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Identifying Correlates in Anti-Semitic Incidents on College Campuses in the U.S.

by

JESSICA MORRIS

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science in Criminal Justice

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Identifying Correlates in Anti-Semitic Incidents on College Campuses in the U.S.

by

Jessica Morris

Bachelor of Science in Criminal Justice

Abstract

American colleges experienced approximately 5% of anti-Semitic incidents nationwide in 2014. These incidents included harassment, verbal taunts and physical attacks. This study will seek to identify the possible correlating factors of these incidents and others like it. The factors examined are the presence of Jewish student organizations, pro-Israel student organizations, pro-Palestine student organizations, pro-Pease organizations, Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) support and resolutions, as well as the campus location in relation to hate groups in the state. The significance of these factors being present on campuses is examined utilizing information from the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), Anti-Defamation League (ADL), Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), Brandeis University, and the AMCHA Initiative. Ten U.S. colleges were chosen across the country with varying factors present on their campuses. A scale is utilized to measure the likelihood that a campus will experience anti-Semitic incidents. Five questions are explored and policy implications are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Anti-Semitism is defined as a "prejudice and/or discrimination against Jews, individually or collectively, because of their religion, their ethnicity, ancestry, or group membership" (Kosmin & Keysar, 2015, p. 1). Crimes that are motivated by anti-Jewish sentiments are commonly referred to as bias or hate crimes. In this paper hate crimes, bias crimes, and anti-Semitic acts/incidents will be used interchangeably to refer to hate-speech, vandalism, harassment, and minor assaults. The bulk of incidents referenced in this research are generally nonviolent in nature.

Anti-Jewish sentiments too often motivate acts of hate against Jewish persons and are well documented throughout the ages. The term "anti-Semite" was used in the late nineteenth century; "... roughly [one] hundred years after the term 'Semite' was first used by German biblical scholars as a label for a language family, whose best-known members were Hebrew and Arabic" (Kalmar, 2009, p. 136). This, immediately, separates the Jewish and Arab people from others, based solely on their languages. As time went on, Semite became more frequently attributed, however, to *only* Jews.

There are many theorized explanations as to why aversion to the Jewish people became so prevalent. One suggests that the Jewish faith is opposed to every non-Jew. Sometime in the middle Ages and again in the latter 1800s, many scholars agreed that anti-Semitism was correlated with Christian doctrinal ideology and later references to biology and race-thinking (Berding, 1988; Lebovitch, 2014, p. 47). In response to Christian ideology, Jews were "perceived as threats to the sacred values of non-Jews" (Pargament, Trevino, Mahoney & Silberman, 2007, p. 145). Millions of people, in history, believed that "... Jews [drank] the blood of non-Jews, ... they cause[d] plagues and poison[ed] wells, that they murdered G-d [sic] himself" (Prager &

Telushkin, 1983, p. 17; Pargament et al., 2007, p. 145). Further research describes the "evolution" of anti-Jewish beliefs,

"... beginning with the first-century Gospel accounts of Jews as responsible for the crucifixion, to the 12th-century blood libel that Jews kill and consume the blood of Christian children, to Martin Luther's 16th century description of Jews as the born enemy of Christians, to modern accusations of moral decadence among Jews" (Carroll, 2001; Pragament et al., 2007, p. 145)

Present-day, anti-Semitic attitudes are shaped by and fundamentally rooted in the historical perception that Jews represent a threat to Christianity and Catholicism (Carroll, 2001; Pragament et al., 2007).

Not only were Jews perceived to pose religious threats to non-Jews, they were regularly depicted as avaricious for money and criminal in their means of acquiring it in early literature and media. A study by Maureen Kallick-Kaufmann (1979) "... showed that Jewish men were over-represented on the [American] racetracks and were more likely to have gambling problems" (Huggins, 2012, p. 1531). Further, more studies have shown that "...Jewish bookmakers in America had close relations with the horseracing industry, racetrack gambling, urban politics, organised [sic] urban crime and the Jewish criminal underworld" (Alexander, 2009; Huggins, 2012, p. 1531). During the 1920s, Henry Ford of Ford Motors published anti-Semitic literature, which "... tended to emphasise [sic] such links, and used language such as 'vice' and 'corruption' to blacken Judaism" (Huggins, 2012, p. 1531). Stereotypes of Jewish people evolved from early life experiences and exaggerated stories.

Prior to World War II, there were popular philosophers that inadvertently contributed to the European dislike of Jews. Karl Marx and Friedrich Nietzsche were two influential philosophers, pre-war. Historians suggest that Nietzsche's work contributed to the formation of many Nazi ideals in the pre-war era (Ludovici, 2012). Europeans were not the only ones affected by these philosophers. Henry Ford's anti-Semitic propaganda, in the early 1920s, was nearly 500 pages of "The International Jew" (Ford, 1920-1). While tensions were growing across Europe, particularly in a post-World War I German society, the Jewish people were often viewed harshly and faced multiple social stigmas. Hitler utilized the age-old conspiracy of the Jewish blood libel from the Middle Ages, to "evoke fear that the Jews would contaminate what he referred to as the superior Aryan race" (ADL, 2013). Jewish people faced general discrimination, especially in a disenfranchised Germany, prior to World War II and the events of the Holocaust (ADL, 2013).

In the United States, Jewish people were treated as "outsiders" for years. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz (1987) details in her book, "Campus Life," that Jewish people were viewed as outsiders in American higher education, beginning with the founding of Harvard College in 1636. Being socially exiled limited the ability of Jews to participate in extracurricular activities and further limited their choices of colleges and fraternities, as the fraternities were historically dominated by the Protestant and Christian ideologies. Horowitz continued:

"In 1922 following two meetings between prominent Jewish undergraduates and Gentile campus leaders at Harvard, one of the Jewish participants felt that 'the most illuminating thing about these discussions' was that 'while we had entered them believing that the existent feeling came from the dislike of certain Jews, we learned that it was *numbers* that mattered; bad or good, *too many* Jews were not liked. Rich or poor, brilliant or dull, polished or crude - *too many Jews*, the fear of a new Jerusalem at Harvard, the 'City College' fear'" (p. 77).

In an institution of higher education, it is expected for college students to be open minded, prepared to learn, and otherwise accepting. However, this irrational fear of "too many Jews" gripped these Harvard students (and administrators) and resulted in anti-Semitic attitudes. Americans in the United States have a history of institutionalized, systematic racism and anti-Semitism, which could further contribute to anti-Semitic feelings among individuals (Sarna, 1981, pp. 42-3).

College campuses are expected to be safe areas of higher education for all students regardless of ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation or gender. On 3 April 2006, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights declared that anti-Semitism on college campuses was a "serious problem warranting further attention" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2006, p. 3; Marcus, 2007, p. 1). Discovered by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) and tracked by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), an organization dedicated to combating anti-Semitism, there was a newfound focus on tracking college campus incidents. In 2014, 47 of 912 nationwide incidents occurred on U.S. college campuses; it's just under 5% of all anti-Semitic incidents for the year. But in 2014, there was a noticeable spike of 21% more anti-Semitic acts across the nation than there were in 2013 (ADL, 2014). Following the report, in 2015 the ADL reported 941 incidents nationwide and just under 10% of them, a total of 90, occurred on college campuses (ADL, 2016).

The Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law is "an independent, unaffiliated, nonprofit corporation established to advance the civil and human rights of the Jewish people and promote justice for all" (Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law, 2016). Simultaneously, though individually, both the ADL and Brandeis Center investigated the anti-Semitic events that occurred across the United States and Canada. The Brandeis study involved interviewing Jewish students about their experiences. The Brandeis Center reported that through their discussions with students, they found "[h]ostility emanate[d] mostly from students' peers, but nearly 10% of students reported that hostility from faculty was a problem" (Saxe, Sasson, Wright & Hect, 2015, p. 23).

As reported by the Brandeis Center researchers, the most common incidents were verbal harassments comparing the Israeli government to Nazi Germany therefore referring to the Jewish student as a "Nazi." There was research done by the ADL that reported "more than 50 'extremely one-sided' programs about Israel" (Saxe et al., 2015, p. 5), including educators incorporating anti-Israel themes into their curriculums and anti-Israel demonstrations on campuses. When students are confronted by hostility from their peers *and* their faculty in an environment where they are encouraged to learn and express opinions, the overall temperature of the campus changes and students begin to fear those around them. This encourages the Jewish students to transfer to Jewish-only campuses or drop out, all together (Saxe et al., 2015).

Students have participated in protests through college campuses as far back as the Civil Rights Movement. In recent memory and the most comparable to the Israeli-Palestine situation, the protesting of Apartheid in South Africa occurred on campuses. Student protests lead to many colleges and universities adapting Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) resolutions. By adapting these methods, the economy of South Africa was crippled and it ultimately helped

contribute to the ending of Apartheid. Utilizing this method, along with other protesting and demonstrative methods that have been used during women's marches, civil rights, and anti-Vietnam war protests, has proven successful. When social injustice is perceived, college campuses have been the hot spots of a number of protests.

The BDS campaign for Palestinian human rights began to take place officially and internationally during the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in 2004-5, following questionable decisions by the Israeli government. The BDS movement promotes the boycott of Israeli-based products until Israel "complies with international law and Palestinian rights" (BDS, 2016, para. 1; Culcasi, 2016). The organization openly encourages the boycotting of and divesting from Israel and its products. Its final step is to encourage national sanctions upon Israel from other countries, such as the United States Of all the portions of BDS, the sanctioning part is seemingly the most difficult to achieve. However, the intents and motivations of BDS are widely disputed and debated.

The BDS movement, to some, "... can mean a non-violent means towards achieving Palestinian social justice; for others, it might be a discriminatory act of hostility towards Israel" (Culcasi, 2016, p. 258). For others still, the BDS may be something "... they may have heard of, but something that they do not know much about" (Culcasi, 2016, p. 258). While it began as a grassroots movement built around the violation of Palestinian human rights, the name has been used during anti-Semitic incidents in the United States, improperly using the name of BDS.

Some anti-Semitic groups have used the stance of anti-Zionism to cover their hate-based acts.

The message has been misconstrued to fuel anti-Semitic groups and individuals, despite the overtly humanitarian goals of the organization. For example, a small group of individuals in Germany firebombed a Wuppertal Synagogue. The judge found that although the underlying act

was anti-Semitic, the overall motivation was driven by anti-Zionism (Kahn, 2015). Although nothing is blatantly stated, the men could have easily assumed that BDS was encouraging their acts.

As some authors have written, the BDS movement is "born of an ideology hostile to Judaism and Jewish nationalism and still immersed in that ideology rather than the language of peace," it "lacks integrity and quite often traffics in anti-Semitism" (Sheskin & Felson, 2016, p. 275). Although the intents of the organization are inherently good, universities with these BDS resolutions can encourage people with anti-Semitic beliefs and behaviors to act more openly with their hatred. Whether or not BDS resolutions actually have any impact on anti-Semitic incidents is still unknown.

Despite the investigations done by both the Brandeis Center and ADL, little is still known about the triggers causing students to act aggressively towards one another. This research will attempt to uncover the triggers of anti-Semitic acts on college campuses across the United States and consider what impacts student based organizations, Jewish enrollment, BDS resolutions and local hate groups have, if any.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism has roots as far back as the ancient Greek and Roman worlds. Due to their particular choice in dress and food, Jews were considered to be "enemies of the human race" then (Sloyan, 2007, p.1). More often than not, Jews have historically been perceived as threats to non-Jews. For example, Prager and Telushkin (1983) wrote that "... hundreds of millions of people have believed that Jews drink the blood of non-Jews, that they cause plagues and poison wells, that they murdered G-d [sic] himself" (p. 17; Pargament, Tevino, Mahoney & Silberman, 2007, p. 145).

The Jewish people have been condemned in many forms, the first of which being the idea that Judaism and the Jewish people are desecrators of Christianity. For example, in the first century, Gospel accounts indicated that Jews were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The 12th century suggested the idea that Jews kill and consume the blood of Christian children, and the 16th century held Martin Luther's depiction of Jews as the born enemy of Christians (Carroll, 2001; Pargament et. al, 2007, p. 145). Anti-Semitic beliefs, then, could be understood as reactions of Christian fear in response to the perceived threat to sacred values (Pargament et. al, 2007). Further, the peer groups that surrounded Christian individuals helped to promulgate the idea that Jewish people were desecrators. This could come from any source, including church messages, family, friends and the media (Pargament et. al, 2007).

Vilified depictions of the Jewish people do not exist only as a "desecrator of Christianity." The image of the "fanatical, bloodthirsty, deicidal" Jew took many forms throughout history (Kalmar, 2009; Huggins, 2012). For example, research by Bryan Cheyette (1986) examined several avenues in which stereotyping of Jews occurred from 1875 through

1914. He begins with examining studies of other scholars and their respective opinions of Jewish stereotypes in literature. This literature, on its own, provides another realm of discussion that is not covered by this research, but provides some decent footing to see just how controversial Jewish stereotypes were. Cheyette (1986) cites Alvin Rosenfeld (1978) in his work suggesting that the literary-hatred of the Jew is not difficult to transcribe to a "literal murder of whole communities" in events like the Holocaust (Rosenfeld, 1978; Cheyette, 1986, p. 4).

Much of Cheyette's (1986) study suggests that while literature has existed for centuries, the portrayal of Jewish people can been seen as negatively slanted in many respects. The existence in literature may not have been the only driving force in encouraging anti-Semitic stereotypes, but it certainly contributed. Fictional works are not the only anti-Semitic representations of Jews, however. In the United States, Henry Ford of Ford Motors produced his own anti-Semitic publications through the 1920s.

Ford's publications came in several issues and espoused certain dislike for Jewish people. The first publication came in Spring of 1920. The following publications, issues 2 through 4, were published throughout 1921 and 1922. Ford's work made use of the antiquated stereotypes in old literature and religious circles. In 1927, however, Ford was brought to trial by a lawyer named Aaron Shapiro.

Despite the law suit against him and the general findings that he was outwardly anti-Semitic, Ford defended himself whenever he was questioned by stating he was "only trying to 'awake the Gentile world to an understanding of what is going on. The Jew is a mere huckster..." (Wallace, 2003, p.14). Wallace (2003) wrote a book about the American influences on the Axis powers during their anti-Semitic reign. He writes that "[a] number of historians have scrutinized the early links between Ford and Hitler," ... "comparing passages of Ford's work

with Hitler's later writings" (Wallace, 2003, p. 57). For his works, Henry Ford was the only non-German, honorary member of the Nazi Party (Sutton, 2000).

Ford's early anti-Semitic attitudes were easily reflected in Nazi propaganda. Perhaps some of the most recent and infamous anti-Semitism stemmed from the propaganda pushed by the German Worker's Party (NSDAP) before it became the Nazi Party. This propaganda is still the basis for many neo-Nazi and racist skinhead organizations that demonize the Jewish people, among others.

Narayanaswami (2011) did a study that dissected Nazi propaganda as a behavioral study. The study examined the entire role propaganda played in the rise of the Nazi regime. It began with Hitler's own writing in *Mein Kampf*, where he broke down how imperative propaganda and media control was to creating an empire. Narayanaswami (2011) indicated there were three central themes in Nazi propaganda and they were the humiliation of Germany and unfairness of the Versailles Treaty, the weakness of the prior rule of the Weimar Republic, and the evil of not only "Jewry" but Bolshevism and Capitalism, which was compared to the patriotism of Germany (p. 2). These are themes that are often echoed in today's anti-Semitic and racist propaganda, as seen in many of the websites by racist and neo-Nazi hate groups.

Jewish identity. A key point in identifying anti-Semitism includes understanding Jewish identity. Sander L. Gilman (1991) wrote about Jewish identity, indicating that "identity is a combination of internal and external, psychological and social qualities" (p. 365). While anti-Semitism is considered a religious prejudice, it can also be construed as a racial prejudice. Gilman explored the question that was raised by bias against Jews, asking "are Jews white" (Gilman, 1991, p. 230). Throughout history, Gilman (1991) indicated that being Jewish was often viewed similarly to "being black ... being diseased, and being 'ugly'" (p. 232). The stigmas

associated with being "Jewish" brought cause to associate Jewish individuals as "non-white," despite the historical presence of "swarthy" Jews of the Middle East and Caucasian Jews of Europe (Gilman, 1991).

