HILLEL AND UNIVERSITY RELATIONSHIPS

By

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Abstract

Why are some Hillel staff full employees of the university, while others can't even work out in the campus gym? Why would a small Christian-affiliated liberal arts school seriously invest in Jewish life on its campus and actively recruit Jewish applicants? Can a parent who donates generously to her alma mater increase the likelihood of her child being accepted? And why should a Hillel care? This thesis explains the varied professional and organizational relationships between Hillels and their associated universities. I conducted interviews with 11 Hillel directors and 4 university professionals from diverse campuses across the United States and disseminated a survey to all Hillel directors across the United States. 49 directors, representing campuses with an estimated total of more than 100,000 Jewish students, shared insights into the nature of structural and operational interdependence of their Hillel and university, along with information about relationships with key university stakeholders. Based on these data, I identified trends in recruiting, fundraising, and decision-making. The most important factors were the size of the Jewish student population and whether the university was public or private. I identified a trend of "niche" recruiting of Jewish applicants by universities with historically less-developed Jewish populations. This positions Hillel as a stronger partner in advancing the university's goals on these campuses. Of all the important stakeholders, for Hillels seeking to quickly improve an aspect of their arrangement with their host university, directors should invest time in developing relationships with the Chief Development Officer and a major donor to the university or board member. The thesis examines the donor behavior and psychology that makes university recognition of Hillel gifts a powerful donor stewardship tool, and it concludes with questions Hillel and university professionals might consider as they seek to understand and improve their organizational and professional relationships with one another.

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Introduction

The inspiration for this research came from my own professional experience fundraising for a Hillel that was faced with a serious donor relations problem. While the Hillel was in the middle of an ambitious capital campaign to fund a new building, the university development office agreed to recognize donors' gifts to the Hillel as though they were also made to the university. The agreement encouraged supporters to give generously. The university development office believed the agreement was only a temporary arrangement for the initial year of the capital campaign, but donors extended many of these gifts into multi-year pledges. Major donors discovered that their pledge payments in subsequent years were not counted towards their annual giving to the university and were annoyed to lose the preferential treatment usually extended to major university donors. The Hillel was caught between upset donors and a defensive university development office and sought in vain to restore the old agreement with the university. Meanwhile, some relationships with upset donors floundered. The Hillel had no choice but to share the disappointing news with individual donors as they inquired about university gift recognition. This story illustrates the importance of a functional relationship between a university and its associated Hillel. No donor ever shared that the miscommunication affected their decision to support either institution, however it certainly reflected poorly on both.

The majority of Jewish adults in America today are college graduates (Pew Research Center, 2013). Hillel meets Jewish students at this unique period of personal and academic exploration and offers them the opportunity to engage just as deeply in who they are as Jews. Hillel encourages students to be responsible for their own Judaism, perhaps for the first time in the student's life. The mission of Hillel is “to enrich the lives of Jewish students so they may enrich the Jewish people and the world” (Hillel Mission Statement, 2014). Serving more than

550 colleges and universities around the world, Hillel is uniquely positioned to carry out this broad and ambitious mandate.

Colleges and universities, too, play a crucial role in the lives of young adults. College students often form social bonds that last far beyond graduation. Higher education better prepares students to participate in civil society and the democratic process, and higher education strongly correlates to higher lifetime income (Baum, Ma, and Payea 2013). UCLA's mission statement, which is representative of many schools', concludes with a goal "to serve society through both teaching and scholarship, to educate successive generations of leaders, and to pass on to students a renewable set of skills and commitment to social engagement" (UCLA homepage 2014). The missions of Hillel and universities overlap significantly, and yet, the two do not always form optimal, mutually beneficial partnerships.

I conducted this research under two assumptions. First, a Hillel presence adds to the diversity, resources, and robustness of campus life, and therefore university administrators act in the interest of their university by welcoming Hillel onto their campuses. Second, while acknowledging a power dynamic that skews in favor of the university host, a mutual interdependence between Hillels and universities can be helpful in fulfilling their respective missions. Starting with these assumptions, this study will investigate the following questions:

1. Taking into account geographic difference, school size, Jewish student population, whether the school is public or private, and other factors, how do Hillel-university relationships differ? Do distinct models emerge?

2. What do both institutions stand to gain from a relationship with the other? What are some potential liabilities of the relationship? Especially with respect to donors, what are the potential opportunities and threats created by partnership?

3. What kinds of steps have individual Hillels and universities taken to change their relationship over time? How did these changes occur?

Methodology

I approached answering these questions in two stages. First I wanted to conduct interviews with Hillel executive directors from a manageable sampling of colleges and universities across the United States. I reached out to vice presidents at Hillel's international headquarters, the Schusterman International Center (SIC) in Washington D.C., to recommend a representative sampling of local Hillels that took factors like geography, campus size, Jewish population size, public/private charter, and unique funding arrangements into account. I also relied on the SIC to act as a liaison to the individual Hillel executive directors. I interviewed 11 Hillel directors from across the country, and four university professionals from some of the same campuses. Interviews lasted between half an hour to over an hour. I tried to get to the heart of each organization's role in a particular relationship, the specifics of how it functioned, observed benefits and liabilities, and hopes for the future.

Based on the information I gathered during these 15 interviews, I designed a survey that streamlined the most common and important elements of these conversations. On the survey, I also asked a few open-ended questions that would give the directors the freedom to raise new issues that had not come up during interviews. I was particularly surprised by the data I collected by asking Hillel directors to analyze the relationships that contributed to both a recent success story and a persisting challenge.

I asked the Schusterman International Center to distribute the survey on its internal listserv to over 300 Hillel directors across the United States. Over two months, 49 directors

responded. Based on the insights shared during the 15 interviews and these 49 survey responses, I reached the conclusions in this report.

Understanding Hillel and University Donors

Before examining the results of my interviews and survey, I would like to explain the financial reality in which both Hillels and universities operate. Both institutions are heavily dependent on individual donors for their continued operation. The donor base of both institutions tends to encompass a similar group of parents and alumni (Rosen and Sales, 2006). This raises several important questions: to what extent does a Hillel compete with the associated university (or universities) for individual support? What opportunities for coordination and collaboration between the entities are available, if any? What kind of institutional relationship do donors want between the universities and Hillels that they support? The results of this research did not conclusively answer all of these questions, although many of the professionals I interviewed speculated about donor preferences and the potential danger of fundraising competition.

Universities routinely draw multi-million dollar "mega-gifts" from these donors, while Hillels seldom do, in part because university projects are generally on a much larger scale (Tobin and Weinberg, 2007). As religious life on college campuses across the country experiences a renaissance after a steady decline between the sixties and the early nineties (Schmalzbauer, 2013), Hillel is becoming an increasingly compelling cause for philanthropic support. Despite this, Hillels have been largely unable to tap into the kinds of multi-million dollar "mega-gifts" that typify philanthropy to higher education.

Recent research has also painted a clearer picture of the donors who might give to both a Hillel and university. A recent survey of American Jewish giving patterns found that about 40% of the American Jews who give to educational causes do so exclusively to non-Jewish educational institutions, like universities. The remaining 60% reported that at least some of their educational charitable giving went to Jewish organizations (Cohen, Gerstein, & Landres, 2013). This survey would be even more useful if it asked specifically about giving to any Hillel, but both respondents and interpreters of the data are left to decide whether Hillel falls into a broader category of education, religious organization, or youth programming.

Analysis of the #NextGenDonors Jewish giving survey attempts to project giving patterns of donors into the future by examining the attitudes of donors younger than 50 (Johnson Center, 2013). It is problematic because the same questions were not posed to older donors as a control group, nor were they posed several decades ago to distinguish if donor preferences are determined by life stage, as opposed to a substantive generational difference. As an illustration of this, might younger donors' giving behavior change when they have a teenager who they would like to attend their alma mater? Even with these reservations, the #NextGenDonors Jewish giving survey does provide some insight into broad trends in generational giving. In general, younger donors are not content mailing a check and waiting to read their name in the annual report. Instead, they want to give of their talent and time, not just their treasure (Charendoff and Solomon, 2006). Additionally, younger donors reported that recognition is one of the least important factors that drive their giving (Johnson Center, 2013). University giving may be an exception to this trend because of the strong imagined *quid pro quo* benefit of aiding a child's admissions prospects, which is unique among philanthropic causes. Even if the data describe an accurate generational trend of deemphasizing gift recognition, Ehrenberg and Smith

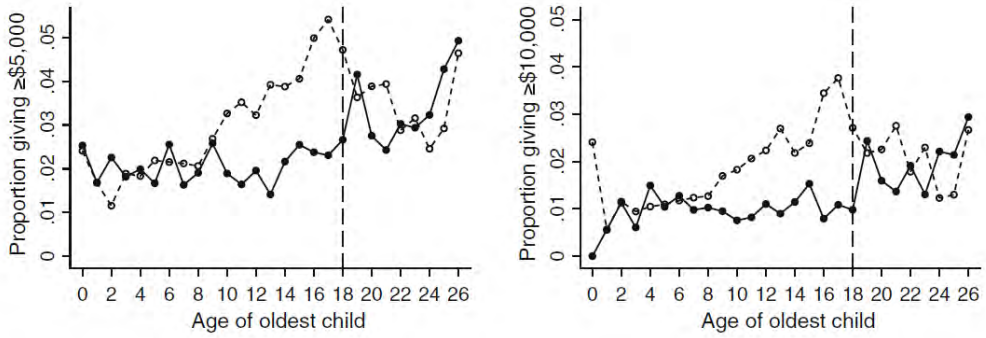
(2001) caution against thinking about university donors as a monolithic group; considerable variation makes it difficult to generalize about overall giving trends.

