POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

Challenging the Right,
Advancing Social Justice

CONSTRUCTING CAMPUS CONFLICT

Antisemitism and Islamophobia
on U. S. College Campuses,
2007-2011:
Appendices

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POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

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SURVEY OF MSA STUDENTS:

An Initial Study on Small-Scale Islamophobia on American College Campuses

BY PAMELA TAYLOR

THE PURPOSE OF THIS PORTION of the Islamophobia study was to document the "small" occurrences of Islamophobia on college campuses. A perusal of the mass media brings to light a variety of well publicized and loudly discussed occurrences: the furor over the decision made by the maintenance department at the University of Michigan to build a couple of footbaths to address safety concerns created by Muslim students performing ritual ablutions in bathroom sinks; the decision of Temple University to forgo an endowed chair in religious studies (which then went to George Mason) due to concerns over the organization which sponsored the endowment despite the fact that the organization provided all the legal documentation required; Islamo-Facism Week events sponsored by off-campus organizer David Horowitz; the railroading of various scholars because of their views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by groups such as Campus Watch; an uproar over an email from a Michigan State professor labeling Muslim students as brutal and uncivilized, telling them to go back home after the Danish cartoon incident.

Sensational events are important to document, as they affect the atmosphere both on the campus where they occur and on a national scale, where other colleges may be wary of similar controversies. These events may make Muslim students and professors feel, at any moment, that they may garner national attention for seeking religious accommodations at their school or voicing their opinions on the Middle East. At the same time, it is also important to document the small-scale incidents of Islamophobia that affect the lives of Muslim students on American college campuses.

There is much talk about the biases that Muslim students face on their college campuses, but little documentation on how prevalent such experiences are or are not. The goal of this study, which was conducted through personal interviews and surveys at MSAs, was to document the small, often unreported, incidents that have occurred to individual Muslim students; to gauge the percentage of campuses and students affected by such incidents, and their reactions to them. While these types of incidents do not make it to the newspapers, the study's researchers believe they are important in that they create an atmosphere where Muslims students do not feel at ease on their campuses.

For this study, interviews and surveys were conducted among members of Muslim student organizations, both on campuses and at the East Zone and National conferences of the Muslim Students Association. This target group was selected as they self-identify as Muslim and are involved in Muslim activities on their campuses, making them visible representatives of the religion. Of the women participating in the conferences or interviewed at their campuses, approximately 90% wore headscarves. The men were less easily identifiable as Muslim by their appearance, although the vast majority were obviously from non-White backgrounds; approximately 50% of them had beards.

Students were either interviewed or asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding their general perception of their campus and administration, and about any specific incidents that occurred either to themselves personally, or to other members of their community, mosque, or Islamic center. The students interviewed came from 55 different colleges across the United States. These ranged from public and private universities, large and small institutions, community colleges, colleges with religious affiliations, and secular institutions. (A list of the schools represented is included at the end of the report, along with the questions asked.)

Of the 55 colleges, only 11 (20%) were described as unwelcoming, while the remaining 44 (80%) were described as welcoming. Many students wrote that their college makes a special effort to include students of various backgrounds in campus events. General student diversity was also cited as a factor in fostering a welcoming atmosphere on campus. Others mentioned interfaith offices and events as being important to their sense of belonging. Prayer space, halal dining options, and college funding/support of Muslim student groups were also listed as factors that made Muslim students feel welcome on their campus.

Students who did not feel welcome cited lack of prayer space, no Muslim student organization, and no acknowledgment of Muslim holidays. Some felt that there was a negative atmosphere toward Muslims on the campus, with other students displaying intolerance or outright hatred.

Discriminatory incidents were reported at 21 (38%) of the colleges, while 34 (62%) of the colleges did not have any reports of problems. Of the incidents reported, the majority (76%) involved verbal harassment, either by peers or professors. These incidents were overwhelmingly peer-related (81%), with only three incidents of professorial hostility (19%).

Other cited incidents included refusal by professors to reschedule exams for Muslim holidays, graffiti on posters for Muslim events or Muslim spaces, vandalism of displays, a campus newspaper that was described as anti-Muslim, right-wing protestors who denigrated Islam during protests, physical harassment, and a bomb threat made to a campus mosque. Only one student cited a campus event such as Islamo-Facism Week (an expected result as the surveys/interviews were attempting to document personal incidents, not campus events easily documented through mass media).

Approximately 30 percent of the students interviewed or surveyed reported incidents; the overwhelming majority of them said that incidents happened to them personally or to their institutions (masjid, MSA space, etc.) As stated above, the vast majority of incidents were in the form of verbal harassment, with discriminatory actions by professors being a distant second.

It is perhaps important to note that in face-to-face interviews, when asked if there had been any incidents the universal reply was "no." However, a few seconds later, approximately 40% of the respondents changed their answer to, "Well there was that time..." and went on to describe an incident that had happened to them personally or to a friend. In each case, the respondent downplayed the significance of

the incident saying that it was an isolated case, or that the stupid kids didn't know any better.

This attitude goes a long way to explain the fact that, of the campuses where incidents had been reported, nearly half of them were still perceived as being a welcoming place.

University and college administrations received high marks across the board with only three exceptions. In those cases, the administration was described as not taking strong enough steps to support Muslim organizations and students, or as covering up what they did on behalf of Muslim students as though they were ashamed of the support.

Additionally, several of the colleges received mixed reviews—with some students describing them as welcoming and others saying they were not. Administrations, too, were perceived differently by various students, with some getting both positive and negative comments. One or two people did often report incidents from a given college while other students from the same college had no knowledge of what had happened. This either points to the feeling that the incidents really are very minor, or that there is a lack of communication between students.

It is worth assessing whether the incidents are indeed minor or not. Name-calling and other verbal harassment were shrugged off by many of the students interviewed face-to-face. On the one hand, this represents healthy self-esteem on the part of the Muslim students who perceive that the problem does not lie with themselves but with the people who make rude or unpleasant comments; on the other, it represents the degree to which verbal harassment of this nature has become an expected and "normal" part of life for Muslim students.

While this study has revealed some significant data, it is recommended that further study be conducted, especially in light of the changing answers during the face-to-face interviews. Approximately 30% of the entire study group reported incidents, while approximately 40% of the direct interview subjects reported them. While this is not a huge difference, it would seem worthwhile to conduct more face-to-face interviews with students across the country.

