



Academic
Engagement
NETWORK

From Scholarship to Swastikas: Explaining Campus Antisemitic Events

Ayal K. Feinberg, PhD

*AEN Research Paper Series
Research Paper No. 2*

About AEN's Research Paper Series

The Academic Engagement Network (AEN) is an independently run organization headquartered in Washington D.C. that empowers, educates, and mobilizes faculty and staff on university and colleague campuses across the United States to oppose efforts to delegitimize Israel; promote campus free expression and academic freedom; support research, education, and robust dialogue about Israel in the academy; and counter antisemitism when it occurs.

AEN's newly launched Research Paper Series provides its members with an opportunity to publish original research that advances AEN's goals and mission. Each academic year, the Research Paper Series will feature three to four papers authored by AEN members in collaboration with AEN's leadership team and distributed widely via online and print formats. The intended audience for the Research Paper Series ranges from academics to practitioners, advanced graduate students, and the informed public. Research Paper authors will be encouraged to revise their work for submission to peer-reviewed journals and academic presses in their respective fields when appropriate. Proposals will be reviewed on a rolling basis by the AEN leadership team.

Successful proposals will be those which address AEN's issues and that have a high potential for subsequent publication. Authors will receive an honorarium upon completion and distribution of their Research Paper. AEN members who are interested in submitting a proposal are invited to do so via AEN's website academicengagement.org.



Abstract

Disputes related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have erupted on American college campuses for the last two decades in the classroom and on the quad. Through large-N quantitative analyses of hate crime data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report and antisemitic bias-incident data from the AMCHA Initiative, this article provides needed clarity on why antisemitic events vary across American colleges and universities. Specifically, this article finds that Jews are more likely to be the victims of hate crimes at colleges and universities than other minority groups and are more likely to suffer bias incidents on campus than in other locations. In addition, the presence of Chabad chapters on campus significantly increases the likelihood of reported antisemitic bias-incidents. Furthermore, the presence of a Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) group on campus and Israel Apartheid Week (IAW) events at a university dramatically increase the number of antisemitic bias reports submitted.

From Scholarship to Swastikas: Explaining Campus Antisemitic Events

Ayal K. Feinberg, PhD

On August 25, 2020, the Chabad Center on the University of Delaware's main campus, which functioned as a central meeting place for Jewish students, was intentionally set on fire. Luckily, at the time of this arson attack, no one was inside of the building (Eichmann 2020). The targeting of the Center was not only devastating to the University of Delaware's Jewish students, it was widely covered by the media, sending shock waves throughout America's Jewish community. Concerns surrounding this attack were further amplified by a reported arson attack targeting a Jewish center in Portland, Oregon, just a few days earlier (Orr 2020). American Jews were left to wonder whether these two serious incidents would result in a pattern of violent antisemitic hate crimes similar to what the Jewish community suffered less than a year earlier in December of 2019, initiated by the fatal Jersey City, New Jersey Kosher market shooting and culminating in the Monsey, New York Hanukkah stabbing attack (Paybarah 2020).

It is important to place hate crimes and bias-incidents¹ targeting Jews at American colleges and universities within the broader context of how contemporary antisemitism manifests in the United States. Not only have Jews suffered several fatal hate crimes in the last decade, including the deadliest

¹ It is critical to note that this article does not use the terms hate crime and bias incident interchangeably. For an event to be described as a hate crime, it must reach a criminal threshold and consequently be investigated as a crime motivated by evidence that the target group(s) was chosen because of their characteristics (both real, perceived, or fictitious). Data examining hate crimes in this article comes from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report Hate Crime data (UCR). Alternatively, while a bias incident also must target a specific group(s) because of their characteristics (both real, perceived, or fictitious), it does not have to reach a criminal threshold. This article utilizes data collected by the AMCHA Initiative (AMCHA), which reports antisemitic bias incidents on American college and university campuses based on whether the activity met the threshold of antisemitism provided by the IHRA working definition of antisemitism. A sizeable number of bias incidents reported by AMCHA may also constitute hate crimes (e.g., the vandalism of a Jewish student's dorm, or the physical assault of a Jewish student).

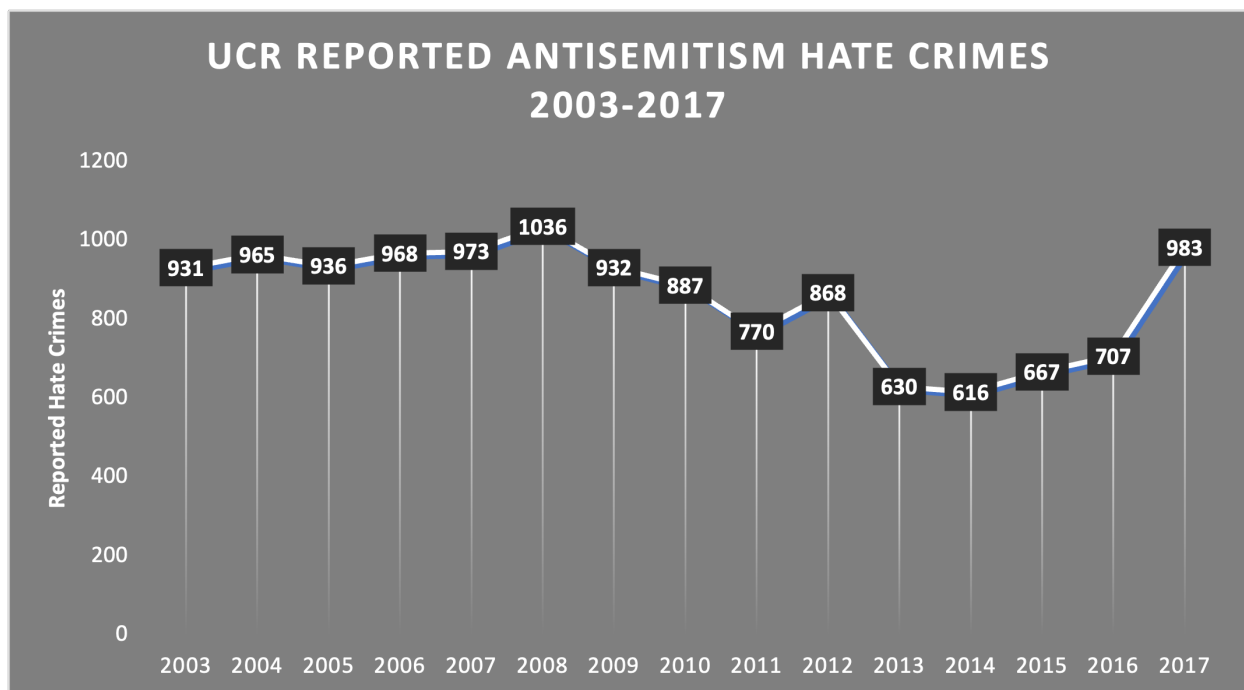
antisemitic incident in American history—the shooting at Pittsburgh’s Tree of Life Synagogue—Jews are also proportionally among the most targeted minority groups in America (Feinberg 2020). According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Uniform Crime Report Hate Crime data (UCR), Jews have been the target of 12,869 reported hate crimes between 2003-2017.

This averages to 2.35 crimes motivated by antisemitism each day, representing nearly 12.5% of all reported hate crimes in the United States, even though Jews constitute only 2% of all Americans (DellaPergola 2018). Statistically, American Jews have suffered more reported hate crimes than any other religious group in U.S. between 2003-2017, both by count and by proportion, far exceeding the number of hate crimes targeting Muslims at 2,552, and Christians and Catholics at 1,821. In fact, on average, Jews suffer roughly 60% of all religion-motivated hate crimes in a given year. Consequently, it is unsurprising that according to the 2017 American Jewish Committee Survey of American Jewish Opinion (AJC 2017), Jewish Americans are keenly aware of contemporary antisemitism in this country, with 84% of those surveyed stating that antisemitism is currently a problem in the United States. Of particular interest to this article, in that same survey, a smaller but still substantial 69% of Jewish Americans believe antisemitism is currently a problem on the American college campus (AJC 2017).

“Statistically, American Jews have suffered more reported hate crimes than any other religious group in U.S.”

While the vast majority of American Jews clearly perceive antisemitism to be a problem in the United States and on American college campuses, a significant number of Jews who have concern for antisemitism at the national level do not hold similar concerns for antisemitism at American universities. These survey findings pose an interesting empirical question; *are Jews safer in American institutions of higher education than in other locations?* This question can be evaluated in two distinct ways. First, utilizing a comparative approach, *are Jews more likely than other minority groups to be the victims of reported hate crimes occurring at America’s colleges and universities?* Second, when exclusively examining reported antisemitic bias-incidents, *are Jews more likely to be targeted on college campuses than other locations where they are regularly reported as victims of hate crimes?*

Figure 1 - Reported Antisemitic Hate Crimes in the U.S. (2013-2017)



An additional consideration of this article is why antisemitic hate crimes and bias-incidents vary in both count and intensity across American institutions of higher education. High-profile antisemitic incidents at some universities have received large amounts of coverage and attention from Jewish media outlets and activists alike. This is, perhaps, best exemplified by the short documentary *Columbia Unbecoming*, which has several students recount their experiences with antisemitic intimidation resulting from interactions with the Department of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University (Senior 2005)². Other notable examples, including several serious incidents occurring within the University of California System, have reached a criminal threshold. In 2010 at the University of California, Irvine, eleven students were arrested for their disruption of a speech by Israeli Ambassador Michael Oren (LAT 2011). In 2020, physical threats targeted Jewish students at the University of California, Berkeley during an Associated Students of the University of California Senate’s University and External Affairs Committee meeting to debate a resolution condemning a Bears for Palestine’s display which glorified terrorism on campus (Richmann 2020). Other notable threats targeting campus Jewry in the last decade at San Francisco State University, New York University, Rutgers University, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign, and Williams College, among others,

² It is important to note that most of the allegations made in *Columbia Unbecoming* did not rise to the level of a crime, and were not investigated as hate crimes.

have even generated Title VI complaints and lawsuits to the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (Adely 2019; Goldrosen 2020; Murakami 2020).

