



The Hertog Study

CHABAD ON CAMPUS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study, commissioned and funded by the Hertog Foundation, and conducted by a team of academic researchers, was undertaken to learn about Chabad on Campus International, an organization that seeks to enhance Jewish identity and practice among Jewish college students at almost 200 American college campuses. Campus centers are run by Orthodox married couples trained at rabbinical schools and seminaries run by the Chabad-Lubavitch movement.

The study was designed to learn who comes to Chabad at college campuses, how Chabad works with undergraduate students, and what impact Chabad involvement during college has on the post-college lives of young Jewish adults.

This Executive Summary begins with a synopsis of the study's major findings, and then presents a chapter-by-chapter overview of the contents of this report.

MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

- » Chabad on Campus attracts students from a wide range of Jewish backgrounds. Relatively few are Orthodox.
- » Many students are attracted initially by the social scene, food, and family environment at Friday night Shabbat dinners, rather than an interest in Jewish learning or ritual.
- » College alumni who were more frequent participants at Chabad during college had higher scores on post-college measures of Jewish attitudes and behavior than those who were less frequent participants, once other influences on post-college attitudes and behaviors were taken into account.
- » The apparent impact of involvement with Chabad during college is pervasive, affecting a broad range of post-college Jewish attitudes and behaviors. These include religious beliefs and practices, Jewish friendships, Jewish community involvement, Jewish learning, dating and marriage, emotional attachment to Israel, and the importance of being Jewish.

- » The impact appears to be greatest among those who indicated they were raised as Reform and those who were raised with no denominational affiliation. Effects are slightly smaller for those raised as Conservative. Based on the measures used in the study, Chabad participation appears to have little impact on those raised as Orthodox.
- » Relatively few students change their denominational affiliation to Orthodox as a result of their involvement with Chabad on Campus, and virtually none subsequently choose to identify with the Chabad-Lubavitch movement.
- » The data suggest that the majority of those who are frequent participants are affected in ways that bring them closer to the mainstream Jewish community after college.
- » Personal relationships are central to Chabad's work with students. Greater involvement with Chabad and subsequent change in Jewish belief and practice are most likely to occur when a student develops a personal relationship with the Chabad rabbi or the rebbetzin (the rabbi's wife).
- » Gender matters. Men tend to be closer to the rabbi and women tend to be closer to the rebbetzin.
- » Relationships with the rabbi and rebbetzin tend to continue after college, especially among those who were frequent participants at Chabad during college.
- » Of those undergraduate students who participate in Jewish activities on campus, most attend both Chabad and Hillel. There are smaller groups of students who attend one and not the other.
- » In some respects, Chabad and Hillel offer similar engagement opportunities. At the same time, the two present very distinctive differences in style, substance, and programming.

CHAPTER 1: STUDYING CHABAD ON CAMPUS

As of the fall of 2016, Chabad on Campus International, the umbrella organization for campus-based Chabad work, has a presence at 198 American college campuses. Prior to 2000, Chabad operated at less than 30 campuses. Over a relatively short period of time, Chabad has become part of the campus establishment at virtually all American campuses with sizable bodies of Jewish students.

Chabad centers on campus are led by married couples who are graduates of rabbinical schools and seminaries run by the Chabad-Lubavitch movement. Rabbis and their wives (referred to as rebbetzins) adhere to Orthodox Jewish belief and practice. They take their inspiration from the teachings of Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the seventh Lubavitcher Rebbe, who guided and expanded the movement until his death in 1994.

Chabad centers strive to welcome all Jewish students regardless of their Jewish upbringing or sensibilities. The couples work to create welcoming, attractive, and fun Jewish social environments. In the words of the Chabad on Campus website (www.chabad.edu), they seek to create a “home away from home” and to “ensure that students graduate as stronger and more empowered Jews than when they entered.”

Rabbis and rebbetzins hope that through the caring they show and the lifestyle they model, students will be drawn to explore and embrace Jewish practices and teachings. In addition, rabbis and rebbetzins hope that the feeling of Jewish community they create on campus prepares students to participate in a local Jewish community post-college wherever they may end up living.

Despite the seeming disparity between the Orthodox orientation of Chabad and the more liberal social and religious values of many Millennial Jews, Chabad attracts sizable numbers of Jewish students from non-religious backgrounds. While there have been numerous studies of Jewish college students, no

systematic research prior to this study has specifically focused on how Chabad affects the Jewish students who participate.

This study seeks to explore three core questions:

- » *Who comes to Chabad on college campuses?*
- » *What is the nature of Chabad's work with students on campus?*
- » *What is the post-college impact of Chabad on Campus?*

To address these questions, the authors conducted both qualitative and quantitative research at 22 Chabad campus centers across the United States with the cooperation of Chabad on Campus International. Qualitative data included interviews and/or focus groups with rabbis and rebbetzins, current students, alumni, parents, faculty, university officials, and Hillel leaders at a sample of the campuses. Quantitative data was obtained by surveying alumni. Using email lists acquired from all 22 of the centers, an online questionnaire asked alumni about:

- » Jewish upbringing prior to college
- » Involvement with Chabad, Hillel, and other Jewish organizations as an undergraduate
- » Current Jewish involvement and beliefs
- » Post-college involvement with Chabad

The analysis utilized more than 2,400 responses from alumni ages 21 to 29 who graduated in 2007 or later.

CHAPTER 2: WHO COMES TO CHABAD ON CAMPUS?

The work of Chabad varies in accordance with the Jewish backgrounds of the students who come to Chabad. Students' Jewish upbringing, in conjunction with the overall character of Jewish life at a particular campus, interact to affect who comes to Chabad, why they come, how often they come, and the impact Chabad exerts on their Jewish lives.

Survey respondents were raised in the following Jewish denominations: Orthodox (11%), Conservative (39%), Reform (32%), with no denominational affiliation (10%), other (8%). These varied across schools — different schools had different mixes of student backgrounds.

In contrast with the broader Jewish young adult population in the United States, Chabad draws a larger percentage with Conservative denominational backgrounds and a smaller number raised with no denominational affiliation.

About three-quarters of respondents (76%) attended both Chabad and Hillel at some point during their undergraduate years. About one in six respondents (16%) never attended Chabad as an undergraduate but nonetheless appeared on a list provided by a Chabad center. Among respondents who attended Chabad at least once, 88 percent were not Orthodox.

Respondents were divided into three categories of participation at Chabad: none/low (53%), moderate (25%), and high (22%).

Respondents were more likely to participate if they were raised Orthodox, Conservative, or with no denominational affiliation, had attended day school, had two Jewish parents, had some Chabad involvement prior to college, or had a conservative political orientation. Respondents were less likely to participate if they were raised Reform or had a liberal political orientation.

Survey data indicated that most respondents felt welcome at Chabad. In response to the statement: *Chabad was a welcoming space for Jews from all backgrounds*, those raised Orthodox were most likely to choose “to a great extent” (75%). Those raised Reform were least likely, with about half (52%) choosing “to a great extent.”

Those who did not attend Chabad either lacked interest in any Jewish offerings on campus, preferred Hillel, or held liberal social or Jewish values that in their mind ran contrary to Chabad’s values and practices.

Interviews and focus groups indicated that the social scene, food, and the warm family environment, especially on Friday nights, were the main draws to Chabad initially for many students, rather than an interest in Jewish learning or ritual.

CHAPTER 3: WHAT IS THE NATURE OF CHABAD’S WORK WITH STUDENTS ON CAMPUS?

Interviews suggest that seven core operating principles underlie Chabad’s work with college students on campus.

Love Every Jew

Chabad theology maintains that the Jewish people are as a single soul. The concept of *ahavas Yisrael* — loving every Jew — is at the heart of every interaction with students.

Every *Mitzvah* Matters

Chabad theology views the performance of any Torah-based *mitzvah* as fulfilling a commandment that brings the individual performing the *mitzvah* closer to God. Thus, any *mitzvah* a student does, even if only performed once, is considered a spiritual achievement.

Being a Chabad Rabbi and Rebbetzin is Not a Job, It is a Mission

For Chabad rabbis and rebbetzins, working with students is not a job with a set number of hours per week for which they receive a salary. Their mission involves a long-term commitment to be the Lubavitcher Rebbe’s “emissaries” at a particular campus.

Personal Relationships are Central

Rabbis and rebbetzins strive to build personal relationships with students.

Chabad Centers are a Family Endeavor

One of the primary ways that Chabad creates a warm social environment is by modeling traditional Jewish family life.

Chabad Strictly Adheres to Jewish Law

Chabad rabbis and rebbetzins are strictly guided by Orthodox *halacha*, Jewish law. Despite their scrupulous personal observance, emissaries do not consider students who do not follow these practices to be any less Jewish, and they do not impose these practices upon them.

Chabad is Inclusive, but Not Pluralist

All Jewish students, regardless of background and upbringing, attend the same events, and all are welcomed regardless of their beliefs or practices. Chabad does not see it as their purpose to teach students about differences among the various streams of Judaism.

Rabbis and rebbetzins bring about change in Jewish identity and practice among students by expressing interest, warmth and caring. Relationships with rabbis and rebbetzins evolve as students grow closer to them. Students, in the context of this burgeoning personal relationship, gradually become more receptive to encouragement regarding Jewish practice. Male students developed closer personal relationships with rabbis, and female students with rebbetzins.

Friday night dinners with a lively, warm social atmosphere and free home-cooked meals, sometimes attended by more than 100 students, are the primary gateway to greater Chabad involvement. Since it is difficult to develop personal relationships with individual students during these large events, rabbis and rebbetzins also hold more intimate Shabbat gatherings.

Other approaches used by Chabad to deepen personal relationships and foster change include encouraging students to volunteer, having one-on-one meetings to discuss personal issues or Judaism, holding group classes on Jewish topics, and encouraging participation in Birthright Israel.

Relationships with rabbis and rebbetzins often continue after graduation. Years after graduation, three out of five (60%) survey respondents who had participated frequently during college had been in touch with their campus rabbi or rebbetzin within the past year.

Chabad's approach to change is incremental. Full Orthodox observance might be hoped for but is not expected. Each individual *mitzvah* is considered a spiritual achievement. Rabbis and rebbetzins are realistic about how much change is possible. Accordingly, survey respondents reported relatively little pressure from rabbis and rebbetzins to become more religiously observant. Relatively few students change their denominational affiliation to Orthodox as a result of their involvement with Chabad on Campus and virtually none subsequently choose to identify with the Chabad-Lubavitch movement.

Rebbetzins play an important role, sometimes teaching the same classes that the rabbi teaches. They also teach classes for women only, covering topics such as love, relationships, and marriage. The presence and availability of the rebbetzin is especially important for female students.

Both the rabbi and the rebbetzin see one of their most important roles as opening up their homes and families to Jewish students and modeling observant Jewish family life for them. Young children of the rabbi and rebbetzin are often present at Chabad events.

Promoting in-marriage is a universally held Chabad value. Rabbis and rebbetzins discourage those with whom they have developed a personal relationship from dating someone who is not Jewish, and are disappointed if a student with whom they had become close marries someone who is not Jewish. Rabbis regularly conduct weddings of alumni, traveling across the country or even overseas, but will only marry couples if the husband and wife are both Jewish according to Orthodox Jewish law.

The Chabad-Lubavitch movement is strongly pro-Israel and right-leaning on the spectrum of viewpoints toward Israel. On campuses where anti-Israel sentiments are visible and vocal, pro-Israel students view Chabad as a safe haven, knowing that they will find support and understanding from the campus rabbi and rebbetzin.

CHAPTER 4: WHAT IS THE POST-COLLEGE IMPACT OF CHABAD ON CAMPUS?

To ascertain the ways in which involvement with Chabad during college influences young adults, the study assessed Chabad's impact on 18 different measures of post-college Jewish engagement. The measures that were selected are indicators of a Jewishly engaged life, applicable to people across the Jewish denominational spectrum, and not at all exclusive to Orthodox Judaism.

Religious Belief, Practice, and Affiliation:

- » Belief in God
- » Frequency of lighting Shabbat candles
- » Attending Shabbat meals
- » Hosting Shabbat meals
- » Frequency of attending religious services
- » Synagogue membership and dues

Friendships, Community Involvement, and Learning:

- » Extent of Jewish friendships
- » Feeling part of a local Jewish community
- » Volunteering for a Jewish organization
- » Assuming a leadership role in a Jewish organization
- » Donating to Jewish organizations
- » Participation in a Jewish class or learning group

Dating and Marriage:

- » Importance of dating Jews
- » Proportion of dates that were with Jews
- » Importance of marrying a Jew
- » Choosing a Jewish spouse (among those who are married)

Israel:

- » Emotional attachment to Israel

Being Jewish:

- » Importance of being Jewish

The study employed a “dosage” model to assess impact. If Chabad does have an impact post-college, then alumni with higher levels of participation at Chabad during college should exhibit higher levels of post-college engagement. The greater the Chabad dosage during college, the greater should be the Jewish engagement after college.

The study employed a statistical technique called logistic regression. This approach enables one to see whether Chabad participation influences each of the 18 measures of Jewish engagement while statistically “removing” other influences on post-college Jewish engagement such as Jewish

upbringing, pre-college Jewish education and experiences, other Jewish experiences during college (such as Hillel participation), and the overall level of Jewish life at the college attended. The analyses looked separately at those raised Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and with no denominational affiliation.

Overall, across the 18 measures of Jewish engagement, those who were raised Orthodox had higher levels of current Jewish engagement in general, but were less likely to be measurably influenced by Chabad, as only small differences separated infrequent from frequent participants.

Those raised Conservative, Reform or with no denominational affiliation had lower overall levels of current Jewish engagement relative to those raised Orthodox. However, they appeared to be more influenced by Chabad participation, as large differences separated infrequent from frequent participants.

Differences between infrequent and frequent participation at Chabad during college were statistically significant across all 18 of the measures of post-college Jewish engagement among those raised Reform and Conservative, and 16 of 18 for those raised with no denominational affiliation. Among those raised Orthodox, only three of the measures showed statistically significant differences.

On some measures of Jewish engagement and for some denominational groups, moderate participation is sufficient to show impact. Other measures appear to require a higher dosage of Chabad.

The impact of Chabad is largest among those raised Reform and with no denominational affiliation. Effect sizes are slightly smaller for those raised Conservative. Chabad participation appears to have little or no impact on those raised Orthodox using these measures.

Two-thirds (67%) of alumni who had participated frequently during college sought out Chabad when traveling after college. There is not a strong inclination to affiliate with local Chabad centers after college.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The likely impact of involvement with Chabad during college is pervasive, affecting a broad range of Jewish attitudes and behaviors. These include religious beliefs and practices, Jewish friendships, Jewish community involvement, Jewish learning, dating and marriage, emotional attachment to Israel, and the importance of being Jewish. The data suggest that frequent participants are affected in ways that bring them closer to the mainstream Jewish community after college.

In some respects, Hillel and Chabad offer similar engagement opportunities. At the same time, the two present very distinctive differences in style, substance, and programming. Chabad's approach appears to be effective in reaching students despite its unorthodox approach and Orthodox foundations.

Of the 198 campuses where Chabad has a presence, the vast majority are not schools that draw high school graduates with strong Jewish identities looking for a campus that has an active Jewish life. Jewish students at these schools are more likely to have been raised Reform or with no denominational affiliation. Overall, most of the work of campus emissaries is with these types of students, where the data suggest the potential for change is greatest.

CHAPTER 1:

STUDYING CHABAD ON CAMPUS

INTRODUCTION

Even casual observers of Jewish life are aware of the Chabad-Lubavitch movement, whose centers can be found in most neighborhoods, towns, cities, and countries where Jews live. The Chabad “brand” has become part of Jewish life.

The pervasiveness of Chabad is a relatively recent development. The movement originated in Belorussia (now Belarus) in the late 18th century, and its sphere of influence encompassed a small group of followers of Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liady, the first Lubavitcher Rebbe, and his successors in Russia.¹ The sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Yosef Yitzhak Schneerson, came to America in 1940 after escaping from the Nazis; in 1951, his son-in-law, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, became the seventh Lubavitcher Rebbe. Known simply as “the Rebbe,” he guided the movement until his death in 1994.² At present, over 3,500 Chabad centers, schools, and other institutions operate in more than 85 countries.

Chabad touches the lives of Jews around the world, ranging from those who embrace the movement’s beliefs and practices to seemingly unengaged Jews. The movement’s website, Chabad.org, received more than 44 million unique visitors in 2015, which clearly suggests that Chabad touches those who are not Jewish as well.³

1 For a biography of the Chabad-Lubavitch movement’s founder, see Etkes, 2015, and for a description of the emergence of the movement, see Loewenthal, 1990. For a broader historical overview of the movement, see Sarna, 2010. The word “Chabad” is a Hebrew acronym for the three intellectual faculties of wisdom (*chochmah*), comprehension (*binah*) and knowledge (*da’at*). The Russian shtetl of Lyubavichi, Lyubavitsh in Yiddish, was the original seat of the movement, hence the adjective “Lubavitcher” used to describe the leaders of the movement.

2 Recent biographies of Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson published to coincide with the 20th anniversary of his death include Telushkin, 2014, Steinsaltz, 2014, and Miller, 2014.

3 The world’s Jewish population is roughly 14 million.

Despite the considerable scope of the organization, surprisingly little is known about the ways in which Chabad affects those it reaches. There has been some qualitative research, and several books in the popular press provide descriptions of what Chabad does. However, there has been virtually no empirical research examining the impact of Chabad.⁴

To address this research gap, this report describes the findings of a social-scientific study of Chabad, focusing specifically on its work with undergraduates at campuses in the United States. A description of our research design, which incorporates both qualitative fieldwork and quantitative survey data, can be found later in this chapter and in more detail in Appendix B.

THE RECENT GROWTH OF CHABAD ON CAMPUS

As of the fall of 2016, Chabad on Campus International, the umbrella organization for campus-based Chabad work, has a presence at 198 American college campuses.⁵ Prior to 2000, Chabad operated at less than 30 campuses. Over a relatively short period of time, Chabad has become part of the campus establishment at virtually all American campuses with sizable bodies of Jewish students.

About 90 percent of Jews attend college. Chabad is potentially influencing their Jewish lives at a pivotal time in their personal development. College students are away from their families for an extended period, and are just beginning to make life decisions on their own. They are focused on new ideas and experiences, are inclined to experiment with new lifestyles, and are exploring their identity.⁶

Who comes to Chabad, and why? What is the nature of Chabad's work with college students? In what ways, and to what extent, do encounters with Chabad influence the lives of Jewish young adults after college? We explore these central questions in this report. In the remainder of this chapter, we present an overview of Chabad's work on college campuses and describe our research methodology.

AN OVERVIEW OF CHABAD ON CAMPUS

Jewish clubs, fraternities, and organizations began to emerge on American college campuses more than a hundred years ago at a time when sizable numbers of Jews were beginning to go away for college.⁷ Students, faculty, and community leaders at the time saw the need for the creation of organizations that would meet the social, religious, and educational needs of these young Jewish adults, who were away from home for the first time and entering an unfamiliar environment where Jews were a distinct and sometimes unwelcome minority.

Today, while Jews on campus may still be a numerical minority, their status is radically different. Among all religious groups in the United States, Jews are viewed most positively and are the wealthiest religious group in the country.⁸ Jews are also disproportionately enrolled at elite, highly selective schools.⁹

4 See Fishkoff, 2003, and Eliezrie, 2015 for works in the popular press. See Appendix A for a review of the existing research on Chabad.

5 Our study focuses only on American campuses. There are over 240 permanent Chabad centers on campuses around the world.

6 For a review of research on Jewish college students, see Koren, Saxe, and Fleisch, 2016.

7 For a history of Jews at college, see Jospe, 1963.

8 Pew Research Center, July 2014; Pew Research Center, May 12, 2015.

9 Roughly 2 percent of the U.S. population is Jewish. Percentages of Jewish undergraduates at schools ranked among the top 20 nationally: Harvard, 25%; Yale, 28%; Columbia, 49%; University of Pennsylvania, 26%; Washington University, 21%; Cornell, 21%. Retrieved from: colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/rankings/national-universities and www.hillel.org/college-guide.

As the status of Jews has evolved, so too has the Jewish campus environment that Jewish freshmen enter. Today, Jewish campus organizations are pervasive and are part of the college establishment. On campuses with larger Jewish populations, Jewish fraternities, sororities, Hillel foundations, and Chabad centers are commonplace and highly visible, often with modern, state-of-the-art facilities. Other Jewish groups and organizations vie for students' time and attention as well with a specific focus on areas such as Israel, national politics, social justice, or Orthodox outreach. Even campuses with relatively few Jewish students invariably have some type of modest Jewish organizational presence.

When considering a college, some Jewish parents, as well as prospective students, investigate not only a particular school's offerings, but also their Jewish organizations. In parallel, some college admissions officers strategize with these same Jewish organizations to attract Jewish high school students to their campuses.

In the late 1940s, the Chabad-Lubavitch movement began to send rabbis to visit college campuses.¹⁰ The first permanent Chabad center on a college campus was established at UCLA in 1969, and others soon followed. In some cases, these new campus centers served Jews in the local community as well. Conversely, community Chabad centers sometimes focused on local campuses. In the 1990s,

the movement launched a stepped-up effort to create more centers on campuses specifically for college students.

*Overall, the rabbis
and rebbetzins strive
to create a welcoming,
attractive, and
fun Jewish social
environment.*

The Chabad on Campus model is in many ways a campus-based version of the ubiquitous Chabad center that exists around the world. Ironically, Chabad's community center model appears to have originated in the model it first created for campuses, with a few modifications tailored for communal demographics.

Chabad centers of all types start through the efforts of a young rabbi and rebbetzin known as *shluchim* — emissaries of the Rebbe — all of whom have

attended Orthodox yeshivas and seminaries based on the Hasidic teachings of the Chabad-Lubavitch movement. Working with regional directors and Chabad-Lubavitch World Headquarters, the couple selects a location that is under-served by Chabad, finds a home for a facility, and proceeds to welcome local Jews with varying degrees of connection to Judaism.¹¹ There are now over 4,400 such emissary couples around the world.

Emissaries who start Chabad campus centers are carefully screened for their compatibility with college populations by representatives of Chabad on Campus International, and have usually spent some time on a college campus as a type of internship during their yeshiva years or while investigating a campus posting. Once approved, many emissaries receive seed funding from Chabad on Campus International for the first three years and then must secure their own financial support.

10 The first such visit took place in 1949 when Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach and Rabbi Zalman Schachter visited Brandeis University, which had been founded the previous year. At the time, both were followers of the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe. For a recollection of the visit, see Schachter-Shalomi, 2012, pages 70-73.

11 Chabad rabbis are always male. Their wives are known by the Yiddish term rebbetzins. We use the terms emissaries, rabbis, and rebbetzins interchangeably in this report.

Those who are successful at fundraising may hire a support staff or a Jewish educator. Occasionally they take on a second couple. Some centers attract young Chabad volunteers who assist with programmatic efforts.

In their work with students, rabbis and rebbetzins identify and recruit Jewish students, offering religious programs, social activities, and home-cooked food to attract them. Religious programming generally includes Shabbat and Jewish holiday services based on Orthodox liturgy with separate seating for men and women. Despite these strictures, there is an effort to make services accessible and engaging to those with little Jewish knowledge. Every center offers classes and seminars on Jewish topics that draw upon Hasidic philosophy, as well as opportunities to participate in Jewish rituals, Shabbat and holiday celebrations. The latter includes regularly preparing and serving free and appealing meals for large groups of students every Friday night. Invariably, the young children of the rabbi and rebbetzin attend these dinners.

Chabad centers also offer less overtly religious programs that are similar to those offered by other Jewish campus organizations, such as Birthright Israel trips and social justice programs. Additionally, rabbis and rebbetzins provide students with guidance, mentorship, and informal counseling on topics both religious and personal. It is not uncommon for the rabbi or rebbetzin to be sought out in times of personal crisis, such as when a grandparent dies, or when a student undergoes a serious illness.

They come to Chabad for many different reasons, whether superficial or thoughtful, ranging from good food and a thriving social scene to a desire for spiritual meaning.

Overall, the rabbis and rebbetzins strive to create a welcoming, attractive, and fun Jewish social environment. As the Chabad on Campus website describes, they seek to create a “home away from home.”¹² While this “home” will be very different from the ones in which most Jewish students on campus were raised, emissaries aspire to instill their campus centers with warmth and caring.

In addition to their work with students, most rabbis and rebbetzins are responsible for securing and maintaining their own housing as well as a site for Chabad activities on campus, often one and the same. They establish and nurture connections with other religious and Jewish groups on campus as well as with the college or university administration, occasionally serving as adjunct faculty or chaplains. Rabbis and rebbetzins can also serve as a resource for the general Jewish population near campus, and sometimes perform tasks for the larger Jewish community as a source of additional income, especially at smaller campuses.

At first glance, many elements of the lifestyle and outlook of Chabad emissaries would not seem to appeal to the values and interests of contemporary college students. At the most obvious level, features of Chabad dress (“modest” attire, full beards and fedoras for men, wigs for married women)

¹² See www.chabad.edu.

may be seen as alien and ultimately off-putting. Students may take issue with the Orthodox beliefs and practices of Chabad, feeling uncomfortable, for example, with Chabad's views of women's roles or their stance on who is a Jew. Indeed, as our study's findings will show, these types of considerations do deter some from participation.

However, for some students, the elements that set Chabad apart may be the source of their appeal. They may be seeking more authenticity in their lives, finding it in the vision of Judaism offered by Chabad. Alternately, they may find that the conservative elements of Chabad serve as critique and counterpoint for a prevailing "anything goes" campus atmosphere. Adolescent rebellion or simply a desire to explore something new might explain an interest on the part of students to take part in a type of Judaism that may be quite unlike the Judaism in which they were raised.

There are also students for whom these considerations may simply not be relevant. Such students may be largely unaware of the ways in which their own personal beliefs and philosophies differ from those of the emissaries. They come to Chabad for many different reasons, whether superficial or thoughtful, ranging from good food and a thriving social scene to a desire for spiritual meaning. As we document below, many Jewish students feel warmly welcomed by Chabad rabbis and rebbetzins and enjoy the programs they offer, whether or not they ultimately adopt Chabad practices or worldviews.

Our data indicate that parents have mixed feelings about their children's involvement with Chabad while away at college. Some wonder why their children, raised with little or no exposure to Orthodox Judaism, would be attracted to something as seemingly antiquated as the Judaism practiced by Chabad. Other parents, apparently through their children's positive reports, have come to appreciate the influence of Chabad and have become a significant source of financial support.

Chabad rabbis and rebbetzins, both in their personal lives and in the many different activities they conduct at Chabad centers, scrupulously follow Orthodox *halacha*, Jewish law. However, Chabad rabbis and rebbetzins harbor few explicitly expressed expectations for young Jewish adults with respect to becoming *mitzvah*-observant. Their relatively constrained approach can be summarized in one word: more.

According to Chabad rabbis and rebbetzins, if a Jewish student leaves after graduation feeling a bit more Jewish pride, has more of an appreciation of Shabbat, practices a few more Jewish rituals than they did before, or is more inclined to choose a Jewish marriage partner, they feel they have accomplished something important.

Of course, emissaries are gratified when a student becomes *mitzvah*-observant or even embraces a Chabad lifestyle. While, as it appears from our data, an occasional student does "get *frum*"¹³ through exposure to Chabad during college, there does not, in most cases, appear to be overt pressure from Chabad emissaries for this result.¹⁴ Whether understood as a recruitment tactic, pedagogical technique, or theological approach, rabbis and rebbetzins hope that slowly, through the caring they show students and the lifestyle they model, students will be drawn to explore and embrace Jewish practices and teachings. In addition, emissaries hope that the feeling of Jewish

13 *Frum* is a Yiddish word meaning devout or pious. Here, we used the term to refer to someone who chooses to become religiously observant although raised in a family that was not Orthodox.

14 More overt socialization into Chabad may occur at off-campus settings, such as yeshiva programs (see for example, Davidman, 1991). Campus emissaries sometimes refer interested students to such programs, although not universally. One rebbetzin we interviewed noted that she was wary of sending her students on such programs because they induce religious and social change too quickly and students may appear "lobotomized."

community they create on campus prepares students to participate in a local Jewish community post-college wherever they may end up living.

Our description of Chabad's work on campus is seemingly at odds with the views of some of its critics. Some think that Chabad actively pressures students to adopt a Torah-observant lifestyle. A few even view it as a cult, intent on brainwashing students into becoming followers of the Lubavitcher Rebbe. Others believe that Chabad's attraction for students is not through what it teaches or the way it treats students, but rather through disreputable tactics such as the liberal dispensation of alcohol. There are others who criticize its gender role distinctions. As researchers, we examine data to assess the validity of such perceptions.¹⁵

In the following sections, we elaborate on the research questions at the heart of this study and the methodology used to answer them.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

This study seeks to explore three central questions:

Who comes to Chabad on campus?

Who are the undergraduate students that are drawn to Chabad, what attracts them, and what types of students are most likely to participate? How do those who do participate perceive Chabad? Who avoids Chabad?

What is the nature of Chabad's work with students?

What are the core operating principles of Chabad on campus? How does Chabad inspire participation and change among students? To what extent do emissaries develop personal relationships with students? Do these relationships continue after college? To what degree are students encouraged to become Orthodox or to join the Chabad movement? What are the roles of the rebbetzin and the Chabad family? How does Chabad theology manifest in the work of emissaries?

What is the post-college impact of Chabad on campus?

What is the long-term impact of Chabad's educational approach on campus, and how does it manifest post-college in the way young adults think about themselves as Jews and the choices they make as they build their Jewish lives? To what extent, if at all, are young adults who chose to become involved with Chabad during college different in their daily Jewish lives than those who did not choose to become involved? In short, does the impact of Chabad extend beyond college? Or, post-college, do Chabad experiences just become a memory of good food, friendly conversation, and positive feelings on Friday nights?

Each of the following chapters is devoted to addressing one of these three questions. Chapter 2 discusses the types of students who attend Chabad on campus, their degree of participation, and how they are attracted to Chabad. Chapter 3 presents an in-depth exploration of how Chabad works with students. Chapter 4 presents our findings on how involvement with Chabad during college impacts subsequent Jewish identity in young adulthood. In Chapter 5, we summarize our findings and discuss their implications.

¹⁵ For examples of critiques along these lines in the popular Jewish press and Jewish student press see, for example: Schwartzman, 2013; Wilensky, 2012a; (the author wrote a correction, see Wilensky, 2012b); Nathan-Kazis, 2008; Pomerance, 2003.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

Our study, commissioned and funded by the Hertog Foundation, was initially launched in June 2013.¹⁶ It is based on both qualitative and quantitative data obtained from 22 Chabad campus centers. To obtain the cooperation of these centers, we worked with leaders at Chabad on Campus International.

To learn about Chabad’s work with students on campus, we conducted interviews and/or focus groups with rabbis, rebbetzins, current students, alumni, parents, faculty, university officials, and Hillel leaders at a sample of the campuses.

We also asked rabbis and rebbetzins at the participating centers to share their acquired email lists of alumni. We then conducted an online survey and analyzed the resulting data. Since the centers’ email lists are compiled to serve their outreach efforts, they include not only students who attended Chabad; they also include students who never came to Chabad, but were identified as Jewish by Chabad emissaries. Thus, we were able to reach a broad range of alumni with respect to their varied Jewish upbringing and their degree of Chabad participation during college.

For our analyses, we were able to utilize over 2,400 responses from alumni ages 21 to 29 who graduated in 2007 or later.¹⁷

We draw conclusions about the influence of Chabad on the post-college lives of respondents by examining whether young adults who were involved with Chabad during college have greater levels of current Jewish involvement and a stronger Jewish identity than those who were not involved. We do so while controlling statistically for their Jewish upbringing and Jewish experiences during college other than Chabad.

Appendix B describes the study design in detail and presents a list of participating centers.

THE ROLE OF HILLEL IN THE STUDY

Hillel has been the dominant Jewish organization on campus for many years.¹⁸ Each of the 22 campuses we studied had both a Hillel and a Chabad center, as well as various other Jewish organizations. At almost every campus in the study, Hillel was already well established when Chabad emissaries first arrived to start a Chabad center.

The extent to which Hillel, Chabad, and other Jewish organizations work collaboratively differs from campus to campus. But, regardless of the relationship between the organizations, our data indicate that students at many campuses go back and forth among these organizations somewhat fluidly. We found that roughly three out of four respondents to our survey who attended a school that had both a Chabad center and a Hillel went to both at least once during their college years. As one illustration, it was not uncommon to hear from those students and alumni who attended services on Friday night that they went to services at Hillel but then went to Chabad afterward for

¹⁶ The design of the study, as well as its conclusions, are solely the responsibility of the authors.

¹⁷ We restricted our analysis to those under the age of 30 and to those who graduated in 2007 or later primarily because we found that Chabad participation levels were lower for respondents age 30 and older. Chabad was relatively new on campus and many were unfamiliar with it. See Appendix B.

¹⁸ Hillel was first established in 1923. For more on the history of Hillel, see Jospe, 1963, and Rosen, 2004. All four of the authors of the present study have previously conducted or are currently conducting research on Hillel.

dinner. Chapters 2 and 3 present some comparisons between Chabad and Hillel in order to provide a greater understanding of Chabad's work on campus.

Chapter 4 of this report focuses on the impact of Chabad. Because so many students go to both Chabad and Hillel, we also collected data on Hillel involvement in order to more confidently isolate the impact of Chabad. This approach enabled us to control statistically for Hillel involvement, and allowed us to rule out Hillel as a possible influence on current Jewish engagement for purposes of this study.

A statistical analysis of our Chabad-originated data does indicate that both Chabad and Hillel exert an independent post-college impact on students. However, Chapter 4 does not present any comparisons regarding the relative impact of Chabad and Hillel. None of our survey data came from Hillel lists, we did no fieldwork specifically targeting Hillel students or alumni, and Hillel: The Foundation for Campus Jewish Life was not a formal party to this study.¹⁹

19 For an earlier research proposal focusing on Chabad that preceded the current study, one of the authors did attempt, unsuccessfully, to obtain alumni lists from a number of Hillels. We did conduct interviews with some Hillel directors regarding their experiences with Chabad on their campus. Students and alumni during focus groups and interviews sometimes compared the two organizations.

CHAPTER 2:

WHO COMES TO CHABAD ON CAMPUS?

