

“FOR THE LONGEST TIME, I FELT LIKE I HAD NO ALLIES”: STIGMATIZATION AND RECOGNITION OF JEWISH FACULTY IN CANADIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

LILACH MAROM
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

LEOR ELIZUR
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

CARY KOGAN
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

Abstract

This article examines the experiences of Jewish faculty in Canadian higher education following the Hamas attacks on Israel on October 7, 2023. Drawing on Lamont’s sociology of recognition, the study utilizes national survey data and in-depth interviews to examine how stigmatization operates across four inter-connected layers: spatial, policy, cultural, and interpersonal. Findings reveal a multilayered assault of worth, marked by declining physical and emotional safety, limited institutional recognition of antisemitism, exclusion from dominant academic milieus, and breakdown of collegial relationships. A central site of tension concerns anti-Zionism, which has become a boundary for recognition and belonging within many academic spaces. The study argues that prevailing policy frameworks, while oriented toward greater inclusion, inadequately account for Jewish identity and can inadvertently reproduce exclusion. Addressing Jewish inclusion requires meaningful education, policy revision, and relational practices that expand cultural membership and reaffirm dignity, recognition, and shared humanity in higher education.

Keywords: stigmatization, recognition, Jewish faculty, equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI), antisemitism, higher education

Résumé

Cet article examine le vécu de professeurs juifs et professeures juives travaillant dans l'enseignement supérieur canadien à la suite des attaques du Hamas contre Israël le 7 octobre 2023. S'appuyant sur la sociologie de la reconnaissance de Lamont, cette étude utilise des données issues d'une enquête nationale et des entretiens approfondis pour analyser comment la stigmatisation s'opère à quatre niveaux interdépendants : spatial, politique, culturel et interpersonnel. Les résultats mettent en évidence des atteintes à leur valeur à plusieurs niveaux, qui se caractérisent par une diminution du sentiment de sécurité physique et émotionnelle, une reconnaissance institutionnelle limitée de l'antisémitisme, des discriminations dans les milieux universitaires dominants et une détérioration des relations collégiales. L'antisionisme constitue un foyer central de tension, devenant un critère déterminant pour la reconnaissance et l'appartenance au sein de nombreux espaces universitaires. Cette étude soutient que les cadres politiques actuels, bien qu'orientés vers une plus grande inclusion, ne tiennent pas suffisamment compte de l'identité juive et peuvent, sans le vouloir, reproduire des situations d'exclusion. Pour favoriser l'inclusion des Juifs, il faut mettre en place un enseignement pertinent, revoir les politiques et adopter des pratiques relationnelles qui élargissent le sentiment d'appartenance culturelle et réaffirment la dignité de la personne, la reconnaissance et l'humanité commune dans l'enseignement supérieur.

Mots-clés: stigmatisation, reconnaissance, universitaires juifs, équité, diversité, et inclusion (EDI), antisémitisme, enseignement supérieur

INTRODUCTION

This study analyzes the experiences of Jewish faculty members in Canadian higher education (HE) since the Hamas attacks on Israel on October 7, 2023 (hereafter, October 7) and the subsequent war in Gaza. Jews are the most targeted group in religiously motivated hate crimes in Canada, with a sharp increase reported since October 7 (Statistics Canada, 2025). Recent studies and reports further demonstrate that university campuses have become increasingly hostile, with Jewish faculty, staff, and students describing intimidation, gaslighting, exclusion, and harassment (Columbia University Task Force on Antisemitism, 2024; Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights, 2026; Wright et al., 2024). Antisemitism on campuses is often minimized and dismissed, leaving many Jewish community members feeling unsupported by colleagues

and leadership, with documented negative mental health consequences (Bar-Halpern & Wolfman, 2025; Silverstein & Block, 2025). This study contributes to this emerging body of scholarship, which remains underdeveloped in the Canadian HE context (Morstead & DeLongis, 2025; Santos & Yogev, 202).

At the entry point, it is important to clarify how the terms *Jews* and *antisemitism* are used. Jewish identity is grounded in a sense of peoplehood; an ancient group formation that predates modern categories of race, ethnicity, and religion (Pianko, 2015). Jewish identity is diverse, complex, and multifaceted: there is no single way to be Jewish. Jewish people may understand their Judaism as a religious, secular, cultural, racial, or ethnic identity (Hahn Tapper et al., 2023). Despite this diversity, support for Jewish political self-determination in parts of the historic land of Israel (Zionism) remains

central for a large majority of Canadian Jews (Brym, 2024c, 2025b). At the same time, many Canadian Jews object to contemporary political articulations of Zionism, are critical of Israeli state policies, and support Palestinian self-determination (Scheindlin, 2025).

At its most basic definition, antisemitism is the hostility toward Jews as Jews (Ury & Miron, 2023). The adaptive and dynamic nature of antisemitism means that it has shifted over time to fit different societal contexts (Nirenberg, 2014; Teter, 2023). In the post-October 7 context, whether and when anti-Zionism constitutes antisemitism has become a highly polarized and contested question, both within Jewish diasporic communities and academic spaces (Beinart, 2013; Herf, 2023; Katz, 2025). Existing definitions of antisemitism, including those advanced by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA, n.d.), the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism (n.d.), and Nexus (2024), take divergent positions on this entanglement. However, scholarly debates over definitions risk displacing attention from the lived experiences that demand empirical and ethical consideration (Patel, 2024; Press, 2024). This tension is particularly salient in Canadian HE, where there is strong resistance to the IHRA definition (Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2024), despite its adoption by the federal government (Government of Canada, 2024).

Rather than intervening in definitional debates over antisemitism or anti-Zionism (Dallal & Segal, 2025; Judaken, 2024; Murray, 2025; Magid, 2024), this article draws on Lamont's (2018, 2023) sociology of recognition to centre the experiences of Jewish faculty members who encounter stigmatization in academic spaces, whether that stigmatization is articulated through antisemitism, anti-Zionism, or their conflation.

Following Lamont (2018, 2023; Lamont et al., 2016), *stigmatization* is understood here as an assault of worth: Being ignored, dismissed, or discredited through overt or subtle forms of communication, interactions, and representation. Stigmatization operates through *cultural repertoires* (Lamont, 2018), the interpretive frameworks through which individuals and

groups make sense of social difference. These repertoires shape *recognition gaps*, disparities in the dignity, legitimacy, and moral worth assigned to different groups within a given context. Recognition work counters stigmatization by challenging dominant repertoires and expanding the boundaries of cultural membership so that groups are regarded as worthy of dignity and respect (Lamont & Mizrahi, 2012). Grounded in this framework, this article asks: What are the experiences of Jewish academics in Canadian HE since October 7, and what do these experiences reveal about the cultural repertoires governing recognition and worth in academic institutions?

In Canadian HE, the cultural repertoires governing Jewish identity and antisemitism are deeply shaped by equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI), the dominant institutional framework for addressing marginalization (Government of Canada, 2025; Universities Canada, 2023). Rooted in the *Employment Equity Act* (1995), EDI frameworks primarily centre race, Indigeneity, gender, disability, and their intersections (Council of Canadian Academies, 2024; Universities Canada, 2023), while rarely addressing religious or ethnocultural forms of exclusion.

When Jewishness is acknowledged in Canadian HE, it is most often framed exclusively as a religious identity (Feldman, 2025), erasing its ethnic and cultural dimensions and misaligning with the way many Canadian Jews understand themselves (Anctil & Menkis, 2023). In the 2021 Canadian census, approximately 80,000 individuals identified as Jewish solely in cultural or ethnic terms, representing roughly 20% of Canadian Jews (Brym, 2024b). Jews are also not classified as a visible minority (Government of Canada, 2016), even though most Canadian Jews do not self-identify as White but as ethnically Jewish (Brym, 2025a; Statistics Canada, 2022). This hybridity, seen as White or non-White based on the changing political climate and prevailing racial discourses, occupies a liminal grey zone that unsettles the binary of the dominant majority versus the marginalized Other (Bloom, 2002; Blumenfeld, 2006).

This misalignment contributes to the relative invisibility of Jewish experiences in HE, particularly given the widespread perception of Jews as White and privileged (Rubin, 2020; Stein et al., 2024). As Feldman (2025) argues, Jews are often “seen as embodying White privilege and thus, are not seen as experiencing the consequences of racism as a racially minoritized population,” rendering “the fullness of their experiences invisible” (p. 3). These perceptions are further complicated for Jews of colour, including Mizrahi, Sephardi, Black, and other racially diverse Jews, whose lived experiences challenge dominant assumptions about Jewishness (Drezner, 2025; Schraub, 2019).

Since October 7, stigmatization of Jews has increasingly been articulated through perceived proximity to Zionism (The House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights [JUST], 2024), particularly within HE, where anti-Zionist sentiments are prevalent (Aschaiek, 2024; Brym, 2025a; JUST, 2024).

