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Thank you Eldad for this illuminating presentation, combining methodological rigor on the sensitive issue of AS. I am all the more interested as we do very similar surveys for the annual CNCDH Barometer on racism, antisemitism and xenophobia¹. It tackles a more than ever a topical question since October 7, the articulation between “old” and “new” forms of antisemitism, that is to say, between classical anti Jews prejudice and criticism of Israel and Zionism.

The debate developed in France after the Second Intifada, with the publication of Pierre-André Taguieff’s book on *The New Judeophobia*². He argued that antisemitism was changing sides, moving from far right to far left, hidden behind the critic of Zionism and of Israel’s policies, in the name of anti-imperialist and pro human rights values. And that it was developing among Muslims and in under privileged suburbs as well as among leftist students and activists, all taking side for the plea of Palestinians.

Germany is an interesting case to study, with a long and dramatic history of antisemitism, and large Jewish and Muslim populations. The data is great, consisting in two surveys, one before one after October 7, each including 600 respondents of each group and covering most dimensions of antisemitism : classical, “secondary” (specific to Germany, stemming from a sense of sense of guilt and consisting in the minimization, denial or reversal of responsibility of the Holocaust), Israel-related (as a “collective jew”) and critical of Israel and its policies.

The results are fascinating, partly in line with the new antisemitism theory. Muslims, especially practicing ones, uneducated and of Turkish origin, are more antisemitic, even before October 7 , and on all dimensions. And the left is more critical of Israel, and the right more antisemitic, not quite as in France where we have a bell shaped curve, the level of antisemitism going up on the far left among they sympathizers of LFI. You also use a clever indicator allowing for an indirect way to express prejudice in a country were the guilt for the Shoah weighs so much, a question about Hamas : “The recent attack by Hamas on Israel should be seen as a liberation struggle by the oppressed Palestinians”. And there the results are closer to those of France, there is a nice bell curve, higher on both extremes, as if antisemitism was a mediating factor of support for Hamas. Another nice result is the effect of fundamentalism, increasing antisemitism among Catholic and Muslim respondents as well.

¹ <https://www.cncdh.fr/publications/rapport-2024-sur-la-lutte-contre-le-racisme-lantisemitisme-et-la-xenophobie>

² Pierre-André Taguieff, *La nouvelle judéophobie*, Paris, Mille et une nuits, 2002.

I have nevertheless a couple of questions and remarks.

About the definition of antisemitism you adopt, why the definition of IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance)? It is not really a definition, it is very vague, referring to “a certain perception of Jews “, that “may be expressed as hatred toward Jews” and mostly listing examples of antisemitic critics of Israel³. I see it more as a political tool, like other competing definitions such as the Jerusalem declaration⁴ or the Nexus document⁵. Why not a social science definition of prejudice, going back for instance to Gordon Allport’s definition “ an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization directed toward a group as a whole or an individual”⁶.

What is the representativity of your online questionnaire, specially concerning the Muslim sample? Online surveys have biases, especially if based on access panels, excluding the “offline” population not familiar with the internet.

What do you do with the non-respondents, and what is rate of “no answer” on these sensitive topics? In France in the CNCDH Barometer there are massive rates of “ do not know” or do not want to answer” or “I have no opinion” to questions about Israel and its policies?

What is the evolution of antisemitic opinions in Germany? In France, with ups and downs, there has been a gradual decline of antisemitic prejudice since World War two?

What about the other forms of prejudice, how have they evolved and how are they connected to antisemitism? I have in mind the work on “Group Focused Enmity” at the University of Bielefel, showing how different kinds of prejudice are correlated?⁷

Are there territorial, contextual differences, between Eastern/Western landers for instance? Between urban/rural settings? Or depending on the concentration of Jews/Muslims?

Did you find gender effects? Here women for instance have a little less often high/medium score on our antisemitism scales, all things equal, since October 7.

What about the party scene, in relation with antisemitism, can you tell us more about antisemitism among AfD and die Linke sympathizers?

³ “Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities”

<https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definition-antisemitism>

⁴ <https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/>

⁵ <https://nexusproject.us/nexus-resources/the-nexus-document/>

⁶ Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, t. Éditeur, Boston, Addison-Wesley, 1954

⁷ <https://www.ijcv.org/index.php/ijcv/article/view/5361>.

Did you explore a possible link between antisemitism in opinions and behavioral radicalization of Muslims in the post October 7 context?⁸.

Have you tested the interaction between religion and party proximity? In France there is an interaction between Muslim faith and sympathies for LFI, increasing antisemitism.

Last it is puzzling that among French Muslims antisemitism is not higher among the least educated nor among the oldest, what do you think of that?

⁸ See for instance Demmrich, S., Pollack, D., Müller, O. *et al.* Antisemitism among Muslims in Germany before and after October 7, 2023. *Z Religion Ges Polit* (2025).