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The Residential Location Choices of Chabad Households: An analysis of decision making with non-price constraints

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I. Introduction

The location a household chooses to settle has immense impacts on its future and that of their children. For example, people reach higher educational attainment levels in cities and the suburbs of cities than in rural areas (Sander 2006). Additionally, residential location has a huge impact on job retention rates (Thakuria & Metaxatos 2000). Job retention impacts people's lives due to income attainment, amenity access, and other aspects of life. Through understanding the way that people choose their residential locations, we are able to better understand the opportunities available to them.

In a theoretical model, I explore the influence of three particular goods from which individuals in a conservative religious group derive utility in order to explain where they will choose to live. This particular sect of Judaism aims to encourage religious observance among Jews who do not make religious observance part of their daily lives. Additionally, I collected primary data through personal interviews, for which the methods are described in the Data Collection section. These data are used to motivate the model of household decision-making. Specifically, the model incorporates amenities, mission, and social. Amenities focuses on the different things that are necessary in order for Chabad individuals to live a religious Jewish life. The mission variable focuses on the influence of the goal of encouraging non-religious Jews to become more observant and how individual Chabadniks are living out that dream. Lastly, the social variable focuses on the utility gained from social interactions with other Chabadniks. The three variables will be set out in the following pages in order to convey the importance of each of the three variables within the context of living a Chabad life.

This paper addresses the ways in which Chabad Jews make decisions concerning the community they wish to live in by analyzing mission, social, and Jewish amenities. Chabad households generally have three different location options. They can live in Crown Heights, which is in Brooklyn, and serves as Chabad headquarters. They can live in a large Chabad community that is not located in Crown Heights, such as in Las Vegas, Nevada. Lastly, they can choose to live in communities with very little Chabad representation, such as Portland, Maine. For the purposes of this paper, I will concentrate on those three choices while acknowledging that many Chabad families live in other large Chabad communities besides Las Vegas and many other small communities besides Portland, Maine. Las Vegas and Portland will act as representative cases to capture those categories of communities.

When thinking about residential location decisions in the Chabad community, it is vital to think in a multi-dimensional framework. The Rebbe's mandate, that of encouraging non-religious Jews to become more religious, informs the decisions of Chabad families. Specifically, members of the Chabad community believe that it is their duty to reach all Jews and encourage them to engage with religious Judaism. Therefore, they may choose not to live in predominantly Chabad communities, but rather move to areas that do not have Jewish amenities in place in order to provide those Jewish amenities and experiences to local Jews. Individuals who make this choice are called shlichim and are often referred to as Jewish emissaries. There are members of the Chabad community that do not choose to be shlichim, but rather stay in Crown Heights or another satellite community of Chabad, such as Las Vegas.

We must understand how members of the Chabad community are restricted by non-price amenity constraints. For example, in order to live a Jewish life, there needs to be a local

synagogue. It is impossible to practice as a religious Jew without having a synagogue within walking distance of one's house. Chabad families also will only eat kosher foods, which are estimated to cost 20% more than non-kosher alternatives (Popovici 2015). These individuals believe that eating non-kosher is a sin, so they do not have an option to simply choose the cheaper selection. Additionally, men in the Hasidic community, a form of Jewish Ultra-Orthodoxy, are expected to attend Yeshivah, religious schools, for many years rather than taking jobs in the formal economy (Berman 2000). These expectations make the Chabad community restricted by non-price amenities, which is another example of why a multi-dimensional framework is imperative to understanding Chabad decision-making.

There is very little past research on the economic decisions made by Chabad communities. Berman (2000) found that members of the Ultra-Orthodox community, which includes Chabadniks, often make decisions that are not seen as the most economically sound in order to establish their relationship to the surrounding Ultra-Orthodox community. It is important to note that Berman was studying Ultra-Orthodox communities, but not specifically Chabad, so his findings do not include the mission aspect of Chabad life. Berman's work is more representative of Ultra-Orthodox communities such as Satmar Jews within the United States, who are Ultra-Orthodox and have those non-price constraints but do not have the mission aspect. However, Berman specifically looked at the Israeli draft and how men could avoid it by going to Yeshivah, a Jewish school, during their eligible military years. He finds that most of these men end up staying in Yeshivah even past their eligible military years to show that they are committed to the Ultra-Orthodox lifestyle and not simply joining to avoid military service. The commitment to the Ultra-Orthodox lifestyle is a cultural requirement that involves many

sacrifices. For this reason, Berman's work compliments my work by showing the importance of community in Ultra-Orthodox circles. Berman's paper shows that Ultra-Orthodox communities generally chose community amenities and social utility from belonging to a community over the benefits of economic advancement. This supports the assumption in my model that households will often choose to live in communities that provide the necessary amenities.

In contrast, Chiswick (1995) talks about the general Jewish community's integration into American society. Chiswick analyzes the time constraints that Jewish practice requires and how job time constraints can cause American Jews to reject religious Judaism. She shows the trend of American Jews rejecting Jewish practice as they rise through socioeconomic statuses and take on jobs that require large amounts of time (Chiswick 1995). However, the value of Jewish practice is vital to Chabad communities, so it prevents Chabad individuals from going into high paying, time demanding occupations.

This paper adds much to the existing literature. First, from this paper we gain a better understanding of how non-pricing constraints impact location choices, and specifically considers how religious obligations affect those choices. Secondly, we gain a better understanding of how impactful religious restrictions are on residential location preferences. Lastly, we can then use these preferences to better predict the ways in which religious groups or other groups that generally exclude themselves from modern society are going to settle, giving policy makers a greater ability to understand and predict their constituents. This paper ultimately aims to understand the ways in which members of the Chabad community maximize their utility through pursuit of amenities, fulfilling the Rebbe's mission, and social utility from fellow Chabadniks. Additionally, this paper, through the conducted interviews, hopes to explain the role of amenities

in the three types of Chabad communities that households settle into: Crown Heights, satellite communities, and emissary work. This paper especially hopes to explain the role of amenities in emissary Chabad communities and how these Chabad households justify a focus on fulfilling the Rebbe's mission over living near amenities.

II. Background Information

Part 1: Introduction to the Chabad World

There are many aspects of the Chabad community that are important to understand in order to fully inform the economic model. First, one must understand the theological context in which Chabadniks are operating to gain a more holistic understanding as to why Chabadniks choose to live in certain areas. Next, understanding the life cycle pattern is crucial to understanding how Chabadniks are initially making decisions on geographical location. Lastly, juxtaposing Chabad with another Hasidic community's settlement patterns will help convey how Chabad operates in a different fashion.

I. Chabad Theology

Chabad is a specific form of Hasidic Judaism. To understand Chabad theology, first it is imperative to understand basic Orthodox Jewish theology as Chabadniks follow Orthodoxy and add their own Chabad-specific theological ideas. Living an Orthodox lifestyle means taking Jewish texts literally and applying them to one's life. This means embracing things like prayer three times a day and going to mikveh. Orthodox amenities include everything such as kosher meat, close synagogues, and mikvot. Living a Chabad lifestyle adds additional Chabad traditions, such as listening to the Rebbe's, the most influential leader in Chabad theology, speeches every Saturday evening after Shabbat, to Orthodox practice. A Chabad lifestyle also means following

the Rebbe and his mission. Chabad amenities include all of Orthodox amenities, but there are also Chabad specific amenities such as Chabad center, at 770 Eastern Parkway in New York City, and Chabad religious schools. 770 Eastern Parkway is Chabad headquarters, where all Chabad functions occur. Most American Jews do not require any of these amenities, Orthodox or Chabad-specific, because the majority of the American Jewish population is not religiously observant by Orthodox standards (“A Portrait of Jewish Americans” 2019).

Hasidic Judaism began with the Baal Shem Tov, an influential religious Jewish leader in the mid-18th century. The Baal Shem Tov pushed the radical idea that any Jew can have a connection with God, regardless of their knowledge around religious texts (Heilman 2017). In a time when rabbis commanded the Jewish world, this assertion was not well received by many. Rabbis were in danger of losing their power in the Jewish world if scholarship was not a cornerstone to religious identity, as rabbis were religious scholars (Heilman 2017). However, some felt called to spread the Baal Shem Tov’s theology to the masses. So began the Hasidic movement.

After the Baal Shem Tov passed, the question of who would continue his legacy became relevant (Heilman 2017). Eventually, the Hasidic community decided that his dynasty would be passed on through the most qualified male, which was determined by their charisma (Heilman 2017). Over time, many people were appointed to be the leader of a certain region (Heilman 2017). The individual it would be passed to was called the region’s rebbe, or religious leader. Overtime, lineage became more disputed because there were arguments over theology (Heilman 2017). When these splits occurred, people began to choose specific rebbes that they wished to

follow. Hasidic Judaism split into additional sub-sects such as Chabad and Satmar, both of which are modern forms of Hasidic Judaism that are based on the teachings of different rebbes.

The Chabad dynasty continued with the Alter Rebbe, Schneur Zalman, after the death of the Baal Shem Tov (Heilman 2017). He is called the Alter Rebbe because he was the first, specifically Chabad rebbe and the term Alter Rebbe is simply Yiddish for Old Rebbe.

Proceeding Zalman, there were six other rebbes until the line stopped in 1994 with the death of Menachmen Mendel Schneerson, who is known colloquially as the Rebbe (Heilman 2017).

Many Chabadniks do not believe that the Rebbe actually passed away from his heart attack in 1994, but instead is Messiah. They also believe he will come back in the coming years if enough commandments, or mitzvot, are followed which theology says will bring Messiah (Heilman 2017). Therefore, Chabadniks follow the words of the Rebbe in their daily lives because he is integral to their theology.