The fact that a sizeable number of universities have become well-known as "hotspot" campuses for antisemitism and virulently anti-Israel activism (Saxe et al. 2016) serves to motivate several additional empirical queries pursued in this article. First, *does robust Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement (BDS) activity on campus and active student organizations that support it, specifically groups affiliated with Students for Justice in Palestine, increase the likelihood of reported antisemitic bias-incidents?* Second, *does the size of a campus's Jewish community, both as a count of students and proportion of the student population, increase the likelihood of reported antisemitic events?* Third, *does the visibility of Jews on campus, through the presence of active Hillel and Chabad chapters, help explain the variation of reported antisemitic bias-incidents?*

A final consideration of this article is *whether antisemitic bias-incidents on campus are influenced by anti-Israel events, namely Israel Apartheid Week (IAW), and campus activities that stem from them?* Research by Feinberg (2020a, 2020b) shows that latent antisemitism that motivates antisemitic hate crimes is activated during particularly violent Israeli militarized conflicts. *Will anti-Zionist campus events, which frequently employ distressing imagery and narratives describing conflict violence, trigger latent antisemitism that increases the likelihood of antisemitic activity and result in increased reported antisemitic bias-incidents at American institutions of higher education?*

This article proceeds by reviewing scholarship focused on hate crime variation and antisemitism, with a particular focus on research examining the contemporary experience of Jewish students across American colleges and universities. At the level of theory, it employs two approaches to explain campus antisemitism. First, it contends that frequent manifestations of antisemitism among elements on the ideological left and right, combined with the concentration of Jews and the visibility of Jewish life on campus, help explain why Jews are more likely to suffer reported hate crimes at American institutions of higher education when compared to other minority groups and hate crime locations. Second, it examines antisemitic bias incident variation utilizing the *opportunity, distinguishability, stimuli, and organization* hate crime framework

developed by Feinberg (2020b). It then descriptively examines the UCR hate crime data and AMCHA Initiative data on campus antisemitism as well as other sources of demographic and institutional information from the Carnegie Classifications of Institutions of Higher Education, Hillel International, and Chabad.org. Utilizing a series of models, including logistic regression, negative binomial regression, and cross-sectional time-series feasible generalized least squares regression, this article finds that Jews are more likely than any other minority to be targeted at American institutions of higher education and that antisemitic attacks occur on campuses more frequently than they do in other locations. While the presence of an active Hillel does not explain antisemitic bias-incident variation, the presence of a Chabad on campus significantly increases the likelihood that an American college or university will experience antisemitic events. Both the size and proportion of Jewish students within a campus help explain an increased likelihood of reporting antisemitic events.

Additionally, a key finding is that the presence of an SJP group on campus significantly increases the likelihood of reported antisemitic bias-incidents. Finally, during those weeks when IAW and related anti-Zionist events occur on campus, there is a concomitant increase in the number of reported antisemitic bias-incidents. The article concludes by discussing the implications of these findings, with a focus on both their impact on scholarship analyzing contemporary antisemitism and hate crime variation, as well as their repercussions for Jewish students and American Jewry more broadly.

Literature Review

The study of how antisemitic bias-incidents and hate crimes vary on American college and university campuses requires a review of several distinct literatures. First, determining the motives behind hate crimes and the factors that help explain their variation provides a critical baseline for analyses with a more limited locational interest like those of this article. While there is a body of research examining reported hate crimes occurring at universities, albeit limited in methodology and scope, extant research has primarily focused broadly on hate crimes motivated by race, ethnicity, and/or sexual orientation, rather than what explains more specific minority group targeting. Consequently, it is also necessary to utilize the corpus of research explaining antisemitic incident variation, particularly in the United States, to help elucidate the factors that

may contribute to antisemitic hate crime and bias-incidents on U.S. campuses. Furthermore, a considerable amount of scholarship has documented the unique experience of Jewish students at U.S. universities and colleges, with many focusing on Jewish students' perceptions of the prevalence and intensity of antisemitism in both their classrooms and on their campus quad. Despite this attention to contemporary antisemitism under the shadow of the ivory towers, there has been remarkably little empirical research explaining when, where, and why antisemitism manifests at American campuses by examining incident-level data.

Hate Crime Scholarship

According to Brax and Munthe (2015, 1688), hate crime research can be conceptualized "as a proper field in which a number of academic disciplines may engage, from legal studies to sociology, criminology, psychology, and philosophy." Notably missing from this interdisciplinary melting pot of the social sciences and humanities is political science. This article contends that when the underlying motive behind a collection of crimes can be explained primarily by the offender's negative perceptions of its target group, they should be of interest to any scholars seeking to understand minority security better. Therefore, it is rather surprising that the explosion of political science research examining race and ethnic politics, and to a lesser extent religion and politics, has largely avoided the systematic study of bias-incidents and hate crimes in the United States. This is especially concerning because the underlying bigotry that motivates many hate crimes is often manifested through contemporary politics (e.g., Feinberg 2020b). Further, the lack of political science research on hate crime has resulted in most of the foundational work on the topic, both theoretical and empirical, originating from criminologists and sociologists, whose central focus is often non-political issues and mechanisms.

Black's (1983) sociological theory of crime as a societal control contends that a hate crime offender often acts out of a desire to seek justice. In essence, someone driven to perpetrate a hate crime does so in a retributive manner, choosing to engage in a criminal act of aggression because legal alternatives, from law enforcement to mainstream politics and policy, provide no functional avenue (King and Sutton 2013, 873). Consequently, hate crimes can be conceptualized as moralistic in nature because they utilize prejudice and bigotry

toward an identifiable outgroup to justify actions as reasonable based on the perceived threat that the outgroup poses as well as the “crimes”—past, present, and future—that the outgroup may commit. For example, Lickel et al. (2006) believe that the substantial rise in anti-Muslim post-9/11 hate crimes exemplifies this phenomenon. Relatedly, Jacobs et al. (2011) and Feinberg (2020a, 2020b) find a similar spike in reported hate crimes targeting Jewish diaspora communities during and immediately following violent Israeli military operations. The notion that antecedent events, some political or geopolitical in nature, may result in hate crimes (King and Sutton 2013) combined with measured increases in antisemitic attitudes and beliefs following military defeat (e.g., Brustein 2003), economic decline (e.g., Rosenberg 1967), and political crisis (e.g., Pulzer 1988; Wistrich 2010), may help explain variation in reported antisemitic incidents on American campuses.

Although the majority of reported hate crimes in the United States occur at or near the victim’s residence or in public spaces, a sizeable amount of hate crimes take place at American universities and colleges. From 2003-2017, 9,552 reported hate crimes occurred on campuses, constituting 9.25% of all hate crimes reported in the United States over that time (FBI 2017). Survey results confirm the seriousness of experienced bigotry and prejudice on campus, with DeKeseredy et al. (2019) finding that close to 60% of minority students experience being victimized based on their real or perceived race/ethnicity, national origin, religion, sex, sexual orientation, physical or mental disability, or political orientation identity. While most research and scholarship examining hate crimes at American college campuses have been descriptive and qualitative in nature (e.g., Stage & Downey 1999; Wessler and Moss 2001), a small but growing number of publications have addressed college hate crimes using quantitative approaches. Rayburn, Earleywine, and Davidson (2003) not only find that there is a considerable amount of experienced hate crime at colleges, but they also show that these hate crimes are often grossly underreported. Attempting to further elucidate variation in reported hate crime and bias-incidents across American colleges and universities, Van Dyke and Tester (2014) find that racist hate crimes tend to occur at institutions with relatively small racial and ethnic minority student populations, with crimes peaking at institutions enrolling between 10% to 17% of these students. Contrary to their expectations, institutional size and campus location (i.e., whether in a rural or urban area) did not significantly account for hate crime variation.

While there have been limited studies of specific minority group insecurity caused by hate crime and bias-incident occurrence at American colleges and universities, particularly the LGBTQ+ student population (Rayburn, Recker, and Davidson 2002; Stotzer 2010), event-based empirical analysis of antisemitic

“It is rather surprising that the explosion of political science research examining race and ethnic politics, and to a lesser extent religion and politics, has largely avoided the systematic study of bias-incidents and hate crimes in the United States.”

hate crimes and bias incidents has, thus far, been largely overlooked. This is particularly surprising because nearly one-fifth (18.6%) of all hate crimes reported at American universities target Jews and the Jewish community (FBI 2017), and a considerable amount of scholarship has examined perceptions of antisemitism on campus. A review of this research, particularly student antisemitism surveys and related work, is examined below.

Campus Antisemitism and Hostility to Israel

Considerable research and reporting have chronicled the contemporary experience of Jewish students at American

colleges and universities. Much of this work has focused on Jewish student perceptions of and experiences with antisemitism on their respective campuses. Utilizing a sizeable national survey of Jewish students, Kosmin and Keysar (2015) find that the majority of Jewish students either witnessed or personally suffered an incident of antisemitism in a single academic year. They note that the majority of these reported incidents do not reach a criminal threshold and are often categorized as ‘low-level’ offenses (such as insults, hostile leaflets, name-calling, etc.). Nonetheless, they underscore that the frequency with which these events are taking place creates a sense that antisemitic bias-incidents are normal occurrences, which can have a considerable impact on Jewish life at colleges as well as on the broader campus climate (Kosmin and Keysar 2015, 10). Recent survey analysis by Wright et al. (2021) confirms that Jewish young adults identifying as undergraduate students are more likely to experience antisemitic harassment than those not pursuing college degrees.

While there have been well-documented instances of white supremacist abuses at American universities that often target Jews, including 313 cases of white supremacist propaganda across campuses in the 2018-2019 academic year alone (ADL 2020), the lion's share of research examining campus antisemitism points to hostility among both students and faculty toward Israel. Cravatts (2011) notes that Israel is frequently demonized on universities and colleges by the "campus left" and that this demonization is often accompanied by charges that the State of Israel itself should be dismantled in the name of social justice for Palestinians. Furthermore, attempts to defend Israel from such attacks on campus are often dismissed or minimized with claims of Jewish privilege or the power of the "Israel Lobby," along with charges that these efforts are meant to silence legitimate criticism of Israel. In this sense, much of the antisemitism occurring on college campuses today can be conceptualized as "new antisemitism," in which rhetoric about Israel and Zionism crosses the line from legitimate criticism into bigotry and hate.

Although even extreme opposition to Israel rarely constitutes antisemitism in-and-of-itself (Klug 2013), there is growing evidence that anti-Israel sentiments help predict antisemitic attitudes and beliefs. This has been found in a number of survey analyses beginning with Kaplan and Small (2006) who find that anti-Israel sentiment (measured by agreement to a battery of anti-Israel statements) predicts antisemitic attitudes, even after controlling for a number of potentially confounding factors. Cohen et al. (2009) further elucidate this finding by suggesting that antisemitism is often motivated by the belief that Jews, as a group, constitute a threat to people's worldviews, which can present as hostility to Israel. Furthermore, Israel-related animus can feed back, acting to confirm or even increase already established antisemitism (Cohen et al. 2009). Kempf (2012) and Beattie (2017) contribute to efforts attempting to clarify the nexus between anti-Israel attitudes and antisemitism by showing that not all anti-Israel beliefs contribute to predicting antisemitism. While genuine concern regarding the violation of human rights or a strong preference for pacifism does not predict antisemitic attitudes, comparisons of Israel to Nazi Germany, pronouncements that Israel does not deserve to exist (particularly as the homeland of the Jewish people), and claims that Jews are responsible for the actions of State of Israel all serve as strong indicators of corresponding antisemitism beliefs³.

