A high-angle photograph of a woman with dark hair, wearing a blue sweater, sitting on a light-colored wicker chair. She is looking down at a silver laptop on her lap, with her hands on the keyboard. A smartphone is also visible on her lap, partially under the laptop. In the upper left corner of the image, there is a small, blue, woven Star of David on the wicker chair's surface.

Understanding Campus Antisemitism

In 2019 and its Lessons for Pandemic
and Post-Pandemic U.S. Campuses

Website

amchainitiative.org

Connect

[@amchainitiative](https://twitter.com/amchainitiative)

Edition

July 2020

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction..... | 3 |
| Methodology..... | 8 |
| Data Collection..... | 8 |
| Identifying Classic and Israel-Related Antisemitic Incidents of Targeting..... | 10 |
| Identifying Online and Online-Adaptable Antisemitic Targeting..... | 11 |
| Identifying the Implementation of Academic BDS Guidelines..... | 11 |
| Identifying Challenges to the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism..... | 12 |
| Results..... | 13 |
| 1. Classical Antisemitic Incidents of Harassment Significantly Decreased, while Israel-Related Incidents Significantly Increased..... | 13 |
| 2. Israel-Related Incidents of Antisemitic Harassment Far More Likely to Occur Online or Be Easily Adaptable to an Online Campus than Classical Incidents..... | 14 |
| 3. Academic Boycott-Related Targeting of Jewish Students for Harm Increased Significantly..... | 14 |
| 4. Rhetoric Challenging the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism nearly Quadrupled and was Strongly Linked to Anti-Zionist Students and Faculty, Israel-Related Harassment..... | 17 |
| Discussion & Recommendations..... | 20 |
| Understanding the Spike in Challenges to the Definition of Antisemitism..... | 21 |
| An Alternative Approach to Protecting Jewish Students..... | 25 |
| About the Researchers..... | 29 |

Introduction



As we write this report, the coronavirus pandemic has already had a dramatic and unprecedented impact on higher education in America, forcing colleges and universities across the country to close down their physical campuses and rapidly shift classes and other campus activities to online platforms for the foreseeable future. Even when the pandemic ends, the economic and social crises it has engendered may lead to permanent changes in the character of higher education, including the increasing obsolescence of “brick and mortar” institutions in favor of digital ones.

However, just because Jewish students are not on a physical campus does not mean campus antisemitism has disappeared. Early reports of antisemitic activity on virtual college and university platforms from late March have focused primarily on antisemitic “Zoombombing”—the intentional disruption of Zoom videoconferencing platforms with graphic or threatening messages and speech—that has featured classical antisemitic rhetoric and images. For example, during Yeshiva University President Ari Berman’s pre-Passover speech to the student body, numerous pictures of Nazis and other antisemitic images and rhetoric appeared on students’ screens. At University of Illinois Urbana Champaign, three Zoom meetings attended by hundreds of students were disrupted by individuals bearing swastikas and shouting racial slurs. And at Oklahoma City University, a Zoom graduation ceremony was disrupted by a racial slur and a swastika, causing the ceremony to be prematurely terminated.¹

¹ All examples of antisemitic activity documented in this report can be found in AMCHA Initiative’s Antisemitism Tracker: <https://amchainitiative.org/search-by-incident#incident/search/display-by-date/search/>

Anti-Zionist rhetoric and BDS² promotion have also continued in virtual campus spaces during the pandemic. For instance, a mid-April Zoom event co-sponsored by anti-Zionist student groups at Bard College and Columbia University, "Palestine & BDS 101," called on Columbia officials to divest the university's financial holdings from "Israeli apartheid." A mid-May SJP event at Drexel University titled "Remembering and Resisting Al Nakba" included messages encouraging attendees to "talk about Israel as an apartheid state" and "participate in BDS." And in early June, a petition titled "Justice for Black Lives: End All University of California Police and Imperial Contracts," signed by dozens of student groups and thousands of students and faculty, accused Israel of training the Minneapolis police force in the "knee-to-neck chokehold...used to murder George Floyd [that] has been used and perfected to torture Palestinians...through 72 years of ethnic cleansing and dispossession," and demanded that the university "[d]ivest from companies that profit off Israel's colonial occupation of Palestine."

While less frequently reported to date, acts of Israel-related discrimination and denigration of Jewish and pro-Israel students are also surfacing with the shift to virtual campuses. For example, a statement released by Jewish Voice for Peace at George Washington University claimed that "Zionism is an inherently violent, racist philosophy that should not be allowed in our leftist organizing spaces." And at the University of California Santa Barbara, a student government candidate utilized an antisemitic trope to denigrate Zionist students in his response to an online candidate questionnaire, stating that the student government's previous failure to pass an anti-Israel divestment resolution was "a representation of who owns the school and who truly has a say in how this institution operates."

Although this report analyzes antisemitic activity on U.S. campuses in 2019, when campus antisemitism was often taking place in the school quad, residence halls and classrooms, it nevertheless provides important insight into the kinds of antisemitic behavior currently found on "virtual campuses" and can help anticipate those that will occur in the future. It also offers practical and innovative solutions for ensuring the safety and wellbeing of Jewish students on whatever kind of campuses they will find themselves.



Here is a summary of the continuing and **emerging trends** in antisemitic activity found on U.S. campuses in 2019 that we believe will continue in virtual or physical campus spaces in the second half of 2020 and beyond:

² BDS is the acronym for the anti-Israel Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement.



Continuing Decrease in Classical Antisemitic Harassment, Increase in Anti-Zionist Harassment

For the second year in a row, there was a significant decrease in the number of incidents of anti-Jewish harassment identified as expressing classic antisemitism (**down 49%** from 203 incidents in 2018 to **104** in 2019), but a significant increase in the number of Israel-related incidents (**up 60%** from 121 incidents in 2018 to **192** in 2019).



Israel-Related Incidents of Antisemitic Harassment Far More Likely to Occur Online or be Adaptable to Online Campuses than Classical Antisemitism

In 2019, **72%** of Israel-related instances of antisemitic harassment occurred via online transmission (including emails, social media postings, organizational websites, online newspaper articles, webinars, etc.) or in campus forums that, since COVID-19, are routinely held via online platforms such as Zoom (e.g. classes, student or faculty speaker events or conferences, student government and faculty meetings). During the same time, only **12%** of classical antisemitic harassment occurred online or were easily adaptable to online transmission.



Strong Correlation Between Academic BDS and Harassment of Jewish Students

In 2019, efforts by students and faculty to promote and implement an academic boycott of Israel (academic BDS) continued to be strongly linked to increasing numbers of incidents involving the targeting of Jewish and pro-Israel students for harm. This is because although academic BDS ostensibly targets Israeli universities and scholars, it cannot be implemented on a campus without direct harm to students who want to travel to, study about or advocate for Israel, a disproportionate number of whom are Jewish. Academic BDS guidelines³ specifically calling for boycotting or impeding participation in educational trips to Israel and promoting a “common sense” boycott that urges the censuring, protest and exclusion of pro-Israel individuals can be directly linked to the following trends:

↑ **100%** Boycotting of Educational Programs

Incidents involving attempts by faculty and students to boycott or impede student participation in educational experiences in Israel increased by **100%** from 19 incidents in 2018 to **38** incidents in 2019.