Chabad theology dictates that there was a spreading of holy sparks, or spiritual fragments found in all objects, throughout the world that can only be brought together through completing mitzvot. The fundamental belief is that the Messiah will come when all of the sparks are brought together. To do this, Chabad reaches as many Jews as possible to have them complete mitzvot. Their motivation lies in *Ahavat Yisrael*, or love of their fellow Jew and their desire to bring back Messiah. They root their ideas of loving fellow Jews in the Rebbe's understanding of the Holocaust. He said that Hitler hunted down every Jew in hate, so Chabad must hunt down every Jew through love (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). This is the cornerstone of the emissary, or shlichim, movement, which was made popular by the Rebbe. The Rebbe had a vision of sending couples into communities all over the world that had a sufficient

number of Jews, so Chabadniks could encourage religious practice among those Jews (Heilman 2017).

Chabadniks travel to various parts of the United States where there is a critical mass of Jews. Chabad in Crown Heights will send out small groups of young men to survey a region that presently does not have a Chabad house, usually during Jewish holidays (Fishkoff 2005). Men leave Crown Heights during Passover and travel to various places throughout the world that do not have a Chabad presence, which gives them the ability to hand out matzah to Jews within the region to allow those Jews to fulfill the mitzvah of eating matzah over Passover (Berman 2009). This exploratory work is then utilized to inform Chabad headquarters about where couples can go to be shlichim. Within Chabad understandings of success for shlichim, there are three tiers to connecting with Jews. On the lowest tier, Chabad aims to get Jews to fulfill mitzvot. This can be anything from praying to lighting Shabbat candles. On the middle tier, Chabad aims to encourage Jew to live an Orthodox lifestyle. On the top tier, Chabad aims to encourage Jews to live a Chabad lifestyle (Berman 2009). Since the majority of American Jews are not religious, there are many Jews that Chabad can potentially reach through the Rebbe's mission ("A Portrait of Jewish Americans," 2019).

II. Lifecycle

Another cornerstone to Chabad is family and the way that the legacy of Chabad is continued through generations, namely through reproduction. Family dynamics in the Chabad world can often follow a very prescriptive, traditional fashion with a focus on gender roles and the importance of elders. Generally speaking, Chabad families have upwards of six children because they feel called to continue populating the world with Jewish children. Boys are trained

in religious schools from a young age to study Jewish texts and learn their place in the Jewish world. At the age of 13, boys go through a Bar Mitzvah, which is essentially a coming of age ceremony. In a Bar Mitzvah, boys are expected to demonstrate that they can take on the religious obligations of men in the synagogue, representing the transition of Jewish boys to Jewish men. After the Bar Mitzvah, there is certainly a larger expectation of boys to function as Jewish men and take on all Jewish obligations, such as prayer. In the Chabad world, they continue to go through their religious education until post-high school. There are many different Chabad-specific religious boys' schools in Crown Heights and other parts of America. After high school, most men choose to continue their religious education through Yeshivot, or post-high school religious studies (Ari, personal communication, January 24, 2020). At Yeshivah, men engage deeply with religious texts for about 2 years. After this time period, there are essentially two different paths that men can choose: travel or settle down to start a family.

When men choose to travel, they usually travel to Chabad houses around the world and help the shlichim with their mission work for a period of time. Here, men are able to learn what it means to live in a religious space and lead a religious family.

It is also an option that men can choose to settle down and start a family. They will contact friends and families to see if they know of a woman who would be a good match for marriage (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). These women can come from a variety of locations, some of which are not within the community that each individual man resides (Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020). However, some individuals cited the desire to live in Crown Heights being linked to the availability of eligible, potential spouses from which matches could be made (Yocheved, personal communication, January, 28

2020). Men tend to settle down and begin to have children around the age of 24, making their children school age by the time they are approximately 30 years old (Ari, personal communication, January 24, 2020).

The life cycle of women in the Chabad community also follows a very clear trajectory. First, they go to Jewish girl schools, usually in Crown Heights. For families that do not live in New York City, girls usually do school at home up until high school and then attend a Chabad school. These Chabad schools can be anywhere there is a critical mass of Chabadniks but most families send their girls to Beis Rivkeh in Crown Heights, the largest Chabad girl's school, if they do not live in a large Chabad community (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). For families that live in New York City, girls attend Chabad schools for the entirety of their education. This education is primarily religious with few hours spent on secular studies. Girls begin the day by praying together and then continue onto classes focused in Hebrew or Talmud, a foundational religious Jewish text.

After graduation from high school, girls generally choose a seminary to attend (Hadassah, personal communication, January 16, 2020). Seminary is thought of as a self-exploratory time where young women go to an all-women's academy in another part of the world for about two years. The most common place that women attend seminary is Israel, although some women attend seminary in places like Canada or South Africa. The physical locations of these seminaries are generally secluded from the secular world in order to promote the idea of religious self-examination and become fully prepared to raise a religious family. Some seminaries even require certain filters on each student's phone in order to guarantee that students are truly only focused on their studies. During seminary, women are expected to spend extensive

hours studying religious texts. Some women decide to finish a single year of seminary and then continue on to religious work, usually with shlichim throughout the world. During those two years, women generally get a teaching certificate that allows them to teach at Chabad schools (Bina, personal communication, January 9, 2020). It is important to note that these certificates are not like those of the secular world. Instead, their qualification relies on the fact that these women have spent years in religious studies and are capable of communicating those ideas to younger girls.

Some women work with shlichim helping with mission work instead of going to seminary (Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020). This can range from teaching to childcare, but seldom leaves a more domestic category. During this time period, women are able to travel to various parts of the world while assisting shlichim. This could go on for however many years that each woman decides is appropriate for her. However, most women do decide to settle down in their early-to-mid-twenties (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2020).

After women are finished with traveling or feel it is their time to get married, they generally move somewhere they have a support system while they are looking for a husband (Yocheved, personal communication, January 28, 2020). Then these women will find their spouses and the couple will decide where they want to locate. Some women confessed that they only lived in Crown Heights because their husbands made it a requirement of their marriage (Esther, personal communication, January 15, 2020). Other women said that they settled with their husbands and planned to move out of Crown Heights but eventually had children and wanted to keep them in the religious schools in Crown Heights (Brocha, personal

communication, January 15, 2020). Therefore, there is not a central figure or time in Chabad families that make decisions around housing in all cases. Rather, the course that women's lives take depended heavily on the joint decisions that they make with their husbands at the time that they get married.

Within the home, families generally adopt traditional gender roles with the exception that most women work in some capacity. Women generally are expected to raise the children, support their husbands as they fulfill their religious obligations, and maintain the home. In Crown Heights, most women specifically had jobs, mostly babysitting or teaching, because the cost of living was too high for one income to support the large families characteristic of Chabad (Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020). In Las Vegas, jobs for women were less about financial concerns and more about staying involved in the Chabad community. Specifically, women were frequently working in the Las Vegas Chabad school (Shawn, personal communication, December 17, 2019). In Portland, women do mission work alongside the rest of their family (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019).

Few Chabadniks, both men and women, choose to go to college and get a secular degree (Shawn, personal communication, December 12, 2019). This is uncommon, but evidenced by the professional jobs that Chabadniks in both Las Vegas and Crown Heights obtained over the course of their lives. In both communities, there are Chabadniks who are doctors, lawyers, accountants, and everything in between. This is simply a personal choice as to whether they want to get a secular college degree and is not the most common path followed (Rochel Leah, personal communication, January 17, 2020).

In terms of maintaining the religiosity of the home, men and women both play a role. There is a large focus on passing down religious beliefs to children. Therefore, women are generally very involved in their children's education and maintain high expectations for religious learning (Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020). This starts at a very young age when children are still too young for formal schooling. Women continue involvement in their children's education when they enter formal schooling through things like PTA or simply helping their children with homework. Women are also obligated to teach their children about religious duty through actions, such as keeping a kosher home, wearing a wig to cover their hair as married women are required to cover their hair for modesty concerns, and dressing their children in a way that is acceptable in the Chabad community. A woman's primary role in the Chabad community is to raise religious children who continue to adhere to the Rebbe's teachings.

Men are the head of the household and are, therefore, in charge of maintaining the religious rituals of the home. For example, men frequently go to synagogue with the older children while women stay home with the younger children. Since there is no obligation for women to pray within a synagogue, families make this choice with Jewish law in mind. Men also lead most rituals around Shabbat, such as the prayers before the meal. Outside of obligations, men usually take on the role of maintaining the entire family's religious knowledge. They will often speak about the Torah portion of the week, a small portion of Jewish texts assigned each week of the year, during dinner and encourage their children to ask questions. In a few families, I found that men frequently used the Shabbat meal to review their children's religious education at school (Chaya, personal communication, January 24, 2020). One by one, children would share

what they learned that week with their father and then have to tell the story of the Torah portion, at whatever learning level the child was at, to all the guests at the table. This encouraged religious learning for all individuals regardless of background knowledge or age. A man's role in the Chabad community is to maintain a religious family that adheres to the Rebbe's teachings.

III. Economic Considerations

There are no real restrictions on what types of jobs that Chabadniks can have, but there is a preference for the jobs to be within the religious community (Brocha, personal communication, January 15, 2020). Instead of restrictions on the types of jobs, Chabad job selection is generally reliant on location. Specifically, jobs in Crown Heights are different from Las Vegas and Las Vegas jobs are different from Portland. For example, Chabadniks in Crown Heights tend to work in jobs that are strictly related to the Jewish community, such as in shops that are owned by Chabadniks or at the Chabad schools. In Las Vegas, many individuals worked as accountants, doctors, and a small percentage worked in the Chabad community (Shawn, personal communication, December 12, 2019; Rochel Leah, personal communication, January 17, 2020). In Portland, Chabadniks worked as shlichim (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). In order to fully understand the discrepancy, it is important to analyze economic life in all three locations.

