Measuring Faculty Anti-Zionism to Predict and Combat Campus Antisemitism

Tammi Rossman-Benjamin

Author's Pre-Publication Manuscript

Chapter 7 in *Toward the Last Encampment: Campus Culture and the Jews Before and After October 7*, edited by Alvin H. Rosenfeld
Wicked Son, 2026

Introduction and Objectives

This paper describes AMCHA Initiative's extensive work over the past five years measuring faculty anti-Zionism and using it to predict and combat campus antisemitism.

I first realized that faculty were playing a crucial role in inciting and legitimizing hostility toward Jewish students when I was teaching at the University of California, Santa Cruz (UCSC) during the Second Intifada, amid intense anti-Israel student agitation. What most alarmed me was seeing official academic departments align themselves with an anti-Zionist agenda, effectively stamping it with the university's authority. I understood that because professors speak with an institutional voice, control classrooms and curricula, and confer academic legitimacy on exclusionary activism, their involvement leaves Jewish and Zionist students exposed and uncertain whether the university will protect them.

A specific breaking point for me was an unambiguously anti-Zionist symposium in 2007, sponsored by eight academic departments and centers, at which speakers openly called for the elimination of the Jewish state. When I asked the Academic Senate to address politicized classrooms and department-sponsored events like this one, I was personally attacked for raising the issue.[1]

Convinced the problem was institutional, in 2009 I filed a Title VI complaint with the US Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, describing a long-standing pattern in which faculty and administrators fostered a hostile environment for Jewish students through classroom indoctrination and department-sponsored programming that demonized Israel. Although the case was opened in 2011 and closed in 2013 without federal acknowledgment of the problem, that outcome

clarified the path forward: complaints about isolated incidents weren't moving institutions. We needed objective, campus-comparable measures that would make the problem of faculty-driven antisemitism visible and actionable.

Out of that recognition, I co-founded the AMCHA Initiative -- in significant part to expose and address faculty anti-Zionism and its relationship to campus antisemitism, as part of a broader program of documenting, investigating, and combating antisemitism on U.S. campuses. From the start, we made a deliberate shift: instead of relying on individual cases, we built large campus datasets and used statistical analyses to move from anecdotes to reliable cross-campus evidence. Our work has been guided by two linked questions:

1. How can we measure faculty anti-Zionism in an objective, valid, and campus-relevant way?
2. Can that measurement help predict where antisemitism will occur, and can it guide effective remedies?

In what follows, I describe the objective measure we chose; summarize six studies that apply this indicator to assess its predictive power; and introduce a new tool -- the Anti-Zionist Faculty Barometer -- that builds on that foundation with additional indicators of faculty anti-Zionist behavior. I then suggest how these measurements can drive public policy and administrative accountability.

I. Selecting an Objective Measure and Building the Faculty Database

We began with a straightforward question: **How can we assess faculty anti-Zionism in a way that is objective, valid, and comparable across campuses?**

Early on we settled on a single, simple measure: **Has a faculty member on a U.S. campus publicly endorsed the academic boycott of Israel (also known as academic BDS)?** In practice, that meant signing one or more online academic-BDS petitions or statements, typically noting one's university affiliation.

We focused on **support for academic BDS**, rather than on other expressions of anti-Israel sentiment, for several reasons:

1. **Objectivity and scalability.** Petitions and public statements list names and campus affiliations we can verify, enabling consistent cross-campus comparisons.[2]

2. **Direct impact on campus life.** Academic BDS is a program of action inside the academy. Its guidelines encourage faculty to boycott, cancel, or shut down their own campus's study-abroad programs in Israel, research collaborations with Israeli institutions or scholars, pro-Israel speakers and events, and courses about Israel;[3] and over the last few years academic BDS has expanded to include cutting ties with Jewish support organizations such as Hillel and to refuse Jewish philanthropy.[4]
3. **Explicitly anti-Zionist aims.** The stated goal of academic BDS is to foster the de-normalization of Israel and Zionism in academic life.[5] Publicly endorsing it goes well beyond generic policy critique; it is a clear declaration of anti-Zionism in the campus domain.

