BDS and Contemporary Anti-Semitism on U.S. Campuses

Dr. Mitchell Bard
Ivory Tower Anti-Semitism

• Universities are the one place in America where anti-Semitism is tolerated.
• In most cases Israel is simply used as a substitute for "Jew"
• Clear double-standard in the way administrations respond to perceived slurs against women and other minorities
Shocking Anti-Semitism Rates And yet...

2011 AICE/TIP Poll

- 78% of Jewish students report witnessing (66%) or personally being subjected (46%) to anti-Semitism.
- By comparison the figure in the UK’s study was 42%.

Jewish Student Reports of Anti-Semitism, U.S. 2014 and U.K. 2011
Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law
Anti-Semitic Incidents on Campus are **Lower** than they Have Ever Been

Source: ADL
Jews Are Sensitive To Criticism of Israel

- 43% are aware of anti-Israel groups compared to 13% of all students.
- 71% think criticism of Israel they hear is generally anti-Israel or anti-Semitic.
- Jews are much more sensitive to criticism that crosses the line from legitimate political debate to anti-Israel hostility and anti-Semitism.
- Non-Jews see criticism of Jewish individuals and demonization of Israel as most troubling.
Context of Anti-Semitic Incidents

Jewish Student Reports of Anti-Semitism, U.S. 2014 and U.K. 2011 by Percentage
BDS: A Growing Threat?

• A 2010 study by the Reut Institute reported that a well-organized, well-funded international network was managing an international delegitimization campaign against Israel.

• The report set off alarm bells in Jerusalem and Jewish communities around the world.

• In the United States, the campaign is poorly organized, marginally funded and has failed to effect U.S. policy, public opinion or university relations with Israel.

• The perception remains, however, that the anti-Semitic boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) octopus has tentacles throughout the country:
  • Pro-BDS activists are intimidating and sometimes endangering Jewish students
  • Divestment fights are turning students against each other
  • Faculty hostility toward Jews and Israel is the most serious issue
  • By poisoning the minds of future voters and leaders, BDSers hope to erode U.S. support for Israel.
BDS Has No Support On Campus

• There is virtually no support for BDS (14% national/5% Jews).
• Only 11% support an academic boycott.
• **After hearing more about BDS, nearly half say they would be personally opposed.**
• Virtually no one believes it advances the cause of peace; one-third (29% of Jews) think it has no impact and one-fourth believe it makes peace less likely (47% of Jews)
BDS Facts from 2005-2015:

• In 2005-6, four BDS resolutions were proposed, two passed and two were defeated.
• The campaign began to take off in 2012-13 with 10 resolutions (six were defeated), followed by 19 in 2013-14 (12 were defeated) and 27 in 2014-15 (20 were defeated).
• A total of 70 votes have been taken on BDS measures.
• Those votes were limited to a total of 44 schools, 2 percent of all four-year colleges.
BDS Facts from 2005-2015:

• Only 18 schools have passed one of these resolutions in the last 10 years (.009 percent of universities).

• Overall, BDS measures **were defeated 64 percent of the time** (45 out of 70 votes) and were adopted 36 percent (25 out of 70).

• This is not a recurring problem on most campuses. Only Michigan Dearborn, UC San Diego, UC Irvine and UC Davis have passed BDS resolutions more than once.
What are we to make of these statistics?

• The movement has grown, but it is not sweeping the nation, not winning; and divestment resolutions
  – have no authority
  – administrators say they have no intention of divesting from Israel
  – many of the same schools targeted by BDS (e.g., UCI) dramatically increased cooperation with Israel.

• But aren’t they influencing elites?
  – Only **seven top 20** ranked schools have had votes and **BDS lost 7 of 8**.
  – Among **top 50 schools**, a total of 14 schools have **defeated 19 of the 29 votes** on BDS initiatives.

• The problem is the **drumbeat of negativity is causing students to raise questions about Israel.**
There’s not a sense among college students that Israel is willing to compromise for peace.

Below is another list of words and phrases; please indicate, for each one, whether it describes Israel very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

Willing to compromise for peace

-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Well</th>
<th>Not Well</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total
College students associate Israel with siding with the US and sharing American values, but high uncertainty.

Below a list of words and phrases; please indicate whether you associate the Israelis or the Palestinians more with the word or phrase.