Responding to Lamont’s (2018) call to empirically document recognition gaps and analyze the pathways through which they emerge, this article identifies and examines forms of stigmatization experienced by Jewish faculty in Canadian HE, analyzes how these experiences are shaped by institutional and cultural repertoires, and offers recommendations for narrowing recognition gaps and fostering more inclusive academic spaces.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Recognition refers to “the affirmation of positive qualities of human subjects and groups” (Honneth, 2014, p. 329). It concerns how societies determine who is worthy of dignity and respect and is a process mediated by the moral and cultural repertoires available in a given context. By contrast, stigmatization is a cultural process that produces, and reproduces, negative or deficient portrayals of particular social groups (Lamont et al., 2014). Stigmatization operates through *cultural repertoires*: the frameworks individuals draw upon to interpret and navigate their social world (Lamont & Thévenot, 2000; Swidler, 1986). These repertoires, shaped across inter-

national, national, and local contexts, influence both how worth is assigned or denied to groups and how members of those groups interpret and respond to stigmatization. *Destigmatization* refers to the process through which marginalized groups gain recognition and societal worth (Lamont, 2018). Critical examination of cultural repertoires is crucial for this process, as dominant ways of interpreting social difference can either reinforce separation and deficit thinking or illuminate structural inequities and affirm shared humanity.

Recognition gaps refer to disparities in how groups are assigned worth and included within cultural membership (Lamont, 2018). Such gaps matter because they have direct implications for individual and collective well-being. Stigmatization functions as a chronic stressor, undermining both physical and mental health (Hall & Lamont, 2013; Krieger, 2014; Morstead & DeLongis, 2025; Williams & Mohammed, 2013). In academic contexts, stigmatization can have pronounced personal and professional consequences, including isolation, disengagement, reduced productivity, and the erosion of collegial relations and trust (Bar-Halpern & Wolfman, 2025; Silverstein & Block, 2025).

Lamont’s (2023) framework enables examination of marginalization not reducible to racialization alone, and that emerges at the intersection of multiple dimensions, including ethnicity, religion, nationality, and perceived privilege (Clair et al., 2016). As such, it further offers conceptual tools for identifying recognition gaps that may remain undertheorized within dominant EDI cultural repertoires (Marom, 2026b; Marom & Switzer, 2025). Studying recognition requires what Lamont (2018) calls a “multidimensional bottom-up approach to boundary formation that locates groups in their local and historical contexts” (p. 432). This approach is particularly suited to examining Jewish faculty in Canadian HE, where experiences of inclusion and exclusion are shaped by institutional norms and policy frameworks, as well as by longer historical legacies of antisemitism and conditional belonging.

METHODOLOGY

This article is part of a larger mixed-methods study that examined faculty and staff experiences in Canadian HE after October 7, including policy analysis (Marom & Switzer, 2025), a national survey, and semi-structured interviews. Participants were recruited through Jewish campus organizations (e.g., Jewish Academic Alliance of BC, n.d.), Jewish academic networks (e.g., Network of Engaged Canadian Academics, n.d.), Canadian Jewish organizations (e.g., Jewish Federations), and Canadian Jewish studies associations (e.g., Association for Canadian Jewish Studies, n.d.) using email invitations circulated to members. Recruitment was supplemented through the professional networks of the research team and snowball sampling, particularly to reach participants from underrepresented groups. Participation was open to any faculty or staff at Canadian HE institutions, both Jewish and non-Jewish, who had knowledge of, experienced, or witnessed antisemitism on campus. In this article, only self-identified Jewish faculty were included in the analysis and results.

The survey was created and disseminated through the secure Qualtrics platform and hosted on a secure University of British Columbia server. It remained open for five months (February–June 2025) to maximize participation. Overall, 143 self-identified Jewish faculty members completed the survey. Six participants were excluded for having failed the first attention check and 17 participants were removed for having failed the second attention check. Analyses were thus restricted to 120 respondents who identified as Jewish faculty members at their institutions and who correctly answered both attention checks. For demographic characteristics of participants comparing those who passed and those who failed the attention check items, see Appendix A.

The survey included multiple sections. The first collected professional information (e.g., academic discipline, rank, province, and institution type). Subsequent sections included questions about the participants' knowledge of and perspective on institutional policies and EDI resources relating to Jewish identity and

antisemitism, as well as policies and resources relating to other group identities and forms of discrimination. Another section focused on Jewish identity and connection to Israel (e.g., how strongly do participants identify as culturally Jewish, ethnically Jewish, and religiously Jewish; to what degree do participants feel an emotional attachment to Israel). This section also assessed participants' overall feelings on campus as a Jewish person (e.g., feelings of physical safety, emotional safety, professional safety, and inclusion). Additionally, this section examined participants' experiences of antisemitism on campus, both before and after October 7. Items in this section were adapted from surveys of leading sociologists of Canadian Jewry (Brym, 2024c, 2025a; Brym et al., 2018), which include validated measures of Jewish experience and perception (Brym, 2024c). The final section collected participant demographics (e.g., age, gender, sexual orientation). For survey questions used in this article, see Appendix B.

Survey participants were invited to indicate interest in a follow-up semi-structured interview to share their experiences in greater depth. Interviews were conducted between February and July of 2025. Of the Jewish faculty survey respondents, 59 expressed interest, which resulted in 51 interviews. The level of interest suggested that these experiences were not adequately captured by survey measures alone; accordingly, all interested participants were invited to participate in the interview.

Interviews included open-ended questions about Jewish identity, understanding of antisemitism, and experiences with colleagues, students, and campus leadership before and after October 7. Participants selected or were assigned a pseudonym and were invited to review and edit their transcripts. These measures are especially important in research on small, identifiable, and potentially vulnerable groups (Lewis et al., 2023). In this case, participants may be professionally vulnerable due to the limited number of Jewish faculty within particular departments or institutions.

DATA ANALYSIS

Quantitative Data

Survey data analysis was conducted using R version 4.3.1 (R Core Team, 2023). Survey participant demographics can be found in Table 1.

Descriptive and inferential statistics were used to identify patterns and correlations between background variables and participants'

experiences (Creswell & Guetterman, 2019). For clarity, the rationale for the various statistical tests conducted and the details of the hypotheses are provided in each of the Findings sections. Additional information relating to the survey, data, and statistical tests performed that are not reported in-text can be found in the Appendices.

Table 1
Survey Participant Demographics

Demographic	Overall (N=120)	
	<i>n</i>	%
Age Group		
25–44	19	15.8
45–54	42	35.0
55–64	28	23.3
65+	23	19.2
Missing	8	6.7
Gender		
Woman	61	50.8
Man	51	42.5
Other	8	6.7
Province		
British Columbia	41	34.2
Ontario	52	43.3
Quebec	13	10.8
Other ^a	14	11.7
Academic Discipline		
STEM	61	50.8
Humanities/Social Sciences	59	49.2
Academic Rank		
Junior	19	15.8
Mid-career	33	27.5
Senior	49	40.8
Other	18	15.0
Missing	1	0.8
Attachment to Israel		
Attached to Israel	112	93.3
No Attachment/Neutral to Israel	8	6.7

Demographic	Overall (N=120)	
	<i>n</i>	%
Strong Cultural Jewish Identity		
Very	107	89.2
No/Neutral	13	10.8
Strong Religious Jewish Identity		
Very	56	46.7
No/Neutral	63	52.5
Missing	1	0.8
Strong Ethnic Jewish Identity		
Very	99	82.5
No/Neutral	21	17.5

Note. ^aIncludes the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Saskatchewan.

It is important to note that a large majority (93.3%) reported feeling “somewhat” or “very” emotionally attached to Israel, consistent with findings from broader surveys of Canadian Jewry (Brym, 2024a, 2024c). This marks a limitation of the survey with respect to the representation of self-identified anti-Zionist Jewish faculty. While a recent population-level survey suggests that anti-Zionism among Canadian Jews is relatively rare, at approximately 1% (Brym, 2025b), universities may have a higher concentration of this perspective (Shaw & Siddiqi, 2026; Smith, 2025). Moreover, even when numerically small, anti-Zionist positions occupy a disproportionate presence within HE discourses and are articulated by some prominent Jewish Canadian academics (e.g., Jewish Faculty Network, n.d.), warranting further targeted investigation beyond the scope of this study.

Qualitative Data

All 51 interviews were transcribed verbatim and analyzed using NVivo software. Given the volume of qualitative data, illustrative quotes from 18 interviewed faculty were selected for this article. Participants were purposively selected to reflect diversity across positionalities (e.g., gender, sexuality, and Jewish self-identification), academic ranks (e.g., junior and senior faculty),

disciplines (e.g., humanities, social sciences, medicine, and sciences), institution types (e.g., research and teaching universities), and provinces (e.g., British Columbia, Ontario). This approach aimed to enhance analytic depth and nuance while reflecting broader patterns observed across the full interview dataset.¹ See Table 2 for interview participant demographics.

Thematic analysis guided the coding process (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Members of the research team met regularly to refine the codebook and to compare interpretations to ensure analytic rigour (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Themes were generated inductively from participants’ narratives and deductively from the theoretical framework of recognition and stigmatization, as well as the policy and discursive lens of EDI. Consistent with Lamont’s (2018) emphasis on examining how cultural and institutional conceptions are manifested in individual-level interactions, the final stage of analysis organized findings into four layers of stigmatization and boundaries to cultural membership. See Figure 1 for visual representation.