³ These very antisemitic attitudes are the illustrative examples of contemporary antisemitism flagged by the IHRA working definition of antisemitism (IHRA 2018).

Questions remain as to whether anti-Israel attitudes and antisemitism manifesting on campus are in fact cultivated at American universities or brought to colleges by admitted students. A fascinating study produced by Shenhav-Goldberg and Kopstein (2020) utilizing survey research from the University of California, Irvine, determines that while anti-Israel sentiment is strongly correlated with antisemitic beliefs, there is no clear evidence that these attitudes intensify over the duration of students' college experiences or that additional students are indoctrinated with antisemitism while on campus. Additionally, they find no substantial differences in the likelihood of exhibiting antisemitic beliefs based on students' choice of academic major, thus dispelling the notion that antisemitic attitudes are more likely to be held by those engaged in the arts, humanities, and social sciences.

In summation, while there is near-universal agreement from scholars that antisemitism at institutions of higher learning is a serious issue, there remains considerable ambiguity about how it manifests and varies both within and across American colleges and universities. Because prior studies have focused primarily on perceptions of antisemitism on campus through surveys and interviews, the next logical step for researchers invested in the security and well-being of Jewish students on U.S. campuses should be a systematic analysis of antisemitic behavior at these colleges and universities. This article provides such an analysis by exploring which factors explain antisemitic hate crimes and antisemitic bias-incidents across and within American institutions of higher education.

Theory

Unlike other minority students on campus who face bigotry primarily from individuals and groups often associated with the ideological far-right, Jewish individuals and organizations endure hostility from both ends of the ideological spectrum (Staetsky 2017). Shenhav-Goldberg and Kopstein (2020) claim that students identifying as Republicans tend to show more traditional antisemitic attitudes but are often not hostile to Israel. In contrast, criticism of Israel which crosses the line into antisemitism is more likely to be expressed by those affiliated with the campus left, including from students self-identifying as progressive (Cravatts 2011; Kassis and Schallié 2013). Facing prejudice on multiple fronts, it is likely that the Jewish community on campus has a greater number of potential hate crime offenders than other minority groups, which

results in greater rates of hate crime victimization.

Hypothesis 1: *Jews are more likely to be the target of hate crimes on campuses than other minority groups.*

Another question still unanswered by research to date is whether Jews are more likely to be victims of hate crimes on college campuses than in other locations. There are several reasons why Jews may be at greater risk of being targeted at American universities than alternative locations where hate crimes frequently occur. First, Jews are among the most educated religious groups in the United States (Burstein 2007), with 81% of American Jews attending college (Pew 2016). This high level of Jewish educational attainment leads to sizeable Jewish concentrations on many college campuses, creating a convenient target for antisemitic hate crime perpetrators. Second, the presence of Jewish campus organizations, ranging from Hillel and Chabad to Jewish fraternities and sororities, creates a number of identifiable targets for potential antisemitic hate crimes. Third, the intensity of interest in, and engagement on, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict among some campus activists may lead to the targeting of Jewish students perceived by these activists to support or be affiliated with Israel.

“The lion’s share of research examining campus antisemitism points to hostility among both students and faculty toward Israel.”

Hypothesis 2: *Jews are more likely to be the target of hate crimes on campuses than in other locations.*

In order to determine how antisemitic hate crimes and bias-incidents vary at college campuses in the United States, this article employs the approach of Feinberg (2020b), which utilizes a four-pronged conceptual structure—*opportunity, distinguishability, stimuli, and organization*—to identify and categorize specific factors that explain hate crime. Incorporating this theoretical organization is particularly appropriate, because Feinberg’s prior work primarily focuses on contemporary antisemitism and several of his antisemitic-specific hypotheses can be replicated with the data examined in this article.

Opportunity focuses on a location's demographic characteristics, specifically the size of the target group under examination. The size and proportion of the target group help explain hate crime variation in two distinct ways. First, the greater the number of potential targets, the more feasible it is to commit a hate crime against that group. Second, because hate crimes tend to be motivated by prejudice towards an entire outgroup as opposed to a single individual or an institution alone, many perpetrators commit bias-incidents in areas with greater concentrations of members of the target group "to more widely and efficiently disperse the effects of their hate" (Feinberg 2020b, 776).

According to a list of universities examined by Hillel International's Guide to Jewish Life at Colleges and Universities (2020), campuses with measured Jewish student populations ranged from 10 to 9,400 Jewish students. Utilizing the same data, proportionally, Jews make up between 0.1% to 55.1% of a campus's total student population. While a greater count of Jewish students on campus more directly increases the value of a hate crime for its offender(s), a greater proportion of students on campus helps increase the ease in which Jews can be targeted.

Hypothesis 3A: *The larger the Jewish student population, the greater the number of reported antisemitic incidents on campus.*

Hypothesis 3B: *The greater the proportion of Jews in the student population, the greater the number of reported antisemitic incidents on campus.*

Distinguishability focuses on the role that a target group's identifiability plays in the occurrence of hate crimes. While certain antisemitic stereotypes claim that Jews can be identified by their physical features, recognizing someone's Jewish identity is significantly more challenging than identifying other minority groups by racial characteristics alone. Furthermore, although certain Jewish denominations traditionally wear clothing that makes their religion more identifiable (e.g., *kippot*, *tsitsiyot*, *sheytlen*, etc.), this plays a diminished role on American college campuses where only 23% of Jews self-identify as religious, and an even smaller minority, 8%, identify as Orthodox (Kosmin and Keysar 2015, 3).

Despite inherent challenges in publicly distinguishing between Jewish and non-Jewish students on campus, a university's Jewish population is likely to become more identifiable during the observance of Jewish holidays. During religious observances, Jewish students may alter their ordinary behavior by choosing not to attend classes and/or altering their dietary habits, thus distinguishing themselves as Jewish. This effect of Jewish holidays on increasing the likelihood of reported antisemitic hate crimes in the United States was confirmed by Feinberg (2020b, 780), who found that antisemitic incidents increased by nearly 11% during weeks when Jewish holidays were observed⁴. Relatedly, participation in Jewish campus life is also more likely to distinguish Jewish individuals from the rest of the student body. Many students living on college campuses engage with various aspects of Jewish life, such as Shabbat and holiday meals and Israel-related programming at their campus Hillel and/or Chabad. In surveys gauging experienced and witnessed antisemitism, active members of Jewish campus organizations ranging from Hillel to Zionist groups report having witnessed significantly more antisemitic behavior at their universities. Kosmin and Keysar (2015, 6) report that membership in Hillel alone was enough to increase the likelihood of reporting antisemitism by nearly 50%.

“While there is near-universal agreement from scholars that antisemitism at institutions of higher learning is a serious issue, there remains considerable ambiguity about how it manifests and varies both within and across American colleges and universities.”

When incorporating Hillel International (2020) data on their active campus locations with AMCHA Initiative (2020) reports of antisemitic incidents occurring across American universities for the last five years, 73.5% of all institutions listed

4 This article doesn't test the influence of Jewish holidays on campus antisemitism because of data and model challenges. One concern is that the college-month unit of analysis for time-variant models doesn't provide enough specificity to capture the effects of Jewish holidays in a given year. An additional concern is Hanukkah often occurs over mid to late December when universities are not in regular session, potentially limiting its effect on campus antisemitism.

by AMCHA that have endured at least one antisemitic incident are home to an active Hillel.

Hypothesis 4: *Campuses with an active Hillel will experience more reported antisemitic incidents.*

Hypothesis 5: *Campuses with an active Chabad will experience more reported antisemitic incidents.*

Stimuli identifies that certain events and circumstances can influence the salience of bigoted attitudes and beliefs toward outgroups and can consequently increase the likelihood of reported hate crimes. Focusing

“Facing prejudice on multiple fronts, it is likely that the Jewish community on campus has a greater number of potential hate crime offenders than other minority groups, which results in greater rates of hate crime victimization.”

specifically on Jews, scholars have shown that a Jewish community’s connection to Zionism in the past (Kopstein and Wittenberg 2018) as well as the tendency to blame Jews as a whole for the actions of the Israeli government in contemporary times (e.g., Jacob et al. 2011; Feinberg 2020a; Feinberg 2020b) can lead to violence targeting Jewish diasporas. Specifically, Feinberg (2020b) finds that there is no greater single factor in explaining antisemitic hate crime variation in the United States than weeks when Israel was engaged in military conflicts that ultimately resulted in over 100 Palestinian fatalities.

Surveys of Jewish students regularly confirm that Israel is frequently invoked in the antisemitic incidents that they experience on campus. According to Kosmin and Keysar (2015, 5) student members of American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) chapters report experiencing antisemitism more frequently than any other subset of a campus’s population. While being an AIPAC member does not require a Jewish identity, it does promote a likely public sympathy towards Israel, suggesting that campus antisemitism is at least partially political. That is, it targets those who are often perceived as the most vocal defenders of Israel and/or Zionism on campus. Saxe et al. (2015) find that

nearly half of all Jewish students were exposed to a statement that “Israelis behave ‘like Nazis toward the Palestinians’” in a single academic year, anti-Israel rhetoric that the IHRA working definition of antisemitism flags as an example of contemporary antisemitism.

With Israel featuring centrally in campus antisemitism, events that increase Israel’s salience on the quad and in the classroom are likely to result in increased antisemitic incidents, particularly if they invoke Israel, Israelis, Zionism, and the influence of American Jewry in decidedly negative ways. Perhaps the best example of the systematic efforts to delegitimize Israel and Zionism occurs during the ubiquitous Israel Apartheid Week (IAW). IAW, which began at the University of Toronto in 2004, has since blossomed into an annual worldwide event, primarily held on college and university campuses both in the United States and abroad, with the stated goal of educating campus communities about what its organizers perceive to be Israeli apartheid and its systems of oppression and bigotry. Cravatts (2011) notes that the main tactic of IAW is to define Zionism as racism and the modern State of Israel as inherently racist, not just in practice, but in foundation. Common events during IAW range from anti-Israel speakers to on-campus simulations of Israeli checkpoints, where IAW volunteers dress up as Israeli soldiers on university quads and purposefully disrupt student activities (Lebovic 2016; Blaff et al. 2019; Cohen 2021). Unlike other anti-Israel activities across university campuses, such as the disruption of pro-Israel speakers, IAW events are generally scheduled in advance and widely publicized to maximize participation. This allows scholars to better account for IAW efforts within and across American institutions of higher education.

Hypothesis 6: When a campus hosts Israel Apartheid Week activities, reported antisemitic incidents will increase.