First, the economic life in Portland, because it is composed of shlichim, is completely reliant on the local Jewish community. Chabadniks will put together programming in order to give local, more secular Jews the opportunity to engage with Jewish practice. Programming put on by shlichim can range from classes on Jewish texts to parties for Jewish holidays. The prices that Chabadniks charge for this type of programming is generally very low and simply covers the

cost of getting supplies for the program. While Chabadniks certainly can make the choice to charge higher prices, they generally do not because of their desire to make religious programming more widely available regardless of the socioeconomic status of Jews in the area. Types of programming can be extremely widespread.

Chabadniks who are shlichim generally do not make their living through programming. Instead, most shlichim make their living through fundraising within their local community. This takes many different forms, such as going door to door asking for funds or having events that encourage people to donate to the local Chabad House. This provides for a very fluctuating income that usually leads to some degree of economic instability. While it is certainly rare, some shlichim supplement their fundraising income with income from other jobs to help them achieve more economic stability (Ari, personal communication, January 24, 2020). The majority rely on fundraising and restrict their own job selection in favor of being completely immersed in their work as shlichim (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019).

In both Las Vegas and Crown Heights, Chabadniks work various jobs to make ends meet. In Las Vegas, there are Chabadniks who are doctors, lawyers, accountants, and other occupations. The same is true for the Crown Heights community. However, in Las Vegas there is less necessity for dual income households because the cost of living in Las Vegas is much lower than that of Crown Heights. Additionally, the number of jobs that are within the Chabad community in Las Vegas is much less than that of Crown Heights. Therefore, many people are required to venture out of the community for work. Within the Chabad community, there really is only potential to work at the local school or possibly assist with the synagogue (Shoshannah, personal communication, January 14, 2020).

In Crown Heights, people generally keep the economic life within the community. Therefore, people predominantly shop in Chabad stores, go to Chabad events, and live in Chabad houses. They also usually work within the religious community, with very few venturing outside of providing other Chabadniks services. Even if people cannot work specifically with other Chabadniks, they would proudly say that they worked for a “religious man,” with the understanding that religious people were at least Orthodox Jews (Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020). Orthodox Jews are Jews who follow Jewish law literally, much like Chabadniks, but do not follow the Rebbe. Therefore, these Chabadniks would be working in a kosher kitchen if they were working for Orthodox Jews but that kosher kitchen might not have a large portrait of the Rebbe like at their own homes. There is a lot of nepotism in hiring, so many people even claim to have gotten their first job because they are Jewish (Rochel Leah, personal communication, January 17, 2020).

In terms of cost of living, it is certainly highest in New York City. The average cost of living in Brooklyn is about two times the national average (“Cost of Living in Brooklyn, New York,” n.d). The high cost of living was commonly brought up in various interviews and is a common concern for individuals living in Crown Heights, but not enough of a concern to make them move. Las Vegas has a slightly lower cost of living. The average cost of living is about 11% higher than the national average (“Cost of Living in Las Vegas, Nevada,” n.d). Lastly, living in Portland is fairly cheap in comparison to the other two options. The average cost of living is 8% higher than the national average, which is not much lower than that of Las Vegas (“Cost of Living in Portland, Maine,” n.d). However, it is worth noting that shlichim live in a wide variety of places, so their costs of living will vary. This model will simply utilize Portland

as a proxy for those communities. In all three types of communities, the cost of living can be prohibitive and is always considered when choosing where to live. Therefore, we can assume that their motivations to live in either location is very seldom a question of the cost of living.

Cost of living certainly is not the most important aspect of choosing where to live for Chabad families. Instead, most individuals are focused on access to other non-price constraints that make living a Chabad life possible. This is why we see the demonstrated preference for Crown Heights, which we can conclude from the high number of Chabadniks that live within the community. Many Chabadniks confessed that the cost of living was not the most important consideration when thinking about where they wanted to locate (Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020; Rena, personal communication, January 15, 2020). In some cases, Chabadniks are heavily subsidized by fellow Chabadniks in terms of rent and other costs, so their cost of living is not a large concern (Rochel Leah, personal communication, January 17, 2020). For these reasons and the lack of data around income and cost of living, I will not consider economic constraints in the utility maximization problem.

IV. Satmar: Another Hasidic World

To contrast Chabad, Satmar Jews are also a form of Hasidic Judaism that predominantly exists within and near New York City. Their community is in Williamsburg, which is just a train ride away from Crown Heights. However, Satmar Jews are very concerned with the rejection of modern society. Everything from telephones to television is rejected within the community. This makes the Satmar community very insulated, as is their preference. The Chabad community, in contrast, often engages with members of secular society in order to encourage them to return to religious Judaism.

Satmar, and other forms of Hasidic Judaism, do not focus on *Ahavat Yisrael*, or love of one's fellow Jew. Instead, they are primarily focused on creating a society that caters to their religious needs. This often presents itself as self isolation from general society. For example, people who choose to live as Satmar Hasidic Jews will not engage with television, movies, or other secular forms of entertainment.

For the Satmar community, the need for mission utility does not exist. Therefore, within this model, Satmar utility would be solely received from social and amenities. These two variables coincide within the Satmar community because the amenities they desire will need to be within large, primarily Satmar communities. This generally means living within Williamsburg, a neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York. The only thing that would encourage Satmar Jews to move outside of Williamsburg would be the high cost of living. If they are priced out of Williamsburg, they will move to satellite communities like Rockland County, New York.

I have not conducted any formal research on the Satmar community, but rather am drawing on common knowledge of their settlement patterns. This information is extremely important to establish why the Chabad community does not match that of other Hasidic communities. The goal, from a Jewish Studies perspective, is to figure out how different the Chabad community operates in terms of residential location decisions compared to that of Satmar. Crown Heights is the preferred location for Chabadniks to live and is certainly the demonstrated preference as about 10 to 12 thousand Chabadniks have chosen to live in Crown Heights. That is approximately 45-48% of the total American Chabad population (Comenetz 2006). In contrast, the Satmar community is strictly within Williamsburg and satellite communities, meaning that 100% of Satmar Jews are within strictly Satmar communities.

Part 2: Elements of the Model

In the theoretical model, detailed in section Single-Period Utility Function, I will explore how Chabadniks gain utility from three goods - Chabad-specific amenities, the ability to contribute to the Rebbe's mission, and living in a community that provides the ability to socialize with other Chabadniks, I describe the importance of each of these elements below.

I. Amenities

The amenities that are required by Chabadniks are primarily religious in nature. The religious life of a Chabadnik is determined exclusively by traditional Jewish texts. As with most of the Chabad world, there are different requirements and roles based on gender. Jewish law is of the utmost importance to follow in Chabad communities, especially that of Halacha, which is Jewish law based on the texts written by rabbis (Mindel 1992). They were developed through rabbinical interpretations of the Torah, or the first five books of the Bible. Halacha is detail oriented laws that dictates how Jews should live their lives, down to the specific times of the day that are appropriate for prayer.

One of the most important aspects to understand about the Chabad world is the obligation for prayer. Within Jewish texts, there is an obligatory prayer three times a day for men. Generally speaking, men will do this in community and within a synagogue. Halacha dictates that men should pray in groups of ten, called a minyan, three times a day. This is necessary because according to Jewish law, some prayers cannot be said without ten men present. Since it is important to maximize time spent with God through prayer and maximize the amount of prayers that are being said, having a minyan is important to fulfilling religious obligations. Therefore, it would be logical for Chabad households to live in proximity to other Jews so that it is possible for them to gather enough Jewish men to have a minyan.

On Friday evening at sunset until Saturday evening at sunset, it is Shabbat. Shabbat comes with many different work restrictions, such as the inability to make money and prohibited utilization of technology. This prevents people from driving to synagogue which means that Chabadniks must live within walking distance to the closest synagogue. Walking distance is a relative term and depends heavily on family make up, but the majority of people were content with walking about a mile to get to the nearest synagogue. Therefore, it would be important to live in a geographic area that allowed individuals to walk about a mile to their nearest synagogue. This is not available everywhere, which is why most shlichim actually build their own synagogue within their homes in order to continue keeping Shabbat.

Another element of religious life that is important to consider is food restrictions. There are many laws in Judaism that dictate what types of food can be consumed and are considered kosher or fit for consumption. For example, all meat must be slaughtered and prayed over in a specific fashion. Therefore, geographic availability can be limited because kosher meat does not commonly go to areas where there are not large numbers of Jews who are consuming kosher meat. Additionally, the Chabad community will only consume dairy that has been produced by Jews. This again restricts availability of kosher dairy to certain geographical regions. The most prevalent places where kosher foods are available are areas with a higher population of religious Jews. This is because the cost of hiring individuals who are qualified to certify kosher is high and the benefit must be met through a higher demand for kosher foods.

Lastly, Halacha mandates that married women participate in ritual bathing, a mikveh, seven days after every menstrual cycle. The goal of this practice is to maintain family purity as prescribed by ancient Jewish texts. The texts essentially label bodily emissions as unclean,

including menstruation. To engage in sexual relations, each partner must be ritually clean. A mikveh, or plural mikvot, is a very specific body of water that must be a natural source of water and, generally, remain under rabbinical supervision. Therefore, mikvot are usually only set up in large Jewish communities and maintained by the local Jewish population. They are not often in communities without a large population of observant women because there would be no one to utilize them. This makes them not universally available to women regardless of residential location decisions, unless women travel large distances, which can certainly be difficult both financially and in terms of time.

There are also Chabad-specific amenities, most of which only exist in Crown Heights, such as 770 Eastern Parkway which is the physical center of Chabad and is colloquially known as “770”. In this building, there is a very large synagogue where many Chabadniks attend each Shabbat. Additionally, there is a room called the Rebbe’s room, which was the Rebbe’s study. People still come from far locations to visit the room as they believe that because it is connected to the Rebbe, it is a space that naturally has a deeper connection to the spiritual world (Feuer 2009). Furthermore, 770 was the place where the Rebbe gave talks to large crowds. Needless to say, this building is seen as a very religious site in the Chabad world. Another amenity that individuals in Crown Heights take advantage of is the Ohel, or the Rebbe’s grave. The Ohel is technically not in Crown Heights, but rather is located in Queens. Regardless, Chabadniks frequently travel the 40 minutes by car to connect to the religious site. Chabadniks believe that if they write a message to the Rebbe and leave it at the grave, their prayer is more likely to be answered. It is a deeper connection to God that is formulated through the Rebbe’s connection to God.