Taken together, these points convinced us that, for our purposes, **support for academic BDS would be the best single indicator of faculty anti-Zionism**.

With faculty members' public endorsement of the academic boycott of Israel as our primary indicator, beginning in 2013 we created a publicly accessible database on our website listing faculty signatories, school by school.[6] We update it as new petitions appear and review it annually for accuracy. This indicator served as a key variable in each of the studies I am about to summarize.

II. What the Data Show: Six Studies

Study 1 (2014)[7]: Who Are the Academic Boycotters?

Our first faculty study, which was published in a volume edited by Cary Nelson and Gabriel Noah Brahm, used the faculty names in our database to understand who the academic boycotters are -- what disciplines they come from and what ideas most often anchor their scholarship. We examined roughly one thousand faculty signatories across more than 300 U.S. campuses.

For every boycotter, we identified the primary departmental affiliation and categorized it by field. As shown in Fig. 1, the distribution was striking: eighty-six percent were in the humanities and social sciences.

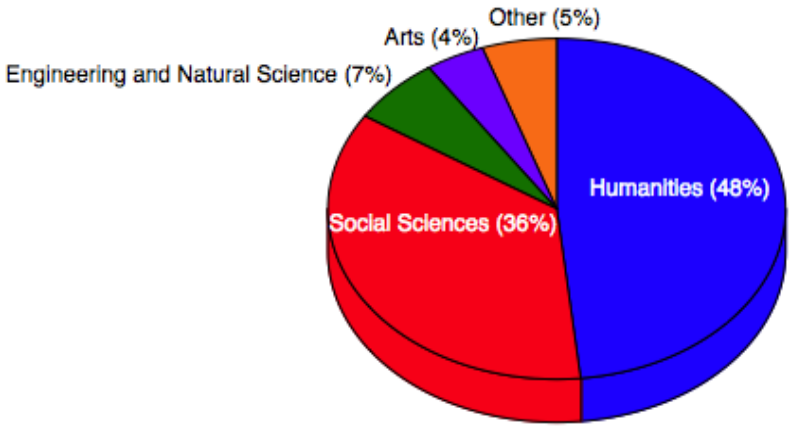

Fig. 1. Academic Boycotters of Israel by Divisional Affiliation

The top 10 primary department affiliations are listed in Table 1. They include English or Literature, Ethnic Studies, History, Gender Studies, Anthropology, and Sociology.

Department	Number of Boycotters N = 938
English or Literature	192 (21%)
Ethnic Studies	96 (10%)
History	68 (7%)
Gender Studies	65 (7%)
Anthropology	53 (6%)
Sociology	44 (5%)
Linguistics, Languages	39 (4%)
Politics	53 (6%)
American Studies	33 (3%)
Middle or Near East Studies	32 (3%)

Table 1. Top 10 Primary Departmental Affiliations Of Academic Boycotters

To see whether boycotters also clustered around particular research frameworks within a single field, we focused on English -- the largest cohort and a discipline with no inherent link to the Israel-Palestinian topic. For each English-department boycotter, we systematically reviewed the faculty member's publicly posted research-interest statements and coded for four recurring themes:

- **Class**: including terms such as Marxism, critical theory, class
- **Gender**: including terms such as feminism, gender, sexuality, queer
- **Race**: including terms such as ethnic, race, native, Indian, African, Black, Indigenous, Asian
- **Empire**: including terms such as post-colonial, empire, imperialism, subaltern, alterity

We then constructed a control group: the full roster of English-department faculty (boycotters and non-boycotters) at 21 universities where at least one English professor had endorsed the boycott, and we applied the same coding rubric to those faculty members' research-interest statements.

The contrast was clear (Table 2). Among English-department boycotters (total of N = 143 faculty), 92% (132 faculty) listed at least one of the four themes, with race appearing most frequently, followed by gender, empire, and class. In the 21 comparison departments, only a minority of English faculty listed any of those themes. The differences between the two groups of faculty were large and statistically significant.

