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There has been a continued increase in antisemitic activities at colleges and universities over the last decade. Media reports and research about perceptions of Jewish college students add face validity that student organizations are often targets of Anti-Jewish rhetoric. In particular, Jewish fraternities and sororities have been targeted by antisemitism as sites of violence but have also been spaces of resistance. Through a literature review of Jewish fraternities and sororities, the authors present their organizational saga to demonstrate a pattern of exclusion and antisemitism and summarize current initiatives by Jewish fraternities and sororities as spaces of resistance in combating antisemitism.

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Historically, Jewish college students have been excluded from higher education or subject to quota systems to limit their access and enrollment; in these systems, they were either persecuted for their religion or their ethnic identity (Karabel, 2006). As those restrictions have been reduced over the last fifty years, Jewish college enrollment has increased, but unwelcoming campus climates remain (Sasso et al., 2023). Previous forms of exclusion are rooted in antisemitism amidst a background of historical oppression and racialized policisms about Jewish identity and religion (Mayhew et al., 2018). Antisemitism can be defined as the convergence of forms of oppression that are inherently and intentionally anti-Jewish, which characterize their identities as sinister stereotypes with negative character traits over property towards their community, cultural, and religious institutions (Sasso et al., 2023).

Antisemitism concurrently conflates ethnic Jewish identity with the religion and fails to acknowledge that religion and ethnic identity can exist independently. Moreover, there is some confusion regarding who may identify with the Jewish religion or ethnicity (Alba, 2006). Because Jews often have to abandon their ethnic Jewish identity if they choose not to identify with the Jewish religion, Charmé and Zelkowitz (2011) suggested that Jewish identity should exist as multiple identities. When Jews abandon their ethnic identity or faith, they exist with increased liminality within the White majority culture (Alba, 2006; Barton & Huffman, 2012). When Jews experience antisemitism, they often have difficulty recognizing it because of these multiple identities and conflation of terminology; often, the identifiers are benign to them or even to other non-Jews (Sasso et al., 2023). These complicated experiences cause many to feel they have to hide their identity (Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law [LDB CHRUL], 2021).

These hate incidents have dramatically increased within the last five years (LDB CHRUL, 2021). Since 2015, the AMCHA Initiative has documented more than 3700 incidents of antisemitism on college campuses in the United States, including antisemitic expression and violence targeting Jewish students and staff (AMCHA Initiative, 2021). Jewish students experience antisemitism in many forms, including swastikas or other graffiti in public spaces on campus, physical threats, and harassment or intimidation of students (Sasso et al., 2023). In addition, other student organizations have sponsored speakers or Anti-Israel activities, which may spread misinformation about Jews to suggest that violence against Jews is warranted (AMCHA Initiative, n.d.). Despite the number of antisemitic incidents and affected students, little attention has been given to

exploring antisemitism. The authors seek to address a gap in the literature by elucidating Jewish sororities and fraternities.

Although institutions have attempted to create safer and more inclusive environments for all students, many have overlooked Jewish college students (Beck, 2012). There is assumed proximity to whiteness by campus administrators, which often leads them to dismiss the marginality experienced by Jewish college students (Sanua, 2000). Jewish fraternal organizations are often sites of racist violence that have been ignored or treated as invisible (LDB CHRUL, 2021). These organizations occupy a public presence, as the residential component such as chapter houses of the fraternity/sorority experience have been frequent targets of vandalism and antisemitic acts since the early 1900s (Sasso et al., 2020). Therefore, the significance of this topic is that members of Jewish fraternities and sororities have historically been victims of antisemitism. Yet, little research exists to highlight their lived experiences with this racism and forms of hate (Sanua, 1998, 2000, 2003).

The purpose of this conceptual paper is to center the experiences of Jewish fraternities and sororities in highlighting how antisemitism has excluded and caused questions of assimilation among Jewish college students. First, the authors present a foundational overview of Jewish college student identities and antisemitism by highlighting the extant qualitative and survey research literature to address this topic. These foundations are connected to Jewish fraternities and sororities to demonstrate a broader enduring historical pattern of exclusion and antisemitism on college campuses. Finally, the scholarly paper concludes with recommendations and future directions to better describe the contributions of Jewish fraternities and sororities in addressing antisemitism on college campuses by extending the current narratives of Jewish fraternities and sororities. This scholarly paper is intended for student affairs professionals who will gain a more nuanced and deeper understanding of how antisemitism affects Jewish sororities and fraternities and their members.

