

# THE ALUMNI OF RAMAH CAMPS: A LONG-TERM PORTRAIT OF JEWISH ENGAGEMENT

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February 2017

# How Jewish are Ramah alumni, and how are they Jewishly engaged?

**The key question:** To what extent are the alumni of Ramah camps involved in Jewish life, years and decades after having attended a Ramah camp in North America? To what extent do they:

- Feel committed to being Jewish
- Maintain close ties with other Jews
- Engage in Jewish ritual observance
- Participate in Jewish congregational life and exercise liturgical leadership
- Identify with Conservative Judaism (or related identities)
- Maintain close ties with Israel

How do Ramah alumni **compare with other adult Jews** of similar Jewish backgrounds, such as offspring of inmarried Conservative parents?

What **factors promote greater engagement** in Jewish life?

Does **background** matter?

What about years of camping or serving as a **staff member**?

# The larger context: major challenges to religious and ethnic identities

## Recent research on Americans demonstrates:

- Challenges to religious identification in America, rise of the religious “nones,” and sharp declines among Roman Catholics and Mainline Protestants.
- Secular parents succeed in raising secular children. In contrast, many religious parents fail to raise children who are religious as adults.
- From ethnic twilight to ethnic darkness for European-origin ethnic groups, Latin Americans, and Asian-Americans: **No ethnic group is maintaining its identity and cohesiveness, not even Mexican Americans.**

# For Jews, a shrinking “middle”

In line with American society, recent research on American Jews reports that:

- The “Jewish Middle” is shrinking: while Orthodox and episodically engaged Jews are growing, there is a sharp numerical decline in engaged Jews outside of Orthodoxy.
- Consistent with these trends, we’ve had long-term numerical decline in Conservative Jews since mid-century.

## Camp works

But, there’s a “nechemtah”:

- Literature on Jewish summer camps in general points to long-term impact.
- So too does the literature specific to Camp Ramah.
- Consistent with the wider finding: Jewish education—including camping—generally “works.”

# The survey: Over 5,000 Ramah camp alumni

- Conducted May 30 – July 28, 2016
- 45,000+ invitations , most of whom were campers
- 9,553 eligible respondents, suggesting an overall response rate of 21%
- 5,260 complete surveys from camper alumni
- Others (not in this analysis, but reported separately) were “never-campers” who are:
  - *parents/grandparents of current or recent campers or*
  - *staff only: people who started staffing in teen and young adult years*
- Of the 5,260 camper alumni in this sample, 72% were also staff.
- Dropped from this analysis: those who ever served on the mishlachat (Israeli staff), as we are trying to understand the impact upon North Americans.

# Methodological qualification: A possible “upward” bias in this sample

- **The original list:** The National Ramah Commission supplied the list for the survey invitations. One problem; those on the list may be the more connected, especially among older alumni, who may selectively stay in touch with Ramah.
- **The respondents:** Of those invited, those with greater feelings of loyalty to Ramah were possibly more likely to answer. Although those with strong negative feelings may also be so inclined.
- **The result:** This sample seeks to represent the universe of Ramah camper alumni, but may contain an unmeasurable over representation of Ramah loyalists and possibly “dissatisfied customers.”

# Major representation from eight Ramah camps and other programs

Which program(s) did you attend or work at (or the one with which you were associated for the longest period of time)?

<i>Year Estab.</i>	<i>Camp</i>	<i>Response %</i>	<i>Actual Number of Responses</i>
1947	<i>Wisconsin</i>	18%	897
1964	<i>Berkshires</i>	16%	811
1955	<i>California</i>	15%	745
1953	<i>New England</i>	14%	699
1950	<i>Poconos</i>	13%	684
1960	<i>Canada</i>	11%	536
1997	<i>Darom</i>	7%	334
1966	<i>Nyack</i>	4%	203
2010	<i>Rockies</i>	1%	351 [ <i>Rockies, CT, other, no answer</i> ]
1953	<i>Connecticut (1953-1964)</i>	1%	
-	<i>All other</i>	3%	
-	<i>No answer</i>	[4%]	
-	<i>Total</i>	100%	5,260

Wide age distribution, with about half between 35 and 64, and 22% under age 25

Breakdown by age of camper alumni		
Age	Frequency	Percent
Under 18	301	5.9
18-24	794	15.6
25-34	999	19.6
35-49	1229	24.1
50-64	1230	24.1
65 or more	552	10.8
Total	5105	100.0
No answer	155	
Total	5260	



# Age when first attended and when last attended Ramah as a camper or staff member

Median age of starting Camp Ramah: **11** years old

Median age when last attached to Ramah: **27** years old

How old were you when you first attended or worked at a Ramah camp?

<i>9 or younger</i>	<i>33%</i>
<i>10 – 17</i>	<i>52%</i>
<i>18 or older</i>	<i>15%</i>

How old were you when you last attended or worked at a Ramah camp?

<i>Under 15</i>	<i>11%</i>
<i>15 – 24</i>	<i>39%</i>
<i>25 or older</i>	<i>50%</i>

# Years at Ramah as a camper and as a staff member

Years as a camper (one or more):

1-2	17%
3-4	24%
5-6	28%
7 or more	31%
Total	100%

Years as a staff member (for those who were campers at one point):

0	24%
1	16%
2	19%
3	14%
4 or more	27%
Total	100%

# Among camper alumni: Being Jewish is very important for 83%, and 79% have mostly Jewish close friends

How important is being Jewish in your life?

