How Hard Is It to Be a Jew on College Campuses?

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Abstract

Despite the academic successes of Jewish students on college campuses in the United States, challenges remain, particularly in terms of social involvement and ability to practice religion, much like the challenges that face students who are members of other ethnic and religious minorities. In this paper we examine data from 1,087 Jewish students at eight elite colleges and universities in the United States. The greater the percentage of Jewish students on campus and, individually, the more Jewish students feel connected to other students, including Jewish friends, the more at ease they feel. Those more engaged in Jewish religious practices experience greater difficulty, especially if there are no kosher dining facilities on campus. Both the "invisible hand" of social structure and the practical matters of Jewish observance affect Jewish students' personal sense of ease.

Jews have had a long tradition of being a minority, and they have their own "folk" account of the effect of being a minority on the practice of their religion. Typical is the statement attributed to Rabbi Moshe Feinstein: "The downfall in observance of many Jewish families in America was the phrase, '*S'iz shver tzu zain a Yid*,'" Yiddish for "It's hard to be a Jew."[1] Feinstein rejected that saying, claiming that it should be a pleasure to be a Jew, but such a phrase

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seems to make sense in a context in which Jews are a minority. We are especially interested in the ways in which the size of the Jewish minority affects Jewish students' senses of how easy it is to practice Judaism on college campuses. Is the folk saying true, or is Rabbi Feinstein correct that being a religious Jew is a joy?

Going to college is an important rite of passage for American Jews, exemplified by the fact that 72% of non-Orthodox and 50% of Orthodox Jews under the age of 30 attend or have attended college.[2] It is a formative experience in both their general and their Jewish identities, and for many of them it is a key venue in which they experience being a member of a minority group. Judging from our analyses of Birthright Israel's registration over the years, the overwhelming majority of American Jews attend campuses away from their homes (this is not true in Canada) in an atmosphere close to that of a "total institution." Campus life is very different from the home lives of many of the students. At home, families exercise some choice over the social context in which students live, which often produces something of a Jewish life. In fact, Orthodox Jews are less likely to attend colleges away from home.[3] In residential colleges, the home ties are broken, and although students can create a Jewish environment within a college, the pressures of the overall social and cultural environment of the non-Jewish majority are greater than they would be at home.

Virtually universal Jewish college attendance in the United States has been accompanied by Jews' general acceptance into major elite colleges. But this is a relatively new phenomenon. Universities in the United States were founded as Christian institutions. Even though Hebrew was an important part of the curriculum at Harvard and Yale, for example, Jews were not welcome and Jewish presence was infrequent and marginal until the latter half of the 19th century (Kolko, 2003). Unlike Russia, which in the 19th century had imposed a quota on Jewish students, United States colleges did not impose limits on Jewish college attendance until the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 "sanctioned the actions of concerned academic authorities" (Wechsler, 1984:646). In between the two World Wars, however, many Jews, who were now second generation Americans, pushed to attend college. The pressure for admission was greatest near major Jewish population cen-

ters. The New York municipal colleges changed "from a predominantly Gentile to a largely Jewish clientele" (Wechsler, 1984:646). Elite colleges, covertly or openly, still limited Jewish admissions. "Harvard and Yale saw themselves as citadels of Anglo-Saxon culture beleaguered by the urban masses" (Synnott, 1979).

State universities were more limited in their legal ability to restrict Jews. For example, **"**During the 1920s and 1930s Rutgers University [then a private university] restricted the number of Jewish students it admitted (Greenberg and Zenchelsky, 1993:295). This occurred despite lawsuits and increased public control over the university. Relaxation of these policies awaited the formal change of Rutgers from a private institution with state support to a fully public state university, when in 1945 the New Jersey State Legislature designated it as the State University of New Jersey.

During the 1920s and 1930s Jews responded to discrimination on university campuses in part by filing lawsuits and complaints (both formal and informal). More importantly in this context, they also increased the number of Jewish fraternities and sororities and developed Jewish student-centers, such as the Hillel Foundation, as it was then called, founded in 1923 at the University of Illinois, Champaign (Rubin, 2003).