Religious education is also a very important amenity to consider. Having a religious education for children is the most common reason cited for living in Crown Heights (Ari, personal communication, January 24, 2020; Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020; Brocha, personal communication, January 15, 2020). There are certainly not Chabad schools in every part of the United States, so some families must send their children to various parts of the United States. Individuals who lived in Las Vegas before the start of their high school were sent to high schools in other satellite communities, specifically Florida (Perle, personal communication, January 17, 2020). Most commonly, children will be sent to school in Crown Heights and there are many programs for them to either stay with Chabad families or live in dorms on campus (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). However, families usually only make this investment for a religious high school. Before high school, many families will choose to have their children take online class, be homeschooled, or a combination of the two. As we can see from this trend, the relative importance of in-person education compared to that of online education is higher during the high school years (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). The reason for this is unclear, but could be rooted in the high cost of paying both for tuition and housing for children. For larger communities, like Las Vegas, the community establishes religious high schools so that there is not a need for families to send their children to Crown Heights for school. Most families keep their children as local as possible and only send their children to another place for high school if absolutely necessary (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2020).

II. Mission

The key to Chabad theology lies in the desire to reach other Jews with encouragement to live a more religious life, otherwise known as the Rebbe's Mission. The Rebbe's Mission is

accomplished by going out into various communities and interacting with Jewish populations there. Shlichim invite various Jews into the Chabad community by making Jewish services available to them, such as Jewish education tutoring for young children, synagogues, and getting the Jewish population kosher meat (Fishkoff 2005). The Chabad community believes it is their duty to teach Jews and get them to fulfill at least one mitzvah.

Shlichim, or shliach in singular form, exist all over the United States (Fishkoff 2005). Each individual is responsible for their own financial stability, which they mostly achieve through fundraising and programming (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). Therefore, individuals that are engaging with outreach work have a lot of independence in terms of their programming, which allows them to best serve their community. For example, if the shlichim find that they are in a primarily older Jewish community, they obviously will not have a lot of programming for children. Even more so, shlichim have the ability to cater to their community's specific interests. There is programming that the Chabad world produces as a whole, which is made available to all shlichim (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). However, there is no obligation to use this material. The general idea of shlichim is that they are independent but can reach out to the Crown Heights community for support if they need it. This also applies to funding. Fundraising actually starts in Crown Heights before shlichim leave for their new communities. There are even organizations within Crown Heights that will act as consultants to help shlichim fundraise before departing for their chosen location (Bina, personal communication, January 9, 2020). Additionally, Chabad, as an organization, will give each couple a certain amount of start up funds to help them establish themselves in their new communities (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30,

2019). However, this sum is generally very small and will simply pay for a month or two of rent. After that money is used up, shlichim are obligated to raise their own funds through fundraising or programming.

One of the most difficult parts of choosing to do Chabad outreach work is deciding where to go (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2020). Essentially, it is all about the needs of Jewish communities and whether those are being met. For example, a couple may want to go to Florida but there are already several Chabad houses and no need for additional shlichim. This is also an issue of competing Chabad houses, which Chabad certainly wants to avoid as much as possible because of the limited amount of Jews in a given location that Chabadniks fundraise from. Therefore, the primary issue of becoming shlichim is that there are very few geographical locations where couples are needed to bring Judaism to the community. Originally, this was obviously not an issue because the movement was just beginning. However, after the Rebbe's death, there was an even larger push to engage with outreach work and the number of shlichim increased exponentially (Fishkoff 2005). Now, finding a space where shlichim are needed is difficult. Most people actually find this work through their families (Hadassah, personal communication, January 16, 2020). For example, the Chabad family in Maine invited their child and his spouse to return to Maine and expand programming for youth. This allowed the couple to be shlichim after several of their other planned locations fell through (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). This case has become a larger trend in the Chabad community and is now the most popular way that individuals are able to achieve their dream of being shlichim (Hadassah, personal communication, January 16, 2020).

This idea that children will do similar work to that of their parents certainly fits into what individuals wanted to do when they were children. People who were children of shlichim generally said they wanted to be shlichim. One woman who is now a shliach said that growing up she always felt she was special being a child of a shliach couple (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). This sentiment is certainly felt in other communities as well. For example, members of the Las Vegas community spoke about how children of the local shlichim were given special treatment in schools and the larger Chabad community (Perle, personal communication, January 17, 2020; Rochel Leah, personal communication, January 17, 2020). This elevation of the importance of shlichim and their families helps to motivate children of shlichim to want to continue that work.

When thinking about where to live, shlichim usually make a life-long commitment to live in the community they chose (Chaya, personal communication, January 24, 2020). When certain households were asked if they would ever consider moving into Crown Heights from their communities as shlichim, they responded “Why would we?” They understood that they were in their chosen community for life because they were doing God’s work (Chaya, personal communication, January 24, 2020). The goal of these families is to bring other Jews to Judaism, which will ultimately bring Messiah. They believe that their work is truly creating a better world and will be part of what makes the world perfect again (Chaya, personal communication, January 24, 2020; Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). Therefore, there is no concept of moving from that work to something that would be easier, such as living in Crown Heights.

Becoming a shliach is seen as a great honor. Even Chabad websites confess to a level of envy that shlichim encounter in the Chabad world because they are regarded as chosen by God to fulfill their work (Lubavitch, n.d.). That being said, there have been movements to not push children during their schooling years to convince them to become shlichim (Hadassah, personal communication, January 16, 2020). Instead, there is recognition that it takes a certain type of personality to be successful as a shliach. For example, it is difficult to be effective at fundraising if you are an introvert. Furthermore, there is greater recognition within the Chabad community that being a shliach takes a toll on an individual's mental health (Bina, personal communication, January 9, 2020).

As the awareness of the challenges of being a shliach continues to become more apparent to the community, the language around becoming a shliach has changed. It is still regarded as an extremely high honor to go to the far corners of the world and bring Judaism to Jews. However, now there is language that promotes the idea that an individual can accomplish the Rebbe's mission anywhere in the world (Hadassah, personal communication, January 16, 2020). In Crown Heights, people often said that the Rebbe's mission could be interpreted in many different ways. Some individuals said that they felt they were completing the mission by raising children in Chabad. Others said that they completed traditional acts done by shlichim, such as inviting people over to their homes for Shabbat or going into the streets and asking people if they are Jewish and fulfilled their religious obligations for the day, within Crown Heights or larger New York City (Bina, personal communication, January 9, 2020; Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020). However, there is still a large focus on the importance of the Rebbe's mission. As one woman put it, "everyone wants to go on shlichus [do the work of a shliach]," (Hadassah,

personal communication, January 16, 2020). She went on to explain that while everyone wants to do it, reality often hits that there is no location that they can go to or they discover they do not have the skills to be successful. Therefore, individuals come back to Crown Heights and do their outreach work there, something that she believes “shouldn’t be second class.” Her language made it very obvious that doing shlichah work in Crown Heights was seen as second class, although there has been movement towards not regarding it as such.

III. Sense of Community

Each of the three representative communities have very distinct social scenes with the possibility to gain more social utility from some communities than others. First, Portland is a very specific community that is seldom talked about outside of Portland. Due to there only being a few Chabad households in all of Maine, there is very little conversation about the sense of community Chabadniks can find in Portland. Only that family really talks about the Chabad community there. Outside of Portland, the community is simply regarded as another small shlichim community. The few people that knew members of the Portland community within Crown Heights simply commented on the physical beauty of Maine when talking about Portland. Therefore, social life is fairly low in Portland since Chabadniks there can only really interact with their own family.

Crown Heights itself is constantly regarded as the central location for Chabad. People often travel to Crown Heights as a vacation destination where they are able to access certain Chabad amenities and, generally speaking, visit family or friends (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019). Crown Heights is the preferred location for Chabadniks to live and is certainly the demonstrated preference as about 10 to 12 thousand Chabadniks have

chosen to live in Crown Heights. That is approximately 45-48% of the total American Chabad population (Comenetz 2006). However, there are certainly some issues within the Chabad community that make it very unappealing for some families. For example, most people talked about the lack of a sense of community in Crown Heights (Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020). People often described the community as a place where everyone was focused on their own lives rather than creating community with their neighbors (Hadassah, personal communication, January 16, 2020).

Las Vegas is regarded as an up-and-coming community within the Chabad world (Hadassah, personal communication, January 16, 2020). There has been a recent increase in the number of Chabadniks living in Las Vegas, making it more appealing for Chabadniks because of its social potential. Therefore, as the community continues to increase, the appeal has become stronger to people who do not live in Las Vegas because of the sense of community that one can get from Las Vegas.

Within Las Vegas, when compared to Crown Heights, individuals describe the community as very social. In Las Vegas, everyone wants to know what you are doing behind closed doors, while in Crown Heights, people only truly care what you appear to behave as in public (Perle, personal communication, January 17, 2020; Shoshannah personal communication, January 14, 2020; Shawn, personal communication, December 12, 2019). This creates the tight-knit community that many people in Crown Heights complained about missing, making Las Vegas an even more appealing option for individuals seeking that social component (Perle, personal communication, January 17, 2020).