STUDENTS' JEWISH BACKGROUNDS AND CAMPUS JEWISH LIFE

We begin this chapter with an illustrative story about a college graduate we will call Kayla, whose Jewish journey and experience with Chabad we will use to illustrate key points.²⁰

When Kayla was 6, her family moved from a small Wisconsin town where they were the only Jewish family to a suburb of Milwaukee. Her parents wanted to be part of a Jewish community and live closer to the Conservative synagogue they had previously driven an hour to attend every Saturday. After the move, Kayla enrolled in a Jewish day school and attended from 4th grade to 8th grade. Since there was no Jewish high school in the Milwaukee area, she attended a public high school that didn't have many Jews. However, she remained Jewishly involved during her high school years, going to Israel at the age of 16 on a USY pilgrimage, serving on the regional USY board, and attending a Jewish summer camp that her father, aunts, and uncles had also attended when they were teenagers.

When it came time during Kayla's junior year in high school to look into colleges, she sought an affordable school with a good academic reputation and a strong Jewish community. The University of Wisconsin–Madison was a logical choice. Ranked among the best public universities in the country, Wisconsin's flagship university had over 4,000 Jewish undergraduates, attracting large numbers of young Jews not only from the Midwest but also from the Northeast. UW–Madison had a very active, well-regarded Hillel that was the second oldest in the country, established in 1924. There were over 15 different Jewish student groups on campus and over 75 Jewish studies courses. She was elated when she received her acceptance letter.

20 This story is based on an interview with an alumna of the University of Wisconsin–Madison. The story was fact-checked by the interviewee. Only her name and other potentially identifying details have been changed.

Students arrive at college with widely varying Jewish backgrounds and different degrees of interest in Judaism. Some students, like Kayla, may have been very involved in Jewish life prior to college. Such students may have attended Jewish day schools or Hebrew schools, been involved with Jewish life during high school through synagogue youth groups or BBYO, or attended Jewish summer camps. Their parents are likely to have imparted Jewish traditions at home and they may have grown up in neighborhoods or communities with lots of other Jews their own age, fostering close Jewish friendships.

In contrast, there are students who may have had little exposure to Judaism before coming to college. Other than perhaps attending Passover seders or Chanukah parties at a relative's home, their involvement with Jewish life is likely to have been minimal and their knowledge of Judaism is limited.

Just as different students have varying Jewish backgrounds, college campuses differ with respect to Jewish life. Some campuses, like the University of Wisconsin–Madison in Kayla's story, are sought out by high school students who were involved with Jewish life prior to college and wish to continue their Jewish involvement during college. These schools have a reputation as “Jewish destination” schools. They attract many Jewish students and are home to a plethora of Jewish activities and campus organizations.²¹

Other schools enroll far fewer Jews and are home to fewer Jewish activities. Many of the Jews who enroll at such schools are less likely to prioritize Jewish campus life when considering various school options during their high school years. They may not identify strongly as being Jewish, they may have weaker Jewish backgrounds, and they may not be very interested in Jewish activities.

The work of Chabad varies in accordance with the individual Jewish backgrounds of the students who come to Chabad, as well as the overall Jewish level of Jewish life at the campuses where Chabad operates. At campuses that attract students with a strong Jewish upbringing, Jewish study and kosher food play an important role. At other campuses where students tend to have less knowledge of Jewish tradition, Chabad must work harder to attract students. Rabbis and rebbetzins focus more on basic education about Jewish teachings, values, and practices, targeting those without a strong Jewish upbringing.

Thus, students' Jewish upbringing and the type of campus they attend interact to affect who comes to Chabad, why they come, and how often they come. These considerations also affect the activities and programs that rabbis and rebbetzins offer. In addition, as we will see in Chapter 4, Jewish upbringing has an effect on whether involvement with Chabad during college has an enduring impact on Jewish engagement after college.

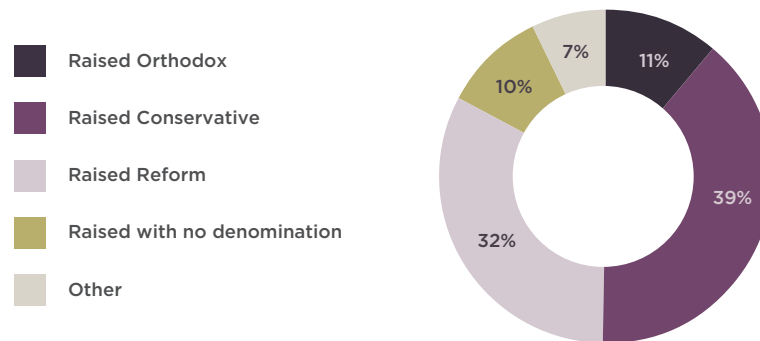
It is therefore appropriate to begin this chapter with an exploration of the Jewish upbringing of our survey respondents.

JEWISH UPBRINGING AND PRE-COLLEGE JEWISH EXPERIENCES

One of the standard ways of describing Jewish upbringing is to categorize individuals according to the Jewish denomination in which they were raised. Figure 2.1 shows the various Jewish denominations that respondents to our survey selected.

21 Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life offers an annual guide for parents and high school students identifying these schools. See www.hillel.org/magazine.

FIGURE 2.1: DENOMINATIONS IN WHICH SURVEY RESPONDENTS WERE RAISED



Note: Other includes Reconstructionist, Chabad, post-denominational, other Jewish, not sure, and not raised Jewish (but Jewish now).

Our survey respondents differ in some respects from the larger Jewish young adult population in the United States. A 2013 study by the Pew Research Center found that only 11 percent of young adults ages 18-29 describe being raised as Conservative, in contrast with the 39 percent of our respondents as shown in Figure 2.1.²² The Pew study found that 41 percent of young adults describe being raised with no denomination, in comparison with the 10 percent figure presented in Figure 2.1.²³ Percentages among our survey respondents for the categories of Orthodox, Reform, and “other denomination” are within a few percentage points of the Pew study findings.

The larger percentage of those with Conservative backgrounds and the smaller percentage of those raised with no denomination is primarily a result of the specific schools we included in the study.²⁴

As we noted in Chapter 1, Chabad is a relative newcomer to the campus scene. When selecting centers for the study, we needed to favor the centers that had been established during the early years of Chabad’s entry onto college campuses. For survey purposes, these centers would have sufficiently large alumni lists. Because Chabad centers were established first at Jewish destination schools with larger Jewish populations, this meant that many of the schools we chose for the study tend to attract students who have stronger Jewish identities. Consequently, respondents to our survey tended to be more Jewishly involved than the broader national Jewish young adult population.

Since our respondents were not drawn from a national random sample, the reader should not assume that Chabad across the country attracts primarily students who were raised Conservative and does not attract those who were raised with no denomination, as Figure 2.1 might suggest at first glance.²⁵ We will have more to say about this in Chapter 5.

In addition, it should also be noted that individuals who have stronger Jewish identities (e.g. those raised Conservative) are in general more motivated to invest the time in completing a twenty-minute online survey on a Jewish topic than those who have a weaker Jewish identity.

²² Pew Research Center, October 2013.

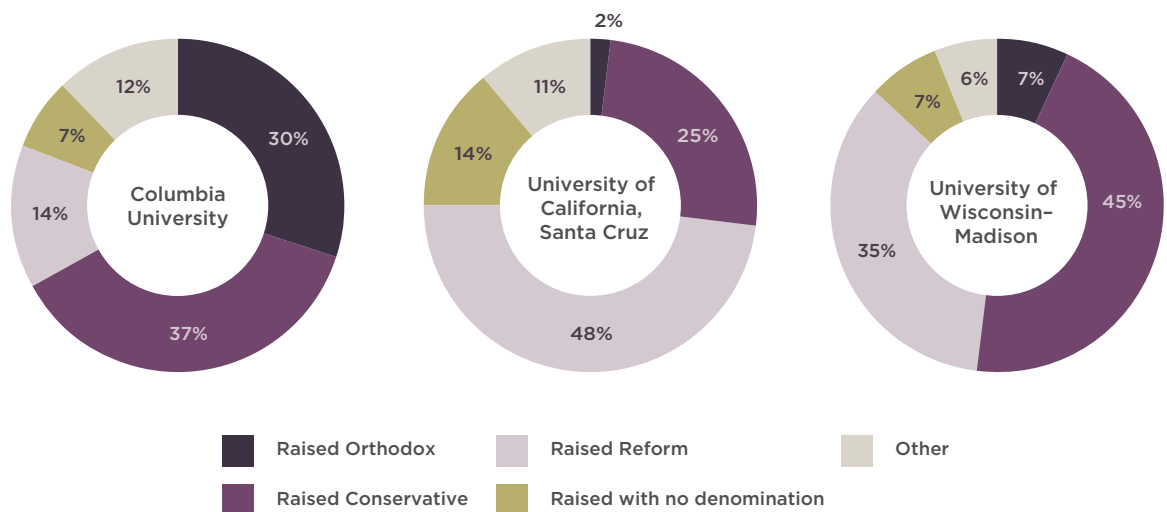
²³ Those whom we label “Raised with no denomination” chose the response category “Just Jewish” on our survey.

²⁴ See Appendix B for a list and more detail about how the schools were selected.

²⁵ Generating a random sample that would be representative of college students at almost 200 campuses in the United States while simultaneously including those with low, moderate, and high levels of Chabad participation would be a prohibitively expensive endeavor.

We made the point earlier that different schools attract different types of Jews. Figure 2.2 shows the denominational backgrounds of students at three of the 22 schools included in our study, providing an illustration of how different schools have different mixes of students.

FIGURE 2.2: DENOMINATIONAL BACKGROUND BY SCHOOL: THREE ILLUSTRATIONS



The denomination in which a young adult is raised is one way to understand their Jewish upbringing. Those raised in different denominations also tend to have different types of Jewish education and different Jewish experiences growing up. Table 2.1 shows the Jewish educational experiences of our survey respondents by the denomination in which they were raised.²⁶

TABLE 2.1: JEWISH EDUCATION AMONG SURVEY RESPONDENTS

	JEWISH DAY SCHOOL	OTHER JEWISH EDUCATION	NO JEWISH EDUCATION	TOTALS
RAISED ORTHODOX	84%	14%	2%	100%
RAISED CONSERVATIVE	37%	62%	1%	100%
RAISED REFORM	6%	91%	3%	100%
RAISED WITH NO DENOMINATION	18%	46%	36%	100%
ALL RESPONDENTS	28%	64%	8%	100%

We see that about five out of six of those raised Orthodox (84%) attended a Jewish day school, while only a very small percentage (6%) of those raised Reform did so. If we include other forms of Jewish education, such as Hebrew school or private tutoring, close to 100 percent of those raised Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform among our respondents had some Jewish education. However, among those raised with no denomination, slightly over one-third (36%) had no formal Jewish education.

26 For the sake of simplicity, in Table 2.1 and in subsequent tables and figures in this report, we drop the “Other” category listed in Figures 2.1 and 2.2.

Table 2.2 presents other pre-college Jewish experiences by denomination.

TABLE 2.2: JEWISH EXPERIENCES PRIOR TO COLLEGE

Percent Choosing “Yes”	SUMMER CAMP	YOUTH GROUP IN HIGH SCHOOL	SOME CHABAD EXPOSURE
RAISED ORTHODOX	77%	43%	37%
RAISED CONSERVATIVE	62%	50%	21%
RAISED REFORM	52%	46%	11%
RAISED WITH NO DENOMINATION	35%	20%	19%
ALL RESPONDENTS	56%	43%	20%

About three-quarters of those raised Orthodox (77%) attended a Jewish summer overnight camp. We see slightly lower percentages for those raised Conservative and Reform (62% and 52% respectively). We find a much lower percentage, 35 percent, for those raised with no denomination.

There appears to be very little difference across denominations with respect to Jewish youth group involvement in high school, ranging from 43 percent to 50 percent. We see a much lower percentage, 20 percent, among those raised with no denomination.

Overall, about one in five of our respondents (20%) had exposure to Chabad prior to college. We see that those raised Orthodox are most likely to have had some involvement with Chabad (37%), and those raised Reform are least likely (11%).

Table 2.3 presents the Jewish backgrounds of survey respondents’ parents.

TABLE 2.3: JEWISH BACKGROUND OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS’ PARENTS

	RAISED WITH TWO JEWISH PARENTS	RAISED WITH ONE JEWISH PARENT	TOTALS
RAISED ORTHODOX	98%	2%	100%
RAISED CONSERVATIVE	95%	5%	100%
RAISED REFORM	81%	19%	100%
RAISED WITH NO DENOMINATION	70%	30%	100%
ALL RESPONDENTS	85%	15%	100%

While overall, 85 percent of respondents came from home with two Jewish parents, the percentages range from 98 percent for Orthodox respondents to 70 percent for respondents raised with no denomination.

With the exception of Orthodox, these percentages are higher than the general Jewish population. There are several possible explanations for this discrepancy. First, individuals from interfaith families may be less likely to be on Chabad lists. Chabad emissaries sometimes attempt to identify Jewish students by looking for distinctive Jewish names on various campus lists. These names are less common among those who come from interfaith families. Second, they may be less interested overall in Jewish life on campus. Or third, it is possible that they may feel less comfortable going to Chabad specifically. In Chapter 3, we will have more to say about respondents from interfaith families.

Now that we have provided some data regarding the Jewish upbringing of our survey respondents, we will turn to a discussion of how often they come.

PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION AT JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS DURING COLLEGE

Some students never come to Chabad, some come occasionally, and some come regularly. Students may also participate at other Jewish campus organizations. We assessed frequency of attendance using the following survey question: *During your undergraduate years, how often, if at all, did you attend programs, events, classes, services, or meals sponsored by the following Jewish organizations on campus?* Respondents indicated how often they went to Chabad, Hillel, or another campus Jewish organization, and had the option of indicating that their campus did not have a Chabad, Hillel, or other Jewish campus organization.

Table 2.4 presents the frequency of attendance among our survey respondents.

TABLE 2.4: FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT JEWISH CAMPUS ORGANIZATIONS

Frequency of Attendance at Chabad, Hillel, and Other Jewish Organizations Among Respondents

	CHABAD	HILLEL	ANOTHER ORGANIZATION ²⁶
VERY FREQUENTLY	17%	18%	7%
REGULARLY	15%	12%	6%
OCCASIONALLY	29%	31%	13%
ONCE OR TWICE	21%	27%	12%
NEVER	16%	10%	41%
NOT AVAILABLE AT CAMPUS	2%	1%	21%
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%

As Table 2.4 shows, at schools with a Chabad center, 16 percent of those on the lists that Chabad provided to us never went at all. Percentages by school of those who chose “never” ranged from

²⁷ While we present findings in Table 2.4 regarding other Jewish organizations besides Chabad and Hillel, we do not otherwise discuss them in this report. These include, to provide some examples, Jewish fraternities and sororities, Jewish capella groups, Israel advocacy groups, Jewish LGBTQ groups, Jewish political organizations, and Orthodox outreach groups. Some operate in conjunction with Hillel or Chabad on a particular campus; some do not. There is no unifying educational approach or philosophy that would justify grouping these disparate groups together as a single entity.

2 percent to 28 percent. Apparently, some of the emissaries were more diligent in identifying Jewish students on campus and inviting them to Chabad activities even though they chose not to come. It is also possible that some of those who chose “never” were graduate students or young adults who did not go to Chabad as an undergraduate but became involved during graduate studies. The nature of our survey questions, which focused exclusively on undergraduate involvement, would have placed them in the “never” category.

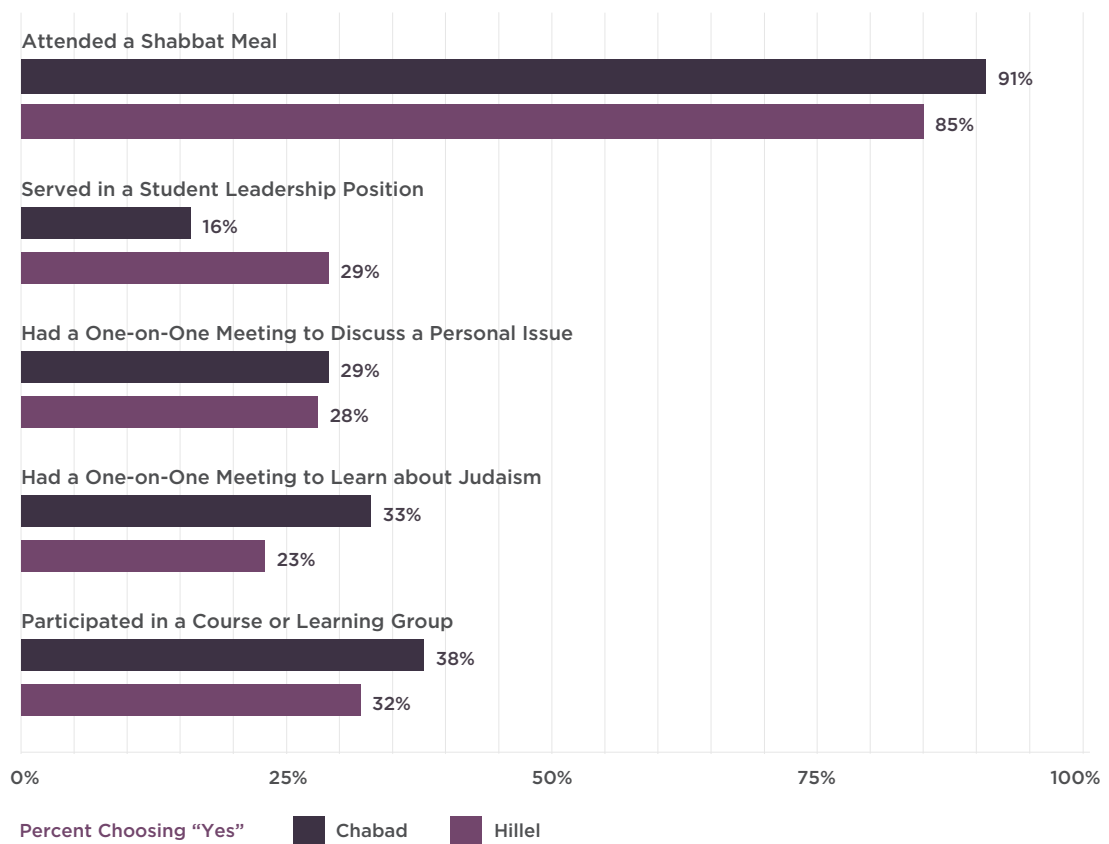
Overall, patterns of attendance at Hillel were somewhat similar to Chabad. Just over three out of four respondents (76%) attended both at least once during their college years.

To incorporate aspects of involvement beyond attendance, we included five questions on our survey that applied equally to both Chabad and Hillel participation. The questions asked about:

- » attendance at a Shabbat meal
- » meeting one-on-one with a rabbi, rabbi’s wife, or staff member (in the case of Hillel) to discuss a personal issue
- » meeting one-on-one with a rabbi, rabbi’s wife or staff member to learn about Judaism
- » participating in a course or ongoing learning group (not for academic credit)
- » serving in a student leadership position

In Figure 2.3, we show the percentage who said “yes” to questions that addressed the various types of involvement described previously.

FIGURE 2.3: TYPES OF CHABAD AND HILLEL PARTICIPATION AMONG RESPONDENTS



Overall, the patterns of participation in Hillel and Chabad are similar, with a slight differentiation between serving in a student leadership position and learning about Judaism. Students at Hillel tend to do more of the former, while students at Chabad tend to do more of the latter.

To create an overall measure of participation, we assigned points to each respondent both for attendance and for each yes answer to the various types of participation. Overall participation scores ranged from 0 to 10. We then grouped the scores into three categories:

- » None/Low – 0 to 3
- » Moderate – 4 to 6
- » High – 7 to 10

Table 2.5 shows the distribution of the Chabad and Hillel participation categories. The percentages were virtually the same when comparing Chabad and Hillel participation, with just over half of respondents (53% for both) falling in the lowest participation category, and just under half (47%) in the moderate and high categories.²⁸

TABLE 2.5: OVERALL PARTICIPATION FOR CHABAD AND HILLEL

PARTICIPATION DURING COLLEGE	HILLEL NONE/LOW	HILLEL MODERATE	HILLEL HIGH	CHABAD TOTALS
CHABAD - HIGH	9%	5%	8%	22%
CHABAD - MODERATE	11%	7%	7%	25%
CHABAD - NONE/LOW	33%	12%	8%	53%
HILLEL TOTALS	53%	24%	23%	100%

We wondered whether certain aspects of students' backgrounds might predict greater participation at Chabad or Hillel, and investigated the following pre-college factors:

- » Denomination in which the survey respondent was raised
- » Gender
- » Jewish education
- » Whether one or both parents were Jewish
- » Overnight Jewish summer camp attendance
- » Jewish youth group participation in high school
- » Chabad participation prior to college

28 For simplicity, we combined "no" participation and "low" participation into one category (none/low) because we did not find any statistically significant differences on post-college measures of engagement when comparing these two groups. See Appendix B for more detail regarding the calculation of overall participation scores.

We did find differences according to the denomination in which respondents were raised. To illustrate, Tables 2.6 and 2.7 show differences in level of Chabad and Hillel participation by denomination. Those raised Orthodox were the denominational group most likely to participate most actively at both Chabad and Hillel. Among those raised Orthodox, 32 percent were in the high participation category at Chabad, as compared with even more, 42 percent, at Hillel.

Those raised Orthodox are a small group relative to other denominations.²⁹ They are highly concentrated at certain campuses and relatively scarce at most. Nonetheless, those raised Orthodox, who score high on most measures of Jewish engagement, are overrepresented in the high participation category at both Chabad and Hillel.

In contrast with those raised Orthodox, we find that those raised Reform are least likely to participate both at Chabad and at Hillel. At Chabad, 16 percent of all respondents raised Reform were in the high participation category, only half of the percentage for those raised Orthodox. At Hillel, the percentage was almost identical (17%).

Chabad and Hillel differ slightly in their appeal to those who were raised with no denomination. For this group, half (50%) are found in the moderate and high participation categories for Chabad, in contrast with one-third (34%) at Hillel.

TABLE 2.6: CHABAD PARTICIPATION AND DENOMINATION RAISED

	LEVEL OF CHABAD PARTICIPATION			TOTALS
	NONE/LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	
RAISED ORTHODOX	38%	30%	32%	100%
RAISED CONSERVATIVE	51%	25%	24%	100%
RAISED REFORM	61%	23%	16%	100%
RAISED WITH NO DENOMINATION	50%	26%	24%	100%

TABLE 2.7: HILLEL PARTICIPATION AND DENOMINATION RAISED

	LEVEL OF CHABAD PARTICIPATION			TOTALS
	NONE/LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	
RAISED ORTHODOX	31%	27%	42%	100%
RAISED CONSERVATIVE	50%	25%	25%	100%
RAISED REFORM	61%	22%	17%	100%
RAISED WITH NO DENOMINATION	66%	18%	16%	100%

²⁹ Those who were raised Orthodox represent 11 percent of all respondents (Table 2.1) and 12 percent of those among our respondents who came to Chabad at least once.

There were no differences in level of participation by gender — men and women had the same participation profile. We did find differences in participation when examining other pre-college experiences. Respondents who attended a Jewish day school were more likely to be high participants at Chabad and at Hillel than those with other types of Jewish education or no education.

For summer camp and youth group involvement, we found differences in participation for Hillel, but not for Chabad. Summer camp attendees and youth group participants participated at Hillel more often than those without such educational experiences in their teen years. There was a strong relationship between pre-college Chabad involvement and subsequent participation at Chabad during college, but no relationship with Hillel participation. Those with two Jewish parents reported high participation at Chabad and at Hillel more often than those who had one Jewish parent. We summarize these findings in Table 2.8.

TABLE 2.8: PRE-COLLEGE INFLUENCES ON CHABAD AND HILLEL PARTICIPATION

PRE-COLLEGE INFLUENCE	LIKELIHOOD OF HIGH PARTICIPATION DURING COLLEGE	
	CHABAD	HILLEL
GENDER	no effect	no effect
ATTENDED DAY SCHOOL	more likely	more likely
ATTENDED JEWISH SUMMER CAMP	no effect	more likely
JEWISH YOUTH GROUP IN HIGH SCHOOL	no effect	more likely
SOME INVOLVEMENT WITH CHABAD	more likely	no effect
TWO JEWISH PARENTS	more likely	more likely

Overall, based on our findings, we observe that Chabad's appeal to the more Jewishly engaged by upbringing is somewhat less pronounced than for Hillel, at least among our respondents. That is, Hillel appears somewhat more likely than Chabad to attract those with stronger Jewish backgrounds and Jewish experiences prior to college.

POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND PARTICIPATION AT CHABAD

Jews are among the most politically liberal groups in America, and young adults in general tend to be liberal as well.³⁰ Among our respondents, 59 percent identified as liberal, 28 percent as moderate, and only 13 percent identified as politically conservative, percentages that closely matched the national figures for Jewish young adults ages 18-29.³¹

Orthodox Jews are the group among American Jews that is the most politically conservative. We wondered if students' political leanings influenced their inclinations to participate at Chabad or Hillel, and in particular, if those with conservative political leanings would find an affinity at Chabad. Table 2.9 shows our findings.

30 Pew Research Center, October 2013, Chapter 6.

31 Pew Research Center, October 2013, page 97.

TABLE 2.9: CHABAD PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION

POLITICAL ORIENTATION	LEVEL OF CHABAD PARTICIPATION			TOTALS
	NONE/LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	
LIBERAL	59%	25%	16%	100%
MODERATE	50%	25%	25%	100%
CONSERVATIVE	36%	24%	39%	100%

Those who saw themselves as politically conservative were more than twice as likely as self-described liberals to be in the high participation category at Chabad. Moderates score in between the two political poles. These findings are noteworthy because they suggest that those who considers themselves liberal, about three out five young adult Jews, are less inclined to become involved at Chabad.

WELCOMING, ATTRACTION, AND AVOIDANCE

We begin this section by returning to the story of Kayla.

When Kayla first arrived as a freshman at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, she gravitated immediately to Hillel. She spent her first year going to services and Shabbat dinner there every Friday night. Chabad was not of interest to her. She viewed it as “super Orthodox” and had never had any positive experiences with Orthodox Jews. As someone who had an egalitarian mindset, she did not want to pray where men and women had to sit separately and women couldn’t participate in services. She avoided going her entire freshman year.

However, early in her sophomore year a friend suggested they go to Chabad one Friday night because she had heard the food was better than Hillel, so Kayla decided she would give it a try just this one time. Her friend was right. The food was definitely better. Still, Kayla felt awkward in the unfamiliar setting and was wary of the Orthodox orientation. But these feelings were completely offset by the warm family atmosphere, which she really liked, so she came back the next week.

Kayla began to come every Friday night. The experience was a contrast with Hillel’s large dinners, where she hadn’t received much personal attention. At Chabad, there was a “homey” feeling and people really cared about her. After about four months, the awkwardness was finally gone and she felt “super comfortable” at Chabad. Still, with the exception of Friday night dinners, her involvement with Hillel continued.

As Kayla got to know Rabbi Mendel Matusof and his wife Henya at Chabad, her fears of Orthodox Judaism evaporated. They talked regularly about a variety of Jewish as well as personal issues. She found her views were listened to and could be talked about and discussed, and she experienced no pressure whatsoever to “convert” to Orthodox Jewish practices. They let her explore with a lot of respect. She took classes with other students at Chabad, studied privately with Henya, and even began to babysit for the Matusof family.

Kayla eventually became a member of the Chabad board, and took on the role of welcoming those who were coming for the first time, empathizing with the awkward feelings she had when she first came. She felt a strong desire to help out and give back.

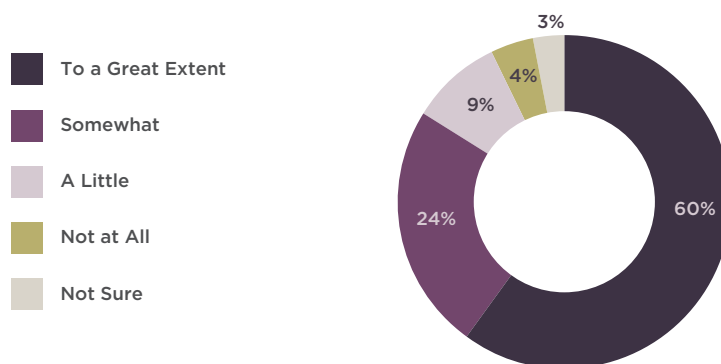
Perceptions of Welcoming

As we see in Kayla’s story, many students come to Chabad initially with considerable reservations that the rabbis and rebbetzins attempt to overcome. They may have never met or talked to an Orthodox rabbi, or any rabbi for that matter. Some, from areas where there are few Jews, may have rarely been around other Jews and that itself is a novelty. They may feel unsafe or uncomfortable at first. It is the job of the emissary to help the “uncomfortable feel comfortable,” to help students feel that they belong, and to feel that Judaism is not “alien.”

At the end of our survey, we asked respondents to share written comments about Chabad, both positive and negative. Approximately 1,200 survey respondents provided their thoughts about Chabad. When we created a word cloud from these comments, the single most frequently mentioned word was “welcoming.”

FIGURE 2.4: PERCEPTIONS OF WELCOMING

“Chabad was a welcoming space for Jews from all backgrounds”



To assess perceptions of welcoming, we asked alumni their degree of agreement with the following survey question: *Chabad was a welcoming space for Jews from all backgrounds*. Our findings are shown in Figure 2.4. Three out of five respondents (60%) experienced Chabad as welcoming “to a great extent,” while only 4 percent perceived it as “not at all” welcoming.

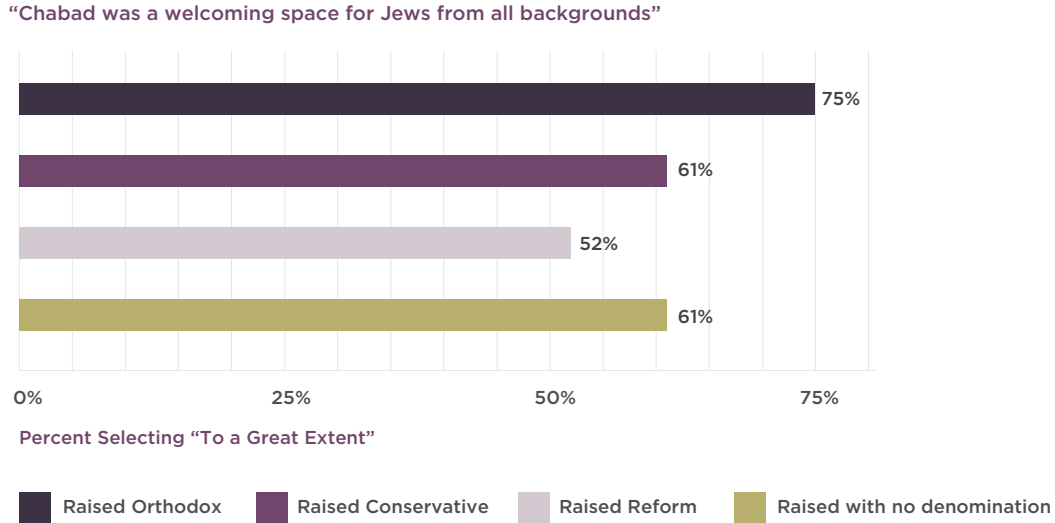
“

I always felt a bit uneasy being a Reform Jew at Chabad... they were certainly very welcoming and had way better food at their Shabbat dinners than Hillel.

Perceptions differed somewhat according to the denomination in which respondents were raised. Looking only at those who selected the response category “to a great extent,” we see in Figure 2.5 that those raised Orthodox felt most welcome, with three out of four (75%) selecting this

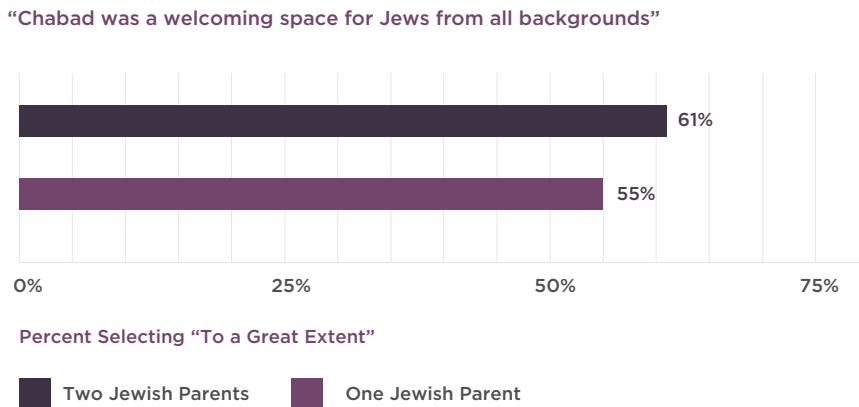
response category, while those raised Reform felt slightly less comfortable, although the percentage selecting “to a great extent” was still over half (52%).

FIGURE 2.5: PERCEPTIONS OF WELCOMING BY DENOMINATION



We also looked at perceptions of welcoming from the potentially differing viewpoints of those with one or two Jewish parents (Figure 2.6). We see a very small difference between those with one and two Jewish parents. Even those who might be less inclined to feel comfortable at Chabad because they grew up in an intermarried family still indicated that they did feel welcome at levels that were close to those with two Jewish parents.

FIGURE 2.6: PERCEPTIONS OF WELCOMING BY PARENTS' BACKGROUNDS



Attraction to Chabad

Like Kayla, relatively few Jewish high school graduates arrive on campus with a predilection for or positive feelings toward Chabad. Many are unfamiliar with it. Students who were actively involved in Jewish life during high school, perhaps through a Jewish summer camp or a Jewish youth group, are more likely to gravitate to Hillel, as we noted in the previous section.

One “natural constituency” consists of those who were actively involved with Chabad during high school. However, as we noted in Table 2.2, among our respondents, 80 percent were not involved with Chabad prior to college. Only 3 percent said they were involved with Chabad before college

“to a great extent.”³² While our data show that students with pre-college Chabad involvement are much more likely to participate at Chabad during college, the actual numbers are quite small.

