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Faculty Academic Boycotters

Ground Zero for Campus Antisemitism

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Introduction

As the Middle East Studies Association (MESA)[1]—whose nearly 3,000 members are often the primary purveyors of Israel-related courses and departmentally-sponsored events on U.S. campuses—is poised to endorse the 2005 Palestinian call for boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) against Israel and implement its guidelines[2] for academic BDS, it is critical to understand the role anti-Zionist faculty play in the rise of campus antisemitic activity. A close examination of campus antisemitism following the Israel-Hamas War in May 2021 provides an important and valuable window into the surprisingly large influence and reach of anti-Zionist faculty.

Over the last several years, flare-ups of hostilities in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have invariably had repercussions on American college campuses, often resulting in spikes in anti-Israel rhetoric that has crossed the line into antisemitic expression, as well as increased acts of harm targeting Jewish and pro-Israel students including assault, vandalism, and harassment. The flare-up of hostilities between Israel and Hamas in May 2021 was no exception. In fact, it led to an explosion of campus antisemitism across the country.

Much of the antisemitic activity was perpetrated by anti-Zionist students and student groups. However, individual faculty and academic departments also dramatically increased their anti-Zionist rhetoric and activism in the weeks following the onset of the Israel-Hamas war. During this

[1] https://mesana.org/
[2] https://bdsmovement.net/pacbi/academic-boycott-guidelines

period, thousands of individual faculty members signed onto anti-Zionist statements that included calls for an academic boycott of Israel that not only targets Israeli universities for harm, but directly subverts the educational opportunities and academic freedom of students and faculty at their own schools. Even more troubling were the wholly unprecedented anti-Zionist statements containing rhetoric consistent with the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism,[3] that were issued or endorsed by 160 academic departments at more than 120 U.S. colleges and universities.

The presence and number of faculty who expressed support for an academic boycott of Israel prior to the onset of the Israel-Hamas war were strongly and reliably associated with every measure of faculty and student-perpetrated antisemitic activity during this period.

The current report explores the nature and scope of campus antisemitism from the onset of the recent conflict to the end of the 2020–2021 academic year (May 10–June 30, 2021) and details the results of a study examining the unique contribution of anti-Zionist faculty to both student and departmental antisemitic activity during this period. The study found that at more than 100 schools most popular with Jewish students, **the presence and number of faculty who expressed support for an academic boycott of Israel prior to the onset of the Israel-Hamas war were strongly and reliably associated with every measure of faculty and student-perpetrated antisemitic activity during this period.** Specifically, the presence at a school of five or more faculty who had expressed support for academic BDS prior to May 2021 was a very strong predictor of the following:

↑7.2x The issuance or endorsement of anti-Zionist statements by one or more academic departments:

Schools with five or more faculty academic boycotters were **7.2 times** more likely to have departments that issued or endorsed anti-Zionist statements than schools with less than five faculty academic boycotters.

↑5.6x The anti-Zionist resolutions passed by student governments:

Schools with five or more faculty academic boycotters were **5.6 times** more likely to have a student government that issued an anti-Zionist statement.

↑3.6x Student-perpetrated acts targeting Jewish and pro-Israel students for harm:

Schools with five or more faculty academic boycotters were **3.6 times** more likely to have acts targeting Jewish and pro-Israel students for harm.

[3] https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism

↑ 4.5x Student BDS promotion:

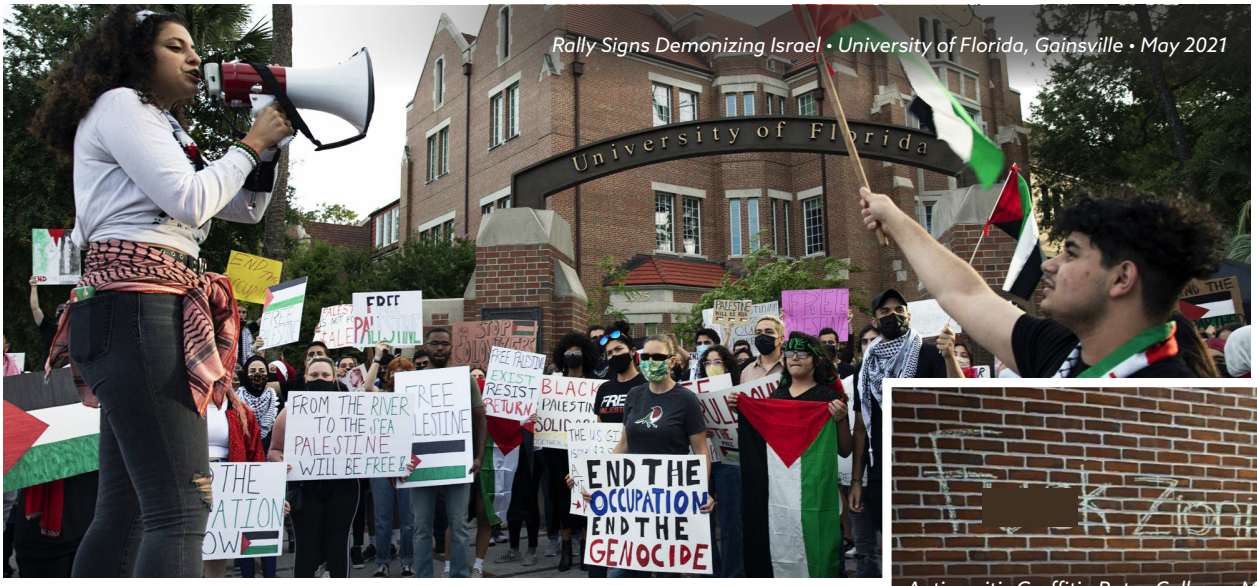
Schools with five or more faculty academic boycotters were **4.5 times** more likely to have incidents involving student BDS promotion.

↑ 3.3x Student anti-Zionist rhetoric:

Schools with five or more faculty academic boycotters were **3.3 times** more likely to have incidents involving student anti-Zionist rhetoric.

