DISCUSSION PAPER

Negative Views of Jews among European Muslims[1]

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Introduction: Muslims in Europe Today

The vast majority of Muslims in Europe are immigrants or descendants of immigrants who settled in Europe after the Second World War. Together with other immigrants they came to work in the growing Western European economies during the 1950s, 60s and early 70s, family reunification, and, at a later stage, as refugees. Out of the European Union's population of 500 million, 15 to 20 million are Muslim today. Two thirds of them live in France, Germany, or the UK.[2] France has the highest percentage of Muslims, but still only 6-8.5 percent of the population.[3] However, the percentage is higher in some urban agglomerations and among young people. The history of migration to Europe results in a diverse landscape of Muslim communities in each European country.

The majority of Muslims in Germany are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants from Turkey, around a quarter of them are ethnic Kurds; the second largest group

1 A more detailed paper on antisemitism among European Muslims will be published in Alvin H. Rosenfeld, ed., *Resurgent Antisemitism: Global Perspectives*, Indiana University Press (Bloomington, 2013). Some of the findings on discrimination against Muslims were published in Günther Jikeli, "Discrimination of European Muslims: Self-Perceptions, Experiences and Discourses of Victimhood," in *Minority Groups: Coercion, Discrimination, Exclusion, Deviance and the Quest for Equality*, ed. Dan Soen, Mally Shechory, and Sarah Ben-David (Hauppauge, N.Y.: Nova Science Publisher's, 2012), 77–96.

2 Open Society Institute, *Muslims in Europe. A Report on 11 EU Cities* (New York; London; Budapest, 2010), 22, http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home/articles_publications/publications/muslims-europe-20091215/a-muslims-europe-20100302.pdf; Pew Research Center, *Mapping the Global Muslim Population – A Report on the Size and Disrtibution of the World's Muslim Population*, 2009.

3 Thomas Vampouille, "France : Comment Est Évalué Le Nombre De Musulmans," *Le Figaro*, April 5, 2011.

comes from ex-Yugoslavia. Alevis, adherents to a particularly liberal branch of Islam, form 13 to 25 percent of the Muslim population in Germany.[4] Around 80 percent of Muslims in France have a Maghreb background, mostly Arab but also Berber. Other ethnicities include people from Turkey, Sub-Saharan Africa and Middle Eastern countries.[5] Most Muslims in the UK are immigrants or descendants of immigrants from former colonies in South Asia, today's Pakistan, Bangladesh and India.[6]

However, today, the majority of European Muslims are an integral part of the fabric of their cities, regions, and countries. Although there have been vociferous discussions about terrorist plots by young European Muslims, public approval of the Shari'a, clashes in reaction to cartoons mocking the Prophet Muhammad, and public debates about Muslim women wearing the veil or about outlawing the burkha, forced marriages, and "honor killings", they mostly concern a minority of Muslims and do not lead to a general alienation of Muslims from mainstream society. It is important to keep in mind that the interpretation of Islam, far from being a homogeneous religion, varies according to religious groups, ideological streams, and individual preferences. However, the religious identity is of growing importance for European Muslims. Today, most Muslims strongly identify with Islam but also with their country of residence.[7]

Muslim communities face a number of social-economic challenges, including particularly high unemployment rates, relatively poor housing conditions on average and lower levels of formal work qualifications. Discrimination is also factor. In addition to racism and xenophobia, Muslims increasingly face negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims. More than half of the population in Germany, France and Britain associate Muslims with fanaticism or violence.[8] In 2008, one in three Muslims in the EU had suffered

4 Open Society Institute, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report: Germany. Preliminary Research Report and Literature Survey*, 2007, 14, http://www.eumap.org/topics/minority/reports/eumuslims/background_reports/download/germany/germany.pdf; Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland*, 2009, 13; 57–93, http://www.bamf.de/cln_092/nn_442016/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Migration/Publikationen/Forschung/Forschungsberichte/fb6-muslimisches-leben.html; Martin Sökefeld, *Aleviten in Deutschland: Identitätsprozesse einer Religionsgemeinschaft in der Diaspora* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008).

5 Jonathan Laurence and Justin Vaïsse, *Integrating Islam: political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2006); Open Society Institute, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report: France. Preliminary Research Report and Literature Survey*, 2007, 11, http://www.eumap.org/topics/minority/reports/eumuslims/background_reports/download/france/france.pdf.

6 Office for National Statistics, *National Statistics - Focus On Religion*, October 2004, http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/ethnicity/focus-on-religion/2004-edition/focus-on-religion-summary-report.pdf.

7 Gallup, *The Gallup Coexist Index 2009: A Global Study of Interfaith Relations. With an In-depth Analysis of Muslim Integration in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom* (Washington, [D.C.]: Gallup, 2009), http://www.muslimwestfacts.com/mwf/118249/Gallup-Coexist-Index-2009.aspx.

8 Pew Global Attitudes Project, *The Great Divide. How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other.*, 2006,

discrimination in the previous twelve months.[9] However, this number varied according to country and ethnic background, and was even higher among other minority groups: 47 percent of Roma and 41 percent of people with Sub-Saharan African background had been discriminated against in the previous 12 months,[10] indicating that racism is still the dominant factor in discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities. Ten percent of the Muslim respondents believed that the discrimination they experienced was based on religion or belief; 32 percent thought it was based on ethnic or immigrant origin; and 43 percent assumed that it was a combination of all of the above.[11]

While reports suggest that anti-Muslim acts have not significantly increased in the past few years, Muslim organizations point to mounting fears among Muslims about the perceived rise of anti-Muslim sentiments.[12] Irrespective of the actual increase of anti-Muslim hostilities, there is a growing sense of victimhood based on Islamic belief. Debates on Islamic fundamentalism and increased anti-terror measures are often viewed as anti-Muslim bias.

Muslim Antisemitism in Europe

Antisemitism comes from a number of factions of society in Europe today. Antisemitism among Muslims has added weight to antisemitism from the far Right, the Left, and mainstream society and poses an additional security risk.[13] Antisemitism among European Muslims and Muslim organizations is frequently visible in anti-Israel demonstrations, and has sometimes led to veritable antisemitic riots, such as in Oslo at the

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http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/253.pdf.

9 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Data in Focus Report | Muslims* European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey, 2009, 5, http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/EU-MIDIS_MUSLIMS_EN.pdf.

