

Old and new antisemitism in Europe France as a magnifying glass

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Growing fear of rising antisemitism in Europe

January 22: the EC presented its **Eurobarometer on « Perceptions of antisemitism » (12/2018)** from the Jewish Museum in Bruxelles, where Mehdi Nemmouche shot 4 people in 2014

50% sample (28 states) consider AS is a problem
(66% Germany, 72% France, 81% Sweden)

And 36% considers AS on the rise

On the side of the victims even darker perceptions

Second FRA survey on Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism by European Jews (2018)(16,000 Jewish people in 12 European countries)

:

- 90 % of respondents feel anti-Semitism is growing in their country
- 30 % say they have been harassed
- Over 1/3 avoid going to Jewish events or sites fearing for their safety

Yet:

If one looks at data, with social sciences tools, not so simple

Acts , how awful they may be, differ from **opinions**

Not the 1930s, not facing « the worse **resurgence** of AS since WW2 » (as said by French president Emmanuel Macron), not new Cristal Night (parallel made by French Prime minister Edouard Philippe)

France taken as a magnifying glass

- Estimated number of Jews around 400 000- 500 000
- Estimated number of Muslims 4 to 5 million
- Spectacular rise of antisemitic acts since 2000/ 2nd Intifada, +74% rise between 2017 and 2018, trend continuing in 2019 (desecrations, verbal aggression of Finkelkraut, AS tags on Simone Veil's portraits)

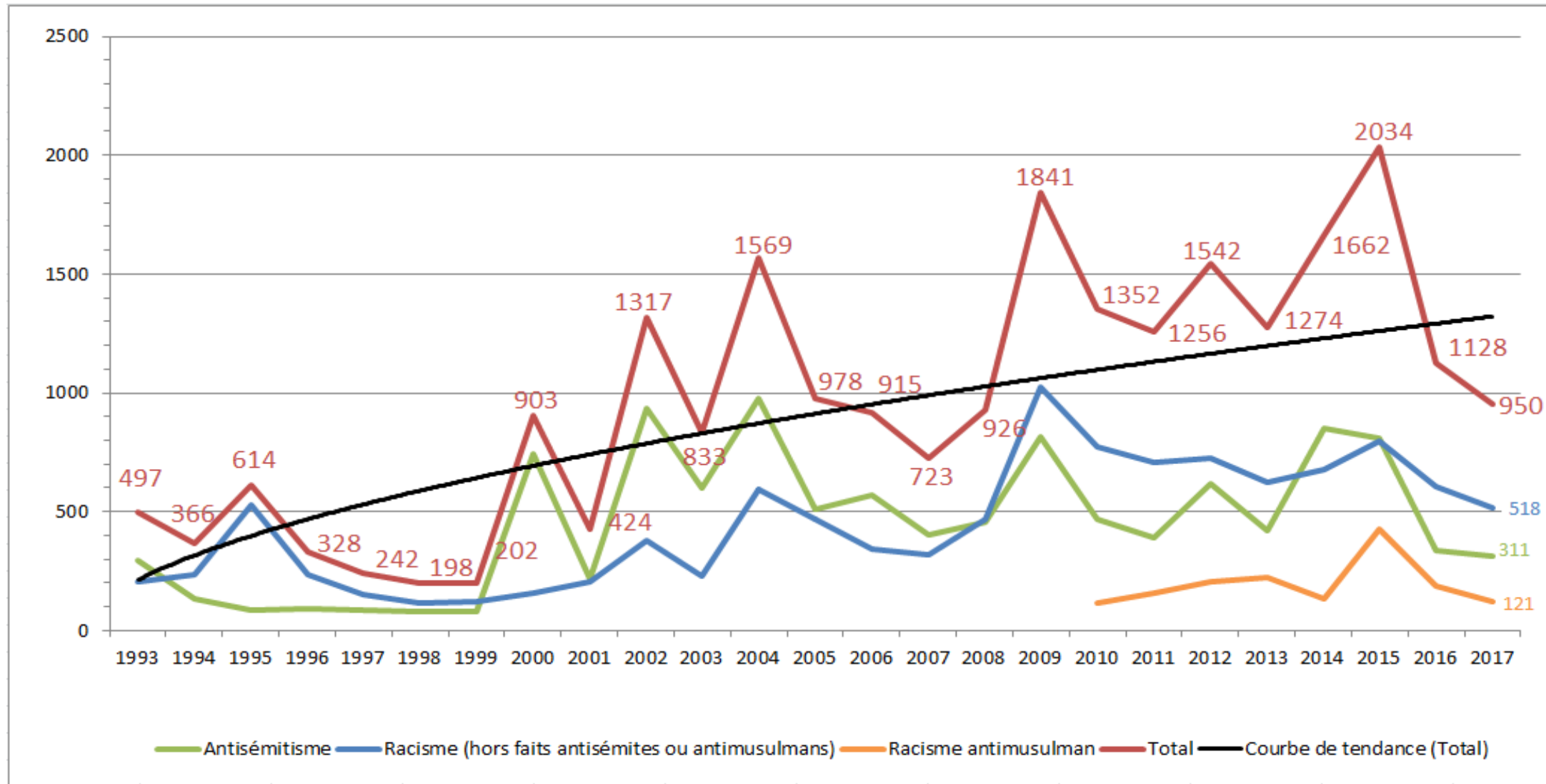
Rise of antisemitic acts in France (C215 (Christian Guémy) street art portraits)