Listing of incidents by type:
- Verbal harassment by peers: 13 incidents
- Verbal harassment by professors: 3 incidents
- Other actions by professors: 2 incidents
- Physical harassment by peers: 1 incident
- Discrimination on the part of administrations: 3 incidents
- Graffiti: 3 incidents
- Other: 4 incidents

Colleges Represented in Survey

1. City College of New York
2. City University of New York
3. College of Charleston (South Carolina)
4. College of Staten Island
5. Columbia University
6. Gateway Community College
7. Dartmouth College
8. Drexel University
9. George Mason University
10. Georgetown University
11. Hartford Seminary
12. Harvard University
13. Howard Community College
14. Howard University
15. Hunter College
16. Indiana State University
17. James Madison University
18. Kent State University
19. Long Island University
20. Manhattanville College
21. Marist College
22. Marymount University
23. Massachusetts Bay Community College
24. Massachusetts Institute of Technology
25. McDaniel College
26. Michigan State University – Ann Arbor
27. Montclair State University
28. Muhlenberg College
29. New York University
30. Northeastern University
31. Northern Virginia Community College – Annandale
32. Northern Virginia Community College – Alexandria
33. NOVA Southeastern University (Florida)
34. Purdue University
35. Russell Sage College
36. Rutgers (State University of New Jersey)
37. San Francisco State University
38. Siena College
39. Southern Connecticut State University
40. State University of New York—Albany
41. State University of New York – Stony Brook
42. St. Johns University
43. The College of William and Mary
44. University of Baltimore
45. University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey
46. University of California – Berkeley
47. University of California – Irvine
48. University of Florida
49. University of Minnesota
50. University of Pennsylvania
51. Virginia Commonwealth University
52. Wesleyan University
53. Western Illinois University
54. Wheelock College
55. Xavier University

Political Research Associates Survey on Islamophobia on College Campuses April 2009

(If you need more space, please continue on back)

1. Do you feel your campus is a welcoming place for Muslim students?   ____yes ____ no

1a. Why, or why not?

2. Have you personally experience any Islamophobic incidents on your campus

(Verbal or physical harassment, intimidation, discrimination in class, etc.)?   ____yes ____ no

2a. If yes, please describe what happened:

3. Have there been any Islamophobic incidents involving other Muslims on your campus,

MSA, or mosque (Islamic center, prayer room, etc.)?   ____yes ____ no

3a. If yes, please describe the incident(s):

4. Is the school administration aware of these incidents? (If applicable)   ____yes ____ no

5. Has the school administration taken steps to address any incidents, or if no incidents occurred,

have they taken steps to ensure that a positive atmosphere is maintained on campus?   ____yes ____ no

5a. If yes, please describe the efforts the administration has taken:

6. Name of your school:_____

7. Your name and an email where you can be reached if we have further questions (optional)

Name_____ Email_____

Jazakum Allahu Khairan for your time and cooperation in helping us document the extent of Islamophobia on college campuses around America.

ISLAMOFASCISM AWARENESS WEEK (IFAW), 2007

COMPILED BY JAMIE DONOVAN URRUTIA AND OTHER STAFF

Page with data now stored at the Terrorism Awareness Project

Brown University – Robert Spencer – October 25th –likely sponsored by College Republicans

Cal Poly San Luis Obispo – Greg Davis – October 24th – sponsored by College Republicans

Clemson University – Mike Adams – October 25th –sponsored by Tiger Town Observer (libertarian/conservative student paper)

Columbia University –sponsored by College Republicans–Panel with Phyllis Chesler, Ibn Warraq, and Christina Sommers – October 24th

– David Horowitz – October 26th

DePaul University – Robert Spencer – October 22nd –sponsored by Depaul Conservative Alliance

Dartmouth – Robert Spencer – October 26th –sponsored by students

Emory University – David Horowitz – October 24th –sponsored by College Republicans

Lawrence University – Jonathan Schanzer – October 24th –sponsored by Viking Conservatives

George Mason University – Luana Saghieh and Alan Nathan – October 22nd –sponsored by College Republicans

George Washington University –sponsored by Young America's Foundation

– Michael Ledeen and Daphne Patai – October 22nd

– David Horowitz – October 25th

Penn State University – Rick Santorum – October 23rd – sponsored by Young Americans for Freedom

Princeton – David Horowitz – October 16th

SFSU – Brian Sussman – October 24th –sponsored by College Republicans

Temple University – Rick Santorum – October 24th –sponsored by College Republicans

Tufts – Daniel Pipes – October 24th –sponsored by The Primary Source (conservative student paper)

Tulane University – Ann Coulter – October 22nd –sponsored by College Republicans

UC Berkeley – Nonie Darwish – October 22nd –sponsored by College Republicans

UC Santa Barbara – Dennis Prager – October 25th –sponsored by College Republicans (film screening sponsored by American Students for Israel)

UCLA –sponsored by College Republicans

– Cyrus Nowrasteh – October 23rd

– Nonie Darwish – October 24th

– Joe Kaufman – October 25th

University of Miami – Cyrus Nowrasteh – October 24th

University of Pennsylvania –sponsored by Young Republicans / College Republicans (redubbed Terrorism Awareness Week)

– Rick Santorum – October 24th

– Panel with Daniel Pipes, Dr. Stephen Gale, and Ed Turzanski – October 22nd

University of Rhode Island – Robert Spencer – October 24th –sponsored by College Republicans

University of Washington – Michael Medved – October 25th –sponsored by College Republicans

University of Wisconsin, Madison – David Horowitz – October 22nd –sponsored by College Republicans

USC – Ann Coulter – October 24th –sponsored by USC College Republicans, USC Objectivist Club, Young America's Foundation (April's IFA Day sponsored by objectivist club)

Responses:
General:

https://web.archive.org/web/20100827112730/

http://www.mpac.org/publications/campus-activism/MPAC-IFAW-recommendations.pdf

https://web.archive.org/web/20120412092614/

http://www.defendcriticalthinking.info/index.html

http://www.campusprogress.org/page/content/IFAW/

http://thinkprogress.org/2007/10/23/horowitz-islamofascism/

http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2007/10/09/islam

http://www.splcenter.org/blog/2007/10/25/islamo-fascism-well-sort-of/

http://www.indybay.org/news-items/2007/10/21/18455051.php

http://www.cair.com/press-center/cair-in-the-news/10120-mn-david-horowitz-intends-to-spread-fear-hatred.html

http://www.cair.com/Portals/0/pdf/FAIR_Who_Is_Horowitz.pdf (unreachable source)

http://www.theamericanmuslim.org/tam.php/features/articles/islamo_fascism_awareness_week/

https://web.archive.org/web/20081201115827/

http://blog.faithinpubliclife.org/upload/2007/10/Supporting%20Alternatives%20to%20IFAW.pdf

http://www.prospectsforpeace.com/2007/10/farewell_islamofascist_awarene.html

http://www.theshalomcenter.org/node/1305

http://www.antiwar.com/ips/akhavi.php?articleid=11824

http://www.creators.com/opinion/alexander-cockburn/it-s-islamo-fascism-awareness-week-coming-to-a-campus-near-you.html

http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/3420/wingnut_awareness_week/

http://www.wakemag.org/cities/awareness-and-animosity/

http://www.insidehighered.com/layout/set/dialog/views/mclemee/mclemee112 (unreachable source)

http://www.thenation.com/blogs/question/247846/whither_islamo_fascism_awareness_week (unreachable source)

