

Antisemitism in Higher Education in the United Kingdom: Jewish Students' Experiences in the Academic Year Following October 7, 2023

Leslie Morrison Gutman and Keren Darmon

Abstract

This study presents the findings of a comprehensive survey of Jewish students at UK universities at the end of the 2023–2024 academic year ($n = 497$). Respondents reported witnessing many more antisemitic incidents after than before October 7. Furthermore, the greater the number of antisemitic incidents that students personally experienced and witnessed, the more people and spaces they avoided on campus due to antisemitism; the greater their concerns about antisemitism on campus; the more they felt unsafe on campus; and the greater the negative effects of antisemitism on their studies, wellbeing and campus life. Students' own words are highlighted in the open-ended responses, emphasizing the verbal abuse, physical attacks, intimidation, exclusion, and isolation they experienced, hinting at profound negative effects on their mental health. Together, these findings underscore the pressing need to combat the surge in antisemitism across UK universities, for example, by creating and enforcing clear codes of conduct for staff and students to reduce experiences and expressions of antisemitism, alongside robust reporting mechanisms to capture and address these when they do occur.

Acknowledgements

The data collection and processing were funded by the Intra-Communal Professorial Group (ICPG). We are grateful for the research assistance of Yichang Sun for the geographical data processing, Angel Au for the survey data processing, and Natalia Orenstein and Noa Benzonon for assisting with the coding of the open-ended responses.

Keywords: University campus, education, Jewish student survey, qualitative, quantitative, hate crime, mental health



Since October 7, 2023, when Hamas committed the most murderous attack against Jews since the Holocaust, antisemitism has surged on university campuses. Stop Antisemitism's 2024 College Report, which evaluated twenty-five higher education institutions across the United States, documented a 3,000% increase in antisemitic incident reports compared to the previous year.¹ In the United Kingdom, the Community

Security Trust recorded a total of 272 university-related antisemitic incidents in the 2023–2024 academic year, as opposed to 53 the previous year.² Such antisemitism threatens Jewish students' educational experiences as well as their Jewish beliefs and identity³ and can lead to other harms, such as anxiety, depressive symptoms, and feelings of alienation.⁴ To prevent further escalation of antisemitism and to support Jewish students who encounter such incidents,

it is essential to document their lived experiences on UK campuses. This study contributes to that effort through quantitative and qualitative analysis of the first comprehensive survey of nearly 500 Jewish students across more than eighty UK universities in the academic year following October 7.

DEFINING ANTISEMITISM

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) provides a working definition of antisemitism that has been adopted by many organizations and approximately forty-four governments worldwide. In the United Kingdom, the government and other public institutions,⁵ including the majority of universities,⁶ have adopted the IHRA working definition. It states that:

Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish and non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward the Jewish community institutions and religious facilities. (Para. 2)⁷

The full IHRA definition further stipulates that criticism of Israel, which is similar to that directed toward any other country, may not be regarded as antisemitic; however, criticism that calls for Israel to no longer exist or that blames all Jews for Israel's government policies may be antisemitic.⁸

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Even before October 7, 2023, research has documented the pervasiveness of antisemitism on university campuses, for example, one-third of US Jewish students reported experiencing hate speech against Jewish persons in the weeks before October 7.⁹ Surveys of more than 1000 Jewish students attending American colleges or universities found that more than half witnessed or

experienced an antisemitic incident, either on their campus or in the general public.¹⁰ Similarly, the 2011 National Jewish Student Survey of more than 900 university students in the United Kingdom found that fifty-two percent of respondents personally experienced and/or witnessed an incident of antisemitism in various contexts on campus.¹¹ Although British students reported slightly lower rates of antisemitism than American students, they reported a higher number of contexts where antisemitism occurred on campus (such as lectures, clubs, etc.), i.e., 1.57 contexts compared to 1.15 contexts for US students, suggesting that British students may experience a more pervasive form of antisemitism than American students.¹² Research further indicates that Jewish students are disproportionately affected by hate crimes on American campuses compared to other minoritized groups. Utilizing the Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reports Hate Crime (UCR) data from 2003 to 2017, Feinberg found that antisemitic hate crimes were more likely to occur than hate crimes motivated by prejudice towards other groups on university campuses, with the magnitude greater than any other reported hate crime motivation, including anti-Black, anti-Asian, and anti-LGTBQ+.¹³

To understand the reasons that Jews are more likely than other minority groups to be the victims of hate crimes, Feinberg proposed four key mechanisms—*opportunity*, *stimuli*, *organization*, and *distinguishability*—to identify and categorize specific factors that explain antisemitism on American campuses.¹⁴ *Opportunity* reflects the size of the Jewish population on campus, with a greater number of Jewish students providing more opportunities for antisemitism. In the United States, research supports this hypothesis, showing that more antisemitism occurs at universities with a larger proportion of Jewish students.¹⁵ This contrasts with findings of the National Jewish Student Survey, which sampled 1,026 Jewish students across 125 UK and Irish campuses from May to November 2023, with 85% of the responses

received before October 7.¹⁶ The results suggest that there may be a “safety in numbers” effect regarding experiencing antisemitism at UK universities, with 32% who attended universities with a larger number of Jewish students (Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Leeds, Nottingham, and Oxford) reporting that they personally experienced antisemitism on campus compared to 41% overall.

According to Feinberg, *stimuli* are events or circumstances that increase antisemitism (and usually involve Israel), while *organization* is the presence of anti-Israel organizations on campus.¹⁷ In line with hypothesized factors, there is increasing evidence that anti-Israel sentiments predict antisemitism at university.¹⁸ Relatedly, a study of more than 3000 undergraduate Jewish students from the United States and Canada found that one in four respondents had been blamed for the actions of Israel in the past year.¹⁹ Further evidence suggests that antisemitism on campuses increases during key events such as “Israel Apartheid Week” and is higher on campuses with active anti-Israel and pro-Palestinian organizations.²⁰

The *distinguishability* factor focuses on the role that a target group’s identifiability plays in the occurrence of hate crimes.²¹ In support of this hypothesis, there is evidence that antisemitic incidents increase during Jewish holidays on campus, when more Jewish students are distinguishable by attending synagogue.²² Participation in Jewish campus life is also more likely to distinguish Jewish individuals from other students. Active members of Jewish campus organizations, for example, reported witnessing significantly more antisemitism.²³ Similarly, American campuses with an active Jewish student organization have more antisemitic incidents.²⁴ These studies suggest that being distinguishable as a Jew through involvement in Jewish campus organizations may be associated with more experiences of antisemitism.