Foundations of Jewish College Identities and Antisemitism

Antisemitism & Identity

Jewish students are within a religious and ethnic minority whose racial locations and positionality are conflated with whiteness, often obscuring their harassment and marginalization experienced across antisemitic systems and spaces. Some scholarship uses the term “Jews of color” to describe non-White Jews, but there are complications with defining Jews of color:

> [T]he traditional Jewish heritage categories – Ashkenazi, Sephardic and Mizrahi – do not cleanly map onto U.S. categories of race and ethnicity: Being Ashkenazi doesn't necessarily mean being White, and being Sephardic or Mizrahi doesn't necessarily mean being a person of color (Pew Research Center, 2021, p. 185)

A recent report by the Pew Research Center (2021) noted that 15% of Jews ages 18-29 do not identify as White, compared to 3% of Jews 50 or older; the report predicted that the U.S. Jewish population will continue to increase in racial and ethical diversity in the future.

It is assumed that because Jewish students hold positional privilege in the United States within a system of whiteness, they cannot be victims of antisemitism (Sasso et al., 2023). Moreover, Judaism is both an ethnic and religious identity (Charmé & Zelkowitz, 2011). More than a quarter (27%) of adult Jews in the United States identify as "Jews of no religion" (Pew Research Center, 2021). "Jews of no religion" refers to people who have at least one Jewish parent or were raised with a Jewish upbringing but do not follow the Jewish religion (Pew Research Center, 2021). The distinction between ethnicity and religion is possibly confusing to Jewish students who are just beginning to understand their own identity (Sasso et al., 2023).

The concept of *antisemitism* is often conflated with other forms of hate, historical events, or used to overshadow different forms of Anti-Jewish rhetoric (Kelner, 2010). For example, many college students considered the Holocaust as either antisemitic or "morally wrong," which may contribute to a lack of understanding of the full scope of antisemitism (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). Although students often feel that the college campus is isolated from antisemitism, antisemitic incidents frequently cascade campus communities (AMCHA Initiative, 2021). There is also a lack of information to educate students about what is considered antisemitic which leads to a lack of empathy (Beinart, 2013). Possessing a singular worldview rather than a complex understanding of antisemitism is a predictor of opposition and can be dehumanizing (Ben Hagai, Hammack, et al., 2013). Antisemitism is also often conflated between several concurrent concepts, including Anti-Israel or Anti-Judaism (Ben Hagai, Zurbriggen, et al., 2013).

Jewish Student Experiences With Antisemitism

According to a Hillel study, 50% of Jewish students have experienced antisemitism (Cousens, 2007). A later study revealed higher rates of antisemitism among Jewish

college students; approximately 80% of Jewish students indicated that they had experienced antisemitism (Bard & Dawson, 2012). Almost 66% witnessed behaviors, and 46% were personally subjected to antisemitism. In addition, over two-thirds of Jewish students have heard offensive jokes about Jews on their campuses (Kosmin & Keysar, 2015; Weinberg, 2011). Specifically, Jewish students have heard others reference Adolf Hitler and minimize the Holocaust (Finkelstein, 2018; Simon, 2021).

Increases in the Jewish student population often lead to feelings of exclusion. For example, MacDonald-Dennis (2006) found that Jewish students were not happy they were excluded from their institution's diversity considerations. In addition, Jewish students report "institutional insensitivity" concerning accommodations regarding diet and holiday course exceptions in observance of Jewish holidays (Barton & Huffman, 2012). Such intentional invisibility by institutional administrators or hostility toward Jews by student peers on campus has increased, and Jewish students are concerned (Saxe et al., 2015).

Jewish college students have considered antisemitism to be a "fairly big" or "very big" problem in the United States (Saxe et al., 2015). In 2020, the AMCHA Initiative reported that these Israel-related incidents of harassment increased by 59% on college campuses, while classical antisemitic incidents experienced a significant decrease (49%). In addition, Weinberg (2011) found that more than 40% of Jewish students heard their professor make anti-Israel remarks, and one-third felt that anti-Israel protests at least sometimes targeted Jews. Thus, antisemitism is a complex and sophisticated form of hate and racism with several layers that mandate exploration to better understand how its various forms are often conflated.