Organization recognizes that many hate crimes are perpetrated by hate groups or individuals linked to these organizations. However, bias-incidents may not be connected to formal hate groups alone. Campus organizations and groups promoting the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement (BDS) across universities are often seen as the most likely to mainstream demonization and delegitimization of Zionism (Elman and Romirowsky 2019). BDS campus manifestations are not limited to promoting speakers and presentations that paint

Israel as a pariah state. Groups endorsing BDS have brought campus referendums on divestment from Israel, challenged Jewish students running for elected campus positions because of their identification with Israel and religion, and disrupted a meaningful number of campus events perceived to be pro-Israel (Elman 2021). Arguably, the most vocal of all BDS-promoting groups across American colleges is Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). SJP chapters frequently play a key organizing role in promoting Israel Apartheid Week (IAW) on their campuses (Diker and Berk 2017; Small et al. 2019) and have been found to significantly increase antisemitic incident variation on campus (AMCHA 2018). Despite their autonomy, SJP groups often organize, coordinate, and fundraise through the National Students for Justice in Palestine. Saxe et al. (2015, 2) find that one of the strongest predictors of perceiving a hostile climate toward Israel and Jews is the presence of an active SJP group on campus. Of the over 400 American universities that have reported at least one antisemitic incident in the last five years (AMCHA 2020), 179 are home to an SJP chapter (NSJP 2020).

Hypothesis 7: Campuses with an active SJP group will experience more reported antisemitic incidents.

Data and Methodology

Dependent Variables

This article utilizes several dependent variable measures for its analysis. All models examining reported antisemitic hate crime variation come from the Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reports Hate Crime (UCR) data, which reports hate crimes at the incident level, from 2003-2017. However, when investigating reported antisemitic hate crimes using time-dependent variables, antisemitic hate crimes are aggregated at the Federal Information Processing Standards county-level code (FIPS code) and month. Additionally, the UCR data codes information on where a reported hate crime takes place. The location which identifies that the occurrence took place on a college or university campus or property is of considerable importance to the analysis provided in this article. Of the 103,244 reported hate crimes in the UCR data examined by this article, 9,552 hate crimes, accounting for 9.25% of all hate crimes, occurred on American colleges or universities. Of these reported hate crimes occurring on campuses, 1,777 of them, or 18.60%, had an antisemitic motivation.

Models examining antisemitic bias-incidents on university campuses, which did not necessarily rise to the level of a hate crime, come from the AMCHA Initiative, “a non-partisan organization whose sole mission is to document, investigate, and combat antisemitism occurring on U.S. college campuses... [using] the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) and U.S. State Department definitions to identify incidents of antisemitism” (AMCHA 2020). According to AMCHA’s collection of incidents, from January 2015 through September 2020, 3,493 reported antisemitic incidents have occurred across 407 American college and university campuses and systems. This number is notably higher than the reported number of antisemitic hate crimes that have occurred at the same locations according to UCR data, primarily because a significant number of the campus incidents documented by AMCHA include anti-Israel programming where participants engaged in antisemitic rhetoric consistent with the IHRA Working Definition of antisemitism. These activities and related speech, however offensive in nature, have often not risen to the level of a hate crime.

This article analyzes the AMCHA antisemitism data in two distinct formats. First, it aggregates antisemitic incidents at the university level, allowing for a comparative examination of institutional-level characteristics. Second, in order to examine time-specific variables, it creates a time-series structure with university-month observations from 2015-2016 to examine the effects of time-variant variables on antisemitic incident likelihood.

Independent and Control Variables

To test for the influence of bias-type on reported hate crime likelihood, this article creates binary variables according to the investigated bias-type provided by law enforcement agencies for each incident listed in the UCR data. Specifically, variables are created to cover all major racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual orientation motivations: anti-Black, anti-White, anti-Hispanic, anti-Asian, antisemitism, anti-Muslim, and anti-LGBTQ+. These bias-motivations alone account for nearly 85% of all bias-incidents reported in the UCR. Of particular importance to this paper, reported antisemitic hate crimes account for 12.46% of all hate crimes, making it the third-largest single-bias type behind only anti-Black and anti-LGBTQ+ motivations.

To examine variation in antisemitic hate crime locations, this article creates binary variables according to the investigated location-type provide by law enforcement per hate crime. The UCR data reports these locations in 22 categories, which have been operationalized as binary variables. Of particular interest for this article are the reported hate crimes that have occurred on American college and university campuses, the fourth largest locational category for hate crime occurrence. The only locations that report hate crimes more frequently are a victim's residence at 30.96%, streets, roads, and highways at 17.75%, and the unknown/other category (a catch-all category for locations that do not easily fit into other categories) at 12.08%.

In models examining UCR data as well as some utilizing the AMCHA data, U.S. census data examining a FIPS code's percentages of the population who are urban, white, black, indigenous, Asian, Hispanic, and college-educated are provided. Binary variables were created for FIPS codes that fell into the counties of the metropolitan areas of America's three largest cities: New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Years occurring prior to 2010 utilize the 2000 U.S. census data, and years including and following 2010 utilize the 2010 U.S. census data. Each year of the data is also dummied out in models analyzing UCR data, using 2017, the last included year in the dataset, as the reference category. Hate Group data at the state-year level compiled by the Southern Poverty Law Center was also included (SPLC 2020).

To account for an American university's Jewish population and the presence of an active Hillel organization on campus, this article utilizes data provided by Hillel International's College Guide: Hillel's Guide to Jewish Life at Colleges and Universities (Hillel 2020). Of the 403 colleges and universities present in the AMCHA data, 296 campuses, accounting for 73.45% of all institutions of higher learning in the data, have an active Hillel chapter. Hillel presents Jewish student population estimates for 272 universities in the AMCHA dataset, ranging from 10 Jewish students at the Graduate Theological Union, to 9,400 at University of Florida's main campus in Gainesville. For an easier interpretation of Jewish student population, a one-unit change in the Jewish student population represents 100 students. To extract the proportion of Jewish students attending a college and university, the aforementioned Hillel data is divided by the Fall enrollment data presented in the Carnegie Classification of

Institutions of Higher Education data updated in 2018 (Carnegie Classification 2019). This measure finds that Tulane has the highest proportion of Jewish students of any non-Jewish institution of higher education, at 29.99%⁵.

Alternatively, St. Cloud State University has the lowest proportion of Jewish students at 0.1% of all institutions having at least one antisemitic incident as well as Hillel Jewish student population data. To account for the presence of an on-campus Chabad chapter, the Chabad Campus Directory is consulted (Chabad 2020). Campuses with a Chabad located on campus are coded as 1, and all other Chabad services, including local Chabad chapters that may serve colleges and universities off-campus are coded as 0. An on-campus Chabad is present at 165 of campuses, accounting for 40.94% of all institutions, listed in the AMCHA data.

This article utilizes the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education data to determine both institutional type and characteristics. Of all universities listed in the AMCHA data, 202 are doctorate-granting universities, 75 are universities and colleges whose highest degrees awarded are at the master's level, 86 are Baccalaureate Colleges, and 35 are community colleges that exclusively provide associate degrees. Each university type was measured as a binary variable. 2017 Fall enrollment from the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education data was also provided for each university. Fall enrollment ranged from 153 at American Jewish University, to 67,929 at Texas A&M University. Following the construction of the measure of Jewish students, for easier interpretation, a one-unit change in the fall enrollment represents a change of 100 students. The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education data also measures whether a university is officially classified as a

“With Israel featuring centrally in campus antisemitism, events that increase Israel’s salience on the quad and in the classroom are likely to result in increased antisemitic incidents, particularly if they invoke Israel, Israelis, Zionism, and the influence of American Jewry in decidedly negative ways.”

⁵ According to the measure, the entire student population of American Jewish University is Jewish, and 55.13% of Yeshiva University’s student population is Jewish.

Minority Serving Institution, which includes Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Hispanic-Serving Institutions, Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Asian American and Pacific Islander Serving Institutions. There are 59 such institutions in the AMCHA data. This article also utilizes ACT scoring selectivity ratings provided by the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education data for each college and university in the AMCHA data. 102 institutions are classified as inclusive, 96 as selective, and 196 as more selective.

To account for the presence of active SJP groups operating at American colleges and universities, this article utilized data provided by the National Students for Justice in Palestine (NJSP) website (NJSP 2020). Of the institutions included in the AMCHA data, 179 had active SJP groups. To measure for the occurrence of Israel Apartheid Weeks (IAW), social media, particularly Facebook groups belonging to pro-Palestinian campus organizations were analyzed from 2015-2016 for events titled or related to IAW, which also include "Anti-Zionism Week," and "Palestine Awareness Week," among others. The IAW variable itself is binary, accounting for the month during and following the scheduled event(s). The only exception to this coding was if the event occurred in May, generally the last month of spring semesters at American universities. Also, to account for potential lulls in antisemitic activity as a result of summer breaks, a binary summer break variable was created for the months of June, July, and August. Although these months represent a quarter of all time accounted for between 2015-2016, they observed just over 6% of all reported antisemitic incidents during that span.

Methodology

Because this article utilizes several different data sets and data measures to test its hypotheses, it tailors its methodological approach to each data set and specific related hypothesis. It employs logistic regression analysis⁶ utilizing the UCR data to examine how bias type explains hate crime occurrence at college and university campuses, and how location type influences the likelihood of hate crime having an antisemitic motivation, each with binary coding. To maximize

⁶ Logistic regression is frequently used to model categorical dependent variables with values ranging from 0 to 1. The logistic regression models in this paper examine two binary variable constructions: hate crime occurrence on a college and university campus (coded as yes (1) or no (0)), and antisemitic motivation (coded as yes (1)).

interpretational ease, the marginal effects of each variable of interest are provided graphically for each logistic regression model.

To examine how institutional characteristics, Jewish demographics, and campus organizations affect variation in reported hate crime, this article presents negative binomial regression models utilizing the AMCHA Initiative antisemitic bias-incident data. The use of negative binomial regression is appropriate compared to Poisson regression because antisemitic bias incidents are an overdispersed count outcome variable⁷. Each observation in the model examines the total number of antisemitic incidents reported by a university included in the AMCHA dataset from January 2015 through September 2020; the results are presented through incident rate ratios for ease of interpretation. 151 of the 403 institutions of higher learning included in the AMCHA data reported a single antisemitic incident. The universities with the highest number of reported incidents were Columbia University/Barnard College, which recorded 130 incidents over this time period, followed by University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign with 92, and New York University with 85.

To analyze how Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) alters antisemitic incident variation, this article employs a cross-sectional time-series generalized least squares regression (GLS)⁸ to best account for common concerns of time-series analysis such as autocorrelation. Several additional models, including negative binomial regression and fixed-effect negative binomial regression models, that consistently confirm both the direction and statistical significance of IAW on antisemitic incident variation, confirm the GLS findings⁹. None of these alternative methodological approaches change the substantive findings presented in this article. Because the IAW data collection was exclusive to the

7 Negative binomial regression models are frequently used to examine data with overdispersed count outcome variables (when the mean does not equal the variance after properly accounting for the model's predictors). Running a Poisson model when overdispersion is present can lead to errors, including erroneous conclusions due to understated standard errors.