In the wake of October 7, 2023, studies have provided systematic data about the views of Jewish students on college and university

campuses. A 2023–2024 survey of US campuses with nearly 2,000 Jewish undergraduate students at fifty-one US campuses found considerable variability across campuses in the level of hostility facing Jewish students during the Israel-Hamas war, with hostility substantially higher at some campuses compared to others.²⁵ Nevertheless, a third of all survey respondents said they had experienced anti-Jewish insults or harassment, either on social media or, particularly at the most-hostile schools, in person. This survey reinforced that criticism of Israel plays a central role in anti-Jewish hostility, which was most likely expressed by other students on campus as opposed to faculty or administrators. For example, the survey asked to what extent respondents felt blamed for the Israeli government’s actions because they are Jewish. At schools with the lowest levels of antisemitism, about 9% said they were often blamed for Israel’s actions, while 18% of respondents on the most-hostile campuses said they felt blamed. In a survey of 500 Jewish university students attending American universities, Stop Antisemitism found that 55% reported having personally been victims of antisemitism, 43% reported that they hide their Jewish identity from classmates out of fear, and 70% reported feeling blamed for the actions of Israel. Furthermore, 67% reported feeling like their university did not take sufficient action to protect Jewish students from antisemitism following October 7. Perhaps most troubling, 72% of students reported feeling unwelcome in certain campus spaces simply for being Jewish.²⁶ Another survey of 201 North American and European Jewish university students reported similar findings.²⁷ Longitudinal data gathered from January to May 2024 further highlight the potentially detrimental effects of stress associated with antisemitism for Jewish college and university Canadian students, with heightened antisemitism-related stress and stress attributable to the Israel–Palestine conflict independently associated with increased depressive symptoms.²⁸

Together, these studies document a high proportion of Jewish students experiencing antisemitism on their university campus and the potential effects of antisemitism on their mental health in the aftermath of October 7. However, these studies have not fully explored Jewish students' experiences of antisemitism, especially in their own words, nor have they examined the factors related to, and the potential effects of, antisemitism for students attending UK universities. A qualitative and quantitative exploration of Jewish students' encounters with campus antisemitism in the aftermath of the October 7 terrorist attacks can provide a more comprehensive understanding of their lived experiences during this tumultuous and often traumatic period.

CURRENT STUDY

This study utilizes the first comprehensive survey investigating the experiences of Jewish students at UK universities as they grappled with antisemitism in the academic year following October 7. Given the high incidence of antisemitism reported on UK campuses, such an undertaking is essential to address this research gap and to provide a data-driven approach for stakeholders developing policies and initiatives that tackle antisemitism on university campuses and in related contexts. Using survey data gathered from 497 Jewish students attending universities across the UK during the closing weeks of the 2023–2024 academic year, this study aims to document Jewish students' lived experiences of antisemitism at university after October 7, and identify variables associated with their experiences of antisemitism.

In line with previous research,²⁹ the present study examines whether demographic factors such as gender, nationality, department and level of study; factors related to opportunity (size of the Jewish student population); stimuli and organization (presence of protests/encampments); and distinguishability (presence of Jewish student society, involvement in Jewish organizations, openness about Jewish identity); and students'

perceptions of the university's response and support are associated with experiences of antisemitism. This makes it possible to assess whether having personally experienced and witnessed antisemitic incidents is associated with greater avoidance of campus activities, more concerns about antisemitism, feeling less safe on campus and lower educational and emotional wellbeing. Lastly, qualitative analysis is applied to answers to open questions. Together, these analyses provide a picture of antisemitism at UK universities as experienced by Jewish students in the aftermath of October 7.

METHODS

Ethics

Ethical approval was granted by the University of Reading on April 26, 2024.

Participants

The survey was conducted between May 29 and July 3, 2024. It was advertised widely via Jewish university student networks; the MS Teams survey link was sent to Jewish university groups (e.g., Jewish Student Society) via WhatsApp and placed on relevant websites, including the Union of Jewish Students (UJS). Inclusion criteria included self-identifying as Jewish and attending a UK university as an undergraduate or postgraduate student during the academic year of 2023–2024.

Participants were asked to first confirm their consent to participate in the survey based on their responses to three questions to ensure that they understood the purpose of the study and agreed to take part: data are stored anonymously and securely, participation is voluntary, and they can withdraw at any time. If they answered yes to these three questions, they were then asked a series of questions to determine whether they met the inclusion criteria. In total, there were 520 participants who responded to the survey. Of these, sixteen did not meet the inclusion

criteria as they did not self-identify as Jewish. A further seven were excluded due to not completing the survey ($n = 3$) or entering the survey more than once ($n = 4$). The final analytic sample included 497 participants.

Of the 497 participants, most were British (65%); 7% were American, 6% Israeli, 7% American/Israeli, 5% British/Israeli, and the remainder were from other countries. 54% identified their gender as female, 43% as male, and 3% as non-binary. The majority (77%) of the participants were undergraduate students, and 23% postgraduate students (13% Master's; 10% PhD).

Of the 138 universities on the Universities UK list, eighty-four universities drew responses to the survey. 90% of these universities have a Jewish student society on campus.

Procedure

The survey was developed based on recent previous surveys gathering data on antisemitism on university campuses, including the survey undertaken by Brandeis University staff in 2023.³⁰ The pilot survey was first tested with four university students, who provided comments on the nature of the questions and the length of the survey. Refinements based on their comments and suggestions were made, such as adding more diverse spaces on campus where antisemitism occurred. The final survey included a total of seventy-six questions, including four open-ended questions and six questions focusing on consent and inclusion criteria.

Students were asked a series of questions about their Jewish identity and involvement, concerns about antisemitism, experiences of antisemitism at university both before and after October 7, avoidance of certain university people or spaces due to antisemitism, and perceived impact of antisemitism on their well-being, studies, and feelings on campus (see "Measures" section for more details), and perceptions of safety and support, as well as about Palestine-related protests on campus.

In addition, there were four open-ended questions included in the survey. These included: "If you would like to, please use this space to share more about your experience with campus protests and encampments"; "Have you tried to avoid any other interactions or spaces at your university for fear of insult, harassment, or demonization since October 7?"; "Please specify, if you're willing, any incidents you have experienced since October 7"; and "If you wish, you can say more about your general experience on campus in relation to antisemitism and/or anti-Zionism here."

Participants also had the option of including their email address to enter a raffle for one of two £50 vouchers. The survey took an average of 15.5 minutes to complete.

Measures

Personally Experienced Antisemitism (before and after October 7)

Six questions assessed whether students had personally undergone such experiences as insult or harassment in class at university, both after and (for students not in their first year of study) before October 7. The total number of positive answers was computed for each respondent.

Witnessed Antisemitism (before and after October 7)

Five questions assessed whether students witnessed anyone else being subjected to similar experiences under the same circumstances. Again, the total number of positive answers was computed for each respondent.

Avoidance of Antisemitism

Students were asked whether they had tried to avoid certain student groups, buildings, lecturers, other staff, or classes at university since October 7 for fear of insult, harassment, or demonization. The total was computed, to a maximum of five.

Concerns about Antisemitism

The mean of eight questions was computed, assessing students' concerns about antisemitism in different contexts (1 = not at all; 5 = a lot), including in classes and seminars, on their university campus, in the United Kingdom, and around the world ($\alpha = .93$).

Negative Impact of Antisemitism

To assess the perceived negative impact of antisemitism on students, the mean of three questions was computed ($\alpha = .86$), which asked how much the current post-October 7 conflict has negatively affected their studies, wellbeing, and feelings about being on campus (1 = not at all; 5 = a lot).