A study by Sales and Saxe (2006) noted this individuation or conflating of concepts, and the researchers were able to identify 20 campuses in their study across different political orientations: "pro-Israel, pro-Palestinian, inter-group tensions, political protest and activism" (p. 23). In the study, those that were politically active were either pro-Israel or pro-Palestinian (Sales & Saxe, 2006). Thus, defining antisemitism is typically related to anti-Zionism or an attack on individual and personal identity (Halpern, 1981; Marcus, 2015).

Research also suggests that Jewish students perceive the source of antisemitism to be individuals rather than classroom experiences, lectures by professors, or interactions with university administrators (Kosmin & Keysar, 2015). Jewish students compartmentalize differences between antisemitic speech as an individual issue, but they may not necessarily consider their campuses to

be antisemitic institutions. Saxe et al. (2015) found six common forms of verbal harassment, and social media was the most common platform for it. Despite this, Jewish college students cite that they feel safe on their college campuses, but they hold negative perceptions of campus climate that have resulted from individual instances of antisemitism (Saxe et al., 2015).

Ruttenberg et al. (1996) further described the notion that Jewish identity and faith can possibly influence views about antisemitism as quixotic. Scholars have suggested that Jewish rhetoric about living in peace and security may inhibit learning about narratives of dispossession and humiliation related to antisemitism (Ben Hagai, Hammack, et al., 2013). Additionally, structural factors such as institutional systems or other power systems may influence attitudes and beliefs about antisemitism (Bar-Tal et al., 2010; Maoz, 2011; Maoz & McCauley, 2011).

Further, students may lack education about issues related to Israel. Saxe et al. (2015) found that most undergraduate students had "no information at all" (46%) or "not much information" (20%) about current issues related to Israel. Opinions about Israel and its role in the Middle East conflicts particularly exacerbate differences between Jewish and non-Jewish students, which has suggested that continued conflicts on campuses are unfortunately inevitable (Saxe et al., 2015).

Connections to Jewish Fraternities and Sororities

Jewish organizations on campuses often respond to activities and events that criticize the Israeli government, and many debate whether these events are antisemitic (Mayhew et al., 2018). Jewish college students identify as at least somewhat connected to Israel and are strengthening connections through cocurricular experiences and involvement (Saxe et al., 2015; Shain et al., 2014). Organizations specifically for Jewish college students can increase their involvement with their ethnic and religious student community (Barton & Huffman, 2012). These include Chabad or Hillel, and they have played a significant role in supporting Jewish college students and have historically combated antisemitism (Sanua, 2000; 2003). Jewish college students find these to be affirming spaces (Barton & Huffman, 2012). On many campuses, Jewish fraternities and sororities have also served as critical outlets for students (Mayhew et al., 2018). Joining these organizations does not make one more likely to be a victim of antisemitism because it is so pervasive and ubiquitous, but organizational membership may increase awareness because of the focus on Jewish ethnic and religious salience (LDB CHRUL, 2021).

Due to the misperception that Jewish identity is proximal to whiteness, Jewish fraternities and sororities may create a false sense of security for some campus administrators who consider Jewish fraternities and sororities to be aligned with historically White fraternal organizations (Mayhew et al., 2018; Sasso et al., 2020). For example, there may be an assumption that Jewish fraternities and sororities do not need additional support from administrators, which leads to these organizations continually experiencing antisemitism with little response or support from their campuses (LDB CHRUL, 2021). However, students within these organizations are resilient and have begun to push against antisemitism, which is increasing in frequency on college campuses (Sasso et al., 2023). Antisemitism is more common and frequent than assumed by non-Jews and has existed within the historical saga of Jewish sororities and fraternities (Mayhew et al., 2018). Their history has featured exclusion and antisemitism (Mayhew et al., 2018; Sanua, 2000; 2003). Jewish fraternities and sororities have been victims navigating systems of antisemitism since their founding (Sanua, 2000; Sasso et al., 2020; 2023).

