



The Impact of Academic Boycotters of Israel on U.S. Campuses

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Executive Summary

Coordinated internationally by the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), the academic boycott of Israel calls for college and university faculty to “boycott and/or work towards the cancellation or annulment of events, activities, agreements, or projects involving Israeli academic institutions.”¹ PACBI guidelines specifically call on the boycott’s endorsers to work toward shutting down popular study abroad programs in Israel and refusing to write recommendations for students who want to attend them; scuttling their colleagues’ research collaborations with Israeli universities and scholars; and cancelling or shutting down events organized by students or faculty that feature Israeli leaders or scholars.

Faculty who choose to implement PACBI’s guidelines are directly subverting the educational opportunities, free speech, and academic freedom of students and faculty at their own American institutions. While signing a petition or statement in support of an academic boycott of Israel is certainly within a faculty member’s free speech rights, faculty boycotters are not entitled to deny students and other faculty of their rights to freedom of expression and academic freedom. In addition, shutting down the free flow of ideas -- both a goal and effect of the academic boycott -- is completely antithetical to the mission of a university. This is why several prominent and respected academic associations, including the American Association of University Professors, the American Council on Education, and the American Association of Universities; hundreds of Members of Congress; and more than 250 university presidents, including the heads of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Stanford, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Duke, Cornell, Brown and Dartmouth, have condemned the academic boycott of Israel as a direct assault on academic freedom.

The negative impact of faculty boycotters on U.S. campuses is not limited to the curtailing of the educational opportunities and academic freedom of students and faculty. AMCHA Initiative’s 2015² and 2016³ studies of antisemitism on U.S. campuses found a disturbing trend: The presence of faculty who have expressed public support for an academic boycott of Israel on a particular campus is associated with a significant increase in the likelihood that the campus will play host to incidents that target Jewish students for harm, including assault, harassment, destruction of property and suppression of speech. Schools with one or more faculty boycotters were at least four times more likely to have incidents of anti-Jewish hostility, and the more faculty boycotters on a campus, the greater the likelihood of such antisemitic acts.

This study set out to understand how and why this is happening. As far as we know, it is the first study of its kind, going beyond individual observations to methodically examine objective, public indices across American colleges and universities with the largest Jewish student populations. Given that what happens in most classrooms is not open to public scrutiny, we examined another way that faculty might bring their support for an academic boycott of Israel onto campus that is fully part of the public record, namely, through departmentally-sponsored public events about

¹ <http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1108>

² <http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Antisemitic-Activity-at-U.S.-Colleges-and-Universities-with-Jewish-Populations-2015-Full-Report.pdf>

³ http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Antisemitism_At-the-Epicenter-of-Campus-Intolerance_Report-2016.pdf

Israel. We then analyzed to what extent these events impact the campus environment for Jewish students. We focused on academic units in three fields -- Middle East Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Gender Studies -- that had been found in our previous studies to account for sponsorship of close to 90% of events containing anti-Zionist or boycott-supporting rhetoric.

Main Findings

- **A majority of faculty boycotters are affiliated with Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies departments:** Faculty boycotters and faculty boycotter chairs and directors are disproportionately affiliated with Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies.
 - Of nearly 1000 faculty boycotters in our study, **70%** were affiliated with a department, program, center, or institute in the area of Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies.
 - More academic units in Ethnic and Middle East Studies were headed by faculty boycotters than units in any other discipline.

- **The greater the number of faculty boycotters in a department, the greater the number of outside BDS proponents brought to campus by that department:** The number of events with speakers who support a boycott of Israel was strongly associated with the number of faculty boycotters and the presence of a chair or director in the sponsoring department:
 - Ethnic Studies: Academic units with one or more faculty boycotters were **10 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units with no faculty boycotters, and the more faculty boycotters the greater the likelihood of BDS-supporting speaker-events; Academic units with chairs or directors who support an academic boycott of Israel were **4.9 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units headed by non-faculty boycotters.
 - Gender Studies: Academic units with one or more faculty boycotters were **12 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units with no faculty boycotters, and the more faculty boycotters the greater the likelihood of BDS-supporting speaker-events.
 - Middle East Studies: Academic units with one or more faculty boycotters were **5 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units with no faculty boycotters and the more faculty boycotters the greater the likelihood of BDS-supporting speaker-events; Academic units with BDS-supporting chairs or directors were **3.5 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units headed by non-faculty boycotters.

- **The more BDS speakers, the more anti-Zionist expression among students, and the more anti-Jewish hostility on campus:** There is a very strong association of BDS-supporting speaker-events with students' anti-Zionist expression, which in turn is very strongly associated with acts of anti-Jewish hostility, suggesting that one way BDS-supporting speaker-events contribute to campus antisemitism is by promoting anti-Zionist expression by students:
 - Schools that host BDS-supporting speaker-events sponsored by Gender, Ethnic, and Middle East Studies academic units are **twice** as likely to have occurrences of

student-produced anti-Zionist expression than schools with no BDS-supporting speaker-events. The more such events, the higher the likelihood of incidents involving anti-Zionist expression.

- Schools with instances of student-produced anti-Zionist expression, including BDS promotion, are **7 times** more likely to have incidents that targeted Jewish students for harm than schools with no evidence of students' anti-Zionist expression and the more such anti-Zionist expression, the higher the likelihood of incidents involving anti-Jewish hostility.

Conclusions

Although framed by many faculty boycotters as an issue of social justice, promoting an academic boycott of Israel is unlike any other social justice cause that a faculty member may choose to pursue. This is because by its very nature an academic boycott, if carried out, harms not only its intended target -- in this case the academic institutions and scholars of Israel -- it also directly and substantively harms students and faculty on U.S. campuses by violating their own academic freedom.

Unlike actually implementing an academic boycott of Israel on one's own campus, simply expressing support for an academic boycott of Israel in the course of carrying out one's teaching or research responsibilities is protected by academic freedom. Nevertheless, as our study has shown, even advocating for a boycott of Israel as part of a department's sponsorship of BDS-supporting speaker-events is significantly associated with acts that target Jewish students for harm, including assault, harassment, destruction of property, and suppression of speech. We believe that these harms are an inevitable consequence of the intolerant nature of an academic boycott of Israel, whose goal is not only to limit the free flow of ideas regarding Israel, but to actively suppress individuals, including Jewish students, who would express views or engage in actions sympathetic to Israel on campus.