After World War II, "under the combined pressures of state laws and new practices by certain major institutions, most northern colleges and universities dropped from their application blanks questions as to nationality, race, and religion" (Synnott, 1979: 296). The pressures of the GI Bill and the perceived need of the United States to become a world leader in educating high-level talent contributed to this change. Today, the proportion of Jews at elite colleges has vastly increased over that of the pre–World War II period (as we will see from figures in this paper), despite the fact that college admission deans continue to desire a "balanced" freshman entering class and that applications at elite colleges are up to 20 times the number accepted (Dillon, 2007).

Given this history, it might be reasonable to assume that it was hard to be a Jew on college campuses in the first part of the 20th century, but that that should not be the case today. If so, given a lack of discrimination in admissions and a general lack of anti-Semitism on college campuses, not only should it be relatively

easy to be Jewish on college campuses, but the relative proportion of the campus that is Jewish should not make any difference. This paper investigates both these hypotheses.

If it was hard to be a Jew at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, when Jews began to mingle with the non-Jewish majority, is that still true for the majority of 21st century young Jews in America? Although not designed as explicit tests of whether the aphorism is actually true, the social-science literature is mixed in its assessment of how minority status affects religious involvement. Some argue that pluralism creates more competitive markets for religious involvement, which, in turn, yield greater religious participation (Finke, 1998; Finke and Iannaccone, 1993; Finke and Stark, 1988; Finke and Stark, 1989; Iannaccone, 1998; Montgomery, 2003). Pluralism is defined based on common usage as a society or community comprised of diverse ethnic, racial, religious and social groups. In a given geographic area, where many religions compete for adherents, leaders respond to this competition by trying harder to become more attractive to potential adherents, thus stimulating church membership and activity (Perl and Olson, 2000; Phillips, 1998). Minorities have to "try harder." In the context of university and college campuses, such arguments would suggest that the smaller the size of a religious group on campus, the more group-leaders must compete to maintain the interest and involvement of students who identify with this group. This should lead to greater involvement and religious participation among adherents of these religious minority groups. Thus, one would expect that Jewish students, as members of a religious and ethnic minority, would exhibit greater religious involvement on those campuses where they maintain a smaller market share. One would also expect that this might counteract the difficulty in practicing one's religion. On the other hand, others, also from a size-of-market perspective, argue the opposite. They claim that the larger the market share, the less socially isolated the group, and therefore the greater will be their religious commitment (Perl and Olson, 2000).

Recent analyses and reviews contradict the assertion that religious pluralism has any relation to religious involvement, positive or negative (Chaves and Gorski, 2001; Voas, Crockett and

Olson, 2002). Chaves and Gorski (2001) systematically reviewed 26 published quantitative analyses of the association between pluralism and religious participation. Taking into account methodological characteristics such as sample sizes, and uncontrolled numbers of tests per study (which affect the probability of finding a significant effect by chance), along with review of historical data such as from post–World War II Europe, these authors conclude that there is no consistent pattern of effects that would support the premise that pluralism is either positively or negatively associated with levels of religious involvement. This conclusion is bolstered by recent analyses by Voas, Crockett and Olson (2002) who demonstrated that the association between measures of pluralism and measures of religious participation was in large part a statistical artifact. They similarly conclude that there is little evidence that pluralism has any relationship to participation.

Keeping kosher or attending morning *minyan* [public prayer services] creates practical difficulties that would make it harder to practice one's religion. Clearly, there are also compensating mechanisms that can be developed, such as carving out one's own enclave, need we say ghetto, within the majority society and culture—a characteristic response of Haredi Jews—or developing a reverse if not perverse pride in being a member of the chosen few. Both of these responses have long characterized Jewish history. The question at hand is whether these compensating mechanisms still function among Jewish college students in contemporary America.

Method

Overview

In order to answer these questions, we drew data from Brandeis University's Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies' (CMJS) Survey of College Campuses, conducted in the spring of 2003.[4] The survey was designed to assess the social environment on campuses, with particular focus on religion, religious practices and attitudes. The survey was administered on 19 campuses and focused primarily on assessment of Jewish life. On all campuses,

samples of Jewish students were identified through local Hillel offices. The present analysis focuses on data from eight of the 19 campuses on which the Hillel samples were supplemented with random samples of all undergraduates. The inclusion of a random sample of all undergraduates both ensures that the responses are more representative and enables assessment of the campus climate among all students, Jewish and non-Jewish. These eight campuses also represent the range of secular campuses that Jewish students typically attend. Four of the eight campuses were estimated to have relatively high proportions of Jewish undergraduates (ranging from 20% to 30%) based on Hillel estimates, and four were estimated to have lower proportions of Jewish undergraduates (6–17%).