Historical Foundations of Jewish Fraternities & Sororities

Systems of antisemitism forged the formation of Jewish fraternities and sororities during the early 1900s, and many of these organizations were formed between 1910 and 1930. As these organizations were founded, a disturbing and unfortunate trend of antisemitism arose across the United States and Jewish fraternities and sororities (Sasso et al., 2023). Because outsiders were fully aware that the members were Jewish, Jewish fraternities quickly became targets for intolerant, antisemitic acts (Sanua, 1998). This campus antisemitism was part of a larger trend in which bigotry and intolerance became more prevalent with the growing population of Jews in the United States during the 1920s. Jewish people began to be excluded from certain apartments, vacation destinations, and jobs in non-Jewish firms (Sanua, 1998). Several fraternities attempted to combat the negative stereotypes to demonstrate that Jews could behave and contribute as much to society as Gentile (Non-Jewish) men.

Antisemitism Among Jewish Fraternities and Sororities

Fraternities that, “based their ritualistic ideals on the New Testament and a belief in Jesus as divine” (p. 19) increased both in number and popularity after the U.S. Civil War (Toll, 1980). During this era the fraternity and sorority system was essentially closed to Jews, as they believe in the Old Testament. The only exceptions were rare occurrences when

an exceptional Jewish student received an invitation to a fraternity, or a fraternal organization did not detect the member's Jewish heritage or identity (Sanua, 1998). Fraternities implemented religious affiliation as one of the criteria for membership because they worried that the admission of too many Jews would compromise their character (Toll, 1980).

Since their inception in the early 1900s, Jewish fraternities and sororities have played an integral role in Jewish college students' cultural, social, and identity development (Sanua, 2000). They served a significant role in professional schools of medicine, law, dentistry, and pharmacy (Sanua, 2000). Most Jewish men were forced to seek or form organizations that would accept their ancestry and religious faith to obtain the same opportunities for a brotherhood that other college students were granted (Toll, 1980; Torbenson, 2009). Thus, Jewish fraternities and sororities were founded because other organizations excluded them (Sanua, 2003). These exclusionary policies slowly waned after World War II. Still, social exclusion often necessitated Jewish spaces on campus for religious and cultural connection, which were often facilitated by Jewish fraternities and sororities (Karabel, 2006).

Before the 1950s, there were more than 20 college Jewish fraternities and sororities (Sanua, 2003). As other national organizations relaxed their membership criteria, many Jewish fraternities and sororities merged with other Jewish fraternities and sororities as their role diffused or their popularity waned (Sasso et al., 2020). The cessation of the "Christians only" clause in non-Jewish organizations and the inclusive clauses by other Jewish sororities allowed Jewish women to join a wider selection of fraternal organizations.

Jewish Idealism

Jewish fraternities and sororities made efforts to demonstrate that their members made meaningful contributions to higher education and society. Sigma Alpha Mu alumni from Syracuse University, for instance, established a scholarship in 1936 to be given to a deserving student, regardless of faith. They hoped this effort would demonstrate to the institution's trustees that Jews were devoted to their alma mater (Sanua, 2003). Contrastingly, Zeta Beta Tau adopted a philosophy termed "pro-Semitism" by Harold Riegelman, who was a de facto spokesperson for the positive attributes of Jewish fraternities and believed that Jewish fraternities were the best weapons for fighting prejudices in the United States (Sanua, 2003).

Zeta Beta Tau hoped that by affording its members the opportunity to interact with Gentile students, non-Jews would

recognize that Jewish stereotypes were not based on fact (Sanua, 1998). A rationalization for this policy was that forming an elite group of Jews that would be a representative sample for the public would prove beneficial to less fortunate Jews, as well as the men who had obtained membership in Jewish fraternities (Sanua, 1998). These were more selective membership practices in which Jewish fraternity men sought to separate themselves from Jews who did not meet the social standards set forth by their organizations (Sanua, 1998). However, others quickly questioned Riegelman's concept of "pro-Semitism" and raised concerns regarding whether it created more prejudice than it eliminated (Sanua, 1998). Some opined that "hatred and competition between the Jewish fraternities presented a far graver problem than anti-Semitism expressed by Gentiles against Jews" (Sanua, 2003, p. 240).

