most complex of my three maps, figure 6.3. This map, which details the residential Jewish concentration of the Broughton Park area, involved key decisions about how to transform lists of Jewish households into a meaningful visual representation conveying spatial residential concentrations. As the map shows, I chose a system in which residential patterns were represented on a street-by-street basis, with higher concentrations of Jews being marked by darker and thicker street lines. This method is effective in drawing out high Jewish residential concentrations, and the often dramatic boundaries with non-Jewish areas, yet such an approach

inevitably has unintended consequences. For example, it may draw more attention to Jews than to non-Jews, marginalising perhaps the latter's importance. Such a consequence might have been altered through changes in the classes of data represented, so that, for example, I might have only used the very thickest and darkest lines for streets that were 100% Jewish occupied (and not the 81-100% category in figure 6.3). This change would limit the visual impact of the Jewish population (through simply having less thick, bold lines), but any such alteration would necessarily compromise the map in other ways (for example by downplaying the high Jewish concentrations). The point I am raising is simply to acknowledge that, while I have tried to avoid deliberate mis-representations, figures 6.1-6.3 do need to be seen as 'constructed', and hence as partial and positioned in various ways.

Participant observation

According to Cook (1997: 127-128), participant observation involves:

> '[R]esearchers moving between *participating in* a community - by deliberately immersing themselves in its everyday rhythms and routines, developing relationships with people who can show and tell them what is 'going on' there, and writing accounts of how these relationships developed and what was learned from them - and *observing* a community - by sitting back and watching activities in field notes, tallies, drawings, photographs, and other forms of evidence.'

Participant observation, as Cook (1997) explains, involves a variety of different methods, ranging from active communal involvement to passive observations, which all (ideally) allow researchers to gain insiders' understandings. According to Jackson (1983, drawing on Gold, 1958), participant observation can involve four loosely defined roles - straight participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant or straight observer (see also Eyles, 1988, Burgess, 1984) - indicating the range of approaches and also the rather *ad hoc* manner of the methodology. Participant observation is a fluid process involving constant changes in the relationship between

researcher-researched (Evans, 1988), with accounts of how to conduct this method(s) stressing the lack of hard and fast rules (Cook, 1997; Cook and Crang, 1994), and advice often being based on the motto of 'just do it' (Punch, 1994). Nonetheless, while there are no rigid definitions, participant observation can, as Cook (1997) suggests, be described as a three-stage process involving: firstly, gaining access to a particular community; secondly, living or working among the people being studied; and thirdly, travelling back to the academy so as to make sense of the community's 'culture'. In this section I consider aspects from each of these three processes, concentrating, in particular, on my role as insider/outsider. These discussions will not only detail the particular methods adopted, but also serve to outline my own positionality, providing a reflexive account that also begins describing the landscape of Broughton Park (which chapters six to nine will then develop).

Entering the 'field'

> *'Well I'm sitting in a park somewhere in the Broughton Park area (could it be <u>the</u> Broughton Park?), the sun is beating down and I'm trying to make sense of the whole place. So what are my first impressions? This is no Giffnock! Walking around the streets it seems that nigh on every house has a mezuzah. There are ultra-Orthodox men walking around, some carrying their tallis [prayer shawl] bags, and ultra-Orthodox women with their hair covered, usually with children in tow.' (Field Diary: 19/6/98)*

My opening thoughts on beginning fieldwork in Broughton Park reflect a range of emotions: the excitement at the thought of beginning the centre-piece of my thesis; wonder at the (as I saw it) sheer Jewishness of the place, especially in terms of the visuality of the orthodox people (with their highly distinctive dress); the disorientation of a still forming mental map; and also the fear that the project may fail. This latter emotion was the dominant one at this stage, and parallels Shaffir's (1991: 74; see also El-Or, 1994) very similar accounts of researching orthodoxy:

> 'My earliest encounters with the Chassidim were filled with considerable tension and nervousness. Feelings of self-doubt,

apprehension, and uncertainty are what I recall most vividly about those first few months in the field ... This was easily attributable to the wide gulf separating our respective life-styles and reflected in virtually every relevant dimension, including dress, values and ideals.'

These stresses and fears relate to the practicalities and realities of research, including concerns over access, how I would be perceived, and appropriate ways to dress. In some ways these concerns were eased by my knowledge that I already had a key entry ticket into the community, my status as someone born Jewish, which, from the evidence of my pilot study, would prove invaluable in gaining access. Indeed, in Giffnock I even had an experience when someone had refused to be interviewed because they had thought me non-Jewish, and only when they realised my status was I offered an invitation to their home - 'anything for a nice Jewish boy.' I am not suggesting that this response was typical, although I am certain that people do respond differently depending on whether I am perceived as Jewish or non-Jewish. This in part relates to my being halachically categorised as 'same', but also to a certain common background through a shared knowledge of Jewish cultural and religious practices, and of much of the associated terminology and language. As a child, I grew up in a culturally, but hardly religious, Jewish home in which I was sent to *cheder* (equivalent of a Christian Sunday school) three times a week. Our family always had shared Friday night dinners involving traditional food (chopped liver, chicken soup, roast chicken etc.), and we celebrated major but not minor festivals (so we fasted on Yom Kippur and ate matzah on *Pesach* (the festival of Passover)). Nonetheless, my knowledge of religious practices and beliefs is only a fraction of those of orthodox people (as I will discuss below), and as an adult I have become even more detached from the religion. Entering the field, therefore, I had ambivalent senses of being both outsider and insider.

Despite my entry point, undertaking research was still a nervous affair, with one of my biggest anxieties being how to dress. My experiences in Giffnock had highlighted the importance of appearing Jewish, but I also had ethical concerns about presenting a misleading image. To dress in an orthodox manner would have been

ethically dubious to say the least (and probably not very convincing either), but wearing my usual attire of jeans and a T-shirt would also have limited my ability to access the community. After much deliberation I decided to wear dark cotton trousers, dark shoes, a plain top, and to keep my head covered with a plain, dark baseball cap when walking through the streets and a yarmulke when in people's homes. Such a combination was, I felt, respectful to the community, but also did not present myself as being a complete insider either, and adopts the advice of Cassell (1988: 97, cited in Cook and Crang, 1994: 22):

> '[The researcher] should adopt a role or identity that meshes with the values and behaviour of the group being studied, without seriously compromising the researcher's own values and behaviour ... not ... inventing an identity; we all have several ... but the most appropriate one can be stressed.'

Concerns over appropriate ways to dress tie into ethical concerns about researching others (as discussed earlier), but, in combination with my other worries, also provide an angle on my own positionality. As an insider, concerns over dress would have been marginal, but if I was a complete outsider then my access into the community would be extremely limited. Furthermore, these concerns also tie in to my imaginations of the power relations between myself and those whom I was about to research, and which directly drew upon my experiences in Giffnock. In this study, while I certainly had much control over the project design and its final outputs, I often felt relatively disempowered when speaking to people in positions of power such as rabbis or community leaders. These emotions mirror McDowell's (1992b: 213) analysis of interviews that she held with business executives: 'In my own work I have found that the interviewer is more often in the position of a supplicant, requesting time and expertise from the powerful, with little to offer in return.' These perceived power relations had direct implications in terms of my choice of methods. Before the pilot, I had originally intended to use a range of ethnographic methodologies, including asking people to draw mental maps of the area (see for example Nagar, 1997) and using focus groups (see Kong, 1998). These methods can be extremely worthwhile, and would certainly have provided much additional

interesting and relevant data. Nevertheless, these methodologies were ones that, in the context of the field, I did not 'feel' (in a very subjective way) were appropriate. Because of (my imaginations of) the relative power relations, asking rabbis to start drawing pictures of their area or requesting busy community leaders to join in a focus group were methods that I simply felt uncomfortable attempting. As such, I adopted the more conservative and traditional methods of semi-structured interviews (see below) and participant observation strategies.

In the Field

My role as a participant observer centred around recording my impressions of the community, having meals with religious families (usually Friday night dinner or Saturday lunch) and attending religious service at various synagogues and shteiblach such as Agudah, Belz, Ger, Horidenka, Lubavitch, Machzikei Hadass, Satmar, Shaarei Torah and Stenecourt (see below). In addition, I carried out some limited archival work on the last ten years of the *Jewish Telegraph* (a regional newspaper serving the North-West and Midlands Jewish communities); took photographs of the area; and, on one occasion, stayed overnight with an orthodox family. The research period lasted just under three months (from June to September, 1998).

[Arriving at Stenecourt - a synagogue in the heart of Broughton Park which is best categorised as neo-Orthodox dati]

I pick up a spare sidur from the shelf and a chumash *[Pentateuch and related readings] and try and find somewhere at the back of the room. I sit down and start following, or trying to follow, the service. Well this isn't too bad, I'm at the back so I can keep out of the way and enjoy the experience. So I start reading the Torah portion [the English translation] - all to do with some Israelites who turned to the false god Baal, and who were consequently executed (they were speared through the stomach) - when suddenly a man comes round and asks me if I'm a visitor here. I tell him I'm from Glasgow and he wishes me a 'good shabbas' and I do likewise. I'm thinking this is very hospitable. Anyway, ten minutes later he returns*

and asks me my name - so I tell him, and he says 'no, what is your Hebrew name?'. I'm starting to panic, firstly because my mind has gone blank and I can't remember my Hebrew name, and secondly because I know the reason he's asked me is because I'm going to get called up for an aliyah *[which involves going to the centre of the synagogue and taking some part in the service]. Suddenly I remember and call out 'Yeshiya ben Zvi Yakov' and try and hide my embarrassment. I'm thinking 'shit, shit', I've tried to blend into the background and now I'm going to have to go to the front of the shul and perform something I've got no idea how to do. This is definitely* participant *observation. Anyway, the man gives me a tallis and walks round to the front, and a minute later I see him beckon me over. Should I bring my siddur? If it's opening the ark, I'll need it, so I bring it. I walk over to the* bimah *[elevated platform from where services are conducted] and he tells me it's 'gellilah' (like I know what this is!) and I don't need my siddur. The rabbi who is taking the service asks me my name and I tell him, and the man who called me over says 'say parents and family', and I say 'parents and family', and the rabbi calls my name out. The man asks me if I've done gellilah before, and I say 'no' - at least he's going to show me how to do it. Basically, once the Torah has been read, it is rolled up, and someone picks it up, holds it aloft, and walks to a seat where someone (i.e. me) has to dress it. The man who is lifting it is going red in the face (it's very heavy, and is unevenly weighted on each arm) but he manages not to drop it (if he does, everyone in the* shul *[synagogue] would have to fast), and I'm told to roll it up, fasten a cloth belt around it, put a felt covering over the scrolls, and then put a silver shield and hand-shaped pointer over it. Finally, it's all finished and people wish me* shekiach *[congratulations] and I return to my seat - relieved and happy that it's all over.' (Field Diary: 18/7/98)*

Before beginning my fieldwork, I had presumed my role would be, to use Gold's (1958) classification, closest to being a complete observer. Because of my concerns over access, I had assumed my level of participation would be low, but, as the account above demonstrates, remaining detached from those being researched is, even when desired, sometimes impossible. Yet even if I had not been called for an

aliyah, I was already part of the congregation with my role having shifted towards observer-as-participant; I sat and stood at the appropriate times, turned to face East for the *Amidah* prayers, covered my eyes at the beginning of the Shema prayers and, of course, wore a yarmulke The boundaries between observer and participant were, as Evans (1988) explains, often fluid, ill-defined and were usually out of my control.

While my relationship between being observer and participant was often unstable, so too was my role as insider/outsider. On the one hand my being asked to take part in the service reflects a partial insider status in that someone not Jewish would simply not have been asked (it is a mitzvah for a Jew to be called for an aliyah). On the other hand, as a secular person, I was clearly uncomfortable in performing my assigned role, and my lack of knowledge of the intricacies of gellilah (I had seen it performed a number of times - it is an integral part of the shabbas service - but had never been involved myself) betrayed my level of religiosity[10].

Being an insider: If being Jewish in Stenecourt positioned me as a (halachically defined at least) insider, my specific status as a secular Jew also had other methodological and personal implications in terms of how I was perceived and my ability to access the community. In particular, as a Jewish person who was researching orthodox ways of life, people often assumed that, because of my academic interest, I might also be encouraged to become more religious. Certainly I never claimed to be someone hoping to convert, but, as a secular Jew, many people felt that by seeing (and being involved with) the 'wonderful' aspects (as they see it: see chapter seven) of orthodoxy, I would inevitably be drawn to the faith. Such feelings were occasionally explicitly stated, so that Joshua Vogel[11], for example, tried to convince me to start taking religious classes. Other people's attempts were more implicit, however, and often involved merely emphasising the positive aspects of orthodoxy, or subtly trying to include me in religious activities. In this way, my

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[10] Note how my role as a researcher also ties in to other key aspects of identity which need recognising. Of these, the most important was probably gender, so that, for example, my being called for an aliyah was absolutely dependent on my status as a male (in Orthodox synagogues women take no active part in the running of the service and, unlike for men, attendance is not actually required). As such, even while my account above highlights feelings of insecurity, other lines of identity still positioned me within wider systems of (patriarchal) power.

[11] Note that names and certain other interviewee details have been changed to protect anonymity (see below).

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calling up for an aliyah in Stenecourt was, I suspect, part of a desire to draw me into orthodox ways of life (I had interviewed the rabbi a few days before, and he knew I would be attending the service because he had arranged for me to have shabbas lunch with an orthodox family afterwards). Similarly, a visit from one orthodox man to my parents' house in Whitefield (a small suburb of Manchester, approximately four miles from Broughton Park, with a high, relatively secular Jewish population[12]) highlights how such people are often keen to encourage 'lapsed' Jews (such as myself) to become 'more committed' (see also chapter eight):

> *'As I was waiting to go out, the doorbell rang and there was a* frum *[religious] man at the door. It turns out he was collecting for a kollel in Broughton Park. Anyway, we get chatting and I tell him my parents who own the place are out, and he figures they're probably not the type to sponsor it anyway - he says he'll return next year. Nevertheless, we get talking and I tell him what I'm doing and he ends up asking me over for shabbas dinner ...*

> *... It's quite remarkable that you can speak to a stranger who comes to your house and five minutes later, he's invited you to his home for shabbas dinner. What is equally remarkable is that I am also perfectly happy to invite a stranger into my house and agree to have dinner with him.' (Field Diary : 20/7/98)*

The invitation from this man was certainly related to his desire to help me 'see the light', and to the mitzvah (and fundamental characteristic of orthodox life) of being hospitable. More than this, however, it also highlights an unspoken attachment between the two of us, and the power of beliefs in a shared sense of identity. While as an academic I know how communities are imagined, on a personal level I am still bound up with cultural constructions of identity despite my secular attitudes and (relative) detachment from the religion. As such, despite never having met him before, he was not (in my imagination) a complete stranger, and hence in some ways

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[12] Note that most of the time I stayed in student halls of residence located a mile away from Broughton Park. This location allowed me to walk into my study area everyday, and to enhance my own sense of the place (see later).

was 'same'; I cannot think of many other people whom, after such a short elapse of time, I would implicitly trust and agree to visit their home. In this way, the theoretical understandings of identity I discussed in the previous chapter, are - crucially - not just isolated to 'them' out there, but are also integral to me on a personal level and indeed to the whole research process (hence the critiques of research as being somehow objective and the requirement for accounts to be reflexive).

Being an outsider: Being perceived by both myself and others as (at least a partial) insider meant that I was able to gain access to ways of life that for someone not Jewish would have been extremely difficult. Even so, being a *secular* Jew also had more negative methodological implications in that, in particular, people were often only willing to present the most positive aspects of orthodoxy. This was evident both in formal interviews (see later) and in general conversations: as someone who may potentially be drawn into the ways of orthodoxy (and hence, in some ways, moved from 'them' to 'us'), it is not surprising that people wanted to stress the benefits of the religion (see also chapter seven). In addition, despite my attempts to dress in a fairly ambivalent manner, I was also sometimes viewed by others as being out of place and even threatening, which was most apparent in my visit to an orthodox book shop (one of many businesses held in people's front rooms, forming part of a largely invisible commercial landscape: see chapter six).

'HaSefer is very like the Jewish Book Centre [another orthodox book shop in Broughton Park] in that it is located in the front rooms of someone's house, and you wouldn't know if it was there unless you were told. In fact, I knew it was on Merrybower Road but didn't know which number, and despite passing by it a number of times, still had no idea which one it was (until I was told). On the way to the shop it was clear that one of the religious boys in front of me had decided there was something strange about me, possibly because I was wearing my black baseball cap. Anyway, he sees me walking behind him and so he steps into a nearby drive so that I pass by. I can see him watching me through the bushes to see when I pass and he can then carry on where he was going. Is this paranoia, a fear of the

other, a sensible precaution or what? I'm not sure, but it's quite a good example of how, at least in this context, I'm out of place.

In the shop itself were quite a few Hasidic boys, and I think they thought I was completely mad (because of the way I looked), and when I asked for a copy of the book I needed 'Halachos of the Eruv' the whole place went quiet - I'm sure they were thinking who is this person, and what does he want with that?' (Field Diary : 28/7/98)

My visit to HaSefer certainly highlighted the differences between me and 'them', and my sense of being a world apart. Such perceptions of difference were ones that I frequently recorded in my field diary, whether my embarrassment at not knowing the intricacies of gelillah in Stenecourt, or being stared at when visiting some of the more Hasidic shteiblach. As I explained earlier, however, positions of insider/outsider are contextually contingent and fluid, being dependent on the where, when and 'whos' of research. As such, going into the Satmar shteible (a Hasidic group with a reputation of being extreme: see chapter two), I actually felt less of an outsider than I had done in (the less orthodox) Stenecourt.

Well I've now just come back from davening [praying] at Satmar, and it was not nearly as extraordinary as I'd expected ... Before we started davening, Rabbi Wolff [who was showing me around] introduced me to quite a few people (there were maybe twenty in total) and they were all extremely friendly in that they shook my hand, wished me a 'shalom aleichem' [peace on you], and asked where I was from: this was despite the fact that I obviously stood out in that I was wearing a dark green suit, and they were wearing a variety of black clothes. I wasn't made to feel out of place, and I didn't feel intimidated. In fact, considering the reputation they have, the experience was a bit of a non-event.' (Field Diary : 19/8/98)

While I certainly still felt like an outsider, having the patronage of Rabbi Wolff, as well as having already visited a number of other shteiblach, meant that my sense of otherness was to a large extent dissipated. Partly this was due to my declining fear of

this 'other', but also related to my growing recognition of the 'normalities' of orthodox ways of life. Visiting a number of shteiblach made it clear that, despite the undoubted passion and the vibrancy of religious prayer, there is also a routineness, even mundaneness, about people's everyday lives which is somehow reassuring: even in the context of an orthodox shteible, there is also a sameness. In many ways, understanding this everydayness of life is as important as recognising the power of the institutionalised religion to structure orthodox understandings and practice. I merely want to flag these debates here, though, and I will return to consider the normalities of life in chapter seven. Instead, I want now to conclude this section by discussing how my sense of insider/outsider status was also tied into my spatial imaginations of Broughton Park as a Jewish place.

Sense of place: In chapter six, I outline an ethnographic 'walking tour' of the Broughton Park area, detailing the material landscape of the area, which serves as a foundation for the discussions on imagined space and material space in chapters seven to nine. Such discussions are necessarily framed by my own perceptions of place, however, which changed quite markedly as my research developed. At the outset of my research, Broughton Park was (to me) merely a place on the map, a *terra incognita* about which I was hoping to make some sense. As my mental map developed, I soon established a clear sense of Broughton Park as a bounded and distinctly *Jewish* place. Indeed, in walking from my halls of residents towards Broughton Park each day, I had, on the corner of Bury New Road and Wellington Street (see figure 6.2), a clear sense of entering Jewish space, and this became the point where I always covered my head with my cap. This clear spatial imagination hints at the power of place to influence how people understand and practise their lives, and it is a theme explored in depth in the second half of this thesis. Nevertheless, in my role as a researcher, my developing sense of place also indicates how, at least in some ways, I internalised some of the characteristics of the area. I recorded this sense of place in my field diary following a Friday night service attended at the Cultural Centre with Daniel Rosenthal:

> *'Once the service had finished, Daniel, myself and his two guests walked to his home. It's actually one of the nicest things about being Jewish (as long*

as you're in a decent enough area) is the slow walk home on shabbas after
shul. In so many ways religion is confined to the private, but when you walk
home you publicly state your Jewishness, and you leave the pressures of the
outside world behind. It's a public way not so much of claiming the streets,
but of living in Jewish space, and not being afraid to do so - who said these
streets were only for cars or people hurrying around?' (Field Diary:
24/7/98)

Walking to Daniel's home from shul, we were, because of our smart appearance and yarmulkes, clearly identifiable as Jews. Such a public display of Judaism would in most other contexts - for example in my current home in Partick, Glasgow - have been distinctly uncomfortable, but in this setting my feelings were of warmth, security and communality, some of the fundamental aspects of orthodoxy (see chapters seven and eight). In many ways it felt distinctly normal to walk to his home in this way, or indeed when I headed back to my halls of residence, which involved cutting through the heart of Broughton Park, to walk in the middle of the roads (the tradition in Broughton Park on shabbas):

'Again on the walk home, it was evident how once you enter Singleton Road
[on the boundary of Broughton Park: see figure 6.1] you are entering
Jewish space, and it's okay to walk in the middle of the road. When a car
did occasionally come along the road, it seemed inappropriate for it to do
so - as if it didn't belong there.' (Field Diary : 24/7/98)

Such internalisings of orthodox life (and hence senses of 'in place/out of place') were only temporary, and when I left the confines of the Jewish area my yarmulke came off and I reverted to my normal secular being. Furthermore, when my fieldwork was finally complete, I fairly quickly detached from those who I had researched and, though there is much to admire about orthodoxy (see chapter nine), I certainly have no intention of adopting their ways of life. 'At the end of the day', there are still some definite gaps between 'them' and 'me', even if these are, as I have outlined, contextually contingent.

Leaving the field

> 'Leaving the field is an emotional experience. Length and degree of participant involvement intensifies these feelings. Leaving may be experienced as a relief: Fieldwork is difficult, demanding, and emotionally draining, even when it is a mostly pleasant experience.' (Jorgenson, 1989: 118)

My over-riding emotion on leaving the field was, as Jorgenson (1989) suggests, one of relief. Despite the fact that I enjoyed the research process, and even though most people showed me great kindness, the fieldwork was extremely intensive with no guarantees that it would provide worthwhile and usable data. Once the fieldwork was complete, however, I could relax in knowing that the material was 'in the bag' with the major task left being sorting, coding and writing (see below). My relief also tied into my feelings of growing weariness at the almost constant, though usually implicit, attempts by people to 'convert' me towards orthodoxy. At the start, such attempts were merely another part of the research process, and in my field diary I record these as interesting examples of the power of religious beliefs. In the final few weeks, however, such 'proselytising' became more irritating. I was happy to leave all that behind and return to the routines of my day-to-day university life, with its very different pressures.

Semi-structured interviews

In addition to the use of mapping and participant observation strategies, my other principal research method was semi-structured interviews. The use of this method involves similar issues to those of participant observation, and indeed it is possible to classify interviews as merely one part of that research strategy (see for example Jorgenson, 1989). For conceptual purposes, however, I have separated these methods to draw out the distinctions between the more formal semi-structured interviews undertaken (involving ringing up potential respondents, arranging meetings and usually recording information on tape) and the more numerous casual conversations with people, for example when sitting next to people in the various shuls or having

dinner in people's homes. Nonetheless, there is a certain amount of overlap, so that when undertaking formal interviews I still noted down observations, and when visiting orthodox people for meals we generally spoke on issues related to my research questions. Rather than rehearse similar themes to those discussed in the previous section, here I briefly explore issues related more closely to semi-structured interviews, and in particular to the use of gatekeepers, interview strategies, asking the 'right' questions and the transcribing and coding of data. In the final part of this section, I conclude with profiles of the interviewees whose voices are included in the second half of this thesis, helping to contextualise the interview material.

Gatekeepers: In both participant observation and more formal interviews the role of gatekeepers can be all important, having the power to provide (or to deny) access to people and situations (see Burgess, 1984; Valentine, 1997). Such gatekeepers are particularly relevant in researching relatively closed communities such as that in Broughton Park. Even so, finding gatekeepers did not prove to be particularly problematic as I already knew several people living in the community who were family friends, and, in addition, my mother works in one of the shops on Leicester Road and had contacts with a number of orthodox residents. From my pilot study in Giffnock, I also knew that members of the Lubavitch were always willing to speak to 'lapsed' Jews such as myself, and that visiting a shul for Friday *ma'ariv* (evening) or Saturday *shacharis* (morning) prayers was an excellent way of meeting people. These multiple entry points provided access to a range of different groups of people, partially limiting one of the key difficulties with gatekeepers, which is that of only being introduced to a very select group of people (Valentine, 1997). This problem is obviously relevant when adopting a 'snowballing' sampling strategy whereby contacts are asked to helped recruit others, which is the only really viable approach when researching people who are often mistrustful of strangers (which is why a random or stratified sample would have been unlikely to succeed). As such, despite having a number of entry points, there are still definite biases in the type of people interviewed, and in particular there are gaps in terms of age structure (interviewees ranged from their late-twenties to their early seventies) and in my access to some of the Hasidic communities. These gaps reflect the impossibility of gaining access to a complete spread of people when considering the constraints of time, a very limited

financial budget, the sheer size of the community (see chapter six), and the grounded realities of fieldwork in which the luck of being in the right place at the right time is often as important as thorough planning. In addition, my partial access to some of the Hasidic communities relates to the fact that these groups are usually towards the right of the spectrum, with members sometimes only speaking Yiddish and less inclined to talk to strangers. While I was able to visit a number of Hasidic shteiblach and to talk with members on an informal basis, most of the recorded interviews are with non-Hasids, which is then reflected in the views presented in chapters six to nine.

Interview strategies: As in participant observation, there are no set ways of approaching interviews that are likely to encourage open and revealing answers: 'each researcher adopts a style which he or she feels comfortable and that yields results' (Shaffir, 1991: 80). Still, there are various ways of encouraging constructive answers, with authors stressing the importance of dress, location, anonymity and personal skills (Cook and Crang, 1994; Fielding, 1993; Parr, 1998; Shaffir, 1991, 1995; Valentine, 1997). It is important to build up a rapport with participants so that they feel comfortable in talking openly about how they practise and understand their daily lives. As such, locating interviews in people's houses (their own 'territory': Valentine, 1997) and dressing in respectful ways are valuable in encouraging a trust between the researcher and interviewee. Overall, though, what is perhaps most important is the personal skills of the interviewer, so that, as Shaffir (1991: 72) explains in relation to research specifically with orthodox people, 'co-operation reflects less their estimation of the scientific merits of the research than their response to my personal attributes.' In my research, I tended to adopt the role of a supplicant[13], appearing keen and interested in people's responses, but also (through my use of language and knowledge of customs and practice) bringing out my Jewish status and hence limiting my position as a threatening 'other'. Such a strategy certainly worked well in encouraging people to talk about their beliefs and lives, but I did also have the frustration of people only wanting to present the most positive aspects of orthodoxy (as discussed earlier).

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[13] Although there were some occasions where I did challenge or disagree with interviewees beliefs or understandings (particularly in longer interviews or where I felt a particular rapport had developed).

Asking the right questions: In addition to overall interview strategies, asking appropriate questions is crucial in encouraging responsive answers. Again there are no hard-and-fast rules, although certain approaches are likely to help gain interviewee confidence such as 'warming up' interviews with non-threatening introductory questions (Cook and Crang, 1994; Valentine, 1997). In my research, I began my interviews with questions designed to ascertain background information and initial thoughts about the area (answers to which form the basis of the interviewee profiles), but which also encouraged respondents to become more confident in speaking and to forget about the presence of the tape recorder[14]. These questions included:

  - How long have you lived in Broughton Park?
  - Do you have family in the local area/outside of the local area?
  - Why did you move to Broughton Park?
  - Would you ever consider moving away from Broughton Park?

Being a semi-structured interview, the interviewee had licence to go in almost any direction, allowing people to go off at tangents and to raise what they considered to be relevant material. This approach did allow a large amount of unexpected material to be raised, although the downside is that it also generates a quantity of material which, while interesting, does deviate from the principal research questions. As such, I usually had to steer the conversation back towards my fields of interest, where I had three particular aspects of orthodoxy about which I was particularly concerned - a) community characteristics, b) everyday life, and c) overall views on orthodoxy - with my possible questions including:

a) Community characteristics

  - How would you describe Broughton Park - both people and place?
  - Is the community here changing, and if so how?

This can be a useful tactic in soliciting answers (Cook and Crang, 1994), but I tried to avoid aggressive questioning as far as possible.

- What communal organisations are there?

- What are the biggest problems facing people living in Broughton Park?

b) Everyday life

- Describe a typical weekday routine?

- Describe a typical shabbas?

- How easy or difficult is it to maintain a religious life in Broughton Park?

- Whereabouts do you go shopping/go to synagogue/send your children for their education?

c) Views on orthodoxy

- How would you describe your Judaism?

- What do you think of non-orthodox Judaisms - such as those who are secular/ Reform/ Masorti?

- How do you think non-Jews/non-religious Jews perceive your lifestyle?

- How do you maintain a religious lifestyle?

The questions were designed to be non-aggressive, to tap into key elements of orthodox life, and to give respondents the opportunity to describe the practices and to relate their understandings of everyday life in Broughton Park. I had piloted these questions in Giffnock which had demonstrated their worth in accessing orthodoxy, and they were also ones with which both myself and the interviewees could feel comfortable. By adopting a semi-structured approach, conversations occasionally lasted up to three or four hours - although the average of the twenty-eight formal interviews was around an hour an half - and this produced a large quantity of material that had to be transcribed and coded.

Transcribing and coding data: Transcribing reams of interview material is a laborious task, but - despite the monotony of hours spent replaying and noting down conversations - the process is extremely useful in reminding the researcher of the

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[14] I used a small Dictaphone which was placed close to where the interview was taking place, and

interview content, and in helping to code the data (Crang, 1997). This latter process is central to the research project, being the stage whereby an interviewee's (and the researcher's) words are translated into meaningful orders. Once again there are no ground rules for this procedure, but I adopted the advice of Cook and Crang (1994) and Crang (1997), who outline an approach based on categories, codes and contents[15]. Firstly, I read through the transcribed[16] interviews line-by-line so as to familiarise myself with the material. Secondly, I highlighted those passages of text that I considered relevant, and noted down how respondents had used these words (*emic* codes): for example, senses of Broughton Park; thoughts on the media; beliefs on Jews as different; and concerns about crime. Thirdly, I wrote down all of these emic codes, and re-categorised them into overall themes which I considered represented the key underlying aspects of orthodox life (*etic* codes): such as imaginations of Jewish space, imaginations of self and other; 'in place/out of place'. Fourthly, I cut up these passages and placed them into piles based on the etic codes, before, fifthly, re-modifying these categories in terms of which schemes worked and which broke down (an inevitable aspect of the coding process: see Crang, 1997). Such an approach is certainly not strict, and draws upon the creativity and subjectivity of the researcher. This does not mean that it is without rigour, although it does allow researchers to draw out personal experiences, and not to be strait-jacketed through a desire for scientific objectivity. Nevertheless, in adopting such an approach it is crucial to recognise that material is necessarily translated through the

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which was less unobtrusive and threatening than using, say, a large table-top microphone.

[15] Note that the method I outline is a manual one (based on highlighter pens, scissors and piles of cuttings placed around the room), but it is possible to use computer software packages to perform this process. Packages such as Nud.ist allow data to be coded (and re-coded) on screen, provide quick retrieval of information, and can produce tables and tallies of different codes. Such programmes can be extremely useful, especially with large volumes of data, although in themselves they cannot magically produce 'results'; the connections are still those that researchers draw out (Crang, 1997). I chose not to use such a package because personally I like having the 'touchiness' (almost embodiedness) of paper spread around the room (it helps me to make connections), but also more practically because a third of my interviews are hand-written (because of a case of repetitive strain injury from so much typing) and hence unsuitable for computer analysis.