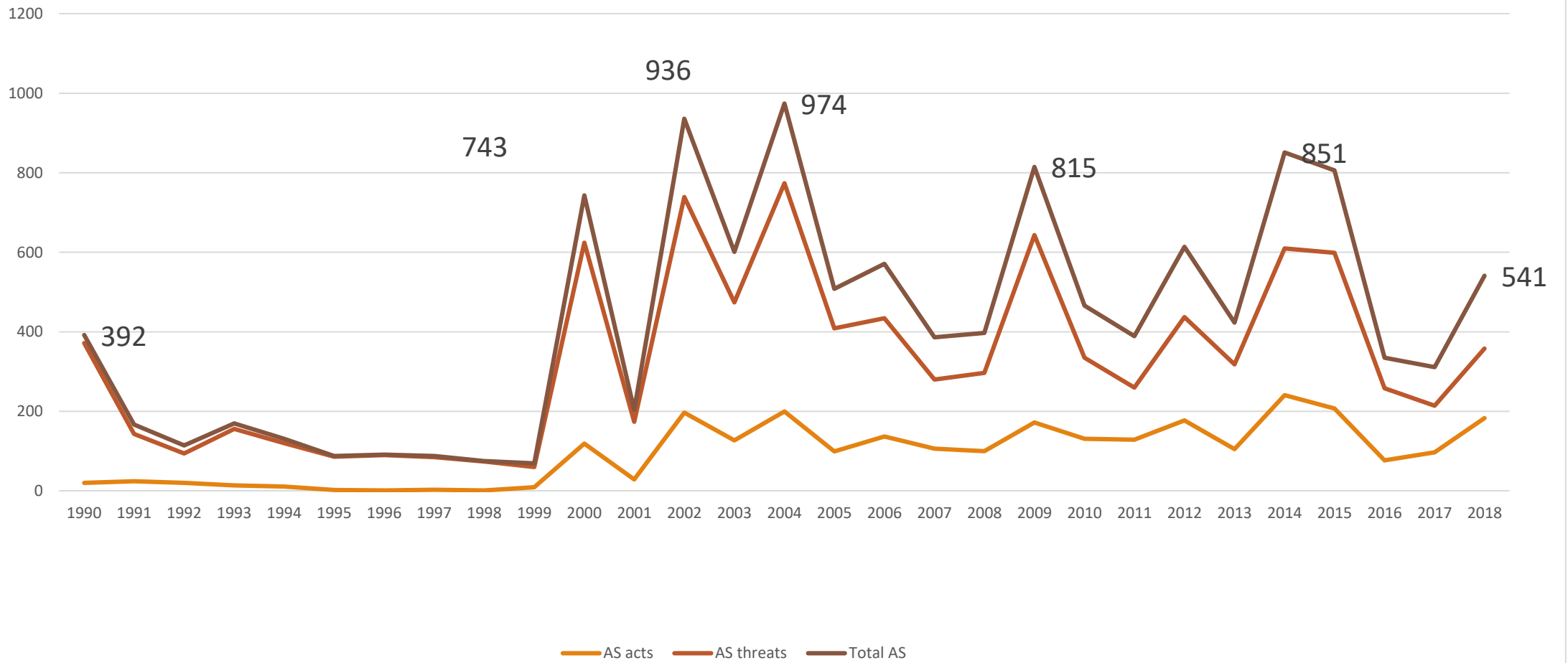


Acts (complaints to police, actions + threats)

Spectacular rise since 2000 and Second Intifada breakout, since then cyclical, in phase with IDF operations (Rampart, Rainbow, Cast Lead, Protective Edge and 2018: the Marches of return and the « Kite Intifada »)

Reported racist/antisemitic acts (Police SCRT data)





Beyond acts (a minority, and of diverse nature), what about opinions?