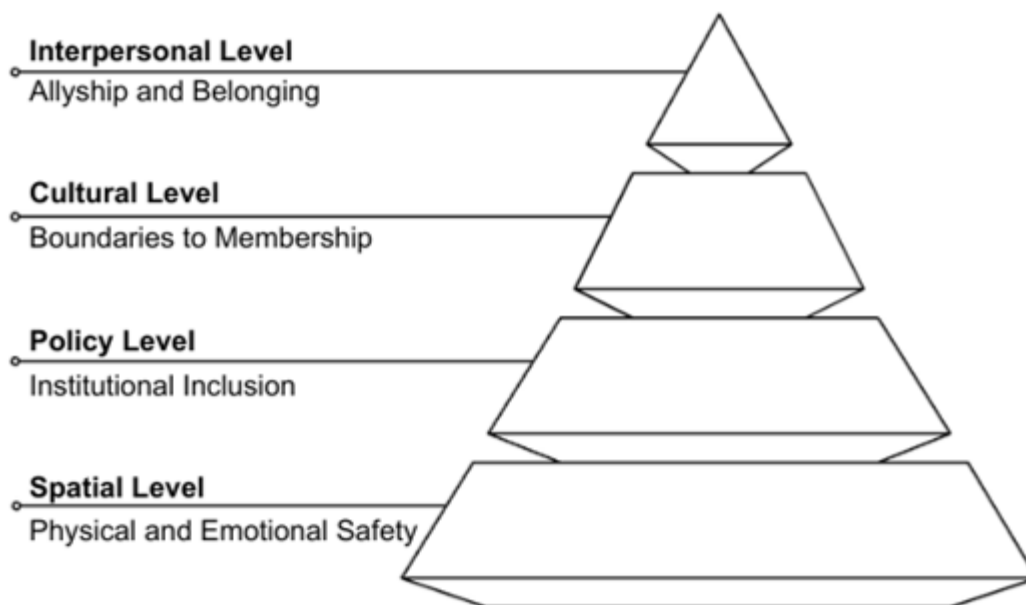
1 To respect the time and engagement of the participants, we centre different voices in other manuscripts (e.g., Elizur & Marom, 2026; Marom, 2026a, 2026b; Marom et al., in press).

Table 2
Interview Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Discipline	Gender	Province	Professorial Rank	Setting	University Type ^a
Adi	Medicine/Health Sciences/Nursing	W	MB	Emeritus Professor	Urban	Research University (RU)
Alicia	Medicine/Health Sciences/Nursing	W	ON	Associate Professor	Urban	RU
Daniel	Biological/Life Sciences	M	ON	Full Professor	Urban	RU
Dina	Behavioural Sciences	W	BC	Full Professor	Urban	Comprehensive University (CU)
Eden	Physical Sciences	W	QC	Full Professor	Urban	RU
Ezra	Social Sciences	M	QC	Teaching Faculty	Urban	CEGEP
Juliette	Humanities	W	QC	Full Professor	Urban	RU
Laura	Business	W	ON	Full Professor	Urban	RU
Lili	Music	W	QC	Associate Professor	Urban	RU
Martin	Social Sciences	M	BC	Assistant Professor	Rural	Teaching University (TU)
Michael	Social Sciences	M	BC	Instructor	Urban	CU
Nathan	Humanities	M	MB	Associate Professor	Urban	RU
Paul	Business	M	QC	Associate Professor	Urban	RU
Penny	Medicine/Health Sciences/Nursing	W	AB	Associate Professor	Urban	University 1: RU; University 2: TU
Rita	Humanities	W	ON	Associate Professor	Urban	RU
Stella	Social Sciences	W	QC	Full Professor	Urban	RU
Tali	Medicine/Health Sciences/Nursing	W	ON	Associate Professor	Urban	RU
Tom	Social Sciences	M	ON	Full Professor	Rural	CU

Note. ^a RU: Research University (emphasis on research); CU: Comprehensive University (balance of teaching and research); CEGEP (two-year post-secondary institution in Quebec); TU: Teaching University (focus on undergraduate and diploma programs).

Figure 1
Layers of Stigmatization and Boundaries to Cultural Membership



FINDINGS

Spatial Level: Physical and Emotional Safety

The survey hypothesis was that faculty would report that the campus climate had significantly changed after October 7. Specifically, we predicted that faculty would report: (a) significant reductions in their perception of physical and emotional safety as compared to before October 7, (b) significant increases in their levels of distress as compared to before October 7, and (c) significant changes in their behaviour on campus (i.e., greater avoidance of places perceived as unwelcoming) as compared to before October 7. Chi-squared tests were performed with the independent variable being the time period and the dependent variable being the number of participants who endorsed “very” or “somewhat” options on the Likert-style scale as compared to those who endorsed any other option for physical and emotional safety, distress, and behaviour change.

The findings confirmed this hypothesis. After October 7, participants described a sharp erosion of both physical and emotional safety across campuses. Only 40.0% of participants reported feeling “somewhat” or “very” physically safe on campus. Furthermore, 79.2% indicated that they had changed their behaviour, such as avoiding certain areas of campus, compared to 35.0% before October 7 ($X^2 = 48.2$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$). The decline in emotional safety was even more pronounced: Only 14.2% reported feeling “somewhat” or “very” emotionally safe on campus, and 87.5% said they had experienced distress on campus post-October 7 (up from 40.8% before October 7; $X^2 = 50.4$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$).

Interview accounts amplified these findings. Some participants described direct threats to physical safety in their daily work environments. Daniel recalled:

We had an event on campus where we had a string of graffiti with the upside-down red triangle [Hamas symbol]

plastered and a sniper rifle painted on our windows, saying “you’re the target.”... I declared an unsafe work environment...I stayed off campus for two months.

Nathan identified similar double-coded imagery that created covert spatial boundaries on campus:

During the encampment and even afterwards...I saw several instances of the upside-down red triangle symbol of Hamas.... I see it not as advocacy for Palestinian human rights, but as a process of fear and intimidation towards the Jewish community.

These accounts illustrate how university campuses were experienced as symbolically segregated, with some areas marked, through imagery and symbols, as unwelcoming to Jews. Academic events and programs affiliated with Israeli-nationality faculty or Israeli universities were also singled out and targeted. Paul described:

We had our building encircled and blocked so people couldn’t get in. And that particular protest identified specifically my course [that had a partnership with an Israeli university] as one of the reasons why it was happening. Courses were disrupted, moved online, or cancelled.... The building manager asked if I wanted a security escort when I left the building.

These examples demonstrate that while Canadian universities position themselves as spaces of academic inquiry and the exchange of ideas as core to the ethos of academia (Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2019), events with any proximity to Israel were pushed outside the boundaries of legitimate academic engagement. While protest against Israeli state policies is not inherently antisemitic, participants described experiences that blurred the lines between Israel as a political entity and Jews as a social group. Lili recounted an incident during a student-led event:

One of my students messaged me saying “help me.” There was this little table with Jewish things...[students] were surrounding this little table and they were just screaming. I went to my student and I hugged her, and she was crying, and a guy with a keffiyeh was running around talking about baby murderers and baby killers, and he yelled at us to go back to Poland.

Such incidents signal the stigmatization of Jewish collective grief following October 7, which was not seen as worthy of recognition. Faculty were implicitly treated as guilty by association with Israel, a stance not applied to other diasporic groups connected to states with violent or extremist politics.

Participants also described feeling marked and exposed while carrying out routine professional activities. Eden shared:

There’s a week of rage coming up and so what is that going to be like? Can I be on campus? Do I have to worry? I have a very Israeli name. I teach in front of 150 students.... It makes me very nervous.

Martin added:

The administration finally took our [Jewish] names off the public class schedule so it’s harder to track us down, but there’s nowhere for me to hide on campus.... There’s been nothing to validate that fear in terms of incidents. It’s seeing what’s happening in other places and worrying about becoming a target for that anger.

While direct physical threats remained relatively rare, many faculty experienced their campuses as spaces of heightened exposure and vulnerability. From a recognition perspective, these experiences indicated a shift in the symbolic boundaries of campus space: Universities became environments in which many Jewish faculty no longer felt safe or welcome.

Policy Level: Institutional Inclusion

The policy level is captured by existing policies and the responsiveness of university leadership and EDI offices. Based on a previous analysis of EDI policies in Canadian HE (Marom & Switzer, 2025), we hypothesized that survey participants would report: (a) that policies addressing antisemitism are less likely to exist in their institutions as compared to those for other identity groups or for workplace conduct policies, (b) that if reported to be present, these policies would be endorsed as less comprehensive than for other identity groups or for workplace conduct, and (c) that education about antisemitism and Jewish identity would be reported as less likely to exist as compared to for other identity groups (see Appendix C for additional information).