A similar study by Sasson-Levy (2013) examined how ethnic boundaries, in a "colorblind" society, are maintained. The study examined white ethnicity in Israel among Ashkenazi Jews (p. 27). The study examined the position of Ashkenazi Jews as a unique "white" group in Israel, as they are the dominating, or majority, group. Sasson-Levy (2013) indicates that there is a general rise of inequality in Israel "as the result of neoliberal economic policy, welfare cutbacks, privatization process, and weakening of the trade unions (Cohen, 2006; p. 28). This puts the Ashkenazim Jews in a unique position of dominance, much like white people are considered in the United States. This contributes to building a Jewish identity for American Jews that may be immigrants from Israel versus individuals that are Jewish and not from Israel.

Karen Brodkin (1998) wrote from experience about Jewish identity, among other topics, in her book *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says About Race in America*. She mentioned that although she was Jewish and grew up in a Jewish neighborhood, the family's Judaism did not revolve around the religious aspect (Brodkin, 1998). Anti-Semitism and anti-European racism lost popularity in the post-World War II period and Brodkin (1998) suggested that it was during this time that European immigrants and Jews alike were securely viewed as "white."

Anti-Semitism vs. Anti-Zionism

There is a poorly defined line between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. The definition of anti-Semitism is often disputed and contradicted (Kahn, 2015), but it is most commonly understood as "prejudice and/or discrimination against Jews, individually or collectively, because

of their religion, their ethnicity, ancestry, or group membership" (Kosmin & Keysar, 2015, p. 1). Anti-Zionism, however, is a trickier word to accurately define. In general, it could be understood that anti-Zionist speech is "legitimate criticism of Israel" and its government, not necessarily Israeli citizens or Jewish people (Kahn, 2015). Many people question whether anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are one in the same. It is argued that anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism are two vastly different things and others, still, may suggest that anti-Zionism is inherently anti-Semitic (Kahn, 2015). Research by Robert Kahn (2015) explored these terms and how they built off of each other, if at all, and he utilized several approaches.

First, he explored the idea that anti-Zionism is *always* anti-Semitic. He writes that many political authorities will often utilize this viewpoint to discredit the Palestine solidarity movement (Hayoun, 2014; Kahn, 2015). He first posits that it could be argued there is "... something about anti-Zionism .. that is intrinsically anti-Semitic" (Kahn, 2015, p. 9). In an American parallel, he makes reference to the U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. In a dissenting opinion of the *Virginia v. Black* (2002) case, the defendant attempted to defend his acts of burning a cross under his first amendment right and challenged the constitutionality of the Virginia law banning said cross burning with intent to intimidate others. Judge Thomas, among others, agreed that cross burning was affiliated with the Klu Klux Klan and was intrinsically an act of intimidation (Kahn, 2015).

Another way of viewing anti-Zionism is, as Kahn (2015) quotes, "[a]nti-Zionism contains anti-Semitism like a cloud contains a storm" (Amery, 2005, p. 133; Wiesenthal, 2014; Kahn, 2015). Kahn (2015) discusses the Hungarian *Jobbik* party, which is described as anti-Zionist but has displayed some anti-Semitic elements. For example, the party attended a World Zionist Conference meeting in Budapest in which members compared Israel's colonization of Palestine

and the efforts directed at Hungary. One of members, subsequent to the conference and in 2012, called upon the government to "'tally up people of Jewish ancestry" because they pose a risk to national security (Stahl, 2014, para. 5; Kahn, 2015, p. 11). While a group may present themselves as anti-Zionist, it is possible that such a group could abuse the language of anti-Zionism to mask their anti-Semitic tendencies (Stahl, 2014; Kahn 2015).

However, Kahn (2015) argues that this point of view presents problems. To begin, it is nigh impossible to claim that *all* anti-Zionists and protestors are anti-Semitic, particularly if said protestor is Jewish. In 2015, a member of the British Palestine solidarity group "Stop the War Coalition" wrote that the group strongly rejects anti-Semitism. Carr (2015) argued that it is "one thing to criticize Israel's brutal treatment of the Palestinians, but that doesn't mean that Israel is a Nazi state" (Carr, 2015, para. 10; Kahn, 2015). A number of Jewish persons have expressed that they do not support Israel. An international group of Hasidic Jews, called Neturei Karta, oppose Zionism "on the ground that under the Torah ... 'it is forbidden for us to rise up and build ourselves, until the Almighty Himself redeems us without the help of anyone else, and without our power" (Neturei Karta, 2015; Kahn, 2015). Similar, there is the group called the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (IJAN), and international network of Jewish people committed to returning Palestinians to their homes and "ending Israeli colonization" (IJAN, 2017, para. 1). Individuals, such as journalist Aviva Stahl (2015), have identified themselves as Jewish and anti-Zionist. This embraces the idea that it is impossible to claim that all anti-Zionism is anti-Semitic.

The author brings forward questions of Jews living in the Diaspora, particularly the 1.4 million Jews living in Europe at the time, compared to the 5.6 million in Israel (Kahn, 2015). He mentions that in 2014, there were approximately 7,000 Jews that emigrated from France to Israel. Despite the general growth of Europe after World War II, anti-Semitism is still a prevalent

problem in many countries. The ADL report for 2014 shows some of the countries in Europe with the most anti-Semitic attitudes are: Greece, Poland, Bulgaria, and France (ADL, 2014). Kahn (2015) suggests that equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism "undermines the European Jew who wants to wear a *kippa*, pray in a synagogue, or send [their] children to a Jewish school without worrying about violence" (p. 13). While the Palestine solidarity movement makes no mention of attacking any of these things, Kahn (2015) proposed that refusing to distinguish anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism could lead to its uprising overtime.

Kahn (2015) also explored the opposing side of the argument: the idea that anti-Zionism is *never* anti-Semitic. Although Israel was not founded in response to the Holocaust, "...the mass murder of the Jews is something anti-Zionists must deal with given Israel's self-identity as a protector of the Jews" (Carr, 2015; Kahn, 2015). A post-Holocaust Europe pushed the idea that all pro-Palestinian movements and society as a whole are free of anti-Semitism (Kahn, 2015). Another American parallel is the idea that a post-civil rights movement America is devoid of discrimination (Faegin, 2014, p. 143). While the ignorance of racial discrimination (among many others) in America is still prevalent, Americans decide to ignore any instances of racism and claim that America cannot be racist, for the civil rights movement has gone (Faegin, 2014). In Europe, with anti-Semitism, it is equally impossible to make the case that anti-Semitism is forever gone (Kahn, 2015).

Utilizing the example of a French comedian, Dieudonné, Kahn (2015) showed that anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism can both be present without overlapping. He often used Jews as the butt of jokes in World War II jokes, in reference to Alain Soral – a former far right National Front speech author – and the role of Jews in the slave trade. However, Dieudonné also attacks Israel on its own. While it is true that anti-Semites are often also anti-Zionists, it does not work the

other way around. As mentioned previously, anti-Zionists could be Jewish individuals or could be individuals that have no qualms with Jewish people or their faith (Kahn, 2015).

Following these two ideas, Kahn (2015) sought to answer several questions about crossing the line between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. This exploration utilizes anti-Zionism as a "window dressing" for an anti-Semitic motive. He primarily focused on speech and broke it down into three different ways in one could classify a speech, or action, as "more or less anti-Semitic" (p. 17). The first of these three ways is taking into consideration the location of the speech or act.

The first of the examples Kahn (2015) wrote about was the bombing of a Synagogue in Wuppertal, Germany by three Palestinians (p. 14). While the judge had ruled that the act was a protest of anti-Zionist nature, not anti-Semitic, critics of the ruling made bold assertions that if the bombers were protesting the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, they could have attacked the Israeli embassy (Kirchick, 2015, para. 9; Kahn, 2015). Essentially, the judge's ruling on the case boiled down to the distinguishing between emotional young men and hardened neo-Nazis, whose attack on Jews would have stemmed largely from their hatred of Jews and not *possibly* from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Kahn, 2015). However, the author argued that the importance of an attack on a Synagogue as an anti-Semitic incident is not "because of the intent of the attacker but because of its impact on Jews" (Kahn, 2015, p. 18). This is only one example of location being important, while the author also suggests that anti-Zionist speeches or acts in Jewish communities, outside of kosher stores, and especially during times of prayer are particularly keen indicators of crossing the anti-Zionist line into anti-Semitic acts (Kahn, 2015).

The second portion of the break down is the presence of anti-Semitic tropes. There are some core characteristics that define an anti-Semitic trope, and these include treating Jews as scapegoats, portraying Jews as the "killer of God," portraying Jews as hungry for power and genetically inferior (Gerstenfeld, 2011; Kahn, 2015). Another scholar, included alternate forms that anti-Semitic characterizations may take: Jews as parasites, racially inferior, and the "Jewish lawyer who deprives the honest man of his hard won wealth" (Adorno, 1994; Kahn, 2015). Kahn (2015) also makes mention of the use of words and phrases that correlate directly to the Holocaust. He writes:

"... the phrase 'Zionists to the gas!' or 'I want to kill every last Zionist' in addition to being hate speech, have an added anti-Semitic resonance because of the gas chambers and the goal of making Europe fee of all Jews ..." (Kahn, 2015, p. 21).

In comparison, though, the use of 'Nazi' can be trickier to determine anti-Semitic intent. First, there is the question of whether or not the use of the word 'Nazi' is to directly correlate to the way in which Hitler and the Nazis treated Jews. Another way 'Nazi' could be interpreted is as a synonym for "totalitarian," "cruel," or "horrific," which makes the case of anti-Semitism more difficult to prove. However, to declare that "Israel is a 'Nazi' state" is drawing equivalence "between the Nazi mass murder of Jews and what is currently happening in Gaza, the statement trivializes the Holocaust and ... [that] could be seen as anti-Semitic" (Kahn, 2015, p. 21).

The third and final portion of the author's breakdown is about boycott movements and discrimination. He mentions the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, which will be discussed at length further in this paper. Kahn (2015) declared that overall, boycotting Israel – much like the anti-Apartheid boycotts – is not overtly anti-Semitic when the boycotts are

aimed strictly at Israel. In fact, he writes that "[a] boycott of Israeli goods is a legitimate way to put pressure on Israel to change its policies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip" to which he follows up with "a boycott of kosher goods is not" (Kahn, 2015, p. 23). He raised an example of a store in the United Kingdom that removed kosher goods from its shelves due to a series of protests against Israeli goods. Targeting kosher goods is not an effective boycott against Israel, because any non-Israeli kosher foods do not affect the situation with Israel and only punishes practicing Jews that require access to kosher foods (Kahn, 2015). Boycotting Israel and Israeli-imported goods is an effective way to boycott; however, extending those boycotts to *Jewish*-run stores and individuals is ineffective, as it only impacts the individuals involved.

Kahn (2015) then wrapped up his distinction of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. He wrote that anti-Zionist speech is generally easier to distinguish from anti-Semitic speech. If the act takes place in front of a Synagogue, Jewish school, or kosher restaurant, he suggested it is likely anti-Semitic. Similarly, anti-Semitic speech will often rely on Jewish conspiracies and rumors, and will utilize distinct, dehumanizing language. The final point is that any movement that calls for the boycotting of *Jewish* goods as opposed to Israeli goods is likely anti-Semitic (Kahn, 2015).

Quite obviously, and as the author admits himself, drawing a clear and defined line between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism is increasingly difficult. Each case is a circumstantial one that generally needs its own combing through every piece of the evidence (Kahn, 2017). However, he also indicated that singling out anti-Semitism, distinguishing it from anti-Zionism, allows for "opponents of Israel to do what they can to oppose the anti-Semites in their midst" (Kahn, 2015, p. 27). For the victims, of course, there is no difference when they are victimized if it was based on hate or politics. For them, victimization is victimization. Kahn (2015) notes that

it is up to these victims to decide if it is beneficial to lump "together angry protestors with hardened anti-Semites" (p. 26).

Brief History of the Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Hamas Conflicts

The conflict between Israel and Palestine began with the Zionist movement in the late nineteenth early twentieth century when Jews had begun their immigrations to Palestine, due to "worsening persecution of European Jews. At the time of immigrating, Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire, which fell in 1918 as a result of World War I. Britain ultimately gained control of the territory through 1948. It wasn't until 1921, when Britain handed the "are of Britishmandate Palestine east of the Jordan River to Emir Abdullah, that the first violence erupted, "leaving scores of Jews and Arabs dead" (Katirai, 2001).

Violence between Jews and Arabs was not uncommon subsequent the first outbreak. Post-World War II, in November of 1947, "the General Assembly of the United Nations recommended the partition of British-mandate Palestine into two separate states, one for Jews and one for Arabs" (Katirai, 2001). This decision resulted in fighting, as the surrounding Arab states rejected the idea. In May of 1948, the state of Israel was proclaimed and as British troops departed, fighting broke out between the new state of Israel and its Arab neighbors. For twenty years, fighting continued between Palestinians and the Israeli state (Katirai, 2001).

The "Six Day War," as it's known to Israel, or the "al-Naksah," as it's known to Palestinians, was a war instigated by Israel against Egypt. Israel gained control of territory formerly controlled by Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. This included the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, the West Bank and Jerusalem. This about tripled the size of Israel's control and Palestinians interpreted this as a violation of international law (Katirai, 2001).

The United Nations Security Council ultimately passed Resolution 242 in response to the war, declaring that Israeli forces withdraw from the territories. Throughout the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, since 1948, there have been 226 resolutions passed in regards to "the situation in the Middle East." The most recent of these was Resolution 2334 passed in December of 2016 (U. N. Security Council Resolution 2334). These resolutions are often in responses to outbreaks of war between the nations, generally with the goal of establishing a "just and durable peace" between Israel and its neighbors (Katirai, 2001).

In 1988, the Islamic Resistance Movement, or *Harakatu Mujawamati Islamiya*, was founded as an Islamist political group that opposes Israel and "rejects the Oslo peace process and other negotiations" (Katirai, 2001). The more common nickname for the group is *Hamas*. The Hamas has largely been responsible for more radical attacks against Israel, resorting to suicide bombings and other fierce tactics against the government (Katirai, 2001).

The leader of Palestine, Yasser Arafat, publicly condemned all forms of terrorism after the Hamas became more active. He also recognized the state of Israel before Ronald Reagan, U.S. President at the time, authorized U.S. entry into discussions with the PLO. Following these events, in 1991, the Madrid Peace Conference took place in Spain. The conference included most of the Arab countries, save Egypt, and Israel sitting down to discuss their potential options. More talks took place during 1993 in Norway with the PLO and Yasser Arafat (Katirai, 2001).

By May 2000, Israeli forces withdrew from Lebanon in accordance with the U.N. Security Council Resolution 425 from 1978, which called for Israel to cease all military action against Lebanon (U.N. Security Council Resolution 425). Despite the Lebanese claiming the withdrawal was incomplete, as they laid claim to the Shebaa Farms as Lebanese land, the U.N. certified a full Israeli withdrawal (Katirai, 2001).

In late 2000, the second Intifada was born. President Bill Clinton, of the United States, proposed a peace agreement between Israel and Palestine. Albeit it was accepted by the Israeli side, the Palestinian government did not respond. Following this attempt at peace, Ariel Sharon is made the new Prime Minister of Israel and George W. Bush replaced President Clinton in 2001. Following these changes, the September 11th terrorist attacks against the U.S. occurred and the U.S. government found that the Hamas and Hezbollah organizations were linked to Al-Qaeda (Wood, 2016). Since then, the peace process has been increasingly difficult and the struggle for it is carried on, even through today.

Institutionalized Anti-Semitism in the U.S.

Anti-Semitism in American colleges was essentially institutionalized from the founding of Harvard College in 1636 and flourished in most higher education (Brodkin, 1998). Jewish students were often denied the opportunities to join fraternities that were often seen as historically Christian (Horowitz, 1987). Similarly, Jewish admission was significantly low in U.S. medical schools (Halperin, 2001). At the turn of the twentieth century, quotas for Jewish acceptance began to be the limiting factor for Jewish students in the higher education field. It ultimately boiled down to students competing against one another for the limited spots available. Jewish-American leaders of the time began to plan the developments of their own universities (Gurock, 1988; Meyer, 1976).