³ <https://usacbi.org/guidelines-for-applying-the-international-academic-boycott-of-israel/>

↑ 67% Denigrating

Acts involving the public shaming, vilifying or defaming of students or staff because of their perceived association with Israel **increased by 67%**, from 72 incidents in 2018 to **120 incidents** in 2019.

↑ 69% Suppression of Expression

Acts involving the shutting down or impeding of Israel-related speech, movement or assembly **increased by 69%**, from 29 incidents in 2018 to **49 incidents** in 2019.

↑ 51% Discrimination

Acts involving the unfair treatment or exclusion of students because of their perceived association with Israel **increased by 51%**, from 41 incidents in 2018 to **62 incidents** in 2019.



Dramatic Increase in Challenges to Definition of Antisemitism and Strong Link to Anti-Zionist Students and Faculty, Anti-Zionist Harassment, and Increased Activity of Anti-Zionist Jewish Groups

Largely in response to Jewish communal efforts to get universities and government agencies to adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of antisemitism⁴ when enforcing university harassment policies and state and federal anti-discrimination law, disputes surrounding the IHRA definition's identification of anti-Zionism as a form of antisemitism and related issues dramatically increased in 2019. Specifically, the question of whether anti-Zionism is a form of antisemitism and should be treated as such, as well as the related questions of whether Zionism is an implicit part of Jewish identity and who gets to define antisemitism or represent Jewishness, were discussed and debated with increasing frequency and rancor in the campus square, the student senate, classrooms, conference halls and online forums. In addition, in 2019 challenges to the IHRA definition were very strongly linked to anti-Zionist students and academic BDS-supporting faculty, to the anti-Zionist harassment of Jewish students, and to the increased activity of anti-Zionist Jewish groups, especially Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP):

Expression Challenging the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism

Increased **3.7 times**, from 34 incidents in 2018 to **126 incidents** in 2019.

Rhetoric Challenging the IHRA Definition

94% (119 incidents) was expressed by students affiliated with anti-Zionist student

⁴ https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/press_release_document_antisemitism.pdf

groups (**16 incidents**) or faculty who support academic BDS (**25 incidents**), and/or occurred as part of activities or events organized or sponsored by anti-Zionist student groups (**83 incidents**) or academic departments with academic BDS-supporting faculty (**24 incidents**).

Schools with One or More Incidents

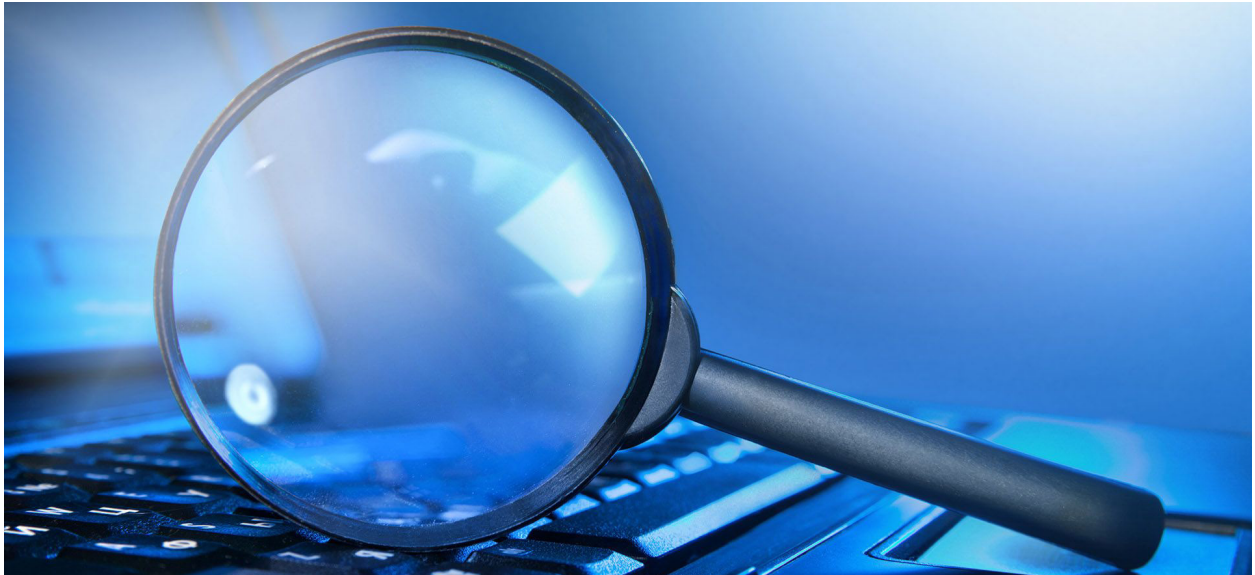
Schools with one or more incidents involving expression challenging the definition of antisemitism were **more than twice as likely** to host acts of Israel-related behavior targeting students for harm ($\chi^2 = 31.7$; $p < .001$), and **the more such expression, the more Israel-related acts of harassment** ($R = .68$; $p < .001$).

Small but Vocal Minority

44% (56 incidents) of rhetoric challenging the definition of antisemitism were made by a very small but vocal minority of Jews identifying themselves as anti-Zionists or at events sponsored or co-sponsored by a Jewish anti-Zionist group, most frequently JVP. At the same time, JVP was more active in 2019 than ever before. Overall JVP campus activity—such as events or activities organized or co-sponsored by JVP or that included participation by JVP members, statements issued by JVP or articles written by JVP members—**increased by 45%**, from 118 occurrences in 2018 to **171 occurrences** in 2019, and was strongly linked to increases in expression challenging the IHRA definition: Schools with an active JVP student group were **3 times more likely to have occurrences** of expression challenging the definition ($\chi^2 = 25.9$, $p = < .001$), and **the more overall JVP-involved campus activity, the higher the occurrence of such expression** ($R = .68$, $p < .001$).

In the concluding section of this report, we discuss the challenges that these continuing and emerging trends present for Jewish communal responses to campus antisemitism and offer a comprehensive approach to addressing the problem that is sensitive to the unprecedented impact of COVID-19 on higher education in America.

Methodology



DATA COLLECTION

AMCHA's Antisemitism Tracker⁵ contains incidents from 2015 to present culled from submitted incident reports, campus police logs, media accounts, social media postings and on-line recordings, which have occurred on U.S. college or university campuses and been identified by AMCHA researchers as having antisemitic content. This study focused on those antisemitic incidents that occurred in 2019.