We are not suggesting that anti-Israel events or BDS speakers should be prohibited. Academic freedom makes them permissible. But we are concerned about the increasing trend for some academic disciplines or sub-disciplines -- and consequently some entire college and university departments or programs -- to become politically corrupted, controlled by, and dedicated to anti-Zionist and anti-Israel beliefs. That trend has a corrosive impact on students and faculty and on the character of the education a campus can provide.

We hope that our study will raise awareness about the harms that may result from the on-campus promotion or possible implementation of an academic boycott by individual faculty members and academic units, and that it will, in the very least, spark a conversation in academic senates and administrative offices about those harms and how to address them.

The Impact of Academic Boycotters of Israel on U.S. Campuses

I. Introduction

Much has been written in recent years detailing how academic boycotts in general, and academic boycotts of Israel in particular, are antithetical to academic freedom, freedom of expression, and the open intellectual inquiry critical to academia, for example:

“Any such boycott of academic institutions directly violates academic freedom, which is a fundamental principle of AAU universities and of American higher education in general...The boycott of Israeli academic institutions therefore clearly violates the academic freedom not only of Israeli scholars but also of American scholars who might be pressured to comply with it.” – American Association of Universities (AAU)⁴

“Academic boycotts are inconsistent with the democratic values of academic freedom and free expression.” – American Federation of Teachers (AFT)⁵

Academic boycotts “are misguided and greatly troubling, as they strike at the heart of academic freedom – a central tenet of the teaching, research and service that takes place every day at colleges and universities worldwide.” – American Council on Education (ACE)⁶

“Free exchange of scientific ideas moves APA to reiterate its position against boycotts and other actions targeting institutions of higher learning and scientists, academics, and researchers based on political policy.” -- American Psychiatric Association (APA)

“The American Association of University Professors joins in condemning these resolutions [to boycott Israeli academic institutions] and in calling for their repeal... We reject proposals that curtail the freedom of teachers and researchers to engage in work with academic colleagues, and we reaffirm the paramount importance of the freest possible international movement of scholars and ideas.” – American Association of University Professors (AAUP)⁷

Coordinated internationally by the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), the academic boycott of Israel calls for college and university faculty “to boycott and/or work towards the cancellation or annulment of events, activities, agreements, or projects involving Israeli academic institutions.”⁸ In particular, faculty signatories to the academic boycott of Israel are urged to carry out the following actions on their own campuses:

⁴ <https://www.aau.edu/newsroom/press-releases/aau-board-reaffirms-opposition-israel-boycott>

⁵ <https://www.aft.org/press-release/afts-weingarten-american-studies-associations-boycott-decision>

⁶ <http://www.acenet.edu/news-room/Pages/ACE-President-Molly-Corbett-Broad-Statement-on-Boycotts-of-Israeli-Academic-Institutions.aspx>

⁷ <http://www.icjs-online.org/index.php?article=254>

⁸ <http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1108>

- Boycott their own university's education abroad program in Israel, refuse to publicize the program among their students, and refuse to write letters of recommendation for students wishing to study in Israel;
- Attempt to shut down collaborative research between scholars at their own university and in Israel;
- Attempt to cancel or shut down events organized by students or faculty at their own university that feature Israeli leaders or Israeli scholars who come as representatives of their universities;
- Boycott academic programs or projects organized by students or faculty at their own university that "bring together Palestinians/Arabs and Israelis so that they can present their respective narratives or perspectives, or to work toward reconciliation" or that promote "co-existence."

While any faculty member can implement these guidelines on his or her own campus, for instance by refusing to write a letter of recommendation for a student wishing to pursue a study abroad program in Israel, faculty boycotters who have administrative roles within their departments, programs, or divisions have greater opportunity to implement them. For example, a departmental chair, program director, or divisional dean wanting to implement the boycott's guidelines could refuse funding or sponsorship of an academic event featuring Israeli scholars, deny approval of a faculty member's or graduate student's request to carry out research in Israel, or refuse to publicize education abroad programs in Israel to students in the department, program, or division.

The following examples suggest that some faculty boycotters, including those with administrative roles, have indeed been willing to implement the guidelines of the academic boycott of Israel at their own schools:

- One hundred and thirty faculty members at the University of California signed a letter in solidarity with the academic boycott of Israel calling for University leaders to shut down a popular UC Education Abroad Program in Israel. The letter was organized by a founding member of the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel.⁹
- Eight-five faculty members and administrators at California State University, including a number of department chairs and deans, and the vice president for academic affairs at CSU Northridge, signed a similar letter, calling for shutting down CSU's study abroad program in Israel.¹⁰ This letter was also organized by a founding member of the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel.
- Faculty boycotters at Cornell University participated in a campaign to block a partnership between Cornell and Israel's Technion University to create a joint institute of applied sciences.¹¹
- Fourteen faculty boycotters at Syracuse University, including several who were serving in administrative positions within their departments, were signatories to an open letter published in the school newspaper, which encouraged the campus community to "resist" academic institutional partnerships with Israel and censured SU's Program for the

⁹ <http://normanfinkelstein.com/2009/04/09/another-important-initiative/>

¹⁰ <http://www.csun.edu/%7Evcmt00m/studyabroad.html>

¹¹ <http://cornellsun.com/2012/03/01/professors-question-cornell-technion-partnership/>

Advancement of Research on Conflict and Collaboration for violating the PACBI guidelines by co-hosting a conference with Tel Aviv University.¹²

- Several faculty boycotters affiliated with the Feminist Studies department at the University of California Santa Cruz, including the department chair, sent a letter to the director of the campus LGBTQ center, condemning her for hosting a Hillel-sponsored event that promoted the UC Education Abroad Program in Israel.¹³

If the academic boycott of Israel is implemented according to the PACBI guidelines outlined above, then faculty doing so would be directly subverting the educational opportunities and academic freedom of students and faculty at their own American institutions. This is why dozens of non-partisan education associations including the American Association of University Professors, the American Council on Education, and the American Association of Universities; 134 Members of Congress; and hundreds of university presidents, including the heads of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Stanford, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Duke, Cornell, Brown, and Dartmouth, have condemned the academic boycott of Israel as a direct assault on academic freedom.