Yale College was founded in 1701 in New Haven, Connecticut (Yale, 2017). The college was highly Christianized helped to perpetuate an idea that Judaism was to be feared (Oren, 1985). Dan Oren (1985) is a historian that studied Yale's academic evolution. He reported that the first Jews at Yale were three non-practicing, half-Jewish brothers that graduated in 1777. He reported the first practicing, "bona fide" Jewish man to graduate from Yale was Moses Simons in

1809 (Oren, 1985). Judah P. Benjamin was the next Jew to attend Yale, in1826, but ultimately he dropped from the institute and became the Secretary of State to Jefferson Davis in the Confederacy (Horowitz, 1987).

Oren (1985) also reported that a Jewish undergraduate student, Lewis Ehrich (B.A. 1869), had been viewed as an outsider during his educational stay at Yale. He was a German-Jewish immigrant and his penchant for scholarly learning excluded him from the typical Yale students (Oren, 1985). The first ideas for a Jewish interest fraternity began in 1866, which began to make Jewish men an accepted part of the campus community (Oren, 1985).

In 1886, the President of Harvard, Charles William Eliot, removed the mandatory chapel attendance that drove many practicing Jewish students away from the college. For a short time, the rates of Jewish enrollment rose. The successor, however, was A. Lawrence Lowell who was open about his opposition to Jews in the college and wanted to fight for a stronger, Christian campus (Rosovsky, 1986; Brodkin, 1998). Like Harvard and Yale, there were other colleges at the time that had a perceived "Jewish Problem," such as Tufts, Bowdoin, and Columbia (Rosovsky, 1986). Thus, the decision was to make more difficult requirements for Jewish students to meet.

Harvard, for example, began to require passport-sized photos of individuals, which was a practice thought to be used to identify "Jewish features" on students that may have changed their family names (Steinberg, 1989). Other colleges implemented alumni interviews and took preference to applicants outside of areas thought to be especially Jewish (Steinberg, 1974). Jewish student enrollment declined to less than 16 percent of freshmen in the early twentieth century (Steinberg, 1989). Medical schools admissions seemed to be the greatest place of anti-Semitism, as well as discrimination against Blacks, Catholics, and women (Halperin, 2001).

In the early ages of the twentieth century, American colleges faced with anti-Semitism failed in their duty to provide individuals with hospitality during their education. Instead, Jewish students were viewed as outsides as they wanted to succeed in their undergraduate academics as opposed to indulging in the "college lifestyle" (Horowitz, 1987). In this way, the lack of sports and club interest by Jewish students threatened the college idea of "getting by," as the Jewish students were beginning to raise the expectations of professors (Horowitz, 1987, p. 140).

Students that spent more time outside of school - either on athletic fields or out drinking - were praised and honored for their "C" grades until Jewish students began to threaten that comfort with much higher and steadier grades (Steinberg, 1974). Generally, Jewish students didn't receive scholarships, so their success brought considerable resentment (Steinberg, 1989, p. 230).

Today, however, the Jewish quotas and the school-sanctioned discrimination no longer exist (Scherr, 2008). Although the schools no longer actively encourage anti-Semitism, schools cannot negate any individual, anti-Semitic motivations (Scherr, 2008). The United States Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) declared in a report from 2006 that the rate at which many U.S. colleges experience anti-Semitism is warranting of further attention, as it is a serious problem (USCCR, 2006; Scherr, 2008). Sonia Scherr (2008) wrote for the Intelligence Report on this issue of anti-Semitism on U.S. campuses.

Anti-Semitic incidents on U.S. campuses. In recent years, the most prominent incidents have began with "condemnation of Israeli policies" and devolving, from there, into "derogatory statements about all Jewish people" (Scherr, 2008, p. 2). Scherr (2008) takes care to point out that some of those who are critical of Israel are unfairly labeled a bigot while others that denounce Israel can cross the line of criticizing the government's decisions into hatred for the Jewish people overall.

The USCCR reported:

"On many campuses, anti-Israeli or anti-Zionist propaganda has been disseminated that includes traditional anti-Semitic elements, including age-old Jewish stereotypes and defamation. This has included, for example, anti-Israel literature that perpetuates the medieval anti-Semitic blood libel of Jews slaughtering children for ritual purpose, as well as anti-Zionist propaganda that exploits ancient stereotypes of Jews as greedy, aggressive, very powerful or conspiratorial" (USCCR, 2006).

Scherr (2008) also utilized an in-depth look at two different incidents that took place on two separate college campuses. Much like any other speakers, anti-Jewish speakers are allowed to speak on campuses under the protections of the First Amendment, as well as protecting their speech as "academic freedom" (ADL, 1997; Scherr, 2008). The cases in question, however, were neither occurring in any classrooms nor sanctioned by any university officials.

The first incident occurred at the University of California, Irvine (UCI). The speakers were part of a series called "Never Again? The Palestinian Holocaust." While it was expected to hear condemnation of Israel, what people did not expect during the week-long seminar was blame for the September 11th, 2001 attacks being pushed on to Israeli Jews as well as Holocaust denials. Among their speeches, the two speakers repeatedly crossed the line into anti-Semitic statements and conspiracy theories "... typically favored by neo-Nazis, as well as by giving voice to loathing for all Jews as a people" (Scherr, 2008).

The second incident occurred on an Oregon University campus. A retired, pacifist professor began an informal group called "Pacifica Forum" that was meant to discuss points of view and information on "war and peace, militarism and pacifism, violence and nonviolence" (Scherr, 2008). Despite being founded with relatively leftist origins, the group appeared to have

leapt to the extreme right. The group has seen multiple speakers, most racist individuals alongside pertinent Holocaust deniers. Members of the group see themselves as persecuted as their speeches have been protested on campuses and there have been attempts to shut the group down. The founder admitted, when confronted with the allegations that group is anti-Semitic, ""[i]f you rub a substantial number of Jews the wrong way, you're anti-Semitic ... In that sense, I have to admit that the forum and I ... are anti-Semitic" (Scherr, 2008, p. 7). However, he and the group denied that it was overrun or controlled by white supremacists.

Incidents like these are not rare, unfortunately, and a study by Brandeis University further illustrated the crossing of the anti-Zionist line, when things become anti-Semitic. Saxe, Sasson, Wright and Hecht (2015) were the individuals involved in the Brandeis University study about the anti-Semitic incidents that took place around U.S. and Canadian college campuses for the 2014-15 academic years. Their findings are based on a survey of young adults who applied to embark on a ten day experience with the Taglit-Birthright Israel trip and was conducted in April 2015 before the students departed for Israel (Saxe, Sasson, Wright & Hecht, 2015).

Overall, the Brandeis study found that "more than one-quarter of undergraduate respondents describe hostility toward Israel on campus by their peers as a 'fairly' or 'very big' problem and nearly 15 percent perceive this same level of hostility toward Jews." They found almost "one-quarter of respondents report having been blamed ... for the actions of Israel because they were Jewish," and twenty percent reported that it happened "occasionally and five percent that it happened frequently or all the time" (Saxe et. al, 2015, p.1). Further, about one-third of the respondents "report[ed] having been verbally harassed during the past year because they were Jewish" (Saxe et. al, 2015, p.1). Overall, the researchers found the best predictor of perceiving a college environment as hostile was the individual's connection to Israel and the personal

experiences of anti-Semitic verbal harassment in an individual's history (Saxe et. al, 2015, p.1). This suggests that not all Jewish students may have reported the same experiences as anti-Semitic verbal harassment; as they may all view what they perceive to be anti-Semitism differently, depending on their ties to Israel.

Despite vast growths in the institutions of the United States, such as disallowing enrollment discrimination based on a great number of factors, it seems as though anti-Semitism still permeates the college campuses of the country. To determine why these views about Jewish individuals are affecting students today, it is necessary to break down several potential avenues of influence. Several studies (Newman, 2016; Sheskin & Felson, 2016) suggest that the use of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions solutions only leads to more anti-Semitic acts and is otherwise useless against Israel in the political sense. Others (Culcasi, 2016; Munayyer, 2016) suggest that the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaigns are the only way to go about a nonviolent and effective resistance to the Israeli government, without bringing anti-Semitism to the table.

Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS) was started in Palestine by community-based activists in July 2005 after several failures to resolve the Israeli-Palestine conflict (Culcasi, 2016; Munayyer, 2016). The campaign is based on the violation of Palestinian human rights by the Israeli government, and the government's failure to react appropriately. Multiple United Nations Security Council orders failed to stop Israeli advancement. The nonviolent resistance to Israeli occupation was stemmed from the first use of it in the anti-Apartheid movements in 1959-60 (Munayyer, 2016). With many of the same motivations, BDS

campaigns against Israel somewhat mimic that of the South Africa BDS campaigns. Yousef Munayyer (2016) elaborated further on the inception of Palestinian BDS and where it is headed.

It is suggested that many of the proposed peace agreements "tremendously" benefit Israel. The two states of Palestine and Israel have not reached a shared peace agreement and thus the actors of the Israeli government decided to manage the situation, determining that the cost of the "occupation are far preferable to the costs of withdrawal" (Munayyer, 2016, p. 284). In one way, the purpose of BDS is to exacerbate the Israeli economy by encouraging the boycott of Israeli products, divesting from Israel, and sanctioning the state until the government ends its occupation. BDS is based in civil society and encourages the involvement of people who normally would have minimal idea of what was going on overseas. BDS tries to provide accurate information and arguments for why individuals should be involved in the movement. While the boycotting and divestments movements have been successful in the U.S. across academic arenas, to social organizations (i.e., Black Lives Matter co-founder, Queer Women of Color Media Arts Project, and others), many celebrities, Israel-based companies and importers, achieving the sanctions portion of the campaign involves the group being able to influence the U.S. at state levels (Munayyer, 2016).

One way to account for the impacts of BDS is to look at the events that have occurred via BDS encouragement overseas. For example, the British security company G4S helps the Israeli government operate prisons where Palestinian prisoners are tortured and held without trials (BDS, 2016). A grassroots BDS campaign essentially forced G4S out of a town in North Carolina (Munayyer, 2016). The campaigns are bringing the conversation of Israeli occupation to new audiences that would otherwise not have the conversation.

The United States has, in recent years, taken the BDS question to high-ranking political officials. The president of the U.S., the secretary of state, and many more has discussed the movement. In 2015, the U.S. Congress held hearings about the campaigns and while there is no opposition to the BDS movement, it has arrived on the political agenda. It is suggested that "this is a clear sign of the movement's growth" which further accounts for the success of the movement, despite the money the Israeli government has funneled into combating the movement (Munayyer, 2016, p. 285).

Ira Sheskin and Ethan Felson (2016) argue that the BDS campaign is not solely an anti-Zionist campaign, but is instead underpinned by anti-Semitism (p. 275). It is suggested that BDS is not born of a desire to protect Palestinian human rights, but was instead born from "an ideology hostile to Judaism and Jewish nationalism, and remains steeped in that hostile ideology to this day" (Sheskin & Felson, 2016, p. 270). They also suggest that not all Palestinians are in favor of the movement, stating that "[t]he Palestinian people are not united behind this effort" (p. 270). The authors compare the BDS campaign to the boycotts of companies, organizations, and countries. They go so far as to state that "... one can search online the name of just about any company, and the word 'boycott,' and find campaigns waged against almost every major corporation - and almost none of them have produced any impact" (p. 270).

One argument that the authors raise is the idea that the BDS movement will be ineffective against Israel because there are "so many countries around the world that have human rights records that are far, far worse than Israel" (Sheskin & Felson, 2016, p. 271). It seems as though comparing the human rights records of other countries to Israel is supposed to alleviate some of the blame that falls upon the Israeli government for violating Palestinian human rights. Similarly, the authors raise opposition about the academic boycotts aimed at Israel. They write that

although the BDS campaign singles out Israel for "ostensible violations of academic freedom" that fly in the face of academic integrity, there is still academic freedom in Israel. They point out that "similar campaigns are not waged against other countries, not even those countries in the Middle East in which academic freedom is extremely restricted" (Sheskin & Felson, 2016, p. 273).

In agreement with Sheskin and Felson, David Newman (2016) proposed the idea that academic boycotts, overall, are complete failures. Newman suggests that that boycotting educational institutions does not necessarily enforce the boycott upon individual members of the scientific communities with ties to Israeli colleagues and research partners (p. 264). The European Union Science and Research Authority issued a letter in response to "a request by some scholars to boycott projects with Israel ..." In this letter, the EU expressed their opinion that academic boycotts were discriminatory and will not fund an university or research consortium that practices discriminatory policies (Newman, 2016, p. 265). Overall, Newman (2016) argues that the "boycott attempts have failed to have any real or meaningful scientific impact" (p. 269). He further argues that Israeli institutions continue to be ranked among the top of Institutes of Higher Education, globally, and that the boycotting weakens the pro-peace and pro-human rights voices within the Israeli society (Newman, 2016, p. 269).

Karen Culcasi (2016) provided an account for the aforementioned experts engaged in the BDS debate. The beginning of her essay remarks that BDS can be seen as a nonviolent means to achieving peace, or it may be viewed as discriminatory and anti-Semitic, while others still may have heard of it but don't understand it (p. 258). However, she also mentions that Munayyer (2016) and scholars like him have commended the BDS campaign for their work toward social justice. She further mentions that Sheskin and Felson (2016) and Newman (2016) condemned

BDS for their "singling out" of Israel while ignoring counties like Saudi Arabia and China. Culcasi (2016) also mentions that "[s]ome critics have also argued that all Israelis, regardless of their political viewpoints, are being unfairly subjected to and harmed by BDS through 'guilt by association'" (p. 260). In this respect, a study from the Brandeis University can pull together some clarifying information about the abuses of Jewish students in regards to active BDS support.

The Brandeis University study by Saxe et. al (2015) investigated the awareness Jewish students had of BDS campaigns on their respective campuses. The question asked was: "How much have you heard about the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign?" 46% of undergraduates and 51% of other young adults responded that they knew "no information at all." Following that, 20% of undergraduates and 22% of other young adults reported they had "not much information;" 20% of undergraduates and 19% of other young adults responded that they knew "some information;" while only 14% of undergraduates and 8% of other young adults reportedly knew "a great deal of information" (Saxe et. al, 2015, p. 8). This information sheds some light on student awareness of BDS resolutions that may have been taking place on their campuses.

Student Groups and Organizations

The AMCHA (Hebrew for "your people" or "your nation") Initiative is a non-profit organization that investigates, documents, and combats anti-Semitism at higher learning institutions in America (AMCHA Initiative, 2017, para. 1). Throughout their work for and with Jewish students, they have compiled a list of incidents that have occurred and arranged them by the school they occurred at and the date of the incident.

The aforementioned speaker series "Never Again? The Palestinian Holocaust" was hosted by a Muslim-based student group. Albeit a number of the speakers were invited, some of which were even Jewish, the anti-Semitic speakers were also invited by the group, even if they were unaware of the nature of their speeches (Scherr, 2008). Though the intent of the program was to bring attention to the Israeli-Palestininan issues and the truths behind what is occurring overseas. The individuals in question used this platform to attack Jewish people as a whole, crossing the boundary between anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist speech.

Like the Muslim student group, there are many more present on college campuses that hold their own demonstrations and events. Some of the ones investigated are the Hillel organization, the Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), pro-Palestine groups (such as the Students for Justice in Palestine chapters), and pro-Israel groups (such as Allies for Israel).

Hillel. Hillel is a group for students that has an international, overarching parent group. The mission of Hillel is to enrich the lives of Jewish students (Hillel International, 2014, p.2). This group has individual chapters present on more than 550 campuses throughout the U.S. (Hille International, 2014, p. 6). Though it is predominantly a religious-based student group, meetings and events are often open to anyone on campus that may be interested in faith discussions or interested in learning more about Judaism.

The group produced a "Strategic Implementation Plan" in 2014. This plan detailed that: "Hillel's substance should represent the full diversity of Jewish life: holiday celebrations, social activism, cultural expressions, learning, entry point for students to build relationships with Israel and connect to the global Jewish people, Hillel offers opportunities to find contemporary wisdom and meaning in ancient Jewish tradition ... Hillel nurtures student leaders who represent the plurality of Jewish life, supports self

directed students to innovate, and embraces a distinct strategy to engage the not-yet engaged, meeting them where they are and inspiring them to Jewish connectedness" (Hillel International, 2014, p. 11).