III. Data Collection

The data collection for this thesis was through interviews. I chose to conduct interviews because it is impossible to understand the Chabad community without individual stories due to the dearth of data on Chabadniks. These interviews took place either in person or over the phone, depending on the availability of my interviewees. All interviews were prompted by certain questions, which can be found in the Appendix, but often simply relied on subjects to tell their stories. Each interview was approximately 30-60 minutes. My connection to interviewees primarily relied on other Chabad Jews I knew through my professor, David Freidenreich. Individuals opted into the interviews after being told about the research and gave verbal consent at the start of their interview. They would then connect me with their friends, so that I was able to conduct more interviews. I relied on the connections of people because the community is fairly close-knit. Additionally, being connected by people in the community immediately increased the trust my interviewees had in me. In a world where antisemitism is increasing, many Chabadniks are hesitant about inviting strangers into their lives and houses. Therefore, having their trust through other people vouching for me was imperative to the success of the interviews.

Most of my interviewees were women because of the social segregation of the sexes within the Chabad community. Therefore, generally speaking, women felt more comfortable speaking with me than men. Due to this, I only interviewed two men. My sample was extremely small. In addition to the two men, I interviewed seventeen women. I interviewed two individuals in Maine, thirteen in Crown Heights, and four in Las Vegas. This gave me a total of nineteen interviews.

The questions developed depended heavily on the geographical location of the subject. For example, I did not ask individuals in Portland if they felt they were able to fulfill the Rebbe's

mission, but I did ask individuals in Crown Heights this question. This is because individuals in Portland do work as shlichim, which they believe is fulfilling the Rebbe's mission. Therefore, there was no need for them to specifically articulate how they were fulfilling the Rebbe's mission. By catering the questions to each geographical location, the accuracy of individuals' story is better because it provides them an avenue to best tell their story.

My data is anonymous in order to protect the identities of my participants. I will rely on first names only for New York City, as there are a great number of repeats of first names in the Chabad community because of cultural naming practices. I will follow the same protocol when referring to individuals who are within Las Vegas. In terms of Portland, it is impossible to provide anonymity by utilizing first names because of the small number of Chabad Jews within Maine. Therefore, to protect their anonymity, I will simply refer to them as "Maine Chabad" in the citations of their interviews.

IV. Theoretical Model

For the purposes of this paper, I model the residential location decisions of Chabad households beginning with the prototypical conception of human behavior. Utility in this model can be understood as derived from access to religious amenities, a , the ability to socialize with other Chabad Jews, s , and ability to contribute to the mission, which is denoted by m . I model a representative household. Each household has the ability to choose the location of their residence that will optimize their utility.

Below, I begin with the single-period utility function, then describe how forward-looking households make decisions based on the present discounted value of their lifetime utility. I outline each component that will be included in the final optimization model. I outline the

assumptions associated with each function in order to create a singular model to show the utility gained from amenities, social, and mission.

Components of the Utility Function

$$\text{Let } s = f(t_c)$$

The social scenes of each community, defined as the level of involvement and sense of community a representative household can gain, is represented by the number of years a household spends in an area. In this paper, I will refer to “sense of community” as social for simplicity purposes. Each of the three representative communities have very distinct social scenes with the possibility to gain more social utility from some communities than others. Specifically, the maximum social utility that can be received from Las Vegas is higher than that of Crown Heights because of their distinctive culture. Through exploring the ways that people speak about the communities, we can gain a better understanding of how the community actually functions in terms of social interactions.

Where t_c is the amount of time a representative household has spent within community c where $c \in \{CH, LV, PM\}$. CH represents Crown Heights, LV represents Las Vegas, and communities with similar levels of s , a , and m , and PM represents Portland, Maine and communities with similar levels of s , a , and m .

Assumption 1

$$\frac{\partial s}{\partial t_c} > 0 \text{ and } \frac{\partial^2 s}{\partial t_c^2} < 0$$

The ability to derive utility from social, s , is determined by the amount of time that a household spends within a community. This is because initially, one will not have a sense of

community. Then, they will start to meet people and find their place, which will give them their sense of community. Additionally, utility gained from social will be increasing at a decreasing rate as households will get greater utility from initial social interactions as they meet more people, but their ability to increase or improve their social circle will become smaller over time. This is what causes $\frac{\partial^2 s}{\partial t^2} < 0$. Additionally, the first community they find will be highly valued and any additional senses of community they find will not be as valued because they already have a sense of community from before.

Assumption 2

The social function is different for each community. Specifically, $\frac{s_{PM}}{t} < \frac{s_{CH}}{t} < \frac{s_{LV}}{t}$.

Specifically, the social function for Las Vegas will have the greatest magnitude, followed by Crown Heights and then Portland. This is because, as previously stated, individuals get a greater sense of community that individuals feel in Las Vegas than in Crown Heights. In terms of Portland, they will get less social utility than Crown Heights and Las Vegas because there are very few Chabadniks in Portland.

Assumption 3

$$m = g\left(\frac{N_J}{N_C}\right)$$

Where N_J is the number of Jewish people in a community and N_C is the number of Chabad Jews in the community.

$$\frac{\partial m}{\partial \left(\frac{N_J}{N_C}\right)} > 0$$

The ratio is important because there needs to be a certain number of Jews to Chabad Jews in order to generate the ability to do mission work within a region. Chabadniks are able to best fulfill the mission when there are a lot of Jews to very few Chabadniks in the region. For example, if there is only one Jew in an area, it may not be ideal for a Chabad family to move to the area because they would only have a single Jew to reach with religious Judaism. This situation would mean there is one Jew to at least two Chabadniks. It would be more advantageous for a Chabad family to move to an area that had a large number of Jews. By dividing the number of Jews by the number of Chabadniks we are able to grasp the ratio of Jews to Chabadniks.

Assumption 4

Levels of mission are largest in Portland, followed by Las Vegas, and smallest in Crown Heights. That is, $m_{PM} > m_{LV} > m_{CH}$. This is because $\frac{N_J}{N_C}$ is largest in Portland due to the very low number of Chabad households and significant Jewish population.

Assumption 5

Levels of amenities are largest in Crown Heights, followed by Las Vegas, and are the smallest in Portland. That is $a_{CH} > a_{LV} > a_{PM}$.

Single- Period Utility Function

The goal of each household is to maximize their life-time utility. Before considering the intertemporal utility function, I introduce a representative household's single-period utility function.

This model will account for two states of the world. In one state of the world, call it $k = 0$, a representative household does not have children of school age. In the second state of the world, $k = 1$, a representative household does have at least one child of school age.

Assumption 6

Assume that this representative household becomes married and has their first child at the age of 24. This is in line with the experiences of the households that I interviewed (Maine Chabad, personal communication, October 30, 2019).

Assumption 7

A residential location decision is made at the time of marriage (Yocheved, personal communication, January 29, 2020).

Based on these assumptions, the household has the first school-age child when the parents reach the age of 30.

$$k = \begin{cases} 0 & \text{if age } [24,30) \\ 1 & \text{if age } [30,T) \end{cases}$$

Assumption 8

Families with school age children value amenities at a higher rate because families need access to a religious education for their children.

Let γ_0 and γ_1 be the respective weights a household places on amenities in states of the world $k=0$ and $k=1$, respectively. Based on assumption 8, $\gamma_1 > \gamma_0$. Let β be the weight a household places on fulfilling the mission.

Then, let single-period utility be represented by:

$$u_t = [(\gamma_k a^\alpha + \beta m^\alpha)^{\frac{v}{\alpha}}] * s$$

Where $a > \bar{a}$, $s > 0$

Where $\gamma_1 > \gamma_0$

Where $\alpha = \frac{\sigma-1}{\sigma}$, the substitution parameter

Where $v \in [0, \infty)$

In terms of a , there needs to be a minimum reached in order for a household to function as a Chabad household. Even when there are no amenities in the area, shlichim either will create them, such as a synagogue, or amenities need to be within travel distance. For example, shlichim in Portland travel to Boston in order to use the mikvah. Please note that the mikveh needs to be within traveling distance through the household's travel resources. This is why $a > \bar{a}$ for all time periods, t .

α is the substitution parameter, which shows us elasticity of ratio between two inputs, such as amenities and mission, in the utility function. Simply put, this is the elasticity of substitution, which measures how easily a factor can be substituted for another (Lu & Fletcher 1968). For example, it would show how easily a representative household is willing to substitute mission for amenities.

$\frac{v}{\alpha}$ determines the overall shape of the function. Let $v < 1$. If $v < 1$, then we will see decreasing returns to scale (Tone & Sahoo 2003). This means that an increase in an input will

lead to a less than proportional increase in utility. For example, an increase in mission of three will lead to an increase in utility that is less than three, allowing the function to increase at a decreasing rate. α , which was previously defined, is the substitution parameter. Therefore, $\frac{\nu}{\alpha}$ divides the returns to scale by the substitution parameter to determine how the function will be shaped in totality. In this case, we conclude that $\frac{\nu}{\alpha} < 1$ because our function is increasing at a decreasing rate.

Assumption 9

Assume that households are choosing between the two communities objectively and do not have pre-existing ties to either. This allows households to move freely with few barriers to movement.

Assumption 10

For a subset of households, $\beta \gg \gamma_k$; that is, these households value the mission at a much higher rate than they value amenities for both states of the world. I will refer to this as a “calling”. These individuals recognize the importance of amenities but will accept the minimum amenities in favor of fulfilling the mission. This is because these individuals believe the value of the mission is infinitely important and their life purpose.

Assumption 11

Assume that after their initial decision, households will not move.