However, the negative impact of faculty boycotters on U.S. campuses is not limited to the curtailing of the educational opportunities and academic freedom of students and faculty. AMCHA Initiative's most recent studies of antisemitic activity on campuses with high Jewish student enrollments found a very strong, statistically robust association between the number of faculty members expressing public support for an academic boycott of Israel and acts of anti-Jewish hostility, such as assault, harassment, destruction of property and suppression of speech: Schools with one or more faculty boycotters were between four and seven times more likely to play host to incidents of anti-Jewish hostility, and the more faculty boycotters on a campus, the greater the likelihood of such antisemitic acts. The association was replicated in three separate studies that were carried out over two different years.¹⁴

This association, while highly troubling, is also perplexing. Although the statistical association between faculty boycotters and aggressive acts towards Jewish students is quite strong, it is not immediately evident why this is so. For unlike members of anti-Zionist student groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine, whose activities have directly resulted in incidents of anti-Jewish hostility, it is not obvious how the mere presence of faculty boycotters is associated with an increase in campus antisemitism. A first step in understanding how faculty boycotters might influence the campus climate for Jewish students is determining by what means and to what extent faculty bring

¹² <http://dailyorange.com/2016/09/campus-bds-supporters-outline-movements-goals/>

¹³ http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/faculty_letter_re_hillel_glbt_event_2015.pdf

¹⁴ Study of antisemitic activity in 2015: <http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Antisemitic-Activity-at-U.S.-Colleges-and-Universities-with-Jewish-Populations-2015-Full-Report.pdf>; Study of antisemitic activity in the first half of 2016: <https://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Report-on-Antisemitic-Activity-During-the-First-Half-of-2016.pdf>; Study of antisemitic activity in 2016: http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Antisemitism_At-the-Epicenter-of-Campus-Intolerance_Report-2016.pdf.

their extramural support for an academic boycott of Israel onto their campuses, and what effects it may have if they do.

Anecdotal evidence has shown that some faculty boycotters openly promote an academic boycott of Israel in their classrooms, on university websites, in their academic senates, in articles published in university newspapers and posted to official university listservs, and in their advising of anti-Zionist student organizations such as Students for Justice in Palestine.¹⁵ However, another way that faculty can promote their anti-Israel political sentiments, for which there is a considerable amount of publicly accessible data that goes beyond anecdotal evidence, is through the activities of their academic departments, particularly their departments' sponsorship of public events that include anti-Zionist content and support for a boycott of Israel.

Among the data collected in AMCHA's 2015 and 2016 studies were recordings and first-hand accounts of 65 public speaker-events that had been sponsored by one or more academic units and found to contain evidence of anti-Zionist expression, with 41 of the events including the promotion of efforts to boycott, divest from, or sanction Israel (BDS). A closer analysis of the specific departments, programs, centers, and institutes that sponsored these events revealed that academic units in three disciplines in particular –Middle East Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Gender Studies¹⁶ – were the predominant sponsors and co-sponsors of these events, and together accounted for the sponsorship of close to 90% of the events.¹⁷

In light of the results from our previous studies, the present study seeks to understand: a) what association faculty boycotters have with Middle East, Ethnic, and Gender Studies; b) to what extent faculty boycotters affiliated with academic units in these disciplines, and the faculty boycotter-chairs and directors who are the administrators of these units, are associated with their department's sponsorship of public events that include speakers who also support BDS¹⁸; and c) whether these departmentally-sponsored public events are associated with students' anti-Zionist expression and acts of anti-Jewish hostility.

¹⁵ Tammi Rossman-Benjamin, "Interrogating the Academic Boycotters of Israel on American Campuses," in *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel*, Cary Nelson and Gabriel Noah Brahm, ed. (Chicago: MLA Members for Scholars' Rights, 2015).

¹⁶ A list of the specific fields of study usually identified with Middle East, Ethnic, and Gender Studies are listed in the Data Collection section of the report.

¹⁷ <https://amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Disciplinary-Affiliations-of-Academic-Units-Sponsoring-65-Events-Containing-Anti.pdf>

¹⁸ Since a large majority of departmentally-sponsored speaker-events are not recorded or reviewed and therefore their content cannot be analyzed, by using the presence of BDS-supporting speakers as an indicator of likely anti-Zionist content, we were able to include in the current study all Israel-related events sponsored by academic units in these disciplines, whether they were recorded or not. The assumption that BDS-supporting speakers are likely to engage in anti-Zionist rhetoric was actually tested and supported in the current study.

II. Research Methods

Research Questions

This study set out to investigate the following questions:

1. What is the prevalence of faculty supporters of an academic boycott of Israel (faculty boycotters) who are affiliated with academic units in the fields of Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies? What is the prevalence of faculty boycotters who serve as heads of these academic units?
2. To what extent are Israel-related speaker-events sponsored by academic units in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies? To what extent do these events include speakers who are BDS supporters?
3. To what extent do BDS-supporting speaker-events incorporate anti-Zionist expression including the promotion of BDS?
4. To what extent is the number of faculty boycotters in an academic unit in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies associated with the number of BDS-supporting speaker-events sponsored by those units?
5. To what extent is the presence of a faculty boycotter chair or director of an Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies unit associated with the presence of BDS-supporting speaker-events sponsored by his or her unit?
6. To what extent are BDS-supporting speaker-events sponsored by academic units in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies associated with students' anti-Zionist expression, including BDS promotion?
7. To what extent are BDS-supporting speaker-events associated with acts of anti-Jewish hostility, and how does this compare to the association of students' anti-Zionist expression and acts of anti-Jewish hostility?

Data Collection

The 113 schools whose faculty and academic units sponsoring Israel-related events were investigated in the current study were those included in AMCHA's 2015 and 2016 studies, namely, the 120 North American schools identified by Hillel International as the public and private colleges and universities with the largest populations of Jewish students, minus the seven schools in Canada.¹⁹

Relevant data about faculty boycotters, university academic units, university-sponsored events and occurrences of anti-Jewish hostility and student-produced anti-Zionist expression were collected in the following way:

¹⁹ <http://www.hillel.org/about/news-views/news-views---blog/news-and-views/2015/06/24/2015-top-60-schools-by-jewish-student-population>

1) Identifying Faculty Boycotters and Faculty Boycotter-Chairs and Directors of Academic Units

Faculty boycotters at each school were identified as those tenure-track or emeritus professors and permanent lecturers or researchers on faculty in 2015 or 2016 who had signed one or more of 17 publicly accessible petitions, letters or statements endorsing or promoting an academic boycott of Israel.²⁰ Using faculty biographical information on the school's website, each faculty member's primary department, program, research center, or institute was determined, along with any secondary affiliations.