Overall, the Hillel organization is meant to support and encourage Jewish students to embrace their full potential academically and religiously. The group seemingly does not actively engage in political discussions, but does encourage Jewish students to find their own connections with Israel. However, the group does disclose that "Support for Israel comes first and foremost from an understanding and sense of attachment to the global Jewish people and our ancestral homeland" (Hillel International, 2014, p. 13). The group has been known to stop supporting other groups, should they engage in events or demonstrations that are co-sponsored or sponsored by pro-Palestine groups (Dolsten, 2017). This may strike some as political decisions, but as it is mentioned by the Hillel International pamphlet, and although their support does not necessarily lead to regular political discussions, the Hillel student groups have stated their unwavering support for Israel.

Pro-peace student groups. The Jewish voice for peace is a group that is not necessarily founded and run by students, but has a relatively strong stance on campuses via their student network. The mission statement of the group is as follows:

"JVP opposes anti-Jewish, anti-Muslim, and anti-Arab bigotry and oppression. JVP seeks an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem; security and self-determination for Israelis and Palestinians; a just solution for Palestinian refugees based on principles established in international law; an end to violence against civilians; and peace and justice for all peoples of the Middle East" (Jewish Voice for Peace, 2009).

The organization is all inclusive of any members that are interested in participating in their group. This includes students from all walks of life and individuals that may not be included on campuses. This organization has worked alongside many others in attempts to promote their message, including efforts to include fair BDS resolutions on campuses.

In 2015, JVP released a report entitled "Stifling Dissent" which ultimately discusses how the use of false anti-Semitic claims contributes to limited the debate over Israel on college campuses. Though the report utilizes several case studies, it goes over imperative incidents where students have been reprimanded for expressing their opinions. They similarly discuss how Hillel has rejected JVP chapters on certain campuses, such as the Brandeis University campus. It's the first report to ever be released detailing false accusations of anti-Semitism on college campuses (JVP, 2015).

There have been instances where JVP activists have worked with other groups, including some of the groups to be discussed below. The difference between the Jewish Voice for Peace and pro-Palestinian or pro-Israeli groups follows along the idea that as a Jewish run, anti-Zionist group, the group will not cross the line between anti-Zionist and anti-Semitism. The group is aware of this:

"JVP recognizes its role ..., noting that the group's Jewish nature gives it a 'particular legitimacy in voicing an alternative view of American and Israeli actions and policies' and the ability to distinguish 'between real anti-Semitism and the cynical manipulation of that issue" (ADL, 2014, p. 2).

The group has an especially unique perspective, as it is an anti-Zionist Jewish movement. However, the group is not likely to overstep boundaries of anti-Zionism into anti-Semitism. It is a pro-peace group that does not aim to invalidate Israel as a state, but rather supports the basic

human rights of Palestinian refugees and citizens. The difference between criticizing the Israeli government and its actions and denying Israel the right to exist is what makes a group anti-Semitic as opposed to anti-Zionist.

Pro-Palestine student groups. The most prominent pro-Palestine group present is the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). The first SJP chapter was established in University of California – Berkley in 2001 (ADL, 2014). The pro-Palestine group established the "Palestine Solidarity Movement (PSM) conference to coordinate divestment efforts among anti-Israel groups around the country" (ADL, 2014, p. 3). More often than not, the SJP groups are associated with the American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), a leading pro-Palestine organization. However, SJP has also worked alongside Black Lives Matter, LGBTQIA+, and many other minority student groups (ADL, 2014).

In 2017, the student group has 189 college-based chapters across the country. The National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP) page expresses what the student based organization is about:

"NSJP is an independent grassroots organization composed of students and recent graduates that provides support to SJP chapters on university campuses and the broader U.S. movement for Palestinian freedom and equality" (NSJP, 2017).

The organization's online page also makes certain to mention that all SJP student groups are autonomous organizations based on their respective campuses (NSJP, 2017). There is a guide offered by the NSJP, but there is no one over-arching leader of SJP that dictates how students should be running their organizations. This leaves a lot of freedom up to the individual groups. Through their own organizing, the SJP groups have been capable of forging communications with each other and encouraging or planning events with one another (ADL, 2014; NSJP, 2017).

The Students for Justice in Palestine are not the only pro-Palestine student group on campuses. Others exist but have not grasped nearly the same amount of media attention that SJP has garnered from both the colleges and surrounding, public media. With 189 chapters across the U.S., it is safe to assume that the SJP organization has a decent footing in many colleges. The establishment of the NSJP conferences in 2010 further promotes the organized and influential movement.

Pro-Israel student groups. Pro-Israel student groups exist across U.S. campuses, as well. Allies for Israel, Aggies for Israel, and Eagles for Israel are several differently named groups that seem to represent a lot of the same motivations and messages. The Aggies for Israel of University of California – Davis speaks to their intentions:

"Individuals involved with Aggies for Israel are a group of UC Davis students who are extremely passionate about the future of the state of Israel and promoting peace and positive activism on campus. Whether we are involved because we have family in Israel, we are Jewish, or we are politically inclined; we are all here because we first and foremost care about peace. We believe in promoting a peaceful coexistence for all who live in the region and promoting a peaceful discourse on campus to better foster an environment of inclusion and acceptance" (Aggies for Israel, 2017).

In comparison to JVP and SJP, the pro-Israel groups have been covered in media significantly less. Although many of these groups have similar messages, it seems there is no overarching group that maintains control of the AFI (and similar) organizations or holds national conferences. Past events held by groups like these have invited Israeli Defense Force (IDF) soldiers to speak on a number of issues, including things such as open LGBTQIA+ status in the

Israeli military. Much like the SJP chapters, they also hold their own demonstrations and events, generally around holy days in the Jewish faith.

Media Coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Hamas Conflicts

As something taking place overseas, the Israeli-Palestinian and Hamas conflicts have been mostly delivered to Americans through media sources. This includes, but is not limited to, newspaper and news stations as well as online articles. Despite attempts to stay true to the story, there have been instances where one story or another has not been fully reported on or has been reported on, but contains misinformation. One organization that tries to correct the misinformation or slanted stories is the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA).

CAMERA. The Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting seems to be an unbiased source for obtaining corrections for stories about the conflict. It seems to correct articles that are incorrect regarding both Palestinian and Israeli sides. The stories are range from anything minor that may ultimately have no impact to larger stories on popular networks that could have an impact on people that see the story. However, just because CAMERA finds the issues and publishes their own corrections online, and to the original sources, it does not stop people from reading the incorrect story.

The CAMERA site states that the problem is as follows:

"Inaccurate and distorted accounts of events in Israel and the Middle East are to be found everywhere from college radio stations to network television, from community newspapers to national magazines, and, of course, on the Internet. In recent years misinformation about the Middle East has also surfaced in fashion magazines, architectural publications, encyclopedias, professional reference works, geography

textbooks, travel guides, and even dictionaries. Frequently inaccurate and skewed characterizations of Israel and of events in the Middle East may fuel anti-Israel and anti-Jewish prejudice" (CAMERA, 2017).

Their concerns range from popular news outlets to college campus news streams. Any outlet that reports on the Middle Eastern conflicts is subjected to review by CAMERA. The reviews can lead to minimal corrections, such as a misspelling or incorrect location, to an entirely incorrect event that occurred and so on.

Social media. In 2017, social media has become a big part of life for many Americans. Facebook and twitter, among many sites for news, are key to the lives of many Americans in their everyday lives. Many pro-Palestine, pro-Israel, and pro-Peace groups have some sort of presence on Facebook. Similarly, people wishing to get involved generally start on the internet to see where they should go find someone to talk to. Facebook isn't only home to groups that seek justice or peace, though. There are also openly racist and bigoted hate groups online, as well. Some neo-Nazi organizations even have a Facebook presence.

Those looking for news sources outside of CNN, FOX and other mainstream outlets can turn to YouTube. The Young Turks (TYT) is a news group that has more followers on YouTube than most mainstream media outlets. However, they are not the only network on the site. There are, of course, others that exist that may provide slanted views one way or another. There is any number of conspiracy theory videos, anti-Semitic videos, racist, bigoted and otherwise unpleasant videos, just as Facebook does.

Social media has become an imperative part of many people's lives, encouraging new relationships and experiences with a click of a button. It can, however, also help harbor racist and bigoted groups. Social media as a whole lacks some research in regards to hate groups and their

impact on students or individuals, overall. However, it is something that warrants further investigation due to the ever evolving internet and online world. Anyone is able to spread any misinformation they desire, hardly inhibited by the social media websites.

Localized Hate Groups

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has a "hate map" that helps track known hate groups across the U.S., including neo-Nazi, skinhead, Aryan, KKK, anti-LGBTQIA+, anti-Black, anti-White and many more groups that espouse some form of hatred. Further breaking these groups up, one can find many have their own websites to help promote their own messages. Many of these groups do not try to hide and can be found with a simple Google search. The SPLC helps to track these groups on their map but they also record incidents of hate that may be of special interest to individuals.

Like the SPLC, the ADL and AMACH initiative also track anti-Semitic groups and incidents. These generally account for nationwide incidents and do not often focus strictly on college campuses. However, this can help to understand the air of hostility that may be surrounding a campus that has multiple incidents of bias occurring. Utilizing the ADL, SPLC, and media reports, acts of bias can be tracked down to certain areas and near college campuses. With these two groups working, it is possible to get a sense of political motivations and determine if some areas are more susceptible to hate incidents than others.

In 2017, the ADL released a report detailing the efforts of white supremacy groups attempting to spread their messages on college campuses more than they ever had before. The report states that "Until recently, on-the-ground white supremacist actions have been relatively infrequent on college campuses. But this year has been different ... White supremacists are using a variety of tactics including anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim and racist fliers, as well as on-campus

appearances and speeches by racist activists" (ADL, 2017). They report that more than 60 campuses in 25 states were targeted. There were, evidently, 104 incidents of white supremacist group fliers on college campuses since the beginning of the academic year in September 2016. The ADL attributed that approximately 61% of the white supremacist activity surged in January of 2017. The ADL is wary of the impact that these racist groups may have on a college campus (ADL, 2017).

Research by Carolyn Turpin-Petrosino (2002) wrote about the responses of students toward hate groups that utilized high schools, college campuses, and other "educated" waters to encourage membership. The hate groups located and targeted students that were identified, by local newspapers, as "student leaders, honor roll inductees, or local star athletes for recruitment purposes" (Turpin-Petrosino, 2002, p. 284). The study reported that although the assumption may be that members of hate groups are uneducated and less than successful, a number of those affiliated with hate groups are not "dysfunctional, failure-prone individuals who exist in the margins of American society" (Turpin-Petrosino, 2002, p. 282). The study utilized several methods to determine what individuals are most susceptible right-wing propaganda and included both secondary and university students as a sample.

Theories

This study primarily examines the defended neighborhoods theory (Suttles, 1972) and power-threat, theory (Blalock, 1967). Several studies were examined that utilized these theories and others.

Power threat theory. Hubert Blalock (1967) developed the power threat theory, which suggests that the larger the minority group's size, the greater the threat to the majority group. It is further suggested that the majority group will react to the perceived threat by instituting controls

and measures to ensure their position as the dominant group (Markert, 2010). This theory can be applied to anti-Semitic attitudes and Jewish student populations.

To begin, student enrollments were initially limited to specific quotas, as mentioned earlier. Upon these quotas being abolished, the enrollment of Jewish students increased and the new students were seemingly more dedicated to their academics, outdoing the non-Jewish students (Horowitz, 1987). As more Jewish students enrolled, their care for their undergraduate academics was evident by the successful grades they achieved. In this instance, the increase of "overachieving" Jewish students threatens the "college lifestyle" that the majority of students were used to living; spending much of their time with clubs and sports after school as opposed to doing schoolwork (Horowitz, 1987).

Simply put, the Jewish student enrollment increased and academic expectations increased. The new minority of Jewish students was growing and the majority (non-Jewish) students could feel threatened by this behavior and increase in academic competition. Much like the example of Yale and Harvard, individual students may be targeted for harassment for being *too* studious (Oren, 1985). Students aren't the only ones to respond to a perceived problem, either. Some schools, as mentioned prior, made enrollment particularly difficult for Jewish students during that time (Steinberg, 1989). Albeit schools have forbidden this sort of treatment of Jews, it is no clear indication of whether or not these personal ideas have carried through into today.

Defended neighborhoods theory. The defended neighborhoods theory echoes the power threat theory in many ways. Suttles (1972) indicated that the defended neighborhood occurs when "residents take action against a perceived threat to community identity" (Lyons, 2007,

p.823). The key is that the threat to the community is *perceived*, and not necessarily true. Lyons (2007) further expanded on Suttles' theory in a study he produced:

"Although defensive posturing may take many forms, racially motivated crime is one means, albeit extreme, for 'defending' a valued community image and way of life from the threat posed by racial outsiders. Suttles (1972, p. 58) suggests that defensive identity maintenance is often (although not only) triggered by fears of racial invasion from adjacent communities" (Lyons, 2007, p. 823).

While Suttles' theory, similar to Blalock (1967), focuses on race, this can be applied to colleges – small "neighborhoods" or communities – and the non-Jewish population. Due to the aforementioned Jewish quotas, simply "being Jewish" was enough to bar individuals from attending college (Horowitz, 1987). Horowitz (1987) detailed many instances in which Jewish students were perceived to be the "outsiders" on campuses after Jewish quotas were instituted and even more so after the quotas were lifted. When non-Jewish students were threatened by a perceived rise in Jewish attendance and the academic success of the Jewish students, it creates a hostile air, as mentioned under the defended neighborhoods theory.

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

This exploratory study utilizes a mixed methods and triangulation approach to investigate the possible triggers of campus-based anti-Semitism. Several questions were to be answered through this study. The first question is regarding whether or not there is evidence to support that anti-Semitic acts on college campuses are inspired by disapproval of Israeli policies toward Palestinians and Palestine. To address this question, the researcher utilized activity of BDS support and any active BDS resolutions to indicate that there is a disapproval of the government. Second, the researchers asked if there was evidence to suggest that a college campus' geographic proximity to active hate groups corresponds with anti-Semitic incidents. This was measured by the locations of hate groups mapped out by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). Third, is there evidence to suggest that the student body on a college campus that reflects BDS support corresponds with anti-Semitic incidents? This was measured by comparing the advocacy for BDS resolutions to Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data on anti-Semitic crimes and AMCHA Initiative data regarding anti-Semitic incidents. The fourth question asked if there was evidence to suggest that as the number of Jewish student enrollment increases, the number of anti-Semitic incidents also increase to reflect the Blalock (1967) and Suttles (1972) theories. To measure this, the trend in number of Jewish students for the 2010 to 2015 academic years are examined as well as the UCR reported anti-Semitic incidents and AMCHA Initiative reports.

Finally, the last question encompassed the prior key factors, but asked what social factors correspond with anti-Semitic incidents on college campuses. To answer this, all the results of the prior information must be combined. This includes the number of Jewish students on campuses, student organizations with a political stance on the Israeli-Palestinian and Hamas conflicts, general BDS support on campus, the geographic location of the campus to active hate groups,

UCR data reflecting hate crimes on campus, as well as utilizing media and AMCHA Initiative reports to locate anti-Semitic incidents on campus. Compiling all of this information should be able to give the researchers a better understanding of why anti-Semitic incidents occur on campuses.

There are a number of conditions that must be analyzed regarding possible avenues of influence on anti-Semitic acts. First, identifying college campuses that have reports of anti-Semitic incidents is necessary. Not all colleges experience the same rates of anti-Semitic attitudes or incidents and how this information is located is further discussed below. Campuses with Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions resolutions were paid particular attention to in this study. On these campuses, student organizations whose activities include support of Israel or Palestinian political positions were examined. Any online or printed stories that are slanted against Israel in comparison to a timeline of reported incidents on campuses are examined. The final condition is whether or not campuses with incidents are located in the vicinity of active hate groups across Massachusetts.