The Jewish fraternities later became regarded as "a cesspool of Jewish hatreds," because "Jewish students who were excluded from them suffered a double blow, since they were already excluded from Gentile society" (Sanua, 2003, p. 237). Other Jews in the U.S. continued their conscious efforts to always be on their best behavior. To avoid antisemitism, many attempted to reduce or extract their ethnically Jewish features or hide their religious identity.

Reduction of Identity

Many Jewish fraternity men made themselves aware of the anti-Jewish stereotypes that existed and "took care to avoid anyone displaying those characteristics during rush week" (Sanua, 1998, p. 68). For example, Sigma Alpha Mu members received encouragement to guard their behavior carefully, and the fraternity emphasized virtues such as modesty and quiet speech. According to Sanua (1998), members sought to avoid a reputation as "the boisterous, garrulous, obnoxiously self-assertive Jew" (p. 219) and hoped to receive respect and tolerance from others as a result of their modesty (Sanua, 2003).

Beyond recruitment, Jewish fraternity men and sorority women worked to reduce the level of their Jewish appearances (Sanua, 1998). Many Jewish men and women who had stereotypical "Semitic" features and commonly Jewish names took action to make themselves blend in with norms of upper-class Protestants (Sanua, 2003). Some would have their admissions photos taken by a photographer who could disguise their Jewish features, but others would change their name, hair color, and even their noses (Sanua, 1998). During membership selection, the more selective organizations could turn away candidates on the basis of the origins of their parents, their surnames, residences, wealth, father's occupation, or

synagogue membership (Sanua, 2003). Jewish fraternities and sororities also applied more specific divisions such as "Manhattan vs. the Bronx or Brooklyn, rural or suburban areas anywhere vs. New York City, and Southern Jews vs. Northern Jews," (Sanua, 2003, p. 157) or Atlanta as opposed to other parts of the South. Records also show that members of Jewish fraternities used racial epithets and other slang terms to describe each other (Sanua, 2003). Although Jewish fraternity men or sorority women felt that they were well-mannered with the potential for great success, they recognized that they were, by virtue of their Jewish backgrounds, likely targets for Nazis or nationalist rhetoric.

These attempts to reduce Jewish identity and ethnic features were to avoid issues of antisemitism and to attempt to assimilate. However, when antisemitic incidents occurred, university officials often made no attempts to resolve them. For example, at the University of Washington in 1937, a Gentile fraternity flew the Nazi flag above their house, and the university's administration made no efforts to expedite the removal of the flag (Sanua, 1998). Thus, there was increased pressure to assimilate to avoid such incidents of antisemitism as Jews felt unprotected (Sanua, 2000). Many Jewish sorority or fraternity members will hide or reduce their identities when there is fear or ambiguous situations about assimilation (LDB CHRUL, 2021).

Struggles with Assimilation

Jewish fraternities and sororities had drawn a need to protect themselves and find acceptance, which was a difficult equilibrium to achieve (Sasso et al., 2023). However, they struggled with fitting into the White majority in their attempts to protect themselves from antisemitism. These desires for assimilation for Jewish fraternal organizations provided a unique challenge. Thus, Jewish fraternities and sororities faced a choice: to maintain a focus on Jewish membership as opposed to Jewish values or support the post-Holocaust global Jewish community (Sanua, 2000). There were tensions to balance their religious and ethnic identity in competition with the expectations of middle-class or White standards of behavior (Sasso et al., 2023). Jewish fraternity and sorority members experienced second-class citizenship status within the social rankings of fraternities and sororities. In their attempts to assimilate and integrate, they also experienced continued antisemitism and exclusion (Sasso et al., 2020). Sororities had an arduous path to membership in a national council for historically White sororities.

Jewish sororities were eventually accepted to the National Panhellenic Congress (NPC), an umbrella organization consisting

of 26 national and international sororities after a long period of advocacy. Efforts began in 1917 when Alpha Epsilon Phi submitted its first application for membership (Sanua, 2003). However, the discourse surrounding Jewish sororities was that they "did not rank as truly national sororities because of their 'restricted' or 'limited' membership," (p. 192) which was used as a rationale to deny them entry into NPC (Sanua, 2003).