In addition, those faculty boycotters who had served as chairs or directors of academic units in 2015 or 2016 were identified from each academic unit's archived web pages using an internet archive tool.²¹

2) Identifying Academic Departments, Programs, Centers, and Institutes Affiliated with Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies

The departments, programs, research centers and institutes affiliated with the disciplines of Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies were determined at each school by consulting the on-line listings of academic units at that school. The following fields of study were included as part of each of these three disciplinary areas:

Ethnic Studies²²

African American/Africana/African/Black Studies

Race/Race and Ethnicity Studies

Cultural Studies

American Studies

Asian American Studies

Native American/American Indian/Indigenous Studies

Latino/Latin American/ Chicano/Hispanic Studies

Multi-Ethnic Studies

Gender Studies

Women's Studies

Feminist Studies

LGBTQ Studies

Sexuality Studies

²⁰ <http://www.amchainitiative.org/faculty-boycotters/>

²¹ <http://web.archive.org>

²² This list is not exhaustive. Fields such as Jewish Studies, Russian Studies, French Studies, Chinese Studies, and South Asian Studies were not included on this list because at most schools they are not considered part of the discipline of Ethnic Studies, and operate independently from the other academic units that are associated with the discipline.

Middle East Studies²³

Near East Studies

Arab Studies

Palestinian Studies

Islamic/Muslim Studies

Only those academic units that had three or more affiliated faculty members and a designated chair or director were considered in the study.

3) Identifying Israel-Related Speaker-Events Sponsored by Academic Units Affiliated with Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies in 2015 and 2016

The Israel-related events examined in this study were collected by searching departmental and school websites and on-line archives for announcements of all events that met the following criteria:

- The announcement indicated that the event was sponsored or co-sponsored by an academic unit affiliated with Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies;
- The event occurred in 2015 or 2016;
- The event title or description contained one or more of the following six keywords: “Israel,” “Israeli,” “Palestine,” “Palestinian,” “Zionism,” “Zionist”;
- The event included one or more speakers.

4) Determining Support for BDS among Event Speakers

Event speakers were determined to support BDS if they had, previous to the event itself, signed one or more publicly accessible petitions, letters, or statements in support of an academic boycott of Israel or other BDS initiatives, or made explicit written or spoken statements in support of BDS in traditional or social media²⁴.

An Israel-related event was considered to be a BDS-supporting speaker-event if one or more of the speakers at the event had previously expressed support for BDS.

5) Identifying Anti-Zionist Content of Israel-Related Speaker Events

In order to test our assumption that BDS-supporting speaker-events were likely to contain anti-Zionist expression, researchers did a thorough internet search for podcasts, YouTube videos, and first-hand accounts of those BDS-supporting speaker-events that we had previously identified.²⁵ These recordings and reviews were then analyzed for anti-Zionist content, including: the

²³ Israel Studies is included in this list when it is part of a department of Middle East or Near East Studies. However, independent departments of Israel Studies were not included in this study because these departments were not found to sponsor any anti-Zionist events in the data collected in our previous studies.

²⁴ Liking or sharing a pro-BDS social media posting was not considered support for BDS in this study.

²⁵ Recordings or first-hand accounts were found for approximately one-third of those events we had identified as having one or more BDS-supporting speaker.

demonization or delegitimization of Israel, condoning terrorism against Israel or Zionists, comparing Israelis to Nazis, accusing Israel of exaggerating the Holocaust, denying Jews the right to national self-determination, or the promotion of BDS.

6) Determining On-Campus Occurrences of Anti-Jewish Hostility and Student-Produced Anti-Zionist Expression, Including the Promotion of BDS

Occurrences of anti-Jewish hostility, student-produced anti-Zionist expression and BDS promotion at each school were determined using the data collected in our 2015 and 2016 studies of antisemitic activity.

Incidents of anti-Jewish hostility, also known as Targeting Jewish Students for Harm, involved behavior that targeted Jewish students for particular harm based on their perceived Jewishness or perceived association with Israel. Harms consisted of direct threats to the safety and well-being of Jewish students or violations of their civil rights, and included behaviors such as physical assault, harassment, destruction of property, discrimination, and suppression of speech.

Incidents were identified as being student-produced anti-Zionist expression if they were not part of an event sponsored by one or more academic or administrative units of the school and if they contained one or more of the Israel or Zionism-related expressions designated as antisemitic by the U.S. State Department definition of antisemitism²⁶ and/or involved the promotion or endorsement of an anti-Israel boycott, divestment, or sanction effort or of the BDS movement as a whole.

III. Results

1) Faculty Boycotters and Faculty Boycotter-Chairs and Directors Have Disproportionately High Affiliations with Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies

Of the **965** faculty boycotters in our study, **678 (70%)** were affiliated with a department, program, center, or institute in the field of Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies: **194 (20%)** faculty boycotters had their primary affiliation in one of these three areas of study, and **483 (50%)** faculty boycotters whose primary affiliations were in fields other than Ethnic, Gender or Middle East Studies had secondary affiliations in one or more of these three areas.

Table 1 presents the number of faculty boycotters with primary and secondary affiliations in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies.

²⁶ Anti-Zionist expression identified in the U.S. State Department definition of antisemitism includes: a) condoning terrorism against Israel, Israelis or Zionists; b) comparing Israel to a Nazi state or Israelis to Nazis; c) accusing Israel, Israelis or Zionists of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust; d) opposing Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state or denying Jews self-determination; e) demonizing Israel, Israelis or Zionists; and f) delegitimizing Israel.

Table 1

**Number of Faculty Boycotters with Primary and Secondary Affiliations in Ethnic, Gender and Middle East Studies
(Percentages out of 965 total faculty boycotters)**

Affiliation	Ethnic	Gender	Middle East	Total
Primary	99 (10%)	57 (6%)	38 (4%)	194
Secondary	251 (26%)	196 (20%)	157 (16%)	483 ²⁷

(See Appendix 1 for a breakdown of the number of faculty boycotters with secondary affiliations in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies by primary disciplinary affiliation).

It appears that faculty boycotters are significantly more likely than their non-boycotting colleagues to have a secondary affiliation in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies. For example, an examination of 10 English departments and 10 Anthropology departments with the largest numbers of faculty boycotters showed:

- Faculty boycotters in English departments were **4.2 times** more likely to have secondary affiliations in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies than their non-boycotting colleagues ($\chi^2 = 66.1$ $p < .001$);
- Faculty boycotters in Anthropology departments were **2.5 times** more likely to have secondary affiliations in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies than their non-boycotting colleagues ($\chi^2 = 58.11$ $p < .001$).