Preference Relationships and Representative Cases

In terms of initial shape of graphs, there are three distinct cases. The first case is when a representative household values amenities more than mission. By definition, this case is when $\gamma_k > \beta$. The second case is when a household values mission over amenities but at a lower rate than if they had the calling. By definition, this case is when $\beta_{calling} > \beta > \gamma_k$. The third case is

when a household values mission above all and has the calling. By definition, this is when

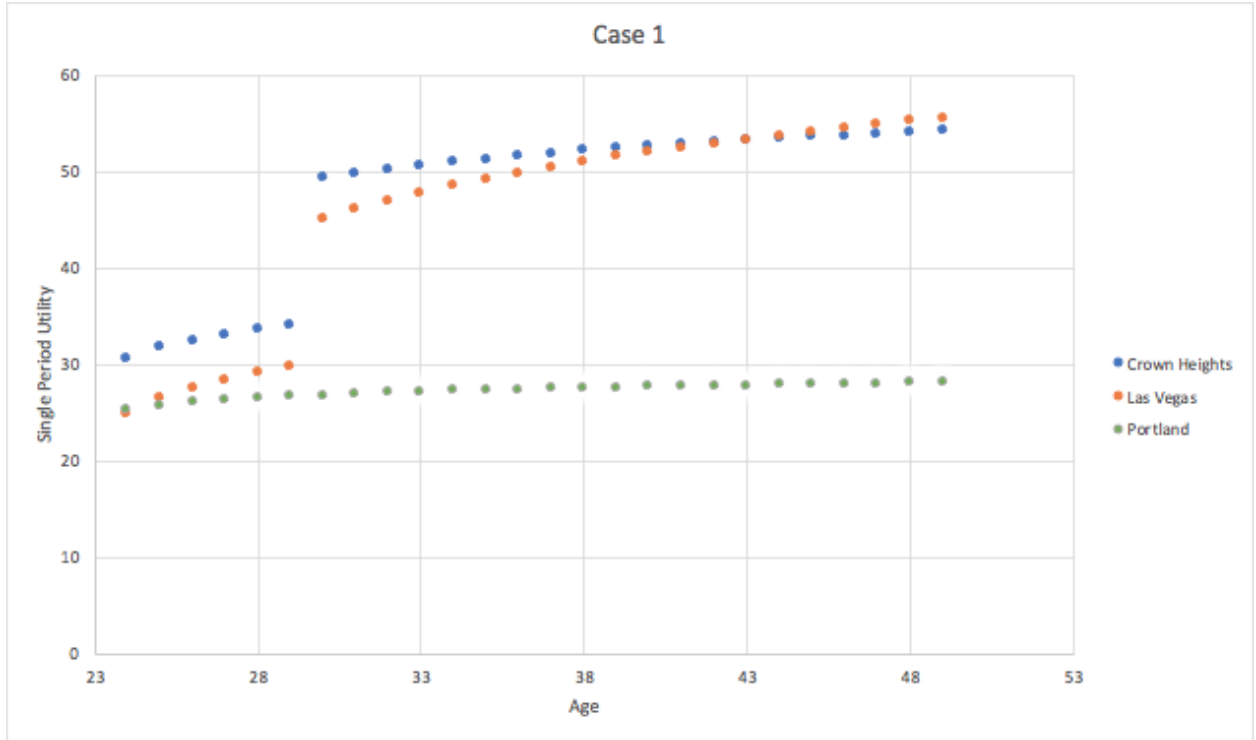
$\beta = \beta_{calling} > \gamma_k$. Each case will be illustrated below by a graph.

Case 1: $\gamma_k > \beta$

In this case, households value amenities more than mission. Recall that $a_{CH} > a_{LV} > a_{PM}$. For these individuals, Crown Heights will likely be most appealing. However, in addition to mission and amenities, households consider the social attainment levels in each location. In all three locations, utility will increase over time because the amount of time that one spends in a community is increasing, so their social variable is increasing. Thus, the decision will depend on the households intertemporal utility function, which will be explored below.

Figure 1 displays this case¹. You can see from Figure 1 that at the age of 30, households will have children of school age and they will drastically increase their preference for amenities, which is represented by $\gamma_1 > \gamma_0$. This will cause a jump in utility, which will appear greater in Crown Heights because of the greater amount of amenities in Crown Heights than Las Vegas. Over time, we would see a rise in utility from both communities, but the rise will be faster in Las Vegas. This is because of the inherent higher social utility that is received in Las Vegas compared to that of Crown Heights. This will cause the utility from living in Las Vegas to surpass Crown Heights in the short term after children officially go to school, assuming that the relative weight of s is sufficiently high. Utility will only level out when social utility reaches its maximum. For all time periods, Portland will be less appealing because of the lack of amenities and Case 1's preference for amenities.

¹ The parameter and variable values used to construct this figure are detailed in the appendix.

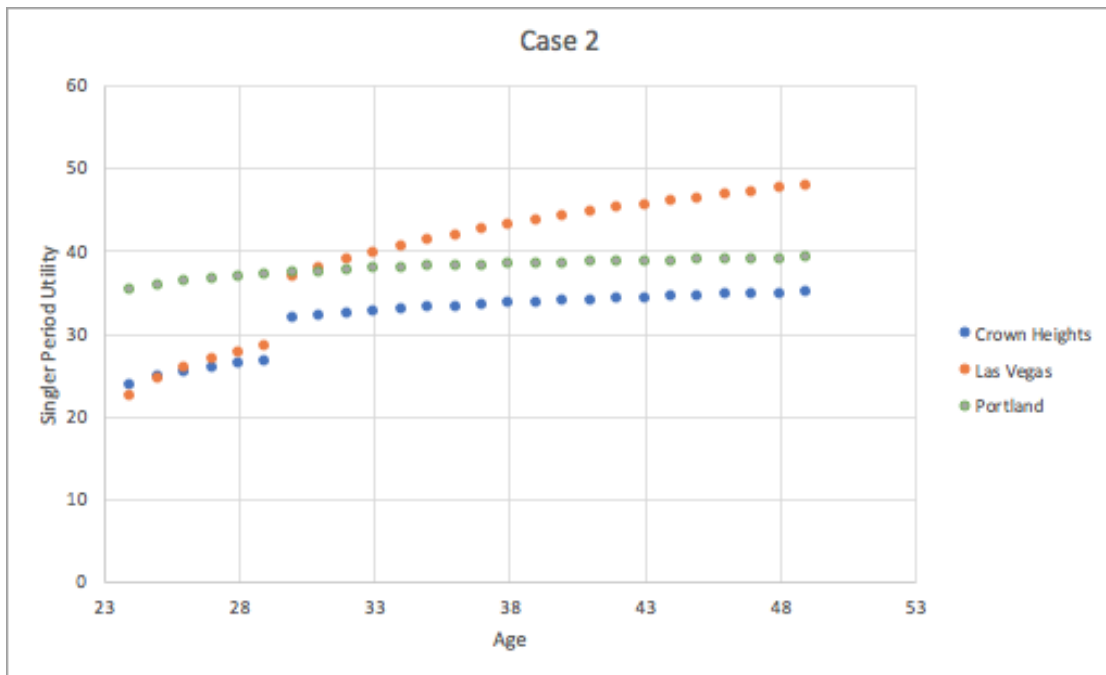


Case 2: $\beta_{calling} > \beta > \gamma_k$

In Case 2, individuals would value mission over amenities but value mission less than if they had the calling. Figure 2 displays this case². Figure 2 shows at age 24, Las Vegas will appear more attractive than Crown Heights but Portland is the most attractive option. This is because there is a greater number of Jews to Chabaniks. Thus $m_{PM} > m_{LV} > m_{CH}$. The high mission available in Portland makes it the most attractive. However, there are enough amenities where Las Vegas is still attractive to these households that do not have the calling, so Portland is not an obvious choice for a household with this preference structure. Utility will rise over time as a household gains more utility from social integration into either community, causing the utility received from Las Vegas to surpass both Crown Heights and Portland.

² The parameter and variable values used to construct this figure are detailed in the appendix.

At age 30, a household will value amenities more because they have children that are of school age. This is the same as in Case 1, where the increase in the utility preference gained is equal in both communities. However, since the utilities in Crown Heights are so much greater, the graph reflects a larger increase in utility. Overtime, the social utility that can be gained is still higher in Las Vegas than in Crown Heights, which will cause Las Vegas to rise at a faster rate than in Crown Heights and Portland.

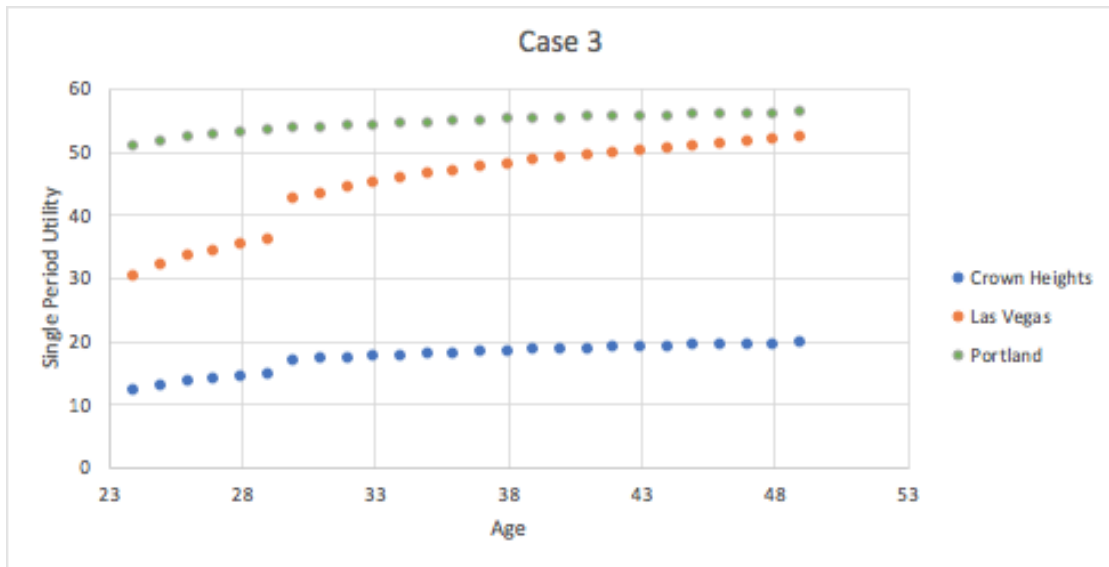


Case 3: $\beta = \beta_{calling} > \gamma_k$

In Case 3, households who have the calling will always receive a higher utility from the mission than amenities or social utility. This is because their β is sufficiently higher than their γ in either period. If $\gamma = 0$, it is possible that an increased utility gained from amenities will not even appear at age 30 when children begin attending school. However, it is unlikely that $\gamma = 0$, so there will be a small increase in preference for amenities at age 30 for these representative

households. Additionally, the value placed on social will be very small, which will only cause a small increase in the function over time.