In 1946, the four national Jewish sororities finally received only "associate" membership in the NPC and received full membership in 1952 (Sanua, 2003). They were given associate member status because, as full member organizations, they would have the "automatic right to serve in positions of power over the non-Jewish women" (Sanua, 2003, p. 192). The challenge for Jewish sororities was that they wanted to prove they could do all the things that other "Christian" women could achieve but did not want to lose their Jewish identity (Sasso et al., 2023). Jewish fraternities also struggled with assimilation.

For Jewish men, they struggled with the hegemonic masculine ideal of the "Harvard man" (Townsend, 1996). The Harvard man was a masculine ideal aimed toward a specific norm that Townsend (1996) also argued was a form of masculinity anchored in postbellum ideality, characterized by specific attributes of physical and intellectual White Anglo-Saxon elitism. It can also broadly be described as congruent with the *rugged male intellectual* ideal of Teddy Roosevelt. Jewish fraternities eliminated any definitive membership clauses related to a potential member's religious identity by the 1950s to accommodate this ascension towards ideals of masculinity (Sanua, 1998). *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) further pressured debate in removing the "Jewish-only" clauses in the constitutions of fraternal organizations (Sanua, 2003).

Other fraternity and sorority campus councils slowly phased out Jewish traditions such as different recruitment schedules during the academic year to accommodate the High Holy Days (Sanua, 1998). Thus, the distinctions between Jewish fraternities and other fraternal organizations began to fade away. However, Jewish fraternities still did not receive equal treatment on all campuses (Sasso et al., 2023). For example, at the University of Pennsylvania, students maintained two separate "A" and "B" interfraternity councils in which Jewish fraternities occupied a lower "B" ranking (Sanua, 2003).

These changes caused a shift in membership requirements while maintaining Jewish values led to a period of raising discussions about characteristics of members beyond their religious affiliation. For example, Lee Dover, a 1925 alumnus of Zeta Beta Tau's chapter at the University of Southern

California, outlined some of these characteristics in his final recruitment directive as General Secretary, as Zeta Beta Tau sought "wholesome and friendly young men, good students, freshmen likely to make their college grades and be eligible after one term for initiation, remaining thereafter for four college years" (Sanua, 1998, p. 230). These attributes are similarly reflected in Sigma Alpha Mu's philosophy of "making eligible for membership any male student of good moral character who respects the ideals and traditions of the Fraternity" (Sigma Alpha Mu, n.d.).

This gradual shift towards general membership and assimilation caused tensions between more progressive or liberal college students at the chapter level and their more conservative or traditionalist national organization members who sought to maintain their Jewish identity (Sasso et al., 2023). The compromise for many was that Jewish requirements for membership were removed, but they still retained their Jewish customs, traditions, and community participation. This identity compromise is where they remain in our contemporary era. However, because they still hold Jewish identity and practices, they have faced new forms of antisemitism individually, organizationally, and collectively. Jewish fraternities and sororities have received continuous and focused threats and acts of antisemitism (LDB CHRUL, 2021). In addition, these organizations have grown in total membership and number of chapters which suggests they may draw greater opportunities for targeting (Sasso et al., 2023).

Antisemitism on Campus in the 21st Century

Current research suggests that antisemitism on campuses has increased, but it now manifests in much more complex ways, and Jewish fraternities and sororities are targeted (LDB CHRUL, 2021; Sasso et al., 2023). These include microaggressions from professors or uninformed, ignorant peers, and targeted persecution by other groups about the ongoing conflict in the Middle East (Saxe et al., 2015). Antisemitic incidents occur at different institutional types and in all regions, demonstrating the pervasive nature of antisemitic incidents throughout the United States (Sasso et al., 2023).