The analysis found that participant awareness of policies addressing antisemitism was significantly lower than awareness of policies on other forms of identity-based discrimination (e.g., anti-Black racism; McNemar $X^2 = 71.014$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$) or workplace misconduct (e.g., sexual harassment; McNemar $X^2 = 77.013$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$). When participants knew of policies on antisemitism, they were viewed as significantly less comprehensive than other identity-based discrimination policies (McNemar $X^2 = 37.026$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$). Similarly, participants reported significantly less familiarity with training, resources, or education about antisemitism or Jewish identity offered through EDI offices compared to initiatives focused on other identity groups (e.g., Black, Indigenous) and other forms of identity-based discrimination (antisemitism vs. other discrimination: McNemar $X^2 = 47.17$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$; Jewish identity vs. other identities: McNemar $X^2 = 72.014$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$). Overall, most participants described a profound sense of institutional abandonment following October 7. Only 19.2% of participants reported feeling “somewhat” or “very” included in their university overall, and just 23.3% reported feeling “somewhat” or “very” included by leadership.

The absence of recognition at the policy and institutional level was reinforced in interviews. Nathan described, “I don’t think my campus

is a place where a Jewish person would feel comfortable or safe outwardly expressing their Jewish identity.... I never see any Jewish displays, never holiday displays.” For many faculty who had long championed EDI initiatives, this moment was marked by a painful realization of being excluded by the very frameworks they helped build. Dina shared, “I was really working hard to bring EDI into the university.... When October 7 happened, the first inkling that I had was like, ‘Oh my God, there’s something really wrong and I don’t quite understand it.’” Michael added:

There was no mention [in an EDI committee email] of the attacks on Israel or Jewish people.... It was really upsetting for me because I felt that the experience of Jewish people in Israel and people like me, who empathized and identify as Jewish, was invisibilized.

Participants grappled with how to make sense of this exclusion. Tom shared that “even though Jews are an oppressed minority historically, they are not viewed in those [EDI] categories, like gender or people of colour.... It’s frustrating not having that kind of recognition.”

Tali had a different explanation:

In my parents’ generation, there were quotas for how many Jews could be admitted to medical school; it is only really this generation that has started to have equal access to admission. It makes me wonder about the inherent biases against Jews in this context.

Together, these narratives illustrate how Jewish faculty drew on different cultural repertoires to interpret their exclusion from EDI frameworks. For some, exclusion was understood as an unintended outcome of Jews not fitting dominant EDI paradigms; for others, it reflected a deeper legacy of antisemitism within academic institutions, particularly in medicine (Kuper, 2023; Robinson, 2015). These divergent interpretations shape how faculty respond to stigmatization, whether by seeking inclusion within existing EDI frameworks or by framing antisemitism as a unique form of marginalization.

Cultural Level: Boundaries to Membership

This level describes a more subtle but pervasive form of exclusion, sustained through conditional boundaries of membership within the dominant academic milieu. These boundaries have become more entrenched following October 7 and were enforced through informal norms governing what could be said, to whom, and at what social and professional cost. Such a climate could prevent Jewish faculty from expressing the personal impact of October 7 and act as a form of traumatic invalidation (Bar-Halpern & Wolfman, 2025).

We hypothesized that participants would report greater levels of invalidation after October 7 as compared to before. Chi-squared tests were performed with the grouping variable as time period and the dependent variable as the number of participants who endorsed “very” or “somewhat” options on the Likert scale as compared to those who endorsed any other option for perceived invalidation. The hypothesis was supported in the survey data that revealed that 84.2% of participants felt that their lived experiences as Jews were invalidated or discredited after October 7, compared with 53.3% before ($X^2 = 32.6$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$).

Since anti-Zionist discourses are presumably more prevalent in the humanities and social sciences (Wright, 2025; Wright et al., 2025), we examined whether faculty in these fields were more likely to report feeling excluded by different groups on campus. Chi-squared tests were performed with the grouping variable as discipline type (i.e., STEM, humanities/social sciences) and the dependent variable as the number of participants who endorsed “very” or “somewhat” excluded on campus as compared to those who endorsed any other option on the Likert scale by different constituencies (i.e., institution, colleagues in unit, colleagues outside of unit, students, leadership, union, on campus). We found no statistical differences in the number of faculty endorsing feelings of exclusion, regardless of which group, as compared to those who reported not feeling excluded (see Appendix D).

Interview narratives illuminate how boundaries were enacted in everyday academic life. Many participants described being unable to express their perspectives without risking social or professional consequences. Alicia stated, “because we [Jews] are silenced and because our narrative is not the dominant narrative, [we] don’t get to speak [our] truth.” Eden added, “what bothers me most is that there’s no discussion.... I can’t even express my point of view on this. I consider myself pretty left wing. Doesn’t matter.”

Participants also emphasized that these boundaries left little space for the diversity of Jewish identity. Dina shared, “My mother was a Middle Eastern Jew, and she experienced a lot of racism both in Israel and in Canada.... All of that gets erased.... There’s just one idea of what is a Jew.” In this example, Jewishness was collapsed into a singular, essentialized category, often positioned as synonymous with Whiteness and privilege (Drezner, 2025; Schraub, 2019). For participants who were not Ashkenazi (of Eastern European descent), these dynamics echoed hierarchies within Jewish communities both in Israel and in the diaspora (Cohen, 2021/2025; Lamont et al., 2016; Mizrahi & Herzog, 2012).

Cultural boundaries were marked in subtle ways, signalling what was considered a legitimate claim to respect. Stella explained:

Nobody’s saying, “You dirty Jew,” or stuff like that, but I am suspect, I’m not to be trusted.... For the longest time, I felt like I had no allies...[antisemitism] was not a safe thing to complain about.

Martin explained that he concealed his views to avoid potential repercussions: “There’s this assumption that, even though I’m Jewish, I would be anti-Zionist because I’m in the social sciences and humanities. I don’t make public statements that would disabuse them of that notion to stay under the radar.”

As these accounts suggest, concerns raised by Jewish faculty were often dismissed or treated with suspicion, reproducing antisemitic tropes of Jews as manipulative and dis-

honest (Marom, 2026b; Silverstein & Block, 2025). Overall, this dynamic produced a fragile and conditional sense of inclusion, leading many to feel isolated and reluctant to share their experiences.

Interpersonal Level: Allyship and Belonging

The interpersonal level centres on the everyday gestures of recognition and respect that sustain collegial and personal relationships. We hypothesized that faculty would report feeling less included by colleagues and in their immediate academic unit. As there were no comparisons, we report descriptive statistics only. Survey data reflected this assumption: Only 37.5% of participants reported feeling “somewhat” or “very” included within their immediate academic units, and only 15.0% felt “somewhat” or “very” included among colleagues outside their unit.

Interview accounts deepen these findings. The absence of recognition and empathy from colleagues emerged as one of the most pervasive themes. Alicia shared that “people were radio silent; nobody said anything. I felt like nobody cares or gives a damn.... Everybody knows I’m Jewish. Everybody knows that I have family in Israel, and nobody reached out to me, not one single person.” Adi recalled, “There was very little support.... The odd person, after lots of time, squeaked out, ‘How’s your family?’ But by and large, no one wants to talk about it.” Rita agreed, saying, “My Jewish identity has always been something that my colleagues are aware of. Not a single colleague acknowledged October 7.”

For many, the most painful experiences involved the breakdown of long-standing relationships with trusted peers. Laura explained, “These relationships that I had before are altered in a fundamental way that is never to be repaired.... I have not found a way to go back from that.” Dina added, “People who I was friends with would just ignore me.... It felt really dehumanizing.” This indifference was particularly painful because it fractured participants’ closest professional circles: The communities that had sustained their sense of home in academia.

This rupture was particularly acute in scholarly and professional spaces grounded in allyship and justice-oriented commitments (Gupta & Bhattad, 2025; University Affairs Staff, 2025). Michael described, “Despite my history of supporting vulnerable populations...I feel like my presence isn’t welcome, my contributions are no longer welcome.” Ezra agreed, saying, “Anybody who could claim being at risk we’ve stood up for, and I’ve answered the call every time. But I come to my colleague as a Jew, and I’m not entitled to support.” Juliette, one of the founders of her university’s gender equity network, described her departure from the group: “It was a very aggravating moment for me...I was not part of the group anymore...I felt really alone. I called everybody who could be my ally and didn’t find many people.” Penny added:

I feel like everybody that I’ve advocated for, and worked for, and spoken on behalf of, has turned around and stabbed me in the back.... Being told by other people that I’ve fought hard for within the queer community...that I’m actually the problem, it’s been a huge betrayal.

As these accounts illustrate, many Jewish faculty had established relationships rooted in shared commitments to equity and inclusion. Yet when they required recognition, the ethos of allyship and care dissolved, often replaced by silence, avoidance, or invalidation (Silverstein & Block, 2025). This erosion of recognition undermined participants’ sense of belonging: the ability to be one’s authentic self and be seen as having worth (Wilson et al., 2025).

The loss of belonging was closely tied to the narrowing of what was considered an acceptable Jewish identity. As Ezra explained, “for Jews like me...it’s not an inclusive space. There is absolutely no room or tolerance for any kind of identity that affirms Israel’s right to exist, and by definition, that excludes most Jews.” Juliette added:

The thing that struck me the most as antisemitic was the fact that [this academic network] was accepting only Jews who were anti-Zionists. And even if I’m not calling myself a Zionist, I don’t accept

that anti-Zionists are the only Jews that they are going to accept. That, for me, was the moment of reckoning.