Research Interests	English Boycotters N = 143	Total English Faculty N = 866	Statistical Significance
Race, Gender, Empire or Class	132 (92%)	326 (38%)	$\chi^2 = 147$; $p < .0005$
Race	92 (63%)	201 (23%)	$\chi^2 = 101$; $p < .0005$
Gender	67 (46%)	198 (22%)	$\chi^2 = 35$; $p < .0005$
Empire	57 (39%)	80 (9%)	$\chi^2 = 100$; $p < .0005$
Class	38 (26%)	91 (11%)	$\chi^2 = 30$; $p < .0005$

Table 2. Research Interests of Boycotting English Faculty (N = 143) versus All Faculty in 21 University English Departments (N = 866)

Taken together, the four themes -- class, gender, race, and empire -- point to a common oppressed–oppressor framework aligned with contemporary social-justice

movements that frequently adopt anti-Zionist positions. In studies which are described below, we investigated to what extent academic boycotters -- believing that anti-normalization is consistent with their scholarly commitments and departmental mission -- are more inclined to bring their anti-Zionist perspectives into departmental programming and the classroom.

What we learned from this first study is that academic-BDS support not only has a distinctive disciplinary footprint, but that within disciplines and departments, boycotting faculty cluster around particular ideological frameworks far more than their peers.

Study 2 (2016)[8]: Do Faculty Boycotters Predict Antisemitism on Campus?

In January 2015, AMCHA Initiative launched two new databases. The first was a database of antisemitic activity on U.S. campuses, drawing incidents from submitted reports, media accounts, social media postings, and on-line recordings.[9] Each incident was identified as containing one or more of three categories of activity: **Targeting Jewish Students for Harm**, This includes: physical assault, bullying, denigration, harassment, vandalism, discrimination, genocidal expression and suppression of speech/movement/assembly; **Antisemitic Expression**, including language or imagery employing historical antisemitic tropes or involving the demonization or delegitimization of Israel or denying Jews self-determination; and **BDS Activity**, such as events, petitions, statements, meetings, rallies, or votes promoting or endorsing anti-Israel boycotts, divestment, or sanctions.

The second database we established in 2015 contained the names of all the anti-Zionist campus groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) on each US campus whose antisemitic activity we had previously documented, with links to their websites and/or social media accounts.[10]

These new databases allowed us to empirically investigate the unique relationship between faculty support for academic BDS and campus antisemitism, and in a 2016 study of antisemitic activity on over 100 U.S. colleges and universities with the largest Jewish undergraduate populations, we asked – among other questions - how the number of faculty who publicly endorse an academic boycott of Israel relate to different measures of antisemitic activity. As shown in Table 3, we found extremely strong, positive correlations between the number of faculty boycotters and overall antisemitic activity, and the same pattern held within each category: the more academic boycotting faculty on a campus, the more incidents involving Targeting Jewish Students for Harm**,** Antisemitic Expression**,** and BDS Activity.

	Overall Antisemitic Activity	Targeting of Jewish Students	Antisemitic Expression	BDS Activity
Number of Academic Boycotters	**R = .55** ($p < .001$)	**R = .51** ($p < .001$)	**R = .50** ($p < .001$)	**R = .51** ($p < .001$)

Table 3. Correlations of Campus Antisemitism Indicators with Academic Boycotters and Anti-Zionist Student Group(s) (N=112 campuses, R is the Pearson Correlation Coefficient)

In fact, when we modeled the drivers of campus antisemitism, focusing on the most consequential outcome --Targeting Jewish Students for Harm -- it turned out that the number of faculty boycotters was a much stronger predictor than even the presence of an anti-Zionist student group.

Study 3 (2017)[11]: Do Academic Boycotters Affect the Programming of Their Departments?

In our third faculty study, we examined the question of whether the presence and number of academic boycotting faculty, including department chairs, predict anti-Zionist programming in their affiliated departments.