Public opinion matters, says what's forbidden, what's allowed in a society, what's legitimate/illegitimate

Data: National Commission for Human Rights (CNCDH)

- CNCDH Annual Survey Sondage face to face, national sample (N=1000), representative of adult population in metropolitan France, of all origins (36% have at least 1 foreign parent/grandparent, 13% Maghreb/Afric)
- Over 100 questions exploring since 1990 perceptions of immigrants, refugees, Muslims, Jews, Roma: the Other
- <https://www.cncdh.fr/fr/publications/les-essentiels-2017-report-fight-against-racism>

Angle: old AS or new judeophobia?

Transformations of racism in post WW2 post Holocaust democracies, antiracism the norm, expressed in indirect, disguised forms (soft, new, subtle, symbolic vs flagrant racism): the « other » not inferior, just different. **France Taguieff : rise of a « new judeophobia » (2002)**

- ◆ Judeophobia : against **jews not semites**
- ◆ New: **hides itself behind criticism of Israel and zionism** , in defense of the rights of Palestinian and human rights
- ◆ Gone **from extreme right to extreme left** of the political spectrum (radical islamists+ anti imperialist alliance)
- ◆ **Global exponential rise**

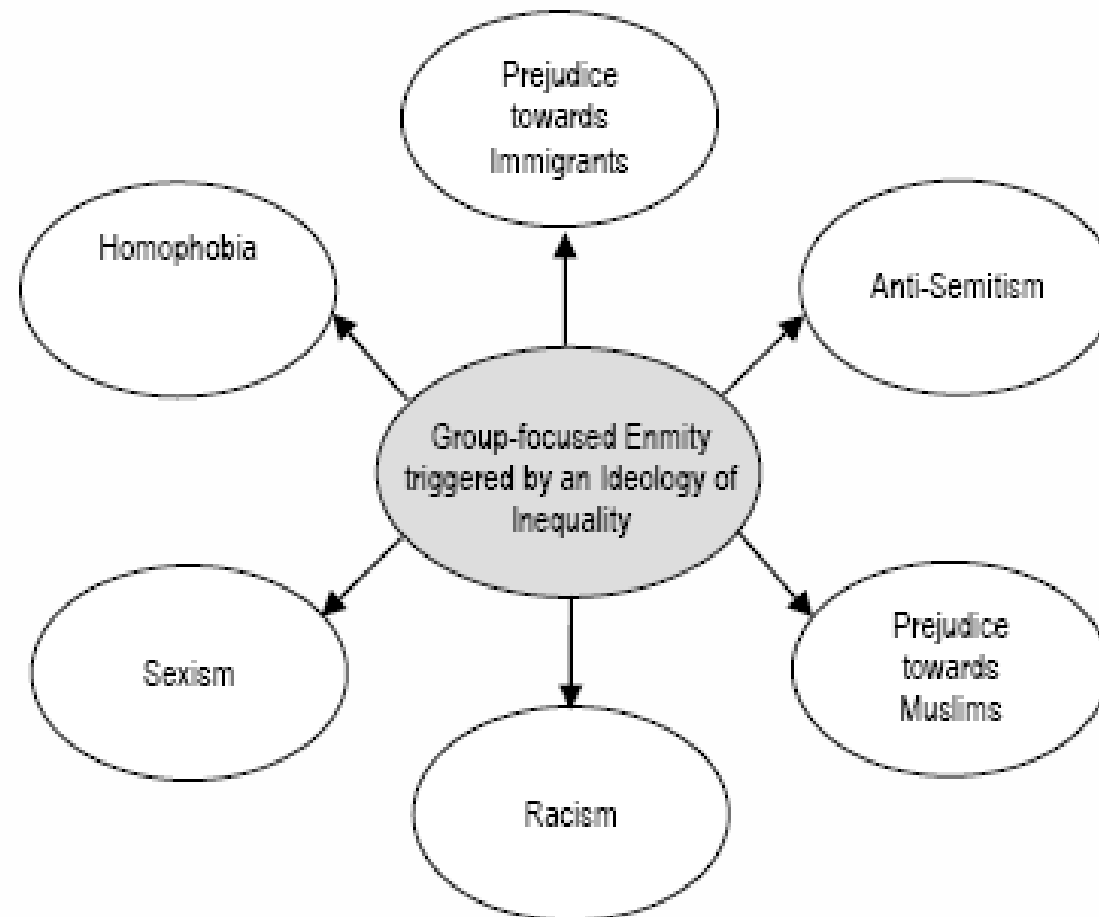
Results : don't validate new judeophobia