University Support

This variable was computed as the number of positive answers to the questions "Do you feel that the university listens to you and provides support?" and "Do you feel you have someone at the university to speak to about your concerns?," and as such ranged from 0 to 2.

Jewish Student Population

The estimated Jewish population on campus (1 = less than 100, 2 = 100, 3 = 200, 4 = 300, 5 = 500, 6 = 700, 7 = 1000 or more) was obtained from the Union of Jewish Students' website.³¹

Jewish Student Society

The presence of a Jewish student society (1 = yes; 2 = no) was obtained from the Union of Jewish Students' website.³²

Data Analysis

IBM SPSS was used to analyze the closed-ended survey questions. First, measures were computed, with mean scores calculated for Likert-type responses and count variables computed for yes/no/not sure questions. Reliability was assessed for mean-computed measures. Descriptive statistics were then

computed to obtain the proportions, means and standard deviations of the antisemitism measures. T-tests were run to examine changes in students' experiences of antisemitism at university from before to after October 7.

A series of regression analyses were then run to examine whether students' recent experiences of antisemitism differed according to their own characteristics (i.e. gender, nationality, department, level of study, attendance at Jewish events, wearing signs of their Jewish identity) and those of their university (size of Jewish student population, presence of Jewish society, presence of protests/encampments on campus, respondent's perceptions of university support and the university taking antisemitism seriously). For categorical demographic variables, dummy codes were created, with the response having the highest proportion as the reference category. The reference categories included gender (male), department (Arts and Humanities) and level of study (undergraduate). For categorical Jewish involvement and identity questions, one end of the response scale was used as the reference category, including attending Jewish events (never) and wearing visible signs of one's Jewish identity (never). For the presence of university encampments, one end of the response scale was also used (no). Lastly, regression models were run to examine whether students who personally experienced and witnessed more incidents of antisemitism reported greater avoidance of people and spaces on campus, more concerns about antisemitism, more feelings of being unsafe and more negative effects of antisemitism.

For the open-ended responses, inductive thematic analysis was used. In line with Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke's research,³³ the process occurred in the following six phases. The first step involved reading and rereading the responses to the open-ended data to become familiar with the data. Second, a codebook was generated based on the responses and existing codes were modified and new codes added as

needed. Third, once the data were fully coded, the codes were examined to identify areas of overlap and similarity, generating themes and subthemes arising from the data. A theme “captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.”³⁴ For example, a few codes clustered around experiencing and personally witnessing discriminatory and aggressive language, so we generated the theme of hate speech. Fourth, potential themes were reviewed in relation to the coded data to ensure the themes captured the most relevant elements of the students’ experiences. Fifth, the themes were defined and named. Lastly, key themes were identified, based on the frequency and severity of antisemitism, for the first two open-ended questions (avoidance and encampments) and the final two open-ended questions (incidents and general experiences). For the first 100 participants, the responses from the four open-ended questions were second-coded to establish reliability, which was ninety-five percent across the responses.

RESULTS

This section is divided into three subsections: descriptive statistics, regression models, and qualitative analysis.

Descriptive Statistics

Prior to October 7, 24% of respondents reported that they personally experienced and 26% reported having witnessed at least one incidence of antisemitism. Post-October 7, this increased to 72% who personally experienced and 70% who witnessed at least one incidence of antisemitism. Together, 33% either personally experienced or witnessed antisemitism before October 7, while 81% personally experienced or witnessed antisemitism after October 7 (see Figure 1).

Of those who personally experienced antisemitism prior to October 7 ($n = 120$), these incidents occurred in an average of 2.36 ($SD = 1.44$) contexts (i.e. on campus, social media, in class). Of those who witnessed antisemitism ($n = 130$) prior to October 7,



FIGURE 1. Percentage of Respondents who Experienced or Witnessed Antisemitism before and after October 7.

respondents reported these incidents occurred in an average of 2.42 (SD = 1.34) contexts. Of those who personally experienced antisemitism post-October 7 (n = 356), respondents reported these incidents occurred in 2.75 (SD = 1.59) contexts, on average. Of those who witnessed antisemitism (n = 346) after October 7, these incidents occurred in an average of 2.87 (SD = 1.28) contexts (see Figure 2).

12.5% of students reported having been “very” or “somewhat” uncomfortable about being openly Jewish before October 7, but 70% reported being “very” or “somewhat” uncomfortable about it since October 7. Moreover, 81% of the students (n = 405) reported avoiding at least one person or place due to antisemitism, while 40% reported that antisemitism negatively affected their well-being “a lot,” and 33% and 28% reported that it affected their feelings about being on campus and their studies “a lot” (respectively).

Regression Models

Table 1 presents the coefficients from a series of regression models constructed in order to

estimate the association between a range of student and university characteristics and the following outcome variables: witnessing antisemitism, personally experiencing antisemitism, avoidance of antisemitism, concerns about antisemitism, negative effects of antisemitism, and feeling safe on campus due to antisemitism.

Compared to the very small minority of non-binary students, female students were more likely to report negative effects of antisemitism than male students, while male students were more likely to report having witnessed antisemitism, avoiding people and spaces due to antisemitism, having concerns about antisemitism, feeling unsafe, and experiencing negative effects of antisemitism. Compared to British students, Israeli students were more likely to report negative effects of antisemitism and European students were more likely to have witnessed antisemitism.

Compared to undergraduate students, PhD students were more likely to report avoiding certain people and spaces at university. Compared to students in Arts and Humanities,

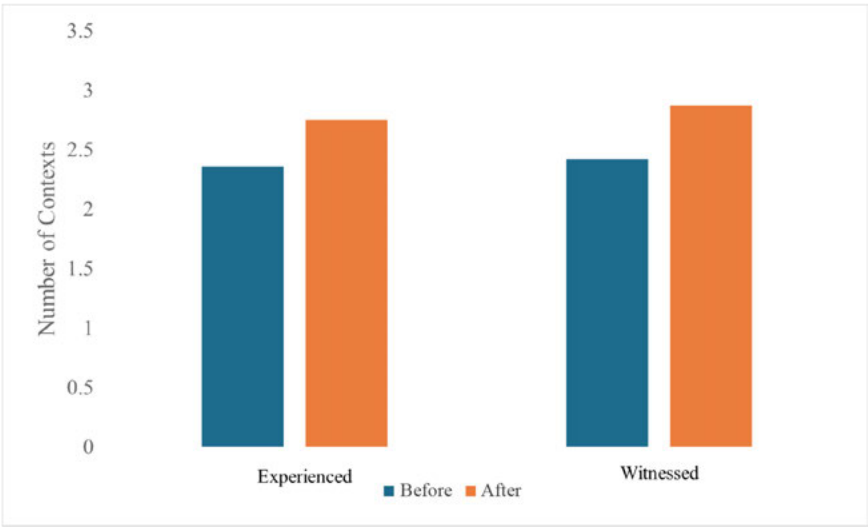


FIGURE 2. Mean Number of Contexts in which Respondents Experienced or Witnessed Antisemitism before and after October 7.

students in Social Sciences were more likely to avoid people and spaces at university due to antisemitism, while those in Natural Sciences were less likely to do so. Again, compared to students in the Arts and Humanities, Law students were more likely to have personally experienced antisemitism and reported having more negative effects of antisemitism, while those in Medical Sciences reported feeling less safe on campus.

