

Youth in the Argentine Masortí Movement: Perceptions About the *Ethos* Community*

[English Version]

Juventudes en el movimiento Masortí argentino: percepciones sobre
el *ethos* comunitario

Juventude no movimento argentino Masortí: percepções sobre
oethos comunitário

Received February 1, 2019. Accepted March 6, 2020.

Vanesa-Cynthia Lerner**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4759-5844>

Argentina

› To cite this article: Lerner,
Vanesa-Cynthia (2021). Youth in
the Argentine Masortí movement:
perceptions about the
ethos community.
Ánfora, 28(50), 215-248.
<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv28.n50.2021.582>
Universidad Autónoma de
Manizales. ISSN 0121-6538 /
e-ISSN 2248-6941.
CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Abstract

Objective: to describe and understand the way of *inhabiting* or the community *ethos* of the youth organization within the conservative Masortí movement in the Ciudad Autónoma of Buenos Aires and analyze the tensions of young people in their participation outside the Youth Departments. **Methodology:** Aqualitative study that was based on the interpretative approach. Participant observations were made in activities of

* This article is part of the results of the master's thesis "Construcciones identitarias de los jóvenes que participan en el movimiento conservador/masortí en la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires en la actualidad", within the framework of the doctoral project "El sentido de lo judío en el mundo del judaísmo. Religión, identidad y juventud en el movimiento conservador/masortí argentino en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires en la actualidad" funded by The Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET), 2015-2020. Some sections were based on the presentation made at the VI National Meeting of Researchers in Youth of Argentina, Córdoba, November 2018. The author declares that there were no conflicts of interest in the execution of the research project.

** Master in Research in Social Sciences. PhD student in Social Sciences Faculty of Social Sciences-Universidad de Buenos Aires). Internal Doctoral Fellow of CIS-IDES / CONICET, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina. Sociologist from the Universidad de Buenos Aires. Adjunt Professor at the Universidad de El Salvador. E-mail: vanesalerner@gmail.com

the Masortí movement and semi-structured interviews were held with young people who participated in it. **Results:** it was found that there are institutionalized youths in the Masortí movement who participate through non-formal education, directing their activities towards children and adolescents. From this role they develop a community *ethos* that falters when they must finish their university studies or enter the labor market. These obligations make it impossible to make such participation compatible to the point of abandoning it. On the other hand, there are the non-institutionalized youths - university or tertiary students, professionals and / or merchants without children - who do not have specific spaces or operating ranges in the movement and circulate through other organizations. The adult world questions these ways of living by following utilitarian logic, moving away from the idea of *ethos*. **Conclusions:** it is concluded that it is the condition of youth that guarantees participation in the movement and the reproduction of that *ethos*. For its part, the Masortí movement offers socialization spaces for institutionalized youth and families. Institutionalized youth inhabit the community through a specific role in pursuit of a long-term company.

Keywords: Jewish youth; Jewish identity; Argentine Masortí Movement; Ethos Jewish-community.

Resumen

Objetivo: describir y comprender el modo de habitar o el *ethos* comunitario que tiene la juventud institucionalizada dentro del movimiento conservador Masortí en la ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires y analizar las tensiones de los y las jóvenes en su participación por fuera de los Departamentos de Juventud. **Metodología:** estudio cualitativo que se apoyó en el enfoque interpretativo. Se realizaron observaciones participantes en actividades del movimiento Masortí y entrevistas semi-estructuradas a jóvenes que participan en él. **Resultados:** se encontró que existen juventudes institucionalizadas en el movimiento Masortí que participan por medio de la educación no formal, dirigiendo sus actividades a niños, niñas y adolescentes. A partir de ese rol desarrollan un *ethos* comunitario que flaquea cuando deben terminar sus estudios universitarios o insertarse en el mercado laboral; estas obligaciones hacen imposible compatibilizar dicha participación al punto tal de abandonarla. Por otra parte, están las juventudes no institucionalizadas –estudiantes universitarios o terciarios, profesionales y/o comerciantes sin hijos– que no tienen espacios concretos ni radios de acción en el movimiento y circulan por otras organizaciones. El mundo adulto cuestiona esos modos de habitar por hacerlo de acuerdo a lógicas utilitarias alejándose de la idea de *ethos*. **Conclusiones:** se concluye que es la condición de joven la que garantiza la participación en el movimiento y la reproducción de ese *ethos*. Por su parte, el movimiento Masortí

ofrece espacios de socialización para una juventud institucionalizada y para las familias. La juventud institucionalizada habita lo comunitario por medio de un rol específico en pos de una empresa a largo plazo.

Palabras-clave: Juventudes judaístas; Identidad judía; Movimiento Masortí argentino; EthosJudio-comunitario.

Resumo

Objetivo: descrever e entender o modo de vida ou o *ethos* comunitário que os jovens institucionalizados possuem no movimento conservador Masortí, na cidade autônoma de Buenos Aires, e analisar as tensões dos jovens em sua participação fora dos Departamentos da Juventude. **Metodologia:** estudo qualitativo, baseado na abordagem interpretativa. As observações dos participantes foram feitas em atividades do movimento Masortí e entrevistas semiestruturadas com jovens que participam dele.

Resultados: verificou-se que existem jovens institucionalizados no movimento Masortí que participam da educação não formal, direcionando suas atividades para crianças e adolescentes. A partir desse papel, eles desenvolvem um *ethos* comunitário que oscila quando devem terminar os estudos universitários ou entrar no mercado de trabalho; Essas obrigações tornam impossível fazer essa participação compatível a ponto de abandoná-la. Por outro lado, existem jovens não institucionalizados - estudantes universitários ou terciários, profissionais e / ou comerciantes sem filhos - que não possuem espaços ou rádios de ação específicos no movimento e circulam por outras organizações. O mundo adulto questiona esses modos de vida, fazendo-o de acordo com a lógica utilitarista, afastando-se da idéia de *ethos*. **Conclusões:** conclui-se que é a condição da juventude que garante a participação no movimento e a reprodução desse *ethos*. Por seu lado, o movimento Masortí oferece espaços de socialização para jovens institucionalizados e famílias. Os jovens institucionalizados habitam a comunidade através de um papel específico na busca de uma empresa de longo prazo.

Palavras-chave: Juventude judaista; Identidade judaica; Movimiento Masortí argentino; Comunidad judaica Ethos.

Introduction

The conservative Argentine Masortí movement is made up of a network of organizations that can be synagogues or synagogues-schools that the members call “communities”; Fourteen of them have Youth Departments and are attached to Noam Argentina. In them, young people *madrijim / madrijot*—in Hebrew, leaders or guides— provide non-formal education to children and adolescents between 3 and 16 years old. Noam Argentina is part of Noam Olami, a global organization in charge of promoting non-formal education worldwide to children and adolescents between 8 and 18 years old. Its headquarters are in the United States, with subsidiaries in different countries.

In the Argentine case, the conservative / masortí movement in 2017 registered 37 “communities”, a significant number compared to other countries. In 2020 there are 14 communities with Youth Departments that are part of Noam (Amijai, Bet-El, Bet Hilel, Benei Tikvá, Beit Israel, Bialik de Devoto, Or Jadash, Dor Jadash, Comunidad Pardés, Lamroth ha Kol, Sio de Morón, Tfilat Shalom, Judaica and Ioná). All of them are located in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires and in greater Buenos Aires.

Although in the interior of the country there are "communities" and youth organizations whose spirituality is conservative / Masortí, they are not attached to Noam but to the Zionist youth movements. Within the Jewish youth world there is a wide offer linked to non-formal education that varies according to their ideological, religious or lay positions. Examples of these are: the socio-sports entities attached to the Argentine Federation of Macabeo Community Centers (FACCMA), those associated with the Zionist Youth Movement and the Idisher-CulturFarband (ICUF). Likewise, there is the Bamá Foundation (BeitHamejanejHaiehudí-The House of the Jewish Educator), who also promotes formal and non-formal education in Judeo-Argentine organizations.

Therefore, this article aims to describe and understand the way of *inhabiting* or the *ethos* community that youth have institutionalized within the conservative / Masortí movement in the Autonomous city of Buenos Aires. It also seeks to analyze the tensions that appear in the young people who participate outside the Youth Departments and, in turn, expose some perceptions of the adult world of the movement by reflecting on other youths who do not participate through voluntary work.