In determining what constitutes an antisemitic incident, a qualitative distinction is made between behaviors that are, in whole or part, directed at or disproportionately affect Jewish members of the campus community and cause them some degree of measurable harm (e.g. assault, bullying, suppression of speech, destruction of property), and behaviors, primarily speech or imagery, that are expressions of classic or contemporary antisemitic tropes,⁶ but which are not specifically directed at Jewish members of the campus community and do not cause them measurable harm.

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

⁵ <https://amchainitiative.org/search-by-incident#incident/search/display-by-date/search/>

⁶ AMCHA Initiative employs the U.S. State Department definition of antisemitism, which includes forms of anti-Zionist expression: <https://www.state.gov/defining-anti-semitism/>



Physical Assault

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



Discrimination

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



Destruction of Property

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



Genocidal Expression

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



Bullying

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



Denigrating

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



Suppression of Speech/Movement/Assembly

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

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

1 Historical Antisemitism

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

2 Condoning Terrorism against Israel or Jews

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

3 Denying Jews Self-Determination

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

4 Demonization of Israel

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

IDENTIFYING CLASSIC & ISRAEL-RELATED ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS OF TARGETING



Incidents identified as containing classic antisemitism were those that demonstrated anti-Jewish animus on the part of the perpetrators, either through their use of language or imagery containing anti-Jewish messages, or through actions targeting identifiably Jewish individuals (e.g. a student wearing a kippah) or objects (e.g. vandalizing the mezuzah on a Jewish student's doorpost). Israel-related incidents were those that demonstrated anti-Israel animus on the part of the perpetrators, either through their use of language or imagery containing anti-Israel messages, or through actions targeting identifiably pro-Israel individuals (e.g. a student wearing an IDF t-shirt) or objects (e.g. vandalizing a banner for a pro-Israel student event).

Incidents could be identified as having both classic antisemitic and anti-Israel aspects. For example, a voicemail message on a university staff member's phone that included classic antisemitic Holocaust denial, referring to the Holocaust as a "Holohoax," also accused Jews of "extorting Palestine for a century." Such incidents would be counted as both classic antisemitic and Israel-related.

IDENTIFYING ONLINE AND ONLINE ADAPTABLE ANTISEMITIC TARGETING



Incidents of antisemitic targeting of Jewish students were identified as Online if they did not take place on a physical campus but rather occurred via email, text or on the internet, including on social media (Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram), in online campus news media (e.g. student newspapers), on organizational or individual websites or blogs, in webinars, etc.

Incidents of antisemitic targeting were identified as Online-Adaptable if they occurred on a physical campus, but in forums that are currently routinely held via online platforms such as Zoom (e.g. classes, student or faculty speaker events or conferences, student government and faculty meetings).

IDENTIFYING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ACADEMIC BDS GUIDELINES

Behavior was identified as having implemented or attempted to implement the academic boycott of Israel when it met one of two sets of criteria stated in the official guidelines of the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (USACBI)⁷.

The first set of criteria included actions intended to “boycott and/or work towards the cancellation or annulment of events, activities, agreements, or projects involving Israeli academic institutions or that otherwise promote the normalization of Israel in the global academy, whitewash Israel’s violations of international law and Palestinian rights, or violate the BDS guidelines.” Behavior compliant with these criteria included:

- 1** Refusing to write letters of recommendation for students who want to pursue studies in Israel;
- 2** Working toward the closure of their own university’s study abroad programs in Israel;
- 3** Attempting to shut down collaborative research between scholars at their own university and in Israel;

⁷ <https://usacbi.org/guidelines-for-applying-the-international-academic-boycott-of-israel/>

- 4 Attempting to cancel, shut down or disrupt events organized by students or faculty at their own university that feature Israeli leaders or Israeli scholars who come as representatives of their universities, or which are perceived as "normalizing Israel";
- 5 Boycotting academic programs or projects organized by students or faculty at their own university that "bring together Palestinians/Arabs and Israelis so that they can present their respective narratives or perspectives, or to work toward reconciliation" or that promote "co-existence."

The second set of criteria used for identifying behavior that implemented or attempted to implement academic BDS was based on the USACBI guidelines' explicit promotion of a "common sense" boycott that called for "due criticism, or any lawful form of protest or boycott" against individuals alleged to have "complicity in, responsibility for, or advocacy of [Israel's] violations of international law." Behavior compliant with these criteria included the denigration of students, faculty or campus groups, or their exclusion from campus programs and activities, because of their alleged support for Israel.

IDENTIFYING CHALLENGES TO THE IHRA DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism⁸ is based on the conception of Israel as "a Jewish collectivity" and the understanding that certain expression targeting Israel for harm, particularly rhetoric denying Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state or calling for or condoning its elimination, is therefore antisemitic. Although the term "Zionism," understood as the ideological basis for the establishment and continued existence of a Jewish state, is not used in the IHRA definition, it has nevertheless been widely accepted by both the definition's proponents and opponents that the definition presumes that Zionism is a characteristic of Jewish identity and opposition to Zionism, or anti-Zionism, a form of antisemitism.

Rhetoric including one or more of the following arguments was identified as a challenge to the IHRA definition of antisemitism:

- Zionism is not an inherent part of Judaism or Jewish identity
- Anti-Zionism is not antisemitism
- Zionism is itself antisemitic
- Anti-Zionism is opposition to antisemitism

⁸ https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/press_release_document_antisemitism.pdf

Results



1

Classical Antisemitic Incidents of Harassment Significantly Decreased, while Israel-Related Incidents Significantly Increased

In 2019, **297** incidents of harassment, vandalism and assault targeting Jewish students were recorded on **118** U.S. campuses.⁹ Although the total number of such antisemitic incidents was slightly less than in 2018, the number of incidents identified as expressing classic antisemitism **decreased by 49%**, from 203¹⁰ in 2018 to 104 in 2019, while Israel-related antisemitic acts **increased by 59%**, from 121 to **192**. These data are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Number of Incidents Targeting Jewish Students for Harm Involving Classical and Israel-Related Antisemitism in 2018 and 2019

| Targeting Incidents | 2018 | 2019 | % Change |
|-------------------------------|------|------|----------|
| Classical | 203 | 104 | - 49% |
| Israel-Related | 121 | 192 | + 59% |
| Total ¹¹ (page 14) | 324 | 297 | - 8% |

⁹ All data in this report compiled from AMCHA Initiative's database of antisemitic incidents on U.S. campuses: <https://amchainitiative.org/search-by-incident#incident/search/display-by-date/search/>

¹⁰ An AMCHA Initiative study published in October 2019 reported 118 incidents of classic antisemitism in 2018, however this figure was updated from data made publicly accessible by the Anti-Defamation League in 2020.