Compared to students who “never” wore Jewish symbols, students who wore them “always” and “sometimes” were more likely to report negative effects of antisemitism and less likely to feel safe on campus. Students who organized Jewish events were more likely to report having personally experienced and witnessed antisemitic incidents after October 7, avoiding people and spaces at university due to antisemitism, and having more concerns about antisemitism than students who never organized them. Compared to students who never attended Jewish events, students who attended regularly were more likely not only to report having personally experienced and witnessed antisemitic incidents after October 7, but also to report avoiding people and spaces at university due to antisemitism and having concerns about antisemitism. Students who occasionally attended Jewish events were also more likely to have personally experienced antisemitism than students who never attended them.

In terms of university characteristics, students who attended universities with larger Jewish student populations were less likely to have personally experienced antisemitic incidents post October 7. Students who perceived their university leadership to be serious about antisemitism and who reported receiving higher levels of support from their university were less likely to report having personally experienced and witnessed antisemitic incidents post-October 7, avoiding certain people and spaces at university due to antisemitism, having concerns about antisemitism, feeling unsafe on campus, and experiencing negative effects of antisemitism.

Studying at a university where protests or encampments took place was associated with feeling unsafe, and also with greater concern about antisemitism. The presence of a Jewish student society on campus was not associated with any of the outcome variables.

As shown in Table 2, both having personally experienced and having witnessed more antisemitic incidents were independently and significantly associated with avoiding more spaces and people due to antisemitism, having more concerns about antisemitism, feeling less safe on campus and experiencing more negative effects of antisemitism. For example, for each incidence of antisemitism personally experienced, Jewish students avoided an additional .48 people and spaces, and for each incidence of antisemitism witnessed, Jewish students avoided an additional .28 people and spaces.

Qualitative Analysis

There was a total of 669 responses to the four open-ended questions. From these, ten key themes were generated. For the most part, the themes which emerged from the students’ responses were similar across the open-ended questions. Quotations from individual responses are numerically labelled, to indicate which question elicited the response.

Avoidance of People and Spaces

This theme reflects students not attending events and activities on campus and avoiding “certain areas at certain times” (1) due to antisemitism. The majority avoided areas where there were encampments and/or protests, for example, “I avoid taking the route down the main street where the encampment is, which is quite hard to avoid in a small town” (1). Many reported having opted out of going to spaces that further their studies, such as “lectures,” “research seminars,” and “exhibitions and conferences’ calls for papers” (1). For example, one student wrote, “I couldn’t

TABLE 1. Student– and University–Level Predictors for Experiences of Antisemitism

	Personally Experienced Antisemitism				Witnessed Antisemitism				
Predictors	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p	B
(Constant)	2.93	.42	6.98	.00	2.06	.40	5.21	.00	2.72
Student–level									
Female	−.01	.16	−.09	.93	−.08	.15	−.50	.62	.18
Non–Binary	−.56	.45	−1.26	.21	−.99	.42	−2.34	.02	−1.11
American	.49	.33	1.50	.14	.31	.31	1.01	.31	.35
Israeli	.06	.25	.25	.80	.31	.23	1.33	.18	.31
European	.24	.26	.92	.36	.48	.25	1.96	.05	.19
PhD student	.32	.28	1.15	.25	−.02	.26	−.07	.95	.79
Postgraduate student	−.08	.25	−.33	.74	−.04	.24	−.16	.88	.26
Business Dept.	−.09	.33	−.27	.78	.06	.31	.19	.85	.03
Education Dept.	.36	.63	.58	.56	−.33	.59	−.56	.58	.22
Engineering Dept.	.00	.32	.00	1.00	−.32	.30	−1.05	.29	−.18
Interdisciplinary Dept.	.25	.53	.47	.64	−.14	.50	−.27	.79	.08
Law Dept.	1.02	.47	2.17	.03	.27	.44	.62	.54	.55
Natural Science Dept.	−.29	.28	−1.03	.30	.14	.27	.54	.59	−.67
Medical Science Dept.	.12	.24	.50	.62	−.01	.22	−.04	.97	.04
Social Science Dept.	.09	.22	.41	.68	.01	.21	.06	.95	.45
Jewish Identity (Always)	.24	.20	1.17	.24	.08	.19	.40	.69	.18
Jewish Identity (Sometimes)	−.01	.20	−.05	.96	−.14	.19	−.74	.46	.10
Organize Events	1.01	.26	3.83	.00	1.03	.25	4.14	.00	.56
Attend Events (Regularly)	.82	.25	3.34	.00	.78	.23	3.33	.00	.56
Attend Events (Occasionally)	.47	.22	2.16	.03	.31	.21	1.48	.14	.15
University–level									
Number of Jewish Students	−.09	.04	−2.66	.01	−.04	.03	−1.10	.27	−.05
Jewish Student Society	−.22	.29	−.74	.46	.18	.28	.64	.52	−.09
University Serious about Antisemitism	−.27	.07	−3.63	.00	−.28	.07	−3.93	.00	−.36
University Support	−.41	.11	−3.77	.00	−.31	.10	−2.99	.00	−.34
Presence of Campus Protests	−.09	.29	−.29	.77	.47	.28	1.69	.09	.50
Witnessed Campus Protests	−.42	.34	−1.24	.22	.41	.32	1.27	.21	.04
R ² (Adjusted R ²)		.17(.12)					.17(.12)		