Table 2.6 suggests that students raised Orthodox would also seem to be a natural constituency, since they are more likely to be in the moderate and high participation categories, but once again the numbers are quite small. When we are referring to those raised Orthodox on college campuses, we are primarily referring to Modern Orthodox Jews, who comprise only 1 percent of American Jews between the ages of 18 and 29. Ultra-Orthodox Jews, who represent 9 percent of American Jews between the ages of 18 and 29, are much less likely to attend college.³³

Furthermore, Orthodox Jews are not randomly distributed across college campuses. The vast majority of campuses have few or no Orthodox Jews. Orthodox Jews are concentrated at about 20 college campuses that have kosher meal plans, daily Orthodox prayer services, and an Orthodox rabbinic couple (provided by the Orthodox Union) to serve their needs through Hillel.³⁴ So even at these schools, it is not necessarily the case that Orthodox students would be drawn to Chabad, since they already have a natural base at Hillel.

Since Chabad lacks a sizable natural constituency, what attracts students to Chabad? Emissaries told us that most students do not come to Chabad because they are looking for Jewish life. What draws them?

Our interviews and focus groups strongly indicated that food, the social scene, and the warm family environment, especially on Friday nights, were the main draws initially, as our story about Kayla illustrates. Our survey data support these qualitative observations. Shabbat meals were by far the

most frequent form of interaction with Chabad, with 91 percent of the survey respondents who had any contact with Chabad indicating that they had attended a Shabbat meal at Chabad during their undergraduate years (Figure 2.3).

Students work hard at school and they are looking for a place at the end of the week

to relax. Friday night Shabbat dinner at Chabad is viewed as a dramatically different and often welcome alternative to the ubiquitous campus party scene. The social scene on Friday night was variously described by our survey respondents and individuals we interviewed with such terms as cool, fun, hip, lively, vibrant, and exciting.

For Shabbat dinner, Chabad serves kosher home cooked food, often in a home-like setting, at no cost. Attendance at most centers ranges from 75 to 120 or more students, or may even reach 400 at larger schools with sizable Jewish populations.

“

Chabad was a great place to meet new friends, the Rabbi and his wife were young, hip, and knew how to throw a party.

The amount of free meals [name of rabbi] provides for the students throughout the year is enough to feed all the Jews who left Egypt.

”

32 Two relatively new and growing Chabad initiatives are likely to familiarize more teens with Chabad and shift these percentages in the future. The Friendship Circle (friendshipcircle.com) connects teens with special needs children, and CTeens (www.cteen.com) is Chabad's teen youth group network.

33 See Pew Research Center, October 2013, pages 43 and 49. We use the term ultra-Orthodox to match the terminology used in the Pew study.

34 The Orthodox Union, in partnership with Hillel, administers the Jewish Learning Initiative on Campus (OU-JLIC), a program that supports the placement of Orthodox rabbinic couples at these campuses. See jliconline.org for a description of the program and a list of the campuses with rabbinic couples.

Students find out about the Friday night dinners and other Chabad events almost entirely through word of mouth. Emissaries recognize this and encourage socially connected students to recruit their friends.

“

[Chabad was] more typically the gathering place for Greeks and other socially active members of the community. Considered the ‘cooler’ of the two Jewish groups on campus.

Developing relationships with Jewish fraternities and sororities is another important way for emissaries to reach students with whom they might not otherwise come in contact. On campuses where Greek life is strong, we learned that many students come to Chabad for the first time through the recommendation of a fraternity brother or sorority sister.³⁵ One

Chabad rabbi meets monthly with the presidents of the various Jewish Greek houses, and the joke at that campus is that the Chabad house has its own Greek name, “Chai Beta Delta.” Emissaries also offer programs in dorms, bringing Chabad directly to the students.

Does Chabad Use Alcohol to Attract Students?

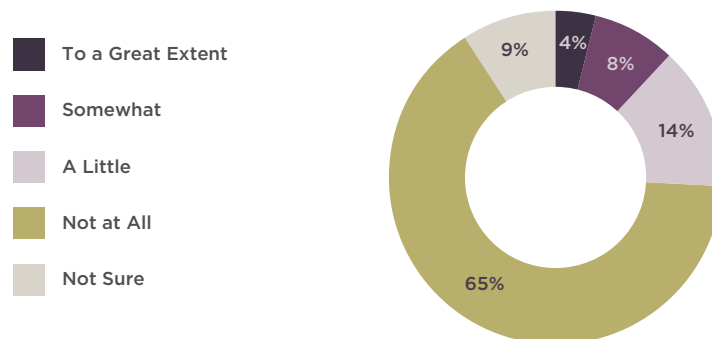
There appears to be a general perception that Chabad uses alcohol to attract students, that underage drinking occurs, and that alcohol use is excessive at some Chabad events.³⁶ There was undoubtedly truth to this perception in the past at some centers, although Chabad emissaries point out that alcohol was and at many schools still is a regular part of the general campus culture.

In 2001, Chabad on Campus International instituted a national policy, which it reinforced in 2011, that prohibited the serving and consumption of alcohol for minors at Chabad events, with the exception of ceremonial wine for religious purposes.

To assess perceptions regarding alcohol use at Chabad, we asked alumni to respond to the following survey question: *Alcohol use at Chabad was excessive.* Results are found in Figure 2.7. We see that two out of three (65%) chose “not at all” and about one out of four (26%) chose “a little,” “somewhat,” or “to a great extent.” The remaining respondents chose “not sure.”

FIGURE 2.7: PERCEPTIONS OF ALCOHOL USE

“Alcohol Use at Chabad was Excessive”



35 Chabad has an especially close relationship with the fraternity Alpha Epsilon Pi. The national organization has a strong relationship with Chabad on Campus International and a Chabad rabbi serves on their national board.

36 See, for example, Lopatin, 2013, page 154.

While overall, only 4 percent chose “to a great extent,” we did find higher percentages for those choosing “to a great extent” at two campuses, where the percentages were 13 percent and 18 percent. The former focuses primarily on older graduate students for whom alcohol is legal. The latter appears to be an outlier.

Almost all centers follow national policy and excessive use of alcohol at Chabad events on campus now appears to be decreasing. We found that the percentage of alumni who chose “not at all” was 75 percent among those who graduated in 2014. The corresponding figure across the prior seven years, from 2007 to 2013, was 64 percent.

Avoidance of Chabad

While Chabad’s philosophy is to love every Jew, not every Jew loves Chabad. Some Jewish students do not come.

As we showed in Table 2.5, 53 percent of our respondents either did not come to Chabad at all or were in the low participation category. We cannot extrapolate from our survey data to the larger campus population to determine the percentage of Jews on campus that avoid Chabad, since the respondents came from Chabad-supplied lists, over-representing Chabad participants.

The comments respondents shared on our survey provided clues about why some students avoided Chabad. Comments provided by individuals who did not come or who were in the low participation category gave us insights into reasons for avoiding Chabad. These reasons could be grouped into three general categories:

- » Lack of interest in any Jewish offerings on campus
- » Preference for Hillel
- » Principled avoidance

Regarding the second category, a preference for Hillel, some students went to Hillel because they were more interested in cultural aspects of Judaism than religious aspects. There were also those who were interested in religion, but went to Hillel because services and other activities were more in alignment with their upbringing. For example, there were comments from individuals who had been active Jewishly in high school and saw Hillel as a place to continue the Jewish practices with which they were already familiar. Those who identified strongly with the Conservative or Reform movements sought out the corresponding groups at Hillel.

I wasn't really involved with the Chabad on the [name of school] campus at all... was extremely involved in Hillel and only went to the Chabad when Hillel and Chabad did Shabbos dinners together. Good impression of Chabad I liked the Rebbetzin but it was a little more into religion than I wanted to be and so I felt that the Hillel being more secular fit my situation at the time.

We saw earlier from our survey data that students with liberal political leanings were less likely to be in the high participation category

at Chabad (Table 2.9). Similarly, our qualitative data indicated that some students avoided Chabad because they possessed liberal social or Jewish values that were perceived by the student to conflict with Chabad, a perspective we call principled avoidance.³⁷ Among these were a preference for

³⁷ We saw earlier that those raised Reform, whose Jewish values are likely to be more liberal, are somewhat less likely to be in the high participation category and feel somewhat less comfortable at Chabad.

egalitarian participation in religious services, discomfort with Chabad's gender roles, a favorable attitude toward intermarriage, left-wing positions regarding Israel, disagreement with Orthodox *halacha* on the definition of who is a Jew, and discomfort with the position of Orthodox *halacha* on homosexuality.³⁸ Illustrative quotes are presented below.

“

I don't prefer some of Chabad's philosophies, so I chose not to be involved. As someone who grew up in a very egalitarian community, I didn't like feeling marginalized religiously at Chabad events/ceremonies.

The belief that one should only marry someone of Jewish background seems very discriminating to me and restricting on who you have involved in your life.

I am put off by the organization and its approach to gender roles and issues of sexuality and intermarriage. I actively choose to avoid Chabad programming.

I stopped going because of my ideological differences with Chabad. (I identify as a feminist and as a gay man. I felt Chabad to be both a patriarchal and heteronormative space. Not for me.)

I think I went once; it's never interested me because of its inclusiveness. My mother converted, so some view me as 'not Jewish enough' and I don't feel the need to impress those who are going to judge my background.

I always felt alienated from the organization because they seem to be intensely politically conservative, especially with regard to Israel.

Views like those expressed above kept some away. However, others with these same viewpoints nonetheless chose to become involved with Chabad.

“

Chabad has a complicated relationship with converts so I have a complicated one with Chabad although I generally felt welcome and supported.

The rabbi and rebbetzin are lovely people, and they are welcoming and gracious to everyone. But I don't think their version of Judaism is more authentic or righteous or than others. I could not get behind the antifeminist apologetics.

Being gay, I was always slightly uneasy attending Chabad. After 3 years of going regularly, I told the rabbi's wife about my sexuality, who made me feel a lot better about Chabad's view of the homosexuality.... she worded it in a way that made me feel comfortable being myself.

I learned a great deal about Jewish observance by participating in Jewish life with Chabad... I am considerably more knowledgeable than I was, thanks to my time there... Despite my positive experiences with Chabad, my student leadership role therein while at college, and my occasional donation, I've got a chip on my shoulder about it because the Chabad rabbi at my university told me (albeit delicately, and in so many words) that they do not recognize the validity of my mother's conversion to Judaism, which was undertaken under the auspices of rabbis belonging to the Conservative movement.

38 While some gay Jews may not feel comfortable at Chabad, gay Jews, just like any other Jews, are welcome at all Chabad centers, on campus or elsewhere. For example, Chabad schools welcome children of openly gay couples as long as the children are Jewish according to Orthodox *halacha*. For one example of Chabad's perspective, see "Do Homosexuals Fit into the Jewish Community?" Retrieved from: www.chabad.org/663504

Emissaries are aware that their approach will not appeal to all Jews on campus. Some that we spoke with mentioned that they felt it was important to have a strong Hillel on their campus and described how they worked with Hillel to support it. They believed it was much more important for Jews who avoid Chabad to do something Jewish, whether at Hillel or at another campus organization, than for these students to avoid Jewish life on campus altogether.

In the next chapter, we describe the work that Chabad does with students in detail. In this chapter, drawing from both our survey responses and fieldwork observations, we explore some of the ways in which Chabad works with and influences young adults. We also examine perceptions of Chabad through the eyes of those who participate.

CHAPTER 3:

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF CHABAD'S WORK WITH STUDENTS ON CAMPUS?

THE WORK OF CHABAD: OPERATING PRINCIPLES

Chabad emissaries are motivated and guided by the teachings, writings, and personal example of Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, known simply as the Rebbe among those in the movement, who died in 1994. They also draw on the teachings of the six Lubavitcher Rebbes who preceded him. These teachings are at the heart of Chabad belief and practice. Each emissary sees his or her life's work as a personal mission to fulfill the Lubavitcher Rebbe's vision.

Based upon our fieldwork, we identify seven core operating principles underlying all of Chabad's work with college students that derive from Chabad teachings and the Lubavitcher Rebbe's inspiration.

Chabad's Philosophy is to Love Every Jew

Chabad theology maintains that the Jewish people are as a single soul. The concept of *ahavas Yisrael*, loving every Jew, is at the heart of every interaction with a college student. *Ahavas Yisrael* is considered by Chabad to be the most important *mitzvah*, superseding all others.³⁹ Motivated by this *mitzvah*, emissaries go to great lengths to help students, not just with respect to Judaism, but whenever a student is in need.

Every *Mitzvah* Matters

To Chabad, a *mitzvah* is more than a good deed. Chabad theology views the performance of any Torah-based *mitzvah* as fulfilling a commandment that brings the individual performing the *mitzvah* closer to God, and concurrently bringing more Godliness into the world. Thus, any *mitzvah* a student does, even if only performed once, is considered a spiritual achievement. In addition, emissaries have an incremental perspective, believing that each *mitzvah* leads to the performance of an additional

39 For more on this point, see Chapter 5 in Telushkin, 2014, as well the text of a speech given shortly after the Lubavitcher Rebbe died by Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks, who was then Chief Rabbi of Great Britain. Retrieved from: www.chabad.org/395795

mitzvah. They are realistic and know that only a small percentage of students will become fully observant, so if a student commits to even one new *mitzvah*, emissaries view their work as having had value. Emissaries inspire students to perform *mitzvot* generally through positive encouragement, direct teaching, or by modeling Jewish observance in the hope that students will be inspired.

Being an Emissary is Not a Job, it is a Mission

Teachers and leaders at Jewish campus groups other than Chabad come from a variety of educational and professional backgrounds. Some are rabbis, either Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform, while many are not. Outside of some Orthodox outreach groups, leaders of campus groups generally have college degrees.

In contrast, Chabad is a closed system. A college degree is not required. Only individuals who have gone through the Chabad educational system can become emissaries. Emissaries spend years in yeshiva or seminary studying the mystical philosophy of Chabad along with Talmud, practical rabbinics, and more. They also “intern” in Chabad communities to learn how to work with Jews of all backgrounds.⁴⁰

Such training leads to an extraordinary level of commitment and devotion. For Chabad emissaries, working with students is not a job with a set number of hours per week for which they receive a salary. Chabad emissaries do not move on to the next campus or advance their career and salary by moving to another Jewish organization when a better opportunity arises. Their mission involves a long-term commitment to be the Lubavitcher Rebbe's emissary at a particular campus.

Personal Relationships are Central

Emissaries strive to build personal relationships with students. One of their main approaches is to create a warm and inviting social environment. Within the framework of the relationships that develop, students become more receptive to learning about Judaism and taking on the performance of various *mitzvot*.

Chabad Centers are a Family Endeavor

One of the primary ways that Chabad creates a warm social environment is by modeling Jewish family life. Chabad centers, with very rare exceptions, are run by married couples whose children are involved to varying degrees. Young children are sometimes present at events for students.

Chabad Emissaries Strictly Adhere to Jewish Law

Chabad emissaries are strictly guided by Orthodox *halacha*, Jewish law as elucidated by rabbinic texts. In a practical sense, adhering to Orthodox *halacha* means, for example, that emissaries will serve only kosher food and always observe the laws of Shabbat. Chabad will never violate Jewish law for short-term gains, even at the cost of a smaller student turnout.⁴¹

Despite their scrupulous and unwavering personal observance, emissaries do not consider students who do not follow these practices to be any less Jewish, and they do not impose these practices upon them. It is common, for example, to see cell phones in use at Shabbat dinners on Friday nights at Chabad houses. Following Orthodox *halacha* while working with students from non-observant Jewish backgrounds who may be entirely unfamiliar with Jewish law can create some dilemmas and awkward conversations. Emissaries navigate these challenges daily and consider them teachable moments.

⁴⁰ We encountered a few campus emissaries who did not grow up in Chabad-Lubavitch households and did attend college. These emissaries, having chosen to embrace a Chabad lifestyle after college, enrolled in and became graduates of the Chabad educational system.

⁴¹ For a discussion of the Lubavitcher Rebbe's position on compromise regarding *halacha* see page 236 in Miller, 2014.

Chabad is Inclusive but Not Pluralistic

All Jewish students, regardless of background and upbringing, attend the same events, and all are welcomed regardless of their beliefs or practices. Chabad does not create separate Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox groups as does Hillel. At the same time, Chabad does not see it as their purpose to teach students about differences among the various streams of Judaism that do not follow their interpretations of Jewish law.

The following sections expand upon these operating principles.

INSPIRING PARTICIPATION AND CHANGE

The Centrality of Personal Relationships

As we saw in Chapter 2, some students never come, while others come frequently. What does Chabad do to inspire greater participation, and how do emissaries bring about change in Jewish identity and practice?

In our interviews, we asked rabbis and rebbetzins to describe their “theory of change” and to discuss the practices that seemed to be most effective in generating greater involvement among students. We did not detect an overarching “corporate” educational philosophy that emanated from Chabad on Campus International. Nonetheless, the approaches of the emissaries were remarkably similar.

“

The kindest most caring people you could ever meet.

“

The rabbi and his wife were always very welcoming, fun, caring, and genuinely interested in getting to know all who came to the events.

Love, passion, warmth, and caring were terms we heard repeatedly, not just from the emissaries, but also from alumni. From all indications, emissaries were genuinely interested in their students.

Warmth exhibited by emissaries often appeared to evoke a reciprocal affective response from students. Relationships evolved as the student grew closer to them. Students, in the context of this relationship, gradually became more

receptive to the encouragement of the emissaries regarding Jewish practice, understanding that the encouragement came from a place of caring. Emissaries repeatedly told us that their approach was always to find ways to get to know each student, learn where they wished to go Jewishly, and then help them to get there.

Our survey had two related questions to assess these relationships, one to assess closeness to the rabbi and the other to assess closeness to the rebbetzin. We see in Table 3.1 that 36 percent were “close” or “very close” to the rabbi and 29 percent expressed corresponding sentiments about the rebbetzin. One of ten respondents (10%) did not know the rabbi at all, in comparison with one of four respondents (24%) who did not know the rebbetzin.

TABLE 3.1: CLOSENESS TO THE RABBI AND REBBETZIN

“During your undergraduate years, which of the following best describes the personal connection you developed with the Chabad rabbi/rabbi’s wife at your school?”

	RABBI	REBBETZIN
VERY CLOSE	12%	11%
CLOSE	24%	18%
NOT VERY CLOSE	29%	22%
NOT VERY CLOSE AT ALL	23%	22%
DIDN’T KNOW HIM/HER AT ALL	10%	24%
NOT SURE	2%	3%
TOTALS	100%	100%

If we analyze the data by gender and level of participation, a different picture emerges, as Table 3.2 indicates. We see that men were closer to the rabbi, and women were closer to the rebbetzin. Gender matters.

TABLE 3.2: CLOSENESS TO THE RABBI AND REBBETZIN BY GENDER AND LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Percent Who Were “Close” or “Very Close”

LEVEL OF CHABAD PARTICIPATION	RABBI		REBBETZIN	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
HIGH	89%	73%	62%	78%
MODERATE	51%	30%	17%	38%
NONE/LOW	8%	5%	2%	5%

Denomination also seems to matter. Table 3.3 shows closeness by denomination. We see that those raised Orthodox feel closest, while those raised Reform are less close.

TABLE 3.3: CLOSENESS TO THE RABBI AND REBBETZIN BY DENOMINATION

Percent Who Were “Close” or “Very Close”	RABBI	REBBETZIN
RAISED ORTHODOX	49%	34%
RAISED CONSERVATIVE	37%	33%
RAISED REFORM	29%	23%
RAISED WITH NO DENOMINATION	37%	28%

A Judaism of More

Once a student develops a relationship with a rabbi or rebbetzin, the emissaries may encourage the student to go in various directions, depending upon the student’s interests and current level of knowledge. Aside from increasing the performance of *mitzvot*, Chabad also seeks to create a sense of belonging to something larger and historic, engender Jewish pride, foster a deeper connection to the Jewish people, enhance Jewish identity, and teach about all aspects of Jewish history, life, and religion.

Overall, with regard to educational goals, our conversations with rabbis and rebbetzins yielded many variations on a single theme — more. The idea was to help students move in an “upward direction” and “take the next step,” increasing their Jewish practice from wherever they were. Emissaries told us that they were there to help students “discover their own path” and help their souls “blossom” when they were ready, but students were also encouraged to “grow” Jewishly through learning about Judaism and trying out new Jewish practices.

In terms of progression, one rebbetzin described three levels of involvement. At Level 1, the interest is strictly social. At Level 2, students express an interest in something beyond the social elements of Chabad and deeper learning about Judaism takes place. At Level 3, the student becomes a regular participant and an integral part of the center, volunteering and perhaps serving on the board.

“

I thought it was an amazing place. The Rabbi and Rebbitzin never pushed their beliefs or practices on anyone but by welcoming me into their lives I couldn’t help but want to learn more and participate more in Judaism.

We asked emissaries if they were able to spot those who had the potential and interest to become more involved, but none indicated that they possessed that sort of radar. For the most part, they were not able to predict who would choose to become more involved and who would not when they first met someone.

Emissaries strove to avoid accusations of “pushiness” and developed various tactics for encouraging greater observance in the absence of negative pressure. They sometimes employed creative and highly unusual approaches to inspire greater Jewish practice, challenging students to take on new *mitzvot*.

At one campus, a rabbi who had never engaged previously in any systematic athletic activity spent an entire year training to run a full marathon for the first time. In an email to students and alumni

asking for their support just prior to the marathon, he wrote: “A teacher must teach through example... I am going to undertake something that was so beyond me that I never even considered it... [I am asking you to] undertake something Jewish that you never even considered, let alone considered impossible, and share it with me. Every commitment, as minimal as you may think, will go very far... with our combined ‘going the extra mile,’ may G-d ‘go the extra mile’ and bring peace and prosperity to us all.”

As the preceding example illustrates, Chabad often asks students to make a commitment to doing Torah-based *mitzvot*. At one Saturday morning service we attended, each student who was called up to the Torah for an *aliyah* was asked to commit to a *mitzvah* for the upcoming week. Their choices reflected Chabad's orientation toward doing Torah-based *mitzvot*. One student committed to putting on *tefillin* every day, another to ritual hand-washing at the start of the day.⁴²

Shabbat as the Gateway

Friday night dinners are the gateway to Chabad involvement, and as we noted in the previous chapter, the social scene and food are the main draws.⁴³ Recipes are shared and swapped among emissaries, and each campus has its student favorites. At one of the multi-course Friday night dinners we attended, students gave us advance previews of the next course and recommended certain dishes.

Offering delicious food is clearly a draw, but there are also subtler missions behind the Shabbat meals at Chabad. Chabad considers eating kosher food to be a *mitzvah*. It also seeks to promote Shabbat observance. It is hoped that warm memories of Shabbat meals will inspire Shabbat observance and keeping kosher years later when students have their own homes and families.

In addition, the Lubavitcher Rebbe believed that it was important for Jewish young men and women to simply dine together over kosher food in order to strengthen Jewish identity and to meet each other.⁴⁴ Accordingly, emissaries can drop not-so-subtle hints at meals such as “mingle if you are single.”

Friday night dinners may be the start of greater involvement, but it is rather difficult for the emissaries to develop a personal relationship with individual students when there are 100 people in the room.

Many emissaries also hold more intimate Shabbat gatherings. These can take place on Friday night after the majority of those at dinner have left, or on Saturdays after morning services, when there are not as many students present and emissaries can connect to students in a more personal fashion.

Intimate Friday night gatherings are called *farbrengens*, a Yiddish term that can literally be translated as “get together” but some might translate as “joyous gathering.” *Farbrengens* were held regularly for many years by the Lubavitcher Rebbe, with a structure that included niggunim, wordless melodies, a toast known as a *l'chayim* (literally, “to life”), and Hasidic teachings and stories, all with the intention of opening hearts and uplifting participants.⁴⁵

42 According to Orthodox *halacha*, Jewish men are commanded to engage in the daily religious practice of putting on *tefillin* (phylacteries in English), which derives from the biblical passage in Deuteronomy 6:8: “You shall bind them as a sign upon your hand, and they shall be for a reminder between your eyes.” *Tefillin* consist of black leather boxes that contain scrolls with specific biblical passages, held onto the arm and head with leather straps. The Lubavitcher Rebbe placed strong emphasis on this *mitzvah*. It is one of the ten *Mitzvah* Campaigns through which the Lubavitcher Rebbe encouraged less affiliated Jews to engage in Jewish religious practices.

43 See Chazan and Bryfman, 2006, for a detailed description of Chabad's Shabbat dinners.

44 See Telushkin, 2014, pages 342-344 for stories about the Lubavitcher Rebbe's views on kosher dining at college campuses.

45 The Chabad tradition of *farbrengens* can be traced back more than 200 years to Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liady, the first Lubavitcher Rebbe, who attributed deep spiritual meaning to the practice.

We describe one such campus *farbrengen* that we observed in the course of our fieldwork.

A small group of eleven students choose to remain after Shabbat dinner; they will be staying for the *farbrengen*, with some sleeping over at the Chabad house that night. The women go into the kitchen with Rebbetzin Ety, putting away food and arranging plates of snacks. There is a discussion among the women about some of the components of a Jewish wedding. Rabbi Yossi comes into the kitchen, urging the women to come out so they can begin the *farbrengen*. Ety will go home to put their children to bed.

The students sit at a long table with food and snacks and pitchers of water. Rabbi Yossi tells a story about Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liady, the founder of the Chabad movement, who he refers to as the Alter Rebbe, and then one about his own great-grandfather. Interspersed between the stories he sings *niggunim* in a beautiful, mournful tenor. Rabbi Yossi blesses everyone around the table, leading the group in *l'chayims*, which are made over water, rather than the more traditional wine or liquor. He encourages the students to speak. What's on your minds, he asks. They share questions, reflections on the week, and thoughts about life. One woman says that this is her first time keeping Shabbat for the whole 25 hours. Another woman wants to clarify something she learned about giving *tzedakah*, money to charity. Rabbi Yossi often praises the students for their insights and ties their questions to a larger trove of Jewish texts or stories.

It is now after midnight and the evening is winding down. Before the students leave, the Rabbi asks each one to pledge a *mitzvah* that they will do over the course of the next week. One man says he will put on *tefillin* every day, another woman will call her grandmother. By the time the *farbrengen* ends and everyone leaves it is past 1 am.

Emissaries indicated that intimate gatherings like this one give students an opportunity to have sincere and candid conversations about topics that matter to them while learning Hasidic Jewish teachings that provide further illumination and give students a sense that Jewish teachings have meaningful and practical application.

Saturday mornings also provide opportunities for students to develop more of a relationship with the rabbi and rebbetzin. Turnouts for Shabbat morning services are usually smaller than for Friday night dinners, and the Shabbat lunch following the service is a more informal setting. Lunches provide an opportunity for emissaries to present deeper teachings about the weekly Torah portion, and the atmosphere lends itself to relaxed and sometimes extended conversations.

Deepening Relationships and Fostering Change

In addition to Shabbat, emissaries described a number of approaches that they found particularly effective for deepening personal relationships and fostering change: encouraging students to volunteer, one-on-one meetings to discuss personal issues or Judaism, group classes, and Birthright Israel.

There are many different opportunities for students to volunteer at campus Chabad centers. Each time they do, there is an opportunity to connect with the rabbi or rebbetzin. For some, the process of developing a relationship may be as simple as making small talk with the rebbetzin while helping out in the kitchen on Friday afternoons. We heard repeatedly from emissaries that board participation was a particularly effective way to build relationships.

There are many times that the rebbetzin is on the phone or at a student's place at 3 am dealing with a breakup.

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Both rabbis and rebbetzins spend a considerable amount of time meeting with students one on one, either to discuss personal issues or for Jewish learning. When these conversations are about personal issues, topics can range from stress over

schoolwork to career choices to dating. When mental health issues arise, emissaries encourage students to go to their campus counseling center.

A life crisis can deepen a relationship when a distraught student turns to their campus rabbi or rebbetzin for help. One rabbi described to us how he regularly received calls from students in distress, some of whom he barely knew.

He had developed a reputation among Jewish students on campus as the “go to” person when a student had a major problem. We heard stories of emissaries bailing students out of jail for drunk driving, consoling them when a close friend has an illness, or spending time with them when a loved one dies. Emissaries sometimes drive hours from their campus town to a major metropolitan area in order to attend a funeral or make a shiva call when a student loses a family member.

One rabbi explained that post-crisis, when students may struggle for understanding, some made “amazing spiritual advances.” The relationships that developed played a key role.

In addition to one-on-one meetings about personal issues, emissaries also spend time meeting with students one on one to teach them about Judaism. Topics can range from “Judaism 101” to mystical Hasidic teachings to traditional Talmud study, depending upon the student’s level of knowledge and interest. One rabbi described how he deliberately scheduled such meetings in public spaces on campus so that other students who happened by might be inspired to learn as well.

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The rabbi was respectful and engaging, despite the fact that I openly did not share his religious views. While the Chabad lifestyle is not one that appeals to me, I also really appreciated the opportunity to participate in the Sinai Scholars program. In spite of myself, it made me feel more connected to my heritage and made me think a lot about the importance of community.

According to emissaries, group classes were perhaps the single most impactful way to foster Jewish growth. Most emissaries developed and taught their own classes on topics of their own choosing, based on student interest. Many also taught classes that were developed nationally.

Most courses in the latter category are developed by the Sinai Scholars Society, a joint project of Chabad on Campus International and the Rohr

Jewish Learning Institute (www.sinaischolars.com). The Sinai Scholars introductory course for college students consists of an orientation, eight two-hour sessions, and a requirement to attend a Shabbat dinner, field trip, and “gala” closing event. At the conclusion of the course, students write a reaction paper and a five-page analysis paper. A stipend is offered to those who complete the course.

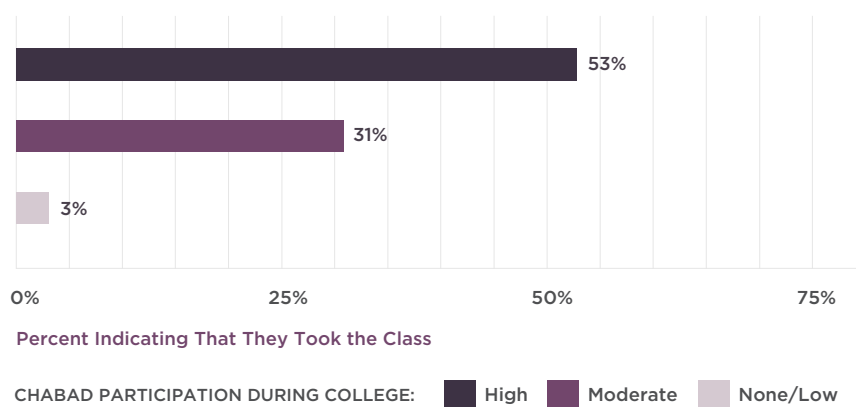
We sat in on a Sinai Scholars closing event held at the home of a rabbi and rebbetzin, separate from the campus Chabad center. Eleven of the original thirteen class members participated. The rabbi reviewed the course, with students chiming in and sharing their own “aha” moments. He then played a short video of the Rebbe, which exhorted the viewer to rise to challenges and always do more.

Over a kosher Chinese dinner brought in from a local restaurant, course participants then described their takeaways from the course. One Israeli indicated that despite growing up in Israel and thinking he already knew as much as he wanted to know, he had learned a lot. Another class member had done nothing Jewish since her *bat mitzvah*, and learned about her roots and heritage from the class. Three of

the eleven members present had attended day school, yet all three indicated that they had more or less ignored Judaism in college until taking the class. It had renewed their interest in Jewish learning.

Activities involving intensive social interaction with the rabbi or rebbetzin enable the relationship building that is central to the Chabad educational strategy. In particular, our survey data show that the Sinai Scholars course serves as an important building block in this relationship-building strategy. Students at higher participation levels were much more likely to have taken the Sinai Scholars class, as we see in Figure 3.1. More than half (53%) of those in the high participation category had taken the class. The classes not only enable intensive social interaction, but also provide a setting where young adults can grapple with Chabad’s approach to Judaism and Jewish life in an in-depth fashion.

FIGURE 3.1: SINAI SCHOLARS CLASS ENROLLMENT BY LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION



Emissaries also deepen relationships and foster change through Birthright Israel. Some led trips twice a year, filling one or two buses, mostly through Mayanot, the Chabad trip provider. Others chose to let Hillel lead Birthright Israel trips from their campus, explaining that they did not want to be away from their spouse and young children for an extended period of time.

One rabbi said the trip was “very powerful and important” for his work. He said that what it accomplishes cannot be replicated on campus. He described how students struggled with what they were seeing and feeling for the first few days of the trip. On the third or fourth day, he conducts an “anything goes” question and answer session at which they can raise their concerns and discuss their feelings. After that, the “floodgates open” and for the rest of the trip they bombard him with all sorts of questions about Judaism and barriers come down. Post-trip, 70 to 80 percent of these participants become semi-regulars or regulars at his Chabad center, many enrolling in the Sinai Scholars course.

In summary, we see a clear pathway that Chabad offers young adults who opt to intensify their relationship with the Chabad rabbi and rebbetzin during their time on campus, and in so doing, also intensify their involvement with Jewish life. The Shabbat dinners serve as an entry point as well as a framework for those already involved to anchor part of their week in Jewish life. Birthright Israel, *farbrengens*, and other one-time or short-term programs provide opportunities for increased engagement, with longer-term commitments like the Sinai Scholars course serving to enable more intensive interaction.

The common thread is social and intellectual interaction with the Chabad rabbi and rebbetzin. Students are invited into a model for Jewish life, which focuses on warm and supportive social relationships and a strong Chabad framework for family and Jewish life. As social involvement and commitment intensifies, so does the intellectual depth of discussion and the requests that the educator makes of the young adult to grapple with and respond to the Chabad model for Jewish life, including requests for behavioral commitments to the performance of *mitzvot*.

CONTACT WITH THE CAMPUS RABBI AND REBBETZIN AFTER GRADUATION

We wondered whether the relationships that students developed with rabbis and rebbetzins continued after college, and asked the following question on our survey: *In the last 12 months, have you been in touch with the Chabad rabbi or the rabbi's wife at the undergraduate school you attended about a Jewish concern or about an important personal issue in your life?*

Figure 3.2 shows that among respondents who attended Chabad during college, slightly less than one in four (23%) had contact with their campus rabbi and/or rebbetzin in the last 12 months. However, we found strong differences depending upon a respondent's level of participation during college. Three out of five respondents (60%) in the high participation category had contact with the rabbi or rebbetzin in the past 12 months.