8 Feasible generalized least squares regression (FGLS) models are frequently used to examine cross sectional time-series data that may possess the presence of heteroskedasticity, serial and cross-sectional correlation. This approach is reasonable under these circumstances where FGLS is known to be more efficient than ordinary least squares regression.

9 These models can be provided by request.

years of 2015 and 2016, the GLS model examines total incidents of antisemitism at the university-month level if the university has reported 10 or more antisemitic incidents over this time frame. Ultimately, the GLS model incorporates data from 90 American institutions of higher learning over two years.

In order to determine whether Jews are more likely to be the target of hate crimes on campus than other groups, a logistic regression model, titled Table 1, examines hate crime occurrences at American universities and colleges utilizing the UCR data from 2003 to 2017. The results from this model show that antisemitic hate crimes are more likely to occur on college campuses than are hate crimes motivated by prejudice towards other groups. Not only is the coefficient statistically significant, the magnitude of the effect is greater than any other reported hate crime motivation. While hate crimes with anti-Black, anti-Asian, and anti-LGTBQ+ motivations are also significantly more likely to occur at American colleges and universities, antisemitic motivations increase the likelihood of the event taking place on campus more than any other target group. Alternatively, anti-White and anti-Hispanic hate crimes are less likely to occur on college campuses. The model also suggests that anti-Muslim hate crimes are no more or less likely to occur at American universities. These results are further illustrated by Figure 2, which shows the marginal effects with respect to each bias-type on the probability that a hate crime occurs at a university or college campus, while holding all other variables at their means.

Table 1 - Targets of Hate Crime on American Campuses

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Anti-Jewish	0.6219529	0.0412774	15.07	0
Anti-Muslim	-0.0016128	0.0843847	-0.02	0.985
Anti-Black	0.3593145	0.0351212	10.23	0
Anti-White	-0.2524771	0.0512005	-4.93	0
Anti-Hispanic	-0.1769121	0.0587181	-3.01	0.003
Anti-Asian	0.1556924	0.0786541	1.98	0.048
Anti-LGBTQ+	0.1374811	0.0411496	3.34	0.001
2003	0.7179958	0.0615545	11.66	0
2004	0.6934329	0.0615494	11.27	0
2005	0.798282	0.0610989	13.07	0
2006	0.7542611	0.0610743	12.35	0
2007	0.6619791	0.0618214	10.71	0

Table 1 - Targets of Hate Crime on American Campuses (Continued)

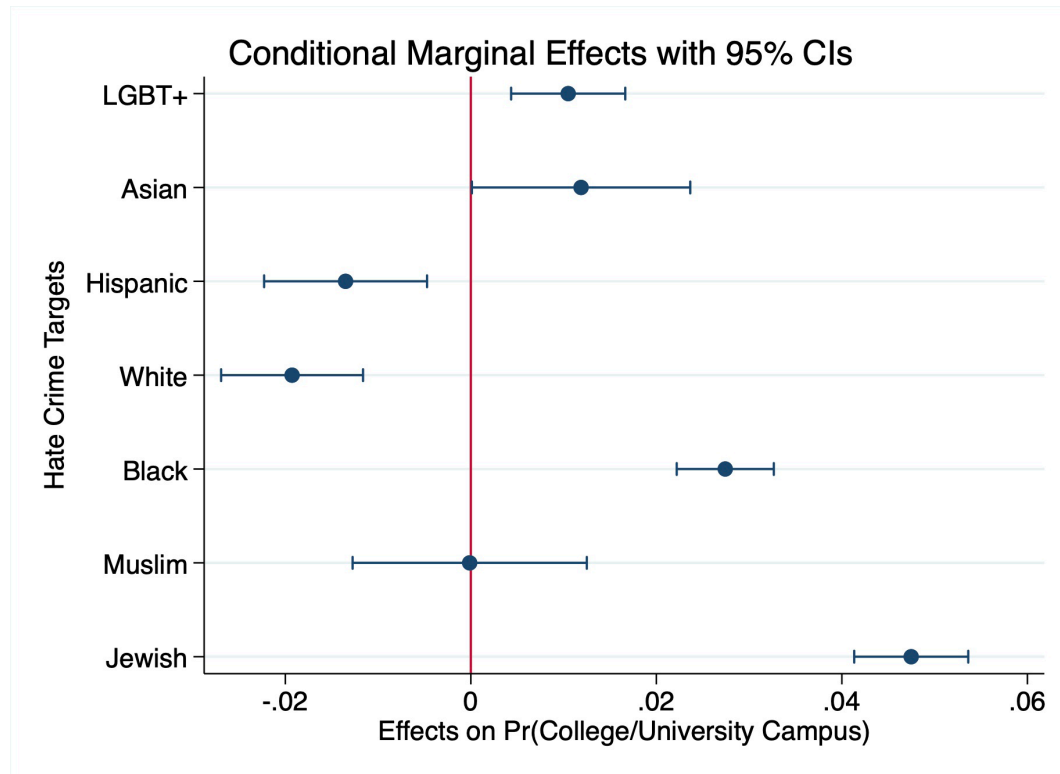
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Err.	z	P> z
2008	0.6774258	0.061009	11.1	0
2009	0.650169	0.0632759	10.28	0
2010	0.6134394	0.0636727	9.63	0
2011	0.1503559	0.0703061	2.14	0.032
2012	0.113932	0.0698159	1.63	0.103
2013	-0.0238272	0.0743608	-0.32	0.749
2014	-0.1176634	0.0777639	-1.51	0.13
2015	-0.1324798	0.0770464	-1.72	0.086
2016	-0.0134886	0.0735134	-0.18	0.854
% Urban	0.0040342	0.0007506	5.37	0
% White	0.1008196	0.0144277	6.99	0
% Black	0.0895303	0.0143849	6.22	0
% Indigenous	0.1085945	0.0160044	6.79	0
% Asian	0.1284615	0.015961	8.05	0
% Latino	0.0808216	0.0144028	5.61	0
% College	0.0018872	0.0011808	1.6	0.11
Constant	-12.98583	1.428797	-9.09	0

Number of obs = 103,243

Log pseudolikelihood = -30670.085

Pseudo R2 = 0.0365

Figure 2 – Marginal Effects of College/University Location on Hate Crime Likelihood



To examine whether Jews are more likely to be the target of hate crimes on college campuses than at other locations, a logistic regression model, titled Table 2, examines antisemitic hate crime locations utilizing the UCR data from 2003 to 2017. Results from the model confirm that antisemitic hate crimes are significantly more likely to occur at American colleges and universities than most other locations. Notably, the other two location categories where antisemitic motivations have a greater influence are place of worship and the other/unknown categories. The results are provided graphically by Figure 3, which shows the marginal effects with respect to several of the most common location categories, including residence, streets, roads and highways, and fields and woods.

Table 2 – Locations of Antisemitic Hate Crimes in America

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Err.	z	P> z
College & University	0.5059509	0.0891681	5.67	0
Airport/Transportation	-0.6809324	0.1475721	-4.61	0
Bar/Night Club	-1.888767	0.1981666	-9.53	0
Place of Worship	0.8054091	0.0929647	8.66	0
Convenience Store	-1.475151	0.2011686	-7.33	0
Department Store	-1.005179	0.1927471	-5.22	0
Drug Store	0.4099317	0.1233986	3.32	0.001
Fields & Woods	-0.0302343	0.1370192	-0.22	0.825
Government Building	0.3632812	0.110379	3.29	0.001
Grocery	-0.7274507	0.1801966	-4.04	0
Road	-0.8198958	0.0906671	-9.04	0
Hotel	-1.083433	0.229244	-4.73	0
Jail/Prison	-1.414007	0.2486795	-5.69	0
Other/Unknown	0.6363682	0.0876816	7.26	0
Park/Playground	0.1324277	0.1620887	0.82	0.414
Parking Garage	-0.7797666	0.1017603	-7.66	0
Residence	0.0727755	0.0862286	0.84	0.399
Restaurant	-0.767465	0.1297307	-5.92	0
School	0.2123774	0.1164813	1.82	0.068
Gas Station	-1.42988	0.2208305	-6.48	0
Specialty Store	0.0449151	0.1316491	0.34	0.733
Commercial Building	0.3785362	0.1068006	3.54	0
2003	-0.0596851	0.0530063	-1.13	0.26
2004	0.022897	0.052366	0.44	0.662
2005	-0.0244343	0.0528013	-0.46	0.644
2006	0.0036556	0.052717	0.07	0.945
2007	0.0097769	0.0522763	0.19	0.852
2008	0.0402467	0.0519354	0.77	0.438
2009	0.1036452	0.0534973	1.94	0.053
2010	-0.1064539	0.0537226	-1.98	0.048
2011	-0.1545078	0.0551359	-2.8	0.005
2012	-0.1108616	0.0530561	-2.09	0.037
2013	-0.3206488	0.0577371	-5.55	0
2014	-0.2568938	0.0579898	-4.43	0
2015	-0.217382	0.0573745	-3.79	0
2016	-0.250733	0.0563056	-4.45	0

**Table 2 – Locations of Antisemitic Hate Crimes in America
(Continued)**

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Err.	z	P> z
% Urban	0.0255867	0.0012231	20.92	0
% White	0.3412022	0.0181973	18.75	0
% Black	0.3208837	0.0184438	17.4	0
% Indigenous	0.1625866	0.0624893	2.6	0.009
% Asian	0.3538027	0.0200176	17.67	0
% Latino	0.3503259	0.0180818	19.37	0
% College	0.0355647	0.0011546	30.8	0
Constant	-38.81275	1.825303	-21.26	0