Therefore, if they choose to live in Portland, their utility will always appear higher if they lived in Crown Heights or Las Vegas because of the high value they put on achieving their mission. Compared to Case 2, Crown Heights and Las Vegas are less appealing but the preference rank is still the same, which is expected because Case 2 also values mission over amenities. Figure 3 displays how Portland would compare to Crown Heights and Las Vegas³.



Intertemporal Utility

The previous model details how households gain utility in each period but fails to consider utility over time. Forward-looking consumers consider their present choices with an eye to the future. For example, a representative household might make a choice about their residential location that considers their potential future children’s education needs. In this case, there would not be a visible significant increase in how a household values amenities when they

³ The parameter and variable values used to construct this figure are detailed in the appendix.

reach the age of 30. Instead, that increase in amenities preference would be captured at age 24 when they are considering where to live with an eye to the future.

Neoclassical economic theory assumes that a consumer exponentially discounts future utility when solving a multi-period utility maximization problem. This means that households will consider their future utility when making present day decisions, but they will discount their future utility more than their present utility. That is, a household chooses a location to live that maximizes the present discounted value of their utility at time the age of 24:

$$U = \max_{c \in \{CH, LV, PM\}} \sum_{t \in [24, T]} \delta^{t-24} u_t$$

Where u_t is the single-period utility function described in the previous section, and T is the last period of life. Let $\delta \in [0, 1)$, implying that this household experiences a constant rate of decline in their utility from future periods.

In each of the three cases, there will be specific ways in which people think about their intertemporal utility. First, in Case 1, we assumed that the preference for amenities was greater than that of mission or social. In this case, representative households will have their greater preference for amenities at the age of 24 and will make a residential location decision with the acknowledgement that their preference for amenities will increase even more once they need

religious schools. A representative household will keep this in mind when they are making a decision at 24. If the value of social is significantly high compared to that of amenities, it may be possible that households will choose to live in Las Vegas. For this to happen, the value of τ would need to be approximately 2 times greater than that of δ before $k=1$. After $k=1$, a household simply needs τ to be approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of δ in order for Las Vegas to be more appealing. Simply put, the value a household puts on social needs to be greater than the value they put on amenities in the early period of their lives in order for there to be a situation in which the household will choose Las Vegas over Crown Heights in Case 1. Given this, it is highly possible that a household will choose Las Vegas over Crown Heights if their preference for social utility is sufficiently high.

Based on the values of the parameters and variables used to construct the figures in the previous section (and detailed in the appendix), and assuming individuals discount the future at a very low rate, such as $\delta = 0.99$, we would see the following intertemporal utilities.

$$U_{PM} = 623.70 ; U_{LV} = 1036.24 ; \text{ and } U_{CH} = 1083.98 .$$

Assuming individuals discount the future at a higher rate, such as $\delta = 0.25$, we would see the following intertemporal utility values.

$$U_{PM} = 33.89 ; U_{LV} = 33.72 ; \text{ and } U_{CH} = 41.19 .$$

In this analysis, we find that if households are more present biased, they will choose to live in Portland. If they are less present biased, they will choose to live in Crown Heights, given the assigned values outlined in the Appendix. This is because the increase in preferences for amenities increases dramatically at age 30. Therefore, households that are less present biased are going to consider that increase in utility they would receive from living in Crown Heights when

they are making their initial choice at age 24. If they are more present biased, they will see the value of getting mission utility and make a decision based more on the utility they would receive at age 24 rather than considering their future utility.

However, if the social utility gained from Las Vegas is approximately three times that of Crown Heights, which is completely dependent on a representative household's preferences, then the intertemporal utilities change. Namely, Las Vegas will provide a greater intertemporal utility.

Based on the values of the parameters and variables used to construct the figures in the previous section (and detailed in the appendix), and assuming individuals discount the future at a very low rate, such as $\delta = 0.99$, we would see the following intertemporal utilities.

$$U_{PM} = 498.73 ; U_{LV} = 114.78 ; \text{ and } U_{CH} = 1083.98 .$$

Assuming individuals discount the future at a higher rate, such as such as $\delta = 0.25$, we would see the following intertemporal utilities.

$$U_{PM} = 26.77 ; U_{LV} = 34.36 ; \text{ and } U_{CH} = 41.19 .$$

It is important to note that in both cases, the intertemporal utility is highest in Las Vegas because of the high value households put on social utility, so households will choose to live in Las Vegas.

In Case 2, households value mission more than amenities. They value mission less than if they had the calling. In this case, they will also consider the increase in their preference for utility that they will experience at age 30. In this case, again, the decision that households make will consider the future utility they will gain from religious schooling being available to their children.

If the ratio of how households value amenities to mission is 2:3, then these households will reflect a higher preference for Crown Heights than if their value ratio is lower. It is important to note that these individuals are still included in the preference set of $\beta_{calling} > \beta > \gamma_k$ even though their preference for Crown Heights is higher than Portland. Based on the values of the parameters and variables used to construct the figures in the previous section (and detailed in the appendix), and assuming individuals discount the future at a very low rate, such as $\delta = 0.99$, the intertemporal utilities are as follows.

$$U_{PM} = 867.19; U_{LV} = 889.22; \text{ and } U_{CH} = 722.82.$$

Assuming individuals discount the future at a higher rate, such as $\delta = 0.25$, their intertemporal utilities are as follows.

$$U_{PM} = 47.12; U_{LV} = 30.67; \text{ and } U_{CH} = 32.02.$$

These preferences indicate that representative households with this preference structure will choose to live in Portland if they are more present biased but will choose Las Vegas if they are not as present biased. Therefore, for this preference structure, both the household's preference and their degree of present bias is very important to determining what residential location decision they will make.

Case 3, households value the mission and have the calling. In this case, households will make a choice about housing at age 24 while still acknowledging that their preference for amenities will increase at age 30. However, in this case, the preference for mission is so high that households will always choose Portland, which can be observed through their intertemporal utility. Intertemporal utility values are received through calculated single period utility. See the Appendix for greater information on the calculations.

Based on the values of the parameters and variables used to construct the figures in the previous section (and detailed in the appendix), and assuming individuals discount the future at a higher rate, such as $\delta = 0.99$, we would see the following intertemporal utilities.

$$U_{PM} = 1244.45; U_{LV} = 1015.50; \text{ and } U_{CH} = 390.91 .$$

Assuming individuals discount the future at a higher rate, such as such as $\delta = 0.25$, we would see the following intertemporal utility values.

$$U_{PM} = 67.66; U_{LV} = 40.60; \text{ and } U_{CH} = 16.29 .$$

As can be seen from these values, in either degree of present bias representative Case 3 households will choose to live in Portland, Maine because it will maximize their lifetime utility.

In the analysis of intertemporal utility for all three cases, we find that people are making choices that may not reflect the choice they would make if they were only considering single-period utility. Therefore, Chabadniks are making choices knowing what is available for all three residential choices and making those choices while acknowledging that their preferences will change over time. They act as rational agents and are reflective of the future preferences when making present-period decisions.

V. Conclusion

The ways Chabadniks prioritize non-pricing, utility-producing characteristics of a residential location, such as social, mission, and amenities, creates differences in the ways that they settle in the United States geographically. The ways in which this utility is affected is predominantly based on the age of parents within a representative household, as the model assumes that it acts as a proxy to the presence of school age students within said representative household. When considering single period utility, households will make their initial residential

location decision at 24 years old. At the age of 30, a household's preference for amenities will increase because they desire a religious education for their children. In terms of intertemporal utility, households will make a decision while also considering their future utility. In this case, households are able to consider the future educational needs of their children even before they are school age. Overall, Chabadniks will choose between the three types of communities based on their utility preferences.

There is a demonstrated preference for living in Crown Heights, which is found by about 45 - 48% of Chabadniks living there. Therefore, perhaps it is reasonable to say that Chabadniks do not have a common preference for outreach work, contrary to what dialogue would have outsiders believe. Instead, they also tend to settle primarily among their own, like many other Hasidic groups. For example, the Satmar Hasidic group tends to predominantly be within Williamsburg, Brooklyn. This is radically different from the way in which Chabad presents themselves to the greater Jewish world because they are known for their outreach work. There is a prominent narrative in the Chabad world that creates the perception that the majority of Chabadniks are widely spread throughout the world rather than settling in one single area (Lubavitch, n.d.). This is primarily because of the focus on shlichim and the Rebbe's mission as a whole. However, Chabadniks are certainly more concentrated on outreach work than other Hasidic Jews because only 45-48% are within Crown Heights compared to the approximately 90% of Satmar Jews that reside in Williamsburg.

There are certainly limitations to my research. First, my data collection was primarily with women and relatively small, so possibly not representative of all Chabadnik voices. It is impossible to know if the overwhelming female nature of my data was influential because I am

not sure if I would have received a different, possibly more holistic, narrative if I had spoken to more men. The experiences of men and women are vastly different from a theological point of view, but sadly I do not have enough data to understand if this difference also exists in terms of preferences and what they define as the most important part of each amenity. However, these are household decisions, so I am able to still learn a plethora of information about residential location choices from women.

My interview questions also did not include a lot of information that would be informative to understanding the entirety of the Chabad population. I do not have data on income levels and expenses that would allow me to include classical economic price constraints into my model. Many Chabadniks confessed that the cost of living was not the most important consideration when thinking about where they wanted to locate (Raizel, personal communication, January 5, 2020; Rena, personal communication, January 15, 2020). However, this lack of certain data provides an inadequacy of meaningful statistical data for price constraint analysis, which could be critical to providing a more holistic understanding of Chabad decision making, no matter how secondary economic considerations may be to Chabad residential location choice-making.