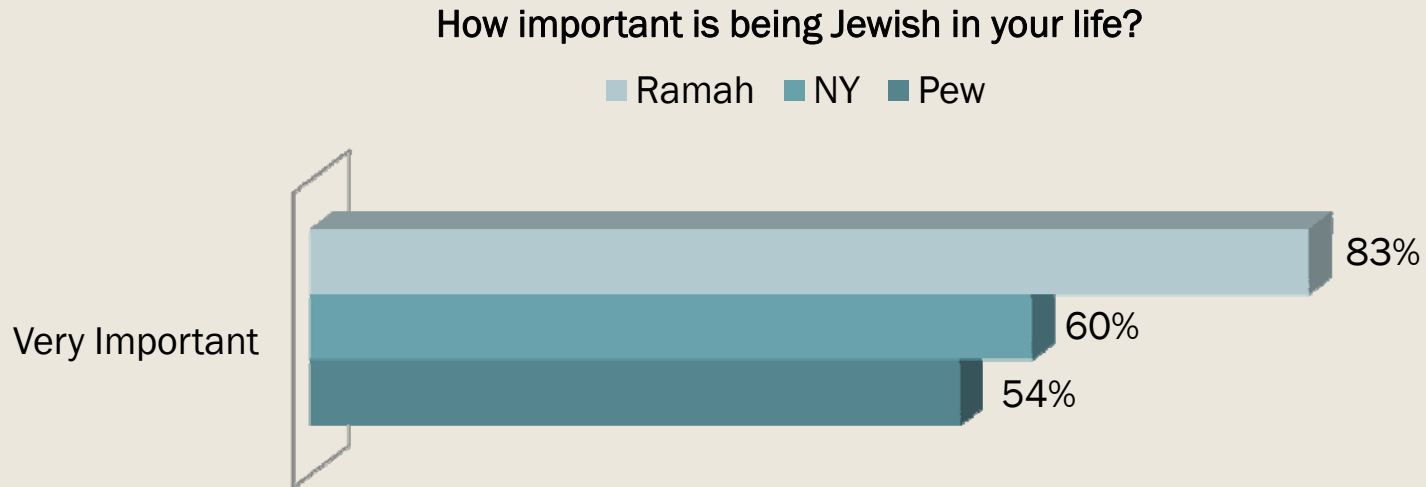
<i>Very important</i>	83%
<i>Somewhat important</i>	14%
<i>Not too important</i>	2%
<i>Not at all important</i>	1%

How many of your close friends are Jewish?

<i>All of them</i>	20%
<i>Most of them</i>	59%
<i>Some of them</i>	19%
<i>Hardly any of them</i>	2%
<i>None of them</i>	0%

# Two comparison samples of adults with inmarried Conservative parents: Greater NY (UJA-Federation 2011) and the US (Pew 2013)

As compared with the US (Pew) and Jews in the Greater NY area (Long Island, Westchester, NYC), Ramah camp alumni score higher in seeing being Jewish as important.

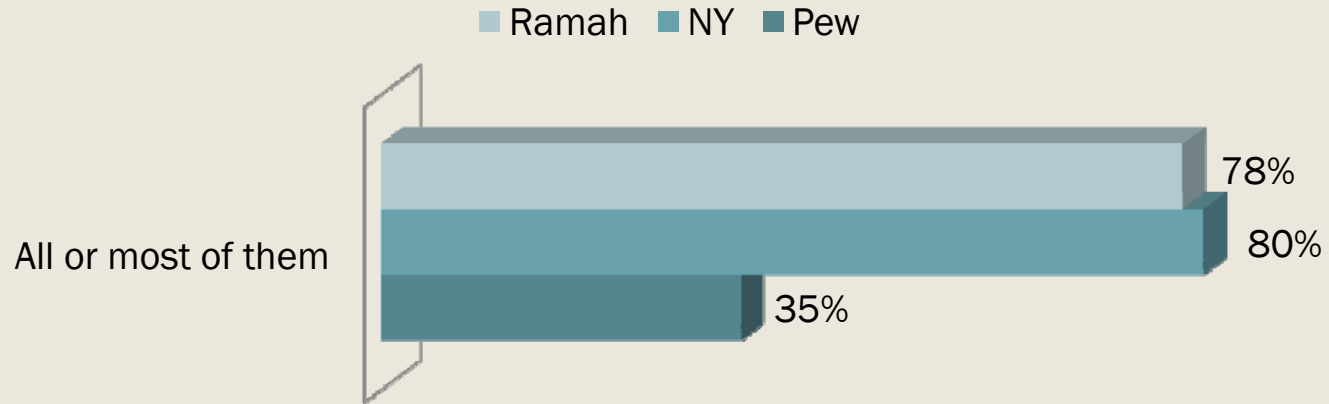


*NY: Right now, how important is being Jewish in your life?*

*Pew: How important is being Jewish in your life? [Very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?]*

# Ramah alumni report mostly Jewish close friends: Equal to Jews in the NY area (with its high Jewish density) and more than double the level in the US (Pew 2013)

How many of your close friends are Jewish?



*NY: Among your closest friends, about how many are Jewish?*

*Pew: How many of your close friends are Jewish? Would you say all of them, most of them, some of them, or hardly any of them?*

# Of those dating, 63% date only Jews; of those married, 93% are inmarried

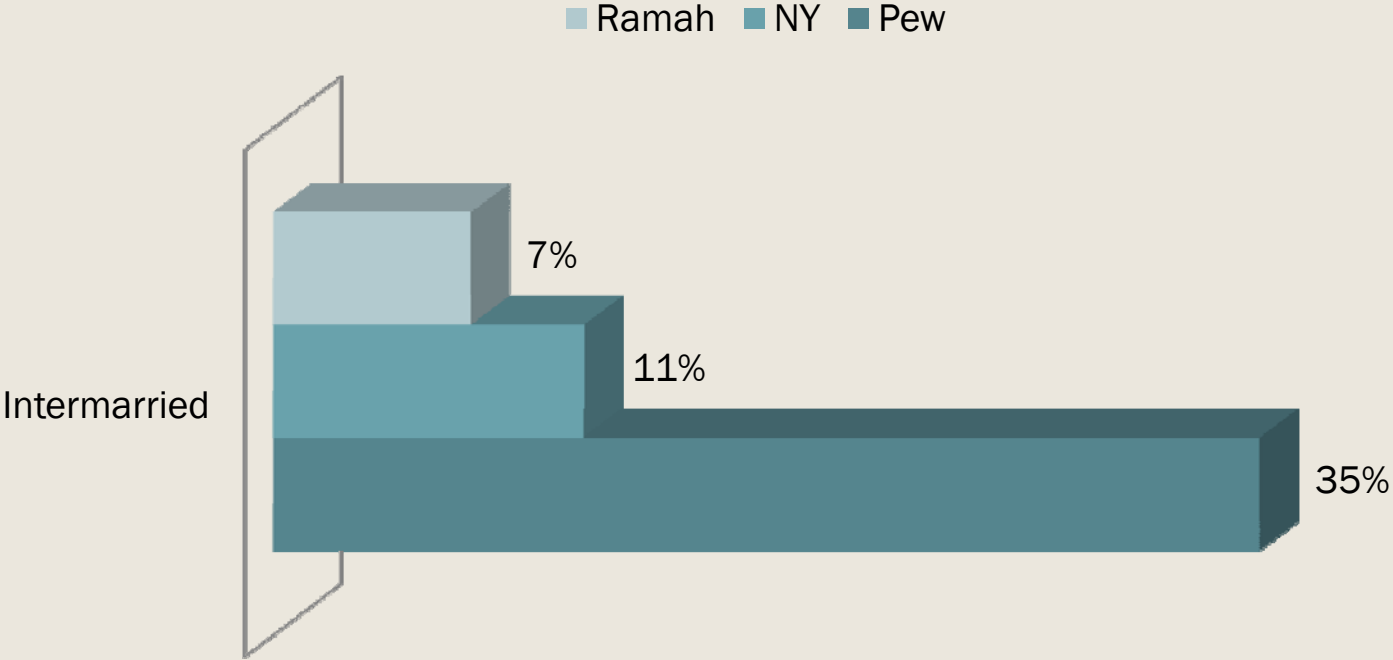
In the last 12 months, have you dated anyone who is:

	<i>Yes, 2 or more such persons</i>	<i>Yes, 1 person</i>	<i>No, never</i>	<i>Doesn't apply to me</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Jewish</i>	22%	38%	20%	20%	100%
<i>Not Jewish</i>	7%	20%	49%	24%	100%

Does your (spouse/partner) consider him/herself Jewish or partly Jewish, or not Jewish?

<i>Jewish</i>	93%
<i>Partly Jewish</i>	1%
<i>Not Jewish</i>	5%

# Rates of intermarriage for Ramah alumni are a little lower than those in NY, but far lower than those in the US



# High rates of ritual observance

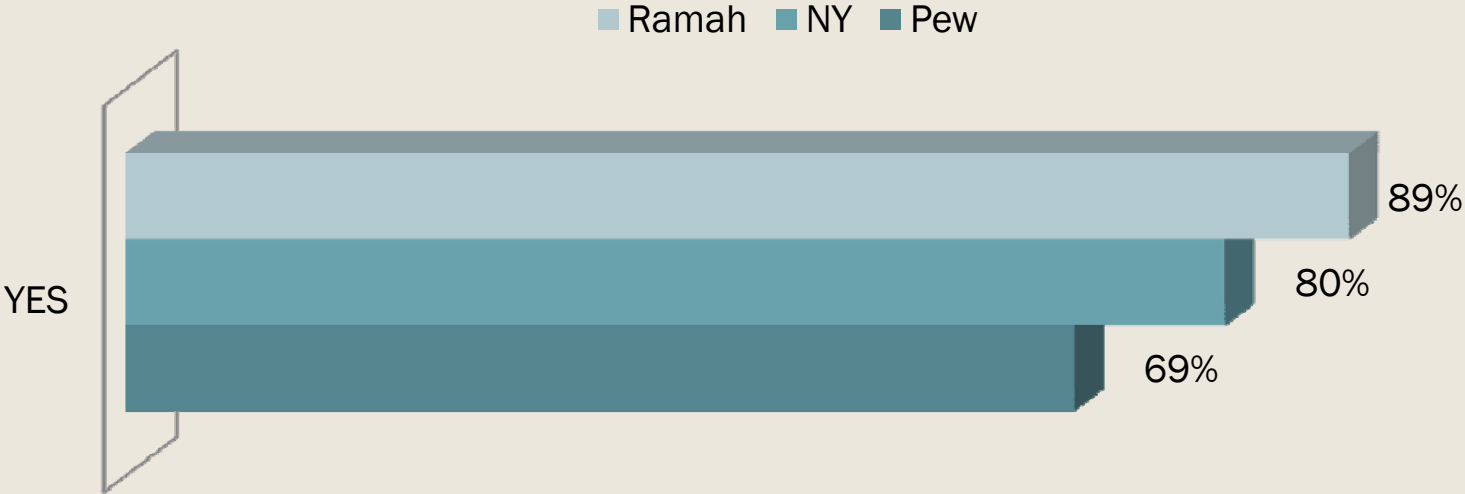
Majorities of Ramah alumni report undertaking a variety of key markers of ritual observance. Over 2/3 use separate dishes for meat and dairy and usually light Shabbat candles; 9 in 10 fast on Yom Kippur. Differences with comparison groups in the US and NY can be quite large. For example, Ramah alumni are about 3 times as likely to light Shabbat candles.

<i>Last year fasted on Yom Kippur, all or part of the day</i>	<i>89%</i>
<i>Household usually lights Shabbat candles</i>	<i>72%</i>
<i>Home uses separate dishes for meat and dairy</i>	<i>69%</i>
<i>No eating meat in non-kosher restaurants</i>	<i>53%</i>



# Among Ramah alumni, rates of Yom Kippur fasting are higher than rates for Jews in NY, and much higher than those for US Jews

Last year, did you fast on Yom Kippur, all or part of the day?