10 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey.*, 2009, 36, http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/eumidis_mainreport_conference-edition_en_.pdf.

11 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Data in Focus Report | Muslims*, 5.

12 European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, *Muslims in the European Union. Discrimination and Islamophobia*, 2006, http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Manifestations_EN.pdf.

13 Robert Wistrich provides an excellent overview with numerous examples. Robert S Wistrich, *A lethal obsession : anti-Semitism from antiquity to the global Jihad* (New York: Random House, 2010); Robert S. Wistrich, *Muslimischer Antisemitismus: eine aktuelle Gefahr* (Berlin: Edition Critic, 2012). See also Pierre-André Taguieff, *Rising from the Muck: The New Anti-Semitism in Europe* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004). Surveys regularly show that antisemitic attitudes are widespread in mainstream society. A comparative study of eight European countries reveals that 24.5 percent agreed with the statement that Jews have too much influence in their country and that 41.2 percent suppose that "Jews try to take advantage of having been victims during the Nazi era." However, there are significant differences among the countries. See Andreas Zick, Beate Küpper, and Hinna Wolf, *European Conditions. Findings of a Study on Group-focused Enmity in Europe* (Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence, University of Bielefeld, 2009), http://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/w/files/pdfs/gfepressrelease_english.pdf.

beginning of 2009.[14] A number of violent incidents happened in recent years, perpetrated by youths of Muslim background. Most infamously, Mohamed Merah slaughtered three children and a teacher at a Jewish school in Toulouse, France, in 2012.[15] Ilan Halimi was tortured an murdered in Paris, in 2006, by a group of mostly Muslim youths calling themselves the "gang des barbares."[16] But also other incidents in which young Muslims have been involved, became public, such as the attack on a rabbi and his six-year-old daughter in Berlin in August 2012,[17] and an attack on Jewish dancers at a local festival in Hanover, Germany in 2010.[18] Muslim antisemitism is also a problem in the context of schools and education as reports and teachers' testimonies in Germany,[19] France,[20] and Britain[21] have shown. Problematic views are often voiced in the context of education about the Holocaust.[22] The impact on Jewish communities can be dramatic.[23]

Discussing Muslim antisemitism is politically challenging. This became apparent when a study, commissioned by an EU agency in 2002, that revealed that "Physical attacks on Jews and the desecration and destruction of synagogues were acts mainly committed by

14 Eirik Eiglad, *The anti-Jewish riots in Oslo* (Porsgrunn, Norway: Communalism Press, 2010).

15 On March, 19, 2012 Mohamed Merah opened fire in front of the Ozar Hatorah school in Toulouse. The gunman chased people inside the building and shot at them. He grabbed a 7-year-old girl, shooting her at close range. He then retrieved his moped, and drove off. Gabriel (4), Arieh (5), their father and teacher at the school, Jonathan Sandler, and Myriam Monsonégo (7) were killed and a 17-year-old student was gravely injured. The perpetrator, who also killed three unarmed French soldiers some days earlier, filmed his crimes, intending to publish them on the Internet and on Al Jazeera. "Mohammed Merah and Abdelkader Merah (Shootings in Toulouse, France)," *The New York Times*, April 4, 2012.

16 The self-named "gang des barbares" abducted Ilan Halimi because he was Jewish. Members of the gang tortured him for three weeks and eventually murdered him in a Parisian suburb. "Meurtre d'Ilan Halimi: Le 'Gang Des Barbares' Jugé En Appel, Sans Son Leader," *Le Monde*, October 25, 2010.

17 Günther Jikeli, "Der Neue Alte Antisemitismus Müssen Juden Sich Wieder Verstecken?," *Stern* (September 14, 2012).

18 Johannes Wiedeman, "Angriff Auf Tanzgruppe: Der Alltägliche Antisemitismus in Hannover-Sahlkamp," *Welt*, June 26, 2010. For other examples, see Christine Schmitt, "Bei Gefahr 0800 880280," *Jüdische Allgemeine*, February 25, 2010; "Un Rabbin Agressé à La Gare Du Nord," *Le Monde*, April 21, 2007; Nick Cohen, "Following Mosley's East End Footsteps," *The Observer*, April 17, 2005; Leon Symons, "Teacher 'Sacked for Challenging Antisemitism'," *The Jewish Chronicle*, February 9, 2010; Léa Khayata, "Battles of Paris. Anti-Semitism in the 19th Arrondissement, a Neighborhood with a Recent History of Violence," February 11, 2010.

19 Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, *"Die Juden sind schuld" Antisemitismus in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft am Beispiel muslimisch sozialisierter Milieus. Beispiele, Erfahrungen und Handlungsoptionen aus der pädagogischen und kommunalen Arbeit* (Berlin: Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, 2009), http://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/w/files/pdfs/diejuden.pdf.

20 Emmanuel Brenner, *Les territoires perdus de la République : antisémitisme, racisme et sexisme en milieu scolaire* (Paris: Mille et une nuits, 2002). An English translation is available at http://www.ajc.org/atf/cf/%7B42d75369-d582-4380-8395-d25925b85eaf%7D/LOST%20TERRITORIES.PDF.

21 The Historical Association, *T.E.A.C.H. Teaching Emotive and Controversial History 3-19*, 2007, 15, https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/RW100.pdf.

22 Günther Jikeli and Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun, eds., *Perceptions of the Holocaust in Europe and Muslim Communities Sources, Comparisons and Educational Challenges.* (Springer Verlag, 2012).

23 Donald Snyder, "For Jews, Swedish City Is a 'Place To Move Away From'," *The Jewish Daily Forward*, July 7, 2010.

young Muslim perpetrators mostly of an Arab descent in the monitoring period,"[24] was not published by the agency. It is feared that naming the problem contributes to further stigmatization of Muslim minorities.[25] I argue that scholarly discussions about antisemitism among Muslim in Europe are necessary for a detailed understanding about the phenomenon and its sources, which might inform effective tools in fighting antisemitism in Europe. Only if Muslims are essentialized, that is, if it is wrongly assumed that people with Muslim background *necessarily* or "naturally" adhere to certain attitudes, then it leads to further stigmatization. Neglecting specific forms of antisemitism and groups of antisemitic perpetrators, on the other hand, hinders the fight against antisemitism.