FIGURE 3.2: CONTACT WITH THE CAMPUS RABBI OR REBBETZIN AFTER COLLEGE

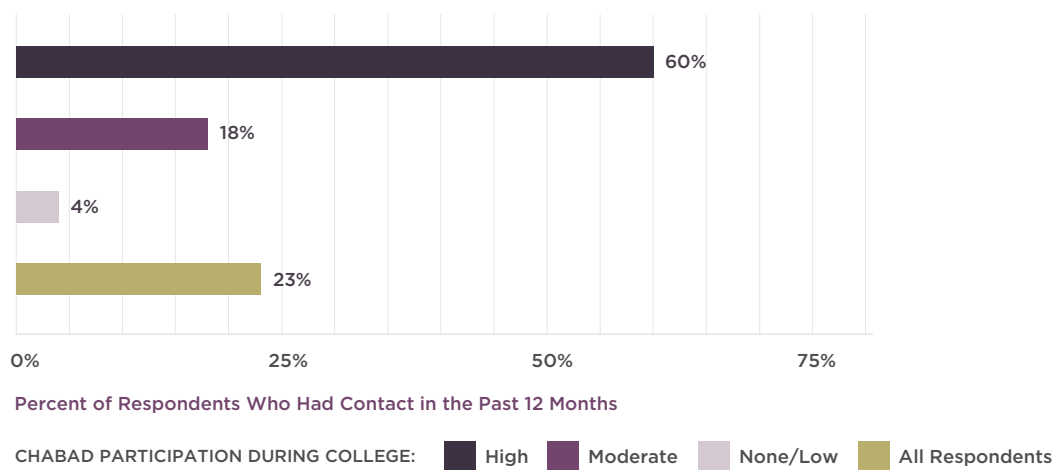
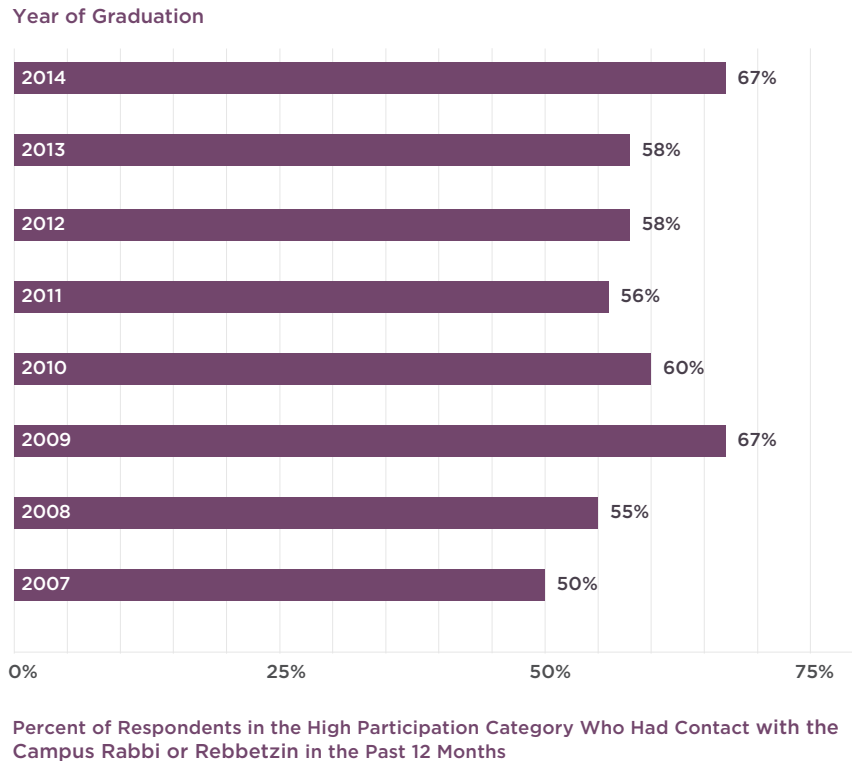


Figure 3.3 shows that contact tended to persist over time among those who were in the high participation category. Our data was collected late in 2014. We see that seven years after graduation, half (50%) of respondents in the high participation category during college had contact with the rabbi or rebbetzin in the past 12 months.

FIGURE 3.3: POST-COLLEGE CONTACT BY YEAR OF GRADUATION



The personal relationships that emissaries formed with students during college continued after college in various ways. At the most basic level, emissaries turned to alumni for financial support. Sometimes these relationships went considerably deeper. We learned about alumni who called the rabbi or rebbetzin regularly just to chat and share events in their lives. This was especially the case with women who had become close to the rebbetzin during college.

Alumni contacted their campus rabbi with various Jewish questions and asked them for help in connecting with Chabad while traveling. Campus rabbis were also regularly contacted by alumni for life cycle events. We heard from every rabbi we interviewed about weddings they had conducted for former students, sometimes flying across the country or even overseas. Rabbis and rebbetzins also provided emotional support to alumni going through difficult times.

At a focus group with alumni we conducted, one woman described how her campus rabbi and rebbetzin had helped her through a divorce that took place a number of years after graduation. Another participant who had become a physician and joined a Conservative synagogue described how when his grandfather had died, his parents had asked him to contact his campus Chabad rabbi to conduct the funeral, rather than the rabbi at his synagogue. His parents did not belong to a synagogue. Two other members of the focus group, whose families were also unaffiliated, then spoke up and said that they had also reached out to their campus rabbi when their grandparent had died.

It is clear from our fieldwork and survey data that some alumni continue to see their campus rabbi as their personal rabbi and the campus rebbetzin as a confidant and personal friend.

SHIFTS IN RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE AMONG PARTICIPANTS

Does Chabad Pressure Students to Become Religiously Observant?

Since Chabad is an Orthodox Jewish group that works primarily with students who were not raised Orthodox and are not religiously observant, it is appropriate to examine the extent to which Chabad encourages Orthodox religious practices, and to investigate whether it makes students uncomfortable when doing so.

Chabad emissaries pride themselves on not being “pushy.” They claim not to pressure students to participate in their programs or to take on increased religious practice. Nonetheless, their operating principles encourage them to share Jewish tradition and practice whenever the opportunity arises. Campus emissaries believe that students should be attracted to Jewish life and participate of their own volition. It is the job of the Chabad emissary to inspire. Chabad emissaries may attribute the perception of pushiness to other Orthodox outreach programs, but not their own work.

Most of the alumni and students we encountered confirmed the statements of emissaries and indicated that Chabad gently encouraged their participation through positive feelings and a welcoming attitude. We did encounter some individuals who told stories about friends who did not like Chabad precisely because they felt Chabad's tactics were too pushy for them. For example, one individual complained about a rabbi who publicly “outed” Jewish students by calling out to them when tabling on campus. Another student mentioned that the rebbetzin had noted that she had not seen the student for some time at a Shabbat dinner. In the student's mind, the subtext was that the student should feel guilty that she had not been coming.

One research team member, observing a campus over Shabbat, saw a Chabad rabbi pull in two Jewish students from a house across the street to help make a *minyan*. The young men, in workout gear, looked visibly frustrated at having to stand around for the duration of the service on a Saturday

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The rabbi was honestly a little too pushy. It worked for some people, but I have always been pretty sturdy in my beliefs, and it wasn't what I was looking for.

morning. They kept gesturing that they wanted to leave and the rabbi kept asking them to stay for just a few more minutes. While not forced to stay by any coercive means, the students clearly seemed pressured to stay at the behest of the rabbi. At lunch, the rebbetzin mentioned to her husband that these students had had enough, and he should not call on them to make a *minyan*

again for some time. She seemed to understand that there was a limit to the students' good will about the rabbi's desire for their participation and that they were approaching that limit. She was trying to shift her husband's thinking, which was no doubt motivated by the overriding importance to the rabbi of having a *minyan* for the other students on Saturday morning, even if a couple of the individuals making the *minyan* did not want to be there.

The educational goal is to increase student's interaction in Jewish life, which is grounded in participation at Chabad-sponsored events. The gentle, welcoming, but not aggressive approach is the strategy for achieving this goal. The strategy appears to be important not just with tangentially-involved students but with highly-engaged students as well. When a student becomes more active in Chabad and begins to change their religious practice, a parent may sometimes ask emissaries, in the words of one rabbi, to “back off.” In this case, emissaries explain, they actually encourage the student to have a conversation with their parents and even to slow down in their religious journey. Nevertheless, the goal is to enable continued, albeit graduated, social and intellectual involvement with Jewish life in general and Chabad philosophy in particular.

One Chabad couple said they were careful about sending students to yeshiva because they did not want the students turned into “yeshiva robots.” In part, this reluctance to refer students to the Chabad *yeshivot* reflected a concern for the well-being of the student and the desire for them to take a slower approach to religious change. Emissaries face a delicate balancing act. While striving to help students grow Jewishly, they are also aware that if students make drastic religious changes, it may strain the goodwill that they have from parents.

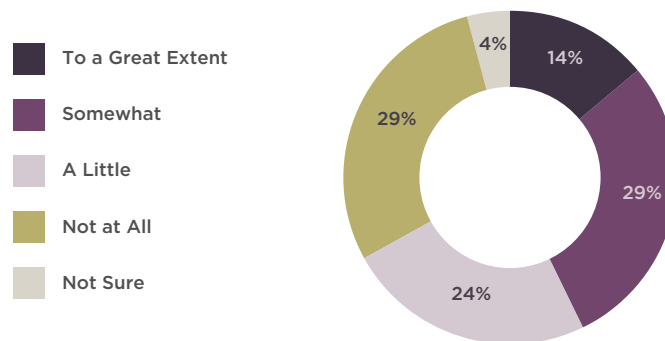
Perceptions of “pushiness” vary considerably from one student to another. Pressure is sometimes welcomed by students in retrospect. One rebbetzin explained that occasionally parents call and ask them to intervene if a student is straying from Jewish life. She gave an example of a student on her campus from an Orthodox background who was dating a man who was not Jewish. The rebbetzin’s husband called the student “constantly” at the behest of the parents and “did not leave it alone... now [the student] tells people that [the rabbi] literally saved her from marrying a non-Jew.” In this case, what might have been experienced as harassment by one person is seen by another as a heroic intervention.

Our survey had two questions designed to determine the extent to which those who go to Chabad are encouraged to become more religiously observant. The first question asked: *During your undergraduate years, to what extent did you feel that the Chabad rabbi or the rabbi’s wife tried to encourage you to become more religiously observant?*

We see in Figure 3.4 that overall, 14 percent selected “to a great extent.” There was considerable variation across campuses. At one campus, an outlier, 43 percent chose “to a great extent,” while at another campus, only 5 percent chose this response category.

FIGURE 3.4: ENCOURAGEMENT TO BECOME RELIGIOUSLY OBSERVANT

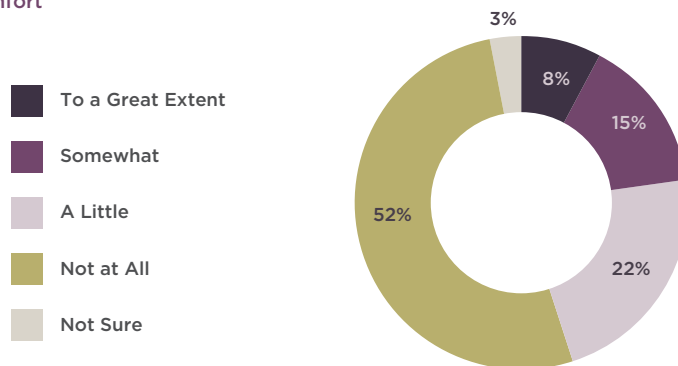
Extent to Which Chabad Encouraged Religious Observance



If the response to the survey question analyzed in Figure 3.4 was anything other than “not at all,” respondents were presented with a second question: *To what extent did you feel uncomfortable when the rabbi or the rabbi’s wife tried to encourage you to become more religiously observant?*

FIGURE 3.5: DISCOMFORT AT ENCOURAGEMENT TO BECOME RELIGIOUSLY OBSERVANT

Extent of Discomfort



We see in Figure 3.5 that roughly one in twelve respondents (8%) who were encouraged to become more observant were uncomfortable enough to choose the response category “to a great extent.” Again, the percentage of alumni choosing “to a great extent” varied considerably across campuses. At several of the campuses participating in this study, no one chose this response category. At one campus, 26 percent chose “to a great extent” in describing their level of discomfort.

To summarize, at most Chabad centers we studied, alumni reported little pressure to become more religiously observant. There was, however, variety across campuses, with higher percentages of alumni at a few campuses reporting discomfort with the strategies of the Chabad emissaries on their campus.

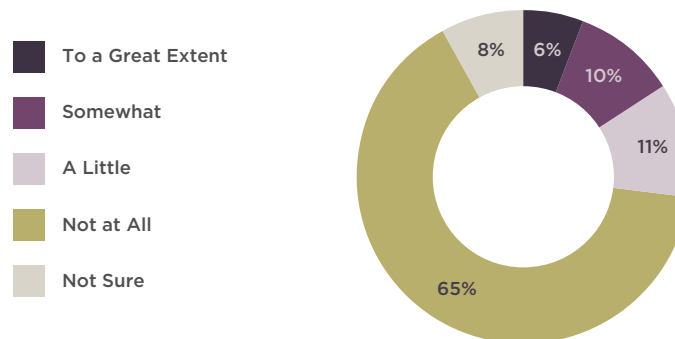
Does Chabad Promote Orthodox Affiliation Over Non-Observant Denominations?

Chabad encourages students to perform individual *mitzvot* such as lighting Shabbat candles or putting on *tefillin*, practices performed primarily by Orthodox Jews, but it does not overtly promote Orthodox affiliation over affiliation with other denominations. And while emissaries do not view it as their responsibility to teach students about non-Orthodox forms of Jewish involvement, in general they do not discourage students from taking part in activities sponsored by other Jewish denominations. So while there is a structural promotion of Orthodox practice, it is not explicitly stated as encouragement to affiliate with Orthodox Judaism.

To assess whether students perceived that Orthodox Judaism was promoted over other denominations, our survey presented respondents with the following question: *I got the message that being Orthodox was better than being Conservative or Reform.* Only 6 percent of respondents chose “to a great extent” (Figure 3.6). Two out of three (65%) chose “not at all.” There was no variation across denominational upbringing.

FIGURE 3.6: PROMOTING ORTHODOX AFFILIATION OVER REFORM OR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

“I Got the Message That Being Orthodox Was Better Than Being Conservative or Reform”



To What Extent Do Participants Actually Become Observant if They Were Not Raised Orthodox?

To what extent does Chabad actually influence students to identify as Orthodox if they were not raised in an Orthodox (or Chabad) household? We examined this question by looking at those who switched denominations, specifically at those who indicated that they identified as Orthodox now, but were raised in a non-Orthodox household.

In Table 3.4 we see that the percentage of those raised Orthodox who stayed Orthodox remained roughly equivalent across levels of Chabad participation during college. However, we see a difference among those not raised Orthodox who now identify as Orthodox across participation levels, with about one of six (16%) of those in the high participation category identifying as Orthodox although they were not raised that way. Across all respondents, about 6 percent had made this change in religious observance.

It is not possible to know from our survey data whether this shift took place before, during, or after college. Nor can we determine whether Chabad or some other influence was responsible. Regardless, our survey data and fieldwork do suggest that for at least some students, Chabad does play a role in helping them become *baalei teshuvah*.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The term *baalei teshuvah*, literally “those who return,” describes individuals who were not raised Orthodox but have chosen to become Torah-observant Jews.

TABLE 3.4: STAYED OR BECAME ORTHODOX BY PARTICIPATION LEVEL

RAISED ORTHODOX	LEVEL OF CHABAD PARTICIPATION		
	NONE/LOW	MODERATE	HIGH
STAYED ORTHODOX	56%	51%	55%
NO LONGER ORTHODOX	44%	49%	45%
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%
NOT RAISED ORTHODOX			
BECAME ORTHODOX	2%	5%	16%
DID NOT BECOME ORTHODOX	98%	95%	84%
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%

Emissaries respect students’ personal choices. The Chabad rabbis and rebbetzins we interviewed often told stories about particular students who had become significantly more observant, but they

made a point to note that the impetus came from the students. The rabbi and rebbetzin supported and encouraged them but let them set their own spiritual pace. The few students we spoke with who had become observant confirmed this approach.

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I never felt pressured to become more religious, but I was definitely inspired to do so by the passion, intellect, and generosity of the Chabad rabbi and his wife.

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I would never have gone to Chabad if I felt any pressure to turn more Orthodox, but I never experienced any such pressure there.

We conclude that Chabad on Campus encourages the adoption of Torah-based *mitzvot*, but does not actively push students to affiliate with Orthodox Judaism, as do certain other Orthodox outreach groups on campus that we heard about in the course of our fieldwork. Chabad does support, encourage, and take pride in students when they

express a genuine interest in becoming more observant and encourages active intellectual exploration of Orthodoxy. The model for observance, for those who wish to opt-in, is strictly Orthodox.

To What Extent Does Chabad Recruit Students into the Chabad Movement and Place Undue Emphasis on the Lubavitcher Rebbe?

All Chabad houses had a portrait of the Lubavitcher Rebbe prominently displayed, but emissaries rarely directed student attention to the photo. Generally, despite their own personal dedication to the Lubavitcher Rebbe, emissaries appear to be circumspect about his prominence in Chabad belief. While an emissary might occasionally mention a teaching in the Lubavitcher Rebbe’s name, many students had no sense of the Lubavitcher Rebbe’s place in history nor any inkling of the Lubavitcher Rebbe’s role in the life of emissaries. One rabbi we interviewed put it simply: “Most students have no idea who the Rebbe is or was.”

Overall, we found a very clear distinction between the personal sentiments of rabbis and rebbetzins regarding the Lubavitcher Rebbe, and what they discussed and promoted among students. Only three written comments on our survey out of over 1,200 made specific reference to the Lubavitcher Rebbe. We saw no evidence whatsoever that Chabad rabbis and rebbetzins advocate becoming followers of the Lubavitcher Rebbe among students or encourage them to pursue a Chabad lifestyle.⁴⁷

Generally, Chabad emissaries appeared to be encouraging a Jewish lifestyle among students in line with more “normative” American Orthodox schools of thought, albeit with the added twist of Chabad’s mystical teachings. One alumnus who had grown up modern Orthodox and ultimately became a rabbi, was alert to how Chabad belief and practice might diverge from the community in which he was raised. He noted that the Chabad rabbi did not generally share Chabad theology with students. He explained, “They are Chabad. Their ideology is a little bit different in terms of the Rebbe and things. They don’t really talk or push that agenda. They don’t discuss their personal ideologies.”

The Lubavitcher Rebbe is introduced more fully to those students who pursue Chabad educational opportunities off campus. Each year, for example, Chabad on Campus International sponsors Shabbat weekends for hundreds of students from all over the United States in the Crown Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn, the location of Chabad-Lubavitch World Headquarters. These more committed students might, through these types of experiences, come to acquire a greater appreciation of the Lubavitcher Rebbe and exposure to his teachings. Our survey data indicates that only a very small percentage of alumni pursued these opportunities. Our study did not include an investigation of what happens at these off-campus events.

A small group of 24 respondents out of 2,184 selected Chabad as their current denominational identification, and, of these, 15 indicated that they were not raised in Orthodox or Chabad households. Again, we are unable to determine from our survey data the timing or the reason for this change over time. Let’s assume momentarily for the sake of argument that Chabad’s actual mission is to recruit students to their movement. Even if all 15 of these individuals chose to identify as Chabad because of their experiences during college with Chabad, then Chabad apparently influences very few students, less than 1 percent of our respondents (who, because of the way we obtained lists probably over-represent Chabad success stories), to adopt a Chabad lifestyle post-college.

However, this small number does corroborate what we learned from our fieldwork — rabbis and rebbetzins reported that every few years an occasional student did embrace a Chabad lifestyle, but it happened rarely. We also ran across several instances of Chabad rabbis on campus who were originally non-religious college students. These individuals were deeply inspired by their exposure to Chabad during college. These are genuine success stories from a Chabad vantage point — they represent individuals who were so inspired by the Chabad rabbi and rebbetzin at their college campus that they opted to become Chabad rabbis and emissaries on a college campus themselves.

To summarize, students become “Chabadniks” very rarely. We found no evidence that Chabad has a covert mission to recruit students. While the Lubavitcher Rebbe may be a source of personal inspiration to emissaries, his name comes up relatively infrequently with students.

⁴⁷ Similarly, we saw no indication whatsoever that there were any messages to students about the Lubavitcher Rebbe being the Messiah. Those on the fringe within Chabad who promote such views, which have been strongly and repeatedly repudiated by the mainstream Chabad movement, would not be approved as a campus emissary.

THE ROLE OF THE REBBETZIN AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHABAD FAMILY

As we stated above, Chabad's educational strategy rests on modeling Jewish family life for students. Central to the effort is the role of the rebbetzin and children.

The Rebbetzin

The contribution of the rebbetzin is key to each Chabad center. The public role of the rebbetzin varies from center to center. A rebbetzin's involvement depends on a number of factors — the personal temperament of the rebbetzin, her interest in and comfort with the idea of teaching, as well as the financial resources of the couple.

In order to take on a public role, the rebbetzin usually needs significant assistance with childcare, local educational resources, and household help. Some rebbetzins care for infants and toddlers, home school older children, and do their own cooking and cleaning — often for large crowds. Others have a nanny, can send their children to a local school with Chabad or Orthodox sponsorship, and hire help for meal prep and clean up. These factors account for dramatic differences in terms of the energy and time a rebbetzin might have for teaching, meeting with students, or administrative responsibilities.

Rebbetzins will sometimes teach the same classes that the rabbi teaches. Rebbetzins also teach classes that are only for women, covering topics such as love, relationships, and marriage. In one-on-one classes with women, the rebbetzin might tackle weightier topics that she would not teach to a larger audience.

“

For me, the most valuable programming was anything geared towards women — particularly women's Shabbat and a class about family purity called 'Judaism's best kept secrets'.

Rebbetzins also teach informally about observant Jewish life. The rebbetzin may offer sessions in cooking and challah baking or simply invite students to help her in these tasks. While she demonstrates how to run a kitchen, a practical skill that many of the female students

interviewed seem to appreciate, she also gives embedded lessons in Jewish law and tradition. Preparing food provides an opportunity to talk about the laws of keeping kosher (e.g. cleaning lettuce to remove insects) and the laws of Shabbat (e.g. heating or reheating food).

In her personhood, the rebbetzin demonstrates approaches to Jewish life and religious expression through modest dress and the way she speaks to her husband and children. Rebbetzins see their personal appearance as a way to positively express their lifestyle. Some female students we interviewed reported finding the modest clothing and conduct of the rebbetzin to be appealing in the midst of a campus culture that some students find degrading to women.

Rebbetzins generally appeared as though they invested time, energy, and financial resources in their appearance, taking the time to style their wigs, apply lipstick, and shop for fashionable yet modest clothes. A few rebbetzins mentioned that they went to the gym. With these actions, they presented students with a vision of religious womanhood that was beautiful, and even glamorous.

Because Chabad emissaries would generally be uncomfortable having a close personal relationship with someone of the opposite sex, the presence and availability of the rebbetzin is important for female students. As we saw in Table 3.2, female students were more likely to develop a close relationship with the rebbetzin than with the rabbi.

The Chabad Family

Both the rabbi and the rebbetzin see one of their most important roles as opening up their homes and families to Jewish students and modeling observant Jewish family life for them. Most campus emissaries begin their work on campus as newly-married couples in their early 20s, and start families after coming to campus. By virtue of their family life, emissaries offer students insight into alternative models of young adulthood.

We learned of a few instances in which Chabad children grew up, married, and then “joined the family business” at the very same Chabad house in which they grew up, or nearby in the same city. We also met a few emissaries who grew up at a campus Chabad house with parents who were emissaries and then became an emissary at a campus somewhere else when they married.

The concept of *shalom bayit* — a peaceful home — was seen as a very important quality to preserve among Chabad couples. Couples work closely together in highly public settings that can be stressful. Chabad on Campus International makes counselors available to help couples going through marital difficulties. There is a shared sense that the success of the mission depends on the stability of and positive feeling within the family unit. Couples are conscious of how they communicate to one another in front of students and how their interactions reflect on their relationship.

Marrying young and having many children set Chabad families apart from most other American Jews. It was important to Chabad emissaries that they show students as much as possible the benefits of these life choices, in the hope that students would also choose to marry someone Jewish and raise a Jewish family.

Few of the students we met had plans for marriage and family life in the near future, although many hoped for a family in the distant and hazy future. Spending time with the Chabad family often filled a gap for college students, allowing them to spend time with a family and people of other ages during a period of life when it was assumed they would only want to be with same-aged peers.

In an era when young people are supposed to have ambitious career plans and active social lives, preferring to spend free time with a family could be construed as counter-cultural. Some of the individuals we interviewed indicated that the rabbi and rebbetzin had become like family to them. Students told us that the rabbi or rebbetzin sometimes served as a surrogate parent or as an older sibling.

Chabad families tend to produce many children. It was not uncommon for six or more children to be present at Chabad events. Few students seemed to imagine such large numbers of children in their own futures. Still the presence of children in the Chabad center seemed to break the ice and mitigate what was for some students an unfamiliar and alien experience. The rabbi may be dressed strangely and intoning unfamiliar words, but the way he held the baby while he prayed or led his daughter in reciting a blessing normalized and humanized him for students.

Their wonderful, inquisitive children infuse our campus with a precious recognition of the deeper possibilities for human happiness waiting beyond the autonomy of college life.

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Students were often enlisted to help care for the children, passing a toddler around on laps during services, or playing a game with school-age children after Shabbat dinner. Becoming the family babysitter was a role sometimes taken on by female students as they became more involved in the Chabad center. This role was an expression of trust between emissary and student, as well as a way for an engaged student to learn more about the day-to-day life of an observant Jewish family.

Some students who were regular attendees became very attached to particular children, and vice versa. Other students paid little attention to the children. One student we interviewed said that his fellow students found the children to be either “endearing or exasperating” depending upon a particular student’s inclinations regarding children and the behavior of the children at any given moment. Children are taught by their emissary parents to act appropriately at Chabad events, but with young children there are going to be inevitable lapses.

One rebbetzin described how she taught her children that they are “part of the team.” Children can sometimes be placed in the role of teachers. A child at the Shabbat table might be asked to share something he or she learned in school that week, thereby teaching the college students at the table when he or she recounted the story of the weekly Torah portion or an aspect of Jewish law. At one Shabbat lunch we attended, one of the young daughters of the emissaries, who was perhaps 7 or 8 years old, said a few words about the week’s Torah reading.

Children also can have surprisingly visible roles at campus events outside the Chabad center. One campus center held an outdoor event at sunset for the start of the last day of Chanukah. The emissaries hired a professional ice carver to sculpt a sizable Chanukah menorah using a chainsaw as students watched, publicizing the event with the title *Fire On Ice*. The emissaries then lit the eight Chanukah candles. At the event, several young children of the emissaries spoke on the microphone to the large crowd of students in attendance. They were poised and articulate despite their young age.

In our survey, to gain insight into the impact of Chabad family life, we asked respondents who had some level of contact with Chabad during college to respond to the following statement: *The Chabad family inspired me to think about the kind of family I would like to have.*

Figure 3.7 shows that across all respondents, 9 percent selected “to a great extent” and 19 percent selected “somewhat” in response to the question, totaling 28 percent. A different picture emerges, however, when we analyze by level of participation. Figure 3.8 shows that among those who fall in the high participation category, 63 percent selected one of these two response categories, in contrast with 27 percent in the moderate participation category and 7 percent in the low participation category. The percentage was similar across denominational backgrounds. Those who come regularly are much more likely to be inspired by Chabad family life than those who do not irrespective of their Jewish upbringing.

FIGURE 3.7: INFLUENCE OF CHABAD FAMILY LIFE

“The Chabad Family Inspired Me to Think About the Kind of Family I Would Like to Have”

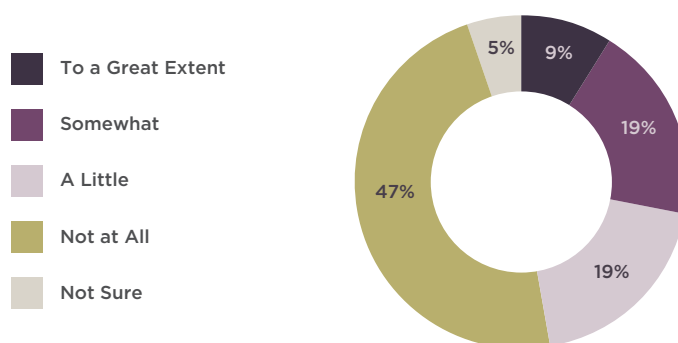
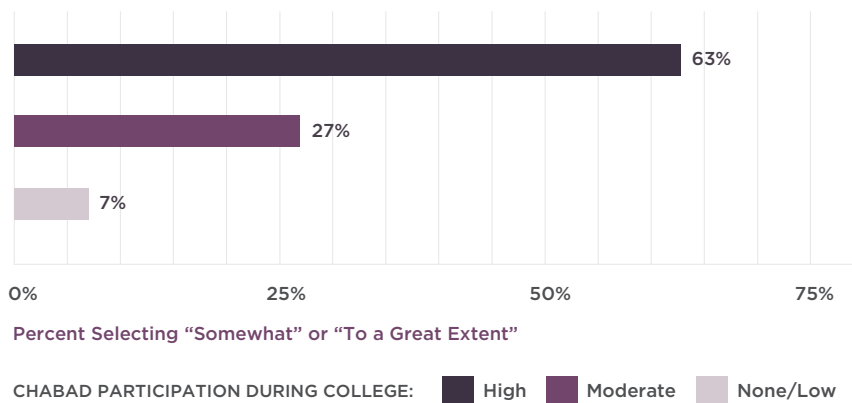


FIGURE 3.8: INFLUENCE OF CHABAD FAMILY LIFE BY LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION DURING COLLEGE

“The Chabad Family Inspired Me to Think About the Kind of Family I Would Like to Have”



SOME IMPLICATIONS OF CHABAD THEOLOGY

Lighting the Jewish Spark

Chabad is one of few Hasidic groups that actively seeks relationships with the larger Jewish community. Chabad does not actively seek converts to Judaism, although they do work with individuals who approach them with a desire to convert.

According to Chabad belief all Jews, no matter how seemingly far removed from Jewish tradition and community, have a “*pintele Yid*,” or a Jewish spark. Both of these terms are used to describe the *neshamah*, or Jewish soul, a concept in Chabad theology. The job of the emissary is to light that spark and help the Jew realize his or her true Jewish nature. When one emissary talked about a student who had become more religious, the emissary was reluctant to take any credit for the change. In part, this reluctance might stem from a fear of being branded as a cult by parents who might have been unhappy that their children were “converted.” More deeply, Chabad emissaries want the story of a return to Judaism to be a victory of the *pintele Yid* in each student, which through the agency of God, was able to achieve its own full potential. The idea of “making someone religious” goes against Chabad ideas of how the Jewish soul works.

In general, Orthodox outreach groups are often classified as *kiruv* organizations, that is, they work to “*kiruv rehokim*” or to bring those who are far from God and Jewish religious life “close.” While Chabad on Campus may seem to be paradigmatic of a *kiruv* organization, they reject the term *kiruv* and maintain that they do not do *kiruv* work. This is based on an oft-cited teaching of the Rebbe, who is quoted as saying, “We cannot label anyone as being far.” Chabad emissaries explain that the Lubavitcher Rebbe taught that it is impossible to say, based on external measures, which Jew is close to or far from God. Meaning, even a Jew who does not outwardly follow Jewish law may possess qualities that God values and rewards.

This perspective enables emissaries to work and partner with Jews of virtually all practices and ideologies with integrity, even as they may seek to move these Jews to greater Torah observance. This orientation also enables emissaries to both welcome and show respect toward Jews with identities, lifestyles or beliefs that differ quite dramatically from their own.

While Chabad emissaries on campus make an effort to welcome all Jewish students, they may not approve of the lifestyle choices of some students. Such lifestyles might include, for example, a student who becomes seriously involved with someone who is not Jewish or a student who is active in the campus hookup culture.

A pleasant and welcoming demeanor may not always match an emissary's inner feelings. Much like a therapist, physician, or other professional in a helping role, the emissary's focus is on the needs of the individual being served at that particular moment. Whatever an emissary's personal feelings about a particular student's personal choices and lifestyle, these are set aside, perhaps to be discussed privately later with a spouse or a colleague at another campus.

This is not to say that concerns are never raised with students. Emissaries may indeed have a conversation with a student about their choices, if they feel that a personal relationship has developed and the conversation will help the student move in a more healthy or Jewish direction.

Students Who Are Not Jewish According to Orthodox *Halacha*

Maintaining a welcoming and accepting attitude poses more of a challenge to emissaries when there is an explicit conflict with Orthodox *halacha*. This manifests most frequently with students who do not have Jewish mothers and are therefore not Jewish according to Orthodox *halacha*. Almost all of the emissaries we interviewed indicated that their relationship with a student became more complicated once the student revealed that his or her mother was not Jewish. These complications arise primarily when these students were raised as Jews and were told that they were Jewish, but were never told that Orthodox Judaism does not view them as Jewish.

“

I loved my rabbi and his wife very much. I was very afraid to talk much with them however because while I am most definitely Jewish, my mother is not. I was worried that they'd been so welcoming that after they found out they would be upset.

Very few of the emissaries we spoke with sought to determine early on whether a student was Jewish according to Orthodox *halacha*. Emissaries have no way of knowing unless the student volunteers the information. As one alumna explained, “It's not obvious. If you walk in and your mom is not Jewish, until you delve a little deeper you wouldn't feel unwelcome.”

The topic is quite sensitive. One rabbi told us he has a policy of not asking students if

their mother is Jewish at all except when he is approached to preside over a wedding. The issue is generally not broached until a student seeks to be more involved in Chabad activities, at which time the student may choose to share their family background, or the emissary may ask. Some may be reluctant to reveal that their mother is not Jewish, believing it will change their status at Chabad and how they are perceived.

All students are welcome at Shabbat meals, classes, and other group events regardless of whether or not they are Jewish or consider themselves Jewish.⁴⁸ However, Orthodox *halacha* requires that once emissaries know a student's background, they make a distinction between those who are Jewish according to Orthodox *halacha* and those who consider themselves to be Jewish but do not have

⁴⁸ Sometimes those who are not Jewish and who were raised in another faith tradition or with no tradition may show up at Chabad, either because they have been invited by a Jewish friend or because they have heard that Chabad is a fun place to be on Friday night and they are curious. Most of the emissaries told us they welcomed such individuals but did not encourage them to engage in Jewish practices.

a Jewish mother. Individuals who are not Jewish according to Orthodox *halacha* cannot engage in certain religious behaviors. For example, men whose mothers are not Jewish cannot be counted in a *minyan* or called up to the Torah for an *aliyah*. Chabad rabbis will not conduct weddings for students who are not Jewish according to Orthodox *halacha* regardless of their gender.