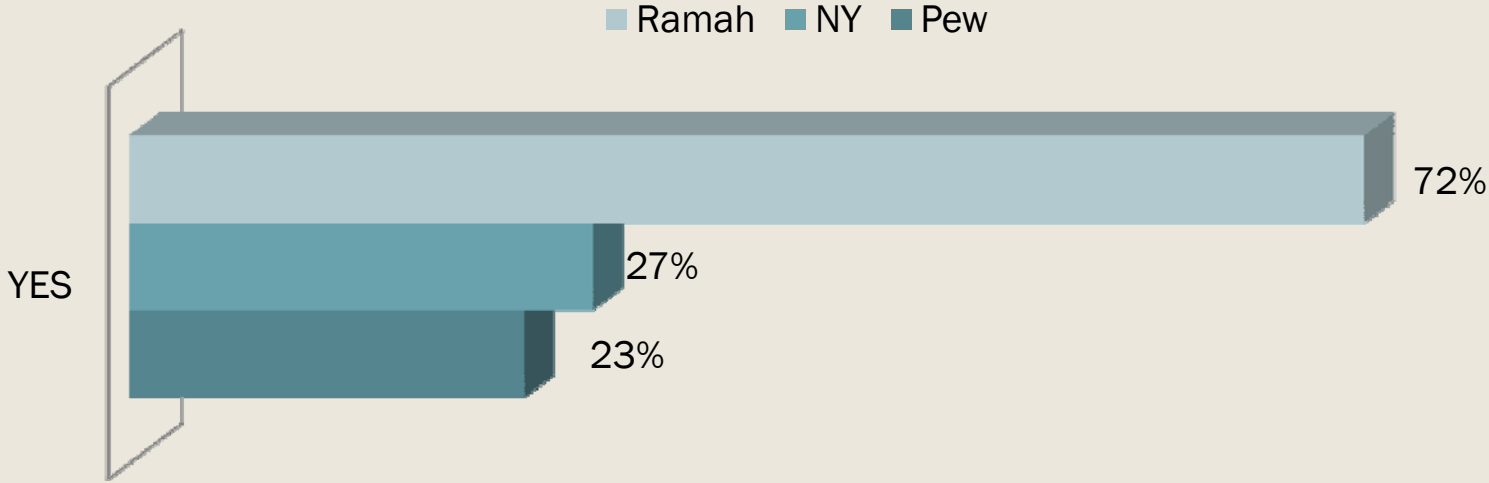


NY: 34. Do you fast on Yom Kippur?

Pew: QH12. During the last Yom Kippur, did you fast?

# Shabbat candle-lighting rates among camper alumni are about 3 times the NY and US rates (for those with inmarried Conservative parents)

Does your household usually light Shabbat candles?

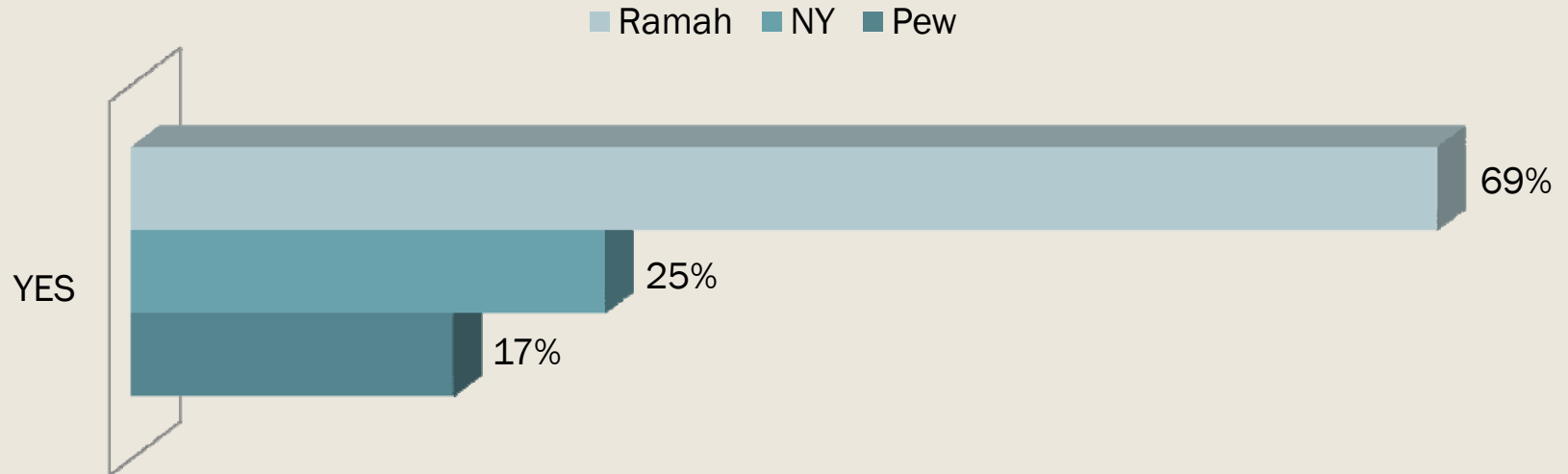


*NY: How often, if at all, (do you/does anyone in the household): Light Sabbath candles on Friday night?*

*Pew: How often, if at all, does anyone in your household light Sabbath candles on Friday night?*

# Meat and dairy dishes: 69% for Ramah alumni vs. just 25% for adult children of inmarried Conservative parents in the NY study and 17% in the US Pew study

Does your home use separate dishes for meat and dairy?



*NY: 36. Do you keep a kosher home?*

*Pew: Do you keep kosher in your home, or not?*

## Nearly 2/3 attend religious services monthly

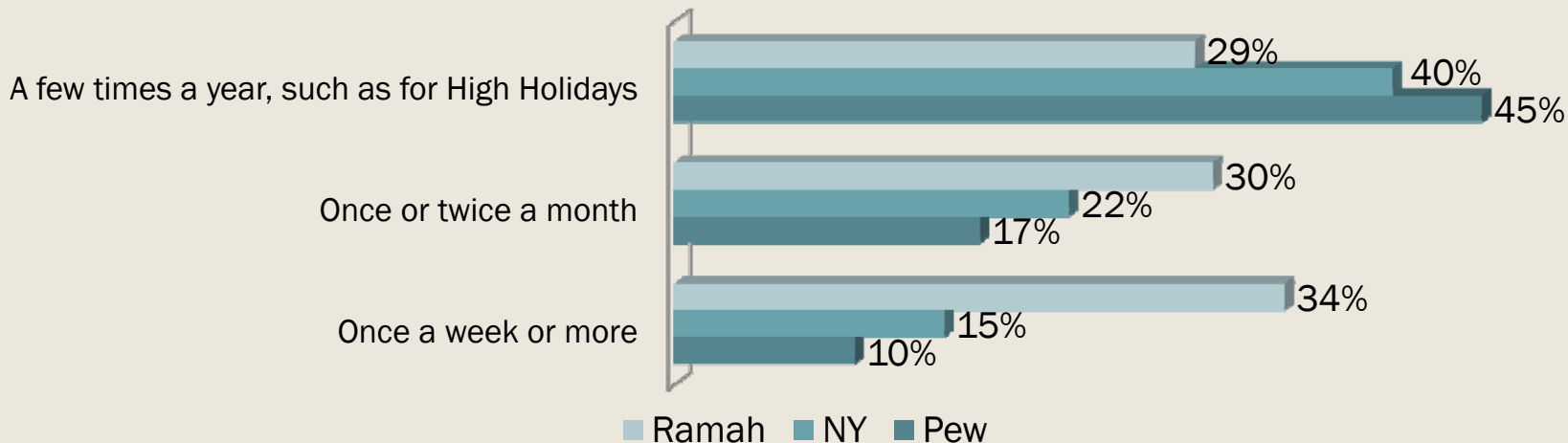
By any standard, alumni report high rates of service attendance. Over a third report attending synagogue services weekly, and almost two-thirds do so at least monthly.