Systematic data on ethnic background of perpetrators of antisemitic acts are available mainly for Britain and France. In recent years, more than 30 percent of perpetrators of violent antisemitic incidents in those two countries were Muslim.[26] Data from Germany indicate that the percentage of right-wing perpetrators of antisemitic attacks is particularly high there. The data does not allow for an accurate estimation of the percentage of Muslim perpetrators[27] but it seems to be lower in Germany than in France and the UK.[28] However, although the percentage of Muslim perpetrators is disproportionately high for violent antisemitic attacks, it is disproportionately low for other forms of antisemitism, such as threats.[29]

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24 Bergmann and Wetzel, *Manifestations of anti-Semitism in the European Union. First Semester 2002. Synthesis Report on Behalf of the EUMC*, 25.

25 Some populists essentialize Muslims in their criticism of Muslim antisemitism. See Peter Widmann, "Der Feind Kommt Aus Dem Morgenland. Rechtspopulistische 'Islamkritiker' Um Den Publizisten Hans-Peter Raddatz Suchen Die Opfergemeinschaft Mit Juden," in *Jahrbuch Für Antisemitismusforschung 17* (Berlin: Metropol, 2008), 45–68.

26 Estimation based on the annual reports on antisemitic incidents in these countries, see Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme (CNCDH), *La Lutte Contre Le Racisme Et La Xénophobie : Rapport D'activité 2008*, 2009, 28, http://www.cncdh.fr/IMG/pdf/rapport_racisme_antisemitisme_et_xenophobie_2008.pdf. For the UK, see the reports issued by the Community Security Trust (CST), http://www.thecst.org.uk/.

27 Jikeli, "Der Neue Alte Antisemitismus Müssen Juden Sich Wieder Verstecken?".

28 However, a report on Berlin shows that 12 of 33 acts of antisemitic and anti-Israeli violence between 2003 and 2005 were committed by "foreigners" and 15 by right-wing extremists. *Antisemitismus Im Extremistischen Spektrum Berlins* (Berlin, 2006), 53, http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/seninn/verfassungsschutz/fokus_antisemitismus_2._aufl..pdf?start&ts=1234285743&file=fokus_antisemitismus_2._aufl..pdf.

29 The perpetrators of threats, including graffiti, often remain unknown but according to figures from the French CNCDH for the year 2009, 13 percent of antisemitic threats in France were related to neo-Nazi ideology and 5 percent were committed by people of Arab or Muslim background. Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme (CNCDH), *La Lutte Contre Le Racisme, Antisémitisme Et La Xénophobie. Année 2009*, 2010, 45, http://lesrapports.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/BRP/104000267/0000.pdf., Bergmann and Wetzel observed already in 2003 that different forms of antisemitic actions can be assigned to different groups of perpetrators. Werner Bergmann and Juliane Wetzel, *Manifestations of anti-Semitism in the European Union. First Semester 2002. Synthesis Report on Behalf of the EUMC*, 2003, 25–26, http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/oesterreich/e_bibliothek/antisemitismus-1/431_anti-

Surveys show that antisemitic attitudes are stronger and more widespread among Muslims in Europe than among non-Muslims. The Pew Global Attitudes Project published the only internationally comparative survey that distinguishes between Muslims and non-Muslims. Muslims and non-Muslims were asked in a number of countries whether they had a "favorable or unfavorable opinion of Jews." In the UK, 47 percent of Muslims and 7 percent of the general population stated that they had an unfavorable opinion of Jews. In France, the figures were 13 percent of the general population and 28 percent of Muslims, and in Germany, 22 percent of the general population and 44 percent of Muslims. The contrast is even greater when "very unfavorable" opinions are compared.[30]

Country-specific surveys that include a distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims confirm and specify these results.

In Germany, Katrin Brettfeld and Peter Wetzels conducted a non-representative study of 2,683 students, including 500 Muslims, from Cologne, Hamburg, and Augsburg. 15.7 percent of Muslims of migrant background, 7.4 percent of non-Muslims of migrant background, and 5.4 percent of non-Muslims with no migration background strongly believed that "people of Jewish faith are arrogant and greedy."[31] Another study, also commissioned by the German Ministry of the Interior, focused on radicalization of young Muslims (14 – 32 years old). 200 German Muslims, 517 non-German Muslims, and a representative sample of 200 young non-Muslim Germans were surveyed in 2009 and 2010. The questionnaire included two items on antisemitic attitudes, both related to Israel: (1) “Israel is exclusively to be blamed for the origin and continuation of the Middle East conflicts”, and (2) “It would be better if the Jews would leave the Middle East” (translation by the author). About 25 percent of both German and non-German Muslims and less than 5 percent of non-Muslim Germans agreed to both items.[32] Jürgen Mansel and Viktoria Spaiser carried out a survey in 2010 with 2,404 students with different ethnic backgrounds in Bielefeld, Cologne, Berlin, and Frankfurt; about one-third were Muslim. Antisemitic attitudes related to Israel, religious antisemitism, classic antisemitism, and equations between Israel and the Nazis were significantly higher among Muslim students than among

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semitism_in_the_european_union.pdf.

30 Pew Global Attitudes Project, *The Great Divide. How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other.* The survey was conducted before the Lebanon War in summer 2006.

31 Katrin Brettfeld and Peter Wetzels, *Muslime in Deutschland* (Hamburg, 2007), 274–275.

32 Wolfgang Frindte et al., *Lebenswelten Junger Muslime in Deutschland* (Berlin: Bundesministerium des Inneren, 2012), 245–247.

other students.[33] The researchers also found differences regarding ethnic background: 24.9 percent of students of Turkish-Muslim background and 40.4 percent of those of Arab background agreed "completely" with the statement, "Jews have too much influence in the world." Among those with no migrant background, the rate was only 3 percent . Some justified their antisemitic views with their religion: 15.9 percent of Muslim students of Turkish background and 25.7 percent of those of Arab background agreed unreservedly with the statement, "In my religion it is the Jews who drive the world to disaster." Looking at a different dimension, in response to the statement, "I am tired of hearing about the crimes against the Jews over and over again," 20.2 percent of those without migrant background were in complete agreement, 14.7 percent of those of Turkish background and 26 percent of those of Arab background.[34] This was also confirmed in another study from 2012 in Germany: Muslims endorse more often classic antisemitic statements than their non-Muslim counterparts; approval to secondary antisemitism reach average levels.[35] An earlier survey published in 1997 asked youths of Turkish background in Germany whether they thought that Zionism threatened Islam; 33.2 percent agreed.[36]