On the topic of gift recognition, opinion among Hillel directors and university professionals is divided. Many Hillels find themselves in the position of trying to convince university professionals to extend recognition for gifts made to Hillel. One of the arguments Hillel directors use is that parents and alumni (who comprise a significant portion of most Hillels' donor communities) believe that their gifts to the university help their children gain admission. As one West Coast Hillel director articulated, "When you are an alum, when you establish a record of giving generously, it helps your kid get in....you get invited to a lot of important events. You get to sit next to the president." A university professional working for the same university categorically dismissed such claims when I raised them during our interview. "You cannot buy your way into [the university]. I'm sure of that." When I pressed whether there was absolutely no coordination between the advancement and admissions offices, the professional shared, "When somebody shows a connection to the university, that might come up. Someone might send a note saying, 'This is somebody that was very supportive of the university.' I don't think it's a factor of any significance…" A Hillel director's decision to pursue a university policy of recognition of Hillel gifts depends in large part on whether parents and alumni want their gifts to be noticed by the university. Is this the case?

Can Donations Open a University's Doors?

It turns out that whether or not it is possible for a person to "buy their way in" to elite universities, alumni donors believe it is, and it is therefore a significantly influential variable in Hillel fundraising efforts. In an ingenious "quasi-experimental analysis," Butcher, Kearns and

McEwan (2013) convincingly demonstrate that alumnae made major gifts to Wellesley to help their children gain admission. Since Wellesley is an all-women's college, the study separated altruistic giving from self-motivated giving by dividing its alumnae donors into two groups. The first group consisted of alumnae whose oldest child was male, represented by the solid black line in Figure 1 below. The second group were alumnae whose oldest child was female, represented by the dotted line. Both graphs for the highest annual giving categories show alumnae with oldest daughters increasing their giving during their daughters' teen years, as the teens began to assess their college options, then a sharp drop when the daughters entered college. In comparison, the alumnae with an oldest son maintained a relatively constant giving level during this same period.



Proportion of alumnae who gave, by age and gender of oldest child. *Notes* the sample includes all alumnae whose oldest child was 0–26 years old between 1999 and 2009. The *dotted line* indicates alumnae whose oldest child is female, and the *solid line* males

Figure 1

While this study was limited to the alumnae families of Wellesley, it seems plausible that alumni of other schools would behave similarly. This study demonstrates that parents do indeed care that their donations are counted towards university giving totals. Hillels are wise to seek policies of gift acknowledgment from their host university. However, the study does not address worries from university development offices that such a policy might poach gifts that would

normally be given directly to the university. A professional representing a university's President's Office defended his university's position:

> From the university's perspective….there's a concern that donations to other organizations or other causes will diminish the participation in direct [university] donations and philanthropy. I don't know whether that's true or not, because the counterargument to that was that if people engage in something that they care about, and things are going well at [the university]...they'll be more likely to donate to other things at [the university]. I can see that side of it also. But I think there's a whole number of groups...to be consistent, it was important that any outside nonprofit needs to be counted separately.

This professional began to speculate about donor motivation for giving to either institution. Settling this question would be a fascinating topic of future research about donor preferences and behavior.

Organizational Behavior Theories

The treatment of donors is a major factor that determines the overall relationship between Hillels and their host universities, but other factors are influential too. Each of these factors will be explored in greater depth as part of a discussion of interview and survey data. It is helpful first to understand the broad organizational behavior theories that are used to describe organizations in relationship. The biggest aspects that distinguish each of the theoretical frameworks are the power dynamic, trust between the organizations, the role of organizational mission, and the process for organizational change over time. Applied to the summary of data collected by my survey, several organizational behavior theories are useful in classifying Hillel-university relationships.

Principal-Agent

Principal-Agency theory is applied to understand situations in which one (principal) organization relies on another (agent) to achieve a defined goal. Jensen and Meckling (1976) argued that problems can arise because the principal usually has to delegate some authority for making decisions to the agent, whose own agenda may not be perfectly aligned with the principal. In the context of university-Hillel relationships, according to Principal-Agency theory, the university is a principal that enters into an agreement with Hillel, its employed agent, for the purpose of enriching Jewish life on its campus. There are a variety of strategies for designing contracts and compensation that align institutional agendas, but the strict Principal-Agent dynamic held together only by an employment contract falls short in describing collegial relationships of mutual benefit, like those described by many of the Hillel directors and university professionals I interviewed.

In recent news, Wellesley College made a move toward a Principal-Agent relationship by firing the Hillel director and announcing that it intended to hire its own rabbi to manage Jewish life on campus (Nussbaum Cohen, 2014). Before being fired, the Hillel rabbi was technically an employee of the Hillel Council of New England, but the college provided funds for her salary. This personnel decision attracted the attention of the Haaretz newspaper because it happened to coincide with particularly vitriolic student activity around the Israel-Palestine conflict, but the real issue of the decision to fire the Hillel rabbi is about greater control over what the college perceives to be its hired agent in running Jewish life on campus. The weakness of a principal-agent relationship is that the principal always sets the agenda, and resources that an agent may have provided willingly in a less tightly controlled relationship may be off the table. For example, one private school Dean of Religious Life shared in an interview that he appreciated

having the support of Hillel's International Center, with its board of governors, its international network, and a strong capacity to lead on campus. Resources like these cannot be brought to bear as easily at Wellesley if the college proceeds in hiring an independent rabbi internally, as they have announced.

Stewardship

As an alternative to the strict Principal-Agent model, Caers, Du Bois, Jegers, De Gieter, Schepers and Pepermans (2006) place organizational relationships on a spectrum that spans from the transactional Principal-Agent theory to what they call Stewardship Theory, which supposes that the two organizations enter a relationship with largely previously congruent interests. In the case of Wellesley, the university's need to eliminate staff redundancy and perhaps tighten control over the programmatic decisions around Jewish life on campus made such a stewardship model organizational relationship impossible.

However, in the case of the University of Southern California, which is profiled in depth later in this thesis, both the university and the Hillel have a shared goal of increasing the Jewish student body. Both have an interest in engaging major donors to support Jewish life. Both want to makeover the anti-Semitic reputation USC earned over many decades and transform it into a destination for Jewish students (Brand, 2003). Since there is so much shared interest between the organizations, elaborate contracts or formal employment give way for collegial relationships built on trust. In fact, when I asked Hillel Executive Director Bailey London if a request of hers to the university had ever been rebuffed, she replied that she understood and respected the boundaries of the relationship so she never considered asking for something she knew would be problematic for the university.

Mimetic and Coercive Isomorphism

Stewardship theory begins to get at an ideal description of a relationship that benefits Jewish life on campus, however it ignores the fact that both organizations exist in an ecosystem of universities and nonprofits, each adapting to changing circumstances. Broadening the scope of how relationships change over time, DiMaggio and Powell's theory (1983) of mimetic and coercive isomorphism becomes useful. A Hillel's mimetic isomorphism means that independent Hillels observe and adopt innovations demonstrated by analogous peer organizations. A necessary precondition for this kind of organizational change is an environment in which specific goals are ambiguous and strategies for accomplishing them are uncertain. Hillel's institutional goals have been set in such subjective terms as 'meaningful Jewish experiences' and 'Jewish identity.' Levisohn (2013) correctly argued that Jewish organizations increasingly use the term 'Jewish identity' as a catch-all for inchoate Jewish education objectives. If Hillel's goals (and strategies for achieving them) were clear, there would be less incentive to look to its peers. However, since goals lack clear definition and measurement, Hillels are left to emulate any available functional example of an analogous student groups like Hillels at other campuses, Chabad, student clubs, and religious groups run through the university.

In addition to emulating available examples, Hillels' agenda and institutional relationships can also be dictated by coercive isomorphism. This means that other agencies set norms and standards for the field, to which Hillel, as an organization dependent in some way, must conform. It is clear that Hillel is dependent in many ways in its relationship with its host university. Without the university, there would be no concentration of Jewish young adults. University budgets, and the fundraising that enables them, dwarf the comparatively miniscule Hillel budgets and development efforts. This creates an inherently unequal power dynamic that

can force Hillels to compromise. As an example from my own professional experience, a university denied academic credit to a Hillel course that prepared students for an educational trip to Eastern Europe because the trip itself was only open to Jewish students. The philanthropic foundation that funded the trip insisted as a condition for the grant that only Jewish students participate. The university department head was unwilling to provide accreditation for a course that prepared only Jewish students for the trip, and so the application for course credit was eventually denied. By leveraging its authority in allotting academic credit, the university unsuccessfully attempted to influence the individual Hillel's program.