Now, Max Weber (1979) understands *ethos* ethics as an attitudinal dimension, a set of values and motivations that refers to the moral qualities of the individual. As for the community, it is a space for socialization in which everyone knows each other and those who participate do so according to a "valor-rational

actions " that is "determined by the conscious belief in ethical value, aesthetic, religious or in any other way as it is interpreted - proper and absolute of a certain conduct, without any relation to the result, that is, purely on the merits of that value "(Weber, 1964, p. 20).

Taking up what Zygmunt Bauman (2008) said, the postmodern community evokes meanings related to the good, the warm and peaceful. It is an imagined community that takes up the characteristics of that described by Ferdinand Tönnies (1979) and Robert Redfield (1971) - the existence of a shared "tacit" and "natural" understanding, for being small, distinctive and self-sufficient-, but in reality it no longer exists because it falls when it is made self-conscious, it is named, it is proclaimed and it is criticized. On the contrary, despite failing to establish a sharp border between an "us" and an "others", maintaining a monopoly on communication and remaining isolated from the external world, it operates as if this were indeed happening.

This said way of inhabiting or *ethos* community of institutionalized youth was disaggregated into different dimensions (what it means for one to assume the role of a non-formal educator, the organizational structure and the way of working, the pedagogical content, the *ethos* and the values to be transmitted and their motivations for participating in this way) and then, secondly, to, develop the subsequent objectives related to youth and the tensions with the adult world.

Jewish identity contains a diversity of dimensions (ideological, religious, cultural, ethnic, national, political, linguistic, and geographic), which, redefined from the particular meaning of each subject, give Judaism a multifaceted representation (Erdei, 2011; Caro, 2006; Baumann, 2001). The religious side thus constitutes one of these aspects, that includes identifications with that which is Jewish, which has significant weight.

The social actors in general terms support the existence of three currents: the orthodox, the reformist and the conservative / masortí. The first complies with Jewish Law (in Hebrew *halajá*) and is characterized by the rigorous observance of religious precepts, while the second leaves this to one side and appeals to individual autonomy (Kepel, 1995). The conservative / masortí movement defines itself as a third position among the other two, since it "preserves" the fulfillment of the Jewish Law as well as the first but adapts it to the needs of the parishioners, whose lifestyle is secular and is immersed in a non-Jewish society like the reformists. The masortí movement complies with *Shabat*(Saturday) allowing the parishioner to reach the synagogue using some form of transportation and, therefore, permits the touching of money, the use of musical instruments and microphones in ceremonies, the incorporation of the vernacular in the recitation of prayers: all things that orthodoxy prohibits.

It also includes circumcision, daily prayers, the precept of marriage, divorce, conversion according to Jewish Law, the use of Hebrew in religious services, and the spiritual centrality of the Land of Israel and its People. He introduced Zechariah Frankel's concept of *Klal Israel*, the translation of which is "The Whole of Israel" referring to a national membership (Waxman, 1970; Cohen, 1987). Likewise, unlike orthodoxy, it changed the status of women enabling them to share the same space with men in the synagogue, conforming to *minian* (minimum quorum of ten people for prayers), and permitting women to read *Torah* (Pentateuch) in public and hold rabbinical positions.

However, they would not be able to obtain the same conditions of equality as men (Sklare, 1972). Masorti in Hebrew means traditionalist. In the specific case of the conservative / Masorti parishioners in Argentina, it is a principle that the religious is recreated when entering the "community" and not necessarily outside it. This is not the case in other parts of the world.

The Masorti movement originated in Western Europe in the mid-19th century, after the advances of the Enlightenment and the constitution of the Nation-States, at that time it was known as a positive Judeo-historical current. With the emancipatory laws, the Jews acquired the status of citizens, which implied changes and tensions in the sociopolitical organization of the religious communities, because until now, their authorities were the ones that exercised political and legal power in the ghettos independently of the central authorities. (Meyer, 1995). Obtaining political rights led to a process of confessionalization that relegated Jewishness to the private sphere (Traverso, 2013).

Its institutionalization occurred in the United States in the late XIX century, with *Jewish Theological Seminary of America* being the academic and ideological benchmark. In the Argentine case, it was established in 1957 when the *Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina (CIRA)* (Jewish Congregation of the Republic of Argentina), which adhered to the European reformist current, decided to join the *United Synagoges of America*. So, in 1959, the American conservative rabbi Marshall T. Meyer, a graduate of *Jewish Theological Seminary*, came to that country to take over the organization, becoming the main leader of the movement (Schenquer, 2012).

Similarly, American reformism settled in Argentina along with the conservative / Masorti movement in the 1960s. Bulgarian Rabbi HaimAsa who adhered to American reformism came from the United States to Buenos Aires in 1963 and formed the *Comunidad Emanu El* (Emanu EL Community) in 1965. In the Argentine case, the differences between these currents were not so sharp. The formation of rabbis of both passed through the *Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano* (Latin American Rabbinical Seminary) led by Rabbis Marshall Meyer and Mordejai-Edery.

The conservative / masortí movement was hegemonic in the Latin American region in the face of reformism. "Communities" that adhered to European reformism, were Judeolaic, or that developed a moderate orthodoxy defined as "traditionalist" began to join the conservative / Masorti movement between the 1970s and 1980s (Schenquer, 2012). This involved hiring a rabbi or seminarian trained at the *Seminario*. Regarding orthodoxy, there are different types and aspects. Some that arrived in Argentina with the migratory processes of the late nineteenth century and others that settled in the country under the same logic as the conservative /masortí movement or reformism.

The recruitment of rabbis from different parts of the world to take charge of different congregations was not exclusive to these movements. Following Susana Bianchi (2004) towards the 1960s, within the Jewish world a crisis was recognized within the religious field. "The synagogues seemed to be empty and their number did not grow" (p. 252). This was due to the stagnation of new immigration waves and according to community leaders, due to a departure from the membership of ritual practices with a secularized lifestyle.

The hiring of rabbis from abroad implied for the leaderships to revitalize religious matters, to unite criteria on the rituals "carried out many times unscrupulously". For example, Rabbi Isaac Chehebar from Aleppo was appointed in 1953 as the religious specialist of the Sephardic school of Aleppo origin YesodHadath to restore rabbinical authority and compliance with Judaic precepts. Rabbi DovBerBaumgarten based in the United States, a disciple of Rebe-Me-nahem Mendel Schneerson, traveled to Argentina in 1956 as the first emissary of the ChabadLubavitch Hasidic current in that country. Likewise, the German rabbi Iosef Oppenheimer from the Netherlands in 1953 was hired to lead the Ajdut Israel Congregation in Buenos Aires, an Orthodox synagogue of German origin replacing Rabbi Hermann Klein who was very old.

Although within the conservative/Masorti movement there are central organizations (such as the aforementioned, the Rabbinical Assembly, the Commission of Jewish Law and Standards that by vote can create new responsibilities, the Latin American Rabbinical Assembly, the *Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano*, etc.) that They order it and lower the main guidelines, working in a decentralized way. This is so, because the rabbinical figure in their respective "communities" has the highest authority (marad'atra) regarding religious matters. The said figure can decide on compliance with the precepts and how to apply them, but you cannot invent new laws. However, in reality, there is a dual power.

The "communities" are non-profit civil organizations governed by Executive Commissions made up of founding or leading families. The application of the Jewish Law is the product of a negotiation between the rabbinical figure that holds the religious power with the Directive Commissions in charge of adminis-

tering the economic resources. The boundaries between religious and economic power are unclear to define the sacred and the profane. At the same time, there is an institutional history regarding the application of Jewish Law that transcends the religious figure. In other words, there are communitarianisms within the movement (Hervieu-Léger, 2004; Giménez-Béliveau, 2016).

There is a wide spectrum within the masorti that will be conditioned by the previous questions. This can be seen in the role of women and LGBTIQ groups. In the "communities" of Buenos Aires, women hold leadership positions, volunteer, work as liturgical singers, and can serve as rabbis. Of the 105 rabbis graduated from the Latin American Rabbinical Seminary registered on its website between the years 1972-2018¹, 11 are women, the first being Rabbi Margit Baumatz graduated in 1994 at 56 years old, married and with three adult daughters. Seven live in Buenos Aires and four in Brazil, the United States, and Israel.