Much depends on the rabbi's or rebbetzin's tact and sensitivity when discussing the issue with a student. Some emissaries are more successful in gently navigating these delicate situations than others. Many emissaries see their role as being honest with the student in making them aware that Orthodox Judaism does not view them as Jewish, particularly when adults in their life may not have told them.

If the conversation is not well received, hurt feelings may arise and the individual may not continue their involvement. When the conversation is successful, the student may accept the Chabad perspective on their Jewishness. A few might then choose to explore whether to formally convert.

Problems arise when these types of conversations do not take place for whatever reason and a student begins to perceive that he or she is being excluded from certain religious activities at the center, or when a student sees a friend being excluded, without an accompanying explanation.

When those who are not Jewish according to Orthodox *halacha* choose to remain involved with a center, emissaries address the situation on a case by case basis and adapt their response to the person and the circumstances.

One campus rabbi described a dilemma he faced when he was invited to a Sunday morning fraternity breakfast where he would be speaking and teaching a group of men how to put on *tefillin*. He knew that one of the students who would be there did not have a Jewish mother and agonized over how to handle the situation. If the student was overtly excluded while his friends participated, not only would the student feel hurt, but the Chabad center's positive ongoing relationship with the fraternity could possibly be jeopardized and the other Jewish students present might be offended.

The campus rabbi ended up seeking advice from a prominent rabbi with a national reputation for addressing these kinds of religious dilemmas. The religious authority explained that there was indeed a way to handle the situation according to Jewish law. The student could put on *tefillin* as long as he did not recite the accompanying blessings. Not embarrassing the student was a paramount Jewish value. The campus rabbi's efforts to address the situation in advance led to the visit going smoothly.

Intermarriage

Chabad's stance on intermarriage is in accord with Orthodox Judaism's position — intermarriage is prohibited in the Torah and Talmud. During our interviews, rabbis and rebbetzins repeatedly mentioned that they were disappointed if a student to whom they became close ended up marrying someone who was not Jewish. Promoting in-marriage is a universally held Chabad value and this attitude was evident in conversations with emissaries and students.

Despite their firm inner conviction on this issue, during our fieldwork we found that Chabad rabbis and rebbetzins were circumspect about what they said in group settings regarding intermarriage. They explained to us that they are well aware that a number of the students who come to them are from intermarried households. These students might be offended if there were any public statements that suggested intermarriage was

Went to Chabad often.... I would have married a non-Jewish girl if it weren't for [name of Chabad rabbi].

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When I started to date someone not Jewish I did feel like things got tense between me and [the Chabad couple].

undesirable. For this reason, the topic is treated carefully.

When dating and marriage are addressed in group settings, the topics are raised in a light-hearted, positive fashion. One rabbi offered a toast on Shabbat, “To life and a Jewish wife.” We learned that when rabbis and rebbetzins did

have discussions with students about intermarriage, they tended to take place during one-to-one conversations when the rabbi or rebbetzin had become aware that a student was dating someone who was not Jewish and the student had come to know the rabbi or rebbetzin.

Israel

While Israel was not an emphasis of our research, we did find that emissaries at all of the campuses we studied focused on Israel to varying degrees. Along the spectrum of viewpoints regarding Israel, the Chabad-Lubavitch movement is on the right and strongly pro-Israel.⁴⁹ Emissaries on campus tended to echo this viewpoint and the speakers they brought to campus were likewise individuals with this orientation.

Chabad emissaries educate students about Israel, fostering “love and support for the Jewish homeland.” Chabad offers both classes about Israel and programs that bring students to Israel. Birthright Israel, discussed earlier in this chapter, is the most widely utilized program by emissaries. Across the entire country, Chabad sends over 100 buses of students each year. Chabad also offers Israelinks, a trip that is longer than Birthright Israel, as well as grants and scholarships for students who wish to spend time studying at a yeshiva in Israel.

Students who are pro-Israel, particularly on campuses where anti-Israel sentiments are visible and vocal, view Chabad as a safe haven. Students disturbed by anti-Israel events on campus know that they will find support and understanding from the campus rabbi and rebbetzin. We witnessed one such conversation between students and emissaries, which took place shortly after an anti-Israel speaker had come to the campus. The students were quite upset and the emissaries spent time talking to them, providing emotional support and guidance.

Some rabbis and rebbetzins take a very public stand against anti-Israel activities on campus.⁵⁰ Others work more quietly behind the scenes, speaking with students and working with university administrators.

Chabad's stance works well for students who are pro-Israel or who seek to learn more about Israel. As we noted in Chapter 2, sometimes students with left-leaning viewpoints regarding Israel are less comfortable at Chabad and some avoid coming, even though Chabad emissaries would welcome them regardless of their beliefs and viewpoints regarding Israel.

I steered clear because of my... perception of Chabad's politics (e.g. in the Territories) as right wing.

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49 The Lubavitcher Rebbe repeatedly and consistently spoke publicly for a number of years against giving up any of the land conquered by Israel in 1967, a prerequisite for a two-state solution. His logic was that giving up land would lead to a greater loss of life, and saving life is the highest Jewish value. See Telushkin, 2014, pages 271-290.

50 The Chabad rabbi and rebbetzin from the University of Florida won the Ally of the Year Award from AIPAC in 2016.

INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF CHABAD ON CAMPUS

The Campus Environment and Culture

Reaching students requires that emissaries become integrated into the life of their college or university. Each school has its own history, culture, traditions, and values. When Chabad arrives on a campus for the first time, the emissaries must learn to navigate these complex currents in order to become an accepted presence on campus. For example, at football-crazed schools, emissaries learn to become fans. At elite intellectual schools, emissaries find that offering high-level seminars brings in students.

Part of the process of becoming established involves being recognized as a student organization. Most of the Chabad centers we studied were recognized by their school as a student religious organization, which entitled them to rooms on campus, access to student lists, funding, and other benefits. Some of the centers were not, usually because of obstacles and/or opposition that prevented them from receiving this status. In several cases, we heard stories of lengthy and difficult attempts to attain recognition after arriving on campus that lasted for years.

We encountered differences between private and public universities regarding religious organizations on campus. Private schools usually had a university chaplain or dean of religious life to oversee all religious activities and organizations on campus. Having a good relationship with this individual was important for the success of the Chabad center. At schools where the relationship was strong, Chabad was highly visible and intimately involved in the life of the university. Where there was not a positive relationship between Chabad and the chaplain or dean of religious life, emissaries often had more difficulty establishing a presence on campus.

Public universities tend to take a more hands off stance regarding their religious groups, and we were told this was because of concerns about legalities involving the separation of church and state. At state universities, student Chabad clubs are usually recognized, but the Chabad center itself may not be.

Some of the Chabad emissaries in our study had the status of chaplains on campus and a number were members of interfaith councils, meeting regularly with leaders and clergy representing other religious groups on campus.

Apart from their formal status as a recognized religious organization, Chabad centers generally find it advantageous to develop and maintain positive relationships with the school administration and faculty. Emissaries make a long-term commitment to a campus, which gives them time to develop these relationships and demonstrate their value to the school.

One former university president that we interviewed told us that from his perspective, the Chabad center was a real asset to the university. As one example, the school did not have a kosher food plan for students when the emissary couple arrived, and they worked with the administration to implement one. Once the plan was in place, parents felt that the school now had a Jewish “seal of approval” and more Jewish students began to apply.

The president also mentioned the value of Chabad for admissions — the rabbi at the school always made time for prospective students and their parents when they inquired about Jewish life on campus. Several emissaries that we interviewed at other schools worked with the admissions office at their school to recruit Jewish students, a “win/win” for both parties.

Emissaries at major schools in rural areas and small towns have an advantage in establishing themselves with the administration. Turnover among Hillel directors tends to be higher in such locations where there is a small Jewish community and no Jewish schools for the director’s children. Emissaries at such campuses told us that they had seen as many as seven or eight Hillel directors come and go during their tenure. Their longevity means that the administration sees Chabad as the primary Jewish presence on campus.

We found that faculty also play a role at campus Chabad centers, helping smooth relationships with the university and serving as speakers or members of the Chabad center's advisory board.

Fundraising

Money is the lifeblood of any Jewish nonprofit and Chabad is no exception. While many Chabad emissaries receive generous seed funding for their first three years at a campus from a philanthropist, they must then raise their own support. There is no central pool of money and Chabad on Campus International does not fund campus centers, although it does sometimes help raise emergency funds under special circumstances.

Budgets for most of the centers we examined were around \$250,000 annually, although some had budgets as high as \$500,000 or more. A sizable percentage of the budget pays for the free food that Chabad provides. Emissaries raised most of their money from alumni and from parents of current students. They did mention that money from parents tends to stop once the student graduates. The rest comes from community members, friends, and occasionally, grants from foundations. While Jewish federations support Hillel on campus both locally and at the national level, federations either do not fund Chabad centers at all or only provide small grants.

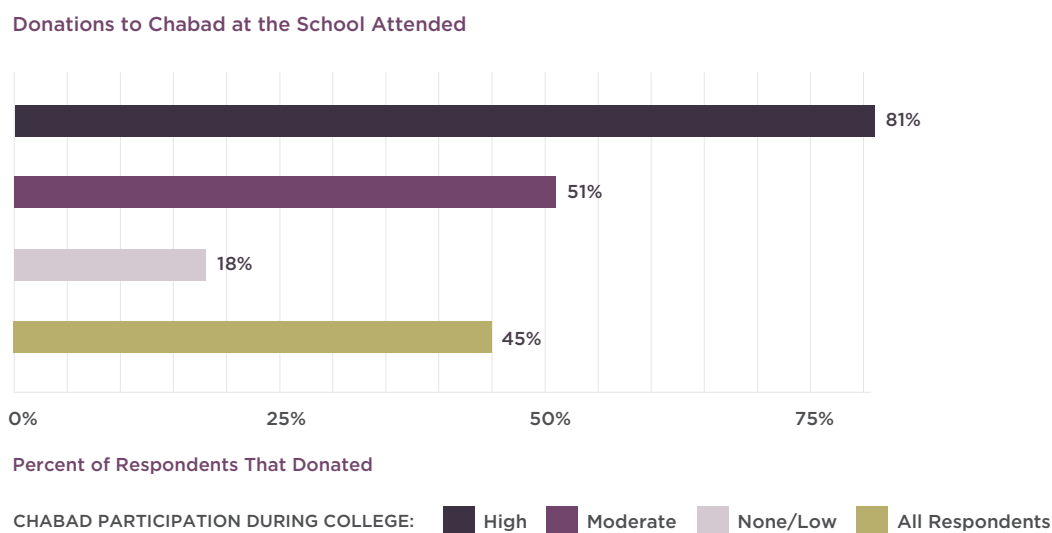
Success at fundraising depends in part on the type of school. Parents at expensive private schools usually have more to give than parents who send their children to public schools. Smaller schools have fewer Jewish students and consequently fewer Jewish parents from whom to fundraise.

Almost none of the Chabad centers we examined had a professional fundraiser. This means that emissaries need to spend a significant portion of their time contacting donors. Emissaries explained that in addition to their fundraising activities during the school year, a good part of their summer is spent on the road fundraising, with a focus on metropolitan areas where alumni are concentrated.

Parents and faculty members we interviewed at one campus mentioned to us that raising money was a struggle for the emissaries at that campus and that shortfalls happened periodically. Some of the parents who were regular donors told us that they sometimes received phone calls when emissaries were in trouble, asking for funds.

We asked our survey respondents whether they had ever donated to Chabad at the school they attended. Across all respondents, 45 percent indicated that they had given a donation. Figure 3.9 shows donations by level of participation during college.

FIGURE 3.9: DONATIONS TO CHABAD ON CAMPUS



CHAPTER 4:

WHAT IS THE POST-COLLEGE IMPACT OF CHABAD ON CAMPUS?

In the previous chapters we looked at who attends Chabad on campus and what Chabad emissaries do in their work with students. In this chapter, we consider the following question: *To what extent, and in what ways, does Chabad participation as an undergraduate influence Jewish engagement after college?*

Overall, we find that Chabad participation during college has a statistically significant effect upon 18 measures of post-college Jewish engagement. The statistical relationships persist even after controlling for other influences on young adult Jewish identity. Moreover, the degree of impact is related to the level of participation — the greater an individual’s involvement with Chabad during college, the greater the degree of Jewish engagement after college. Impact is minimal among those raised Orthodox, and greatest among those raised Reform or with no denomination. This chapter describes how we arrived at these findings.

MEASURING POST-COLLEGE JEWISH ENGAGEMENT

To ascertain the ways in which Chabad influences young adults, we looked at 18 different measures of post-college Jewish engagement drawn from prior studies.⁵¹ The measures we selected are indicators of a Jewishly engaged life across the Jewish denominational spectrum and are not exclusively reflective of Chabad or Orthodox practice.

Religious Belief, Practice, and Affiliation:

- » Belief in God
- » Frequency of lighting Shabbat candles

51 In order to simplify and clarify the communication of findings, each measure that had more than two response options was recoded so that only the highest level on each measure was used for our analyses. That meant our measures became binary — yes or no.

- » Attending Shabbat meals
- » Hosting Shabbat meals
- » Frequency of attending religious services
- » Synagogue membership

Friendships, Community Involvement, and Learning:

- » Extent of Jewish friendships
- » Feeling part of a local Jewish community
- » Volunteering for a Jewish organization
- » Assuming a leadership role in a Jewish organization
- » Donating to Jewish organizations
- » Participation in a Jewish class or learning group

Dating and Marriage:

- » Importance of dating Jews
- » Proportion of dates that were with Jews
- » Importance of marrying a Jew
- » Choosing a Jewish spouse (among those who are married)

Israel:

- » Emotional attachment to Israel

Being Jewish:

- » Importance of being Jewish

THE IMPACT OF CHABAD AND OTHER INFLUENCES ON CURRENT JEWISH ENGAGEMENT

If Chabad participation does have an impact on young adults, we would expect to see higher scores on our measures of post-college Jewish engagement corresponding with greater Chabad participation during college.

We provide an illustration in Table 4.1 below, which shows the percentage of respondents who volunteered for a Jewish organization in the past 12 months at each level of Chabad participation while in college. The percentages in the last row of Table 4.1 suggest that a higher “dosage” of Chabad does appear to have an impact on volunteering. Across all respondents, 28 percent in the none/low participation volunteered, in contrast with 56 percent for those in the high participation category, a difference of 28 percentage points.

TABLE 4.1: CHABAD PARTICIPATION AND VOLUNTEERING

Volunteered for a Jewish Organization in the Past 12 Months

	LEVEL OF CHABAD PARTICIPATION PERCENT CHOOSING "YES"		
	NONE/LOW	MODERATE	HIGH
RAISED ORTHODOX	48%	56%	57%
RAISED CONSERVATIVE	34%	43%	58%
RAISED REFORM	22%	38%	51%
RAISED WITH NO DENOMINATION	14%	37%	63%
ALL RESPONDENTS	28%	41%	56%

Combining all respondents, however, masks different effects for different types of Jewish upbringing. The percentage volunteering among those raised Orthodox who did not participate at Chabad or who were in the low category was 48 percent for those raised Orthodox, 34 percent for those raised Conservative, 22 percent for those raised Reform, and 14 percent for those raised with no denomination. Each group has a different base level.

In addition, we see that Chabad participation appears to have a differential impact for each type of denominational background. The difference between none/low and high is 9 percentage points for those raised Orthodox and 49 percentage points for those raised with no denomination.

Jewish upbringing and Chabad participation both appear to affect current Jewish engagement. Those who were raised Orthodox are more likely to volunteer in general, but appear less likely to be influenced by Chabad. Those raised Conservative, Reform or with no denomination are less likely to volunteer in comparison with those raised Orthodox, but appear more likely to be influenced by Chabad.

These apparent differences between those in the low and high Chabad participation categories are in themselves insufficient to demonstrate the impact of Chabad. Other considerations besides denomination or Chabad participation might have an effect on current Jewish engagement as well.

For example, young adults might have attended a Jewish day school, which could have influenced their current Jewish engagement. As one illustration, we show in Table 4.2 that the type of Jewish education one has before college is related to whether one participates in a Jewish class after college. More than half of those who attended a day school (56%) participated in a Jewish class in the past 12 months, while only about a third of those with no Jewish education or Jewish education other than day school did so (34% and 36% respectively).

TABLE 4.2: JEWISH EDUCATION PRIOR TO COLLEGE AND JEWISH LEARNING AFTER COLLEGE**Participated in a Jewish Class or Learning Group in the Past 12 Months**

	JEWISH EDUCATION PRIOR TO COLLEGE		
	JEWISH DAY SCHOOL	OTHER JEWISH EDUCATION	NO JEWISH EDUCATION
YES	56%	36%	34%
NO	44%	64%	66%
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%

Another possible influence is whether an individual was raised with one or two Jewish parents. Table 4.3 shows differences in whether one considers it important to marry someone Jewish according to their parents' background. About half of respondents (52%) with two Jewish parents think it is "very important" to marry someone Jewish, but only 20 percent feel that way among those with one Jewish parent.

TABLE 4.3: PARENTS' BACKGROUND AND IMPORTANCE OF MARRYING SOMEONE JEWISH**"Very Important" to Marry a Jewish Person**

	PARENTS' BACKGROUND	
	ONE JEWISH PARENT	TWO JEWISH PARENTS
YES	20%	52%
NO	80%	48%
TOTALS	100%	100%

Experiences during college other than at Chabad might also influence current engagement. We would expect Hillel participation to have an effect, and there is prior evidence that enrollment in Jewish studies class also influences Jewish engagement.⁵²

We pointed out in Chapter 2 that the school one attends is also likely to have an influence. Jewish campus life influences post-college engagement in part because students at such campuses tend to be Jewishly engaged before college and remain Jewishly engaged after college, and in part because attending a school where there are large numbers of Jewish students creates a richer, fuller Jewish campus experience.

Table 4.4 shows how Jewish friendships after college are related to the undergraduate Jewish population at the college attended.⁵³ We see that the percentage of respondents with close Jewish

52 Sales and Saxe, 2005.

53 After experimenting with several different measures for Jewish campus life, including the percentage of Jewish undergraduates, we found that Jewish undergraduate population was the best single measure for our purposes. For simplicity, we categorized undergraduate Jewish population into four groups that are roughly equivalent in size: less than 1,250 Jewish undergrads, 1,251 to 1,800, 1,801 to 2,500, and more than 2,500.

friends is about one third (35%) for those who attended a school with a relatively small Jewish population, and nearly two thirds (63%) of those who attended a school with a relatively large Jewish undergraduate population.

TABLE 4.4: UNDERGRADUATE JEWISH POPULATION AND POST-COLLEGE JEWISH FRIENDSHIPS

Most/Almost All/All Closest Friends Are Jewish

	UNDERGRADUATE POPULATION AT SCHOOL ATTENDED			
	1,250 OR LESS	1,251 TO 1,800	1,801 TO 2,500	MORE THAN 2,500
YES	35%	43%	48%	63%
NO	65%	57%	52%	37%
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%	100%

We have seen from the preceding examples that Chabad participation alone cannot explain an individual's level of current Jewish engagement. Additionally, it is important to note that Chabad participation itself is influenced by prior Jewish education and socialization. We pointed out in Chapter 2 that those raised with stronger Jewish home backgrounds and educational experiences were more likely to participate at Chabad.

Consequently, to assess the extent of Chabad's impact, we need to take into account a number of other possible influences on the current Jewish lives of young adults besides Chabad participation during college. To summarize the previous discussion, we consider three categories of relevant influences:⁵⁴

Jewish upbringing and pre-college Jewish experiences:

- » The denomination in which a survey respondent was raised
- » Whether one or both parents were Jewish
- » Whether the survey respondent attended a Jewish day school
- » Pre-college exposure to Chabad

Jewish experiences during college other than Chabad, specifically:

- » Participation in Hillel
- » Taking Jewish studies classes for academic credit

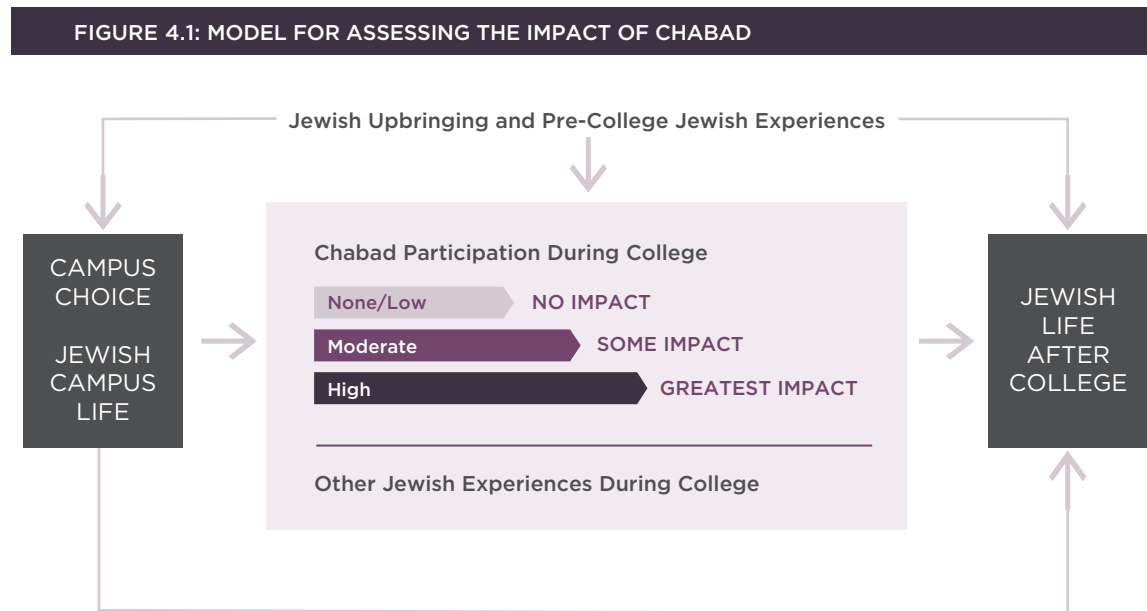
Jewish campus life at the college attended:

- » Number of Jewish undergraduates

⁵⁴ Several potentially relevant influences were omitted from our analyses: Jewish overnight camp attendance, Jewish youth group involvement during high school, Jewish schooling prior to the age of 13 other than day school, and travel to Israel. We omitted the first three because when we included them in statistical analyses, they were not statistically significant in relation to any of the 18 measures of Jewish engagement when other influences were simultaneously considered. We omitted Israel travel for a different reason. Nine out of ten of our respondents (90%) had traveled to Israel, some multiple times. Since Israel travel was so pervasive among respondents, its impact was attenuated. There was considerable variation in the nature of Israel trips. Some respondents went prior to college, some went during college, and some went after college. Some went as day school students, some went with family, some went on their own, and some went on a Birthright Israel trip. Including Israel travel would have confounded our analyses since it was not possible for us to distinguish among those who went prior to their involvement with Chabad, those who went in conjunction with their involvement with Chabad, and those who went after college because of their involvement with Chabad.

These influences, along with Chabad participation, are potential predictors of Jewish life after college. Thus, to properly assess the impact of Chabad, we need to incorporate into our analyses measures of influences prior to college and measures of influence during college.

A model incorporating these influences is depicted below in Figure 4.1.



ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF CHABAD — A MULTIVARIATE STATISTICAL APPROACH

We assess the likely impact of Chabad using a statistical technique called logistic regression, which enables us to see whether Chabad participation influences each of the 18 measures of Jewish engagement while controlling statistically for the other influences on post-college Jewish engagement described above. In essence, logistic regression allows us to statistically remove all these beneficial experiences and construct a “level playing field.” Appendix B describes how we conducted the analyses. The technique also enables us to predict the likelihood of a particular post-college Jewish behavior or attitude at different levels of Chabad participation during college. In Figures 4.2 through 4.19, we will see the impact of Chabad participation on each of our 18 measures of post-college engagement presented as “predicted probabilities.”

Our regression analyses incorporate the various influences on Jewish engagement discussed in the preceding section, plus age and gender, each of which has been shown in previous research to have an effect on the Jewish engagement of young adults.

Because the most pronounced differences across all of our 18 measures of current Jewish engagement were found according to the denomination in which a respondent was raised, for each measure we look separately at those raised Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and with no denomination.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF, PRACTICE, AND AFFILIATION

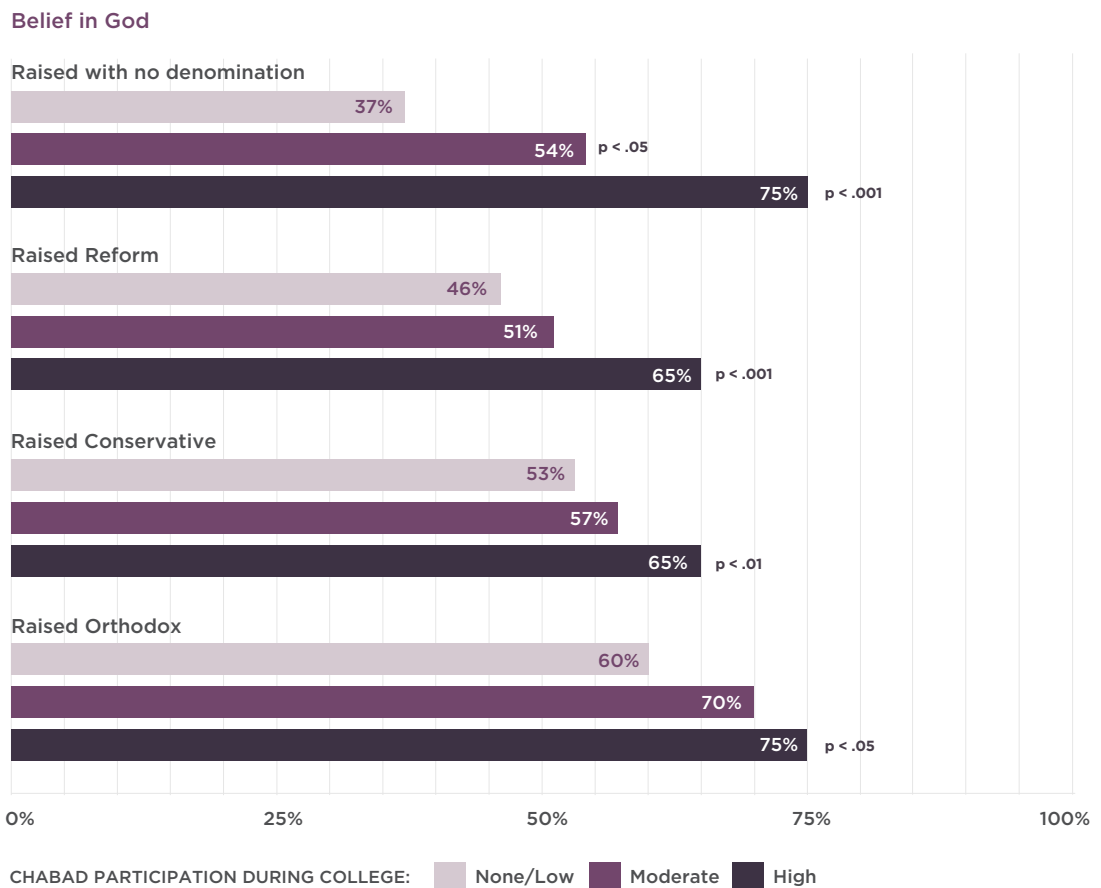
Belief in God

Chabad is an overtly religious organization that, at its core, seeks to enhance Jewish practice among those it touches by encouraging the performance of *mitzvot* — behaviors commanded by Orthodox *halacha* — in the hope of bringing those who perform them closer to God. Developing a relationship with God is also a central focus of Chabad’s talks and classes. We would therefore expect that those who become more involved with Chabad would be more likely to believe in God.

For a measure of belief in God, we replicated a Pew Research Center question, “Do you believe in God or a universal spirit, or not?” which has three response options: no, not sure, or yes.

We see the results of the logistic regression in Figure 4.2, which presents the predicted probability of belief in God according to the denomination in which a respondent was raised and their level of participation at Chabad during college. Controlling for other influences, greater Chabad participation is associated with an increased belief in God. Focusing just on “yes” responses, the greatest increase is among those raised with no denomination, where we see a difference of 38 percentage points between those in the none/low participation category and those in the high participation category. We see smaller differences, although not quite as large, among those raised Reform, Conservative and Orthodox.

FIGURE 4.2: BELIEF IN GOD



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

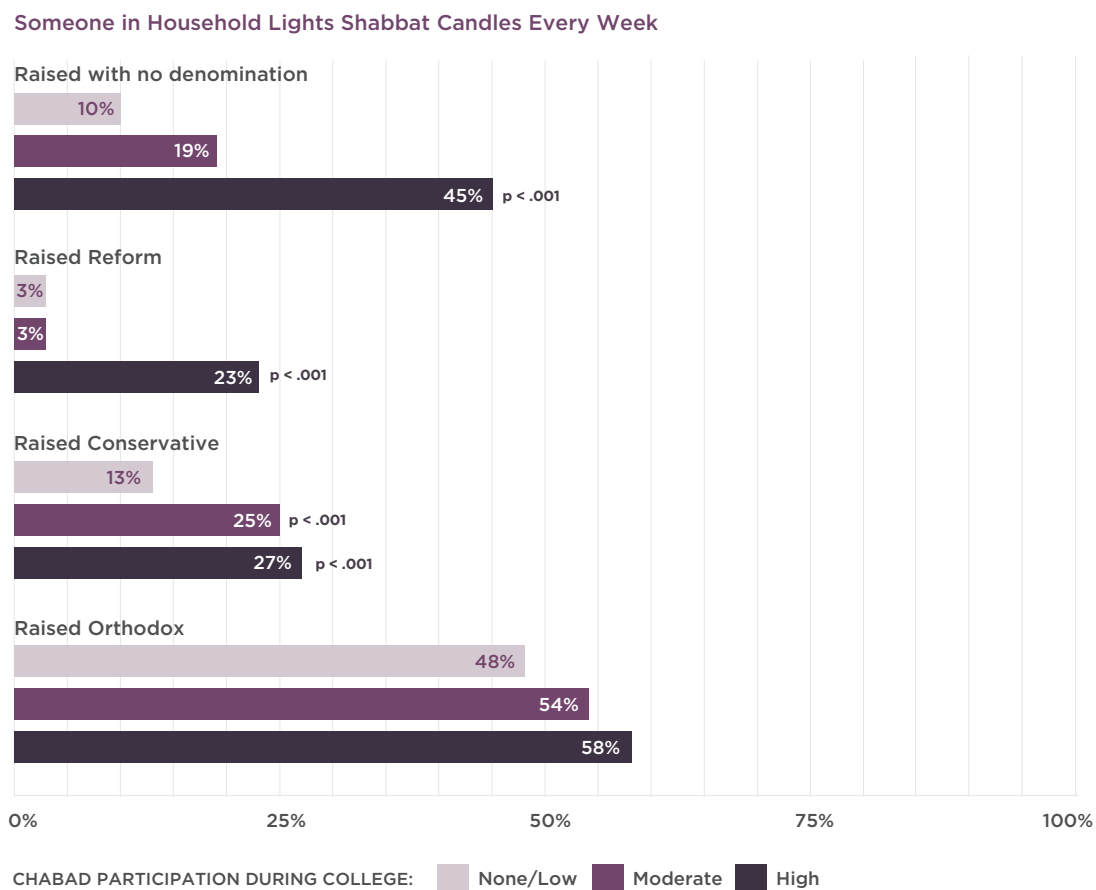
Shabbat Practices

Because Shabbat is so central to Chabad’s work, we would expect to see a post-college increase in practices associated with Shabbat, in particular lighting Shabbat candles, attending Shabbat meals, and hosting Shabbat meals.

Following Orthodox tradition, Chabad encourages women to light Shabbat candles. Shabbat candle lighting is a common entry-level Jewish practice for women who come to Chabad. We wanted to see if men were also influenced by Chabad. Accordingly, drawing upon other studies, we phrased our survey question as follows: *How often, if at all, do you or does anyone in your household light Shabbat candles on Friday night?* We see the effects of Chabad participation in Figure 4.3.

Our analyses show that Chabad exerted different levels of influence depending upon the denomination of a respondent’s parental household. Chabad had no statistically significant effect on those raised Orthodox. Among those with a non-observant Jewish background, we see that only 3 percent of those raised Reform had a predicted probability of lighting Shabbat candles weekly if they did not participate at Chabad during college. The percentage is 23 percent, a difference of 20 percentage points, for those in the high participation category. The difference is even greater, from 10 percent to 45 percent, for those raised with no denomination. It would appear that Chabad participation does not have much of an effect on those who are more likely to be familiar with the tradition of lighting Shabbat candles, but it does create a number of new Shabbat “candle-lighters” among those less familiar with the tradition.