Number of obs = 103,243

Log pseudolikelihood = -33708.409

Pseudo R2 = 0.1318

Figure 3 – Marginal Effects of Antisemitic Motivation on Hate Crime Location

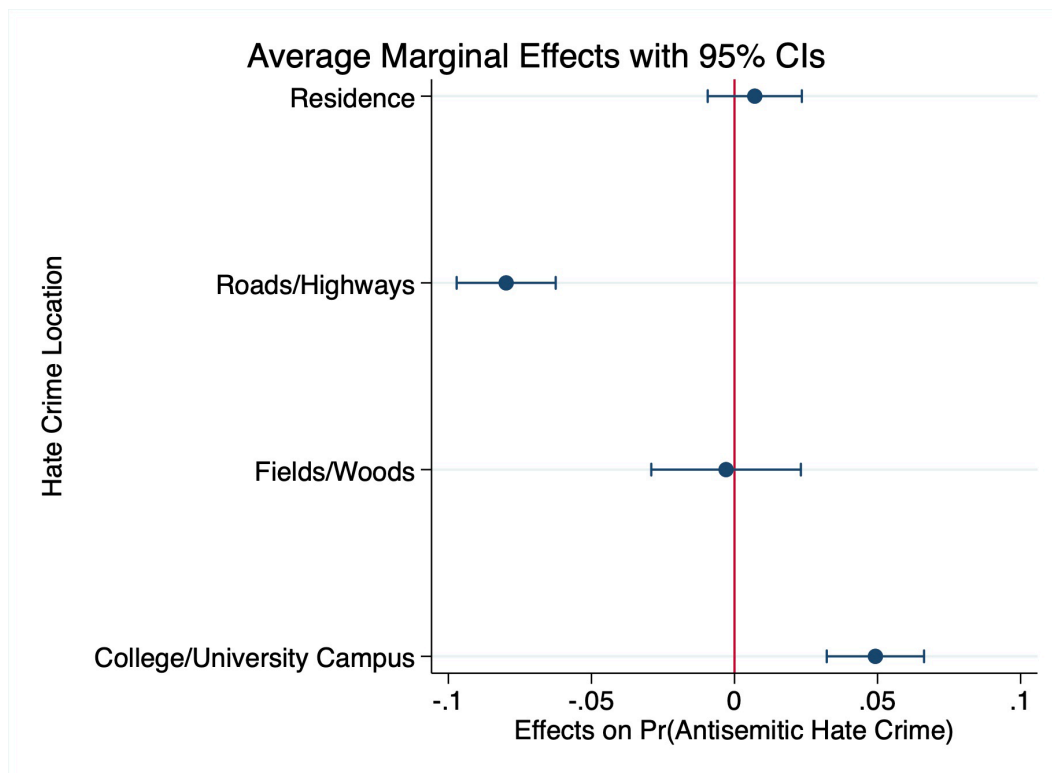


Table 3, Table 4, and Table 5, employ random-effects negative binomial regression models with robust standard errors to examine the effect that time-invariant institutional and Jewish demographic statistics have on reported antisemitic incidents on college and university campuses. Tables 3-5 all report their results through incident rate ratios. Table 3 looks at all institutions listed in the AMCHA dataset that also have corresponding data from the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, comprising 394 colleges and universities. Table 3 shows clear evidence that universities with an active SJP chapter are significantly more likely to report antisemitic incidents on campuses, building on prior evidence found by AMCHA (2018) in an analysis limited to 2015. Specifically, campuses with an SJP chapter suffer 253% more incidents than campuses without one. While the presence of an active Hillel has no significant effect on antisemitic incident variation, a Chabad operating on campus results in 101% more incidents compared to campuses without a Chabad. Baccalaureate Colleges are also significantly more likely to report antisemitic incidents than institutions offering more advanced degrees. Specifically, Baccalaureate Colleges see 62% more antisemitic bias incidents than other institution types. Of additional note, larger universities, as measured by student enrollment, significantly increases antisemitic incident likelihood.

Table 3 – Antisemitic Bias Incidents on American Campuses

Variable	IRR	Std. Err.	z	P> z
SJP	3.5355	0.3983	11.21	0.000
Hillel	1.0840	0.1223	0.71	0.475
Chabad	1.9933	0.2419	5.68	0.000
Doctoral University	1.3200	0.2698	1.36	0.884
Master's College	1.3533	0.2546	1.61	0.108
Baccalaureate College	1.5547	0.3415	2.01	0.045
Enrollment x100	1.0017	0.0004	3.90	0.000
MSI	0.8836	0.1232	-0.89	0.375
ACT – Selective	0.7498	0.1131	-1.91	0.056
ACT – More Selective	1.2582	0.1866	1.55	0.122
NYC Metro	1.0766	0.2193	0.36	0.717
LA Metro	0.7889	0.1743	-1.07	0.283
Chicago metro	0.9127	0.2244	-0.37	0.710
County % White	0.9935	0.0036	-1.75	0.080
County % Urban	0.9980	0.0032	-0.60	0.551
County % College Educated	1.0114	0.0054	2.13	0.033

Table 3 – Antisemitic Bias Incidents on American Campuses (Continued)

Variable	IRR	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Hate Groups	0.9962	0.0031	-1.21	0.228
Constant	1.4544	0.7483	0.73	0.467
/lnalpha	-0.6804	0.0816		
alpha	0.5063	0.0413		

Number of obs = 394

Log Pseudolikelihood = -1040.0221

Pseudo R-Squared = 0.1705

Tables 4 and 5 examine the effect of campus Jewish student population, by count and proportion, on antisemitic bias-incidents, respectively. Because the two Jewish student population variables are correlated, they are not included in the same regression model. Furthermore, since Hillel International does not have population data for a number of colleges and universities in the AMCHA dataset, the number of observations in the models drops to 267 institutions. Lastly, with more than 95% of the remaining institutions in these models having a Hillel present on campus, the binary Hillel variable is excluded from the model. Table 4 shows that as the size of a college’s Jewish student population increases, measured by Jewish student count, antisemitic incidents also increase. The findings from Table 3 regarding the effect of SJP campus presence remain in Table 4, with institutions possessing an active SJP group reporting 257% more incidents than those without one. Accounting for Jewish student population size diminishes the substantive effect that the presence of an on-campus Chabad has, but it remains statistically significant. Controlling for a campus’s Jewish student population also results in the university size variable becoming only marginally significant, along with the Baccalaureate College variable. Interestingly, colleges offering degrees up to the Master’s level are significant in that they report 84% more incidents when compared to other institution types.

Table 4 – Antisemitic Bias Incidents on American Campuses with Jewish Population Count

Variable	IRR	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Jewish Students x 100	1.0138	0.0052	2.67	0.008
SJP	3.5760	0.4676	9.74	0.000
Chabad	1.6126	0.2219	3.47	0.001
Doctoral University	1.5894	0.5227	1.41	0.159

Table 4 – Antisemitic Bias Incidents on American Campuses with Jewish Population Count (Continued)

Variable	IRR	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Jewish Students x 100	1.0138	0.0052	2.67	0.008
Baccalaureate College	1.7432	0.6067	1.60	0.110
Enrollment x100	1.0001	0.0005	1.69	0.092
MSI	0.9797	0.1477	-0.14	0.892
ACT – Selective	0.7512	0.1625	-1.32	0.186
ACT – More Selective	1.2055	0.2383	0.95	0.344
NYC Metro	0.8641	0.1897	-0.67	0.506
LA Metro	0.7357	0.1971	-1.15	0.252
Chicago metro	0.9405	0.2663	-0.22	0.829
County % White	0.9920	0.0041	-1.90	0.058
County % Urban	0.9962	0.0038	-0.97	0.333
County % College Educated	1.0113	0.0061	1.84	0.066
Hate Groups	0.9977	0.0037	-0.60	0.550
Constant	1.9239	1.2041	1.05	0.296
/lnalpha	-0.6295	0.0930		
alpha	0.5328	0.0495		

Number of obs = 267

Log Pseudolikelihood = -800.3419

Pseudo R-Squared = 0.1387

Table 5 reports that the concentration of Jewish student population does not significantly explain antisemitic incident occurrence at American colleges and universities. Accounting for the proportion of a campus's Jewish population results in the return of significance of the university size variable, with larger institutions reporting more antisemitic bias incidents. The findings of the presence of SJP groups and Chabad on campus remain consistent in Table 5. University type no longer explains antisemitic incident likelihood with statistical significance, although incidence rate ratios from Table 4 and Table 5 are remarkably consistent for these variables.

Table 5 – Antisemitic Bias Incidents on American Campuses with Jewish Population %

Variable	IRR	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Jewish Students %	1.0176	0.0128	1.39	0.166
SJP	3.6309	0.4922	9.51	0.000
Chabad	1.6590	0.2341	3.59	0.000
Doctoral University	1.4999	0.4911	1.24	0.216
Master's College	1.7290	0.5567	1.70	0.089
Baccalaureate College	1.5522	0.5452	1.25	0.211
Enrollment x100	1.0019	0.0005	3.63	0.000
MSI	0.9504	0.1370	-0.35	0.725
ACT – Selective	0.7441	0.1615	-1.36	0.173
ACT – More Selective	1.2741	0.2533	1.22	0.223
NYC Metro	0.9823	0.2238	-0.08	0.938
LA Metro	0.7129	0.1933	-1.25	0.212
Chicago metro	0.9515	0.2664	-0.18	0.859
County % White	0.9912	0.0040	-2.16	0.031
County % Urban	0.9946	0.0037	-1.40	0.161
County % College Educated	1.0110	0.0061	1.82	0.069
Hate Groups	0.9968	0.0035	-0.89	0.372
Constant	2.0926	1.2914	1.20	0.231
/Inalpha	-0.6210	0.0924		
alpha	0.5373	0.0497		

Number of obs = 267

Log Pseudolikelihood = -801.4743

Pseudo R-Squared = 0.1375

In order to examine the effect of Israel Apartheid Week (IAW) on the monthly antisemitic incident count on campuses with significant antisemitism problems, a cross-sectional time-series generalized least squares regression (GLS) model is employed and presented in Table 6. In the month during and immediately following IAW and related events, antisemitic incidents are significantly more likely to be reported on college and university campuses. The size of a university's Jewish population, measured by Jewish student count, was only marginally significant in explaining antisemitic incident variation, while total student enrollment was insignificant. The presence of an active SJP chapter and a Hillel chapter wasn't measured in Table 6 because both existed at the overwhelming majority of these institutions. The control variable, summer break,

confirmed that antisemitic incidents on college campuses are significantly less likely to occur when institutions are not in regular session.

Table 6 – Antisemitic Bias Incidents on American Campuses during Israel Apartheid Week

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Israel Apartheid Week	0.7487	0.7346	10.19	0.000
Jewish Students x 100	0.0025	0.0014	1.71	0.087
Chabad	0.0297	0.0598	0.50	0.619
Doctoral University	-0.1632	0.0934	-1.75	0.081
Master's College	-0.1691	0.1056	-1.60	0.109
EnrollmentX100	0.0002	0.0002	1.08	0.279
MSI	0.0000	0.0650	0.00	0.999
ACT – Selective	0.2681	0.1014	0.26	0.792
ACT – More Selective	0.1757	0.0821	2.14	0.032
Summer Break	-0.3740	0.0451	-8.28	0.000
NYC Metro	0.1738	0.0837	2.08	0.038
LA Metro	-0.0947	0.0966	-0.98	0.327
Chicago metro	0.3679	0.1031	3.57	0.000
County % White	0.0026	0.0018	1.45	0.146
County % Urban	0.0052	0.0025	2.06	0.040
County % College Educated	0.0037	0.0019	1.88	0.060
Hate Groups	0.0009	0.0014	0.68	0.494
Constant	-0.5436	0.3327	-1.63	0.102

Number of obs = 2160
 Log likelihood = -2840.9
 Number of groups = 90
 Time periods = 24

Discussion

According to the *opportunity, distinguishability, stimuli, organization* structure and findings presented earlier in Feinberg (2020b), if campuses mirror states, then those with larger Jewish student populations should see greater numbers of reported antisemitic bias incidents. This can be explained, in part, because the presence of more Jews enhances the opportunities and attractiveness of such campuses for bias-incident offenders, while promising to simultaneously amplify the effect of the incident. This article confirms

that campus Jewish student population is strongly correlated with reported antisemitic bias incidents. Relatedly, since Jews are the most highly educated of the world's major religious groups (Pew 2016), the findings of this article suggest that their disproportionate representation at colleges and universities likely contributes to the greater risk they have of being the targets of hate crimes on college and university campuses when compared to other minority groups and locations.