Avoidance due to Antisemitism				Concerns about Antisemitism				Feel Safe on Campus				Negative Effects of Antisemitism		
SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p
.38	7.19	.00	4.18	.21	20.37	.00	2.48	.26	9.70	.00	3.67	.26	14.18	.00
.15	1.26	.21	.06	.08	.72	.47	-.13	.10	-1.34	.18	.27	.10	2.75	.01
.40	-2.75	.01	-.88	.22	-4.00	.00	.64	.27	2.34	.02	-.58	.28	-2.12	.03
.29	1.20	.23	.27	.16	1.71	.09	.17	.20	.84	.40	.34	.20	1.70	.09
.22	1.40	.16	.09	.12	.78	.43	-.15	.15	-1.02	.31	.42	.15	2.72	.01
.24	.80	.43	.22	.13	1.72	.09	.06	.16	.39	.70	.30	.16	1.84	.07
.25	3.15	.00	.16	.14	1.19	.23	.04	.17	.25	.80	.22	.17	1.27	.20
.23	1.14	.25	-.04	.12	-.29	.77	.00	.15	.00	1.0	.13	.16	.85	.39
.30	.12	.91	.03	.16	.16	.88	-.19	.20	-.96	.34	-.15	.20	-.73	.46
.56	.38	.70	-.04	.31	-.13	.90	.36	.38	.95	.34	-.38	.38	-1.00	.32
.29	-.62	.54	.20	.16	1.30	.20	-.25	.19	-1.29	.20	.04	.20	.20	.84
.48	.17	.86	.24	.26	.90	.37	-.39	.32	-1.21	.23	.11	.33	.33	.74
.42	1.32	.19	.07	.23	.32	.75	-.38	.28	-1.35	.18	.68	.29	2.36	.02
.26	-2.63	.01	-.16	.14	-1.17	.24	-.02	.17	-.09	.93	-.21	.17	-1.18	.24
.21	.18	.86	.22	.12	1.92	.06	-.38	.14	-2.64	.01	.25	.15	1.69	.09
.20	2.26	.02	.03	.11	.27	.79	-.06	.13	-.43	.67	.18	.14	1.30	.19
.18	.99	.32	.03	.10	.30	.76	-.31	.12	-2.53	.01	.30	.12	2.42	.02
.18	.54	.59	-.01	.10	-.10	.92	-.28	.12	-2.32	.02	.28	.12	2.33	.02
.24	2.35	.02	.28	.13	2.17	.03	.10	.16	.66	.51	.13	.16	.80	.42
.22	2.50	.01	.23	.12	1.94	.05	.00	.15	-.01	.99	.09	.15	.58	.56
.20	.77	.44	.02	.11	.14	.88	.22	.13	1.65	.10	-.08	.14	-.60	.55
.03	-1.50	.14	-.01	.02	-.47	.64	.01	.02	.32	.75	-.02	.02	-1.07	.29
.26	-.35	.72	.04	.14	.27	.79	.12	.18	.70	.48	-.15	.18	-.83	.41
.07	-5.28	.00	-.21	.04	-5.80	.00	.37	.05	8.24	.00	-.21	.05	-4.60	.00
.10	-3.51	.00	-.23	.05	-4.34	.00	.14	.07	2.06	.04	-.15	.07	-2.20	.03
.27	1.90	.06	.30	.14	2.07	.04	-.41	.18	-2.29	.02	.35	.18	1.90	.06
.31	.12	.90	.29	.17	1.72	.09	-.47	.21	-2.26	.02	.13	.21	.63	.53
24(.19)				.26(.21)				.22(.18)				.29(.25)		

TABLE 2. Personally Experienced and Witnessed Antisemitism on Student Outcomes

Variables	Avoidance due to Antisemitism				Concerns about Antisemitism				Effects of Antisemitism				Feel Safe on Campus			
	B	SE	t	Sig	B	SE	t	Sig	B	SE	t	Sig	B	SE	t	Sig
(Constant)	.86	.09	9.97	.00	3.23	.05	61.66	.00	2.79	.07	41.93	.00	3.76	.07	50.73	.00
Personally Experienced Antisemitism	.45	.04	10.78	.00	.21	.03	8.29	.00	.26	.03	8.08	.00	-.25	.04	-6.92	.00
Witnessed Antisemitism	.28	.04	6.47	.00	.14	.03	5.37	.00	.15	.03	4.32	.00	-.09	.04	-2.37	.02
R ² (Adjusted R ²)	.70 (.49)				.62(.38)				.58(.34)				.48(.23)			

go [to] study in the library because people were shouting into a megaphone outside the entrance multiple times” (3). Another wrote, “I have been avoiding attending lectures in person due to the nature of the protests and their banners and signs that will of course offend me. Also, as I wear a Star of David constantly and proudly, so there are fears” (4).

Withdrawal from Campus

This theme reflects students’ withdrawal from campus life, which sometimes included their academic studies. As one student noted, “My campus has been host to so many occupations over the past year. Unfortunately, this has caused me to miss classes, not [go] to certain buildings, [and not] participate in certain student events” (1). Other students mentioned avoiding campus due to antisemitism except, when necessary, for example, writing, “I try to spend as little possible time on campus and not be in crowded places” (1). Some students decided to opt out of school altogether due to antisemitism. A student wrote, “I just didn’t go to school” (2). Another student explained, “I previously studied a history course at [name of university] but left after one year. This was because I took an elective on Middle Eastern history that was taught in an extremely anti-Zionist way. I felt extremely unsafe and didn’t even feel I could report it” (4).

Social Exclusion

This theme highlights the sense of social exclusion that many students reported due to antisemitism. For some, this social exclusion was subtle, with other students distancing themselves and reducing their interaction with the Jewish student. For example, one student wrote, “though there is no obvious malice or attack, I always feel that some people have changed their attitude towards me” (1). Other students faced more severe social exclusion from roommates and friends. For example, one student wrote, “I have had numerous people who I thought were friends accuse me of being a genocide apologist, a Nazi, a fascist, a racist, and a supporter of apartheid, as well as [of being] Islamophobic” (3). Another student wrote, “I have been removed from a group chat with my course friends. I have been excluded from meetups with them. I have lost friendships I thought were genuine” (3). Within this theme, there were also some Jewish students who described themselves as “non-Zionist” or “antizionist” and opposed to the current Israeli government, and who felt excluded by other Jewish people and from Jewish spaces. As one student explained, “My opposition to the actions of the Israeli government has [led to my being] ostracized . . . from certain Jewish spaces on campus” (1).

Identity Anxiety

This theme underlines the discomfort many students feel about their Jewish identity when confronted with antisemitism. Some students, for example, hid their Jewish identity when walking around campus. For example, one student wrote, “There was a Pro-Palestine stand at the front of the university entrance. I had to hide my identity as I walked past as I am visibly Jewish” (2). Others mentioned avoiding posting on social media and discussing their political views with classmates or even non-Jewish friends. A student noted, “I won’t talk about Israel. I won’t post about Israel. I won’t post anything political at all for fear that someone will say to me ‘You’re happy to speak up about XYZ but why won’t you speak up about Palestine?’” (2). Several students wrote that they refrained from telling people they are Jewish. One student said, “I won’t say I’m Jewish because I’m scared” (2). Another student explained, “After October 7 I have become extremely paranoid that I will be ‘outed’ and have been extremely nice to people who know, [for] fear of being ‘exposed’. It’s so shameful” (3). For many, this identity anxiety profoundly impacted their mental health. A student wrote, “I do not feel safe or feel like I belong anymore. Last year, I happily announced to my class that I was Jewish; this year, I feel my whole body tense[s] if the word ‘Jew’ is even mentioned” (3). In another example, a student expressed, “I feel incredibly uncomfortable across the board . . . and go home most weeks now as a result. I can’t wear my Star of David necklace or kippah without feeling immense stress” (3). Another student explained, “I believe that for every Jew on campus, this year has been draining and defeating, and the amount of time I have to spend thinking about what I can share with who, where I can go, and what I can wear, etc., has increased exponentially” (4).