Methodologically, we focused on academic units in Ethnic Studies, Gender Studies, and Middle East Studies at U.S. campuses with large Jewish undergraduate populations. We identified all department-sponsored or co-sponsored, Israel-related speaker events held in the previous academic year, and we determined whether any speaker at each event had previously expressed public support for BDS. (We treated the presence of a BDS-supporting speaker as an indicator that the event likely carried anti-Zionist content, and we validated that assumption by analyzing recordings and first-hand accounts for a subset of events). In parallel, we identified faculty boycotters on each campus affiliated with these three disciplines and determined whether a unit's chair or director was an academic boycotter during that year.

We found (Table 4) that departments with one or more faculty boycotters were far more likely to sponsor events featuring BDS-supporting speakers: in Ethnic Studies, units with at least one boycotter were about ten times more likely to host such events; in Gender Studies, about twelve times more likely; and in Middle East Studies, about five times more likely. And in each of the three disciplines, the more affiliated faculty boycotters, the more events involving BDS-supporting speakers.

	Ethnic Studies (346 units)	**Gender Studies** (109 units)	**Middle East Studies** (102 units)
Likelihood ratio of BDS-Speaker events (≥1 boycotter vs. none)	**≈ 10×** ($\chi^2 = 24.26$) $p < .001$	**≈ 12×** ($\chi^2 = 13.39$) $p < .001$	**≈ 5×** ($\chi^2 = 14.67$) $p < .001$
Correlation (# of boycotters vs. # of BDS-speaker events)	**R= 0.50** $p < .001$	**R = 0.55** $p < .001$	**R = 0.67** $p < .001$

Table 4. Boycotter Presence and Number Versus Number of BDS-Supporting Speaker Events in Ethnic Studies, Gender Studies, and Middle East Studies Departments (N=113 campuses, R is the Pearson Correlation Coefficient)

Leadership also mattered in two of the three fields: Ethnic Studies units led by an academic BDS-supporting chair or director were roughly 5 times more likely to sponsor BDS-supporting speakers, and Middle East Studies units led by an academic boycotter chair or director were about 3.5 times more likely. (Table 5)

	Ethnic Studies (346 depts.)	**Gender Studies** (109 depts.)	**Middle East Studies** (102 depts.)
Likelihood ratio (Academic BDS-supporting Chair)	**≈ 4.9×** $\chi^2 = 29.8$ ($p<.001$)	**≈ 1×** $\chi^2 = 2.27$ ($p<.05$)	**≈ 3.5×** $\chi^2 = 24.65$ ($p<.001$)

Table 5. Presence of Academic Boycotting Chair Versus Number of BDS-Supporting Speaker Events in Ethnic Studies, Gender Studies, and Middle East Studies Departments (N=113 Campuses)

Study 4 (2020)[12]: Do Academic Boycotting Instructors Bring Their Attitudes into their Classrooms?

In our fourth study we investigated whether academic boycotting faculty who teach courses related to Israel and/or Palestine were more likely to bring anti-Zionist perspectives into their classrooms via course readings with BDS-supporting authors.

To answer that, we examined 50 syllabi from courses primarily focused on the Arab-Israeli or Palestinian-Israeli conflict, offered at 40 public and private colleges and universities between 2008 and 2019, and we included only syllabi with detailed weekly reading assignments. For each instructor, we determined whether they had publicly endorsed an academic boycott of Israel; instructors who had not publicly supported either an academic boycott or BDS more generally were placed in the control group.

We then determined what percentage of the required course readings on each syllabus were authored by one or more individuals who had expressed public support for BDS.

The results were striking (Fig. 2). Courses taught by academic-BDS-supporting instructors had a median of about 78 percent of their readings authored by BDS supporters, while courses taught by instructors who had not supported any form of BDS had a median of about 17 percent – a highly significant difference between the two groups of instructors.