[16] When transcribing interview material I noted events such as long pauses, particular emphases or when people were being humorous or sarcastic, but it is possible to use more formal methods of conversational analysis. These methods involve recording all changes in interview patterns such as extensions of syllables, overlaps of conversation or audible inhalations and exhalations. This method offers the potential of drawing out in textual format the richness of spoken forms of conversation, rather than 'traditional' uses of quotes which can appear flat and monotone (see Laurier, 1999). In this thesis I have not used this method, primarily because I did not become aware of its potential value until after completing my transcriptions, but also because of doubts concerning the method's usefulness (or otherwise) in aiding understandings of others' meanings (especially in regard to the considerable extra time involved in such transcriptions).

particular lenses of the researcher (hence the death of claims to mimesis: see Holloway, 1999), which further emphasises the importance of reflexivity and making the research process more explicit and open to evaluation (Bailey, White and Pain, 1999; Baxter and Eyles, 1997, 1999).

One final point that needs raising is that in coding and writing interview material, I have deliberately avoided asking questions as to 'why' people believe in their religion, and instead concentrate on the 'hows' of people's daily lives. This approach parallels Holloway's (1999: 102) thesis on the New Age movement:

> '[T]o subject the New Agers involved in this study to a critical interpretation that seeks to discover why it is they are spiritual seekers or, more broadly, why the New Age movement has appeared, is to perform 'epistemic violence' that I feel distinctly uncomfortable with. Reducing their belief to this or that cause or factor is akin to arguing that what they believe is not what they believe but something else ... [S]ubjecting New Age thought to an interpretation wherein the academic is validated as *the* truth (for example by asking why) is to reduce New Age beliefs to the status of falsity. I, therefore, wish to subscribe to a form of methodological agnosticism that does not assume the truth or falsity of belief.'

As such, while I do discuss overall thoughts on orthodoxy in chapter nine (and indeed at various points throughout the thesis), at no point do I make claims as to whether these religious beliefs are 'true' or valid. To do so would be patronising, privileging the author in a way that I have explicitly sought to minimise through my discussions on reflexivity.

Interviewee profiles

In this final section of the chapter I provide brief profiles of all of the people who I formally interviewed in Broughton Park. These profiles are necessarily only brief and partial (due to word limits and the difficulties of defining people's positions), but

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they provide useful background information, contextualising the voices presented in the following chapters. The profiles are in alphabetical order - so that readers can easily return to this section at any point for information on interviewees - although names and certain details (for example where people live[17]) have been altered. These changes are designed to ensure anonymity without significantly affecting the worth of the profiles in contextualising interviewees' accounts of orthodoxy.

Rachel Abrams: Is in her late-twenties, has lived in Manchester all her life and works part-time in a local orthodox school. She has been married for six years, has two young children, with her husband studying full-time in one of the local kollels.

Mr. Bernstein: Born originally in Czechoslovakia in the 1930s, he has lived in Broughton Park for thirty-five years, and is an antiques dealer. He lives on Northumberland Street and is a Satmar Hasid.

Paul and Judith Black: They are both in their early fifties and live on Upper Park Road. Paul works as a businessman and Judith is a teacher in a local non-orthodox school. Neither are religious and are quite scathing of orthodox practices and beliefs.

Edward Cohen: He has lived in Broughton Park all of his life (on Marston Road), is in his late forties, a member of the Machzikei Hadass congregation, and a governor in one of the local orthodox schools.

Rabbi Frankel: Is a rabbi of one of the United Synagogue style of shuls in the Broughton Park area. Originally from Newcastle, he has lived in Manchester for thirty years, and is in his late-forties.

Jacob Friedman: Is a dati Jew in his fifties, and currently lives in Prestwich. He has been heavily involved with the proposed North Manchester eruv. He is a local businessman.

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[17] Addresses are changed to nearby locations so as not to identify the streets where particular interviewees lived.

Rabbi Grozs: Originally from London, he has lived on Broom Lane for twenty years. He is in his mid-forties and is the rabbi of one of the local orthodox shteiblach.

Mr. Halpern: In his early-seventies, was a refugee (with his wife) from Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia. He is involved with the Machzikei Hadass, lives on Stanley Road and has twelve children.

Dovid Hoffman: In his late-forties, has lived in Waterpark Road most of his life, and is a businessman. He is a central figure in the orthodox community, running a major charity, is heavily involved with the Broughton Park Community Patrol (BPCP, a residents' security scheme: see chapter eight), and is a member of *hatzolla* (neighbourhood St. John's ambulance type of organisation: see chapter eight).

Moshe Kahan: A member of the Lubavitch movement, he is in his early-thirties, is recently married, has two young children, and works in one of the local orthodox shops on Leicester road. His family were originally secular, but before Moshe was born they became increasingly devout. He lives on Kings Road in Prestwich and helps run the Prestwich Community Patrol (organisation similar to the BPCP).

Rabbi Kramer: A refugee from Vienna, he is now in his mid-sixties, has lived in Broughton Park for over thirty years and has two grown-up children. He is the rabbi of one of the United Synagogue style of shuls.

Rabbi and Mrs. Levine: Both are in their early-forties, are members of the Lubavitch, live in Prestwich, and have eight children. He was originally from London and she from Manchester.

Ruth Levy: Originally from Dublin, she moved to Manchester in her late-teens, has lived in Broughton Park with her husband for twenty-five years, and has nine children. She was originally from a Sephardic background while her husband was Ashkenazi. They own one of the shops in Leicester Road, and are governors of a local orthodox school.

Elaine Marcuson: In her late-sixties, she has lived in Manchester all her life, first in Redbank, then Cheetham Hill, and finally Broughton Park. She is dati, although her children have become much more orthodox. Elaine is very involved in local charity organisations, including the soup kitchen for poor and elderly residents.

Robert Marks: Lives in Prestwich, is in his mid-forties, and is a dati Jew. He has worked for the Jewish Museum on the social and economic history of the community.

Sharon and Mark Morris: Have lived in Broughton Park for two and a half years. Sharon looks after their two young children, while Mark is a manager at a large multi-national corporation. Mark was originally relatively secular, but since marrying Sharon he has adopted an orthodox lifestyle.

Rivkah Meyer: Originally from Paris, she has lived in Manchester for sixteen years where she was introduced to her husband. She is her late-thirties, has two children, works in one of the local shops, and lives on Merrybower Road.

Michael Nussbaum: He is in his late-forties, was originally from Dublin and has been in Manchester for twenty years where he lives on Ashbourne Grove. He is married, has seven children, works in a local business located in the front room of someone's house (see chapter six), and helps run one of the gemachs.

Chaim Rabinowitz: A member of the Lubavitch, he is in his early-fifties and has lived in Broughton Park for thirty-one years on Bury New Road. He works for the Lubavitch yeshiva, where he is helping to organise the construction of a new million pound facility.

Rabbi Reich: Born in Glasgow, he is a community rabbi involved with 'outreach' work (see chapter eight), and has lived for eleven years on Cavendish Road.

Daniel Rosenthal: He lives in Prestwich but was born in South Manchester, is in his early thirties, and is married with two young children. He is a Sephardi Jew but has

strong connections with the Bratslov Hasidism, so that he visits the grave of Rabbi Nachman in Uman, Ukraine every Rosh Hashanah (see chapter two).

Sarah Shapiro: Is a dati Jew in her early-thirties, who moved from Whitefield to Broughton Park with her husband three years ago. She has four children, and works as a solicitor in Manchester.

Rabbi Solomon: Originally from New York, is in his late-fifties, and is one of the leading rabbis in the community. He has lived in Broughton Park (Broom Lane) for almost forty years, has helped to set up one of the major kollels and is involved in outreach. He is not a Hasidic Jew, although half of his ten children have followed that path.

John and Michelle Spielman: They are both in their early-sixties, are Reform Jews and have lived in Broughton Park for forty years on Upper Park road. John is a retired university lecturer and Michelle works as a teacher. They are both rather scathing of orthodoxy.

Ruth Stern: In her mid-forties, she has lived in Broughton Park all her life, and currently lives on Stanley Road with her husband and eleven children. She is very involved with the gemachs, while her husband helps manage one of the Hasidic shteiblach (although the family are not Hasidic).

Joshua Vogel: He is in his late-forties, and his lived in Manchester all his life. He was a former pupil of (the secular) Manchester Grammar School, attended university where he gained a law degree before studying at one of the Manchester yeshivas. He currently works for the Beth Din (see chapter eight).

William Weiss: In his early-fifties, he works as a solicitor and has twelve children. His family were traditional but not orthodox, and William went to Bury Grammar School. He has now become very orthodox, with all his children going to orthodox schools. He attends the Ohel Torah shteible on Leicester Road, is involved with the

Broughton Park Residents Association (see chapter eight), and runs two major charities.

Rabbi and Mrs. Wolff: He is originally from London, she is from Switzerland and they have lived in Broughton Park for four years. He studies in the Machzikei Hadass and Horidenka kollels, and, although he is not Hasidic, tends to daven in the Satmar or Divrei Chaim shteiblach.

Summary

This chapter has linked the first half of the thesis (which provided contextual 'cuts' for understanding orthodoxy) with the second (exploring the grounded realities of life in Broughton Park), and has outlined how I approached and undertook my research. In the first half of the chapter I explored overall methodological approaches to understanding orthodoxy, arguing, in particular, for the place of ethics in geographical research. In the second half, I analysed the specific methods used in my research - community mapping, participant observation and semi-structured interviews - and outlined my positionality. I discussed how my own status as insider/outsider influenced my ability to access the community and also positions my subsequent understandings of the characteristics of Broughton Park life. By being reflexive, I not only 'map out' (in an admittedly partial and contingent way) my relationship to the 'field', but also downplay claims of authorial authority, forming part of an overall strategy of producing less exploitative research.

CHAPTER SIX

ORTHODOX MATERIAL SPACE IN BROUGHTON PARK

Introduction

In chapter three I discussed theoretical understandings of space, identity and boundaries, setting out a conceptual framework for understanding contemporary orthodoxy. In particular, I discussed the ways in which certain groups may seek to bound and stabilise their identities and spaces so as to resist the forces of hybridity and assimilation. These theoretical notions directly underpin this second half of the thesis, which seeks to provide a contextualised description and explanation of orthodoxy as practised in contemporary Broughton Park. In the chapters following this one, I explore imaginations of place and community, individual and communal practices of everyday life and an examination of the proposed north Manchester eruv. Before these, however, I provide a 'walking tour' through the material, 'bricks and mortar' space of Broughton Park. Here my aim is to provide a detailed description of the grounded geographies of the orthodox areas, drawing upon and extending my understandings of space as discussed in chapter three, and offering subjective and positioned perceptions, rather than an attempt at a value-neutral description of the 'way it is'. By making my way through the streets in and around Broughton Park, stopping at various points to discuss key elements of the landscape, I provide a platform upon which the following chapters build. Nevertheless, material space, imaginary space, and spatial practice are not easily separated, and the following three chapters will necessarily involve a certain interweaving of themes. For conceptual purposes, however, I seek to avoid merging these concepts as far as possible, and it is only in the final chapter, which draws upon discussions of the spatialities of the proposed eruv, that I directly draw together the different spaces and identities of contemporary orthodoxy as practised and understood in Broughton Park.

Mapping Broughton Park

Figure 6.1 details the street-plan of the Broughton Park area, providing a base to the following two maps; figure 6.2 which shows the spread of communal buildings, and figure 6.3 which highlights the spatial extent of the Jewish population. These latter two maps give a clear indication of how Broughton Park contains a large and highly concentrated Jewish population with access to a variety of communal institutions. Indeed, in a large number of streets there are between 81 and 100 percent Jewish occupied houses (with a number of others above 51 percent), with non-Jews (including a handful of Indian and Pakistani residents) in the minority[1]. These 'birds-eye' maps of Broughton Park are important in providing the back-drop to all the discussions that follow, yet in themselves they reveal little about the details of the landscape, the type of housing, the nature of the residents, and the changes that have taken place through time. As such, I 'flesh out' and explain these maps through a grounded ethnographic street tour of the Broughton Park area. Starting at the corner of Wellington Street and Bury New Road, I will cross through to Northumberland Street (the institutional heart-land), travel along Leicester Road (where most of the Jewish shops are located), then Bury Old Road (the location of the large King David school and of the Manchester Beth Din), Upper Park Road and Singleton Road, before finally returning to Bury New Road.

Wellington Street

Walking north along Bury New Road (a major arterial route into the town centre of Manchester) towards the Broughton Park area, there is, in between a public library and a Greek orthodox church, a footpath that leads on to Wellington Street, a quiet side road that, as figure 6.3 indicates, marks the beginning of the Jewish area. Indeed while Cardiff Street (the road next to Wellington Street) is entirely non-Jewish, 29 percent of the residents of Wellington Street are Jewish, the majority of whom are clustered together in the area closest to Leicester Road. This clear division between Jewish and non-Jewish areas is central to orthodox identities in Broughton Park, and is a theme that I will explore in some detail in chapter seven. Nonetheless, the most

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[1] Of the 3534 houses analysed, 1450 contained Jewish residents (see appendix).
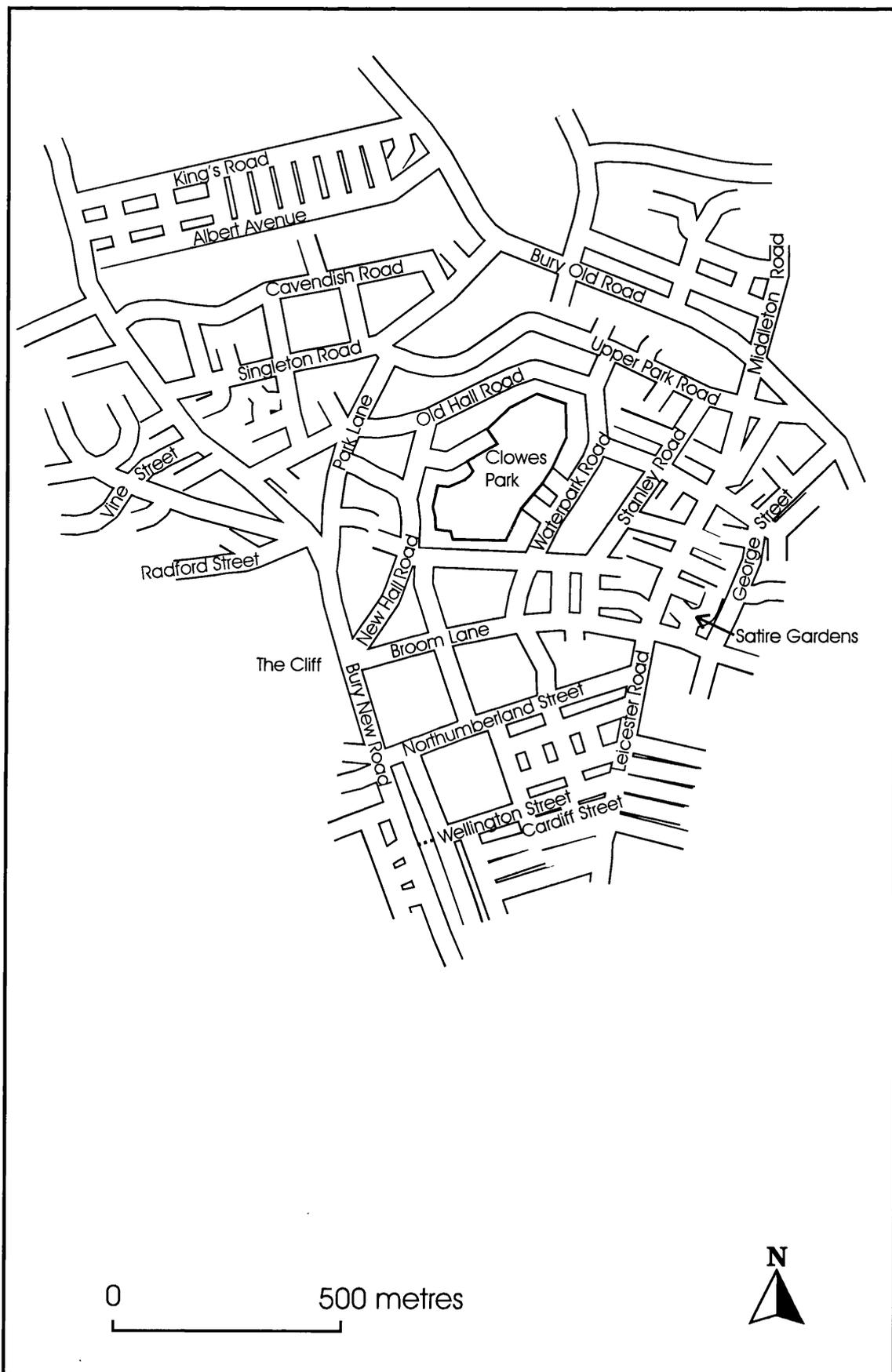
Figure 6.1: Street Map of Broughton Park.
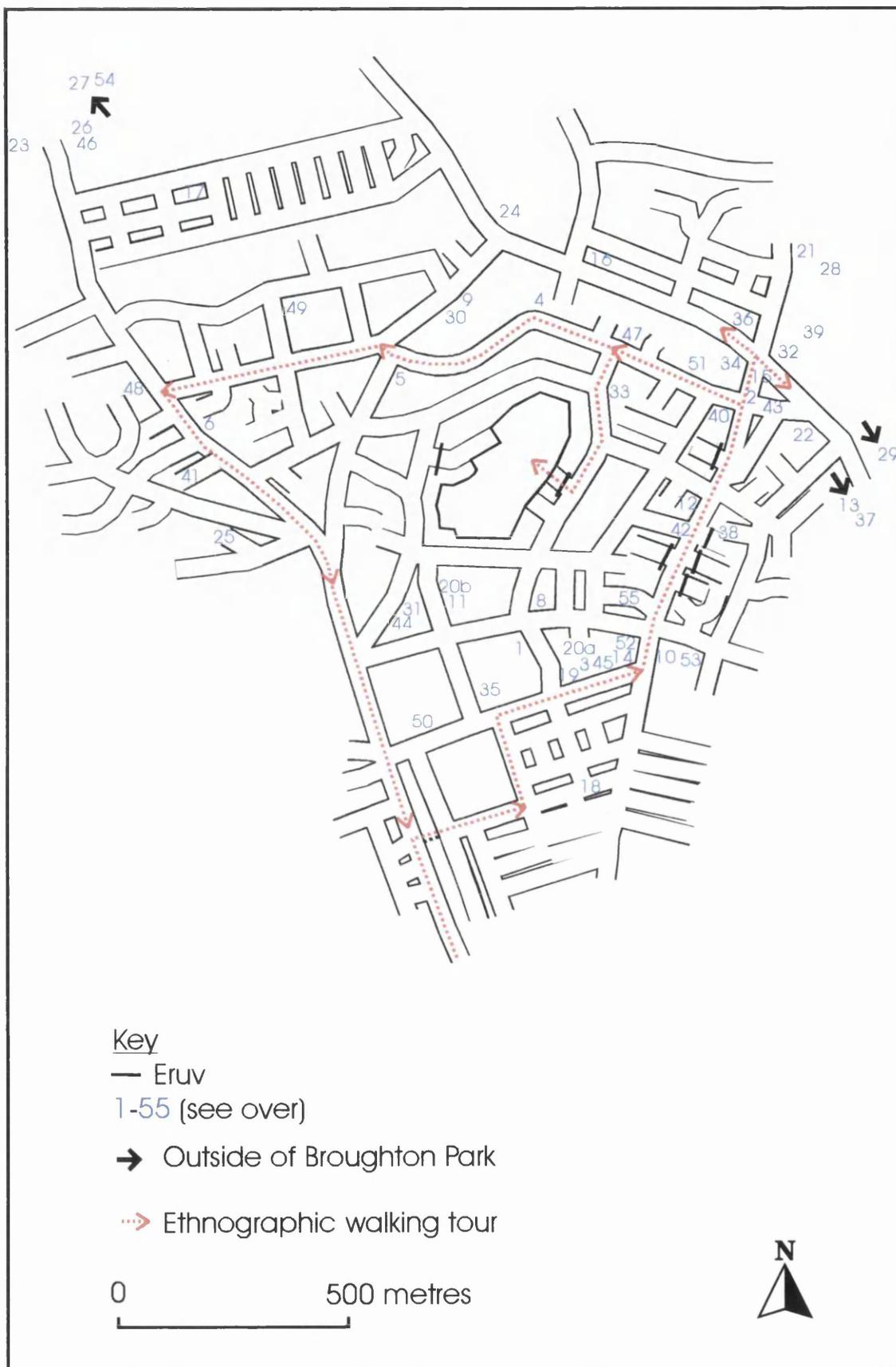
Figure 6.2: Institutional map of Broughton Park.

1. Adass Yeshurun Synagogue (S)
2. Adass Yisroel Synagogue (S)
3. Aguda (S, C)
4. Beis Chinuch Charedi (E)
5. Beis Menachem (E, C)
6. Beis Soroh Schenierer Seminary (Y)
7. Beis Yakov Seminary (Y)
8. Belz (S, E, Y)
9. B'nai Akivah (C)
10. B'nos Yisroel (E)
11. Broughton Jewish (E)
12. Central-North Manchester Synagogue (S)
13. Cheetham Hebrew Congregation (S)
14. Chodosh (E, Y)
15. Choshen Mishpot Beis Din (C)
16. Cultural Centre (C)
17. Damesek Eliezer Synagogue (S)
18. Divrai Chaim (S)
19. Ezras Torah (Y)
20a. Gur (present) (S)
20b. Gur (under construction) (S)
21. Heaton Park Hebrew Congregation (S)
22. Higher Crumpsall and Higher Broughton Hebrew Congregation (S)
23. Higher Prestwich Hebrew Congregation (S)
24. Holy Law and South Broughton Congregation (S)
25. Hubert Jewish High School (E)
26. Jewish Day School (E)
27. Jewish Grammar School (E)
28. Jewish Federation (C)
29. Jewish Museum (C)
30. Kahal Chassidism/ Lubavitch Foundation (S, Y)
31. Kesser Torah (E, Y)
32. King Davis School (E)
33. Kol Rinoh Horidenka (S, Y)
34. Levi House (C)
35. Machzikei Hadass (S, Y, C)
36. Mamlock House (C)
37. Manchester Beth Din (C)
38. Manchester Kollel (Y)
39. Manchester Yeshiva (Y)
40. Mechina (E, Y)
41. North Salford Synagogue (S)
42. Ohel Torah (S)
43. Ohel Yossef Yitzchok (E)

44. Pinto Talmudical Centre (Y)
45. Satmar (S, E, Y)
46. Shaarei Tefillah (S)
47. Shaarei Torah (Y)
48. Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue (S)
49. Stene Court (S)
50. Talmud Torah Chinuch N'orim (S, E)
51. Tashbar (S)
52. Viznitz (S, E, Y)
53. Women's mikvah - Beth Din (C)
54. Women's mikvah - Machzikei Hadass (C)
55. Yeshiva Latzeirim (S, E, Y)

C = Community organisation; E = School; S = Synagogue; Y = Yeshiva/Kollel/ Seminary

Key to figure 6.2.

Figure 6.3: Concentration of Jews in Broughton Park.

obvious material differences between Wellington Street and Cardiff Street relate to the style of housing. While both areas consist of relatively low-income terraced housing, the houses on Wellington Street include small front gardens, whereas those on Cardiff Street do not (see plates 6.1 and 6.2).

> Rabbi Wolff : '[Wellington Street is] the end of the ghetto[2]. The Jewish area stops abruptly here, that is because the houses behind us aren't suitable for Jewish people to live, for two reasons. One is Jewish people need a certain shape of houses, they need to be big enough for children, they also need a garden, we haven't got much of a garden, at least we've got some.'

For Rabbi Wolff, the explanation as to why Wellington Street marks the border is because of the orthodox requirement of certain shapes of houses (see chapter four), a garden where a *succah*[3] can be built, as well as the practicalities of a house large enough to accommodate very large orthodox families. Rabbi Wolff only moved to Wellington Street in the last few years, and his arrival is typical of the whole of the Broughton Park area which has seen a huge growth in the orthodox population over the past twenty to thirty years.

> Rabbi Soloman : 'It's grown phenomenally in terms of religious people living here, it's grown phenomenally, in fact it's saturated, basically now there are very few, very few non-Jews, and even very few non-observant people living in Broughton Park. It's so saturated that the community's had to expand and therefore to find a house here at reasonable price to live in [is difficult] , but when I first came here [30 years ago] it was a very mixed community and there were lots of middle-of-the-road Jews, not so, sort of, completely committed Jews and [now] it's changing, it's growing.'

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[2] 'Ghetto' is clearly a subjective word to which I will return to in chapters seven and nine.
[3] Outdoor 'booths' (of at least four square cubits) in which Jews are commanded to live during the festival of Tabernacles (which reminds Jews of the forty years of wandering through the desert following the exodus from Egypt, and is also associated with harvest-time: see Jacobs, 1995).

Plate 6.1: Cardiff Street.

Plate 6.2: Wellington Street.

From piecing together interviews with long-term residents, a common picture emerges of Broughton Park becoming increasingly religious over the past thirty years or so. In the period up to the 1960s and 1970s, the area was heavily populated by largely middle-of-the-road type Jews (although from the First World War onwards there were small pockets of fully observant, only marginally Anglicised East-European Jews) who had migrated north to the area from the Strangeways and Redbank areas of inner-city Manchester (see chapter one). From the early-1970s many of these Jews then migrated further north to the suburbs of Prestwich and Whitefield, and their houses were often bought by non-Jews. During the last forty years, however, the number of orthodox Jews has also been steadily rising, with this increase becoming much more evident over the past ten to twenty years (residents' opinions differed on this point). What has now emerged is a vibrant, dynamic orthodox community which can no longer be contained in Broughton Park, and has consequently spread to surrounding areas: most noticeably the King's Road area of Prestwich.

As part of this growth in orthodoxy, there has been, because of the large family sizes, a rapid increase in the number of children.

> Rabbi Soloman : 'The biggest proof in that is have a look at the kids. There's zillions of kids, right. If there's zillions of kids that means there's a future, because a shul without noise from the kids, without the people or the *gabba* [caretaker] of the shul chasing the kids around all over the place, it's a shul [or a community] without a future.'

In direct response to this rise, a whole host of new schools have been built in recent years to cater for the large numbers of children, and the different needs they have in terms of the variations within orthodoxy according to background and customs. As such, Broughton Park now contains a whole range of schools (see figure 6.2), including the Hasidic-leaning boys schools of Etz Chaim, Keser Torah, Satmar, Belz, Viznitz and Lubavitch, the less Hasidic Mechina, Tashbar and Jewish Grammar, and girls schools such as the Lubavitch Ohel Yosef Yitzhok, Beis Chinuch Haredi, Beis Yakov High and B'nos. These schools have been built in addition to the older

schools of Prestwich Jewish Day, Broughton Jewish-Castle Fox, King David and the Talmud Torah Chinuch N'orim. In recent years there has been an 'explosion' in the number of schools so that, as Rabbi Reich argued (tongue in cheek), these days it is no longer a question of finding the right school for your child, but building the right school. Nevertheless, in addition to the rapid growth in schools, these institutions have also become increasingly orthodox in their outlook.

Joshua Vogel : 'I know when I went to Broughton Jewish primary school [in the 1960s] there were children there from the most religious Hasidic homes, to homes where shabbas and *yom tov* [a festival] and *kashrus* [keeping kosher] meant absolutely nothing, but their parents did feel they want to give the child a start, a start in Jewish education. That applied to Broughton Jewish, that applied to Prestwich Jewish Day school, the more Hasidic *mechadorim* [schools] was virtually non-existent. Having said that, a school like Prestwich Jewish Day school, whose founders were very strictly orthodox, they were basically members of the Machzikei Hadass communities, always had in mind that come the day when a school, or when that school, would be viable with only orthodox children, that would be the time when the goal posts would be changed, and the school would be moved, and they'd go from mixed classes to segregated classes, where they'd go from heavy emphasis on secular, to a more balanced division of the day between secular and *kodesh* [religious studies] and Hebrew, where things like homes where they have televisions would not be considered the right home for the clientele of that school etc., etc.'

Returning to Wellington Street, here there is only one orthodox school, the Talmud Torah Chinuch N'orim, which is housed in a dilapidated building surrounded by high walls and steel gates (marked with anti-Semitic graffiti[4]). Finally, in terms of the orthodox community, Wellington Street also includes the two Jewish shops, Kolbo's

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[4] The graffiti read 'Jews die - Rot in Hell', thus acting as a marker of Jewish space from 'without'. Nonetheless, such examples of anti-Semitism also feed into Jewish residents' imaginations of non-Jews as 'other' and 'out of place' (see chapter seven: see also Cresswell's (1996) discussions on the geographies of graffiti).

(a grocers) and Chaim's fish shop, and is also the location for Divrai Chaim, an informal shteible I visited with Rabbi Wolff.

Northumberland Street

Cutting through from Wellington Street and heading north to where the concentration of Jews rapidly increases, there is a notable rise in the size and standard of the houses. By the time we reach Northumberland Street, a conduit route between Bury New and Leicester Roads, the buildings are either detached or semi-detached and have larger gardens. While Wellington Street is notable for its location on the boundary between Jewish and non-Jewish areas, Northumberland Street is important as it forms the institutional heart of Broughton Park, at least in terms of the number of facilities.

As figure 6.2 shows, the road contains six synagogue complexes, five of which are next-door to each other. At the western end is the large Machzikei Hadass complex which is the principal orthodox synagogue in Broughton Park (see box. 1 and plate 6.3), whilst further up there are the Hasidic shteiblach of Satmar (see box. 2 and plate 6.4) and Gur (which was in the process of moving to Leigh Road at the time of my fieldwork), the yeshivot of Chodosh and Ezras Torah, and the Agudah centre. The Agudah building at the eastern end of Northumberland Street is a large, single-storey, pre-fabricated structure (replacing another building which burnt down), operating as an orthodox community centre. The building contains a synagogue with room for approximately sixty people to daven, a mother and toddler centre, and also a small library. In addition, Agudah also acts as the umbrella housing association to the new orthodox retirement home being built next to the Machzikei Hadass synagogue (and who initiated the project). The home offers an orthodox environment for elderly residents so that, in contrast to the major Jewish retirement home in Manchester (the largely middle-of-the-road, Heathlands institution), all the residents will have keep to *shomer shabbat* standards (keeping Orthodox rules of shabbas).

Box 1: Machzikei Hadass Synagogue

		ark	mikvah
large hall	kollel room	main synagogue	car park
library			North ←
cloakroom	Beth Hamidrash	Beth Hamidrash	
		main entrance	
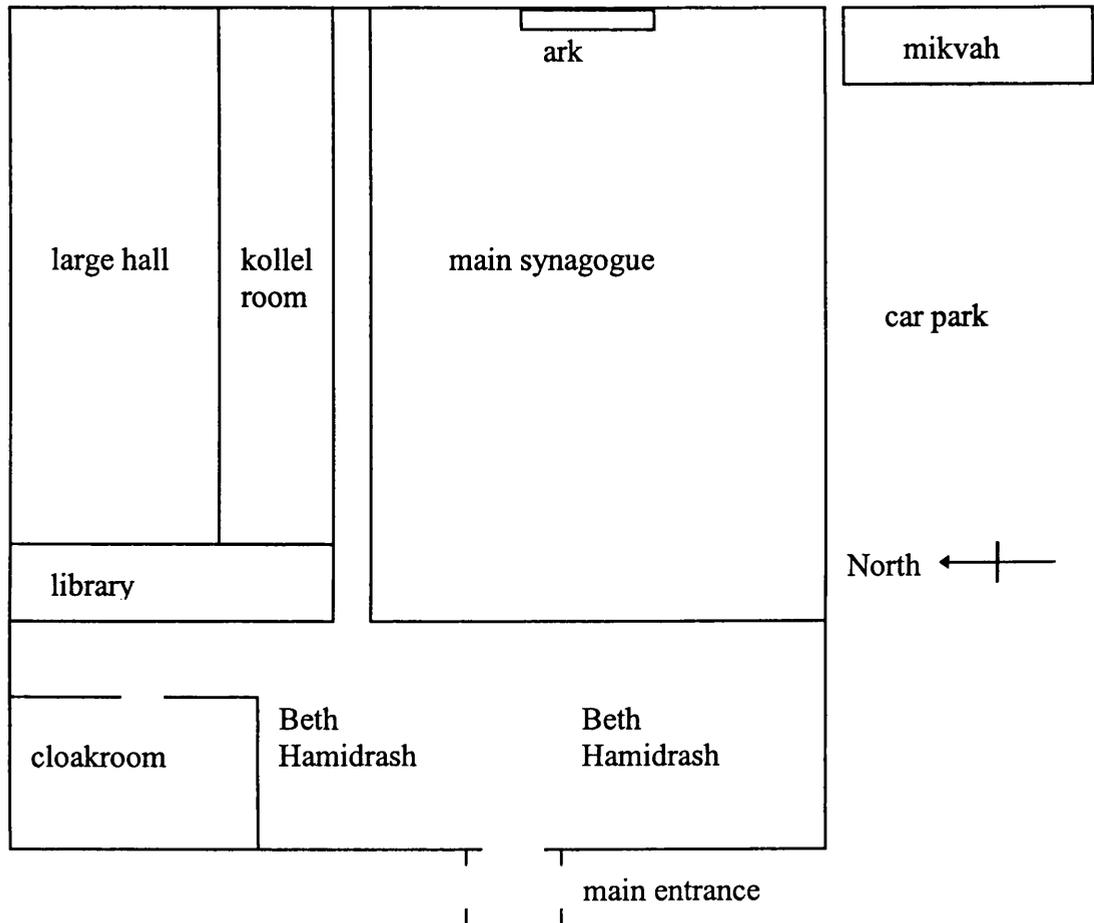
The whole area (including the car park) was approximately 50 by 40 metres.