School-Specific:

American University: http://www.theeagleonline.com/news/story/colleges-address-extremism

Columbia: http://www.columbiaspectator.com/2007/10/22/not-our-voice

http://www.columbiaspectator.com/2007/10/22/horowit-

zs-visit-sparks-controversy

http://www.columbiaspectator.com/2007/10/21/im-afraid-islamo-fascism-awareness-week

http://www.columbiaspectator.com/2007/10/26/islamo-facism-dumb-idea

http://www.columbiaspectator.com/2007/10/12/horowitz-mischaracterizes-islam

Darmouth: https://web.archive.org/web/20130208082746

http://thedartmouth.com/2007/10/29/news/islamofascism/

George Washington: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/10/08/AR2007100801442.html

http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2007/oct/24/letters-to-the-editor-29218538/

http://media.www.gwhatchet.com/media/storage/paper332/news/2007/10/08/News/Seven.Gw.Students.Admit.To.Hanging.Controversial.Posters-3022092.shtml

Indiana: http://www.idsnews.com/news/story.aspx?id=57005

Minnesota: http://www.mndaily.com/2007/10/22/islamo-fascism-very-racist-concept

Penn State: http://www.collegian.psu.edu/archives/article_8001c8dd-d8b9-5351-82f0-1a74b66f41ca.html

http://www.collegian.psu.edu/archives/article_cd9a0486-fa4c-5197-97f1-23058d3156d5.html

http://blog.pennlive.com/pennsyltucky/2007/10/muslims_santorum_debate_radica.html

http://blog.pennlive.com/pennsyltucky/2007/10/happy_islamofascism_week.html

Tufts: http://www.tuftsdaily.com/2.5513/spreading-awareness-or-attacking-a-religion-1.590355

http://www.tuftsdaily.com/2.5513/looking-beyond-the-islamofascism-rhetoric-1.590059

http://www.tuftsdaily.com/2.5513/featured-web-posts-letters-to-the-editor-1.589925

Tulane: http://thehullabaloo.com/2007/10/19/coulter-hits-campus-amid-controversy/ (unreachable source)

http://thehullabaloo.com/2007/10/12/ann-coulter-visit-part-of-islamo-fascism-awareness-week/ (unreachable source)

UC Berkeley: http://archive.dailycal.org/article.php?id=26390 (unreachable source)

http://www.indiacurrents.com/news/view_article.html?article_id=96897c6a9e53905abf7e6fe8aa01a189

http://berkeleyconnector.wordpress.com/tag/islamo-fascism/

http://archive.dailycal.org/article.php?id=26443

UC Irvine: http://www.newuniversity.org/2007/10/opinion/rich_use_racism_to44/

UCLA: http://docs.google.com/Doc?id=dg758677_14fhfpz9

UPenn: http://thedp.com/search/node/terrorism+awareness+week (unreachable source)

UW: http://dailyuw.com/2007/10/22/what-about-radio-update/

http://www.thestranger.com/seattle/Content?oid=424502&mode=print

Washington state: http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2003963479_islam20m.html

Wisconsin: http://badgerherald.com/oped/2007/10/22/islamofascist-monike/

http://badgerherald.com/news/2007/10/24/muslim_students_resp.php

http://badgerherald.com/oped/2007/10/25/visiting_speaker_div.php

IFAW 2008 (April 7-11 IFAW II and October 13-17 IFAW III):

http://97.74.65.51/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=32034

http://97.74.65.51/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=30547

April:

Christendom College

College of William and Mary

Stanford University

University of Virginia

University of Michigan: David Horowitz –sponsored by Young Americans for Freedom

October:

Suny-Binghamton: October 28th

Speaker – Robert Spencer

"Jihad: What Muslims Say it Means – And Why it Matters"

Co-Sponsored by the Leadership Institute

University of Southern California: October 28th

Speaker – Andrew Bostom

"An Interactive Discussion on Antisemitism in Islam"

Event Co-Sponsored by the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the ZOA, and the Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors

East Tennessee State University: October 29th

Speaker – Robert Spencer

"Is Islam a Religion of Peace?"

Washington University – Daniel Pipes

Northwestern University

Date: Tuesday, November 11, 2008

Sponsor: Young Americans for Freedom

Speaker: David Horowitz

Subject: "The Islamic Jihad and Its Threat to the West"

UW Eau-Claire

Date: Tuesday, November 11, 2008

Sponsors: Claire Conservative Union, Young Americans for Freedom

Speaker: Robert Spencer

Responses:
General

http://crooksandliars.com/2008/04/10/islamo-fascism-

awareness-week-kicks-off

http://www.commondreams.org/view/2008/10/14-12

http://www.theamericanmuslim.org/tam.php/features/articles/david_horowitz_islamo_fascism_awareness_week_an_idea_whose_time_has_passed/

IFAW 2009:

University of Southern California—David Horowitz-November 4th

Sponsored by College Republicans

"Stop the Campus War Against Israel and the Jews."

7:00pm in Seeley G. Mudd Hall, room 101.

TRAUMA AND PREJUDICE

BY MEGAN HENRY

A REVIEW OF SOCIAL SCIENCE LITERATURE reveals little support for the idea that there is a causal relationship between trauma and ethnic prejudice. Psychological literature has tended to emphasize the role of tradition and intergenerational transmission of hatred in fomenting prejudice in populations that have not experienced traumatic events themselves.

Studies of ethnic prejudice in Croatia in the years following the Yugoslav wars indicate that individual war-related experiences had little impact on prejudice.[1] Instead, variables including education, religiosity, and place of residence had a much stronger influence on prejudice, and were not directly related to the subjects' experience of conflict.

One theory to explain individual social motivations for bigotry that has gained prominence in recent years is "Terror Management Theory." This theory, first conceptualized by Tom Pyszczynski, Sheldon Solomon, and Jeff Greenberg, suggests that individuals are socially motivated by a painful awareness of the inevitability of their own mortality. This intense awareness of death gives rise to "paralyzing terror"— a source of trauma that stimulates individual actions and behaviors. According to "Terror Management Theory," terror is managed by "a cultural anxiety buffer": a cultural worldview consisting of a "set of concepts for understanding the world and one's place in it, a set of standards through which one can attain a sense of personal value, and the promise of a literal and/or symbolic immortality to those who live up to these standards."[2] This "cultural anxiety buffer" can include religious systems, cultural institutions, historical traditions, even stories and fairy tales. Anxiety buffers are so crucial in controlling anxiety and providing a source of self-esteem, that individuals go to great lengths to maintain and defend these systems. This, in turn, can result in racism, prejudice, scapegoating, and stereotyping.