Our study also found an **extremely strong correlation between the number of faculty academic boycotters prior to the onset of the Israel-Hamas war and the surge of new faculty endorsers of academic BDS during May and June 2021**, suggesting that faculty academic boycotters are successfully influencing their colleagues to embrace an academic boycott of Israel.

Antisemitic Activity



Rally Signs Demonizing Israel • University of Florida, Gainsville • May 2021

Antisemitic Graffiti • Bates College • May 2021

ANTISEMITIC ACTIVITY ON US CAMPUSES MAY 10–JUNE 30, 2021[4]

More than half of all incidents involving acts of aggression targeting Jewish and pro-Israel students, antisemitic rhetoric[5] and/or BDS-promotion occurring during the entire 2020–2021 academic year took place in the seven weeks following the onset of the Israel-Hamas clashes, despite the fact that many schools were then in the midst of graduation activities or had even completed them. In addition, the number of total antisemitic incidents during this period (455 incidents) was **eight times higher** than the number of incidents during the same 7-week period in 2020 (57 incidents), and **fourteen times higher** than in 2019 (32 incidents).

STUDENT ANTISEMITIC ACTIVITY MAY 10–JUNE 30, 2021

Much of the antisemitic activity from May 10 to June 30, 2021 was perpetrated by students: for instance, there were student-organized anti-Israel protests, rallies and events on over 40 campuses; virulently anti-Israel statements and petitions issued by registered student organizations on over 50 campuses; and anti-Israel resolutions containing antisemitic rhetoric, with more than half

[4] All antisemitic activity data and examples are culled from AMCHA Initiative's Antisemitism Tracker: https://amchainitiative.org/search-by-incident#incident/display-by-date/

[5] Rhetoric is identified as antisemitic using the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of antisemitism: https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism

Image Source: https://www.alligator.org/article/2021/05/uf-community-responds-to-israeli-palestinian-conflict

calling on their universities to implement an economic or academic boycott of Israel, adopted by 30 student governments.

At the same time, there was an alarming uptick in both the number and intensity of acts of student-perpetrated aggression against Israel's on-campus supporters. For example, during this 7-week period:

- At the University of California Santa Cruz, during a Zoom student government meeting to discuss an anti-Israel resolution, antisemitic messages of "u filthy kike HEIL HITLER BURN ALL JEWS" and "f*** all jews they belong in the oven" were sent via the Zoom chat function to individual Zionist students and faculty members.
- At the University of Vermont, the administrators of a student Instagram account for sexual abuse survivors issued a statement comparing Zionists to sexual abusers and blocking Zionist students from posting on the account.
- At Bates College, graffiti stating "F*** Zionists, Stand Up 4 Palestine" was found on campus, and was followed by the Bates Leftist Coalition goading students on social media to continue to write denigrating graffiti.
- At Rutgers University, the Rutgers Hillel detailed that "identifiably Jewish students have been verbally assaulted, some report having their car tires slashed" with Jewish students reporting a "social media pogrom" consisting of a "torrent of hate" directed against pro-Israel students.
- At Stanford University, the Hillel director described an "alarming amount" of online and in-person anti-Zionist bullying of Jewish students, including Jewish students being told "Don't talk to me if you're Jewish" and "I'm not going to talk to you, Nazi" by their classmates.

FACULTY/DEPARTMENTAL ANTISEMITIC ACTIVITY MAY 10–JUNE 30, 2021

In addition, as happened in the wake of previous flare-ups in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, faculty, too, increased their anti-Zionist rhetoric and activism following the onset of the recent Israel-Hamas clashes: Hundreds of individual faculty members on dozens of campuses signed anti-Israel statements organized by students or fellow faculty. In addition, from May 10 to June 30, thousands of individual faculty members publicly endorsed the anti-Israel Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement in general, and the academic boycott of Israeli universities and scholars (academic BDS) in particular, with the number of academic BDS-supporting U.S. faculty nearly doubling during this 7-week period, jumping from 1,721 supporters before May 10 to 3,273 by the end of June.

While increased faculty involvement in anti-Zionist rhetoric and activism during this latest outbreak of hostilities was not surprising or unexpected, what *was* unexpected—and in fact unprecedented—was the official anti-Israel stance taken by whole academic departments on campuses across the country. In May and June of 2021, 160 academic departments at 120 U.S. colleges and

universities issued or endorsed one or more of 19 wholly one-sided, anti-Israel statements containing rhetoric that meets the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism.[6]

While increased faculty involvement in anti-Zionist rhetoric and activism during this latest outbreak of hostilities was not surprising or unexpected, what was unexpected—and in fact unprecedented—was the official anti-Israel stance taken by whole academic departments across the country.

One statement, "Gender Studies Departments in Solidarity with Palestinian Feminist Collective,"[7] accounted for the largest share of departmental signatories, with 124 departments from 115 colleges and universities signing on. However, Ethnic Studies departments at 13 schools, Middle East studies departments at 4 schools, Anthropology departments at 3 schools and Architecture, Urban Planning and Art History departments at 5 schools also issued or signed onto similar anti-Israel statements.

These departmentally-issued or endorsed statements included the following problematic language:

- All of the statements held Israel solely responsible for the conflict, and not one of them mentioned "Hamas" or the more than 4,000 rockets and mortars that were fired by that U.S. State Department-designated terrorist organization toward Israeli population centers.
- Eight of the statements explicitly contained language rejecting "both sides" rhetoric, implying an unwillingness to even consider alternative, fact-based explanations for the conflict that did not find Israel solely responsible for it.
- Every statement used language that demonized and delegitimized Israel: Israel was falsely accused of "settler colonialism" (17 statements), "ethnic cleansing" (13 statements), "apartheid" (12 statements), and racial or religious "supremacy" (4 statements).
- Eleven statements called for or endorsed BDS actions against Israel, including an academic boycott of Israel (6 statements).
- Six statements called for the "right of return" of millions of Palestinians to Israel, which, if carried out, would effectively result in the elimination of Israel as a Jewish state.
- Six statements rejected the IHRA definition's understanding of anti-Zionism as a form of antisemitism, with one explicitly exhorting colleagues, "in their classrooms, universities, and beyond," to "[r]eject the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of anti-Semitism which has been used by Israel's supporters to suppress legitimate criticism of Israel."[8]

Moreover, another important and extremely worrisome feature of all of these statements was the positioning of their anti-Zionist political stance squarely within their departments' disciplinary focus. For example:

- The Gender Studies statement expressed, "As gender studies departments in the United States, we are the proud benefactors of decades of feminist anti-racist, and anti-colonial

[6] https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism
[7] http://genderstudiespalestinesolidarity.weebly.com/
[8] https://mes.americananthro.org/mes-statement-on-palestine-2/

activism that informs the foundation of our interdiscipline...We center global social justice in our intersectional teaching, scholarship, and organizing... We join a vibrant, vast, and growing international solidarity community, composed of those raising their voices in support of Palestinian's right to freedom, return, safety, flourishing, and self-determination."