In 2015 and 2016, faculty boycotters were the chairs or directors of **194** departments, programs, centers, and institutes in total, **92 (47%)** of them in the fields of Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies. Appendix 2 presents the number of all academic units that were headed by faculty boycotters in 2015 and 2016, and shows that more academic units in Ethnic and Middle East Studies were headed by faculty boycotters than units in any other discipline, while Gender Studies units had the fourth highest number of faculty boycotter-chairs or directors, following Anthropology.

²⁷ The total number of faculty boycotters with secondary affiliations in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies is less than the total number of faculty boycotters with affiliations in each of the three disciplines, since a faculty member may have secondary affiliations in more than one of the disciplines.

2) Most Israel-Related Events Sponsored by Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies Units Include BDS-Promoting Speakers

We identified a total of **557** academic units affiliated with Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies at **100** schools.²⁸ Of those, **137 (25%)** academic units at **52 (52%)** schools sponsored **324** Israel-related events in 2015 and 2016. **208 (64%)** of these 324 events included BDS-supporting speakers.²⁹

Table 2 shows the number of academic units in Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies that sponsored Israel-related events in general, and events with BDS-supporting speakers in particular, in 2015 and 2016. While only a relatively small percentage of academic units in Ethnic (**14%**) and Gender Studies (**28%**) sponsored Israel-related events, a large majority of those units that did sponsor Israel-related events sponsored one or more events with BDS-supporting speakers (**40 of 48** and **27 of 31** for Ethnic and Gender Studies, respectively). A majority of Middle East Studies units (**37 of 58**) sponsored Israel-related events, and close to **two-thirds** of those sponsoring units sponsored one or more BDS-supporting speaker-events. These results suggest that academic units in Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies that sponsor Israel-related events are very likely to sponsor Israel-related events with BDS-speakers.

Table 2

Number of Academic Units Affiliated with Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies that Sponsored Israel-Related Events and BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events in 2015 and 2016

Discipline	Total # of Academic Units	# Units Sponsoring Israel Events (% of Total)	# Units Sponsoring BDS-Speaker Events (% of sponsored Israel-related events)
Ethnic Studies	346	48 (14%)	40
Gender Studies	109	31 (28%)	27
Middle East	102	58 (57%)	37
Total:	557	137 (25%)	104 (76%)

²⁸ Thirteen schools in our study had no academic units associated with Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies.

²⁹ The number of BDS-supporting speaker-events was not related to a school's undergraduate population ($R = -0.03$; $p = .78$), or to whether a school was public or private ($\chi^2 = .0008$; $p = .98$).

Table 3 shows the prevalence of Israel-related events in general, and events with BDS-supporting speakers in particular, by school and discipline. Nearly two-thirds of all the Israel-related events sponsored by Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies in 2015 or 2016 included BDS-supporting speakers, with events sponsored by Gender Studies showing the greatest likelihood of having BDS-supporting speakers. In addition, while slightly less than half of all schools hosted Israel-related events sponsored by Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies units, **42** of the **52** schools that did host Israel-related events hosted one or more events with BDS-supporting speakers.

Table 3

Number of Israel-Related Events and BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events by School and Sponsoring Discipline in 2015 and 2016

Discipline	# Schools with Israel Events (% of 113 schools)	# Israel Events (% all Israel events)	# Schools with BDS Speaker Events	# BDS Speaker Events (% of all Israel events in discipline)
Ethnic Studies	28 (25%)	51 (16%)	22	38
Gender Studies	25 (22%)	39 (12%)	23	35
Middle East	37 (32%)	243 (87%)	26	142 (58%)
Overall³⁰:	52 (46%)	324	42	208 (64%)

Table 4 shows the specific academic units that hosted the most events with BDS-supporting speakers in 2015 and 2016, with academic units in Middle East Studies dominating the list.

³⁰ The overall number of schools and events is smaller than the sums of the schools or events in Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies, since several schools had academic units in more than one discipline that sponsored Israel-related and BDS-supporting speaker-events, and several events were sponsored by units in more than one discipline.

Table 4

Middle East, Ethnic, and Gender Studies Departments and Programs that Sponsored the Most Events with One or More BDS-Supporting Speakers in 2015 and 2016

University	Discipline	Department or Program	# BDS-speaker events
Columbia University	Middle East	Center for Palestinian Studies	41
San Francisco State	Middle East	AMED	17
Brown University	Middle East	Middle Eastern Studies	14
New York University	Middle East	Center for Near Eastern Studies	12
Columbia University	Middle East	Middle East Institute	8
UC Santa Barbara	Middle East	Center for Middle East Studies	7
Yale University	Middle East	Council on Middle East Studies	7
Harvard University	Middle East	Center for Middle Eastern Studies	6
Stanford University	Ethnic Studies	Center for Comparative Studies on Race and Ethnicity	6
UC Berkeley	Gender	Center for Race and Gender	6

3) Israel-Related Events with BDS-Supporting Speakers are Likely to Have Anti-Zionist Content

Of the **208** BDS-supporting speaker-events we identified, recordings or first-hand accounts were found of **71** events (**36%**), which were then analyzed for anti-Zionist content. **54** events (**76%**) were found to contain anti-Zionist content, including the demonization or delegitimization of Israel, condoning terrorism against Israel or Zionists, comparing Israelis to Nazis, accusing Israel of exaggerating the Holocaust, denying Jews the right to national self-determination, or the promotion of BDS.

4) Strong Association of Faculty Boycotters in Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies with BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events

There are very strong associations between the number of faculty boycotters in academic units in the fields of Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies and the presence and number of BDS-supporting speaker-events sponsored by their academic units:

- **In Ethnic Studies:** Academic units with one or more faculty boycotters were about **10 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units with no faculty boycotters ($\chi^2 = 24.26$; $p < .001$), and the more faculty boycotters the greater the likelihood of BDS-supporting speaker-events ($R = .50$, $p < .001$).
- **In Gender Studies:** Academic units with one or more faculty boycotters were about **12 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units with no faculty boycotters ($\chi^2 = 13.39$; $p < .001$), and the more faculty boycotters the greater the likelihood of BDS-supporting speaker-events ($R = .55$, $p < .001$).

- In Middle East Studies: Academic units with one or more faculty boycotters were about **5 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units with no faculty boycotters ($\chi^2 = 14.67$; $p < .001$), and the more faculty boycotters the greater the likelihood of BDS-supporting speaker-events ($R = .67$, $p << .001$).