Sample

The sample consists of 1,087 Jewish undergraduates recruited either through the random sample of all undergraduates or through the Hillel mailing lists. The random sample was drawn by Genesys Sampling, which selected 1,000 names from the student directory.[5] We invited a random sample of 800 of these to participate in the survey. In addition to these random samples, Hillel offices had lists of students who had signed up to receive information about Hillel events and issues of interest. These lists were either in the form of general databases of people interested in Hillel or, in some cases, e-mail distribution lists managed by the Hillel office. Once a list was obtained and cleaned to remove non-undergraduates and duplicates with the Genesys sample, random samples of 250 names were drawn. All of these students were invited to participate in the survey by e-mail, which contained a unique URL for each student that linked the respondent to a web server housed at Brandeis University. Each student was offered an instantly redeemable $10 gift certificate to Amazon.com upon completion of the survey. Students could start the survey and return to finish at a later date using the URL provided. Non-respondents were sent up to three follow-up e-mails.

The overall response rate across the random sample and Hillel lists was 39% (AAPOR, response rate 3), with a range on different campuses from 30% to 49%. There were no significant differences

between response rates for the Hillel samples and those for the random samples ($F[1,13] = 1.48$, $p = .249$).

Data from the 2002–2003 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) maintained by the National Center for Education Statistics was used to examine institutional characteristics of the eight campuses involved in these analyses. All of the colleges in the sample are either four-year public (25%) or four-year private not-for-profit (75%) research universities.[6] Three of the campuses are located in the Mid-Eastern United States. Two are in the Great Lakes region, and one is located in each of the Plains, Southeast, and West regions. Nearly all of the campuses are located either in large or mid-sized cities or on the periphery of large cities. One is located in a large town. This is comparable to the national distribution of doctoral/research universities, which are predominantly located in large, mid-size and urban areas (just over 80%). Five of the campuses had undergraduate enrollments between 5,000 and 10,000. One had between 10,000 and 20,000, and two had more than 20,000 total undergraduates (full and part-time). Half of the campuses had undergraduate enrollments accounting for greater than 70% of total undergraduate and graduate student enrollment. Three of the campuses had between 50% and 70% undergraduates. One of the campuses had fewer than 50% undergraduates. All students completed an initial set of background questions that included current religious identification, religion in which they were raised and ethnic identity. At the end of the survey, students completed a background/upbringing section that included questions about the religious identification of their parents. If students responded that they or either of their parents are Jewish based on any of these questions, they were categorized as Jewish for purposes of the following analyses.

Analysis

Table 1 shows that the percentage of Jewish undergraduates on the eight campuses varies from 6.5% to 24.9%. There is clearly considerable variation in the minority status of Jews—enough to test whether being a larger or a smaller minority makes a difference. The percent of the campus that is Jewish was determined by the

Table 1
Percent of Jews on Eight College Campuses

Campus	Percent Jewish*
A	13.6
B	19.4
C	18.0
D	12.3
E	24.9
F	14.1
G	6.5
H	10.3

*Based on random sample

random sample of Jews (not including the Hillel lists) and non-Jews on campus, and differs to some extent from the estimates of Hillel staff members.

The primary dependent variable, ease being Jewish, was assessed with the following question: "How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your campus? . . . It is easy to be Jewish on this campus?" Note that this is basically the same as the folk aphorism, but reversed to be a positive statement. Five alternatives were offered, as shown in Table 2.

The large majority of Jewish students on these elite campuses believe that it is *easy* to be Jewish on their campuses, thus answer-

Table 2
"How much do you agree or disagree that it is easy to be Jewish on this campus?"