- A statement issued by the Critical Race and Ethnic Studies Department at the University of California Santa Cruz began, "As a program committed to the study of colonialism, military occupation, and Indigenous resistance, Critical Race and Ethnic Studies stands in support of the Palestinian people as they live under multiple forms of violence imposed on them by Israel."[9]
- The Global Asian Studies Program at the University of Illinois Chicago issued a statement affirming, "As educators of Global Asian Studies... [o]ur curriculum focuses on pedagogies that reflect decolonizing, intersectional, anti-racist, and anti-capitalist frameworks that are committed to understanding 'Global Asia' in relation to and connected with Black, Indigenous, Arab American, Latinx communities. Our analyses of power and resistance, our engagement with communities, and our work in forging critical solidarities is premised on these frameworks...We honor this legacy of solidarity and reaffirm our commitment to supporting the Palestinian struggle. We remain committed to supporting the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement."[10]
- The statement issued by the African American Studies Department at Pennsylvania State University averred, "African American Studies is rooted in a commitment to collective liberation. We express our solidarity with Palestinians across the diaspora because we believe your lives matter. We see you; we hear you; and we stand with you."[11]
- The California State University San Bernardino Center for the Study of Muslim & Arab Worlds' Statement for Palestine claimed, "As a center committed to the study of Muslim and Arab worlds, we cannot be silent. We issue this statement in support and solidarity with the colonized people of Palestine and their resistance to the military and apartheid state of Israel."[12]
- A statement entitled "Architecture and Urban Planning Organizations Stand in Solidarity for Palestine," signed by several U.S. departments of Architecture and Urban Planning, stated, "We recognise that architecture and urban planning are both the means and the ends of Israeli settler colonialism and state terror. As architects and planners, it is our moral and ethical duty to acknowledge that the tools of our profession have been co-opted to violate the legal rights of the Palestinian people...As we teach about architecture and planning's complicity in settler colonialism and apartheid, we commit to teaching about Palestine by centering Palestinian scholarship and experience."[13]

See Appendix for a list of the 19 departmentally endorsed anti-Israel statements and their departmental signatories.

[9] https://cres.ucsc.edu/news-events/news/palestinian-solidarity-statement.html
[10] https://glas.uic.edu/news-stories/a-statement-of-solidarity-with-palestine-from-the-uic-global-asian-studies-program/
[11] http://web.archive.org/web/20210608083313/https://afam.la.psu.edu/news/reaffirming-solidarity
[This is an archived URL; the statement is no longer on the departmental website].
[12] https://www.csusb.edu/csmaw
[13] https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1xIoEAZ3Hln1dUspnhZ9Eii5OIRlfk_ZRaLVZICbeF7Q/viewform?ts=60a4abb3&edit_requested=true

Study on the Impact of Faculty Boycotters

STUDY EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF FACULTY BOYCOTTERS ON CAMPUS ANTISEMITISM MAY 10–JUNE 30, 2021

The current study investigated the unique effect of faculty who had expressed support for an academic boycott of Israel prior to the onset of the Israel-Hamas war on the incidence of Israel-related antisemitism on over 109 colleges and universities most popular with Jewish students during the 7-week period following the onset of the war (May 10–June 30, 2021). Specifically, the study sought to determine whether and to what extent the presence and number of faculty who had expressed public support for academic BDS prior to May 10, 2021 (Old Academic Boycotters) contributed to the incidence of the following departmental and student-perpetrated antisemitic activity on their campuses during this period:

- The issuance or endorsement of anti-Zionist statements by one or more of the school's academic departments
- The issuance of an anti-Zionist resolution by the school's student government
- Student-perpetrated targeting of Jewish and pro-Israel students for harm

- Student BDS promotion
- Student anti-Zionist expression

The study also explored the effect of Old Academic Boycotters on the number of faculty who expressed public support for academic BDS only after May 10, 2021 (New Academic Boycotters).

Methodology

DATA COLLECTION

Hillel International compiles an annual list of the 120 public and private colleges and universities with the largest populations of Jewish students in North America.[14] Eliminating from Hillel's list all two-year colleges and Canadian schools, this study focused on the 109 remaining schools, examining the antisemitic activity on each campus from May 10 to June 30, 2021 to determine: **1)** whether one or more academic departments issued or endorsed an anti-Israel statement with antisemitic content; **2)** whether its student government issued an anti-Israel statement with antisemitic content; **3)** the number of incidents involving the student-perpetrated targeting of Jewish or pro-Israel students for harm; **4)** the number of incidents involving student promotion of BDS; and **5)** the number of incidents involving student anti-Israel rhetoric with antisemitic content.

Data were gathered by reviewing submitted incident reports, media accounts, social media postings and on-line recordings.

In addition, the following information was collected about each of the 109 schools in the study:

- Whether it was public or private
- The total student population (undergraduate and graduate)
- The presence of one or more active anti-Zionist student groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine
- The number of faculty who had signed one or more public petitions or statements endorsing an academic boycott of Israeli universities and scholars[15] prior to May 10, 2021 (Old Academic Boycotters)
- The number of new faculty to sign on to a public petition or statement endorsing an academic boycott of Israel from May 10 to June 30, 2021 (New Academic Boycotters)

[14] https://www.hillel.org/college-guide/top-60-jewish-schools
[15] https://amchainitiative.org/faculty-boycotters/

IDENTIFYING ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS

In determining what constitutes an antisemitic incident, a qualitative distinction was made between behaviors that are, in whole or part, directed at or disproportionately affect Jewish members of the campus community and cause them some degree of measurable harm (e.g. assault, bullying, suppression of speech, destruction of property), and behaviors, primarily speech or imagery, that are expressions of classic or contemporary antisemitic tropes[16], but which are not specifically directed at Jewish members of the campus community and do not cause them measurable harm.