5) Strong Association of Faculty Boycotter-Chairs and Directors in Ethnic and Middle East Studies with BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events

There is also a very strong association between the presence of a chair or director of an academic unit in Ethnic or Middle East Studies who supports an academic boycott of Israel and the likelihood that his or her academic unit will sponsor one or more BDS-supporting speaker-events, though there is no association between the presence of faculty boycotter-heads of Gender Studies units and BDS-supporting speaker-events:

- In Ethnic Studies: Academic units with chairs or directors who support an academic boycott of Israel were **4.9 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units headed by non-faculty boycotters ($\chi^2 = 29.80$; $p < .001$);
- In Middle East Studies: Academic units with BDS-supporting chairs or directors were **3.5 times** more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units headed by non-faculty boycotters ($\chi^2 = 24.65$; $p < .001$);
- In Gender Studies: Academic units with BDS-supporting chairs or directors were no more likely to sponsor events with BDS-supporting speakers than units headed by non-faculty boycotters ($\chi^2 = 2.27$; $p > .05$).

6) Very Strong Association of Students' Anti-Zionist Expression with BDS-Supporting Speaker Events

There is a very strong association between students' anti-Zionist expression and BDS-supporting speaker events sponsored by Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies programs in 2015 and 2016. Of a total of **563** incidents of students' anti-Zionist expression in 2015 and 2016, **364 (65%)** occurred at schools with one or more BDS-supporting speaker-event. Schools that hosted BDS-supporting speaker-events sponsored by Gender, Ethnic and Middle East Studies academic units were **2 times** more likely to have occurrences of student-produced anti-Zionist expression than schools with no BDS-supporting speaker-events ($\chi^2 = 18.75$; $p < .001$), and the more such events, the higher the likelihood of incidents involving anti-Zionist expression ($R = .55$, $p < .001$).

7) Acts of Anti-Jewish Hostility are Significantly Associated with Departmentally-Sponsored BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events and Very Strongly Associated with Students' Anti-Zionist Expression

In 2015 and 2016, there were **183** acts that targeted Jewish students for harm. **125 (68%)** of these acts occurred at schools that hosted BDS-supporting speaker-events sponsored by academic units in Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies, and **179 (98%)** occurred at schools that had one or more incidents of students' anti-Zionist expression. (See Table 5).

Table 5

The Number of Incidents of Anti-Jewish Hostility (Targeting) in 2015 and 2016 at Schools with Departmentally-Sponsored BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events and Students' Anti-Zionist Expression

	Total Targeting	Targeting at Schools with BDS-Speaker Events (% Total Targeting)	Targeting at Schools with Student A/Z Expression (% Total)
Number of Incidents	183	125 (68%)	179 (98%)

There is a significant association between acts of anti-Jewish hostility and BDS-supporting speaker-events sponsored by academic units associated with Gender, Ethnic, and Middle East Studies, and a very strong association between acts of anti-Jewish hostility and students' anti-Zionist expression. A comparison of these two associations shows that acts of anti-Jewish hostility are significantly more associated with students' anti-Zionist expression than with BDS-supporting speaker-events:

- Anti-Jewish Hostility and BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events: Schools that host BDS-supporting speaker-events sponsored by Gender, Ethnic, and Middle East Studies academic units were **2 times** more likely to have incidents that targeted Jewish students for harm than schools with no BDS-supporting speaker-events ($\chi^2 = 21.32$; $p < .001$), and the more such events, the higher the likelihood of incidents involving anti-Jewish hostility ($R = .30$; $p < .01$).
- Anti-Jewish Hostility and Students' Anti-Zionist Expression: Schools with instances of student-produced anti-Zionist expression, including BDS promotion, were **7 times** more likely to have incidents that targeted Jewish students for harm than schools with no evidence of students' anti-Zionist expression ($\chi^2 = 42.9$; $p < .001$), and the more such anti-Zionist expression, the higher the likelihood of incidents involving anti-Jewish hostility ($R = .61$; $p < .001$).
- Association of Students' Anti-Zionist Expression and Anti-Jewish Hostility Compared to the Association of BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events and Anti-Jewish Hostility: The association of students' anti-Zionist expression and acts of anti-Jewish hostility is significantly stronger than the association of BDS-supporting speaker-events and anti-Jewish hostility (using a Fisher R to Z transformation: $Z = 2.96$, $p < .01$).

Table 6 is a concise summary of the correlation data found in sections 6 and 7 above.

Table 6

Correlation Coefficients Among Acts of Anti-Jewish Hostility (Targeting), BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events, and Students' Anti-Zionist Expression
(All correlations were significant at the $p < .001$ level)

	Targeting Jewish Students for Harm	BDS-Supporting Speaker-Events	Students' Anti-Zionist Expression
Targeting Jewish Students for Harm	1	.30	.61
BDS-Supporting Speaker Events	.30	1	.55
Students' Anti-Zionist Expression	.61	.55	1

IV. Discussion

Understanding our Findings

This study set out to understand a robust and troubling, yet perplexing, finding from our previous studies, that the presence and number of faculty who endorse an academic boycott of Israel are very highly correlated with acts of anti-Jewish hostility. We investigated this finding by looking at a possible way in which faculty boycotters may inject anti-Israel sentiment and support for an academic boycott of Israel onto campus, namely, through departmentally-sponsored events about Israel, and we analyzed if and to what extent these events could contribute to a hostile environment for Jewish students.

Focusing on Israel-related events sponsored by academic units in the fields of Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies, our study found that the number of events with speakers who support a boycott of Israel was highly associated with the number of faculty boycotters in all three of these fields, and with the presence of a chair or director in the sponsoring department in both Ethnic Studies and Middle East Studies. These results strongly suggest that at least some faculty who have signed petitions or statements in support of an academic boycott of Israel do bring their anti-Israel sentiments and support for BDS to campus through their department's sponsorship of Israel-related events that include speakers who have similar anti-Israel perspectives to themselves.