FIGURE 4.3: SHABBAT CANDLE LIGHTING



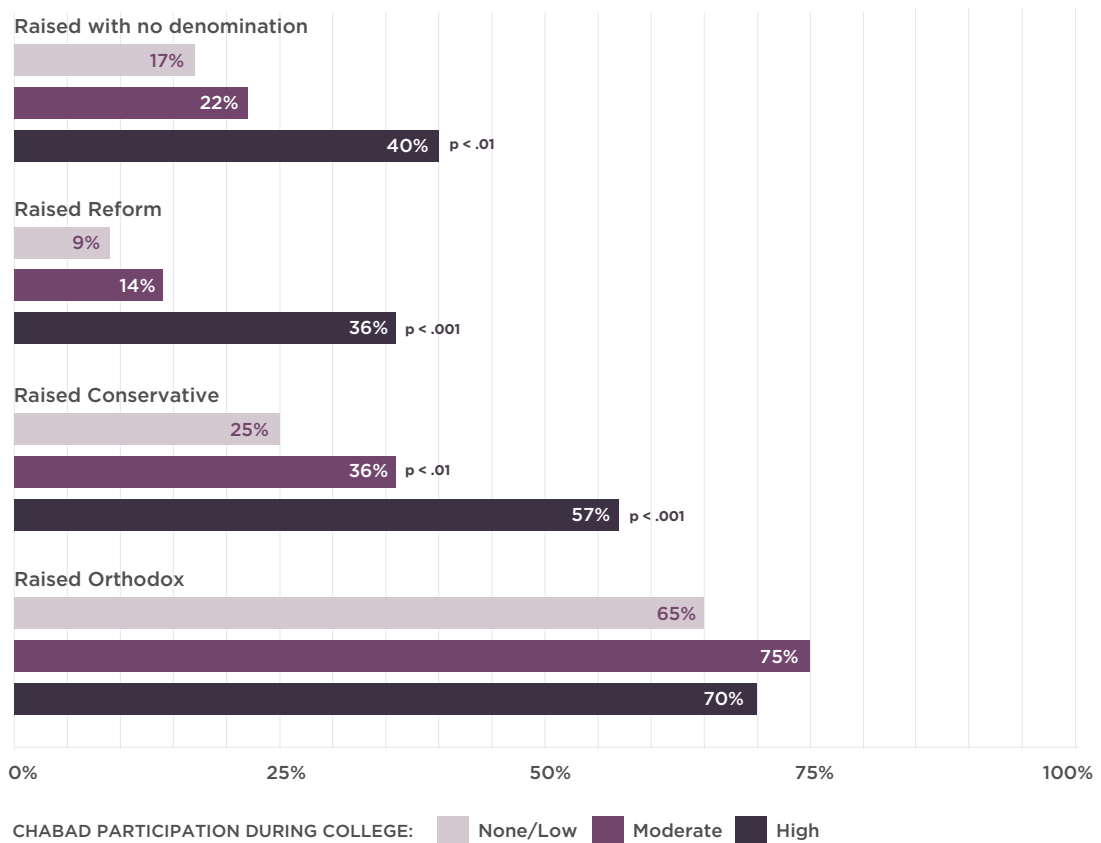
Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

Many college students come to Chabad for the first time for a Friday night Shabbat meal, as our story in Chapter 2 about Kayla illustrated, and a percentage of them become regular participants. Some of the alumni we interviewed mentioned that they were inspired by their experiences with Chabad to both attend and host Shabbat meals after graduation. To what extent was this the case across all respondent backgrounds? Or, was this inclination primarily the case for those who grew up in a home where attending and hosting Shabbat meals was a regular practice?

Figure 4.4 shows the findings from our logistic regression. Even though respondents raised Orthodox were much more likely to attend Shabbat meals, Chabad participation did not have a statistically significant effect on how often they attended Shabbat meals.

FIGURE 4.4: ATTENDING SHABBAT MEALS

Attended Shabbat Meals “Many Times” in the Past 12 Months



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

For those raised Conservative, the predicted probability of attending Shabbat meals “many times” went from 25 percent for those who did not participate to 57 percent for those in the high participation group, a difference of 32 percentage points. For those raised Reform, the corresponding figures are 9 percent and 36 percent, a difference of 27 percentage points.

“

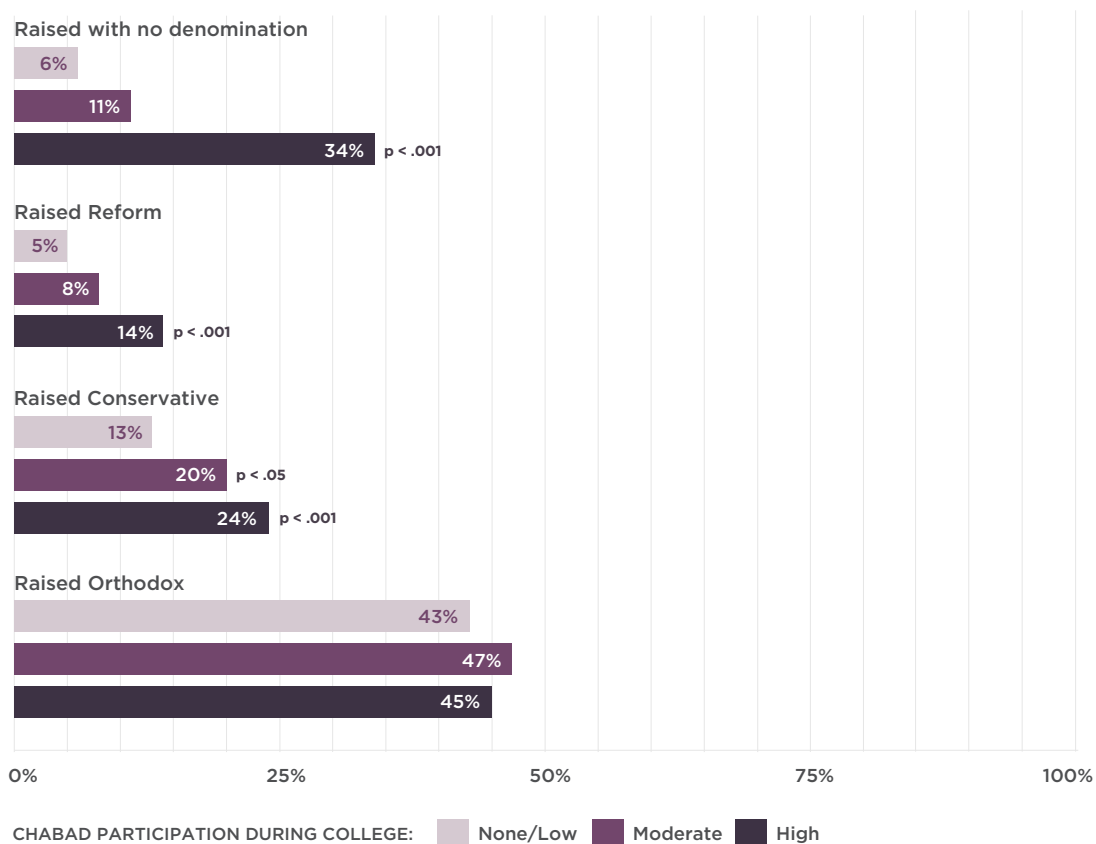
There is no organized Jewish life where I live now, and after learning how Chabad organizes Shabbat and holiday dinners, I make an effort to be the organizer of holiday dinners and invite Jews in my small town.

Figure 4.5 presents our finding for hosting Shabbat meals. Chabad has no impact on those raised Orthodox, but we see an influence from Chabad participation for the other denominational groups. For those raised with no denomination, the difference between none/low participation and high participation was 28 percentage points. For those raised Conservative, the corresponding difference was 11 percentage points.

Overall, the differences were not as large as those for attending Shabbat meals, and we suspected this might be a function of age. Across all respondents, we found that older alumni were more likely to host Shabbat meals than younger alumni irrespective of Chabad participation level. Respondents who were between the ages of 26 and 29 were more likely to host than those under the age of 26 (20% and 14% respectively). So the modest influence of Chabad among younger alumni on hosting Shabbat meals may be a result of finances, housing circumstances, and the habits of those in their 20s of not preparing meals at home.

FIGURE 4.5: HOSTING SHABBAT MEALS

Hosted Shabbat Meals “Many Times” in the Past 12 Months



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

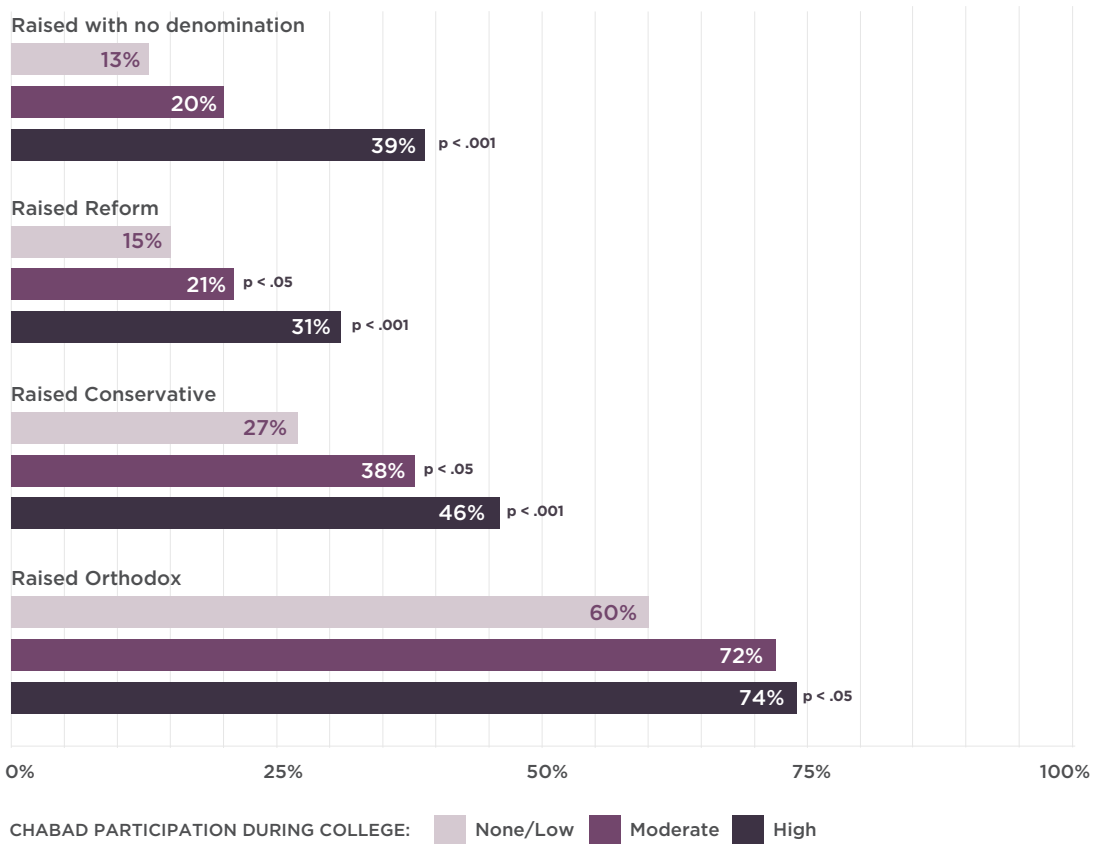
To summarize our findings regarding Shabbat, it would seem that one way to inspire Shabbat practices among young adults is to model them, as Chabad does each week. It is apparent from our findings that those who come regularly are inspired by their experiences to continue Shabbat practices after college.

Religious Services

As we noted in Chapter 2, attendance at Chabad services is not necessarily a draw for many students. We wondered whether Chabad participation would have an impact on attendance at religious services after college. Figure 4.6 presents our findings.

FIGURE 4.6: RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Attended Religious Services Once a Month or More in the Past Year



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

We see a strong effect for Chabad participation. For those raised Orthodox, there is a difference of 14 percentage points between none/low and high participation. For those raised Conservative, the corresponding difference is 19 percentage points, for those raised Reform, 16 percentage points, and for those raised with no denomination, 26 percentage points. Chabad appears to have an impact regardless of background.

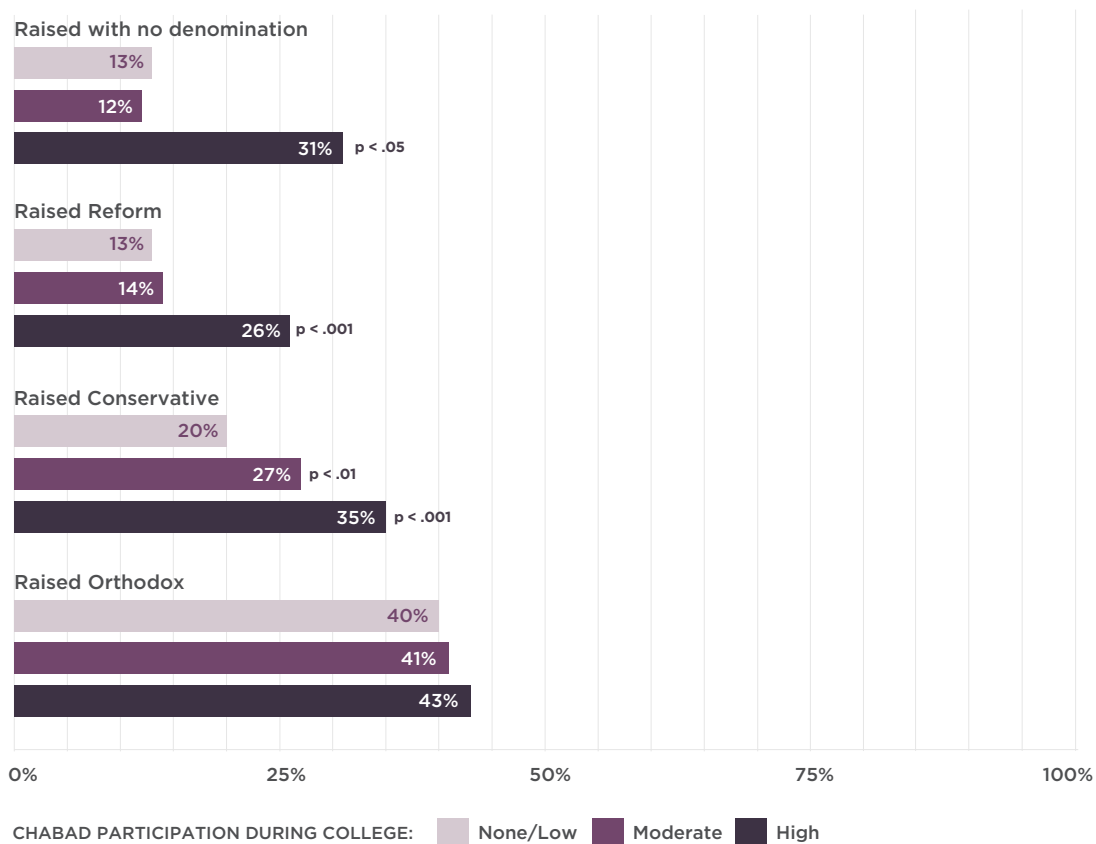
Synagogue Membership

In general, fewer young adults age 21-29 join synagogues than those who are older. We defined synagogue membership in our survey as paying dues to a synagogue, temple, minyan, or havurah in the past year.

Figure 4.7 presents our findings with regard to Chabad's influence on synagogue membership. Chabad had no impact on those raised Orthodox, but it did have an impact on those raised Conservative, Reform, and with no denomination.

FIGURE 4.7: SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP

Paid Dues to a Synagogue, Temple, Minyan, or Havurah in the Past Year



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

Our analyses indicated that age is a strong influence on synagogue membership, so we calculated predicted probabilities for those under age 26, and those between the ages of 26 and 29. For example, among those raised Conservative, we see in Figure 4.7 that the predicted probability of being a synagogue member is 35 percent in the high participation category. When we break this down by age, we find the predicted probabilities are 28 percent in the high participation category under the age of 26 and 44 percent of those over the age of 26.

These figures suggest that the impact of Chabad participation during college is enduring. Years after graduation, we continue to see an influence.

FRIENDSHIPS, COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT, AND LEARNING

Jewish Friendships

Prior research shows that Jewish friendships are associated with adult Jewish engagement.⁵⁵ To what extent does Chabad participation inspire the continuation or formation of Jewish friendships after college? Our analyses indicated that Chabad has a strong influence on post-college Jewish friendships.

Figure 4.8 indicates that while Chabad had no effect on the Jewish friendships of those raised Orthodox, it had strong effects on those raised Conservative, Reform, or with no denomination.

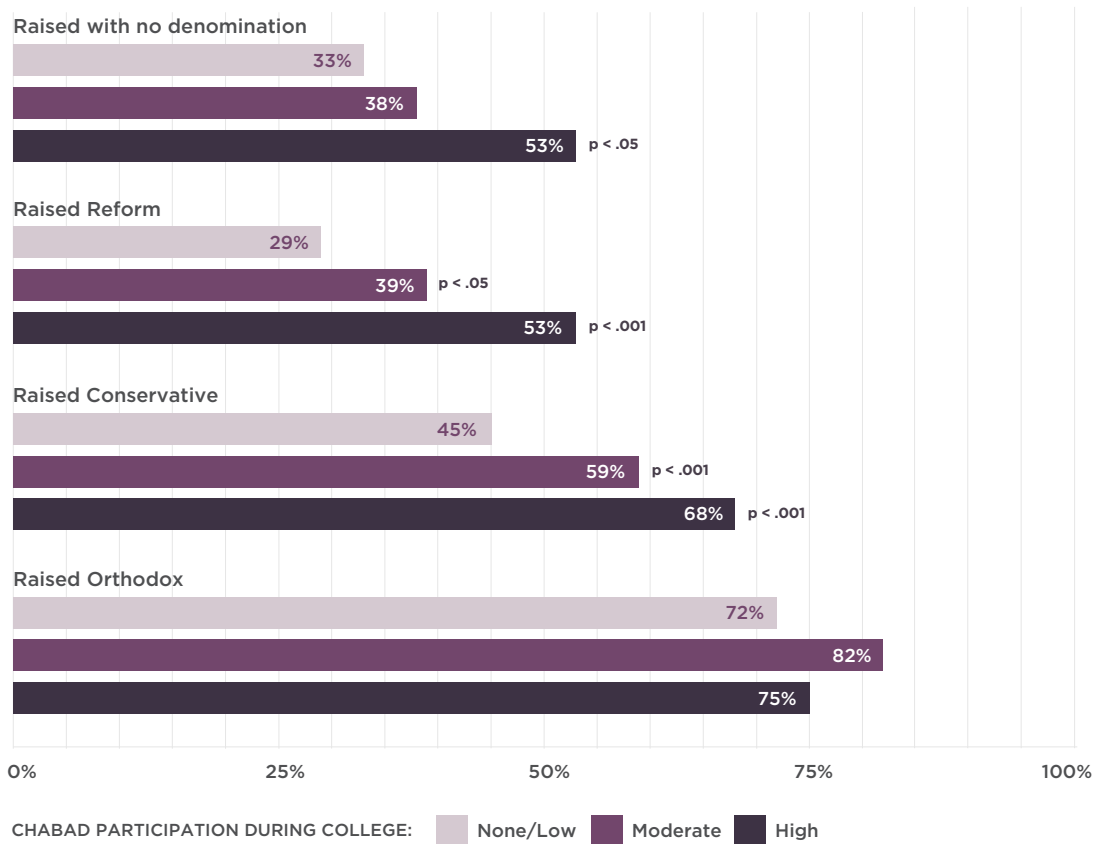
For example, among those raised Reform, there is a difference of 24 percentage points between those in the none/low participation category and those in the high participation category.

I made great friends ... many of whom I'm still connected with.

”

FIGURE 4.8: JEWISH FRIENDSHIPS

Most/Almost All/All Closest Friends Are Jewish



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

55 See, for example, Cohen and Veinstein, 2011.

Earlier in this chapter, in Table 4.4, we saw that Jewish friendships after college were related to the undergraduate Jewish population at the school one attended. Looking at Figure 4.8, we see that 53 percent of those raised Reform who were in the high participation category had close Jewish friendships. For those who attended a school with a small Jewish population (less than 1,250) the figure is 42 percent, and for those who attended a school with a large population (more than 2,500) the figure is 67 percent. In short, attending a school with lots of Jews leads to more Jewish friendships after college, and involvement with Chabad enhances the likelihood even further.

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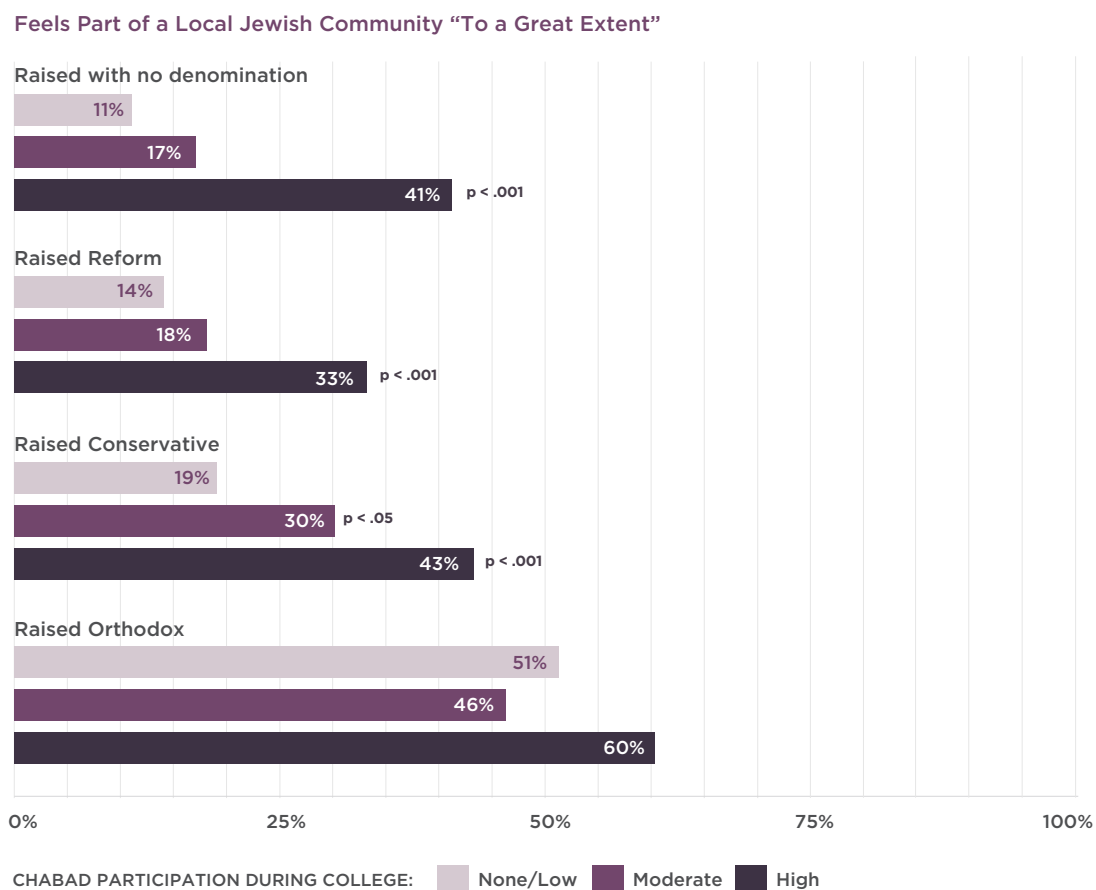
The Chabad at my undergraduate [school] changed my life... the Rabbi and his wife... accepted me as I was and taught me the joy of being part of a Jewish community. My career and dating life have been impacted by the Jewish community I went to after graduation. I am so glad I moved to a city with a close-knit Jewish community.

Feeling Part of a Jewish Community

For those who participate regularly, Jewish organizations on campus create a microcosm of a Jewish community for the years that a student is in school. We examined whether individuals who had been more involved with Chabad during college would feel part of a Jewish community once they graduated.

Results of our analyses can be seen in Figure 4.9. There was no effect for those raised Orthodox, but the effect on those raised Conservative, Reform, and with no denomination is apparent.

FIGURE 4.9: FEELING PART OF A LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITY



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

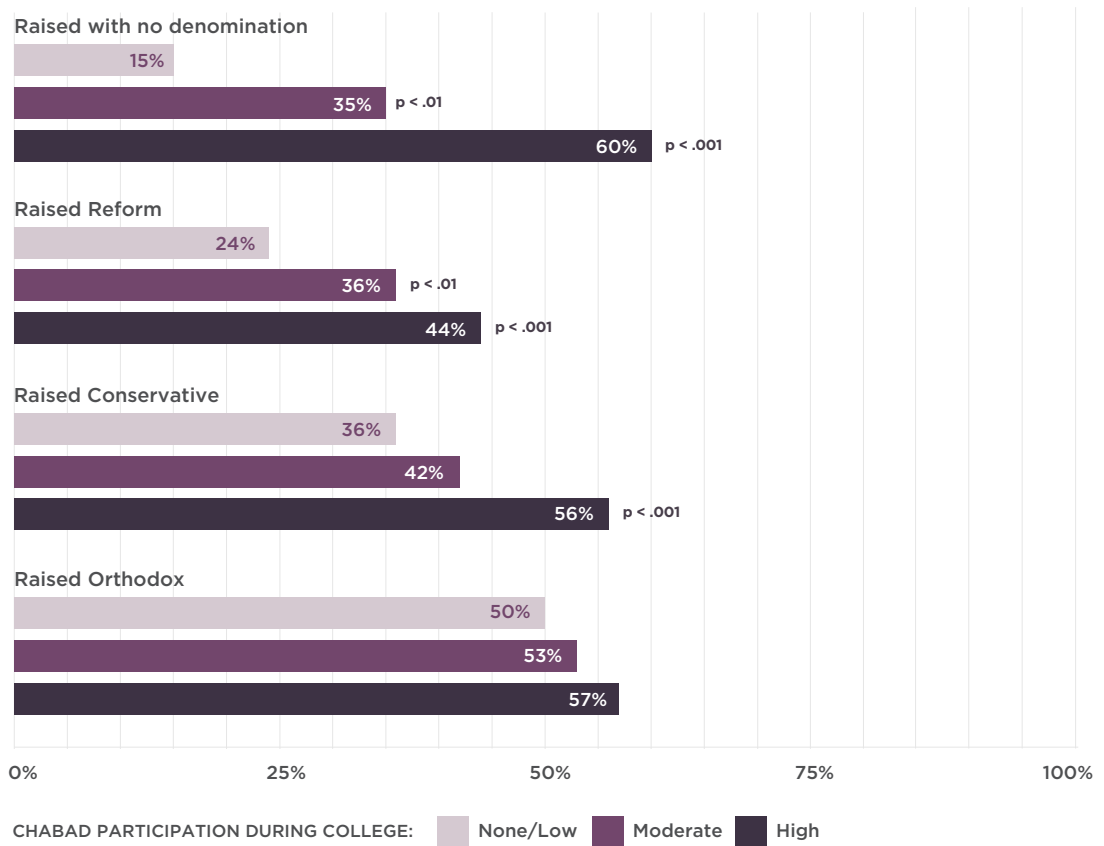
Volunteering for and Taking on a Leadership Role in a Jewish Organization

Helping out at Chabad or Hillel, or serving on the student board can be a precursor for volunteering or assuming a leadership role in a Jewish organization post-college.

Figure 4.10 shows the greater the Chabad participation in college, the greater the percentage of those who volunteered for a Jewish group or organization. Among those raised Conservative and Reform, we see a difference of 20 percentage points between those in the none/low participation category and those in the high participation category, and among those raised with no denomination, we see a difference of 45 percentage points.

FIGURE 4.10: VOLUNTEERING FOR A JEWISH GROUP OR ORGANIZATION

Volunteered for a Jewish Group or Organization in the Past 12 Months



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

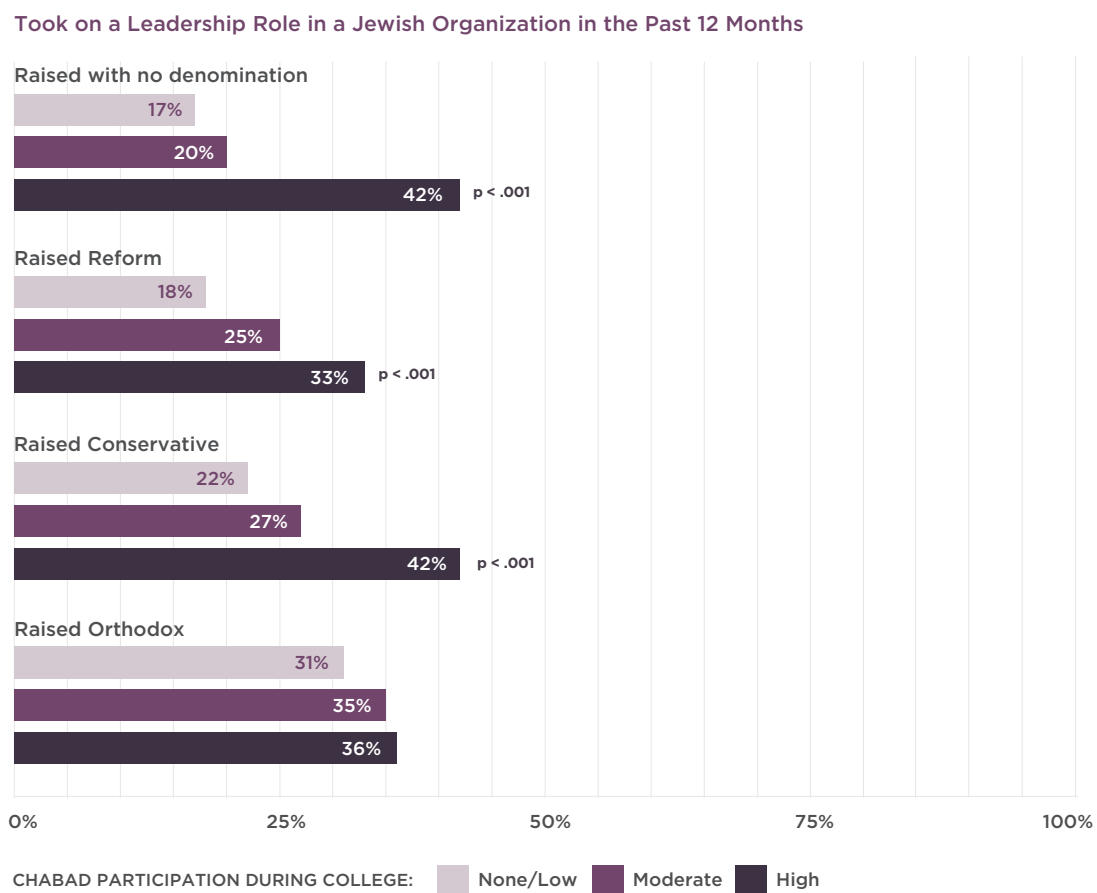
We saw previously (Figure 2.3) that students who participated at Hillel were more likely to serve in a student leadership position during college than those who participated at Chabad (29% versus 16%). Chabad and Hillel have different approaches to student leadership.

Hillel's approach empowers student leaders and gives them major responsibilities for programs and initiatives. This practice tends to be a reflection of the culture in Jewish nonprofit organizations more generally, where decisions are sometimes made by lay leaders, with staff serving in a support role.⁵⁶

Chabad, in contrast, has a more traditional rabbinic structure — the rabbi and rebbetzin run the center. We did find that some Chabad centers had highly active and empowered student boards, while some did not. This possibly reflects different approaches to rabbinic authority across emissaries. More practically, emissaries usually do not have staff support and must do everything themselves. This means there is limited time available for emissaries to work with a student board, which tends to be a time-consuming process. For these reasons, students at some Chabad centers do not have as much latitude to take ownership of programs as do students at Hillel.

We found that Chabad had an influence on post-college leadership, but only among those in the high participation category, and only among those who were not raised Orthodox, as Figure 4.11 indicates.

FIGURE 4.11: TAKING ON A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN A JEWISH ORGANIZATION



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

56 Jewish federations are best example of this practice.

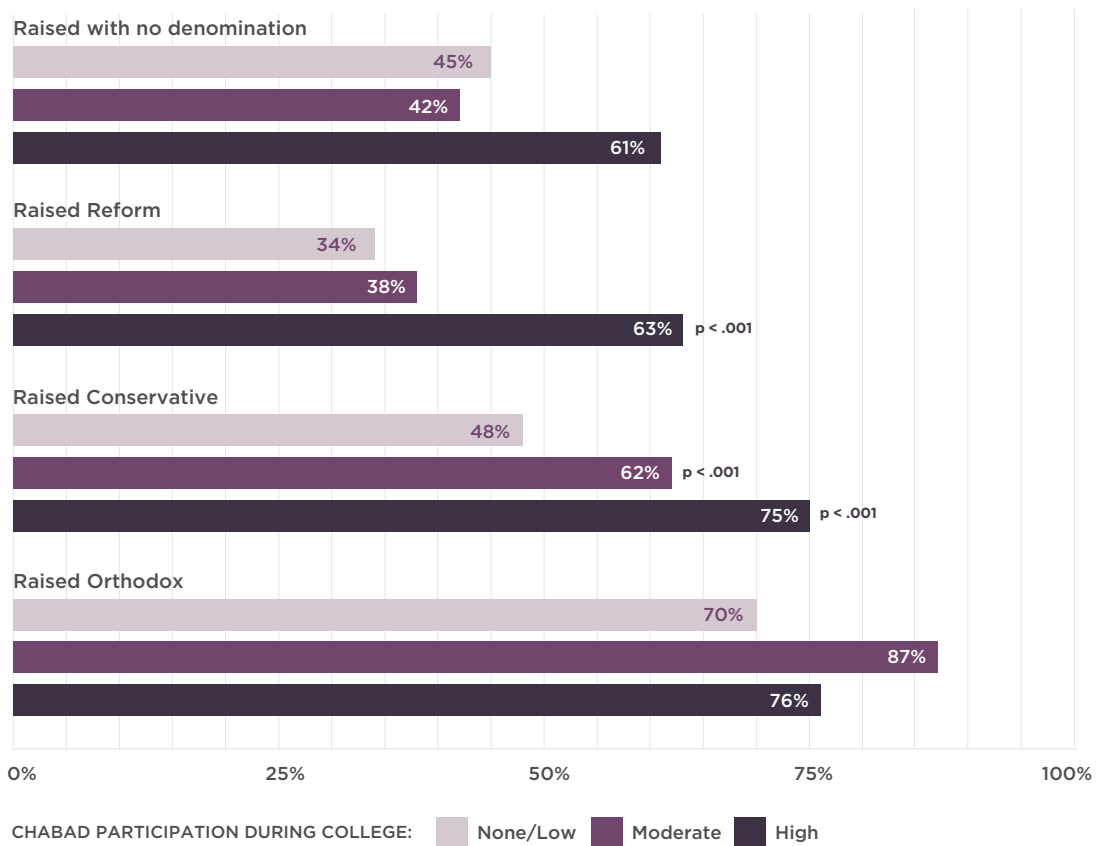
Donating to a Jewish Organization

Chabad places considerable emphasis on the giving of *tzedakah*, so we would expect to see an influence on charitable giving among those who become involved with Chabad during college.⁵⁷ Figure 4.12 shows that Chabad participation has a strong effect on charitable giving for those raised Reform and Conservative, but not for those raised Orthodox or with no denomination. We find differences of 27 percentage points between none/low participation and high participation for those raised Conservative, and 29 percentage points for those raised Reform.

We also found that the probability of giving went up with age, which is likely a function of increased income. For those under the age of 26 who were raised Reform, the predicted probability of donating is 29 percent among those in the none/low category, while for those in the high category the figure is 57 percent. For those age 26 and over, the corresponding figures are 41 percent and 69 percent. Once again, we see an enduring impact from Chabad participation years after graduation.