Incidents identified as "**Targeting Jewish Students and Staff for Harm**" involve one or more of the following behaviors:

Physical Assault

Physically attacking Jewish students or staff because of their Jewishness or perceived association with Israel.

Discrimination

Unfair treatment or exclusion of Jewish students or staff because of their Jewishness or perceived association with Israel.

Destruction of Property

Inflicting damage or destroying property owned by Jews or related to Jews.

Genocidal Expression

Using imagery (e.g. swastika) or language that expresses a desire or will to kill Jews or exterminate the Jewish people.

Bullying

Tormenting Jewish students or staff because of their Jewishness or perceived association with Israel.

Denigrating

Unfairly ostracizing, vilifying or defaming Jewish students or staff because of their Jewishness or perceived association with Israel.

Suppression of Speech/Movement/Assembly

Preventing or impeding the expression of Jewish students, such as by removing or defacing Jewish students' flyers, attempting to disrupt or shut down speakers at Jewish or pro-Israel events, or blocking access to Jewish or pro-Israel student events.

[16] AMCHA Initiative employs the U.S. State Department definition of antisemitism, which includes forms of anti-Zionist expression: https://www.state.gov/defining-anti-semitism/.

Language or imagery identified as "**Antisemitic Expression**" involve one or more of the following types of expression:

1. **Historical Antisemitism**

   Using symbols, images and tropes associated with historical antisemitism, including by making "mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such, or the power of Jews as a collective-especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, governments, or other societal institutions" (U.S. State Department).

2. **Condoning Terrorism against Israel or Jews**

   Calling for, aiding or justifying the killing or harming of Jews.

3. **Denying Jews Self-Determination**

   Denying Israel the right to exist/promoting the elimination of Israel as a Jewish state.

4. **Demonization of Israel**

   Using symbols, images and tropes associated with classic antisemitism to characterize Israel, Israelis, Zionism or Zionists, such as claiming that Israelis are evil or blood-thirsty and deliberately murder children or that Zionism is white supremacy, or delegitimizing Israel by insinuating that Israel is an illegitimate state and does not belong in the family of nations.

In addition, we distinguish a third category, called "**BDS Activity**," which involves the promotion or endorsement of efforts to boycott, divest from or sanction Israel but contains no other evidence of direct harm to Jewish members of the campus community or the inclusion of classic or contemporary antisemitic tropes.

STATISTICAL ANALYSES

This study used a combination of logistical regression and negative binomial regression to isolate the impact of Old Academic Boycotters on measures of antisemitic activity from May 10 to June 30, 2021, distinct from three other factors that we believed could have an impact on antisemitic activity. These included the presence of one or more anti-Zionist student groups, the size of the school, and whether it was a public or private institution.

The dependent binary variables in the two logistical regression analyses were, respectively: 1) whether the school had one or more academic departments that issued or endorsed an anti-Zionist statement; and 2) whether the school's student government passed an anti-Zionist resolution.

The dependent continuous variables in the three negative binomial regression analyses were,

respectively: 1) the number of incidents of student-perpetrated targeting of Jewish students for harm; 2) the number of incidents of student BDS promotion; 3) the number of incidents of student anti-Zionist expression.

In all of the regression analyses, the independent variables were the same:

- Whether or not a school had five[17] or more faculty who had expressed public support for an academic boycott of Israel prior to May 10, 2021
- Whether or not a school had one or more active anti-Zionist student groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)
- The total student population
- Whether the school was public or private

In addition, a Pearson linear correlation was used to investigate the association between Old Academic Boycotters and New Academic Boycotters.

Findings

1 The presence of five or more Old Academic Boycotters was a very strong predictor of whether a school had one or more academic departments that issued or endorsed an anti-Zionist statement from May 10 to June 30.

As shown in Table 1, schools with five or more Old Academic Boycotters were **7.24 times more likely** to have one or more departments that issued or endorsed an anti-Zionist statement than schools with less than five Old Academic Boycotters ($p < .001$), while holding constant the presence of an anti-Zionist student group, school population and whether the school was public or private. The presence of an anti-Zionist student group, the size of the school and whether it was private or public were not significantly associated with the departmental statements.

TABLE 1 Logistic Regression Analysis of Predictors of Anti-Zionist Departmental Statements

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Err.	p-value	Odds Ratio
≥ 5 Old Academic Boycotters	1.9790	0.5319	0.0002	7.2353
Anti-Zionist Student Group	0.9514	0.5296	0.0724	2.5894
School Population	-0.0000	0.0000	0.7938	1.0000
Private or Public School	-0.4282	0.5974	0.4735	0.6517

2 The presence of five or more Old Academic Boycotters was a strong predictor of whether a school's student government passed an anti-Zionist resolution from May 10 to June 30.

As shown in Table 2, schools with five or more Old Academic Boycotters were **5.58 times more likely** to have student governments that passed an anti-Zionist resolution than schools with less than five Old Academic Boycotters ($p < .05$), while holding constant the presence of an anti-Zionist student group, school population and whether the school was public or private.

The presence of an anti-Zionist student group was, unexpectedly, not significantly associated with the passage of an anti-Zionist resolution by the student government, nor was whether the school was private or public. And while the size of the school was significantly associated with the student government's passage of an anti-Zionist resolution, its impact was negligible.