The first method of examining this data will be done through secondary data analysis. Prior research on similar subject matter by both the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and Brandeis University are examined. These studies only go so far as 2015 and will be used to examine the rates of anti-Semitic acts and incidents as well as student responses to the acts. The Brandeis report, as mentioned, breaks down these incidents into several categories to attempt to determine if the acts are based on an opinion of the Israeli-Palestinian and Hamas conflicts or if the acts are simply anti-Semitic in nature. The ADL reports account for exact numbers of hate incidents, save for the years 2007 - 2011.

The Clery Act makes it so that colleges must reveal incidents that occur on campus to the public. The researcher utilized this information to determine if any colleges in the Massachusetts area had bias incidents. This information will help to indicate what colleges are generally considered to be "hot spots" for bias incidents. The geographic areas of these incidents were also compared to information retrieved from the Massachusetts State Police and the Southern Poverty Law Center concerning the location of local hate groups throughout Massachusetts.

Further investigation pulls information from the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign to determine if any of these campuses that have experienced increased anti-Semitic incidents also support BDS resolutions. Over the last few years, some Massachusetts colleges have made BDS resolutions on their campuses. One of the resolutions that caused the most outcry and backlash stemmed from an Amherst, Massachusetts campus. This is also investigated.

Media reports that incorrectly or portray the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with bias is examined, as well. The ease of access to certain articles will be considered as well as the popularity of the media outlet (such as the New York Times, Huffington Post, and others).

Among these titles will be stories that come across as particularly heinous in one light or another. The frequencies of which these stories appear within a given year were compared to the rates of anti-Semitic incidents across U.S. college campuses.

Colleges of focus were determined prior to interviewing subjects. The researcher found a number of Massachusetts colleges that have particular student groups and/or BDS support. With this information, use of articles and publicly available information gave the researcher background on the college and its penchant, or lack thereof, for bias incidents. Colleges with more bias incidents were anticipated to have more hostile students involved in their student

groups while colleges with fewer incidents were expected to have student groups that were all inclusive of other students and groups on their campuses.

The researcher has also interviewed several students involved in student groups. These individuals completed confidential interviews with the researcher and are members of active student groups on their respective college campuses. For this research, the only colleges contacted for student interviews were based in Massachusetts and either completed in person or via phone. The questions answered were used to determine how current students (academic year 2015-16) interact with each other and whether or not there is tension between student groups or individuals. The interviews were only done with Massachusetts students due to the convenient location to the researcher.

The defended neighborhoods theory by Suttles (1972) is examined, adapted and compared to the situations on college campuses in attempts to explain why anti-Semitic incidents are occurring. Alongside this theory, the use of power threat theory by Blalock (1967) is adapted to suit Judaism and Jewish persons as the "invading minority." These theories will provide an insight as to why individuals may find it necessary or justifiable to incite anti-Semitic incidents upon other students.

The research called for a case-study examination of ten U.S. Universities. To begin, the researcher utilized the Hillel site to locate what college campuses had active Hillel student groups. This began in Massachusetts, looking into schools in the local areas. From this compiled list, it was then necessary to find out what schools had BDS resolutions, pro-Palestine groups, and pro-Israel groups. Of the complete list of schools, media reports were then sought out to distinguish what schools were experiencing the most frequent anti-Semitic incidents. In tandem with this information, comparisons were made with the FBI Uniform Crime Reports to locate

which colleges had the highest and lowest religious-based crimes for the 2010 - 2015 academic years. Table 1. below shows the list of ten colleges chosen for these case studies.

A scale was devised to potentially predict what factors would result in higher anti-Semitic incidents on college campuses. Figure 1. below shows the scale used. All colleges begin at a "0" mark and all have a possibility of anti-Semitic incidents with no factors considered. First, factors that were found to likely detract from anti-Semitic incidents include the lack of a BDS resolution. While the BDS movement is not inherently anti-Semitic, it is difficult for some individuals to separate the anti-Zionist message from an anti-Semitic one. Although the BDS campaign has good intentions and is a peace-based one, its message has been taken and misconstrued to represent and encourage anti-Semitic attitudes from people who cannot differentiate between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. Therefore, a lack of a BDS resolution is indicative of less anti-Semitism for this research.

The presence of an active Hillel student group and a pro-peace (such as Jewish Voice for Peace) group are likely to detract from anti-Semitic incidents for a number of reasons. The first and foremost reason is that these two groups both promote a neutral and nurturing area for discussion and debate. The Hillel group is not often associated directly with any political groups, regardless of pro-Israel or pro-Palestinian feelings of individual group members. The two groups do not often see eye-to-eye, as Hillel tends to stay out of political-based demonstrations and JVP is centered on the Israeli-Palestinian politics. These two groups seemingly promote a more neutral grounds for debate and discussion between students, without resorting to violence and verbal harassment.

On the opposite end of the scale, there are more factors that are likely to lead to more anti-Semitic incidents on a campus. First, the presence of a BDS solution, as mentioned, could

lead to more anti-Semitism due to individuals who interpret the movement to be anti-Semitic and not anti-Zionist. Further, any presence of a pro-Palestine or pro-Israel group could be more likely to lead to a more hostile environment, thus raising the possibilities of more anti-Semitic incidents. Either group could be an instigator or offender when it comes to heated debates on campuses. Events have occurred that implicate both pro-Palestinian group members as targeting Jewish students and pro-Israeli group members targeting Jewish students that do not support (openly or at all) their pro-Israel group.

Finally, the last important factor to examine is the locality of hate groups off campus. Table 2. shows the compiled information from the SPLC hate map that indicates what hate groups are located within 25 miles of the college campuses. To account for these groups, one point was added in the "higher likelihood" direction per hate group within a twenty-five mile radius. These hate groups were examined outside the scope of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These groups have an impact all their own and have access to many college campuses around the country. Online presences and physical locations can both contribute to the spreading of their hateful messages. Instances of these groups being on college campuses will be examined, as well, in attempts to determine if their presence contributed to any of the anti-Semitic incidents.

3792

11273

45

2000

Table 1.

²Undergrad ¹Undergrad Pro-Jewish En-Enrollment **School BDS** Hillel Pro-Peace Pro-Israel Palestine rollment (Fall, 2015) (Fall, 2015) Northeastern 1 1 1 1 17400 1200 University More of an **Yale University** 5477 1500 individual encouraging peace* 1 1 9192 200 **Boston College** No official University of group, but California - Ir-X X the Jewish vine community comes together³ **Oberlin College** 2961 750 **University of** Illinois at Chi-1 17575 800 cago **Hunter College: City University** 16879 1500 of New York **Colorado State** 23798 600 University

The Colleges

Loyola University New

Orleans

University of

Miami

¹ Information acquired via Hillel International

² Information acquired via Hillel International

³ A counter-protest was held at UC – Irvine

Figure 1. The Scale

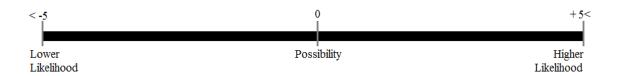


Table 2. UCR and AMCHA Initiative Data

Colleges	2010 (UC R)	2011 (UC R)	2012 (UC R)	2013 (UC R)	2014 (UC R)	2015 (UC R)	2015 (AMCH A)	2016 (AMCH A)	2017 (AMCH A)
Northeaste rn University	1	2	1	1	1	4	8	9	3
Yale University	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0
Boston College	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0
University of California – Irvine	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	6	1
Oberlin College	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	8	0
University of Illinois at Chicago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2
Hunter College: CUNY	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	4
Colorado State University	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Loyola University of New Orleans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
University of Miami	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

CHAPTER FOUR: Results

Northeastern University

Northeastern University, founded in 1898, is located in Boston, Massachusetts. This college was chosen for the case study as it lies in the capital city of Massachusetts, which is also considered one of the more diverse cities in the state (Boston Globe, 2015). It is a particularly selective university, as its acceptance rate for the Fall 2015 semester was only 28% of applicants. It ranks in the top 50 of U.S. Universities in the "U.S. News" national rankings (U.S. News, 2017). The 2014-15 year saw 17,506 undergraduate students. Of these students, 48 states were represented, 18% were international and 18.58% of students had "a global learning experience," while maintaining a 96% retention rate of freshman (Northeastern, 2017).

The university is among top schools in the United States. As a prestigious institution and a campus of higher learning, a reasonable assumption is that there would be little to no biasmotivated crimes against other students or faculty. However, throughout 2010 to 2014, the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) reports that Northeastern has experienced at least one hate crime based on the victim's religion per year (FBI, 2010; FBI, 2011; FBI, 2012; FBI, 2013; FBI, 2014). In 2015, it was reported that 4 religious-based bias crimes occurred on the campus (FBI, 2015). The AMCHA Initiative reported 8 anti-Semitic incidents in 2015 and 9 incidents in 2016 (AMCHA Initiative, 2017). An examination of the aforementioned factors will attempt to explain the phenomenon.

Pro-Palestine advocacy. Members of the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) chapter on campus raised a vote to implement a Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) resolution in 2015. The proposition was to conduct a referendum on the question of divestment among the student body. It was declined with a vote of 25 in opposition, 9 in favor and 14 that abstained

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency, p. 1). This is not the first attempt to pass a BDS resolution, but Northeastern BDS advocates have been thus far unsuccessful. The BDS movement, as mentioned throughout this research, is not a hate-based movement. Groups that do have a religious or racial bias, however, have attempted to align themselves with BDS to encourage their hate propaganda under the guise of – or in tandem with – boycotting Israel (Hate Spaces, 2017).

The university has an active SJP group on campus. The group has run into multiple problems at Northeastern, so far as getting the entire chapter suspended for a brief time. In April of 2013, SJP was put on probationary status after a walkout was staged during a campus event that featured an Israeli Defense Force soldier. They were charged with "failing to comply" to school officials' directions and violating the policy about demonstrations on campus. Their demonstration needed to be registered one week prior to the event to be in compliance. However, as reported by multiple news sources outside of the SJP chapter, there have been other groups on the campus that have violated the same rules but were not suspended. After protesting by the SJP chapter outside of the campus, Northeastern reinstated the group on campus in 2014 (Jewish Voice for Peace, 2015; Rajasekaran, 2015).

Pro-Israel advocacy. There is an outdated online presence, though not on the Northeastern site, for the pro-Israel advocacy group called the Huskies for Israeli (HFI). Their mission statement relays that they are there to "... positively impact discourse around Israel by educating the Northeastern University community through events, initiatives, and outreach" (Huskies for Israel, 2017). This group promotes that it is not Jewish-only and is inclusive of all individuals that are interested in learning more about Israel. However, it seems as though this group has since evolved into a different student run group.

The Alliance for Israeli (AFI) seems to be the current student-based group in support of Israel. The mission statement of the group, as posted on the Northeastern University student life website is, as follows:

"[AFI] is a student organization dedicated to promoting recognition and respect among the student body at NUSL of Israel's right to exist as a sovereign, Jewish, and democratic state and as a member of the international community. AFI seeks to educate the NUSL community about the diverse culture and politics of Israel through a wide variety of informational, advocacy, and cultural events. AFI will also explore international law as it relates to Israel. Representing a wide-range of perspectives, AFI is a group open to students who are passionate and/or interested to know more about Israel and Zionism" (Northeastern University, 2017).

Most media reports of AFI are of incidents against the groups and their events. One incident in particular involved the drawing of a swastika on posters that the AFI had posted, giving information about an event they were hosting. An Israeli Defense Force lieutenant colonel had been scheduled to speak at the campus and the posters detailing the event were vandalized (Crimaldi, 2014).

Pro-Peace advocacy. The Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) organization is active in the Boston area. There have been many times where JVP has worked with SJP and held protests alongside this group. The difference between SJP and JVP is that the JVP group is less likely to be crossing the line of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism because many of the members are Jewish. Expressing a pro-Palestinian stance as a Jewish individual can be difficult in a pro-Israel community, but it also expresses the idea that not all anti-Zionists are anti-Semitic.

JVP has been criticized, as mentioned before, for any number of reasons. However, on Northeastern's campus, the group has worked with SJP and other student groups to promote a healthy, non-violent area to discuss and debate the current, ongoing conflict overseas. However, the unique perspective that the group holds, being a Jewish anti-Zionist organization, can help to encourage separating anti-Zionism and anti-Semitic incidents.

Hillel. Northeastern has an active Hillel organization on campus. The Hillel section on the Northeastern website details the purpose of the group:

"Northeastern Hillel was established in 1962, by dedicated alumni who wanted to create a space for Jewish students to socialize and give back to the community through volunteer and community service initiatives ... At that time, the focus was on creating dynamic Jewish programs to bring students through the doors to 'do Jewish.' Today, NU Hillel engages Jewish students where they are—spiritually and geographically—creating meaningful Jewish experiences within their existing networks, helping to pave the way to expand and enhance their Jewish journeys" (Northeastern, 2017).

Through media reports, it appears that the Hillel group itself does not take part in either pro-Palestine or pro-Israeli activities. It is simply a group for Jewish students to observe their faith. It is not, of course, strictly reserved for Jewish students. Hillel promotes an environment of education and faith, reserving any political debates for other student groups.

On the Northeastern website, the Hillel page offers an array of social events for non-Jewish students to partake in. This includes "[b]agel brunches, Shabbat dinners, challah baking, ice skating, ice cream socials, Jews Cruise and much more" (Northeastern, 2017) and an encouragement to join. They hold High Holiday services and meals, where even non-Jewish

students are invited. Overall it is a very non-political, Jewish and student friendly group that promotes a healthy environment on the campuses that their chapters reside.

Local off-campus hate groups. Within twenty-five miles of the Northeastern Campus, there is a strong presence of the "top hate site in America" (Hankes, 2017). The Daily Stormer has two central locations near the Northeastern site and has gained significant steam in its hateful messages since the Trump presidential campaign initiated. The SPLC reports that "The Daily Stormer is not merely a propaganda shop. Increasingly, it has become a malignant presence in the real world" (Hankes, 2017).

One incident took place in March 2016 that affected Northeastern University, among other universities. A sophisticated computer programmer wrote code for The Daily Stormer that caused many printers and fax machines to print out anti-Semitic fliers, as mentioned before. These fliers, or pamphlets, found on Northeastern University campus, read: "'White man are you sick and tired of the Jews destroying your country through mass immigration and degeneracy? Join us in the struggle for global white supremacy at the Daily Stormer'" (Hankes, 2017). These print-outs were laden with swastikas as their anti-Semitic propaganda and the stunt itself made headlines across the country.

The Aryan Strikeforce is a racist skinhead group that holds a strong online presence. Their website is easy to access and holds a great deal of racist, anti-Semitic propaganda and promotes violence. This group holds a statewide influence and is not centrally located anywhere in the state. Much like the Aryan Strikeforce, the Gallows Tree Wotansvolk Alliance has an online presence, though it is seemingly less popular. The only site available through a simple search is their Facebook page that encourages their hateful and anti-Semitic messages.

These four groups are local to Northeastern and some hold more influence than others.

The Daily Stormer seems to be the most influential and has had the most impactful of incidents with college campuses, not only in Boston but across the country.

University score. With all of the factors considered, Northeastern scored a "4" on the scale. This implies a higher likelihood of anti-Semitic incidents to occur on campus. This is most easily and accurately applied to the academic years for 2014-2015 and 2015-2016. The activities on these campuses that express anti-Semitic incidents mostly hold reports for the most recent years and do not provide accurate or reliable information prior to 2014.

Yale University

Yale University was founded in 1701 in New Haven, CT. It became one of the nation's most esteemed research universities in the country. The college promotes a "cultural understanding, improve the human condition, delve more deeply into the secrets of the universe, and train the next generation of world leaders" (Yale, 2017). This college is one of the top 3 universities in the United States and has an 88% 4-year graduation rate (U.S. News, 2017). It is ranked as one of the most selective schools as it had an acceptance rate of 7% in fall of 2015. Yale promotes that their campus is comprised of 5,453 undergraduate students and 6,859 graduate students. Of the students and faculty, 4,462 are from abroad and, overall, 118 countries are represented by their international student body (Yale, 2017).

As one of the most prestigious and top universities in the country with a heavily diverse student body and staff, it can be difficult to imagine the campus has any anti-Semitic incidents at all. Hillel's enrollment information indicates that in 2015, there were 5,477 undergraduate students. Of this, Hillel indicated that 1,500 of those students were Jewish (Hillel International, 2017). The FBI UCR data indicates that there were no anti-Semitic crimes that occurred on

campus for the 2010 – 2015 academic years (FBI, 2010; FBI, 2011; FBI, 2012; FBI, 2013; FBI, 2014; FBI, 2015). However, the AMCHA Initiative found 3 incidents of anti-Semitism on campus in 2015 and 2 incidents in 2016 (AMCHA Initiative, 2017).