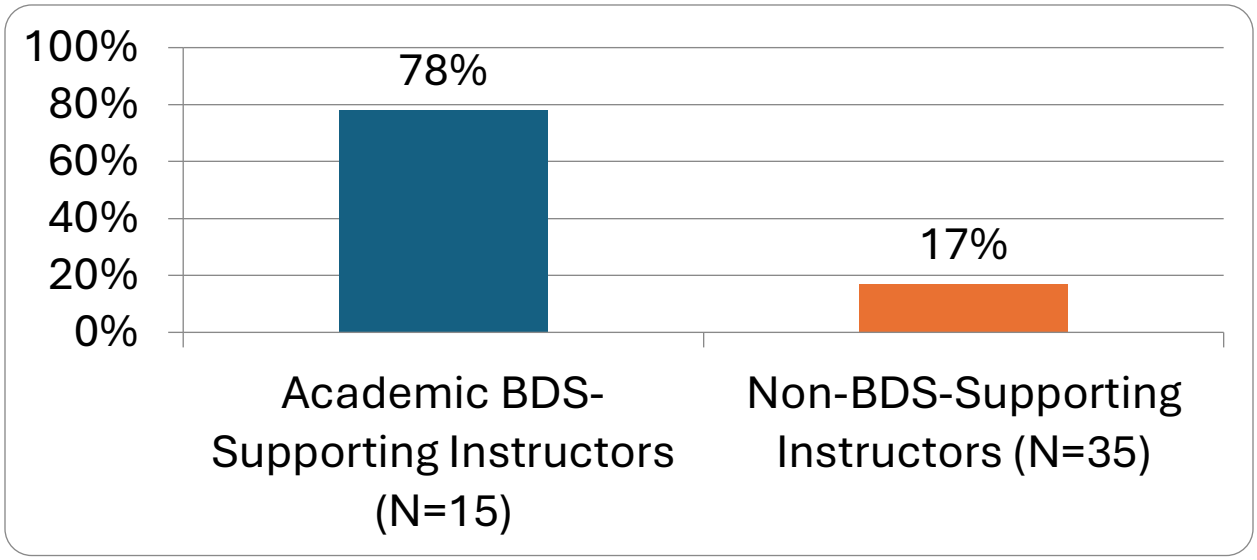

Fig. 2. Median Percentage of Readings Authored by BDS Supporters. (Mann-Whitney U-test: $U = 11.9$, $p < .001$)

Study 5 (2022)[13]: Do Academic Boycotting Faculty Affect Whether Departments Take Anti-Israel Political Stances?

Our fifth faculty study grew out of an unprecedented academic phenomenon: in the wake of a flare-up of hostilities between Israel and Hamas in May 2021, 160 academic departments on 120 U.S. college and university campuses issued or endorsed formal department-wide statements adopting an anti-Zionist stance and using rhetoric consistent with the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of antisemitism.[14] We investigated the extent to which the presence and number of academic boycotting faculty on a campus predicted whether one or more departments on that campus issued or endorsed such a statement.

Using logistic regression, we modeled whether a campus with five or more academic boycotters was more likely to have at least one department issuing or endorsing an anti-Zionist statement than schools with fewer boycotters, while controlling for campus characteristics. The results are summarized in Table 6.

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

Table 6. Logistic Regression Analysis of Predictors Of Anti-Zionist Departmental Statements (N = 109 schools)

We found that campuses with **five or more** pre-May-2021 academic boycotting faculty were **about seven times more likely** to have one or more departments issue or endorse anti-Zionist statements than campuses with fewer than five, even after accounting for the presence of an anti-Zionist student group, the size of the school and whether it was public or private.

The results of this study confirmed and expanded on our previous studies, providing further compelling evidence that faculty academic boycotters are indeed exploiting their university positions and departmental affiliations in order to bring their extramural anti-Zionist advocacy and activism onto campus.

Incidentally, we also observed a strong campus-level association between the number of pre-May-2021 academic BDS endorsers and the number of faculty to sign onto an academic BDS statement or petition for the first time in May or June 2021, suggesting that an existing base of faculty boycotters helps catalyze additional support for academic BDS when conflicts flare – a factor that would be particularly relevant in our sixth and final study.