Pyszczynski goes so far as to link challenges to a cultural worldview and self-esteem to modern xenophobia and instances of genocide in twentieth-century history.[3] "Terror Management Theory" has been supplemented by data that demonstrates that when individuals are reminded of their own mortality, they react favorably to people who praise or share their cultural worldview, and unfavorably to those who challenge or do not share it.[4] Thus, fear of death prompts individuals to react negatively to those they perceive to be outside of their belief systems.

Many studies linking trauma to ethnic prejudice have focused on Israel. Carol Gordon and Asher Arian's study of Arab-Israeli relations revealed a strong correlation between the level of a perceived threat to the community and the community's policy decisions. The greater the perceived threat, the study found, the more emotional, radical, and less logical the policy decision. Daphna Canetti-Nisim's 2008 study went one step farther in connecting this idea of a perceived threat directly to exclusionist political policies in Israel. The report identified a perceived security threat as the greatest predictor of exclusionist political attitudes towards minority groups (and accordingly, of xenophobia and prejudice). A 2009 study of the effects of exposure to ongoing missile attacks on civilian populations also suggested a correlation between trauma and prejudice. The results of the study pointed to a relationship between the exposure to missile attacks, the development of symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and increased prejudicial attitudes towards the adversary.[5]

Research on American ethnocentrism after September 11, 2001 has also focused on the rise of ethnic prejudice and aggression in response to trauma. Cindy Kam and Donald Kinder's study of prejudice in the post-9/11 United States revealed that the traumatic experience of the terrorist attack partially contributed to a rise in ethnocentrism (or a broadly conceived prejudice defined by the partition of society between in-groups and out-groups).[6] According to the study, in the period following 9/11, this ethnocentrism was responsible for support for the war on terrorism. Similarly, Marios Argyrides and Jerrold Downey found that study participants' aggression scores increased after 9/11, and that participants consistently found less similarity between themselves and other people in the years following 9/11 (indicating a possible emergence of in-group and out-group social understanding).

It appears that trauma can sometimes be involved in generating prejudice and discrimination, but that trauma alone cannot explain why some groups of people who experience trauma turn toward prejudice and discrimination.

1. Strabac, Zan, and Kristen Ringdal. "Individual and Contextual Influences of War on Ethnic Prejudice in Croatia." *The Sociological Quarterly* 49 (2008): 769.
2. Pyszczynski, Tom, Sheldon Solomon, and Jeff Greenberg. "Why Do We Need What We Need? A Terror Management Perspective on the Roots of Human Social Motivation." *Psychological Inquiry* 8 (1997): 3.
3. Solomon, Sheldon, Jeff Greenberg, and Tom Pyszczynski. "Pride and Prejudice: Fear of Death and Social Behavior." *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 9 (2000): 200.
4. Arndt, Jamie, Jeff Greenberg, Tom Pyszczynski, and Sheldon Solomon. "Subliminal Exposure to Death-Related Stimuli Increases Defense of the Cultural Worldview." *Psychological Science* 8 (1997): 379.
5. Besser, Avi, and Yuval Neria. "PTSD Symptoms, Satisfaction with Life, and Prejudicial Attitudes Towards the Adversary Among Israeli Civilians Exposed to Ongoing Missile Attacks." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 22 (2009): 268.
6. Kam Cindy D., and Donald R. Kinder. "Terror and Ethnocentrism: Foundations of American Support for the War on Terrorism." *The Journal of Politics* 69 (2007): 300.

Sources and further reading:

Argyrides, Marios and Jerrold L. Downey. "September 11: Immediate and Long Term Effects on Measures of Aggression, Prejudice, and Person Perception." *North American Journal of Psychology* 6 (2004): 175-188.

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Canetti-Nisim, Daphna, Gal Ariely, and Eran Halperin. "Life, Pocketbook, or Culture: The Role of Perceived Security Threats in Promoting Exclusionist Political Attitudes toward Minorities in Israel." *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (2008): 90-103.

Gordon, Carol, and Asher Arian. "Threat and Decision Making." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45 (2001): 196-215.

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Terrorism." *The Journal of Politics* 69 (2007): 300-319.

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Ramzy, Nadia. "Intergenerational and Transgenerational Transission of Hatred and Violence: Some Psychoanalytic Comments for the Prevention and Amelioration of Hatred and Violence in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict." *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies* 4 (2007): 308-309.

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ADL AND THE PARK51 CONTROVERSY: INTOLERANCE AND THE MODERATE MUSLIM

BY MITRA RASTEGAR

ON JULY 28, 2010, when the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) announced that it opposed plans to build an Islamic cultural center and prayer space in lower Manhattan a few blocks from the site of the destroyed World Trade Center, many supporters of both the center and the ADL were shocked by the ADL's position. The organization asserted that there were legitimate reasons to oppose Park51. Describing the lead religious figure associated with the center, Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf, as a "moderate," the ADL argued that the center offended families of 9/11 victims and therefore ought to be moved.

The label of "moderate" has proven to be a contextually determined stamp of acceptability, rather than reference to particular beliefs or practices of American Muslims. The ADL buttressed, rather than challenged, the notion that Muslim actions and institutions deserve special scrutiny. During the period of the Park51 controversy, right-wing opponents dissected the statements of those associated with Park51, repeating decontextualized, inflammatory quotes ad nauseam, and investigated the developers' personal and professional associations to identify the project's "true (e.g. hidden) intentions." In this way, the Right sought to paint Abdul Rauf and the developers as wolves in sheep's clothing seeking to undermine the United States from within. The ADL's position and its use of the term "moderate" gave credence to the possibility that the mosque opponents' claim might be true.

The ADL failed to strenuously challenge the notion Muslims as a whole share a collective guilt for the 9/11 attacks. When Muslim Americans can only be defended if they are deemed "moderates," a dichotomous view of Muslim as either "moderate" or "extremist" is reinforced. This framing must be replaced by a much richer view of the diversity of Muslim political and religious beliefs and practices. For example, conservative views on gender must be engaged and countered respectfully, rather than seen as a mark of stultified and oppressive tradition; criticism of Israel must not be equated automatically with anti-Semitism or terrorist sympathies. As with any group, to brand complicated political or theological beliefs or practices as simply good or bad, pro-American or anti-American, moderate or radical, is to do a deep disservice.

The ADL, wittingly or not, was offering racists who opposed the mosque cover for their beliefs. By speaking to — and about — "moderate" or "peace-seeking" Muslims, right-wing pundits present themselves as tolerant. Some argued that if Abdul Rauf were the moderate he says he is, he would move the center to another location in the interest of promoting peace and reconciliation. This type of request makes Muslims "responsible" for other people's intolerances.