2

Israel-Related Incidents of Antisemitic Harassment Far More Likely to Occur Online or Be Easily Adaptable to an Online Campus than Classical Incidents

In 2019, Israel-Related incidents of antisemitic harassment were six times as likely to be identified as Online (i.e. occurred via email, text or online) or Online-Adaptable (i.e. occurred as part of an on-campus forum such as a class, speaker event, conference or meeting that is currently routinely held via an online platform like Zoom) than incidents of classical antisemitism: while **72%** of Israel-related incidents of harassment were identified as Online (**98 incidents or 51%**) or Online-Adaptable (**40 incidents or 21%**), only **12%** of classic antisemitic incidents were identified as Online (**8 incidents or 8%**) or Online-Adaptable (**4 incidents or 4%**). These data are summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Number & Percentage of Classical & Israel-Related Incidents of Targeting Jewish Students for Harm Involving Transmitted Online or Easily Adaptable to Online Transmission

| Targeting Incidents | # Online | % Online | # Online Adaptable | % Online Adaptable | % Online + Online-Adaptable |
|-------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Classical (N=104) | 8 | 8% | 4 | 4% | 12% |
| Israel-Related (N=192) | 98 | 51% | 40 | 21% | 72% |

3

Academic Boycott-Related Targeting of Jewish Students for Harm Increased Significantly

Efforts by faculty and students to implement an academic boycott of Israel by seeking to boycott or impede participation in educational trips to Israel significantly increased in 2019, as did academic BDS-related behaviors targeting Jewish and pro-Israel students for harm.

Efforts to Boycott Study Abroad Programs in Israel and to Impede Student Participation in Other Educational Travel to Israel Doubled

Incidents involving attempts by faculty and students to boycott study abroad programs in Israel or impede participation in other educational trips to Israel sponsored by their school or outside organizations **increased by 100%** from 19 incidents to **38 incidents** in 2019. These included:

- For the second year in a row, Pitzer College faculty voted to suspend their study abroad program at the University of Haifa, and along with Pitzer students, protested when the college president vetoed the vote.

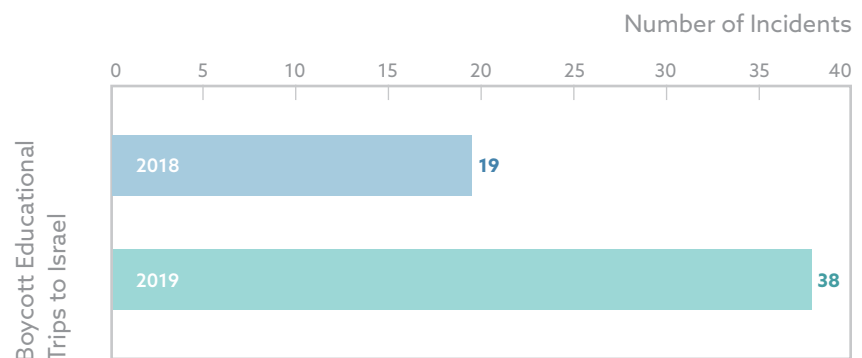
¹¹ Some incidents of targeting involving both classical and Israel-related elements, e.g. a swastika drawn on an Israel flag, were counted in both categories and therefore the total number of incidents is less than the sum of the incidents in each category.

- For the second year in a row, Pitzer College faculty voted to suspend their study abroad program at the University of Haifa, and along with Pitzer students, protested when the college president vetoed the vote.
- At New York University, the Department of Social and Cultural Analysis voted by a large majority to cut all ties with NYU's Tel Aviv program.
- At the University of Michigan, where, in 2018, two faculty members refused to write letters of recommendation for their students wanting to study on university-approved programs in Israel, another faculty member publicly stated that he wanted to "go on record" by stating that, in compliance with academic BDS and in solidarity with his colleagues, he would not write a letter of recommendation for any student wanting to study abroad in Israel.
- Anti-Zionist student groups on at least thirteen campuses undertook campaigns to stop students from participating in educational trips to Israel. For example, at the University of Vermont, Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) circulated a letter, signed by 15 student groups, urging all students to refuse to go on a Hillel-sponsored trip to Israel. And at Harvard University, the Palestine Solidarity Committee sent a message through student group email lists that denigrated students who would participate in a spring break trip to Israel and the disputed territories, stating, "By going on this trip, you will be complicit in the whitewashing of...human rights violations against Palestinians."

Increase from 2018 to 2019 in academic BDS-compliant behavior boycotting educational trips to Israel are displayed in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

Number of Incidents
Involving the Academic
BDS-Compliant Boycott
of Educational Trips
to Israel in 2018 and 2019



Antisemitic Behaviors Consistent with Academic BDS Guidelines' Call for "Common Sense" Boycott Increased Significantly

The academic BDS-compliant "common sense" mandate to criticize, protest and boycott individuals who are deemed complicit with or supportive of Israel's alleged "crimes" accounted for significant increases in behavior involving the denigration of Jewish and pro-Israel students, the suppression of their expression, and discriminatory attempts to exclude them from campus activities.

Denigrating

Acts involving the public shaming, vilifying or defaming of students or staff because of their perceived association with Israel **increased by 67%**, from 72 incidents in 2018 to **120 incidents** in 2019. For example:

- SJP members at Georgia State University issued a statement accusing pro-Israel students of “anti-blackness, harassment, and genocide support.”
- During a guest lecture in an anthropology class at UCLA, the speaker accused a Jewish student in the class of having “alliances with white supremacists” after she expressed that she was offended at the speaker’s anti-Israel lecture.
- At the University of Michigan, anti-Zionist students demonstrating outside of the campus Hillel during Passover services charged Hillel with “contributing to Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism on campus.”
- At a meeting of the Swarthmore College student government that included a vote on an anti-Israel divestment resolution, members of SJP called Jewish and pro-Israel students who opposed the resolution “fascists” and “racists.”

Suppression of Expression

Acts involving the shutting down or impeding of Israel-related speech, movement or assembly **increased by 69%**, from 29 incidents in 2018 to **49 incidents** in 2019. For example:

- At Arizona State University, an event featur-

ing injured IDF veterans organized by Jewish and pro-Israel student groups was disrupted by protesters, who initially blocked the event entirely, causing it to be moved, and then intimidated participants of the event upon their exit from the new venue.

- At CUNY Brooklyn College, members of SJP stood directly in front of a pro-Israel student group’s display in a campus quad, loudly chanted “Long Live the Intifada,” “Netanyahu, We Indict You with Genocide,” and “Free, Free Palestine,” called pro-Israel group’s board members “murderers,” and ripped up one of the group’s flyers, calling it “fascism.”
- At Duke University, a student-launched petition titled “Can’t Learn about Justice from a War Criminal,” with over 500 signatures, called on Duke University to cancel a departmentally-sponsored talk with former Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni.