		Percent
1	Strongly Disagree	1.4
2	Slightly Disagree	5.6
3	Neither	9.0
4	Slightly Agree	26.3
5	Strongly Agree57.7	
Total Sample Size 1013		100.0

Chart 1
Ease of Being Jewish by Campus (Percent Very Easy to Be Jewish and Percent Jewish)
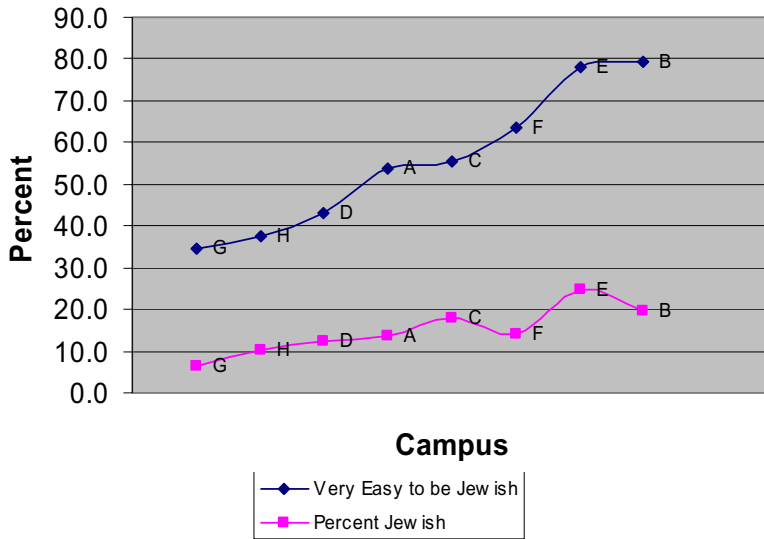
ing our first question. Nonetheless, even though the responses are skewed,[7] there is enough variance for us to be able to ask what accounts for the ease of being Jewish. The percent who strongly agree that it is easy to be Jewish on campus obviously varies by campus, as shown in Chart 1.

So, is there a negative impact of being in the minority? While the correlation between the percent of the campus that is Jewish and the percent of Jews on each campus who checked that it is very easy to be Jewish is .9, this correlation might well be caused by the ways in which different types of Jewish students are attracted to campuses with fewer or greater proportions of Jews. Students more comfortable with being Jewish might tend to go to campuses where there are more Jews, thus producing the observed association in Chart 1. Fortunately, there is a statistical procedure, Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM), that allows for the simultaneous consideration of the differences attributed to the individuals in a sample and differences attributable to the units or groups from which these individuals are drawn (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002).[8]

The percent of the campus that is Jewish is obviously an attribute of the campus itself, such as its location or endowment, and is not an attribute of individuals. The average percent of Jews who find it easy to be Jewish on campus is also an attribute of the campus, but it is of course influenced by the characteristics of the individual Jewish students on that campus, and Jewish students vary in terms of how easy they find it. So what we first do with the HLM procedure is to see whether, given the variance between individual Jews on a campus, the percent of the campus that is Jewish makes a statistically significant difference in the mean proportion of Jews who think it is easy to be Jewish on that campus. Table 3 shows first, in Model "0," that there is a significant variation between campuses, even when comparing only eight campuses, in the mean proportion of those who find it easy to be Jewish on campus. Of course, the individual variations of the sample members account for 91% of the variance, but the proportion accounted for by campuses, 9%, is still highly significant. The second model, model "1," introduces the percent of the campus that is Jewish (standardized with a mean of zero). This coefficient is also significant. The percent of the campus that is Jewish reduces the campus-level variance by 87%. Now only 1% of the variation at the campus level in ease of being Jewish remains, which implies that any other campus-level variable cannot be added to make a further significant difference. In short, the data from this study support the idea that the smaller the percentage of Jews on campus, the harder they believe it is to practice their religion.

Most of the overall variance was assigned to the individual characteristics of respondents, given the percent of the campus that is Jewish. How can we further account for why it is easy or difficult to be Jewish on these eight campuses? While there may be an effect for the overall percent of Jews on a campus, individuals construct their own interpersonal environment or social network. A respondent's Jewish social network was measured by responses to questions about friendship and dating patterns over the past school year. These included: (1) "How many of your closest friendships have been with people of your own religious/spiritual background?" (2) "How many of your closest friendships have been with people of your own ethnic background?" (3) "How many of the people

Table 3
Variance Components Ease of Being Jewish on Campus and Percent of the Campus that is Jewish

| | Coeff | SE | t | Variance Estimates | | Chi-Sq of Lev 2 Var | p-val | Prop. Lev 2 Var. of Total |
				Level 1 Between Individuals	Level 2 Between Campus			
Model 0								
Constant Only (Ease of Being Jewish)								
Var Components				**0.8252**	**0.08224**	**108.18**	**0.00**	**0.0906**
Model 1								
Campus Level								
% of the campus that is Jewish	4.59	0.84	5.46					
Var Components				**0.825**	**0.01108**	**15.72**	**0.015**	**0.0132**

you consider your closest friends are Jewish?" And (4) "Over the past year, have you dated only Jews/mostly Jews/Jews and non-Jews about equally/mostly non-Jews/only non-Jews?" The first three questions were rated on five-point scales (none/some/about half/most/all). The correlation between the responses to these four items was .78. They were combined to form a single social network index.