In general, it is difficult for women to insert themselves into "communities" as the only maximum authority. In their trajectories, it can be seen that they have shared this place with male rabbis; that they have been in charge alone for a limited time or that they dedicate themselves to teaching and to a lesser extent to the pulpit. They say that the Directive Commissions prefer male over female leadership. In other words, for them, community leadership turns out to be a field of dispute.

In 2020 there is only one "community" in the Ciudad de Buenos Aires exclusively led by a female rabbi and another with shared leadership. Regarding LGBTIQ groups, the *Committee on Jewish Law and Standards* located in the United States, approved on December 6, 2006 "*Homosexuality, Human Dignity & Halakhah: a combined responsibility for the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards*" that allows for the ordination of gay male and female rabbis and same-sex marriage. However, as explained above, each "community" can decide. Male and female rabbis may be in favor of developing the marriage ritual but they can only carry it out by establishing consensus with the Directive Commissions. An example of this was the marriage carried out by Rabbi Karina Finkielstein in the Comunidad NCI-Emanuel (NCI-Emanuel Community) in 2016 who married two women, Romina Charur and Victoria Escobar.

This community belongs to Fundación Judaica, a double-affiliated institutional network (conservative and reformist) led by Rabbi Sergio Bergman. JAG (Argentine Jewish Gays) has been part of this network since 2008 after the merger of JAG and Keshet. Both were formed in 2004. the former aimed to

1. Information obtained in the open course called "Conservative / Masorti Judaism" taught once a week at the "Marshall T. Meyer" Latin American Rabbinical Seminary located in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires between August and December 2011, corroborated on the website of the Latin American Rabbinical Seminary: <https://www.seminariorabinico.org/graduados/rabinos-graduados/>.

create spaces of socialization doors inward and the latter sought to make the Judeo-gay issue visible to the Jewish non-Jewish communities. Although they began as spaces in which gay men participated, later on women joined them, including Romina and Victoria (Setton, 2015, 2020).

During the fieldwork, different male and female rabbis spoke in favor of equal marriage, others against it. All agreed that in case of carrying it out, they should consult it with their "community". The actors who participate in JAG seek that the "communities" have inclusive policies for the participants². Although with this organization the demands for inclusion were made visible and institutionalized, this does not have a presence in all communities. In the seven surveyed "communities", it was found that their rabbinical figures formed families under the heteronormative logic. The socio-structural transformations in the 1990s in Argentina, together with the processes of globalization, impacted the conservative/masortí movement, both in material and symbolic terms. The terrorist attack on the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA) in 1994 and the bankruptcy of the Jewish banks Patricios and Mayo had an economic impact on the organizations adhered to the conservative/Masortí movement. At the same time, many of them could not adapt to the cultural changes of the time so they closed (Rubel, 2011).

Although it has already been stated that the Jewish identity is diverse, with the processes of globalization a variety of forms of identification with the Jewish became present, challenging boundaries. Conservative/Masorti religious and educational affiliations began to compete with other religious offerings within the Jewish camp.

On one hand, those patterns of how to live Judaism associated with community affiliations were questioned, establishing new modalities of "*off* Jewish culture" or "*Light*" in which each individual decides how to put Judaism into practice³. New forms of mercantile culture appeared, such as Jewish film festivals, bars and restaurants serving Jewish cuisine in the Palermo neighborhood, tourism companies promoting "Jewish Buenos Aires City Tour", open-air celebrations⁴, etc. (Hupert, 2014). On the other hand, there was a strong secularization and, at

2. On the construction of Jewish-gay identities, see the works of Cooper (1989), Setton (2014), Gómez (2017).

3. Daniel Fainstein (1994; 15) explains that it is a current that "defines being Jewish as a diffuse feeling, a sense of a certain" light "belonging, which does not imply specific languages or codes, or particular behaviors or collective commitments. According to this position, being a Jew "is a feeling" that does not require specific actions, but simply the subjective appropriation of a given condition of origin".

4. An example of them is the "Urban Rosh Ha Shana". For the celebration of the Jewish New Year, an open-air event is held in the Belgrano neighborhood of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires with Jewish gastronomic offers, music shows, dance, theater, etc.

the same time, a revitalization of orthodoxy (Aviad, 1983; Topel, 2005; Brauner, 2009; Setton, 2010).

New ultra-orthodox transnational movements deployed an anchor of belonging and social order capable of generating niches of certainty (Setton, 2008). With the 2001 crisis, these ultra-Orthodox organizations were not affected, managing to form an autonomous educational and community network highly involved with local problems (Melamed, 2000) and they began to constitute themselves as centers of legitimacy, establishing a symbolic fight on how to think about Judaism. In addition, changes in the center-diaspora relationship were evident, establishing disagreements around the State of Israel as a central catalyst for Jewish identification (Senkman, 2007; Bokser-Liwerant, 2011; Della-Pergola, 2011; Kacowicz, 2011). Therefore, it is possible to observe how the identity frontiers become diffuse and changing, since the actors begin to circulate successively and simultaneously (Mallimaci and Giménez-Béliveau, 2007). Other authors have carried out research on the origin of the conservative/masorti movement focusing on the leadership of Marshall Meyer and his link with young people (Weil, 1988; Weiss, 1988; Fainstein, 2006; Rosemberg, 2010; Schenquer, 2012) or have reflected on their crisis after the transformations of postmodernity (Laikin-Elkin, 1986), little has been written about the ways in which these institutional transformations affected young people who adhere to this movement and they become central actors.

When considering the youth in the processes of identity transformation within the Jewish social collective through different movements and organizations (Caro, 2006), it is worth asking, what has happened to young people who adhere to the Argentine conservative/Masorti movement in your identity construction processes today? How do they define themselves and set limits with "others"? Did the Masorti institutions lose that organizing and regulatory character? Or now, should Jewish youth think of religion outside of themselves?

Investigating this issue would not only imply a contribution to the field of the Sociology of Religion, being able to dialogue with research that addressed youth (Romero-Ocampo, 2010; Mosqueira, 2014; Barrón, 2018; Fernández, 2018; Lago, 2018) but it is also a contribution to youth studies, since this research also recovers the youth, understanding it as a historical, social, cultural and relational construct (Bourdieu, 1990). This study also makes sense contextually within power relations and in interaction with extra-youth categories such as social class, gender, ethnicity, among others. In this sense, youth should not be thought of as a continuous and ahistorical social group, but rather dynamic and discontinuous, where young people constitute a heterogeneous category, both

diachronically and synchronously. One cannot speak of a type of youth but of youths (Reguillo-Cruz, 2000)⁵.

Methodology

This qualitative research used the interpretive approach as a conceptual perspective within sociological research, focusing primarily on the symbolic aspects of social life and on the meanings of individual life (Sautú, 1999). Considering the subjective interpretation of meaning, understanding of social action as meaning assigned by the actor to her action is considered important (Schutz, 1974).

To build the object of study, the Masortí youth, the field work was carried out in three stages. Firstly, participant observations were carried out in an open course called "Conservative Judaism/Masorti" taught once a week in the *Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano* "Marshall T. Meyer", located in the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires between August and December 2011. It was addressed to the interested general public and to students of the *Seminario* who aspired to be rabbis, seminarians, singers and teachers or those who were in a process of conversion to Judaism. In it, some rabbis and rabbis gave lessons on a particular subject in which they were specialists, for example: the history of the movement, the organizations that compose it or *halachic* positions on gay rabbis, female rabbinate, equal marriage, conversion to Judaism, etc.

This approach allowed obtaining a general view of the movement: its main premises, dilemmas, questions, their definitions of themselves and of the "others". With the consent of the rabbis and teaching rabbis, the lessons were recorded and field notes were taken, as well as informal talks with male and female companions. Both, in this case and in the following stages, the objectives, purposes of the investigation and the identity of the researcher were reported. As well as I have participated in some organizations of the movement, the access was easier.