The sketch map above (and which represents my impressions as opposed to any formal plans) details the layout of the foremost orthodox synagogue in Broughton Park[1], the Machzikei Hadass (known locally as MH). From interviews with attenders, the synagogue attracts around 500 worshipers each morning for the shacharis prayers. With each service lasting around 40 minutes, the synagogue operates a 'rolling minyan' policy so that davening continually takes place. Services start as early as quarter to seven and go on to eleven o'clock, with the car park being filled by as many as 300 cars each morning (except, of course, on Saturday).

Several older members of the synagoue spoke of the early years of the synagogue (the land was bought just before the Second World War) when the car-park would

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[1] The only synagogues of comparible size are the Holy Law and Shrubberies which are located outside of Broughton Park, and Central Synagogue (on Leicester Road) which is also large in physical size, but whose membership is smaller (see main text).

only have four of five vehicles each morning. At that time the synagogue was located in the original double-fronted house (in property initially owned by the British Fascist Oswald Mosely!), but as the community grew this was pulled down and replaced with a purpose built synagogue (and which has since been extended by the addition of a new hall).

The MH shul davens according to a Hasidic format (the *rov* [leading rabbi] is a Viznitzer), although the congregation is mixed between Hasids and non-Hasids. In the last decade or so, much of the MH community has fragmented as the different spleens (such as Satmar, Ger and Vishnitz) have increased in numbers, and have left to found their own synagogues (see boxes 2 and 3). At one time the MH contained a thriving cheder, but this closed down as the number of religious schools increased and the need for it declined. MH also houses an active kollel of around 20 men who use the study rooms adjoining the main prayer room. In addition to the main building, there is also a men's mikvah (and which has also been re-built several times) and a t'velis kelim for purifying crockery, as detailed below.
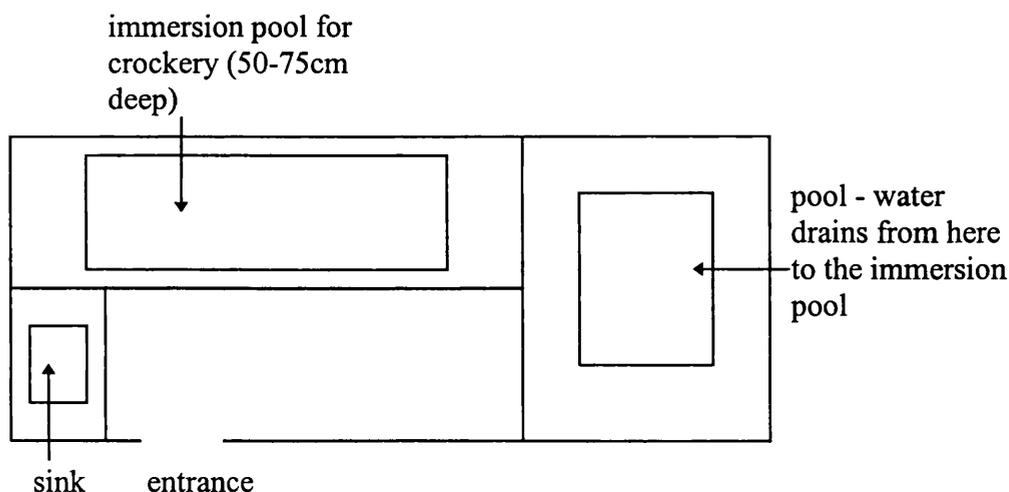
The MH t'velis kelim is approximately four by two metres in area, and the procedure for purifying crockery (for example, if a *flashic* (meaty) plate touches something *milchic* (milky)) is simply to immerse the article in the water (usually three, but sometimes seven, times) and recite the appropriate blessing.

Box 2: The Satmar shteible

mikvah

tea making   sink

main
synagogue

prayer
books   ark

Beth   coat   stairs to
Hamidrash   pegs   women's
                            section
                            and class
                            rooms

                main
                entrance

                            gates separating
                            men from women
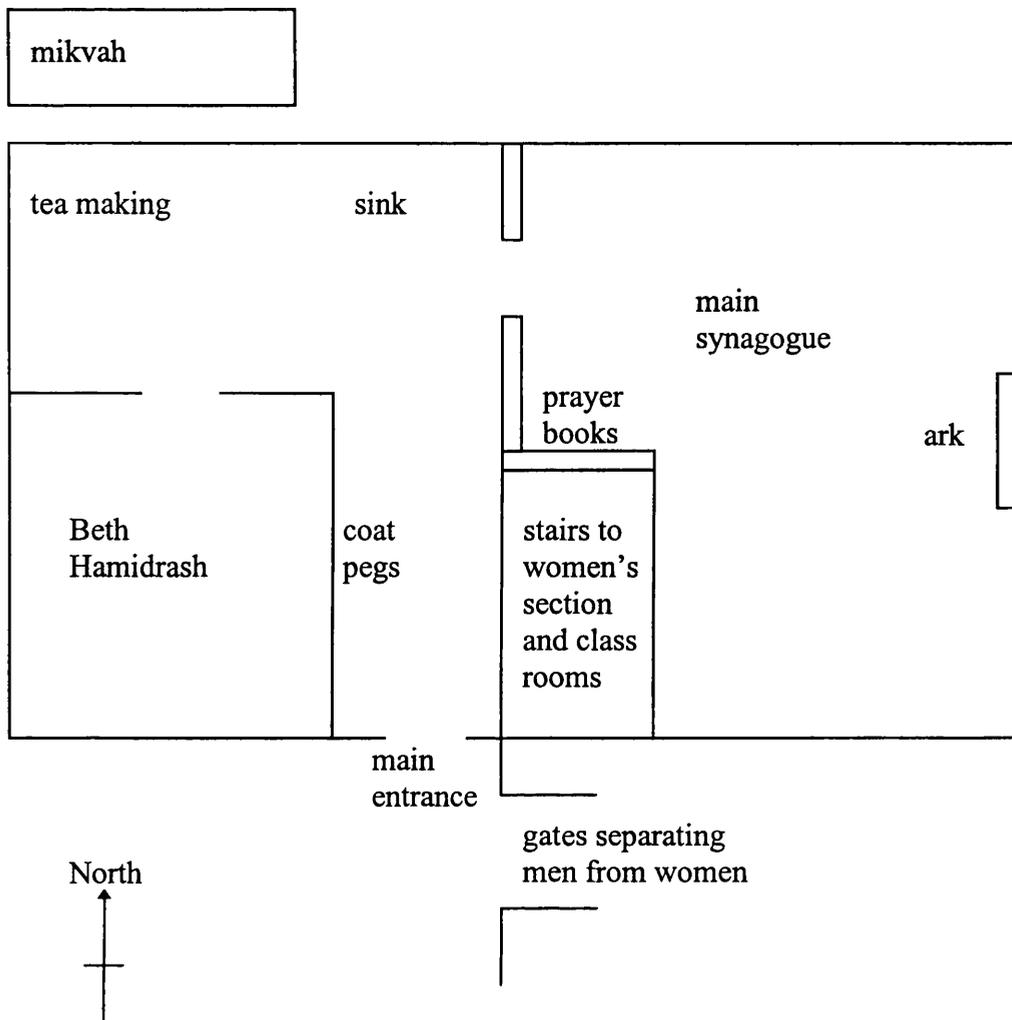
North

Ground floor plan area, approximately 30 by 25 metres.

The Satmar shteible is located on Northumberland Street in the institutional heart of Broughton Park. The building itself contains a small *Beth Hamidrash* (small prayer and study room) with room for perhaps twenty people, and the larger main synagogue which has benches and desks for approximately fifty. Above the ground floor is where the women sit, which looks down to the men's section through a small gap so that the ark can be seen, but is out of sight of the men davening below. During my particular visit (for a late evening ma'ariv service) there were no women present, but in other orthodox shuls a veil is drawn across any gaps so as to separate men and women. Outside the shul are two large wrought iron gates, again designed to separate men from women as they enter the building.

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Plate 6.3: Machzikei Hadass synagogue on the corner of Northumberland Street and Legh Street.

Plate 6.4: Satmar shteible on Northumberland Street (note the building is in the process of being extended: another indication of the growth of the community).

Leicester Road

Heading east along Northumberland Street, we cross on to Leicester Road, a busy
thoroughfare that acts, as figure 6.2 shows, as at least a partial boundary to the
orthodox area. From a Jewish perspective, Leicester Road is divided in two halves,
with the boundary at the corner of Wellington Street. The southern end of Leicester
Road is almost exclusively non-Jewish in terms of institutions, shops and population,
and contrasts with the northern half, which marks the beginning of the Jewish area.
Heading north from the corner of Wellington Street up Leicester Road, there is a
ribbon of mainly Jewish shops: the Machzikei Hadass butchers, Grunsfeld's grocers,
Goodman's travel agents, a newsagents (now closed down), Sunshine dry cleaners,
Yvette's household wares, Dovid's delicatessen, Machzikei Hadass bakers,
Mashier's catering shop, Presentation kosher wine and gift shop, Smartwear clothes,
Brackman's bakery, Gordon's financial services, a hairdresser, barber, surgery,
Halberstad butchers, the Talmud Torah offices, and Halpern's grocers (plate 6.5). Of
these shops, all except for the dry cleaners and the hairdressers are Jewish owned,
and most are aimed specifically at the orthodox community; although all will
inevitably also attract non-Jewish custom (see chapter eight). As such, Leicester
Road provides many of the products required by orthodox Jews living in the
Broughton Park area and, in particular, is the place where most local people buy their
kosher food. Nevertheless, as mentioned in chapter five, Broughton Park also
contains an extensive invisible landscape of businesses, operating largely from within
people's houses. These businesses offer a huge range of products and services,
including booksellers, caterers, children clothes, dress-makers, engravers, florists,
gift suppliers, jewellers, Real Estate managers, religious clothing such as *streimals*
(Hasidic fur hats) and *tzitzis* ('fringes', cotton prayer shawls), *shaatnez* testers
(ensure garments do not contain mixtures of wool and linen), scribes and a host of
other facilities (see chapter eight). These businesses are almost entirely located
within the Broughton Park area, with Leicester Road acting as a clear boundary. As
figure 6.3 shows, the area to the east of Leicester Road, around George Street, is
sparsely populated with Jews, whereas to the west there is a very high concentration
of Jewish residents. Even so, it is worth noting that Jews are beginning to move
across this boundary, particularly into the newly built houses of Saltire Gardens,

Plate 6.5: View down Leicester Road showing some of the Jewish shops.

Plate 6.6: Cubley Road, location for a small *cul-de-sac* eruv. Note how difficult it is to identify the device (the white board to the left of the picture forms the vertical post of the tzuras ha'pesach).

reflecting the pressures for space within Broughton Park.

Heading north from the ribbon of Jewish shops, we pass the Viznitz shteible on the left, and to the right, along Tetlow lane, is the location of the women's mikvah. This mikvah is run by the Manchester Beth Din (see later), with another, owned by the Machzikei Hadass, located just beyond the King's Road area of Prestwich (others further away in Manchester include the recently constructed facility in Whitefield). Men's mikvot are more common, and are to be found in the grounds of several of the larger synagogues and shteiblach, including the Machzikei Hadass, Satmar, Belz and Lubavitch. In addition, there are several t'velis kelim used for the ritual cleaning of crockery (see box.1), as well as an increasing number of private mikvot, built within people's homes[5].

Moving further along, on either side of Leicester Road are five small cul-de-sacs which are notable because they contain communal eruvs demarcating them as private spaces (see figure 6.2 and chapter four). These eruvs can be identified by the length of wire running between the sides of the front two houses in each Street, and at ground-level by two white boards placed on either side of the road demarcating the point beyond which carrying, on the Sabbath, is forbidden (plate 6.6). These white boards are the only way in which these eruvs can realistically be identified, with the raised wires easily mistaken for telephone connections. Just before the most northerly of these cul-de-sacs is the Central and North Manchester synagogue which houses one of the few *kehillas* (communities) in the area which is declining. The shul is one of the largest in the area, and is located in a building originally designed and run as a Methodist church. The membership mostly consists of older residents, and the shul adopts a United Synagogue (see chapter one) style of service. Central and North Manchester is one of the few 'middle-of-the-road' synagogues located within the boundaries of Broughton Park, with the only one that comes close in terms of religious outlook being Stenecourt (and which certainly has a more dati approach). Just outside of Broughton Park the shuls are generally not so orthodox, and there are a number of synagogues, such as the Holy Law and Higher Crumpsall (Bury Old Road) and Higher Prestwich (Bury New Road), which cater for middle-of-the-road

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[5] Gideon Leventhall, pers. com.

Jewry. The decline of the Central and North Manchester synagogue is, according to the rabbi there, largely due to the movement of the type of Jews it represents further north into the suburbs of Whitefield and Prestwich[6].

Bury Old Road

At the northern end of Leicester Road, at the junction with Bury Old Road, is an area that is the site of several key communal institutions. In particular, it is the location for the largest of the Jewish schools in the area, the King David school, which caters for Jewish children of all levels of religious observance throughout the region. The school is certainly towards the left of the religious spectrum, and none of my interviewees sent their children there; it is simply too secular having, for example, mixed classes for boys and girls. Nevertheless, the school does appear to be moving further to the right, and was the centre of a conflict over its decision to refuse entry to children whose mothers or grandmothers are Reform converts (Harris, 1990; *Jewish Telegraph*, 1990a; Wachmann, 1990). King David decided not to allow in such children because, according to Orthodox halachah, they are not considered Jewish; a decision that raised considerable anger amongst the Reform communities (tying into the debates of 'who is a Jew' discussed in chapters one and five). In addition, the school has recently introduced a sixth form section just for girls, called Yavneh, and which has a stronger religious element than the rest of King David.

Located behind the King David school is the oldest yeshivah in the region, Manchester Yeshivah which was founded in 1911 (Finkelman and Weiss, 1997), the middle-of-the-road Heaton Park synagogue, and the Jewish Federation - the principal social services organisation for Jews in Manchester. Heading back towards Broughton Park, on the corner of Bury Old Road and Middleton Road is Mamlock House, a communal organisation incorporating various Zionist organisations including the United Jewish Israel Appeal, the Zionist Central Council, the Israel Information Centre, and the aliyah department (provides advice on emigrating to Israel). Mamlock House is staffed by mainly middle-of-the-road type Jews, and, while most of the people who make use of its services are not orthodox, about a third

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[6] The movement of Jews from inner city areas towards outer suburbs is a common feature of Anglo-

of those who choose to make aliyah (and Mamlock House deals with 120-150 each year from the whole of northern England) are religious. According to a member of the aliyah department, orthodox Jews make use of the centre for advice on housing and transportation, usually in response to a British-Israeli *shidduch* (arranged marriage[7]). Opposite Mamlock House on the other side of Bury Old Road is Levi House, a building owned by the Jewish Federation which incorporates the Jewish Marriage Guidance Centre. Levi House, King David school and Mamlock House are housed in buildings which are not obviously Jewish, and traffic passing by them may have little idea of their purposes. This downplaying of their Jewish characteristics (which is evident throughout much of Broughton Park) certainly does not apply to the grounds diagonally opposite to Mamlock House, the site of a large menorah and sign reading 'Moshiach - Be a part of it' (plate 6.7). This site is owned by the Lubavitch movement, and is, according to Chaim Rabinowitz, designed to draw Jewish people's attention to the arrival of the Messiah, who the organisation believe will shortly arrive (see chapter two). Chaim Rabinowitz argued that the intention of the sign was not to demarcate 'where the ghetto begins', but rather to raise the consciousness of Jews who might not otherwise think in their daily lives about Moshiach. Whether it achieves this aim is difficult to say, but what is clear is that the sign and the menorah very visibly highlight the presence of the orthodox community.

Further west along Bury Old Road, on the opposite side of the road to the main Jewish area, is the Manchester Jewish Cultural Centre, a large Georgian looking house set back from the main road by some twenty metres, and surrounded by wooded grounds. Facilities inside the centre include a swimming pool, a synagogue, a kosher restaurant and take-away, an extensive library of Jewish books (both Hebrew and English) and lecture and class rooms which provide the setting for various communal activities such as Hebrew classes, Israeli dancing, mother and baby groups, aerobics and even karate (and thus an interesting example of hybridity). In addition, the centre provides the location for meetings of two of the key Jewish community organisations, the Council of Synagogues and the Representative

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Jewry (and Jewry more general), reflecting increasing economic status (see Newman, 1985).
[7] A number of interviewees rejected the use of the phrase 'arranged marriages', arguing that individuals were only 'introduced' to each other. The final decision about whether to marry rested entirely with the couple concerned (see chapter eight).

Plate 6.7: Lubavitch sign on the corner of Leicester Road and Bury Old Road

Plate 6.8: Horidenka shteible on Waterpark Road.

Council, which both meet periodically to discuss community issues affecting Jews throughout Manchester (for example, problems of anti-Semitism or the proposals to construct the North Manchester eruv: discussed in chapter nine).

Heading east along Bury Old Road away from the Broughton Park area is Cheetham Hill, the former centre of the Jewish community (chapter one). This is a major shopping area in the locality, and it is certainly not unusual to see orthodox Jews walking around here buying goods. In terms of Jewish institutions, there are a couple of synagogues catering mainly to mainstream Anglo-Jewry (Higher Crumpsall and Cheetham Hebrew Congregations), and further along still is the Jewish Museum housed in a former Sephardi synagogue. Of most interest in this area is the Manchester Beth Din, which is located in a fairly run-down, red-brick Victorian building, several hundred metres away from the main Jewish area in Broughton Park. According to the clerk, the Beth Din does have vague plans to move closer to Broughton Park, although its current location does provide an advantageous position for the facilities provided.

> Joshua Vogel : '[A] lot of people come to the Beth Din for matters which they don't necessarily want to come [to wider attention]. Right, certainly if it's a *din Torah*, which means an arbitration [for example over a business dispute], not everyone wants to come to the Beth Din and let everyone know their business, and their involvement in the arbitration. Certainly people who are coming with their non-Jewish girlfriends don't necessarily want to walk in to the middle of Broughton Park. Certainly people who are coming for a 'get' don't necessarily want everyone to know that on Tuesday at 9.30 they walked into, right. And secondly, we're a Beth Din that serves both the north and the south of the [Manchester] community, and therefore being a little in no-man's land, OK we're definitely in north Manchester, but we're not in the heart of the ghetto of Broughton Park or Prestwich or Whitefield.'

Because of the facilities that it provides, the Beth Din is one of the few institutions that straddles the entire (practising) Manchester Orthodox Jewish community.

Whether ultra-Orthodox or middle-of-the-road, only the Beth Din can grant a religious divorce (without this, marriage to another Jewish person - at least under an Orthodox ceremony - is forbidden). The Beth Din is also the only facility in Manchester that deals with issues of conversion[8], and it also acts as a religious court for civil matters such as property or inheritance claims, conflicts between neighbours, deformation or business disputes (and, as such, by-passes United Kingdom civil courts)[9]. In addition, the Manchester Beth Din also has three other principal roles. Firstly, it acts as an 'umbrella organisation' for religious matters relating to the general (Orthodox) community, so that rabbonim may consult it for advice, organisations may use it for guidance, and it helps plan communal religious development. Secondly, it acts as a conduit to non-Jewish organisations, such as police, doctors or teachers who require information or advice about the Jewish community. Thirdly, it has a role in licensing Jewish kashrus facilities, whether bakers, butchers, delicatessens or caterers.

While the Beth Din straddles much of Manchester Jewry, its relationship to either end of the religious spectrum is sometimes uneasy. For many neo-Orthodox Jews who are not fully observant, the Beth Din has a reputation for interference and for inflating the prices of food due to their requirements for checking kosher facilities (which can be expensive). On the other hand (and what is relevant to this thesis), the Beth Din also has a reputation for not following the highest standards in terms of kashrus. This does not mean that Beth Din products are unhygienic, or even that it licences non-kosher products, but rather that it will often check levels of kashrus to a 'lower' standard than, for example, would the Machzikei Hadass (who also distribute licences). Rabbi Levine explained it thus:

> Rabbi Levine : 'I'll give you an example. There is, there are many halachic discussions on every point of life, let's take a simple thing. There's an argument as to what temperature you kasher out a pasteurising machine when you make your milk. Some people say it's OK as long as you bring it up above the temperature that you use the

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[8] Although by common agreement, the London Beth Din is the only (Orthodox) body that can formally grant Jewish status to converts in the United Kingdom.
[9] Similar courts are also found within the British Muslim community (see Bano, 1999).

milk at, and some say you have to bring it up to 212 degrees under pressure. So some people say [it is OK to] bring it up to a lower temperature, but because it's under pressure that brings it up to boiling, and the stricter view says 'no', you've got to bring it up right to boiling point, the whole thing up to 212. So there you get two accepted practices, Machzikei Hadass would take the stricter one, the Beis Din would take the more lenient one, not because they're looking to be lenient, that's just the way they follow. You know that on everything Machzikei Hadass will take the stricter line, the Beis Din might on some things, might not on others.'

Interpreting halachah is an incredibly complex task. As Rabbi Levine explains, although both Beth Din and Machzikei Hadass procedures are, in terms of kashrus, acceptable, the latter's products will be exclusively used by many of the people in Broughton Park who want to be ultra-certain. Joshua Vogel elaborated that, because his institution deals with the whole of the north Manchester Jewish community (and hence a wide spectrum of beliefs and practices), it is simply not viable to charge people the costs for always maintaining the stricter standards in the way that the Machzikei Hadass's clientele insist upon. The result is that Broughton Park contains both Machzikei Hadass and Beth Din licensed bakers, butchers and caterers, highlighting communal divisions to which I will return in chapter seven.

Upper Park Road and Singleton Road

Returning to the Jewish area, just along from the junction of Bury New Road and Leicester Road is Upper Park Road. This road leads into the wealthier part of Broughton Park where the houses are larger with sometimes extensive gardens. Upper Park Road is notable principally because it is the site of the large Shaarei Torah yeshivah, which was founded some fifteen years ago, and is now housed in a large, modern, purpose-built construction (replacing the previous double-fronted house): at the time of my fieldwork the yeshivah was also undertaking an extensive construction programme for a new dormitory section. Inside the teaching block, two of the three floors are taken over by class rooms, a kitchen and dining hall area, while

the middle consists of a large, open-plan synagogue, perhaps twenty by twenty five metres, filled (at least on my two visits for shabbas ma'ariv prayers) with rows of chairs and portable stands for holding sidurim. At the back of the room is a long book-case containing sidurim and a whole host of religious texts, while at the front is the ark, next to which are half a dozen chairs that face the rest of the synagogue; here the Rosh Yeshivah and other teaching staff can watch the *bochorim* (students) as they daven. According to local residents, once the current construction work has been completed, Shaarei Torah will be the second largest yeshivah in Europe (the largest is in Gateshead), providing an indication of the growth and importance of Manchester as a centre of orthodoxy.

Directly opposite from Shaarei Torah is Waterpark Road, a quiet residential street leading on to the attractively laid out Clowes Park incorporating a duck pond, benches and well-maintained grass lawns and flower-beds. The houses on Waterpark Road are fairly typical of those in this part of Broughton Park, being mostly large, detached, and middle-class in appearance. Worth particular attention, however, is one newly constructed house towards the north end of the street which provides the location for the Horidenka rebbe (see box.3 and plate 6.8). The house was built in 1994 and, according to the *Jewish Telegraph*, was erected without planning permission. The paper reports how the construction caused considerable annoyance to at least several of the less orthodox local residents, and quotes from a Mr. Wilf Koffman who objected to the project, claiming that it was spoiling the residential nature of the area:

> 'The ultra-Orthodox have taken over the whole area. But there is a limit. It was a sheer cheek of them to build an extension without consulting their neighbours.' (Wilf Koffman, in Wachmann, 1994: 1)

For this man and his wife, the construction of the Horidenka centre was typical of the growth of orthodoxy in the area, with a clear sense that 'they' have taken over. The planning authorities did eventually give permission for the Horidenka centre to be built, but this aspect of the politics of material space of Broughton Park ties in to ideas of the orthodox 'claiming space' to which I will return in chapter seven.

Box 3: Kol Rinoh Horidenka
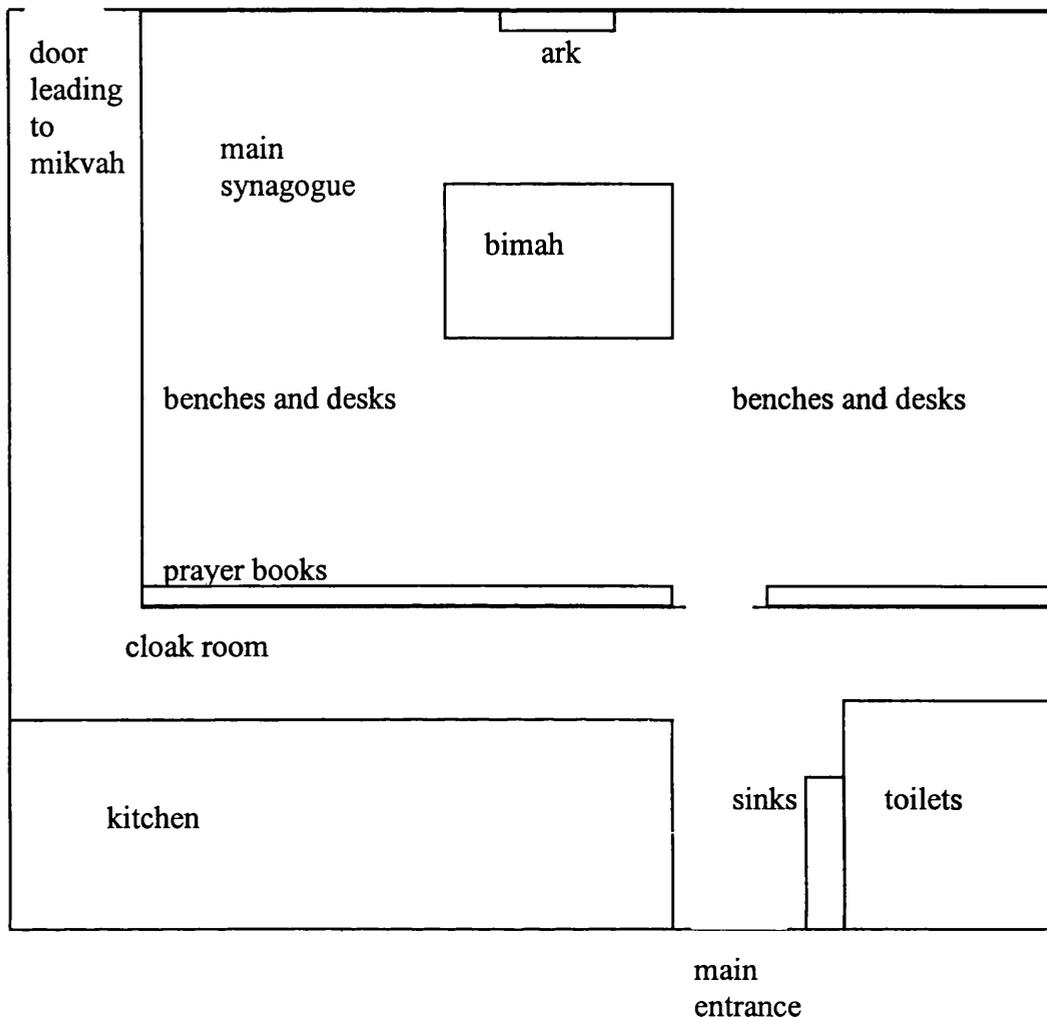
Ground floor area, approximately 20 by 20 metres.

The Kol Rinoh Horidenka is a remarkable building in that at first sight it looks simply like any other house in that part of Broughton Park. Nevertheless, while the outside looks indistinct, inside all of the original innards have been ripped out and replaced with a large synagogue (large enough for sixty or seventy people). The building is noteworthy for the controversy it engendered (see main text), and is the location of the only full-time rebbe living in Broughton Park.

Returning back to Upper Park Road, heading west we pass by the girls' school Beis Chinuch Haredi, and further along at the bottom of the Road is the Beis Menachem, a Lubavitch building which houses a nursery, girls' school and library. Around the corner on Singleton Road is the main Lubavitch site, which houses the Kahal Chassidism synagogue, and above which is the (temporary) location for a large yeshivah. This yeshivah has, according to Chaim Rabinowitz, space for around seventy bochurim, and provides religious education for students from Manchester and across the world[10]. The yeshivah was founded in 1990 and has grown rapidly from its foundation when there were only ten bochorim, and has moved through a variety of different locations, including a site further along Singleton Road which burnt down. In response to that fire, the yeshivah is campaigning to raise a million pounds to fund a new building which would incorporate dormitories for eighty students, a dining room, kitchens, Beth Hamidrash, library and teaching rooms.

Next to the Lubavitch site is the B'nai Akivah youth centre designed for dati children, and directly opposite is Cavendish Road, which marks one of the edges of Broughton Park (beyond this is an undeveloped valley with a small stream, Singleton Brook, running through). Heading east along Cavendish Road we return to Bury Old Road, and from where we could head north towards the King's Road area of Prestwich, or else head south past the Beis Yakov girls seminary and the Hubert Jewish High school. Continuing on Bury New Road, to the west is 'The Cliff', a sharp drop which leads to the River Irwell (acting as a natural boundary to Broughton Park), and a little further on we return to Wellington Street and the start of the 'tour'.

Summary

Broughton Park is an area with an extremely high concentration of Jews, containing, as figure 6.3 shows, over 25 streets which have between 81 and 100 percent Jewish residents. Figure 6.3 also shows how there are, in certain places, very sharp boundaries between areas with high Jewish concentrations, and adjacent streets which are almost entirely non-Jewish; most obviously along Wellington

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[10] It has, for example, just instituted a scholarship scheme to provide fees, accommodation and living expenses for two Russian students to come and study for two to three years. This is in addition to the other international (typically European and American) students who are currently enrolled.