In addition to students' Jewish networks, there is also a question of whether Jewish students feel connected to the rest of the non-Jewish student body on the campus. A single item was used to measure this aspect of a student's social life—"How connected do you feel to the student body at your college/university?"—with the alternatives on a five point scale ranging from "not connected at all" to "very much connected."

Whatever the aggregate campus climate or atmosphere, at the individual level a respondent's *perception* of that climate may be important. The perception of the climate for religion on campus was assessed by combining two questions: (1) "Religion is insignificant in the life of this college/university" (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree), and (2) "To what extent does religious involvement characterize the overall social climate on campus?" (1=not at all, 4=very much). These two questions were scaled such that higher values meant a more positive religious climate on campus, and they were combined to form a single index of religious climate. A second index, one of perception of campus tolerance of minorities, was created by combining two items: "To what extent does each of the following characterize the overall social climate on campus? . . . (1) intimidation of minority groups and (2) tensions between different religious or racial groups" (1 = not at all, 4 = very much). These two items were reverse scored and combined such that higher values indicated a campus climate of greater tolerance.

Finally, one expects that how "Jewish" a respondent is should affect the ease of being Jewish, though one can imagine this as acting in two different directions: the more observant ("*frum*") one is, the *harder* it is to be Jewish, but the more identified one is with being Jewish in the abstract ("proud to be Jewish"), the easier it might be. A scale of Jewish social identity (the strength of identifying as

Jewish) was based on responses to questions in the "What Being Jewish Means to You" section of the survey. These questions included: (1) "How important is it to you to be Jewish?" (1 = not at all, 5 = very); (2) "How proud are you to be Jewish?" (1 = not at all, 5 = very); and (3) "How connected do you feel to the Jewish people?" (1 = not at all, 5 = very). The correlation between the responses to these three measures was .901. They were combined to form a single index, with lower values indicating a weaker identification as Jewish and higher values indicating stronger identification.

A scale of engagement in Jewish practices was created that included eight separate items: participate in lighting Hanukah candles (78%); fast at least partly on Yom Kippur (69%); attend or hold a Seder (69%); attend services more than just on the High Holidays (46%); engage in some Jewish study (41%); keep at least partly kosher on campus (29%); light Shabbat candles at least sometimes while at school (17%); abstain from handling money on Shabbat (6%). These, when added, formed a Guttman scale with a Loevenger H coefficient of .642, considered adequate, and a Cronbach's alpha of .80.[9]

There were also three individual question items: One involved the respondent's "knowledge of Hebrew" (on a five point scale). The second asked if the student's "whole approach to life is based on . . . religion?" (on a five point scale). The third asked about *tikkun olam*: "How important to you personally in your life is making the world a better place?" (on a four point scale).

Measuring whether respondents keep kosher is very important for determining the difficulty of being Jewish on campus, since it imposes a very specific burden. But the extent of this burden depends on two factors: whether or not one lives on campus, and whether or not the campus has full kosher dining services. The former is an attribute of individuals, and differs from the simple measure of keeping kosher that was part of the Jewish practices index. (Including both does *not* create a tolerance problem in the regression.) The latter is a campus-level variable. It is handled as an interaction term between the campus-level and the individual-level attributes of keeping kosher and living on campus.

Table 4 explores these individual-level variables in a two-level regression table. All predictor variables have been centered at the

mean for all campuses. In addition, there is an interaction term between a campus-level variable—kosher dining facilities—and keeping kosher while living on campus.

Introducing the individual-level variances in Model 2 further reduces the campus-level variance in ease of being Jewish to very little, although the variance is marginally significant at .05.