Study 6 (2024)[15]: Does the Presence of an Organized Anti-Zionist Faculty Group Increase Campus Antisemitism and Unrest?

Two unprecedented developments set the stage for our sixth study. First, after the October 7, 2023 Hamas attack, U.S. campuses saw an extraordinary surge in protest and antisemitic activity; in the ten months that followed, physical assaults on Jewish students rose by 2,500%, and death threats and other forms of intimidation by 900%. Second, a national network of faculty groups --Faculty for Justice in Palestine (FJP), sometimes Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine (FSJP) -- rapidly took root. Spurred by a call from US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel[16] and supported by a new FJP National Network,[17] chapters multiplied from a few pre-existing ones to roughly 30 by December 2023, 80 by February 2024, 120 by June, and more than 160 by the one-year mark, including at a majority of the approximately 100 campuses most popular with Jewish students. Adopting founding principles aligned with the BDS movement's anti-normalization program, FJP urged faculty to bring that framing into research and teaching --and, on most campuses with chapters, members did so through teach-ins, rallies, statements, letters, petitions, and other activity that promoted BDS and delegitimized Israel and Zionism, often in coordination with student groups and sometimes academic departments.

In this study, we posed two sets of questions:

1. Were campuses with more academic boycotters more likely to experience higher levels of antisemitic targeting of Jewish students, greater protest activity, and stronger BDS outcomes—especially academic-boycott demands?

2. Over and above that, did the presence of an organized FJP-type faculty group further intensify antisemitism, protest, and BDS outcomes?

To answer these questions, we drew from AMCHA's databases of academic boycotting faculty, antisemitic activity, and anti-Zionist campus groups (updated to include all new FJP chapters in 2023–2024), and added original counts of each FJP chapter's events and statements, as well as measures of protest presence and duration. We then used logistic and negative-binomial regression to test associations between pre-10/7 faculty boycotters and FJP formation and activity, as well as between FJP presence and campus protests and antisemitic activity.

Here's what we found:

- **Campuses with more pre-10/7 faculty boycotters were significantly more likely to form FJP chapters after October 7 than campuses with fewer academic boycotters**. (N=103; Wald Chi Square = 16.0; $p < .001$). In addition, the more faculty boycotters, the more active those FJP chapter were in terms of the number of events they sponsored and the statements they put out. (N=103; Wald Chi Square = 24.5; $p < .001$).

Over and above the impact of individual academic boycotters:

- **On campuses with FJP groups, protests lasted about 2.5 times longer** (Wald Chi Square = 14.7; $p < .001$); **encampments**, when they occurred, **lasted 4.7 times longer** (Wald Chi Square = 35.8; $p < .001$); and **faculty at FJP campuses participated on 9.5 times more protest days**. (Wald Chi Square = 45.7; $p < .001$).
- **Where FJP chapters were present**, the likelihood of **physical assaults on Jewish students was about 7.3 times higher** (Wald Chi Square = 8.4; $p = .004$), and **violent threats about 3.4 times higher**, than on campuses without FJP (Wald Chi Square = 7.9; $p = .005$).
- BDS outcomes were also markedly different: **divestment resolutions were about 4.9 times more likely to pass** in student government votes (Wald Chi Square = 7.1; $p = .008$), and **academic-BDS demands were nearly 11 times more likely to appear in student demands** when an FJP chapter was present (Wald Chi Square = 17.4; $p < .001$).

The evidence suggests a two-step dynamic: individual faculty boycotters helped launch FJP chapters, and those chapters then acted as coordination hubs that escalated protest intensity, were associated with more frequent and severe targeting of Jewish students, and advanced BDS demands.

Stepping back from these six studies, the throughline is clear. A single indicator -- faculty endorsement of the academic boycott of Israel -- consistently marks where antisemitism on campus is most likely to concentrate and intensify. It is tied not only to more incidents overall, but to the most consequential outcomes: targeting Jewish students for harm. We also see *how* the signal travels: academic boycotters are far likelier to inject anti-Zionism into their classrooms, and departments with more academic boycotters are far likelier to sponsor anti-Zionist programming and issue or endorse anti-Zionist statements; and when individual boycotters organize as Faculty for Justice in Palestine chapters, their impact is magnified even further: protest activity becomes longer and more intense and incidents targeting Jewish students rise. In short, faculty boycott activity functions as both a signal and a driver of campus antisemitism, and faculty organization amplifies its effects.