Even as the ADL has taken positions and participated in projects aimed at protecting the religious freedoms of Muslim Americans, actions like the organization's stance on Park51 demonstrate a very selective application of its articulated principles. This controversy demonstrated just how difficult it is for Muslim Americans to claim equal participation in the public sphere.

RENE GIRARD AND MIMETIC SCAPEGOATING

BY CHIP BERLET

RENE GIRARD DESCRIBES A PROCESS called "mimetic scapegoating," whereby two sides in a conflict that starts out with an objective dispute escalate increasingly false charges against the other. At the root of mimetic scapegoating is a combination of loathing and jealousy—the binary of rejection and desire. Since for many people this creates an unrecognized (and rejected) form of cognitive dissonance, there is a projection of all blame onto the "Other."[1] Thus the Other is generally constructed as wholly evil. An apocalyptic battle against this evil is inevitable. There will be, for instance, a "Clash of Civilizations."

Thus dualism is grafted onto apocalypticism. Apocalyptic forms of dualism are easier to see when they are one-sided, as in the demonization of Jewish people by neo-Nazis.[2]

Sociologist Brenda E. Brasher has observed that in political struggles, such dualistic apocalypticism "leaves no room for ambiguity in the stories told about the 'Other.' There is a real hardening of sides. We are good, they are evil. This is not a disagreement, but a struggle with evil incarnate, so there is no structure for a peaceful reconciliation." She adds that, "People are cast in their roles as either enemy or friend and there is no such thing as middle ground. In the battle with evil, can you really say you are neutral?"

> If you take a local conflict over land, such as that between Israelis and Palestinians, and you put this global apocalyptic framework in place, then it makes the conflict far more difficult to resolve. Local conflicts become globalized and made part of an unfolding universal story with cosmic dimensions. And it brings in players that you may or may not want aligned with you. For instance the Israeli government sees benefits when it cooperates with conservative Christian evangelicals who believe in an apocalyptic role for Israel and the city of Jerusalem. But the downside is that as the conflict gets generalized into an apocalyptic framework with notions of good and evil and cosmic significance, it makes it harder to take a conflict over land and find a practical resolution.[3]

Girard developed his views as part of a Christian theological belief system, but the concept of mimetic scapegoating has been adopted into a generalized social science framework.[4] Michael Hardin, a follower of Girardian thought within Christianity explains:

> This Girardian hypothesis goes by several different names, depending upon the nuance being highlighted. Eric Gans uses the term 'Generative Anthropology' (GA). Robert Hamerton-Kelly calls it the 'Generative Mimetic Scapegoating Mechanism' (GMSM). Girard seems content to call it 'Mimetic Theory.' In non-Girardian form, Paul Ricoeur might term it 'The Symbolism of Evil.' Mimetic rivalry [generates] three key elements of the scapegoat mechanism: prohibition, ritual and myth. From each of these three key elements arise cultural manifestations of the way the scapegoating mechanism both generates and perpetuates itself. For example, from prohibition comes jurisprudence, from ritual comes religion, and from myth comes literature.[5]

Adaptations of the Girardist method of reducing conflicts involving mimetic scapegoating were used in Northern Ireland.[6] Central to the process is bringing together individuals on both sides of a conflict and having them agree to sit down over a period of time and agree to listen without interruption each other's stories of trauma.[7]

1. René Girard, 1986, *The Scapegoat*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
2. Hearst, Ernest, Chip Berlet, and Jack Porter. 2007. "Neo-Nazism." *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Eds. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. Vol. 15. 2nd ed. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA. 74-82. 22 vols. Thomson Gale;
3. _____. 2001. "Apocalypse," "Nativism," "Devil and Satan," and "The Illuminati." *Encyclopedia of Fundamentalism*. Brenda Brasher, ed., (Berkshire Reference Works; Routledge encyclopedias of religion and society). New York: Routledge;
4. _____ (associate editor). 2000. "Apocalypse," "Conspiracism," "Demagogues," "Demonization," "Militia Movements," "Populism," "Survivalism," Totalitarianism," and "Year 2000." *Encyclopedia of Millennialism and Millennial Movements*. Richard A. Landes, ed., (Berkshire Reference Works; Routledge encyclopedias of religion and society). New York: Routledge.
5. Author interview with Brenda E. Brasher, 2004, http://www.publiceye.org/antisemitism/nw_brasher.html. See also, Brenda E. Brasher "When Your Friend is Your Enemy: American Christian Fundamentalists and Israel at the New Millennium," in *Millennial Visions: Essays on Twentieth-Century Millenarianism*, ed. Martha F. Lee (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001).
6. As a form of stating potential bias, note that author Berlet is a Christian influenced by Girardian thought, and Brenda E. Brasher was a Christian who converted to Judaism. Both have worked together to develop these ideas about apocalyptic demonization and aggression; and both served on the board of the Center for Millennial Studies at Boston University with Richard Landes and Daniel Pipes, among others.
7. Michael Hardin, "The Pillars of Culture: Prohibition, Ritual and Myth," Preaching Peace, http://www.preachingpeace.org/2010/04/06/pillarsofculture/.
8. See, for example, David Stevens, 1988, "Unmasking the Gods of Violence: The Work of René Girard," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 77, No. 307 (Autumn), pp. 309-320; James Alison, 1996, Girard's Breakthrough," Theology, http://www.jamesalison.co.uk/texts/eng05.html.
9. Some Christians have used Girard's theories to claim the superiority of the New Testament of Jesus over the "Old Testament" Jewish texts. The use of theories of mimetic scapegoating, nonetheless, is not tarnished by this form of religious triumphalism. For a Girardist-style method to work in the Middle East, it will have to be consistent with respect for the God of Abraham—and thus acceptable to the People of the Book: Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

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SELECTED LIST OF INCIDENTS DESCRIBED AS ANTISEMITIC, 2002-2008

This list was compiled as a timeline for project researchers, and is not meant to be comprehensive. The thumbnail comments are snippets to be used as a memory aid, and not analytical. This is a work product.

2002 | | Williams College | The Record ran paid advertisement by David Horowitz saying anti-Semitism was responsible for Arab-Israeli conflict—condemned by faculty.

2003 | October 2003 | College of Wooster | Samir Makhlouf presented the fraudulent, antisemitic hoax document The Protocols of the Elders of Zion as a factual book that "explains" how Zionists have been taking over the world's political, economic, religious and communication organizations.

2004 | | Columbia University | Unbecoming Columbia, a 2004 documentary about professors bullying students who challenge anti-Israel viewpoints.

