5-2020

Antisemitism Today and Its Relationship to Jewish Identity and Religious Denomination

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ANTISEMITISM TODAY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO JEWISH IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the faculty of

Montclair State University in partial fulfillment

of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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May 2020

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MONTCLAIR STATE UNIVERSITY

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

DISSERTATION APPROVAL

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ANTISEMITISM TODAY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO JEWISH IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

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April 15, 2020

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ABSTRACT

ANTISEMITISM TODAY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO JEWISH IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

By Michaela Ambrosius

The purpose of this research study was to answer the following three research questions: 1) What is the relationship between Jewish identity (religious and ethnic) and experiences of antisemitism? 2) What is the relationship between Jewish religious affiliation and experiences of antisemitism? 3) What, if any, type of antisemitism (e.g., ethnic or religiously based antisemitism or anti-Zionism) do Jewish individuals experience most often? Antisemitism continues to be a pervasive issue in the United States (U.S.) and can be based on ethnic prejudice, religious bias, or anti-Israel attitudes. The final sample for this study included 279 participants who self-identified as Jewish. The results of correlation analysis and multiple regression analysis suggest that there is a significant relationship between experiences with antisemitism and Jewish ethnic identity and religious identity, and that both play a vital part in predicting experiences with antisemitism. This dissertation includes an overview of the study, a literature review, a description of the methodology, an analysis of the results, as well as a discussion about the implications for counselors and counselor educators.

Keywords: antisemitism, Jewish identity, Jewish denominations, anti-Zionism

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a dissertation is challenging and, at the same time, a rewarding experience. It is challenging because it takes hard work, persistence, patience, and high frustration tolerance. I have read articles, books, and some more articles and reports about antisemitism. I have spent countless hours alone, sitting in front of my computer writing and re-writing parts of my dissertation. Discussing antisemitism and its impact on the Jewish community while experiencing it in my private life has been, at times, emotionally exhausting. However, now that I am done with my dissertation, I feel a sense of accomplishment and am glad I did it.
My dissertation committee played an essential role in making my dissertation a successful project.

Thank you, Dr. Levitt, for being there for me from the beginning. I could not have had a better advisor and dissertation chair! Without your support, feedback, commitment, and guidance, this dissertation could not have happened. You listened to me, kept me going, and pushed me when I needed it. Words cannot express how thankful I am for everything you did for me. I would also like to thank Dr. Kooyman for challenging me to get immersed in my data and for helping to address some critical issues. A big thank you also to Dr. Glosoff for your thorough feedback and the good times during CSI meetings. Thank you also to Dr. Goldfarb for opening up my eyes to the importance of positionality.

Vorrei anche ringraziare alla mia famiglia, sopratutto a mia madre e Pasquale. Ein herzliches Dankeschön auch an meine Schwester, Basti, Julian und Ava. Eure Videos waren und sind immer wieder eine süße Abwechslung vom Alltag. Danke auch an Tanja und ihre Familie für die Unterstüzung und die vielen schönen Sabatfeiern. A big thank you also to Emmanuel for your emotional support and for your expertise in all things computers! Lastly, a big shout out to

my friends Kelly, Anna, Nicole, Candice and Iliana for fun evenings, discussions and writing retreats.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Jewish identity is an ethno-religious identity. It is comprised of religious and ethnic aspects that tend to be interwoven (Herman, 1989). Herman (1989) described Jews as a people, civilization, an ethnicity, a culture, and a religious group. The combination of religious and cultural aspects of Judaism along with history and rituals is what creates a Jew´s identity (Levitt & Balkin, 2003). Thus, Jewish identity can be based on national aspects, such as peoplehood or feelings of belonging to the people of Israel and a connection to the country of Israel. In the United States (U.S.) Jewish identity often includes cultural practices such as going to Jewish summer camp, using Yiddish expressions, and consumption of specific foods. Additionally, religious aspects such as religious education, religious practices, and beliefs play a significant role in the development of a Jewish identity. Jewish identity is a complex and unique identity and may be experienced as a blend of religious and ethnic components. In other words, Jewish identity is the lived experience of Judaism, and because it contains a variety of elements, it may be experienced and expressed differently by each Jew.

Religious affiliation is one way in which Jews may express their identity. There are many different Jewish denominations, such as Jewish renewal, Reform, Reconstructionist, Conservative, and Orthodox Judaism. Orthodox Judaism is an umbrella term for a variety of Orthodox movements such as Modern Orthodox, Hasidic, Chabad, and other Jewish divisions. In the U.S., there are three major movements: 1) Orthodox, 2) Conservative, and 3) Reform. Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative Judaism are considered the three most influential denominations within Judaism (Altman, Inman, Fine, Ritter, & Howard, 2010). One of the main differences between denominations is the interpretation of Jewish scripture as well as the level of

observance (Mareschal, 2012). Jewish practices and adherence to Jewish scriptures and its laws (halakhah) can be best understood as being on a continuum. On one side of the continuum is Orthodoxy, and on the other is the Reform movement. Conservative Judaism is situated between these two movements (Wertheimer, 2007). Orthodox Jews tend to be the most observant group compared to other streams of Judaism. They interpret Jewish scripture literally and strictly follow halakhah (Mareschal, 2012). Conservative Judaism is often viewed as a middle ground between Orthodox and Reform Judaism. The idea behind the Conservative movement is to preserve traditional Judaism while being open to adjusting practices to the needs of today´s society (Mareschal, 2012). Reform Jews are considered to be less observant by the other branches of Judaism. According to Mareschal (2012), individuals may tweak customs and practices depending on personal needs. According to a Pew Study from 2013, 35% of Jews in the U.S. identify with the Reform movement, 18% identify with the Conservative movement, and 10% of all Jews consider themselves to be Orthodox, while 30% report no denomination with any of the Jewish movements (Liu, 2013).

Some researchers have pointed out that Jewish identity is often misunderstood as an exclusively religious identity (Altman et al., 2010; Langman, 1999; Macdonald-Dennis, 2006). Most Jews in the U.S. tend to self-identify as Jews culturally, and it appears that religion plays a lesser role (Klaff, 2006). According to Klaff (2006), Jews who relate to being Jewish based on culture rather than religion may display ethnic behaviors such as traveling to Israel, being involved in non-religious Jewish organizations (e.g., Jewish Community Centers, Anti-Defamation League; ADL), and having Jewish friends. A national survey by the Pew Research Center (Liu, 2013) revealed that for 62% of the 3,475 participants being Jewish is primarily a matter of ancestry and culture. Only 15% reported that Jewish identity is mainly a matter of

religion, and 23% viewed Jewish identity as equally an issue of religious ancestry and culture (Liu, 2013). It appears that there is more than one way to express one´s Jewishness.

A person´s identity is comprised of several factors such as gender, age, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, and ethnic heritage. "Ethnic identity is just one of many identities, and several ethnic identities may be held at the same time" (Fernando, 2012, p. 119). For instance, an individual with a bicultural identity (the term bi-ethnic does not exist in American Standard English) may ethnically identify as German and Italian at the same time. Historically, ethnicity is inclusive of national origin, culture, and common language (Quintana, 2007). According to Herman (1989), ethnic identity is connected to aspects individuals share with other people of the same group. These aspects serve ethnic groups to set themselves apart from other groups due to the possession of particular attributes, which can be physical or cultural (Herman, 1989). The term ethnicity is therefore used to describe a group of people who share a cultural heritage, a common history, values, beliefs, and language (Day-Vines et al., 2007). According to Phinney and Ong (2007) ethnic identity emerges from a sense of belonging to a particular group of people and participation in cultural activities and can serve as a protection against the negative effects of discrimination (Phinney, Jacoby, & Charissa, 2007). Choosing an ethnic identity is an act of self-categorization, in which a people label themselves as being part of a particular social group (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004).

There are a few research studies that examine Jewish identity from a more holistic point of view, focusing on Jewish ethnicity and not only on religion. A qualitative study by Altman et al. (2010) with five women and five men ages 20 – 27 who identified as Conservative Jews reveals that participants endorsed the importance of family and maintenance of a Jewish way of life as well as remembering Jewish history and the impact of antisemitism. Glicksman and

Korpeckyj-Cox (2009) analyzed data from the 2000-2001 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS). The sample was based on the responses of 1,099 participants who were 65 years or older. The analysis of the data suggests that participants who were affiliated with a denomination were more likely to report a stronger ethnic Jewish identity than those who observe Judaism without affiliation or individuals who follow Judaism along with another faith. At the same time, they were also less likely than the other two groups to indicate that religion was important in their life (Glicksman & Korpeckyj-Cox, 2009). The findings of these two studies suggest that Jewish ethnicity is a feature of Jewish identity and thus, further research regarding Jewish ethnic identity seems to be warranted.

Another significant factor that tends to impact Jewish identity is antisemitism. Wilhelm Marr coined the term *Antisemitismus* (antisemitism in English) in 1873. It replaced the original word *Judenhaß* (hatred of Jews). It described a non-religious, racially based hatred of Jews (Zafer-Smith, 2003). According to Wistrich (1991), religious hostility was viewed as backward in the late nineteenth century, and so a more neutral and scientific term was needed. The term antisemitism, which was based on racial and ethnic aspects, provided a solution that made anti-Jewish sentiments sound more objective (Wistrich, 1991). Today, antisemitism refers to the hatred or hostility towards Jews as a religious, ethnic, or racial group (Marcus, 2015).

Antisemitism is a set of negative beliefs and attitudes based on ideology, myths, and stereotypes about Jews as individuals or as a group (Marcus, 2015). These stereotypes and myths do not need to be based on facts (Pollak, 2008). Usually, anti-Jewish feelings and thoughts are grounded on imaginary characteristics of what is believed to be the typical Jew (Pollak, 2008). The hatred of Jews continues to be a pervasive issue worldwide. Antisemitic incidents have been rising globally, including in the U.S. since 2014 (ADL, 2015, 2018). This

trend has also reached college campuses in the U.S. According to the 2014 national demographic survey of American Jewish college students, 55% of Jewish college students reported having experienced some form of antisemitism (Kosmin & Keysar, 2015). The resurgence of antisemitism and especially anti-Zionism (hostility toward the State of Israel) are critical issues on college campuses (Marcus, 2007). This is also supported by Beckwith and Rossman-Benjamin (2018) who reported that antisemitic incidents, and more specifically antisemitic incidents motivated by anti-Israel attitudes, increased by 89% from 2016 to 2017. Antisemitic feelings and thoughts are frequently expressed by targeting the State of Israel. This form of antisemitism, called anti-Zionism, tends to be viewed by many as socially acceptable (Weinstein & Jackson, 2010). According to Pollak (2008), it is possible that existing stereotypes about "the Jew" are impacting how people view the conflict between Israelis and Arabs. Thus, anti-Zionism may affect the lives of many Jews in the U.S. For instance, 55% of Jewish college students in the U.S. report having experienced some form of antisemitism (Kosmin & Keysar, 2015). According to the ADL (2015, 2018), in 2014 antisemitic incidents in the U.S. had increased by 21%, and current statistics suggest that this trend also continued in 2015 and the following years. More than half (52%) of all religious hate crimes in 2014 were committed against the Jewish community (Federal Bureau of Investigation; FBI, 2015). In 2018 almost 60% (56.9%) of all religious hate crimes targeted the Jewish community (FBI, 2019).

Considering the data made available by the FBI and ADL and the fact that some of the research that has been cited in this study is dated due to lack of newer studies, further research regarding the impact of antisemitism and anti-Zionism seems to be justified. Contemporary Jewish identity cannot be adequately understood without considering the effects of outbreaks of antisemitism. Some Jewish individuals may experience these outbreaks as a threat and a

reminder that the Shoah (Holocaust) could reoccur (Herman, 1989) and thus have a direct impact on Jewish individuals' well-being and mental health.

Statement of the Problem

Despite evidence that suggests that identity and cultural membership as well as experiences with discrimination and microaggressions significantly impact an individual´s well-being and mental health (Nadal, Griffin, Wong, Hamit, & Rasmus, 2014; Phinney et al., 2007), there is sparse literature in the counseling profession analyzing the identity and the effects of discrimination of persons from ethno-religious groups such as Jews in the U.S. Current research appears to focus on identity development and experiences with racism of visible minorities such as African-Americans or Latino-Americans. Jewish identity and the impact of antisemitism, including anti-Zionism and discrimination against the Jewish community, tend to be overlooked and are rarely explored in the multicultural field (Macdonald-Dennis, 2006; Rubin, 2017). Current research suggests that there is a relationship between perceived discrimination and symptoms of depression for individuals of the Jewish community (Weisskirch, Kim, Schwartz, & Whitbourne, 2016). The Pittsburgh synagogue shooting in 2018, in which 11 Jews were murdered, the Poway, California synagogue shooting in 2019 in which one Jew was murdered, the Jersey City kosher supermarket shooting in 2019 in which four people were murdered (two Jews and two non-Jews), and the stabbing in Monsey, New York during Hanukkah in 2019 in which five people were injured and countless assaults on Hassidic and Orthodox Jews in New York City demonstrate that the hatred of Jews continues to be a serious and pervasive issue in the U.S. All of the events took place in a span of a little over one year. The Pittsburgh shooting happened in October of 2018, shortly before I started collecting my data in December 2018, and the stabbing in Monsey happened only three months after I finished collecting my data in

September of 2019. According to the latest FBI statistics almost 60% (56.9%) of all religious hate crimes were motivated by anti-Jewish bias (FBI, 2019). Due to this development and the fact that Jewish individuals tend to seek out counseling services more often than other ethnic groups it is likely that counselors will work with individuals from the Jewish community at some point in time (Langman, 1997; Midlarsky, Pirutinsky, & Cohen, 2012).

Counselors and counselor educators play an important role in addressing mental health issues. This encompasses addressing the impact of ethnic identity development, religious membership, as well as any form of racism, such as antisemitism on an individual´s overall well-being. According to the *Code of Ethics* of the American Counseling Association (ACA) all professional counselors are required to be knowledgeable about cultural differences among diverse groups and within these groups (ACA, 2014). Furthermore, all professional counselors are required to provide culturally sensitive services to diverse groups that are effective and beneficial to the group members (ACA, 2014). However, due to the lack of research on Jewish identity and antisemitism as well as the possibility that some graduate programs may exclude Jewish topics in classes about multiculturalism it is uncertain that mental health professionals are equipped to work with individuals of the Jewish community (Langman, 1999; Rubin, 2017). In order for professional counselors to be able to address mental health issues such as depression in Jewish clients, more research will be necessary to get a better understanding if there is a relationship between exposure to antisemitism and depression for Jews.

Jewish identity is often wrongly compared to a Christian religious identity. "Judaism is not just a religious creed analogous to Christianity" (Herman, 1989, p. 36). While Christian identities are religious identities only and are separate from ethnicity, Jewish identity tends to be both an ethnic and religious identity simultaneously. Thus, describing Jews as only a religious

group, like Christians, omits a part of their Jewish identity. Ethnicity appears to be an essential aspect of identity for many Jews.

Current research has provided evidence that Jewish identity is comprised of an ethnic identity and a religious identity (Altman et al., 2010; Glicksman & Korpeckyj-Cox, 2009). Friedlander et al. (2010) found that while ethnic and religious identities are intertwined, they are separate aspects of Jewish identity. Additionally, the results of their study suggest that, overall, more observant and traditional Jews tend to report a stronger Jewish identity (Friedlander et al., 2010). However, to date, only one research study has analyzed if there is a relationship between the strengths of Jewish identity and membership in one of the major Jewish denominations.

Over the last two decades a variety of researchers (e.g., Altman et al., 2010; Langman, 1999; Macdonald-Dennis, 2006; Rubin, 2013; Rubin, 2017) have pointed out that discussions about discrimination of Jews continue to be absent in the field of multicultural counseling and social justice classes at the university level. The reasons for this absence may be because many believe that antisemitism is no longer a problem and because Jews are now considered to be part of the White majority (Langman, 1995). It is also possible that antisemitic beliefs such as Jews are rich, powerful, and control the media and the banks, have been a reason for the exclusion of antisemitism and Jewish issues in multicultural discussions. In fact, no studies exist that have analyzed the relationship between Jewish identity and experiences of antisemitism. Due to the lack of research studies exploring this relationship, it may be difficult for counselors and social justice advocates today to address Jewish issues such as antisemitism, including anti-Zionism, and their impact on Jewish identity appropriately.

Furthermore, there appears to be no research that has investigated to what extent anti-Zionism is affecting Jewish individuals today. What is known is that anti-Zionism is considered

by many as a more acceptable manner of expressing anti-Jewish feelings and that people who are antisemitic also tend to be hostile towards the State of Israel (Weinstein & Jackson, 2010). We also know that anti-Zionism appears to be an issue, especially on university campuses across the U.S. (Taylor, 2017). However, there are to date no studies that analyze if and to what extent Jewish individuals experience anti-Zionism.

Research Questions

Based on available research, it seems that there is a gap in knowledge in understanding the relationship between Jewish identity, religious affiliation, and antisemitism. Moreover, due to the increase of anti-Israel attitudes in the U.S., it seems necessary to determine if professional counselors and counselor educators may need to include anti-Zionism in addition to other forms of antisemitism as a form of prejudice when addressing multicultural issues. The current gap is what informed the following research questions:

1. What is the relationship between Jewish identity (religious and ethnic) and experiences of antisemitism?

   Hypothesis 1: Jews who report a higher level of religious and ethnic identity are more likely to experience greater antisemitism.

2. What is the relationship between Jewish religious affiliation and experiences of antisemitism?

   Hypothesis 2.1: Jews who are affiliated with the Orthodox stream of Judaism are more likely to experience greater antisemitism than Jews who are part of the Conservative movement.

   Hypothesis 2.2: Conservative Jews are more likely to experience greater antisemitism than Reform Jews.

3. What, if any, type of antisemitism (e.g., ethnic or religiously based antisemitism or anti-Zionism) do Jewish individuals experience most often?

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this quantitative study was to address the current gap in the literature regarding the relationship between antisemitism and Jewish identity. Antisemitism is a form of oppression that can be based on racial prejudice, religious beliefs, myths, and stereotypes about Jews or anti-Zionism (Pollak, 2008). Jewish identity is an identity composed of ethnic or cultural aspects intertwined with religion (Klaff, 2006). I hoped that my study would determine if there is a relationship between antisemitism and Jewish identity. For instance, I wanted to know if Jewish people who report a higher level of Jewish identity (religious and ethnic identity) also report higher levels of experiences with antisemitism. Moreover, I wanted to find out if Jewish individuals who report a lower level of Jewish identity report lower levels of antisemitism. In the end, I hoped that the study would determine whether there was a relationship between antisemitism and Jewish identity.

The second purpose of the study was to find out if there was a relationship between antisemitism and religious affiliation. Religious affiliation refers to membership in a particular Jewish denomination (e.g., Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform). I was curious to see if the chosen denomination had an impact on the level and frequency of experiences with antisemitism as well as the perception of the seriousness of antisemitism. Existing literature on the relationship between a denomination and Jewish identity suggests that Orthodox Jews tend to report higher Jewish religious and ethnic identity than Conservative Jews and Reform Jews (Friedlander et al., 2010). It is possible that the type of denomination one belongs to does not only impact Jewish identity but also experiences with antisemitism.

The third purpose of the quantitative study was to investigate if and what form of antisemitism Jews today report experiencing most often. My goal was to examine whether antisemitism is expressed primarily based on 1) ethnic bias, 2) religious ideas, or 3) anti-Zionism (questioning the legitimacy of the existence of Israel). I was especially interested in investigating this question because anti-Zionism appears to have become more acceptable in society and especially on university campuses (Marcus, 2007; Weinstein & Jackson, 2010).

Significance of the Study

The American Counseling Association (ACA), the Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP), and the Association for Spiritual, Ethical, and Religious Values in Counseling (ASERVIC) require that professional counselors and counselor educators demonstrate specific competencies. For instance, professional counselors need to be able to address multicultural issues and know about diversity within groups, religious and spiritual issues, as well as matters such as oppression and discrimination (ACA, 2014; ASERVIC, 2015; CACREP, 2016). However, due to the lack of research on Jewish identity and the impact of antisemitism on Jewish individuals, professional counselors and counselor educators may not have the necessary knowledge to fulfill the expected professional competencies.

It is crucial that professional counselors and counselor educators are aware that Jewish identity tends to be comprised of both ethnic and religious aspects and that these aspects are often intertwined (Friedlander et al., 2010; Herman, 1989; Langman, 1999). Jewish individuals are more likely than other ethnic groups to seek counseling services (Langman, 1997; Midlarsky et al., 2012), and thus professional counselors and counselor educators are likely to work with

this population. Culturally sensitive and appropriate counseling services for Jewish clients can only be ensured if professional counselors address and explore all aspects of Jewish identity.

Mental health counselors may also want to consider that the separation of religion and ethnicity may be appropriate to categorize non-Jews (Herman, 1989). However, imposing this separation on a Jewish client may lead to misinterpretations and misunderstandings. Jewish identity is multifaceted. Professional counselors who believe that Jews are only a religious group may not consider exploring Jewish identity when a client reports being a secular Jew.