When thinking of Yale, anti-Semitic incidents are unlikely to arise in conversation. However, the Christian Examiner reported that "Yale has repeatedly been a target for anti-Semitic vandalism. Last year, swastikas were spray painted on sidewalks outside of freshman dorms and were also previously found inked on message boards around campus" (Tomlin, 2015; Dogan, 2015, para. 3). One of these incidents, that cannot be attributed to anyone in particular as of yet and failed to gain a response from the university, was in 2015 when a sign was posted that read "YALE IS A JEW HOLE – LETS ROUND THEM UP" (Tomlin, 2015; Dogan, 2015). An examination of the aforementioned factors will attempt to elaborate on these recent events.

Pro-Palestine advocacy. As it stands, Yale University does not have any BDS resolutions in place, but it is home to some pro-Palestine advocates, who, in turn, promote BDS resolutions on campus. Through the Yale University site, the SJP group (also referred to as Students for Justice and Peace in Palestine) is elaborated:

"Students for Justice in Palestine at Yale is an organization of students and other Yale affiliates dedicated to standing in solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle for freedom. We seek to engage with our peers to develop a richer understanding about the Israeli occupation of Palestine on campus and to find ways that we as students in the United States can intervene on a local and international scale to end the injustice of colonization and discrimination" (Yale SJPP, 2017).

One event, in 2011, similarly had the group delivering mock eviction notices. These were identical to other SJP groups that have, over the years, done their own mock evictions. This were designed to raise awareness regarding the hardships of Palestinians (Mumallah, Obaid, Sabri & Salahi, 2011). The group was criticized for being aggressive and confrontational in their approach as opposed to encouraging constructive conversations. More recently, in 2016, SJP hosted an event called "Why is Palestine Still the Issue in 2016?" A speaker that had been invited compared Jews to Nazis and "accused Jews of manipulating the Holocaust to further the 'Zionist project'" (AMCHA Initiative, 2017). Evidently, as reported by the ADL in 2014, "... Yale's SJP chapter has similarly rejected numerous offers from the pro-Israel group on campus to work together" (ADL, 2014).

Pro-Israel advocacy. Yale is also home to the Yale Friends of Israel (YFI) undergraduate, pro-Israel group. This group is a non-partisan and parent group of any other, smaller pro-Israel groups on the campus. On the webpage for the student group, they elaborate on what the YFI group is about:

"Yale Friends of Israel (YFI) is an undergraduate organization of Yale College. Our mission is to serve as the non-partisan pro-Israel umbrella organization on campus, to support Israel as a Jewish democratic state secure in her borders, and to promote an appreciation of Israel on the Yale campus. ... Yale Friends of Israel seeks to bring Israeli society, culture, and politics to campus, and encourages open dialogue about Israel's domestic and international politics. We seek to foster a community of Yale students who are passionate about Israel and the Middle East..." (Yale Friends of Israel, 2017).

YFI had a "Beneath the Helmet" screening in November of 2015. One of the characters in the film was invited to the campus and answered questions afterwards (Yale Friends of Israel, 2015). Throughout the year, YFI holds events and demonstrations often co-sponsored by the Slifka Center, the home of the campus' Hillel chapter.

Pro-Peace advocacy. Though there is no official group on campus, a student named Lia Weiner designed a "counter-intuitive dialogue program that won Campus Pitch Initiative" at Yale (Dreyfus, 2017). She promotes an understanding on the campus, "[r]ather than turning towards a boycott and battles on campus, [she] want[s] to encourage respect for others' opinions" (Dreyfus, 2017). Though she is just one student, she has made an impact on the campus by proposing her idea and winning the contest. The details of her proposal suggest that David Makovsky and Ghaith al-Omari come to Yale in April. This is seemingly a mock process of delegating with Palestinian and Israeli student bodies to represent a "creative formula for peace" (Dreyfus, 2017).

Hillel. The university also has a Hillel chapter on campus. The group itself promotes a "vibrant, active, and diverse community on campus that is above all welcoming and inclusive" (Slifka Center for Jewish Life at Yale, 2017). Yale's Hillel chapter is involved with all sorts of student life. This includes High Holy Day events and Shabbats for students. This Hillel chapter seems to often work with the YFI chapter on the campus. While Hillel itself aligns itself as non-political, the YFI organization is often co-sponsored by the Slifka Center.

Local off-campus hate groups. There are two off-campus hate groups that are statewide throughout Connecticut. Despite attempts of an outside Klan to form a "local neighborhood watch," the groups have been overtly rejected by, not just the community, but by the Mayor of

Milford, Benjamin Blake, and Governor of Connecticut, Dannel Malloy in 2013 (McNamara, 2013). Despite this, the National Socialist Movement and White Lives Matter groups still exist within Connecticut on a statewide level, though mostly online.

The White Lives Matter movement, being recently founded, has had some incidents in Connecticut. The ADL reported that after the Black Lives Matter movement emerged in late 2014, the White Lives Matter slogan arose as a transparent, white supremacy movement. They further wrote:

"It did not take long before some white supremacists began to take the concept out into the physical world, with the distribution of WLM fliers in neighborhoods in Connecticut in April 2015. Most WLM activities since then have taken place in Connecticut, Texas or California, with a few scattered incidents elsewhere" (Pitcavage, 2016).

One of the founders of White Lives Matter movement is a Connecticut native named Ken Zrallack (aka Kevin Harris). He reported to be a "long-time hard-core white supremacist" who founded "the Connecticut White Wolves" (Pitcavage, 2016). He has been active online with anti-Semitic propaganda and an imperative figure in the White Lives Matter movement.

University score. Overall, Yale scored a "1" on the scale. This puts Yale towards the center of the scale, suggesting while there is a possibility for the campus to experience some anti-Semitic incidents, this particular campus is not necessarily under immediate threat. This could reflect the lack of UCR data on anti-Semitic crimes that occurred on campus and the relatively low, though not the lowest (0) incidents recorded by the AMCHA initiative.

Boston College

The private college was founded in 1863 by the Society of Jesus and has maintained a religious affiliation as Roman Catholic Jesuit (Boston College, 2017). The institution is ranked among the top 50 schools in the nation and had an acceptance rate of 29% in the fall of 2015 (U.S. News, 2017). As a predominantly Roman Catholic school, the Jewish population is just over 2%. The undergraduate enrollment in 2015 was 9,192 and of these students, 200 of them were Jewish (Hillel International, 2017).

Boston College promotes a diverse campus community from across the country and representative of 80 countries (Boston College, 2017). More than 1,000 students participate in the study abroad programs offered by the school (U.S. News, 2017). In 2011 and 2015, both years had seen one anti-Semitic crime recorded by the FBI UCR data (FBI, 2011; FBI, 2015). However, in 2016, the AMCHA initiative recorded 2 anti-Zionist incidents (AMCHA Initiative, 2016).

Pro-Palestine advocacy. Although the campus does not currently have any BDS resolutions in place, there is a Students for Justice in Palestine chapter at the college. The chapter follows the same mantras and missions as the overarching international group. In 2015, this particular chapter held a "Zionism & Judaism" panel that involved the discussion of separating the political ideologies from religion (Boston University SJP, 2015). SJP on Boston College has not made many headlines over the years, but they have often held many of the same events as other SJP chapters.

Pro-Israel advocacy. On Boston College's campus there is a pro-Israel advocacy group called Eagles for Israel. Their mission statement is much like other pro-Israel groups and on their organization's website:

"Welcome to the site for the Boston College student organization that supports Israel. It is important to have a pro-Israel voice on our campus and even more important for people to learn about the parallels of the Israeli culture and values to that of Americans and particularly the Jesuit, Catholic community. ... Today, Israel needs our support more than ever. While the media, UN, campus groups, and countries worldwide are attacking Israel's actions and policies, we are here to educate our community with regards to the less-publicized side of Israel. ... It is important to recognize that while we are a pro-Israel organization, we are NOT [sic] 'anti-Palestinian.' We wish to see the peaceful coexistence of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples through a solution that brings lasting safety and security to the State of Israel" (Eagles for Israel, 2017).

Eagles for Israel has held multiple events, much like SJP, inviting speakers to the campus. The current leader of the Eagles for Israel group wrote that the group has held events like "Krav Maga lessons at the Plex, noted political speakers, matzah ball soup giveaways, and even a Tel Aviv Beach Day" (Barkan, 2016).

Pro-Peace advocacy. Being located in Boston, the college is local to the Jewish Voice for Peace group. The pro-peace group has worked with the SJP chapters throughout Boston. In 2014, a rally was held by the Jewish Voice for Peace alongside the Boston College chapter of SJP and other student based organization. This rally was protesting the "U.S. Complicity in Israel's assault on Gaza" (JVP Boston, 2014). This public rally was, as written, "Protesters condemned the complicity of U.S. lawmakers at every level of government in this violence, shutting down Beacon Street for over three hours yesterday evening. Protesters staged a 'die-in' in the street and read the names of all 630 Palestinians who have been killed since Israel's attacks began on July 8 (JVP Boston, 2014).

Hillel. The college has an active Hillel community. This student group is mostly involved with social and religious, modern day discussions. The organization has worked with the Muslim Student association on campus as well as the Capella and LGBTQIA+ groups. They host weekly Shabbats and allow anyone to join or participate in Hillel, regardless of the religious affiliation. On the BC website, the Hillel group reads:

"The Hillel of Boston College helps to serve the social, cultural and religious needs of Jewish students and to enrich campus culture for all. We welcome members of the Boston College community from all backgrounds to our events and our community ... BC connects to the greater Boston Jewish communities as a part of Hillel Council of New England. Hillel Council brings together students from all over New England, with BC students participating in local, national, and international trips and conferences" (Boston College, 2017).

Local off-campus hate groups. Boston College is located in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. In the state, there are several hate groups that are local. There are two statewide, online based racist groups. The Gallows Tree Wotansvolk Alliance and the Aryan Strikeforce are also present across the state. As mentioned under Northeastern, these groups are particularly present online and not necessarily in person. The Daily Stormer is also relatively local to Chestnut Hill, within a 7 mile distance of the college.

University score. The university scored a "2" on the scale. This places Boston College closer to the possibility of anti-Semitic incidents. They are less likely to experience anti-Semitic incidents than some of the other colleges in the research. Unlike Northeastern, there are no media reports regarding activity of the hate groups on campus.

University of California – Irvine

University of California – Irvine (UCI) was founded in 1965 as a public institution. It is ranked among the top 10 public universities across the U.S. and within the top 50 of institutions (U.S. News, 2016). The college promotes they had a record breaking 104,000 students enroll in the fall of 2017. This included representation from 87 countries across the world and 80 different languages being spoken on campus. UCI also promotes they have had three researchers that have won Nobel Prizes and three alumni have won Pulitzer Prizes, as well as the architect for the "HTTP/1.1" internet protocol that is currently used worldwide (University of California Irvine, 2017).

Although the college is not the most selective university in California, it does have a 39% acceptance rate. 72% of students graduate within a 4 year plan (U.S. News, 2016). With such high enrollment, the campus is especially diverse and representative of multiple cultures. Throughout the 2010 to 2015 academic years, the FBI UCR reports indicated no reported anti-Semitic crimes took place on this particular campus (FBI, 2010; FBI, 2011; FBI, 2012; FBI, 2013; FBI, 2014; FBI, 2015). However, the AMCHA initiative tracked four incidents in 2015, six incidents in 2016, and thus far indicated one anti-Semitic incident in 2017 (AMCHA Initiative, 2017).

BDS resolution. In November of 2012, University of California Irvine (UCI) passed a BDS resolution. The ADL reported,

"The student senate at the University of California, Irvine, passed a non-binding resolution last night calling for divestment from several companies that do business with Israel. The resolution, titled 'Divestment from Companies that Profit from Apartheid,'

requires the approval of the student government's executive board before it may be sent to the administration for their consideration" (ADL, 2012).

According to reports, JVP members attended the meeting to encourage the BDS decisions. Described as an historic vote, the resolution passed 16-0 with no abstentions. The details of the resolution maintain that UCI would divest from companies including "Caterpillar, Hewlet-Packard, General Electric, Soadstream, Raytheon, and L-3 Communications," and others "that assist or directly profit from Israeli occupation and human rights abuses" (Abunimah, 2012). These resolutions are often what pro-Palestinian groups promote and encourage their schools to sign.

Pro-Palestine advocacy. On campus, there is an active Students for Justice in Palestine chapter. This group, like the others mentioned before, is a pro-Palestinian advocacy student organization. On the UCI campus, the SJP chapter has been involved in some relatively unsavory media attention. In May of 2016, the pro-Israel advocacy group held a screening of "Beneath the Helmet" during the "Israel Peace Week." Reports indicate approximately 50 protesters were chanting outside the room of the screening and trying to force their way inside. An individual that had been in the room reported feeling terrified and trapped in the classroom (Kopetman, 2016). Another student reported feeling scared enough to flee to another building to hide (Speyer, 2016).

This incident in May had lead to a further investigation lead by the Orange County District Attorney's office, exploring whether any criminal behavior occurred. The event was also under investigation by the university itself (Speyer, 2016). Three months later, the university issued a written warning to the SJP chapter. As a group, its most popular and recent media attention has been focused around this incident.

Pro-Israel advocacy. Student's Supporting Israel (SSI) is the active, pro-Israel student group on UCI's campus. This group made media attention when their screening of "Beneath the Helmet" was protested against by the UCI SJP chapter. Much like other pro-Israel groups mentioned, SSI does not seem to have a parent group that covers the UCI chapter among others. The student run organization has a Facebook page where they further detail the goals of their organization, similar to the other pro-Israel groups around the country:

"Students Supporting Israel (SSI), the pro-Israel organization on campus, celebrates the culture, diversity, and achievements of Israel, and promotes peace, and understanding about Israel through education and dialogue. We welcome students of all cultures and political views to join us in embracing Israeli culture and working towards a better future" (Student's Supporting Israel at UCI, 2017).

This group partakes in an event called "Israel Week" which follows the "Anti-Zionism Week" in the same month. The group hosts other events, including Israeli speakers and, as they state in their Facebook, encourage education through dialogue concerning Israel and its culture.

Apart from SSI, there is also ZotPAC. This is a pro-Israel student organization that is affiliated with the UCI campus Hillel. It is described as:

"... a pro-Israel student organization that seeks to the U.S.-Israel relationship through campus activities. ZotPAC students leaders provide UC Irvine students with educated and factual information regarding Middle Eastern affairs and U.S.-Israel alliance, enabling the students to expend their knowledge and opinions, and to become politically and socially active in Middle Eastern public affairs and U.S.-Israel alliance" (Orange County Hillel, 2017).

It is a group that has been present during a number of events, specifically as a moderator for an event titled "2016 Campus Debate Series: NATIONAL DEFENSE: Does the U.S. Fight for Freedom & Democracy" (UCIsrael, 2016).

Pro-Peace advocacy. The JVP group has made its statements on the UCI campus. They have often backed the pro-Palestinian group activities, including the "Irvine 11" and the aforementioned protest of the "Beneath the Helmet" screening. The "Irvine 11" were students that had interrupted a speech by the then-Israeli Ambassador to the US, Michael Oren. Subsequent to their aggressive interruption, the "Irvine 11" were then arrested and prosecuted, incurring a three year informal probation sentence (Speyer, 2016). JVP backed these students as well as the SJP students when they were faced with administrative reactions for their protesting.

Hillel. UCI also has an active Hillel group on campus. This Hillel expresses an interest in discovering Jewish identity through activities on campus. However, it has also been a regular cosponsor of events hosted by SSI and ZotPAC. While some Hillel groups avoid getting involved in political debate and political events, the UCI Hillel is more active in the political community. This, however, is not the primary focus of the group, as it is a group designed for Jewish students and those interested in learning more about Judaism (Orange County Hillel, 2017).