A Danish study based on interviews with ethnic Danes and immigrants from countries and regions with Muslim majorities (Turkey, Pakistan, Somalia, Palestinian Territories, and ex-Yugoslavia) found that a number of antisemitic stereotypes were significantly more widespread among immigrants than among ethnic Danes. 65.8 percent of the respondents with migrant background and 18.2 percent of ethnic Danes agreed that "one cannot be careful enough in relation to Jews in Denmark." The study also shows that anti-Jewish attitudes were more common among Muslim immigrants than among Christian

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33 These attitudes were measured with the following indicators: "Because of Israeli policies, I increasingly dislike Jews."; "Regarding Israel's policy I understand someone who is against Jews."; "In my religion, the Jews bring disaster to the world."; "Jews have too much influence in the world."; "What the State of Israel is doing to the Palestinians is basically no different from what the Nazis in the Third Reich did to the Jews."; "Jews throughout the world feel more strongly attached to Israel than to the country where they live." (Translation from German by the author.)

34 Jürgen Mansel and Victoria Spaiser, *Abschlussbericht Forschungsprojekt (Final Research Project Report) „Soziale Beziehungen, Konfliktpotentiale Und Vorurteile Im Kontext Von Erfahrungen Verweigerter Teilhabe Und Anerkennung Bei Jugendlichen Mit Und Ohne Migrationshintergrund* (Bielefeld, 2010), http://www.vielfalt-tut-gut.de/content/e4458/e8260/Uni_Bielefeld_Abschlussbericht_Forschungsprojekt.pdf and http://www.vielfalt-tut-gut.de/content/e4458/e8277/Uni_Bielefeld_Tabellenanhang.pdf.

35 Oliver Decker, Johannes Kiess, and Elmar Brähler, *Die Mitte Im Umbruch. Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland 2012*, ed. Ralf Melzer (Bonn: Dietz, 2012), 79. The study found "primary" antisemitism among 11.5 percent of the overall population and 16.7 percent among Muslims but 23.8 percent of "secondary" antisemitism among the overall population and 20.8 percent among Muslims. However, the poll included only 86 Muslims out of a sample of 2510 people.

36 Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Joachim Müller, and Helmut Schröder, *Verlockender Fundamentalismus : türkische Jugendliche in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 181, 271.

immigrants with the same ethnic origin (Palestinian and ex-Yugoslavian background).[37] In Britain, Muslims were interviewed by the polling institute Populus in December 2005. Although the survey does not provide comparative figures for non-Muslims, antisemitic attitudes seem particularly high. 53 percent agreed with the allegation that "Jews have too much influence over foreign policy"; 46 percent said that "Jews are in league with the Freemasons to control the media and politics"; and 37 percent even supported the statement that "Jews are legitimate targets as part of the ongoing struggle for justice in the Middle East."[38]

A comprehensive survey on prejudices and stereotypes among students in Sweden identified Muslim students as the group with the highest percentage of strong antisemitism (8.3 percent compared to 3.7 percent among Christians). However, the group of nonreligious students followed closely with 7.6 percent.[39]

In France, 33 percent of citizens of African and Turkish background and 18 percent among the general population showed antisemitic attitudes according to a poll from 2005. However, antisemitic attitudes are lower in the second generation born in France (17 percent). Interestingly, antisemitism among French citizens of African and Turkish background is only weakly related to conservative attitudes, ethnocentrism, and authoritarianism, but correlates strongly with the level of Islamic practice.[40] One of the authors of the study, Vincent Tiberj, argued that the social envy hypothesis, education, and even negative attitudes toward Israel cannot be explanatory factors, as respective correlations are relatively weak. The level of hostility toward Israel is similar among people of African and Turkish origin and the general population in France.[41]

An interesting study was also published in Belgium. In a poll in 32 Dutch-speaking high schools in Brussels about half of the Muslim students agreed with the following

37 Peter Nannestad, "Frø af ugræs? Antijødiske holdninger i fem ikke-vestlige indvandrergrupper i Danmark," in *Danmark og de fremmede : om mødet med den arabisk-muslimske verden*, ed. Tonny Brems Knudsen, Jørgen Dige Pedersen, and Georg Sørensen (Århus: Academica, 2009), 43–62.

38 Populus/Times, *Muslims Poll*, 2005, http://www.populus.co.uk/uploads/Muslim_Poll-Times.pdf.

39 The Living History Forum and Brottsförebyggande rådet (BRÅ), *Intolerance. Anti-Semitic, Homophobic, Islamophobic and Xenophobic Tendencies Among the Young* (Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet (BRÅ), 2005), 59, 152–153, http://www.levandehistoria.se/files/INTOLERANCEENG_0.pdf.

40 Among French people of African or Turkish origin antisemitism reaches 46 percent of practicing Muslims, 40 percent of "infrequently" observant Muslims, 30 percent among non-practicing Muslims, and 23 percent among those who have no religion. Sylvain Brouard and Vincent Tiberj, *Français Comme Les Autres*
Maghrébine, Africaine Et Turque (Paris: Presses de la fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 2005), 104.

41 Vincent Tiberj, "Anti-Semitism in an Ethnically Diverse France: Questioning and Explaining the Specificities of African-, Turkish-, and Maghrebian-French," 2006, http://www.aup.fr/pdf/WPSeries/AUP_wp33-Tiberj.pdf.

statements.

(1) “Jews want to dominate everything.” (total: 31.4 percent, Muslims: 56.8 percent, non-Muslims: 10.5 percent); (2) “Most Jews think they're better than others.” (total: 29.9 percent, Muslims: 47.1 percent, non-Muslims: 12.9 percent); (3) “If you do business with Jews, you should be extra careful.” (total: 28.6 percent, Muslims: 47.5 percent, non-Muslims: 12.9 percent); (4) “Jews incite to war and blame others." (total: 28.4 percent, Muslims: 53.7 percent, non-Muslims: 7.7 percent). The antisemitic attitudes were unrelated to low educational level or social disadvantage.[42]

What Rationales Are Used By Young European Muslims? Results From an Empirical Study

How do young Muslims express antisemitic views and what kind of reasons do they give for their aversion to Jews? My colleagues and I conducted face-to-face interviews with more than 100 young male[43] Muslims in Germany, France and the UK over a period of three years (2005-2007). The young men, between 14 and 27, were asked on the streets of Berlin, Paris and London about their experiences of discrimination, self-identification, attitudes on world conflicts, religion, and Jews.[44] They self-identified as Muslim.[45] This lead to a saturation of arguments regarding discrimination and views of Jews in the sample across the three cities.[46] The interviewees had various ethnic and educational backgrounds (from early school leavers to university graduates). The majority of interviewees in Germany were of Turkish origin, most interviewees in France had a Maghreb background and in the UK they had a South-

42 Mark Elchardus, “Antisemitisme in De Brusselse Scholen,” in *Jong in Brussel. Bevindingen Uit De Jop-monitor Brussel*, ed. Nicole Vettenburg, Mark Elchardus, and Johan Put (Leuven; Den Haag: Acco, 2011), 265–296.