TABLE 2 Logistic Regression Analysis of Predictors of Anti-Zionist Student Government Resolutions

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Err.	p-value	Odds Ratio
≥ 5 Old Academic Boycotters	1.7199	0.7206	0.0170	5.5839
Anti-Zionist Student Group	0.9146	0.7335	0.2125	2.4957
School Population	-0.0001	0.0000	0.0473	0.9999
Private or Public School	-1.0457	0.7301	0.1521	0.3515

3 The presence of five or more Old Academic Boycotters was a strong predictor of the incidence of acts involving the student-perpetrated targeting of Jewish students for harm that occurred from May 10 to June 30.

As shown in Table 3, schools with five or more Old Academic Boycotters were **3.65 times more likely** to have incidents involving the student-perpetrated targeting of Jewish students for harm than schools with less than five Old Academic Boycotters ($p < .01$), while holding constant the presence of an anti-Zionist student group, school population and whether the school was public or private.

As expected, the presence of an anti-Zionist student group was the most significant factor in the student-perpetrated targeting of Jewish students for harm, while the school size and whether it

was private or public did not play a significant role.

TABLE 3 Negative Binomial Regression Analysis of Predictors of Student-Perpetrated Targeting of Jewish Students for Harm

Variable	IRR	Std. Err.	z	P> |z|
≥ 5 Old Academic Boycotters	3.648206	1.723402	2.74	0.006
Anti-Zionist Student Group	15.49986	10.64234	3.99	0.000
School Population	.9999827	.0000137	-1.26	0.207
Private or Public School	.7343517	.3489261	-0.65	0.516

4 The presence of five or more Old Academic Boycotters was a strong predictor of the incidence of student BDS promotion that occurred from May 10 to June 30.

As shown in Table 4, schools with five or more Old Academic Boycotters were **4.48 times more likely** to have incidents involving the student-perpetrated targeting of Jewish students for harm than schools with less than five Old Academic Boycotters ($p < .01$), while holding constant the presence of an anti-Zionist student group, school population and whether the school was public or private.

As expected, the presence of an anti-Zionist student group was also a significant factor in student BDS promotion, while the school size and whether it was private or public did not play a significant role.

TABLE 4 Negative Binomial Regression Analysis of Predictors of Student BDS Promotion

Variable	IRR	Std. Err.	z	P> |z|
≥ 5 Old Academic Boycotters	4.483362	2.229859	3.02	0.003
Anti-Zionist Student Group	9.297566	9.07439	2.28	0.022
School Population	.99999	.0000137	-1.14	0.256
Private or Public School	.8917656	.2971302	-0.34	0.731

5 The presence of five or more Old Academic Boycotters was a strong predictor of the incidence of student anti-Zionist expression that occurred from May 10 to June 30.

As shown in Table 5, schools with five or more Old Academic Boycotters were **3.31 times more likely** to have incidents involving the student-perpetrated targeting of Jewish students for harm than schools with less than five Old Academic Boycotters ($p << .001$), while holding constant the presence of an anti-Zionist student group, school population and whether the school was public or private.

As expected, the presence of an anti-Zionist student group was also a significant factor in student anti-Zionist expression, while the school size and whether it was private or public did not play a significant role.

TABLE 5 Negative Binomial Regression Analysis of Predictors of Student Anti-Zionist Expression

Variable	IRR	Std. Err.	z	P> |z|
≥ 5 Old Academic Boycotters	3.308573	1.093236	3.62	0.000
Anti-Zionist Student Group	7.385805	4.060599	3.64	0.000
School Population	.9999967	7.21e-06	-0.46	0.646
Private or Public School	.8515313	.2458941	-0.56	0.578

6 The number of Old Academic Boycotters was very strongly associated with the number of New Academic Boycotters.

Schools with more faculty who had expressed support for an academic boycott of Israel prior to May 10, 2021 strongly tended to have more faculty who expressed support for academic BDS only after May 10, 2021. (Pearson $r = .53$; $n = 109$; $p << .001$).

Discussion & Recommendations

Our previous studies have shown that the presence and number of faculty endorsers of an academic boycott of Israel are highly associated with the incidence of anti-Zionist expression in academic programming, strongly suggesting that some faculty who express anti-Zionist sentiments outside of the university are bringing their anti-Israel animus into their school's educational spaces: One study of 50 syllabi of courses on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that were taught at 40 schools across the country found that courses whose instructors had been signatory to one or more petitions calling for an academic boycott of Israel assigned, on average, four times more readings authored by BDS-supporters than instructors who do not support any form of BDS.[18] Another study of 550 departments of Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East studies across the country found that departments with one or more faculty academic boycotters were 5 to 12 times more likely to sponsor public events with pro-BDS speakers, and the more faculty boycotters in a department, the more events with pro-BDS speakers.[19]

The results of the current study confirm and expand on our previous studies, providing further compelling evidence that faculty academic boycotters are indeed exploiting their university po-

[18] https://amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Syllabus-Study-Report.pdf
[19] https://amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Faculty-Report.pdf

sitions and departmental affiliations in order to bring their extramural anti-Zionist advocacy and activism onto campus, in ways that increase both student anti-Zionist activity and acts that target Jewish and pro-Israel students for harm.

The extremely strong association of faculty who had supported an academic boycott of Israel prior to the onset of the Israel-Hamas war with the unprecedented issuance or endorsement of anti-Zionist statements by academic departments after the conflict's onset highlights the critical role played by individual academic boycotters in influencing their departments to take wholly one-sided, overtly political stands against Israel and even call for actions to harm the Jewish state, including BDS. Furthermore, the extremely strong association found between faculty who had expressed support for academic BDS before the conflict and those who only expressed support after the conflict's onset suggests that one way faculty academic boycotters influence their departments to approve anti-Zionist courses, sponsor anti-Zionist events and endorse anti-Zionist statements is by successfully convincing their departmental colleagues to support academic BDS and its goal of prohibiting "the normalization of Israel in the global academy."

These anti-Zionist courses, departmentally-sponsored events and departmental statements, in turn, not only provide disciplinary cover for faculty academic boycotters to continue their on-campus promotion of anti-Israel advocacy and activism, they also bestow academic legitimacy on such faculty behavior, thereby encouraging its widespread adoption by students. This likely accounts for our study's finding of a strong association of academic boycotters with both student anti-Zionist expression and BDS promotion, as well as with the behavior that often accompanies such advocacy and activism and targets Israel's on-campus supporters, primarily Jewish students, for harm.