2004 | | Duke University | Palestine Solidarity Movement Conference: campus paper The Chronicle published article on "The Jews" accusing them of using Holocaust for political gain and "Jews can renounce their difference by taking off the yarmulke. Clearly, this is not a luxury enjoyed by all minority groups. To be Jewish is to have the right to move seamlessly between the majority and minority, without constraint."

2005 | | University of California, Irvine | accused by Zionist Organization of America of not doing enough to combat anti-Semitic incidents—cleared in 2007 by U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights investigators who said incidents target Israel, not Jewish students. Note this response by DOE/OCR later changed.

2005 | April 2005 | Columbia University | faculty committee investigated charges of anti-Semitism in Middle East and Asian departments—found none; faulted one professor, Joseph Massad, for exceeding "commonly accepted bounds" by angrily criticizing a student for a statement about Israel (also noted that he was coping with "a campaign against him" that involved surveillance by other faculty members and outside groups, as well as frequent classroom disruptions by students who were not registered for his class).

2005 | April 2005 | Columbia University | Pro-Israel and pro-Palestine faculty hold event protesting infringements on academic freedom.

2005 | Feb 2005 | Hamilton College | Ward Churchill (called those who died in 9/11 "little Eichmanns") invited to speak at Hamilton College—met protest—debate over free speech.

2005 | May 2005 | Air Force Academy | Pentagon investigating charges by Americans United of anti-Semitism. Note proselytizing by Christians, use of Bible quotes in official e-mail and an ad promoting Jesus in the base newspaper; hub of evangelical Christian groups including the International Bible Society, The Navigators and Youth with a Mission. Across Interstate 25 from the academy is the headquarters of Focus on the Family. Expressions of anti-Semitism, showing the "Passion of the Christ." Overall practices later chastised by Pentagon panel.

2005 | Nov 2005 | University of Chicago | Posters advertising talk by "Chicago Friends of Israel" on "The War on Islamic Terror" torn and defaced to read "The War on Islam"—5th year this vandalism has occurred, including with swastikas in the past.

2006 | | Northwestern University | Arthur R. Butz, tenured professor of engineering, criticized for agreeing with the belief of the president of Iran that the Holocaust was a myth.

2006 | | University of California, Irvine | "Israel: The 4th Reich." (http://marathonpundit.blogspot.com/2006/05/anti-semitism-week-at-university-of.html)

2006 | | University of California, Irvine | "Holocaust in the Holy Land" program by Muslim Student Union about Israel.

2006 | Feb 2006 | Columbia University | Prof. Massad promoted, to criticism from the Daily News—up for tenure in Nov. 2007, to fury of Stand With Us.

2006 | Feb | Hunter College | Palestinian Club posted a sign with a Star of David changing into a swastika labeled, "History Repeats: Look What Hitler Taught Some of His Victims."

2007 | April 2007 | Georgetown University | Tariq Ramadan, Islamic scholar, spoke via satellite video because he is denied entry to the U.S.—says Islam is not incompatible with democratic principles.

2007 | Aug 2007 | University of Michigan | Bard college professor Joel Kovel's book, Overcoming Zionism, distributed through Pluto Press contract. Protest by Stand With Us – Michigan, a local chapter of the national group started by pro-Israel advocate Daniel Pipes with ADL fueling protest.

2007 | Dec 2007 | University of Michigan | Kovel invited by pro-Palestinian Students Allied for Freedom and Equality—Israel IDEA and American Movement for Israel on campus upset.

2007 | Feb 2007 | Brown University | Invitation to the Egyptian-born speaker Nonie Darwish by a Jewish group was revoked when Muslim and leftist students opposed her views as too "controversial."

2007 | Nov 2007 | University of Chicago | Conference In Defense of Academic Freedom: scholars say pressure from pro-Israel groups is taking a heavy toll on scholarship critical of Israel and on debate at university campuses. CAMERA hosted its own conference, "Israel's Jewish Defamers." Targeted Jews who compare Israel to Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa.

2007 | Nov 2007 | DePaul University | Refused to grant tenure to Norman Finkelstein, a critic of Israel and the author of The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering. Campaign by Harvard Professor Alan Dershowitz to deny him the status.

2007 | Sept 2007 | Columbia University | Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Holocaust-denier, invited to speak by Columbia president Lee Bolinger—protests by students. (In 2006 Ahmadinejad was invited by a Dean on behalf of Iranians at SIPA, but invite was withdrawn for logistical reasons).

2008 | April 2008 | University of California, Irvine | Students protest anti-Semitism. Independent task force comprising Jewish and non-Jewish community members recently concluded a year-long investigation into anti-Semitism at UCI and found that "acts of anti-Semitism are real and well documented. Jewish students have been harassed. Hate speech has been unrelenting." The task force criticized Hillel, the Jewish Federation, the Anti-Defamation League, and the American Jewish Committee for failing to hold Drake and his administration accountable.

2008 | Feb 13, 2008 | University of California, Irvine | Orange County Independent Task Force found anti-Semitism on campus; reviewed DOE's Office for Civil Rights report that cleared university administration of wrong-doing, but admitted that many incidents did occur.

2008 | Feb 2008 | University of California, Irvine | "From Auschwitz to Gaza: The Politics of Genocide." (Zionist Jews… are the new Nazis, and that "the apartheid state of Israel is on the way down… your days are numbered. We will fight you until we are martyred or until we are victorious.")

GLOSSARY

Antisemitism

Fear of, prejudice against, or distaste for Jewish people. Antisemitism is a durable and unique historic and contemporary form of prejudice or demonization appearing at various times based on perceptions of religion, ethnicity, and race. In the U.S., Christian supremacist notions created systems of oppression that kept Jews in a second-class status until after WWII. While institutionalized antisemitism as a form of oppression is no longer a major force, prejudice and demonization remain. Although Jews are actually a diverse ethnoreligious group, their biased critics often project on them a racial identity that has motivated intimidation and violence.

Conspiracism

A narrative form of scapegoating that portrays the enemy as part of a vast insidious plot against the common good. Conspiracism assigns tiny cabals of evildoers a superhuman power to control events, frames social conflict as part of a transcendent struggle between Good and Evil, and makes leaps of logic, such as guilt by association, in analyzing evidence. Often employs common fallacies of logic in analyzing factual evidence to assert connections, causality, and intent that are nonexistent. A distinct narrative form of scapegoating, conspiracism uses demonization to justify constructing the scapegoats as wholly evil while reconstructing the scapegoater as a hero. Sees secret plots by tiny cabals of evildoers as the major motor powering important historical events.

Demonization

Portraying a person or group as totally malevolent, sinful, or evil—perhaps even in league with Satan.