Sasso et al. (2023) noted in their analysis of recent antisemitic incidents on campuses that Jewish fraternity chapter houses are frequent targets of antisemitic harassment. These include antisemitic graffiti on their chapter houses, stealing Jewish religious symbols from the front of chapter property, defacing large menorahs during religious holidays, spray-painting swastikas on houses, and yelling racial slurs at members by other students (LDB CHRUL, 2021). These events are alarming in light of the

horrific shooting in 2018 at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh (Sasso et al., 2023). Some scholars have suggested that increasing the impact of a "mere exposure effect," which is essentially increased contact between Jewish college students and others, may improve intergroup relations (Gaunt, 2011; Maoz, 2011). However, others have suggested that antisemitism may increase where there is a greater density or representation of Jewish college students (Sales & Saxe, 2006). Particularly, antisemitic events are more frequent at elite, highly selective institutions that recruit Jewish students (Fishkoff, 2005; Golden, 2002; Redden, 2008). A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that a larger Jewish college student population allows for increased involvement or representation, which may also lead to a rise in antisemitic activity (Kadushin & Tighe, 2008). Institutions of higher education have taken varying approaches to address antisemitism on campus. Colleges and universities around the United States are beginning to establish Jewish Advisory Councils to confront antisemitism (Casaburi, 2021). Following antisemitic incidents on campus, administrators have spoken out in support of their Jewish students and rebuked hateful conduct, and student groups have organized to demonstrate their opposition to antisemitic incidents. Specifically, Jewish fraternal organizations have bolstered their efforts to address antisemitism on campus to assume responsibility for support gaps on their campuses.

Fraternity & Sorority Initiatives Against Antisemitism

Jewish fraternities and sororities have attempted to engage in combating antisemitism. They have adopted several Jewish-centered education initiatives or projects to establish more straightforward connections to their Jewish faith and continue to engage in activism against such hate (Sasso et al., 2023). This activism draws its origins in the 1930s. Some fraternities, such as Kappa Nu (now Zeta Beta Tau), had formal refugee relief programs to sponsor Jewish students from Europe to escape the rising tides of National and anti-Jewish rhetoric (Sanua, 2003).

A large-scale collaboration by Sigma Alpha Mu, Zeta Beta Tau, and sororities Sigma Delta Tau and Alpha Epsilon Phi annually co-facilitates a program designed to educate campus professionals about antisemitic incidents and appropriate ways to respond. This program, the "Summit Against Hate," was recognized as a 2018 recipient of the North American Interfraternity Conference (NIC)'s Laurel Wreath Award "in recognition of their unique programs, community outreach, or influence within the fraternal world" (NIC, n.d.). This program specifically

educates attendees about antisemitism, its presence on campus and in the community, and its convergence with other forms of hate with which campus professionals may be more familiar. In addition, other organizations have collaborated with other Jewish partner associations.

Zeta Beta Tau partners with the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in implementing its "Words to Action" program on college campuses (Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity, n.d.). The program's content does not make assumptions about the religious identity of participants in coordination with the ADL. Instead, this program is designed to raise awareness of antisemitism and how those acts can be connected to, or veiled as, anti-Zionist and anti-Israel. As one of the objectives is to ensure all students receive a similar experience, this program is open to non-members. Like Zeta Beta Tau, Alpha Epsilon Pi has encouraged service-learning efforts to combat antisemitism. These include repairing synagogues and organizing campus-wide rallies against antisemitism (Geldner, 2018; Solomon, 2018). In addition, Alpha Epsilon Pi contributed to creating the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Geldner, 2018). Alpha Epsilon Pi and Zeta Beta Tau also collaborated to support the OneDay Against Hate campaign, which was organized in response to the growing frequency and severity of antisemitism and other forms of hate on college campuses and in communities at large (Prince, 2018).

Future Directions & Implications for Student Affairs Professionals

Campuses and universities must continue to increase recognition of Jewish undergraduate college students as a historically marginalized identity and not conflate their ethnicity with Whiteness to assume they benefit from this privilege (Sasso et al., 2023). Students are already engaging in efforts to combat antisemitism, but campuses should make more effort to support Jewish students. Student affairs professionals also must find new approaches to support their fraternity and sorority chapters with Jewish members. Antisemitism is a serious issue that will persist and become more severe; as demonstrated by the authors, it is unfortunately not declining in severity. Nevertheless, institutions can take some foundational steps to further the inclusion of Jewish college students, which may promote their participation in co-curricular activities such as fraternities and sororities.