**Sides with the United States**

- **Israelis**
  - Both: 40%
  - Neither: 2%
  - Not Sure: 11%
  - Total: 37%

- **Palestinians**
  - Both: 32%
  - Neither: 8%
  - Not Sure: 21%
  - Total: 37%

**Share American values**

- **Israelis**
  - Both: 32%
  - Neither: 8%
  - Not Sure: 21%
  - Total: 37%

- **Palestinians**
  - Both: 32%
  - Neither: 8%
  - Not Sure: 21%
  - Total: 37%

*Asked of Sample A, n=413 College Students
*Asked of Sample B, n=387 College Students
And, to a lesser extent, Israel is associated as being Democratic and protecting the rights of women.

Below a list of words and phrases; please indicate whether you associate the Israelis or the Palestinians more with the word or phrase.

Democratic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Israelis</th>
<th>PA</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28%</td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Protect the rights of women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Israelis</th>
<th>PA</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25%</td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Asked of Sample B, n=387 College Students

*Asked of Sample B, n=387 College Students
There’s uncertainty on who is “morally right.”

Below a list of words and phrases; please indicate whether you associate the Israelis or the Palestinians more with the word or phrase.

Are morally right

- Israelis: 17%
- Palestinians: 4%
- Both Equally: 14%
- Neither: 25%
- Not Sure: 40%

*Asked of Sample B, n=387 College Students*
Just 10% of American college students believe Israel protects the rights of Israeli Arabs.

Which of the following statements most reflects your view?

Israel protects the rights of Israeli Arabs ...or... Israeli law protects the rights of Israeli Arabs, but in practice, the implementation sometimes falls short ...or...

Israel routinely abuses the human rights of Israeli Arabs ...or... Not sure
American college students are largely unsure about whether or not Israel is an “Apartheid state.”

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Israel is an “apartheid” state.

- Total: 53%
- Strongly Agree: 4%
- Strongly Disagree: 6%
- Not Sure: 22%
- 25%
There’s not a lot of awareness of student groups that are either critical of Israel or support Israel.

Are you aware of any student groups on campus that are critical of Israel?

- Yes: 13%
- No: 87%

Only 2% have attended an event with a group critical of Israel

Are you aware of any student groups on campus that support Israel?

- Yes: 20%
- No: 80%

Only 4% have attended an event with a group supportive of Israel

*Asked of Sample A, n=413 College Students
*Asked of Sample B, n=387 College Students
BDS Goals, in Their Own Words

• Professor As’ad AbuKhalil: “The real aim of BDS is to bring down the state of Israel.... Justice and freedom for the Palestinians are incompatible with the existence of the state of Israel.”

• Omar Barghouti: “Definitely, most definitely we oppose a Jewish state in any part of Palestine. No Palestinian, rational Palestinian, not a sell-out Palestinian, will ever accept a Jewish state in Palestine.”
Strategies to Defeat BDS and Anti-Semitism

• Insist that Jews define anti-Semitism rather than allowing others to tell us what is and is not anti-Semitic.
• Emphasize the Jewish consensus that BDS is anti-Semitic.
• Do not give BDS publicity – emphasize it is a fringe movement that has had no impact
• Intensify the focus on coalition building; do not take for granted that liberal progressives cannot become allies.
Strategies to Defeat BDS and Anti-Semitism

• Emphasize the BDS movement is represented by an anti-Semitic fringe of Israel deniers who are failing in their efforts to ostracize and demonize Israel – and deservedly so.

• Use This Language To Describe BDS Defeats: [University Name] Defeats Anti-Semitic Divestment Resolution Proposed By Israel Deniers.

• Use statements by Abbas and others (e.g., Sari Nusseibeh on academic boycott) expressing opposition to BDS to discredit Israel deniers.

• Use statements signed by 61 international Jewish organizations and others signed by Nobel Prize winners denouncing BDS.

• Use social media to emphasize BDS failures; e.g., using hashtags such as #EpicBDSfails.
Top three reasons to oppose BDS

• Both sides share some blame and it’s not fair to only blame one (57%).

• There are better ways to express concern about Israeli policies that encourage dialogue rather than division (53%).

• It is a tool designed to win a propaganda war, not help bring real peace (50%).
Methodology

On behalf of The Israel Project and The American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, Public Opinion Strategies conducted a nationwide survey of N=800 college students.

The survey was administered online and was conducted October 28-November 8, 2011. The survey has a margin of error of ±3.46%.

In addition, POS conducted an oversample of 400 Jewish college students, for October 28- November 20, 2011. The margin of error is ±4.9%.