Secondly, between June and December 2013, observations were made in a religious and cultural space of a conservative/masortí organization aimed at young people between 25 and 35 years old. There were field notes on rituals, lessons and informal talks. This experience allowed us to understand what kind of offers exist for young people who decide to participate in the movement outside the Youth Departments, as non-formal education. Unfortunately, when in a

5. Different authors have approached the youth from this relational, heterogeneous, historical perspective. Examples of them are: Mekler (1992), Feixa (1998), Pérez-Islas (2000), Wortman (2001), Margulis and Urresti (2008), Alvarado and Vommaro (2010), Chaves (2010), Kriger (2016), among others.

second stage it was sought to set up meetings to carry out interviews with the actors, the space had disintegrated. Recognizing that it was an ephemeral space and without continuity allowed us to account for the difficulties that exist for young people in continuing to participate in the movement without exercising non-formal education. They were people who were studying at the university or doing a tertiary career or professionals and/or business people. They worked full hours, achieved economic independence or were in that process, lived alone and were not parents.

Definitely, if the object of interest was the young person, it should be found in the youth spaces institutionalized by the movement, showing its specificity, who participates, does so at a certain moment in their life and has a particular trajectory. At the same time, the stability of the space would facilitate entry and exit as many times as necessary considering that this is a long-term investigation. At the same time, this obtained information that would allow dialogue with previous experience.

Thus, in the third stage of fieldwork, 32 semi-structured interviews were carried out with young people from five "communities" participating in non-formal education between February 2016 and September 2017. In addition, there was already an interview applied in April 2011 to the secretary of Noam, observations of participants in courses, conferences, activities aimed at young people, religious ceremonies between 2013 and 2017.

Another unit of analysis taken into account in this study were the young people who participate as non-formal educators in the different Youth Departments of the "communities" that adhere to the conservative / Masorti movement and are associated with the organization Noam Argentina located in the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires. This data collection technique allowed to recover the voice of the actors and to deepen into their representations and biographical accounts trying to find flexibility while continuing to develop the researcher's ideas (Denscombe, 1999). Likewise, observations were made in a particular "community" between November and December 2016 and March 2017. The observation guide was made up of the following points: work dynamics (group, individual); use of space; topics discussed at the meeting; interpersonal links among the young people and duration of the meetings. All the names of the organizations and of the interviewees are fictitious in order to preserve their identity so any name with a resemblance to reality is purely coincidental.

Since the research did not seek statistical representation, the sampling was based on theoretical criteria using the "Snowball" technique. The axes of inquiry were: trajectories, interactions and circuits within the Masorti movement; the views of young people about Israel and the conflict in the Middle East, the Shoah, the national dates and current issues in Argentina, the transmission of

Jewish content (biblical stories, symbols and customs) and values in their activities; all of this in addition to their sense of belonging to the Masorti movement. Unlike the previous group of young people, these were finishing their secondary studies or starting their university studies. They worked few hours or did not work, they had hobbies and most of them lived with their parents, who were generally professionals or business people. Based on the information obtained, a thematic analysis was carried out, recovering sensitizing concepts, including that of *ethos* or unhabiting.

Results

The Meaning of Being a *Madrij*, an Entrepreneur of the Masorti Morality

Young men and women were called moral entrepreneurs of the Masorti morality, a concept taken from Howard Becker (2014). From their activities, from what they do, they implement 'moral initiatives', which include laws, values and rules⁶, showing what is right and what is wrong according to the Masorti code. This category includes the secretaries or in Hebrew *Mazkirim / Mazkirot* in charge of Noam as well as the different Youth Department positions: the directors and the representatives of the "Youth Area" before the Directive Commissions, the coordinators in charge of the divided areas in the Pre-school, Primary and Secondary, the educational coordinator, in Hebrew *roshjinnuj*, the director and the teacher of the "course of *madrijim*" and the *madrijim* and *madrijot* or the leaders in charge of developing the activities for their *janijim / janijot* or learners (Freire, 2005) on Saturdays. The students, volunteers, rabbis, singers and seminarians were left out of the category of entrepreneurs. Only those volunteers who work within the Youth Departments were counted. This decision had to do not only with their specific role but also with a generational issue (Mannheim, 1990).

Howard Becker (2014) understands that this type of moral entrepreneurs as who enforces law, the police force of a moral crusade, ensuring that it is fulfilled. In theory, the content of the norm does not matter as much as the fact of enforcing it. However, he clarifies that in practice there are tensions or conflicts

6. The author makes this classification taking as a reference the degree of ambiguity. It assumes that the values are a vague guide that guides the general action without concrete determinations. On the contrary, the laws are norms that specify with certainty what should be done and what not. The rules are customs of a group that indicate how to act with greater precision while enabling a wide spectrum of interpretations.

between the creators of norms and those who enforce them. Both the entrepreneurs and anyone who has an occupation have two interests that condition their work: they must justify the existence of their position and earn the respect of those with whom they have to relate.

For the first point, although this Masorti entrepreneurs manifests in the public sphere to highlight unfair acts through participation in acts of commemoration for the attacks on AMIA (1994) and the Israeli Embassy (1992), the Shoah, etc., their energies are put into generating and "framing" deviant behaviors within the "community". Examples of these are: bullying, disregard for Judaism or for those who need help, discrimination, etc. The emphasis is placed on promoting, pushing and directing energy in the children and adolescents who participate in it. Show them a "path of good" and offer them a "healthy" and containment framework that takes them away from the dangers of "outside". Magali, a 25-year-old woman, explains that her role is vital, altruistic, focused on giving a frame to an increasing number of people, which translates into the success of the organization and the perpetuation of the space.

"What we try to do is to provide a framework, a containment. For the *janijim* we try to find a framework within everything that is healthy, fun and provides a sense of belonging. In this year many new boys joined, they did not know anybody, and that is great because they are given a place to go on Saturday afternoon" (Interview with Magali, director of the Youth Department of the Menorah Community, September 16, 2016).

For the second point, young men and women account for a path or a "career" that leads them to exercise this role of non-formal educator. First they start as a learner or *janij*. The entrepreneurs explain that they began to participate as learners in their childhood or their early adolescence. They attend the activities and participate in the pedagogical proposals offered by the *madrij* or *madrijain* charge of transmitting values of coexistence, respect, Jewish content, customs to their learners.

In order to be an educator, it is necessary to take a training course. Like rabbinical figures, *madrijim* and *madrijot*, once graduated from these courses, they become specialists (Bourdieu, 2006). After gaining experience, the "communities" will recommend those leaders who will be in condition to be coordinators to do the "Nofim Course" at the *Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano*. After working as such, they will be able to apply to the position of director.

When entrepreneurs define themselves, they explain that they are people who, through non-formal education, are in charge of transmitting knowledge of Judaism that includes values, customs and laws but from different resources,

leisure being among them. According to their testimonies, they clearly know their responsibility and differences with formal education, including the closeness - distance they have in regard to their students. They find in that role a strong potential in its daily practice but also on a broader level. They explain that they are part of a ' trust network ' whose praxis is part of a long-term enterprise (Tilly, 2010), being an entity that brings children and adolescents closer to Judaism:

“This is voluntary work and I generally consider that being a *madrija* is my small contribution to the community, to the collectivity. It is a person who learns and transmits Jewish values and history”(Interview with Natalia, *madrija* and coordinator of ComunidadTefilá, 18 years, April 10, 2017).

““It is an educator who intends to transmit certain knowledge to the kids but not formally, sitting on a desk, rather through recreational activities, for the kids to have fun and learn at the same time. But also, to be their guide if they need it. It is to be a little closer than a teacher but not a friend”(Interview with Gabriela, *madrija* from ComunidadTefilá, 17 years old, March 22, 2017).

Organizational Structure and Working Methodology

Each Masorti “community” has a Youth Department, whose organizational structure is the following: at the top is the Headmaster which has a direct link with the spiritual rabbi, be it a rabbi or seminarian. They agree on the main issues to develop. There is a Representation from the Youth Department, usually someone with experience, who participates in meetings with the Directive Commission members to discuss administrative and budgetary matters. Then, the Coordination is divided into three areas: Preschool, Primary and Secondary. Both, the Coordination and the Headmaster are responsible for putting together the general educational projects and by area either at the beginning of the year or on the go. When the headmaster and coordinators solve them, they communicate these issues to the *madrijim* and *madrijot* who are in charge of a group that is divided by age. Children from 3, 4 and 5 years old make up the “Preschool” area, boys and girls from first to sixth grade are in the “Primary” area, those from seventh grade to 16 years old are in the “Secondary” area. According to the size of the “community” it could happen that several age groups be together.