What was surprising, however, was the study's finding that while anti-Zionist student groups were not significantly associated with the passage of anti-Zionist student government resolutions, faculty academic boycotters were significantly associated, underscoring the unique influence that anti-Zionist faculty have on student advocacy and activism.

The strong link between academic boycotters and student anti-Zionist expression, BDS promotion and targeting of Jewish students for harm was over and above the much larger association of anti-Zionist student groups with these behaviors, a result that was not surprising given that groups like SJP are often directly implicated in the perpetration of anti-Zionist activity. What *was* surprising, however, was the study's finding that while anti-Zionist student groups were *not* significantly associated with the passage of anti-Zionist student government resolutions, faculty academic boycotters *were* significantly associated, underscoring the unique influence that anti-Zionist faculty have on student advocacy and activism.

It is important to point out that all of the departmental, faculty and student-promulgated anti-Zionist rhetoric and activity and most of the acts targeting Jewish and pro-Israel students for harm considered in our study were themselves consistent with the "anti-normalization" efforts

prescribed by the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (USACBI).[20] USACBI's rejection of the normalization of Israel in the academy not only calls on its adherents to work towards boycotting educational programs in or about Israel and canceling or shutting down pro-Israel events and activities on campus, it also urges the censuring, denigration, protest and exclusion of pro-Israel individuals. Both types of USACBI-encouraged actions are directly linked to behavior that harms Jewish and pro-Israel students and was the apparent motivation for the vast majority of the incidents involving the harassment of Jewish and pro-Israel students considered in this study. Furthermore, USACBI's encouragement of campus events and academic programming that portray Israel in a wholly negative light, as an illegitimate state unworthy of normalization, could be linked to every incident of anti-Zionist expression in our study, including and especially the unprecedented anti-Zionist departmental statements.

While this report has further exposed the undeniable link between academic boycotters and campus antisemitism, it also highlighted how faculty who bring their support for an academic boycott of Israel into academic spaces not only contribute to a threatening and hostile environment for Jewish and pro-Israel students and faculty, but their behavior has an enormously negative impact on the entire campus community. The substitution of politics for scholarship demanded by the USACBI guidelines and implemented by academic boycotters deprives students of an accurate understanding of a complex topic of global importance, subverts the academic mission of the college or university, and erodes the public trust in higher education that is vital for its support.

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Unfortunately, very few college and university leaders have taken steps to address this serious problem, and those who have tried have not managed to diminish it. For example, in 2018 all ten Chancellors at the University of California issued a joint statement acknowledging their own opposition to an academic boycott of Israel and affirming that such a boycott "poses a direct and serious threat to the academic freedom of our students and faculty, as well as the unfettered exchange of ideas and perspectives on our campuses, including debate and discourse regarding conflicts in the Middle East."[21] Nevertheless, presumably influenced by the more than 300 UC faculty who have expressed support for academic BDS, in May 2021, 24 departments on eight UC campuses issued or endorsed virulently anti-Zionist statements consistent with USACBI's call for faculty to engage in anti-normalization efforts to ensure that Israel is demonized and delegitimized in the academy; seven of those departmental statements called for BDS, with three statements specifically endorsing an academic boycott of Israel. None of the departments was prohibited from using their department's name to endorse such a politically motivated and directed statement or from pub-

[20] https://usacbi.org/guidelines-for-applying-the-international-academic-boycott-of-israel/
[21] https://amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/UC-Chancellors-statement-on-Israeli-academic-boycott-Dec-2018.pdf

In the absence of robust safeguards to prevent faculty from using their university positions and departmental affiliations to promote politically motivated advocacy and activism targeting Israel and its supporters, the problem will continue to grow at a rapid rate.

lishing these statements on their departmental websites, and none was forced to remove them. In fact, last Fall, specifically in response to this matter, the UC Committee on Academic Freedom (UCAF) recommended that "departments should not be precluded from issuing or endorsing political statements," and the UC Academic Senate is currently considering the adoption of UCAF's recommendation university wide.[22]

In the absence of robust safeguards to prevent faculty from using their university positions and departmental affiliations to promote politically motivated advocacy and activism targeting Israel and its supporters, the problem will continue to grow at a rapid rate. And indeed, if the Middle East Studies Association endorses an academic boycott of Israel later this month - providing disciplinary legitimacy for such faculty abuse - the problem is likely to grow exponentially.

State and Federal legislators who are responsible for ensuring that government monies given to institutions of higher education are used for educational purposes rather than political ones, such as the implementation of an academic boycott that intentionally subverts the educational process, should consider withholding funds from schools that permit faculty and departments to engage in such behavior.

The public, too, must understand that unless and until colleges and universities establish safeguards against the politicization of educational spaces, their tax, tuition and donor dollars will continue to be used to promote an antisemitic academic boycott that incites enormous bigotry and threatens the safety and well-being of many students, and they should act accordingly.

[22] https://users.soe.ucsc.edu/~elm/ucaf-response/ucaf-proposal.pdf

About the Researchers

LEILA BECKWITH is Professor Emeritus at UCLA and the co-founder of AMCHA Initiative. After receiving her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, Beckwith went on to teach and do statistical research for more than 30 years at the Neuropsychiatric Institute and the Department of Pediatrics at UCLA. She has published more than 80 research publications in scientific, peer-reviewed journals. She is a board member of the California Association of Scholars and Scholars for Peace in the Middle East. A renowned scientist and researcher, she has been an editorial board member of Child Development, Infant Behavior and Development, and the Infant Mental Health Journal, as well as an ad hoc reviewer for research papers submitted to Developmental Psychology, and grants submitted to the National Science Foundation and the National Foundation for the March of Dimes. Beckwith served as an appointed member of research review committees for the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute of Drug Abuse and the National Institute of Child Health and Development. She was also a prevention research advisory committee member for the National Institute of Mental Health and a principal investigator for research grants from the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute of Child Health and Development, and the Center for Disease Control.