43 We also interviewed a small number of female interviewees but the analysis is restricted to male interviewees for methodological reasons. The role of gender in attitudes toward Jews is unclear. Different surveys show contradicting results. The study by Frindte et al. on young Muslims in Germany found no gender differences whereas the study by the Living History Forum did find significant gender differences among young Muslims in Sweden. Compare Frindte et al., *Lebenswelten Junger Muslime in Deutschland*, 226 and The Living History Forum and Brottsförebyggande rådet (BRÅ), *Intolerance. Anti-Semitic, Homophobic, Islamophobic and Xenophobic Tendencies Among the Young*, 59, 152–153.

44 Conducted by the International Institute for Education and Research on Antisemitism, www.iibsa.org and part of a Ph.D project at the Center for Research on Antisemitism, Berlin. The full study was published in 2012. Günther Jikeli, *Antisemitismus und Diskriminierungswahrnehmungen junger Muslime in Deutschland* (Essen, Ruhr: Klartext, 2012).

45 After some initial questions about the neighborhood, conflicts and discrimination, interviewees were asked about their religious affiliation.

46 This approach is used in Grounded Theory (“saturation” of arguments). However, the analytical strategy might be considered too focused for an orthodox method of Grounded Theory. See Jane C. Hood, “Orthodoxy Vs. Power: The Defining Traits of Grounded Theory,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory*, ed. Antony Bryant and Kathy Charmaz, n.d., 151–164.

Asian heritage. Thus, the ethnic backgrounds represented largely the ethnic backgrounds of Muslims in each country, which adds to the transferability of the results to other young European Muslims.[47]

Perceptions of Discrimination and National Identity

The ways how discrimination and exclusion are perceived vary significantly in Germany, France and Great Britain. Generally, interviewees in Berlin feel that there is discrimination against "foreigners," based on skin and hair color. In Paris, the impression is that discrimination is focused foremost on Arabs and blacks, based on skin color, Arab names, and stigmatized neighborhoods. In London, many also think that discrimination is based on skin color, but others believe that it is currently the anti-Muslim prejudices that prevails. Differences of perceptions between the countries are even greater related to the identification with the country of residence. In Germany, interviewees only exceptionally identify as German, even despite German citizenship. In France, by contrast, most interviewees consider themselves French, although many have the feeling that they are not accepted as such. In Britain, Muslims' non-acceptance as British seems to be less of an issue than in France, although some voiced concerns about either direct or institutional non-acceptance and discrimination against them as members of ethnic or religious minorities. However, most respondents in Britain identified Britishness as one important dimension of their identity, often in combination with their ethnic background and in self-descriptions such as "British-Asian." These differences can be largely explained as a result of disparate concepts of national identity and immigration policies in Germany, France, and Britain.

Muslim identity and identification as German, French, or British are usually not perceived as contradictory among young Muslims in Europe, except for those who have a Manichean perception of Islam which establishes a clear divide between Muslims and non-Muslims, a trend observed particularly in the UK. This explains responses in surveys to the effect that Islam and democracy are incompatible. In 2006, 36 percent of Muslims in Germany, 28 percent in France and 47 percent in Great Britain, thought that there was a natural conflict between being a devout Muslim and living in a modern society.[48]

Conflicting perceptions of Muslim identity consist of an emphasis on the community of Muslims combined with a dichotomic view of Muslims and others. The latter is often

47 For more information on the sample and methods, see Jikeli, *Antisemitismus und Diskriminierungswahrnehmungen junger Muslime in* Deutschland.

48 Pew Global Attitudes Project, *The Great Divide. How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other.*

related to a conspiratorial perception of a "war against Muslims," often phrased in religious terms, such as a war between Islam and Christianity and Judaism. These perceptions can be found in all three countries, but in Britain it is connected more directly to alienation from national identity, partly because of the involvement of British troops in the Iraq war, which is seen as part of the "war against Muslims." Such dichotomic perceptions often imply conspiracy theories in which "the Jews" or "the West" are deemed responsible for the alleged global war against Muslims. Hatred of the West and the Jews stems not from the discrimination they experience but as a result of conspiratorial perceptions of being the victim of an alleged global attack on Muslims.[49]

Negative Views of Jews

Whereas the focus here is on negative views of Jews among Muslims, it should be kept in mind that many European Muslims do not show any negative attitudes toward Jews and some interviewees in this sample explicitly spoke out against antisemitic views from their friends and family.[50]

However, the analysis of the interviewees' arguments shows four distinctive patterns of antisemitic argumentation that are used by young Muslims in all three cities:

1) "Classic" antisemitism (conspiracy theories, "Jews are rich," etc.);
2) Negative views of Jews with reference to Israel (allegations such as "Jews/Israelis kill children");
3) Negative views of Jews with reference to the Muslim or ethnic identity or to Islam ("Muslims dislike Jews");
4) Negative views of Jews without rationalization (perception that it is "natural" to loathe Jews or the use of the word "Jew" as an insult).

1) Attitudes of "Classic" Antisemitism

This category comprises antisemitic conspiracy theories and well-known stereotypes of Jews. The trope of rich Jews is very popular among interviewees from all countries and backgrounds. Other stereotypes are related to it, such as the belief that Jews are stingy, greedy, or exploitative. Jews have also been portrayed as clannish, treacherous, and clever.

49 For more details see Jikeli, "Discrimination of European Muslims: Self-Perceptions, Experiences and Discourses of Victimhood."

50 For a detailed analysis of these anti-antisemites' rationales see Jikeli, *Antisemitismus und Diskriminierungswahrnehmungen junger Muslime in Deutschland*.