Demonization is a precursor to scapegoating and conspiracism, which encourages discrimination and violence against the target. Acts as a form of dehumanization or objectification. Demonization involves marginalization (using propaganda and prejudice to set people outside the circle of wholesome mainstream society) and dehumanization (negatively labeling the targeted persons so they become perceived more as objects than as real people).

Discrimination

A set of actions or methodology that denies equal treatment to a targeted group. Discrimination can appear in three forms: Individual, Institutional, and Structural. (Pincus, 1999: 120-124).

Discrimination is an act.

Prejudice is an idea.

Dualism

A form of binary thinking that divides the world into good versus evil with no middle ground tolerated. A famous historic dualist movement was called Manichaeism. In dualism there is no acknowledgment of complexity, nuance, or ambiguity in debates; and hostility is expressed toward those who suggest coexistence, toleration, compromise, or mediation.

Ethnoviolence

Acts of violence based on the perception that a person has certain ethnic, religious, racial, gender, and/or other characteristics. Usually motivated by prejudice or supremacy.

Genocide

The elimination by expulsion or mass murder of a target group in a society or nation or the attempt to achieve that goal.

Islamophobia

Fear of, prejudice against, or distaste for Muslims.

According to the Runnymede Trust in Great Britain, Islamophobia is being expressed when:

• Islam is seen as a monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to change.

• Islam is seen as separate and "other." It does not have values in common with other cultures, is not affected by them and does not influence them.

• Islam is seen as inferior to the West. It is seen as barbaric, irrational, primitive and sexist.

• Islam is seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism and engaged in a "clash of civilizations."

• Islam is seen as a political ideology and is used for political or military advantage.

• Criticisms made of "the West" by Islam are rejected out of hand.

• Hostility towards Islam is used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.

• Anti–Muslim hostility is seen as natural or normal.

Prejudice

The preconceived formation of negative or hostile views toward a person or group of persons based on ignorance, stereotyping, or other filter of bigotry.

Prejudice can be unconscious or conscious, and any set of prejudiced ideas may be transformed into an ideological viewpoint.

Prejudice is an idea.

Discrimination is an act.

Scapegoating

Blaming a person or group wrongfully for some problem, especially for other people's misdeeds. Scapegoating deflects people's anger and grievances away from the real causes of a social problem onto a target group demonized as malevolent wrongdoers.

The problem may be real or imaginary, the grievances legitimate or illegitimate, and members of the targeted group may be wholly innocent or partly culpable. The scapegoats are wrongfully stereotyped as all sharing the same negative trait or are singled out for blame while other major culprits are let off the hook.

For a more extensive glossary, visit the Social Movement Study Network.

CAMPUS DATA ON INSTITUTIONS STUDIED

This list collects data for the listed college campus Chapters and Study Centers reported by a variety of sources for the years 2004-2010. Some campuses are outside the United States.

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
Adrian College	*				
Alma College	*				
American Jewish University	*	*			
American Military University		*	*	*	
American Public University		*	*	*	
American Public University System			*		
American University	*	*			
American University in Cairo			*		
Anna Maria College	*				
Arizona State University	*				
Assumption College	*				
Atlantic Union College	*				
Auburn University Montgomery					*
Austin College					*
Baldwin Wallace University	*				
Bard College	*	*	*	*	
Barnard College	*		*		
Bay Path College					*
Becker College	*				
Benedictine University					*
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (Israel)	*				
Bennington College		*			
Beth Hamedrash Shaarei Yosher Institute		*			
Beth Hatalmud Rabbinical College		*			
Binghamton University	*				
Boston College	*				
Boston Latin Academy					*
Boston University	*				*
Bradley University					*
Brandeis University	*	*	*		
Brown University	*	*	*		
California State University, Chico		*			

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
California State University, Fullerton	*				
California State University, Long Beach	*				
California State University, Northridge					
Carleton College	*				
Carleton University					*
Central Yeshiva Tomchei Tmimim-Lubavitch		*			
Chatham University					*
City College Of San Francisco					*
City University of New York, Brooklyn College		*			
City University of New York, City College		*			
City University of New York, Hunter College		*	*		
City University of New York, Lehman College		*			
City University of New York, Queens College		*			
Claremont Colleges	*				*
Claremont Graduate University	*				
Clemson University					*
Colgate University	*				*
College of the Holy Cross	*				
College Of William And Mary					*
College of Wooster			*		
Colorado College	*				
Columbia International University			*		
Columbia University			*		*
Columbia University, School of General Studies			*		
Concordia University					*
Concordia University, Sir George and Loyola Campus	*				
Cornell University	*		*		
CUNY, Baruch College	*				
CUNY, Brooklyn College			*		
CUNY, City College	*				
CUNY, Hunter College	*				
Dalhousie University					*
Dartmouth College			*		
Davidson College					*
DePauw University	*	*		*	
Dickinson College	*	*	*		
Drew University					*
Drexel University					*

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
Earlham College	*				
Eastern Michigan University					*
Emek Yezreel Academic College	*				
Emek Yezreel Academic College (Israel)	*				
Emory & Henry College			*		
Emory University	*	*	*		*
Emporia State University					*
Eugene Lang College The New School for Liberal Arts		*			
Fairfield University	*				
Fairleigh Dickinson University - Metropolitan Campus	*				
Ferris State University					*
Florida Atlantic University	*	*			
Florida International University	*				*
Florida State University			*		
Foothill College					*
Fordham University			*		
GA - Pcom					*
George Mason University					*
George Washington University	*	*	*		
Georgetown University	*				*
Georgia Institute Of Technology					*
Georgia Perimeter College					*
Georgia State University					*
Goddard College			*		
Goucher College	*				
Grand Valley State University					*
Gratz College		*			
Grinnell College					*
Haifa University	*				
Haifa University (Israel)	*				
Hamline University					*
Hampshire College	*	*	*		
Harvard University	*		*		*
Hebrew College		*			
Hebrew Theological College		*			
Hebrew University	*				
Hobart and William Smith Colleges	*				
Hofstra University	*	*			*

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
Howard University					*
Indiana University Bloomington	*	*			
Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis	*				
Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya (IDC)	*				
Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya (Israel)	*				
Ithaca College	*				
Jewish Theological Seminary of America	*	*			
Jewish Theological Seminary, Albert A. List College		*	*		
Johns Hopkins University	*		*		
Johns Hopkins University	*				*
Joliet Junior College					*
Kean University	*				
Kehilath Yakov Rabbinical Seminary		*			
Kent State University	*				*
Kettering University					*
Lafayette College	*				
Lamar University					*
Lansing Community College	*				
Laura and Alvin Siegal College of Judaic Studies		*			
Lehigh University	*				
Long Island University, Brooklyn Campus					
Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys	*				
Loyola Marymount University	*				
Loyola University Chicago					*
Loyola University, New Orleans	*				
Lycoming College			*		
Marlboro College			*		
Marquette University					*
Marshall University					*
Maryville University					*
McGill University	*	*	*		*
McMaster University					*
Miami University	*				
Michigan Jewish Institute		*			
Michigan State University					*
Middle Tennessee State University					*
Middlebury College			*		*
Midwestern University Chicago					*