### Attendance at Jewish religious services

<i>Once a week or more</i>	34%
<i>Once or twice a month</i>	30%
<i>A few times a year, such as for High Holidays</i>	29%
<i>Seldom</i>	5%
<i>Never</i>	2%

# The percentage of Ramah alumni who attend religious services weekly is double that of children of Conservative inmarried parents in NY and triple the US average (Pew)

Aside from life cycle events like weddings, funerals and bar mitzvahs, how often do you attend Jewish religious services at a synagogue, temple, minyan or havurah?



*NY: About how often do you personally attend any type of synagogue, temple, or organized Jewish religious service?*

*Pew: Aside from special occasions like weddings, funerals and bar mitzvahs, how often do you attend Jewish religious services at a synagogue, temple, minyan or Havurah?*

# Large numbers take on liturgical leadership activities that demand high levels of religious skill and expertise

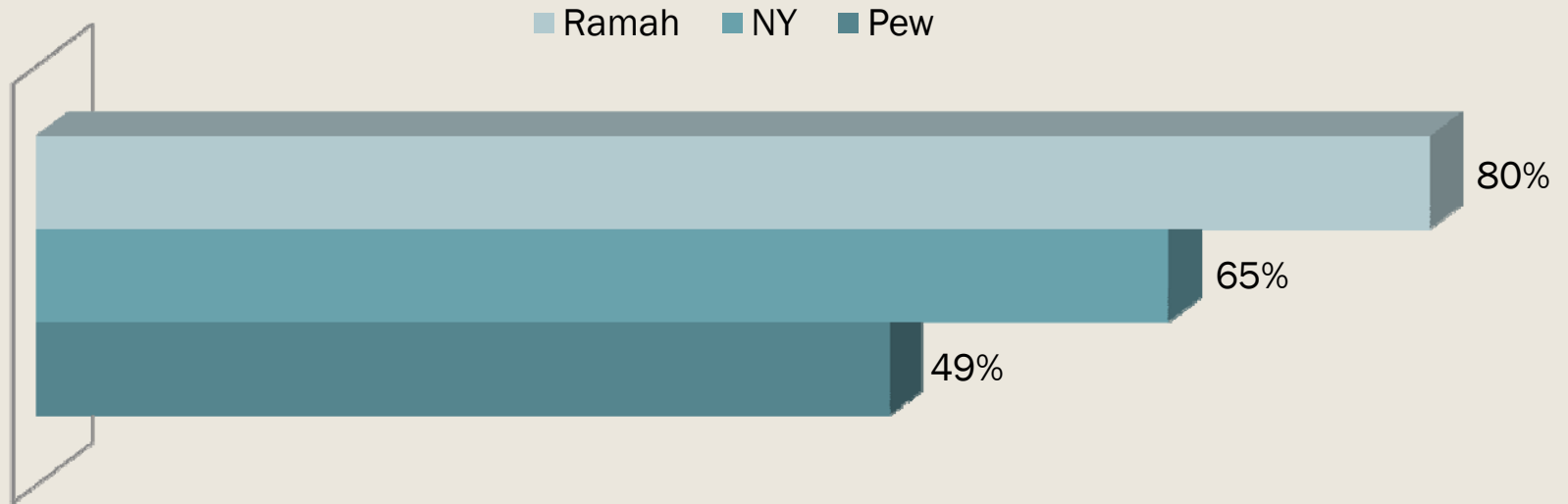
While we have no comparative data with the US or NY, it's intuitively impressive that a third have chanted Torah in the last year.

During the last year:

<i>Chanted Torah</i>	32%
<i>Led services (as the cantor or "shaliach tzibbur")</i>	30%
<i>Gave a "d'var torah" or sermon</i>	27%
<i>Chanted a Haftarah</i>	22%
<i>Any of the above</i>	48%

# There is greater congregational affiliation than among adult children of inmarried Conservative parents in NY and the US

Do you belong to a synagogue, minyan or havurah?



*NY: Do you/Do you or does any member of your household belong to a synagogue, temple, shul, minyan or havurah?*

*Pew: Is anyone in your household currently a member of a synagogue or temple, or not?*

# High rates of congregational affiliation, especially Conservative or related (\*) identities

Is this synagogue, minyan or havurah:

<b>Conservative*</b>	<b>63%</b>
<i>Orthodox</i>	17%
<b>Traditional egalitarian*</b>	<b>6%</b>
<i>Reform</i>	5%
<i>Reconstructionist</i>	2%
<i>Chabad</i>	2%
<b>Masorti*</b>	<b>1%</b>
<i>Renewal</i>	1%
<i>Other</i>	3%
<i>Total of congregationally affiliated</i>	100%



# High rates of Jewish organizational and congregational leadership, both lay and professional

Most have served as congregational or Jewish organizational lay leaders, and almost a third have worked for congregations or Jewish organizations.

Service as an officer or board member of a congregation or Jewish organization:

<i>Yes, now</i>	23%
<i>Yes, not now, but in the past</i>	31%
<i>No</i>	46%
	100%

Been employed full-time by a congregation or a Jewish organization:

<i>Yes, now</i>	16%
<i>Yes, not now, but in the past</i>	15%
<i>No</i>	69%
	100%

## Some “leakage” from Conservative upbringing

Almost 9 in 10 were raised Conservative (or Masorti or Traditional Egalitarian).