More rarely, certain physical characteristics have been attributed to them. Common themes for antisemitic conspiracy theories are “Jewish power” in the world, “Jewish influence” in the United States, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, "big business", the Holocaust, the media, suicide attacks, the Middle East conflict, the alleged war against Muslims, and, occasionally, even topics such as AIDS and tsunamis.

There are many reasons why people want to believe in conspiracy theories. A central rationale among interviewees seems to be the wish to explain and personalize complicated processes. “*For everything that must happen, there is a reason,*” declared one after stating, “*it's obvious now, that there is someone, and not just someone, but a group of people [...] like a ruling class we hardly see*” (Neoy, London). This is a textbook illustration of the tendency to seek out simplistic worldly explanations.[51] The same interviewee holds conspiracy theory beliefs about the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, the Holocaust, Israel's power and his assumption that, “*all these other big channels they are owned by Jews and they do control the majority of the media*” (Neoy, London).

Such views of "classic" antisemitism are also widespread in mainstream society. 21 percent in Germany, 33 percent in France, and 15 percent in the UK believe that it is "probably true" that Jews have too much power in the business world.[52] “Classic” antisemitic stereotypes and conspiracy theories connect to well-known negative tropes of Jews within mainstream society. They are also expressions of psychological mechanisms in modern societies[53] and serve as simplistic explanations of the world's problems.

2) Negative Views of Jews with Reference to Israel

Antisemitic attitudes with reference to Israel come with a) conflation of Jews with Israelis and b) Manichean views of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Negative views of Israel can then serve as justification for general hatred against Jews, including German, French, and British Jews. Almost all interviewees who show hostile attitudes toward Israel or Israelis conflate Jews and Israelis at one point or another and also show negative attitudes toward Jews. This confirms surveys in Germany and other European countries.[54]

51 Wolfgang Benz, *Was Ist Antisemitismus?* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2004), 192.

52 Anti-Defamation League, *Attitudes Toward Jews in Seven European Countries*, February 2009, http://www.adl.org/Public%20ADL%20Anti-Semitism%20Presentation%20February%202009%20_3_.pdf.

53 Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightment* (London: Verso, 1972).

54 Andreas Zick and Beate Küpper noted that 90 percent of Germans who criticized Israel in 2004 also endorsed antisemitic statements. Andreas Zick and Beate Küpper, “Traditioneller Und Moderner Antisemitismus” Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, November 28, 2006, http://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/antisemitismus/37967/traditioneller-und-moderner-antisemitismus?p=all.. The fact that antisemitism often appears in the guise of criticism of Israel is also reflected in

One of the most common antisemitic tropes with reference to Israel is “Jews/Israelis kill children,” including the allegation that “the Israelis” or “the Jews” (usually the latter) kill children on purpose, out of cruelty and evilness. It is part of a Manichaen view of the Middle East conflict and vilifies Israel.

> “*The Israelis, they are warriors, they kill children, and the Palestinians are such poor people [...] and they [the Israelis] come and just attack them.*”
>
> (Kassim, Berlin)

Such Manichean perspectives on the Middle East conflict, however, can also be found in European media and are generally widespread in Europe.[55]

The fundamental deligitimization of Israel is another issue. Different rationales are used to deny Israel's legitimacy, which is an antisemitic trope in itself.[56] The main argument being used is that Jews have built Israel on what is regarded as “Muslim land” (or Palestinian or Arab land), and that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine has therefore been wrong from the beginning. A Jewish state in that region is perceived by many to be fundamentally wrong. Others accept the Jewish State of Israel as reality.

However, hostility against Israel is rarely a question of borders or specific policies by the Israeli government. The topos “Jews have taken over Muslim/Palestinian/Arab land” is often used to deny the legitimacy of the State of Israel entirely.

The intensity of hostility against Jews justified by the Middle East conflict is related to identification with "the Palestinians," either via an Arab or Muslim identity, or both. Not all interviewees identify with Palestinians, but most respondents of Arab background do. Arab identity is an important additional factor that can enhance hostility against European Jews, on the basis of claims related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which is often interpreted as a conflict between Arabs and Israel/”the Jews.”

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comparative surveys in a number of European countries. Andreas Zick, Andreas Hövermann, and Beate Küpper, *Intolerance, prejudice and discrimination: a European report* (Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Forum Berlin, 2011), 162, http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/do/07908-20110311.pdf.

55 Zick, Hövermann, and Küpper, *Intolerance, prejudice and discrimination*.

56 The EUMC Working Definition of Antisemitism states, “Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination,” as an examples of the ways in which antisemitism manifests itself with regard to the State of Israel. EUMC/ FRA, “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” 2005, http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/material/pub/AS/AS-WorkingDefinition-draft.pdf. The term “delegitimization” is explained in Natan Sharansky, “3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization,” *Jewish Political Studies Review* 16:3–4 (October 2004).

3) Negative Views of Jews with Reference to Religious or Ethnic Identity

The interviews demonstrate that some Muslims relate their negative views of Jews to their ethnic or religious identity or to their perception of Islam. The assumption of a general enmity between Muslims and Jews is widespread. Somewhat less frequently interviewees believe that there was an eternal enmity between the individual ethnic community and Jews. Such assumptions are voiced approvingly in statements such as "Muslims and Jews are enemies" or "the Arabs dislike Jews."[57] In such views the Israeli-Palestinian conflict merely serves as an example. The enmity is understood in much wider terms. "*As a Muslim you have problems, not with Israelis, [but] with Jews*." said Ümit explicitly, an interviewee of Turkish origin from Berlin. However, justifications are often vague.

Such generalizing and essentializing assumptions of enmity deny different views among individuals within the community and different interpretations of Islam and wrongly portray Muslims as a unitary category regarding their attitudes of Jews.[58] What is more, such assumptions that are bound to the collective religious identity make it difficult for individuals to distance themselves from them.

The same goes for rationales related to the ethnic identity. It has been argued that anti-Zionism and antisemitism are part and parcel of Arab nationalism.[59] Many participants of Arab background believe that their Arab identity encompasses negative views of Jews. This underlying assumption is often uttered in passing: "*In any case, we, the Arabs, we never get along with them [the Jews]*" (Hafid, Paris), said a man of Algerian origin. Two main rationales are used for a justification. It is either argued that such hostility is a reaction to the alleged hatred of Jews against Arabs, or the Middle East conflict is used to argue why Arabs allegedly (all) dislike Jews.