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
Montclair State University					*
Moody Bible Institute		*			
Muhlenberg College	*				
Naperville Central High School					*
National University			*		
NC State University					*
New Jersey Institute Of Technology					*
New Mexico State University (NMSU)					*
New York Institute Of Technology					*
New York University	*	*	*		
Northampton Community College					*
Northeastern University	*	*	*		*
Northwestern University	*				*
Oberlin College	*	*	*		
Ohio State University, Columbus	*	*	*	*	
Ohio State University, Columbus		*		*	*
Ohr Somayach Tanenbaum Education Center		*			
Parkland College					*
Penn State Abington		*			
Penn State Altoona		*			
Penn State Beaver		*			
Penn State Berks		*			
Penn State Brandywine		*			
Penn State DuBois		*			
Penn State Erie, The Behrend College		*			
Penn State Fayette, The Eberly Campus		*			
Penn State Greater Allegheny		*			
Penn State Hazleton		*			
Penn State Lehigh Valley		*			
Penn State Mont Alto		*			
Penn State New Kensington		*			
Penn State Schuylkill		*			
Penn State Shenango		*			
Penn State University					*
Penn State University Park	*	*			
Penn State Wilkes-Barre		*			
Penn State Worthington Scranton		*			
Penn State York		*			

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
Pennsylvania State University, University Park	*				
Pioneer High School					*
Portland State University	*		*		*
Pratt Institute					
Princeton University			*		*
Purdue University	*				
Queens College	*				
Quinsigamond Community College	*				
Rabbinical College of America		*			
Reed College	*				*
Rice University					*
Rollins College	*				
Rutgers University	*	*	*		*
Saint Louis Community College Of Meramec					*
Saint Louis University					*
San Diego State University	*	*			
San Francisco State University	*	*			
Santa Monica College					
Sarah Lawrence College	*				
Scripps College		*			
Sienna College					*
Smith College	*	*			
Southern College of Optometry	*				
Southern Methodist University					*
St. Francis College					*
Stanford University	*				
Stephen F. Austin State University					*
Stevens Institute of Technology			*		
SUNY Albany	*	*			
SUNY Binghamton		*			
SUNY Buffalo	*				*
SUNY Farmingdale					*
SUNY Stony Brook					*
SUNY, Oneonta					
Swarthmore College				*	
Syracuse University			*		*
Talmudic College of Florida		*			
Talmudical Institute of Upstate New York		*			

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
Tel Hai Academic College	*				
Temple University	*	*			*
Temple University, Main and Ambler	*				
Texas A&M University					*
Texas A&M University Of Corpus Christi					*
Texas Christian University					*
Texas State University, San Marcos			*		
The College Of New Jersey					*
The George Washington University					*
Touro College		*			
Towson University	*	*			
Trinity College	*	*	*		
Trinity College (CT)		*			
Trinity High School					*
Tufts University	*		*		
Tulane University	*	*			
UMass Medical School	*				
UNC - Chapel Hill					*
United States Military Academy			*		
University at Albany	*				
University Of Akron					*
University Of Alabama In Birmingham					*
University of Alberta			*		
University of Arizona	*	*	*		
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville			*		
University of California, Berkeley	*		*		*
University of California, Berkeley	*				
University of California, Davis	*				*
University of California, Irvine	*				*
University of California, Los Angeles	*	*	*	*	
University of California, Los Angeles	*				
University of California, Riverside	*				
University of California, San Diego	*	*			
University of California, Santa Barbara			*		
University of Central Florida					
University of Chicago	*	*	*		
University of Cincinnati	*				*
University of Connecticut	*		*		*

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
University Of Dayton					*
University Of Delaware					*
University of Denver					
University Of Detroit Mercy					*
University of Florida	*	*			*
University Of Georgia					*
University Of Guelph					*
University of Hartford	*	*			
University Of Houston					*
University Of Illinois Urbana-Champaign	*				*
University of Illinois, Chicago	*				*
University of Kansas					*
University of Kentucky	*				
University of Manitoba		*	*		*
University of Maryland, College Park	*	*			
University of Massachusetts, Amherst	*	*	*		*
University of Memphis	*				*
University of Miami	*	*			*
University Of Michigan - Dearborn					*
University Of Michigan - Flint					*
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	*	*	*	*	*
University of Minnesota	*	*	*		
University Of Missouri - St. Louis					*
University Of Missouri Columbia					*
University of Missouri - Kansas City		*			*
University of Nebraska, Lincoln	*				
University Of Nevada Las Vegas					*
University Of New Mexico					*
University of North Carolina, Charlotte	*				*
University of North Carolina, Greensboro	*				
University of Oklahoma	*	*			
University Of Ontario Institute Of Technology					*
University of Oregon	*	*			
University of Ottawa	*				*
University of Pennsylvania	*	*			*
University of Pittsburgh	*				
University Of Regina					*
University of Richmond	*				

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
University of Rochester	*				
University of South Florida					*
University of Southern California	*	*			
University of Tennessee Health Science Cntr, Memphis	*				
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	*				
University of Texas, Arlington	*				
University of Texas, Austin	*	*	*	*	*
University of Texas, Austin			*		
University of Texas, Dallas					*
University Of The Sciences Of Philadelphia					*
University of Toledo			*		
University of Toronto		*	*	*	*
University of Toronto, Mississauga	*				*
University of Tulsa	*				
University of Utah	*		*		*
University of Virginia	*				*
University of Washington	*	*	*		*
University of Waterloo	*	*	*	*	
University of Western Ontario	*				*
University of Wisconsin, Madison	*	*			
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	*	*			
Valencia Community College					*
Vanderbilt University	*	*			
Vassar College	*	*			
Villanova University					*
Virginia Tech	*				*
Washington University	*				*
Washington University in St. Louis		*	*	*	
Wayne State University					*
Wellesley College	*	*	*		*
Wesleyan University	*				
Western Kentucky University			*		
Wheaton College	*				
William Paterson University Of New Jersey					*
Williams College					*
Worcester Polytechnic Institute	*				
Worcester State College	*				
Yale University	*	*			

College	Hillel Group	Jewish/ Judaic Studies	Middle East Studies	Islamic Studies	MSA Chapter
Yeshiva College of the Nations Capital		*			
Yeshiva Gedolah Rabbinical College		*			
Yeshiva University	*	*			
Yeshivat Mikdash Melech	*	*			
York University	*	*			