Conflation of Antisemitism and Antizionism

This theme reflects what appeared to be a minority concern that antisemitism and antizionism were being conflated by Jewish organizations. For example, one student complained, “I am concerned about the conflation of antisemitism and anti-Zionism. This conflation makes it harder to identify legitimate antisemitism and makes me feel less safe as a Jew on campus” (3). Another student similarly expressed the view that “There are many claims of antisemitism related to anti-Zionism that obscure real antisemitism and dilute the meaning and seriousness of actual incidents” (3), while another wrote, “I have consistently seen the discourse of campus antisemitism weaponized to avoid real discussions around the situation in Israel/Palestine, in such a way which makes it harder for instances of genuine antisemitism to be taken seriously” (3). Students who expressed concerns of this nature generally appeared to consider themselves part of the “non-Zionist” or “antizionist” minority among Jewish students, and a number of them reported attending the kinds of protests and encampments that made other Jewish students feel unsafe. For example, one wrote, “I’ve seen the blossoming of a fantastic pro-Palestine, largely anti-Zionist community at my university” (4). A typical complaint from these students was of feeling socially excluded from the Jewish community. As one student explained, “Having more recently spent time amongst pro-Palestinian antiwar protesters, I feel in many ways more welcome and supported as a Jewish student there, as opposed to in spaces where my right to Jewish community is predicated on loud affirmations of unquestioning Zionism” (4). Another student who identified as “non-Zionist” suggested that “more should be done to help Jewish students on campus, no matter their political or religious leanings” (4).

Hate Speech

This theme focused on hate speech, personally experienced or witnessed. Many students mentioned that the protests and encampments promoted hate speech about Israel and Judaism. One student noted that a sign said “there is only one solution, intifada revolution” (2). Violence was also sanctioned through signs such as “when Palestine is occupied, resistance is justified” (2). Students also noted that there were “signs in support of [the] Houthis” (2). Social media was also an issue, for instance, with other students “sharing antisemitic posts on certain university societies’ social media pages” (2). Other students mentioned being personally targeted on social media, for example, complaining of “hate messages on my Instagram” (2). Many others were targeted while walking around campus—for instance, the respondent who wrote of “relentless abuse while walking past Palestinian protests and numerous fliers and posters ripped down that I’ve shared of people close to my community who are hostages or killed” (3). Several students also noted that they experienced hate speech while walking to religious services while at university, for example, “Somebody shouted ‘f**ing pig’ at me while walking to synagogue” (3).

Hate Crime

This theme captures the violent and unlawful acts perpetuated against Jewish students on campus. For some students, this involved property damage, including “vandalism in a flat in my halls” (3). For other students, hate crimes were more serious and had repercussions for their education. One student shared their story, “A public post was made about me, accusing me (by name) of supporting genocide, killing children and supporting [the] Israeli occupation. None of which was true. This post has been shared multiple times. It has led to me receiving threats that I would be physically hurt if I am seen [on] campus” (3). Other students had to get the police involved, for example, one student wrote, “Someone threatened to rape me and

called me names because I was Jewish. The police were brought in, and CST were informed” (3). Another student expressed, “I’ve been harassed in class, people posting ‘Zionist demons should die’ etc. I have had to get the police to order a [person] to stay away from me.” A few students mentioned physical assaults of Jewish students. One student relayed, “I had a friend who was assaulted while entering his apartment building after walking back from campus. A group of pro-Palestinian protesters recognized his kippah and attacked him” (3).

Institutional Apathy

This theme reflects the lack of support and governance from the student’s university regarding antisemitism. One student, for example, noted, “encampment has signs about Jews and the university have done nothing to help” (2). Other students felt that their university did not address antisemitism on campus. A student wrote, “I feel the university doesn’t take the worries of Jewish students seriously” (2). A few students mentioned that they felt their university was supportive at first, but then this waned over time. One student noted, “I feel [university name] started very positively after October 7 with regards to handling anti-Israel and antisemitism on campus; however, it feels as the end of term approaches, they have just given up and are letting the pro Palestine students do what they want” (2). Other students discussed the university was slow to respond to concerns about safety, for example, “Palestine Soc posted a video of our SU security guards in uniform going along with their protest. This is unacceptable, and I feel very unsafe. I raised the issue at my university, and they haven’t done [anything] / gotten back to me. It’s been around two months” (3). Some students also perceived that their university seemed unwilling or even nervous to curtail the protests and encampments, with one writing, “Our university has previously faced a lot of criticism for apparently restricting free speech, and they are generally very scared to take a stance” (3).

Compromised Mental Health

Students frequently highlighted the negative toll that antisemitism has had on their mental health. For many students, the protests and encampments were extremely distressing. One student wrote, for example, “I try not to look too much when I walk past [the protests]—again trying to avoid for my own mental wellbeing” (2). For some students, the protest and encampments also impacted their studies. A student wrote, “Makes it really difficult to study on campus when you can hear it in the background / see posters, etc., everywhere. As such an emotive topic which causes me to feel such upset, it’s something I try really hard to block out whilst I’m studying and revising for exams. This is hard enough without protests and posters constantly reminding me of it” (2). Another student noted that they had a “panic attack during a supervision because of a pro-Palestinian protest on-campus” (3). Others felt fearful and worried about their safety. One student stated, “The chants in the main campus are antisemitic and make me feel unsafe” (2). Many students highlighted their sense of isolation and vulnerability, with one, for example, writing, “I have never felt less protected as a Jew and [more] alone” (3).

Educational Ostracization

This theme reflects students’ experiences in academic spaces when Jews are ostracized or harassed for being Jewish. One student, for example, wrote, “It has been a nightmare being on campus. I have to sit through classes and exams while I’m hearing people scream for my extermination and then being told that it’s perfectly supported by the university. I’ve had to pretend to be perfectly ok in front of guest lecturers for fear that if they knew anything about me, they might treat me differently. I’ve had to sit through people trying to explain to me that Hamas are resistance fighters and be accused of [whataboutism] when I bring up any other horrific event in the past year” (2). Another student wrote that, for a class right after October 7, “[the] lecturer changed the title of the lecture

just before to be about Gaza (my module is nothing to do with that) even though he knew I had friends who died in Israel. There were only 4 people in the class” (3). Another student explained, “There are only 15 Jews on our entire campus, and we are constantly excluded, marginalized, and surrounded by a sea of hatred for Israel and the Jewish people” (4).

It is also important to note that there were some students who provided examples of supportive practices from their lecturers, personal tutors and heads of department. For example, one respondent wrote, “The Head of my Department reached out to me and told me his doors were open if I was distressed by the encampments” (3).

DISCUSSION

The present study documents the lived experiences of Jewish students following the October 7 terrorist attack on Israel. In many ways, the findings are not unexpected as they confirm other research reports about antisemitism on university campuses.³⁵ However, the survey evidence provides further confirmatory evidence of the scale and scope of the problem, and underlines the associated effects of antisemitism on the lives of Jewish students attending UK universities. Below, the key findings from the survey are highlighted and then recommendations are offered.

Discussion of Key Findings

Students, on average, reported that they experienced two antisemitic incidents at university during the 2023–2024 academic year, which was more than twice what they reported experiencing the previous year. Furthermore, 33% reported that they personally experienced or witnessed antisemitism before October 7, while 81% personally experienced or witnessed antisemitism after October 7. This dramatic rise in antisemitism on UK campuses supports Feinberg’s hypothesis regarding *stimuli*, which proposes that antisemitism increases following an event

that usually involves Israel, in this case, the October 7 terrorist attack and the subsequent Israel-Hamas war.