Religious rationales on the other hand are intertwined with argumentations based both on religious sources and Muslim identity. In young Muslims' discussions about an alleged "interdiction" of befriending or marrying Jews, for example, alleged religious reasons and pressure from other Muslims are mixed. Interviewees' references to a long

57 Religious and ethnic identities often get blurred in this context. The enmity is seen as one between "us" and "the Jews."

58 Tarek Fatah is probably the most prominent contemporary scholar who writes from a Muslim perspective against the assumption that Muslims and Jews are enemies. See Tarek Fatah, *The Jew is not my enemy : unveiling the myths that fuel Muslim anti-Semitism* (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland & Stewart, 2010).

59 Jochen Müller, "Von Antizionismus Und Antisemitismus. Stereotypenbildung in Der Arabischen Öffentlichkeit," in *Anitsemitismus in Europa Und in Der Arabischen Welt. Ursachen Und Wechselbeziehungen Eines Komplexen Phänomens*, ed. Wolfgang Ansorge (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2006), 163–182.

history of animosity between Muslims and Jews can be related to the historical perspectives of conflicts between the two groups or to an interpretation of Islamic scriptures, which highlights the conflicts between Mohammed and Jewish tribes. Direct references to the Qur'an or to the belief that suicide bombers go to paradise for killing Jews, on the other hand, are rooted in certain views of Islam. References to the Qur'an have a particularly strong authority as it is regarded as the word of God, dictated to the prophet Mohammed, and thus is seen as reflecting divine truth, often in a literal understanding of fragmented scripture.

The level of animosity against Jews with reference to Islam or Muslim identity can vary. This variation in hostility also holds true for those who see similarities between Judaism and Islam or who see Muslims and Jews as "cousins." One interviewee was adamant when he said, "*Muslims are supposed to be the Jewish's worst enemies*" (Sabir, London). He saw Muslims and Jews (and Christians) in a global war. Some root their notions of Jewish enmity in apocalyptic visions and conspiracy theories. Others only assume the existence of a mutual antipathy but reject notions of war. Patterns of argumentation with reference to Islam include direct references to God's perception of the Jews, who allegedly condemns them for their materialistic and life-affirming lifestyle.

However, it is important to note that it is particular perceptions of Islam and Muslim (and ethnic) identity that are relevant for such forms of antisemitism. As in all purported rationales for Jew-hatred, these notions are chimerical;[60] they are not the actual reason for antisemitic attitudes.

4) No Rationalization

All antisemitic attitudes are, by definition, irrational. They are not rooted in any allegedly negative characteristics of Jews, in particular actions of Jews, or in conflict with Jews. However, as shown in the description of the three previous categories of argumentation ("classic" modern antisemitism, references to Israel, and references to Islam or the religious or ethnic identity), participants often try to justify their hostile attitudes toward Jews by claiming negative assertions about them to be true or by extrapolating particular traits or behaviors of some Jews to "the Jews." But some participants do not even

60 I borrowed this term from Gavin I. Langmuir, "Towards a Definition of Antisemitism," in *The Persisting Question. Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, ed. Helen Fein (Berlin/ New York, 1987), 86–127.

attempt to offer justifications for their hostility. In their minds, negative views of Jews are self-evident.

"Jewish people are Jewish, that's why we don't like them," said Ganesh from London. And Bashir from Berlin confirmed his outspoken hatred of *all* Jews, *"Because they are Jews nevertheless. Jews are, a Jew is a Jew anyway."*

The "argument" of hating Jews because they are Jews points to the essence of antisemitism: its irrationality. Endorsing such irrationality is radical but consistent. The antisemite longs for the extermination of the Jews. Bashir wishes, *"that the damned Jews should be burnt."*

Antisemitic resentments do not stem only from learned stereotypes but also from unconscious projections onto Jews, the actual behaviors or lives of whom may shape only the nature of antisemitic expressions. The argument of hating Jews because they are Jews is rarely bluntly voiced, but this irrational "cause" often shines through when hatred against "all Jews" is justified with accusations for which only some Jews can possibly be responsible. Others consider their negative feelings toward Jews to be "common sense" and normal. This finds expression in a peculiar use of language. The very term Jew is understood among many as carrying negative connotations.[61] The words for "Jew" ("Jude" in German and "Juif" and "Feuj" in French) are used as insults or otherwise in a pejorative way by interviewees in France and Germany. (Such usage appears to be less frequent in Britain today.[62])

Relation Between Antisemitism and Perceptions of Discrimination and Exclusion

Some scholars have linked discrimination and antisemitism among Muslims, alleging that a crucial cause of antisemitism among European Muslims lies in their marginalization, discrimination and exclusion.[63] The theoretical assumptions of such allegations remain

61 Günther Jikeli, "Anti-Semitism in Youth Language: The Pejorative Use of the Terms for 'Jew' in German and French Today," *Conflict & Communication Online* 9, no. 1 (2010): 1–13; Günther Jikeli, "'Jew' as a Slur in German and French Today," *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 1, no. 2 (2009): 209–232.

62 The interviews in London indicate that this usage of the word "Jew" in Britain is not as common as in France and Germany among youths. Anna-Brita Stenström et al. did research on common insults among youths in London and did not report of the use of "Jew" as an insult. Anna-Brita Stenström, Gisle Andersen, and Ingrid Kristine Hasund, *Trends in Teenage Talk* (J. Benjamins, 2002). However, there were reports of such usage in the UK in the late 1990s. David Margolis, "Anti-Semitism in the Playground," *The Independent*, February 1, 1999.

63 See Matti Bunzl, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Hatreds Old and New in Europe* (Chicago, 2007), 26–27. Paul A. Silverstein wrote a "Comment on Bunzl" in the same volume. See also Esther Benbassa,

unclear: One could also surmise the contrary: that suffering from discrimination and exclusion would lead to criticism of discrimination and prejudices against other minorities, including Jews. However, it also does not explain the fact that other minorities who feel similar or even stronger discrimination show less antisemitic attitudes. In our sample we could not find a correlation between discrimination and antisemitism. The same is true for a relation between antisemitism and the feeling of belonging to national society. The self-identification with the nation is very different in Germany, France, and Britain, as shown above, but the level of antisemitism is similar, and, according to surveys even stronger in Britain where most interviewees identify themselves British.