Street/Cardiff Street and Leicester Road/George Street. In addition, Broughton Park also has distinct natural and human boundaries: the valley of Singleton Brook, and the major thoroughfares of Bury Old Road, Bury New Road (itself bounded by 'The Cliff') and Leicester Road. The area also contains a large number of Jewish institutions, including at least 26 synagogues, 16 schools, 13 community organisations, and 17 yeshivot/ kollelim or seminaries. In this chapter I have mapped out (both quantitatively and qualitatively) some of these key material spaces of Broughton Park, providing an empirical platform upon which the following chapters, dealing with the imaginations and the practices of orthodox Jews, now build.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IMAGINATIONS OF PLACE AND COMMUNITY

Introduction

In chapter six I described the range of institutional facilities and the high Jewish population within (and just beyond) Broughton Park, discussing the ways in which Jewish space has been constructed at a 'bricks and mortar' level. In this chapter I 'flesh out' these initial geographies through a discussion of how the landscape and people of Broughton Park are perceived, thus reconstructing the geographical and sociological imaginations of local residents. In particular, I explore the extent to which Broughton Park is seen as an orthodox place - involving (sometimes complex and ambivalent) imaginations of 'same' and 'other' - and how this relates to the politics of 'in place/out of place'. In the first part of the chapter I discuss orthodox residents' senses of place, showing how Broughton Park is mostly perceived as an attractive middle-class 'island' surrounded by a sea of 'no-go' areas. This sense of place relates to the basic geography of Broughton (generally perceived to be a leafy and attractive middle-class suburb), but is also intertwined with idealistic imaginations of orthodoxy: Broughton Park is attractive because it is a *Jewish* place. There are clear perceptions of an idealistic orthodox 'same', which remain despite internal fractures. In the second part of the paper I discuss how imaginings of this 'same' are interweaved with perceptions of the 'other', often associated with immorality and corruption, or, at the very least, as being categorically 'different'. In the third section I discuss how these debates are tied to a politics 'in place/out of place', inclusion and exclusion.

Sense of Place

Broughton Park as an attractive place

I : 'So how would you describe Broughton Park?'

Ruth Levy: 'I don't know, I've never thought how to describe it.'

I : 'What sort of words spring to mind?'

Ruth : 'Impression of the people or the area?'

I : 'The area to start with.'

Ruth : 'It's a very nice area. I'd suppose you'd call it a more middle-class area, it's a very nice area, emm, it's just very nice. When I go to London [Stamford Hill] to visit my sister, I think it's a real, it's not as nice, I mean the houses have got no grass and no nothing. I think we live quite luxurious really compared to some parts.'

For Ruth Levy, describing the place where she lived was not something she had ever really considered; Broughton Park just 'is', the place where she had settled and married. With a little encouragement, though, she discussed how she saw it as an attractive place, certainly in comparison to other orthodox areas such as Stamford Hill: a theme to which I later returned, when a friend, Sonja, who had dropped in to make a visit, interrupted to make the comparison clearer:

Sonja : 'I think the Jews in Glasgow live in quite a nice area, but when you take the Jews living in Gateshead and London: Gateshead, basically, they live in the slums, and in London, Golders Green, you're sort of on the main Golders Green road, so although some of the streets a bit further away are very pleasant, but you've still got the bulk of the traffic to consider, and in Stamford Hill, you've got a lot of racialism.

I : 'Yeah. There's quite a lot of interaction between the black and the Jewish communities.'

Sonja : 'I mean here, let's put it this way, it's reasonably safe to walk yourself or to allow your children to walk within these streets in the evening. Well you can't say the same about Gateshead, and you can't say the same about London, so that makes a big difference. If you know your children can walk to school with a group of friends, or you know that you're always going to have to chauffeur them because it's not safe to go, it's also a major consideration.'

For both these women, Broughton Park was a relatively secure place where they could live fairly comfortably. This particular sense of place was a theme common to many interviewees, with feelings often expressed that Broughton Park is, in many ways, an ideal place for orthodox Jews. This idealism (a theme which recurs in a variety of contexts) was also shared by Moshe Kahan, a newly married orthodox man who lived outside of Broughton Park in the King's road area of Prestwich:

Moshe Kahan : '[In Broughton Park] it's a modern, it's a nice residential area, it's not sort of Borough Park [an orthodox area of New York] where there's trains and trams ... but if you go to Broughton Park you see nice, big houses, wealthy, all that, Upper Park road, it's well-to-do and so therefore the, it's a, it's a whole different scene.'

I: 'Would you like to move to Broughton Park?'

Dovid : '[pause] Would I like to win the lottery!?'

The perceptions of Moshe, Ruth and Sonja (and indeed many others) relate to the basic geography of Broughton Park (as discussed in chapter six). With the area having such sharp physical boundaries, and because of its 'quiet' geography (few cross-cutting roads and the central park), Broughton Park was often described in terms of this sense of being a pleasant, comfortable, middle-class 'island', where orthodox people had settled. Integral to this sense of Broughton Park are the imaginations of the areas 'beyond' (particularly after Wellington street and around George street), which were described by many in terms of being 'no-go' areas:

Robert Marks : 'Once you get past the Jewish shops [on Leicester road], the last parade of which you'll find MH bakers, and, once you go past that, suddenly the area changes dramatically again, it's like Coronation Street. Suddenly you get rows and rows of back-to-backs, and they are facing straight on to the streets, no gardens, it's almost like the front line.'

Mr. Bernstein : '[B]eyond the Wellington street area you wouldn't even find the police going. It's almost a no-go area for the police beyond Wellington street. It's an area that is riddled with crime. I wouldn't go during the day.'

The perceptions of these residents (and I heard no counter opinions) were of Wellington street as a clear boundary that separated Broughton Park from *terra incognita*. Beyond, the landscape was, according to Rachel Abrams, 'like Beirut' and to go beyond this boundary or to cross into George street was 'asking for trouble', especially at night. These were places of crime, violence and drugs. Most of my interviewees stated that they had little reason to go to these areas, although a few did make use of the discount grocery stores located a quarter of a mile away just off Leicester road. For Rabbi Wolff, who lives on Wellington street, if visiting these shops then he 'avoided any problems' by sticking to the main roads.

The imaginations of this 'other' landscape were crucial to senses of Broughton Park as a middle-class island. Because the base geography has sharp physical boundaries - which in turn largely parallel the spatial extent of the Jewish area - places beyond (especially because they are considered 'rough') easily contribute to the geographical imaginations of the Broughton Park landscape as the 'same': perceptions of the 'other' helps to downplay internal differences. Broughton Park contains some relatively poor houses especially in the Wellington Street area, and indeed many other buildings located further into the 'heart' of Broughton Park are also run-down and in need of repair. Yet, the perception of these poorer houses impinged very little on people's overall senses of Broughton Park as an attractive place (even by people living in these poorer houses). Moreover, a number of residents spoke of problems

of crime *within* Broughton Park, including occasional 'muggings' in Clowes Park, robberies (especially around the Wellington Street area) and 'yobs' walking through the streets 'causing trouble'. Such problems were usually blamed on outside elements entering into Broughton Park (and thus being 'out of place': see below), and seemed also to impinge little into overall perceptions of place[1]. This seems to be because orthodox residents' spatial imaginations of Broughton Park reflect a complex entanglement of senses of the basic geography of the area together with the Jewish (material) landscape. Broughton Park is not, as such, merely a residential area, but is a centre of orthodoxy. It is attractive not only because it is, for the most part, a leafy middle-class suburb (with, admittedly, occasional problems of crime), but, crucially, because it is a *Jewish* place[2]. Imaginations of the area are inextricably connected with this Jewish status and are, as I will discuss in the following section, imbued with a sense of idealism.

Broughton Park as a Jewish place: an imagined Jewish community

As discussed in chapter six, Broughton Park is now a magnet for orthodox Jews, having become, in the words of Mr. Halpern, 'a very, very great centre of orthodox yiddishkite'. It is the location of a large number of people and facilities, an institutionally complete religious environment that provides almost all of the needs of local orthodox residents:

> Rivka Meyer : 'Well everything is served on a spoon for you, the Jewish schools, kosher facilities, loads of rabbis, you can ask if you're not sure or whatever. Socially also [pause], if you read the *Heimishe Advertiser* [which details many of the local businesses: see below] there's so much being offered to you.'

The extent of these facilities and people, in itself, almost inevitably feeds into local perceptions of the area as being a *de facto* Jewish place: it is Jewish because that is

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[1] Note that most residents spoke of little obvious anti-Semitism in Broughton Park, arguing that the problems were largely due to nearby deprived inner-city areas, rather than specific anti-Jewish sentiments (although see Mr. Halpern's comments (discussed below), and Edward Cohen's thoughts on possible council anti-Semitism (chapter eight)).

[2] This also explains why the interviewees above all compared Broughton Park to other orthodox areas.

where Jews live, work and pray. Still, this sense of place is more layered than a simple recognition of (material) landscape, and is interwoven with perceptions of imagined orthodox and non-orthodox communities, manifested through (complex) conceptions of those considered 'in' and 'out' of place. What becomes evident is that many local religious residents have a strong association of orthodoxy with a sense of idealism, and an incorporated perception of the 'outside' world as immoral. These perceptions remain despite the many fractures within these communities.

> Rachel Abrams : 'One is so good to the other, I mean it's just unbelievable what people do for each other, you know [if] you have a baby, people send in food. I said to my mother-in-law in London, you can't imagine what people have sent in, flowers and people are so nice, but then I'll do somebody a lot as well, and people have each other's children, everybody is so nice to each other, its a lovely, lovely community.'

For Rachel Abrams, then, the Broughton Park 'community' was an 'unbelievable' one in which everybody supported everyone else. Indeed, this perception was one shared by almost all of the orthodox residents interviewed, and I was told many accounts of the kindness and the supportive role that the community offers:

> Mr Bernstein : '[I]f God forbid a disaster happened and a young fellow passed away and everybody was worried what would happen to the family, who would feed them, a hundred thousand pounds was raised just like that, without any effort. I mean, just going round to people and saying look you've got to dish in and the thing happened, in a way it's like one large family up to a point.'

> Edward Cohen : '[There is] a flow of people caring, you could say being nosy to each other in Broughton Park, that you find in most of these communities, whether it's Monsey, Lakewood or Borough Park or wherever else, or B'nai B'rak, any of the orthodox areas you get this, people tend to care more than they ever cared, 'cause I've seen it before.

When I was little [and this area was Jewish but not orthodox] there was neighbourliness, but there wasn't as much as, really putting themselves out to help each other as there is now. Whether it's a good point or a bad point I don't know but it's more ... [V]ery orthodox people are actually much more socially aware towards themselves, social conscience towards themselves than un-orthodox people.'

This kindness, caring and communal support are, for these residents, features inherent to orthodox Judaism, which seeks to reflect, after all, a way of life proscribed by God. Orthodoxy, as a 'light unto the nations' which (ideally) seeks to set an example to the rest of the world, is thus perceived in positive terms.

Rabbi Kramer : 'It's an axiom that Torah is right and once you accept that axiom you're in a very happy situation because you're guided, not just in ritual, in ethics, in morals, in human relationships, in business ... and this is not blind faith, it's only axiomatically we accept that the Torah is relevant for all times and that's the Jewish task in the world, and once you accept this as the principle, then, I'm not saying there aren't degrees of observance, and again we tend to rationalise for ourselves and say well this is more important than that, but at least basically we know that's how we ought to live, and the same will go for Muslims, and the same goes for Sikhs, except it doesn't go for people who haven't got a religion at all.'

Rabbi Levine : 'The Torah, which is basically the will of God, Jewish law, is what God wants us to do, it's not man-made, it's God-made, we believe it's God-made, it was given to Moses on Mount Sinai, is that we should try and carry out our lives according to the way God wants us to, and there's rules about everything, everything, which shoe to put on first and which shoe lace to do up first, exactly how to conduct our lives to the nth degree, so you've never got a problem of don't know what to do,

I'm lost, you've always got your road map, what should you do now, this is what you should do now.'

Both these men highlight the certainty of Torah life, the fundamental 'truth' which underpins their existence. This certainty is at the absolute heart of orthodox identities in Broughton Park: it is the interpretation and understanding of the ways of life detailed in sacred texts that frames how orthodox Jews are (ideally) to understand the world and to live their lives. These generalised imaginations of orthodoxy were an ever-present (although sometimes implicit) aspect of all my interviews and participant observation, and making sense of these is fundamental to understanding the lives of the religious residents of Broughton Park. Still, these general perceptions and understandings are integral to *all* orthodox communities, and so rather than dwell on these here, I concentrate instead on how these relate, in particular, to the realities of life in Broughton Park.

Compared to other orthodox areas (and paralleling perceptions of Broughton Park as an 'attractive place'), the image of Manchester was of a 'special' place that in many ways sets an example to other Jewish (and indeed non-Jewish) areas. For Rachel Abrams, the Manchester community had a kindness and support on a level far beyond that of other orthodox areas, particularly London. Here in Manchester 'everyone' greets 'everyone' on shabbas, and will do anything to help others. Ruth Levy argued that Manchester was perhaps the only place where there was no real rivalry between the different sects (for example, the Satmar-Lubavitch disputes in New York: see chapter two):

> Ruth Levy : 'Manchester I think is about the only place that it's not a problem. You've got your Belz and your Satmar and you've got whatever and nobody looks down on anybody else, and in fact if someone makes a kiddush on shabbas everybody goes to everybody else's. In London it's not like that, if you're Belz you go to Belz, if you're Satmar [you go to Satmar], but here in Manchester it's not like that. I don't know how long it'll last like that, as the town's getting bigger and

bigger, obviously it gets harder, but it's still small enough that everybody knows everybody, and everybody goes to everybody.'

Or, as Soloman Rabinowitz put it:

> Soloman Rabinowitz: 'I must admit that [the] Manchester community, from my travels, is unique to an extent that we do tend to live much more - for all the politics you do see in Manchester - we live a much warmer life, with a much closer contact with - and I'm talking about Judaism on a whole, be it from Reform right through to the ultra right wing - there's a much closer contact between the different branches of the spectrum than there are in other major Jewish conurbations.'

The sense of being 'like one large family' clearly ties into the general idealistic perceptions of orthodoxy, yet it also reflects the particular characteristics of life in Broughton Park. If orthodoxy is the ideal (and God-given) way of life, many of the Broughton Park residents perceived that they had done a fairly good job of putting this into practise. Here in Broughton Park, according to Ruth Stern, 'everybody's the same, everybody's friends, it doesn't matter what group you belong to'. Clearly this picture reflects the methodological problems discussed in chapter five, in which I, as an (at least partial) 'outsider', was often fed a particularly positive description of life in Broughton Park. Nevertheless, while the images offered must certainly be seen through this methodological lens, there is still an undoubted perception that Broughton Park is approaching an ideal community: a growing, caring and vibrant place where children can be brought up in a safe, orthodox environment. Even so, this idealised picture, was, with a little probing, sometimes fractured as the divisions within Broughton Park orthodoxy were fleetingly revealed.

For Sarah Shapiro, a newly married dati woman who was born in Whitefield and moved recently to Broughton Park, the contrast between these two communities was stark. Her views in this respect are worth looking at in some depth:

Sarah : 'Whitefield's a very friendly community, especially centred around the shul, and it's where I've grown up, and it's just nice to go in to shul and have lots of familiar faces, friendly faces around.'

I : 'How would you compare that with Broughton Park then?'

Sarah : ' The community's very different here, it's divided a lot into various groups, and even at different levels of orthodoxy, and even within the same level of orthodoxy, 'cause there's so many shuls. There isn't really one uniform community like there are in smaller communities like Whitefield, or my parents-in-law live in Newcastle, there's only one shul and the community's centred around the shul. [Here] it's very different from that, and you could not turn up, for example, a regular shul go-er could not turn up for weeks on end and nobody would really blink an eyelid because they'd assume he's at another shul round the corner, whereas in Whitefield everyone would know about it, and they'd all be very concerned as to what was going on, that sort of thing.'

I : 'So when you talk about the divisions, you're talking about the different Hasidic branches, between Mitnagdism, Ashkenazi and the rest of it, is that what you're talking about?

Sarah : 'And Hasidic branches and the sheitels and the double-deckers'

I : 'The double-deckers?'

Sarah : 'Oh yes, sheitels with hats on top.'

I : 'Double-deckers, never heard that phrase before!'

Sarah : 'And the non-sheitel wearers, there's a big divide.'

I : 'Are you talking religiously, how orthodox?'

Sarah : 'The group, the social group you fit in to, whereas in Whitefield, in a small, I know Whitefield because obviously that's where I grew up, because there's only one shul, everybody goes to the same community, and everybody accepts everybody else for what they are.'

I : 'So are you saying it's small groups people would interact in - I'm a double-decker wearing Belz Hasid, I'm a ... ?'

Sarah : 'But its split even more than that 'cause then it depends which school your children go to and which shul you daven in, and because there's so much in the way of option round here, people are split into very narrow groups.'

For Sarah Shapiro, Broughton Park orthodoxy is highly fragmented into narrow groups, and there was far less of a sense of community than in smaller populations such as Whitefield. For her, the size of the Broughton Park community means that people distil down into smaller sub-groups based on synagogue attendance, type of schooling, friendship networks and religiosity: the reality of community life is that people tend to stick to their 'own kind' so that sooner or later new arrivals find their particular niche. Mr Bernstein explained it further:

Mr. Bernstein : 'If you belong to Satmar and you have a problem, I'm not talking about a serious problem [for this you might consult the rebbe or a respected rabbi], a minor, hopefully anyway, the most likely people to talk to are your friends, the people you meet daily, you pray together, perhaps you have an argument together. Whereas in Ger, for example, you might not talk to an alien, not alien in the sense that you're not one of them, but because you're not part of that clique if you like ... so consequently in the course of time, every time, runs practically like a closed shop, but it doesn't mean to say that you can't join ... they're just a community.'

For both Mr. Bernstein and Sarah Shapiro, because people necessarily mix with a limited number of others on a day-to-day basis, it is these who are, for the most part, relied on for communal support - whether assistance with the children, contributions to a *simchah* (celebration, such as a wedding or bar-mitzvah) or whatever. As such, perceptions of the orthodox community on the lines of 'we're all friends, we're all one big family' start to unravel. Inevitably, with such a large orthodox population (see chapter six), the Broughton Park (and Prestwich) 'community' fragments along various fracture lines[3]. Most commonly, these lines were related by interviewees to levels of orthodoxy and *minhogim* (customs), and to divisions between Hasids and non-Hasids. Rachel Abrams, for example (who note had earlier in the interview spoke about the wonderful unified community), admitted that she had very little contact with the Hasidic community:

> Rachel Abrams : 'The Hasidic people especially do, I suppose, people do tend to stick to their own crowd and if you daven and pray in a certain place, then you're more likely to socialise with these people out of hours as well so to speak, so I suppose, yeah, people do tend to stick to their own, but I suppose they also feel that they'd like their children to continue to, for example if they're Bratslov, they want their children to continue that tradition, it sort of makes sense.'

Other interviewees again highlighted this particular division, and it was summed up by Mrs. Nussbaum when I asked her (and her husband) whether they would ever have Hasidic people over for a shabbas meal: 'we wouldn't ask them, and if we did, they probably wouldn't come'. These Hasidic/non-Hasidic divisions possibly tie in to the much older (and often bitter) disputes between the Mitnagdism and Hasidism (discussed in chapter one), but none of my interviewees (including the Nussbaums) raised this is as a particularly serious issue. Indeed, several interviewees went out of

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[3] These divisions also appear to have a spatial element with several interviews speaking of how the area around Northumberland Street area is known as the 'black' part of the town because of the high concentration of orthodox residents: 'black' referring here to the type of clothing worn by such Jews. In contrast the area around Singleton Road is sometimes termed the 'white' area, as this contains a large number of Jews with a more dati outlook. Nonetheless, most interviewees recognised that these spatial categorisations were fairly loose and ill-defined.

their way to downplay disputes, arguing that such differences are marginal and have little importance in contemporary Broughton Park: if Hasids and non-Hasids did not mix, it was simply a question of different minhogim and social circles. Furthermore, no non-Hasidic Jews in my interviews described (or were willing to describe) themselves as Mitnagdism, and instead used terms such as Ashkenazi, *Yekers* (people from Germany) or *Litvaks* (people from Lithuania). This unwillingness to use the term Mitnagdism is perhaps because these disputes are seen as having only historical relevance, but I suspect that it also relates to a desire to present Broughton Park orthodoxy as this idealistic, unitary and harmonious community. Such a presentation is undoubtedly aimed at drawing me into this particular world-view by downplaying internal differences, but also reflects many people's quite genuine imaginations of a united community (which also seeks to bind potential internal tensions). Clearly there are communities within communities, but the imagination of (an idealistic) overall community remains.

While internal divisions within the (ideal) community are undoubtedly present, it also need to be recognised that there are members of the community who more easily cross the divides than residents such as Sarah Shapiro or the Nussbaums. Rabbi Wolff, for example, although he was Ashkenazi according to minhogim, frequently davened at Satmar and Belz, went to the kollel at Horidenka, and was an active member of the small Ger community where he would often attend *yahrzeit zudahs* (meals commemorating Hasidic rebbes) and other communal events. As such, he was highly critical of the media for trying to present internal differences as major disputes when the 'reality' was only variations in minhogim. Others, such as Mrs. Stern, Ruth Levy and William Weiss, had similar opinions, citing the ways in which they (or their husbands) frequently moved between shuls and communities. Furthermore, just about all of the orthodox residents, had little doubt that in times of tragedy or celebration 'everyone' would come together:

> William Weiss : 'If it comes to tragedies, God forbid, or it comes to celebrations, they all come along. As I said, my mother died two months ago [and] we had into the shiva [mourning] house, no exaggeration, well in excess of a thousand people.'

For most residents, the over-riding opinion - even by those who openly admitted the Hasidic/non-Hasidic divisions - was that, putting the differences aside, all the sects were basically the same. It is a perception of being a large family which occasionally squabbles, but is still made up of the 'same blood'. In this way, Sarah Shapiro was often scathing of the more extreme elements of Broughton Park orthodoxy and the increasing religiosity of the community, and indeed spoke about how the community was becoming increasingly 'narrow-minded' and 'closed in':

> Sarah Shapiro : 'I'm more independent minded because it really doesn't matter to me what next door's wearing, what we're doing or how short my skirt is today rather than yesterday, which film we went to see ... but it's making the best of the situation you're in, and dealing with it, and getting on with it, and not being too bothered by the minutiae and being able to laugh at the stupidity of things that go on, and not getting too dragged into it, that's my feeling.'

Nevertheless, despite these perceptions and the clear recognition of community schisms, she still retained a definite sense of an imagined 'us'. Despite the differences in appearances, practices and attitudes, the orthodox Jews of Broughton Park were still 'her people', and their outlooks, on most issues, paralleled her own: in the final analysis, they all followed yiddishkite. Indeed, three interviewees described the community by using the metaphor of the shabbas dish, *chollont*. This dish consists of a mixture of beans, potatoes and meat, and is traditionally cooked on the Friday afternoon, kept on a hot plate overnight and served on shabbas lunch-time[4]. The dish contains a variety of different ingredients which are all mixed up to form something which is 'thick and black', representing the various spleens of orthodoxy which all combine to make up the same (Jewish) meal. According to Rabbi Kramer, 'unity does not require conformity', and internal variations do not diminish an overall united community.

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[4] By preparing the meal on the Friday afternoon and merely keeping it warm after that, the prohibition against cooking on shabbas is not violated.

Imagined Non-Orthodox Communities

While imaginations of the orthodox community are intertwined with senses of place (of both Broughton Park, and the spaces beyond), so too are they contingent on perceptions of the identities of 'others'. We are 'us' because we are not 'them'.

> Rabbi Kramer : 'Society is so confused, confused is a complimentary word to use about today's society. They're confused but the result of their confusion is a do-it-yourself society where you do what you like. Things that were taboo yesterday have become the norm today because we live in that kind of society. A lot of Jewish people, a lot of orthodox people feel, and there are also some non-orthodox people who are beginning to think that way, we think we've got to upgrade our standards, and in a sense - all right we live in an open society, to some extent we're integrated - in a sense we've got to enclose ourselves within our own boundaries in order to protect, as far as our children are concerned, in order to protect our children from the influences of the rotten society, of the immoral society in which we live.'

In interview, Rabbi Kramer considered society too open and morally suspect, and in his synagogue sermons that I attended, he did not hold back in criticising the 'evil cacophony of a bankrupt society' and the 'steam-roller of modernity.' This outside society, rarely specified, was reified into a 'thing' of immorality and corruption. The 'what', 'who' or the 'where' of this society was not really important, it was just the general imagined 'stuff' out there' which threatened decency and a moral way of life. Rabbi Kramer expressed his distaste for 'them' (whoever exactly 'they' might be) in terms stronger than most, but this imagined sense of the 'other' is, I suggest, at the heart of the identities possessed by most orthodox Broughton Park residents. Their perception is that the outside world had declined in moral standards especially in the last forty years or so:

> Joshua Vogel : 'I think yesterday's morality has completely gone, and almost anything now is up for grabs, and I don't suppose I need to spell

this out to a young man very much exposed to the secular world having entered the gates of university, but there is almost nothing which is sacred any more. And you know, if one is talking about bringing the age of homosexual consent down to sixteen, whereas twenty years ago one was talking about homosexuality as being a crime, you know if one is talking about legitimising certain drugs which up to a number of years ago were considered criminal and very anti-social behaviour etc., etc.'

Rabbi Frankel : 'In some areas, in some things society has progressed, but in the sexual morality, I think it unquestionably has gone down the wrong track, and the results are as clear as anything. I mean the Chief Rabbi's written a brilliant message this year - I don't know whether it will get to you, where he says that, I don't know where he got it from, but I'm sure it's reliable - he said forty years ago, a teacher's union was asked, what are the main problems within schools - dropping litter, not putting your hand up, not standing up when the teacher comes in, I don't know, shoes not polished, something like that. Now - rape, battery, assault, drugs.'

Joshua Vogel, Rabbi Kramer and Rabbi Frankel all expressed this sense of the decline of morality from the 1950s, a historical imagination tying in to conservative ideas of a 'golden age' when society was so much more ethical. For these men, orthodoxy was an island of decency in the current sea of moral decadence, reinforcing their own sense of orthodoxy as different and special. Such conceptions reflect not only the importance of religion, however, but also suggest the influence of class: a belief in the moral superiority of a middle-class 'us' constructed against a working-class 'them'. Beliefs doubtless reinforced by the imaginations of the base geography of the Broughton Park area, and the socio-spatial boundaries separating the orthodox community from 'outsiders' (as discussed above). A number of interviewees also linked declining moral standards to the present media culture: hence the familiar orthodox reaction against television.

Dovid Hoffman : 'Do you watch television?'

I : 'Yeah.'

Dovid : 'Do you agree that a lot of what's on television is not only disgusting, it's misleading and it's immoral and leads you to understand things in a way that is not in the interests of society, in the best interests of society?'

I : 'I think there's a lot of rubbish, and a lot of bad rubbish.'

Dovid : 'Which misleads you?'

I : 'No, I think, I'd actually disagree. I think it's almost the role of the people to work out what is right and what is wrong in that sort of sense.'

Dovid : 'People spend such a tremendous amount of time [watching it], letting their children, and using it as a baby sitter, and the child has no way to decipher and differentiate between what is and what isn't, and therefore is being indoctrinated with a whole set of ideas that are bad for the child, and will mislead the child, and lead the child along the wrong path. OK, you will accept that there are some very good documentaries and there are some very good educational programmes and so on, but if the price of the gaining of the knowledge and information by those valuable programmes [is] to be misled to the extent that the children won't have an inkling how to differentiate between good and bad, right and wrong and so on ... I'm quite happy to ban the good with the bad, accept as the great rabbis tell us that television is poison.'

Television, both for Dovid Hoffman and indeed for the majority of orthodox interviewees, represented (and is representative of) all that has gone wrong with contemporary Western society. With a rapid erosion of moral standards, 'society' has seemingly slipped into an 'anything goes' set of lifestyles promoted by

television. This portrayal and promotion of 'immorality' (which left unchecked may 'corrupt the young'), has led the orthodox world to introduce the general ban on television. In Broughton Park, this rabbinical injunction has, according to most interviewees, been taken on board by the majority of orthodox people[5], and in addition, several orthodox schools have recently introduced a policy of only admitting children from families who sign an agreement stating that they do not have such devices. This move highlights the growing confidence of these institutions in the 'standards' that they can expect from the families of their pupils. If orthodoxy involves the rejection of such immoral devices, then the (imagined) community should have few qualms, the thinking goes, in agreeing to follow the edicts of the rabbinical leaders. Nevertheless, as with many aspects of Broughton Park life, opinions were not uniform; and I spoke to several people on the left hand margins of the orthodox community who did have televisions, and who had little time for the ban. Yet, the majority were explicitly anti-television, although there were more varied opinions over the use of other forms of media:

> Joshua Vogel : 'I think television is a dangerous item, especially when it comes to do with children. And you know, some people would perhaps go further and not have a newspaper at home - it's all a question of balances, it's all a question of the type of lifestyles you adopt for yourself, and all a question of finding a formula for bringing up children on the one hand with a very strong Jewish identity, and not ruined at a very impressionable age by things that go on in the outside world, but nevertheless building up a back bone and building up a strength for, for that eventual time when obviously everyone has to come face-to-face with the world as it is.'

The real issue for Joshua Vogel was not the nature of this outside world (he seemed sure of this already), but the best way of dealing with this 'other': what are the best

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[5] Although, I was told by several people who were either not religious or at the lower end of the orthodox scale, that a number of orthodox families will say in public that they do not possess a television, but in reality keep them secretly. I heard several rumours that children are 'trained' to call the television 'microwave' so that if they see a picture of one they will not 'give the game away.' Whether these rumours are merely examples of the stereotypes of ultra-Orthodoxy, or represent a truer picture of what life is like in Broughton Park, is impossible to say.

strategies for defending Jewish identities and lifestyles. For many orthodox families, and certainly for those towards the right of the spectrum, television should obviously be rejected, but, as Joshua Vogel pointed out, with other forms of media there is less consensus. For some, radios and (secular) newspapers are undesirable, because they, like television, reflect or promote immorality and their standards of decency have also fallen.

> Joshua Vogel : 'If you take, let's call wholesome radio programmes, The Archers. What could be more typical of British society than The Archers, which was always a bastion of morality and decency? Right, and now every evil in society, right, is there, right, you listen to any soap opera which is just merely supposed to mirror what goes on in your normal everyday family, and it's all there, it's all open.'

For others, however, radio and newspapers were listened to or read with much interest and their use was vigorously defended. For Rabbi Reich, radio was an excellent medium of communication and he was a regular listener (and contributor) to Radio Four, and he argued that through this, and through magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, it was more than possible to be well informed. In addition, Rabbi Reich also spoke of making use of the internet as a way of reaching and interacting with an audience beyond Broughton Park. Nevertheless, his computer does contain an anti-pornography package (again in order to protect his children and resist the worst parts of wider society), and many others considered the internet inappropriate. According to Rabbi Wolff, use of the internet has recently been banned from private houses and is only permitted for business purposes: if the business is located in a private house, then it may be used providing the computer is kept in a separate, locked office. Rabbi Wolff spoke of how a letter, signed by leading Israeli and American rabbis, had been circulated through the Broughton Park orthodox community (reflecting global interactions: see chapter eight) stating that internet usage should be prohibited. Rabbi Wolff suggested that as a medium it was potentially far worse than television.

For several of the orthodox people I interviewed, the media devices of internet and television were symptomatic of an outside world drenched in immorality: an unclean 'other' whose identification, in turn, re-inscribes senses of the pure 'same'. For others, the perception of 'outside' life was not stated in such strong language, although the rejection of television and other forms of media suggests an at least implicit understanding of modern society as corrupt and immoral. While outside society was openly discussed in very negative terms by some, what was certainly common to all of my orthodox interviewees was the sense of orthodoxy as different: a sense of difference that remained intact despite (although perhaps because of: Barth, 1969) the daily lives of the majority of orthodox residents who have regular interactions with the non-Jewish world (see chapters eight and nine). Understandings of the 'same' - recognising that this does not require a monolithic, unfractured category, but rather the *imagination* of sameness - necessarily require an appreciation of the way in which the 'other' is perceived. Nonetheless, while 'outside' non-Jewish society could be generalised by a number of interviewees as being immoral, and for the rest as at the very least being different, orthodoxy has potentially much more difficulty categorising more secular forms of Jewry. In this case, there involves an ambivalent understanding of people who are considered as both 'us' *and* 'them'.