FIGURE 4.12: DONATING TO A JEWISH ORGANIZATION

Made a Donation to a Jewish Organization in the Past 12 Months



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

⁵⁷ We were unable to determine from our survey data how these donations were distributed among Chabad and other Jewish organizations.

Jewish Learning

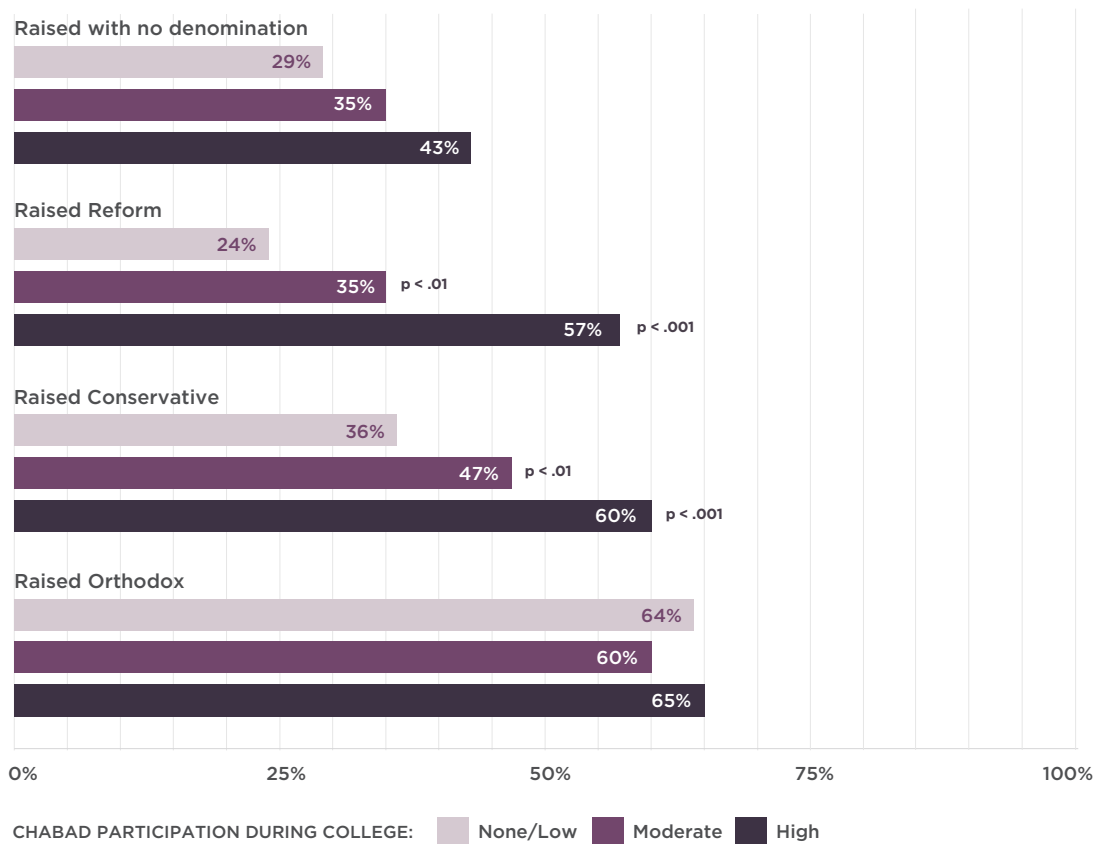
Chabad places considerable emphasis on Jewish learning, as we described in Chapter 3. We see in Figure 4.13 that higher levels of Chabad participation are associated with a higher frequency of post-college Jewish learning for those raised Reform and Conservative.

“

Overall I feel like Chabad in college made me closer to Judaism and planted a seed for me to want to learn more.

FIGURE 4.13: JEWISH LEARNING

Participated in a Jewish Class or Learning Group in the Past 12 Months



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

DATING AND MARRIAGE

To determine whether Chabad's approach affects dating and marriage attitudes and choices, our survey presented different questions to respondents depending upon their marital status. Those who were single (not married or living with a partner), comprising 71 percent of our respondents, were asked three questions:

- » Whether they considered it important to date Jews
- » The proportion of Jews they dated in the past year
- » Whether they considered it important to marry someone Jewish

The remaining 29 percent, who were either married (16%) or were living with a partner (13%), were asked whether their spouse or partner was Jewish. We conducted separate analyses for those married and those living with a partner.

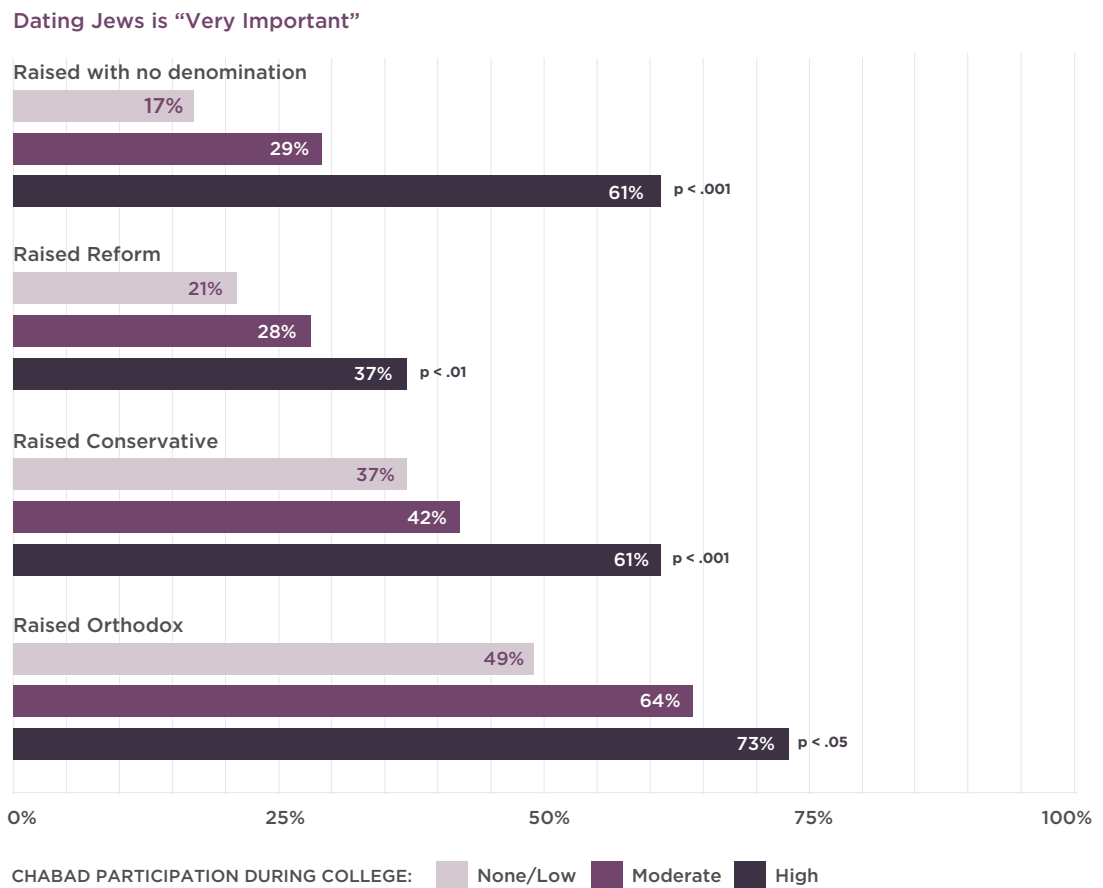
Respondents Who Were Single

Figure 4.14 presents respondents' attitudes regarding the importance of dating Jews.

Our logistic regressions found statistically significant effects from Chabad participation for all four denominational categories, but only among those in the high participation category, reinforcing the point made in Chapter 3 about the relevance of a personal relationship with the rabbi or rebbetzin.

The impact is especially noticeable among those raised with no denomination. We see a difference of 44 percentage points between those in the none/low participation category and those in the high participation category.

FIGURE 4.14: IMPORTANCE OF DATING JEWS



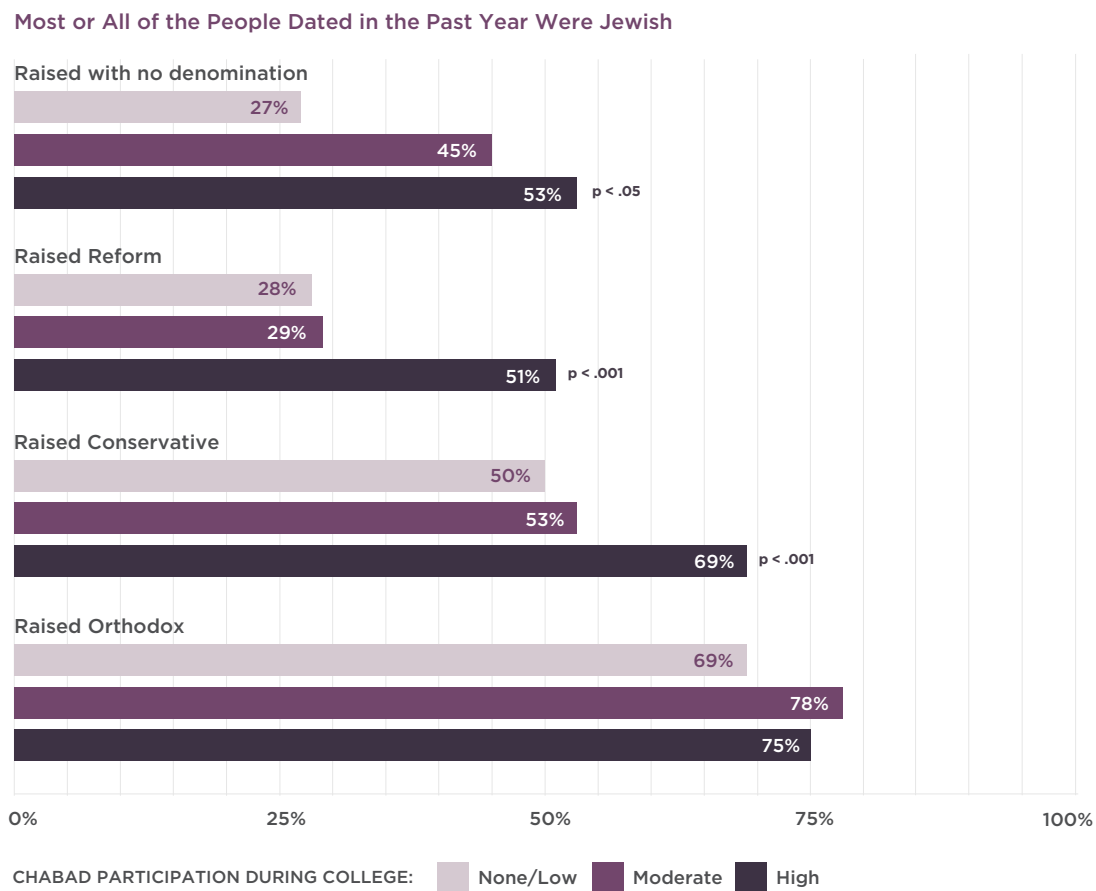
Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

In addition to the influence of Chabad, we found that attitudes toward dating Jews were also influenced by the background of respondents' parents. Among those raised Reform who only had one Jewish parent, only 5 percent of those in the none/low participation category felt it was "very important" to date Jews. For those with one Jewish parent in the high participation category, the corresponding percentage was only 11 percent.

For those raised Reform with two Jewish parents, 24 percent in none/low category felt it was "very important" to date Jews. The figure was 43 percent for those in the high participation category.

Figure 4.15 shows actual dating behavior in the past year. We see a strong impact of Chabad participation, but only among those in the high participation category, and not among those raised Orthodox. Figure 4.16 shows the impact of Chabad on respondents' attitudes toward marrying someone Jewish. We see a very large difference of 46 percentage points between the none/low and high participation categories for those raised with no denomination.

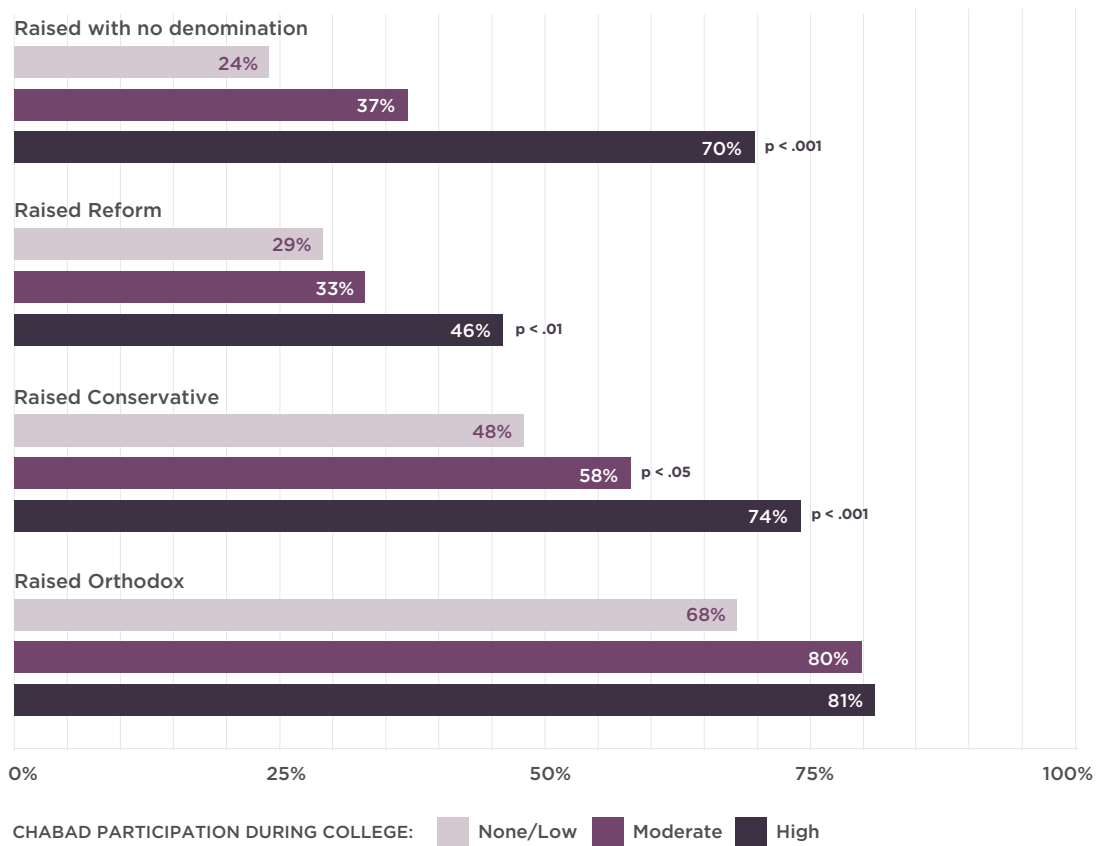
FIGURE 4.15: DATED JEWS IN THE PAST YEAR



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

FIGURE 4.16: IMPORTANCE OF MARRYING A JEW

“Very Important” to Marry a Jewish Person



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

Respondents Who Were Married

Sixteen percent of the respondents to our survey were married, a percentage in keeping with Jewish demographic data, which indicates that most Jews do not marry until after the age of 30. Of those raised Orthodox who were married, 97 percent married someone Jewish. Among those raised Conservative and Reform, the corresponding figures were 86 percent and 66 percent respectively. Among those raised with no denomination, the percentage who married someone Jewish was 78 percent. These percentages are much higher than the general Jewish population ages 21-29.

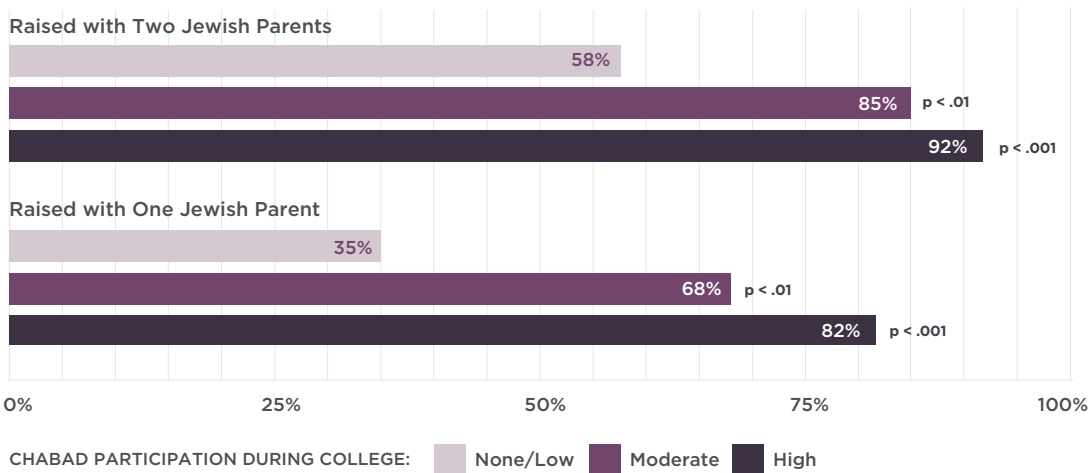
For those raised Conservative, only 119 respondents were married, and only 16 did not marry someone Jewish. Similarly, for those raised Orthodox, only 79 respondents were married, and only 2 of them did not marry someone Jewish. The numbers were simply too small to detect an effect from Chabad participation on marital choice for respondents raised in these denominations.

Because of the small number of married respondents, in order to determine the impact of Chabad on marriage choices among those raised Reform and with no denomination, we ran a logistic regression

that combined these two groups. Results are shown in Figure 4.17, with separate predicted probabilities for those with one or two Jewish parents. For those raised with one Jewish parent, there is a difference of 47 percentage points between those in the none/low participation group and those in the high participation group. For those with two Jewish parents, the difference is 34 percentage points.

FIGURE 4.17: CHOICE OF A SPOUSE

Married a Jew



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

This analysis combines those raised with no denomination and those raised Reform. It does not include those raised Orthodox or Conservative because very few respondents raised in these two denominational groups were intermarried.

Respondents Who Were Living with a Partner

We ran a separate analysis on the 13 percent of our respondents who were living with a partner. Chabad participation during college was not related to whether the partner was Jewish, but it did appear to have an association with whether someone was living with a partner or married. Those in the high participation category were twice as likely to be married (21%) as living with a partner (11%). However, the percentages of those married and living with a partner were almost the same at moderate and low participation levels of Chabad participation during college.

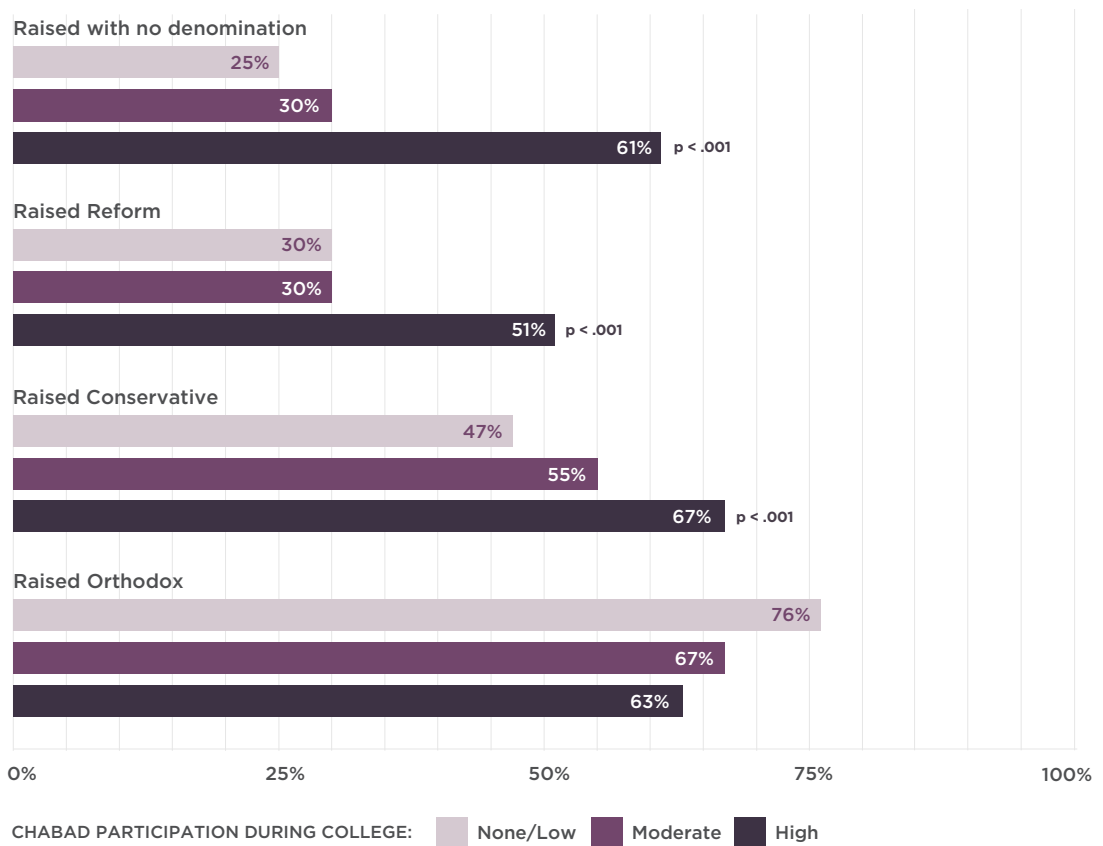
EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL

As we noted in Chapter 3, Chabad centers vary widely from campus to campus with respect to their focus on Israel. We included one Israel-related measure on our survey assessing emotional attachment to Israel.

Figure 4.18 presents our findings. Chabad participation only had an impact on those in the high participation category, and it had no impact on those raised Orthodox.

FIGURE 4.18: EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL

“Very Attached” to Israel

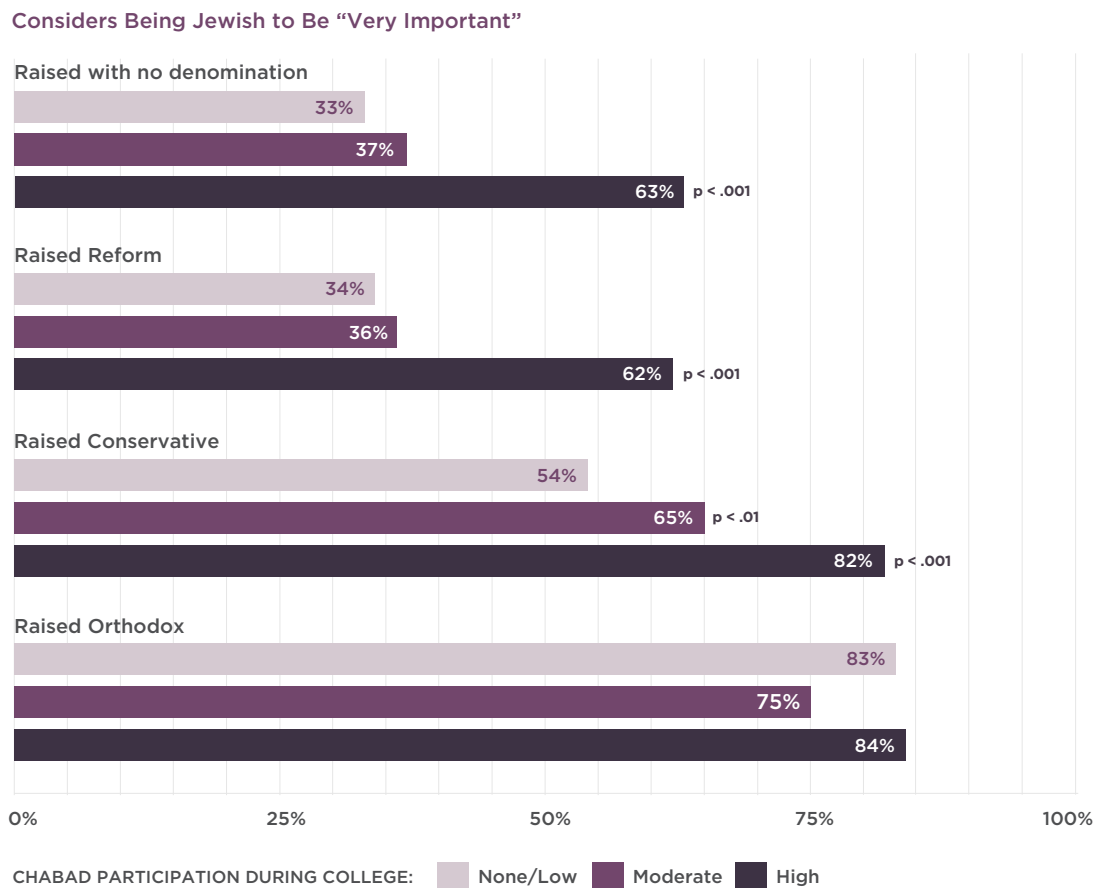


Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

IMPORTANCE OF BEING JEWISH

We conclude our examination of Chabad’s impact on various measures of Jewish engagement by examining respondents’ feelings about the importance of being Jewish. Figure 4.19 shows that Chabad had a strong impact on this measure at high participation levels for all respondents except those raised Orthodox. We see a differences of 30 percentage points between none/low and high participation for those raised with no denomination, and a 28 percentage point difference for those raised Reform and Conservative.

FIGURE 4.19: IMPORTANCE OF BEING JEWISH



Percentages represent predicted probabilities generated from a logistic regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

SUMMARY — THE IMPACT OF CHABAD ON CAMPUS

Table 4.5 summarizes the differences in predicted probabilities between none/low and high participation presented in Figures 4.2 to 4.19.⁵⁸

We see a strong impact for those raised Reform, Conservative, and with no denomination on most measures, and very little impact for those raised Orthodox.

Determining Overall Impact

What is the overall impact of Chabad on Campus? To determine overall impact, we created a single measure of current Jewish engagement, an overall engagement score which ranged from 0 to 12.⁵⁹ The average engagement score across all respondents was 4.2. For those raised Orthodox, the average was 7.4; for those raised Conservative, 4.6; for those raised Reform, 2.9, and for those raised with no denomination, 3.5.

We ran four separate analyses, one for each denomination in which respondents were raised.⁶⁰ In each analysis, we examined how the overall measure of current Jewish engagement is influenced by Chabad participation during college, while controlling for background factors. Our findings are shown in Figure 4.20.

For those raised with no denomination, there was a difference in overall engagement score of 2.9 between those in the none/low participation category and those in the high participation category. In practical terms, this represents the adoption of three new Jewish behaviors or attitudes. The corresponding difference for those raised Reform was 2.6, and for those raised Conservative was 2.4. The difference for those raised Orthodox was 0.7.

Overall, this analysis confirms the patterns we found across the 18 separate measures. The largest differences between none/low participation and high participation are among respondents raised Reform and with no denomination, and the smallest among those raised Orthodox.

58 We omit marital choice from Figure 4.17 because of the relatively small number of married respondents and because we combined denominational groups.

59 See Appendix B for details.

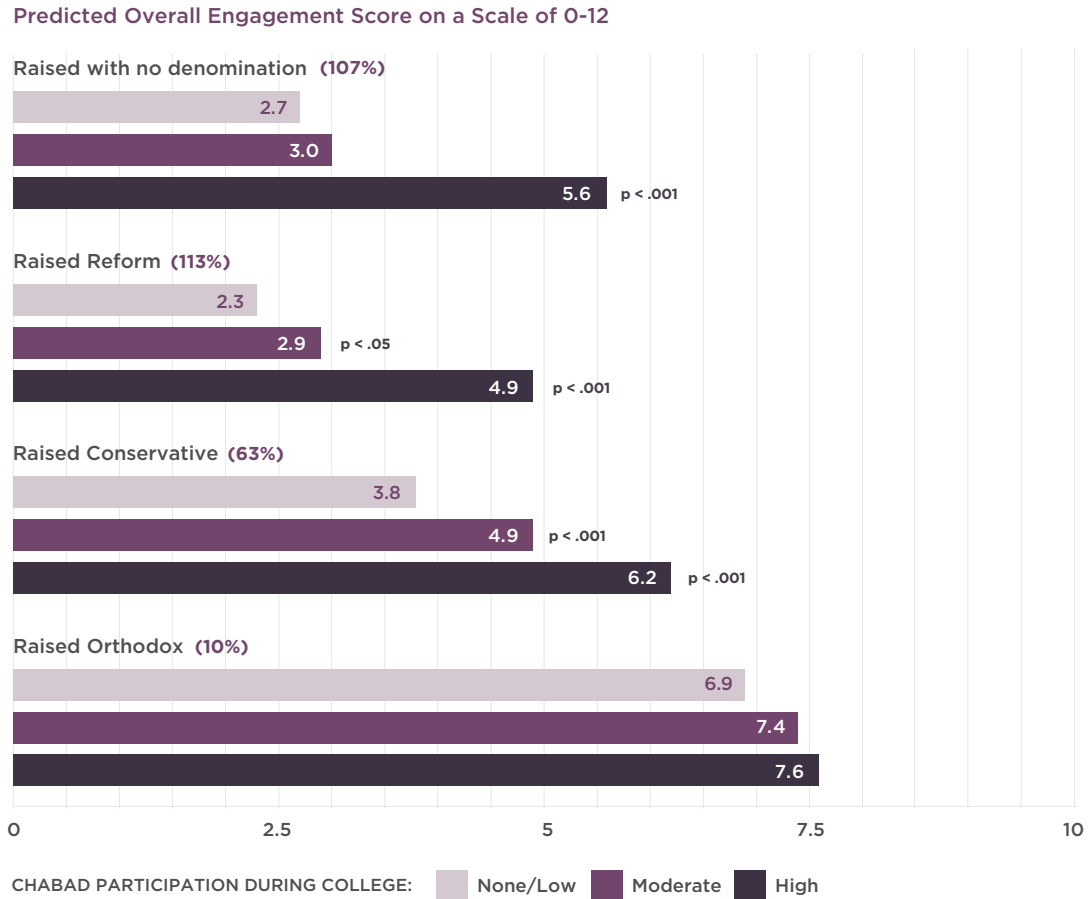
60 Multiple regression was used rather than logistic regression because unlike the prior impact analyses in which the measures were binary, the overall engagement scores were not.

TABLE 4.5: SUMMARY OF CHABAD IMPACT ON MEASURES OF JEWISH LIFE AFTER COLLEGE

	PERCENTAGE POINT DIFFERENCE IN PREDICTED PROBABILITIES BETWEEN NONE/LOW AND HIGH CHABAD PARTICIPATION DURING COLLEGE			
	RAISED WITH NO DENOMINATION	RAISED REFORM	RAISED CONSERVATIVE	RAISED ORTHODOX
Very important to marry a Jew	46	17	26	–
Volunteered for a Jewish organization	45	20	20	–
Very important to date Jews	44	16	24	24
Believes in God	38	19	12	15
Very attached to Israel	36	21	20	–
Lit Shabbat candles	35	20	14	–
Being Jewish is very important	30	28	28	–
Felt part of a Jewish community	30	19	24	–
Hosted Shabbat meals	28	9	11	–
Dated mostly Jews	26	23	19	–
Attended religious services	26	16	19	14
Leadership role in a Jewish organization	25	15	20	–
Attended Shabbat meals	23	27	32	–
Closest friends are Jewish	20	24	23	–
Paid dues to a synagogue	18	13	15	–
Donated to a Jewish organization	–	29	27	–
Attended a Jewish learning class	–	33	24	–

All figures represent statistically significant differences. Empty cells indicate that differences were not statistically significant.

FIGURE 4.20: IMPACT OF CHABAD PARTICIPATION ON AN OVERALL ENGAGEMENT SCORE



Percentages in parentheses represent the percent difference between none/low and high participation.

Numbers represent predicted overall engagement scores generated from a multiple regression. Significance levels are shown when there is a statistically significant difference between none/low participation and moderate or high participation.

POST-COLLEGE INVOLVEMENT WITH CHABAD

Taken as a whole, the findings described in this chapter suggest that participation at Chabad during college fosters a greater involvement with mainstream Jewish life. To what extent does it also foster an inclination to visit or become involved with a Chabad center? Does Chabad participation during college create a long-term allegiance to the Chabad “brand”?

Our survey asked several questions along these lines. First we were curious about travel. Young adults like to explore the world, and Chabad has centers in over 85 countries. Our survey asked: *Have you ever sought out Chabad when traveling?* Results are shown in Table 4.6. Across all respondents, just over a third (37%) of respondents said yes. Two-thirds of respondents in the high participation category said yes.

TABLE 4.6: SEEKING OUT CHABAD WHEN TRAVELING

Sought Out Chabad When Traveling

	LEVEL OF CHABAD PARTICIPATION DURING COLLEGE			
	NONE/LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	ALL RESPONDENTS
YES	21%	45%	67%	37%
NO/NOT SURE	79%	55%	33%	63%
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%	100%

These findings were in accord with what we heard in focus groups. One alumna, for example, mentioned to us that while spending time in Spain she had contacted her campus rabbi to see if he could help her find a place to go for Shabbat. Through his connections, she ended up taking a ninety-minute train ride for Shabbat hospitality.

Our survey also asked: *In the last 12 months, how often, if at all, have you attended events, meals, programs, or services at a Chabad center?* Table 4.7 shows that two-thirds of respondents (67%) had not attended a Chabad center in the past 12 months. Only 8 percent were regular or frequent attendees, and even among those in the high participation category during college, only about one in five (21%) were regular or frequent attendees.

TABLE 4.7: CHABAD PARTICIPATION IN THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS

Attendance at a Chabad Center in the Past 12 Month

	LEVEL OF CHABAD PARTICIPATION DURING COLLEGE			
	NONE/LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	ALL RESPONDENTS
REGULARLY/FREQUENTLY	3%	7%	21%	8%
ONCE/TWICE/OCCASIONALLY	15%	32%	43%	25%
NEVER	82%	61%	36%	67%
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%	100%

While involvement with Chabad during college does create an inclination to visit Chabad while traveling, our data does not show a strong inclination for alumni to connect to Chabad centers. The connection seems to be more personal, to the campus rabbi and rebbetzin, as we saw in Chapter 3, than general, to Chabad as a network of centers.