Many researchers (e.g., Langman, 1999; Macdonald-Dennis, 2006; Zafer-Smith, 2003) have contended that antisemitism should be part of social justice and multicultural education for all professional counselors and counselor educators. However, this is often not the case (Langman, 1999; Levitt & Balkin, 2003). According to Langman (1999) and Zafer-Smith (2003), the hatred of Jews is often left out when discussing other forms of oppression, such as sexism or racism, even though antisemitism is a type of racism. Considering the resurgence of antisemitism worldwide as well as recent high-profile events in Charlottesville, Virginia, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Jersey City, New Jersey, Judaism and antisemitism have a place in discussions about multiculturalism in counseling. Many researchers have pointed out that the multicultural field has so far tended to exclude Jews as a minority group for reasons such as Jews are considered racially White, Jews are no longer struggling economically, or the belief that antisemitism is no longer a problem (Langman, 1999; Macdonald-Dennis, 2006; Rubin, 2013).

Consequently, many professional counselors and counselor educators may not be aware of potential fears within the Jewish community and may inadvertently invalidate antisemitic experiences of their Jewish clients and students. Macdonald-Dennis (2006) found that experiences with antisemitism and the minimization of the phenomenon appear to have an

impact on Jewish identity and the mental health and overall well-being of Jews. In the worst-case scenario, the professional counselor or counselor educator unknowingly may make remarks that are based on stereotypes or myths about the Jewish people. In addition, they may make assumptions about the socio-economic status of the Jewish population that are not accurate and consequently harm the client or the student´s learning. Additionally, professional counselors may need to recognize and help clients addressing forms of internalized antisemitism. Hence, more research is necessary to determine the type of antisemitism Jewish people experience and the relationship between antisemitism and the level or strength of Jewish identity.

Additionally, it is essential that professional counselors and counselor educators are aware of the religious diversity within the Jewish community to be better equipped to address the mental health needs of all Jewish individuals (Langman, 1999; Levitt & Balkin, 2003). The needs of non-affiliated Jews may be different from the needs of Jews who are part of the Conservative, Reform, or Orthodox movement.

According to Sue and Sue (2008), "The erroneous belief that all Asians are the same, all Blacks are the same, all Hispanics are the same, or all American Indians are the same has led to numerous therapeutic problems" (p. 235). Ergo, believing that all Jews are the same may also result in therapeutic problems such as early termination, the perpetuation of stereotypes, or minimizing the client´s experiences with antisemitism. Friedlander et al. (2010) contended that professional counselors and counselor educators should not assume that non-religious or non-affiliated Jews or Jews who report that being Jewish is not relevant to them do not experience antisemitism. Therefore, it seemed to be important to determine the relationship between antisemitism and religious affiliation or lack of religious affiliation. Undertaking this type of

investigation helps uncover meaningful differences between Jews who are affiliated with one of the major Jewish denominations or who are non-affiliated.

Theoretical Framework

This quantitative dissertation was informed by Herman´s (1989) theory of Jewish identity as well as existentialism; consequently, I drew from identity development, social psychology, and counseling theory. I chose to use these two theories for my study as my counseling approach is heavily influenced by existentialism and because Herman´s theory is one of the few theories on identity that focuses on Jewish identity from a holistic point of view. Herman´s (1989) theory is based on his research on Jews living in the U.S. and Israel. Herman (1989) considered religious and ethnic aspects in his theory and incorporated cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects. He looked at Jewish experiences in their totality and thus included the impact of the Shoah, the establishment of Israel, as well as the social context in which a Jewish community lives. According to Herman (1989), when analyzing Jewish identity, it is essential to look at:

> " a) the nature of the individual´s relationship to the Jewish group as a membership group; and b) the individual´s perception of the attributes of the Jewish group, his feelings about them, and the extent to which its norms are adopted by him as a source of reference. This necessitates a consideration of the content of the Jewish group identity." (p. 39).

Existential theory is a philosophical counseling approach based on the thoughts and ideas of European existential philosophers (Deurzen, 2002). Existential counseling aims to assist individuals to come to terms with what it means to be human, to make sense of life (Yalom, 1980). Existential counseling theories posit there is no preordained meaning in life, and there are no guidelines on how to live a life other than those people create for themselves (Yalom, 1980).

Finding meaning and making meaning is a subjective experience and all individuals are responsible for creating their meaning (Frankl, 2008). The professional counselor´s goal is, therefore, to assist clients in finding their purpose and meaning in life and living a fuller and more authentic life according to clients´ values and beliefs.

Existential theory and Herman´s (1989) theory are used as a lens to understand experiences with antisemitism and its relationship to Jewish identity and Jewish religious affiliation by looking at how individual Jews make sense of their group membership and their life circumstances. Moreover, existentialism and Herman´s theory recognize that the context in which individuals live impacts how they experience and interpret events. For instance, existential theory addresses how relationships with family members, friends, and the surrounding community influence a feeling of belonging or isolation. Similarly, Herman (1989) discussed how experiences with antisemitism can influence if a Jew feels accepted by surrounding non-Jewish communities. Existential counseling tenets are similar to Herman´s theory in recognizing that there are commonalities as well as differences between human beings. According to existential theory, we are all influenced by environmental factors and historical events, however, how we process, adjust to, and integrate these occurrences in our lives may be different for each person and a personal choice.

Similarly, Herman (1989) acknowledged that there are commonalities among the many Jewish communities. However, variations exist as political and social movements impact how Jews react and adjust their Jewish lifestyle. Both theories acknowledge the uniqueness of individuals while also recognizing that individuals do not live in a vacuum but are also part of a greater collective. The difference between existential theory and Herman´s theory is the difference between emphasizing individualistic and collective aspects. That is, existential theory

tends to put more emphasis on the uniqueness of the individual, while Herman´s theory tends to stress the commonalities of Jewish individuals. By combining both theories, I was well positioned to look at both individual and collective aspects that impact Jewish identity, religious affiliation, and experiences with antisemitism.

Chapter Summary

Jewish identity is complex and is based on ethnic and religious aspects that tend to be intertwined for most Jews. This sets Jewish identity apart from other ethnic identities that tend to be based on cultural and ethnic aspects only. It is also important to realize that Jewish identity is not a religious identity comparable to Christianity as Jewish identity is based on descent and not on assent. Moreover, Jewish identity tends to be impacted by experiences with antisemitism. Research has provided evidence that the memory of the Shoah continues to be an important part of Jewish identity (Herman, 1989). However, Jewish identity is not only impacted by antisemitic crimes of the past but also by antisemitic hate crimes today as well as anti-Israel attitudes. According to ADL (2018), current statistics show that there has been a significant increase in antisemitic incidents. Thus, more research is warranted to analyze how antisemitism impacts the Jewish communities in the U.S. and to provide professional counselors and counselor educators with meaningful information on what the experiences and possible needs of Jewish individuals are who seek counseling services today.

Organization of the Dissertation

The present dissertation is comprised of five chapters. Chapter one contains the introduction and background literature, the problem statement, as well as the purpose and significance of the study. Chapter two provides an in-depth literature review. Chapter three describes the methodology, including the hypotheses being tested, the sample of the population,

instruments used to collect data, and the procedures for data analysis. Chapter four provides descriptive data of the participants as well as the actual data analysis and the results. Chapter five discusses the implications that can be derived from the analysis of the data as well as limitations of my study and ideas for future research.

Definition of Terms

Antisemitism is the hatred or hostility towards Jews as a religious, ethnic, or racial group (Pollak, 2008).

Anti-Zionism is defined as hostility towards the State of Israel. Often this hostility is based on the belief that the State of Israel has no right to exist or claims that Israel is comparable to Nazi Germany (Kiewe, 2007).

Conservative Judaism was created as a response to Reform Judaism. The goal of Conservative Judaism was to honor traditional Judaism while adjusting to modern society (Langman, 1999). Synagogue services tend to be in Hebrew; however, like Reform services men and women sit together. Conservative Judaism as a movement continues to observe kashrut (keeping kosher) and the Shabbat. In general, Conservative Judaism is considered to be less adherent to halakhah then Orthodox Judaism and more adherent then Reform Judaism.

Ethnicity identity is a construct that derives from a sense of group membership. It is formed over time and can be based on commonalities such as history, nationality, language, religion, culture, physical appearance, ancestry, and traditions. Ethnic identity is a personal identity and depends on the individual´s social experiences, thoughts, and feelings (Markus, 2008).

Jewish identity is considered an ethno-religious identity. It is based on religious (belief system) and ethnic (feelings of belonging to the people Israel) components that tend to be

intertwined. Jewish identity varies from individual to individual as the combination of religious and cultural aspects of Judaism including Jewish history and rituals all together create a Jewish identity.

Orthodox Judaism is one of the three major Jewish denominations in the U.S., besides Conservative and Reform Judaism. Orthodox Jews tend to view their practice as normative rather than being part of a specific movement. The three most important areas of observance that define Orthodoxy are keeping kosher, observing Shabbat, and following the laws of family purity (Langman, 1999). Synagogue services are in Hebrew and men and women are seated separately. Orthodox Judaism is considered to be stricter in its observance of halakhah compared to Conservative Judaism and Reform Judaism.

Reform Judaism developed in reaction to the Enlightenment in the early 18th century in Europe. The idea behind Reform Judaism was to create a Judaism that would be more in line with the values of Enlightenment by eliminating rituals and beliefs that were seen as incompatible with progressive rationalist thinking (Langman, 1999). Over the years, Reform Judaism has re-introduced some of the earlier rituals and traditional elements (Langman, 1999). The Reform movement does not endorse the laws of kashrut (keeping kosher). However, today there are more and more Reform Jews who do keep kosher (Langman, 1999). Synagogue services tend to be a combination of English prayers, and Hebrew liturgy and men and women sit together. Overall, Reform Judaism is considered to be the least observant movement concerning halahkah.

Religious identity can be defined as an identity that is based on a specific religious belief system, rituals, and practices. These rituals and practices may be performed in public as well as

at home. Association and practice of rituals with others who share the belief system tend to be essential in creating and maintaining a religious identity (Lucas, 2017).

CHAPTER TWO

Introduction

The latest numbers available at the time of this study indicate that approximately 7,500,000 Jews live in the U.S. (Tighe et al., 2019). This number includes individuals who report being Jewish by religion, as well as people who self-identify as Jewish based on ethnicity (Lipka, 2013). The majority of Jews report being affiliated with a synagogue (69%), while 30% reported no affiliation with any religious institution (Pew Research Center, 2013). In general, 62% of Jews view Jewish identity as a matter of ancestry; only 15% view Jewish identity as a matter primarily based on religion, and 23% report that Jewish identity is based on both ancestry and religion (Pew Research Center, 2013). These numbers suggest that Jewish identity is complex and defined differently by each Jew. However, religious and cultural identification is not the only aspect that impacts Jewish identity. Antisemitism tends to play a role as well. The latest data on antisemitic hate crimes made available by ADL show hate crimes against the Jewish community have been increasing since 2014. For instance, reported hate crimes against the Jewish community went up from 695 incidents in 2015 to 834 in 2016 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017). This trend has continued through 2017 and 2018 (ADL, 2017a; FBI, 2019).

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with more in-depth information about Jewish identity and the impact of antisemitism. This chapter contains an overview of the literature regarding ethnic identity broadly, Jewish identity, and the factors that impact this identity. I provide information about the three major Jewish denominations (Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism). In this chapter, I also present an overview of the history of antisemitism, as well as current ways in which antisemitism is expressed, such as anti-Zionism. I explore the impact of antisemitism on Jewish individuals and discuss the role that counselor

educators and professional counselors have in promoting and providing culturally competent services to the Jewish community. Additionally, I introduce the theoretical framework used for the study.

Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity

Identity development is considered to be an important aspect of every individual's life, "as knowing who one is may be one of the most fundamental components of being human" (Galliher, Mclean, & Syed, 2017, p. 2011). Since the 1960s, researchers have been developing theories to explain human identity development. Erikson (1968) was one of the first to create a lifespan theory of social identity development that defines the age range at which a particular crisis occurs. His theory contained eight psychosocial stages: 1) Infancy – trust vs. mistrust, 2) Early childhood – autonomy vs. shame and doubt, 3) Preschool – initiative vs. guilt, 4) School age - industry vs. inferiority, 5) Adolescence - identity vs. role confusion, 6) Young adulthood – intimacy vs. isolation, 7) Adulthood – generativity vs. stagnation, and 8) Old age – ego integrity vs. despair (Carver & Scheier, 2004). Erikson (1968) viewed identity development as an essential task of adolescence, as well as a requirement to deal effectively with the challenges during later stages. Marcia (1980) further developed Erikson´s model by identifying four identity statuses: foreclosure, diffusion, moratorium, and achievement. According to Marcia (1980), the identity statuses are determined by the interplay of a crisis (an incident that forces individuals to think about their identity) and the level of commitment to the identity. These identity models have served as the basis for ethnic identity models and current research on ethnic identity (Yip, 2013). Researchers and practitioners in the counseling field have been interested in understanding how ethnic identity impacts the counseling relationship, individuals'

worldviews, mental health, as well as their daily lived experiences (Phinney, 1996; Syed & Azmitia, 2009; Syed & Juang, 2014).

The term ethnicity is a complex construct and is not easily defined (Chávez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). The term is often used interchangeably with race, especially outside of the U.S. According to Morning (2008), there is no international definition for the term ethnicity. The distinction between ethnicity and race tends to occur predominately in countries with a slaveholding history and is not used in Asian and European countries (Morning, 2008). According to Berg, Schor, and Soto (2014), the term race prompts different associations in the U.S. and Europe. For instance, in Germany, the term race is tainted by its connection to the racist Nazi regime and has been replaced with the term ethnicity (Berg et al., 2014). In the U.S., ethnicity tends to refer to a combination of national origin, culture, and common language, while race tends to be defined as a biological category that is based primarily on physical features and character qualities (Quintana, 2007). I have decided to use the term ethnicity exclusively. An increasing number of researchers acknowledge that ethnicity and race are socially constructed and that both terms tend to encompass a sense of group membership (Morning, 2008; Quintana, 2007).

According to Chávez and Guido-DiBrito (1999), the concept of race tends to be used by individuals to distance themselves from other groups and is thus a process of "othering." Ethnicity, on the other hand, tends to be viewed as a way for individuals to identify with a particular population based on common history, ancestry, and cultural practices. Thus, ethnic identity refers to how individuals identify themselves regarding their ethnicity. In the U.S., ethnicity tends to be a self-assigned category, unlike in Europe where ethnicity tends to combine the terms race and ethnicity and is not necessarily a self-assigned identity. This distinction may

be meaningful especially when studying the Jewish community; Jews have and continue to be viewed by some people as an ethnic group and thus can choose their group affiliation. Some people may view Jews as a racial group and consequently assign Jews an identity. This particular detail may need to be considered when researching the ethnic identity of Jews in the counseling context as it suggests that Jewish identity is distinct from other ethnic identities. Moreover, this particular detail may mean that available research on other ethnic groups may not be generalizable to the Jewish population. Consequently, more research specific to the Jewish community and the Jewish identity is needed to ensure not only a better understanding of Jewish identity but also to ensure that counseling services are accommodating the needs of Jewish individuals.

Ethnic identity, like ethnicity and race, is a social construct (Chávez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). Ethnic identity tends to be defined as a consciously or unconsciously chosen identity based on common history, traditions, beliefs, behaviors, and values. Its development starts at an early age and is a life-long process. This means that one´s ethnic identity can change over a lifetime (Phinney et al., 2007). Ethnic identity plays a role in most people's lives, as the membership in a specific ethnic group tends to give people a sense of belonging. It tends to impact individuals´ worldviews, the way of thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behaviors (Phinney, 1996) and consequently may influence how individuals interact with others and how they view themselves.

There is some evidence that identity exploration and the development of ethnic identity may have benefits, while identity denial may have a negative impact (Yip, 2013). Identity exploration refers to the active exploration of one´s group membership, whereas identity denial refers to the refusal of one´s group membership. In situations of perceived discrimination, a

robust ethnic identity can serve as a protection against the effects of ethno-violence (Ashmore et al., 2004).

Research on ethnic identity in the U.S. has focused mostly on African Americans, Latin Americans, and Asian Americans (Weisskirch et al., 2016). This may be because race or ethnic identity is believed to be more relevant for visible minorities than for White Americans (Syed & Azmitia, 2009). In the U.S., the term "minority" defines individuals who, due to their group membership, physical traits, cultural, or religious traditions tend to be singled out by society (Wirth, 1945, as cited in Ponterotto, Utsey, & Pedersen, 2006). These individuals tend to be regarded as different or inferior and, as a result, may face discrimination.

Current theoretical models of ethnic identity suggest that ethnic identity has a significant impact primarily on visible minorities' psychological well-being and self-esteem (Syed & Juang, 2014). The term "visible minorities" refers to individuals who cannot pass as White in the U.S. This idea is based on the different social and financial status minority groups tend to have in the U.S. compared to the White American majority (Syed & Juang, 2014). Additionally, in the U.S., White identities are presumed to be homogeneous (Sue & Sue, 2008), which has led to de-emphasizing the possible impact of ethnic identity for white individuals, including Jews (Weisskirch et al., 2016). There is evidence supporting that ethnic identity tends to be more critical for visible minorities in the U.S. (Brittian et al., 2013; Ruiz, 1990; Syed & Juang, 2014). For instance, Worrel (2007) found that there is a relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem for ethnic minorities, but not for White individuals. According to existing findings, having a strong ethnic identity and endorsing a specific group membership tends to serve as a buffer against possible adverse psychological consequences of discrimination for visible

minorities (Ashmore et al., 2004; Fernando, 2012). A strong ethnic identity may also promote well-being and boost self-esteem (Weisskirch et al., 2016).

However, a few studies have found that ethnic identity is also significant for White individuals (Syed & Juang, 2014). Fuligni, Witkow, and Garcia (2005) provided evidence that ethnic identity was significant for students of all backgrounds. In general, students who reported a strong ethnic identity also reported a better academic adjustment in college, independent of their ethnicity. Similarly, Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, and Rodriguez (2009) and Syed and Azmitia (2009) reported that while some differences in levels of ethnic identity exist among college students from diverse populations compared to White American students, ethnic identity development was significant for all ethnic groups. At this time, it seems unclear to what extent ethnic identity plays a role in the lives of individuals who are White as there are studies that contradict each other. This seems especially true for ethnic groups such as the Jewish community whose culture, language, religious practice, and history are distinct from other White ethnicities.

Ethnic identity can be a resource to cope with discrimination. However, it can also exacerbate already stressful situations. Consequently, counselor educators and professional counselors need to be prepared to address issues around ethnic identity with all of their clients, including Jewish clients. Moreover, when working with individuals who de-emphasize or deny their ethnic identity, being reminded of their group membership tends to impact their mental health negatively (Yip, 2013). Thus, professional counselors may want to explore the meaning and importance ethnic identity plays in their clients´ lives to assess clients' existing strengths or to assist them in integrating their ethnic identity in a more empowering manner. At the same

time, it is important that professional counselors do not assume that all Jewish clients may want to explore their Jewish identity in counseling sessions.

Jewish Identity: An Ethno-Religious Identity

Ethnic identity is a complex and multifaceted construct. Jewish identity is no exception, mainly because Jewish identity is not just an ethnic identity, but an ethno-religious identity (Friedlander et al., 2010; Macdonald-Dennis, 2006). Many researchers (Altman et al., 2010; Dubow, Pargament, Boxer, & Tarakeshwar, 2000; Friedman, Friedlander, & Blustein, 2005; Glicksman & Korpeckyj-Cox, 2009; Langman, 1999; Weisskirch, Kim, Schwartz, & Whitbourne, 2016) share this view and define Jewish identity as a combination of ethnicity and religion. "The two components are, however, so intertwined that they cannot be isolated without disturbing their essential character and distorting the nature of the Jewish identity" (Herman, 1989, p. 37). Unfortunately, there appears to be a tendency in the U.S. to describe Jewish identities merely as a religious identity (e.g., hate crimes against Jews are listed under religious hate crimes by the FBI, even in cases where the hate crime is of an ethnic nature, such as painting a Swastika). However, according to Herman (1989), Jewish identity is not analogous to Christian identities, and Judaism is not another religion equivalent to Christianity. "Faith and belief play a much larger role in Christian identity than in Judaism" (Hartman & Kaufman, 2006, p. 371).

The reason why faith is essential in Christianity is because Christianity is an assent religion (Morris, 1997). In other words, individuals of the Christian faith are members because they agree with the religious tenets of their faith. Judaism, on the other hand, is a descent religion (Morris, 1997). The membership is determined by the ethnic identity and shared cultural practices (Morris, 1997). Herman (1989) contended that in the U.S., historically ethnic

differences tended to be discouraged while religious differences were perceived as being acceptable. The expectation, especially for White immigrants, has been to assimilate and to leave behind their ethnic identity at their arrival in the U.S. (Ponterotto et al., 2006). The view of Judaism and thus of Jewish identity as a religious experience only is a sign of White American culture (Herman, 1989). This is noteworthy as other White identities (e.g., German, French, Swedish) are usually not a combination of ethnic and religious components. The various European ethnic identities tend to be based solely on ethnicity and culture. The religious identity tends to be separate from the ethnic identity.