In these accounts, belonging was contingent on disavowing aspects of one's identity to be deemed deserving of empathy and care. The resulting loss of belonging left many participants feeling in a state of internal exile.

DISCUSSION

The framework of stigmatization and recognition helps interpret the experiences of Jewish faculty in Canadian HE. Across all four layers identified in the findings—spatial, policy, cultural, and interpersonal—participants described a systematic erosion of worth (Lamont et al., 2016). Participants described feeling unwelcome in campus spaces, encountering unresponsive institutional policies, and experiencing indifference, silencing, and hostility from colleagues. October 7 presented a moment of awakening, a collapse of the academic cultural membership that many Jewish academics believed they were part of. Because Jewish identity is often not visible, group affiliation could remain in the background—a form of passing not afforded to people of colour (Goldstein, 2006; Noghanibehambari & Fletcher, 2025). After October 7, Jewish identification became highly visible and was subjected to scrutiny. This shift was especially destabilizing for faculty deeply engaged in EDI, who had assumed that principles of inclusion would extend to Jewish identity when needed.

Canadian universities formally commit to EDI (Universities Canada, 2023); yet the findings suggest that EDI frameworks can also generate new boundaries of group membership, paradoxically producing exclusion within inclusion. This dynamic was particularly visible at the policy and cultural layers, where the majority of participants reported that their institutions had no clear framework for addressing antisemitism, and many described EDI spaces as sites of further exclusion rather than support.

While designed to broaden recognition, categorical binaries of racialization and privilege leave limited conceptual space for Jewish expe-

rience (Drezner, 2025; Marom, 2026a). As this study shows, any justice-oriented framework requires critical examination when it constrains the ability to sustain respect, care, and recognition across differences (Berkowitz, 2023).

A central mechanism of stigmatization emerged through the rise of anti-Zionism as a cultural repertoire within academic discourses. While some theoretical frameworks seek to differentiate Jewishness from Zionism (Beinart, 2013; Gordon, 2024; Jaffee, 2024), these distinctions rarely reflect the lived identities of Canadian Jews, the majority of whom identify as Zionist or are attached to Israel in some form, with only approximately 1% identifying as anti-Zionist (Brym, 2025b). Within dominant academic vocabularies, Zionism is framed as synonymous with racism and colonial power (Pappé, 2012; Wolfe, 2006). This framing positions those who identify, whether loosely or strongly, as Zionist as undeserving of recognition (Sucharov, 2025). Anti-Zionism as a cultural repertoire can slide into stigmatization, reproducing antisemitic tropes in which Zionists are cast as predatory or morally suspect (Herf, 2023; Kirsch, 2024; Pollack, 2010). This pattern was most acute at the cultural and interpersonal layers of the findings: Participants described being pushed outside the boundaries of empathy unless they publicly disavowed parts of their identity.

At the same time, many Canadian Jews are themselves embedded within the cultural repertoire of Zionism (Brym, 2025b; Lamont et al., 2016). This can create blind spots in which any critique of Zionism is felt as an attack on self-worth and interpreted as antisemitic. While this article does not seek to resolve definitional debates around antisemitism and anti-Zionism (Katz, 2025), the absence of shared vocabularies leaves Jewish faculty uncertain about how to name harm or demand respect. As scholarship on recognition shows, when institutional language and policy frameworks are unclear, it becomes harder to identify injustice and advocate for change (Lamont, 2018, 2023).

If universities are to foster inclusive cultural membership, they must critically examine the cultural repertoires through which worth is assigned. Critique of states, ideologies, and polit-

ical movements, including Israel and Zionism, is integral to academia. However, the embodied stigmatization of Zionists and, by extension, most Canadian Jews, requires active challenging. Doing so is necessary not only to affirm Jewish belonging but also to contribute to an academic culture grounded in dignity and respect.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The article points to the need for a process of destigmatization toward Jews in Canadian HE that restores recognition and reaffirms Jewish inclusion within the cultural membership of academia. As Lamont (2018) argues, inclusive cultural membership “is an important dimension of collective well-being that often is given less weight” (p. 426). This is particularly salient in the case of Jews in Canadian HE, where exclusion is manifested primarily in symbolic, cultural, and relational processes, rather than access barriers.

Lamont (2018, 2023) identifies several pathways for destigmatization, including education that challenges stigmatization, policy change, and the creation of spaces for meaningful interactions. Drawing on these pathways, we point to several directions for institutional action. Many of them align with the recent recommendations of the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights (2026). At the educational level, the findings underscore the importance of programming on Jewish identity and antisemitism that is credible, nuanced, and attentive to the diversity within Jewish communities and identities. Importantly, such spaces must be ones in which Jewish faculty, staff, and students feel invited to participate, even when ideas are contested. Universities play a foundational role in knowledge production; when they fail to lead this work, the vacuum is filled by social media discourses that reproduce misinformation and polarization. Programs such as Sexual Orientation and Gender Inclusion (SOGI 123, 2026) illustrate how education can successfully challenge stigmatization and expand recognition. In relation to Jewish education, initiatives such as Facing History & Ourselves Canada (n.d.) offer

a model for engagement across K–12 and higher education.

At the policy level, the findings point to the need to reevaluate and revise institutional policies so that they explicitly acknowledge and address Jewish identity and antisemitism. Recognition requires policies that do not subsume Jewish identity solely under religion (Feldman, 2025) and situate antisemitism within broader processes of stigmatization and racialization (Marom, 2026b). The Scarborough Charter on Anti-Black Racism and Black Inclusion in Canadian Higher Education (University of Toronto Scarborough, 2021) provides a useful example of a sector-wide framework that translates recognition into institutional action. In relation to antisemitism, initiatives such as the antisemitism task force at the University of Toronto (University of Toronto, 2021) signal emerging efforts to locate antisemitism within broader equity work.

At the interpersonal level, research highlights the importance of sustained personal interactions in reducing prejudice and bias (Brym, 2025a). Universities are uniquely positioned to facilitate such encounters across difference. Expanding inclusive cultural membership offers a path forward, reaffirming the role of universities as knowledge-producing institutions responsible for cultivating dignity, respect, and shared humanity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported by a grant from the Ronald S. Roadburg Foundation (<https://www.roadburgfund.org>). Additional funding supporting research assistant work was provided by the Max and Tessie Zelikovitz Centre for Jewish Studies. We wish to thank Dr. Ania Switzer for her ongoing collaboration and contributions to this project, Dr. Deidre Butler for ongoing project and interview support, and the research assistants who supported different stages of this study: Talia Rockman, Jordan Wark, and Yahli Bebzuck Marom. We are grateful to the participants who generously shared their experiences with us.

The authors declare no competing interests associated with this manuscript. The authors also acknowledge the use of Claude Pro for ed-

itorial assistance in refining the clarity and language of the manuscript. All content, interpretations, and conclusions remain the responsibility of the authors.

Ethics approval and consent to participate was granted by the University of British Columbia (UBC H24-02430) and the University of Ottawa (H-03-25-11415).

REFERENCES

- Anctil, P., & Menkis, R. (Eds.). (2023). *In a 'land of hope': Documents on the Canadian Jewish experience, 1627-1923, volume 1*. The Champlain Society. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781487554965>
- Aschaiek, S. (2024, October 7). How antisemitism has roiled university campuses. *University Affairs*. <https://universityaffairs.ca/features/feature-article/how-antisemitism-has-roiled-university-campuses/>
- Association for Canadian Jewish Studies. (n.d.). *About us*. <https://acjs-aejc.ca/about-us/>
- Bar-Halpern, M., & Wolfman, J. (2025). Traumatic invalidation in the Jewish community after October 7. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 35(8), 1366–1393. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2025.2503441>
- Beinart, P. (2013). *The crisis of Zionism*. Picador.
- Berkowitz, R. (2023, October 22). *Friendship and humanity vs. the orgy of truth telling: How to talk about politics in the Middle East*. The Hannah Arendt Centre for Politics and Humanities. <https://hac.bard.edu/amor-mundi/friendship-and-humanity-vs-the-orgy-of-truth-telling-how-to-talk-about-politics-in-the-middle-east-2023-10-22>
- Bloom, D. (2002). White, but not quite: The Jewish character and anti-Semitism—Negotiating a location in the gray zone between Other and not. *The Journal of Religion and Theatre*, 1(1), 12–28.
- Blumenfeld, W. J. (2006). Outside/inside/ between sides: An investigation of Ashkenazi Jewish perceptions on their “race.” *Multicultural Perspectives*, 8(3), 11–18. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327892mcp0803_3
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. SAGE.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11(4), 589–597. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806>
- Brym, R. (2024a). *Arguments for the sake of heaven: A Jewish community divided*. JSpace Canada, New Israel Fund Canada, & Canadian Friends of Peace Now. https://nifcan.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/JSNIFCCFPN_CdnJews_FULLFINAL-3.pdf
- Brym, R. (2024b). Jewish continuity and the Canadian census. *Canadian Jewish Studies* 39, 14–31. <https://cjs.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cjs/article/view/40398>
- Brym, R. (2024c). Jews and Israel 2024: A survey of Canadian attitudes and Jewish perceptions. *Canadian Jewish Studies*, 37. <https://doi.org/10.25071/1916-0925.40368>
- Brym, R. (2025a). Canadian attitudes towards Jews and Muslims, 2025. *Canadian Jewish Studies*, 40, 34–62. <https://doi.org/10.25071/1916-0925.40416>
- Brym, R. (2025b). What does Zionism mean to Canadian Jews? A longitudinal study of semantic drift. *Canadian Jewish Studies*, 43, 86–101. <https://doi.org/10.25071/1916-0925.40487>
- Brym, R., Neuman, K., & Lenton, R. (2018). *2018 survey of Jews in Canada: Final report*. Environics Institute.
- Canadian Association of University Teachers. (2019). *Academic freedom: Policy statement*. <https://www.caut.ca/policy-statements/academic-freedom/>