The Coordination is also in charge of "supervising" the activities proposed by the *madrijim* and *madrijot* and helping them out with the doubts that may

arise. Usually, the coordinator is no longer in charge of the activities aimed at children and adolescents, but their contact passes through the *madrijim* and *madrijot*. In some “communities” there is the Educational Coordination (*rosh jinyu*) in charge of coming up with new ideas about projects and gathering didactic material.

For their part, the director and the teacher of the “*madrijim* course” are in charge of organizing and teaching the applicants. They follow a program with predetermined subjects but at the same time, they can incorporate contents that they consider pertinent to work on, according to the diagnosis made by the group. This double dynamic where pre-established contents and others that can be suggested by the teacher of the course are addressed is notable. Training is created and recreated in interaction. As much as the world is apprehended in reified terms, the actors continue to produce and resignify it (Berger and Luckmann, 2015).

This logic is replicated in the daily work of the *madrijim* and *madrijot*. They will be in charge of carrying out the activities on Saturdays and having direct contact with the learners (*Janijim* and *Janijot*). The learners from "Preschool" and "Primary" do their activities in the afternoon while those of "Secondary" do it in the evening. According to the proposed project, the leaders must “adapt” it according to the interests and problems of the assigned group and prepare a “planning” with a chosen subtopic that will derive from the general theme. Planning includes goals, activities, and materials to achieve them. They usually work in pairs. They should think of general activities aimed at all students, activities for all children in the same area and for each group in particular. At the same time, they are in charge of communicating weekly with the children and their families, either by phone or, to a lesser extent, in a virtual way, to inform them about the weekend proposal or any special event that requires more anticipation. For example, a bingo, a ball or the emblematic campings or *majannot*. Telephone calls are central to communication.

Madrijim and *madrijot* also take advantage of these phone talks to strengthen ties with their learners, to generate closeness and trust; Furthermore, the former has a close relationship with the parents. Face-to-face communication is prioritized. In this type of relationship, you can see how the community bond comes into play. Friendship bonds are established within the framework of a specific organization. It could be said that this interaction between entrepreneurs and families is given in institutional settings and not outside of them.

“I made a dynamic activity where each time I call them each week, they have to tell me something special that happened to them this week that is different from the previous ones. And then the contact with the kid is already much closer than

perhaps seeing him in the peulá (activity). In other words, you already see the whole reflection of his week when seeing him in the peulá (activity)”(Interview with Tali, *madrijá* from Comunidad Menorá, 18 years old, April 27, 2017).

“I have to call the *janijim* and it overlaps with my university classes. I was on the bus calling the parents because I leave the university at eight o'clock at night and it's too late to call. I can't do it. I came up with something this year. I created a *WhatsApp* group with the parents, and I did some other things but that is not always the same as calling them and being present from that side” (Interview with Jélica, *madrijá* from Comunidad Menorá, 20 years old, January 24, 2017).

Being *madrijim* implies, being physically present in the "community". In addition to the calls, planning an activity, supervising it with the coordinator, preparing the materials and then executing it. They also attend a weekly meeting with all the *tzevet*(the group that includes all the entrepreneur) where they organize the general and area specific activities. *Madrijim* are recommended to attend the synagogue on Fridays for the Shabbat service and go to the training that are deemed relevant.

The Jewish Content, *Ethos* and Values

The topics that are developed in the activities are usually varied: specific problems of the group, their cognitive development, national festivities, the Shoah, Arab-Israeli conflict and those with Jewish content. Entrepreneurs usually approach those issues from festivities where they seek to transmit customs, symbols, the historical context on which some legend is based. They seek to withdraw some value from them and show the students that these stories are applicable today. Festivities, symbols and customs are the devices that allow *ethos* to be built among entrepreneurs and learners.

“*Pesaj* also depends on age. There are times where it is easier to work with young children, it is more important to work on the *keara*⁷, what happened, the history. I had the older children and I also worked on the history because some were not hooked on what had happened and thus several values, who knows. For example, I address slavery. Slavery from the present moment (...) the fact that in Argentina there are still slaves. That kind of things. To see that not everything is so far

7. Easter tray composed of different foods that represent the different moments of the biblical story.

away” (Interview with Irina, *madrija* from ComunidadNefesh, 19 years old, May 1, 2017).

“They developed the sense of the words, that they have value and weight and that many times they can hurt others. That one can curse, that as *madrijim* they do so, but that there are moments for it. Then they related this topic to the “Tower of Babel”, a story where the individuals spoke different languages, and no one understood each other. From all this, it was sought to rescue the importance of communication and respect. That kids, being young, find it difficult to express themselves with words and when they face a problem they cry. So, the *madrijim* tried to help them to be able to speak, to communicate what happens” (Field Notes, interview with Nicole, *madrija* of ComunidadMenorá, 17 years, December 14, 2016).

As observed in the testimonies, biblical fragments are used as triggers that compel learners with daily issues or with their stage of growth. The aim is that in addition to transmitting a message or value, they approach the stories of the Jewish people. Role-playing and the body arise to recreate the moments. The entrepreneurs gave different examples. They recreated the life of the People of Israel in the desert after leaving Egypt. The students had to divide and represent the tribes of Israel, put together their own symbols, songs, etc. Another entrepreneur said that they played different games based on the story of Abraham so that in addition to getting the students familiar with the biblical story, they could get closer to the character. The patriarch had abandoned his known world, had left his "comfort zone" because of his faith. The idea of changing and not fearing change was highlighted.

“Abraham's story is also very interesting because he worked with his father making sculptures of different gods, until he communicated with God and then Abraham took another path. And well, how difficult it is to leave the life you had and put together a totally different one (...) it is the change, to get out of the comfort zone. Abraham was at home with his dad making sculptures and left everything. He took a completely different path...” (Interview with Guido, *madrij* from ComunidadTefilá, 20 years old, July 13, 2017).

The transmission of values such as promoting togetherness, belonging, inclusion of the other and good coexistence is something that turns out to be a "convention" (Douglas, 1996) between young entrepreneurs. Group issues are addressed and the importance of everyone participating both in weekly activities and in special events and in camps is highlighted. In most of the reports of

the young people, the importance of the bingos, the “café concert”, the “Volunteer shows, Parent Commission, etc.) appears to cooperate and participate in the proposal. A reciprocity system is established where everyone must participate in everything not only in pursuit of the specific objective but by the "community" itself.

Motivations

The motivations that young people have to do it are multiple. The most named responses were those related to a community mandate. There is a long-term company that transcends and involves them (Tilly, 2010). The idea of a "total rewards"⁸ system is present in the narratives of the interviewees. A very common expression is "give back what I received". They note that they had a strong commitment and a need to give back, since, there, they met their friends and had a framework of belonging and containment of the organization. In this exchange of benefits and considerations between young people and the "community", the first ones decide to participate voluntarily to remain within it, although at the end it is compulsory, since if it is not that way, they are left out of it.

“I always said that I want to be a *madrijá* to return what they gave me. All the beautiful years and the people I met and all my friends. I also want my *janijim* to have all that, I also want to be a *madrijá*” (Interview with Cynthia, *madrijá* of Nefesh Community, 18 years old, February 10, 2016). [own translation]

Likewise, another reason to do this voluntary work is to be able to transmit Jewish values, teachings and customs through non-formal education. The latter is constitutive when defining what they are and what they do, and that is what most links them to the Masorti. It can be seen how young people take justifications that respond to a "value-rational action" (Weber, 1964) to identify themselves with a religious movement. They find in non-formal education a means to help others. They had previous solidarity experiences that motivated them to make that decision.