The social factors are all positive. Even given the percent of the campus that is Jewish, the more one has a personal network of Jewish friends, the easier it is to be Jewish. Similarly the more one feels connected to the student body, the easier it is to be Jewish, even given the percent of the campus that is Jewish. This reinforces the view that being in a majority helps—in this case the "majority" is a constructed social circle. The coefficient for the network of Jewish friends helps explain these findings: it is .13 (rounded to two places). The coefficient for ease of being Jewish, considering the campus proportion of Jews, is 3.02 or just about 3—i.e., neither agree nor disagree that it is easy to be Jewish on campus. The scale for Jewish friends runs from 1 to 5 with the mean about 3. If a person scored at the highest level, 5, they would be 2 units above the mean, which would translate into 2 times .13 or .26. Thus their score for ease of being Jewish would be 2.9 + .26 or 3.16, if all the other predictive scores were at their mean and for the mean level of percent of the campus that is Jewish. In addition. the individual's perceptions of a tolerant and supportive climate for religion on campus added to the ease of being Jewish.

Religious factors are more complex, as might be expected. What some people have derided as "cardiac Judaism," or Judaism of the heart, is a positive factor in the ease of being Jewish. Consistent with theories that express the positive aspects of identification, Jewish identity and the desire for *tikkun olam* have strong positive coefficients. On the other hand, indicators of religiousness that involve more active commitment—engagement in Jewish practices or *mizvot*, knowledge of Hebrew and basing one's whole life on religion—make it harder to be Jewish on campus, as the folk aphorism might suggest. In addition to simply keeping kosher, doing so while living on campus is an additional negative factor.

However, if there are full kosher dining facilities on campus then the kosher issue is rather straightforward. Under such cir-

Table 4, Part 1
Variance Components Ease of Being Jewish on Campus and Percent Jews, with Individual Level Predictors

| | Variance Estimates | | | | |
| | Level 1 | Level 2 | | | |
	Between Individuals	Between Campuses	Chi-Sq of Lev 2 Var	p-val	Prop Lev 2 Var of Total
Model 2					
Var Components	0.7342	0.0075	12.5614	0.050	0.0101

cumstances, not only is keeping kosher not a negative, but it is a very strong positive. Over and above the social network variable, perhaps eating at the campus's kosher facilities promotes a sense of a Jewish community on campus and thus makes it considerably easier to be Jewish.

Discussion

In some respects the news is good. By and large, Jewish students at the eight elite campuses we studied find it easy to be Jewish on their campuses. Nonetheless, being a member of a minority has its costs. The smaller the proportion of Jews on campus, the harder Jewish students find it to be Jewish. This finding supports the literature that suggests that being in a minority is disadvantageous to the practice of one's religion. Further support for this position is that to the extent that Jewish students manage to create their own Jewish interpersonal environment while nonetheless feeling connected to other students on campus, they find it easier to be Jewish, even given the overall percentage of the campus that is Jewish.

Individual social-psychological factors also make a contribution. To the extent that Jewish students positively identify with being Jewish and support the general value of making the world a better place, they find it easier to be Jewish. But the popular wisdom of "It's hard to be a Jew" is also true if being a Jew means looking at one's whole life through the lens of Judaism, observing

Table 4, Part 2

	Coeff	SE	DF	t	p
Intercept (Ease of Being Jewish)	4.299	0.045	6	94.850	.000
Campus Level					
% of Campus That Is Jewish	3.016	0.756	6	3.939	.010
Individual Level					
Social Factors					
Jewish Social Network	0.125	0.036	955	3.425	.001
Feel Connected to Student Body	0.094	0.028	955	3.421	.001
Perception of Campus Atmosphere					
View Campus Climate as Tolerant of Minorities	0.211	0.044	955	4.809	.000
View Campus Climate as Supportive of Religion	0.158	0.040	955	3.962	.000
Religious Factors					
Engagement in Jewish Religious Practices	−0.060	0.021	955	−2.862	.005
Live on Campus and Keep Kosher	−0.338	0.131	955	−2.690	.008
Know Hebrew	−0.072	0.028	955	−2.600	.010
Whole Approach to Life Based on Religion	−0.079	0.029	955	−2.691	.008
Importance of Jewish Identity	0.125	0.037	955	3.425	.001
Importance of Making the World a Better Place	0.119	0.039	955	3.056	.003
Campus X Individual					
Live on Campus and Keep Kosher X Whether Campus Has Full Kosher Dining Services	0.403	0.150	955	2.690	.005

53

many *mitzvot*, studying Torah, and trying to keep kosher while living on campus. More than their less actively Jewish peers, those who took part in these activities reported that it is hard to be Jewish. From a practical point of view, however, if a campus provides kosher dining facilities for the Jews who live on campus and who keep kosher, this alters the story and reduces the deficit incurred by actively trying to be Jewish. We suspect that there is more involved than mere convenience, since a kosher dining center can become the central spoke in a wheel of Jewish socializing and mutually positive reinforcement.