- Canadian Association of University Teachers. (2024). *CAUT council meeting minutes 97th CAUT council meeting, November 29-30, 2024*. <https://www.caut.ca/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/C-Minutes-97th-2024-11.pdf>
- Clair, M., Daniel, C., & Lamont, M. (2016). Destigmatization and health: Cultural constructions and the long-term reduction of stigma. *Social Science & Medicine*, 165, 223–232. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.03.021>
- Cohen, H. (2025). *Enemies, a love story: Mizrahi-Arab-Ashkenazi relations since the dawn of Zionism* (H. Watzman, Trans.). The Pennsylvania State University Press. (Original work published 2021)
- Columbia University Task Force on Antisemitism. (2024). *Report #2: Columbia University student experiences of antisemitism and recommendations for promoting shared values and inclusion*. <https://president.columbia.edu/sites/president.columbia.edu/files/content/Announcements/Report-2-Task-Force-on-Antisemitism.pdf>
- Council of Canadian Academies. (2024). *Equity, diversity, and inclusion in the post-secondary research system: Expert panel on EDI practices for impactful change*. <https://doi.org/10.60870/KX7V-VJ32>
- Creswell, J. W., & Guetterman, T. C. (2019). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (6th ed.). Pearson.
- Dallal, J., & Segal, A. (2025). *Antisemitism after October 7: An age-old hatred and a two-year war*. The Elizabeth and Tony Comper Center for the Study of Antisemitism and Racism. <https://compercenter.haifa.ac.il/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/Comper-Center-Antisemitism-After-Oct.-7-PDF.pdf>
- Drezner, N. D. (2025). Critiquing and expanding HebCrit: Applying critical race theory to an emerging Jewish critical theory. *Social Identities*, 31(2), 234–252. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2024.2443501>
- Elizur, L., & Marom, L. (2026). ‘Where does that leave me? Isolated, alone, afraid, withdrawing’: Impacts of antisemitism and responses among Jewish faculty and staff in Canadian higher education. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2026.2688924>
- Employment Equity Act, SC 1995, c. 44. <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/e-5.401/page-1.html>
- Facing History & Ourselves Canada. (n.d.). *About*. <https://www.facinghistory.org/about/locations/canada/about>
- Feldman, S. (2025). A content analysis of research on Jewish identity and antisemitism published in top-tier higher education journals. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000684>
- Goldstein, E. L. (2006). *The price of Whiteness: Jews, race, and American identity*. Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691207285>
- Gordon, N. (2024). Antisemitism and Zionism: The internal operations of the IHRA definition. *Middle East Critique*, 33(3), 345–360. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2024.2330821>
- Government of Canada. (2016, September 15). *Employment equity*. <https://www.canada.ca/en/public-service-commission/jobs/services/gc-jobs/employment-equity.html>
- Government of Canada. (2024, November 1). *Canadian handbook on the IHRA working definition of antisemitism*. <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/canada-holocaust/antisemitism/handbook-definition-antisemitism.html>
- Government of Canada. (2025, June 6). *Best practices in equity, diversity and inclusion in research practice and design*. <https://sshrc-crsh.canada.ca/funding-financement/nfrf-fnfr/edi-eng.aspx>

- Gupta, A., & Bhattad, P. (2025). Catalyzing inclusivity in higher education and beyond: Insights from action-orientated allyship workshops. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 12, 101896. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaoh.2025.101896>
- Hahn Tapper, A. J., Kelman, A. Y., & Saperstein, A. (2023). Counting on Whiteness: Religion, race, ethnicity, and the politics of Jewish demography. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 62(1), 28–48. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jssr.12814>
- Hall, P., & Lamont, M. (Eds.). (2013). Introduction. In *Social resilience in the neoliberal era* (pp. 1–34). Cambridge University Press.
- Herf, J. (2023). *Three faces of antisemitism: Right, left and Islamist*. Taylor & Francis. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003449669>
- Honneth, A. (2014). *The I in we: Studies in the theory of recognition*. Polity Press.
- International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. (n.d.). *Working definition of antisemitism*. <https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definition-antisemitism>
- Jaffee, L. (2024). Anti-Zionism is not antisemitism. *Critical Education*, 15(1), 29–51. <https://doi.org/10.14288/ce.v15i1.186771>
- Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism. (n.d.). <https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/>
- Jewish Academic Alliance of BC. (n.d.). *Home*. <https://jaabc.ca/>
- Jewish Faculty Network. (n.d.). *About the JFN*. <https://www.jewishfaculty.ca/>
- Judaken, J. (2024). *Critical theories of anti-semitism*. Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/juda21292>
- Katz, E. (2025). When is anti-Zionism antisemitic? Getting beyond the polemics. *Sources: A Journal of Jewish Ideas*. <https://www.sourcesjournal.org/articles/when-is-anti-zionism-antisemitic-getting-beyond-the-polemics>
- Kirsch, A. (2024). *On settler colonialism: Ideology, violence, and justice*. W.W. Norton.
- Krieger, N. (2014). Discrimination and health inequities. *International Journal of Health Services*, 44(4), 643–710. <https://doi.org/10.2190/HS.44.4.b>
- Kuper, A. (2023). Reflections on addressing antisemitism in a Canadian faculty of medicine. *Canadian Medical Education Journal*, 14(2), 158–170. <https://doi.org/10.36834/cmej.76086>
- Lamont, M. (2018). Addressing recognition gaps: Destigmatization and the reduction of inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 83(3), 419–444. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122418773775>
- Lamont, M. (2023). *Seeing others: How recognition works—And how it can heal a divided world*. Simon & Schuster.
- Lamont, M., Beljean, S., & Clair, M. (2014). What is missing? Cultural processes and causal pathways to inequality. *Socio-Economic Review*, 12(3), 573–608. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwu011>
- Lamont, M., & Mizrachi, N. (2012). Ordinary people doing extraordinary things: Responses to stigmatization in comparative perspective. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(3), 365–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.589528>
- Lamont, M., Silva, G. M., Welburn, J., Guetzkow, J., Mizrachi, N., Herzog, H., & Reis, E. (2016). *Getting respect: Responding to stigma and discrimination in the United States, Brazil, and Israel*. Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400883776>
- Lamont, M., & Thévenot, L. (Eds.). (2000). *Rethinking comparative cultural sociology: Repertoires of evaluation in France and the United States* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511628108>

- Lewis, C., Mehmet, M., Quinton, S., & Reynolds, N. (2023). Methodologies for researching marginalised and/or potentially vulnerable groups. *International Journal of Market Research*, 65(2–3), 147–154. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14707853231155238>
- Magid, S. (2024). Judeopessimism: Antisemitism, history, and critical race theory. *Harvard Theological Review*, 117(2), 368–390. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816024000130>
- Marom, L. (2026a). A bug or a feature? The marginalization of Jewish identity and antisemitism in the EDI landscape of Canadian higher education. *Canadian Jewish Studies*, 44, 12–56 <https://doi.org/10.25071/1916-0925.40695>
- Marom, L. (2026b). ‘The rupture is so big that I don’t think I will feel like I belong again’: Antisemitic microaggressions and the experiences of Jewish faculty in Canadian higher education. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2026.2652251>
- Marom, L., & Switzer, A. (2025). Misunderstood, overlooked, and marginalized: The construction of Jews and antisemitism in EDI policies and plans in Canadian higher education. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 55(2), 37–58. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.47678/cjhe.v55i2.190745>
- Marom, L., Switzer, A., & Bebzuck Marom, Y. (in press). “I don’t say that I’m White anymore. I’m Jewish”: Negotiations of Jewish identity after October 7 in Canadian higher education.
- Mizrachi, N., & Herzog, H. (2012). Participatory destigmatization strategies among Palestinian citizens, Ethiopian Jews and Mizrahi Jews in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(3), 418–435. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.589530>
- Morstead, T., & DeLongis, A. (2025). Antisemitism on campus in the wake of October 7: Examining stress, coping, and depressive symptoms among Jewish students. *Stress and Health*, 41(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1002/smi.3529>
- Murray, J. (Eds.). (2025). Legal challenges for English universities in the adoption of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition of Antisemitism and associated examples. *Journal of Contemporary Antisemitism*, 9. <https://doi.org/10.26613/jca/8.1.180>
- Network of Engaged Canadian Academics. (n.d.). Home. <https://www.neca-rdace.org/>
- Nexus. (2024). *The Nexus document: Understanding antisemitism at its nexus with Israel and zionism*. <https://nexusproject.us/nexus-resources/the-nexus-document/>
- Nirenberg, D. (2014). *Anti-Judaism: The Western tradition*. W.W. Norton.
- Noghanibehambari, H., & Fletcher, J. (2025). *Passing as White: Racial identity and old-age longevity* [Working Paper 33394]. National Bureau of Economic Research. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w33394>
- Pappé, I. (2012). Shtetl colonialism: First and last impressions of Indigeneity by colonised colonisers. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 2(1), 39–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2012.10648825>
- Patel, V. (2024, May 8). How to define ‘antisemitism’ is a subject of bitter debate. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/08/us/antisemitism-definition-debate.html>
- Pianko, N. (2015). *Jewish peoplehood: An American innovation*. Rutgers University Press.
- Pollack, E. G. (Ed.). (2010). *Antisemitism on the campus: Past and present*. Academic Studies Press.