Today, the comparable figure is just over 2 in 3, with gains for Orthodoxy, Reform and especially “other,” meaning generally no denomination.

Patterns are about the same for older and younger alumni. Who is now Orthodox? Many who were raised Orthodox, with more observant parents and stronger Jewish background. Who are now Reform? Quite often those raised Reform, with weaker parental and educational background. Also, those who intermarried exhibit higher rates of Reform identities than the inmarried.

Referring to Jewish religious denominations, in which of the following were you raised, and which, if any, do you consider yourself now?

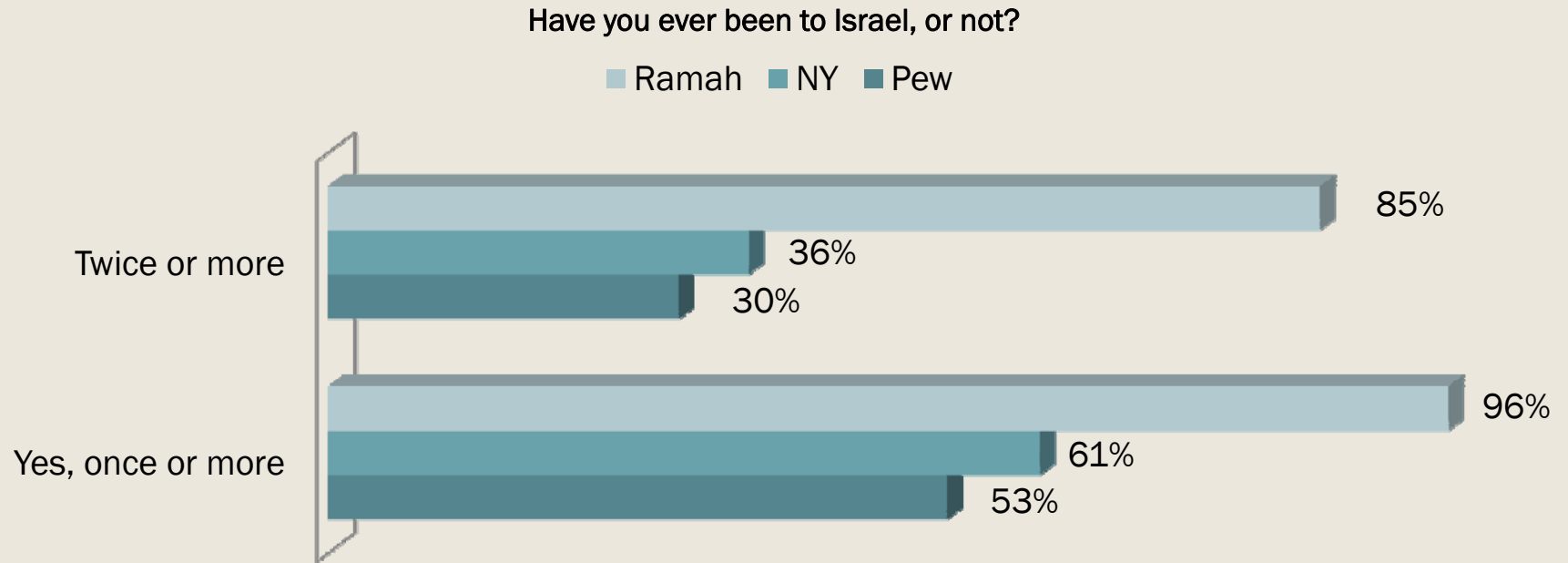
	<i>Orthodox</i>	<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Reform</i>	<i>Reconstructionist</i>	<i>Masorti</i>	<i>Traditional Egalitarian</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Raised</i>	7%	87%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	100%
<i>Now</i>	10%	62%	6%	1%	1%	6%	15%	100%

# Almost all have been to Israel, most for repeat visits, and over a third have lived there

Have you ever been to Israel, or not?

<i>Yes, I now live in Israel</i>	<i>6%</i>
<i>Yes, I have lived in Israel for 3 months or more</i>	<i>31%</i>
<i>Yes, I have visited 3 times or more</i>	<i>37%</i>
<i>Yes, visited twice</i>	<i>11%</i>
<i>Yes, once</i>	<i>11%</i>
<i>Never</i>	<i>4%</i>

# While almost all have been to Israel, 85% visited twice or more, far more than the adult children of inmarried Conservative parents in the NY study and in the US



*NY: Did you ever travel to, or have you ever lived in, Israel?*

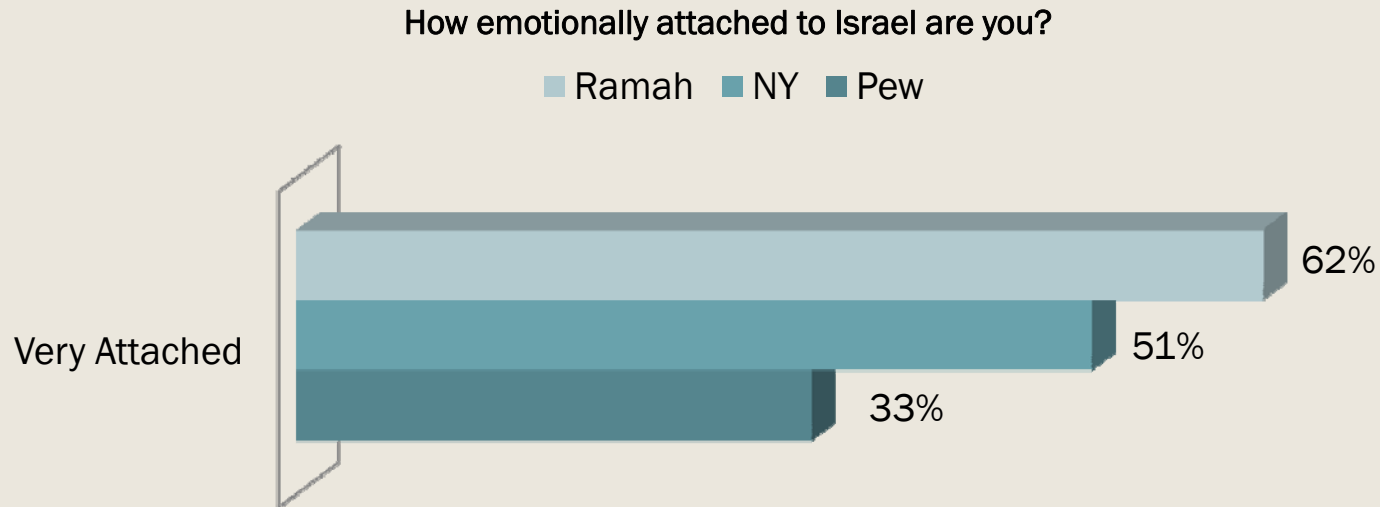
*Pew: Have you ever been to Israel, or not? / Have you been to Israel once or more than once?*