Discrimination

Acts involving the unfair treatment or exclusion of students because of their perceived association with Israel **increased by 51%**, from 41 incidents in 2018 to **62 incidents** in 2019. For example:

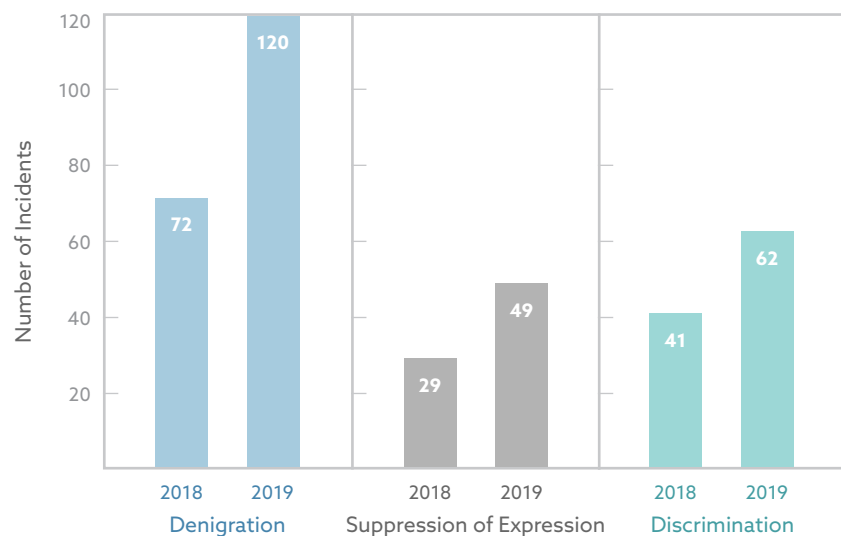
- At Williams College, the student government voted against recognizing Williams Initiative for Israel as an official registered student organization as a result of the group’s support for Israel, making it the first group in more than a decade to comply with all the council’s bylaws for recognition but fail to receive it.

- At Columbia University, SJP issued a statement to the campus community promoting the “social ostracization” and “deplatforming” of Israel advocacy groups and encouraging their “peers and allied organizations to boycott all pro-Israel advocacy groups and clubs.”
- An op-ed in the Princeton University student newspaper urged students not to vote for a Jewish candidate running to be president of the student government, “given his front-and-center background as a member of the Israeli Defense Forces...[that] calls into question both his ability to represent the student body and his moral standing.”
- At University of California Davis the SJP organized a petition to recall the Jewish, pro-Israel student body president, which stated that the “student body will not tolerate Zionism.”

Increases from 2018 to 2019 in academic BDS-compliant behavior targeting Jewish and pro-Israel students for harm are displayed in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2

Number of Incidents Involving Academic BDS-Compliant Behavior that Resulted in the Denigration, Suppression of Expression or Discrimination of Jewish and Pro-Israel Students in 2018 and 2019



4

Rhetoric Challenging the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism nearly Quadrupled and was Strongly Linked to Anti-Zionist Students and Faculty, Israel-Related Harassment of Jewish Students and Activity of Anti-Zionist Jewish Groups

Surge in Rhetoric Challenging the IHRA Definition

In 2019, expression challenging the IHRA definition of antisemitism **increased 3.7 times**, from 34 incidents in 2018 to **126 incidents** in 2019. Such rhetoric primarily involved arguments denying a link between anti-Zionism and antisemitism or between Zionism and Judaism or Jewish identity, for example:

- At the University of Illinois Urbana Champaign, a student government resolution entitled "Condemning Ignorance of Racism and Equating Anti-Zionism with Anti-Semitism," that condemned "the constant conflation of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism," was passed by a large majority of student senators.
- At DePaul University, SJP hosted an event entitled "How Anti-Zionism Does NOT Mean Anti-Semitism," featuring a representative from the anti-Zionist group Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP).
- At Portland State University, buttons with the slogan "anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism" were sold at a campus event hosted by the school's JVP chapter, and an op-ed by JVP leaders at Stanford University entitled "White supremacy is anti-Semitic, anti-Zionism is not" was published in the student newspaper.

In addition, expression denying the link between anti-Zionism and antisemitism was often accompanied by accusations that Zionists, including Jewish and pro-Israel students on campus, were acting in bad faith by using the charge of "antisemitism" to silence pro-Palestinian speech. Zionists themselves were also accused of antisemitism. For instance:

- At UCLA, the Anthropology Graduate Student Association issued a statement claiming, "Anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism... [and] we hope UCLA students and the Daily Bruin will employ a more intellectually rigorous perspective before weaponizing false allegations of anti-Semitism to erode aca-

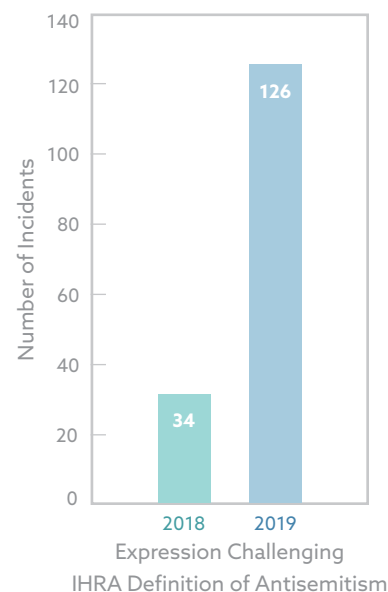
demic freedoms."

- At UCLA, the Anthropology Graduate Student Association issued a statement claiming, "Anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism... [and] we hope UCLA students and the Daily Bruin will employ a more intellectually rigorous perspective before weaponizing false allegations of anti-Semitism to erode academic freedoms."
- At San Francisco State University, the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas Program in the College of Ethnic Studies posted to its official Facebook page an open letter to the university president stating, "Arab, Muslim and Palestinian communities...[and] other indigenous communities, communities of color and marginalized communities, including our Jewish sisters and brothers...are equally insulted by the continued attempt of Israel apologists to claim that Israel and Zionism speak for all Jews and own Jewishness."

Figure 3 shows the increase in expression challenging the IHRA definition of antisemitism from 2018 to 2019.

FIGURE 3

Number of Incidents Involving Expression Challenging the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism in 2018 and 2019



Anti-Zionist Students and Academic BDS-Supporting Faculty Linked to Nearly All Expression Challenging the IHRA Definition

119 incidents (94%) involving rhetoric challenging the IHRA definition of antisemitism were linked to anti-Zionist students and academic BDS-supporting faculty in one or more of the following ways:

16 INCIDENTS

involved expression challenging the IHRA definition from individual students affiliated with anti-Zionist student organizations

25 INCIDENTS

involved expression challenging the IHRA definition from faculty who had previously expressed public support for academic BDS

83 INCIDENTS

were carried out, organized or sponsored by anti-Zionist student groups

24 INCIDENTS

were organized or sponsored by departments with academic BDS-supporting faculty

Strong Link between Expression Challenging the IHRA Definition and Israel-Related Harassment of Jewish Students

Expression challenging the IHRA definition of antisemitism was very strongly linked to the Israel-related harassment of Jewish and pro-Israel students: schools with one or more incidents involving such expression were **more than twice as likely** to host acts of Israel-related behavior targeting students for harm ($\chi^2 = 31.7$; $p < .001$), and **the more such expression, the more Israel-related acts of harassment** ($R = .68$; $p < .001$).