Many campuses have already implemented programs such as interfaith understanding (Monmouth Dialogue Project, 2013), Middle East issues intergroup dialogue courses (Ben Hagai, Hammack, et al., 2013; Dessel & Ali, 2012; Khuri, 2004), and alternative spring break trips (Dessel & Ali,

2011; Williams & Sarrouf, 2010). Such program participation leads to increased understanding, relationships, and social justice orientation (Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Hogg et al., 2004; Nagda et al., 2009; Spencer et al., 2008). However, these programs have been replicated by Jewish fraternities and sororities, which sometimes makes them easier targets for people in opposition to their missions (Sasso et al., 2023).

Campus administrators must consider the current climate and changing nature of antisemitic incidents on campus. The recent global pandemic has cast a different light on antisemitism on college campuses and has shifted the nature of some antisemitic incidents. For example, "Zoombombing"--the disruption of meetings or programs on videoconferencing platforms with offensive or threatening images or language--has been one way to spread antisemitic rhetoric (LDB CHRUL, 2021). In addition, shifting many campus programs and activities to a virtual platform has perpetuated anti-Zionist expression (AMCHA Initiative, 2020). Accordingly, Jewish fraternal organizations may need to refocus their initiatives and advocacy to combat Israel-related antisemitism in on-grounds and virtual spaces.

These efforts can include educating students on the roots of antisemitism and the campus community on Jewish identity, especially nuances between religious and ethnic identity. Institutions can also adopt an institutional definition of antisemitism and provide a model protocol to identify contemporary incidents of antisemitism. In addition, students should be sanctioned for violations of university non-discrimination or anti-harassment policies for instances of antisemitism (Barton & Huffman, 2012). Finally, other approaches should involve voice and representation, allowing Jewish sorority and fraternity students to have a more visible role on campus.

These approaches towards inclusion should incorporate Jewish representation on campus climate councils and data collection on Jewish identity on campus. Campus dining halls should also allow for diversity considerations for Jewish students around dietary/holiday restrictions. The university calendar and religious accommodations for coursework could also be made more accessible to Jewish students to practice their faith appropriately during religious holidays. Barton & Huffman (2012) noted that "such an effort demonstrates the University's commitment to full inclusion and recognizing the existence of diversity among its communities" (p. 9). Another critical issue is ensuring that colleges and universities recognize anti-Zionism as a form of antisemitism when addressing incidents of discrimination against Jewish students. Beyond the campus level, Jewish fraternal organizations could benefit from activism on state and federal levels to

ensure that Jewish students receive proper protections on campus (AMCHA Initiative, 2020). Further, researchers should extend studies beyond existing survey data, which suggest that Jewish sorority and fraternity members experience significant forms of antisemitism, especially in virtual spaces (LDB CHRUL, 2021).

One specific need is future research about Jewish student identity and Jewish sororities and fraternities. A more nuanced, sophisticated understanding of antisemitism is also vital to better understand how it impacts the experiences of Jewish college students. Existing scholarship has begun to identify how non-Jewish students perceive Jewish college students (Mayhew et al., 2018). However, little research elucidates Jewish college student experiences and how they identify. Further, no current research explores how Jewish sororities and fraternities influence these college experiences or facilitate a sense of belonging for Jewish students. In particular, future studies should explore students who join Jewish fraternities/sororities to better understand their motivations for joining. For example, students might join to strengthen their Jewish identity or have a specific interest in combating antisemitism. Additional research should explore Jewish fraternity and sorority members' experiences with antisemitism. These first studies should be qualitative and exploratory, followed by more extensive longitudinal quantitative studies.

Conclusion

Jewish fraternities and sororities have served as spaces of Jewish identity development where students can potentially better understand their ethnic and religious identities. However, this increased identity salience facilitates a deeper, sophisticated understanding of the various forms of antisemitism that exist on college campuses. Throughout their existence, Jewish fraternal organizations have battled antisemitism, and the perpetuation of antisemitic harassment on college campuses suggests that these groups must continue their efforts. The authors highlighted how Jewish fraternities and sororities have recently begun to organize to push against more recent forms of hate with other national partners to educate about Anti-Zionist rhetoric. It is the hope of the authors that Jewish members of fraternities and sororities continue to light the torch of antisemitism activism on our college campuses.

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