
Antisemitism and Immigration in Western Europe Today Is there a connection?

Findings and recommendations
from a five-nation study

David Feldman

The research was commissioned by the Foundation 'Remembrance, Responsibility and Future' (EVZ) based in Berlin, and was led by the Pears Institute for the study of Antisemitism, Birkbeck, University of London.

The full set of reports for this study is available to download:

- Foundation EVZ www.stiftung-evz.de
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April 2018

ISBN: 978-0-9928670-1-0

Published by Foundation 'Remembrance, Responsibility and Future' (EVZ), Berlin and the Pears Institute for the study of Antisemitism, University of London.

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Acknowledgements

This report is the result of collective endeavour. It would not have come to fruition without the insight, hard work and goodwill of colleagues who have produced the national studies that underpin this document: Marco Martiniello and Muriel Sacco (Belgium) Nonna Mayer and Elodie Druez (France), Stefanie Schüler-Springorum and Mathias Berek (Germany), Leo Lucassen and Annemarike Stremmelaar (Netherlands), and Ben Gidley, Jan Davison, Rachel Humphris and Ieisha James (UK). All the reports have benefited greatly from the skill and diligence of our copyeditor, Elizabeth Stone. Jan Davison has made a vital contribution both to the realization of the project as a whole and to this final report.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADL	Anti-Defamation League
BLEW	Stichting Bij Leven en Welzijn (Foundation for Life and Welfare)
CNCDH	Commission Nationale consultative des Droits de l'Homme (National Consultative Commission for Human Rights)
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique (National Centre for Academic Research)
DILCRAH	Délégation interministérielle à la Lutte contre le Racisme, l'Antisémitisme et la Haine anti-LGBT (Interdepartmental Commission for Combatting Racism, Antisemitism and Anti-LGBT Hate)
EVZ	Stiftung Erinnerung, Verantwortung and Zukunft (EVZ) (Foundation 'Remembrance, Responsibility and Future')
FRA	European Agency for Fundamental Rights
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham
JPR	Institute for Jewish Policy Research
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NVA	Nieuwe Vlaamse Alliance (New Flemish Alliance)
PVV	Partij voor de Vrijheid (Freedom Party)
SGP	Staatskundig Gereformeerde Partij (Reformed Political Party)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VNL	VoorNederland (For the Netherlands)

Foreword

Dear Readers,

Antisemitism is part of daily life and continues to be a phenomenon that threatens the cohesion of democratic societies in a very specific manner. We know that antisemitic tendencies can open doors to further types of group-related enmity.

Since the Foundation 'Remembrance, Responsibility and Future' (EVZ) was established, it has been our aim to create a space in which to develop strategies to counter prejudice and discrimination, as well as a space in which a values-based democratic interaction can be experienced in Europe and the world.

The recent increase in refugee movements has sparked debate as to whether there is a link between the presence of refugees, particularly from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and an increase in antisemitic tendencies in Europe. As part of this discussion, it is often pointed out that refugees who arrive here were raised in societies in which antisemitism and hostility towards Israel are rooted in state and society and that these ideologies have spread in MENA regions over the past decades, with not only anti-Western but firmly antisemitic views at their core. Through social media and other instruments of global communication, these kinds of ideologies also reach MENA migrants in Europe who have been living here for a long time.

In recent years, Jews living in Central and Western Europe have also voiced their concerns, fearing an increase in antisemitism and a threat to their security. We must attend to these concerns and take them seriously.

A working group consisting of international members, led by David Feldman from the Pears Institute for the study of Antisemitism, Birkbeck, University of London, has therefore explored the question of whether there is an interaction between antisemitism and the presence of refugees in European societies. The group focused on Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

This final report summarizes the results of the five country studies and outlines recommendations on how European public policy and civil society can increase their commitment to fight antisemitism and other forms of prejudice, including Islamophobia, and how both can be supported in this fight. This is exactly why the project was initiated by Foundation EVZ.

The report reveals that MENA migrants are a heterogeneous group whose presence varies widely in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The report also demonstrates that, despite some country differences, attitudes towards Jews are broadly positive and, in general, the statistics for recorded antisemitic hate crimes and other incidents do not show a rising trend.

Although the country reports confirm that antisemitic attitudes and behaviours among Muslim minorities – as with right-wing extremist groups – are disproportionately high, neither the analysis of existing data nor the interviews undertaken for this report suggest any significant connection between recent

MENA migrants and the extent or character of antisemitism in West European societies. Antisemitism is a problem that stems from the majority population and not only or mainly from minorities.

Interestingly, one focus here is not on the refugees of recent years but on the second- and third-generation offspring of earlier immigrants. This says a great deal about the challenges of integrating these minorities into European societies, an issue that should be given greater consideration in the debate on antisemitism. This observation is also in line with the results of other recent reports on antisemitism in Germany and the United Kingdom.