- Press, E. (2024, March 13). The problem with defining antisemitism. *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/persons-of-interest/the-problem-with-defining-antisemitism>
- R Core Team. (2023). R [v. 4.5.3]. R Foundation for Statistical Computing. <https://www.R-project.org/>
- Robinson, I. (2015). *A history of antisemitism in Canada*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Rubin, D. I. (2020). HebCrit: A new dimension of critical race theory. *Social Identities*, 26(4), 499–514. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2020.1773778>
- Santos, M. R., & Yogev, D. (2026). How October 7, 2023, changed fear and exposure to hate among Jewish members of universities: A research note. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 22, 71–86. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-024-09638-5>
- Scheindlin, D. (2025). *2025 survey of Canadian Jews*. JSpace Canada. https://www.jspacecanada.ca/2025_survey_canadian_jews
- Schraub, D. (2019). White Jews: An intersectional approach. *AJS Review*, 43(2), 379–407. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0364009419000461>
- Shaw, E., & Siddiqi, S. S. (2026). *How politically diverse are university faculty?* Heterodox Academy. <https://heterodoxacademy.org/reports/how-politically-diverse-are-university-faculty/>
- Silverstein, Y., & Block, C. (2025). Making the invisible visible: A taxonomy of contemporary antisemitic experiences on college campuses. *Journal of Jewish Education*, 91(2), 132–157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15244113.2025.2482060>
- Smith, M. (2025, October 10). The viewpoint diversity debate in Canadian universities. *University Affairs*. <https://universityaffairs.ca/opinion/the-viewpoint-diversity-debate-in-canadian-universities/>
- SOGI 123. (2026). *Everyone has a sexual orientation and gender identity*. <https://www.sogieducation.org/>
- Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights. (2026). *Standing united against antisemitism: Protecting communities and strengthening Canadian democracy*. Senate of Canada. <https://sencanada.ca/en/info-page/parl-45-1/ridr-antisemitism-in-canada/>
- Statistics Canada. (2022, October 26). *The Canadian census: A rich portrait of the country's religious and ethnocultural diversity*. The Daily. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026b-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2025, March 25). *Police-reported hate crime in Canada, 2023*. The Daily. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/250325/dq250325a-eng.htm>
- Stein, M., Perry, B., & Levit, I. (2024). Punishing “privilege”: Antisemitic hate crime in Canada. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 39(17–18), 3876–3903. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605241259996>
- Sucharov, M. (2025, October 26). *The conflation problem: Why anti-Zionism and antisemitism are not the same*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/the-conflation-problem-why-anti-zionism-and-anti-semitism-are-not-the-same-267676>
- Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in action: Symbols and strategies. *American Sociological Review*, 51(2), 273. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095521>
- Teter, M. (2023). *Christian supremacy: Reckoning with the roots of antisemitism and racism*. Princeton University Press.

- The House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. (2024). *Heightened antisemitism in Canada and how to confront it: Report of the Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights* (44th Parliament, 1st Session). <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/441/JUST/Reports/RP13248912/justrp27/justrp27-e.pdf>
- Universities Canada. (2023). *Equity, diversity and inclusion at Canadian universities: Universities Canada's 2022 survey on equity, diversity and inclusion*. https://univcan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/UC-2023-EDI-Report_EN_FA_Web.pdf
- University Affairs Staff. (2025, March 7). *How to be an ally*. <https://universityaffairs.ca/news/how-to-be-an-ally/>
- University of Toronto. (2021). *Antisemitism working group*. The Division of People, Strategy, Equity & Culture. <https://people.utoronto.ca/inclusion/anti-racism-strategic-tables/anti-semitism-working-group/>
- University of Toronto Scarborough. (2021, November 18). *Scarborough Charter on anti-Black racism and Black inclusion*. <https://univcan.ca/media-room/media-releases/scarborough-charter-on-anti-black-racism-and-black-inclusion/>
- Ury, S., & Miron, G. (Eds.). (2023). *Antisemitism and the politics of history*. Brandeis University Press.
- Williams, D. R., & Mohammed, S. A. (2013). Racism and health I: Pathways and scientific evidence. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(8), 1152–1173. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764213487340>
- Wilson, M., Ghosh, S., & Jason, K. (2025). Understanding sense of belonging of faculty and staff in higher education. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 45(1), 146–161. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-06-2024-0252>
- Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4), 387–409. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>
- Wright, G. (2025, September 19). *Antisemitism on campus is a real problem – but headlines and government-proposed solutions don't match the experience of most Jewish students*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/antisemitism-on-campus-is-a-real-problem-but-headlines-and-government-proposed-solutions-dont-match-the-experience-of-most-jewish-students-265041#:~:text=1,>
- Wright, G., Hecht, S., & Saxe, L. (2025). Antisemitism, Israel, and political ideology on the American college campus. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2025.2575435>
- Wright, G., Hecht, S., Volodarsky, S., & Saxe, L. (2024). *Antisemitism on campus: Understanding hostility to Jews and Israel*. Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University. <https://doi.org/10.48617/RPT.1220>

Appendix A

Demographic Characteristics of Participants who Passed and Failed Attention Check Items

Demographic	Failed Attention Checks (<i>N</i> = 23)		Retained Sample (<i>N</i> = 120)		Test	Statistic	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%				
Age Group								
25–44	1	4.3	19	15.8	χ^2	1.899	3	0.594
45–54	5	21.7	42	35.0				
55–64	1	4.3	28	23.3				
65+	3	13.0	23	19.2				
Gender								
Woman	5	21.7	61	50.8	χ^2	0	1	1
Man	5	21.7	51	42.5				
Province								
British Columbia	14	60.9	41	34.2	χ^2	6.171	3	0.104
Ontario	7	30.4	52	43.3				
Quebec	1	4.3	13	10.8				
Other ^a	1	4.3	14	11.7				
Academic Rank								
Junior	4	17.4	19	15.8	χ^2	1.94	3	0.585
Mid-career	6	26.1	33	27.5				
Senior	11	47.8	49	40.8				
Other	1	4.3	18	15.0				
Attachment to Israel								
Attached to Israel	6	26.1	112	93.3	χ^2	55.929	1	<0.001*
No Attachment/Neutral to Israel	17	73.9	8	6.7				
Strong Cultural Jewish Identity								
Very	8	34.8	107	89.2	χ^2	0.127	1	0.721
No/Neutral	2	8.7	13	10.8				
Strong Religious Jewish Identity								
Very	5	21.7	56	46.7	χ^2	0	1	1
No/Neutral	5	21.7	63	52.5				
Strong Ethnic Jewish Identity								
Very	7	30.4	99	82.5	χ^2	0.308	1	0.579
No/Neutral	3	13.0	21	17.5				

^a Includes the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Saskatchewan

Appendix B

Survey Questions Used in Analysis

Section 2. University Policies

2. The following questions are referring to your academic institution's policies.

2.1 Based on your knowledge, does your academic institution have policies that address:

Response options: Yes, No, Not sure

- a) Antisemitism
- b) Other forms of identity-based discrimination (e.g., anti-Black racism, anti-Indigenous racism)
- c) Workplace misconduct (e.g., bullying and harassment, sexual misconduct)

2.2 In your opinion, are the following policies comprehensive (i.e., are they relevant, effective, having a positive effect, and capturing the right things)?

Response options: Strongly disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neutral, Somewhat agree, Strongly agree

- a) Antisemitism
- b) Other forms of identity-based discrimination (e.g., anti-Black racism, anti-Indigenous racism)
- c) Workplace misconduct (e.g., bullying and harassment, sexual misconduct)

Section 3. Equity, Diversity and Inclusion Office

3. The following questions are referring to the Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion office (or its equivalent) at your academic institution.