Friedlander et al. (2010) found that Jewish identity is comprised of ethnic and religious aspects. They reported that ethnic and religious identity are two separate constructs that tend to be intertwined for Jews (Friedlander et al., 2010). The emphasis on religious and ethnic aspects may differ from person to person (Friedlander et al., 2010). Herman (1989) proposed that Jewish identity is constructed on a continuum. Jews can pick from a spectrum of religious or cultural aspects to express their Jewish identity (Hartman & Kaufman, 2006). At one end of the continuum is the assimilated Jew who avoids any connection with other Jews, does not observe religious aspects and views the Jewish people just as a religious group; at the other end is the observant Orthodox Jew who is a Zionist (person who believes that Jews should have a right to self-determination in their own country; Herman, 1989). Friedman, Friedlander, and Blustein (2005) contended that Jewish identity does not need to be based on religious beliefs and practices. Affiliation with one of the major denominations (Reform, Conservative, Orthodox) or membership at a synagogue is also not necessary for the development of a strong Jewish identity (Rosen & Weltman, 1996). Some Jews may choose to avoid any connection to Judaism while other Jews may decide to live an observant lifestyle (Hartman & Kaufman, 2006). Overall, Jews

in the U.S. tend to identify as Jewish more strongly based on ethnicity and to a lesser extent on religion (Friedlander et al., 2010). Individuals who are affiliated with one of the Jewish movements tended to have a clearer idea of what their Jewish identity means to them compared to unaffiliated Jews (Friedman et al., 2005). Thus, significant differences within Jewish identities and between other White identities exist and need to be considered when studying Jewish identity or when applying findings of White ethnic identities to the Jewish population. More research is needed to get a better understanding to what extent religious, cultural, and denominational aspects impact the development of a Jewish identity.

Ethnic Identity

Research related to ethnic identity has focused primarily on visible minorities. There are only a few studies (e.g., Kahn & Aronson, 2012; Ponterotto, Utsey, Stracuzzi, & Saya, 2003; Weisskirch et al., 2016) that have focused on the impact that ethnic identity development may have on "invisible" minority groups, such as the Jewish community. Based on those few studies, it appears that ethnic identity may impact Jews differently than other ethnic groups, including White Americans. Ponterotto et al. (2003) found significant differences related to ethnic identity within White ethnicities (e.g., Jewish, Italian, and Irish). Irish Americans scored the lowest on ethnic identity; Jewish Americans scored the highest on ethnic identity (Ponterotto et al., 2003). Additionally, Kahn and Aronson (2012) found that Jews and African Americans exhibited similar patterns of ethnic identity and centrality. More specifically, the identity profiles of Jewish participants revealed that Jewish identity tended to be viewed as important (high centrality) and that like African Americans, Jewish participants perceived their ethnic group as being viewed unfavorably by non-Jews (low public regard; Kahn & Aronson, 2012). More recently, Weisskirch et al. (2016) provided further evidence that substantial differences exist

among Jews, visible minorities, and the White majority. For instance, American Jews scored higher on ethnic identity than other White Americans; however, their scores were not as high as those of African Americans, but higher than those of Asian Americans (Weisskirch et al., 2016).

Other researchers (e.g., Syed & Juang, 2014; Weisskirch et al., 2016) have reported that there seems to be a relationship between perceived discrimination and depressive symptoms for ethnic minorities. What distinguishes the study by Weisskirch et al. (2016) is the inclusion of Jews as a minority. Weisskirch et al. (2016) suggest that there is a relationship between perceived discrimination and depressive symptoms for Jews, and that ethnic identity appears to moderate this relationship. However, for the Jewish participants, a strong Jewish identity seemed to strengthen the relationship between depressive symptoms and exposure to discrimination, while for other ethnic minorities the reverse appeared to be true (Weisskirch et al., 2016). Therefore, more research on Jewish identity and its relationship to antisemitism may be necessary to better understand this difference between Jewish identity and other minority identities.

Fernando (2012) and Dubow et al. (2000), on the other hand, reported that for Jews, ethnic identity appears to function as a buffer against antisemitism and is, therefore, important for their psychological well-being. Dubow et al. (2000) suggested that ethnic identity might be a valuable coping resource for Jews. Fernando (1975, as cited in Fernando, 2012) found evidence that a strong Jewish identity served as a protective psychological factor for depression and that ethnic identity did not have the same protective impact for depression on individuals who were not exposed to racism. This may mean that ethnic identity becomes more salient for individuals who experience some form of oppression due to their cultural background. Consequently, Jewish individuals who experience antisemitism may report a stronger Jewish identity and may

view their ethno-religious identity as more relevant than individuals who have not been exposed to antisemitism. Therefore, more research will be necessary to find out if there is a relationship between Jewish identity and exposure to antisemitism.

It appears that Jews retain their ethnic distinction despite having the ability to blend in with the White majority (Weisskirch et al., 2016). This is also in line with Langman's (1999) research, who reported that Jews tend to think of themselves as Jews and not necessarily as part of the White American majority. Midlarsky, Pirutinsky, and Cohen (2012) found that attitudes towards psychotherapy provided evidence that there are significant differences between White Americans and American Jews, which led them to conclude there is a need for greater cultural differentiation. Midlarsky et al. (2012) further suggested that previous differences in help-seeking attitudes of White and Black Americans reported by researchers may be partial because Jewish individuals were included in the White sample. Consequently, ethnic identity seems to play a vital role also for individuals or groups who can pass as White, such as the Jewish community. At the same time, maybe because of their unique position (being able to pass as White while being a distinct minority facing discrimination), Jewish identity is not only different from other White American identities, but also different compared to visible minorities in the U.S. and seems to impact the perceived health of Jews (Pearson & Geronimus, 2011). Fernando (2012), Midlarsky et al. (2012), and Weisskirch et al. (2016) suggested that a closer look at Jewish identity and the impact of discrimination is necessary.

Having a closer look at Jewish identity seems to be especially indicated when considering the historical context and the status of Jews throughout European history. After all, “similarity of skin color does not equal similarity of cultures” (Langman, 1998, p. 207). Not addressing culture and context of a construct such as ethnic identity is problematic, as it may lead to

overlooking significant aspects that impact ethnic identity development (Galliher et al., 2017). Moreover, as seen in the case of Jewish identity, it leads to overlooking meaningful differences between ethnic groups and does not allow one to fully understand Jewish identity and how experiences with antisemitism impact it.

Jewish Denominations

There are many different ways Jewish individuals may express their Jewish identity. One way is through membership with a synagogue and affiliation with a particular stream of Judaism. In the U.S., there are three major Jewish denominations: Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform. In chapter one, I presented these three based on their level of religious observance, from most observant (Orthodox) to least observant (Reform). In this section, I will present the denominations based on their time of development and their historical roots to orient the reader to understand how the different streams have influenced each other. Thus, the order in which I will describe the beginnings of the movements will be: 1) Reform Judaism, 2) Orthodox Judaism, and 3) Conservative Judaism.

Throughout most of European history, the Jewish population was viewed as separate and foreign (Langman, 1998). Jews tended to live in ghettos, did not have citizenship in their country of residence, and faced political and societal restrictions (Blau, 1966). This changed in 1791, after the French Revolution when Jews living in France were granted full citizenship for the first time. By the end of the 1870s, Jews living in countries such as Germany and the Netherlands received full citizenship and were no longer limited in their occupational choices nor were they bound to live in specific quarters (Blau, 1966). This newly found freedom and the overall secularization during the enlightenment also impacted Jewish life and religious practices. One aspect that made it possible for Judaism and the Jewish people to survive without a

homeland was the unity of the Jewish people due to their limited opportunities in Europe. When these limitations fell away, Jews sought out new ways to retain their Jewish identity. According to Blau (1966), the Jews in Europe dealt with this issue through the development of new religious philosophies and changes in practice. The development of the Reform, Orthodox, and Conservative movements, therefore, need to be understood as a reaction to the political and social changes in Europe and the U.S. in the past. However, it is important to note that these movements are all part of one Judaism, unlike Catholicism or Protestantism, which are separate forms of Christianity (Blau, 1966).

Reform Judaism

The secularization of the European societies during the period of enlightenment, as well as the emancipation of the Jews, had a profound impact on Jewish life. As a result, some Jews attempted to Europeanize the synagogue services by reducing Middle Eastern influences, the length of services, introducing new music and choral singing accompanied by an organ, and conducting services in the local language (Blau, 1966). Men and women were now allowed to sit together during services. Rituals and practices that appeared to conflict with rationalist thinking were eliminated. According to Popkin (2015), in the past, the Reform movement´s goal was to modernize Judaism to support acculturation and full integration of Jews into the non-Jewish society. Reform Judaism introduced a new view on Jewish identity by shifting it from a national and religious identity to a primarily religious identity (Philipson, 1907). Jewish immigrants from Europe have influenced the Reform movement in the U.S. In the 1850s, rabbis from Germany led many synagogues in the U.S. (Blau, 1966). However, this is no longer the case. The Reform movement in the U.S. is now more developed than in other Western European countries, including Germany (Blau, 1966; Haaretz, 2013). Today, Reform Judaism has re-

introduced some of the traditional elements. For example, while the movement as a whole continues not to follow kashrut (following kosher dietary laws), more and more members have returned to keeping kosher, and many synagogues have increased the use of Hebrew during services (Langman, 1999).

Orthodox Judaism

The label "Orthodox" was first introduced in Germany (Blau, 1966). The term was used to distinguish more observant forms of Judaism from Reform Judaism (Langman, 1999). However, it is important to recognize that today´s Orthodox Judaism evolved due to its reaction to the changes suggested and implemented by Reform Judaism (Blau, 1966). Orthodox Judaism is an umbrella term for the more traditional expressions of Judaism (Popkin, 2015) and started with the goal to offset the changes introduced by the Reform movement in Germany and other countries in Europe (Blau, 1966). The Orthodox movement in the U.S. started similarly to the Orthodox movement in Germany. The intent was to counteract the changes introduced by the Reform movement. However, while immigrants from Germany profoundly influenced the Reform movement, the Orthodox movement has been affected by immigrants predominantly from Eastern European countries who tended to be Hasidic (a subgroup of ultra-Orthodox Judaism) and thus stricter in their observance of traditional values and rituals (Blau, 1966).

Today, Orthodox groups tend to adhere strictly to halakhah, meaning that they keep kosher and observe Shabbat. Their view of Judaism is that it is more than just a religion as it encompasses all aspects of life, such as family and business practices. Services in Orthodox synagogues are held entirely in Hebrew, women and men are seated separately, and women do not actively participate in religious services. Gender roles within the Orthodox communities tend to be clearly defined and carry great importance not just in religious settings but also in

daily life. The ancient traditions, rituals, and laws continue to be the primary influence in addressing modern life. Jewish men and women who fall under the Orthodox spectrum tend to be readily identifiable from non-Jews due to their clothing (kippah [skullcap], black hat, and tzizit for men; modest dresses or skirts that are at least knee length and tops that cover the elbows and collarbones for women) and in some cases due to their hairstyle (payot for men and a scheitel [wig] or a tichel [head scarf] for married women; Schlosser, 2006). However, not all men who wear a kippah are necessarily Orthodox Jews. Some men in the Conservative movement wear a kippah, and while most Reform Jews usually do not wear kippot unless they are participating in religious services, there are some who similar to Orthodox and Conservative men wear them daily.

Conservative Judaism

Conservative Judaism can be seen as a reaction to both Reform and Orthodox Judaism and began in the U.S. in the 19th century. The idea behind Conservative Judaism was to preserve traditional Judaism while allowing modernization (Langman, 1999). The goal was to mediate between the extreme positions of Reform and Orthodox Judaism and to unify all Jews (Blau, 1966). However, the differences between the movements could not be bridged, and consequently, Conservative Judaism emerged as a third force (Blau, 1966). What set Conservative Judaism apart from both the Reform and Orthodox movements was the emphasis on Jews as a nation. One of the goals of the movement was to strengthen Jewish education including learning Hebrew and maintaining and deepening the connection with Israel (Blau, 1966). Members of the Conservative movement tend to follow halakhah (Jewish law). However, they also embrace secular education. Conservative Jews tend to keep kosher and keep Shabbat. Services in Conservative synagogues are usually in Hebrew, similar to an Orthodox

shul (Orthodox Jews tend to use the Yiddish term for synagogue). However, men and women are seated together during services, which the Conservative movement has in common with the Reform movement. Similar to the Orthodox movement Conservative Judaism recognizes only children of matrilineal descent as Jewish while Reform Judaism acknowledges patrilineal Jewish descent as well (Popkin, 2015). In general, Conservative Judaism tends to take the middle position between Orthodox and Reform Judaism. It neither strictly holds the traditional views and practices like Orthodoxy nor does it have greater flexibility in observing halakhah like the Reform movement. Instead, Conservative Judaism allows changes based on a reinterpretation of halakhah that is more consistent with today's situation and living conditions of Jews in the U.S. (Langman, 1999).

Jewish Religious Denominations and Identity

The development of a Jewish identity and its importance is different for each Jew. Its strength depends on both cultural and religious aspects (Friedman et al., 2005). One of these aspects is Jewish denomination. Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Judaism are three of the main movements in the U.S. that distinguish themselves from each other in the interpretation of the scriptures as well as the observance of daily religious rituals and cultural practices. Some researchers have looked at the relationship between the denomination and Jewish identity and have found significant differences between members of these three groups concerning the strengths of Jewish identity. According to Friedlander et al. (2010), the differences of strengths of Jewish identity are related to the religious affiliation of the individual Jew. Orthodox Jews scored significantly higher on a measure of Jewish identity compared to all other denominations (Friedlander et al., 2010). Conservative Jews scored higher on Jewish identity than Reform Jews, and Reform Jews tended to score higher on Jewish identity than unaffiliated Jews

(Friedlander et al., 2010). Friedman et al. (2005) also noted similar differences related to the strengths of an American identity versus Jewish identity in the Jewish community. It appears that the stronger the Jewish identity is, the more likely individuals view themselves as bicultural (Friedman et al., 2005). Additionally, they found that for Orthodox Jews, Jewish identity appeared to be more relevant than American identity, while for non-affiliated or secular Jews the opposite was true (Friedman et al., 2005).

Differences in observance among Jews also played a role for some Jewish individuals (Altman et al., 2010). There is evidence that Conservative participants tended to feel judged by more observant Jews (Orthodox Jews) while at the same time feeling frustrated with less observant or less knowledgeable individuals (Altman et al., 2010). It appears that the membership or lack of membership in one of the major denominations not only influences the strengths of identity but also how Jews feel when interacting with Jews of a different denomination and level of observance.

Denomination also appears to influence how Jews cope with struggles connected to spirituality. It appears that spiritual struggles relate to lower levels of health and higher levels of anxiety for many religious groups (Krumrei, Pirutinsky, & Rosmarin, 2013). However, Orthodox Jews or more observant Jews are impacted by spiritual struggles to a lesser degree than Reform or Conservative Jews or Christians, Muslims, and Hindus (Rosmarin, Pargament, & Flannelly, 2009). More specifically, “at the highest levels of spiritual struggle, measures of physical and mental health increased among Orthodox Jews, whereas they continued to decrease among non-Orthodox Jews” (Rosmarin et al., 2009, p. 254). This follows that concluding how religion and spirituality relate to health in one religious group based on a study with another is problematic (Rosmarin et al., 2009). Even within Judaism, there seem to be significant

differences that need to be considered (Krumrei et al., 2013). This is also in line with Rosmarin, Pirutinsky, Pargament, and Krumrei's (2009) finding that trust in G-d positively influences the level of health for Orthodox Jews, but not for Reform or Conservative Jews. Krumrei et al. (2013) did not find evidence that significant differences between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews exist regarding spirituality, depression, and overall health. It seems that more research is warranted to further explore the differences between Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Jews related to spirituality and religious identity.

Besides the differences among the Jewish denominations related to spirituality and overall health, there is some evidence that the Orthodox community, like other minority groups and unlike non-Orthodox Jews, tends to underutilize mental health services (Langman, 1997; Milevsky & Eisenberg, 2012). In general, the Jewish population appears to display different mental health-seeking attitudes and more openness towards the utilization of psychotherapy than African Americans and White Americans (Midlarsky et al., 2012). This may be because psychotherapy grew out of Jewish culture and thus is more compatible with psychotherapy than any other culture (Langman, 1997). According to Langman (1997), it is no coincidence that nearly all early members of psychoanalysis were Jewish. Nonetheless, Orthodox Jews tend to view mental health professionals with suspicion (Milevsky & Eisenberg, 2012). According to Milevsky and Eisenberg (2012) there are many reasons for this suspicion: Orthodox Jews may fear that their values and religious beliefs will not be respected (Milevsky & Eisenberg, 2012). Orthodox communities tend to stigmatize individuals who are receiving mental health counseling services, which in turn could impact the individual’s opportunities to find a marriage partner (Milevsky & Eisenberg, 2012). The Orthodox community tends to be close-knit, which makes it difficult to keep the usage of mental health services a secret (Milevsky & Eisenberg, 2012).

Some Orthodox Jews, especially those with a strong commitment to religious practices, tend to be suspicious of outsiders due to centuries of persecution and pogroms (Schnall, 2006). Concerns about interactions with members of the opposite sex, which tends to be prohibited in many Orthodox traditions, may be another reason to avoid seeking professional help (Schnall, 2006). Additionally, Orthodox Jews tend to seek out the support of a rabbi when experiencing social or emotional struggles (Schnall, 2006). Thus, while there is an excellent chance that Jewish individuals will seek counseling services to cope with mental health issues, professional counselors, as well as counselor educators, need to keep in mind that differences between Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Jews exist that may need to be addressed in counseling sessions.

Antisemitism

In addition to the differences between the Jewish movements, professional counselors also need to keep in mind that there are many different ways in which individuals with prejudice towards Jews may express their antisemitic beliefs or feelings. This is partially due to the long history of hatred towards Jews, as well as societal changes that have impacted conceptualizations of discrimination (religious, ethnic, political) and its societal acceptance (Wistrich, 1991). In this section, I will briefly discuss the origin and meaning of the term antisemitism. This section will then continue with a description of the different types of antisemitism and an overview of the history of the persecution of Jews. I then will provide current definitions of antisemitism and end the section with information regarding current antisemitic hate crime statistics.

Contemporary Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism

According to Wistrich (1991, 2013), Joseph Marr coined the term *antisemitism* with the intention to replace the unscientific sounding word Judenhaß (hatred of Jews) with a more

scientific name. With the beginning of the enlightenment in Europe in the 18th century, religious discrimination started to be considered old-fashioned and backward (Wistrich, 1991). Thus, a new term was needed, a term that would allow describing the non-religious hatred of Jews in a more sophisticated manner.

> It was racial rather than religious – Semites being a 19th- century classification for the people from the Middle East – and therefore more respectable to many contemporaries. It often went together with the emphasis on the "Aryan" (Nordic/Germanic) character and alleged superiority of European civilization (Wistrich, 2013, p. 31).

According to Wistrich (1991), however, the term *antisemitism* is somewhat problematic and illogical. The word "Semite" refers to Jews and Arabs, but the term antisemitism does not describe the hatred of both Jews and Arabs, as one would expect — only the hatred of Jews. Wistrich (1991) further contended that the term distinguishes Jews from the majority of non-Jews. Simply put, it replaced the original religious distinction between Christians and Jews with a new distinction based on race.

Today, the term antisemitism is used to describe a variety of antisemitic expressions and behaviors. According to Marcus (2015), the way antisemitism is expressed depends on the needs of the individual. Antisemitism is sometimes defined as racial prejudice, religious bigotry, or ethnic bias. Beck (1989) divided antisemitism into seven different forms: 1) Religious, 2) Social, 3) Political, 4) Economic, 5) Psychological, 6) Sexual, and 7) Racial. Religious antisemitism refers to Christian beliefs and attitudes towards Jews such as denouncing Jews as "Christ-killers" (Langman, 1999). Examples of social antisemitism are occupational restrictions Jews faced throughout their history or quotas imposed by colleges to limit Jews from getting into

college programs. Beck (1989) defined political antisemitism as blaming Jews for Communism or Capitalism, while economic antisemitism refers to ideas that Jews control the banks and that Jews are money-grubbing penny-pinchers. Psychological antisemitism refers to Jews being used as placeholders for the fears of non-Jews. Jews can be denounced for assimilating and leaving their culture behind and at the same time for wanting to take over the world. One example of sexual antisemitism is the idea of the Jewish American Princess (JAP), which suggests that Jewish women are spoiled and demanding (Langman, 1999). Racial antisemitism describes Jews as a separate, inferior race. These examples show the full range of beliefs, attitudes, and conspiracy theories Jews had to endure at different times in their history.

History of Antisemitism

The beginning of antisemitism can be traced back to pre-Christian times. During the Hellenistic period (323 BCE – 31 CE), the Jewish people were a minority in a pagan world (Wistrich, 1991). Their monotheistic belief system, their dietary laws, and the observance of Shabbat set the Jewish people apart from the pagan majority. Overall, attacks against Jews were sporadic during the Hellenistic period. However, this changed with the establishment of Christianity (Mohl, 2011).

To understand Christianity´s role in the defamation of the Jewish people and Judaism, it is necessary to briefly introduce the roots of Christianity. Christianity developed out of Judaism. The first "Christians" were not Christians, but Jews. They followed the same laws and rituals as the broader Jewish community. The only aspect that distinguished these Jews from the community was their membership in a Jewish sect (Mohl, 2011). According to Wistrich (1991), it is due to this early connection that the negation of Judaism became a central motif in Christianity. The repudiation of Judaism was a vital aspect in the formation of a Christian

identity, as was the belief that Christianity supersedes Judaism (Wistrich, 1991). In other words, the Christian communities thought that Judaism was no longer needed as the Christian tenets replaced the older Jewish belief system.