In terms of distinguishability, while the presence of a campus Hillel is not associated with any significant increases in reported antisemitic incidents¹⁰, an on-campus Chabad is strongly correlated with greater reported campus

“Events that focus on villainizing Israel, Zionism, and supporters of Israel serve as stimuli for antisemitic incidents and can turn into antisemitic events themselves.”

antisemitism. Chabad, as a Jewish institution itself, can serve as a potential target for bias incidents and hate crimes. Furthermore, students visiting Chabad or regularly attending Chabad-sponsored events may help to distinguish themselves as Jews to potential perpetrators. It is also important to note that Chabad is considered to be a more religious institution than Hillel, often specifically serving the needs of Orthodox students on a campus. Because religious Jewish students are often more easily identifiable as Jews due to identifying religious garments, a potential perpetrator

of a bias-incident and hate crime may find a Chabad facility or those engaging in Chabad programming as ideal targets.

Events that focus on villainizing Israel, Zionism, and supporters of Israel serve as stimuli for antisemitic incidents and can turn into antisemitic events themselves. While no state, government, or leader is above criticism, the fact

10 The results suggesting the presence of a Hillel on campus does not explain antisemitic incident variation may be due to the sample employed by this article. Because all institutions in the AMCHA Initiative sample report at least one antisemitism incident, it is possible that the presence of a Hillel increases the likelihood a college or university will report at least one antisemitism event, even if it does not explain antisemitism incident variation among schools that have reported such events.

that events like IAW so clearly increase campus antisemitism suggests that anti-Israel program organizers must do more to ensure that their materials, participants, and attendees avoid rhetoric that incites antisemitism. As many other antisemitism watchdog groups have long noted, it is also clear that the presence of organizations committed to BDS, such as SJP, play a role in increasing incidents of campus antisemitism in recent years.

It goes without saying that any study of hate, bias-incidents, and hate crimes is not a concern for scholars alone. The considerable interest in improving the campus climate and combating antisemitism on American college and university campuses has shown that the Jewish community is invested in addressing the plight of Jewish students. This article clearly adds to the large corpus of survey analyses that find that Jewish students in institutions of higher education are very likely to encounter antisemitism during their college years. It suggests that campus antisemitism is not only worrisome but is both acutely and uniquely serious, which would suggest that American Jews should consider it at least as much of a problem as they do antisemitism in other arenas.

Researchers examining antisemitism at colleges and universities have made considerable efforts to propose policy-relevant suggestions focused on diminishing its frequency and severity. Marcus (2021) notes that confronting campus antisemitism is multipronged, with a need for educators to actively combat antisemitism within their institutions while also needing to better teach about antisemitism to their students. Mayhew et al. (2018) argue a more meaningful push toward interfaith exchanges at colleges and universities that include active participation from Jewish students and organizations may reduce campus antisemitism. Saxe et al. (2015) believe that the primary way to tackle antisemitism at institutions of higher learning is through a more comprehensive research program to examine the nexus between campus Jewry and Israel. Kosmin and Keysar (2015) contend that the bar set for antisemitism is simply too high at many universities and that improvements in the campus climate for Jewish students can only happen once university leaders commit to properly investigating and punishing allegations of antisemitism as they would accusations of bigotry targeting other campus communities. National Jewish organizations like the Academic Engagement Network (AEN) and Hillel International have also developed new initiatives to combat antisemitism by providing professional educational opportunities and training on antisemitism to

mid-level administrators, especially those in the diversity space on campus (JNS 2020).

This article's findings should also have considerable value to Jewish organizations operating on campuses, like Hillel International and Chabad. While the primary purpose of these organizations is the cultivation of Jewish community and campus life, their centrality to the Jewish student experience also necessitates a responsibility to educate and inform Jewish students, faculty, and staff about contemporary antisemitism and its possible manifestations on campus. By informing students that events like IAW often engage in antisemitic forms of anti-Israel expression, the Jewish community can take proactive steps to prepare for and counter potential antisemitic bias incidents and hate crimes. Hillel and Chabad chapters operating on campuses can communicate with campus law enforcement and public safety personnel in advance of these events, informing them of the increased risks facing Jewish students so that additional protections can be provided to Jewish groups, events, and institutions (especially if they are connected to or perceived to be connected to Israel). These Jewish organizations can also offer a safe outlet for the Jewish community to report and document bias-incidents, such as online and in-person harassment or bullying.

Conclusion

This article provides a critical look into the factors that explain antisemitic hate crimes and bias-incidents at American universities and colleges. Its findings offer a unique and important contribution to the extant literature on antisemitism at U.S. institutions of higher learning, because it approaches the phenomenon through incident-based analysis rather than through surveys or interviews. Of particular interest for scholars of antisemitism, Jewish and civil rights organizations, and Jewish students, is the article's finding that the presence of an active SJP group on campus significantly accounts for antisemitic event likelihood across all bias-incident models. Although it is outside the scope of this article to engage in a normative debate regarding whether and how BDS is antisemitic, the models it employs clearly shows that the presence of an organized student group committed to BDS activism on campus significantly increases the likelihood of an institution of higher education experiencing antisemitic bias incidents. Furthermore, this article suggests that campus BDS

activism, manifested by events like IAW, is strongly correlated with increases in reported antisemitic incidents. These findings are critical for scholars and practitioners alike seeking empirical evidence of the relationship between BDS and antisemitism.

More broadly, the results presented in this article contribute to the scholarly understanding of hate crimes. In particular, they confirm the importance that salient events particular to a minority group can play in prompting spikes of bias-incidents (King and Sutton 2013; Feinberg 2020a; Feinberg 2020b). They also suggest that political issues play a key role in hate crime likelihood, underscoring the important contribution that political science as a discipline can make to our understanding of hate crimes in America¹¹. Furthermore, the findings in this article provide continued support for the theoretical approach developed in Feinberg (2020b). This approach studies hate crimes and bias incidents via a framework focused on opportunity, distinguishability, stimuli, and organization. Finally, this article's empirical evidence clearly highlights how the security of a diaspora community is often based on the actions—real, exaggerated, and fictional—of its homeland. This result directly contributes to the vast interdisciplinary scholarship that examines contemporary transnational mechanisms.

11 Of course, this is not exclusive to Jews and Israel. The critical role that contemporary geopolitics has in determining minority insecurity has seemingly been confirmed by the wave of hate crimes and bias incidents targeting Asians in the United States following the emergence of COVID-19 and associated domestic political rhetoric blaming China for the pandemic (Feinberg 2020c).

References

Adely, Hannan. "Was Civil Rights Education Secretary Biased in Rutgers Anti-Semitism Probe? Advocates Say Yes." North Jersey Media Group. June 10, 2020. Accessed April 19, 2021. <https://www.northjersey.com/story/news/2020/06/10/rutgers-anti-semitism-case-draws-new-bias-complaint-kenneth-marcus/3146666001/>.

AMCHA 2018. Antisemitic Activity in 2015 at U.S. Colleges and Universities With the Largest Jewish Undergraduate Populations. AMCHA Initiative. Accessed April 20, 2021. <https://amchainitiative.org/antisemitic-activity-schools-large-jewish-report-2015>.

AMCHA 2020. "Antisemitic Activity That Occurred on U.S. College and University Campuses from 2015 to Present Day." AMCHA Initiative, September 2020. Accessed October 02, 2020. <https://amchainitiative.org/search-by-incident#incident/display-by-date/>.

American Jewish Committee (AJC). 2020. "AJC Survey of American Jewish Opinion 2017." AJC. October 26, 2020. Accessed November 01, 2020. <https://www.ajc.org/survey2017>.

Beattie, P., 2017. Antisemitism and opposition to Israeli government policies: the roles of prejudice and information. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(15), pp.2749-2767.

Black, D., 1983. Crime as social control. *American sociological review*, pp.34-45.

Blaff, Ari, Josh Benjamin, Ariel Glickman, and Emily Kalo. "Israel Apartheid Week: A (poorly Hidden) Wolf in Sheep's Clothing." *The Canadian Jewish News*. April 03, 2019. Accessed April 20, 2021. <https://www.cjnews.com/perspectives/opinions/israel-apartheid-week-a-poorly-hidden-wolf-in-sheeps-clothing>.

Brax, D. and Munthe, C., 2015. The philosophical aspects of hate crime and hate crime legislation: Introducing the special section on the philosophy of hate crime. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 30(10), pp.1687-1695.

Brustein, William I. 2003. *Roots of Hate: Antisemitism in Europe before the Holocaust*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Burstein, P. 2007. Jewish Educational and Economic Success in the United States: A Search for Explanations. *Sociological Perspectives* 50(2): 209–28.

Cohen, F., Jussim, L., Harber, K.D. and Bhasin, G., 2009. Modern antisemitism and anti-Israeli attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97(2), p.290.

Cohen, J. "CAMERA on Campus Plans to Disrupt "Israel Apartheid Week"." JNS.org. February 16, 2021. Accessed April 20, 2021. <https://www.jns.org/wire/camera-on-campus-plans-to-disrupt-israel-apartheid-week/>.

Cravatts, R., 2011. Antisemitism and the campus left. *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism*, 3(2), pp.407-442.

DeKeseredy, W., Nolan, J.J. and Hall-Sanchez, A., 2019. Hate crimes and bias incidents in the ivory tower: Results from a large-scale campus survey. *American Behavioral Scientist*, p.0002764219831733.

DellaPergola, S., 2018. World Jewish Population, 2017. In *American Jewish Year Book 2017* (pp. 297-377). Springer, Cham.

Diker, Dan, and Jamie Berk. *Students for Justice in Palestine Unmasked*. Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. 2017. Accessed April 20, 2021. https://jcpa.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/SJP_Unmasked_Final_edited.pdf.

Eichmann, Mark. "Investigator: Jewish Center Intentionally Set on Fire at University of Delaware." WHYY. August 27, 2020. Accessed November 01, 2020. <https://whyy.org/articles/jewish-center-intentionally-set-on-fire-at-university-of-delaware-investigator-says/>.