3.1 To what degree are you aware of your academic institution's Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion office (or its equivalent) and its activities regarding:

Response options: Very unaware, Somewhat unaware, Neutral, Somewhat aware, Very aware, Not applicable/do not exist

- a) Training, resources, and/or education on antisemitism
- b) Training, resources, and/or education on Jewish identity
- c) Training, resources, and/or education on other forms of identity-based discrimination (e.g., anti-Black racism, anti-Indigenous racism)
- d) Training, resources, and/or education on other identities (e.g., Black, Indigenous)

Section 4. Jewish Identity and Experiences on Campus

4.1 Although the categories listed below may not represent your full identity or use the language you prefer, for the purpose of this survey, please indicate which group(s) below best describes your identity? (Select all that apply):

- a) Not Jewish

- b) Jewish by religion
- c) Jewish by culture
- d) Jewish by ethnicity
 - a. Ashkenazi
 - b. Mizrahi
 - c. Sephardic
 - d. Other (please specify):
- e) Jewish and other race or ethnicity
 - a. Asian
 - b. Black
 - c. Latinx/Hispanic
 - d. Indigenous / Aboriginal, Native in Canada / US / Australia / New Zealand, etc.
 - e. Middle Eastern, North African
 - f. Other (please specify):

4.2 **If Jewish**, how strongly do you identify as:

Response options: Not at all, Neutral, Very

- a) Culturally Jewish
- b) Ethnically Jewish
- c) Religiously Jewish

4.3 **If Jewish**, to what degree do you feel an emotional attachment to Israel?

- a) Very unattached
- b) Somewhat unattached
- c) Neutral
- d) Somewhat attached
- e) Very attached

4.4 **If Jewish**, how important is Israel for your Jewish identity?

- a) Very unimportant
- b) Somewhat unimportant
- c) Neutral
- d) Somewhat important
- e) Very important
- f) Other (please explain):

4.5 Overall, as a Jewish person at your academic institution:

Response options: Very unsafe, Somewhat unsafe, Neutral, Somewhat safe, Very safe

- a) To what degree do you feel **physically safe**?
- b) To what degree do you feel **emotionally safe**?
- c) To what degree do you feel **professionally safe**?
- d) To what degree do you feel **excluded**?
 - a. **Response options:** Very excluded, Somewhat excluded, Neutral, Somewhat included, Very included

4.6 Thinking about your academic institution:

Groups: Students, Colleagues in my unit, Colleagues outside of my unit, Leadership, In my union, On campus

Response options: Very unsafe, Somewhat unsafe, Neutral, Somewhat safe, Very safe

- a) To what degree do you feel **physically safe** as a Jewish person when you think about engaging with or encountering the following groups?
- b) To what degree do you feel **emotionally safe** as a Jewish person when you think about engaging with or encountering the following groups?
- c) To what degree do you feel **professionally safe** as a Jewish person when you think about engaging with or encountering the following groups?
- d) To what degree do you feel **excluded** as a Jewish person by the following groups?
 - a. **Response options:** Very excluded, Somewhat excluded, Neutral, Somewhat included, Very included

4.7 Thinking specifically of your Jewish identity or allyship to the Jewish community, please indicate whether any of the following things has happened to you at your academic institution (either in person or online) *before* **October 7th, 2023**:

4.8 Thinking specifically of your Jewish identity or allyship to the Jewish community, please indicate whether any of the following things has happened to you at your academic institution (either in person or online) *since* **October 7th, 2023**:

Response options: Yes, has happened; No, has not happened; Not sure

- a) Joined a new Jewish club, activity, or network
- b) Seen anti-Jewish graffiti, vandalism, or signs on campus
- c) Heard someone use a stereotype or trope about Jews (e.g., Jewish power or wealth)
- d) Heard someone say Jews are silencing the voices of others
- e) Heard comments that expressed distrust towards Jewish organizations/communities
- f) Felt that your lived experiences were invalidated/discredited
- g) Felt targeted/unwelcome because of the encampment/protest on your campus
- h) Felt distressed while on campus
- i) Avoided certain parts of campus or changed your behaviour
- j) Been excluded from a campus event
- k) Been harassed online in an academic channel
- l) Been verbally targeted on campus
- m) Been physically threatened or attacked on campus

Appendix C

Pairwise McNemar Tests to Compare Participant Awareness of the Existence of Policies and Resources

- a) Pairwise comparisons of participants' awareness of identity-based and workplace policies in their institutions. Findings suggest that participants are more aware of the existence of policies that address discrimination of other minoritized identities compared to those addressing antisemitism. Similarly, participants are significantly more aware of the existence of policies that address workplace misconduct compared to those addressing antisemitism.

Variable 1 (V1)	Variable 2 (V2)	N	V1=No/V2=No		V1=No/V2=Yes		V1=Yes/V2=No		V1=Yes/V2=Yes		X^2	df	p
			n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Antisemitism Policies	Other Identity-Based Discrimination Policies	120	8	6.7	73	60.8	0	0.0	39	32.5	71.014	1	<0.001***
Antisemitism Policies	Workplace Misconduct Policies	120	2	1.7	79	65.8	0	0.0	39	32.5	77.013	1	<0.001***
Other Identity-Based Discrimination Policies	Workplace Misconduct Policies	120	2	1.7	6	5.0	0	0.0	112	93.3	4.167	1	0.0412*

- b) Pairwise comparisons of participants' perception of the comprehensiveness of identity-based and workplace policies in their institutions. Findings suggest that participants perceive policies that address discrimination of other minoritized identities as more comprehensive compared to those addressing antisemitism. Similarly, participants perceive policies that address workplace misconduct as more comprehensive compared to those addressing antisemitism.

Variable 1 (V1)	Variable 2 (V2)	N	V1=No/V2=No		V1=No/V2=Yes		V1=Yes/V2=No		V1=Yes/V2=Yes		X^2	df	p
			n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Antisemitism Policies	Other Identity-Based Discrimination Policies	59	15	25.4	39	66.1	0	0.0	5	8.5	37.026	1	<0.001***
Antisemitism Policies	Workplace Misconduct Policies	59	18	30.5	36	61.0	1	1.7	4	6.8	31.243	1	<0.001***
Other Identity-Based Discrimination Policies	Workplace Misconduct Policies	116	38	32.7	13	11.2	9	7.8	56	48.3	0.409	1	0.5224

- c) Pairwise comparisons of participants' awareness of training, resources, and education about different identity groups. Findings suggest that participants are more aware of the existence of training, resources, and education about antisemitism than about Jewish identity. Furthermore, participants are significantly more aware of the existence of training, resources, and education about other forms of discrimination and other identities compared to those dealing with antisemitism or Jewish identity.

Variable 1 (V1)	Variable 2 (V2)	N	V1=No/V2=No		V1=No/V2=Yes		V1=Yes/V2=No		V1=Yes/V2=Yes		X^2	df	p
			n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Antisemitism	Jewish Identity	120	64	53.3	3	2.5	26	21.7	27	22.5	16.69	1	<0.001***
Antisemitism	Other Identity-Based Discrimination	120	15	12.5	52	43.3	1	0.8	52	43.3	47.17	1	<0.001***
Jewish Identity	Other Identities	120	16	13.3	74	61.7	0	0.0	30	25.0	72.014	1	<0.001***

Note. Pairwise McNemar tests were used to compare reporting frequencies between categories. These tests were chosen rather than Chi-squared because they are appropriate for matched-pair binary data arising from “select all that apply” survey items, which was the

methodology employed in the present study. All possible pairwise comparisons between reporting categories were tested. The McNemar test compares paired proportions by examining discordant pairs, that is, participants who reported to A but not B or people who reported B but not A. It ignores responses of those who reported both A and B or neither A nor B. To account for multiple testing across comparisons, the Holm adjustment, which controls the family-wise error rate, was applied to p-values. Results are reported as raw and adjusted p-values.

Appendix D

Chi-Squared Tests of Experiences of Exclusion Overall and in Several Contexts in the Academic Institution by Academic Discipline.

Academic Discipline	STEM (<i>N</i> = 61)		Humanities/Social Sciences (<i>N</i> = 59)		<i>p</i>
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
<i>Overall exclusion in my academic institution</i>					
Excluded	41	67.2	39	66.1	1
Not excluded	20	32.8	20	33.9	
<i>Exclusion by students</i>					
Excluded	28	45.9	21	35.6	0.375
Not excluded	33	54.1	37	62.7	
<i>Exclusion by colleagues in my unit</i>					
Excluded	23	37.7	27	45.8	0.478
Not excluded	38	62.3	32	54.2	
<i>Exclusion by colleagues outside of my unit</i>					
Excluded	31	50.8	31	52.5	0.995
Not excluded	30	49.2	28	47.5	
<i>Exclusion by leadership</i>					
Excluded	37	60.7	32	54.2	0.599
Not excluded	24	39.3	27	45.8	
<i>Exclusion by union</i>					
Excluded	38	62.3	44	74.6	0.377
Not excluded	19	31.1	14	23.7	
<i>Exclusion on campus</i>					
Excluded	42	68.9	32	54.2	0.14
Not excluded	18	29.5	26	44.1	