During the early centuries (33-324 CE) of Christianity, the denunciation of the Jewish people focused on their treatment of Jesus (Langman, 1999). Christians accused Jews of the murder of their Christian god (Langman, 1999; Mohl, 2011). The stereotype of Jews as Christ-killers and worshippers of the devil continued to be reinforced during the period of the Crusades (1095 – 1291 CE), where Jews were massacred because of the existing stereotypes (Langman, 1999; Mohl, 2011). As Christianity continued to develop and spread throughout Europe new accusations against the Jews were added. By the 12th century, the Jewish people were believed to poison wells, to have special powers, and to commit ritual murders (Mohl, 2011; Wistrich, 1991). During the middle ages (476 – 1492 CE), Christians accused Jews of the Black Death, and it was believed that Jews intended to destroy Christianity and thus all Christians (Langman, 1999). According to Mohl (2011), this led to drastic measures against the Jewish communities. Jews were segregated and were forced to live in ghettos. They were excluded from some professions (agriculture and commerce) and were pushed to occupations such as collecting taxes and money lending (Mohl, 2011). This is how the new stereotype of Jews as greedy money-lenders was formed as well as the Jewish plot for world domination (Langman, 1999; Mohl, 2011).

The Reformation (1517 – 1648 CE) did not bring about new stereotypes. However, it reinforced the existing stereotypes. When Martin Luther proposed his 95 theses, he expected that Jews would follow his movement and convert. When this did not happen, he reacted with rage and encouraged Protestants (members of his movement) to use violence against Jews (e.g.,

burn down their synagogues, physical assaults; Langman, 1999). Martin Luther and the Reformation played an active part in intensifying the already existing negative attitudes towards Jews.

With the beginning of the period of Enlightenment (1685-1815 CE), the expression of anti-Jewish attitudes changed. For the first time, Jews were emancipated and were able to move out of ghettos, freely choose their profession, and participated on a political level (Langman, 1999). As the importance of religion waned, the focus on religiously motivated antisemitism diminished as well (Langman, 1999). Enlightened Europeans no longer believed in the idea of salvation, which had made the conversion of Jews a critical aspect of the Christian belief system (Wistrich, 1991). Christian institutions gave Jews who converted to Christianity a way out, as their conversion, in the eyes of the church, meant their salvation (Wistrich, 1991). With the Enlightenment and the secularization of Europe, more and more intellectuals rejected Christianity, but they retained the Christian dislike of Judaism (Langman, 1999). Enlightened Europeans did not want to be viewed as "backward Jew-haters" who were influenced by pre-scientific religious beliefs, and thus a new term was needed. The pseudo-scientific term antisemitism provided cover for their resentments towards Jews. Consequently, religious prejudice turned into racial prejudice (Wistrich, 2013). According to Wistrich (2013), redefining Jews as a race allowed non-Jews to characterize the Jewish community in negative terms, without the need to reference religion, while at the same time, sounding more scientific.

> The Nazis took over all the negative anti-Jewish stereotypes in Christianity but removed the escape clause. There was no longer any way in which even fully assimilated or baptized Jews could flee from the sentence of death which had been passed by inexorable laws of race (Wistrich, 1991, p. xxii).

Under the Nazi regime (1933-1945 CE), the Jews lost their rights as citizens. The Nuremberg Laws from 1935 outlawed marriages between Germans and Jews to protect the purity of German blood. In Hitler´s view, Jews were dangerous for multiple reasons: Jews were regarded as alien to Germany, they were regarded as racially inferior, while at the same time having the intelligence to plot against the Germans, and possibly overthrow the Nazi regime (Mohl, 2011). Bronner (2000) contended that Jews were seen as pulling strings and dominating society in the background and, therefore, being responsible for any catastrophe. Jews were hated for keeping to themselves and following their religious tradition while being met with suspicion because of their involvement in society (Bronner, 2000). According to Langman (1999), this led to a paradoxical twist in which Jews were being accused of both being "clannish and sticking together as well as being intrusive, eager to assimilate" (p. 110). For the Nazis, the only solution to this dilemma was the Endlösung (final solution), which culminated in the Shoah (Hebrew term for the massacre of Jews during Nazi Germany), the murder of 6,000,000 Jews.

Although most historic tragedies, such as pogroms and expulsions, may have taken place in Europe and the Mediterranean area, antisemitism has been an issue also in the U.S. According to Wertheimer (1995), the expression of antisemitism in the U.S. differed from its counterpart in Europe. The first settlers (1607 CE) brought their beliefs and prejudice about Jews with them when they arrived in the new world. Discriminatory laws that would make it illegal for Jews to own land or carry guns were not unusual. In some of the colonies, Jews did not have voting rights and were not allowed to practice law (Langman, 1999). Wertheimer (1995) further contended that Jews were not allowed to worship in public; however, the hostility towards Jews was moderated by the lack of clear laws in the American colonies. Additionally, the existence of other minorities that were more despised, as well as the presence of a variety of nations and

people with different religious backgrounds, tempered antisemitism (Wertheimer, 1995). According to Winston (1998), antisemitism was widespread in the U.S. in the early 1900s. This is also in line with Wertheimer (1995), who stated that most historians place the eruption of Jew-hatred in the American post-Civil War era. Discriminatory hiring and rental practices were not uncommon during this period.

Antisemitism continued to rise in the 1930s and during World War II (Winston, 1998). Jews were banned from certain neighborhoods, and universities had quotas in place that limited the enrollment of Jewish students (Langman, 1999). While Jews in the U.S. (Wertheimer, 1995) were not massacred like in Europe, physical assaults on Jews did exist (Langman, 1999). The lynching of Leo Frank in 1915 is one of the better-known examples. Jews experienced physical attacks also in the 1930s to the 1960s as well as vandalism of synagogues (Langman, 1999).

Antisemitism Today

Available hate crime statistics suggest that antisemitism continues to be an issue in the U.S. Hate crime statistics presented by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015) show that Jews have been and continue to be one of the most targeted communities in the U.S. Hate crime incidents against the Jewish community have ranged from physical assaults to vandalism to attacks on Jewish institutions (FBI, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015). Current statistics show that antisemitic incidents have continued to rise from 1,267 in 2016 to 1,986 in 2017; this number represents a 57% increase (ADL, 2018). College campuses and K-12 schools also have reported an increase in antisemitic incidents. According to the ADL (2018), incidences in educational settings have nearly doubled from 2016 to 2017.

Based on the available data, it is safe to say that antisemitism is a serious issue in the U.S., especially when considering that hate crimes of any type are generally underreported

(ADL, 2016). What we still do not know, however, is the motivation for antisemitic hate crimes (religious, ethnic, or political reasons). We also do not know if and how Jews have been impacted by the increase of incidents and what their thoughts and experiences have been. More research will be necessary to get a better understanding of the relationship between antisemitic incidents and Jewish identity. Studying the relationship between antisemitism and Jewish identity will give professional counselors a better understanding of how antisemitism impacts Jewish individuals and will allow them to offer Jewish clients culturally sensitive and appropriate services.

Anti-Zionism

In the past, antisemitism has been defined primarily as prejudice towards Jews based on religious and ethnic aspects (Wistrich, 2013). However, since the re-creation of Israel in 1948, antisemitism has also been expressed through anti-Zionism, denying Israel´s right to exist (Judaken, 2008).

Zionism is often described as an effort of national self-liberation of the Jewish people (Herman, 1989). However, according to Herman (1989), Zionism is more than the affirmation of Jewish peoplehood. It encompasses the dream of returning "to live as a free people in the Land of Zion, and in Jerusalem" (Zafer-Smith, 2003, p. 110). "The essence of the Zionist credo is that Jews themselves can and should control their destiny" (Herman, 1989, p. 125). In other words, Zionism is the idea that Jews, like other nations, should have the right to self-determination in their own country.

Anti-Zionism refers to the hostility towards a Jewish national identity by focusing on Israel and is a form of antisemitism (Zafer-Smith, 2003). The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2017) defined anti-Zionism as a form of antisemitism based on the

following examples: 1) it denies the Jewish people their right to self-determination, 2) it applies double standards on Israel, which are not requested from any other state, 3) it uses images or symbols associated with classic antisemitism (blood libel), 4) it compares Israeli policies with Nazi policies, and 5) it claims that Jews are collectively responsible for the policies and actions of the State of Israel. Thus, anti-Zionism can be distinguished from legitimate criticism of Israel.

Anti-Zionism is not a new phenomenon. Judaken (2008) argued that many of the following examples reach back to the Shoah if not beyond: Holocaust denial, antisemitism on the extreme left, antisemitism in the Islamic world, as well as anti-Zionism as antisemitism, including anti-racism as antisemitism. Even international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) have displayed anti-Zionist/antisemitic tendencies (Judaken, 2008; Zafer-Smith, 2003). For instance, in 1976 the UN condemned Zionism as racism. The UN resolution reinterpreted and treated Zionism as if it was a synonym for Nazism, racism, and colonialism (Judaken, 2008). It took the UN 15 years to rescind this resolution (Zafer-Smith, 2003). Another example of anti-Zionism and anti-racism as antisemitism is the boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaign. The BDS movement is an organized effort to disrupt Israel´s economy and seeks to harm individuals or companies that trade with or in Israel (Goldfeder, 2018). The movement tends to target Jews or Jewish businesses and has been related to the recent resurgence of antisemitism (Goldfeder, 2018). According to Sheskin and Felson (2016), BDS has supported the introduction of language equating Zionism with racism, while at the same time opposing the definition of antisemitism as a form of racism.

Weinstein and Jackson (2010) suggested that to many it is socially acceptable to express antisemitic feelings by targeting Israel. This does not mean that religiously and racially based hatred of Jews no longer exists as evidenced by the neo-Nazi march in Charlottesville, Virginia

in 2017, the shooting at a synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 2018 and the shooting at a kosher supermarket in Jersey City, New Jersey in 2019. It just may show that in today´s society, displaying open prejudice based on ethnicity or religion is viewed as objectionable (Wasserstein, 2015), while anti-Israeli sentiments can be masked as anti-racist, and thus appear to be more acceptable (Judaken, 2008; Rossman-Benjamin, 2012).

Kaplan and Small (2006) provided some evidence that anti-Israeli sentiments predict antisemitic prejudice in individuals. It appears that the stronger the anti-Israeli attitudes are, the more likely it is that an individual also holds antisemitic beliefs (Kaplan & Small, 2006). This is also in line with Weinstein and Jackson (2010) who contended that anti-Zionist attitudes and antisemitism on college campuses are significantly correlated. Similarly, Cohen, Jussim, Harber, and Bhasin (2009) found that there seems to be a connection between antisemitism and anti-Israeli attitudes. They reported: "Although people can condemn Israeli actions without being antisemitic, our research has shown that hostility toward Israel may serve as a cover for anti-Semitism and, at the same time, feed back and strengthen anti-Semitism" (Cohen et al., 2009, p. 304).

More research is necessary to better understand the relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism. Specifically, more research is needed to get a better understanding of whether anti-Zionism impacts Jewish individuals, and if so to what extent, compared to religious and ethnic discrimination. Based on my comprehensive review of textbooks it appears that anti-Zionism is currently not addressed in textbooks related to multiculturalism. In addition, I was not able to find any research exploring or analyzing the impact of anti-Zionism on the overall well-being of Jews. Consequently, counselor educators and professional counselors may not know that anti-Zionism is a form of antisemitism, and thus they may neglect to teach about it in

classes or address it in counseling sessions. This may be especially true in cases where counseling professionals hold negative beliefs about Zionism and lack awareness of their bias towards the State of Israel. This lack of awareness may be problematic and could lead to therapeutic issues and inadvertently harm Jewish clients.

Expressions of Antisemitism

Today antisemitism continues to be a global phenomenon. The expression of hatred against Jews has morphed over the last two thousand years from a religiously, ethnic-based hatred to hostility towards the state of Israel (Wasserstein, 2015). Writings describing the various forms of antisemitism (religious, ethnic, and political) exist. FBI and ADL statistics show the development of antisemitism in the U.S.; however, these statistics do not allow discerning between types of antisemitism, or how Jewish individuals perceive the antisemitic incidents. In the following section I will provide information as to how Jews are impacted by antisemitism.

Antisemitism and its Impact on Mental Health

Most research on the effects of racism or ethno-violence focus on the African-American, Asian American, and Latino communities. It is believed that experiences with ethno-violence impact people of color but not White individuals (Nadal, Griffin, Wong, Hamit, & Rasmus, 2014; Phinney, 1996). However, experiences with discrimination because of the minority status are not uncommon for Jews (Friedlander et al., 2010).

A study by Altman et al. (2010) confirmed that Jews are confronted with discrimination and that many Jews feel like a minority due to marginalization. Participants reported being impacted by microaggressions (stereotypes, devaluing of Jewish issues), anti-Israel demonstrations, and worldwide antisemitism (Altman et al., 2010). Research on antisemitism

suggests that at some point in time all Jews experience antisemitism; however, they may not necessarily be aware of it (Gold, 2004; Macdonald-Dennis, 2006). Gold (2004) reported that when asking Jewish women in general about experiences with antisemitism some women were not able to recall any antisemitic incidents in their lives. However, when questions were more specific (e.g., asking about stereotypes or jokes about Jews), it turned out that even women who denied experiences with antisemitism had actually experienced it (Gold, 2004).

According to Beck (1991), Langman (1995), and Macdonald-Dennis (2006), many Jews do not think of their experiences with antisemitism as an issue because non-Jews tend to invalidate the importance of antisemitism. This invalidation is problematic, as research has provided evidence that the psychological impact of antisemitism has a significant negative impact on women´s mental health (Gold, 2004). Results of a study by Gold (2004) about the intersection of sexism and antisemitism indicate that even though Jewish women are exposed more often to sexism than to antisemitism, the latter is more significantly related to depression. This is also in line with research by Loewenthal (2012), who reported that antisemitism is a risk factor for depression in both Jewish men and women. In general, Jews tend to be more vulnerable to mental health issues than people belonging to the majority population due to cultural insensitivity and discrimination by non-Jews (Loewenthal, 2012). Ullmann et al. (2013) came to similar conclusions: they found that third generation Jewish migrants from the post-Soviet Union to Germany were more prone to depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic problems than the German control group. According to Herman (1989), it is not possible to understand Jewish identity without considering the impact of the memory of the Shoah. There is evidence that transgenerational passing of psychological trauma as well as current experiences with antisemitism are significant factors that contribute to overall health issues (Ullmann et al., 2013).

The Shoah is not the only historical event that plays a role in the development of a Jewish identity. The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 is another historical event of importance (Herman, 1989). For many Jews, the connection to Israel is an important aspect of their identity (Friedman et al., 2005; Herman, 1989). Thus, it is not surprising that the resurgence of antisemitism on college campuses related to anti-Zionism needs to be addressed (Marcus, 2007). There is some evidence that many of the antisemitic occurrences on campuses are indeed related to anti-Zionism. Jewish students at a number of American colleges (e.g., San Francisco State University, Columbia University, University of California at Irvine, University of California) have been harassed, intimidated (e.g., "Get out or we will kill you"), and insulted (e.g., "Hitler did not finish the job") by fellow students and professors (Marcus, 2007, p. 207). Some Jewish students have reported feeling "intellectually and emotionally threatened" and having experienced violence (Rossman-Benjamin, 2012, p. 489). There have been a few cases where Jewish students decided to leave their university because they perceived the campus as a hostile environment (Marcus, 2007). Similar incidents have also occurred on campuses in the United Kingdom (Klaff, 2010). All of those incidents appear to have one factor in common: the perpetrators tended to be pro-Palestinian, anti-Zionists, or part of the BDS movement (Fishman, 2012; Klaff, 2010; Marcus, 2007; Rossman-Benjamin, 2012).

What is concerning is not only the open display of antisemitic behavior and thoughts in the name of social justice by some students and faculty but also the fact that in some cases, complaints by Jewish students were not taken seriously (Rossman-Benjamin, 2012). Antisemitic incidents in recent years have continued to rise in educational settings. According to the ADL, antisemitic incidents in schools and campuses have nearly doubled from 2016 to 2017 (ADL, 2018). The numbers presented by ADL paired with the description of incidents on campuses

show that anti-Zionism is a problem and has a negative impact on the well-being of Jewish students. However, the available statistics do not allow understanding to what extent these incidents impact the Jewish community at large. At this point, it is unknown if anti-Zionism is also present in the work environment outside of college campuses. There is no research available that discusses the impact of anti-Zionism on Jewish individuals' mental health and Jewish identity. Research exploring if antisemitic incidents are based on anti-Zionism, ethnic, or religious bias is also rare. Therefore, more research is necessary to get a better understanding of the prevalence of all forms of antisemitism and their impact on Jewish individuals.

Multiculturalism in Counseling

The American Counseling Association (ACA) has adopted a code of ethics that states that ethical and professional counselors will provide culturally sensitive and appropriate counseling services to all clients, independent of their ethnicity (ACA, 2014). The ACA *Code of Ethics* states that professional counselors are responsible for "honoring diversity and embracing a multicultural approach," as well as respecting the "uniqueness of people within their social and cultural context" (ACA, 2014, p. 3). These guidelines are also in line with the Association for Spiritual, Ethical, and Religious Values in Counseling (ASERVIC) competencies and the Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP) standards. These guidelines assert that it is the responsibility of professional counselors to have the necessary knowledge and training to work with clients from diverse backgrounds. Counselor educators and professional counselors are required to demonstrate specific competencies, such as addressing issues around oppression and discrimination, which includes issues around antisemitism. Furthermore, professional counselors are expected to offer appropriate

multicultural services and are expected to be knowledgeable about within-group differences (ACA, 2014; ASERVC, 2009; CACREP, 2016).

More specifically, counselors need to be aware that the Jewish people are a diverse group with diaspora in Eastern Europe (Ashkenazi Jews), Spain and Portugal (Sephardi Jews), and Northern Africa and Western Asia (Mizrachim; Schlosser, Shapiro Safran, Adisy Suson, Dettle, & Dewey, 2013). According to Herman (1989) and Langman (1995), Jews tend to be impacted by the majority culture in which they live. Thus, Ashkenazi Jews, Sephardi Jews, and Mizrachim who migrated to the U.S. may have slightly different cultural practices and worldviews as they have been influenced by Jewish culture as well as the culture from where they immigrated. It is important that professional counselors are mindful of these differences to avoid making false assumptions about their Jewish clients (e.g., expecting Sephardi Jews to understand Yiddish terms). Moreover, all counselors are required to be able to address religious and spiritual issues in a variety of counseling settings (ACA, 2014; ASERVIC, 2009; CACREP, 2016). Many professional counselors and counselor educators may not be able to meet the required standards and provide culturally sensitive services to Jewish individuals, as there is limited research available on Jewish identity and the impact of antisemitism on Jews. Thus, more research is necessary to gain a better understanding and to provide education on how experiences with antisemitism relate to Jewish identity (religious and ethnic) and Jewish denomination.

Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies

According to Ratts, Singh, Nassar McMillan, Butler, and McCullough (2016), the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC) are a multilevel framework that assists professional counselors in implementing multiculturally sensitive counseling services

and interventions in their practice. The MSJCC are divided into four developmental domains: 1) counselor self-awareness, 2) client worldview, 3) counseling relationship, and 4) counseling and advocacy interventions. "Moreover, quadrants are used to highlight the intersection of identities and the dynamics of power, privilege, and oppression that influence the counseling relationship" (Ratts, Singh, & Nassar-McMillan, 2015, p. 3). For example, a professional counselor who comes from a privileged status may be working with a client who also comes from a privileged status, or a counselor from a marginalized background could be working with a client from a privileged status. The MSJCC has been endorsed by the ACA, and therefore, all professional counselors, independent of their privileged or marginalized status, are required to develop the necessary self-awareness to explore their worldview, their assumptions, beliefs, values, and biases, as well as the worldview and beliefs of their clients.

Moreover, all counselors are required to have the necessary knowledge and understanding of their social status and their clients' social status (Ratts et al., 2016). Thus, counselors are required to develop resources or techniques that assist them in becoming aware of their own and their clients' biases or values. Counselors need to acquire knowledge that will provide them with a better understanding of how their own and their clients' privileges or marginalization have presented the counselor and the client with advantages or disadvantage in life (Ratts et al., 2016). Additionally, all counselors are required to learn the skills needed to explain how privilege or marginalization impacts their worldview, as well as the worldview of their clients. Lastly, all professional counselors are required to take action by seeking out professional learning opportunities to gain better critical reflection skills to learn more about themselves and their clients (Ratts et al., 2016). Multiculturally competent professional counselors also acknowledge how their worldview and the worldview of their clients impact the

counseling relationship and the counseling interventions implemented during a counseling session (Ratts et al., 2016).

The Absence of Jewish Studies in Multicultural Studies

The multicultural counseling competencies have been updated over the years to include not only culturally diverse communities, such as African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos, but also other marginalized communities, such as the Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, and Transgender (LGBT) community. Despite this positive development, it appears that the mental health needs of the Jewish community continue to be overlooked in the multicultural counseling literature. Several researchers (e.g., Langman, 1995; Macdonald-Dennis, 2006; Rubin, 2013, 2017; Schnall, 2006) have discussed the trends over the past two decades by which Jewish issues have been excluded in conversations and teachings about multiculturalism. As a result, many in the counseling field appear to lack awareness about the oppression and discrimination Jews experience (Langman, 1999; Macdonald-Dennis, 2006; Rubin, 2017). This is problematic as research has provided evidence that discrimination and microaggressions have a negative impact on the mental health of minorities (Nadal et al., 2014). The marginalization of Jews continues to be an issue in the U.S. (Kressel & Kressel, 2016; Langman, 1995; Schlosser, 2006). The latest hate crime statistics show that antisemitic incidents have been increasing over the last couple of years (ADL, 2017a; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017). For instance, 120 Jewish institutions received bomb threats in 2017, which led to the evacuation of buildings (ADL, 2017b). Individuals who were present when the buildings were evacuated may seek counseling to cope with the traumatic experience. They may also prompt individuals to reflect on their Jewish identity and what it means to be a Jew. Similarly, witnesses of the Neo-Nazi rally in

Charlottesville, Virginia and other recent incidents may have been impacted negatively by the event and may seek counseling to address the traumatic experience.