With that foundation in place, I will now turn to how we have used this evidence to educate and raise awareness—translating the data into clear campus-level snapshots that make the problem visible—and then to how those snapshots and findings can be used to prompt university administrators and state and federal policymakers to take steps to address it.

III. The Anti-Zionist Faculty (AZF) Barometer

After more than a decade of research, we needed a way to turn complex findings into something a university president, a trustee, a parent, or a student could grasp in seconds: a clear snapshot of how concentrated and active anti-Zionist faculty are on a given campus. The Anti-Zionist Faculty Barometer[18] was built to fill that gap and to sit alongside existing measures so stakeholders can see, at a glance, the faculty factors that our studies show are closely tied to campus antisemitism.

Here is how it works.[19] For each school, we combine four objective, campus-level measures:

1. The number of faculty who have publicly supported an academic boycott of Israel;
2. Whether the campus has a Faculty for Justice in Palestine chapter;
3. How active the FJP chapter has been, as measured by the number of its events and statements over the previous academic year; and
4. Whether one or more departments have issued anti-Zionist statements.

We normalize those measures so schools can be compared fairly, and we average them into a single 0–5 score corresponding to levels from Negligible to Extreme. The result is a simple, comparable picture of the pervasiveness and activity of anti-Zionist faculty at each campus.

A screenshot of the top offenders is shown in Fig. 3.

College/University	School Rankings	# Faculty Boycotters	FJP (Y/N)	FJP Events & Statements	Depts w/Statements (Y/N)	View More
New York University (NYU)	5 - Extreme	127	Yes	44	Yes	view data
University of Minnesota Twin Cities	5 - Extreme	66	Yes	54	Yes	view data
University of Chicago	5 - Extreme	107	Yes	23	Yes	view data
University of California Santa Cruz (UCSC)	5 - Extreme	54	Yes	40	Yes	view data
Columbia University/Barnard College	5 - Extreme	75	Yes	27	Yes	view data
University of California Los Angeles (UCLA)	5 - Extreme	115	Yes	18	Yes	view data
University of California Irvine (UCI)	5 - Extreme	60	Yes	30	Yes	view data
CUNY The Graduate Center	5 - Extreme	79	Yes	23	Yes	view data
University of Washington	5 - Extreme	79	Yes	21	Yes	view data
University of California Santa Barbara (UCSB)	5 - Extreme	56	Yes	22	Yes	view data

Fig. 3. Anti-Zionist Faculty Barometer screen shot.

A screenshot of the details for one school -- New York University -- with links to our databases for further details of each measure is shown in Fig. 4.

University	**New York University (NYU)**
Ranking	**5 - Extreme**
Raw Score	5.321
# Faculty Boycotters	127
Faculty Boycotters	Link to Faculty Academic Boycotters
FJP (Y/N)	Yes
FJP Group Name	NYU Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine
FJP Link 1	Link
FJP Link 2	Link
FJP Link 3	Link
FJP Events	30
FJP Statements	14
FJP Events & Statements	44
Depts w/Statements (Y/N)	Yes
# Depts with Statements	1
Statement 1	Gender Studies Departments in Solidarity with Palestinian Feminist Collective
Link to Statement 1	Link
Date 1	05/19/2021
Department(s) 1	Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality

Fig. 4. Faculty barometer details for NYU.

For students and families, the Barometer offers a straightforward lens on the campus environment: where faculty activism is organized, where departments have taken political positions, and where the faculty boycotters are most concentrated. For campus leaders and trustees, it highlights where oversight is most needed -- departments and faculty organizations that, in our studies, are consistently associated with more antisemitic expression, more BDS activity, and more incidents targeting Jewish students. For policymakers and community stakeholders, it explains the faculty role in creating or sustaining a hostile climate and helps focus attention on the specific academic units and structures where problems take root.