The regression models further show which Jewish students were more likely to have personally experienced or witnessed antisemitism on campus. In line with Feinberg's hypothesis regarding *distinguishability*, which focuses on a target group's identifiability in the occurrence of hate crimes, Jewish students who organize, regularly or occasionally attend Jewish events were more likely to have personally experienced or witnessed antisemitism since October 7. In contrast to Feinberg's hypothesis on the role of *opportunity*, however, students at universities with larger Jewish student populations were less likely to report having experienced or witnessed antisemitism.³⁶ This finding is in line with another survey showing a "safety in numbers" effect for antisemitism on UK campuses.³⁷ Students who reported higher levels of university support and their university taking antisemitism seriously were also less likely to have experienced or witnessed antisemitism, highlighting the significant role that universities themselves play in reducing hate crimes on their campuses.

The findings also indicate that many Jewish students avoided aspects of university life after October 7, with students avoiding, on average, two different people and spaces due to antisemitism. In line with earlier findings,³⁸ this underscores the pervasiveness of antisemitism on UK campuses. Female students and PhD students reported being more likely to avoid people and spaces due to antisemitism than males and undergraduate students. Studying in Social Science departments was associated with the highest levels of avoidance of people and spaces, and studying in Natural Science departments was associated with the lowest, with studying in Arts and Humanities departments being associated with an intermediate effect. Students who organize and regularly attend Jewish events also reported higher levels of avoidance; however, those who reported that their university takes antisemitism seriously and they had university

support were less likely to avoid people and spaces on campus due to antisemitism.

The open-ended responses further emphasize how Jewish students withdrew from other aspects of university life, including seminar or lecture rooms, online learning spaces, events, and whole areas of campus. Respondents also reported withdrawing from friends and roommates as well as from social activities and social media due to antisemitism. Likewise, Jewish students reported being socially excluded from people and spaces, with students reporting that they were removed from chat groups and that former "friends" no longer associated with them. These students' experiences further suggest an immediate (and potentially future) impact on their learning, social connections, and mental health. More than a handful of students also noted withdrawing completely from their studies, based on their adverse experiences with antisemitism after October 7. Additionally, a small number of students who identified as "non-Zionist" or "antizionist" reported feeling excluded from Jewish activities, events and sources of support due to their beliefs.

Similar to other reports,³⁹ antisemitism since October 7 seems to impact students' Jewish identity and involvement. Students, on average, reported a significant change from being "somewhat comfortable" to "somewhat uncomfortable" with openness about their Jewish identity from pre to post October 7. This finding appears to be echoed in some of the open-ended responses, with students mentioning feeling anxious about their Jewish identity. Students reported hiding their identity on campus, not wearing Jewish symbols, and not talking about Israel or their Judaism on social media. Many students reported feeling stressed and ashamed as a result. In further support of the *distinguishability* hypothesis, those students who exposed their Jewish identity to others were more likely to be targeted, which further persuaded many students to keep a low profile.⁴⁰

The findings also indicate that those Jewish students whose universities had protests or

encampments on campuses were more likely to report concerns about antisemitism and feeling unsafe on campus. Similar to the findings on experiencing antisemitism, students who reported having university support and perceiving that their university takes antisemitism seriously had fewer concerns about antisemitism, felt safer on campus and reported fewer negative effects of antisemitism. Although a handful of students reported positive experiences of university support in the open-ended responses, most reported instances of university apathy, with universities seeming unwilling or even nervous to take a stand against antisemitic activities and experiences on campus.

The survey also highlights the repercussions of antisemitism, with students who personally experienced and/or witnessed antisemitism reporting more concerns about antisemitism, feeling more unsafe on campus, and reporting more negative effects of antisemitism. These findings are illuminated by students' voices detailing their antisemitic experiences, which included both hate speech and crime. Verbal harassment was a significant theme, with these incidents occurring in the classroom, on campus, especially as students walked past encampments, and on social media. Students also wrote of physical and sexual threats, stalking and physical assault. The impact of these attacks included fear, intimidation, and shame for the victims, leading to a sense of isolation, exclusion and vulnerability for many Jewish students.

Recommendations

The scale of the antisemitism that university students are experiencing demonstrates the pressing need to address this issue and to design systemic, holistic responses from universities, policymakers, and the higher education sector. While initial and many thoughtful responses to this issue have been implemented at some institutions, a more joined-up approach is required to tackle the antisemitism in higher education. To that end, a number of recommendations have

been offered to protect Jewish students as well as free speech and academic freedom.⁴¹ An overview of the common themes of these various sets of recommendations follows.

First, a sectoral taskforce should be created to focus on combatting antisemitism in universities and the higher education sector, comprising senior leaders from universities, sector-specific bodies and representatives from relevant Jewish staff and student organizations (e.g., Union of Jewish Students and Jewish Chaplaincy). The taskforce's aim would be to conduct further research, as necessary, and to produce guidance that can be adopted by individual universities as well as by the sector overall. The taskforce would also consider devising a tool to measure universities' progress in tackling antisemitism.

Second, universities should meet and communicate with their Jewish students and staff regularly, particularly when there are key challenges such as encampments or a rise in antisemitic incidents. Good practice could include open "town hall" meetings with senior leadership at the university, and effective communication mechanisms for all Jewish students with the students' union, as well as discussions with and support for elected Jewish Society representatives. This would be in line with other similar models that are used for other minority groups (e.g., disability networks, LGBT networks, etc.).

Third, universities should ensure that they have clear, enforceable definitions of antisemitism that are included in staff and student codes of conduct and other relevant documents. Those definitions need to be part of diversity and inclusion training and awareness for all members of the university community. Staff ought to receive clear messaging about antisemitism in learning spaces, including what constitutes antisemitism, staff responsibilities for avoiding the expression of antisemitism themselves and for addressing it when expressed by others in physical and online teaching spaces, and where/from whom they can access support. The nature of antisemitism as a

diversity and inclusion issue and the legal protections under the Equality Act 2010 must be central to any training and awareness raising.

Fourth, accessible, clear, and effective reporting procedures should be made available for anyone who has been the victim of or witnessed antisemitism. Reporting mechanisms need to be accessible and easily available, with clear signposting about what will be done by whom within what timeframe at each stage of the process. There must be protection provided from reprisals for people who report antisemitism. Precise and effective disciplinary processes ought to be created and implemented to address all forms of antisemitism. It must be made clear that antisemitism, like all forms of discrimination based on protected characteristics, will not be tolerated. Senior leadership within universities ought to provide unambiguous communications about encampments, the right to protest peacefully, and the right to non-discrimination and non-harassment based on race or religion. These communications should be made accessible and openly available and should be quickly and visibly enforced.

To support universities in identifying cases in which rhetoric is judged to shift from harsh but legitimate criticism of Israel or Zionism to antisemitism, the Intra-Communal Professorial Group (ICPG) has produced a helpful list of key areas on which virtually all participants within the antisemitism debate agree are antisemitic.⁴²

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The research presented here suggests that, when Jewish students have university support and perceive that their university takes antisemitism seriously, they have fewer concerns about

antisemitism, feel safer on campus, and report fewer incidents of antisemitism and negative effects on their wellbeing and academic pursuits. Accordingly, the authors of this study recommend that universities adopt a policy of unambiguous support for Jewish students in the face of antisemitism and a zero-tolerance approach towards those—staff and students alike—who express antisemitic views.