The lack of inclusion in the multicultural counseling field may be a sign that professional counselors and counselor educators today continue to be insufficiently educated on antisemitism, Jewish identity, and Jewish diversity, and the relationship between these three factors. Thus, research is necessary to provide counselor educators and professional counselors with more and better information about the oppression of Jews, antisemitism, and Jewish identity and why it is crucial that antisemitism and other Jewish issues need to be included in the multicultural literature.

Theoretical Framework

As introduced in chapter one, this research study was based on Herman´s theory of Jewish identity as well as existential counseling theory. Herman´s theory focuses on the various factors (e.g., religion, culture, Israel) that impact Jewish identity (Herman, 1989), while existential counseling addresses the difficulties and dilemmas of the human condition (Deurzen, 2002). This section presents the basic tenets of each theory and explains how they were integrated into this study.

Existential Counseling

Existential theory, unlike most other counseling theories (e.g., psychoanalysis, person-centered theory), was not founded by one person and is not an independent school of therapy (Corey, 2017). Existential theory is often described as a philosophical approach to counseling as it is heavily influenced by the writings of philosophers such as Søren Kierkegaard, Friedrich Nietzsche, Jean Paul-Sartre, and Martin Buber (Corey, 2017). According to Deurzen (2002),

existentialism aims to assist people to come to terms with the "unavoidable paradoxes that life presents and to gain strength from that knowledge" (p. xiv).

According to Yalom (1980), all human beings are confronted with what he calls the four ultimate concerns: 1) freedom, 2) isolation, 3) meaninglessness, and 4) death. *Freedom* refers to the idea that human beings have a free will and are free to choose among alternatives. Consequently, individuals are responsible for their actions. "Responsibility is inextricably linked to freedom because we are responsible for the sense we make of our world and for all of our actions and our failures to act" (Wedding & Corsini, 2014, p. 267). According to Frankl (1988), human beings are free to make choices even under the most constricting and terrible living conditions. Freedom does not mean that individuals are free from conditions, but that individuals are free to do things even under the worst situations, such as choosing how to face adversity (Frankl, 1988). For Jewish individuals, freedom and responsibility may be related to the ability to choose their religious affiliation and decide to what extent they would like to adhere to religious practices and rituals and interact with other Jews and non-Jews. Freedom and responsibility can also be connected to experiences with any form of antisemitism. Freedom implies that it is up to the individual Jew to decide how to face discrimination and oppression.

Isolation refers to experiences of aloneness. "Existential isolation refers to an unbridgeable gulf between oneself and any other being" (Yalom, 1980, p. 355). We experience isolation when we realize that no matter how close we feel to other human beings, in the end, we have to make our own decision, we alone are responsible for finding meaning in life, and we alone can decide how we want to live (Corey, 2017). Encounters with other humans can temper the feeling of loneliness; however, it cannot eradicate it (Yalom, 1980). According to Yalom (1980), isolation cannot be tolerated for long by most individuals. Thus, unconscious defenses

are working without respite to deny isolation (Yalom, 1980). Relationships with other human beings like oneself or with a divine being tend to be helpful in buttressing against feelings of isolation (Yalom, 1980). For Jewish clients, isolation may be connected to experiences with antisemitism, as these experiences may heighten the awareness of being excluded from the majority culture. In order to protect themselves from feeling alone and isolated, some Jews may turn to their Jewish community to find respite or may deepen their connection to G-d by focusing on religious aspects of Judaism.

Meaninglessness refers to the idea that life does not have an inherent meaning (Sommers-Flanagan & Sommers-Flanagan, 2017). Meaninglessness can lead to an existential vacuum – a feeling of emptiness and boredom, which may cause some people to withdraw and cease to engage in activities (Corey, 2017). According to Frankl (1988), all individuals are unique and have to discover their unique meaning. Meaning can be found by doing a good deed, by creating or experiencing something or someone (e.g., writing a book, watching the sunset), or by taking a stand in a difficult situation, "a stand which allows for transmuting their predicament into achievement, triumph, and heroism" (Frankl, 1988, p. 70). Only by confronting life in its totality, including pain, guilt, and death can individuals deal effectively with despair and turn it into a triumph or meaningful experience (Corey, 2017).

According to Prell (2000), developing a Jewish identity is meaningful in itself, as it tends to be chosen by the individual Jew. However, some Jewish individuals may experience meaninglessness due to their Jewish identity (e.g., when facing discrimination or reminded of the Shoah). In those situations, existential counseling can be especially helpful as it assists clients to shift their focus from what is not working to what options are still available. Frankl´s personal life experiences may serve as a testimony as to how suffering and tragedy can be turned into a

triumph. He was a survivor of Auschwitz concentration camp and found meaning in his experience by writing about it and by sharing with others what he observed in the concentration camps (Frankl, 2008). It is because of his experiences in the death camps that he realized that even under the worst living conditions finding meaning is possible.

Death is probably the ultimate concern that is the most anxiety provoking. Yalom (2008) compares the awareness of death with staring at the sun. We can look at the sun only for a short period before we have to look away (Yalom, 2008). In existential counseling, the awareness of death is what makes life significant. Death is not viewed negatively. Instead, death is viewed as a motivator to live life to the fullest and to take advantage of every moment while we are alive (Corey, 2017).

Besides the four ultimate concerns, existential counseling theory recognizes four private worlds through which we experience our lives (Sommers-Flanagan & Sommers-Flanagan, 2017): 1) Umwelt, 2) Mitwelt, 3) Eigenwelt, and 4) Überwelt. These four worlds are experienced simultaneously; however, the focus may change.

The *Umwelt* refers to the individual´s physical world, the environment in which we live. It describes the biological dimension and includes awareness of the body, physical sensations, and attitudes towards food, sex, objects, and surroundings (Deurzen, 2002). According to Deurzen (2002), disturbances in the physical world tend to be relevant and should be explored as it may provide valuable information about the individual's reality. When working with Jewish clients, professional counselors may want to become familiar with the client´s setting where the client lives (e.g., area with many Jewish neighbors with access to kosher food, a non-Jewish area with limited access to a Jewish community) and how this impacts the client's well-being.

The *Mitwelt* refers to the individual´s public world and addresses interpersonal

interactions and relationships with other individuals (Deurzen, 2002). The social, political, and cultural environment, such as class, ethnicity, language, cultural history, and family, are aspects of the *Mitwelt* and impact an individual's actions, feelings, and thoughts related to these environmental aspects (Deurzen, 2002). This dimension is related to important oppositions such as "dominance and submission, acceptance and rejection, love and hate" (Deurzen, 2002, p. 70). Exploring the Mitwelt of Jewish clients may be relevant during times where antisemitism seems to be ubiquitous. Exploring issues around rejection and hate may bring to light if and to what extent clients' actions and feelings may be negatively impacted.

The *Eigenwelt* refers to the world of the self (Sommers-Flanagan & Sommers-Flanagan, 2017). It is the place where individuals feel at home and comfortable; it includes anything that individuals identify as their own, such as feelings, thoughts, ideas, and kinship (Deurzen, 2002). According to Deurzen (2002), it is central to explore the Eigenwelt of clients in counseling sessions as this may reveal particular strengths and weaknesses. By exploring the Eigenwelt of a Jewish client professional counselors may be able to assist clients in exploring how being Jewish has helped (e.g., feeling proud to be Jewish) or hindered (e.g., internalizing antisemitism) in their personal development.

Überwelt refers to the spiritual world and the belief system of individuals (Sommers-Flanagan & Sommers-Flanagan, 2017). The spiritual dimension also includes creativity, humor, the ability to find meaning, and self-transcendence and is not necessarily connected to religious beliefs (Frankl, 1988). According to Deurzen (2002), beliefs and values tend to come up in counseling sessions at some point in time and can be helpful in assisting individuals in finding the strength to overcome external and internal struggles. Because of the diversity within the Jewish community, professional counselors should not readily assume that all Jews are observant

or identify as Jewish because of religious aspects. Therefore, it may be helpful for counselors to explore the spiritual dimension with Jewish clients to get a better understanding of the client´s values and to what extent their Jewish identity is based on religious or ethnic aspects.

Herman´s Theory on Jewish Identity

Herman identified the following nine criteria for Jewish group identity: 1) marking off, 2) bases of alignment, 3) sense of mutual responsibility, 4) alignment across time, 5) alignment across space, 6) perception of the group´s attributes and its position in the life-space, 7) valence of Jewishness, 8) adoption of Jewish norms: A question of distinctiveness, and 9) interaction with other subidentities. I will provide a brief definition of each criteria in the following paragraphs.

Marking off refers to a feeling of otherness. Members of a minority are often aware that members of the majority view them as a distinct or separate group (Herman, 1989). Experiences with discrimination can cause feelings of otherness. Remembering the Shoah, hate crimes against Jews in the U.S., or anti-Zionist events on school campuses are examples that may serve as reminders for Jewish individuals and non-Jews alike of the distinctiveness of the Jewish community. However, at times, Jews themselves may want to draw a line between themselves and others (Herman, 1989). There may be situations such as the celebration of Jewish holidays where Jews will mark themselves off and feel proud to maintain a certain distinctiveness.

Bases of alignment refer to the idea of group connection and interdependence. It relates to a sense of a common fate. “In the context of Jewish life, this means that whatever happens to Jews qua Jews anywhere has implications for Jews everywhere ” (Herman, 1989, p. 43) The *sense of mutual responsibility* refers to a feeling of responsibility Jews may feel towards other Jews (e.g., Jews helping and supporting other Jews; Safirstein, 2002). *Alignment across time*

implies a connection between Jews that goes beyond the moment. It refers to the connection Jews may feel towards Jews who lived in the past or future generations. *Alignment across space*, according to Herman (1989), refers to the relationship Jews may feel towards other Jews independently of where they live. He further contends that the connection Jews may experience towards other Jews anywhere in the diaspora may grow stronger especially at times when Jews experience more stressors than usual.

Perception of group´s attributes and its position in the life-space is connected to religious as well as ethnic components of Jewish identity. A person´s view of what it means to be a Jew influences the relationship this person will have to fellow Jews. Herman (1989) posited that a weakening of one of these two components may lead to a weakening of Jewish identity in general. For instance, Jews who perceive their identity as merely a religious identity may feel less connected to Jews outside their local community, while Jews with an ethno-religious Jewish identity will experience a stronger sense of kinship towards fellow Jews independently of where the fellow Jews live. Herman (1989) further contended that salience and centrality play an important role as well. Salience refers to the level to which Jewishness is emphasized by the individual (Safirstein, 2002). Centrality refers to how important one´s Jewishness is compared to other identities the individual may hold (Safirstein, 2002). Antisemitic experiences may function as a reminder of one´s Jewish identity, and the frequency of these reminders may contribute to the centrality of one´s Jewish identity (Herman, 1989).

Valence of Jewishness refers to the extent to which Jews adopt the norms and customs of their group (Herman, 1989). The opinion Jews have about the Jewish people may impact their feelings and thoughts about their group membership (Safirstein, 2002). For instance, Jews who may hold a negative view of the characteristics of the Jewish community may feel ashamed of

being Jewish, while individuals who see only positive features may feel pride and gain strength from their group membership (Safirstein, 2002).

The adoption of Jewish norms: A question of distinctiveness refers to the Jewish minority´s ability to maintain their distinctiveness while being surrounded by a majority culture. According to Safirstein (2002), the Jewish community in the U.S. struggles with maintaining their distinctive customs and traditions, such as speaking Yiddish. She further contended that the degree to which individuals maintain Jewish norms and customs, like adhering to Jewish values, Jewish education, and celebration of holidays, impacts the feelings Jews may experience regarding their group membership.

Interaction with other subidentities refers to the idea that American Jews tend to hold more than one identity. Herman (1989) suggested that to understand Jewish identity in the U.S., it is important to recognize that there may be an interaction between the Jewish identity and the American identity. Depending on the situation an individual´s Jewish identity may be more noticeable than the American identity and vice versa. Herman (1989) stated that in the U.S. "the American Jew acts as an American and only on special occasions as a Jew" (p. 57).

Herman´s Theory and Existentialism: Relevance to this Research

Herman´s theory and existential theory were used in this study as both address essential aspects of what it means to live as a Jew in this world. Herman´s theory was applied to address and explain Jewish identity in general, while existential theory was applied to get a better understanding of how Jewish identity may impact individuals' experiences. At first sight the two theories may seem to have little in common; however, there are many parallels. Both theories support the notion that connections with other human beings are essential (marking off/isolation). Both theories address the significance of making choices and taking responsibility

(sense of mutual responsibility/adoption of Jewish norms/freedom), and both address the importance of finding meaning (perception of group´s attributes and its position in the life-space/interaction of subidentities/meaninglessness).

Research on Jewish identity shows that Jewish identity is expressed and experienced differently by individuals (Friedman et al., 2005; Herman, 1989; Langman, 1999; Macdonald-Dennis, 2006). This is also in line with Yalom (1980), who contends that while every human being will be confronted with the same four ultimate concerns, how individuals confront and experience these concerns will be different for each person. Thus, as Herman´s theory and existentialism have overlapping themes, I proposed the integration of these two theories as a lens through which I viewed the study.

Chapter Summary

The differences between Jewish identity, White ethnic identities, and minority identities are twofold. First Jewish identity is based on ethnic and religious components that tend to be intertwined. Second, while most Jews can pass as White in the U.S., experiences with antisemitism, including anti-Zionism, serve as reminders of the minority status of Jews. Research with Jewish participants has provided evidence that experiences with discrimination are common and that these experiences tend to have a negative impact on the Jewish individual´s mental health and overall well-being (Gold, 2004).

The resurgence of antisemitic hate crimes worldwide and in the U.S. show that antisemitism continues to be an issue in today´s society (ADL, 2017a). Counselor educators and professional counselors play an important role in addressing antisemitism and its impact on the Jewish community (CACREP, 2016). Thus, it is crucial that all counselors are aware of the

distinct needs of this community and that they are prepared to provide multiculturally sensitive and effective counseling services.

However, according to Langman (1999), Rubin (2017), and Weinrach (2002), Jewish issues continue to be excluded from multicultural discussions. Consequently, many professional counselors and counselor educators may have insufficient preparation and lack the knowledge and skills to work with Jewish clients. Research shows that a lack of appropriate multicultural training can have a negative impact on minority clients (Sue & Sue, 2008). Therefore, this study was intended to address current gaps of knowledge related to Jewish identity and its relationship to antisemitism.

CHAPTER THREE

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between Jewish identity and experiences with antisemitism, the relationship between Jewish denomination and experiences with antisemitism, and the type of antisemitism (religiously based antisemitism, ethnically motivated antisemitism, and anti-Zionism) Jews tend to experience most often. Understanding the relationships between these factors has implications for professional counselors and counselor educators, as ethnic identity and experiences with discrimination influence an individual´s well-being and mental health (Phinney et al., 2007). Thus, this research study was designed to contribute to the existing literature on Jewish identity and the impact of antisemitism and to address current gaps related to the prevalence of different types of antisemitism (ethnic, religious, or anti-Zionism). The methods described in this chapter were designed to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the relationship between Jewish identity (religious and ethnic) and experiences of antisemitism?

   Hypothesis 1: Jews who report a higher level of religious and ethnic identity are more likely to experience greater antisemitism.

2. What is the relationship between Jewish religious affiliation and experiences of antisemitism?

   Hypothesis 2.1: Jews who are affiliated with the Orthodox stream of Judaism are more likely to experience greater antisemitism than Jews who are part of the Conservative movement.

Hypothesis 2.2: Conservative Jews are more likely to experience greater antisemitism than Reform Jews.

3. What, if any, type of antisemitism (e.g., ethnically or religiously based antisemitism or anti-Zionism) do Jewish individuals experience most often?

Method

The primary purpose of this study was to analyze the relationship between Jewish identity and antisemitism and Jewish denomination and antisemitism. Additionally, this study provided information related to the prevalence of different types of antisemitism (ethnic, religious, or anti-Zionism) experienced by Jewish individuals. I chose a quantitative, descriptive, and correlational research design with participants who self-identify as Jews, as I was interested in determining if there is a relationship between each of the two independent variables (Jewish identity, Jewish denomination) and the dependent variable (antisemitism) and the strength of these relationships. The goal of descriptive research studies, such as my study, is to provide a description and knowledge of the nature of a particular concept or issue (Heppner, Wampold, & Kivlighan, 2008).

I used a correlational design to investigate the strengths of the relationship between antisemitism and Jewish identity and the relationship between antisemitism and Jewish denomination. Correlational research designs usually are used to explore the strengths or magnitude of the relationship between two variables (Fitzgerald, Rumrill, & Schenker, 2004). It is important to note that correlational designs can only provide information related to the strengths of a relationship; they do not allow for the establishment of a causal relationship between the independent and dependent variables (Monette, Sullivan, & DeJong, 2005). This

type of inferential analysis tends to be used by researchers to predict population parameters based on a sample (Heppner et al., 2008).

Participants

I included in my sample only individuals who self-identified as Jews. This included Jews by birth (at least one Jewish parent) as well as Jews by choice who officially converted to Judaism. I made this decision as Reform Judaism, unlike Conservative and Orthodox Judaism, recognizes patrilineal Jewish decedents as Jews (Ferziger, 2009). Participants needed to be 18 years or older. I collected data from Jews who are affiliated with one of the three major streams of Judaism (Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Judaism), unaffiliated Jews, and Jews who are affiliated with another stream and who reside in the U.S.

Sampling Procedure

This study relied on convenience sampling. Convenience sampling refers to the composition of a sample based on individuals who are readily available (Monette et al., 2005). I relied on convenience sampling, as it is considered a legitimate method of sampling. To collect data, I contacted numerous Jewish religious institutions of each branch (Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox synagogues) and one secular Jewish cultural center (JCC) in New Jersey and New York. In addition, I contacted Hillel at Montclair State University and recruited participants through them. I started by contacting my current rabbi (Conservative) and two of my former rabbis (Conservative) via e-mail or in person to find out if they would permit me to send my survey to members of their synagogue via the member network. To recruit Orthodox Jews and Reform Jews, I contacted friends and acquaintances who are part of the Orthodox or Reform movements to get in touch with the clergy of their synagogues to discuss the possibility of using their member network to distribute my survey. I got in touch with individuals I knew who work

at the ADL and with JCCs in New York and New Jersey to recruit participants. Lastly, I included in the e-mail I sent out a request to forward my survey to other individuals participants knew and who would be interested in participating in my study. This resulted in some participants posting my survey on social media. The e-mail I sent out contained information about the purpose of the study, the benefits and risks of participation as well as the time it takes to answer all survey questions. A copy of the recruitment e-mail is included as Appendix A.

I advised that participation in this study was voluntary, and it was okay to drop out at any point. The members accessed the survey through an embedded link, which led them to the online survey. In the e-mail description of the survey, I engaged in snowball sampling by asking participants to forward the link to my survey to other Jewish individuals they knew. According to Monette et al. (2005), snowball sampling is "useful for sampling subcultures where the members routinely interact with one another" (p. 147).

I aimed at having around 300 participants to ensure that after the cleaning of the data I still had enough participants for the analysis. Statistical power is an essential aspect of the data analysis to avoid making a Type I or Type II error (Heppner et al., 2008). According to Heppner et al. (2008), the increase in statistical power can be achieved by using a bigger sample. Ideally, I wanted to include about 100 participants for each of the three major movements. In the end I had a total of 408 participants. However, out of the 408, 279 participants filled out the first two parts of the survey, and only 222 participants filled out the entire survey. Based on the GPower calculation I conducted the suggested sample size was 262 participants to ensure statistical power. Thus, my sample size for the first two questions was sufficient.

Instrumentation

My study used cross-sectional data, which was collected at one point in time via an online survey. I used the American Jewish Identity Scale (AJIS) to measure the independent variable, Jewish identity (religious and ethnic identity). In addition, I developed a questionnaire based on a survey (Discrimination and Hate Crimes Against Jews in EU Member States: Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism) created by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) to collect descriptive data about participants such as Jewish denomination (independent variable) and demographic characteristics (confounding variables). The demographic questions addressed sex, age, education level, income level, state of residence, and geographic description (e.g., rural, suburban, urban). The questionnaire also contained items related to experiences with different types of antisemitism, anti-Zionism, and religiously and ethnically based antisemitism. The General Ethnic Discrimination (GED) Scale was used to measure the dependent variable (antisemitism). The GED was developed to examine the role of discrimination in different ethnic groups and was used in my study to look at the experience of Jewish individuals related to antisemitism (Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006).

American Jewish Identity Scale (AJIS)

The AJIS is a 33-item self-report survey of Jewish identity. It was developed to measure Jewish ethnic and religious identity (Friedlander et al., 2010). The AJIS measures Jewish identity through two subscales, the Cultural Identification scale (CI) and the Religious Identification scale (RI; Friedlander et al., 2010). Of the 33 items on the AJIS, 18 items are for the RI scale and 15 for the CI scale. The instrument uses a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from (1) not at all true for me to (4) very true for me. Example questions on the AJIS are: "A

member of my household lights candles on Sabbath" (religious) and "As a Jew, I feel like an outsider" (cultural). High scores on the RI subscale indicated a strong religious identity and high scores on the CI suggested a strong cultural identity. For more information about the AJIS please view Appendix C.