Planned improvements for the next version of the Barometer, which will attempt to accurately capture the anti-Zionist faculty activism during the 2024-2025 academic year, include identifying how many boycotters hold administrative roles such as chair or director and counting departmentally sponsored events with BDS-supporting speakers.

IV. Recommendations: From Research to Governance and Law

We recognize that the surge in campus antisemitism is part of a larger breakdown: universities have allowed political activism to displace scholarship, turning departments and classrooms into platforms for political campaigns. Academic BDS's anti-normalization push -- central to today's campus antisemitism -- is one prominent expression of that drift. The recommendations that follow aim to halt this politicization through governance and law, keeping academic units focused on education and, in doing so, protecting not only Jewish students but the wider campus community who are harmed when academic norms are subordinated to politics.

Drawing on the data from our studies, and with the goal of turning evidence into solutions for combatting campus antisemitism, we offer the following recommendations to university leaders and government officials:

First, school administrators must establish robust safeguards and enforcement mechanisms to prevent faculty from using their academic positions and departmental affiliations to promote politically motivated advocacy and activism that directly targets their own students and colleagues for harm.

Second, state and federal legislators who are responsible for ensuring that government monies given to institutions of higher education are used for educational purposes rather than political ones -- especially the implementation of academic boycotts that intentionally subvert the educational process -- should consider establishing legislation that would withhold government funding of schools that permit faculty to engage in such behavior. For example, in 2023, Texas became the first state in the nation to enact a law prohibiting state-funded colleges and universities from implementing academic boycotts of any foreign country not designated by the U.S. State Department as a sponsor of terror.[20]

Finally, in the absence of action by university or government leaders, university stakeholders should press them to end the politicization of academic units, and to

protect Jewish students and the entire campus community from bigoted, politically motivated misuse of academic positions and affiliations -- or risk losing students, donors, and public trust.

Closing

What our work has tried to expose is that faculty-led anti-Zionist activism -- organized, above all, around academic BDS -- has become a crucial driver of campus antisemitism. Academic BDS is not incidental to the problem; it is at the core. We see its effects in departments, classrooms, and the organized faculty networks that give its goal of purging Zionism and, by extension, Zionists reach and durability.

Over the past decade we have done two things: measured the faculty dimension in public, comparable ways, and shown how it operates on actual campuses. The purpose is straightforward: to put usable evidence in the hands of those who govern universities and those who oversee them, so that action can be focused where the problem resides -- on faculty and departmental conduct.

Universities and public officials now face a choice. Either address faculty and departmental conduct forthrightly and soon, or accept a campus environment that is increasingly inhospitable and unsafe for Jewish students and faculty. The evidence is overwhelming, and the time to act is now.

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[1] Tammi Rossman-Benjamin, "Anti-Zionism and the Abuse of Academic Freedom: A Case Study of University of California, Santa Cruz," *Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs* (No. 77, January 5, 2009), https://jcfa.org/article/anti-zionism-and-the-abuse-of-academic-freedom-a-case-study-at-the-university-of-california-santa-cruz/

[2] https://amchainitiative.org/faculty-boycotters/

[3] https://bdsmovement.net/pacbi/academic-boycott-guidelines

[4] For example, the faculty-advised Students for Justice in Palestine at UC Santa released a set of demands during the May 2024 encampment stating, "UCSC Academic Boycott: We demand campus leadership sever all campus relations with zionist institutions, such as the Helen Diller Foundation, Betty Moore Foundation, Koret Foundation, Hillel International Partnership, Israel Institute—including, but not limited to: study abroad programs, fellowships, seminars, research collaborations, and universities.": https://www.instagram.com/p/C6ubOCqvXom/

[5] According to "PACBI Guidelines for the International Academic Boycott of Israel," faculty are urged "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* [emphasis added]. https://bdsmovement.net/pacbi/academic-boycott-guidelines/.

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