Strong Link between Expression Challenging the IHRA Definition and Anti-Zionist Jewish Group Activity, Particularly JVP

In 2019, **44% (56 incidents)** of rhetoric challenging the IHRA definition of antisemitism was expressed by Jews identifying themselves as anti-Zionists or at events sponsored or co-sponsored by a Jewish anti-Zionist group, most frequently JVP.

JVP campus activity **increased by 45%**, from 118 occurrences in 2018 to 171 occurrences in 2019 and was strongly linked to increases in expression challenging the IHRA definition: Schools with an active JVP student group were 3 times more likely to have occurrences of expression challenging the definition ($\chi^2 = 25.9$, $p < .001$), and the more overall JVP-involved campus activity, the **higher the occurrence of such expression** ($R = .68$, $p < .001$).

Discussion & Recommendations



In 2019, while classical antisemitic acts of assault, vandalism and harassment in America soared to their highest levels in four decades,¹² for the second year in a row our survey of antisemitic activity found a significant decrease in the number of acts motivated by classical antisemitism on U.S. campuses. Given the fact that only a small percentage of these incidents occurred online (e.g. via social media, organizational websites, online student newspapers, emails, etc.) or in campus forums that are easily adaptable to online transmission (e.g. classes, speaker events, student meetings), we expect that such classical antisemitic incidents will decrease considerably on virtual campuses. Even recent incidents of classical antisemitic Zoombombing, which are primarily perpetrated by individuals from outside the campus community, will likely disappear as schools put in place better cyber-security measures.

In contrast, considering the sharp increase in 2019 of Israel-related acts targeting Jewish students for harm, coupled with the fact that three-quarters of such incidents either took place online or were easily adaptable to online campus spaces, we anticipate that in the coming academic year there will be a significant uptick in the anti-Zionist harassment of Jewish students.

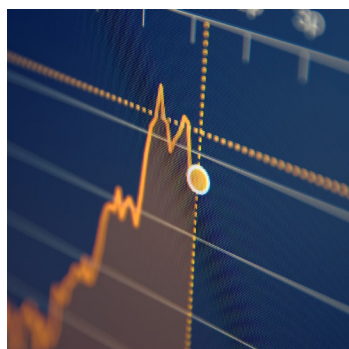
¹² <https://www.adl.org/audit2019>

We also anticipate that as in 2019, such acts will be overwhelmingly associated with student and faculty efforts to promote and implement an academic boycott of Israel (academic BDS). Our study found that Jewish students were not only disproportionately affected by the two-fold increase in efforts to boycott or impede student participation in educational programs in Israel, they increasingly found themselves victims of academic BDS-compliant behavior involving public shaming, suppression of speech and exclusion from campus activities because of their perceived support for Israel.

Consistent with our previous annual studies, our 2019 results highlight a strategic shift in the objectives of anti-Zionist campus activists, from the demonization and delegitimization of Israel, to the denigration, silencing and exclusion of Israel's on-campus supporters.

Furthermore, one new trend found in our current study -- the nearly four-fold increase in expression challenging the IHRA definition of antisemitism by denying a relationship between anti-Zionism and antisemitism or between Judaism and Zionism, and the very strong correlation of such rhetoric to anti-Jewish harassment -- reveals an alarming escalation of this anti-Zionist campaign and its antisemitic consequences for Jewish students.

UNDERSTANDING THE SPIKE IN CHALLENGES TO THE DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM



To adequately understand this newest trend and what it portends for the safety and well-being of Jewish students, it is necessary to provide some historical perspective for the campus controversy surrounding the IHRA definition. Over the last several years, as a consequence of university administrators' inadequate response to rising levels of anti-Jewish harassment, much of it Israel-related, some Jewish organizations have turned to federal anti-discrimination law, particularly Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, for protection of Jewish students. Although for decades Jewish students

were not considered eligible for protection under Title VI, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color and national origin in federally funded schools, by 2010 the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR), the agency tasked with enforcing Title VI, had issued policy statements affirming that Jewish students could find protection from antisemitic harassment under the law as a national origin group. Nevertheless in 2013 and 2014, several complaints alleging anti-Zionist motivated harassment of Jewish university students were dismissed, largely because OCR did not deem conduct motivated by anti-Zionism to be antisemitic, even when the conduct met OCR's behavioral standard for harassment.¹³

¹³ The OCR considers behavior to be "harassment" when it is "sufficiently severe, pervasive or persistent so as to interfere with or limit the ability of an individual to participate in or benefit from the services, activities or privileges provided by any recipient [of federal funds]." (<https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/race394.html>)

In an effort to remedy this discrepancy, in the fall of 2018 the OCR director announced that the agency would be using the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition in determining “whether students face discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived Jewish ancestry.”¹⁴ The IHRA definition, which has been adopted or recognized by 18 countries, including the U.S. State Department,¹⁵ and is widely accepted by worldwide Jewry and employed by our own organization,¹⁶ identifies several examples of anti-Zionist rhetoric as antisemitic. The OCR director believed that the definition would be useful for ascertaining if behavior targeting Jewish students for harm was motivated by antisemitism—and therefore actionable under Title VI—or not.

The OCR’s announcement was followed by a flurry of related efforts to ensure that Jewish students receive the same protection from harassment motivated by Israel-related antisemitism as from behavior motivated by classical antisemitism. In 2019, these efforts focused on urging universities and state and federal governments to adopt and utilize the IHRA definition of antisemitism in adjudicating acts of harassment against Jewish students, as well as legal efforts to fight specific cases of anti-Zionist-motivated harassment using Title VI. For example:

Campus Efforts

Student activists on several campuses sought to enshrine the IHRA definition of antisemitism, particularly its acknowledgement of the antisemitic nature of anti-Zionism, in resolutions considered by their student governments, including at George Washington University, Stanford University, University of Illinois Urbana Champaign, and University of St. Thomas.

State Efforts

The Florida state legislature passed a bill¹⁷ mandating that the state’s public schools and universities treat discrimination motivated by antisemitic intent in an identical manner to discrimination motivated by race. In addition, the bill contained the full IHRA definition and specified that it should be used in determining antisemitic intent.

Federal Efforts

For the third year in a row, the Anti-Semitism Awareness Act,¹⁸ requiring that the U.S. Department of Education use the full IHRA definition of antisemitism in adjudicating cases of antisemitic harassment under Title VI, failed to pass into law. However in December 2019, President Donald Trump signed an executive order directing “all executive departments and agencies charged with enforcing Title VI” to use the IHRA

¹⁴ <https://www.politico.com/f/?id=00000165-ce21-df3d-a177-cee9649e0000>

¹⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Working_Definition_of_Antisemitism

¹⁶ <https://amchainitiative.org/categories-antisemitic-activity>

¹⁷ <http://laws.flrules.org/2019/59>

¹⁸ <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/852/text>

definition of antisemitism, including its examples identifying anti-Zionism as antisemitism.