Three studies were conducted to develop the brief self-report and to investigate the psychometric properties of the AJIS (Friedlander et al., 2010). According to Friedlander et al. (2010), the first study focused on content validity. The expert panel aiding with the content validity consisted of nine individuals, including four counseling psychologists, one Jewish studies scholar, a director of a secular Jewish organization, and one rabbi each from the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform movements. The second study used confirmatory factor analysis based on the completed AJIS forms of 1,884 Jewish adults. The third study was used to assess the short-term stability of the AJIS (Friedlander et al., 2010).

Reliability and validity. The AJIS is considered to be reliable and valid (Friedlander et al., 2010). Content validity was established using an expert panel. Construct validity for the RI was determined by comparing the RI scores of participants based on their affiliation. Friedlander et al. (2010) “reasoned that support for the construct validity of RI would be evidenced if Orthodox Jews scored higher than Conservative and Reform Jews” (p. 349). This reasoning was supported by the test results of the AJIS and is consistent with existing literature related to Jewish religious identity.

The study by Friedlander et al. (2010) provides empirical evidence of internal consistency for the AJIS. The Cronbach α for the overall instrument is .95. The Cronbach α for the CI scale is .88, and for the RI scale, it is .93. Test-retest reliability was significant. Overall, the AJIS has been demonstrated to be valid and reliable. No other studies were found that used

the AJIS that could provide further evidence related to the reliability or validity of the instrument.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire was used to collect descriptive data related to demographic characteristics such as Jewish denomination (independent variable), age, sex, level of education (confounding variable), and items to identify the types of antisemitism experienced by the participants (e.g., anti-Zionism, religiously and ethnic/racially based antisemitism). The questionnaire is divided into two parts. The first part of the questionnaire contains demographic questions inquiring about sex, age, level of education, income, religious affiliation, state of residence and area type of residence. The second part of the questionnaire poses questions related to experiences with antisemitism.

The following questions are sample questions that I asked to answer my third research question related to experiences with different types of antisemitism: "To what extent, if at all, does the Israeli-Arab conflict impact on how safe you feel as a Jewish person?" (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013, p. 40). “What type of discrimination do you believe to be the most problematic?” Participants answered these questions by checking appropriate boxes or by rating their answer based on a Likert scale or by rating their answers with numbers from (1) most problematic to (3) least problematic. The questions were modeled after the survey created by the FRA or taken directly from the survey to ensure that the questions used appropriate terminology and were easy to understand. The complete questionnaire is included at the end of this dissertation as Appendix E.

National and international policy actors and representatives of Jewish community organizations created the survey on antisemitism and the Jewish people (European Union

Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013). Members of a panel of academic experts in the fields of antisemitism and Jewish population studies were asked for advice related to terminology used in the questionnaire due to the sensitive nature of the research topic (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013). Additionally, FRA hired a survey research company to work on the survey. The survey was piloted in a variety of countries in Europe before the final questionnaire was sent out to the Jewish communities in the European Union (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013). Thus, the questions presented in the questionnaire created by the EU have been tested and are considered appropriate to collect data about Jews and their experiences with antisemitism.

General Ethnic Discrimination (GED) Scale

The GED by Landrine et al. (2006) is an 18-item self-report survey and measures perceived ethnic discrimination and will be used to measure my dependent variable of antisemitism. According to Landrine et al. (2006), the GED is a slightly modified version of the Schedule of Racist Events. Changes were related to the stem of questions, which were generalized by changing words such as “black” to “race/ethnic group” (Landrine et al., 2006, p. 83). The instructions and the ratings of the frequency of discriminatory events were shortened and simplified to accommodate non-English native speakers. The entire questionnaire can be found at the end of the dissertation under Appendix D.

The GED measures perceived ethnic discrimination through three subscales, the Recent Discrimination, Lifetime Discrimination, and Appraised Discrimination scales (Landrine et al., 2006). The GED contains 18 items with sub-questions for each of the three scales. The instrument uses two 6-point Likert-type scales ranging from (1) never to (6) almost all the time and (1) not at all stressful to (6) extremely stressful. Higher scores suggest a higher level of

perceived discrimination, while lower scores imply a lower level of perceived discrimination. Example questions are: "How often have you been treated unfairly by teachers and professors because of your race/ethnic group?" "How often in the past year?" "How often in your entire life?" "How stressful was this for you?"

The study by Landrine et al. (2006) with 1,596 participants (African American, Asian American, Latino/Hispanic, and White American) investigated the psychometric properties of the GED and compared it to the psychometric properties of the original scale the GED was modeled after. It appears that the GED has similar psychometric properties to the Schedule of Racist Events (Landrine et al., 2006).

Reliability and validity. The GED is considered to be reliable and valid (Landrine et al., 2006). The construct validity of the instrument and its three subscales is significant and similar to the subscales of the Schedule of Racist Events (Landrine et al., 2006). The subscales appear to be reliable for each of the four ethnic groups that participated in the study and range from Cronbach α .91 - .94. Hwang and Goto (2008) used the GED in a subsequent study, which supported the validity and reliability of the instrument. They employed the GED for their research on “the impact of perceived racial discrimination on the mental health of Asian American and Latino college students” (Hwang & Goto, 2008, p. 326).

As discussed earlier, for most ethnic groups, religious identity is separate from ethnic identity. Thus, it is not surprising that the GED does not contain any questions related to perceived religious discrimination. It appears that currently, there is no instrument available that measures the perceived discrimination of ethno-religious groups. Since Jews are an ethno-religious group and may experience discrimination based on ethnicity and religion, with written

permission from the author of the GED, I replaced the words “race and ethnicity” with “Jewish” to cover the entire spectrum of discrimination for Jews, including religious bias.

Procedures

Upon approval from the Montclair State University Institutional Review Board (IRB), I conducted a pilot study with four participants (Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, and unaffiliated individual) to determine the time it takes to complete the survey and to determine if any modifications to the survey items were necessary. A copy of the approval from the IRB is included as Appendix F at the end of the final dissertation.

I combined the AJIS, GED, and the questionnaire by using the survey creation tool Qualtrics. Qualtrics is free of charge for all faculty and students at Montclair State University. Once the survey was completed, I sent it via e-mail to rabbis from the three major Jewish movements and contacts at ADL asking for permission to distribute my survey to potential participants in their networks. The e-mail contained information about the goal of my research study, the time it takes to complete the survey along with potential risks and benefits, and a link that will lead participants to a consent form. After reading and signing the consent form participants were directed to the actual questionnaire. Participants remained anonymous. Once the data collection was completed the information was saved on my laptop and protected with a password. Each participant was assigned an identification number to ensure anonymity and to manage the data set effectively. The complete survey, the sample e-mail, as well as the consent form (appendix B) are included at the end of the study.

Data Analysis

The collected data was transferred from Qualtrics to SPSS. SPSS is a software program that is used to analyze data. I used SPSS to clean the data. According to Monette et al. (2005),

before starting the analysis of the data set, it is crucial to clean the data to avoid distortion of the findings. I used SPSS to generate frequency distributions for each variable, which made it easier to detect variables that are out-of-range or values that should not be present in the first place (Monette et al., 2005).

I started the analysis of the data by focusing first on the relationship between Jewish religious identity and Jewish ethnic identity (independent variable) and antisemitism (dependent variable). Then, I analyzed the relationship between Jewish denomination (independent variable) and antisemitism (dependent variable) using SPSS. Correlational designs are used to explore relationships among variables that are not manipulated or cannot be manipulated (Fitzgerald et al., 2004). This step allowed me to generate a correlation coefficient, which allowed me to infer the strengths and direction of the relationship between the independent and dependent variable. The correlation coefficient (r) is a number ranging from +1.00 (strong positive relationship) to -1.00 (strong negative relationship; Heppner et al., 2008). A correlation coefficient around 0 points to a weak relationship between variables (Fitzgerald et al., 2004). I will report the correlation coefficients for my study in the results section of chapter four.

I used linear regression models to predict the outcome variable (antisemitism) based on the value of the independent variables (Jewish identity and denomination). Regression is used to establish the degree to which an independent variable influences the dependent variable (Monette et al., 2005). To control for potential confounding variables, such as age, level of education, and gender, I ran a multiple linear regression. I chose age and level of education as a confounding variable as current research provides evidence that older individuals tend to perceive antisemitism as more problematic than younger individuals (Cohen, 2010; Rebhun, 2014). Gender was chosen as a confounding variable because women and men have distinct roles in

Judaism. By controlling for these confounding variables, it was possible to isolate them and thus analyze the unique effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable (Monette et al., 2005). In the end, this study allowed for the measurement and analysis of the relationship. It indicated the impact of multiple variables, the independent (Jewish identity, Jewish denomination) and the control variables (e.g., age, gender, education) on the dependent variable (antisemitism). The results of the regression analysis will be presented in chapter four.

To avoid Type I errors (rejecting the null hypothesis that is true) and Type II errors (failing to reject the null hypothesis when it is false), the alpha level should be neither too stringent nor too lax (Heppner et al., 2008). According to Monette et al. (2005) social sciences commonly use an alpha level of .05. Thus, the level of significance for my study was set at alpha .05.

Chapter Summary

This chapter contains a description of the methods and procedures I used to complete my study. This chapter includes my three research questions, information about who my potential participants are as well as a description of the instruments I used to collect data. Moreover, it includes an overview of how the data were analyzed. In the next chapter I will present the results of the data analyses.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

The purpose of my study was to answer the following three questions: 1) What is the relationship between Jewish identity and experiences of antisemitism? 2) What is the relationship between Jewish religious affiliation and experiences of antisemitism? 3) What, if any, type of antisemitism (e.g., ethnically or religiously based antisemitism or anti-Zionism) do Jewish individuals experience most often? In this chapter I will describe the demographic statistics of my sample and will report on the results of the data analyses.

Participants

As discussed in the previous chapter, the target population for this study was self-identified Jewish individuals residing in the U.S. who were 18 years or older. A total of 408 individuals participated in the study; 280 individuals completed the first two parts out of three parts of the survey. One participant reported to be under the age of 18, and thus was excluded from the analysis. The final sample included 279 participants. However, 57 of these participants did not complete the third section of the survey. Thus, the final sample used to answer the third question of my dissertation included 222 participants. The final sample was examined for possible outliers by using descriptive statistics frequencies in SPSS; no outliers were found.

Demographic Statistics

All participants reported that they identify as Jews. Of the total sample, 121 (43.4%) were male, and 155 (55.6%) were female; the data was missing for three individuals. Out of these participants 60 (21.5%) were in the 18-25 age range, 42 (15.1%) were in the 26-34 age range, 38 (13.6%) were in the 35-44 age range, 53 (19%) were in the 45-54 age range, 49 (17.6%) were in the 55–64 age range, and 34 (12.2%) were over the age of 65. The highest level

of education reported by participants was as follows: 2 (0.7%) stated that they had no diploma, 12 (4.3%) stated that they had a high school degree, 32 (11.5%) stated that they had some college, 10 (3.6%) reported that they earned an associate's degree, 98 (35.1%) had a bachelor's degree, 67 (24%) had a master's degree, and 47 (16.8%) had a post-graduate degree. For nine participants this data was not available. Table 1 contains the breakdown of gender, age, and education of the participants.

Table 1

Gender, Age & Education Statistics of Sample (N= 279)

Categories	N	%
Gender		
Male	121	43.4
Female	155	55.6
Missing	3	1.1
Total	279	100
Age		
18-25	60	21.5
26-34	42	15.1
35-44	38	13.6
45-54	53	19
55-64	50	21
65+	34	12.2
Missing	2	0.7
Total	279	100

Categories	N	%
Education		
No diploma	2	0.7
HS diploma/GED	12	4.3
Some college	32	11.5
Associate´s degree	10	3.6
Bachelor´s	98	35.1
Master´s	67	24
Post graduate degree	47	16.8
Missing	11	3.9
Total	279	100

The majority of participants lived in New Jersey and New York, 28.7% and 17.9%, respectively. Other states where respondents indicated that they were from include Arizona 2.2%, California 7.5%, Maine 2.5%, Maryland 3.9%, and Pennsylvania 5.0%. With regard to the type of area in which they live 34.3% of the participants reported living in an urban area, 52% indicated living in a suburban area, and 3.9% marked that they live in a rural area.

Data Analysis

After the completion of the data collection the first step was to review the data for missing values. Since the missing values were below 5% and thus considered insignificant, the missing items were retained in the analysis (Heppner et al., 2008). After reviewing the data for missing values, the next step was to determine if the dependent variables religious identity, cultural identity, experiences with antisemitism during the past year, experiences with antisemitism entire life, and level of stress were normally distributed and to examine the means and standard deviations for each of the survey items.

Normal Distribution

The histograms for religious identity, cultural identity, and level of stress followed a normal distribution curve with no significant outliers. However, the histograms for the dependent variables antisemitism in the past year and in the entire life revealed a positively skewed distribution for both. According to Salkind and Frey (2019), a positively skewed distribution leans to the left and is considered acceptable when it is less than 1.00. Skewness for antisemitism during the past year and the entire life was 2.22 and 1.27, respectively. Thus, a log transformation was necessary for both dependent variables. Log transformations are used to change greatly skewed distributions into less skewed distributions (Lane et al., n.d.). The application of log transformations helps to meet the assumptions of inferential statistics (Lane et al., n.d.). After applying the log transformations in my study, skewness for antisemitism during the past year decreased from 2.22 to 1.32. The skewness distribution for experiences with antisemitism the entire life decreased from 1.269 to .418, and thus meets the assumptions of inferential statistics.

Correlation

Since this study examined the relationship between dependent variables, confounding variables, and independent variables, a preliminary correlation analysis was implemented. The correlation matrix revealed that none of the predictor variables were highly correlated with each other. This indicates that each predictor variable has an independent effect on the dependent variable (Heppner et al., 2008). In addition, the correlation matrix showed that the predictor variables had a statistically significant correlation with the dependent variables and with two (age and education) of the three confounding variables. The confounding variable gender was

dropped from the regression analyses because it did not have a significant relationship with the dependent variable.

Multicollinearity

The next step was to test for collinearity. In general, multicollinearity occurs when two independent variables in the same analysis are highly correlated (.70 or more; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). To determine multicollinearity, it is important to look at the variance of inflation (VIF). A value of tolerance higher than 0.2 with a simultaneous value of VIF of 10 or above indicates the multicollinearity is not significant (Statistics Solutions, 2019). In the present study all of the values of tolerance were higher than 0.2 and the value of the VIFs was lower than 10.

Variables

The first research question of my study analyzed the relationship between Jewish identity (religious and ethnic) and experiences with antisemitism. The independent variable Jewish identity (ethnic and religious) and the dependent variables experiences with antisemitism were used to examine this relationship.

Jewish identity was measured with the American Jewish Identity Scale (AJIS). The AJIS contains two subscales, religious identity (RI) and cultural identity (CI). Higher scores on both of the subscales signified a stronger RI and CI. The standard deviation for RI was 14.32. The mean score for RI was 46.26 with scores ranging from 19 to 76. A mean score of 46.26 equates to an average score of 2.47 per item. This suggests that the average participant reported that the questions related to religious practices were a little to fairly true for them. The standard deviation for CI was 7.65 with scores ranging from 15 to 56. The mean score for CI was 43.51; this equates to an average score of 3.11per item. This suggests that the average participant reported that the questions about cultural identity were fairly true for them.

Experiences with antisemitism was measured by means of an adapted version of the General Ethnic Discrimination (GED) scale and is comprised of three subscales. Higher scores signify more experiences with antisemitism during the past year (HOPY), the entire life (HOEL), and a higher level of stress (HS). The standard deviation for the level of stress was 19.67. The mean score for HS was 42.41, with scores ranging from 17 to 96. A mean score of 42.41 equates to an average score of 2.5 per item, which indicates a light to moderate stress level. The standard deviation for HOPY was 9.6. The mean score for this subscale was 24.17, which equates to an average score of 1.42 per item, which suggests that participants never or once in a while experienced antisemitism during the past year.

The third subscale measured antisemitic experiences during the participant's entire life. The standard deviation for HOEL was 10.55 and the mean score was 30.95, which equates to an average score of 1.82 per item, which indicates that participants never or once in a while experienced antisemitism during their entire life. Overall, it appears that participants in this sample faced few antisemitic occurrences. However, the majority of participants (96.1%) reported that they had experienced antisemitism in their life. This is evidenced by the fact that only 11 out of 279 participants chose the response option "never" to all of the questions of the GED when they had the following response options: "never," "once in a while," "sometimes," "a lot," "most of the time," and "almost all the time." This suggests that most Jewish individuals are exposed to antisemitism at some point in their life. Table 2 presents participants' mean scores as well as the standard deviation for the AJIS and the GED.

Table 2

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for Religious Identity, Cultural Identity, Experiences with Antisemitism in the Past Year, the Entire Life & Level of Stress

Variable	**Mean Score**	**Standard Deviation**
Religious Identity	46.26	14.32
Cultural Identity	3.11	7.65
Level of Stress (HS)	42.41	19.67
Antisemitism Past Year (HOPY)	24.17	9.60
Antisemitism Entire Life (HOEL)	30.95	10.55

The second research question examined the relationship between membership with one of the Jewish denominations and experiences with antisemitism. More specifically, the purpose of the second question was to assess if there is a relationship between Reform, Conservative, or Orthodox Jews vis-à-vis experiences with antisemitism.

Religious denomination was determined with the help of the following survey question: **"**Which of the following comes closest to describing your current Jewish identity?" With regard to religious affiliation, 19% of the participants indicated that they were members of a Reform synagogue, 39% indicated that they were members of a Conservative synagogue, and 20.9% reported that they were members of an Orthodox synagogue. In addition, 8.2% identified themselves as being part of another stream of Judaism, and 11.9% reported no affiliation at all. The reported religious affiliations are inconsistent with other studies about Jewish affiliations in the U.S. For instance, a Pew study from 2013 indicated that 35% of the participants reported being part of the Reform movement and 18% reported to be part of the Conservative movement, while 10% reported being Orthodox (Lipka, 2013). The differences in percentages of religious

affiliation may be attributed to the use of convenience and snowball sampling. Table 3 contains the breakdown of religious affiliation.

Table 3

Religious Affiliation Statistics of Sample (N= 279)

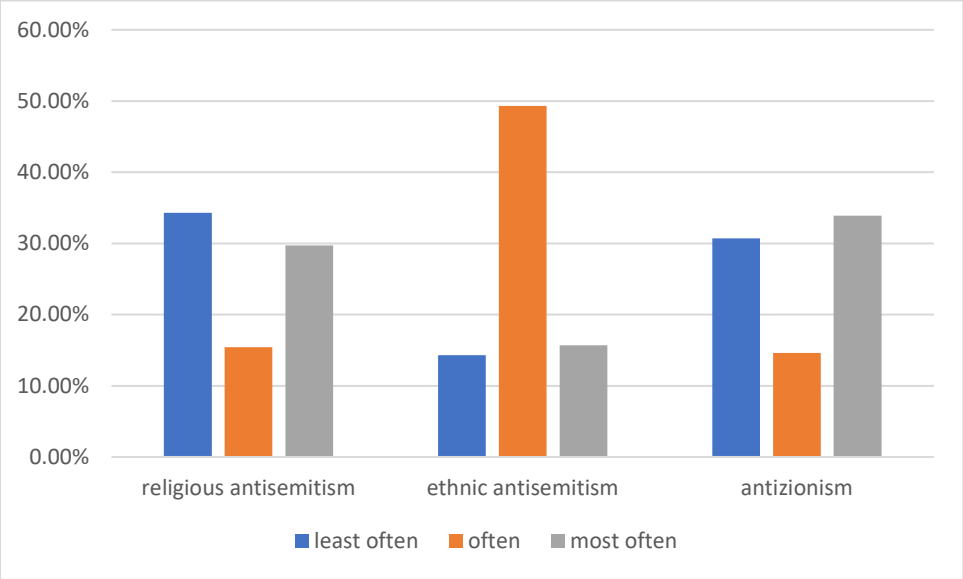
Categories	N	%
Jewish Stream		
Reform	54	19.4
Conservative	111	39.9
Orthodox	58	20.9
Unaffiliated	33	11.8
Other	23	8.2
Total		

My third question addressed the type of antisemitism Jewish individuals experience most often. The goal was to determine whether participants experienced antisemitism based on ethnicity, religion, or anti-Israel attitudes most often. To answer this question participants were asked to rate on a scale from one to three (least often, often, most often) which one of the three types of antisemitism they experienced most. As mentioned, 96% of the participants in this study reported that they have experienced some type of antisemitism.

The *type of antisemitism* that was reported as experienced most often was anti-Zionism (42.8%), closely followed by religiously based antisemitism (37.4%), and ethnically based antisemitism (19.8%). The results for least experienced form of antisemitism followed a similar pattern: Participants reported that they had experienced religiously based antisemitism (43.2%) the least often, followed by anti-Zionism (38.7), and followed by ethnically based antisemitism

(18%). The type of antisemitism experienced often followed a reversed pattern compared to antisemitism experienced most often and least often. The analysis of the data revealed that 62% of the participants experienced ethnically based antisemitism often, followed by 19.4% who reported that they had experienced religiously based antisemitism often. Lastly, 18.5% reported that they had experienced anti-Zionism often. Figure 1 presents a histogram of the type of antisemitism that was experienced most often, often, and least often.

Figure 1:



Results

Correlation Analysis

The purpose of the first question of my study was to determine the relationship between Jewish identity (independent variable) and HS, HOPY, HOEL (dependent variables), as well as the relationship between religious denomination (independent variable) and HS, HOPY, HOEL (dependent variable). To determine if there was a relationship between the various independent variables and dependent variables, I ran a Pearson correlation analysis. Table 4 presents the output of the significant correlations.