For future research, there is plenty of space within this field as this is the first paper that specifically studies the topic of Chabad geographical placement and one of the only academic papers that focuses specifically on Chabadniks. For research that focuses on expanding the scope of the data, there is potential to conduct a similar study but include more male voices in the data. Additionally, having data on income and expenses would allow the integration of classical economic pricing constraints into the model. Lastly, additional research that discovers the actual

number of Chabadniks in each of the three community types would calibrate the proposed model and increase its validity. This data currently does not exist, so collection would be necessary.

This model could also be extended in a variety of ways that would help it better reflect the choices that Chabadniks make. First, as discussed before, expanding the model to include variables such as expenses and income would create a more holistic look at what impacts a Chabad household's residential location choice. Additionally, allowing for households to move after their initial choice at age 24 would better represent the changes in preferences over time that may occur within a Chabad household. This would better represent Chabadniks because some households that I interviewed moved several times throughout their lifetime. Expanding the model in this manner would also include modeling preferences that change over time throughout life rather than just a change in preferences at age 30. I also would include the monetary and psychological costs for moving in the model.

From a Jewish Studies perspective, this research is radical in calling out the high preference that Chabadniks seem to place on amenities, which is demonstrated by the large percentage who reside in Crown Heights. From Chabad language about Chabad, the emphasis seems to be placed on shlichim (Lubavitch, n.d.). This would imply that the mission aspect of life is the most important across the Chabad community. However, demonstrated preference for Crown Heights indicates that Chabad is radically different from other Hasidic communities, such as Satmar who prefer to live in large communities of people who are religiously identical to them, but instead that Chabadniks operate under a wide preference for amenities similar to that of Satmar. Additionally, this points to a common issue within the Chabad community. It appears as though people want to become shlichim but are incapable because people believe there are

simply no places left to go where they can carry out mission work (Hadassah, personal communication, January 16, 2020). It may not be that radical to say that we are seeing a shift in the Chabad world from a focus on mission to one of community. Only time will tell as to whether or not Chabad settlement patterns will more closely align to those of Satmar, decreasing the distinctions we can make between the two groups in terms of community decisions.

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Appendix

Sample Questions

Maine Questions

1. Where are you from/Where were you born?
2. Can you explain the community where you grew up? What type of jobs were available to people? Men vs women?
3. What did you dream of doing when you were a child?
4. When did you move to Maine/Crown Heights?
5. What was the most difficult part of moving to Maine/Crown Heights?
6. Why did you choose to stay in Crown Heights?
7. How did you choose where to live in Maine/Crown Heights?
 - a. Why did you choose this part of Portland/Crown Heights? ~ only ask if applicable
8. When you first moved to Maine/Crown Heights, I imagine it was difficult to establish yourself financially. Can you walk me through some of your revenue streams?
 - a. For NY: Do any of your revenue streams relate directly to the Chabad community? If so, how?
9. Once you chose living in Portland, why did you choose this neighborhood?
 - a. Is it close to a large amount of other Jews?
10. What are your responsibilities within the Chabad community here?
 - a. What do your day to day look like?
 - b. What do you like most about your work? What do you find most challenging?
11. What type of relationship do you have with the Chabad community in NYC?
12. Why did Chabad decide to settle in Maine? What is your impression of why they chose to settle in Portland?
 - a. For NY: What is your involvement in the Chabad community here?
13. Could you tell me some of the amenities that you think are important to informing your housing decisions
14. What other conditions were important in choosing housing and who was involved in your decision making process?
 - a. Did you have to make certain modifications to your home before moving in?
When you finally settled in?
15. What was the most important part of choosing a location for your house for you?
16. Do you have anything else you would like to add?
17. How did you handle Niddah?
 - a. Was this a concern when you were choosing where to live?
18. What was the most important part of choosing a location for your house for you?
19. Do you have anything else you would like to add?
20. Daily activities

21. Housing related expenses
 - a. Think about her kitchen, remodeling to make it live-able for them, and percent of income that goes towards housing
2. Revenue streams and how they make money

Las Vegas Questions

1. Where are you from/Where were you born?
2. Can you explain the community where you grew up? What type of jobs were available to people? Men vs women?
3. What did you dream of doing when you were a child?
4. What did your education look like growing up? Where did it take place?
5. When did you move to Vegas?
6. Why did you choose to move to Vegas?
7. What was the most difficult part of moving to Vegas?
8. How did you choose where to live in Vegas? Why?
9. When you first moved to Vegas, I imagine it was difficult to establish yourself financially. Can you walk me through some of your revenue streams?
 - a. Do any of your revenue streams relate directly to the Chabad community? If so, how?
10. What are your responsibilities within the Chabad community here?
 - a. What do you like most about your work? What do you find most challenging?
11. Walk me through a typical day for you
 - a. What about that of your spouse?
12. What type of relationship do you have with the Chabad community you grew up in? ~ if applicable
13. What type of relationship do you have with the Chabad community in Crown Heights?
14. Could you tell me some of the amenities that you think are important to informing your housing decisions
15. How far is the closest shul?
 - a. Is this the shul you frequent? If not, how far is that shul?
 - b. When deciding where to live, how far were you willing to live from the closest shul?
16. How far is the closest mikveh?
 - a. Is this the mikveh that you use? If not, how far is that mikveh?
 - b. When deciding where to live, how far were you willing to live from the closest mikveh?
17. What other conditions were important in choosing housing?

18. Did you have to make certain modifications to your home before moving in? When you finally settled in?
19. Who was involved in your decision making process for housing?
20. What was the most important part of choosing a location for your house for you?
21. Do you feel as though you are able to complete the Rebbe's mission in NYC?
22. Do you have anything else you would like to add?

New York Questions

1. Where are you from/Where were you born?
2. Can you explain the community where you grew up? What type of jobs were available to people? Men vs women?
3. What did you dream of doing when you were a child?
4. What did your education look like growing up? Where did it take place?
5. When did you move to Crown Heights?
6. What was the most difficult part of moving to Crown Heights?
7. When you first moved to Crown Heights, I imagine it was difficult to establish yourself financially. Can you walk me through some of your revenue streams?
 - a. Do any of your revenue streams relate directly to the Chabad community? If so, how?
8. Why did you choose to stay in Crown Heights?
9. How did you choose where to live in Crown Heights?
 - a. Why did you choose this part of Crown Heights? ~ only ask if applicable
10. Walk me through a typical day for you
 - a. What about that of your spouse?
 - b. What do you like most about your work? What do you find most challenging?
11. What are your responsibilities within the Chabad community here?
12. What type of relationship do you have with the Chabad community you grew up in? ~ if applicable
13. Could you tell me some of the amenities that you think are important to informing your housing decisions
14. How far is the closest shul?
 - a. Is this the shul you frequent? If not, how far is that shul?
 - b. When deciding where to live, how far were you willing to live from the closest shul?
15. How far is the closest mikveh?
 - a. Is this the mikveh that you use? If not, how far is that mikveh?

- b. When deciding where to live, how far were you willing to live from the closest mikveh?
16. What other conditions were important in choosing housing and who was involved in your decision making process?
 - a. Did you have to make certain modifications to your home before moving in? When you finally settled in?
 17. What was the most important part of choosing a location for your house for you?
 18. Do you feel as though you are able to fulfill the Rebbe's mission in NYC?
 19. Do you have anything else you would like to add?

Intertemporal Utility Explanation

In attempting to approximate relative differences between m_{CH} , m_{LV} , and m_{PM} , I chose the following numbers respectively: 1, 4, 12. This allows the mission component to be significantly higher in Portland than either Las Vegas or Crown Heights. In attempting to approximate the relative differences between a_{CH} , a_{LV} , and a_{PM} , I chose the following numbers respectively: 10, 5.5, 0.5. This evaluation captures the overall greater amenities in Crown Heights, but also considers the many amenities that exist in Las Vegas.

For the other parameters, I chose very specific values. First I let $\frac{\nu}{\alpha} = 0.3$ because this allowed the function to be increasing at a decreasing rate. Recall, when $\nu < 1$, there is a diminishing return to scale. Therefore, I allowed $\nu = 0.3$ and $\alpha = 1$ for simplicity purposes. The overall purpose of this parameter was to allow the function to be increasing at a decreasing rate, which was achieved through the usage of $\nu = 0.3$.

For social utility, I utilized the function $s = \ln(t_c)$, where t_c is the number of years a representative household spends within a community. In each community, I modified this equation to reflect the assumption $s_{LV} > s_{CH} > s_{PM}$. Therefore, I let the social functions appear as follows: $s_{CH} = \ln(t_c)$; $s_{LV} = 2\ln(t_c)$; $s_{PM} = 0.5\ln(t_c)$. This also met the assumption that each

community has a different social function. To approximate t_c , I utilized the age of the parents in a representative household. I began my function at age 24 and measured until age 49. This allowed me to capture the initial household choices and the increase in utility they would experience at age 30.

When choosing values for β and γ , I relied on values that would reflect each of the cases. For example, in Case 1, I let $\gamma_0 = 3$ and $\gamma_1 = 10$ to reflect the increase in preference for amenities that would be experienced at 30 years old. To reflect that households with Case 1 preferences have a higher preference for amenities, I let $\beta = 2$. These preference structures stayed the same for all three locations and only the values of s , m , and a varied. For Case 2, I let $\gamma_0 = 1$, $\gamma_1 = 2$, and $\beta = 3$. For Case 3, I let $\gamma_0 = 1$, $\gamma_1 = 2$, and $\beta = 10$.

Intertemporal utility was calculated by the function determined within the Intertemporal Utility section. Each intertemporal utility was calculated utilizing the above numbers and single period utility in each period.