In addition to punitive measures, universities also use incentives to influence Hillel policy. For example, Miami University recently awarded its Hillel "Organization of the Year" (American Israelite 2013). By designating exemplars for partnering organizations, the university encourages the kind of behavior it hopes to see in organizations like Hillel. In cases where collaboration comes with conditions, Hillels must evaluate whether the changes constitute an unacceptable deviation from their mission. It is this dynamic of dependency, emulation, and coercion that colors the relationship between Hillels and their associated universities.

Organizational Behavior in the Hillel-University Context

The survey asked respondents to describe the relationship between the two entities. The results are varied but can be grouped broadly into categories of structure and operations. To aid in conceptualizing different relationship models that emerged, I designed a spectrum with two axes as illustrated in Figure 2.1. The vertical y-axis represents the structural interdependence of the two organizations, and the horizontal x-axis represents their interdependence in operations and activities. Factors I considered along the structural interdependence axis were:

1. The physical space Hillel uses. Who provides the space? Is it rented or owned? Is it permanent, temporary, or provided on a case-by-case basis? Is it located on or off campus? Is the Hillel even allowed on campus? Is it a shared space or designated exclusively for Hillel?
2. The staffing structure. Who pays Hillel staff? Do they enjoy any benefits normally extended to university employees? Do employees of either organization supervise employees from the other?
3. The organizational classification. Is the Hillel a separate 501(c)(3) tax-exempt nonprofit? Is it a department of the university? Is it an affiliate organization through a university office?
4. The budget and the endowment. Who manages Hillel's financial assets? How are funds disbursed?

As a snapshot of organizational structure, 42 of the 46 Hillel directors who responded to this question on the survey said their Hillel was a separate 501(c)(3). The remaining four said Hillel was a university organization, meaning Hillel staff are employees of the university. Of those, one said "the university pays for the Hillel." About half of the Hillels additionally act as an affiliate of the university through an office, like the Office of Religious Life.

Factors I considered for the operations axis were:

1. Program. What are the goals of the university for Jewish life on campus? To what extent do staff from both organizations collaborate around Jewish holidays and educational and cultural programs? Does the university schedule around the Jewish calendar? Does the university provide any sort of kosher dining option? Is there a Jewish Studies program?

2. Fundraising. Is there communication between development professionals about shared fundraising goals? Do they strategize together about particular donors or do joint asks? Does the university acknowledge gifts made to Hillel as though they were to the university? Does the university simply fundraise for the Hillel? To what extent does the university perceive Hillel's fundraising as a threat or competition for certain donors? Does the university see or use Hillel as a resource for cultivating and stewarding Jewish donors? Does the Hillel manage any Jewish alumni activity?
3. Recruitment. Does the university prioritize recruiting Jewish applicants? Does the Hillel make an effort to recruit Jewish applicants? Is there any communication around shared recruitment goals?

As I analyzed the various combination of responses along these two axes, four quadrants emerged. Figure 2.1 depicts the four quadrants.

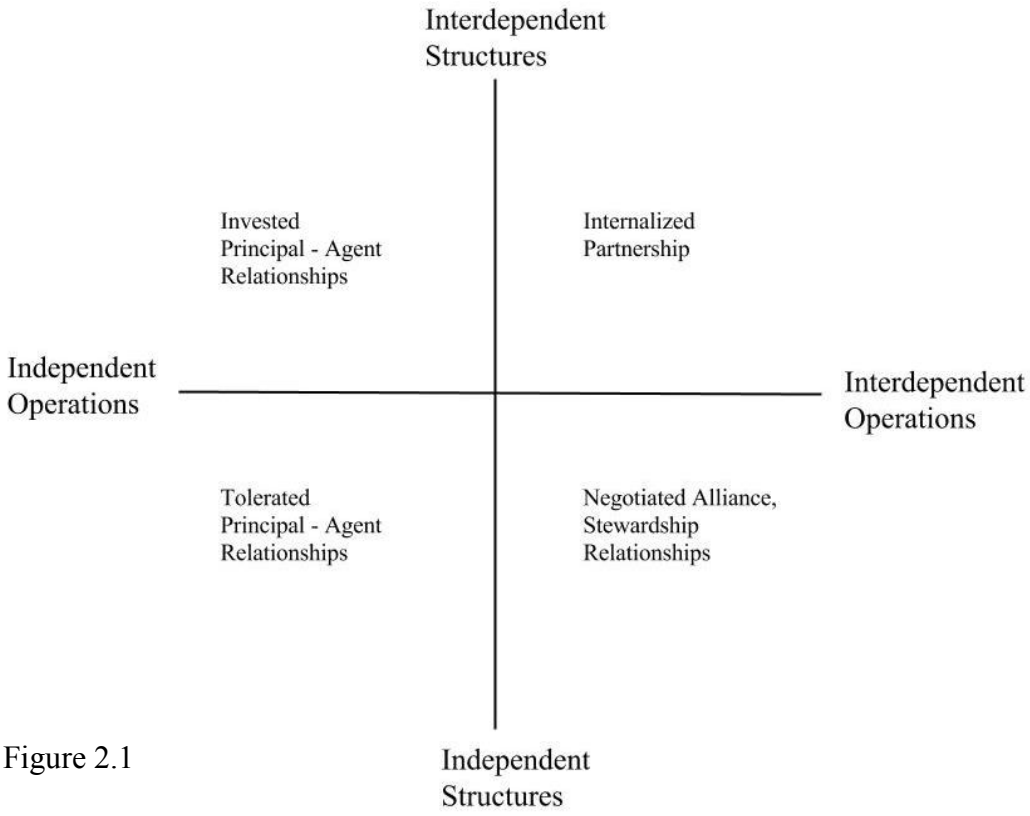


Figure 2.1

In the independent structure, independent operations quadrant, organizational relationship models were consistent with models of Principal - Agent Theory. I call it a "tolerated principal - agent" relationship because there are no strong structural bonds or concerted collaboration efforts between the agencies, yet there is an identifiable relationship with a power dynamic characterized by the university merely allowing the Hillel to work with students. A danger of this kind of relationship is that a university may see the Hillel as irrelevant, a nuisance, or even a threat. One of the Hillel directors I interviewed shared a story of such a descent into a temporary organizational distancing after an unrelated nonprofit exposed the university to legal liability. As a result, the university adopted a blanket policy of non-affiliation for outside nonprofits. In less extreme cases of tolerated principal - agent relationships, though limited collaboration means fewer possibilities for program choices, the absence of consensus means that both organizations can make decisions quickly.

I call the interdependent structure, but independent operations quadrant "invested principal - agent" relationships. The university considers Hillel more as an integrated entity due to any variety of structural arrangements. These cause the university to be invested in its success. Perhaps the university provides and manages a building for the Hillel but deliberately distances itself for purposes of fundraising. In this quadrant, there is comparatively less coordination around recruitment, development, and Jewish programming on campus.

In the independent structure, interdependent operations quadrant, I characterize these Hillels as "negotiated alliances" or "stewardship" relationships. Despite being a separate entity from the university, these Hillels manage to collaborate effectively and frequently around shared goals.

Finally, in the interdependent structure, interdependent operations quadrant, we find Hillels at universities, most of which are private, that have integrated into the structure of the university and effectively collaborate. Four of the responding Hillel directors said their Hillel was a department of the university. Depending on the collaboration efforts of integrated Hillels like these, they might be considered an "internalized partnership." In these internalized partnerships, program goals are aligned and resources are shared. Decision making often defaults to the university, which holds most of the power in the relationship. In figure 2.2, I have mapped a few Hillels onto the quadrants and outlined what aspects of their relationship with the university explains their placement.