In chapter two, I discussed El-Or's (1994) explanation of orthodoxy's paradoxical relationship with secular Jews who are conceived of as both 'same' and 'other' (an ambivalent relationship), and hence the use of the phrase 'captive children'. Similar arguments were sometimes used in my interviews, often in a loosely veiled way of encouraging me to reconsider my own position (see chapter five), suggesting the need to look carefully at the particular imaginations of Manchester non-orthodox Jewry held by the religious Jews living in Broughton Park. For many of these Jews, the dilemma of dealing with this 'same'/'other' was resolved through the adoption of practical policies of 'outreach' which attempt to encourage 'less committed' Jews to 'see the light', while also maintaining that secular Jewry, and especially the Jewish media, holds a series of negative stereotypes about orthodoxy. As such, many orthodox Jews were able to see themselves as both the saviours and the victims of 'traditional' Anglo-Jewry.

Soloman Rabinowitz : '[I]t's something we can't really be separated from. If you're born a Jew then we have these obligations willy-nilly, it's not our choice, a Jew is a Jew is a Jew and whatever a person decides, they want to become Reform or even, God forbid, opt out and either marry out or whatever, that Jewish soul remains a Jew for the whole time that it's here on earth ... but we have a responsibility, each Jew for another Jew, we're all part of a major gigantic jigsaw puzzle, we all link into each other.'

Soloman Rabinowitz, as a Lubavitcher, recites here one of that movement's best known philosophies: that of there being one Jewish 'nation', and that encouraging the arrival of Moshiach necessarily involves reaching out to less committed Jews. For the Lubavitchers, all (halachically defined) Jews are 'same', even if at the moment they may be living in ignorance (as in El-Or's version of Plato's cave: see chapter two). Nevertheless, while the Lubavitch movements are famous throughout the Jewish world for actively and vociferously following these beliefs, the claim of one 'nation' is central to most other forms of orthodoxy (even if it is sometimes more passively expressed or practised). For Rabbi Reich, this explains why he used the internet and other forms of media to connect with the 'less committed', and why he was keen to promote 'outreach' schemes such as Project Seed (see chapter eight). Rabbi Reich rejected any concept that orthodox Jews in Manchester were closeted and isolated from the wider Jewish community (except perhaps for some of the more right-wing Hasidic groups). For Rabbi Reich, there was a clear belief that secular Jews were a fundamental part of the Jewish 'nation', and should be encouraged to return to the religion.

The various outreach schemes tie in with the halachah of Jewish identity and with a desire to unite the 'same', yet many of the orthodox Jews interviewed were also aware of the (imagined) differences between 'them' and 'us'. Typically, this was expressed through criticisms of the Jewish media, and especially the *Jewish Chronicle* (the principal Anglo-Jewish newspaper):

Rabbi Frankel : 'The Jewish Chronicle is well written, it's a decent paper, but it's very anti-religious, very anti-orthodox, and you can quote me on that, it's aggressively anti-orthodox.'

Rabbi Reich : 'Don't forget that Anglo-Jewry suffers a tremendous amount of 'orthophobia', and is reflected in publications such as the Jewish Chronicle, emm, there's even an article in New Moon magazine, accusing it of Jewish anti-Semitism. The levels of stereotypes about orthodoxy, what we're supposed to be - very, very similar in accusation and belief to general anti-Semites.'

The perception here is of a certain sense of isolation from 'mainstream' Anglo-Jewry as represented through the principally middle-of-the-road *Jewish Chronicle*. The distaste for this newspaper could perhaps be indicative of the feelings against the general media culture, but both these rabbis spoke about their usage of, and respect for, other forms of media, and several other interviewees (often outside of the formal interview structure) also singled out the *Jewish Chronicle* for criticism. Rabbis Reich and Frankel, and indeed many others, were convinced that the wider Jewish community held a whole series of negative stereotypes about 'ultra-Orthodoxy'. From my own experiences of growing up in Whitefield, and from my interviews carried out with non-orthodox Jews in Broughton Park, such a view is probably not an unfair one:

Paul Black : 'It's straight out of the Taleban or Ayatollah Khomeini, really it's absolutely extraordinary ... It's honestly Medieval, a lot of people round here, if you swapped the hats for turbans they'd be just as at home in Tehran or Kabul than in the modern world.'

While Paul Black was particularly forceful in his remarks, the generalised stereotypes of orthodoxy as backward and strange are, I think, a central component of non-orthodox Jewish identities. This too reflects an ambivalence in that, while orthodox practices are often seen as 'Medieval', at the same time 'a Jew is a Jew is a Jew' (see Valins, forthcoming). These debates go beyond the parameters of this thesis,

however, and what is important here is less the actual content of non-orthodox perceptions, and more the orthodox imaginations of these stereotypes. For Broughton Park orthodox residents, there is a definite sense of a Jewish 'other', with a feeling that the latter frequently portrays orthodoxy in extremely negative terms. Nevertheless, the source of aggressive anti-orthodox sentiments was frequently deflected on to generalised others, most often the Jewish media (although in the case of Progressive movements, on to religious leaders who lead their followers astray), so that the majority of secular Jewry could therefore be regarded as ignorant and not, therefore, really culpable.

In Place/Out of Place

In the previous sections I discussed an imagined sense of Broughton Park orthodoxy which is frequently represented as a caring, supportive and generally united community; in many ways an idealistic model for other Jewish and non-Jewish places. This imagination remained firm despite the obvious fractures in the community, and was reinforced through imaginations of the 'outside' world as different, and for many as being corrupt and immoral. What I do now, is to tie these imaginations of community to the politics of 'in place/out of place', inclusion and exclusion.

In place

> Rabbi Frankel : 'OK so it is a bit of a ghetto in as much as you can live in a street with only Jewish people, depending on your business, what the profession you follow is going to determine surely the type of people you meet ... [Y]ou can, in as much as you can live here, you could have a job here, you can see things too, the majority of your clients can be Jewish, you could stop at shops which are Jewish, don't know, you could go to the barber who's Jewish, in fact I do.'

Rabbi Frankel, despite being a little uneasy about using a pejorative term such as 'ghetto', accepted that the lives of many local residents would almost entirely revolve

around Jewish people and ways of life (as discussed in chapter eight). The necessary implication is that, if Broughton Park is defined as a ghetto, it must be considered a Jewish place for Jewish people (otherwise the tag of 'ghetto' makes no sense). For Rabbi Reich, though, this label was one that he completely rejected, both in terms of its undesirable historical connotations ('ghettos were imposed upon Jews and were unnatural'), and because it downplays connections to the wider Jewish community which he felt were important to stress. Rabbi Reich's exhortations were the minority view, however, and most of my interviewees had an imagination of Broughton Park closer to that of Rabbi Frankel. For Mr. Halpern, the term was easily subverted into a much more positive description of Broughton Park, and he was happy to use the phrase 'beautiful ghetto'. Mr. Halpern, and indeed most other interviewees, had a sense of Broughton Park as an orthodox place that went beyond the grounded reality of there being so many Jewish people and facilities, extending to tie in with the imagined Jewish community and a definite perception of a 'thick' Jewish/orthodox atmosphere (and note the parallels to my own senses of Broughton Park discussed in chapter five).

I : 'What's it like to live in the area, is it …?'

Ruth Levy : 'Sometimes it's very stifling, it depends, I tell you the truth I've got very nosy neighbours, sometimes I wish I could pick up my house and move [my laughter]. You know, but there again it's got its advantages, you know, if I need an egg or if I need anything, I just knock on to any of them and say I'm short of something and it's no problem. I mean the kids are in the streets and, you know, you've got nothing to worry about, I mean now you worry a bit more, you hear all the stories, but still. And the children have all their friends locally, so that is, the fact is that everybody knows your business. Like I got a carpet fitted, and I said to the fellow do not put a board outside my house, the neighbours are watching!'

Life in Broughton Park was described by Ruth Levy in largely positive terms, and she felt extremely lucky to live in such a place. Even so, the large orthodox

community (which made the area so 'nice') could at times be too much, with people constantly interested in the 'ins' and 'outs' of her daily life. Ruth Levy was certainly not alone in this perception of Broughton Park, and Robert Marks (who lives outside of the area) perceived the place as being like a 'goldfish bowl': 'everybody's looking at what everybody else is doing as far as orthodoxy is concerned - in a way I'm pleased not to be there.' Similar feelings were also expressed by Daniel Rosenthal, who had lived in Broughton Park as a student and found the place to be very claustrophobic. When he married, he was thus happy to settle a mile or so beyond Broughton Park where he could access the religious facilities, but also 'get out' when he wanted. Yet, he was now thinking of moving back to an orthodox area, probably Prestwich (house prices in Broughton Park are simply too expensive), where there is a greater level of communal support, especially for his wife and young children. For all these people, and indeed for all of my interviewees, Broughton Park had a clear orthodox atmosphere and sense of place:

> Moshe Kahan : 'At the moment I'm happy here [in Prestwich] because I'm really sort of on the edge, aren't I really, just a walk down the road and I'm in. Also, possibly because I spend all my day right in the very heart of the people there, I don't miss them, I'm quite happy to get out of there, sort of be a bit anonymous, because if I lived right in there, I'd sort of, you know [be] bumping into them all the time on the street, maybe that's the reason really.'

Entering into Broughton Park was, for Moshe Kahan, like crossing some sort of imaginary boundary. Indeed, in the several times that we met outside of the formal interview, we spoke about the different 'feel' of Prestwich compared to Broughton Park. While the former contained many Jewish people, it did not have the over-riding sense of Jewishness of Broughton Park. Nevertheless, while for many residents there was an overwhelming sense of orthodox place, these understandings were sometimes tempered with a perception that, despite the attractions, Jews were still no more than guests in Britain:

I : 'What about more kind of anti-Semitic type of incidents, do you get that round here or not really?'

Mr. Halpern : 'Of course, listen we must realise, we don't live in our land, we live among strangers, we are guests in this land, and we have to behave accordingly, what it unfortunately is, if a Jew does something wrong they're Jews, if a Jew does something very nice, this Jew is very nice, but if you expect it and we know that at least you won't get disappointed, you have to realise what the position is.'

I : 'You said you see Jews as kind of guests in this land.'

Mr. Halpern : 'Well we are, let's not kid ourselves, I mean it's not our land is it?'

I : 'I don't know, whose land is it?'

Mr. Halpern : 'Its the Englishman's, the English people.'

Mr. Halpern and his wife had left Austria and Germany as refugees just before the Second World War, and their experiences had convinced them (and they tried to convince me) not to tie Jewish identity with that of a particular country: while Jewish identity was absolutely inviolable and unquestionable, that associated with a particular country was supplementary and unstable. As far as Mr. and Mrs. Halpern were concerned, Jews would always be strangers in this country. In addition to their refugee experiences, their beliefs also drew upon diasporic religious ideology of the return to Zion when Moshiach arrives (see chapter one). Nonetheless, while all orthodox Jews would necessarily accept this theoretical tag of being in exile, in practice the grounded (but complex) senses of Broughton Park being '*their*' place (in addition to having the 'thick' religious atmosphere which all interviewees seemed to share) were also evident. These senses can most clearly be seen through perceptions of those considered to be 'out of place'.

Out of place

Rabbi Grosz : 'We had one Reform fellow here who I was quite friendly with, but he couldn't take it anymore, he lived here before all of us I think. He moved out. In Waterpark road, for example, there were a number of people I knew, gradually one after the other moved out. First of all it was a financial inducement to them, because they could get a lot of money for their houses, and second of all, they couldn't take it because they weren't exactly, you know, she was furious this lady I know, where she moved to I don't know.'

I : 'So why do you say she couldn't take it?'

R. Grosz : 'Because she said the pressure of being in an orthodox climate, she took her car out on shabbas and everybody else didn't, and she was probably looked at, which I suppose, whether she felt it, whether it was true I don't know, so they moved away.'

I : 'And do you think people would look down if someone drove around here on shabbas?'

R. Grosz : 'Er, not in a nasty way, but it's, it's not cricket! What can you say, but that's what happened.'

For Rabbi Grosz, although he felt slightly uncomfortable expressing it, Broughton Park was to him clearly an orthodox place, with a sense that some people did not really fit into this landscape. These 'others' could either accept the status of Broughton Park as an orthodox place or, if they did not feel comfortable with the situation, they could leave. Rabbi Grosz had a definite sense of Broughton Park as 'our' place, an environment which felt, both tangibly and intangibly, orthodox. Nonetheless, Rabbi Grosz's particular sense of Jewish place also demonstrates a hybridisation with 'English' culture: for people to drive on shabbas is just 'not cricket'. Edward Cohen had a similar sense of Broughton Park as 'our' place. While

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stressing that he did not want to criticise non-orthodox practices, he was certainly not unhappy for Broughton Park to foster a sense of embarrassment for those secular Jews who stayed:

> Edward Cohen : '[A]nyone that found it really uncomfortable to live here has moved out, although there are still some Jewish people that aren't religious, but they're very few and far between, and you won't get any young married couples, [secular] Jewish couples coming to live in this area, they just won't come here, 'cause they don't. I mean you can understand it, they just don't want, if they go in the car on shabbas or whatever else people do, they don't want to be embarrassed by it, so they move somewhere else, and I must tell you that it's that embarrassment that keeps yiddishkite going ... that embarrassment is a force from *Achodesh Borochu* [God].'

Edward Cohen believed that there was a 'natural separation' between orthodox and non-orthodox which was necessary for the former to thrive. As such, if secular Jews felt too uncomfortable in this environment then, just as Rabbi Grosz argued, Elliot would not be unhappy if they left, reflecting a definite sense of who was 'in place' and who was 'out of place'. While these two orthodox men expressed their perceptions directly, many others who were less forthright, still retained a definite sense of exclusionary orthodox place. Indeed, a comment that I heard from several people was of a sense that, when they saw non-Jewish people in the area (and especially young non-Jewish men), there was a feeling that they did not 'fit in':

> Rivka Meyer: 'You mainly only see Jewish people and if somebody's not, you stare at them.'

> I : 'Really?'

> Rivka : 'Yeah, it's really a bit of snobbery, it shouldn't be we're actually owning the place. We don't own anything, nothing, but I know if you

see a non-Jewish person walking by, you think what is he or she doing here.'

Or, as Elaine Marcuson explained it:

> Elaine Marcuson : 'I always get the feeling when I see non-Jewish people, somebody smoking[6], that I feel that they look completely out of place.'

For these women, sense of place was articulated against an understanding of what is out of place and 'other', and which thus, once again, reinforced senses of the 'same': we are 'us' because we are not 'them'. These women spoke of a clear recognition of certain people not being an acceptable part of the landscape, and in effect invading 'our' space, although these feelings were tempered with an intellectual recognition that the orthodox community had no special claim to the place. For Rachel Abrams, Jews would be wise not to flaunt themselves openly. I explore these issues further in the next chapter (see also chapter nine), but I want to finish here by briefly examining ways that non-orthodox Jews (and as such people who Edward Cohen and Rabbi Grosz would no doubt consider to be 'out of place') view how they are perceived by their neighbours. To do this, I consider how John and Michelle Spielman, a Reform couple who lived in the area for many years, view the orthodox world, and how they thereby in effect tie together imagined senses of 'us' and 'them' with exclusionary senses of place.

> [following a conversation about the *Heimishe Advertiser*]

> I : 'Do you get that pushed through your door?'

> John Spielman : 'Yes, not 100% regularly'

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[6] Smoking is not forbidden under Jewish law, although there are debates that it should be banned because it causes harm to oneself and to others. Elaine Marcuson's association of smoking with non-Jews thus reflects an imagination of what 'they' (non-Jews) are like (they are dirty, not to be trusted and working-class) in comparison to Jews (who are pure, clean and largely middle-class).

Michelle Spielman : 'I think it depends who's delivering - somebody who knows who we are, we don't get one, if they don't know who we are, we do! Probably the same with the Pakistanis.'

I : 'When you say they know who you are, you mean they know you are Reform?'

Michelle : 'Yes.'

I : 'It sounds, tell me if I'm wrong, but reading between the lines, it sounds as if you're known as the Reform house or something like that.'

Michelle : 'Yes, I would think so.'

John : 'Yes.'

Michelle : 'Across the road next door to the park, not on the left, the one on the right, they're Israelis and they're not orthodox at all, I mean if anything they care less than we do, I mean we wouldn't do the garden on shabbat, because we wouldn't offend the neighbours. They're known as the Israeli house and we'll be known as the Reform house.'

John : 'As the goyim, the Jewish goyim, something like that ... about three years ago we got security lights installed and someone came in, 'would you turn them off on shabbat because as we walk past they turn on', they've gone off now, I suppose it's God punishing us, the bulbs have burnt out.'

I : 'Will you drive on shabbas?'

John : 'Oh yes, we go to shul on shabbat in the car, we go to town.'

I : 'Do you get strange looks or anything, or do you feel uncomfortable at all or is it not a problem?'

John : 'No, they're so used to it, ultimately it's live and let live, we don't interfere with them, and they so far don't interfere with us.'

I : 'There seems to be a large separation.'

John and Michelle : 'Oh, enormous.'

John : 'Some of the neighbours we have the odd word, a short chat but the vast majority wouldn't talk to us at all, not that we'd want to talk to them.'

The Spielmans have adopted a fairly stoical response to the ever-increasing orthodox presence. They have an attitude of bemusement, in that, while they do not feel threatened, they also have a clear sense of being 'outsiders' in a place where their style of more secular Jewry was once dominant. They feel that they have lived here too long to worry about the way others see them, and they have no plans to move away. Yet they are glad to live on the corner of two roads so that on shabbas, when the streets are filled with orthodox Jews, they have an easy escape route. John and Michelle have a clear sense of 'us' and 'them', two communities with very little interaction and, furthermore, where there was a definite sense of an orthodox place to which they do not seem to belong anymore.

Summary

The material landscape of Broughton Park is one in which there is a high concentration of Jews and Jewish institutions, surrounded on all sides by often sharp (social and spatial) boundaries. In this chapter I discussed how this landscape is understood by local residents, arguing that senses of material place are interwoven with imaginations of community. I suggested that there are clear perceptions of orthodoxy as 'same', linking into the beliefs of many residents that Broughton Park

is, in many ways, an ideal place and community: a sense of idealism and unity that remains despite obvious internal fractures. This sense of idealism directly draws upon imaginations of non-orthodox 'others', a perception of outside people and places, sometimes represented as immoral and always considered 'different', which helps to reinforce beliefs of orthodox Jews being the 'same'. These imaginations are not uniform, however, and are contingent on the lifestyles and beliefs of individual people and groups. Nevertheless, there are clear visions of difference, clearly manifested through beliefs about some people being 'in place' while others are considered 'out of place'. This politics of inclusion and exclusion is one to which I return in chapter nine.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LIVING (IN) A JEWISH LANDSCAPE

Introduction

In the previous two chapters I laid out the material landscape of Broughton Park and discussed different orthodox imaginations of place and community. In this chapter I draw out and develop these themes through an exploration of the daily life practices and communal interactions of orthodox residents. In the first section I begin with a detailed examination of the daily routines of an orthodox Jew living in the Wellington street area of Broughton Park, Rabbi Wolff, using his (and his family's) lifestyles, and with reference to the lifestyles of other interviewees, as a way of explaining the power of orthodoxy to structure people's daily routines. I divide this first section into three parts, the first of which deals with family life (especially in relation to the raising of children), the second explores the nature of work and the third (briefly) discusses consumption of goods and products. These elements pay particular attention to social and spatial interactions with the 'outside' world, and to resisting the forces of hybridisation and assimilation. In the second section, I discuss how the orthodox community internally interacts in terms of formalised organisations, but also in response to planned and unplanned communal events. While arguing that this community is in many ways remarkable, I point out how it is also exclusionary, with the benefits (and problems) of communal life almost entirely dependent on religion and religiosity. For the orthodox residents of Broughton Park, 'difference' is fundamental to the everyday practices of life.

The Daily Practices of Life

> I : 'One of the things I'm trying to do is get a sense of people's daily lives and I'm already starting to get a picture of that, I wonder if you could describe a typical Monday or something like that?'

Rabbi Wolff : 'Yeah, I'll describe a typical Monday ... I wake up, I make my wife a cup of tea.'

Mrs. Wolff : 'Very much appreciated.'

R. Wolff : 'Then I rush to shul and depending about whether I'm [running late or not], I would go either before or after davening to the mikvah.'

I : 'I thought you had to go before davening?'

R. Wolff : 'Well officially you're meant to go before davening, but if you're sort of a bit late I could push it off 'til after davening.'

I : 'So there's a mikvah at the shul is there?'

R. Wolff : 'There's a mikvah in Satmar ... I try and daven in Chodesh, if I'm late I daven in Satmar ... and there is, of course there's showers in the mikvah, soap, showers supplied and there's two mikvahs, one is warm and the other one is hot ... You can choose, and then I would go and daven in Chodesh, I would come home and help with the kids, then I would do my own private learning, then I would go off to the [Machzikei Hadass] kollel, learn there. Then I would come home and. learn a bit, and then I would eat or do the shopping whatever, then I would have a rest and learn a bit more, then go off to the next kollel [Horidenka] in the afternoon ... learn there, come home, sometimes I try and fit in to learn with the children, and sometimes, 'I don't want to learn, daddy!', and then, then some of the boys also learn with mummy, but they're officially meant to learn with daddy. Then I would have my, then I would eat, then I would learn 'til ma'ariv, go to ma'ariv.'

I : 'At Chodesh again?'

R. Wolff : 'Chodesh again and, there's all different times, if I wanted an early night or if I had something on, I'd go to an earlier ma'ariv.'

Following this conversation, we also spoke about the comparisons between this 'typical' Monday, and that of the holiest day of the week, shabbas.

R. Wolff : 'Shabbas is different, shabbas to me is special, it's just special, on shabbas I consider the learning I learn on shabbas is special, the *tefillahs* [prayers] are different on shabbas, the meals are different on shabbas, I have nicer meals on shabbas, the meals with my family, I tell my family *divrei Torah* [lessons from the Torah], my family tell me divrei Torah.'

I : 'Do you tell each other divrei Torah during the week?'

R. Wolff : 'Yes we do.'

Mrs. Wolff : '[at the same time] No.'

R. Wolff : 'Much less'

Mrs. Wolff : 'The kids go to school [during the week], and most don't come home at lunch, in the evening they, they just have to let off steam.'

R. Wolff : '[by-passing his wife's comments] Now what I do is, is a *zeimeros shabbas*, the songs of shabbas, it's a completely different atmosphere, it's a special day for me shabbas.'

I : 'I was asking this question and expecting to get a similar sort of answer, and I was speaking to one lady and she said, well it's supposed

to be, but the fact is all the children are at home, they're running around causing havoc ...'

Mrs. Wolff : 'For the man it's more leisure, for the woman it's quite a challenge.'

R. Wolff : 'Well I think.'

Mrs. Wolff : '[speaking louder than him] It *is* a challenge, in the home you can't give them colouring books and pencils and glue, you can't give them any of these electronic games, you have to use your brain how to entertain them, and you have to use your, how shall I say, persuasion power, will-power to control them, you don't want to slap them on shabbas unless it's really, really a necessity - but it's a real challenge for the woman, shabbas for the man it's a lot easier, for the women it's a very big challenge.'

R. Wolff : 'It depends also which man and which woman, but I sit down, OK I sit down at the front of the table, for instance, the children usually serve on shabbas, Chol Boruch is very good at serving, he would serve my fish, then he would serve the children's fish, then there'd be an argument, this child - why didn't I get as much jelly as this child, daddy's got more fish than me! But we handle it, we said you didn't get as much fish 'cause you don't like fish! ... and, I also help with the housework, I help with the housework more on Fridays than I do during the week, and because shabbas is so special I don't mind doing this.'

In these two descriptions there are two primary narratives of life in Broughton Park that I want to draw out (although, of course, there are many more): firstly, the direct social and spatial practices of the formal religion; and secondly, the daily 'normalities' of informal and formal family life. The life of Rabbi Wolff revolves around both, involving a complex web of religious practise and ideology tied up with

the ordinariness of daily life; all within the context of a late-twentieth century inner suburb of Manchester. For Rabbi Wolff, the formal religious elements of his routine include his requirement to attend the mikvah and synagogue, and his obligation to study Torah. As such, large aspects of his day involve specifically religious practices, and on a social level the vast majority of people he meets are fellow orthodox Jews. On a spatial level, his daily routine is almost exclusively confined to just a few streets of Broughton Park: from Wellington Street to Northumberland Street to daven at Chodesh or Satmar, down a couple of blocks to the Machzikei Hadass kollel, back to Wellington Street for lunch, along to Horidenka on Waterpark Road, back home again for dinner, and then off to Northumberland Street for ma'ariv prayers. This formalised religious routine, and the importance of 'bricks and mortar' institutions, is undoubtedly a key feature of Rabbi Wolff's identity and to orthodoxy more generally (see chapter two), but I want to concentrate here on the other key narrative, the often more informal daily practices of life. Here there are three elements to draw out, and which I will expand and develop with reference to other interviewees: family life (especially in relation to the raising of children), work and consumption. In particular, I explore how many of the 'mundane' routines and 'normal' aspects of life are intertwined with the beliefs of orthodoxy, although this is not to deny, as I will discuss, the gaps and 'spaces' within the over-arching structure.

Family life and the socialisation of children

Rabbi Wolff's description of a Monday and Saturday, while primarily centred on religious routines, also clearly reveal the importance of family life. In his, and his wife's descriptions, there are the realities of children 'needing to let off steam', wanting to play games and squabbling over how much food they have been given, while his wife makes it clear that it is she who carries most of this (private) work-load. In many ways this is a description of an ordinary (patriarchal) family, a picture of life that could take place in any number of orthodox or non-orthodox homes. This ordinariness is something to stress, and is an aspect of orthodoxy that is frequently over-looked in academic and popular descriptions which typically concentrate on the 'exotic' (see chapter five). This very normality of orthodox life was something that struck me on numerous occasions during my research, whether it was noticing

children crying over not having the money for an ice-cream or watching an orthodox man standing by the pond in Clowes Park taking time out while he feeds the ducks. In these moments there is a certain 'space apart', a gap in the structure where religion seems to be secondary. Nevertheless, the ideologies and practicalities of orthodoxy cannot be so neatly isolated from these moments, and even in these spaces of separation (if not resistance) religious structure is thoroughly inter-twined: the children crying, for example, did so next to the mobile 'Kosher Nosher' van which travelled around Broughton Park selling ice-creams, vegetarian hot dogs, burgers and chips. Yet while the marks of orthodoxy remain highly visible almost all of the time, so too are the influences of 'outside' ways of life, with the Kosher Nosher revealing a (slightly curious) example of hybridisation: an orthodox Jew selling kosher 'fast food'.

Taking a closer look at the Wolffs' home life, what dominates that environment is the nature of the large family. Rabbi Wolff declined to state the number of his children (this might encourage the 'evil eye'[1]), but I estimated that there were around a dozen (and which certainly ties in with my other interviews). This number of people inevitably has a major impact on the Wolffs' lives, necessarily influencing all that goes on in their household. Indeed, one of the direct consequences of the sheer number of people are financial difficulties, so that the Wolffs' house is scantily decorated and, like so many other houses in Broughton Park, badly needs money spent on repairs. According to Ruth Levy, the biggest problem facing families in Broughton Park is this lack of finance, but yet, as she, and just about all of the other orthodox interviewees, argued, this has little impact on the decision to have many children:

> Ruth Levy : 'We don't look at it like that, I tell you, my father always
> says, every child brings its own blessing, and I tell you the truth I
> personally have seen it, I've never, I mean it's OK we're lucky we've got
> our own business, and I don't know, somehow it definitely seems like
> that, you don't think of it like that, you know that what you're doing is

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[1] Rabbi Wolff declined to call this superstition, but stated that there were two opinions on this matter, those following Maimonides who reject such (supernatural) beliefs and others who argue that the concept is perfectly reasonable (see Jacobs, 1995).

right, and that is it. I don't know, you're brought up that you're meant to have children, you know, if you physically can, so you know that if, that by having these children you're doing the right thing so it's not really a problem ...

... But we don't look at it what each child costs, we don't look at it like that, you know, in a way when you've got bigger families you buy your big child clothes, and you buy the next one, you pass them down, so you're not like buying them clothes. I suppose the biggest expense is buying children's shoes, because you don't pass them down, you know, and if you've got family everyone swaps and shares. You know, I'm very lucky, my sister, you know like when you have babies, she'll lend me her pram, so it's things like that, you just manage with less. So you don't have a brand new, this is the first time I've had a new high chair for my baby because the school bought it for me, but 'till now, she's my ninth child [and] I've never had a new high chair, well so what, as long as it's clean, and the baby's got somewhere to sit, so you don't have brand new high chairs. You know, I'm using a pram, so I phoned my sister and said send me your pram. I wouldn't dream of spending four or five hundred pounds on a new pram, it's a waste of money, to me it's a waste of money, at my stage in life it is a waste of money, you know, how many babies am I going to use it for, one baby, two babies?'

For Ruth, the idealism of orthodoxy is here manifested through the desirability of having large numbers of children, a way of life that, while largely taken for granted, inevitably has a major impact on the family's everyday existence. This idealism goes beyond the sheer numbers of children, however, and also directly influences how they are raised. In particular, many interviewees spoke about adopting social and spatial strategies to limit interactions with the outside world. Rabbi Soloman, for example, spoke of how he brought up his children within the confines of the Broughton Park area:

Rabbi Soloman : 'My kids probably did not go out of this area unless they were going on holiday or whatever it was. They were brought up, basically, in this house, on this street, they walked to cheder on Wellington street and they walked home again, or they walked to school and they walked home again or whatever.'

I : 'Was there a specific reason you did that?'

R. Soloman : 'The specific reason? I wanted to shield my kids as much as I could shield my kids, and although this is a bone of contention because people could say it's better to expose them at an early age to what's going on in the world, I didn't believe that they would lose anything by being shielded.'

Rabbi Soloman thus details his belief in maintaining, as far as his children are concerned at least, spatial boundaries with 'others'. This type of thinking was frequently expressed by my interviewees so that, for example, Ruth Levy spoke of not letting her children wander the streets of Broughton Park at night, and Mrs. Wolff would not let her children visit Manchester town centre unless it was an absolute necessity, 'because of physical and spiritual danger.' This latter approach was not shared by all interviewees, and it is certainly not unusual to see orthodox families walking around the centre of Manchester. Nevertheless, there have been attempts by some of the leading figures in the area to impose more formal spatial boundaries, with a move to prevent teenagers from congregating in Clowes Park during the evenings. According to Rabbi Levine, this sort of social mixing was considered inappropriate, with a feeling that parents should endeavour to restrict the use of this space. How much support this type of edict would generate is, however, difficult to determine.

In addition, and necessarily integrated with the spatial boundaries, there are clear social mechanisms designed to protect children.

Mrs. Wolff : 'We filter what we want the children to know, and like this the children don't normally get more than what they can emotionally handle, it doesn't mean - we're not going to shelter them their whole life ... [T]he first thing they grasp - all the things about Judaism, and if they do hear a little bit about the outside world, we don't bombard them, we just explain to them, that's the outside world, it's got nothing to do with us ... and what they do need to know, they will know from a Jewish perspective, not as the general world thinks, they have to know everything, open-minded. There's no such thing as open minded, everybody has to be preconceived, and we want them to be preconceived Jewish, because that's what they are.'

For the Wolffs the social boundaries they construct involve limiting the information they give to their children and bringing them up in a Jewish home. Raising children, for them, involved socialising them in the ways of orthodoxy, so that from the earliest ages they were taught, for example, to put on their right shoe before their left shoe (because the right side represents chesed and by putting this shoe on first, 'it awakens the forces of kindness in heaven') in the same way that they learn to use a knife and fork or 'not to slurp their soup'. Rabbi Reich termed this environment 'orthocentric', and he spoke about the large number of orthodox videos, cartoons, puppets and literature designed to let children grow up enveloped within Jewish ways and values. Indeed, during the interview, when one of his young children was feeling ill, he brought her into the study (where we were speaking), put some headphones on her head, and played her some music from a tape of the orthodox entertainers 'Country Yossi and the Shteible Hoppers'.