1. AS connected to other forms of racism
2. AS opinions not rising, declining in the long run
3. Structured by old stereotypes (Jews associated with money, power), not critics of Israel or Zionism
4. More frequent on the extreme right than on the extreme left

1. Connexion AS/other prejudice

« Group Focused Enmity » (Zick, Küpper, Heitmeyer, 8 countries survey, 2008-2009)

Figure 1. The syndrome of *Group-focused Enmity* in Europe

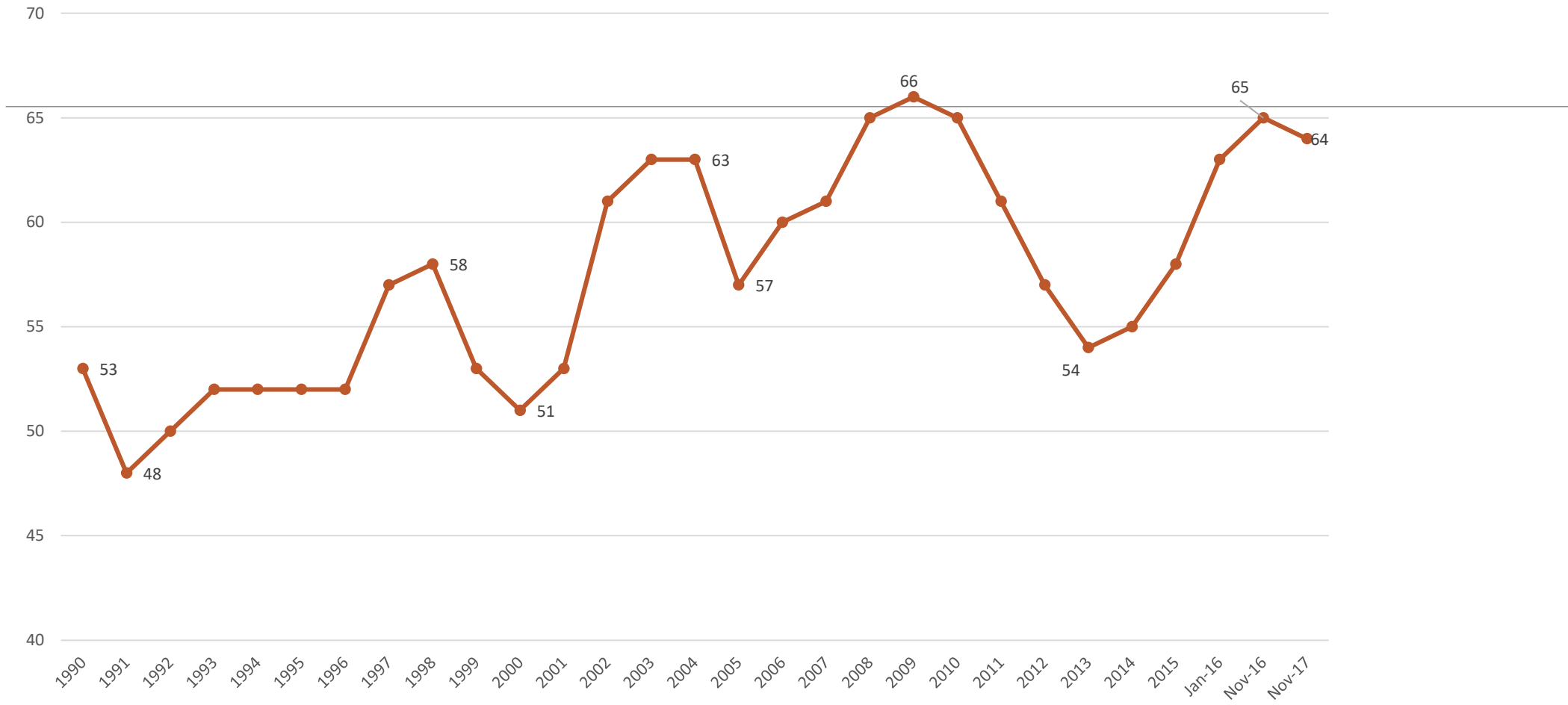


2. The decline of AS opinions

ILT: Longitudinal Index of Tolerance (Tiberj)

- 69 questions asked at least 3 times since 1990
- Average % of tolerant answers
- Varies between 0 (if nobody ever gives the tolerant answer) and 100 (everyone always gives tolerant answer)
- Synthetic measure of tolerance
- + Reliability and comparison through time