In the immediate term, we would argue that university leadership can and should take a zero-tolerance approach to antisemitism in their institutions. Starting with acknowledging the problem, universities should set out their understanding of antisemitism and of their public duties under the Equality Act 2010 to protect Jewish students from harassment and discrimination. Next, universities should implement effective antisemitism training and robust report and support systems alongside mechanisms for swift enforcement of disciplinary action against perpetrators of antisemitism.

Further research should be undertaken to continue to record, understand and monitor the nature and form of antisemitism on university campuses. This would be a larger project than the current survey and designed to work with all relevant stakeholders to find consistent solutions for protecting Jewish students' safety and wellbeing. It should also extend to recording and understanding antisemitism as experienced and witnessed by Jewish university staff. In addition, universities can draw on their own research capacity to make more data-informed decisions about responding to antisemitism. This includes supporting research aimed at understanding antisemitism or evaluating the effectiveness of implemented solutions on their own campus.

ENDNOTES

- 1 2024 Report Card: Antisemitism on US Colleges and Universities Campuses, Stop Antisemitism, 2024, <https://stopantisemitism.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/StopAntisemitism-College-Report.pdf>.
- 2 Campus Antisemitism in Britain, 2022–2024, Community Security Trust, 2024, <https://cst.org.uk/public/data/file/f/d/Campus%20Antisemitism%20in%20Britain%202022-2024.pdf>.

- 3 Cary Nelson, Lilli Friedland, and Lesley O'Connell, "The Impact of Antisemitism on Emerging Adults' Jewish Identity. Part 1: Defining the Problem," *Journal of Contemporary Antisemitism* 7, no. 1 (2024): 35–52.
- 4 Lesley Klaff, "Contemporary Antisemitism on the UK University Campus: A Case Study and Context," *Justice Magazine* 59 (2018): 18–25; Talia Morstead and Anita DeLongis, "Antisemitism on Campus in the Wake of October 7: Examining Stress, Coping, and Depressive Symptoms Among Jewish Students," *Stress and Health* 41, no. 1 (2025): e3529.
- 5 "UK Government's Adoption of the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism," House of Commons Library, October 4, 2018, <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/uk-governments-adoption-of-the-ihra-definition-of-antisemitism/>.
- 6 "IHRA Campaign," Union of Jewish Students, Combatting Antisemitism, 2023, https://www.ujhs.org.uk/ihra_campaign.
- 7 "Working Definition of Antisemitism," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, 2016, <https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definition-antisemitism>.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Mateus R. Santos and Dikla Yogev, "How October 7, 2023, Changed Fear and Exposure to Hate among Jewish Members of Universities: A Research Note," *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 22 (2026), 71–86.
- 10 *Jewish on Campus Poll: Antisemitism at Colleges and Universities*, Ipsos, 2023, <https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2023-09/Jewish%20on%20Campus%20University%20Student%20Survey%20Antisemitism%20Topline%2008%2007%202023.pdf>; Barry A. Kosmin and Ariela Keysar, *National Demographic Survey of American Jewish College Students 2014: Antisemitism Report*, C:\Users\Leslie\AppData\Local\Microsoft\Outlook\Attachments\00a-1d52e211-c2c8-4bfc-b4b1-75cea6bade30\07d4b5a2e1d3e241d1cf-5733cf8f290204f143b7e95e6996649af4c825b0c2d4\, <https://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1133&context=facpub> 2015, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273375237_National_Demographic_Survey_of_American_Jewish_College_Students_2014_ANTI-SEMITISM_REPORT.
- 11 *Creating Community, Fostering Leadership*, Union of Jewish Students, National Jewish Student Survey, 2024, https://assets.nationbuilder.com/ujhs/pages/1126/attachments/original/1715947198/NJSS24_FINAL_Compressed.pdf?1715947198; David Graham and Jonathan Boyd, "Home and Away: Jewish Journeys toward Independence," Institute for Jewish Policy Research, October 4, 2011, <https://www.jpr.org.uk/reports/home-and-away-jewish-journeys-towards-independence>.
- 12 Kosmin and Keysar, *National Demographic Survey*.
- 13 Ayal K. Feinberg, "From Scholarship to Swastikas: Explaining Campus Antisemitic Events," Academic Engagement Network, Washington, D.C., 2021.
- 14 Feinberg, "From Scholarship to Swastikas."
- 15 Ibid. See also Kosmin and Keysar, *National Demographic Survey*.
- 16 *Creating Community, Fostering Leadership*.
- 17 Feinberg, "From Scholarship to Swastikas."
- 18 Rachel Shenhav-Goldberg and Jeffrey S. Kopstein, "Antisemitism on a California Campus: Perceptions and Views among Students," *Contemporary Jewry* 40 (2020): 237–258.
- 19 Leonard Saxe, Theodore Sasson, Graham Wright, Shahar Hecht, *Antisemitism and the College Campus: Perceptions and Realities*, Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University, July 2015, <https://www.brandeis.edu/cmjs/birthright/antisemitism.html>.
- 20 Feinberg, "From Scholarship to Swastikas."
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.; see also Ayal Feinberg, "Explaining Ethnoreligious Minority Targeting: Variation in US Antisemitism Incidents," *Perspectives on Politics* 18, no. 3 (2020): 770–787.
- 23 Kosmin and Keysar, *National Demographic Survey*.
- 24 Feinberg, "From Scholarship to Swastikas."
- 25 Wright, G. W., Volodarsky, S., Hecht, S., & Saxe, L., *In the Shadow of War: Hotspots of Antisemitism on US College Campuses*, Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University, 2023, <https://www.brandeis.edu/cmjs/antisemitism/hotspots-2023-report1.html>.
- 26 *2024 Report Card*.
- 27 Santos and Yogev, "How October 7, 2023, Changed."
- 28 Morstead and DeLongis, "Antisemitism on Campus."

- 29 For example, *2024 Report Card*; Feinberg, "From Scholarship to Swastikas"; Wright et al., *In the Shadow of War*.
- 30 Wright et al., *In the Shadow of War*.
- 31 "Find my JSoc," Union of Jewish Students, accessed July 2024, <https://www.ujss.org.uk/j-socs>.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 77–101.
- 34 Ibid., 82.
- 35 *2024 Report Card; Campus Antisemitism in Britain, 2022–2024*; Santos and Yogev, "How October 7, 2023, Changed"; Wright et al., *In the Shadow of War*.
- 36 Feinberg, "From Scholarship to Swastikas."
- 37 *Creating Community, Fostering Leadership*.
- 38 Kosmin and Keysar, *National Demographic Survey*.
- 39 *2024 Report Card*.
- 40 Feinberg, "From Scholarship to Swastikas."
- 41 *Antisemitism on Campus: Protecting Free Speech, Preventing Discrimination*, Intra-Communal Professorial Group, 2024, https://www.icpg.org.uk/_files/ugd/e23fb6_b1f1fb36b62f4ec7821794253fe66a17.pdf; *2024 Report Card; Campus Antisemitism in Britain, 2022–2024*.
- 42 *Antisemitism on Campus*, section 51.