In addition to the requirements of home life, the social and spatial socialisation of children within an orthodox framework continues through formal school education. Within Broughton Park there are, as discussed in chapter six, a large range of educational facilities catering for every age group and aspect of orthodoxy. These institutions are again part of raising children within an orthodox background:

Joshua Vogel : '[W]hat we're trying to achieve now is to create a Jewish young man, a Jewish young girl that can walk proudly in society with their Jewish identity intact, and not in danger of losing that identity, of losing those moral grounds, you've got to equip them for that.'

According to Joshua Vogel, the idea is to 'create' a person with a strong sense of Jewish identity, and so, through both home and school life, children can be imbued with a 'thick' sense of orthodoxy (see also chapter two). Rabbi Frankel even described this environment as the 'ghetto effect', a way of life that, in the key areas of culture and education, is 'far removed' from outside influences. For most of my interviewees, this environment was so protective that concerns about assimilation and intermarriage (so central to mainstream Anglo-Jewry: see chapter one) were very limited:

I: 'Assimilation, is that a problem at all or is it not an issue?'

Edward Cohen : 'Assimilation, no, because family life is not really - my boy's gone to yeshivah at the age of 15, the years of how would you say, of temptation, the years of, you know, mixing properly with non-Jewish people, are really taken out of the equation. They stay in yeshivah from the age of like 14, 15, right through 'til they get married at 20, 21 and the girls from the age of about 16 'til about 19, 20, go to sem[inary] ... Unfortunately, the more spread out, the more people mix with the outside society, the more they are with them socially, university, college, whatever else it is, then they become, they must have an influence of non-Jewishness.'

For Edward Cohen, the realities of day-to-day life meant that assimilation was never really going to be problem, although he did accept that there were very occasional instances of inter-marriage or people abandoning the religion (or as William Weiss put it, people 'going off the rails'). Yet while the environments of many orthodox children were undoubtedly highly protected, for those towards the left of the

spectrum interactions with the outside world do take place on a more regular basis, which also needs recognising.

Sharon and Mark Morris have only recently moved to Broughton Park, reflecting their increasing religiosity (Daniel would certainly be classed as ba'alei teshuva), but yet they, and their young children, retain many links with the outside world. The Morris's still keep a television (although Mark would be happy to remove it), which provides a certain window into life outside of orthodoxy, and both Sharon and Mark retain close links with their respective families who are almost entirely secular. The Morris's live in the heart of Broughton Park, with the elder child going to the Lubavitch nursery (the younger is still a baby), but his closest friend is his secular cousin who lives in Prestwich. Others have similar 'outside' connections and, for example, when spending time with an orthodox couple's nine children, we spoke about Manchester United Football Club, and for the younger ones I read to them from a children's encyclopaedia of world events. Differences in lifestyles according to the particularities of orthodoxy (as well as due to other lines of difference such as class and gender) are important to recognise in terms of countering any imagination of a homogenous 'them'.

Work

Rabbi Wolff is 'employed' by the Machzikei Hadass and Horidenka kollelim, with his studies providing him with a (fairly meagre) income. According to both Dovid Hoffman and Mr. Bernstein, however, only around twenty percent of men in Broughton Park are involved in such full-time learning. Although this figure is difficult to verify, what is clear is that the majority either work directly in non-orthodox environments or else have jobs involved with the Jewish community in some other capacity (typically running one of the many small orthodox businesses operating within Broughton Park). For people such as Rabbi Wolff, and to some extent those involved in orthodox businesses (which I will discuss shortly), inter-mixing with non-Jews is limited. For those working inside non-orthodox firms, however, life may involve constant interactions with non-Jews. William Weiss, for

example, works as a solicitor, and as the only orthodox person in the firm, has faced a series of decisions about how he should interact with clients and staff:

> William Weiss : 'I don't like shaking hands with a lady [but] if you put your hand out I'm not going to be rude to you. I don't like it. I'm not going to go out with my staff to the pub for a drink, and go out and take them out for a meal, but one can still talk to them and still join in, and have a laugh. Like many things that go on at the office, I don't go to Christmas dinner, but they have a syndicate for the lottery, fine, a pound a week, whether it's gambling or not, it's being part of the office.'

William Weiss has faced these in some ways 'mundane' decisions through a strategy of inter-mixing on a limited level, while still maintaining firm boundaries in other respects. For him, certain compromises are acceptable, so that he will take part in the lottery even though this is a form of gambling, but yet he refuses to socialise with his staff after work. William Weiss argued that this lifestyle was in no way problematic, but he also spoke of how he had seriously considered emigrating to Israel where, although he had no guarantee of getting a similar job, he would be closer to the centre of Judaism (and thus away from secular British society). In the end he was advised by a rabbi not to leave England because of the difficulties of gaining employment, and so while he remained in Manchester he made sure that he retained certain key boundaries to separate himself away from too much interaction.

William Weiss also spoke of his children's futures, in which he hoped his boys would choose to spend their lives studying Torah and not to follow him into his profession or anything similar: interactions with outside communities were acceptable, but these sorts of lifestyle were clearly not as desirable as time spent in religious learning. While the boys were directed towards study - although William argued that he would support them in whatever they chose, providing, of course, that they retained their orthodoxy - his girls were encouraged to go to seminary, and from there perhaps to gain employment within the community. Employment for orthodox women in Broughton Park typically involves teaching within a religious school, although increasing numbers are also using computing skills (taught at seminary) to

find jobs in local firms. This use of information technology in the curriculum highlights one way in which the orthodox community has incorporated 'outside' practices, although even here the use of these skills is strictly regulated. As Ruth Levy argued, 'you wouldn't dream of sending them [your daughters] to town into an office or anything like that'. In non-Jewish places there are difficulties of orthodox people not being able to work on shabbas, and there are also pressures of assimilation; contacts with the 'outside' world that many people (especially communal leaders) would consider inappropriate. Nonetheless, while those leaving seminary may find jobs for a short time, the ideal for most parents was that their daughters should get married (preferably to a Torah scholar) and to raise large families.

The construction of workplace boundaries discussed by William Weiss was also expressed by Mr. Bernstein, a member of the Satmar community who works as an antiques dealer:

> Mr. Bernstein : 'Where it's noticeable mostly is that any two traders after meeting twice are on first name terms. Now, after thirty years, I'm still Mr. Bernstein. Very few people are *au fait* with my first name, so there is a boundary definitely.'

> I : 'And that's something you consciously try and maintain?'

> Mr. Bernstein : 'It's there whether I like it or not, because the first name term normally comes in a business meeting, very commonly done over lunch, over luncheon table, I'm never there, or if a dance is organised I might get an invitation just as a matter of courtesy, but they know from the outset it's just a waste of a stamp. So you don't mix socially, and hence the difference.'

Mr. Bernstein was clearly marked by others and himself as different, and through his appearance and lifestyle maintained certain clear social and cultural boundaries. Mr. Bernstein argued that, in particular, the style of dress acted as a great deterrent to

over-mixing: 'luckily the goyim wouldn't accept us the way we look'. This style of dress did not just act as a deterrent to 'others', however, but also acted on the individual concerned (in Foucauldian terms, a disciplining of the self) by marking them out as outsiders in places where mixing might occur:

> Mr. Bernstein : 'If say you [addressed to me] fancy going into the pub for a drink, you could just slip into anything and just do it, whereas anybody growing up here, you just couldn't, just couldn't do it, I mean nobody would stop them, but they'd feel very funny.'

The construction of these social and spatial boundaries allows for limited interactions with non-Jewish colleagues in the work-place, while (in theory at least) ensuring that Jewish identities remain guarded and secure[2].

As discussed in chapter six, Broughton Park contains an extensive visible and invisible commercial landscape, ranging from the shops on Leicester road and Wellington street to the network of businesses located within private homes. For the people employed in this type of commerce, and especially for those involved in the network of informal businesses, interactions with non-orthodox Jews may, in contrast to the examples of William Weiss and Mr. Bernstein detailed above, be extremely limited. The presence of these latter businesses is not widely known outside of orthodox circles (as a secular Jew living in Whitefield I was certainly unaware of their nature and extent), and they attract custom through word of mouth and by advertising in communal orthodox publications such as the *Heimishe Advertiser* (which, along with other publications such as the *Reshet Shiur Diary* and *North Manchester Connections*, I will discuss shortly). Certainly some of these businesses do attract a limited range of customers (the owner of the Jewish Book Centre, for example, spoke of how he is visited by a small number of non-Jews), but most primarily deal with orthodox Jews (as my experiences at the HaSefer book shop testify: see chapter five).

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[2] One might suspect that interactions in the work-place would lead, at least in a few cases, to assimilation and inter-marriage. I heard no evidence of this, however, and the lack of concern expressed over issues of assimilation suggests that the 'problem', if present at all, is limited.

The vast range of the informal businesses found in Broughton Park are typically run by women, who both look after their children and sell their wares in the same location. As such, these women are able to earn valuable income for the family (especially necessary if the husband is involved in full-time learning), while continuing to fulfil the primary functions of motherhood. As a direct consequence of these work (and home) practices, these women experience fewer interactions with outside communities (and will not face the same pressures of hybridisation) than those employed in non-orthodox environments such as traditional shop-front businesses

Ruth Levy, in addition to founding and running one of the local schools and looking after her nine children, also owns and runs with her husband a shop on Leicester road selling household wares. Ruth is clearly a remarkable person, and the range of activities in which she is involved in certainly muddies any simplistic stereotypes of orthodox women as passive. Ruth spoke about how in the shop she meets and talks to many non-orthodox people, and how in visiting the cash-and-carry or in popping over to other shops nearby, where the staff are not always orthodox, she mixes with people outside of her community. Ruth was clearly friendly with several of these people, reflecting an openness that was also apparent throughout the interview. Nonetheless, being friendly with people did not mean that orthodox boundaries were abandoned as reflected in the way she spoke earlier about raising her children within a protective orthodox environment. Even so, Ruth's lifestyle does further indicate how, for many people at least, Broughton Park is not an isolated ghetto. While many cultural and social barriers are undoubtedly present, it is also important to recognise that other (often spatial) boundaries are more porous, as seen in orthodox practices of consumption.

Consumption

As many interviewees stated, Broughton Park contains just about every service a person could require, from travel agents to jewellers, hair-dressers to caterers and,

according to Rabbi Soloman, just about the only facilities not available are banks[3] (and these are located just a few hundred metres away in Cheetham Hill). Such services were frequently used by the people interviewed, both for religious (and cultural) reasons, and also for convenience.

> Rivka Meyer : 'I don't have to go to town anymore, so much. I use our private people, local people who sell shoes, whatever, jewellery, clothes, whatever, you name it.'

> I : 'Why wouldn't you go to town?'

> Rivka : 'Well, if you're religious there's not everything you can wear, so I'm not going to waste my time there, to alter it, maybe pay more overheads - I might as well give it [the money she would spend there] to a Jewish person.'

Rivka Meyer's response was typical, and most interviewees used local facilities on a regular basis, with absolutely all buying at least some of their kosher foods in either Halpern's, Grunsfeld's or Kolbo's. Most interviewees also spoke about using other shops further away, though, whether it be the discount stores further up Leicester road (Kwik-Save or Netto's) or the major super-markets of Tesco's or Sainsbury's (at least for those who had access to a car) which were used because they were considered to be cheaper. Both Tesco's and Sainsbury's have small sections selling kosher products[4], however they are primarily used for items not requiring a *hechsher* (guarantee of kosher status) such as fruit and vegetables, and for sundry items such as tin-foil, household cleaners or paper tissues. The use of these shops is another example of the porosity of the spatial boundaries of Broughton Park, which, while enclosing large aspects of the lives of many orthodox people, are also passed through on other occasions with little friction. These shops also demonstrate further examples of 'spaces apart', providing opportunities to 'escape' from the claustrophobia and the realities of daily life in Broughton Park. Certainly Ruth Levy

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[3] Although note there are private (usually charitable) organisations that do lend money to local residents (see below).

indicated these sorts of feelings when she described how she and her husband use the twenty-four hour Tesco's located in Prestwich:

> Ruth Levy : 'We only go to Tesco's in the middle of the night. If I need some peace and I want to talk to my husband, and it's 11 o'clock, I say it's 11 o'clock come on let's go to Tesco's, it's just time to talk to each other.'

In the space of Tesco's, Ruth and her husband are able to escape the hectic realities of home life, and to separate away from Broughton Park. Still, even this space shows the marks of orthodoxy, as evident in the way they are both dressed (and as such marked) according to orthodox custom and regulation: orthodoxy is ever present, even if its centrality varies according to context.

Communal Interactions

In my account of life in Broughton Park so far, I have principally concentrated on individuals and families. While this is undoubtedly the centre of so much to do with orthodox identities, more formal communal interactions are also hugely important. As discussed in chapter seven, imaginations of a unitary orthodox community (and place) are fundamental to residents' senses of identity, and these beliefs are manifested through communal interactions which, in turn, further reinforce senses of 'sameness'.

Communal organisations

As Broughton Park has become increasingly orthodox, a number of formal and semi-formal communal organisations have developed, including the *Manchester Service Chesed List* (which provides a range of items available for members of the community to borrow), the *hatzolla* ambulance service, the *Broughton Park Citizens Patrol*, the *Broughton Park Residents Association*, and the various communal publications such as *North Manchester Connections* and the *Reshet Shiur Diary*.

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[4] Although note the debates over 'standards' of kashrus discussed in chapter six.

These organisations (in addition to the various other institutions and facilities discussed earlier) provide a range of services, acting in many ways to bind the community and to develop an orthodox sense of place.

The *'Manchester Service Chesed List'* is a semi-formal organisation that lists over 120 gemachim, such as: free hire of materials needed for organising events such as weddings or bar-mitzvahs, for example crockery, cutlery and *benchers* (after-dinner prayer books); medical equipment such as wheel-chairs, breathing monitors and short term post-natal assistance; religious materials such as second-hand mezuzot and *bris* (circumcision) gowns; and children's materials such as toys, playpens and fancy dress clothes. The chesed list works through people volunteering items for lending, the details of which are collated, printed and distributed to various houses and people within the community. The list is updated every twelve months or so, and anyone wishing to make use of the facilities simply phones the number of the person who runs the particular service, and arranges the specific details (such as when and where to collect/return the items borrowed). According to Ruth Stern, who helps to organise the network, the list originally operated by word of mouth, but as the number of facilities has grown it became necessary to print it out (providing a further indication of the growth of orthodoxy in Broughton Park).

The communal support provided by the chesed list is a good example of how a community can help to support itself and to provide for the needs of local (and especially elderly, infirm and poor) residents. Nevertheless, these services provide communal support for only a certain section of Broughton Park's residents, and those who are not religious are, in practice, excluded from the network. Both the Blacks and the Speilmans spoke of being outside of these networks, with neither family having any knowledge of the chesed list, which was certainly not delivered to their houses. According to Ruth Levy, copies of the list are distributed to a contact person on each street who then distributes it to local orthodox residents. As such, while the chesed list serves to link orthodox residents, it also serves to exclude 'other' people living in the area. Even if the Blacks and Speilmans knew of the list, however, it is doubtful that they would make use of the facilities because of their feelings of

separation from the orthodox community through, as discussed in chapter seven, a clear sense of 'us' and 'them'.

For those who provide items for the chesed list, their contributions do not just relate to communal goodwill, but also tie into the basic Jewish tenet of giving *tzedoka* (charity). Contributing to the gemach list is thus considered to be a mitzvah, and indeed the giving of charity in general is a key aspect of orthodoxy[5]. Dovid Hoffman argued that in Broughton Park over a million pounds is raised each year, and, while this figure is difficult to verify, it is clear that charity is a way of life for local residents. Within Broughton Park, charitable door-to-door collections take place on most days of the week, and sometimes up to five or six times an evening. Collectors range from local Manchester charities and individuals requiring assistance (for example poor families with difficulty financing a wedding or bar mitzvah), to people from other Jewish areas within the United Kingdom, to those from other orthodox areas in Europe or Israel. These collectors can raise large sums of money in only a few days, and are often organised so as to maximise the amounts raised.

Sarah Shapiro : '[I]t's very interesting because there are drivers.'

I : 'There are drivers?'

Sarah : 'Yes, because it's organised, organised crime! [our laughter] It's partially organised, a lot of people, because it was getting out of hand, a lot of the collectors are advised to collect a blue certificate that has to be signed by an authority, and only when that is presented at the door do you feel you can legitimately give, because there was a lot of that, there was corruption going on, and impostors and what have you ... but you see the same cars outside the street, outside the house, there are drivers who drive these people around, and they say try that house, no don't try that house you'll get no joy there, go to the next house.'

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[5] According to Goldberg and Kosmin (1998), strictly orthodox Jews give, on a median average, three times more to charity than to do 'traditional' Jews and eight times more than those who are secular.

Charity in Broughton Park is thus regulated and controlled by key figures in the community, and so only those organisations which are considered *bona fide* will be granted certificates. In addition, the collectors themselves are, as Sarah described, often organised, although both the Blacks and Speilmans argued that, even though they rarely give money to these people - as John Speilman put it, 'they would not support Reform charities, so why should we support theirs?' - they still receive regular requests for charity. For these two families, such collections are part of the realities of life in Broughton Park, and both adopted a stoical approach which accepted the nature of the orthodox landscape with few difficulties, and with a large slice of humour:

I : 'Do you get people knocking on your door asking for charity, that kind of thing?'

Paul Black : 'Oh yeah.'

Judith Black : 'But they look at me and [because of the way she is dressed, assume she must be a cleaner or someone similar] ask if they can speak to the mistress of the house.'

I : 'What do you say?'

Judith : 'Oh, she's not in.'

Paul : 'I've got a rule, if anyone speaks to me in Hebrew or Yiddish, or not in English, I don't understand and I send them away. If they do speak in English I might sometimes give something, but I don't like it 'cause there's so much falseness. Often when they come to the door if it's Summer I might be stripped to the waste, or shorts or something like that - they look at the mezuzah in disbelief.'

While the Blacks find the lifestyles of orthodox Jews fairly amusing, the reactions of the charity collectors suggest that they, like so many of the local residents, have a

clear sense of Broughton Park as a religious Jewish place, so that someone having a mezuzah but not dressed according to the codes of tznius is looked upon with disbelief. While the Blacks found the situation amusing, Sarah Shapiro argued that many families find the collections to be incessant and an invasion of their lives, although here again she used humour to deal with the situation:

Sarah Shapiro : 'I don't always answer the door, I have to say.'

I : '[Be]cause you know it's going to be someone asking for money?'

Sarah : 'Yes, and when you've already had to deal with three or four people in one evening, [and] there's only an hour and a half between putting the kids down and having to go out or whatever ... so I'm afraid it sometimes gets ignored.'

I : 'Would it bother you normally, or is it part and parcel of living in Broughton Park?'

Sarah : 'Oh, it's part, 'cause it's all the time, it's incessant, that it drives you mad a bit ... a lot of people have intercoms round here, because once you get to the door it's all very difficult ... And not only that, some of them are very rude. If you've handed out large sums of money or [my husband's] handed out large sums of money, and somebody comes round [and] you're absolutely wiped out, what have you, and you offer them a fiver and they throw it back in your face, this is not enough, we want hundreds, thousands ... so it gets a bit frustrating. It's not always like that, but it gets to the stage where you're frightened to go out the front door. I'm sure [my husband's] frightened to do the front garden! [our laughter]'

For Sarah Shapiro, the large number of collections ties in with her ambivalent senses of Broughton Park discussed in chapter seven where being orthodox was sometimes advantageous, but on other occasions frustrating. Living in Broughton Park meant a

certain sacrificing of privacy, but yet there were also impressive levels of communal support (for those, that is, who are orthodox). This support included the services of the chesed list and the charitable support, but it also involved the various other communal organisations such as the hatzolla ambulance service.

The hatzolla organisation is made up of a network of trained first-aid workers and on-call doctors who can be contacted by telephone at any time of the day and night. In an emergency, for example if a child is unwell, hatzolla can be called and someone will be quickly around to offer first-aid. A number of my interviewees spoke very highly about the organisation, with Ruth Stern arguing that hatzolla had saved the life of one of her children who had been choking on some food. When she had called for help, a hatzolla person arrived within two minutes whereas, she argued, an ambulance would have taken fifteen. The hatzolla organisation is run entirely from Broughton Park - although its existence was copied from other orthodox areas (see chapter two) - and primarily deals with people in the local area (Dovid Hoffman pointed out that it would take too long to reach areas further away and so would cease to be effective). Furthermore, hatzolla is, like so many of the other communal organisations in Broughton Park, designed for orthodox people with its telephone number only advertised in publications likely to be read by religious Jews: although Dovid Hoffman argued that in an obvious emergency hatzolla would, of course, help anyone who needed assistance (see chapter two).

While the chesed list and hatzolla are designed to provide for the needs of local orthodox residents, other organisations have been set up to deal specifically with the 'outside' world and the threats and opportunities that this presents. The Broughton Park Citizens Patrol (BPCP), for example, is an organisation designed to protect orthodox residents from vandals, criminals or those who may be actively anti-Semitic. The organisation was established in response to a spate of burglaries and attacks on Jews in Broughton Park, and operates by advertising a telephone number that people can ring if they are worried; for example, if they believe someone is about to burgle a house. The BPCP will then send out people in cars to observe the 'incident', with the idea that those involved in crime are unlikely to continue if they are being watched. The brief of the BPCP, which is made up of local orthodox men,

is to follow 'suspects' until they leave Broughton Park, and if there are any problems then to contact the police. The BPCP members are given instructions not to go beyond the area of Broughton Park, which they define as the areas within and including Cavendish Street, Bury New Road, Wellington Street, Leicester Road (including the cul-de-sacs of Westwood, Parkside and Granville avenues) and Upper Park Road. These limits map neatly on to the spatial extent of the Jewish area (see figure 6.3), reflecting and reinforcing the bounded senses of place discussed in chapter seven.

While the BPCP is an explicitly orthodox organisation, there is a cross-communal residents association which is supposed to represent all of the people living in Broughton Park. The Broughton Park Residents Association (BPRA) was founded before the rapid growth of orthodoxy, and was set up to represent the needs of local people. It sought to ensure that development was in keeping with the area, and that the council fulfilled its responsibilities to keep the park in good condition. According to John and Michelle Speilman, the organisation was then taken over by the 'black hats', and now primarily represents 'their' community:

> John Speilman : 'We were very influential in forming the Broughton Park Residents Association and we came to elect a new committee, and instead of the usual twenty, thirty people turning up, about eighty people turned up, all black-hatted, and voted their members on, and voted the existing members off, and now we're not even invited to attend the meetings.'

Viewing it from the alternative perspective, Dovid Hoffman spoke of how orthodox Jews had become involved in the BPRA during the planning application for the large Shaarei Torah yeshivah on Upper Park road. Apparently the BPRA had sought to stop the building of the yeshivah on the grounds that it would alter the character of the area and would cause a nuisance. In the end the yeshivah was built, and the BPRA became, in practice, another orthodox organisation, further indicating the

sense of Broughton Park as a Jewish place[6]. Nevertheless, according to Edward Cohen, the power over the place of Broughton Park is not one wholly dominated by the orthodox residents, and he had strong suspicions about the local authorities seeking to reduce the Jewish presence in the area:

> Edward Cohen : 'The Salford authorities have been very good towards the Jewish people since they came to live here [but] there is only one bone of contention, which again is the same bone of contention as there is in many, many areas, and that's in planning ... now whether it's an anti-Semitic attitude that the council and the planning department have towards the area is very, very difficult to define ... [but] I have heard, and this is on first hand experience from a chap who drew up some plans for me not many weeks ago. I asked him what he thought their attitude was towards - I didn't use the word anti-Semitism - did he find them difficult with Jews, because it was a Jewish area. He said the only comment that came back, they have an opinion that the area is over-developed.'

Edward Cohen's impression was that the local authorities believed Broughton Park to be 'too Jewish', and that, as such, they attempted to block Jewish planning applications, especially when it came to the enlarging of institutions such as schools or yeshivot. He was the only person with whom I spoke who offered this opinion, and he himself admitted that it was no more than conjecture, but it does raise the issue of challenges to constructions of Broughton Park as a Jewish place[7].

Organisations such as the chesed list, the BPCP and BPRA clearly show a high degree of communal interaction between at least some of the orthodox residents of Broughton Park. This level of interaction is also reflected in the various publications printed for the local orthodox residents. As discussed earlier, Broughton Park contains a range of formal and semi-formal businesses, providing an enormous range

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[6] Several orthodox residents also spoke of maintaining excellent relations with the local councillor who is considered to be a friend to the community. Interestingly, this councillor is not Jewish, and actually replaced the incumbent who was, but was believed to be not as supportive.

[7] Although in other ways councillors perceptions of Broughton Park (as a place where there are too many Jews) serve to reinforce perceptions of the area as a Jewish place: an outside confirmation of the area's status.

of products for sale, many of which are advertised through two free advertising pamphlets, the *Heimishe Advertiser* and the *North Manchester Circular*. These pamphlets are printed every few weeks, and provide a space where local businesses and charities can promote products and events. The pamphlets are delivered by hand to homes in the Broughton Park and Jewish areas of Prestwich, and advertise products and services ranging from clothing to second-hand sheitels, kosher milk suppliers to soft furnishings. Most of the advertisers are based in and around the Broughton Park area, although others are Jewish-owned firms located in other parts of Manchester who want to tap in to the orthodox market. In addition to these pamphlets, adverts also appear in the booklets of *North Manchester Connections* and the *Reshet Shiur Diary*.

North Manchester Connections is a telephone directory that lists, in theory at least, the names and telephone numbers of all dati and orthodox people living in the Broughton Park and Prestwich areas[8]. The booklet contains over 1100 names (providing confirmation of the sort of figures I obtained in my survey of Jewish homes: see chapter six), and is financed through a cover charge and the sale of advertising space, with proceeds being donated to charity. In addition to the telephone directory, the booklet also lists useful communal numbers, such as hatzolla, the BPCP, local police, details of synagogues, many of the gemachim and a compendium of local businesses. The directory is yet another example of the highly developed orthodox communal interactions in Manchester, and draws on senses of a common orthodox community which can be defined, detailed and recorded. The presence of the directory also indicates a certain confidence in the position of Manchester orthodoxy, in that it will accept the existence of a register of community members. While *North Manchester Connections* is only sold within the community, the fact that I, as a (partial) 'outsider' (see chapter five), was able to purchase a copy indicates that the information is not wholly restricted.

In contrast to *North Manchester Connections*, the *Reshet Shiur Diary* is designed for use by Jews throughout the region, and lists the times, locations and subject matter of

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[8] The reality, however, is that the coverage is somewhat incomplete - especially as regards to Prestwich - and the book is now several years out of date (although there is talk of a new edition being compiled).

the 200 or more *shiurim* (adult religious lessons) operating in Manchester every week. Shiurim are categorised according to levels of difficulty and whether they are held in English or Yiddish (most are in the former), and cover a range of subjects from halachah to ethics, the weekly Torah portion to the commentaries of Rashi. Religious learning is considered to be a life-long project, and orthodox people (both men and women) will typically spend several evenings a week attending various lectures and classes. Nevertheless, while residents of Broughton Park certainly use the diary and make use of the shiurim, Reshet was primarily set up as an 'outreach' organisation designed to offer and publicise classes in Judaism to 'less committed' Jews. Reshet is one of several such organisations in Manchester whose aim is to reach out to the wider Jewish community, providing tangible links between orthodox and more secular Jews (although the different levels of shiurim mean that orthodox and secular will rarely study together, and any relationships will typically be that of teacher to pupils). Reshet itself is fairly low key, and better known in secular circles are the activities of Project Seed and of the Lubavitch.

Project Seed was established to provide one-to-one learning for adult Jews who had an interest in learning about Judaism. The organisation works by providing tutors who travel to the centres of secular Jewry, such as Bury, Fallowfield and Whitefield, and, in the context of the synagogue Beth Hamidrash, spend time talking to Jews from these areas about any aspect of Judaism. Project Seed draws many of its tutors from the Broughton Park area, and provides another of the few arenas where more secular and orthodox can inter-mix. The aim of Project Seed is to draw people back towards the religion, a philosophy which is also shared by the Lubavitch movements. Within Manchester, the Lubavitch operate nurseries, schools, a yeshivah and kollel, which are designed primarily for local orthodox residents. Nevertheless, the Lubavitch also run a series of events designed for the wider community, including children's summer camps, a youth centre and *L'Chaim*, a weekly publication which offers lessons from the Torah and advice from the (now deceased) rebbe, which is hand delivered by yeshivah bochorim to secular Jewish houses in Manchester. The Lubavitch also run a 'Mishnaphone', a computerised telephone service which provides callers with spoken lessons on Jewish topics and, perhaps most

controversially, they are also responsible for the large sign and menorah on the corner of Leicester road and Bury Old road (see chapter six).

The activities of organisations such as Project Seed, Reshet, and the Lubavitch indicate certain, though limited, interactions between secular and orthodox, further scrambling simplistic conceptions of Broughton Park as an isolated 'ghetto'. These boundary crossings are not just confined to interactions with secular Jews in Manchester, however, but also occur on a global scale through the various national and international connections that take place between the different orthodox communities of Europe, Israel and the United States: interactions based on family ties, business contacts and on specific religious connections (especially to Israel, and, for Hasidic Jews, wherever their particular rebbe resides or resided). In this way Broughton Park acts as a node in the global orthodox network, as can be seen quite specifically by looking at how marriages are frequently organised on a national and international level.

Marriages are typically based upon arranged meetings whereby a *shadchen* ('matchmaker') sets up introductions between two people who are considered to have similar social backgrounds. Within Manchester these introductions are sometimes arranged locally, but Rabbi and Mrs. Levine spoke of increasing numbers involving individuals from across Europe, especially from the major orthodox centres of London, Paris, Antwerp and Gibraltar. Certainly in my interviews, while a number of the older people had Eastern European accents reflecting their refugee origins, several of the younger couples had mixed accents, typically with one person from Manchester and the other from elsewhere in Britain or Western Europe. These inter communal marriages also extend as far as the United States (although these are not as common) and to South Africa, especially as large numbers of Jews have now left there in response to fears of violent crime. These marriages link together the different national and global communities, and indicate the presence of strong inter-communal ties. Strangely enough, these meetings are now sometimes organised through the internet, so that Rabbi Wolff spoke of how he is involved with an organisation called *Shema Yisroel Torah Network*, which arranges meetings for potential orthodox couples from different parts of the world. Rabbi Wolff takes the

details of people from Broughton Park who are looking to get married, e-mails these to the Shema network, and they then arrange the meetings: providing a further example of hybridisation between orthodoxy and 'outside' world technologies.

Communal events

For most of the year, life in Broughton Park is fairly restrained, but there are certain occasions where people much more obviously assert their religion, taking to the streets and putting orthodoxy on display. These occasions include walking on the streets on shabbas, festivals and *shalom zockerim*[9], as well as the ritual of *tashlich* which takes place on the first day of Rosh Hashanah (or else the second day if the first falls on the Sabbath: see Jacobs, 1995). Tashlich involves the emptying of pockets (often filled with breadcrumbs) into water, symbolising the casting away of the year's sins. In Broughton Park, tashlich usually takes place in Clowes Park, involving, as described by the Speilmans, large numbers of orthodox men descending to the pond[10]:

> John Speilman : 'They all go to the park to get rid of their sins, the whole of the lake is surrounded with black hats, every space, it's like a pop concert, except that they're all black hats, all vying to get to the lake'

> Michelle Speilman : 'Boys from the yeshivah, you get them six, eight deep.'

On these occasions, orthodoxy becomes highly visible to non-orthodox residents (such as the Speilmans), with the strength and vibrancy of at least part of the religious community publicly displayed. The public events of Rosh Hashanah are minor in comparison to the festival of Purim, though, which is perhaps the only

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[9] At a *shalom zocker*, members of the community (although usually just men) visit the house of parents who have just had a baby boy (on the first Friday evening after the birth), eat some food, drink some alcohol (one of the few occasions beer is drunk) and offer their best wishes. It is not unusual to have several shalom zockerim on the same evening, with groups of orthodox men crossing through Broughton Park to visit various parents' houses.