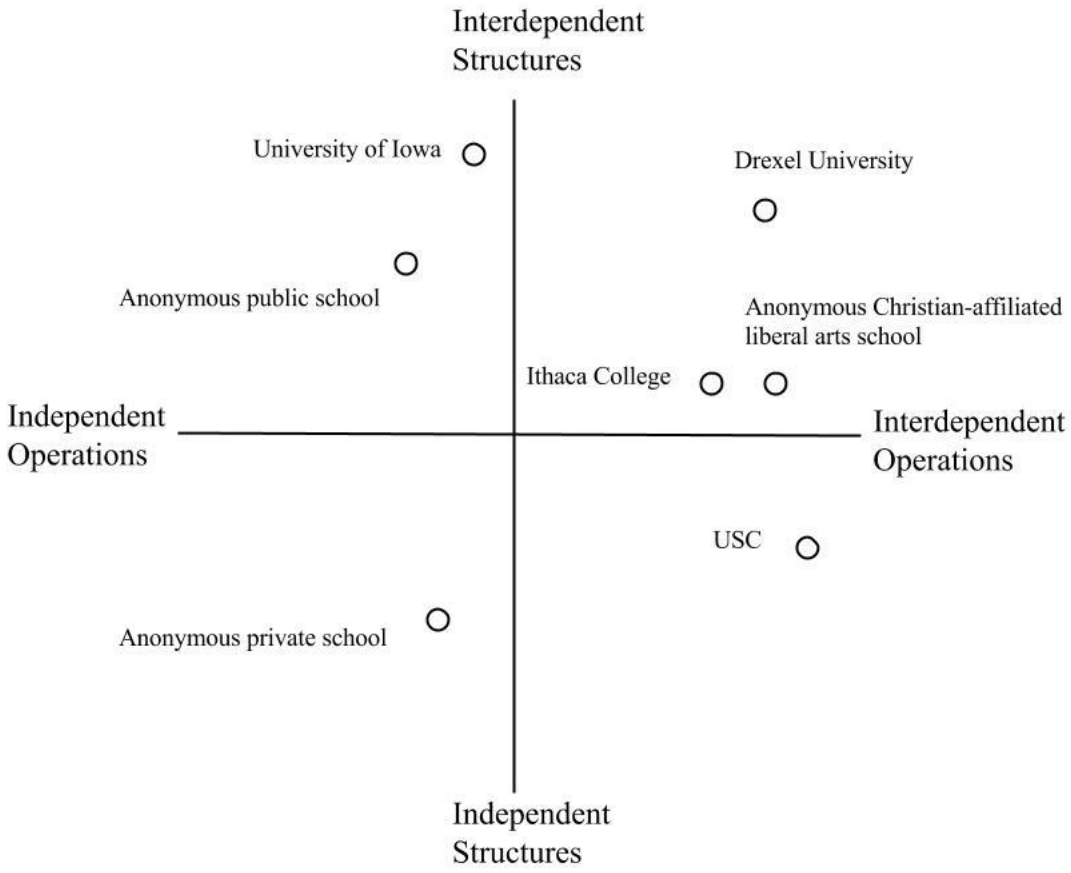


Figure 2.2

Explanations of some of the major features that determined placements:

University of Iowa: Hillel staff are extended courtesies reserved for university staff, Hillel rents space to the university, no fundraising or gift recognition.
Anonymous public school: separate 501(c)(3), affiliate through the Office of Religious Life, rents space from the university, gift recognition policy recently revoked.
Drexel University: University owns building, provides budget, acknowledges Hillel gifts, fundraises for Hillel.
Ithaca College: separate 501(c)(3), the college provides a space for Hillel, gift recognition.
USC: separate 501(c)(3), runs the Jewish Alumni Association, coordinated fundraising and recruitment efforts, Hillel owns the building.
Anonymous private school: separate 501(c)(3), affiliate of Office of Religious Life, no university fundraising or gift recognition.
Anonymous Christian-affiliated liberal arts school: separate 501(c)(3), college provides space, gift recognition, coordinates Jewish recruitment activities.

A theme that came up repeatedly was the fluid nature of the relationships. Many Hillel directors expressed hope that the work they were doing to advocate for more amenable relationships would create real change. When asked a series of survey questions about what favorable arrangements between Hillel and the university existed, Aaron Weil, Executive Director and CEO at University of Central Florida Hillel shared, “We are currently negotiating an MOU [Memorandum of Understanding] to bring all the 'Not applicable' items into the Agree and eventually 'Strongly Agree' column.”

Profiles of Hillel and University Relationships

To understand more fully the variety of Hillel-university relationships, I have summarized the interviews of Hillel directors, university development staff, chaplains, staff from

the President's Office, and staff from the Office of Religious Life from three campuses into three profiles. One is a nearly ideal partnership enjoyed at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, a private school with about 41,000 students. The other two profiles have been made anonymous because challenges were shared that might jeopardize aspects of the relationships if publicized. One was a Christian-affiliated liberal arts school and the last was a prestigious private university.

Ideal Partnership: The University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California

Both the Hillel executive director, Bailey London, and the USC Dean of Religious Life, Dr. Varun Soni, gave me permission to include identifying information in this profile.

It is a good time to be Jewish at USC. In recent years, Hillel's headquarters at the Schusterman International Center identified Hillel at USC as an exemplar of excellence in campus partnership in 2014 and collaborative fundraising in 2012. Earning this recognition has required a deliberate investment into a working relationship on the part of both the Hillel and the university. On its website, Hillel at USC stated it intended to "develop a comprehensive approach to nurture and develop [its] relationship with the university in order to establish [itself] as USC's indispensable partner in Jewish life" (Hillel at USC homepage, 2015). Bailey London, Hillel at USC's executive director, shared a glimpse of her very busy schedule that included regular meetings with officers responsible for development, recruitment, alumni, and religious life. She enjoys relationships with many of these university officers who she happily described as embodying "the definition of a colleague," as evidenced by frequent check-ins, hobnobbing at work-related social functions and generous advice whenever she asks for it. The success Hillel at USC enjoys is due in part to the face-to-face individual collegial relationships that Ms. London

and her predecessors have nurtured with university employees. Just like it is for so many other communities and organizations, the notion of relationship building is an important priority for organizing Jewish community on campus.

Ms. London credits the university's willingness to invest in relationships with Hillel to the strong culture of the "Trojan Family." She repeatedly shared her sense that USC is an institution especially committed to diversity and caring for each of its students. But this was not always the case. For many years, USC was much less hospitable to Jewish students, with anti-Semitic incidents periodically cropping up over the decades (Brand, 2003). Even Ms. London's last name is a testament to USC's history of anti-Semitism; when her grandfather was applying to USC dental school, he adopted the name "London" to mask his noticeably Ashkenazi surname and circumvent rumored quotas for Jews. In informal conversations with alumni who graduated as recently as the 70s and 80s, stories abound of anti-Semitism perpetrated by students being met with ambivalence by the university administration. Ms. London explained how this inhospitable environment gradually transformed into a welcoming and inclusive community that actively recruits qualified Jewish students, largely thanks to the initiative of Dr. Steven B. Sample, USC's president from 1991 to 2010:

> President Sample in the 90s decided that this [anti-Semitic atmosphere] was bad, and there's a couple reasons why. One of them is that he is a good person and realized that anti-Semitism is wrong, but...there were a lot of very successful Jewish alumni by the 90s, and he wanted to make sure that they felt that USC was a strong destination to come back to and to be supportive of. And so he made some really concerted efforts to change this reputation.

In addition to the moral imperative to snuff out anti-Semitism, Ms. London raised an issue of the expected financial benefits of recruiting Jewish students. This was echoed many times by Hillel directors I interviewed, disputed explicitly by most university staff, and in one

case, corroborated by a university advancement professional. A discussion of this issue will be explored more fully in the next campus profile.

During President Sample's tenure, several changes were made. First, the university entrusted Hillel to organize the first ever Jewish Alumni Association, acting as the face of the university's Jewish engagement efforts. In so doing, it extended what Ms. London called "courtesies" to Hillel that were normally reserved for departments of the university. Originally a structurally unrelated nonprofit, Hillel was invited to affiliate through the Office of Religious Life, granting it a formal connection to the university as a legitimate entity on campus. In development, coordination around specific donors became common. The university allowed Hillel to invite prospective major supporters of Jewish life to exclusive cultivation and stewardship events normally reserved for university donors and prospects. Perhaps most importantly, the university thanked donors for their gifts to Hillel and counted them as though they were made to the university. For the major donors who enjoyed public lauding, exclusive access to events, and networking as a result of their generous giving, Hillel's newfound ability to steward them was a development boon. The university further invested resources into the program by sending the Chancellor to greet students and their parents at the Hillel welcome week event. The university even offers a generous financial scholarship to a few admitted Jewish students. Curious and eager to cultivate a relationship with the donor who funded the scholarship, Ms. London asked the advancement officer if they were able to share the identity of the funder. Ms. London recalls:

> There was no donor. This is a budgeted scholarship from the university's overhead. The university is investing in recruiting Jewish students to come to school here, and one of their strategies is to offer a really, really prestigious, difficult to get scholarship to students.

In return, Hillel delivers a unique value to the university. The university sends Hillel a list of admitted students who self-identified as Jewish on their application. Hillel respects the privacy expectations and boundaries set by the university and only uses the list for the limited purpose of helping the university to recruit:

> We call them and we say, "Mazel tov" – we use secret code words – "Mazel tov on getting into USC. We're calling from the Jewish community to welcome you and congratulate you. We want to know if you have any questions about Jewish life on campus...and invite you to an event called Fresh Fest." From the very beginning the university knows that anyone who marked off 'Jewish' knows that this is a warm, safe, welcoming place to be Jewish.