# As many as 62% of Ramah alumni are “very attached” to Israel

How emotionally attached to Israel are you?

<i>Very attached</i>	62%
<i>Somewhat attached</i>	32%
<i>Not very attached</i>	5%
<i>Not at all attached</i>	1%

# Ramah alumni are more attached to Israel than those with inmarried Conservative parents in the NY study and about twice as much as those in the US (Pew)



76% have close friends or immediate family living in Israel

18% have seriously considered living in Israel

# As many as 57% choose day schools for their children, more than the 43% who themselves went to day school

What is the main source of Jewish schooling your oldest child has received/will receive until the age of 13?

<i>Day school</i>	<i>57%</i>
<i>Hebrew or religious school that met more than once a week</i>	<i>32%</i>
<i>Hebrew or religious school that met once a week</i>	<i>6%</i>
<i>Other</i>	<i>3%</i>
<i>None</i>	<i>2%</i>

# Ramah alumni feel it is very important for their children, as adults, to celebrate Jewish holidays, inmarry and feel attached to Israel

Large majorities (over 9 in 10) think it is very important or essential for their children, when they're adults, to marry Jews, raise Jewish children, celebrate Jewish holidays, and feel attached to Israel. Majorities feel likewise about observing Shabbat and they split on keeping kosher, but most are not invested in their children regularly studying Jewish texts.

How important is it to you that, when your child is an adult, he/she...

	<i>Essential</i>	<i>Very important</i>	<i>Not very important or not at all important</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Raises Jewish children</i>	68%	29%	3%	100%
<i>Celebrates Jewish holidays as an adult</i>	57%	38%	5%	100%
<i>Marries a Jew</i>	57%	36%	7%	100%
<i>Feels emotionally attached to Israel</i>	48%	43%	9%	100%
<i>Observes Shabbat in some fashion</i>	37%	39%	24%	100%
<i>Keeps kosher</i>	20%	32%	48%	100%
<i>Regularly studies Jewish texts</i>	11%	27%	62%	100%



# Over 3/4 have close friends from Ramah, and 1/3 married someone who attended or worked at Ramah

Almost half report having at least 3 close friends whom they met at Ramah.

Of your close friends, how many, if any, are people you met at Ramah?

<i>3 or more</i>	<i>45%</i>
<i>1-2</i>	<i>29%</i>
<i>None</i>	<i>26%</i>

Of those married, over a third are married to someone who went to Ramah (although not necessarily the same camp).

35% of their spouses attended or work at Ramah

# Almost half met their spouses through a Ramah connection

Did you meet your spouse through a Ramah connection?

<i>Yes, while attending / working at Ramah</i>	33%
<i>Yes, through Ramah friends outside of camp</i>	7%
<i>Yes, at a Ramah event</i>	1%
<i>Yes, another way</i>	4%
<i>No</i>	55%

Almost all recommend Ramah to others:

Have you ever recommended Ramah to others?

<i>Yes, a few times or more</i>	79%
<i>Yes, once or twice</i>	17%
<i>No</i>	4%

# Most have comparatively strong Jewish education and family backgrounds

- ❑ 43% attended day school, and 51% went to supplementary school that met twice a week or more.
- ❑ Almost all (98%) of their parents were inmarried.
- ❑ Vast majority came from kosher homes (72%) where Shabbat candles were lit (85%) and where almost all parents (96%) fasted on Yom Kippur.
- ❑ The vast majority (84%) visited Israel during their teen years, about four times the average for American Jews their age. Two-thirds (69%) participated in USY, three-quarters (77%) in some Jewish youth group.
- ❑ In college, most were frequent participants in Hillel. A quarter (23%) report having participated “many times” in a Conservative Jewish campus group. Only about half as many (13%) went to Chabad.
- ❑ In college, over two-thirds (71%) took at least one Jewish studies class, and more than a third (38%) took three or more such classes.

# Home upbringing *then* influences Jewish engagement *now*

Our overall measure of Jewish engagement draws on the importance of being Jewish, attendance at services, number of close friends who are Jewish, frequency of Shabbat meals, liturgical leadership, and Israel attachment.

Our measure of Jewish childhood socialization draws on parents lighting Shabbat candles, kosher dishes in the home, participating in a youth group, and type of Jewish schooling.

As one would expect, the home matters considerably: those from Jewishly stronger homes score much higher on the Jewish engagement index years later.

Jewish Engagement index	Jewish Socialization Index			
	<i>[Low: Little] Shabbat candles, kosher dishes, youth group, or day school attendance</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Very high: Candles+ dishes+ youth gp+ day school</i>
High	18%	24%	40%	53%
Moderate	23%	36%	35%	30%
Low	59%	40%	25%	17%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

# Age Trends: Among the inmarried, younger alumni slightly trail the (high) Jewish engagement levels of their elders. The biggest gaps: attachment to Israel and attending services monthly or more.

For inmarried alumni (selected to allow for uniformity in comparisons across age groups), most differences by age are small, but not Israel attachment, monthly service attendance and liturgical leadership (where younger adults trail). In contrast, *more* younger alumni have Shabbat meals with friends.