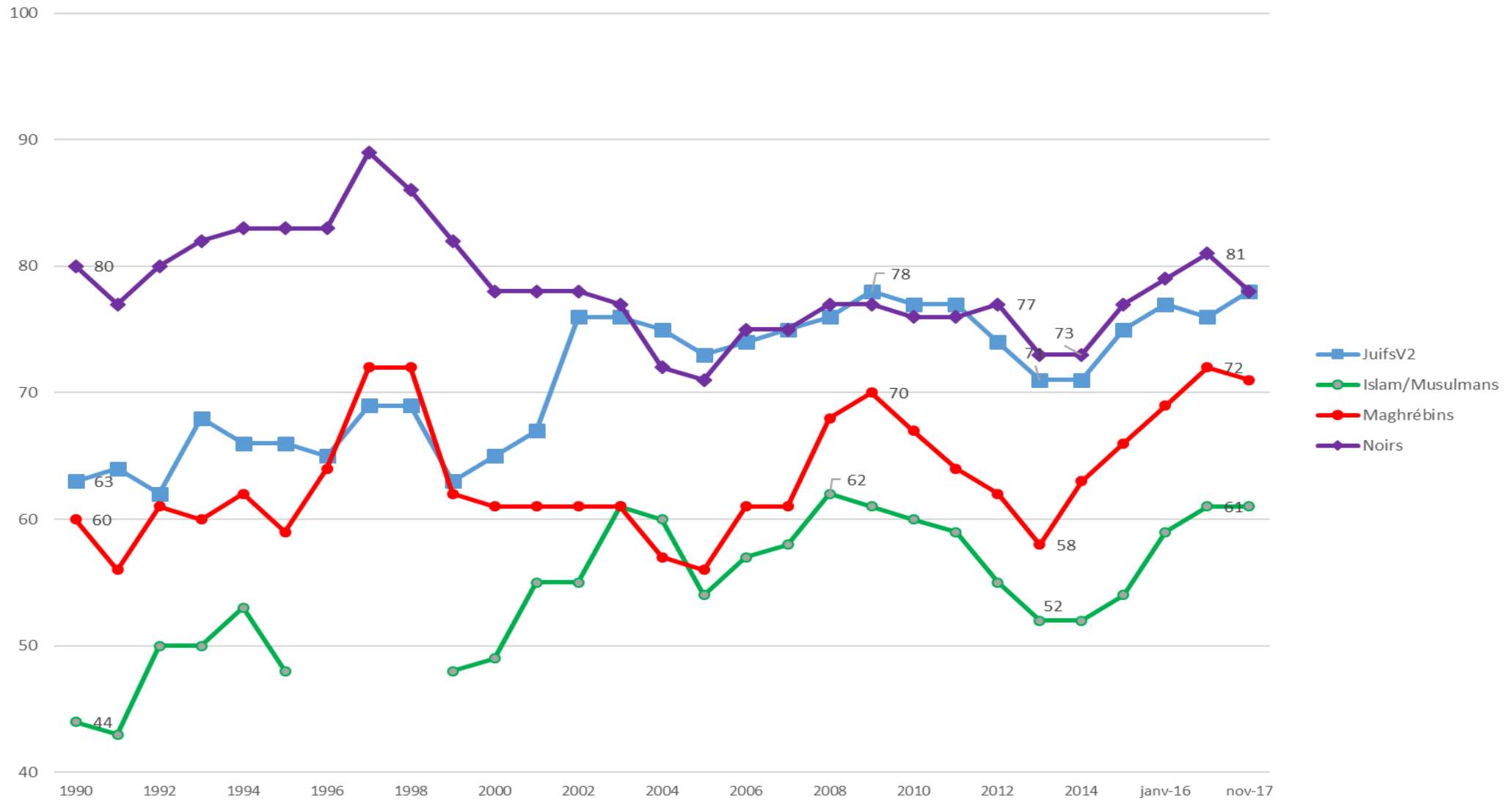
The Longitudinal Index of Tolerance



A hierarchy of prejudice

- Since 2000, contrary to AS acts, AS opinions are going down (the score ILT for Jews on the rise)
- Jews the most accepted minority
- If one looks at earlier survey even more striking