Another example of Hillel's reciprocal help to the university is its famous matzah ball soup delivery program, in which parents can request Hillel staff deliver hot matzah ball soup to their sick children. According to Ms. London, during the fall of 2014, the USC Parents Office was making an average of five such requests per week for soups and visits from Hillel.

Hillel at USC offers more to the university than soup deliveries, student recruitment, and image rehabilitation. I spoke with Varun Soni, the Dean of Religious Life, about the Office of Religious Life's view of Hillel.

> From my perspective, the benefit is that Hillel helps run Jewish life on campus...because Hillel has an infrastructure, funding sources, board of governors, and a national presence, Hillel can run Jewish life at USC in a way that my office couldn't do.

Dean Soni gave several examples of Hillel being even "more than an amazing organization that runs Jewish life on campus...Hillel has an important role to play as an interfaith leader." He then described a wildly successful spirituality and sexuality retreat planned by Hillel student leaders.

I asked Dean Soni if his role included any development work, and if he might be privy to any discussions about recruiting Jewish students with secondary motivations related to institutional development. He said that he does help out fundraising by speaking to donors

whenever he feels he can be helpful, but that recruiting Jewish students "is talked about" only to the extent that "we want to be a destination university for Jewish students." He continued:

> We want to be a destination university for Jewish students. We want to be a destination university for Muslim students and Hindu students. We want to be a good place for religious students to come to...So as our Jewish student population increases, so too does the quality of our student body and the experience that our students have.

When I pressed him about the financial decision to recruit a group of students demographically more likely to be wealthy potential donors, Dean Soni dispelled the notion, saying the university is more interested in "what Jewish students bring than what Jewish students can give." In my interviews with university professionals from other schools, Dean Soni's assessment is both corroborated and challenged. Two of these schools will be profiled later. The Hillel directors who responded to my survey are equally divided. 21 out of 45 respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement, "I think that the understanding that Jewish students tend to pay full tuition and give larger gifts as alumni causes the university to recruit Jewish applicants more intentionally."

Both Dean Soni and Ms. London describe a partnership built on collegiality, trust, and mutual benefit. For this reason, along the institutional relationship spectrum, I have placed them high on the activity interdependence spectrum. Since structurally, the two institutions have some overlap, but keep separate staff, a separate 501(c)(3), and manage their own endowments and budgets, they are more structurally independent. This places the USC-Hillel relationship in the "Negotiated Partnership (Stewardship Theory)" quadrant.

A Christian-Affiliated Liberal Arts School

To preserve anonymity, identifying features of my interviews with this Hillel director and two university employees have been removed. This small liberal arts college has a student body of fewer than 2000 undergraduates. It is situated in a town in the Mid-Atlantic region with a small, but tightly connected Jewish community that is over 100 years old. The college is secular, but has Christian affiliations, like much of the surrounding community. Twenty current students have identified themselves as Jewish. What makes this school an important profile to examine is that the university administration recently launched a campaign to overhaul its investment in Jewish life.

The campaign was sparked when a prominent and supportive Jewish alumni family approached the president of the college with a request to create a permanent space for Jewish religious and cultural programming. After a series of conversations, the president convened a task force charged with developing the Jewish offerings of the college. This task force was comprised of an impressive array of university decision makers and community stakeholders: a vice president of enrollment, a vice president of advancement, a chaplain, a local community rabbi, two professors, the Hillel director, a parent, and an alum. At their first meeting in fall 2014, they tackled four main subjects: on-campus Jewish life, bolstering Jewish enrollment, growing a Jewish studies program, and institutional development. As a result of this initial meeting several changes have already taken place. The Hillel director has agreed to coordinate a recruitment tour with the enrollment office to speak with Jewish students at college fairs and in their Jewish day schools.

According to the Hillel director, recruitment efforts are often intertwined with logistical considerations like accommodations for kosher dining and creating inviting space for communal

activities. The Hillel director asserted that there needs to be a mentality of "build it and they will come." Fortunately, the college is building. In my other interviews, many Hillel directors expressed frustration over this "chicken and egg" problem of needing resources to attract Jewish students, but requests for resources being rebuffed by university partners who say Jewish student numbers are not yet sufficient to merit investment.

Gifts made to the Hillel are channeled through the college, which thanks donors and counts the gifts as though they were made to the college. The college also offers donors a chance to support Jewish projects, like a new Hillel house. The college development director observed:

> Usually if we're talking about a major gift we'll talk about both [Jewish and general] projects. And we'll explain for the purposes of the college....and then of course talk about the Hillel and the program that it offers and why it needs support and suggest they contribute to both. And then they'll make their own decision. It depends on the person.

When I asked if such joint solicitations were successful in helping the college reach its own fundraising goals, the development director was ambivalent. Despite it being unclear how such a policy affected the overall fundraising for either institution, the development office continues to give major donors the opportunity to support Hillel. Both university professionals and the Hillel director shared that it was important to some donors that the institutions present themselves as unified in their fundraising efforts. From the development director: "We try to coordinate things. I think it's more effective that way. I think donors appreciate it when you present the whole picture."

I spoke with the vice president of development and the university chaplain about the formation of this task force, its stated goals, and any unspoken understandings or assumptions that informed the committee's work. I asked them why the college identified this as an area

demanding such robust coordination and work. The both shared that recruitment in recent years has been a challenge because many of the Baby Boomers' children have already graduated from high school. The college's solution has been to use what they called "niche recruiting" to target specific populations and show them that their school is a particularly welcoming and enticing place to study.

The college professionals I spoke with are not alone in this recruitment challenge. A 2014 survey of 407 college admission directors reported that 79% of admission directors were moderately or very concerned about meeting their new student enrollment goals and a mere 5% reported they were not concerned at all. 61% of admissions directors reported missing the traditional May 1st deadline for filling their fall class, and 71% said they did not meet their recruitment targets at all (Jaschick, 2014). According to a recent *LA Times* article, colleges have been addressing this dearth of applicants by actively recruiting international students, especially those able to pay full tuition (Gordon, 2013). A choice to recruit Jewish applicants is consistent with this strategy. It is important to note that Ivy Leagues, large public schools, and other top-tier schools (to which many Jewish students apply) have not been as hard hit by the maturation of the Baby Boomers and continue to be flooded with applications. So a discussion of niche recruitment of Jewish students is generally limited to smaller and private schools, like the one profiled here.

For many schools, this rapidly developing recruitment crisis is causing them to look to Hillel as a uniquely positioned partner in recruiting. I asked whether there was a strategy to recruit Jewish students specifically. The development director replied, "Yes there is. That is something that has grown since we started the Hillel….now the enrollment office is involving [the Hillel director] in Jewish college fairs…" Furthermore, the chaplain expressed frustration

over the limited resources that Hillel's international office provided as part of their "SOREF Small and Mighty Campus of Excellence Initiative" to help jumpstart the Hillel on campus several years ago. "We opened up the box from [the Schusterman International Center], took out a banner and a bunch of pens, looked at each other, and just laughed." The fact that university professionals expressed a desire for more developed start-up resources from Hillel shows that the relationship is perceived to be of value. Thinking broadly about the relationship, the college development director reflected:

> We're really looking at ways that the Hillel can help with recruitment, with alumni relations, fundraising to a lesser degree, it all comes out of supporting the college.... Our Jewish alumni have been very supportive of [the college]. We don't have a huge group of them, but the Hillel is helping us get engaged with the alumni too. They like to see that there's a group on campus that shares their beliefs.

When I asked if Jewish students' anticipated ability to pay full tuition and donate generously was a factor in the recruitment strategy as well, the development director said:

> I think it's talked about. People realize that an outgrowth of the Jewish faith is to support your community and support education, and I think that is an outgrowth of Christian faith as well. All of those groups who support education are very much appreciated.

To those familiar with American Jewish history in the context of higher education, the thought of a small, Christian-affiliated private school actively recruiting Jews may seem strange. In situations like these, Hillel, which formerly was considered a marginal nonprofit with few overlapping interests with the college, has been transformed into a crucial partner in achieving shared recruitment and institutional advancement goals. Indeed, in this case, the president's decision to convene the task force was spurred by a request from a well known Jewish alumni family of supporters. My research uncovered no evidence that any Jewish student was admitted to the college on the basis of any consideration other than the strength of their application.

However, in this case, the distinction between recruitment efforts and admissions policies becomes less clear because a member of the enrollment office joined the task force. The degree to which admissions, development, recruitment, and religious life officers coordinate decision-making varies by campus. In each of my interviews with university professionals, they described at least some form of coordination that ranged from informal communication between offices to official collaborative task forces, like the one described here.

It is also important to note that the decision to partner with Hillel was not only informed by recruitment and development considerations. The chaplain's office is making a concerted effort to include Jewish students because they value diversity and the pluralistic necessity of having Jews on campus. Both university professionals independently told me glowing stories of how valuable the Hillel's interfaith Passover seder is for building community on campus and expressed a general pleasure at the growing Jewish presence.