Local off-campus hate groups. UCI has a number of local hate groups near the campus. Four hate groups are within a 25 mile driving distance. There are nine more groups, however, that are statewide. Some of these groups have more of an online presence than others. The four hate groups that are within 25 miles vary between general hate groups, a chapter of the KKK, and white nationalist groups. Among the statewide groups, there are several racist skinhead groups, two sections of the KKK, the American Nazi Party, and Noble Breed Kindred. The latter

group is a small part of the White Lives Matter movement and has several websites dedicated to their sales of White Lives Matter t-shirts and other white supremacist paraphernalia (ADL, 2016). Although the SPLC has reported a decline in certain hate groups (such as the Hammerskins since 2008), these groups are still relatively active and are often intertwined with other hate groups of similar natures (SPLC, 2008; SPLC, 2017).

University score. Overall, the UCI campus scored a 14 on the scale. This puts them in the high likelihood to experience anti-Semitic incidents. The incidents in 2015 – 2017 reported by the AMCHA Initiative could reflect this high score. Most media reports indicate there is a hostile temperature on campus among the student groups. Though UCI is not the most popular University of California institution mentioned in media reports, it is among some of the most mentioned in recent anti-Semitic activity.

Oberlin College

Oberlin College was founded in 1833 as "Oberlin Collegiate Institute" (Oberlin College, 2017). It is ranked in the top 25 of liberal arts colleges in the United States and top of the "most innovative" schools. It has an acceptance rate of 29% and 75% of graduates under a four-year plan (U.S. News, 2016). The school made several milestones throughout the years and throughout the country. This includes being "... the first college in America to adopt a policy to admit African American students (1835) and the first to grant bachelor's degrees to women (1841) in a coeducational program" (Oberlin College, 2017).

In 2015, Hillel International reported that there were 2,961 undergraduate students enrolled and 730 of them were Jewish (Hillel International, 2017). There are approximately 50 countries represented by the student body, 7.2% being international students (Oberlin College,

2017). The FBI UCR data indicated that the 2010 through 2015 academic years held no anti-Semitic crimes on campus (FBI, 2010; FBI, 2011; FBI, 2012; FBI, 2013; FBI, 2014; FBI, 2015). However, it was noted that 7 anti-Semitic incidents in 2015 and 8 anti-Semitic incidents in 2016 (AMCHA Initiative, 2017).

BDS resolution. The college is currently reviewing a BDS resolution. Much like the BDS resolutions passed in other universities, Oberlin's resolution promises the college will divest from a number of companies that profit from and contribute to the situation in the Middle-East. The resolution reads:

"...Oberlin College examine its financial assets to identify its investments in companies that a) directly provide weaponry, security systems, prisons, or military support for the illegal occupation of the Palestinian territories, or b) directly facilitate the building or maintenance of the illegal Separation Wall or the demolition of Palestinian homes, or c) directly facilitate the building, maintenance, or economic development of illegal Israeli settlements, outposts, and segregated roads and transportation systems on occupied Palestinian territory..." (Oberlin College Student Senate, 2013).

This resolution was advocated for and proposed by the Students for a Free Palestine (SFP) group on the campus and initially passed by the Oberlin College Student Senate in 2013. However, the Board of Trustees rejected the resolution and was submitted a resolution in January of 2015 (AMCHA Initiative, 2017).

Pro-Palestine advocacy. The college does not currently have an SJP chapter on the campus but it does have its own pro-Palestine student group. The SFP group is similar to SJP in many ways and is allied with the NSJP overarching group. It has similarly advocated for BDS

resolutions on campus that have successfully been passed and contributed to NSJP conferences.

The SFP site reads as follows in their "About" section:

"We work for the decolonization of Palestinian land, the Right of Return for all Palestinians, and adherence to international law. We oppose occupation and settler colonialism, and uphold internationalism and the right of self-determination of all peoples" (Students for a Free Palestine, 2017).

The group sponsored a speaker named Robin Kelley who, according to the AMCHA Initiative (2017), "falsely accused Israel of 'ethnic cleansing,' 'brutal apartheid,' and a 'land grab' from the Palestinians." As the only pro-Palestinian group on campus, they have been accused of anti-Semitic incidents by alumni in an open letter and are the only group to actively promote BDS on campus. While the group may promote anti-Zionism, they seemingly offer no indication of anti-Semitism.

Pro-Israel advocacy. Oberlin Zionists (OZ) is a student group on the campus that is pro-Israel. The group

"... strives to provide a safe space for Zionist students and expressions of Zionism on campus, and a forum for engaging with issues about and around the Jewish State. OZ provides a venue to observe holidays relating to the Jewish state, as well as offering cultural programming relevant to Israel, and works to educate its membership and the wider campus about Israeli culture, history, and current events" (Oberlin College Jewish Community, 2017).

The student group has a website that details several questions. Some of the questions answered are the question of "what is self-determination" and multiple questions regarding BDS and its affects (Oberlin Zionists, 2017).

There is also the Israel on Campus Coalition (ICC) that is aligned with the campus Hillel.

This group is a national group and the chapter on Oberlin's campus is one of many. It s focused on research, education and leadership training for students. The mission of ICC is:

"Our mission is to inspire American college students to see Israel as a source of pride and empower them to stand up for Israel on campus. Our role in this effort is to unite the many pro-Israel organizations that operate on campuses across the United States by coordinating strategies, providing educational resources, sharing in-depth research, and increasing collaboration. When we work together, our movement is stronger" (Israel on Campus Coalition, 2017).

Pro-Peace advocacy. On campus, there is an organization called "J Street U" that is often allied with the campus Hillel organization. J Street U is a Jewish student-driven network that promotes a pro-peace message. Like JVP, J Street U has a national movement as an overarching group simply called J Street (Oberlin College Jewish Community, 2017). The J Street mission is extended to the universities and is as follows:

"J Street is the political home for pro-Israel, pro-peace Americans who want Israel to be secure, democratic and the national home of the Jewish people. ... Working in American politics and the Jewish community, we advocate for policies that advance shared US and Israeli interests as well as Jewish and democratic values, leading to a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" (J Street, 2017).

The group is a federal political action committee that was established in 2008 to help resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The J Street national site indicates that J Street is in opposition to the BDS movement, but supports a two-state resolution as well as continued aid to the Israel and Palestinian Authority (J Street, 2017). The university section of J Street at Oberlin supports identical goals.

Hillel. There is an active Oberlin College Hillel community. This group is dedicated to serving the Jewish community on campus as well as allowing non-Jewish individuals to partake in their events. The events on campus include weekly Kabblat Shabbat Services and religious celebrations during high holy days. Hillel partners with Kosher Halal Co-Op and the Jewish Chaplain's Office, but is also aligned with the ICC.

Local off-campus hate groups. In Ohio, there are 11 statewide hate groups. There are three KKK groups throughout the state as well as several racist skinhead groups, one, the Supreme White Alliance, even considered a "hardcore" racist skinhead (ADL, 2017; SPLC, 2017). The National Socialist Movement, a neo-Nazi organization, is also statewide across Ohio and popular online. American Vanguard, a relatively recent alt-right group active in the U.S., placed their fliers around U.S. college campuses throughout the states (Mayo, 2016). They aren't the first, or only, hate group to utilize college campuses and promote their hateful messages in the last year. As mentioned before, the ADL (2017) has seen an uptick in hate groups reaching out to colleges for recruitment.

University score. Oberlin College scored 10 on the scale, placing it in a location very likely to have anti-Semitic incidents. Due to the lack of a current BDS proposal accepted by the Board of Trustees, this school gained -1 on the scale, however, if the Board decides to accept a BDS proposal, that would change the university's score to 11. This could possibly reflect the 7

anti-Semitic incidents and in 2015 and 8 incidents in 2016 that had been tracked by the AMCHA initiative. In some instances, the election of President Trump has been cited by the racist groups for their racist and anti-Semitic behavior. These individuals, however, have been strictly off-campus and generally non-students (SPLC, 2017).

University of Illinois at Chicago

The University of Illinois – Chicago (UIC) is a public institution that was founded in 1965, but has its roots in the early founding of the University of Illinois (University of Illinois – Chicago, 2017). The college is not especially selective as it had a 77% acceptance rate in fall 2015 (U.S. News, 2016). In the fall of 2015, the college had 17,575 undergraduate students and 800 of those students were Jewish (University of Illinois – Chicago, 2017). The college has approximately a 30% graduation rate of students on 4 year plans and an 80% retention rate of freshman students (Office of Institutional Research, 2017). Via the UCR crime data, there were reportedly no anti-Semitic crimes that took place on campus between the 2010 and 2015 academic years (FBI, 2010; FBI, 2011; FBI, 2012; FBI, 2013; FBI, 2014; FBI, 2015). The AMCHA Initiative recorded 4 anti-Semitic incidents in 2016 and 2 anti-Semitic incidents in 2017, thus far (AMCHA Initiative, 2017).

BDS resolution. UIC recently had an Undergraduate Student Government vote on the BDS resolution proposed by the SJP chapter, partnered with JVP, at the school. The initial proposal passed the Undergraduate Student Government, but the Coalition for Peace appealed this decision. Through debate and then further moderated discussion, the Coalition for Peace and SJP chapters came to a compromise that involved rewording the BDS resolution. The new resolution currently encourages the divestment from multiple countries, not just Israel, for any human rights violations. One report writes that "[t]he new resolution calls on UIC to divest from

companies contributing to human rights abuses in the United States, China, Israel, the United Kingdom and elsewhere" (Cohen, 2016).

Pro-Palestine advocacy. As mentioned, the UIC campus has a SJP chapter otherwise known as "UIC Divest." It is promoted as a diverse group of students and faculty that are, like the other SJP chapters, interested in justice, human rights, liberation and self-determination (SJP UIC, 2017). The SJP community worked with JVP and other student groups on the UIC campus to propose their BDS resolution. The initial resolution was rejected, but SJP and the rest of the UIC Divest community was willing to work with the Coalition for Peace to rework the resolution to meet everyone's needs (Cohen, 2016).

In 2015, members of the UIC SJP chapter had been harassed online via social media. The university, reportedly, reacted within the confines of the law and along with school policy guidelines. Albeit students were unhappy with the results, the university could not comment further on who the culprits of the harassment were (Mabruk, 2015). After a "die-in" staged in the campus quad, one student received a death threat via anonymous e-mail that suggested any further demonstrations from the group in the quad would result in violent actions. Finally, also in 2015, as part of the "international day for action," SJP students posted fliers with the names of people who had recently died as a result of an attack on Palestine. Later, reportedly, fliers appeared that read "Stabbing Jews for Peace" from anonymous persons (Barrows-Friedman, 2015).

Pro-Peace advocacy. Both the Coalition for Peace and JVP organizations are present on UIC's campus. The Coalition for Peace is similar to JVP in that it promotes a healthy debate and discussion about the Middle-Eastern conflicts and desires an end of the conflict with peace.

However, the difference between the Coalition for Peace and JVP is that the coalition does not

support BDS while JVP often does. The Coalition for Peace indicates that they believe the BDS resolutions do not promote a peaceful ending to the conflict and instead promotes discrimination based on one's nationality (Coalition for Peace, 2017).

Hillel. Metro Chicago Hillel services the UIC campus. This Hillel is much like the others and offers weekly Shabbat services open to anyone regardless of religious affiliation. It is predominantly concerned with Jewish life and identity, helping to educate students on the faith and culture. The mission and vision stated on the website reads:

"Metro Chicago Hillel is part of Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life, an international organization that provides opportunities for Jewish students at more than 500 colleges and universities. Hillel's mission is to enrich the lives of Jewish undergraduate and graduate students so that they may enrich the Jewish people and the world. Hillel student leaders, professionals and lay leaders are dedicated to creating a pluralistic, welcoming and inclusive environment for Jewish college students, where they are encouraged to grow intellectually, spiritually and socially" (Metro Chicago Hillel, 2017).

Local off-campus hate groups. There are four statewide hate groups local to the UIC campus and three hate groups within a 25 mile distance. Crew 38, Hammerskins, and Resistance Records are all relatively active. Crew 38 is a racist skinhead chapter of the overarching Hammerskins and Resistance Records is a neo-Nazi, hate music label that promotes music based around racist and bigoted themes. Crew 38 has recently revitalized their website while the Hammerskins, overall, have been working with other racist skin head groups across the country to gain steam.

University score. The university scored a "6" on the scale, indicating a high likelihood of anti-Semitic incidents. Although the UCR data indicated no anti-Semitic incidents for the 2010 to 2015 years, the AMCHA Initiative reported incidents for 2016 and 2017. While there has been minimal activity on this campus, it seems the most recent years have seen some anti-Semitic incidents.

Hunter College: City University of New York

Hunter College City University of New York (CUNY) is one of the oldest colleges in the country. It was founded in 1870 and is the largest of the CUNY schools. Being located in Manhattan, New York, the surrounding city is especially diverse. It is a campus of more than 20,000 students representing 150 different countries (Hunter College City University of New York, 2017). It ranks among the top 50 schools Regional North Universities and the top 20 of public schools. It has a 4 year graduation rate of 25% and a freshman retention rate of 85%, alongside a 39% acceptance rate in the fall of 2015 (U.S.News, 2017).

Hillel International reported that in the fall of 2015, Hunter CUNY had an undergraduate enrollment of 16,879 and a Jewish undergraduate enrollment of 1,500 (Hillel International, 2017). This college reported no anti-Semitic incidents for the 2010 to 2015 academic years through the FBI UCR data (FBI, 2010; FBI, 2011; FBI, 2012; FBI, 2013; FBI, 2014; FBI, 2015). However, tracking anti-Semitic incidents revealed six incidents in both 2015 and 2016 and four incidents in 2017, thus far (AMCHA initiative, 2017).

Pro-Palestine advocacy. At Hunter College, there is an active SJP group that works with many of the other SJP chapters across New York. In February of 2016, the SJP chapter was accused of engaging in "hateful, anti-Semitic, and violence-inducing conduct" by the Zionist Organization of America (Campanile, 2016). The Zionist Organization of America sent a 14 page

letter to the chancellor of CUNY and the board of trustees, detailing incidents that have happened across all the New York campuses. In particular, the Hunter College experienced an anti-Semitic incident on its campus:

"On Nov. 12 at Hunter College, during a demonstration for free tuition, Jewish students were denounced as 'racist sons of bitches,' 'fascists' and 'Nazis' and were greeted with comments such as 'Jews out of CUNY'" (Campanile, 2016).

The SJP chapter has been under scrutiny for crossing the line between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism several times. Another of these instances occurred in 2015 during the Million Student March, a protest against the cost of colleges. During this march, students indicated that the school administration, after a 30% rise, were all "Zionists" (NYC SJP, 2015). The group made the statement in such a context that many believed the statements sounded anti-Semitic and not anti-Zionist.

Pro-Israel advocacy. Hunter Students for Israel is the resident pro-Israel group on campus. This groups is supported by the Zionist Organization for America and often disputes information presented and demonstrated by the SJP chapter. The group is particularly invested in Jewish identity and providing accurate information about Israel, via their alliance with the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA). Their mission is stated as follows:

"We are a group of students that support the existence of a state of Israel and are proud to advocate for Israel on campus. We are dedicated to increasing awareness about Israel and the Middle East within the student body by hosting educational, cultural, political, and

social events. We strive to promote nuanced dialogue and a positive image of Israel at Hunter College" (Hunter Students for Israel, 2017).

Pro-Peace advocacy. The JVP group in New York is active and has been vocal about their commending of the CUNY investigation that resulted in a lack of foundation for a number of anti-Semitic accusations that have come across SJP. Like the other colleges, JVP does actively support the SJP student group. A campus coordinator from JVP indicated that although CUNY was willing to investigate accusations of anti-Semitism, it failed to ever investigate accusations of hate speech or threats directed at Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim CUNY students (JVP, 2016).

Hillel. The CUNY Hunter Hillel group is, like the others, focused on Jewish students. Their "about" section states "Hunter Hillel enriches the lives of every Jewish student at Hunter College through Jewish educational programming, career support, Israel engagement, social justice activities, and community building initiatives" (Hunter Hillel, 2017). They are also allied with the pro-Israel group on campus, by co-sponsoring events. It is an overall welcoming group that holds weekly Shabbats and events during the high holy days. These events are, more often than not, open to the public of anyone interested in the faith or learning about Judaism.