[10] Theoretically only flowing water should be used, but the pond does have a small outlet channel which becomes active during wet weather, and so the use of the pond for tashlich is therefore considered acceptable.

occasion when orthodox Jews really 'let go' (see chapter two). In Broughton Park, as described by Ruth Stern and her family, the festival is celebrated through children dressing up in fancy dress, men powdering their beards and wearing funny clothes (such as big bow-ties and coloured socks), people dancing in the street, vans selling ice-creams, and also a procession of floats that makes its way through the streets. Purim is also the only time that orthodox people really drink large amounts of alcohol, and which follows the Talmudic statement that 'a man is obliged to become so drunk on Purim that he is no longer aware whether he is blessing Mordecai [the hero of the story] or cursing Haman [the villain]' (Jacobs, 1995: 398).

In addition to all of the other festivities, large amounts of tzedoka are collected, with people knocking on doors asking for money and, according to Paul Black, until recently cars travelling in and around the area were held up and money requested from the drivers. For Paul Black, Purim is simply one more aspect of the Broughton Park landscape, but other residents, as detailed in the letters page in the Jewish Telegraph, were occasionally more offended:

> 'Living in the Broughton Park area, I was disgusted and appalled at the manner in which Purim was 'celebrated' in the streets. It was nothing but an excuse for lunacy and hooliganism [driving at 50 mph and honking horns, stopping cars in the middle of the road - spraying foam and water at passing cars] ... If this behaviour had occurred in any other area in Manchester, the police would have been called.' (Martin Mann, *Jewish Telegraph*, 1996: 4)

Other residents spoke in very different tones, and, considering the number of orthodox Jews in the area, would perhaps be more representative of the majority:

> 'We would like to thank all the children who have passed our house over Purim, giving us so much enjoyment in their colourful and original costumes. To see the experiences of centuries shining in their eyes ... It never fails to amaze us that people in streets only a few hundred yards away

have no idea what they are missing.' (Stanley and Rose Horrocks, Jewish Telegraph, 1996:4)

For the Horrocks, Purim is a wonderful occasion where Jews take to the streets and can celebrate their history and culture. Nevertheless, this couple also point out how the festivities are confined to a relatively small area, so that, while Purim is an occasion where Jews publicly display their religion, the arena in which they do so is spatially limited. The practical effects of the Purim festivities is to demarcate Broughton Park as an orthodox space, which can be seen through the allowance of events that are specifically Jewish and that would not ordinarily take place in any other part of Manchester. The Purim festivities are one further way in which orthodox Jewish identities in Broughton Park are reaffirmed.

The festival of Purim, as well occasions such as Rosh Hashanah and shabbas, are regular events in the Jewish calendar and, as such, settle into a certain routine in terms of the activities that take place. Yet assertions of identity and place in Broughton Park also occur in response to more irregular events such as the celebrations that occur when a *Sefer Torah* (Torah scroll) is donated to a synagogue. On such occasions, the new Sefer Torah is paraded through local (Jewish) streets, and is accompanied by large crowds of orthodox Jews singing and dancing (for pictures, see *Jewish Telegraph*, 1990b: 12). Other events include those that take place in response to times of sorrow, and of which the largest in recent years occurred following the death of Rabbi Segal, the former head of Manchester Yeshivah. According to the *Jewish Telegraph* (1993: 1 and 10), around five thousand people packed the streets of Broughton Park for the funeral, including some who had arrived on specially chartered planes from the United States and Israel. The police cordoned off the funeral route from his home in Broom lane to the yeshivah on Seymour road, and there were public scenes of mourning. These two events further highlight the strength of the orthodox community, and its confidence in claiming space, at least on certain occasions. Furthermore, the arrival of Jews from across the world indicates how Broughton Park is connected to other parts of the orthodox diaspora.

Arguably the most dramatic incident - at least in the eyes of the local press - in which Jews have publicly displayed their orthodoxy took place outside a meeting in the Cultural Centre which was being addressed by the Chief Rabbi of Efrat, Shlomo Riskin. Under a front page headline of 'Police called as orthodox protesters disrupt meeting: rabbi branded 'wicked heretic'', the *Jewish Telegraph* reported how a crowd of people had demonstrated against Riskin:

> 'Police reinforcements were called in as protesters screamed catcalls, banged dustbin lids and blew the shofar [ram's horn] when Rabbi Chaim Farro introduced the proceedings and Rabbi Riskin spoke. About 80 protesters, mainly believed to be members of Horidenka's kollel in Waterpark road, carried banners in Hebrew and English proclaiming Rabbi Riskin a "wicked heretic who denies the Torah of Moses."' (Jewish Telegraph, 1995a: 1)

On page three, the *Telegraph* explained how Riskin had aroused 'ultra-Orthodox ire' by arguing, in an article in the *Jerusalem Post*, that, although Moses was the greatest prophet, as a politician he had many weaknesses and died believing himself a failure. This criticism of Moses had invoked religious anger from those who believe that he was above personal failings, hence the branding of Riskin as a 'heretic'. On page four, the editorial spoke of how 'the ayatollahs would have been proud' of the 'mob violence', and on page eighteen, under the heading 'The day Manchester's ultra-Orthodox rioted', the paper published a letter written by the 'doyen' of Manchester Jewry, Sir Sidney Hamburger[11], which was highly critical of the protesters:

> 'Let me say that after nearly sixty years in public life never have I felt so ashamed of my fellow Jews or seen such scenes of violent hostilities ... People trying to enter the building were jostled, the corridors in the Centre were full of wild, rowdy, screaming, black hatted members of the Orthodox community. They were physically aggressive, forced doors open and behaved more like a lot of drunken louts at closing time than students or examples of traditional Judaism.' (*Jewish Telegraph*, 1995a: 18)

In one of several follow up stories, the paper included the news that four children had been expelled from the Talmud Torah Chinuch N'orim school because their parents had attended the Riskin talk. Apparently they were expelled because the headmaster of the school believed that the children of parents who had heard the 'heretic' might influence the values of other youngsters and, 'like children with lice, have to be sent home so as not to infect the other children' (*Jewish Telegraph*, 1995b: 1). In the following weeks, the *Telegraph* also quoted from a variety of other letters on what was termed 'the Rabbi Riskin affair', some of which were in a vein similar to that of Sidney Hamburger, while others argued that the use of the term 'riot' was out of all proportion to what was merely a limited, though noisy, demonstration carried out by a tiny minority of the orthodox community.

The reporting of the 'Riskin affair' needs to be seen in the light of underlying tensions between middle-of-the-road and orthodox Jewry (see chapters one and two), as well as in relation to how terms such as 'riot' grab people's attentions and obviously help newspaper sales. Furthermore, reading through back copies of the *Jewish Telegraph* the incident certainly stands out, with very few similar events being reported. Indeed, one of the few comparable incidents was reported in September, 1998, and involved people arriving at a memorial service being handed out leaflets urging them not to attend. The paper reported (*Jewish Telegraph*, 1998b: 1 and 27) how protesters objected to the principal of the Jewish Grammar School, with a spokesman for the protesters arguing that: 'For many years attempts have been made to convince the principal of the Jewish Grammar School to refrain from teaching subjects which are clearly not allowed by the Shulhan Arukh as ruled upon by Rav Shach and other leading authorities.' What this and the 'Riskin affair' clearly indicate is a religious intolerance to those whose views are considered different. Nonetheless, there is danger of inflating the incident, and of using it to label (and exoticise) Broughton Park in a way that is misleading to the wide spectrum of orthodox residents.

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[11] Note the recent biography of Sir Sidney Hamburger (Williams, 1999).

Summary

From home life to education, to work to the interactions of community, it is clear that the life practices of the orthodox residents of Broughton Park are inextricably tied to understandings of Judaism. As chapter seven discussed, understanding orthodoxy requires a recognition of the (implicit and explicit) senses of idealism and difference, which, as I have explained here, underpin the everyday practices and 'normalities' of life in Broughton Park. For some orthodox residents, daily life largely takes place within the confines of a very few streets in the local area, while for others social interactions (usually at work) with 'outsiders' are necessarily much more common. Nevertheless, all of the orthodox residents operated some form of social and spatial boundaries so as to protect identity and to resist the 'outside' world (although specific practices of resistance differ according to individual and group outlooks and ideologies). The construction of these boundaries tie into, and reinforce, orthodox senses of difference, as seen through communal interactions, which are often based on a celebration or a coming together of the 'same'. These formal and informal interactions are also interwoven with the exclusion of those considered 'other', who are isolated (or who isolate themselves) from the various communal organisations and events. In particular, inclusionary and exclusionary identities are often tied up with explicitly spatial practises, especially in terms of the 'claiming of space' and the 'making of place'. Communal practices such as the public celebrations of Purim, or the 'riot' outside the Community Centre, relate to a politics of space and place, and to the ways in which Broughton Park is seen, and claimed, as a Jewish place. It is this theme which also directly underpins the final chapter of this thesis, which begins by exploring the controversies over the possible construction of a Manchester communal eruv.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS: BOUNDING ORTHODOXY

Introduction

In the first half of the thesis, I provided four contextual 'cuts' into understanding contemporary British orthodoxy: historical geographies of orthodoxy as set within the context of World- and Anglo-Jewry; reviews of academic literature on British Jewry and on orthodoxy; a theoretical framework centred on the concepts of identity, space and boundaries; and an analysis of institutionalised space and spatial practice as detailed in the sacred text of the Talmud. Chapter five described the methodologies and methods used to obtain the material on Broughton Park, introducing the second half of the thesis, which incorporated understandings of material spaces, imaginations of place and community, and the spatial practices of orthodox life. This final chapter brings together these theoretical, methodological and empirical conceptualisations of orthodoxy, providing a framework for understanding contemporary orthodoxy, especially as practised in Broughton Park, Manchester.

In the first section of the chapter I provide a final empirical piece to the thesis, discussing the proposals to construct a communal eruv to surround Broughton Park (and possibly large parts of the rest of north Manchester), thus allowing carrying within this space on the Sabbath. This section directly builds on the (halachic and social) discussions of eruvin in chapter four, and also provides me with a conceptual vehicle for weaving together notions of material space, imagined space and spatial practice; concepts largely kept separate in chapters six to eight. In addition, the eruv provides a lens into the continued importance of sacred Jewish texts, orthodox identities, imaginations of community and processes of hybridisation. In the second part of the chapter I discuss these themes in more detail, drawing together materials included throughout the thesis into an overall framework - based on the theoretical foundations discussed in chapter three - for understanding orthodoxy in

contemporary Britain. In the third part, I provide some thoughts on how the materials included within the thesis challenge some of the value-judgements implicit in a number of post-positivist theories concerning identity and space, drawing upon and developing (geographical) critiques of hybridity as always a force of resistance, and boundaries as necessarily reactionary and aligned with powers of domination. There is not an either/or between processes of hybridity and the construction of boundaries, but rather both, in the case of orthodoxy at least, take place concomitantly. While simplistic notions of a Same hermetically sealed from the Other must be abandoned (hybridity is always taking place), the recognition of particular people's grounded attempts to bound, stabilise and institutionalise their identities and spaces (and thus 'slow down' processes of hybridisation) is also required. Finally, I offer some concluding comments on how (post-positivist) theoretically informed geographies can help make sense of religion and religious groupings.

Constructing an Eruv in Manchester

> Joshua Vogel: 'The eruv is a good example of the straddling of the various sectors of the community. Whereas kashrus is perhaps something which can be kept within the family, an eruv by definition is [centred] on the town as a whole. On the extreme right, on the extreme left, on the shabbas observant, and even those who are not shabbas observant are concerned about the eruv and its impact, and the visions they have of re-creating, you know, Colditz in Manchester, or Auschwitz, even, in Manchester. So I think this is a sensitive area ... [it's] something which needs consensus, and I think that's one of the reasons why it hasn't been so successful in this community.'

Joshua Vogel (who works for the Beth Din) spoke of how the scheme to construct a communal Manchester eruv had been proposed some ten years ago as a way of improving the lives of people who are shabbas observant, particularly the elderly,

infirm and those with young children[1]. The eruv is designed to ease the restrictions of such people who may otherwise feel trapped by the (spatial) rules of Sabbath; as Rabbi Soloman explained, 'people shouldn't have to resent shabbas.' There are a number of proposed schemes suggested by the dayanim of the Manchester Beth Din, including: an eruv incorporating just Broughton Park; several independent eruvin to surround the various Jewish areas in both north and south Manchester; or, most likely, an eruv bounding several square kilometres of north Manchester (including the whole of Broughton Park, Prestwich and a number of entirely non-Jewish areas) and perhaps using the M62, the River Irwell and the Metrolink tram system as boundaries[2]. When the scheme was initially suggested, the proposals raised concerns mainly from secular Jews who, similar to the situation in Barnet (see chapter four), objected to an eruv on the grounds that it would turn Broughton Park into a ghetto reminiscent of those 'forced' upon Jews in the Holocaust. As such, both Joshua Vogel and Jacob Friedman (who is also involved with the possible construction of the eruv) argued that Manchester's attempts to construct the device were going to be handled differently; a minimum of publicity so that once built it would become a *fait accompli*. Despite their wishes, however, the eruv proposals have attracted attention through the reporting of the *Jewish Telegraph* (although the paper has been largely supportive). Under its front page headline 'Where is our eruv?', the paper reports criticisms of the Manchester dayanim aired at a recent Synagogue Council meeting, suggesting that it is the religious right, rather than non-orthodox Jews or non-Jews, who are blocking attempts at construction (Wachmann, 1999: 1). From the basis of my interviews, this is undoubtedly the case:

> Edward Cohen: 'I think that a lot of people don't want it because they are worried about the sanctity of the day, because they've never had it [the eruv] before. We've never had it, what would it be? You'd get a woman pushing a pram on shabbas, there's nothing wrong with that as long as she doesn't go in the park and make a groove in the grass, or the child

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[1] Note that Broughton Park already has a number of smaller eruvin delineating many of the *cul-de-sacs* in the area (see chapter six), but these are of a much smaller scale and do not require the same levels of construction (or symbolic renting) as would the large urban eruv that the Manchester Beth Din (who are responsible for organising the scheme) are proposing to construct (see chapter four).

[2] The use of such pre-existing boundaries would make construction easier by not requiring as many new tzuros ha'pesach to be erected (see chapter four).

sitting in the park having a drink, and water spills on the grass which helps it to grow on shabbas, and drops bread down when you're feeding the birds on shabbas. There's that side, then the children come to shul creating complete havoc in shul as they do if you've been to Israel. Then there's the side that people generally don't understand what you can carry, you see there'd be people that are not orthodox that'd maybe carry a wallet with money on shabbas.'

William Weiss: 'There have been pressures put on by the very right wing not to do it. The feeling on their part is if there was an eruv there'd be too much intermingling of the sexes, because during the week there's no time to go socialising, where as if there was an eruv people would go and mix.'

The religious right have two principal fears about the eruv. Firstly, they fear the social consequences of easing Sabbath restrictions so that by allowing people the freedom to move with fewer social and spatial constraints, the sanctity of the day is diminished and infractions of Jewish law encouraged (due to, for example, increased social mixing between males and females). Secondly, they have concerns about the (Jewish) legalistic standards of the eruv, reflecting the enormous difficulties of applying ancient concepts to a contemporary urban conurbation of several million people (as detailed in chapter four). As such, Mr. Bernstein doubted the ability of the Beth Din successfully to construct the eruv to a suitable standard:

I : 'So would, would you trust the Beth Din to produce something that was halachically valid, would that be the problem?'

Mr. Bernstein : 'No, it's not a question of not trusting them, they [pause], it's just a question of whether they can trust themselves. If you do undertake to do it, you might genuinely think you can manage and you cannot. We don't doubt their intentions, we doubt their ability to carry them forward.'

As discussed in chapter six, the institution of the Beth Din is not always regarded with the highest of respect by those on the right. Thus, while many in the community will only accept Machzikei Hadass standards of kashrus (because they believe MH products are checked to a higher standard than the Beth Din), any eruv project would doubtless raise similar concerns. Joshua Vogel insisted, however, that the eruv would be constructed with the assistance of an international expert who would ensure its validity:

> Joshua Vogel : 'It's got to be right, it's not something like kashrus where we can say we're aiming for 100 percent of the community and we can adopt a standard to meet their needs as long as it's a recognisable standard. This is something if we're doing it, it's got to be right, it's got to be correct ... there's no point putting up an eruv in Manchester, for the Orthodox Jews of Broughton Park, where another 10% of the community see the eruv as trefah and you mustn't carry, and, you know, we're getting stones thrown at people who are wheeling out their prams on shabbas. There's no point re-creating Mea Shearim [an extremely orthodox neighbourhood of Jerusalem].'

Despite Joshua Vogel's assurances, the discussions in chapter four demonstrate how constructing such an eruv which is one hundred percent acceptable to all is probably an impossibility; there will inevitably be some who refuse to carry. Indeed, Mr. Bernstein spoke about how he, and others with similar viewpoints, would actively campaign against any attempts to construct such a device: both because of its legalistic questionability, but also the fear that children (who are once again mobilised in debates over community standards) would grow up without being fully aware of the prohibition of carrying, and may thus unintentionally break Jewish law once they leave the 'protection' of the eruv area.

According to Rabbi Soloman, the concept of eruvin is 'the unity of the community, the assumption that the whole of the community is one person, one thing owned by the community.' Nevertheless, the above discussions indicate that the community is anything but united. Despite the idealised claims of place and community discussed

in chapter seven (see also below), in matters regarding spatial alterations to the landscape, internal fractures are revealed. Moreover, despite the desire by certain sections of the community to construct the eruv, most of my interviewees actually professed little interest in the scheme, arguing that it was of minor importance to their daily lives:

> Ruth Levy: 'I myself aren't for it or against it, I couldn't care less. I've been brought up not to carry and that's all there is to it, and I think even if there was one I don't think I'd use it ... so you don't go out with your baby, what's the grand thing to go round the corner with her? I think it would be good if there was a diversion, or if you were making a bar-mitzvah and you need to use your neighbour's cooker or oven or whatever, so that would be lovely, but more than that I can't see the grand advantage of it.'

> Rabbi Wolff: 'We're not going to fight for it, that's for sure. If it is, it is - if it isn't, leave it. We're still in *golus* [exile] after all.'

In chapters six, seven and eight I sought (for conceptual purposes) to separate notions of material space, imagined space and spatial practice, but the proposed eruv in Manchester neatly highlights the inter-dependence of these three concepts.

The eruv, if constructed, would clearly have a *material* presence, being made up of posts and wires, probably in combination with pre-existing material features such as the local river, tramline and motorway. The eruv would also act to bound and to delineate a precise parcel of material space which would be mapped, recorded and made known to local Jewish residents (to ensure they do not carry items beyond its boundaries). Moreover, any posts and wires wanting to be erected, requires planning permission from the local council who have the final decision on construction.

The eruv also indicates the importance of *imagined* space. The material constructions of eruvin are virtually indistinguishable from surrounding posts and

wires, and it is doubtful whether the uninitiated would be able to identify their limits or even be aware of their existence[3]. As such, the power of eruvin to influence people principally comes from the imaginations of what they represent (Cooper, 1996).

For many religious Orthodox Jews, eruvin represent an extension of private space, the creation of a locality in which they can carry (certain) items, take their children out in prams, allow the infirm to use their wheel chairs or walking sticks and otherwise to minimise many religious restrictions. Eruvin are thus imagined in positive ways, as mechanisms which ease certain lifestyle restrictions. Nonetheless, the organisers of the scheme are also attempting to construct the eruv with a minimum of publicity, hoping that its importance in the imaginations of those to the left of the community (including secular Jews and non-Jews) will be downplayed, thus producing less opposition.

By contrast, those on the right of the Jewish community view the ability of the eruv to breakdown (conceptual) boundaries between private and public, sacred and profane, week-day and Sabbath as threatening. Despite being mechanisms detailed (and thus enshrined) in the sacred text of the Talmud, the very principle of eruvin (whether tashilin, techumin or chatzeiros) is to '*mingle*' different categories, and this threatens the regulation and ordering of society. Hybridity, which the eruv in effect achieves by 'mingling' time and/or space, is potentially threatening to constructions of (institutionalised) community (Douglas, 1966: see chapter three). If Sabbath regulations are diminished, what will be next? *Temporal divisions* between (sacred) Sabbath and (profane) week-days are (paradoxically) destabilised and diluted through the construction of the *spatial boundaries* of eruvin. While the Talmudic concept of eruvin cannot be criticised by those on the right – to do so would be to argue against the divine status of the Oral Law –the relaxation of rules and regulations governing orthodoxy is certainly not welcomed, hence the resistance to its construction.

For secular Jews and non-Jews, the eruv may be seen as the creation of a Jewish fundamentalist space, a return to ghetto and shtetl times in which Jews separate from

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[3] Despite passing the small *cul-de-sac* eruvin of Broughton numerous times, I was unaware of their

mainstream society and deliberately mark themselves (and are marked by others) as different and 'other'. Such concerns are arguably a key feature in the identities of Anglo- (and World-) Jewry (Cooper and Morrison, 1991), particularly in the aftermath of the Holocaust in which the 'otherness' of Jews had such horrific consequences, and present-day concerns about ultra-Orthodox fundamentalism, especially in Israel. The transferral of religion from the private to the public realm – through the material construction of the eruv – is, for some, uncomfortable and potentially dangerous in terms of heightening Jewish presence and thus encouraging anti-Semitism (Cooper, 1996). Anglo-Jewry has traditionally sought to downplay its presence in the eyes of the wider population, but the desire to surround localities with poles and wires so as to reclassify space (and through the publicity this attracts) arguably brings the 'otherness' of Jews to centre-stage (see chapter four).

Finally, the eruv also involves *spatial practice* in that the perimeters must be checked by designated individuals who can report on its condition, and the device also requires continual maintenance through the replacement of damaged posts and wires. Moreover, the entire function of the eruv is to permit specific spatial practices which would otherwise be prohibited on the Sabbath, by allowing carrying to take place within its boundaries.

Material space, imagined space and spatial practices are thoroughly interwoven, with changes to one aspect potentially having major influences on the others. For example, vandalism to the material posts and wires would affect the spatial practices of observant Orthodox Jews living in the area (by preventing carrying), threatening, furthermore, residents' imaginations of living in a safe *Jewish* space. Similarly, the material presence of the eruv may encourage more shabbas observant Jews to settle within its boundaries (who imagine it as a place in which they can more easily practise their religion). Such Jews are likely to build more schools, synagogues, yeshivot and other 'bricks and mortar' communal institutions, thus further reinforcing imaginations of Jewish space. In Barnet, for example, there is already speculation of a property boom, with estate agents using the eruv as a selling point for potential Jewish clients (Clark, 1999).

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presence until I was told of their location.

The eruv is potentially a key locus for struggles over space and identity, the politics of 'in place/out of place', 'insider' and 'outsider'. More secular opponents often see the device in terms of the re-creation of a ghetto, and the attempt by fundamentalist Jews to construct 'their' (material and imagined) space at the expense of 'ours'. By contrast, proponents seek to minimise the political potential of the scheme, chiefly by stressing the material benefits (improving the quality of life for otherwise disadvantaged Jews such as the elderly and disabled), or else arguing the device is 'merely', or rather should be seen by those who are not observant Orthodox Jews, as the collection of a few posts and wires. Alternatively, as in the case of Manchester, the religious authorities are attempting to construct it with a minimum of fuss so that its power to raise intra-and inter-communal tensions is dampened down. In the politics of construction, there is political capital in controlling imaginations of space. One reason why the Beth Din prefers the option of an eruv incorporating large parts of north Manchester is that this, they believe, mitigates charges of creating a ghetto: according to Jacob Friedman, the Beth Din can hardly be accused of creating a ghetto if the majority of people that would be incorporated within its boundaries are not even Jewish.

The interweavings of the different conceptions of space does not just apply to eruvin, but also to the empirical materials included throughout chapters six to eight (and indeed in the rest of the thesis). I discuss these materials in the following section, but the Manchester eruv also casts light on a number of other key themes that are worth mentioning (and to which I will also return). Firstly, the eruv provides an example of the continued importance of ancient sacred Jewish texts in institutionalising everyday practices (as well as the difficulties of applying these within (post)modern contexts). Secondly, it provides a lens on residents' identities: on the one hand, it indicates the growing confidence of the Jewish community of Broughton Park (in that it is willing to propose such a scheme and take it to the local council for planning permission); on the other hand, there are those who consider its potential construction as inappropriate considering that Jews are still a diasporic people in 'golus'. Thirdly, it highlights imaginations of (Jewish) community through the desire to bound communal space, but also indicates the fractures within this ideal via the various

objections (especially from the orthodox right). Finally, it shows the importance of interactions (and hybridisations) with 'outside' society. Without the presence of non-bservant Jews or non-Jews, problems of construction would be minimal. The symbolic merging of communal space involves different procedures depending on whether or not 'others' are present: if non observant Jews or gentiles are present then the area enclosed by the eruv must be symbolically rented from the authorities, otherwise only the collection of bread (or matzah) is required (see chapter four). Moreover, the eruv is itself a mechanism explicitly designed to hybridise time and space through the 'mingling' of different categories. The eruv permits spatial practices that would otherwise be prohibited on the Sabbath (such as 'carrying' a wheelchair), but other activities which are permitted on week-days (such as carrying money) remain forbidden.

Re-Thinking Orthodoxy: Understanding the practice of orthodox life

This thesis rests on theoretical foundations concerning space, identity and attempts to construct socio-spatial boundaries. In chapter three I explained these concepts, arguing that, contra 'traditional' social research (see chapter two), understanding orthodoxy requires a recognition of how identities and spaces are not fixed or monolithic, but rather are hybrid, mobile, contested and formed through relations to 'others'. Even so, I also argued for a continuing recognition of people's own situated attempts to *fix*, *stabilise* and *institutionalise* identities and spaces. This section uses these theoretical lenses to draw together the materials included throughout this thesis into an overall framework for understanding orthodoxy.

Chapter one introduced the historical geographies of Judaism, and, while primarily serving to situate the rest of the thesis, it also demonstrated the importance of processes of, and resistances to, hybridisation. For example, ancient Judaism was greatly influenced by Egyptian, Greek and Roman thought (the great Second Temple was, after all, built by Herod, a hybrid Roman-Jew), but there were also counter-forces, whether the rebellions of the Hasmoneans, the great post-Temple schools established in Palestine and Babylon, or the continuance of Jewish ways of life in the ghettos and shtetls of Christian dominated Europe. Such hybridisations and

resistances (themselves structured, of course, by wider forces such as colonialism) reflected complex interweavings of 'choice' and 'constraint': while Medieval ghetto life was enforced by papal decree, these exclusionary geographies were also 'chosen' by Jews in that they offered spaces beyond the disciplinary gaze of 'outside' authorities.

Contemporary Judaism has similarly developed in response to, and in reaction against, forces of hybridisation. While Progressive Jews sought to accommodate (at least in part) the 'advances' of the Enlightenment, Orthodox Jews rejected the 'corrupting' influences of modernity which threatened traditional ways of life. Even so, both branches of Judaism clearly show the mark of the Other: ultra-Orthodoxy (arguably the least hybrid of the different branches) simply cannot be understood outside of the forces of mass migration, secularism and the Holocaust which have shaped and determined its current forms.

Chapter two, along with introducing academic studies on contemporary Anglo-Jewry, detailed how research on orthodoxy has typically adopted one (or more) of four inter-related emphases: on social structure and systems of authority; on key institutions; on community and communal events; or on construction of boundaries and interactions with others. These studies almost entirely concentrate on the differences between orthodoxy and 'outside' society, whether through style of dress, allegiances to religious leaders or insular education systems (an approach which frequently serves to exoticise: see chapter five). Nonetheless, while the construction of such bounded and institutionalised ways of life is a crucial feature of orthodoxy, the theoretical discussions of chapter three make it clear that such boundaries are rarely, if ever, so neat and all-encompassing. In this way, the divisions within orthodoxy such as the rivalries between, and within, different Hasidic sects, or between the Mitnagdism and the Hasidism deny simplistic bounded conceptions of 'them' as a homogenous community (see also below). Orthodoxy is fractured along numerous lines, and it is only in reaction to the dangers of secularism and assimilation that elements have coalesced (although only partially). Moreover, contemporary orthodoxy is also dependent on 'outside' society. Through, for example, the technologies of modern health-care; the food stamps, rental assistance

and Medicaid provided by the New York authorities in Williamsburg; the cars which orthodox Jews drive; and even the electricity, gas and water needed to run Jewish homes, it is simply not possible to conceptualise orthodoxy in its present form without a recognition of the influences of the outside world.

In chapter four I examined the institutionalisation of space detailed in the sacred text of the Talmud, drawing out how ancient Jewish life was spatially (and socially) highly structured and ordered. Through the requirements of, for example, Temple rituals, the ordering of communities and the control of space on the Sabbath, ancient Judaism sought to regulate every aspect of life (from food to sex, dress to washing) and thus ensure continued divine support. While Talmudic analysis can help reconstruct ancient ways of life (c.f. Wheatley, 1971), it also provides a central foundation for understanding contemporary orthodoxy. For present-day orthodox Jews, the Talmud (in combination with other sacred texts) provides the 'road-map' through which life is ordered and regulated: an institutionalisation of individual and communal beliefs and practices. Yet there are also problems within this system that require recognition, whether the difficulties that the ancient sages had in separating men and women during the festival of water-libation, or the complexities of applying Talmudic concepts to contemporary settings, as in the case of the Barnet and Manchester eruvin.

In chapter five I introduced the primary methodologies and methods of the project, doing so through an appreciation of researchers' situated and contingent identities. We, as academics, are not somehow outside of discourses of identity and space, and hence it is indeed appropriate to consider the importance of reflexivity and positionality (thus helping to make research more ethically sensitive). While identities and spaces are never fixed, stable or monolithic (despite attempts to the contrary), so too are the results and findings of academic research never closed or all-encompassing: social research is always partial and positioned. In my research, the materials I discuss are positioned in a number of ways including my status as both insider/outsider (as someone who is Jewish but not orthodox), my (political) desire to counter mis-understandings of 'them' and, not least, my role as an academic geographer.

Chapter six examined the material spaces of Broughton Park, drawing out both the high concentrations of Jewish people and the large number of 'bricks and mortar' religious institutions. There are fairly sharp divisions between 'Jewish' and 'non-Jewish' streets, seen most clearly at the Wellington Street/Cardiff Street boundary and at Leicester Road/George Street. Despite the high concentrations, however, there is still a non-Jewish presence in Broughton Park, as well as non-orthodox Jews who, as discussed in chapters seven and eight, have a sometimes uneasy relationship with the religious community. While the material space of Broughton Park does indicate a strongly Jewish area, the presence of, and interactions with, 'others' does indicate that it is also not entirely pure or non-hybrid either.

In chapter seven I discussed how the material landscape of Broughton Park influences orthodox residents' imaginations of space, and, in particular, conceptions of an (idealised) *Jewish* place. These imaginations are interwoven with beliefs of orthodoxy as righteous and moral, and constructed against/through perceptions of non-orthodox 'others' who are (in admittedly complex and contingent ways) frequently (perceived to be) associated with crime, decadence and immorality. Such imaginations indicate the importance of the 'other' in the identities of the 'same', hence the effects of processes of hybridisation. These imaginations feed into (and reinforce) a politics of 'in place/out of place', and the desires of some to create an exclusionary Jewish space. Even so, despite imaginations of an orthodox 'same', there are also recognitions of community fractures, and of how Broughton Park is fragmented along lines of religiosity and according to the particular sects to which individuals belong. Orthodoxy in Broughton Park is far from homogenous, with divisions between Hasids and non-Hasids and according to which synagogue people attend (and even the particular schools of their children). These differences act in combination with other, often unspoken, ('internal' and 'external') lines of difference such as the patriarchal structures that govern contemporary orthodoxy (see chapter two and below), and the middle-class ideals of many residents which contribute to, and reinforce, imaginations of an (impure) 'them' to be contrasted with a (pure) 'us'.