A Prestigious Private University

I interviewed the Hillel director and a senior professional from the President's Office of a prestigious private university. The professional from the President's Office happened to serve recently on the Hillel's board of directors, so this person was able to provide a unique insight into the complexities of the relationship. Similar to the other two profiled schools, the relationship between the Hillel and the university is multi-faceted. Unlike the small liberal arts school, the relationship goes back many years and has already yielded such fruits as an ample facility welcoming students at a prime location on campus. However, unlike both the previously profiled schools, the university keeps the Hillel at a bit of distance. As an example, the Hillel director shared a frustration around not being invited to university meetings. Something as

simple as rubbing elbows with other campus leaders during regular meetings can create benefits for the Hillel. The director recounted a story from her time working for a Hillel at a different university and of capitalizing on a relationship with the athletic director to get free buses for a Hillel event. The Hillel director shared, "Everything happens through relationships. I get the feeling that the university is too big for this kind of interactions." Meetings with development staff are infrequent. At one point, the university assigned a young, very low level fundraiser to act as a liaison with the Hillel, but neither party seriously invested in the relationship. The professional in the President's Office agreed about the primacy of personal relationships in furthering the institutional agendas on the campus:

> I have to think that part of it has to do with my personal connection, that if there wasn't somebody that was easy to call up in the president's office it wouldn't happen so easily, not because people don't want to engage with Hillel, but because I'm not sure that Hillel would initiate the contact the way it does now.

A lack of access and communication might be explained by the fact that the university has no trouble recruiting throngs of eager applicants, so the perceived need for collaboration around recruitment is less acute. Structural redundancies also lower university incentives for collaboration. In addition to Hillel, the university employs its own rabbi through its Office of Religious Life. Compared to smaller schools struggling to attract applicants, steward Jewish donors, and enrich Jewish life, this university is much less reliant on Hillel to fill those roles. As a result, there is less incentive for the university to acknowledge gifts to the Hillel as though they were made to the university. This is a point of even greater frustration for the Hillel director. The Hillel director remembered a story about a potential donor:

> She does not give to Hillel because she doesn't get credit for it, so she gives to the university golf team instead. She gets to go play with [a university celebrity]....I think it's really significant for people giving a certain level to a certain kind of university.

In the national survey, 19 Hillel directors reported that gifts to their Hillel are recognized by the university. Of them, 15 agreed with the statement, "Donors have expressed appreciation over coordinated fundraising efforts with the university." On almost every campus, at least some donors appreciate an arrangement of shared gift recognition. However, the university professional at this prestigious private university disputed the importance of such an arrangement:

> I don't think it's a big issue for Hillel either. I don't think it makes a difference for Hillel how much money it's going to raise...It's still deductible whether it goes to Hillel or [the university].

Unfortunately, it was beyond the scope of my survey to determine changes in fundraising as a result of a university policy of Hillel gift recognition. However, if future research looked at university giving trends before and after a change in university giving policy, then compared it to changes in previous years and contemporary fundraising trends in analogous peer universities, it might yield some definitive results.

Despite the distance between the organizations, Hillel has still established a history of furthering shared goals with the university, even under challenging circumstances. One such challenge was a visit from the traveling hate ministry, the Westboro Baptist Church. When it became known that they intended to picket against Jews on campus, the university professional shared that the university made sure "one of the participants in the decision making was the Hillel Director."

Revelations from the National Hillel Directors Survey

My survey asked Hillel directors to assess the structural arrangements between their Hillel and host school, the relationships between themselves in their role as director and various

university personnel, and policies concerning fundraising and recruitment. The respondents represented campuses across the United States and tended to reflect the distribution of the general American Jewish population, as shown in figure 3.

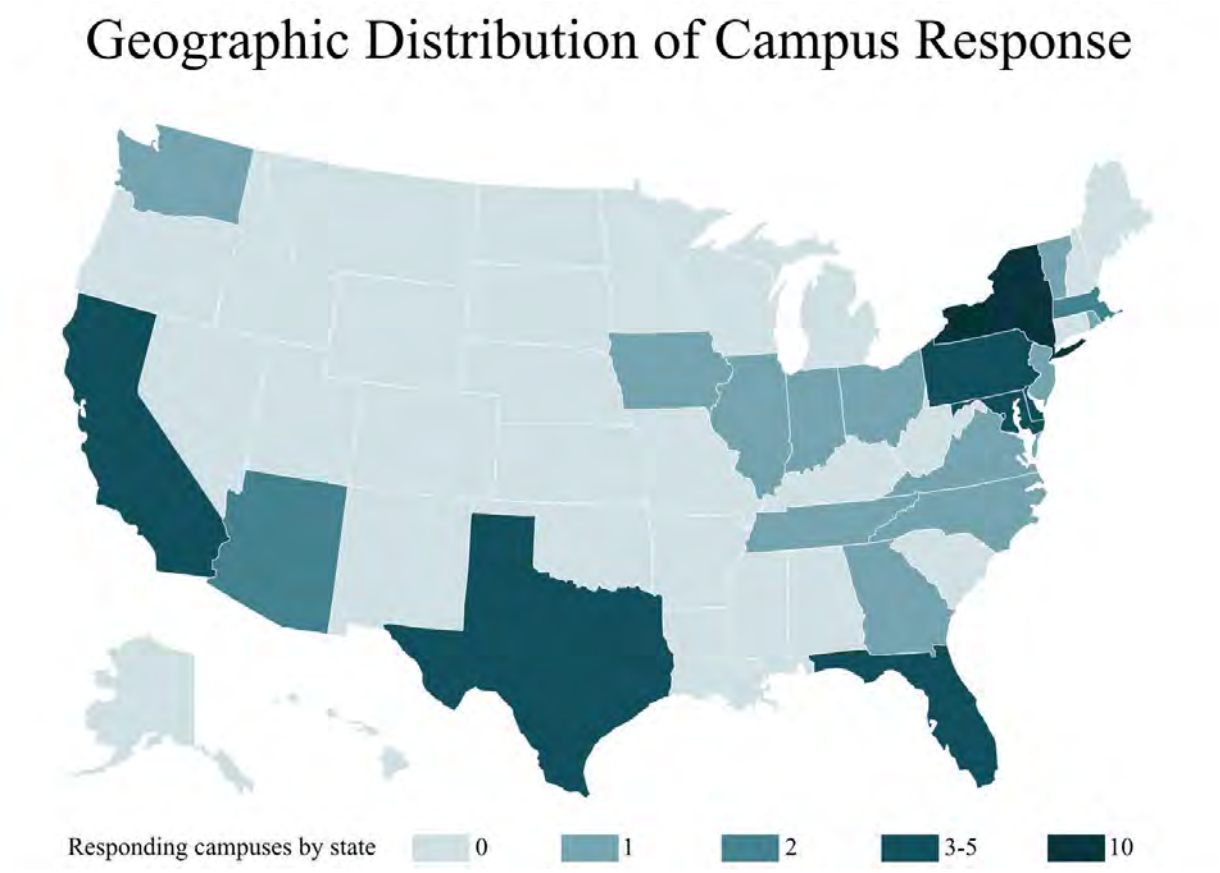


Figure 3

Founding year of the Hillel on campus ranged from 1923 to 2014, with a median of 1965 and standard deviation of 28.56 years. Such a wide standard deviation shows that founding dates are spread out fairly evenly, reflecting an incremental spread of Hillels across the country. Of the 49 executive directors who responded, they had held their position at their current Hillel a minimum of less than a year and a maximum of 37 years. 29 of the respondents worked at public schools and 18 worked at private schools.

The host universities ranged from small liberal arts schools to large public schools, universities with robust graduate research programs and colleges without any. I asked respondents to estimate the number of Jewish students who attend the school and received a range of 75 to 6,000 students, with a median of 2,000. Of all the campuses surveyed, the total estimated number of Jewish students was 100,389. The answers these Hillel directors shared reflect the experience of a vast body of Jewish students.

The way Jewish student populations are measured varies from campus to campus. About half of the Hillels get annually updated numbers from the university. Most public schools and some private schools do not collect religious information of incoming classes. In these cases, the remaining half of respondents said they make an educated guess informed by numbers of participants at big communal events. Many campuses inherit estimates as a base population. One east coast private university Hillel executive director shared: "...this number has been reported for the last 30 years (I am an alum and remember that statistic) but I am leary [sic] that this number is still valid as the demographic of this university has changed greatly." And an east coast public school Hillel executive director complained, "It's a number we inherited - no way of knowing whether it's true." Since university administrators, like funders, are interested in understanding the scope of Hillel's impact within the student population, shaky estimates can lead to problematic understandings of Jewish communal need.