Elman, M.F. and Romirowsky, A., 2019. Postscript: BDS. *Israel Studies*, 24(2), pp.228-235.

Elman, Miriam. "Antisemitism and Israel Delegitimization on US Campus." Inss.org.il. January 21, 2021. Accessed May 05, 2021. <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/antisemitism-and-israel-delegitimization-on-the-us-campus/?offset=3&posts=11&subject=1222>.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). "Universal Crime Report (UCR) 2003-2017: Hate Crime Statistics." Accessed November 01, 2020. <https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/ucr/hate-crime>.

Feinberg, A., 2020 (A). Homeland Violence and Diaspora Insecurity: An Analysis of Israel and American Jewry. *Politics and Religion*, 13(1), pp.1-27.

Feinberg, A., 2020 (B). Explaining Ethnoreligious Minority Targeting: Variation in US Antisemitism Incidents. *Perspectives on Politics*, 18(3), pp.770-787.

Feinberg, A., 2020 (C). "Analysis | Hate Crimes against Asian Americans Have Been Declining for Years. Will the Coronavirus Change That?" *The Monkey Cage*. April 13, 2020. Accessed February 21, 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/04/13/hate-crimes-against-asian-americans-have-been-declining-years-will-coronavirus-change-that/>.

Goldrosen, Nicholas. "College Resolves Federal Investigation of Antisemitism in WIFI Registration." *The Williams Record*. September 11, 2019. Accessed April 19, 2021. <https://williamsrecord.com/160171/news/college-resolves-federal-investigation-of-antisemitism-in-wifi-registration/>.

Hillel International. 2020. "College Guide." Accessed November 01, 2020. <https://www.hillel.org/college-guide>.

IHRA 2018. "Working Definition of Antisemitism." 2018. Accessed April 19, 2021. <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism>.

Jacobs, D., Veny, Y., Callier, L., Herman, B. and Descamps, A., 2011. The impact of the conflict in Gaza on antisemitism in Belgium. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 45(4), pp.341-360.

JNS. "New Initiatives Join Forces to Battle Anti-Semitism on College Campuses." *JNS.org*. October 29, 2020. Accessed April 28, 2021. <https://www.jns.org/new-initiatives-join-forces-to-battle-anti-semitism-on-college-campuses/>.

Kaplan, E.H. and Small, C.A., 2006. Anti-Israel sentiment predicts antisemitism in

Europe. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(4), pp.548-561.

Kassis, W. and Schallié, C., 2013. The Dark Side of the Academy: Antisemitism in Canadian and German Students. *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism*, 5(1), pp.71-91.

Kempf, W., 2012. Antisemitism and criticism of Israel: A methodological challenge for peace research. *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism*, 4(2), pp.515-532.

King, R.D. and Sutton, G.M., 2013. High times for hate crimes: Explaining the temporal clustering of hate-motivated offending. *Criminology*, 51(4), pp.871-894.

Klug, B., 2013. Interrogating 'new antisemitism'. *Ethnic and racial Studies*, 36(3), pp.468-482.

Kopstein, J.S. and Wittenberg, J., 2018. *Intimate violence: Anti-Jewish pogroms on the eve of the Holocaust*. Cornell University Press.

Kosmin, B.A. and Keysar, A., 2015. National demographic survey of American Jewish college students 2014: Antisemitism report.

Lebovic, Matt. "'Apartheid Week' Really Does Threaten Israel, Some Experts Warn." *The Times of Israel*. March 18, 2016. Accessed April 20, 2021. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/apartheid-week-really-does-threaten-israel-some-experts-warn/>.

Lickel, B., Miller, N., Stenstrom, D.M., Denson, T.F. and Schmader, T., 2006. Vicarious retribution: The role of collective blame in intergroup aggression. *Personality and social psychology review*, 10(4), pp.372-390.

Los Angeles Times (LAT). 2011. "11 Muslim Student Union Members Charged with Disrupting Israeli Ambassador's Speech at UC Irvine." *Los Angeles Times*. February 05, 2011. Accessed November 01, 2020. <https://www.latimes.com/local/la-xpm-2011-feb-05-la-me-0205-uci-protesters-20110205-story.html>.

Marcus, Kenneth. "Addressing Antisemitism Within and Through the Educational Systems in the United States." Inss.org.il. March 17, 2021. Accessed May 05, 2021. <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/antisemitism-education/>.

Mayhew, M.J., Bowman, N.A., Rockenbach, A.N., Selznick, B. and Riggers-Piehl, T., 2018. Appreciative attitudes toward Jews among non-Jewish US college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 59(1), pp.71-89.

Murakami, Kery. "New York University Settles Anti-Semitism Case with Education Department." *New York University Settles Anti-Semitism Case with Education Department*. October 02, 2020. Accessed April 19, 2021. <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/10/02/new-york-university-settles-anti-semitism-case-education-department>.

National Students for Justice in Palestine. 2020. "Interactive SJP Map." Accessed November 01, 2020. <https://www.nationalsjp.org/about>.

Orr, Donald. 2020. "Portland Jewish Center Severely Damaged in 2nd Fire This Week, Federal Investigators Involved." *Opb*. August 20, 2020. Accessed November 18, 2020. <https://www.opb.org/article/2020/08/20/jewish-center-fire-portland-chabad/>.

Paybarah, Azi. "Rabbi Dies Three Months After Hanukkah Night Attack." *The New York Times*. March 30, 2020. Accessed April 18, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/30/nyregion/rabbi-monsey-attack.html>.

Pew. 2016. "The Most and Least Educated U.S. Religious Groups." *Pew Research Center*. August 18, 2020. Accessed November 01, 2020. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/04/the-most-and-least-educated-u-s-religious-groups/>.

Pulzer, Peter G. 1988. *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany & Austria*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Rayburn, Nadine Recker, and Gerald C. Davison. "Articulated thoughts about antigay hate crimes." *Cognitive Therapy and Research* 26.4 (2002): 431-447.

Rayburn, N.R., Earleywine, M. and Davison, G.C., 2003. Base rates of hate crime victimization among college students. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 18(10), pp.1209-1221.

Richman, Jackson. "Amid Chaos, UC Berkeley Student Government Delays Vote against Terrorist Display." *Cleveland Jewish News*. February 05, 2020. Accessed November 01, 2020. https://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/jns/amid-chaos-uc-berkeley-student-government-delays-vote-against-terrorist/article_3cf762e7-eaf7-589a-b4f6-50a76508d4f1.html.

Rosenberg, Hans. 1967. *Grosse Depression und Bismarck-zeit. Wirtshcaftsablauf Gesellschaft und Politik in Mitteleuropa*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Saxe, L., Sasson, T., Wright, G. and Hecht, S., 2015. Antisemitism on the college campus: Perceptions and realities.

Saxe, L., Wright, G., Hecht, S., Shain, M., Sasson, T. and Chertok, F., 2016. Hotspots of antisemitism and anti-Israel hostility on US campuses. *Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies*.

Senior, Jennifer. 2005. "Columbia University's Own Middle East War – Nymag." *New York Magazine*. January 19, 2005. Accessed November 18, 2020. <https://nymag.com/nymetro/urban/education/features/10868/>.

Shenhav-Goldberg, R. and Kopstein, J.S., 2020. Antisemitism on a California Campus: Perceptions and Views Among Students. *Contemporary Jewry*, 40(2), pp.237-258.

Small, Charles Asher, David Patterson, and Glen Feder. Special ISGAP Report: The Threat to Academic Freedom from National Students for Justice in Palestine. ISGAP. August 25, 2020. Accessed April 20, 2021. <https://isgap.org/post/2020/08/special-isgap-report-the-threat-to-academic-freedom-from-national-students-for-justice-in-palestine/>.

Staetsky, L.D., 2017. *Antisemitism in contemporary Great Britain: A study of attitudes towards Jews and Israel*.

Stage, F.K. and Downey, J.P., 1999. Hate crimes and violence on college and university campuses. *Journal of College Student Development*, 40(1), pp.3-9.

Stotzer, R.L., 2010. Sexual orientation-based hate crimes on campus: The impact of policy on reporting rates. *Sexuality research and social policy*, 7(3), pp.147-154.

Van Dyke, N. and Tester, G., 2014. Dangerous climates: Factors associated with variation in racist hate crimes on college campuses. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 30(3), pp.290-309.

Wessler, S. and Moss, M., 2001. Hate crimes on campus: The problem and efforts to confront it.

Wistrich, Robert S. 2010. *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad*. New York: Random House.

Wright, G., Volodarsky, S., Hecht, S. and Saxe, L., 2021. Trends in Jewish Young Adult Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism in America from 2017 to 2019. *Contemporary Jewry*, pp.1-21.

About the Author

Ayal Feinberg is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Texas A&M University–Commerce. His research has been featured in journals and media outlets such as *International Negotiation*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *International Interactions*, *Religion & Politics*, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *Contemporary Jewry*, *Harvard National Security Journal*, *Southeast European & Black Sea Studies*, and *The Washington Post*’s “Monkey Cage.”

His scholarship is frequently utilized by practitioners and policy makers concerned with the insecurity of marginalized groups, and was inducted into the *Congressional Record* during the 2019 House Judiciary Committee’s hearing on “Hate Crime and the Rise of White Nationalism.”

About AEN

Founded in 2015, the Academic Engagement Network (AEN) is a national organization of faculty members and staff on American university and college campuses that seeks to oppose efforts to delegitimize Israel, to support robust discussion, research, and education about Israel in the academy, to promote campus free expression and academic freedom, and to counter antisemitism when it occurs on campus.

In recent years, Israel's detractors on campus—both faculty and students—have used increasingly aggressive tactics to delegitimize Israel and demoralize its supporters. These have included attempts to exclude Jewish and Zionist students from participation in progressive coalitions, efforts to withdraw their own universities from study abroad and exchange relationships with Israeli academic institutions, campaigns seeking to discredit major Jewish American organizations and initiatives, denials of funding and recognition to pro-Israel student organizations, and refusals to write letters of recommendation for students wishing to study at Israeli institutions. These currents result in a coarsened, hostile climate for Jewish and Zionist faculty and students and run contrary to the fundamental values of the academy.

AEN believes that faculty can play a critical role in countering these trends, including by using their institutional knowledge, authority, and academic expertise by using their institutional knowledge, authority, and academic expertise to speak, write, mentor students, host campus programs, work constructively with campus leaders and stakeholders, and more. To support members in their efforts to further the organization's goals, AEN provides micro-grants and other forms of financial support to faculty members to host campus programs; prepares guides and other educational resources; sponsors conferences, seminars, and convenings for faculty; offers advice and guidance to faculty members who are facing issues on their campuses; and connects and mobilizes members in a growing national multidirectional network.

AEN Research Paper Series
Research Paper No. 2



Academic
Engagement
NETWORK