Although we were unable to access recordings or first-hand accounts of the majority of BDS-supporting speaker-events, more than three-quarters of those events that we could examine showed clear evidence of anti-Zionist content, including the promotion of BDS. For example:

- A conference held at UCLA entitled "Palestine and Pedagogy,"³¹ sponsored by the Center for Near Eastern Studies, included a speaker, UC Irvine Professor and Director of the UC

³¹ <http://www.international.ucla.edu/cnes/event/11440>

Institute for Humanities Research David Theo Goldberg, who accused Israel of “eliminationist racism” similar to the Nazis. He also falsely accused Israelis of making “snuff films,” claiming that Israeli police kill innocent Palestinians “fairly randomly,” and then have ordinary Jewish Israeli citizens record the killing and post the recordings on line, which results in “an orgasm of feeling” for Israelis when the recordings go viral. Another speaker at the event, UC Riverside Distinguished Professor of English David Lloyd, himself a founder of the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel,³² accused Zionism of being “fascism” and promoted the academic boycott of Israel as a way to achieve an end to the Jewish state.³³

- In a panel discussion at CUNY Hunter College entitled “Why Gender Matters for Justice in Palestine,”³⁴ co-sponsored by the Women and Gender Studies department, one of the panelists, Nerdeen Kiswani, a leader of the New York area Students for Justice in Palestine, claimed that “Israel is a state that is built on murder and mass rape of Palestinian women.”³⁵
- In a lecture sponsored by Vassar College’s Africana Studies, English, Women’s Studies, Jewish Studies, Political Science and International Studies departments,³⁶ entitled “Inhumanist Biopolitics: How Palestine Matters,” Rutgers University Women and Gender Studies Professor Jasbir Puar falsely demonized Israel, claiming it “assassinates” teenagers, harvests organs, and deliberately prevents resources from reaching Gaza in order to “maim” and “stunt” the growth of Palestinians. Puar encouraged the school to boycott Israel, saying, “We need BDS as part of organized resistance and armed resistance in Palestine as well.”³⁷

When anti-Zionist expression occurs at departmentally-sponsored events, it confers academic legitimacy on the expression and encourages students to adopt similar anti-Israel perspectives and engage in similar anti-Zionist expression.³⁸ This likely accounts for our finding that departmentally-sponsored events with BDS-supporting speakers are highly correlated with instances of students’ anti-Zionist expression. In addition, the very strong association of students’ anti-Zionist expression and acts of anti-Jewish hostility, coupled with the significantly smaller association of BDS-supporting speaker-events and acts of anti-Jewish hostility, suggest that the impact of these speaker-events on campus climate is more indirect: It seems that BDS-supporting speaker-events promote anti-Zionist expression by students, which in turn contributes to a campus climate hostile to Jewish students.

³² <http://www.usacbi.org/about-us/>

³³ <http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/podcasts/Conference-on-Palestine-and-Pedagogy-at-the-University-1-cw-z5x.mp3>

³⁴ <https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/hunter-arabic/L5C8PVLigC0>

³⁵ <http://forward.com/news/breaking-news/335934/when-israel-apartheid-week-comes-to-campus-some-find-silence-is-most-eloque/>

³⁶ <https://americanstudies.vassar.edu/news/2015-2016/160129-jasbir-puar.html>

³⁷ http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/207758#.Vro78_IViko

³⁸ Anecdotal evidence suggests that some faculty confer further academic legitimization on these departmentally-sponsored events by giving extra credit to students who attend the events or requiring that students incorporate what they learned from the events into graded papers, exams or class discussions.

The Role of Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies in Bringing Anti-Zionist Expression and BDS Promotion to Campus

Our focus on Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies in investigating the mechanism by which faculty boycotters bring their anti-Israel sentiments and support for an academic boycott of Israel onto campus was based on our previous studies, which found that academic units in these three disciplines sponsored more events with anti-Zionist expression, including BDS promotion, than all other disciplines combined. In our current study, although overall only one-quarter of the academic units in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies sponsored any Israel-related event in 2015 or 2016, more than three-quarters (76%) of the Israel-related events that *were* sponsored by units in these disciplines had speakers who support BDS.

It is not surprising that academic units in Middle East Studies sponsored the preponderance (87%) of all Israel-related events, since Israel is part of the Middle East and a legitimate topic for consideration at an academic event sponsored by a unit in the discipline. Nor is it surprising, in light of the growing body of evidence showing a clear anti-Israel bias in many Middle East Studies programs,³⁹ that the majority (58%) of speaker-events sponsored by Middle East Studies units included speakers who support BDS.

However, given that Israel is not directly related to academic inquiry in either Ethnic or Gender Studies, it is less obvious why these disciplines would be involved in sponsoring Israel-related events, and why a large majority of these events (38 of 51 and 35 of 39, respectively) would include speakers who support BDS. We speculate that these results can be accounted for by the unique activist nature of these disciplines, which often encourage their affiliated faculty to engage in political advocacy and activism in the pursuit of “social justice.” For example:

- The College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University, which houses the departments of Africana, American Indian, Asian American, Latina/Latino, and Race and Resistance Studies, describes as an aspect of its mission and purpose, “to actively implement a vision of social justice focusing on eliminating inequalities motivated by race and ethnicity”;⁴⁰ Afro-American Studies at University of Massachusetts Amherst strives to train “globally concerned scholar activists”;⁴¹ and the American Cultures program at the University of Michigan states that its students and faculty “are uniquely committed to social justice.”⁴²
- The Institute for Research on Women, Gender, and Sexuality at Columbia University promises to provide “rigorous training” in “activist practice”;⁴³ The Gender Research Institute at Dartmouth University describes itself as a place where “scholar-activists” come together “to translate intellectual discussion and practical experience into projects of social

³⁹ See: “The Morass of Middle East Studies: Title VI of the Higher Education Act and Federally Funded Area Studies,” The Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law, 2014. (http://brandeiscenter.com/images/uploads/practices/antisemitism_whitepaper.pdf)

⁴⁰ <https://ethnicstudies.sfsu.edu/hom3>

⁴¹ <http://www.umass.edu/wgss/about-wgss>

⁴² <https://lsa.umich.edu/ac>

⁴³ <http://irwgs.columbia.edu/about/>

justice”;⁴⁴ and the Feminist, Gender and Sexuality Studies program at Wesleyan University expects its majors “to promote greater possibilities for freedom and social justice.”⁴⁵

Indeed, a survey of the on-line mission statements and descriptions of the 40 Ethnic Studies units that hosted one or more BDS-supporting speaker-events in 2015 or 2016 showed that more than half mention their program’s commitment to promoting some form of social justice and/or training students for activism. A similar survey of the websites of the 26 Gender Studies units that had sponsored one or more BDS-supporting speaker-events showed that *all* of them emphasized the importance of social justice and/or engaging in political or social activism to achieve it.