Veterans and Novices

The average tenure of the responding Hillel directors was about six years, but the responses were heavily skewed towards recent hires. 17 of the 49 respondents served in their role for one year or less. Since relationships are built over time, the short tenure of executive

directors is an important factor in understanding a particular Hillel's progression with a goal that requires university cooperation. But surprisingly, when asked about the nature of their comfort collaborating with and frequency of communication with key university stakeholders, there was very little difference between the 17 Hillel directors who have served for a year or less and the 32 who have served for 2 years or more. The write-in responses reflected an understanding that building relationships right away was crucial. From one new Hillel director:

> We are working on figuring out a more integrated relationship. It's an ongoing conversation that is evolving with time and as we get to know each other better. I'm confident we will be more integrated in the future but not clear on what that will look like.

The Hillel directors' outlooks on topics of fundraising and recruiting were remarkably similar as well, with one exception. When asked whether they agreed with the statement "I think that the understanding that Jewish students tend to pay full tuition and give larger gifts as alumni causes the university to recruit Jewish applicants more intentionally," 69% of novice Hillel directors agreed or strongly agreed, while only 36% of veterans did. In fact, only half of veterans agreed that their universities were actively recruiting Jewish students at all, compared to 75% of novices. It is unclear why novices and veterans disagree on how anticipated wealth might affect university recruitment. Perhaps veterans had more time to have conversations with university advancement and recruitment officers who might dismiss such suspicions. One of the university employees I spoke to insisted that the university had a policy of "need-blind admissions," meaning that development strategies and recruitment decisions were made completely independently. This is likely true for many universities, but the example of the small liberal arts school's Jewish recruitment task force demonstrates that this is not always so clear-cut.

Changes Made and Initiatives Shot Down

Part of the survey asked respondents to identify a success story of their relationship with the university. This might have included piloting a kosher dining program, instituting a policy of university recognition of gifts to Hillel, or building a new Hillel facility. The survey then asked the directors to assess to what extent a collection of 15 university stakeholders (including the president, chief advancement officer, and dean of student life) were involved in making the change happen. I also asked if each of the stakeholders involved was Jewish. I then asked them to answer the same questions while sharing a persisting challenge. This portion of the survey operated under the assumption that significant changes cannot be made in a vacuum. Relationships count. I interviewed an interim executive director for a large state school on the west coast who was hired as part of a strategic initiative of the local federation to build relationships with university staff. So far, he reported that the strategy has helped the Hillel meet its broader goals. This anecdote is indicative of a trend in thinking across many Jewish institutions towards an investment in relationships. Ron Wolfson's *Relational Judaism* (2013) codified what many Jewish organizations like Hillel had been doing for many years by nurturing productive relationships that can be called upon to help meet shared goals. Therefore, I tried to understand how changes occur on campus by asking Hillel directors to identify the key players with whom they collaborated.

The clear must-have advocate for any Hillel initiative that requires university cooperation is a dedicated major donor, and preferably a university board member. Of all the successful initiatives shared, 85% were bolstered by the support and advocacy of a major donor (94% of whom were Jewish). The two other most common stakeholders involved in success stories were

the university advancement officer (involved in 70% of the stories reported) and the president or chancellor (involved in 67%).

To further understand the key change agents, I will indulge in an extended metaphor: The economist Abraham Wald famously consulted with the US Navy during World War II to strengthen the hull of bombers being shot down during combat missions. Wald began mapping bullet holes that riddled the fuselage of every bomber that returned from a mission. Other consultants recommended adding thicker steel plating along the areas of greatest concentration of bullet holes - after all, that is where the planes took the heaviest fire, on average. Wald brilliantly recommended adding armor to the areas that showed no bullet holes; being hit in these areas brought the planes down into the ocean. In the context of my research, by asking questions about persisting challenges and analyzing what key relationships were missing, I hoped to be able to identify the relationships most influential on the success of Hillel missions. The two biggest missing relationships were a major donor and the university advancement officer.

I then applied statistical tests based on responses to two questions. The first asked Hillel directors to consider a success story and to evaluate which stakeholders were leveraged to make the change. I posed the same question about an enduring challenge. Comparing successes and persisting challenges that Hillel directors described, the involvement of a major donor dropped from 85% in success to 73% in challenge. The involvement of an advancement officer dropped from 70% in success to 54% in challenge. These two relationships experienced the most noticeable decrease in involvement in challenges. After performing chi square statistical analysis of these stakeholders' involvement in cases of success and challenge, I found that there was no significant difference between the higher involvement in success and the slightly lower involvement in challenge. However, the lack of statistical significance does not mean that the

stakeholders are not crucial agents in making the change. It could be, for example, that the challenge described on the survey was overcome shortly after the response was collected.

Comparing the involvement of the various stakeholders in advancing goals with Hillel directors' perception of these same stakeholders' importance, there is a heartening similarity. In general, the stakeholders who most often advocated on Hillel's behalf or made it a priority of their office were also described by individual Hillel directors as the most crucial. 46 of the 47 responding Hillel directors said that the University President or Chancellor was “helpful” or “crucial” for “advancing Hillel's goals,” and 40 out of 46 said the same was true for the Chief Development Officer or Major Gifts Officer. Despite the importance Hillel directors placed on crucial stakeholder relationships, there is some room for improvement in their communication with these stakeholders. I have included the table below with 15 university stakeholders and the respondents' reported familiarity with each. Looking particularly at the Chief Development Officer or Major Gifts Officer, 19 of the 47 respondents to the question do not yet regularly and effectively collaborate.

	I do not know who this person is.	**I know who this person is, but have no relationship.**	**Only under limited unusual circumstances would I reach out to this person.**	**I regularly and effectively collaborate.**	**Response Count**
The President or Chancellor	0%	0%	55%	45%	47
The Chief Development Officer or Major Gifts Officer	2%	15%	23%	60%	47
Director of Alumni Affairs	11%	19%	36%	34%	47

Director of Recruitment or Admissions	9%	15%	32%	45%	47
Dean of Student Life	0%	2%	7%	91%	46
Dean of Religious Life	35%	0%	0%	65%	23
Dean of Residential Life	18%	13%	35%	35%	40
Head of the University Health Center	48%	17%	24%	12%	42
Head of Career Services	31%	26%	26%	17%	42
Head of Food Services (with respect to kosher dining especially)	16%	5%	19%	60%	43
Elected Head of Student Government	11%	34%	27%	27%	44
Editor of the Student Newspaper	43%	16%	27%	14%	44
Chief Academic Officer/Provost	7%	17%	45%	31%	42
Department/Program Chair of Jewish Studies (or relevant department)	0%	0%	20%	80%	41
Director of Security	9%	7%	34%	50%	44

A Jew in Office

While conducting my initial research, I found evidence of at least one Jewish campus leader who eschewed amenable partnership policies towards Hillel to avoid charges of favoritism (Rosenblatt, 2006). However, during interviews, several Hillel directors speculated that having a Jewish person high up in the university administration facilitated richer partnership. The effect

of the Jewish affiliation of a university staff person came up enough in interviews that I incorporated it into my survey. To answer this question, I asked if the stakeholder who advocated on Hillel's behalf or made it a priority of their office was Jewish. The table below compares the percentage of university stakeholders who were Jewish in success stories and in stories of persisting challenge. There is very little difference in the proportion of Jews advocating for Hillel in cases of success and challenge.

Stakeholder who advocated on Hillel's behalf or made it a priority of their office	**Percentage who were Jewish in success stories**	**Percentage who were Jewish in stories of persisting challenge**
A major donor or board member	94	87
A president or chancellor	33	42
Students	86	83
A professor	78	73
A university advancement officer	20	21
An alumni or recruitment officer	26	8
Parents of current students	52	67

The percentages of Jews filling these positions and advocating on Hillel's behalf are certainly higher than the Jewish portion of the general population, but I was unable to ascertain what percentage of the overall population of university professionals are Jewish. If these figures were higher than the university professional average, it might be clearer whether Jewish university professionals advocate for Jewish causes more than non-Jews. It is also hard to know how these figures compare to Jewish university officers who do not advocate on Hillel's behalf. Furthermore, the numbers may be skewed towards Jewish affiliation of university professionals because Hillel directors may deliberately approach them instead of non-Jewish university

professionals. Overall, it is difficult to determine whether Jewish university stakeholders have a greater influence on the Hillel's capacity to achieve its goals.

Private and Public Schools

Comparing the Hillel directors' responses from private and public schools revealed that these Hillels comprise two distinct models. In almost every category I measured, the structural and operational benefits were significantly more pronounced in private than in public schools (with the exception of perceived deliberateness of recruiting Jewish applicants, which was about equal). The richness of relationships, regularity of communication and collaboration, health of financial arrangements, courtesies extended, and successes enjoyed all were stronger or more evident in private schools. Of the four Hillel directors who said they were technically "a university organization, meaning Hillel staff are employees of the university," only one was public. The only Hillel director to respond that the university pays for the Hillel was private. 56% of private school respondents said the university provides a space on campus for Hillel use, compared to only 17% of public school respondents. 69% of Hillel directors at private schools reported that the university acknowledges its donations as though they were made to the university, compared to only 31% of public schools. 56% of directors at private schools agreed that the university fundraises for the Hillel, while a slim 15% of directors at public schools did.