Noteworthy are things that did *not* affect reported ease of being Jewish: the perception that the campus is pro-Palestinian, or activity in a Jewish students' organization such as Hillel. Neither a sense of animosity as a negative, nor organizational activity as a positive, affected what may be a deeply held emotional orientation.

There are, of course, important limitations to this study. First, although there are about 1,000 respondents in the study, there are only eight campuses, allowing for a minimal exploration of the effect of campus attributes other than percent of the campus that is Jewish. Other attributes of campuses, such as campus-level support for religion or campus-level activities that promote tolerance, could not be explored. Although there were 19 campuses in the overall study, there were only eight that also had non-Jewish random samples, thus allowing for a *statistical* estimate of the proportion of the campus that is Jewish. Hillel offers its own estimate for each campus, but these estimates, while not unreasonable, are imprecise and not adequately reliable. Further, only these eight campuses had a *random* sample of Jews to augment the respondents drawn from Hillel lists. The latter tend to be more "Jewish," and this reduction in the variance of measures of Jewishness makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the extent to which Jewishness affects how easy students find it to be Jewish. Finally, while the eight campuses represent a reasonable cross section of elite research universities, they are not representative of United States colleges in general. The findings of this study can be safely generalized to elite colleges, which are likely to be important sources of future Jewish leadership. However, it is not clear that the findings can be applied to other American campuses.

We still have a considerable distance to go in understanding how the college context affects American Jewish students, and therefore how college might affect the future of the American Jewish community.

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Notes

1. From *Reb Moshe: The life and ideals of Hagaon Rabbi Moshe Feinstein*, Finkelman, S., and Scherman, N. (1986). This was also the title of a well-known play attributed to the great Yiddish writer, Shalom Aleichem. Although attributed to him, the play was not actually written by Shalom Aleichem and was loosely based on his 1912 novel, *The*

Bloody Hoax. (cited by Tal Cohen (http://www.forum2.org/tal/books/bloody.html)

2. NJPS 2000/01 analysis conducted by first author.

3. Analysis of bri data conducted by the first author.

4. For a report on the study as well as methodological details see Saxe and Sales, 2006.

5. The student directory is the equivalent of a campus white pages telephone book, with minimal information including students' names, undergraduate statuses, campus telephone numbers and e-mails.

6. Classified as "doctoral-research universities, extensive" based on Carnegie classification codes for the year 2003 (http://www.carnegie foundation.org/classifications/, viewed May 2, 2008).

7. While the distribution appears skewed, "A common rule-of-thumb test for normality is to run descriptive statistics to get skewness and kurtosis, then divide these by the standard errors. Skew should be within the +2 to –2 range when the data are normally distributed. . . . Kurtosis also should be within the +2 to –2 range" (Garson, 2007b). Skewness here is –1.49 and kurtosis 1.62.

8. The program used was HLM 6 Hierarchical Linear and Nonlinear Modeling (Raudenbush, 2000).

9. "Mokken scales are similar to Guttman scales but they are probabilistic whereas Guttman scales are deterministic. That is, in Mokken scales a respondent answering an item positively will have a significantly greater *probability* than null to answer a less difficult item in a positive way as well, whereas in perfect Guttman scales answering an item positively means the respondent *will* answer all less difficult items positively also. . . . Loevinger's H is based on the ratio of observed Guttman errors to total errors expected under the null assumption that items are totally unrelated. . . . The arbitrary but customary criterion for validating a set of items as a Mokken scale is that H and all Hi must be .30. A rule of thumb is to speak of a 'strong scale' for values exceeding 0.50, a 'moderate scale' for values from .40 to .50, and a 'weak scale' for values from .30 to .40. . . . H is a better approximation to the classical reliability coefficient rho than Cronbach's alpha, which has been widely used to measure the internal consistency of a scale. Specifically, alpha strongly underestimates rho when there is large variation in item difficulties" (Garson, 2007a).