8. Although Marcel Mauss (2009) uses this concept to talk about the exchange of goods between clans, families and tribes, it can also be applied to our object of study. The total benefits system is a type of institution that includes benefits and wealth compensation of different types (parties, rites, dances, military collaboration, etc.) that sustain a general and permanent contract between the parties. "These benefits and compensation are carried out on a rather voluntary basis, through presents or gifts, although in the end they are rigorously mandatory, at the risk of unleashing a private or public war" (Mauss, 2009, p. 75).

But it also turns out to be an instance of sociability within a repertoire of choices for these young Jews. They emphasize the fact of keeping friends or even the possibility of making new ones and having a recreational space on weekends.

“There are several who like to be *madrij* to give content, games, free themselves, to be able to touch the humanistic part of your life. I am not so interested in that. I am more interested in being in the Menorah Community to maintain the ties and friendships that I had all my life. If I don't go to the Menorah Community, I lose those ties. I like to be here. Later, I find the pleasure of being a *madrij*, but it is not the main thing for me” (Interview with Federico, *madrij* of Menorah Community, 19 years old, January 9, 2017). [own translation]

In other cases, they decided to participate in this way because a figure marked them when they were students, as either a community reference or *madrij* o *madrijá*. There was a charismatic figure, who turned out to be a role model, who encouraged and trusted them. In this sense, the motivations of the entrepreneurs were given by an "affectual action"⁹. They emphasize that this bond of affection and contentment influenced that decision. Likewise, they emphasize that they like dealing with children and adolescents. This is implied in their professional vocation; thus, 16 of them study a degree or tertiary degree related to education and/or teaching. It even happens that they are studying a certain career and in parallel they are doing the "*morim* course"¹⁰ at the *Seminario Rabínico*.

With some exceptions, the young people who decide to leave the Youth Department do not have a possibility of insertion. The “communities” do not offer proposals for this youth niche. They can participate by attending religious services or looking for a specific task to volunteer in some way. At this point the passion-reason tension comes into play. In the first instance, entrepreneurs do not mind that such work is voluntary and poorly paid. On the contrary, they see it as an additional value since when doing it for pleasure, there is no a limit or speculation regarding how much to do or not. Their motivation is to contribute to the "community", to "return what is received". However, “means-end rational action”¹¹ are usually one of the most named causes of why these young people

9. Especially emotional, determined by current emotions and emotional states” (Weber, 1964, p. 20).

10. Course for aspiring Hebrew teachers to teach in schools at both primary and intermediate level.

11. “Determined by expectations in the behavior of both objects in the external world and other men, and using those expectations as “conditions” or “means” for the achievement of our own ends rationally weighed and pursued” (Weber, 1964: 20) [La *italica* is from the original text].

stop performing the activities of *madrij* (*madrijato*)¹². The need to work, to receive a salary along with other responsibilities lead them to dedicate less and less time to this voluntary work to the point of quitting.

Youths in the Masorti Movement: Tensions with the Adult World

Young people account for the existence of Jewish cultural consumption. They also account for the fact that the community proposal is attractive in times of economic crisis as it is a low-cost option; however, they emphasize that the strength of their proposal responds to the fact of teaching a way of being in community. Not only a set of values, traditions and laws is learned, but it turns out to be a space of belonging that involves others and raises awareness about continuity. The fact that the voluntary work of the entrepreneurs is low paid also contributes to that community *ethos*. Money, the perception of a salary or thinking about this job in a professionalized way are conflictive for young people. Coinciding with Sebastián Fuentes (2018), in this youthful universe there is also a tension between morality and money. Young people incorporated this “convention” (Douglas, 1996) to think about their role as entrepreneurs being a job that cannot be quantified monetarily. Even being that way gives it an additional value that differentiates them from “others”. It is done because the main motivation is to continue strengthening ties of belonging.

I: - “The work that you do is voluntary...”

L: - It is voluntary, we have a salary of \$360. It is clearly voluntary. A *madrich/a* does not do it for money. Last week, I had... no... the previous week, I had a substitution in Club XX¹³ and I had that debate. There are people who do not do it voluntarily because in the clubs they pay you a “*luca*” (\$1000) per month or \$1500, \$2000 according to your experience. But I think that one is not a *madrich/a* for money and if you do it for money, forgive me, but you are a jerk.

I: - It is good for you in that way.

L: - Sure. It is a bit of giving back to your community or your club what they left you and for me this is not paid with money. That is also paid with smiles, it is paid with a “thank you” from the boys, it is paid with the parents who come and say “Thank you for this *peulá* (activity) that

12. Native category used to refer to the exercise of being *madrij*.

13. Jewish club with headquarters in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires and in the Greater Buenos Aires.

was so beautiful". But not because they put a "Roca"¹⁴ on your hand. It is not the way to thank. If you want to pay me, perfect, do it. You are saving, great, but it is not the only way, I think." (Interview with Lara, *madríjá* of Le Olam Community, 19 years old, August 8, 2017). [own translation].

In the same way, they understand that beyond the emotional bond they have with the organization and with their friends, they appreciate that this role provided them with experience to perform in future jobs, since they acquired responsibilities, pedagogical skills, abilities to coordinate groups, communicate with the adult world, etc.

The dilemma is that this is the institutionalized form that the masorti movement finds in its "communities" to involve young people. It is thinking of a specific youth that must "participate" doing volunteer work, which implies that after having done it for two or three years, tiredness, disappointment, satiety, pressure appear because it is still a demanding and time-consuming job. Young people must balance their routines trying to fulfill their other obligations (study, work, etc.) to the point of abandoning it, even knowing that momentarily they will have no other space for insertion. To ask for a professionalized job to continue participating impinges the idea of a community mandate, but the fact of keeping the support for it under these conditions implies leaving the "community" in the short or medium term. At one point, the entrepreneurial role puts young people in a place of vulnerability and precariousness. Expectations about how long to do it are getting lower. To do this work together with extra-community obligations is incompatible for them at any given time.

D: - "Because the time spent as a *madríj/a* is getting shorter and shorter.

The *madríj/a* does not last four years. Before, everyone wanted to be a headmaster. Today, there are fewer people interested in that. Today, in the third year, the *madríj/a* has the largest group and that's it, he/she leaves, if he/she wants to go.

I: - Is there a time projection of how much time someone wants to be a *madríj/a*?

D: - The average has decreased (...) Today, studies have a hierarchy, a pressure that they did not have before. Everyone says "Oh! What a rush you have! ". You are not in any rush but everyone wants to graduate. Who sets the standard? Is nobody in a rush or does everyone want to graduate? We all want to graduate; we all want to graduate. If we all

14. It alludes to the 100 Argentine peso bill that bears the figure of Julio Argentino Roca.

want to graduate, the *hadrajá* (non-formal education) takes time. Why do you want to become a *madrich/a* if you are treated like shit? What do they give me? I cannot work and be a *madrich*. I am *madrich* or work. Ok, two years, I already experienced it, thanks.” (Interview with Diego, *madrich* of Le Olam Community, 22 years old, September 28, 2017). [own translation].

Within the Masorti movement there are young people: those who are institutionalized through non-formal education and those who are not. In the latter, as already explained, young people study a tertiary or a university career. They are either professionals or business people. They work, live alone or are about to take that step and do not have children. Many "communities" define them as "young university students" or according to age ranges "young people from 25 to 35". At the discursive level, the adult world is concerned with guaranteeing their continuity even though in practice they do not offer spaces or specific areas of action (in some "communities" there are certain projects and activities that are being developed incipiently).

There are entry and exit patterns. It is assumed that the young person who stops participating in the "community" through voluntary work will return, being a parent when he or she has to choose an education and a religious space for their children. In this sense, generational changes can be observed. Approximately 30 years ago, the return to "community" was more immediate because parenthood was resolved at the age of twenty. In other words, for this context, being a *madríjm o madrijá* implies a more immediate rite of passage to adulthood. Today it can take 10 years for that young man who left to become an "adult" and return because he is already a father or mother and wants his children to be educated in that organization¹⁵.

As in the previous testimony, the young people express that their experiences differ from previous generations. In some cases, their parents, who were *madríj o madrijá* during their youth or did voluntary work for longer periods of time¹⁶, say that times have changed, that everything is more dizzying and demanding, but young people must resolve their vocational training and their insertion into the labour market in the shortest possible time. The implementation

15. Taking the state of the art from Analía Otero (2010), there are theories that explain these changes in the transition processes to adult life in 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2009) that were no longer linear and predictable. We can find 'biographies of choice', that is, youth trajectories that not only take into account their academic training but also their wishes and decisions (Du-Bois, 1998); and those related to "new models of vulnerability" (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Wyn and Dwyer, 2000).