Legal Efforts

In 2019, at least five Title VI complaints were filed with the OCR by legal groups alleging that Jewish students had been the victims of anti-Zionist-motivated harassment. Three complaints were filed before President Trump issued his executive order regarding campus antisemitism – at Duke University/University of North Carolina Chapel Hill (UNC),¹⁹ New York University²⁰ and University of California Los Angeles²¹ – and two complaints were submitted immediately after the executive order—at Columbia University²² and Georgia Institute of Technology²³.

Considered against the backdrop of these efforts, it is not surprising that 2019 saw a sharp spike in campus expression challenging the IHRA definition's identification of anti-Zionism with antisemitism or its assumption that Zionism is an intrinsic part of Jewish identity. Nor is it surprising that such expression was strongly linked to members of those anti-Zionist student organizations responsible for a majority of the Israel-related harassment of Jewish students, as well as to faculty supporters of academic BDS, whose implementation is strongly associated with behavior targeting Jewish students for harm. Both of these groups would be affected by university policy and state or federal law utilizing the IHRA definition to adjudicate cases of Israel-related harassment of Jewish students.

It is also understandable that in response to efforts to expose the antisemitic nature of anti-Zionist harassment, anti-Zionist Jewish groups, chief among them JVP, would increase their on-campus activity and be a significant voice in challenging the IHRA definition. Although anti-Zionist Jews represent a small fraction of worldwide Jewry, they have played an outsized role in legitimizing the arguments that anti-Zionism is not antisemitism and that Zionism is not a fundamental part of Jewish identity. JVP, for instance, asserts that making these arguments, as Jewish anti-Zionists, is an essential part of their organizational mission.²⁴ The usefulness of anti-Zionist Jewish voices in deflecting charges of antisemitism against perpetrators of anti-Zionist harassment was articulated by an SJP leader at Northwestern University in 2019, when he stated that "working with Jewish students" was important for "making sure that the distinction between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism is clear."²⁵

¹⁹ https://zoa.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Letter-to-Kenneth-Marcus-re-UNC-Duke-Gaza-conference-4-17-19.pdf?utm_source=Unknown+List&utm_campaign=e84bd6e566-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2019_04_18_01_18&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_-e84bd6e566-&utm_source=Unknown+List&utm_campaign=e84bd6e566-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2019_04_18_01_18&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_-e84bd6e566-

²⁰ <https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Antisemitism/NYU-antisemitism-investigation-ongoing-following-several-incidents-607954>

²¹ <https://www.standwithus.com/ucla-titlevi-complaint>

²² <https://www.newsweek.com/jewish-student-files-discrimination-claim-against-columbia-university-test-trumps-anti-semitism-1479100>

²³ [http://media.aclj.org/pdf/ACLJ-letter.complaint-to-Dept.-of-Education-OCR-re-GA-Tech-\(12.27.19\)_Redacted.pdf](http://media.aclj.org/pdf/ACLJ-letter.complaint-to-Dept.-of-Education-OCR-re-GA-Tech-(12.27.19)_Redacted.pdf)

²⁴ <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/zionism/>

²⁵ <https://dailynorthwestern.com/2019/11/04/campus/2020-vision-students-for-justice-in-palestine-reckon-with-administration-future-activism/>

These challenges to the IHRA definition have added a new dimension to campus antisemitism: not only are Jewish students targeted for harm because of their perceived support for Israel, they are increasingly denigrated simply for speaking out about that harm and for seeking redress from it. Most often the denigration takes the form of accusations that Jewish students or the organizations that speak on their behalf are maliciously fabricating charges of antisemitism to silence pro-Palestinian speech. For example, after a Jewish student at UCLA filed a formal complaint against a guest lecturer in her Anthropology class who had publicly shamed her for expressing concerns about the lecturer's comparison of Zionists to white supremacists, a graduate teaching assistant in the class called the student's complaint "a manifestation of this new McCarthyist attack to censor and suppress critical and justice-centered discourse about Palestine and Palestinian liberation."

In addition, unlike members of other identity groups on campus, Jewish students who consider their attachment to Israel an integral part of their Jewish identity—arguably a large percentage of the Jewish student population on most campuses²⁶—have had their right to self-definition come under attack as a consequence of challenges to the IHRA definition. For example, in a statement posted to her departmental Facebook page, an anti-Zionist faculty member at San Francisco State University wrote that "equating Jewishness with Zionism, and giving Hillel ownership of campus Jewishness...[is] a declaration of war against Arabs, Muslims, Palestinians and all those who are committed to an indivisible sense of justice on and off campus. This includes our sisters and brothers in the Jewish community whose conscience refuses to allow Israel's colonialism, racism and occupation—the inherent character of Zionism—to speak in their name."

At the same time as challenges to the IHRA definition of antisemitism have led to increased harassment of Jewish students, they have also undermined efforts to ensure that Jewish students are adequately protected from that harassment. The challengers' principle argument -- that the IHRA definition "falsely" identifies anti-Zionist speech as antisemitic, and, if adopted, would have a chilling effect on freedom of speech and subvert academic freedom -- has made some university and government officials reticent to use the definition in adjudicating cases of harassment. The dilemma for officials becomes even more fraught in light of the fact that a large majority of the reported incidents of Israel-related harassment are restricted to verbal or written expression and do not involve physical contact with victims or vandalism of their property. And of course on campuses where learning and social interaction occur online, practically all of the harassing behavior is, perforce, verbal or written.

Given the extent of such pushback and its linkage to acts of anti-Zionist motivated harassment, it remains unclear how effective efforts to address Israel-related antisemitism using the IHRA definition and civil rights law will ultimately be.

²⁶ According to a 2013 Pew study, nearly 70% of adult Jews in the U.S. said that they were somewhat or very emotionally attached to Israel: <https://www.pewforum.org/2013/10/01/jewish-american-beliefs-attitudes-culture-survey/>

AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO PROTECTING JEWISH STUDENTS



In the meantime, we would like to suggest an alternative approach to protecting Jewish students that does not depend on how one defines antisemitism or understands Jewish identity. As a result, it effectively neutralizes challenges to the IHRA definition from anti-Zionist individuals and groups that have impeded fair and adequate administrative responses to anti-Jewish harassment. Instead of seeking protection for individual Jewish students through their membership in a federally-protected identity group, our approach seeks protection for Jewish students as individuals, with the same

rights as all other individuals, to be free from behaviors that seek to suppress or deny their self-expression, including expressions of belief and group identity.

At the heart of this approach is the idea that nothing is more fundamental to an institution of higher education and the welfare of its students, including Jewish students, than freedom of expression. The right to form and communicate one's beliefs, opinions and identity – a right guaranteed in America by the First Amendment of the Constitution – is not only vital to the educational process, but to the self-affirmation and fulfillment of each and every individual who participates in that process.

While almost all colleges and universities pay lip service to the critical importance of freedom of expression to campus life, almost none have institutional policies that protect all students equally from speech and action that suppress expression and seek to bully students into silence. Rather, codes of conduct that address such behavior are limited to discrimination/harassment policies, which in most cases were established to ensure compliance with state and federal anti-discrimination laws. These policies only obligate administrators to address harassment when it is directed against certain identity groups, but not others. A victim of harassing behavior who is not a member of one of the protected identity groups specified in the school's harassment policy, or whose harasser is not determined to be motivated by animus towards the student's identity group, is not afforded protection under the policy, even when the harmful behavior meets the policy's standard for administrative intervention.