- **As French as any other French**: 91% vs 34% in 1947
- **Would object a Jew becoming President of the Republic**: over half in 1966 now between 17 and 20%

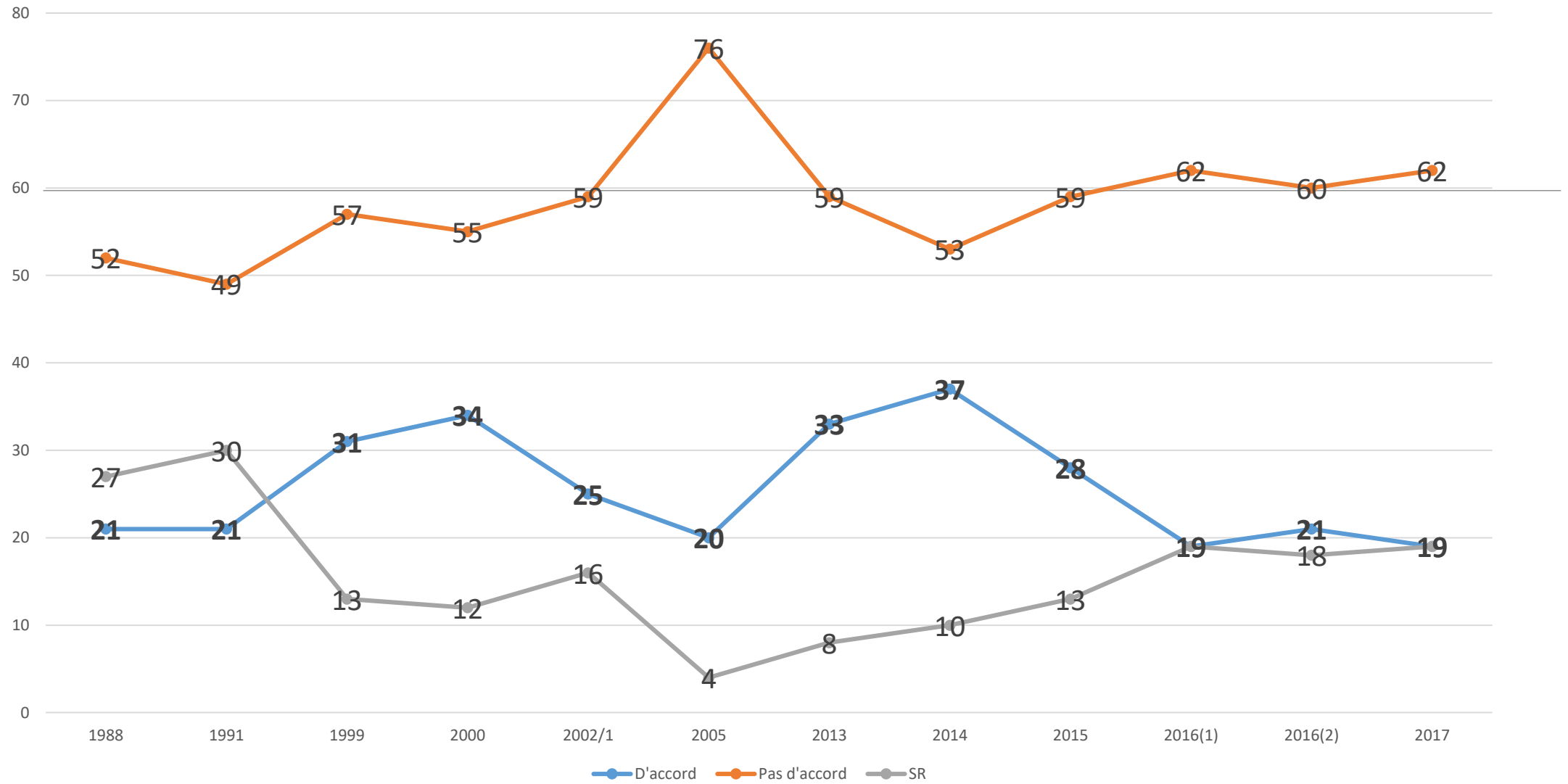
Figure 2.5. Les indices de tolérance par minorités