Chapter eight examined daily life practices, demonstrating how orthodox residents try to live their lives according to the codes and ideals laid down in sacred texts (and as interpreted by religious leaders). Through home, work, consumption and communal activities, the attempt here is to create an 'orthocentric' environment where, in particular, children can be protected from the supposed immorality of the 'outside' world. Processes of hybridisation via interactions and accommodations with 'outsiders' are once again ever present, whether, for example, William Weiss having to shake hands with female clients, shopping at the twenty-four hour Tesco's or buying fast-food from the 'Kosher Nosher' van. Such hybridisations are not uniformly experienced, and there is a continuum between those with a great deal of contact with 'outsiders' and those whose lives are more insulated. The orthodox residents who I interviewed, all spoke of erecting at least some social/spatial boundaries to resist the 'excesses' of the 'outside' world, though, and thus acknowledged the role of such boundaries in permitting them to practise their lives in a (righteous) orthodox way. Through this the 'stubborn chunks' of identity can be protected and maintained (see below).

Overall, the theoretical and empirical materials contained within this thesis deny those older geographic (and sociological) understandings of 'ethnicity' and religion which conceptualised people within bounded, static and homogenous groups. While not altogether abandoning or cartoonising notions such as 'choice' and 'constraint', or spatial scientific understandings of (relative) space, the recognition that Same and Other are never pure must be a crucial aspect in researching geographies of Jewry. Post-positivist theories can be used to challenge simplistic understandings of 'them' and 'us', making sense of the identities, material spaces, imagined spaces and spatial practices through which, in particular, orthodox Jews practise and understand their lives. Contemporary orthodoxy, and indeed Jewry more generally, *is* a hybrid construction, constituted out of different 'ingredients' which sometimes coalesce and, at other times, fragment. Nevertheless, while orthodoxy is a complex continuum of beliefs and characteristics, this should not deny the continual attempts being made by particular people in particular places to resist the forces of hybridisation (and uncertainty), and thus to stabilise, institutionalise and demarcate identities and

spaces. Through the construction of social/spatial boundaries, the 'other', it is hoped, can be resisted (while, concomitantly, the 'same' is constructed and defended).

Re-Thinking Theory: The politics of post-positivism

'Positivist geography placed a premium on neutrality. Spatial science was supposed to be an 'innocent science' whose findings were neither contaminated by prejudice nor motivated by partisan interests ... [but] critical human geography *from the very start* insists that its inquiries are deeply political ... claims to knowledge are always implicated in claims about power.' (Barnes and Duncan, 1997: 7-8)

A number of the key post-positivist thinkers who I have invoked in this thesis - such as Bhabha, Gilroy, Hall and Massey - stress the fluidity and contingent nature of identities and spaces, theoretical conceptions which I have used to explain contemporary orthodoxy and to counter older geographical (and sociological) understandings of religious and 'ethnic' groupings. Nonetheless, while recognising the value of post-positivist claims to interrogate understandings of identity and space, I have, through the writings of geographers such as Pratt (1999), Smith (1993, 1995) and Wheatley (1971), also emphasised grounded attempts to 'slow down', stabilise and institutionalise these same processes. While Bhabha, Gilroy, Hall and Massey no doubt also recognise such attempts, the bounding and institutionalising of identities and spaces are typically theorised as being defensive, reactionary and over-idealistic. These authors stress the *political* potential of interlinkages, hybridisations, Third spaces and the 'in-betweeness' of identities and spaces. By breaking down boundaries and binaries (which can never be pure or complete anyway), forces of domination can be resisted. In this way, Hall (1990: see chapter three) uses the term 'diaspora' to celebrate heterogeneity and diversity, which he directly contrasts with traditional 'imperialist' and 'hegemonic' Jewish understandings of the term emphasising essence and purity at the expense of 'others'. Such theoretical value-judgements are, nonetheless, more politically complex than these authors arguably give credit.

In Rose's (1997a: see chapter three) conceptualisation of radical ('inoperative') community, boundaries are purposely left undrawn. 'Insider' and 'outsider' are never defined (except when strategically appealing for funding), so that the participants resist the binary of powerful/powerless. Nonetheless, as Pratt (1999) and Smith (1993, 1995) show, boundary marking can also be an important element of resistance. For Smith (1993, 1995), such boundaries are communal ones marked out in the annual 'ridings' around burgh borders in Scotland. Pratt (1999) discusses more personal boundaries, involving Filipino domestic workers attempts to carve out individual identities and spaces within the homes of their employers. Creating a 'piece of home' (by, for example, arranging their bedrooms to the style of their choosing) is an important tactic for surviving life in a strange place (thus paralleling, and drawing upon, bell hooks (1991) discussions of the home as a site of resistance from a racist and sexist 'outside' world). While simplistic theoretical conceptions of boundaries must be abandoned - homes, for example, may also be places of fear and violence as well as safety (see WGSG, 1997) - attempts to stabilise and defend identities and spaces should not be forgotten.

To return to Gomez-Peña's metaphor of the 'stubborn chunks' of identity (see chapter three), understanding orthodoxy requires an appreciation of not only the fluidities and cultural interactions that necessarily take place, but also how these Jews seek to resist the forces of hybridisation in the heat of a (globalising) 'menudo chowder'. While the fractured and contingent nature of these chunks requires recognition, at the same time post-positivist theories which stress movement, mobility and hybridity at the expense of boundaries and institutionalisation may do damage to the struggles of particular people (in particular places) to define 'who they are'. Simplistic conceptions of hybridity or boundaries as either 'good' or 'bad' need to be scrambled (Mitchell, 1997; Pratt, 1999; Young, 1995): domination and resistance are interwoven (Sharp *et al*, 2000) so that, for example, the marginalised may also oppress (Smith, 1993, 1995, 1999).

My attitude towards orthodoxy as practised in Broughton Park is one of ambivalence. On the one hand, I consider the attitudes of many orthodox Jews to be patriarchal, homophobic and bordering on racist. The presence of rigid social and spatial

categories 'fixes' people into particular positions depending on their birth, in terms of religion (particularly halachic status), gender and family background (such as a person's yichus: see chapter two). From my liberal perspective, such a positioning is disturbing in that it downplays and institutionalises intra-communal differences, and reinforces boundaries between 'them' and 'us', 'insider' and 'outsider'. On the other hand, though, orthodox Jews have a remarkable system of self-help and communal support in which the needs of one are the responsibility of all. Despite communal fractures, in times of need the community undoubtedly does cohere and aid those who have fallen on hard times. Such self-help is undoubtedly exclusionary (those who are non-orthodox are, for example, almost certain to be left out of the loop: although note the example of the Tasher first-aiders helping the Hell's Angels), but this should not deny its importance and value to large numbers of people. Moreover, I have much sympathy for orthodox Jews seeking to resist global homogeneity so that, just I would argue against modernist discourses seeking to assimilate Gypsies into the 'normality' of Western ways, so too do I value the 'difference' of orthodoxy. Orthodoxy may not be to my particular choosing, but that does not mean I immediately reject those whose religious beliefs emphasise 'essence' or 'purity'.

The materials in this thesis serve to unlock the characteristics of contemporary orthodoxy as practised in Broughton Park, contributing, furthermore, to a re-appraisal of traditional geographies of Jewry and of religion more generally. Nonetheless, the theoretical and empirical materials discussed so far have also sought to scramble (though certainly not abandon) many of the dominant post-positivist conceptions concerning identity and space. In the following section I extend this critique to analyse Massey's (1997) discussions of a global sense of place, however before this I briefly raise two further ways in which the materials in this thesis might, in future research, usefully utilise, and contribute towards, current social and cultural geography concerns: firstly, feminist debates about public and private space; and secondly, the politics of identity.

In chapter four I outlined the Talmudic system for categorising space according to whether it is public, private, karmelis or exempt (see chapter four). This neat and bounded classificatory system was integrated into (and integral to) the social

hierarchy of ancient Judaism through which everyone was to know their place in society. This system was dependent on ethnic and religious classification (whether a person was Jewish or not), caste (priests and Levites were, for example, assigned a higher social and religious status than ordinary Israelites) and gender. These societal divisions were reflected in the geography of the great Second Temple, which was segmented according to the different categories of how people were defined. These rigid and ascriptive understandings of space and gender, which contemporary orthodox Jews are attempting to put into practice, clearly have resonances with feminist debates about public and private space. Feminists have discussed the associations of men with public space and women with private space, and while the complexities of such a dichotomy are well-known (WGSG, 1997; Landes, 1998), the materials in this thesis clearly demonstrate continuing attempts (although also resistances and 'gaps' within the system) to re-inscribe fixed places of men and women. Nonetheless, while the Talmudic system of space and society is certainly patriarchal, orthodox residents could also point out the impressive levels of self-help, and the network of family and community support. Such a system is arguably more progressive, than hegemonic liberalism which seemingly emphasises individualism at the expense of community (c.f. Hayden, 1997: see also El-Or, 1994; Kaufman, 1995; Morris, 1995).

A second area in which the materials in this thesis can be applied, and contribute towards, is current academic debates concerning identity politics. That the cultural is political has been a key concern of a number of geographers over the last decade, a recognition that 'meanings will be contested according to the interests of those involved' (Jackson, 1989: 4). Struggling against oppressive forces of, for example, patriarchy, homophobia and racism, geographers have sought to counter dominant discourses of 'normality' (see Keith and Pile, 1993). In this thesis I have discussed how space is often politicised, through, for example, the construction of eruvin and desires to create exclusionary spaces, showing how this is often inter-related to resistances against the 'outside' world and attempts to define identity. Nonetheless, one further way in which the claims of this thesis might be extended, is to consider more deeply the identity politics of Jewry, and indeed other religious groupings, more generally. For example, how does religion fit into ideas of the (seeming)

'normality' of Western secularism? What is the place of religion in a (post)modern world? How does the politics of religious identity threaten, or indeed contribute towards, hegemonic concepts of nation, state and democracy?

A global (Jewish) sense of place?

Broughton Park is a place of connections. There are residents from across Europe, America and the Middle-East; telephone conversations take place with friends and relatives throughout the world; people come to study in yeshivot from across Britain, and as far as Russia and America; and marriages are even occasionally arranged via the internet. For Massey (1997), such connections can perhaps help to foster a 'global sense of place' by abandoning parochial imaginations of bounded localities (as discussed in chapter four). Nonetheless, while accepting that space is constituted by connection, flux and motion, conceptualising Broughton Park as a global (Jewish) place is more problematic. Despite the interconnections, there are also clearly attempts at boundary construction, whether the activities of the Broughton Park Community Patrol, the desire to live in concentrated areas, the spatial limitations on children's spaces or indeed the proposed construction of a Manchester eruv. Through the construction of social and spatial boundaries, and the practice of a highly regulated and ordered lifestyle, many orthodox residents actively seek to 'slow down' and institutionalise the spaces within which they live.

In chapter seven I discussed how many orthodox residents view Broughton Park as a bounded place, a leafy middle-class 'island' surrounded by a sea of 'no-go' areas. This imagined space ties into the base geography of Broughton Park as surrounded by main roads, Singleton Brook and the more working-class areas beyond Wellington Street. While the boundaries around Massey's metropolitan home of Kilburn *are* perhaps difficult to define, delineating Broughton Park is arguably much easier. The base geography of the area, reinforced by the concentration of Jews, Jewish institutions and imaginations of a 'them' and 'us' undoubtedly foster bounded senses of Jewish place: Broughton Park as a 'special' place, a 'beautiful *ghetto*' where 'people are so good to each other'. To paraphrase Massey and Allen (1984), the (material and imagined) geography of Broughton Park matters. Broughton Park

is connected to other Jewish and non-Jewish places, and people can, and do, travel beyond its confines, but for many they can, after a session at Project Seed or a visit to relatives in Israel, return to the safety and 'warmth' of Broughton Park. While orthodox residents do not have a homogenous sense of the place of Broughton Park, conceptions of a bounded Jewish (and thus 'our') space are clearly identifiable. An academic appreciation of connections does not necessarily entail the abandonment, by particular situated people, of more enclosed senses of place. Moreover, such imaginations of space muddy simplistic value-judgements of reactionary versus progressive.

In Manchester, the proposed construction of a large communal eruv highlights how a number of Jews are actively seeking to create a (material and imagined) boundary around the place in which they live. As explained above, such a boundary can be conceptualised in both positive and negative ways: on the one hand it allows otherwise disadvantaged Jews to more freely practise their beliefs, but on the other it may contribute to already existing imaginations of exclusionary space. Conceptions of progressive or reactionary senses of place deny, at least in the case of the orthodox Jews with whom I am concerned, the complexities by which people seek to practise their lives and to understand 'who they are'.

Concluding Comments

> 'In recent years, religion has taken us unawares. The rise of the Moral Majority in America in the 1970s, the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, the growth of religious parties in Israel, the power of Catholicism in Poland, the strength of reaction to Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*: all of these were unexpected developments that ran wholly contrary to the thesis that modernity and secularisation went hand-in-hand and could almost be regarded as synonymous. Instead and against all prediction, religion has resurfaced in the public domain.' (Sacks, 1991: 1)

Orthodoxy in Broughton Park is flourishing. In the last twenty years large numbers of orthodox Jews have chosen to settle in the area, family sizes are large, the number of religious institutions is increasing, and the community can no longer be contained within the boundaries of Broughton Park. This vibrancy is evident in my interviews, wherein the Broughton Park community was frequently portrayed as a 'very great centre of orthodox yiddishkite' where there are 'zillions of kids'. These imaginations contrast with the overall Anglo-Jewish situation, with fears of a declining population associated with high rates of inter-marriage, and with the concerns, vocalised by the Chief Rabbi, over the very future of 'our' children and grandchildren. Orthodoxy is becoming an increasingly prominent section of Anglo-Jewry, and its importance looks set to continue. It has not been the intention of this thesis to speculate about future trends, but rather to set out a theoretical, methodological and empirical academic framework which can help to understand an aspect of Judaism about which so little is known (academically and socially), especially within the context of Britain.

This thesis took as its starting point those calls for more theoretically-informed cultural accounts of 'geographies of religion', aiming to develop an understanding of orthodoxy which used (and contributed towards) post-positivist conceptions of identity and space. These theoretical conceptions provided for me a key lens on life in Broughton Park, allowing an appreciation of how orthodox residents practise and make sense of their daily lives; understandings that can also help to decipher struggles to 'claim space, make place and assert identity' (Smith, 1995: 142). Life in Broughton Park may often be fairly sleepy, but imaginations of 'in place/out of place' are an ever-present feature. While the hope by some at least is that Broughton Park can indeed develop as a 'beautiful ghetto', this conception of space is one that is definitely orthodox (and thus exclusionary).

Taking seriously the theoretical conceptions of post-positivism offers new ways of writing geographies of Jewry. With ongoing debates in Israel about the future directions of Zionism, with seemingly increasing polarisations and antagonism between 'secular' and 'religious', and with diaspora Jewry re-thinking its relations with Israel and its future within a hybrid world, post-positivist geographies of

identity and space have a useful role in making sense of these issues. Moreover, with religion seemingly becoming increasingly prominent in (post)modern society, geographical accounts can play an important role in uncovering the life practices and understandings of such movements, countering, in ethically and politically informed ways, the often exoticised myths through which 'they' are too often understood.

APPENDIX

Table showing numbers and percentages of Jewish homes in Broughton Park

Street names	Jewish houses/ street	Total houses/ street	Percentage of Jewish houses
Acer Grove	0	4	0
Ainsdale Drive	15	20	75
Albert Avenue	39	177	22
Ashbourne Grove	38	40	95
Belcott Close	1	6	17
Bentley Road	26	26	100
Betula Grove	0	5	0
Bispham Grove	5	7	71
Blackfield Lane	0	7	0
Bradshaw Street North	0	17	0
Brantwood Road	23	24	96
Bristol Street	0	23	0
Brookside Drive	8	11	73
Broom Avenue	8	8	100
Broom Lane	57	67	95
Broomedge	3	37	8
Bury New Road	47	95	49
Bury Old Road	13	23	57
Cadogan Place	7	9	78
Cardiff Street	0	53	0
Cartherine Road	7	46	15
Castleton Road	18	20	90
Catlefield Avenue	10	12	83
Cavendish Road	61	95	64
Cheltenham Cresent	10	11	91
Clevelys Grove	10	16	63
Cliff Crescent	0	7	0
Clivia Grove	0	2	0
Coke Street	0	5	0
Cubley Road	8	8	100
Curzon Road	0	15	0
Eastleigh Avenue	6	6	100
Eccleston Place	17	17	100
Edilom Road	10	68	15
Eskrigge Close	1	11	9
Fort Road	9	21	43
Fraser Road	2	16	13
Gainsborough Street	0	40	0
George Street South	4	38	11
Granville Avenue	10	10	100
Hampshire Street	0	26	0
Hanover Gardens	15	15	100
Hardman Avenue	7	19	37
Harrogate Avenue	4	22	18
Healey Close	0	9	0
Heaton Street	0	43	0
Hilton Street North	1	39	3
Holden Road	9	15	60

Street names	Jewish houses/ street	Total houses/ street	Percentage of Jewish houses
Kersal Bank	0	3	0
Kersal Crag	17	21	81
King Street	0	19	0
King's Road	28	129	22
Kingston Close	12	12	100
Knightsbridge Close	3	36	8
Knoll Street	0	7	0
Legh Road	2	3	67
Legh Street	17	21	81
Leicester Avenue	7	25	28
Leicester Road	47	72	65
Limefield Road	6	13	46
Maclaren Drive	0	10	0
Mandley Park Avenue	4	4	100
Marston Road	15	18	83
Mather Avenue	0	4	0
Mayfield Road	5	48	10
Mayfield Road	6	49	12
Melton Road	5	54	9
Merrybower Road	19	19	100
Mildred Avenue	1	6	17
Moor End Avenue	1	6	17
Moorside Road	9	27	33
Mowbray Avenue	5	16	31
Moxley Road	1	36	3
Neville Road	6	66	9
New Hall Avenue	17	18	94
New Hall Road	22	22	100
Norman Road	5	9	56
Northumberland Street	20	27	60
Norton Street	0	21	0
Oakham Mews	8	8	100
Oakwell Drive	6	7	86
Okeover Road	14	14	100
Old Hall Road	40	43	93
Park Avenue	0	7	0
Park Lane	12	15	80
Park Lane Avenue	2	2	100
Park Road	27	47	58
Park Street	7	12	58
Parkside Avenue	12	12	100
Pearl Avenue	4	4	100
Princess Avenue	4	22	18
Radford Street	3	6	50
Ralston Close	0	7	0
Richmond Avenue	21	64	33
Rigby Street	0	60	0
Roston Road	19	23	83
Rutland Drive	7	7	100
Saltire Gardens	4	22	18
Sedgeley Avenue	6	20	30
Singleton Close	4	4	100
Singleton Road	69	105	66
St. Asaphs Drive	0	19	0

Street names	Jewish houses/ street	Total houses/ street	Percentage of Jewish houses
St. Brelades Drive	1	35	3
St. Martin's Drive	0	38	0
St. Paul's Road	1	19	5
Stanley Road	163	165	97
Symons Street	0	22	0
Tetlow Lane	5	20	25
Tetlow Lane	6	19	31
The Drive	0	15	0
Tully Street	5	17	29
Turner Street	1	41	3
Upper Park Road	42	49	86
Vernon Road	11	13	89
Vincent Street	0	35	0
Vine Street	7	10	70
Vine Street	4	23	17
Waterpark Road	66	69	96
Welbeck Grove	18	32	56
Wellington Street East	39	133	29
Westwood Avenue	10	10	100
Wilton Avenue	7	24	29
Wiltshire Street	0	55	0
Worthington Drive	4	6	46
York Avenue	2	22	9
Totals	1450	3534	

GLOSSARY OF JEWISH TERMS[1]

Achodesh Boruchu - God.

Adass Yisroel - Orthodox communal organisation.

Agudat Israel (or *Agudah*) - Political union, established as the voice of traditionalist *Orthodoxy*.

agunah - Problem of women unable to obtain a divorce because their husband refuses to grant them a *get*.

Aish Hatorah - *Yeshivah* in Jerusalem.

aliyah - Being called up to perform a *mitzvah* as part of the synagogue service. Also used when Jews emigrate to Israel.

amah (pl. *amos*) - A cubit, measures between 18 and 22.9 inches.

am ha'aretz - Ordinary Jews to whom the *Hasidism* sought to reach.

Amidah - Type of Jewish prayer, recited facing East.

Ashkenazi - Jews (originally) from Eastern Europe.

ba'alei teshuva - New converts to *ultra-Orthodoxy*.

Baal Shem Tov (or *Besht*) - The founder of *Hasidism*, Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer (c.1700-1760), known as the Master of the Good Name.

Baba Bathra - The last gate, Talmudic tract from the order *Neziqin*.

Balebatishe Yiden - House-owning Jews.

Bavli - Babylonian *Talmud*.

Belz - Hasidic sect originating from Galicia.

benchers - After-dinner prayer books.

Beth Din (or *Beis Din*) - Religious court.

Beth Hamidrash - Small prayer or study room within a synagogue or *shteible*.

Bikkur Cholim - *Satmar* network of associations caring for the needs of the ill.

bimah - Elevated platform from where synagogue services are conducted.

binah - Understanding.

Bobov - *Hasidic* sect originating from Galacia.

bochur (pl. *bochorim*) - Student.

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[1] Note that Hebrew and Yiddish words are often translated according to different formats. This glossary contains the most commonly used translations used by the authors and interviewees whom I quote. Where different translations are commonly used I also include these alternatives in brackets.

Bratslavers - *Hasidic* sect (sometimes called the 'Dead *Hasidism*') who follow the teachings of Rabbi Nachman who died in 1812.

bris - Circumcision.

Chabad (also known as *Habad*) - *Lubabitch* philosophy, an acronym of *Chochmah* (wisdom), *Binah* (understanding) and *Daat* (knowledge).

cheder - Jewish place of learning, equivalent to a Christian Sunday school.

chesed - Kindness.

chochmah - Wisdom.

chochmos chitzonios - Alien (or outsider's) wisdom.

chollont - Traditional dish of meat, potatoes and beans eaten on the Sabbath.

chumash - Pentateuch and related readings.

chutz la'aretz - Rest of the world.

Conservative - Branch of (American) Judaism occupying the middle-ground between *Orthodoxy* and *Reform*.

daat - Knowledge.

dati - Orthodox Jews with a devout belief in God and the practice of Judaism, but more accepting of modernity than the *ultra-Orthodox*.

dayan (pl. *dayanim*) - Judge.

daven - To pray.

derekh eretz - Way of the earth, *neo-Orthodox* principle highlighting a willingness to accommodate modernity (providing it does not interfere with *halachah*).

Der Judenstaat - Book written by Theodor Herzl, arguing the case for Zionism.

devekut - Communion or attachment to God, associated with *Hasidism*.

din Torah - Religious arbritation.

divrei Torah - Lessons from the Torah.

Ebhen Shetiyyah - Stone of foundation, according to Jewish mysticism this part of the Temple was the navel of the Earth.

Elgah arufah - Heifer whose neck is broken in a ceremony to expiate polluted land following the discovery of a dead person in open space.

erlicher Yidn - Virtuous Jews.

eruv (pl. *eruvin*) - Device for 'mingling' time and/or space. Eruvin is also a *Talmudic* tract in the order *Mo'ed*.

eruv chatzeiros - Mechanism permitting the merging of courtyards so as to permit transfer of articles from one person's private domain to another.

eruv tashilin - Mechanism for permitting cooking on a festival day in order to prepare food for the Sabbath.

eruv techumin - Mechanism for extending the distance a person can travel on the Sabbath.

flashic - Meaty.

frum - Religious.

gabba - Caretaker.

gellilah - *Mitzvah* of rolling up the Torah scroll once it has been read.

gemach (pl. *gemachim*) - Charitable operation.

Gemarah - Commentaries, interpretations and discussions of the *Mishnah* included within the *Talmud*.

Ger (also called *Gur*) - Hasidic sect originating from the Warsaw district of Gora-Kalwaria.

get - Divorce.

goy (pl. *goyim*) - Non-Jew.

groysen siyde - Great banquet, associated with the *piremshpiyl*.

halachah - Code of Jewish law as written in the *Shulhan Arukh*.

Hanukah - Minor Winter festival celebrating the victory of the Maccabbees over Antiochus.

Haredi - The Godfearing, Israeli term for the *ultra-Orthodox*.

Haskalah - Jewish Enlightenment movement.

Hasidism (also termed *Chassidism*, *Chasidism* and *Hasidim*) - Followers of an eighteenth century pietistic movement founded by the *Baal Shem Tov*.

hatzollah - Emergency medical service.

haverim - Those who properly understand Jewish law.

hechsher - Guarantee of kosher status.

hekhal - Santuary, the actual Temple building.

herem - Excommunication.

hitlahavat - Enthusiasm, associated with *Hasidism*.

Jewish Continuity - Organisation established by the current British Chief Rabbi to counter the threat of assimilation.

Jüdische Wissenschaft (also termed *Wissenschaft des Judentums*) - Jewish science, academic analysis of the classic sources of Judaism.

karmelis - 'Semi-public' space.

kashrus - Keeping kosher.

kehillah - Community.

Kelim - Tract from the *Mishnah*.

kodesh - Religious studies.

kollel (pl. *kollelim*) - Religious college for men.

korath - Shortening of time on earth, punishment for intentional infractions of Jewish law.

kvitl - Petition presented by *Hasidism* to their *rebbe*.

Lag b'Omer - A minor festival celebrating the day the disciples of Rabbi Akiva stopped dying in a plague.

Liberal - British off-shoot of the Reform movement.

Litvaks - Jews from Lithuania.

Lubavitch - Hasidic sect originating in Lybavichi in Belorussia, known for prosletysing to Jews across the world.

ma'ariv - Evening prayers.

Machzikei Hadass - Strengtheners of the law, society of strictly observant Eastern European Jews.

malkosh - Late rains.

matar - Showers.

matzah - Unleavened bread.

Maskalim - Followers of the *Haskalah*.

Masorti - British and Israeli form of *Conservative* Judaism.

mechadorim - Schools.

mehizah - Division of space.

mekum petur - Exempt space.

melamed - Religious instructor.

mezuzah (pl. *mezuzot*) - Icons that Jews are commanded to attach to the doorposts of their homes.

middle-of-the-road - Cultural, rather than religious, Orthodox Jews.

mikvah (pl. *mikvot*) - Ritual bath.

milchic - Milky.

minhogim - Customs.

Mishnah - Part of the Oral Law, believed by religious Orthodox Jews to be the words of God as given to Moses on Mount Sinai.

Mitnagdim - Opponents, *Orthodox* Jews who object to *Hasidism*.

mitzvah - Commandment.

mitzvat talmud Torah - Positive religious duty of studying Torah.

Mo'ed - *Talmudic* order relating to festivals.

Moetzet G'dolay Ha-Torah - Council of Torah sages.

mohel - Circumciser.

Moshiach - Messiah.

Nashim - *Talmudic* order relating specifically to women.

Neo-Orthodox (also known as *Modern Orthodox*) - *Orthodox* movement that fully accepts *halachah*, but with a much greater acceptance of modernity than the *ultra-Orthodox*.

Neziqin - *Talmudic* order relating to the payment of 'damages'.

Ohr Sameach - *Yeshivah* in Jerusalem.

orla - Requirement of Jews not to eat the fruit of trees during the initial three years of planting.

Orthodox - Branch of Judaism that rejects many aspects of the Enlightenment. Divided into a number of sub-branches such as *neo-Orthodox, ultra-Orthodox, dati* and *middle-of-the-road.*

orthodox - see *ultra-Orthodox.*

Pesach - Festival of Passover that marks the exodus of Jews from Egypt.

piremshpiyl - Folk drama performed during the festival of *Purim.*

Purim - Festival celebrating the deliverance of Jews of Persia in the fifth century BCE.

rabbi (pl. *rabbonim*) - Communal religious leader.

rebbe - *Hasidic* spiritual leader.

Reconstructionism - Naturalist American movement founded by Mordechai Kaplan (1881-1983) emphasising Judaism as a religious civilisation of art, music, literature and culture.

Reform - Branch of Judaism, that accommodates many aspects of the Enlightenment

reshus harabim - Public space.

reshus hayachid - Private space.

Rosh Hashanah - Jewish New Year.

rosh yeshivah - Head of a yeshivah.

rov - Leading *rabbi*.

Sabbath - *Talmudic* tract from the order *Mo'ed*.

Sanhedrin - Supreme court of seventy (or seventy one) members, abolished by the Romans in the second century CE.

Satmar - *Hasidic* sect originating in Transylvania.

Sefer Torah - Torah scroll.

Sephardi - Jews (originally) from the Middle-East, North Africa and the Mediterranean.

shaatnez - Mixture of wool and linen, it is prohibited to wear garments containing both elements.

shabbas (or *shabbat*) - The Sabbath.

shacharis - Morning prayers.

shadchen - Match-maker.

shalom aleichem - Peace on you, traditional greeting.

shalom zocker (pl. *shalom zokerim*) - Celebration at the birth of a baby boy.

shechita - The ritual slaughtering of meat.

Sheine Yiden - Intensely observant Jews, often become religious professionals.

sheitel - Wig, used by married women to cover their natural hair.

shekiach - Congratulations.

Shema - Jewish declaration of faith.

shidduch - 'Arranged' marriage.

shiplut - Humility, associated with *Hasidism*.

shitufei chatzeiros - Mechanism for permitting the transfer of articles from courtyards to alleys.

shiur (pl. *shiurim*) - Religious lesson.

shiva - Mourning.

shmita - The Sabbatical year, the prohibition of working agricultural land one year in every seven.

Shoah - Jewish term for the Holocaust.

shochet (pl. *shochetim*) - Person who ritually slaughters kosher meat.

Shomrin - Civil patrol organisation.

shteible (pl. *shteiblach*) - Small, informal prayer houses.

shtetl - Rural Jewish town in Eastern Europe.

Shtickel Rebbes - Minor religious leaders.

shul - Synagogue.

Shulhan Arukh - Sixteenth century codification of Jewish law by Rabbi Joseph Karo, is considered the final authority in *halachah*.

sidur (pl. *sidurim*) - Prayer book.

simchah - Joy or celebration.

Skverer - *Hasidic* sect.

sofer - Scribe.

streimal - *Hasidic* fur hat.

succah - Outdoor booths within which Jews are commanded to live during the festival of Tabernacles.

tallis - Prayer shawl.

Talmidei Hachamim - Students of the wise, learned Jews.

Talmud - Part of the Oral Law. There are two versions, the Babylonian Talmud and the Jerusalem Talmud.

tashlich - Ritual of symbolically casting away one's sins on *Rosh Hashanah*.

tefach (pl. *tefachim*) - Handbreadth, the width of four thumbs.

tefilin - Phylacteries, small leather boxes (containing passages of sacred texts) worn by Jews during morning week-day prayers.

tefillah - Prayer.

tish - Table, ceremonial Sabbath or festival meal in which *Hasidism* listen to words of wisdom from their *rebbe.*

Toharot - *Talmudic* order relating to purities, divisions between clean and unclean, pure and defiled.

tosafists - Twelfth and thirteenth century 'masters' whose comments are included in the *Talmud.*

trefah - Non-kosher.

tzedokah - Charity.

Tzedakah Vechesed - *Satmar* scheme for distributing food to the needy.

tzitzis - Fringes, cotton prayer shawls.

tznius - Modesty.

tzuras ha'pesach (pl. *tzuros ha'pesach*) - Doorways, made of vertical posts and horrizontal cross-beams used to enclose space so that *eruvei chatzeiros* or *shitufei chatzeiros* can be constructed.

ultra-Orthodox (also known as *Haredi* or *orthodox*) - Jews who most strictly adhere to *halachah* and traditional practices.

Viznitz - Hasidic sect.

yarhzeit zudah - Meal commemorating a *Hasidic* rebbe.

yarmelka - Skullcap.

Yekers - Jews from Germany.

yichus - Family connections, links to people with high or low (religious) status.

Yidn (or *Yiden*) - Jews.

yeshivah (pl. *yeshivot*) - Jewish institutes of higher learning.

Yom haTalmud - Sea of the *Talmud*, refers to the vastness of the document.

Yom Kippur - Day of Atonement.

yom tov (pl. *yom tovim*) - A festival.

yoreh - Early rains.

zaddiq (pl. *zaddiqim*) - Righteous man.

zeimoros shabbas - Songs of shabbas.

Zera'im - *Talmudic* order relating to agriculture.

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