Focusing only on statistical correlations, however, may be misleading because of two reasons: A) The relation between discrimination and antisemitism is too complex to be described as a simple correlation and certainly not as a straightforward cause-and-effect. B) Some perceptions of a global discrimination against Muslims include antisemitic conspiracy theories. Similarly, the rhetoric of victimhood competition can contain antisemitic arguments.[64] Correlations between such attitudes would only confirm that antisemitic perceptions of discrimination and victimhood are correlated with antisemitic world views.

However, the formation of complex attitudes such as antisemitism are unlikely to be rooted in a single factor.

Sources and Factors of Influence

The formation of any attitude is a multidimensional process.[65] This is also true in the case of antisemitism. The genesis of antisemitic attitudes among European Muslims cannot be reduced to religious beliefs or affiliation. Such attitudes are neither a necessary result of belief in Islam or of Muslim identity or of deprived living conditions. Exposure to antisemitic remarks, media, or propaganda enhances antisemitic beliefs, but it does not necessarily lead to antisemitic attitudes, as proved by some interviewees who, despite these

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"Jewish-Moslem Relations in Contemporary France," *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies* 11, no. 2 (2007): 189–194. Klaus Holz adopted a similar argument and mentioned the social, racist and religious exclusion of Muslims as indirect reasons for the manifestation of antisemitism. Klaus Holz, *Die Gegenwart Des Antisemitismus: Islamistische, Demokratische Und Antizionistische Judenfeindschaft* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2005), 9.

64 Bernard Henri Lévy, *Ce grand cadavre à la renverse* (Paris: Grasset, 2007). See also Jochen Müller, "Auf Den Spuren Von Nasser. Nationalismus Und Antisemitismus Im Radikalen Islamismus," in *Antisemitismus Und Radikaler Islamismus*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Juliane Wetzel (Essen: Klartext, 2007), 85–101.

65 William D Crano and Radmila Prislin, *Attitudes and attitude change* (New York; London: Psychology Press, 2008).

factors, ultimately reject antisemitic views. The eventual adoption of antisemitic stereotypes and ways of thinking is a choice made by individuals.

Along with a number of other factors of influence, antisemitic attitudes are related to worldviews and individual psychological processes and mechanisms.[66] The interviews provide some hints to projections onto Jews. In some cases, participants directly linked their fantasies, which they know are immoral and thus have to be suppressed, to antisemitic assumptions. Hussein from London, for instance, explained the events of 11 September 2001 with his own wish to have more money and to do whatever it takes to obtain some. He suspects similar motives for the alleged Jewish conspirators of 9/11. Other examples in which Jews were blamed for terrorist attacks can also be interpreted as expressions of pathological projection. Many interviewees had difficulty in accepting that Muslims were the perpetrators of terrorist attacks and that they used their religious convictions to justify their deeds. The terrorist attacks are still seen as evil, but some projected the responsibility onto Jews. Conspiracy theories about the terror attacks on 11 September 2001 again serve as an example. However, Ümit from Berlin, who is convinced that people who believe in Islam cannot undertake suicide attacks, took it a step further. He feels that Muslims are unjustly accused of terrorism, and stated that Jews or Americans disguised as Muslims might have blown themselves up in Israel. Another area of projection is the wish for solidarity or social stability. Some envy Jews for their alleged solidarity and accuse Jews of being clannish. This can be turned positively with an air of admiration: "*The Jews are really smart […]. They can get work really easily, not like us, they can do a lot of things that we can't do,*" said Omar from Paris.

However, interviewees explicitly mentioned a number of sources for their antisemitic beliefs: anti-Jewish views by friends and family, as well as perceptions of religious and ethnic identities, conversations in mosques, the influence of media such as television, Internet sources, music, books, and newspapers, and, in some cases, schools.[67] The level of

66 Scholars have discussed a number of reasons for the development of antisemitic attitudes, such as transmission of stereotypes and beliefs, and psychological mechanisms of group dynamics or unreflected projections. For a discussion of different theories, see Samuel Salzborn, *Antisemitismus Als Negative Leitidee Der Moderne : Sozialwissenschaftliche Theorien Im Vergleich* (Frankfurt; New York: Campus, 2010). *Projection* is a psychological defense mechanism whereby one "projects" one's own undesirable thoughts, motivations, desires, and feelings onto someone else. Psychoanalytical theories on antisemitism have identified projection as the main mechanism of antisemitism. Hermann Beland, "Psychoanalytische Antisemitismustheorien Im Vergleich," in *Antisemitismusforschung in Den Wissenschaften*, ed. Werner Bergmann and Monika Körte (Berlin: Metropol, 2004), 187–218.

67 For similar findings, based on a survey of scial workers in Berlin see Gabriele Fréville, Susanna Harms, and Serhat Karakayali, "„Antisemitismus – ein Problem unter vielen". Ergebnisse einer Befragung in

education influences the form of expression of antisemitic attitudes: those with a higher level of formal education tended to show negative views of Jews in more socially acceptable ways, such as insinuations and allegations about Jewish influence in the finance sector and media, conspiracy theories, or the demonization of Israel, instead of open approval of hatred or violence against Jews.

Conclusions

Many young Muslims in Europe show antisemitic attitudes, some resort to violence. While polls reveal that only a minority of European Muslims endorse antisemitic views, they also show that the level of antisemitism is significantly higher among Muslims than among non-Muslims. This survey of young male Muslims from Berlin, Paris, and London provides some insights into sources and reasoning about negative views of Jews among young Muslims.

The genesis of antisemitic views cannot be reduced to a single factor. The ethnic or religious identity and the interpretation of Islam is a factor for some. In this sense, the use of the term *Muslim antisemitism* is apt and meaningful. Others relate their hatred of Jews to their hatred of the State of Israel. Many use classic antisemitic attitudes that are also widespread in mainstream society in Europe. However, negative views of Jews have become the norm in some young Muslims' social circles so that they do not feel the need to justify them. This facilitates radical forms of antisemitism and antisemitic violence.

Sources of antisemitic attitudes include the adoption of stereotypes and beliefs from friends, family members, religious circles in and around mosques, foreign and domestic TV, and the internet. Projections onto Jews of fears and wishes also play an important role. While discrimination and exclusion of Muslims in Europe is still a reality, this does not seem to be a relevant factor for antisemitic attitudes.

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