3 . Persistence/ predominance of old stereotypes

- Yet old stereotypes persist associating Jews with money and power
- They go up and down according to context (when feeling double standard, Jews favored: reparation for WW2 spoliations, Papon sent back to prison, ban of Dieudonné's shows, or pro Palestinian demonstrations)
- **It's still the old stereotypes that structure AS today**
- **Antisemitism:** half the sample does not know what Zionism means (Fondapol), and Israeli palestinian conflict seen with indifference, both sides rejected

Figure 5.1 Jews have too much power



Indicators of old and new forms of AS (%)

- Jews have **too much power** in France 20
- Jews have a specific relation to **money** 38
- For French Jews **Israel matters more** than France 39
- French Jews are (not) as **French as the other French** 6
- For you today in France Jews form a group a part in society (23), a group open to others, not particularly a group?
- **Israel evokes for you something** very/somewhat positive(24), somewhat/very **negative** (34), neither positive nor negative?
- In France today do you feel **one speaks too much** (17), not enough or just what's needed of the **extermination of Jews in WW2**?
- **Jewish religion** evokes for you something very/somewhat positive, somewhat/very negative (21), neither positive nor negative?
- Who has the largest **share of responsibility in the continuation of Israeli/Palestinians conflict**, Israeli(15,5), Palestinians(1,5), or one as much as the other(63)?
- People who hold public statements such as « **dirty Jew** » should be strongly sentenced/+sentenced but not strongly)/ should not be sentenced 13

Factor analysis (Principal components)

- **Actually one find 3 different factors:**

1 st (24%) **Old antisemitism** (money power double allegiance), not anti Israel

2nd (13%) **Anti Israel** pro Palestinian (13%), not antisemitic

3d (11%) **Anti judaism/Shoah**

- **Only the old AS items fit into a scale of AS**, and structure anti Jews attitudes, Israel peripheric issue and higher scores on the far right

4. Right/extreme right still the most AS

Not the same respondents

The 1st and 3d factor are old, uneducated, working class, right/ extreme right, and racist

The 2d are young, educated, middle class, left extreme left, and not AS or racist