16. An entrepreneur recounted that his mother participated in *hadrajá* (non-formal education) in different positions for 10 years. Another said that given the vast experience her mother had had.

of non-formal education or training plans proposed by the movement involving a one-year stay in Israel hinders these objectives. Beyond the structural changes, they understand that in the Argentine culture this type of project is not valued since it is expected that immediately after finishing secondary education, they will focus on adult life. They clarify that this is a local phenomenon that differs from other parts of the world. Therefore, it can be seen that the adult world values that their children carry out non-formal education, but for a short period.

Although the adult world is concerned about young people who do not return to "communities", they understand that these young people, unlike the institutionalized ones, if they participate, would not do so according to the idea of a community mandate but for utilitarian reasons.

"Being Jewish is expensive. We know that, our pockets and our budgets know that, and this is partly due to something I like to call "the Bria effect" or "the Birthright effect". Birthright¹⁷ is a fantastic program that has brought hundreds of thousands of young people to Israel impacting their lives and impacting Jewish communities around the world but it has left a deep mark on those young people who say "I'm not going to pay to be Jewish. You pay me to be Jewish. Gratuity is expected. We have to, a big challenge is to change that paradigm. Change the paradigm if you pay to go to the movies why not for a course if both are *quality type*" (Translation of speech by Rabbi Damian A. at the "*Encuentron Annual Seminario*", Buenos Aires, May 2017).

This testimony perceives new forms of participation in the Jewish world: there are organizations that offer activities financed by themselves to summon young people through attractive proposals, new spaces of socialization. The motivation to attend could be given by wanting to generate a bond of belonging and to commit to a long-term enterprise as it does in the Masorti "communities" or by the proposal itself regardless of ideological positions or religious current. Those who approach the space do so not only as parishioners but also as consumers of a specific offer.

Entrepreneurs say that they participated or are participating in study courses of Orthodox organizations to make a trip to Israel or New York. According to the number of lessons attended, the cost drops. They are motivated by the possibility of taking a trip, an offer they find attractive and which would be extremely difficult to pay for on their own, and to make friends or find a partner. Those who had already done so stopped having contact with such organizations,

17. Very low cost 10-day educational program for Jewish youth between 18 and 26 years of age to visit and tour Israel. They must have Jewish ancestry from either a father or mother.

continuing to participate in their Masorti "community". In the case of non-institutionalized young people, they expressed that they had participated in these proposals. In some cases, after having made them, they continued to be linked to them because they felt comfortable, because they had formed bonds of affection with their peers and with rabbis, or because they were interested in their proposals.

At the same time, there is a stereotypical view of the young person. The rabbi understands that there is a youth that participates evaluating costs and benefits, dismissing a reality: The Masorti movement does not offer spaces for all youths. The adult world of the Masorti movement believes that young people who participate do so on the basis of " Value-rational actions which contrasts with other non-institutionalized young people who would otherwise seek benefits linked to " valur-rational actions". In the case of the Masorti movement, money or passive participation in an activity in search of a concrete benefit would break with the values of the community *ethos*.

Conclusions

This research seeks to make a contribution to the field of social sciences in general and to the sociology of religion in particular since it restores in one of the central themes: the constitution and reproduction of the social bond, or in other words, the tensions that accompany the commitment of community groups to reproduce themselves in space and time, in the face of the challenges proposed by the forms of contemporary individuation.

The Masorti movement offers opportunities of socialization for an institutionalized youth and their family.

The institutionalized youth inhabits by means of a specific role in pursuit of a long-term enterprise that involves and transcends it. Such specific condition of youth and transition process lead them to enjoy a less demanding permission to adult life (Margulis & Urresti, 2008). This allows them to inhabit that community setting and, therefore, they develop that *ethos*, which weakens when the condition of youth changes as the professional and labor demands are greater and the possibilities of community insertion are limited.

Non-institutionalized youth, those who no longer participate in the Youth Departments or have children, do not have specific spaces. It circulates

in different Jewish or non-Jewish, secular or religious environments to make friends, look for a partner or live attractive experiences, establishing different modes of identification.

The adult world is concerned about its continuity since its return is not guaranteed. Not only must it face up to generational transformations but also to those related to the pluralisation of the Jewish religious field that enables new ways of living. They question this lack of institutional fidelity but at the same time they are aware that the "communities" are not able to sustain offers that last over time due to the lack of human or economic resources to finance and sustain them. They hope that everything they experienced in their childhood and adolescence will motivate them to return.

References

- Alvarado, S.; Vommaro, P. (2010). (Comp.). *Jóvenes, cultura y política en América latina: Algunos trayectos de sus relaciones, experiencias y lecturas (1960-2000)*. Homo Sapiens Ediciones.
- Aviad, J. (1983). *Return to Judaism. Religious Renewal in Israel*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Barrón, E. (2018). *Creencias y modos de abordaje en torno del suicidio juvenil*. Universidad Nacional de la Matanza.
- Baumann, G. (2001). *El enigma multicultural: un replanteamiento de las identidades nacionales, étnicas y religiosas*. Paidós.
- Bauman, Z. (2008). *Comunidad. En busca de seguridad en un mundo hostil*. Siglo XXI.
- Bauman, Z. (2009). *La modernidad líquida*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Becker, H. (2014). *Outsiders: Hacia una sociología de la desviación*. Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
- Berger, P.; Luckmann, T. (2015). *La construcción social de la realidad*. Amorrortu.

- Bianchi, S. (2004). *Historia de las religiones en la Argentina. Las minorías religiosas. Sudamericana.*
- Bokser-Liwerant, J. (2011). Los judíos de América Latina. Los signos de las tendencias: Juegos y contrafuegos. In H. Avni, J. Bokser-Liwerant, S. Della-Pergola & M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp.115-164). Iberoamericana Vervuert.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *Sociología y Cultura.* Grijalbo.
- Bourdieu, P. (2006). Génesis y estructura del campo religioso. *Relaciones. Estudios de historia y sociedad*, 27(108), 29-83. El Colegio de Michoacán, A. C. Zamora.
- Brauner, S. (2009). *Ortodoxia religiosa y pragmatismo político (los judíos de origen sirio).* Lumiere.
- Caro, I. (2006). Comunidades judías y surgimiento de nuevas identidades: el caso argentino. *Atenea*, 497, 79-93. <https://scielo.conicyt.cl/pdf/atenea/n497/art06.pdf>
- Chaves, M. (2010). *Jóvenes, territorios y complicidades. Una antropología de la juventud urbana.* Espacio.
- Cohen, G. (1987). Conservative Judaism. In A. Cohen & P. Mendes-Flohr (Eds.). *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought. Original essays on critical concepts, movements, and beliefs* (pp. 91-99). Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Cooper, A. (1989). No longer invisible: Gay and lesbian Jews build a movement. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 18(3-4), 83-94. <https://europemc.org/article/med/2696759>
- Della-Pergola, S. (2011). ¿Cuántos somos hoy? Investigación y narrativa sobre población judía en América Latina. In H. Avni, J. BokserLiwerant, S. Della-Pergola & M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp. 305-340). Iberoamericana Vervuert.