TAMMI ROSSMAN-BENJAMIN is cofounder and director of AMCHA Initiative, and was a faculty member in Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of California from 1996–2016. Rossman-Benjamin has written articles and reports about academic anti-Zionism and antisemitism and lectured widely on the growing threat to the safety of Jewish students on college campuses. She has presented her research in scholarly talks and academic conferences at several universities, including Indiana University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Harvard University and McGill University. Rossman-Benjamin's research has been featured in several volumes on antisemitism. In July 2010, she co-organized a two-week scholarly workshop entitled "Contemporary Antisemitism in Higher Education" at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. Articles and opinion pieces from Rossman-Benjamin have been published in *Newsweek, The Hill, New York Daily News, Los Angeles Daily News, San Jose Mercury News, Sacramento Bee, Contra Costa Times, Jewish Journal of Los Angeles,* and dozens of others.

Appendix

Departmentally Endorsed Anti-Israel Statements and Department Signatories

1. Gender Studies Departments in Solidarity with Palestinian Feminist Collective

Link: http://genderstudiespalestinesolidarity.weebly.com/

- Amherst College - Sexuality, Women's and Gender Studies Department
- Bates College - Program in Gender and Sexuality Studies
- Boston University - Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program
- Brown University - Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women at Brown University
- Bryn Mawr College - Gender and Sexuality Studies Program
- Butler University - Race, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program
- Cal Poly San Luis Obispo - Women's, Gender & Queer Studies Department
- Claremont Colleges Pomona College, Scripps College - Program in Gender and Women's Studies
- Colby College - Program of Women's Gender and Sexuality Studies
- College of Charleston - Gender and Sexuality Equity Center
- College of New Jersey - Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Department
- College of the Holy Cross - Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies; Gender and Political Violence Faculty Working Group
- Colorado College - Feminist and Gender Studies Program
- Columbia University - Department of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies; Institute for Research on Women, Gender, and Sexuality
- CSU Dominguez Hills - Women's Studies
- CSU Long Beach - Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Department
- CSU Sacramento - Department of Women's and Gender Studies
- CUNY College of Staten Island - Program in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- CUNY Hunter College - Women and Gender Studies
- CUNY John Jay College - The Gender Studies Program
- CUNY The Graduate Center - The Center for the Study of Women and Society
- Dartmouth College - Program in Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies
- Dominican University - Study of Women and Gender Studies Program
- Duke University - Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies
- Fordham University - Women Gender Sexuality Studies
- Georgetown University - Women's and Gender Studies Program; Gender and Justice Initiative
- Georgia State University - Institute for Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- Hamilton College - Department of Women's and Gender Studies
- Hampshire College - Feminist Studies
- Indiana University - Department of Gender Studies
- Lafayette College - Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies Program
- Le Moyne College - Gender & Women's Studies Program
- Lesley University - Gender, Race, and Sexuality Studies Program
- Loyola Marymount University - Department of Women's and Gender Studies
- Loyola University Maryland - Gender and Sexuality Studies Teaching Faculty

- Merrimack College - Department of Women's and Gender Studies
- Middlebury College - The Program in Gender, Sexuality & Feminist Studies
- Mills College - Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program at Mills College
- New York University - Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality, New York University
- Northern Arizona University - Women's and Gender Studies Program
- Occidental College - Critical Theory & Social Justice Department; Gender, Women, & Sexuality Studies
- Ohio State University - Department of Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies
- Oregon State University - Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- Penn State University - African Feminist Initiative
- Providence College - The Women's and Gender Studies Program
- Rice University - Center for the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality
- Rutgers University New Brunswick - Department of Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies
- Rutgers University Newark - Department of Women's and Gender Studies
- San Diego State University - Department of Women's Studies
- San Francisco State University - Women & Gender Studies
- Santa Clara University - Department of Women's and Gender Studies
- Sarah Lawrence College - Women's History Program
- Scripps College - Department of Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- Skidmore College - Gender Studies Program
- Smith College - Program for the Study of Women and Gender (SWG)
- Sonoma State University - Women's and Gender Studies Department
- South Connecticut State University - Women's & Gender Studies Program
- Stanford University - Program in Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- Stony Brook University - Department of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- Sul Ross State University - Women's and Gender Studies
- SUNY Oneonta - Women's & Gender Studies Department
- Syracuse University - Department of Women's and Gender Studies
- Texas Christian University - Women and Gender Studies Department
- The New School - Gender and Sexualities Studies
- Tufts University - Program in Gender and Intersectional Analysis Program at the Fletcher School
- UC Berkeley - Department of Gender and Women's Studies; Center for Race and Gender
- UC Davis - The Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies
- UC Irvine - Department of Gender and Sexuality Studies
- UC Los Angeles - Department of Gender Studies, Center for the Study of Women
- UC Riverside - Department of Gender & Sexuality Studies
- UC San Diego - Critical Gender Studies Program
- UC Santa Barbara - Department of Feminist Studies
- UC Santa Cruz - Department of Feminist Studies
- University of Arizona - Department of Gender and Women's Studies
- University of Chicago - Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality
- University of Cincinnati - Department of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- University of Colorado Colorado Springs - Women's and Ethnic Studies Program
- University of Connecticut - Program in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- University of Hawai'i at Manoa - Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Department
- University of Illinois Chicago - Gender and Women's Studies Program
- University of Illinois Urbana Champaign - Department of Gender & Women's Studies
- University of Kansas - Department of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- University of Kentuky - Department of Gender and Women's Studies
- University of Maryland - The Harriet Tubman Department of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- University of Maryland Baltimore County - Department of Gender, Women's, and Sexuality Studies
- University of Massachusetts Amherst - Department of Women, Gender, Sexuality Studies
- University of Massachusetts Dartmouth - Department of Women's and Gender Studies