It is unclear why relationships are so much closer at private schools, but it is likely explained by the long history of separation of church and state in the United States. Despite the United States Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of public university funds supporting religious student groups in *Rosenberg v. University of Virginia* (1995), public universities may be reluctant to embrace an organization like Hillel that generally advocates for

one religious tradition. Whatever the reasons, the data clearly show that Hillels at public and private universities generally can expect noticeably different relationships with their host university.

Comparisons by Size of Jewish Population

The estimated size of the Jewish population of the respondents' universities ranged from 75 to 6,000 students. One of the surprising findings of the survey was that the characteristics of the Hillel-university relationship were not very dependent on the size of the Jewish population, with several exceptions. For purposes of analysis, I divided the respondents into two groups: schools with Jewish populations above 1,000 students and schools with Jewish populations below 1,000 students. The first noticeable difference was in the physical space the Hillel used on or off campus. In 62% of schools with Jewish student populations less than 1,000, the university provided space for the Hillel, while only 31% of the Hillels owned their own space. In contrast, in schools with Jewish populations over 1,000, only 20% provide space for the Hillel, while 60% of Hillels owned their own space.

Examining the success and persisting challenge stories, the Hillels deviated in their willingness to approach the president or chancellor to further the particular goal. While describing success stories, 75% of Hillel directors with Jewish populations over 1,000 students reported approaching a president or chancellor to help, while only 45% of executive directors of Hillels with smaller Jewish populations did. In stories of persisting challenge, these proportions were 65% for larger Jewish populations and 42% for smaller. Though the survey did not ask respondents to speculate why they did or did not choose to approach top university leadership, one possible explanation for the discrepancy between larger and smaller Jewish populations is

that Hillel directors may be hesitant or unable to approach a president or chancellor if the Jewish population is not perceived as a major constituency among the student body.

Finally, there seems to be more coordination around solicitation of major donors among schools with smaller Jewish populations. When posed the statement, "Hillel and university development staff do joint asks with individual donors," 58% of Hillel directors at schools with Jewish populations under 1,000 reported they strongly agreed or agreed, while only 31% of Hillel directors at schools with larger Jewish populations did. These results are perplexing considering Hillel directors at schools with both larger and smaller Jewish populations reported similar kinds of relationships and frequency of communication with most university stakeholders related to development. However, these findings do corroborate anecdotes shared in interviews from universities with smaller Jewish populations, particularly around special "niche" Jewish recruitment and development efforts.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The national survey and interviews revealed a broad spectrum of structural and operational interdependence between Hillels and their host universities. It became clear that the character of these relationships correlated with the estimated size of the Jewish student population, and especially whether the host university was publicly or privately chartered. Organizational relationships are influenced by a web of interpersonal relationships between Hillel staff and various university stakeholders. While all relationships are important, the survey revealed that Hillels seeking to improve their organizational arrangements with the university should prioritize investing in two university relationships: the Chief Development Officer and a major donor or board member.

As the children of many Baby Boomers grow past the age of applying to colleges, schools across the country are strategically recruiting "niche" populations, like Jews. Colleges and universities that may have formerly been perceived by the public as an unlikely host for a thriving Jewish community are beginning to make serious investments in Jewish life on campus in the hopes of attracting qualified applicants capable of paying full tuition and donating generously as alumni. Hillel is uniquely positioned to partner around these efforts and is enjoying a recent boon in university cooperation in areas with less developed Jewish populations.

As universities partner more with Hillels around shared goals like recruiting Jewish students, a powerful tool that Hillels should consider lobbying for is university recognition of gifts made to the Hillel, especially with respect to parent-alumni donors. There is ample evidence that parents believe their donations to a college may increase the likelihood of their child being accepted. I interviewed university professionals who responded to such claims in ways that varied from refutation to acknowledgement with qualifications. Whether or not this is actually the case, university recognition of Hillel gifts adds another stewardship tool for Hillel's development efforts.

As I began conducting interviews in 2014, I asked Hillel directors and university professionals about sources of potential liability in their relationships. I suspected that this question would lead to discussion about how the conflict in Israel and Palestine affects campus relationships. At that time, the vast majority of Hillel directors and university professionals did not see this issue as a major factor in determining relationships between the two institutions. Since concluding interviews in the Fall of 2014, the "Open Hillel" movement has grown in notoriety, and the boycott, divestment, and sanctions against Israel debate has engulfed a

growing number of campuses. Future research might explore how these developments affect Hillel-university relationships.

My intention in analyzing the varied Hillel-university relationships was not to rank certain relationships above others. Instead, I hoped to give both Hillel staff and university professionals some analytical tools to assess where their relationship is presently and examples of other schools that might demonstrate where they would like to be in the future. It is important for Hillel directors to realistically assess the power dynamic with the university, shared goals, the limits of institutional collaboration, and what assets it can bring to campus life. No matter the level of structural or operational interdependence between the two organizations, it is clear that strong relationships between Hillel directors and several university officials offer multiple benefits to both the Hillel and the university. Hillels are uniquely positioned to further university goals around donor cultivation and stewardship, recruitment, and diversity on campus. Universities are the reason Hillels exist, and can provide numerous benefits in these same areas for Hillel. Agreements are made considering institutional interests, but they are made between people. If individuals do not forge communicative, trusting relationships, the organizations will never develop a fruitful relationship. Rather than conclude with recommendations on what constitute best practices, I decided to pose some questions that Hillel and university professionals might ask themselves as they navigate their relationship together.

Questions for Hillels to Ponder in Considering Their Relationship with the University

Do you have a realistic understanding of the university's interests? Might they include rehabilitating a negative image concerning the Jewish community? Is the university attempting

to establish a reputation for religious and ethnic diversity? Are there development and recruitment considerations?

How can you realistically support the university in these interests? What resources can you provide? What activities around Jewish holidays and events could be updated to further a university development or recruitment interest? Are there consequences to consider?

If you don't already have a connection to the President or Chancellor's Office and a development or advancement officer, who can introduce you? Are they a major donor or board member?

What resources can the university realistically provide for Hillel and for the broader Jewish community? Are there any requests that seem beyond any implicitly understood or explicitly stated boundaries?

To whom will you reach out on a personal level to build a face-to-face relationship? Do these people represent diverse offices within the university?

Who will be your lay leader advocate(s) with a mutual interest in the flourishing campus life of the university?

Where does it make sense for your Hillel to fall on the structural and operational interdependence spectrum? What are the benefits and liabilities of each possibility? Are you willing to sacrifice some autonomy for institutional stability or vice versa?

Questions for University Professionals to Ponder in Considering Their Relationship with Hillel

How are you serving the Jewish community? What could be improved? Are you capable or willing to make these changes yourself, or can you more easily "contract out" to an organization like Hillel?

In what contexts do the interests of Hillel overlap with the interests of your office? Are there any easily implemented changes that would be mutually beneficial? Are university events planned in consideration of the Jewish calendar? What are some of the more challenging or complicated changes that would take a longer time to implement? What would need to happen to allow these changes to occur?

For recruitment officers: is the university appealing to Jews from every community and denomination? Do you offer sufficient kosher dining options? Are you communicating to Jewish Day Schools in language that demonstrates your familiarity with their students' Jewish needs? Are you sending someone to communicate with prospective students and parents in Jewish communities? Would a Hillel professional be more effective?

For development officers: Do you have Jewish donors? Do they care about Jewish life on campus? How do you think these Jewish donors would react if the university thanked them for their gifts to Hillel? Are you able to steward donors by offering compelling Jewish content? Are you willing to explore cultivating new donors by sharing donor lists with Hillel? What kind of messages are you sending to Jewish donors through your institutional relationship with Hillel?

For the president's office: What is your reputation in the Jewish community? Do you have a communications strategy for talking about religious diversity on campus? What physical spaces are currently available for Jewish religious and cultural programming? How do you

envision the structural relationship between Hillel and the university? How connected in funding and staffing will the organizations be? How much effort are you willing to put into collaboration around shared goals?

Hopes for the Future

I concluded my survey with a question about the Hillel director's hopes for the future. Most directors shared ambitions about structural and operational collaboration, ranging from new buildings, to coordinated fundraising, to bolstered Jewish studies programs. The majority of the responses incorporated an understanding of the primacy of relationship building:

"Goals [are] to grow substantially and significantly the connections between Hillel and all relevant departments in the University."

"We have goals to keep deepening the relationship with the university in all areas."

"Continue to build relationship with key administrators and faculty."

"We maintain friendly relations."

"Keep the very positive relationship going and build more in more places."

"Continue with the same strong relationship moving forward. I believe that the university would say that it's good and strong. "

With Hillel directors already making relationship building a priority, my hope is that this research will help professionals focus their efforts in building the right relationships with the right stakeholders. And ultimately, I hope that the vision of so many Hillel directors is realized as they work towards an ideal organizational relationship with their university.

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