- Denscombe, M. (1999). *The Good Research Guide for Small-scale Social Research Projects*. Open University Press.
- Douglas, M. (1996). *Cómo piensan las instituciones*. Alianza Universidad.
- Du-Bois, R. (1998). I Don't Want to Commit Myself Yet: Young People's Life Concepts. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 1(1), 63-79. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13676261.1998.10592995>
- Erdei, E. (2011). Demografía e identidad: a propósito del estudio de población judía en Buenos Aires. In H. Avni, J. Bokser-Liwerant, S. Della-Pergola & M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp. 341-364). Iberoamericana Vervuert.
- Fainstein, D. (1994). *Identidad, comunidad y Halajá. Reflexiones en pos de un Judaísmo Masortí relevante y auténtico* (Unpublished document). Consejo Intercomunitario Judaísmo Conservador.
- Fainstein, D. (2006). *Secularización, Profecía y Liberación: La desprivatización de la religión en el pensamiento judío contemporáneo. Un estudio comparativo de sociología histórica e historia intelectual* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Feixa, C. (1998). *De jóvenes, bandas y tribus (Antropología de la juventud)*. Ariel.
- Fernández, N. S. (2018). Construcciones de juventud, prácticas democráticas y vínculos intergeneracionales en el escultismo católico contemporáneo de Argentina. *Ánfora*, 25(44), 177-203. <https://publicaciones.autonoma.edu.co/index.php/anfora/article/view/461>
- Freire, P. (2005). *Pedagogía del oprimido*. Siglo XXI Editores.
- Fuentes, S. (2018). Rugby, educación solidaria y riqueza en las elites de Buenos Aires: la construcción de una clase moral. *Etnográfica*, 22(1), 53-73. <https://journals.openedition.org/etnografica/5147>

- Furlong, A.; Cartmel, F. (1997). Risk and Uncertainty in the Youth Transition. *Young*, 5(1), 3-20. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/110330889700500102>
- Giménez-Béliveau, V. (2016). *Católicos Militantes. Sujeto, comunidad e institución en la Argentina*. Eudeba.
- Gómez, G. (2017). *Carreras identitarias. Un estudio socio-biográfico sobre la membresía de JAG (Judíos Argentinos Gays)* (Master's thesis, unpublished). Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Hervieu-Léger, D. (2004). *El peregrino y el convertido. La religión en movimiento*. Ediciones del Helénico.
- Hupert, P. (2014). *Judaísmo Líquido. Multiculturalismo y judíos solitarios*. Editorial Biblos.
- Kacowicz, A. (2011). Israel, las comunidades judías y América Latina en un escenario internacional cambiante. In H. Avni, J. Bokser-Liwerant, S. Della-Pergola & M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/ de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp. 251-270). Iberoamericana Vervuert.
- Kruger, M. (2016). *La tercera invención de la juventud. Dinámicas de la politización juvenil en tiempos de la reconstrucción del Estado-Nación*. Grupo Editor Universitario.
- Lago, L. (2018). La producción de los cuerpos juveniles en el evangelismo pentecostal. Prácticas, discursos y agencia. *Question*, 1(58), 1-17. <https://perio.unlp.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/question/article/view/4593>
- Laikin-Elkin, J. (1986). The Argentine Jewish Community in Changing Times. *Jewish Social Studies*, 48(2), 175-182. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4467330?seq=1>
- Mallimaci, F.; Giménez-Béliveau, V. (2007). Creencias e increencias en el Cono Sur de América. Entre la religiosidad difusa, la pluralización del campo religioso y las relaciones con lo público y lo político. *CONICET*, 44-63. <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/269/26950904.pdf>

- Mannheim, K. (1990). *Le problème des générations*. Nathan.
- Margulis, M.; Urresti, M. (2008). La juventud es más que una palabra. In M. Margulis (Ed.). *La juventud es más que una palabra* (pp.13-30). Biblos.
- Mauss, M. (2009). *Ensayos sobre el don*. Katz Editores.
- Mekler, V. M. (1992). *Juventud, educación y trabajo*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: CEAL.
- Melamed, D. (2000). *Los judíos y el menemismo. Un reflejo de la sociedad argentina*. Editorial Sudamericana.
- Meyer, M. A. (1995). Adapting Judaism to the Modern Word. In *Response to Modernity. A history of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (pp.10-61). Wayne StateUniversityPress.
- Mosqueira, M. (2014). “*Santa Rebeldía*”. *Construcciones de juventud en comunidades pentecostales del Área Metropolitana de Buenos Aires* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Otero, A. (2010). Los avatares de la transición a la vida adulta, el papel de la educación y el trabajo en los recorridos juveniles. *Revista Margen*, 59, 1-13.
<http://www.margen.org/suscri/margen59/oter.pdf>
- Pérez-Islas, J. (2000). *Jóvenes e instituciones en México. 1994-2000*. SEP-Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud.
- Redfield, R. (1971). *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago UniversityPress.
- Reguillo-Cruz, R. (2000). *Emergencia de las culturas juveniles. Estrategias del desencanto*. Norma.
- Romero-Ocampo, J. (2010). Jóvenes y religión en un mundo de cambio. El caso de los jóvenes chilenos. *Ciencias Sociales y Religión*, 12(12), 147-156.
<http://cdsa.academica.org/000-062/1732.pdf>
- Rosemberg, D. (2010). *Marshall Meyer el rabino que le vio la cara al diablo*. Capital Intelectual.

- Rubel, Y. (2011). La red educativa judía de la Argentina (1967-2007). In H. Avni, J. Bokser-Liwerant, S. Della-Pergola & M. Bejarano (Comps.). *Pertenencia y alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: Cuarenta años de cambios* (pp. 529-562). Iberoamericana Vervuert.
- Sautú, R. (1999). *El método biográfico: la reconstrucción de la sociedad a partir del testimonio de los actores*. Belgrano.
- Schenquer, L. (2012). *Actitudes sociales en dictadura: Estudio sobre las dirigencias de DAIA y de las instituciones religiosas liberales durante el último régimen militar (1976-1983)* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Schutz, A. (1974). *El problema de la realidad social*. Amorrortu.
- Senkman, L. (2007). Ser judío en Argentina: las transformaciones de la identidad nacional. In P. Mendes-Flohr, Y. Assis & L. Senkman (Eds.). *Identidades judías, modernidad y globalización* (403-454). Lilmod.
- Setton, D. (2008). La dimensión emocional del “retorno a las fuentes” en el judaísmo ortodoxo. In F. Mallimaci (Comp.). *Modernidad, Religión y Memoria* (pp. 119-130). Colihue.
- Setton, D. (2010). *Judíos ortodoxos y judíos no afiliados en procesos de interacción: El caso de JabadLubavitch en la Argentina* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Setton, D. (2014). Entre la sociabilidad y la politización: La construcción de lo judeo-homosexual-gay en Buenos Aires. *Aposta*, 62, 1-31. <https://ri.conicet.gov.ar/handle/11336/2767>
- Setton, D. (2015). La construcción de identidades judías LGBT a través de prácticas diaspóricas: estudio sobre organizaciones judías LGBT en América Latina. *Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad*, 21, 25-52. <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/sess/n21/1984-6487-sess-21-00025.pdf>

- Setton, D. (2020). La construcción simbólica de la geografía judeo-gay. In V. Giménez-Béliveau (Comp.). *La religión ante los problemas sociales. Espiritualidad, poder y sociabilidad en América Latina* (pp. 317-338). CLACSO.
- Sklare, M. (1972). *Conservative Judaism. An American Religious Movement*. SchockenBooks.
- Tilly, C. (2010). *Confianza y gobierno*. Amorrortu.
- Tönnies, F. (1979). *Comunidad y asociación*. Península.
- Topel, M. (2005). *Jerusalém e São Paulo: A nova ortodoxia judaica em cena*. Topbooks.
- Traverso, E. (2013). *El final de la modernidad judía. Historia de un giro conservador*. Fondo de CulturaEconómica.
- Waxman, M. (1970). *Tradition and Change. The Development of Conservative Judaism*. The Burning Bush Press.
- Weber, M. (1964). *Economía y Sociedad*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Weber, M. (1979). *La ética protestante y el espíritu del capitalismo*. Ediciones Península
- Weil, A. (1988). *Orígenes del movimiento judío conservador en la Argentina*. Ediciones Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano.
- Weiss, A. (1988). *The Decline and Rise of Jewish Life in Argentina 1970-1987*. Princeton.
- Wortman, A. (2001). Aproximaciones conceptuales y empíricas para abordar identidades sociales juveniles y consumos culturales en la sociedad del ajuste. *WorkingPapers*, 24, <http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/gsd/collect/ar/ar-030/index/assoc/D154.dir/dt24.pdf> Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani.

Wyn, J.; Dwyer, P. (2000). Nuevas pautas en la transición de la juventud en la educación. *Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales, Unesco*, 164, 17-29.
<http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SHS/pdf/164-fulldocspa164.pdf>