Not specific to France

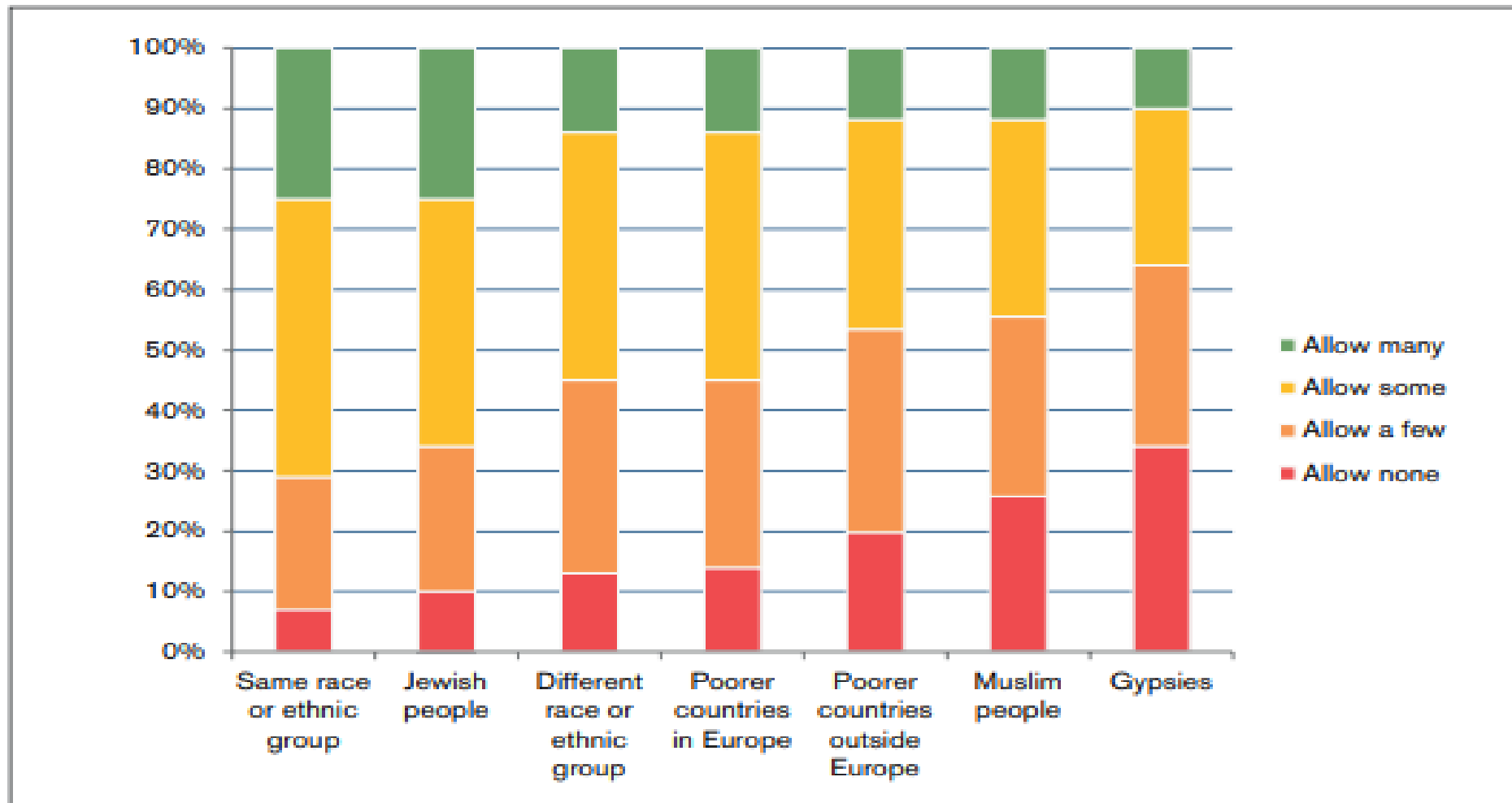
ESS data

https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/findings/ESS7_toplines_issue_7_immigration.pdf

Same hierarchy

Same explanatory factors

Figure 2: Attitudes towards different sorts of migrant in 2014



Source: European Social Survey Round 7, 2014 (all participating countries)

Analysis was conducted on the full sample of ESS respondents. Both design and population weights have been applied. Results exclude DK and refusal responses.

Survey for CNN 7 countries fall 2018

- 5% of Europeans has never heard of the Holocaust (in France 20% of young less 34 years old)
- 10% of Europeans admit they have unfavorable views of Jews (15% in Poland, 19% Hungary), while 16% said they had negative views of LGBT+ people, 36% of immigrants, 37% of Muslims, 39% of Romani people
- 20-25 % believe Jews too much influence (media, business)

Conclusion: caution

- Survey limitations : design bias, question wording, desirability bias
- yet show opinions are not actions (actual violences and discriminations), often even at odds (antisemitic actions flared up in 2000 after the Second Intifada, while positive opinions of Jews rose abruptly)
- On the whole AS always there, no sudden resurgence
- On the long run, AS opinions are declining and AS condemned (75%)
- Old and new AS coexist, intertwined, but old AS (money/power) structures the opinions not Israel not anti Zionism

Blind spot: « Muslim » AS?

Intergroup conflict Muslim/jews not detectable in 1000 survey sample

Brouard and Tiberj, *As French as everyone else? (2011)*: practicing Muslims are more AS than non Muslims, 40% think Jews too much power (vs 20%)

But one needs **control variables**: religion, social origin, economic hardship, place of living (les « quartiers »), the driving factor not necessarily religion, social resentment, « all things equal)

One needs **local monographs, in context** (our study in Sarcelles)

Acts: one needs to differentiate between terrorist attacks in the name of djihad (Merah, Charlie, Hypercasher), organised crime (Ilan Halimi kidnapping, agressions because « jews have money), and everyday ordinary antisemitism, mostly threats, the most difficult to live with