In addition, we found that a large majority (70%) of faculty boycotters had either a primary or secondary affiliation in Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies, and that faculty boycotters’ rates of affiliation with these disciplines were far greater than their non-boycotting colleagues. We suspect that faculty boycotters whose primary affiliations are in departments other than Gender, Ethnic, or Middle East Studies are attracted to these areas of study because they offer faculty an opportunity to channel their political activism into academically acceptable activities, including departmentally-sponsored anti-Israel events. It also makes engaging students in anti-Israel advocacy and activism an academically acceptable activity, given the high value that these units place on activism and the pursuit of social justice. Seen in this way, the very high correlation between BDS-supporting speaker-events and students’ anti-Zionist expression suggests that students’ anti-Israel behavior is not simply a natural consequence of faculty-sponsored anti-Zionist expression, but likely an intended outcome of it.

It is important to point out that while Ethnic, Gender, and Middle East Studies do seem to play a crucial role in the transmission of anti-Zionist expression, including BDS promotion, through departmentally-sponsored speaker events, a large majority of academic units in Ethnic and Gender Studies (84% and 88%, respectively) did not even sponsor an Israel-related event in 2015 and 2016, nor did 43% of Middle East Studies units, despite the relevance of Israel to their field of study. Furthermore, less than half of the schools in our study (46%) hosted an Israel-related event sponsored by Ethnic, Gender, or Middle East Studies, and only 37% of schools played host to one or more Israel-related events with BDS-supporting speakers. There are clearly “hotspots” in our data – certain academic units within particular schools are responsible for the bulk of BDS-supporting speaker-events. This can be seen by the fact that the 10 academic units with the highest number of sponsored BDS-supporting speaker-events (shown in Table 6 above), which account for less than 1% of the total number of academic units we examined, sponsored more than 60% of all the BDS-supporting speaker-events in 2015 and 2016.

⁴⁴ <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~grid/>

⁴⁵ <http://www.wesleyan.edu/fgss/about.html>

V. Conclusions

Although framed by many faculty boycotters as an issue of social justice, promoting an academic boycott of Israel is unlike any other social justice cause that a faculty member may choose to pursue. This is because by its very nature an academic boycott, if carried out, harms not only its intended target -- in this case the academic institutions and scholars of Israel -- it also directly and substantively harms students and faculty on U.S. campuses. Faculty members who sign a petition or statement in support of an academic boycott of Israel and also choose to implement the guidelines of the boycott would work toward shutting down popular study abroad programs in Israel and refusing to write recommendations for students who want to attend them; scuttling their colleagues' research collaborations with Israeli universities and scholars; and cancelling or shutting down events organized by students or faculty that feature Israeli leaders or scholars. All of these actions violate the academic freedom of students and faculty and are therefore themselves unprotected by academic freedom.

Unlike actually implementing an academic boycott of Israel on one's own campus, simply expressing support for an academic boycott of Israel in the course of carrying out one's teaching or research responsibilities *is* protected by academic freedom. Nevertheless, as our study has shown, even advocating for a boycott of Israel as part of a department's sponsorship of BDS-supporting speaker-events is significantly associated with acts that target Jewish students for harm, including assault, harassment, destruction of property, and suppression of speech. We believe that these harms are an inevitable consequence of the intolerant nature of an academic boycott of Israel, whose goal is not only to limit the free flow of ideas regarding Israel, but to actively suppress individuals, including Jewish students, who would express views or engage in actions sympathetic to Israel on campus.

We are not suggesting that anti-Israel events or BDS speakers should be prohibited. Academic freedom makes them permissible. Indeed, we believe discourse, debate, and dissent on the Middle East, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and other issues certainly belong on the college campus. But we are concerned about the increasing trend for some academic disciplines or sub-disciplines -- and consequently some entire college and university departments or programs -- to become politically corrupted, controlled by, and dedicated to anti-Zionist and anti-Israel beliefs. That trend has a corrosive impact on students and faculty and on the character of the education a campus can provide.

We hope that our study will raise awareness about the harms that may result from the on-campus promotion or possible implementation of an academic boycott by individual faculty members and academic units, and that it will, in the very least, spark a conversation in academic senates and administrative offices about those harms and how to address them.

Appendix 1

Faculty Boycotters with Secondary Affiliations in Ethnic, Gender and Middle East Studies by Primary Disciplinary Affiliation

Primary Affiliation	# Faculty Boycotters in Discipline (% of 965)	# Secondary Affiliation in Eth, Gen, ME (% of Discipline)
English and Literature	216 (22%)	133 (62%)
Anthropology	212 (22%)	159 (75%)
History	85 (9%)	64 (75%)
Languages/Linguistics	31 (3%)	19 (61%)
Sociology	28 (3%)	18 (64%)
Political Science	23 (2%)	12 (52%)
Religious Studies	18 (2%)	16 (89%)
Computers/Engineering/Math	17 (2%)	0 (0%)
International/Global Studies	16 (2%)	9 (56%)
Communications	15 (2%)	7 (47%)
Education	14 (1%)	9 (64%)
Art/Art History	12 (1%)	2 (17%)
Geography	11 (1%)	5 (45%)
Health Sciences	11 (1%)	1 (9%)
Physical/Biological Sciences	11 (1%)	0 (0%)
Writing/Journalism/Rhetoric	10 (1%)	6 (60%)
Performing Arts	10 (1%)	4 (40%)
Film	9 (1%)	8 (89%)
Philosophy	7 (1%)	3 (43%)
Classics	4 (<1%)	2 (50%)
Law	4 (<1%)	3 (75%)
Psychology	3 (<1%)	0 (0%)
Urban Studies	2 (<1%)	2 (100%)
Architecture	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)
Economics	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)

Appendix 2

Departments, Programs, Institutes and Centers Headed by Faculty Boycotters in 2015 and 2016

(Ethnic, Gender and Middle East Studies Highlighted in Bold)

Department/Program	Number of Faculty Boycotter Chairs/Directors
Ethnic Studies	42
Middle East Studies	29
Anthropology	28
Gender Studies	21
English and Literature	15
Political Science	8
History	6
Area Studies	6
International/Global Studies	6
Physical/Biological Sciences	6
Languages/Linguistics	3
Human Rights/Social Justice/Peace	3
Writing/Journalism/Rhetoric	3
Sociology	2
Religious Studies	2
Humanities	2
Education	2
Art/Art History	2
Film	2
Philosophy	2
Communications	1
Performing Arts	1
Philosophy	1
Urban Studies	1

About the Researchers

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

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