As noted above, Jewish students are frequently considered ineligible for protection under these policies when the harassment they experience is Israel-related. Indeed, many students fall through the cracks of their school's harassment policy, and as a result, have no recourse from harassing behavior that suppresses their self-expression and impedes their ability to engage in campus life. This, in turn, has created a sense of inequality and increased vulnerability among unprotected stu-

dents, which has itself led to further suppression of students' willingness to freely express themselves in campus spaces. And we anticipate these problems will be exacerbated on virtual campuses, where unequal administrative responses to online bullying, or cyberbullying, could have a disproportionate and devastating impact on those students who are not members of protected identity groups.²⁷

Although our organization is dedicated to protecting Jewish students from antisemitic behavior, we believe our mission is best accomplished when all students are equally protected from intolerant behavior that impedes their freedom of expression and ability to fully participate in campus life—regardless of opinion, belief or identity. To this end, we propose that colleges and universities take the following steps to ensure a campus climate that will allow Jewish students, and all students, to thrive:

1 Acknowledge the Importance of Freedom of Expression

Schools should publicly acknowledge that freedom of expression, guaranteed by the First Amendment, is a central pillar of campus life, and emphasize that every student has equal rights to self-expression and full participation in campus activities, regardless of opinion, belief or identity.

2 View Intolerant Behavior as Speech or Action that Suppresses Expression

Schools should view intolerant behavior such as antisemitism as speech or action intended to suppress student expression—including by portraying students as worthy of harm, or calling for, condoning or inflicting harm upon them—and recognize that such behavior is a major threat to students' freedom of expression.

3 Ascertain when Intolerant Behavior Becomes Unacceptable:

Schools should consider intolerant behavior to be actionable when it infringes to an unacceptable degree on the freedom of expression of others. In determining what speech and action should be deemed unacceptable, we suggest schools use the behavioral threshold for "harassment" established by the U.S. Supreme Court: behavior that is "so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive, and that so undermines and detracts from the victims' educational experience, that the victims are effectively denied equal access to an institution's resources and opportunities."²⁸

²⁷ A 2017 study found that nearly two-thirds (64%) of teenage students who experienced cyberbullying stated that it significantly affected their ability to learn and feel safe at school ("<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2017/02/170221102036.htm>"). A 2019 study found that cyberbullying has a negative impact on the academic, social and emotional development of undergraduate students (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6434491/>).

²⁸ *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education* (1999).

4 Protect Students' Rights to Self-Expression

Schools must carry out their duty to protect every student's right to self-expression by: a) not restricting student expression that is protected by the First Amendment and does not substantially infringe on others' rights of self-expression; and b) prohibiting and punishing speech and action that substantially infringe on any student's rights to freedom of expression and full participation in campus life.

5 Establish Robust Bullying/Cyberbullying Policies:

Schools should recognize that their current harassment policies do not protect all students' freedom of expression, and that additional policies must be adopted for this purpose. In particular, we recommend the establishment of robust bullying and cyberbullying policies that, while independent of the school's harassment policy, would be no less binding or well enforced. Such bullying/cyberbullying policies would: a) prohibit speech or action that unacceptably abrogates the freedom of expression or civil rights of others, as determined by the same behavioral standard the school uses for adjudicating complaints of discriminatory harassment; b) apply prompt and appropriate disciplinary measures—up to and including suspension and expulsion for individuals and the loss of school approval for groups—strictly on the basis of behavioral considerations, without respect to the identity, opinion or legally protected status of perpetrator or victim; and c) create a procedure for student complaint submission and prompt administrative response to complaints.

6 Establish Protocols for Intolerant but Constitutionally Protected Speech

Schools should develop fair and consistent protocols and procedures for handling expression that is intolerant, uncivil or offensive, but nevertheless protected under the First Amendment. Whether a school decides to handle such expression by loudly condemning it or by taking a more hands-off approach, it should be addressed in an equal manner for all students, without regard to the identity or legally protected status of those responsible for the objectionable speech, or those who are offended by it.

7 Educate Students

Schools should educate students to understand the importance of the First Amendment and the centrality of freedom of expression to campus life; to be aware of their rights to freedom of expression and full participation in campus activities; and to recognize their responsibility to avoid exercising those rights in a way that infringes on the rights of others.

In the short term, by eliminating the need to define Jewish identity or prove that Israel-related harassment is motivated by antisemitism before providing Jewish students with fair and adequate administrative responses to such behavior, this approach would defuse the numerous campus challenges to the IHRA definition and the harassing behaviors that have accompanied them. Moreover, by emphasizing the centrality of freedom of expression, and by framing antisemitic behavior as an unacceptable suppression of Jewish students' expression rather than as an attack on their Jewish identity, our approach invalidates the frequently heard accusations that Jewish students are using the charge of antisemitism to silence all criticism of Israel. In fact, this approach underscores the hypocrisy of these accusations, by showing the extent to which "criticism of Israel" has itself often been used to silence Jewish and pro-Israel students.

In the long term, ensuring that *all* students are afforded equal protection and equal redress from behaviors that deny their right to self-expression, regardless of the motivation of the perpetrator or the identity of the victim, can provide Jewish students with permanent protection from antisemitic behavior that has previously been denied to them. In addition, by focusing on the value of self-expression and the critical importance of protecting it, Jewish students are encouraged to feel a sense of personal agency – that they can proudly express their beliefs and identity without fear of harm -- rather than a sense of victimhood often associated with membership in a "historically oppressed" group requiring special government protection.

Furthermore, in contrast to the current approach of protecting students by virtue of their membership in legally protected groups, which can easily lead to the exacerbation of group differences and an unhealthy competition for group rights, the proposed approach offers the possibility of a healthier campus climate. This is not only because group differences become irrelevant when ensuring the protection of individual students, but also because the notion of individual rights itself exists within the framework of a set of shared values concerning the equality and dignity of every person, values that can serve to inspire and unite the campus community and benefit all of its members.

In conclusion, the current study of antisemitic activity in 2019 has shown that Israel-related harassment continues to be the dominant and steadily increasing form of behavior targeting Jewish students for harm and is easily adaptable to the online platforms that are likely to play a major role in the 2020-2021 academic year, and perhaps longer. It is therefore more important than ever that universities consider a new, comprehensive approach to combating all forms of intolerant behavior, including both classical and Israel-related antisemitism, and begin taking the necessary steps to ensure that all students are equally protected from action and speech that suppress their self-expression and deny their full participation in campus life. We believe an approach that holds all students to the same behavioral expectations, and addresses all intolerant action and speech equally, is the best way to protect Jewish students from all forms of campus antisemitism.

About the Researchers

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

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