Local off-campus hate groups. Off campus, there are ten hate groups within 10 miles of the campus or otherwise statewide. These groups range from racist skinheads to Greek Fascists to Christian and white supremacy groups. The Daily Stormer has a foothold in New York, just as it does in many other states. The majority of these groups, excluding the Daily Stormer, are located near the campus. No media reports have indicated any presence of these groups on the campus.

University score. Overall, the university scored "9" on the scale. While the UCR data reports no anti-Semitic crimes, the AMCHA Initiative shows a significantly different number based on the 2015 – 2017 (thus far) data. With the high numbers of anti-Semitic incidents, the 9 score seems to reflect this.

Colorado State University

Colorado State University (CSU) is a public college that was founded in 1870 in Fort Collins, Colorado (Colorado State University, 2017). It began as an agricultural school but has since evolved. Fort Collins is a small city in Colorado and is under an hour away from Denver. The University is not especially particular with acceptance as it had an 81% acceptance rate in the fall of 2015 with an 86% freshman retention rate (U.S. News, 2016). CSU also has a host of readily available support networks to encourage a diverse and friendly campus (Colorado State University, 2017).

The Hillel International statistics indicate that CSU had 23,795 students in the fall of 2015. Of these students, nearly 1% were Jewish – totaling approximately 600 Jewish students on campus (Hillel International, 2017). Utilizing both FBI UCR data and AMCHA Initiative anti-Semitism trackers, CSU had zero reported crimes or incidents of anti-Semitic activity on campus from 2010 through 2016 (FBI, 2010; FBI, 2011; FBI, 2012; FBI, 2013; FBI, 2014; FBI, 2015; AMACHA Initiative, 2017).

Pro-Palestine advocacy. The college has no active or official, pro-Palestine advocacy group on campus. Through all searches, it appears that CSU does not have any SJP Chapter or other pro-Palestinian support group.

Pro-Israel advocacy. CSU does not have any pro-Israel student groups, either. There is no presence of an active, non-Hillel based pro-Israel student organization.

Pro-Peace advocacy. Although JVP is available across Colorado, there is no distinguished chapter that is present on the CSU campus.

Hillel. Unlike the other groups, Hillel is present on the campus. This student group mirrors much of the other Hillel groups in that it hosts weekly Shabbats and High Holy Day events that are open to anyone who is interested in joining them. This Hillel also sponsors a Birthright program, which is a program that encourages Jewish students to travel to Israel to learn more about their heritage. The website for their Birthright program states "[w]e're a non-profit, apolitical international organization, providing opportunities for Jews of all backgrounds to discover the wisdom and beauty of their heritage in an atmosphere of open inquiry and mutual respect" (Birthright Israel, 2017). Many other Hillel student groups also have this Birthright organization for students.

Local off-campus hate groups. Off of the CSU campus, there are 5 local hate groups. Only one of these groups, a Christian Identity group, is within a 7 mile range from the campus. The rest are statewide groups with active websites. The SPLC elaborated on the group, and referred to it as 'strange':

"[The group] has created for itself a unique anti-Semitic and racist theology, but notwithstanding its curious beliefs, it rose in the 1980s to a position of commanding influence on the racist right. Only a prolonged period of aggressive efforts by law enforcement, together with the demise of influential leaders who were not replaced, brought about its present decline" (SPLC, 2017).

Opposite this particular group, there is an active, Statewide presence of the Aryan Strikeforce and the National Socialist Movement. Both of these groups, among the others, have active online presences in their Colorado sections, as well as across the Nation.

University score. The university scored a "3" on the scale. While there were no anti-Semitic crimes or incidents found over the years, a three is still relatively low. The part that makes Colorado susceptible to possible anti-Semitic incidents in the future is the presence of some active anti-Semitic groups. However, the Hillel organization may be able to combat anti-Semitic environments on campus with continued educational events and being open to the public.

Loyola University New Orleans

Loyola was founded in 1912 as a private, Jesuit university in Louisiana. The school, though predominantly Roman Catholic, is open to students of all faiths (Loyola University of New Orleans, 2017). There is a 90% acceptance rate and a 78% freshman retention rate. The school ranks among the top 10 universities of the southern region (U.S. News, 2016).

In the fall of 2015, the university had 3,782 undergraduate students, of which 45 were Jewish (Hillel International, 2017). FBI UCR data indicates that the university experienced no anti-Semitic crimes during the 2010 to 2015 academic years (FBI, 2010; FBI, 2011; FBI, 2012; FBI, 2013; FBI, 2014; FBI, 2015). The anti-Semitism tracker indicated, similarly, reported zero incidents across 2015, 2016, and 2017 on the campus (AMCHA Initiative, 2017).

Pro-Palestine advocacy. There is no active pro-Palestine group on the New Orleans campus. Likely due to this, there is also no BDS advocacy or pro-Palestine events held on the

campus. There is, however, the New Orleans Palestinian Solidarity Committee that is a nonstudent based organization off campus.

Pro-Israel advocacy. Likewise, there is no active pro-Israel advocacy on campus. The Loyola University does have a Hillel organization, however, that is always, openly in support of Israel.

Pro-Peace advocacy. There is no JVP or Coalition for Peace student groups on the Loyola University New Orleans campus.

Hillel. On Loyola's campus, Hillel International indicated there were 45 Jewish students enrolled in the university. Similarly, the only information regarding a Hillel presence was located on the Hillel International college guide. They indicate there are Hillel services held on campus, however, it does not seem to be student run. The campus had a Hillel Jewish Student Life Coordinator on campus, Jody Portnoff, to help hold a Chanukah event on the campus (Loyola University New Orleans, 2005). Since then, it is possible that the Hillel organization has gained more student support and become student run, but the information is scarce.

Local off-campus hate groups. In Louisiana, within a 25 mile range of the campus, there are 3 hate groups. One of them, the Nation of Islam, is the only one that is physically present within 5 miles. Otherwise, throughout Louisiana, there are two statewide groups. Again, the National Socialist Movement is present, as is the Southern National Congress. The goals of the neo-Confederate group can be summarized by the SPLC:

"Neo-Confederacy also incorporates advocacy of traditional gender roles, is hostile towards democracy, strongly opposes homosexuality, and exhibits an understanding of

race that favors segregation and suggests white supremacy. In many cases, neo-Confederates are openly secessionist" (SPLC, 2017).

The Southern National Congress is active across multiple Southern states and has an active website that is easy to access. Like the National Socialist Movement, the group is easily accessible with a simply search.

University score. Loyola scored a "1" on the scale which is very low. This indicates that there is a possibility for anti-Semitic incidents and crimes to occur, but does not lean one way or the other in predictions. This could be reflective of the lack of anti-Semitic crimes reported by the UCR and lack of incidents reported by the AMCHA Initiative.

University of Miami

The University of Miami was founded as a private research institution in 1925. It is currently involved in more than \$324 million in research and sponsored program expenditures (University of Miami, 2017). It was ranked in the top 50 universities across the nation for six years in a row (U.S. News, 2016). The university also states that they are committed to diversity in ways that "... include but are not limited to LGBT populations, international student populations, first generation college students, and cultural/ethnic minority student populations" (University of Miami Counseling Center, 2017).

The college has a 38% acceptance rate as of the 2015 semester and a 92% freshman retention rate (U.S. News, 2016). During the fall of 2015, the University of Miami had 11,273 undergraduate students enrolled. 2,000 of these students were Jewish undergraduates (Hillel International, 2017). Throughout the 2010 and 2016 academic years, neither the FBI UCR data

nor AMCHA Initiative data reveal any anti-Semitic crimes or incidents (FBI, 2010; FBI, 2011; FBI, 2012; FBI, 2013; FBI, 2014; FBI, 2015; AMACHA Initiative, 2017).

Pro-Palestine advocacy. While the University of Miami does not currently have a BDS resolution, there is a pro-Palestinian group called the University of Miami Students in Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (UMSSPHR). This student group is similar to SJP in its mission statement:

"To promote and protect Palestinian human rights both locally and internationally, including the right of resistance against human rights abuses. ... To promote the recognition of the Palestinian people as the indigenous people of Palestine and to work in solidarity with other indigenous peoples in a wider struggle for land, dignity, and rights. ... To underline that the struggle of the Palestinian people is not a struggle against the Jewish people, but rather a struggle against the colonialist and imperialist policies of the Israeli government" (USMSSPHR, 2017).

The group is predominantly active on Facebook and otherwise has not been the subject of any media reports regarding anti-Zionist or anti-Semitic activity. Their Facebook gives little indication of any events or demonstrations held by the organization.

Pro-Israel advocacy. On the University of Miami campus there is one pro-Israel groups. This group is called Emet Israel which is predominantly present on Facebook. It was founded in 2013 and is student led and student based. Their mission statement is:

"Emet Israel is a student led grassroots organization working to inspire students to engage in Israel. Through casual hangouts, educational events, and collaborations with other student organizations, we hope to start a conversation and widen the lens through which Israel is viewed on the University of Miami campus" (Emet Israel – University of Miami, 2017).

They've held several events throughout the year; the last one listed on their Facebook is their IsraelFest. It was sponsored by CAMERA and included Israeli cultural events as well as hosting Israeli Defense Force soldiers on the campus (Emet Israel – University of Miami, 2017). This group has otherwise stayed out of media reports, just as the pro-Palestine group has.

Pro-Peace advocacy. There is no pro-peace chapters present on the University of Miami campus.

Hillel. The University of Miami Hillel group is active on campus. This Hillel's mission statement is: "[University of Miami] Hillel is the foundation for Jewish life on campus. Our mission is to enrich the lives of Jewish students at the University of Miami so they will enrich the Jewish people and the world" (Miami Hillel, 2017). The Hillel has an optional "have coffee" form that one can fill out and sit down with a member of the Hillel to discuss any number of things regarding the student organization. Their website also promotes an open invitation to all members of the campus to any events they host. They write that "[a]ll Hillel events are designed to cultivate community, helping you feel a sense of belonging on campus" (Miami Hillel, 201&).

Local off-campus hate groups. There are 10 hate groups within a 25 mile range of the campus or statewide throughout Florida. One group, the League of the South, is located within 10 miles of the university. The League of the South is a neo-Confederate group that promotes a racist messages. The SPLC wrote:

"The 'godly' nation envisioned by the League should be run by an 'Anglo-Celtic' (read: white) elite that would establish a Christian theocratic state and politically dominate

blacks and other minorities. ... The league denounces the federal government and northern and coastal states as part of 'the Empire,' a materialist and anti-religious society' (SPLC, 2017).

The SPLC also mentioned that the League of the South initially was founded and populated by some professors with Ph.Ds, however, as the group gradually became more involved in active racism, the Ph.Ds dropped their alliance with the group.

The other groups, including the National Socialist Movement, Gallows Tree Wotansvolk Alliance, Supreme White Alliance, and Crew 38 are only some of the online and statewide hate groups located in Florida. Many of these groups are present in other states and they are not unique to Florida, alone. The majority of the groups are racist, neo-Nazi, or skinhead groups. These websites are all active and capable of being found with simple searches on the internet.

University score. The University of Miami scored a "9" on the scale, indicating a high likelihood for anti-Semitic activity. However, this does not represent the UCR or AMCHA Initiative data. The data shows that there have been no crimes or incidents on the campus between 2010 and 2017. For this reason, the faults of the scale are recognized and discussed further under the limitations.

CHAPTER FIVE: Limitations & Future Research

This study revealed a number of limitations. There was a lack of response to requests for interviews and out of the several requests, only three responses were received. This was not enough to conclusively draw any information on current student opinions of their campuses and the student groups involved. Future research should aim to contact as many students as possible that are involved in all of the active student groups discussed. Alumni that have been part of these organizations should also be contacted in order to try and gauge the temperature on campus over a span of years as opposed to just the one year in which the research is being done.

The next limitation involved the inability to acquire Jewish student enrollment information for years prior to, and after, 2015. Outreach was attempted to both the colleges and Hillel International to gain this information and there was no response. Future research should attempt to father enrollment information for Jewish students through other or more aggressive avenues. The lack of enrollment information made it impossible to answer the fourth research question. The question asked if there was evidence to reflect the Blalock (1967) and Suttles (1972) theories.

The scale proved to not be entirely accurate. In the case of the University of Miami, the scale indicated the college had a high likelihood to experience anti-Semitic incidents. However, the university was one of the three that had zero incidents recorded by both the UCR and AMCHA Initiative. However, with some alterations, it is possible it could be used to account for time over certain academic years and altering the score per hate group could help to more accurately predict what colleges are likely to experience anti-Semitic incidents. Future research should aim to perfect the scale.

CHAPTER SIX: Discussion & Conclusion

Overall, it seems the colleges with the most anti-Semitic incidents have the majority of the factors present. Northeastern University is the college that has the highest amount of anti-Semitic crimes and incidents that occurred on campus. While there are only three local hate groups, they are active groups that have regular events, demonstrations, and publications. However, some campuses have significantly higher number of local hate groups, but less anti-Semitic incidents. While the study cannot definitively say that the number of hate groups present near any campus is at fault for anti-Semitic attitudes, it seems that *any* presence of an active hate group could contribute.

The presence of both pro-Palestine and pro-Israel groups seemingly can contribute to anti-Semitic incidents. Colorado State University and Loyola University New Orleans do not have either group on the campus and both universities have zero reported incidents through the UCR and AMCHA Initiative data. The University of Miami, however, does have both student groups and no anti-Semitic incidents reported. These three universities do not have any propeace organizations on campus, either. They all have some extent of a Hillel group, and all three do not have BDS resolutions. The University of Miami seems to be the only campus with active support of BDS, though it has not been covered by much media.

UC Irvine and Oberlin College are the only two campuses with current and active BDS resolutions. These two campuses also have the largest amounts of hate groups within a 25 mile radius and statewide. These schools also had a high amount of anti-Semitic incident totals from 2010 to 2017. While the factors present on campus are comparable, they're also two vastly

different campuses based on student enrollment numbers, location, and Jesuit (or lack thereof) affiliation.

While the aforementioned factors are certainly not the only reasons for anti-Semitism to occur on college campuses, they appear to have some influence on the colleges studied. The campuses with the most factors present had the highest rates of anti-Semitism and their scores on the scale reflected this. The biggest impacts on the campuses seem to be the presence of pro-Palestinian and pro-Israel groups, followed by the presence of local, active hate groups.

The University of Miami was the singular outlier that warrants further review of the scale. The university has a moderately high number of local and statewide hate groups, and both a pro-Palestine and pro-Israel student group on campus. However, this campus has had zero incidents reported through the FBI or AMCHA Initiative. Further investigation of this college could indicate what other factors are not yet being examined.

Policy Implications

Student groups that are given freedom to do as they please without repercussion are likely to make enemies when lines of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism are crossed. When anti-Semitism is perceived, the campus administration is responsible for acting on this. An effective tactic to combat this would be to mediate a formal discussion or debate between the accused and the accusers to make certain the differences between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism are clear and that the line will not be toed or crossed. In regards to hate groups, it should be the job of the administration and campus police to ensure that these groups are not able to spread their hateful messages on campus.

A challenge in enforcing rules is the right to free speech, even on campuses. The Students for Justice in Palestine group that was suspended from Northeastern's campus cited free speech when their mock eviction notices were criticized. Addressing free speech concerns would be something the university administration would need to take up. However, it is possible that this could be addressed by separating anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism to encourage student groups to utilize methods that may not be misconstrued as anti-Semitic.

For international students, sensitivity training is offered concerning a great number of things. Jewish-sensitivity seminars are one of the few things that are not offered. A lack of understanding may cause some students to be unable to separate anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. Sensitivity seminars may be able to help some understand the difference and adapt to the culture of American Universities.

Conclusion

Anti-Semitism is present on college campuses. The presence of anti-Zionism on college campuses has become a vehicle for this with preconceived anti-Semitic notions to engage in a supportive environment that can unintentionally encourage anti-Semitic acts. The presence of hate groups on college campuses poses a threat to the safety on campuses. College campuses are expected to be diverse and places of higher learning, not places of fear fueled by hatred. When all of the factors are considered, campuses are likely to experience hostility and anti-Semitic incidents. Programs to combat many of the factors could be implemented to encourage an environment that does not resort to violence, while avoiding harmful name-calling and harassment from any students towards another for their opinions, ethnicity, or religious affiliations.

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