Table 4

Output of correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6a	6b	6c
1. Age of respondent	1						.175**	
2. Gender of respondent		1						
3. Education of respondent			1				-.231**	-.125*
4. Cultural identity				1		.211**	.137*	.192**
5. Religious identity					1		.145*	
6 Experiences antisemitism								
a. Level of stress (HS)				.211**		1	.632**	.847**
b. Past year (HOPY)			-.231**	.137*	.145*	.632**	1	
c. Entire life (HOEL)			-.125*	.192**		.847**	.731**	1

Note: n = 279. *p < .05. **p < .01.

I found a few variables that had a significant correlation. Age of the respondent had a significant positive correlation with HOPY $r = 0.175$, $p < .01$. The level of education had a significant negative correlation to antisemitism HOPY $r = -0.231$, $p < .01$. Education also had a significant negative correlation to HOEL $r = 0.125$, $p < .05$. Cultural identity had a significant positive correlation to HS $r = 0.211$, $p < .01$. Moreover, cultural identity had a significant positive correlation to HOPY $r = 0.137$, $p < .05$ as well as a significant positive correlation to HOEL e $r = 0.192$, $p < .01$. Religious identity had a significant positive relationship to HOPY $r = 0.145$, $p < .05$. No significant correlations were found between religious affiliation and HS or HOEL.

Multiple Linear Regression

To get a better understanding of the unique contributions of each of the predictor variables (Jewish ethnic and cultural identity, Jewish affiliation) on the dependent variables (HS, HOPY, HOEL) a series of multiple linear regressions was conducted. The first research question was: What is the relationship between Jewish identity and experiences of antisemitism? The

results of the multiple linear regression supported that cultural identity had a significant positive relationship with HS. The regression analysis contained the confounding variables age, gender, and education, the dependent variable HS, and the independent variables cultural identity and religious identity. The model was significant as evidenced by $F(5, 256) = 3.262$, $p<.05$. The adjusted R^2 of .042 signifies that 4.2% of the variance of the dependent variable level of stress is explained by the independent variable cultural identity. The second regression was based on the same confounding and independent variables. The dependent variable was HOPY. This model was not significant as evidenced by $F(5,256) = 5.049$, $p<.07$. The third regression with the dependent variable experiences with HOEL was significant. This is evidenced by $F(5, 256) =3.031$, $p<.05$. The adjusted R^2 of .037 indicates that cultural identity explained 3.7% of the variance of HOEL.

The second question was: "What is the relationship between Jewish religious affiliation and experiences of antisemitism?" To answer this question additional variables were added to the previous regression models. This analysis contained the confounding variables gender, age, and education as well as cultural identity and religious identity. The independent variable was religious affiliation, for which I created two dummy variables. The dependent variables were HS, HOPY, HOEL. I chose affiliation with a Reform synagogue as the benchmark group against which I compared affiliation with either a Conservative or an Orthodox synagogue. Reform Judaism was chosen as the benchmark group as current statistics indicate that Reform Judaism is the affiliation with the most members (Lipka, 2013).

The multiple regression model with the dependent variable HS was significant, $F(7, 254)=3.085$, $p<.05$ for cultural identity and religious denominations. The adjusted R^2 of .053 suggests that 5.3% of the variance of HS can be explained by cultural identity. The coefficient

matrix indicates that cultural identity is significantly, positively albeit weakly correlated to HS (ß = .212). Furthermore, the matrix shows that there is a significant weak relationship for Orthodox Jews suggesting that Orthodox Jews experience antisemitic incidents as less stressful than Reform Jews (ß = -.223). The correlation for Conservative membership was not significant. However, it appears that Conservative Jews also experience antisemitic incidents as less stressful than Reform Jews (ß = -.092).

The following regression model with the previously mentioned predictor variables and the dependent variable HOPY was significant and produced $F(7,254)=5.017$, $p<.05$. The adjusted R^2 of .097 suggests 9.7% of the variance for HOPY is explained by education, religious identity, and religious affiliation. The coefficient matrix shows that education is negatively weakly correlated to HOPY (ß = -.218) and religious identity is positively, moderately correlated to HOPY (ß = .304). This suggests that individuals with a higher education experience less HOPY and individuals with a stronger religious identity experienced more HOPY than individuals with weaker religious identities. Additionally, there appears to be a significant negative, weak relationship for Orthodox (ß = -.276) and Conservative (ß = -.163) membership compared to Reform membership with regard to HOPY. This implies that both Orthodox and Conservative individuals experienced less antisemitism during the last year compared to Reform Jews.

The last regression model I conducted used the same predictor variables and the dependent variable HOEL. The regression model suggests that the regression is significant $F(7,254)=2.955$, $p<.01$. The adjusted R^2 .05 suggests 5% of the variance for HOEL is explained by education. A closer look at the coefficient table reveals that there is a significant weak, negative relationship between education (ß = -.155) and HOEL, and significant, weak, negative

relationship between HOEL and Orthodox (ß = -.217) membership when compared to Reform membership. These findings suggest that Orthodox Jews were exposed less often to HOEL compared to Reform Jews. The relationship for Conservative Jews was not significant. However, it appears that Conservative Jews similar to Orthodox Jews were exposed less often to HOEL then Reform Jews.

Summary of Results

This chapter presented the results of the data analysis I conducted to answer my three research questions. The data was collected via an online survey between December 2018 and September 2019 and is based on the answers of 279 self-identified Jews about their experiences with antisemitism. Participants were well educated (75.9% had a bachelors or a higher degree).

The multiple linear regression analysis demonstrated that the predictor variables cultural identity, religious identity, and religious affiliation were statistically significant. Participants with a higher cultural identity experienced more antisemitism over their entire life and a higher level of stress compared to participants with a weaker cultural identity. Participants with a higher religious identity experienced more antisemitism over the past year compared to individuals with a weaker religious identity. Denomination played an important role in predicting experiences with antisemitism. Orthodox and Conservative Jews experienced significantly less antisemitism over the past year compared to Reform Jews. Moreover, Orthodox Jews experienced significantly less antisemitism over their entire life and experienced antisemitic incidents as less stressful than Reform Jews. The implications of the results for counselor educators and licensed mental health counselors will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Introduction

At the present time, it appears that there are only a small number of studies within the mental health counseling field that investigate the relationship between Jewish identity and experiences with antisemitism and Jewish denomination and experiences with antisemitism. The purpose of my study was to fill this gap of knowledge and to determine if there is a relationship between Jewish identity, more specifically, Jewish ethnic identity, Jewish religious identity, and experiences with antisemitism over the past year and the entire life. Additionally, I sought to determine whether there is any relationship between an individual´s Jewish affiliation with one of the three major Jewish movements (Reform, Conservative, Orthodox) and experiences with antisemitism. I collected the data for my study from a sample of 279 participants residing in the U.S. The results indicate that ethnic identity, religious identity, and affiliation play a significant role in predicting experiences with antisemitism. In order to analyze the data, I used a correlation matrix and multiple linear regressions. In this chapter I will discuss the results of the analysis with regard to my research questions. Implications for professional counselors working with Jewish clients and counselor educators teaching multicultural classes will be discussed. In addition, I will address limitations of this study and suggestions for future research in this chapter.

Discussion

This study represents a first step into answering the following three questions: 1) What is the relationship between Jewish identity and experiences with antisemitism? 2) What is the relationship between Jewish religious affiliation and experiences with antisemitism? 3) What, if

any, type of antisemitism (e.g., ethnically or religiously based antisemitism or anti-Zionism) do Jewish individuals experience most often?

Jewish Ethnic and Religious Identity

It is generally acknowledged that Jewish identity is composed of religious and ethnic components that tend to be intertwined (Friedlander et al., 2010; Friedman, Friedlander, & Blustein, 2005; Langman, 1999). The results of this study provide further evidence that Jewish ethnic identity and religious identity are two separate aspects of Jewish identity and thus support Herman´s theory about Jewish identity being a combination of ethnicity and religion (Herman, 1989). Hypothesis one was supported. It appears that ethnic identity has predictive value related to experiences with antisemitism in the entire life and perceived stress level but not antisemitism experienced in the past year. Specifically, Jewish participants with a stronger ethnic identity reported being exposed to antisemitism more often during their entire life than Jews with weaker ethnic identities. They also perceived the hatred of Jews as more stressful than did Jews with a weaker ethnic identity. These findings are similar to a recent study on antisemitism-related stress. According to Rosen, Kuczynski, and Kanter (2018), Jews with a stronger Jewish identity reported more collective experiences with antisemitism. The current study's findings indicated that having a strong ethnic identity may explain a greater awareness of antisemitism, and thus may sensitize individuals to experiences with discrimination (Rosen et al., 2018). From an existential counseling perspective this may mean that individuals with a stronger Jewish identity may be more aware of being excluded by others, which may lead to feelings of isolation and meaninglessness (Frankl, 2008). Individuals with a stronger Jewish identity (combination of ethnic and religious identity) may be more susceptible to environmental factors such as hate crimes and the news coverage of these incidents (Cohen, 2010). Thus, there may be an

interaction between Jewish identity and environmental elements on the awareness of hate crimes against the Jewish community (Cohen, 2010). This is also supported by an earlier research study in which participants who identified strongly with being Jewish reported facing more antisemitism and more stress when interacting with non-Jews (Friedlander et al., 2010).

Religious identity, in contrast, appears to have predictive value related to antisemitism experienced in the past year and the level of stress but not antisemitism experienced over the entire life. Considering the amount of antisemitic incidents that took place since the start of this study, the results do not come as a surprise. The last two years have been marked by a number of synagogue shootings as well as vandalism of buildings and Jewish cemeteries. By contrast, Rosen et al. (2018) reported that Jews with a stronger religious identity reported fewer experiences with antisemitism. These opposing findings may be partially attributed to the increase of more violent acts of hatred towards Jews that hit the Conservative community (e.g., synagogue shooting in Pittsburgh) and the Orthodox community (e.g., violence and killings in Jersey City and Monsey). In both communities members tend to report stronger religious practices compared to Reform Jews (Friedlander et al., 2010). This is also in line with existential theory and, more specifically, with Frankl´s Logotherapy where suffering can be a meaningful experience for individuals especially in those instances where suffering can be turned into a triumph (Frankl, 1988). This is especially true for the Orthodox community who tends to have a significantly higher religious identity than Conservative and Reform Jews (Friedlander et al., 2010; Rosmarin, Pirutinsky, Carp, Appel, & Kor, 2017; Rosmarin, Pirutinsky, & Siev, 2010) and tend to experience trials as a stimulus for spiritual growth (Rosmarin et al., 2017). The increase in vandalism of Jewish institutions and cemeteries as well as the rise of antisemitism on college campuses in the last couple of years may have impacted the results of my study. Data collection

took place during the time when violent acts of hatred occurred. Thus, the timing of when the data was collected may have impacted the results of this study, which I will further discuss in the limitations section of this chapter.

Religious Denomination

The religious community in the U.S. is a diverse community with distinct streams of Judaism (Holliman & Wagner, 2011; Levitt & Balkin, 2003; Langman, 1999; Langman, 1995). The three major Jewish movements are Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox, and were the focus of this study (Popkin, 2015). This study represents a first step in providing some evidence as to the significance of an individual´s membership in one of the three major denominations. I proposed that religious denomination predicted exposure to antisemitism. I proposed that being a member of the Orthodox community would be associated with more exposure to antisemitism compared to the Conservative community. I also proposed that members of the Conservative community would be exposed more often to hatred of Jews compared to members of the Reform movement. This hypothesis was not supported.

Religious affiliation predicted experiences with antisemitism, however, in the opposite direction. Orthodox Jews and Conservative Jews reported significantly fewer experiences with antisemitism in the past year compared to Reform Jews. Orthodox Jews also reported a significantly lower level of stress compared to Reform Jews. Differences in adherence to halachah (Jewish laws and customs) and the strengths of religious beliefs may be a possible explanation of why Orthodox Jews reported lower levels of stress when exposed to hatred of Jews. Their strong religious beliefs impact not only their life at home but also relationships in general and work (Holliman & Wagner, 2011). Differences in religious coping may also explain lower stress levels.

According to Rosmarin, Pargament, and Flannelly (2009), members of the Orthodox community perceive struggles, especially spiritual struggles, to be revitalizing and enlightening as they provide the opportunity to overcome obstacles and remain steadfast in the face of adversity. It may be possible that Orthodox individuals view antisemitic attacks as spiritual struggles and thus draw strength from discriminatory experiences.

Orthodox and Conservative Jews also reported fewer antisemitic experiences in their entire life compared to Reform Jews. However, there was only a significant difference between Orthodox and Reform Jews. The difference between Reform and Conservative Jews was not significant. These findings are striking in particular when considering that a stronger ethnic and religious identity predicted more experiences with antisemitism. Moreover, previous research by Kremelberg and Dashefsky (2016) suggests that Orthodox Jews are more likely to report experiencing antisemitism than other denominations.

In general, Orthodox Jews tend to report a stronger ethnic identity and religious identity than Conservative Jews or Reform Jews (Friedlander et al., 2010). Thus, I expected Orthodox Jews to report more antisemitic experiences compared to individuals who indicated having a weaker Jewish identity. The results of this study seem to suggest that the relationship between Jewish identity, religious denomination, and experiences with antisemitism is complex and multifaceted. It may be possible that one´s religious affiliation may act as a buffer. Orthodox Jews in particular tend to live in tight knit communities, and usually do not engage with outside communities when they need support (Holliman & Wagner, 2011). Moreover, Orthodox Jews tend to interact primarily with individuals within their community (Holliman & Wagner, 2011). They are less likely than Reform or Conservative Jews to engage with non-Jews, and therefore, may be less likely to be exposed to antisemitism. It is possible that being a Reform Jew with a

well-developed Jewish identity has different implications for the individual than being Orthodox with a strong Jewish identity. According to Smith (1991) "individuals who are embedded in their culture tend to be more "ethnically hardy" and resilient in their ethnic development than those who are more marginal with respect to their culture" (p. 183). In other words, having developed a deep connection with one´s culture of origin may protect individuals from developing a vulnerable identity, and at the same time assist individuals in those instances where they are confronted with discrimination because of their identity (Smith, 1991).

Type of Antisemitism

There are many different ways in which people can express their hatred for Jews. Antisemitism may be based on ethnic prejudice, religious prejudice, or anti-Israel sentiments. This study is a first step in providing some information as to what type of antisemitism participants experienced most often. It appears that ethnic prejudice is not as prevalent as antisemitism based on religious prejudice or anti-Israel attitudes. Nonetheless, discrimination based on ethnicity continues to be a key issue. This is evidenced by the fact that the majority of participants reported that antisemitism based on their ethnic group membership as Jews was the second highest form of antisemitism they encountered. Most participants reported that they experienced religious prejudice or anti-Zionism the most often, with anti-Zionism reported slightly more often than religious prejudice. The data presented in this study suggests that all three types of antisemitism need to be considered when addressing hatred of Jews in general. Since I could not find any other studies discussing the prevalence of the different types of antisemitism it is impossible to say whether my findings are typical or not.

Professional Implications

It appears to be common for Jewish individuals to experience antisemitism at some point in their lives. The results of this study, as well as earlier research about Jewish identity, Jewish denominations, and experiences with antisemitism have implications for professional counselors working with Jewish clients as well as counselor educators who prepare future counselors to work with diverse clients. I will address first implications that are important for both professional groups. Then I will continue with implications that are more specifically geared towards professional counselors and counselor educators.

Implications for Professional Counselors and Counselor Educators

The existing multicultural counseling competencies, which are divided into the four categories counselor self-awareness, knowledge of client´s worldview, counseling relationship, and advocacy, provide a helpful framework for professional counselors who work with Jewish clients and counselor educators who prepare future counselors to work with minorities such as Jews (Ratts et al., 2016). Self-awareness refers to the idea of exploring personal beliefs. Professional counselors and counselor educators should examine their beliefs about the socioeconomic status of Jews and the marginalization and discrimination of Jews (Flasch & Fulton, 2019).

Based on the findings of this study professional counselors and counselor educators working with Jewish clients or students in the classroom need to be aware that Jewish identity tends to be comprised of ethnic and religious components that are distinct from each other yet intertwined. Jewish identity is not comparable to other ethnic (e.g., Italians or Norwegians) or religious (e.g., Catholics or Protestants) groups because Jews are an ethno-religious group. This is a critical piece of information as previous research suggests that American Jews in general

tend to view their ethnic Jewish identity as more relevant than their religious practice (Friedlander et al., 2010). The erroneous belief that Jewish identity is based exclusively on religious aspects may cause professional counselors to overlook important issues such as experiences with antisemitism.

Professional counselors and counselor educators may want to examine their beliefs about Jewish identity in general, however it is equally important to gain a better understanding on how Jewish religious and ethnic identity impact an individual´s perception of antisemitism. To do so both professional counselors and counselor educators need to gain knowledge about Jewish culture, religious practices, as well as variations in religious observance and religious denominations (Langman, 1999).

Professional counselors and counselor educators may want to reflect on their internalized assumptions about secular Jews or less religious Jews, especially because the findings of this study suggest that Reform Jews report facing hatred more often than Conservative and Orthodox Jews. Thus, being a secular Jew or a less religious Jew does not protect an individual from experiences with antisemitism based on religious prejudice, ethnic prejudice, or anti-Zionism.

In addition, professional counselors and counselor educators may want to reflect on their personal beliefs about what constitutes antisemitism. Current statistics show that more than 50% of all religious hate crimes target the Jewish community (FBI, 2019). However, based on this study, it appears that exposure to antisemitism is not necessarily based on religious bias. In fact, the type of antisemitism that participants reported most often was anti-Zionism closely followed by religious bias. Professional counselors and counselor educators can play an important role in addressing antisemitism and advocating for their Jewish clients. However, in order to effectively fight antisemitism, it is crucial that all types of antisemitism are addressed, including anti-

Zionism and antisemitism based on ethnic prejudice. Therefore, it is important that professional counselors learn more about the various ways in which hatred for Jews may be expressed.

Implications for Professional Counselors

To be able to provide culturally sensitive and effective counseling services, professional counselors may want to assess clients´ religious and cultural identity and explore how the various aspects of Jewish identity manifest in their daily life. This study also indicates that having a strong ethnic identity plays an important role with regard to the stress level and the amount of times an individual has been exposed to antisemitism during their entire life. Thus, it is recommended that counselors thoroughly assess a client´s religious and cultural identity as both of these identity pieces may provide counselors with valuable information. Professional counselors may want to ask Jewish clients about their level of religiosity and how engaged they are in their Jewish community (Flasch & Fulton, 2019). Moreover, counselors may want to ask if their clients feel shame or pride in being Jewish and if they subscribe to a particular denomination within Judaism.

The findings of this study suggest that a strong religious identity impacts the perception of stress when exposed to antisemitism as well as how often an individual is exposed to antisemitism over the past year. Professional counselors may want to ask in what ways Jewish clients identify as part of the Jewish community, if they self-identify as Jews based on a combination of religious and ethnic aspects, and if one of the two aspects carry more meaning than the other. Professional counselors may also want to explore their clients´ connection to Israel, as many Jews in the U.S. tend to have a strong connection to the country and have family members who live in Israel.

Professional counselors may also want to gain more in-depth knowledge about Jewish culture, religious practices, and the variations in religious observance as this may help them in gaining a better understanding of their client´s worldview and its impact on the client's lifestyle. To gain more knowledge about Jewish identity and the interpretation of Jewish religious laws it may be beneficial for professional counselors to form partnerships or establish relationships with rabbis of the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox movement. Collaborating with rabbis may help counselors in building a relationship with the community in question and may help counselors and counselor educators to get a better understanding of the needs of that particular community. This may be important when working with Orthodox clients because they tend to be insular and often rely on networks within their community (Holliman & Wagner, 2011). However, this may be even more important when working with Jews of the Reform movement as they tend to be impacted by antisemitism significantly more often than Orthodox Jews, according to the results of my study.

Implications for Counselor Educators

To ensure that future counselors can fulfill their roles as advocates for the Jewish community, it is necessary that counselor educators include Jewish issues such as antisemitism in all its forms in the counselor preparation curriculum. Antisemitic incidents can impact the sense of safety and psychological functioning of Jewish individuals (Weinberg, 2011). Professional counselors can support Jewish clients in developing appropriate coping skills, however, in order to provide adequate support professional counselors need to be aware of all of the issues impacting the Jewish community in the first place. Counselor educators may want to add additional readings about Jewish topics to class readings such as religious and cultural practices, or how Shabbat observance may impact an individual´s career options. In addition, counselor

educators may want to assist their students in exploring assumptions and possible faulty beliefs about Jewish issues such as Jewish identity and antisemitism.

Lastly, counselor educators may want to advocate for the inclusion of Jewish issues in all counselor preparation classes and textbooks. For instance, future textbooks on multicultural aspects should include information about Jewish identity development, differences among Jewish denominations, and the various types of antisemitism such as anti-Zionism. Textbooks on career counseling may want to address career issues for Shabbat-observing individuals or Orthodox women with many children. Textbooks on counseling skills and theories may add information about how Jewish culture may impact Jewish clients´ expectations in a counseling session. For instance, Jewish clients may be interested in discussing or debating their diagnosis and the case conceptualization in their session which may be off-putting for professional counselors, especially if they have not been prepared for this possibility (Levitt & Balkin, 2003).