- University of Massachusetts Boston - Department of Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies; Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights
- University of Michigan Dearborn - Women's and Gender Studies program
- University of Minnesota Twin Cities - Department of Gender, Women, and Sexuality Studies
- University of Nebraska - Women's and Gender Studies Program
- University of New Mexico - Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program
- University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill - Department of Women's and Gender Studies
- University of North Carolina Greensboro - Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program
- University of Notre Dame - Gender Studies Program
- University of Pennsylvania - The Center and Program in Gender, Sexuality & Women's Studies
- University of Redlands - Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program
- University of Rochester - Susan B Anthony Institute of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies
- University of Southern California - Department of Gender and Sexuality Studies
- University of Texas at Austin - LGBTQ Studies Program
- University of Virginia - Department of Women, Gender, and Sexuality
- University of Washington Seattle - Department of Gender, Women, and Sexuality Studies
- University of Wisconsin Madison - Department of Gender & Women's Studies
- University of Wisconsin Milwaukee - Women's and Gender Studies
- Virginia Commonwealth University - Department of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies
- Washington State University - Program in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- Washington University in St. Louis - Department of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- Wesleyan University - Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program
- Westfield State University - Department of Ethnic & Gender Studies
- Wheaton College - Women's and Gender Studies Program
- Whitman College - The Gender Studies Program
- William Patterson University of NJ - Women's and Gender Studies Program
- Williams College - Program in Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies
- Winona State University - Program in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- Yale University - Women's, Gender, & Sexuality Studies Program

2. Pledge that Palestine is a Feminist Issue

Link: https://samidoun.net/2021/03/palestine-is-a-feminist-issue-sign-the-pledge/

- California State University Sacramento - Women's and Gender Studies
- San Diego State University - Department of Women's Studies
- University of California Davis - Feminist Studies Institute
- University of Colorado Boulder - Department of Ethnic Studies
- University of Hawai'i at Manoa - Department of Ethnic Studies

3. Architecture and Urban Planning Organizations Stand in Solidarity for Palestine

Link: https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSfPkAO5PFhJvpGQ3MYW0zalsV5wcOV7K831aFZ_pSwIXs3WHQ/viewform

- Columbia University - Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture
- University of Illinois Urbana Champaign - Department of Urban and Regional Planning
- University of New Mexico - Community and Regional Planning Department
- University of Utah - School of Architecture
- Whitman College - Department of Art History and Visual Culture Studies

4. **Agitate! Unsettling Knowledges - Statement in Solidarity with the Palestinian People**
   Link: https://agitatejournal.org/statement-in-solidarity-with-the-people-of-palestine/

- Rutgers University New Brunswick - Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies
- University of Minnesota Twin Cities - Department of Gender, Women and Sexuality Studies; Race, Indigeneity, Gender & Sexuality Studies; Imagining Transnational Solidarities Research Circle

5. **Middle East Section of the American Anthropological Association Statement on Palestine**
   Link: https://mes.americananthro.org/mes-statement-on-palestine-2/

- American University - Anthropology Department
- Northwestern University - Anthropology Department

6. **Joint Statement by Palestine Studies Centers**
   Link: http://palestine.mei.columbia.edu/news-1/read-joint-statement-by-palestine-studies-centers

- Columbia University - Center for Palestine Studies

7. **University of California Davis Faculty Statement of Solidarity with Palestinians**
   Link: https://asa.ucdavis.edu/public-statements

- University of California Davis - Asian American Studies; American Studies; Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies; African American and African Studies; French and Italian; MESAS; Sociocultural Wing of Anthropology; Mellon Research Initiative on Racial Capitalism; Mellon Research Initiative on Feminist Arts and Sciences

8. **DES & WGST Statement of Solidarity with Palestine**
   Link: https://www.colorado.edu/ethnicstudies/2021/05/18/des-wgst-statement-solidarity-palestine

- University of Colorado Boulder - Department of Women and Gender Studies; Department of Ethnic Studies

9. **CSUSB Center for the Study of Muslim & Arab Worlds' Statement for Palestine**
   Link: https://www.csusb.edu/csmaw

- California State University San Bernardino - Center for the Study of Muslim & Arab Worlds

10. **Northwestern University MENA Program Statement on Palestinian Rights**
    Link: https://mena.northwestern.edu/about/mena-program-statement-on-palestinian-rights.html

- Northwestern University - Middle East and North African Studies Program

11. **African American Studies at Penn State Reaffirming Solidarity**
    Original Link no longer online. Archived webpage from 6/8/21:
    http://web.archive.org/web/20210608083313/https://afam.la.psu.edu/news/reaffirming-solidarity

- Northwestern University - Middle East and North African Studies Program

12. UC Berkeley Faculty and Staff Statement in Support of Palestine

Link: https://ethnicstudies.berkeley.edu/uc-berkeley-faculty-and-staff-statement-in-support-of-palestine/

- University of California Berkeley - Ethnic Studies

13. UCLA Asian American Studies Department's Statement of Solidarity with Palestine

Link: https://asianam.ucla.edu/2021/05/21/asian-american-studies-departments-statement-of-solidarity-with-palestine/

- University of California Los Angeles - Asian American Studies Department

14. UCSD AAPI Statement of Solidarity with Palestine

Link: https://aapi.ucsd.edu/about/statements.html

- University of California Davis - Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies Program

15. CRES Statement of Solidarity with the Palestinian People on Nakba Day

Link: https://cres.ucsc.edu/news-events/news/palestinian-solidarity-statement.html

- University of California Santa Cruz - Critical Race and Ethnic Studies Program

16. FMST Department Statement on Palestine

Link: https://feministstudies.ucsc.edu/news-events/department-news/palestine-statement-2021.html

- University of California Santa Cruz - Critical Race and Ethnic Studies Program

17. A Statement of Solidarity with Palestine from the UIC Global Asian Studies Program

Link: https://glas.uic.edu/news-stories/a-statement-of-solidarity-with-palestine-from-the-uic-global-asian-studies-program/

- University of Illinois Chicago - Global Asian Studies Program

18. UIUC Department of Asian American Studies Statement on Palestine

Link: https://asianam.illinois.edu/news/2021-05-18/statement-palestine

- University of Illinois Urbana Champaign - Asian American Studies Department

19. Statement by the Faculty in Ethnicity, Race, and Migration at Yale University on Palestine

Link: https://erm.yale.edu/news/statement-faculty-ethnicity-race-and-migration-palestine

- Yale University - Ethnicity, Race, and Migration Program