	Age		
	25-39	40-59	60+
Very important being Jewish	82%	88%	90%
Attends services monthly or more	57%	69%	75%
Attends High Holiday services	92%	94%	94%
Most close friends are Jewish	79%	81%	86%
Very attached to Israel	57%	68%	76%
Frequent Shabbat meals at friends	53%	42%	39%
Fasts on Yom Kippur	89%	91%	88%
Shabbat candles usually lit	65%	75%	78%
Separate dishes for meat and dairy	67%	70%	74%
Keep kosher outside the home	54%	55%	57%
Liturgical leadership	41%	47%	55%

# By way of socio-demographic background

More women (59%) than men (41%)

A median age of 42, with almost a third under 30:

18-29	32%
30-39	16%
40-49	17%
50-64	24%
65+	11%

As a group, they're highly educated:

<i>Professional or graduate degree</i>	57%
<i>B.A., B.S. or undergraduate degree</i>	28%
<i>High school diploma or less</i>	14%

# By way of socio-demographic background

Most are married:

<i>Married</i>	60%
<i>Living with a partner</i>	4%
<i>Divorced or separated</i>	3%
<i>Widowed</i>	1%
<i>Never been married</i>	32%

Most are liberal, comparable to American Jews and the overall Pew comparison sub-sample.

In general, would you describe your political views as:

<i>Very conservative</i>	2%
<i>Conservative</i>	10%
<i>Moderate</i>	28%
<i>Liberal</i>	41%
<i>Very liberal</i>	14%
<i>Not sure</i>	5%

# Serving as staff links to long-term differences in Jewish engagement

Among campers who went on to work as staff, Jewish engagement levels today are noticeably higher than among campers who never became staff members.

Jewish Engagement Index*	Camper Only vs. Camper & Staff	
	<i>Camper only, never became staff</i>	<i>Camper &amp; then became staff</i>
High	26%	40%
Moderate	33%	32%
Low	41%	28%
TOTAL	100%	100%

\*Jewish Engagement Index combines having Jewish friends and spouses, ritual observance, congregational involvement, liturgical leadership, Conservative identity, and Israel attachment.



# Years of camping, without becoming staff, are not related to apparent long-term differences in Jewish engagement

Years as a camper show no apparent impact upon Jewish engagement as an adult. In fact, those who attended 1-3 years actually out-score those who went 4 years or more.

Jewish Engagement Index	Years as Camper		
	<i>1-3</i>	<i>4-6</i>	<i>7 or more</i>
High	40%	35%	33%
Moderate	33%	32%	31%
Low	27%	33%	36%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

# The apparent impact of number of years serving as staff

The apparent effect of years as a staff member is quite pronounced.

Jewish Engagement Index	Years as a Staff Member			
	<i>None</i>	<i>1-2</i>	<i>3-4</i>	<i>5+</i>
High	26%	29%	41%	58%
Moderate	33%	34%	32%	28%
Low	41%	37%	27%	14%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

# Ramah alumni exhibit high rates of Jewish engagement

- Ramah camper alumni, years after the Camp Ramah experience, **show high levels of Jewish engagement**, as evidenced by Jewish friends and spouses, ritual observance, congregational involvement, liturgical leadership, Conservative identity, and Israel attachment.
- Their rates of **Jewish involvement exceed** those of adults who are the children of inmarried Conservative parents. In general, comparisons with the country at large (Pew) show larger gaps than those in the NY area sample. However, most gaps between Ramah alumni and the NY comparison are rather substantial.
- Ramah alumni are **highly connected** with each other, and with Ramah itself. They have numerous Ramah friends, spouses and children. They recommend the camp to others.
- Higher levels of adult Jewish identity are associated with **higher levels of Jewish upbringing** as indicated by parental ritual observance and attendance at a Jewish day school, consistent with previous research on American Jews.
- Once we hold marital status constant (dividing respondents into inmarried, intermarried, and non-married), the younger generation (25-39) display levels of Jewish engagement equal to those who are middle-aged and in the older years. The one exception: Israel attachment, where the younger alumni trail their elders.

# Ramah alumni exhibit high rates of Jewish engagement, in large part reflecting years as Ramah staff members

- While the duration of the **camper experience alone is unrelated** to adult Jewish engagement, eventually serving as a Ramah staff member is linked with higher levels of Jewish engagement.
- In fact, **former Ramah staff members report higher Jewish engagement** levels than those who never served as a staff member.
- And the **number of years as a Ramah staff member** strongly predicts higher levels of adult Jewish engagement.

# We can infer that Camp Ramah has been critical to building a committed and connected core of Conservative and other Jews in North America and Israel

Methodologically, we are limited:

- **No longitudinal surveys:** Definitively assessing the impact of Ramah is possible only by way of “before and after” survey evidence – but we have a single, retrospective survey.
- **No randomized experiment:** Nor can we conduct a controlled experiment where we randomly assign some youngsters to the treatment group (attending Ramah) and others to the control group (no Ramah).

But, we do have...

- **Strong inferential evidence** that, over the years, Ramah has been extraordinarily influential in creating a connected alumni community of individuals who are highly engaged in Jewish life.

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- In North America and Europe, **mainstream religious groups have been experiencing numerical decline**. In contrast, more fundamentalist groups have demonstrated relative strength.
- In like fashion, among Jews in the US, **Orthodoxy has been growing** (Ultra-Orthodoxy even more than the Modern Orthodoxy). This phenomenon has led some to conclude that only Orthodoxy has a good chance of long-term continuity and vitality.
- Yet, the Camp Ramah alumni, combining camping with strong parental upbringing, Jewish education, and Israel experience, also demonstrate signs of long-term retention and Jewish engagement. This underscores the value of sustaining, strengthening, and expanding the Camp Ramah system throughout North America. At a time when North American Jews are contending with challenges to their numbers and commitment of the engaged “Jewish middle,” Ramah is critical to sustaining those numbers and fortifying that commitment.
- The extraordinary phenomenon of the Camp Ramah endeavor may have instructive lessons not only for Ramah and Conservative Judaism. The apparent success of Ramah may bode well for other endeavors in American Jewry that are marked by intensive Jewish commitment and connection along with long-term education and ideological passion. In short, Ramah’s achievements may (and should) encourage support for a variety of similarly constructed attempts to produce intensive Jewish environments, be they at Ramah or under other auspices.