It is time for the counseling profession to include antisemitism when discussing multicultural topics such as racism, oppression, and discrimination, as 96% of the participants in this study have become targets of antisemitism at some point in time in their lives. The hatred of Jews in its different expressions continues to be a pervasive issue in the U.S. and worldwide. This hatred needs to be addressed in addition to that experienced by other minority groups because the results of this study indicate that Jews are victimized based on anti-Zionist attitudes, as well as religious and ethnic prejudice. More specifically, all mental health professionals need to understand that the hatred of Jews is a combination of racism, religious bias, and socio-economic bias; in order to support Jewish individuals all facets of antisemitism need to be addressed. The recent shootings and stabbings combined with the latest hate crime statistics illustrate that antisemitism is well and alive. A closer look at the perpetrators, who may be of

any skin color or shade, reveals that the motivation for murdering Jews can be based on religious bias as well as ethnic bias. Thus, professional counselors and counselor educators need to gain a better understanding about the different forms of antisemitism and the consequences and engage in self-reflection to explore to what extent they hold antisemitic views.

Limitations of the Study

This study contains several limitations suggesting that more research will be necessary to fully understand the complexity of Jewish identity and antisemitism. The data for this study was collected online relying on snowball sampling and convenience sampling. In general, convenience sampling has limited generalizability and it is more likely that there may be an over or underrepresentation of a specific population compared to a probability sampling (Heppner et al., 2008). This may have been the case in this study. As a member of a Conservative synagogue who lives in an Orthodox neighborhood, I have many close connections to other Conservative and Orthodox Jews. This fact may be the reason why the largest sample of participants came from Conservative Jews and not as expected from Reform Jews. In this study, 39% of participants reported being part of the Conservative movement as compared to 19% who reported being Reform Jews. Yet previous research suggests that the Reform movement is the biggest movement among the three major affiliations (Pew Research Center, 2013). It is possible that the results of this study are biased as there may have been a significant difference between people who chose to participate and those who decided not to participate. Moreover, data was collected online, and thus individuals without internet access were excluded from this study.

In addition, it is important to point out that almost half (46.6%) of the participants in this study live in New Jersey and New York. Therefore, the results may not be generalizable to Jews living in other states such as Florida or California as regional differences may exist. Overall,

participants in this sample were well-educated. Most participants (75.9%) reported having a bachelors or higher degree. There may be significant differences between individuals with a higher education and those who have an associate´s or a high school degree. Thus, the generalizability of this study may be limited as the level of education may impact how often participants are confronted with discrimination.

Another limitation of this study may be the length of the survey, as evidenced by the fact that out of 408 participants 279 individuals completed the first two parts of the survey and only 222 completed the entire survey. It is conceivable that meaningful differences exist between those participants who completed the entire survey and those who completed it only partially. Thus, the results may not accurately reflect the experiences of all Jews in the U.S.

A further limitation of this study is the use of the GED to measure experiences with antisemitism. The GED measures ethnic discrimination exclusively and measures neither religious discrimination nor anti-Zionism. In addition, the GED does not take into account existing stereotypes about Jews (e.g., Jews are greedy). Thus, it is possible that participants underreported how often they have been exposed to antisemitism and how stressful the situation was for them because the survey did not prompt them to answer questions related to religious bias or anti-Israel attitudes. Considering that experiences with anti-Zionism were reported most often, closely followed by discrimination based on religion, it is highly probable that the results of this study could have been more pronounced if all experiences with discrimination had been included in the measure of experiences with antisemitism. The GED may be a valid assessment tool that can be applied to measure stressors for ethnic groups, however, it is not an ideal assessment tool to measure the stressors experienced by ethno-religious groups such as Jews. Despite these limitations this study indicates that when exploring Jewish identity in a counseling

setting it is vital to explore both religious and ethnic aspects of Jewish identity. Additionally, the study contributes to a better understanding of the role that religious denomination plays and provides insight about the prominence of anti-Zionism as a form of racism.

Suggestions for Future Research

As far as I am aware the present study is a first attempt in analyzing the relationship between Jewish identity, religious denomination, and experiences with antisemitism. Future researchers may want to repeat this study using an assessment tool that is better equipped to measure a wide range of antisemitic experiences including anti-Zionism and religious prejudice to expand on the scientific understanding of antisemitic-related stressors in the Jewish community. It would be beneficial to include other streams of Judaism such as the Reconstructionist movement or Jews who report being secular or atheist in future research. This would allow for a more nuanced picture of how often and how stressful antisemitic experience are for different Jewish groups.

This study provided some interesting new information that created further questions. For instance, Orthodox and Conservative Jews reported experiencing fewer antisemitic incidents in the past year, even though both groups tend to have a stronger religious identity than Reform Jews. In light of the many violent antisemitic attacks that impacted the Orthodox and Conservative communities over the last two years this is puzzling. It appears that there may be a buffer that protects these groups from antisemitism. However, it is not clear what it is that acts as a buffer. Future research could provide answers that could be helpful in assisting Jewish clients avoid becoming a victim of antisemitism in the first place. More specifically, future researchers may want to explore if there are significant differences in behavior or attitude between Jewish individuals who have experienced antisemitism and those individuals who have

not. Furthermore, Orthodox Jews in this study reported lower levels of stress when exposed to antisemitism. Future researchers may want to explore this phenomenon to get a better understanding of factors that impact an individual´s mental health.

To gain a better understanding of how antisemitism impacts the mental health and overall well-being of Jewish individuals, future investigators may want to use a qualitative research approach. A qualitative approach may be useful in getting in-depth information as to how Jews cope with antisemitism. Lastly, future researchers may want to continue exploring what type of antisemitism Jews experience most often and if the type of antisemitism experienced significantly changes how stressful an antisemitic incident is deemed.

Conclusion

Overall, this study provided new knowledge with regard to Jewish identity and antisemitism. Both a strong religious and strong ethnic identity play an important role when it comes to the perception of antisemitism. Individuals with a strong Jewish identity tend to report experiencing more antisemitic related stressors than individuals with a weaker Jewish identity. Membership in one of the three major denominations is another aspect of Jewish identity that significantly contributes to experiences with antisemitism. Orthodox Jews and to a lesser degree Conservative Jews, appear to be exposed to antisemitism less often than Reform Jews. Counselor educators and professional counselors working with Jewish students or clients need to consider all aspects of Jewish identity and be careful not to make assumptions of what it means to identify as a Jew in the U.S. The erroneous belief that Jews are just a religious group or that less religious Jews experience less antisemitism or that antisemitism is not a serious issue can lead to misunderstandings and to the minimization of painful experiences. Thus, a clinician's lack of awareness or a clinician's bias may exacerbate mental health issues in Jewish clients.

According to Comas-Díaz, Hall, and Neville (2019) exposure and re-exposure to racial stressors such as antisemitism can become traumatic.

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Appendix A

Recruitment Email

Dear Participant,

My name is Michaela Ambrosius and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling program at Montclair State University in New Jersey. You are receiving this e-mail as an invitation to participate in a study about Jewish experiences with antisemitism. All Jewish individuals (18 years and older) residing in the U.S. are eligible to participate in this doctoral dissertation study.

The goal of this study is to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the various forms of antisemitism (hostility towards Jews as a religious, ethnic, or racial group, and anti-Zionism) and Jewish identity.

Antisemitism continues to be a troubling issue worldwide and in the U.S. As a result, I am interested in researching antisemitism and anti-Zionism with the goal to support the Jewish community and to provide the counseling community with valuable information on how to assist Jewish individuals who have been exposed to this particular form of racism.

If you would like to participate in this study, you will complete a short online survey that will take you around 30 minutes to complete. Your survey responses will be anonymous and confidential. This study has received approval from the Institutional Review Board at Montclair State University. If you identify as a Jew and are interested in taking part in this research study, please click on the link below. If you know of any other Jewish individuals who may be interested in participating in this study please feel free to forward this e-mail to them.

"By clicking on this link, you are providing your consent to participate in this study."

https://montclair.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_eFMFbAwl3vl1uiV

In case of questions, please feel free to contact me at ambrosiusm1@montclair.edu. Alternatively, you can also contact my faculty sponsor and dissertation committee chair, Dr. Dana Heller Levitt at levittd@montclair.edu.

I appreciate your participation and thank you in advance for your time.

Best regards,

Michaela Ambrosius, LMHC

Doctoral Candidate

Counseling Ph.D. Program

Montclair State University

Appendix B

Informed Consent

A Study about Antisemitism and Jewish Identity

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in the present study on the relationship between Jewish identity and experiences with antisemitism. More specifically, the principal investigator hopes to learn more about the relationship between Jewish identity and antisemitism and Jewish denomination and antisemitism. Furthermore, I hope to find out what type of antisemitism (i.e. ethnic, religiously based, or anti-Zionism) Jewish individuals tend to experience most often.

You were selected to participate in this study because you self-identify as Jewish and live in the U.S. If you decide to participate, please complete the following set of questions. The survey is designed to measure Jewish identity (i.e. religious and/or ethnic aspects) as well as experiences with antisemitism. It will take about 30 minutes to complete the survey. You will be asked to answer questions about your Jewish affiliation, as well as Jewish traditions and practices you keep. Additionally, you will be asked to answer questions about your personal experiences with and thoughts about antisemitism. You may experience some discomfort as you reflect on your personal experiences with discrimination. If you need support you may contact the NAMI helpline at 800-950-NAMI.

You will not directly benefit from this research. However, you may benefit from this study indirectly by contributing to the counseling field's awareness and knowledge regarding Jewish issues, such as antisemitism.

Data will be collected using the Internet. While there are no guarantees on the security of data sent on the Internet, I will maximize confidentiality by **not** collecting your name or any other personal data such as birthday or social security number. I recommend that you use your personal computer to complete this study rather than an employer-issued device. Your right to privacy will remain intact as the computer used to input data for statistical analysis will be password protected and only used by the principal investigator. The information obtained may be used for future research and publications.

If you choose to participate, you have the right to stop at any time. You may skip questions you do not want to answer.

If you have any questions pertaining to this study feel free to contact me directly at

ambrosiusm1@montclair.edu. You can also contact my Faculty Advisor,

Dr. Dana Heller Levitt, at levittd@montclair.edu.

Any questions about your rights may be directed to Dr. Katrina Bulkley, Chair of the

Institutional Review Board at Montclair State University at

reviewboard@mail.montclair.edu or 973-655-5189.

The Institutional Review Board at Montclair State University as has approved this study # IRB-FY18-19-1263

Thank you for your time.

Best regards,

Michaela Ambrosius, LMHC

Doctoral Candidate

Montclair State University

Department of Counselor Education and Leadership

By clicking to the next page below, I confirm that I have read this form and will participate in the described study. I am aware of its general purpose and the possible risks associated with my participation. These have been outlined to my satisfaction. I understand that I can discontinue participation at any time. My consent also indicates that I am 18 years of age.

Please feel free to print a copy of this consent.

I give my permission to use my data in future research. Yes _____ No _____

If you are interested in participating in future research on this topic, please contact me at ambrosiusm1@montclair.edu.

Appendix C

American Jewish Identity Scale (AJIS)

Developed by Friedlander, Myrna L., Friedman, Michelle L., Miller, Matthew J., Ellis, Michael V., Friedlander, Lee K., Mikhaylov, Vadim G., 2010

(Permission received from author)

INSTRUCTION: Please answer the following 33 items using the following rating scale:

1 = *not at all true of me;* 2 = a *little true of me;* 3 = *fairly true of me;* 4 = *very true of me*

1. I observe the Sabbath.
2. I enjoy Jewish literature.
3. I deliberately seek out Jewish professionals (health care providers, realtors, etc.) or businesses.
4. I read Jewish newspapers.
5. I am embarrassed, ashamed or angry when a Jew does something criminal.
6. I study Jewish religious texts (e.g., Torah, Talmud, Gemora).
7. I try to follow all Jewish commandments in my daily life.
8. I am proud to be Jewish.
9. I believe in the coming of the Messiah.
10. Being ethnically Jewish is more important to me than my nationality.
11. I show my Jewish identity to others by the way I dress.
12. It is important for me to date or marry a Jew.
13. I make contributions to Jewish causes.
14. I regularly keep my head covered for religious reasons.
15. A member of my household lights candles on the Sabbath.
16. I have a mezuzah in my home.
17. I know today's date on the Hebrew calendar.
18. I listen to Jewish secular music.
19. I feel connected to Judaism through my personal ancestors.
20. I celebrate all Jewish holidays.
21. My sense of being Jewish is constant no matter where I am.
22. "Tikkun olam" ("healing the world") is a Jewish value that is important to me.
23. I follow the dietary rules of Passover.
24. I read Hebrew.
25. I keep Kosher.
26. I dress in accordance with Jewish religious commandments.
27. I feel a strong connection to Israel.
28. I am active in a Jewish community center or organization.
29. I regularly go to a Mikvah.
30. I fast on Yom Kippur.
31. I attend Jewish religious services at a temple, synagogue, or shtiebl.
32. When in mourning, I observe all Jewish religious rituals.
33. I ritually wash my hands before eating

Appendix D

General Ethnic Discrimination Scale

Developed by Hope Landrine, Elizabeth A. Klonoff, Irma Corral,

Senaida Fernandez, and Scott Roesch, 2006

(Permission received from author to modify the scale)

INSTRUCTIONS: We are interested in your experiences, with antisemitism. As you answer the questions below, please think about your ENTRIRE LIFE, from when you were a child to the present that best captures the things that have happened to you. Answer each question 3 times.

1. How often have you been treated unfairly by **teachers and professors** because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all Stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

2. How often have you been treated unfairly by your **employers, bosses and supervisors** because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

3. How often have you been treated unfairly by your **co-workers, fellow students and colleagues** because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

4. How often have you been treated unfairly by **people in service** jobs (by **store clerks, waiters, bartenders, bank tellers and others**) because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

5. How often have you been treated unfairly by **strangers** because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

6. How often have you been treated unfairly by **people in helping jobs** (by **doctor, nurses, psychiatrists, case workers, dentists, school counselors, therapists, social workers and others**) because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

7. How often have you been treated unfairly by **neighbors** because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

8. How often have you been **treated unfairly by institutions** (by **schools, universities, law firms, police, the courts, the department of social services, the unemployment office and others**) because you are Jewish.

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. How often have you been **treated unfairly by people you thought were your friends** because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

10. How often have you **been accused or suspected of doing something wrong** (such as **stealing, cheating, not doing your share of work, breaking the law**) because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

11. How often have **people misunderstood your intentions and motives** because you are Jewish?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

12. How often did you **want to tell someone off** for **being antisemitic towards you but didn´t say anything**?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

13. How often have you been really **angry about something antisemitic that was done to you**?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

14. How often have you **been forced to take drastic steps** (such **as filing a grievance, filing a lawsuit, quitting your job, moving away and other actions other**) to deal with something antisemitic that was done to you?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

15. How often have you been called an antisemitic name?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

16. How often have you **gotten into an argument or a fight about something antisemitic that was done to you or done to another member of the Jewish community**?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

17. How often have you been **made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit or threatened with harm because you are Jewish**?

	Never	Once in a while	Sometimes	A lot	Most of the time	Almost all the time
How often in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often in your entire life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all stressful					Extremely stressful
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

18. How ***different*** would your life be now if you **HAD NOT BEEN** treated in an antisemitic or unfair way?

The same	A little	Different in	Different in	Different in	Totally

	as it is now	different	a few ways	a lot of ways	most ways	different
In the past year?						
In your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix E

Questions About Demographics and Experiences with Antisemitism

Questions related to antisemitism (except questions: 17-20) have been taken and slightly modified from the following survey:

Discrimination and Hate Crime Against Jews in EU Member States: Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism

Developed by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013

(Permission received from author)

1. Do you consider yourself to be Jewish in any way - this could be on the grounds of your religion, culture, upbringing, ethnicity or parentage

   a. Yes

   b. No

2. What age were you on your last birthday

Drop down menu for age groups

   a. below 25
   b. 25-34
   c. 35-44
   d. 45-54
   e. 55-64
   f. 65+

3. What is your gender?

   a. female

   b. male

   c. intersex

4. What is the highest degree or level of school completed?

   a. some high school, no diploma

   b. high school diploma or GED

   c. some college

d. associate degree

e. bachelor´s degree

f. master´s degree

g. post graduate degree

5. What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?

a. less than $25,000

b. $25,000 to $34,999

c. $35,000 to $49,999

d. $50,000 to $74,999

e. $75,000 to $99,999

f. $100,000 to $149,999

g. $150,000 or more

6. Are you affiliated with a synagogue?

a. Yes

b. No

7. Which of the following comes closest to describing your current Jewish identity? a. Reform

b. Conservative

c. Orthodox

d. unaffiliated

f. other

8. On the whole do you think that over the past five years antisemitism has increased, stayed the same, or decreased?

Decreased a lot	Decreased a little	Stayed the same	Increased a little	Increased a lot	Don´t know
1	2	3	4	5	0

9. In your opinion, how big a problem, if at all, are the following today?

Not a problem at all	Not a very big problem	A fairly big problem	A verb big problem	Don´t know
1	2	3	4	0
Antisemitic graffiti				
Desecration of Jewish cemeteries				
Vandalism of Jewish buildings of institutions				
Expression of hostility towards Jews in the street or other public places				
Antisemitism in the media				
Antisemitism in political life				
Antisemitism on the internet				

10. In the last 12 months, have you personally experienced any of the following incidents because you are Jewish?

	No	Yes
I have been verbally insulted.		
I have been harassed.		
I have been physically attacked.		

11. In the last 12 months, have you personally witnessed any of the following incidents?

	No	Yes
I have witnessed other Jew(s) being verbally insulted.		
I have witnessed other Jew(s) being harassed.		
I have witnessed other Jew(s) being physically attacked.		

12. How worried, if at all, are you that you will be a victim of the following when you are in the street or in any other public place in the next 12 months because you are Jewish?

Not at all worried	Not very worried	Fairly worried	Very worried
1	2	3	4
Being verbally insulted			
Being harassed			

Being physically attacked

13. To what extent, if at all, does the Israeli-Arab conflict impact on how safe you feel as a Jewish person?

Not at all	A little	A fair amount	A great deal
1	2	3	4

14. How often, if at all do you feel that people accuse or blame you for anything done by the Israeli government because you are Jewish?

Never	Occasionally	Frequently	All the time
1	2	3	4

15. In the last 12 months, how often if at all, have you personally heard or seen non-Jewish people suggest that:

Never	Occasionally	Frequently	All the time
1	2	3	4

Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis.

Jews have too much power (economy, politics, media)

Jews exploit Holocaust victimhood for their own purposes.

The Holocaust is a myth or has been exaggerate

Israelis behave "like Nazis" towards the Palestinians

Jews are only a religious group and not a nation

Jews are not capable of integrating into society

The interests of Jews are very different from the interests of the rest of the population.

16. In the last 12 months, where did you personally hear or see these comments?

	No	Yes
Among the general public (e.g. in the street, on public transportation)		
In political speeches or discussions (e.g. congress)		
At cultural events (e.g. a demonstration)		

At sports events

In academia (e.g. at university, at school)

On the internet (e.g. blogs, social networking site)

In social situation (e.g. amongst friends, colleagues)

Somewhere else (specify)

Don´t remember

17. Considering **your** experiences/knowledge with antisemitism please rank the following examples from experienced least often (1) to most often (3)

antisemitism based on religious prejudice (e.g. "Christkiller")

antisemitism based on ethnic prejudice (e.g. painting a swastika)

antisemitism based on anti-Israel attitudes (e.g. denying Israel's right to exist, comparing Israel to Nazi Germany)

18. Which of the following examples do you think is being experienced most frequently by the Jewish community at large? Please rank from least often (1) to most often (3)

Antisemitism based on religious prejudice (e.g. Christkiller)

Antisemitism based on ethnic prejudice (e.g. painting a swastika)

Antisemitism based on anti-Israel attitudes (e.g. denying Israel's right to exist, comparing Israel to Nazi Germany)

19. According to **your** opinion, which one of the following issues, do you believe has the most negative impacting on the Jewish community. Please rank from least negative (1) impact to most negative impact (3)

Antisemitism based on religious prejudice (e.g. Christkiller)

Antisemitism based on ethnic prejudice (e.g. painting a swastika)

Antisemitism based on anti-Israel attitudes (e.g. denying Israel's right to exist, comparing Israel to Nazi Germany)

20. Have you experienced antisemitism of any level by (choose all that apply):

a. Family members

b. Intimate partner

c. Friends

d. Coworkers/classmates

e. Acquaintances

f. Strangers

21. In which state do you currently live?

Drop down menu for states

22. Do you live in a(n):

a. Urban area

b. Suburban area

c. Rural area

23. Have you ever felt excluded by others because you are a Jew?

Never	Sometimes	Most of the time	All the time
1	2	3	4

24. Have you ever felt invalidated because you are a Jew?

Never	Sometimes	Most of the time	All the time
1	2	3	4

25. Have you ever felt invisible because you are a Jew?

Never	Sometimes	Most of the time	All the time
1	2	3	4

26. Have you ever been told that antisemitism is not a problem?

Never	Sometimes	Most of the time	All the time
1	2	3	4

27. Have you ever been told that you complain too much about antisemitism?

Never	Sometimes	Most of the time	All the time
1	2	3	4

Appendix F

IRB Approval Form

Date: 4-23-2020

IRB #: IRB-FY18-19-1263
Title: SS Antisemitism Today and Its Relationship to Jewish Identity and Religious Denomination
Creation Date: 10-25-2018
End Date:
Status: Approved
Principal Investigator: Dana Levitt
Review Board: MSU Institutional Review Board
Sponsor:

Study History

Submission Type Initial	**Review Type** Exempt	**Decision** Exempt
Submission Type Modification	**Review Type** Exempt	**Decision** Approved

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