However, this may change in the future. Recently, the Chabad-Lubavitch movement has formed an entirely new organization with a network of centers to reach young adults, Chabad Young Professionals International.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

In the preceding four chapters, we presented a data-based picture of Chabad's campus work and the impact it has on those who participate. The likely impact of involvement with Chabad during college is pervasive, affecting a broad range of Jewish attitudes and behaviors. These include religious beliefs and practices, Jewish friendships, Jewish community involvement, Jewish learning, dating and marriage, emotional attachment to Israel, and the importance of being Jewish. The data suggest that those with moderate and high levels of participation come closer to the mainstream Jewish community after college.

CHABAD ON CAMPUS AS AN EDUCATIONAL INTERVENTION

Chabad's Distinctive Approach

Some of the educational approaches used by Chabad are similar to other effective Jewish educational interventions such as Israel trips, Jewish summer camps, and day schools. An educator works to generate curiosity among participants in a program, and then enables the participant to act on that curiosity to enhance their knowledge, skills or engagement in the subject matter. Like other organizations that target young adults, Chabad organizes events and programs for individuals who are not necessarily looking for Jewish learning or Jewish rituals, at least initially, but come for social reasons and food within a Jewish milieu. Emissaries express genuine caring and interest in those they educate, and cultivate relationships with them.

Yet there are a number of distinctive elements to Chabad's approach. The educators are Orthodox Jews who work mostly with those who are not Orthodox, without expecting students to affiliate with Orthodox Judaism. They model traditional Jewish rituals that are unfamiliar to some participants, and

present mystical teachings to explain how the rituals connect the student to God.⁶¹ They evoke interest in deeper questions about life and God, and then share Talmudic wisdom, Hasidic philosophy, and the teachings of the Lubavitcher Rebbe to address these questions. The entire family is involved in the educational enterprise, including the young children of the emissaries. In their personal lives, they strive to practice everything that they teach and “preach.”

Despite the unconventional elements of this educational approach, our data have made it clear that Chabad reaches and touches many students from a variety of backgrounds, and has a positive impact on their Jewish lives. Those who resonate with Chabad’s approach, and who decide to go deeper, do undergo change in their Jewish beliefs and practices, as our analysis demonstrates.

Chabad’s approach does not appeal to all. Chabad maintains particular values, espouses certain teachings, and promotes certain practices. While Chabad welcomes all Jews regardless of their background or current practices, it does not attempt to be all things to all Jews.

The Differing Approaches of Chabad and Hillel

Jewish students, as consumers of Jewish educational experiences on campus, gravitate to events and programs that match their interests and inclinations. They also go where their friends go. Their backgrounds and upbringing, as we saw in Chapter 2, have some influence on whether they go primarily to Chabad or primarily to Hillel. Our data demonstrate that many do spend time at both.

Both Chabad and Hillel have developed sophisticated educational approaches for college students, and in certain respects, they offer similar educational and engagement opportunities.⁶² For example, both have Shabbat dinners, both have holiday programming, and both offer Birthright Israel trips. At the same time, the two present very distinctive differences in style, substance, and programming.

Religious practice is not a central focus of Hillel, and promoting religious denominational pluralism is not a central value of Chabad. At Chabad centers, students develop personal relationships with and are mentored by the rabbi and rebbetzin, as well as highly-involved fellow students. Within Hillel’s educational model, personal relationships are established with a wider variety of individuals, which might include the Hillel director, a Jewish educator, younger staff members, or highly-involved fellow students.

Our point is not to debate the relative merits of each educational approach, or to make side-by-side comparisons, but simply to observe that different campus Jewish organizations educate students in different ways. Students ultimately choose which approach best serves them. Chabad appears to be effective in reaching and teaching many students despite its unorthodox approach and Orthodox foundations.

CHABAD'S IMPACT ON STUDENTS FROM DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

In Chapter 4, we described how students with different Jewish backgrounds are affected differently by Chabad. These differences are important for understanding the significance of Chabad’s impact on the students it touches.

61 For discussions of Chabad’s mystical theology, see Elijior, 1993; Wolfson, 2009; and Wexler, 2013.

62 See www.hillel.org for more information about Hillel’s educational programming.

Raised with No Denomination

A number of Chabad emissaries mentioned during interviews that over the course of their experiences with students, they observed that often the ones most affected by their involvement with Chabad were those who had the least prior exposure to Judaism. These students, according to the rabbis and rebbetzins, had fewer preconceived ideas about Judaism and fewer negative experiences to color perceptions. They were receptive to the Judaic teachings of the emissaries.

The hypothesis of the emissaries is borne out by the findings presented in Chapter 4. The impact of Chabad participation was greatest for those raised with no denominational affiliation and those raised Reform (Figure 4.20).

Those raised with no denominational affiliation, sometimes called unaffiliated, are usually the most difficult group for most Jewish organizations to attract and engage. Yet once the unaffiliated came into a Chabad door, half ended up in the moderate or high participation categories (Table 2.6), a proportion that is equivalent to those raised Conservative. When asked if Chabad was “a welcoming space for Jews of all backgrounds,” three out of five chose “to a great extent” (Figure 2.5).

This is the case despite the finding (Table 2.1) that this group is the most likely to have had no Jewish education prior to college (36%) and is most likely to come from an intermarried family (30%).

Those raised with no denominational affiliation represent 10 percent of those who responded to our survey. Nationally, this group comprises 41 percent of Jews between the ages of 18 and 29.⁶³

It would appear from our findings that when young Jewish adults who are culturally the furthest away from the Chabad rabbi and rebbetzin do spend time at Chabad, they feel welcome and a number choose to become more involved.

Raised Reform

Those raised Reform also showed a large impact from Chabad participation, along with those raised with no denomination (Figure 4.20). However, in comparison to those raised Orthodox, Conservative or with no denominational affiliation, those raised Reform were least likely to participate at Chabad — only two out of five participated at moderate or high levels (Table 2.6). In addition, students raised Reform were less likely to indicate that they felt welcome at Chabad (Figure 2.5) than any other denominational group, although about half felt welcome “to a great extent.”

Our qualitative and quantitative data suggest that many of the students raised with a strong Reform Jewish identity, who were actively involved in Reform synagogue life, summer camp, and youth groups growing up, gravitate to Hillel rather than Chabad (Table 2.8). Since the liberal Reform ethos departs from the *halacha*-based values and practices of Chabad (for example, the differing definitions of who is considered a Jew), it is not surprising that some who are raised Reform avoid Chabad. Nevertheless, there is a strong effect of Chabad participation on those raised Reform who do come. Why is this the case?

One possible explanation comes from the recognition that Reform is a broad label. Students may refer to themselves as having been raised Reform, but that may mean that their parents belonged to a Reform synagogue and went occasionally, not that they were strongly involved or ideologically engaged. They aren't necessarily looking to connect with other Reform Jews or attend Reform services when they come to campus.

63 Pew Research Center, October 2013, page 49.

Raised Conservative

Those raised Conservative showed impact from Chabad participation, but not quite as strongly as those raised Reform or with no denomination (Figure 4.20).

About two out of five respondents indicated that they were raised Conservative. This figure is considerably higher than the 11 percent found in the Pew Portrait of Jewish Americans for those between the ages of 18 and 29.⁶⁴

About half of those raised Conservative (49%) were in the moderate or high participation categories. Three out of five felt welcome at Chabad “to a great extent” (Figure 2.5).

Why do so many seem to come?⁶⁵ In our interviews, the emissaries suggested a few reasons.

First, a number of students who are raised Conservative follow kosher dietary laws. At campuses that do not have kosher meal plans, Chabad may be the only place on campus where students can get kosher food.

Second, students from Conservative homes, like those raised Orthodox, are more likely than their less observant peers to be familiar with Jewish traditions, particularly Friday night Shabbat dinners. One rabbi mentioned that Conservative students were regulars on Friday night at his center. They come because they are seeking an environment that is comfortable and familiar.

Raised Orthodox

Modern Orthodox students, a very small group on college campuses overall, are concentrated at about 20 schools.⁶⁶ At these schools, the work of emissaries is somewhat different. In addition to focusing on “Judaism 101,” emissaries may also organize regularly scheduled Orthodox services and engage in Talmud study with students.

When Orthodox students are present at a given campus, they are disproportionately represented at Chabad. About three out of five Orthodox respondents were in the moderate or high participation categories, the highest percentage among the four denominational groups. Those raised Orthodox were also the group mostly likely to feel welcome at Chabad.

It is not at all surprising that Orthodox students feel comfortable being at Chabad and are drawn to Chabad’s kosher food, religious services, and Shabbat observance — it is familiar territory. Participation at Chabad on campus represents continuity, an observant home away from home.

While our study did not find much change in basic Jewish practice and identity from Chabad participation among those raised Orthodox, we did not specifically focus on this group. Our measures of post-college Jewish engagement may not have detected some of the subtler changes that could have taken place.

Most students raised in Orthodox households grew up doing Torah-based mitzvot — the same practices that Chabad promotes and teaches to students. For these students, Chabad’s role is probably not so much about growth in Jewish practice as it is about reinforcement and inspiration.

⁶⁴ Pew Research Center, October 2013, page 49.

⁶⁵ The Conservative Movement used to have a campus organization, KOACH, associated with Hillel, that was disbanded in 2013 for financial reasons.

⁶⁶ See page 40 for more on this point.

About five out of six of the Orthodox students who responded to our survey (84%) attended a Jewish day school. When a student attends both a Jewish day school and a Jewish high school, there can be a sense of “segregation” prior to college; these students have had relatively little contact with those who are not Jewish. Chabad can help them to grapple with some of the unfamiliar aspects of secular life at college, offering a place where they can maintain their Orthodox lifestyle and social networks while experiencing the newness of their college environs.

For students who have spent their entire lives in Modern Orthodox institutions, Chabad also offers a sense of novelty that allows students to step outside of the Modern Orthodox experience while remaining within an environment that is based on *halacha*.

Some of those who grew up in Orthodox households and attended Jewish day schools end up uninspired when they come to college. They may continue to go through the motions of an Orthodox lifestyle without much inner conviction. Often, what keeps them involved are the social benefits of being part of an Orthodox community.⁶⁷ During our conversations with emissaries, a few mentioned to us that they had worked with these types of students, who were raised in Orthodox homes but who had lost interest in Orthodox practices. The emissaries saw their role as helping these students to see Judaism as something deeply spiritual and meaningful rather than as a body of boring, rote rituals.

It is worth noting that one of the few measures where we did find a statistically significant impact on those raised Orthodox was belief in God (Figure 4.2). If Chabad’s role is indeed reinforcement and inspiration, this is one of the measures where Chabad’s influence might manifest.

Emissaries also encouraged these students to appreciate the importance of dating Jews. Once these individuals came to college, it was not uncommon for them to take advantage of the new opportunities to date students they met who were not Jewish. In Chapter 4 we saw that another of the measures where Chabad had a statistically significant impact on those raised Orthodox was the importance of dating someone Jewish, which corroborates what we heard from emissaries (Figure 4.14).

There are some young adults who decide not to continue living an Orthodox life altogether. Regular articles appear in the Jewish press about those raised Orthodox who go “OTD” — off the *derech*.⁶⁸ Nationally, just under half of those raised Orthodox (48%) are still Orthodox.⁶⁹ Among our respondents, 54 percent who were raised Orthodox were still Orthodox, and the remaining 46 percent who were originally raised Orthodox indicated that they now identified as Conservative, Reform, or something else.

For those who no longer maintain Orthodox religious practices but still want to connect to Judaism in some fashion, Chabad offers a non-judgmental Jewish space with familiar elements where there are no distinctions based on denominational background.

67 For a perspective on social Orthodoxy, see Lefkowitz, 2014.

68 Off the *derech* (path) is a term used to refer to those who have left Orthodox Judaism. For a recent study of those who have left Orthodoxy, see Nishma Research, 2016.

69 Pew Research Center, October 2013, page 11.

DIFFERENCES ACROSS CAMPUSES

Differences in Center Effectiveness

Our qualitative research suggested that certain Chabad centers seem to be especially successful.⁷⁰ These attract large numbers of students, and are viewed very favorably by school administrators, faculty, parents, and Hillel directors. Written comments on our survey from alumni who attended these schools were consistently positive.

What might explain why these centers are so effective? Survey comments and other indicators point to the important role of the emissaries' personalities. However, other factors, some outside of the emissaries' control, may play a role as well. We discussed a number of these external factors in Chapter 3 under the heading Institutional Aspects of Chabad on Campus.

Differences in the Size of the Jewish Population

The size of the undergraduate Jewish population at a given campus is also a consideration for understanding differences across campuses. At campuses with smaller Jewish populations, emissaries attract fewer students, but those who do come can receive more personal attention. At larger campuses, emissaries may attract much larger groups, but find it more challenging to spend time with individual students.

For many of the analyses in Chapter 4, we found a statistical relationship between the size of the undergraduate Jewish population at a campus and our measures of Jewish engagement.⁷¹ What this means in a practical sense is that where a student chooses to go to school, regardless of whether or not he or she goes to Chabad or Hillel, has an impact on Jewish life after college. The more Jews at a given campus, the more likely it is that an individual who graduates from that campus will be Jewishly engaged after college.

Differences in the Mix of Students

As we noted in Chapter 2, different campuses have students with differing Jewish backgrounds, which has an impact on the dynamic at the Chabad center and the educational work of the emissaries.⁷² Some schools attract high school graduates with strong Jewish backgrounds who are looking for a campus that has an active Jewish life. A number of these students attended day schools and come from Conservative or Orthodox homes. At other schools, the Jewish students who apply are not as likely to be looking for a campus where Jewish life is strong and they are less likely to have had a strong Jewish upbringing.

Of the almost 200 American campuses where Chabad has a presence, the vast majority are schools that fall in the latter category, where most of the Jewish students were raised as Reform or with no denominational affiliation.

Looking across the entire Chabad on Campus system, much of the work of campus emissaries is with these types of students, where our data suggest the potential for change is greatest.

70 Given the nature of our quantitative data, we cannot make any statements in this report about the effectiveness of specific centers that participated in our study.

71 See Table 4.2 for an example.

72 See Figure 2.2 for three illustrations.

ALUMNI RELATIONSHIPS WITH CAMPUS RABBIS AND REBBETZINS

Those who participated at Chabad during college are likely to maintain a relationship with their campus rabbi or rebbetzin after college. Personal relationships do not end just because someone graduates. College students stay in touch with their college friends after college. If the campus rabbi or rebbetzin has also become a personal friend, then staying in touch is to be expected.

This continuing relationship has the potential to meaningfully shape the post-college lives of young adults. Once young adults graduate from college, they face a new environment and a new set of life challenges.

In contrast with campus life, in the new urban landscape that college graduates enter, Jewish options are not necessarily nearby. They are generally not as visible, they might cost money, they are not always attuned to the needs and interests of young adults, and they might be more formal and institutional than the cozy campus Shabbat dinners alumni enjoyed at Chabad.

Traditional synagogues tend to be oriented toward the needs of families with children and older couples. While there are a number of programs for Jewish young adults, many are associated with fundraising for a particular Jewish organization (e.g., Young Adult Division of a federation, Jewish National Fund, Friends of the IDF), where the focus is on community service and social events, rather than Judaism as a religion.

So, if young adults are unlikely to join synagogues, and if the Jewish opportunities they do attend often lack religious content, having a relationship with a rabbi or rebbetzin has the potential to make a real difference in their Jewish lives. Emissaries can provide guidance during a crucial time when these young adults are establishing careers and looking for a life partner.

The dilemma for Chabad on Campus International is that serving both current students and alumni is a real challenge for emissaries. To deal with this challenge, emissaries focus much of their attention on alumni during the summer when undergraduates are not on campus. Recently, at several campuses, new emissaries have joined existing emissaries specifically to focus on current students so that the existing emissaries can shift some of their attention to graduate students and alumni.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

Almost 200 emissary couples have started a Chabad center at an American college campus. When a Chabad couple first arrives, no one from the campus administration had formally invited them to come. They make a long-term commitment to the campus, obtain a three-year non-renewable grant, rent an apartment or facility, and start their work with students.

When they first arrive, they are not always welcomed by existing Jewish organizations on campus. They must convince a sometimes skeptical campus administration that they have something unique to offer students that is not being offered by other Jewish organizations. Plus, they need to attract students who are not looking for them.

That Chabad subsequently becomes so successful at so many campuses under these originating circumstances validates their accomplishments, apart from any of the specific findings of this study.

APPENDIX A:

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH ON CHABAD

A relatively robust body of social scientific literature about the Chabad-Lubavitch movement has emerged in recent years (Berman, 2009; Tavory, 2013; Morris, 2012; Bilu, 2012; Goldschmidt, 2006, Heilman and Friedman, 2012). Two studies considered how Chabad mobilizes various forms of media (Katz, 2010; Pearl, 2014), and a few studies consider Chabad's pedagogical approach, both within the Chabad community and with other Jewish groups (Ben Yosef, 2011; Schweber, 2008; Maoz and Beckerman, 2009). Nonetheless, given the organization's considerable reach, hardly any research considers the impact of Chabad's educational work on those who have had little or no prior contact with Chabad.

With respect to young adults, five prior studies have examined Chabad educational outreach, only one of which assesses impact. One of them focused specifically on Shabbat dinners sponsored by Chabad campus centers. This qualitative study covered five campuses (Chazan and Bryfman, 2006). A master's thesis compared the educational work of Hillel and Chabad at the University of Southern California (Watenmaker, 2006). Additionally, an unpublished undergraduate thesis (Gever, 2013) describing Jewish outreach at Emory University, offers an account of Chabad activities with students, but focuses primarily on student experiences of Meor, another Orthodox outreach group.

An ethnography of Chabad centers in India and Thailand that worked with young Israeli tourists focused on the use of informal educational methods by emissaries (Maoz and Beckerman, 2009).

The fifth study, conducted by one of the authors of the present study, examined alumni of the Sinai Scholars Program, an introductory course on Judaism run by Chabad on Campus, which touches only a small percentage of the students who come to Chabad's campus centers (Kopelowitz, 2011). This research found that the program's impact on alumni who had finished the course two years earlier was primarily confined to an increased intellectual interest in Judaism. Yet, for a minority, the program did produce significant, sometimes life-changing effects. The clearest case of success was for the few who reported decreasing trajectories of Jewish involvement prior to the program, yet reported high levels of post-program Jewish growth.

In general, writings about Chabad tend to view it from one of two vantage points. Publications in the social science literature written by academic scholars take a critical approach, underscoring elements of Chabad ideology that are seemingly at odds with the beliefs and practices of modern streams of liberal Jewry. These include teachings about the Lubavitcher Rebbe, differences between Jews and non-Jews, and observations about the gender distinctions maintained by Chabad.

Another criticism involves a small but vocal faction of Chabad known as moshichists who maintain that the Lubavitcher Rebbe is the Messiah. This belief has been strongly and publicly refuted by mainstream Chabad leadership for nearly 20 years (see, for example, Bruni, 1996).

In contrast, publications written and read by non-academics who work in Jewish nonprofit organizations tend to be less critical, viewing the work of Chabad with an eye toward learning what makes the movement successful, and how the lessons can be applied more widely to the Jewish communal world (e.g. Windmueller, 2012; Wolfson, 2013). These writings tend to sidestep differences between the views of Chabad and other Jewish religious movements, instead focusing on Chabad's methods and how their approaches might inform and aid the work of other organizations.

APPENDIX B:

STUDY DESIGN AND DATA ANALYSIS

SELECTION OF PARTICIPATING CENTERS

Our initial research design called for the study of 12 campus centers. We worked with Chabad on Campus International to choose the 12 centers, initially identifying a larger group of campus centers that met our criteria for inclusion in the study. In order to be considered, a center needed to be in operation for a minimum of seven years and needed to be willing to provide us with an alumni list and names for interviews and focus groups.

Once an initial list of prospective centers was generated, centers were selected for inclusion in the study based on several considerations. First, the center's alumni list needed to have a sizable number of email addresses that were reasonably current and did not consist primarily of donors and friendly supporters. Second, from among the list of prospective centers, we sought diversity based on such campus characteristics as geography, undergraduate Jewish population, national ranking, and whether the school was a public or private school.

Each participating center was promised an individualized data report in exchange for their cooperation.

Once we selected the initial 12 campus centers for inclusion in the study, we contacted the emissaries and asked them to give us the most inclusive and comprehensive version of their alumni list. Our intention was to administer the survey to as broad a range of young adults as possible — those who were highly involved with Chabad during college and viewed it positively, as well as those who came infrequently or not at all and may have been indifferent or negative.

QUALITATIVE DATA

Qualitative data was obtained from a sample of the campuses with the assistance of the emissaries and included:

- » Phone and face-to-face interviews with Chabad rabbis, rebbetzins, and other Chabad educators at Chabad campus and young professional centers
- » Phone and face-to-face interviews and focus groups with students and young adults who currently participate at Chabad and young professional campus centers, with alumni who were involved with Chabad while at school, and with parents
- » Phone and face-to-face interviews with Hillel directors, faculty, and university officials who interact with Chabad campus centers

SURVEY OF CAMPUS CENTERS

The 12 campus centers selected initially yielded 20,859 emails.

Based on the interviews and focus groups, and prior surveys of young Jewish adults, we designed a comprehensive survey questionnaire that could be completed in 15-20 minutes. The survey contained various branching options so that not all questions would be considered or completed by all respondents. For example, individuals who indicated that they were not married were presented with a different set of questions than those who indicated that they were. Many questions applied to both groups. There were four general question categories:

- » Current Jewish involvement and beliefs
- » Involvement with Chabad, Hillel, and other Jewish organizations as an undergraduate
- » Jewish upbringing prior to college
- » Post-college involvement with Chabad

In the spring of 2014 we conducted a pilot study with lists from two of the 12 campuses. The pilot study sought to:

- » determine if the email addresses of the alumni were current
- » refine and improve the survey questions
- » determine whether those who had minimal contact with Chabad during college were represented on the lists
- » maximize the response rate, by way of a split-half experiment (see below)
- » minimize response bias, by way of a split-half experiment

For the pilot study, lists were split in half. Half of the individuals received a survey invitation from the researchers to participate in a study of young Jewish adults. This invitation did not indicate that the focus of the study was Chabad and that the individuals' emails had been acquired from Chabad. The other half of the list received an email from the rabbi and rebbetzin encouraging them to participate, followed by a survey invitation from the researchers.

For both lists, the response rate was lower, and the average level of Chabad involvement during college was higher among those who received an email from the rabbi and rebbetzin, suggesting potential response bias if the invitations came from the rabbi and rebbetzin.

An additional concern that emerged from the pilot study was list quality. While one of the two pilot lists had an email bounce rate of only 2 percent, the other had a bounce rate of 51 percent.

This high bounce rate raised concerns that some of the other lists we had obtained might also be problematic and that we ultimately might not be able to obtain a sufficient number of completed surveys. The decision was then made to expand the study.

Initially, we attempted to obtain the Mayanot list, which has approximately 25,000 names and emails of young adults who participated in a Birthright Israel trip sponsored by Chabad's trip provider. However, despite Mayanot's full cooperation, our request for the list was denied by the Birthright Israel Research Committee.

Subsequently, we went back to Chabad on Campus International and repeated the identification and screening process described above. An additional ten centers agreed to participate and provided their alumni list, yielding an additional 13,401 emails. For these centers, we did not conduct any qualitative fieldwork beyond an interview with one or both emissaries.

A list of all 22 participating campus centers can be found at the end of Appendix B.

Following the pilot study, in preparation for surveying the remaining 20 campus lists, we addressed the response bias that we encountered in the pilot study by describing the study as a study of young Jewish adults in the text of the survey invitation. At the end of the email we provided an email address for respondents to contact us if they had any questions about the study.

Once the survey was launched, we received more than a hundred emails inquiring either about the study's purpose or about how we had obtained a respondent's name and email address. We answered each inquiry individually disclosing the study's focus on Chabad and the cooperation of Chabad centers in providing lists.

SURVEY LAUNCH

In total, the 22 lists obtained yielded 34,260 emails. Lists ranged in size from 260 to 3,839 emails.

After further refinements to the questionnaire, the full survey was launched in the late fall of 2014. Of the original 34,260 emails, 6,506 bounced. Excluding the pilot study, bounce rates by list ranged from less than 1 percent to 40 percent.

Some of the variation in bounce rates was due to differences in diligence regarding list maintenance on the part of Chabad centers, but a portion was a result of university policies regarding the use of school email addresses by alumni. Some schools allow alumni to keep their undergraduate email address by modifying it (e.g. name@school.edu becomes name@alumni.school.edu after graduation) while other schools do not have this policy. Bounce rates were lower for campuses with the policy that allowed students to keep their email addresses since the emails originally obtained by the rabbis and rebbetzins when the individuals were enrolled as undergraduates could be easily modified and were often still in use.

A total of 4,253 individuals opened the survey for a response rate of 15.3 percent excluding bounces. Of these, 461 responses were eliminated because the respondent did not identify as Jewish or did not have an undergraduate degree, leaving 3,792 usable surveys. Response rates by list ranged from 7 percent to 28 percent.

Over 150 undergraduate institutions were represented among respondents, even though lists were obtained from only 22 campuses. This is because some of the names on the 22 campus lists we obtained were graduate students and young adults living in the community who had attended an undergraduate school that was not the same as the school providing the list.

INVESTIGATING LIST BIAS

Because our lists came from so many different centers, we examined our data for a variety of list biases to see if different lists produced different results. We wanted to determine whether the net impact of Chabad on our measures of post-college Jewish engagement differed systematically from one list to the next based on such parameters as list size and list composition. Our overall concern was to avoid errors in reporting the impact of Chabad that were heavily influenced by the nature of the lists, in particular variations in the extent of coverage of alumni. Some lists contained many alumni who reported little or no contact with Chabad during their undergraduate years, and other lists had few such alumni.

We did find differences in Jewish background and in the level of Chabad participation across campus lists. These were to be expected and were not a concern. Different schools attract different types of students, and at a given campus Chabad or Hillel may dominate, attracting students primarily to one or the other.

We also examined impact by size of campus list. Here our concern was that smaller lists from some campus centers may have consisted primarily of more committed alumni – donors and those who have maintained a personal relationship with the rabbi and/or rebbetzin since graduation – thereby over-representing success stories. In contrast, perhaps centers providing longer and more complete lists that had many individuals with low Chabad involvement would show a lesser impact of Chabad. Our analyses indicated that this was not the case and that there were no systematic differences by size of list.

Some lists had many more respondents indicating that they had never been to Chabad than others. In comparing the two types of lists, we found few differences in impact and none were uniform. We ran a similar set of analyses by gender and by age. We found no appreciable difference in Chabad impact for men versus women. And, for those who graduated between 2007 and 2014, we found no appreciable differences by age. However, we did find far weaker effects among older respondents — alumni who graduated before 2007, generally age 30 or more. We also found that Chabad participation was lower and Hillel participation higher among older respondents, reflecting the newcomer status of Chabad on Campus relative to Hillel.

For these reasons, we did not include those 30 and over or those who graduated in 2006 or earlier in our analyses.⁷³

73 Initially, our study also included 6 Chabad young professional centers, located in urban areas, and we obtained 1,030 completed surveys from those who attended these centers. We found that those on the young professional lists were more Jewishly engaged than those on lists provided by the campus centers. Further analysis suggested that the young professional centers attract more committed and engaged young Jews — Jewish seekers — who found their way to Chabad after college even though they had less contact with Chabad during their undergraduate years than those on campus lists. Because the two groups were so fundamentally different, the data obtained from Chabad young professional centers was ultimately not included in our analyses, as well as the data obtained from those over 30 and those who graduated in 2006 or earlier.

SUBSET USED FOR THE ANALYSES

Our analyses were conducted using a subset of alumni from the campus lists who graduated in 2007 or later and were under age 30. The decision to limit the analysis to those who graduated in 2007 or later and were under 30 was based on the previously discussed list bias analysis and reflected several additional considerations:

- » The earlier the graduation date, the less likely that Chabad had become established on campus and the lower the likelihood that respondents had exposure to Chabad
- » Respondents' memories of experiences with Chabad might be less reliable over a greater time period
- » As young adults grow older and move into new life stages, their college experiences have less of an impact on their current Jewish life
- » Those from earlier graduation dates who remained on lists over a longer period of time may have been more likely to be donors or friendly supporters of Chabad; those who graduated more recently were more likely to represent the full spectrum of involvement with and sentiments toward Chabad

After removing those respondents who graduated prior to 2006 and those age 30 or older, we ended up with 2,402 surveys, representing responses from individuals who attended 166 different undergraduate colleges and universities.

CALCULATING PARTICIPATION SCORES

To create an overall measure of participation, we created an index that gave points to each respondent both for attendance and for each yes answer to the various types of participation. For attendance, a respondent could receive a score ranging from 0 to 4; 0 if they never went to Chabad, up to 4 points if they came "very frequently" (see Table 2.4). They received 1 additional point for each yes answer to the questions in Figure 2.3 with the exception of participating in a course, which received 2 points because our analyses indicated that participating in a course had twice the impact of the other types of participation. The overall scores for Hillel participation were calculated in the same fashion. Cronbach's alpha, a measure of scale reliability, equaled .78 for the Chabad index and .77 for the Hillel index.

Overall participation scores ranged from 0 to 10. For subsequent discussion and analyses, we grouped the scores into three participation categories:

- » None/Low — 0 to 3
- » Moderate — 4 to 6
- » High — 7 to 10

IMPACT ANALYSES USING LOGISTIC REGRESSION

In our survey, most of the 18 questions assessing respondents' current level of Jewish engagement had multiple response options. For example, for our question that asked about lighting Shabbat candles, the response options were "never," "sometimes," "usually," and "always (every week)." In order to simplify and clarify the communication of findings, each measure that had more than two response options was recoded so that only the highest level on each measure was used for our analyses. That

meant our measures became binary — yes or no. Returning to our example of lighting Shabbat candles, the response was recoded so that each respondent either lived in a household where someone lit Shabbat candles every week, or did not.

Recoding the measures as binary provided an additional advantage, as it also enabled us to create an overall index of engagement by combining the measures, as described below.

Once our 18 measures had been recoded as binary, logistic regression was the appropriate statistical technique to determine impact.⁷⁴ Logistic regression enables one to calculate the probability of a “yes” response using multiple predictors, or to use statistical terminology, covariates. For our analyses, the predictor of interest was level of Chabad participation, and the covariates were the various influences on post-college engagement described in Chapter 4 that might account for differences in post-college engagement.

We ran the analyses using Stata, a statistical software package. For each measure, we developed an initial “best fit” model that included only statistically significant covariates. Decisions for determining each best fit model were based on guidelines suggested by Hosmer, Lemeshow, and Sturdivant (2013).

Stata has a feature (margins) that enables one to calculate predicted probabilities once a best fit model is determined. Referring back to our example, Stata enabled us to calculate the probability that someone lived in a household where Shabbat candles were lit every week based on their level of Chabad participation, while controlling for other statistically significant influences on post-college engagement.

We wanted to see if Chabad had a differential impact depending upon respondents’ Jewish upbringing, so we ran separate logistic regressions and calculated predicted probabilities for those raised Orthodox, for those raised Conservative, for those raised Reform, and for those raised with no denomination.

To determine if there was a statistically significant differences between participation levels for each type of denominational upbringing on each measure, we used a feature in Stata (pwcompare) that performs pairwise comparisons and provides significance tests. Results of significance tests when statistically significant differences are present are reported in Figures 4.2 through 4.19 in Chapter 4. We report only significant differences between none/low and moderate or none/low and high participation. In a number of instances, we also found significant differences between moderate and high participation, but these are not reported in our charts for the sake of simplicity.

CALCULATING AN OVERALL ENGAGEMENT SCORE

We calculated an overall engagement score by combining 12 of the 18 individual measures. Four of the 18 items involve dating or marriage, which split the dataset by marital status and reduced the number of respondents for analysis. We used a command in Stata (alpha) to create a scale involving the remaining 14. Two of these, belief in God and emotional attachment to Israel, did not fit statistically with the others. This left 12 items for our overall engagement measure, with a Cronbach’s alpha equal to .88.

⁷⁴ One measure, belief in God, had three levels: no, not sure, yes. For this measure we used ordinal logistic regression.

Each respondent received a point for each positive response, resulting in an overall score ranging from 0 to 12. The measures are:

- » Someone in household lit Shabbat candles every week
- » Attended Shabbat meals many times in the past year
- » Hosted Shabbat meals many times in the past year
- » Attended religious services once a month or more in the past year
- » Paid dues to a synagogue
- » Most/almost all/all closest friends are Jewish
- » Feels part of a local Jewish community to a great extent
- » Volunteered for a Jewish organization in the past year
- » Assumed a leadership role in a Jewish organization in the past year
- » Donated to a Jewish organization in the past year
- » Participated in a Jewish class or learning group in the past year
- » Considers being Jewish to be very important

Observed differences in current Jewish engagement scores at different levels of Chabad participation might be a result of other influences on Jewish engagement. Accordingly, as we did for analyses on individual measures, our statistical analysis controlled for the following influences:

- » Chabad participation during college
- » Hillel participation during college
- » Number of Jewish undergraduates at the college attended
- » Age
- » Gender
- » Parents' background
- » Day school attendance
- » Jewish studies classes during college
- » Pre-college Chabad involvement

The results of our analyses can be seen in Figure 4.20.

TABLE B1: CHABAD ON CAMPUS CENTERS THAT PARTICIPATED IN THE STUDY

	LOCATION	TYPE OF SCHOOL	JEWISH UNDERGRADS
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY	AZ	PUBLIC	3,500
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY	NY	PRIVATE	3,000
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE	NH	PRIVATE	450
EMORY UNIVERSITY	GA	PRIVATE	2,100
HARVARD UNIVERSITY	MA	PRIVATE	1,675
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY	NY	PRIVATE	6,000
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY	IL	PRIVATE	1,400
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY	NJ	PRIVATE	650
SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY	CA	PUBLIC	1,200
TUFTS UNIVERSITY	MA	PRIVATE	1,250
TULANE UNIVERSITY	LA	PRIVATE	2,250
UNIVERSITY AT BUFFALO	NY	PUBLIC	2,000
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ	CA	PUBLIC	1,600
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO	IL	PRIVATE	800
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE	DE	PUBLIC	1,900
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA	FL	PUBLIC	5,000
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN	IL	PUBLIC	3,250
UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER	NY	PRIVATE	900
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	CA	PRIVATE	2,000
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON	WA	PUBLIC	2,000
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN – MADISON	WI	PUBLIC	4,200
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY	MO	PRIVATE	1,500

Note: Estimated undergraduate Jewish population from the Hillel.org website.

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