We hope to spark a wide and critical discussion between academia, policy makers, politicians and actors in civil society at national and European levels. Foundation EVZ, which also supports the development of recommendations for action to combat antisemitism and antigypsyism in Central and Eastern Europe, will gladly take part in this discussion.

I wish to thank David Feldman for his outstanding contribution to the realization and direction of this transnational project as well as for undertaking, along with Ben Gidley, the report on the United Kingdom; Marco Martiniello and Muriel Sacco for the report on Belgium; Nonna Mayer and Elodie Druetz for the report on France; Stefanie Schüler-Springorum and Mathias Berek for the report on Germany; Leo Lucassen and Annemarike Stremmelaar for the report on the Netherlands; and last but not least, Jan Davison for managing the project successfully.

We welcome your participation both in this discussion and the implementation of the recommendations for action.

Dr. Andreas Eberhardt

Chairman of the Board of Directors

Foundation 'Remembrance, Responsibility and Future' (EVZ)

1 Introduction

Migrants entering Europe from the Middle East and North Africa have been symbolically central to the migration debate since 2011. These years have been framed by the Arab spring and its aftermath and by Europe's crisis of refugee protection.

As part of this debate there is a persistent claim that new migrants to Europe, and specifically migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA migrants), carry antisemitism with them. This assertion is made to different degrees in different countries and can take different forms. Nevertheless, in Europe, the association of rising antisemitism with migrants from the Middle East and North Africa is widespread and needs to be evaluated.

This report presents the overall findings and conclusions of an extensive research project conducted in 2016/2017 across five European countries – Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom – to explore what (if any) is the relationship between rising immigration from the MENA region and the incidence of antisemitism in these countries. The research is based on a survey of existing quantitative and qualitative evidence; in addition, new qualitative research has been undertaken to investigate the experiences and opinions of a range of actors. The synthesis of data from the five countries has allowed us to identify common trends and to undertake some comparative analysis. Our research has led us to recommend new policy initiatives, to be undertaken both by state and civil society organizations, and to identify areas where more knowledge and greater understanding are urgently required.¹

2 Synopsis

The central concern of the research project has been to investigate whether immigration from the Middle East and North Africa since 2011 has had an impact on antisemitic attitudes and behaviour in Western Europe.²

This short report is a distillation of five separate national reports (on Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and United Kingdom) and presents the findings and recommendations that emerge from the project as a whole.

The report:

- Surveys recent migration from MENA countries to Western Europe
- Presents an overview of the extent and sources of antisemitism in Western Europe today
- Provides an assessment of the attitudes of MENA migrants, as well as of the fears they sometimes elicit
- Examines the validity of claims that the growing number of MENA migrants in Western Europe promotes antisemitism
- Makes recommendations for action by governments and civil society organizations and highlights areas in which we need more research to extend our knowledge and understanding.

3 Definitions and Methodology

We refer to Western Europe interchangeably with the combination of the five countries included in this study: Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.³

We refer to immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa collectively as MENA migrants. This research project uses the United Nations and World Bank definitions of MENA. In addition, we include Afghanistan, Eritrea and Turkey because of their profile either in the migration/refugee statistics or in current public debates in some European countries.

The full list of countries included in this study is as follows: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Iraq, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, West Bank & Gaza, Western Sahara Territory, Yemen.

The research that underpins this report integrates a wide range of available quantitative data generated by inter-governmental organizations, governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and agencies, and institutions based in national and international civil society. The examination and synthesis of this data by the research teams has produced an overview of recent developments in migration, in the incidence and sources of antisemitism, and in Jewish perceptions of antisemitism. This process has revealed that while the available data is extensive, it contains very little specific information on antisemitism as it relates to recent MENA migrants.

Qualitative data on antisemitism relating to MENA refugees and migrants has been collected through a search in government and other institutional reports, academic research papers, the mainstream media, social media and the internet, as well as new evidence generated by our researchers. The gathering of new empirical data involved interviews with a wide range of actors extending from government departments and agencies and the police, to civil society, including both Jewish and refugee/migrant organizations. The collection of data took place between November 2016 and October 2017.

Unless otherwise stated, the evidence underpinning this report can be found in the national studies we have carried out. Footnotes in this report normally refer to additional data which is not included in these national reports.

4 Dimensions of MENA Immigration

Before examining what, if any, relationship there is between migration from MENA countries and antisemitism we first outline the scale and dimensions of the former.

Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are all countries that have experienced significant immigration in the decades since the end of World War II. The size of the foreign-born population, measured as a percentage of the population as a whole, is similar in all five countries. It is highest in Germany and lowest in Belgium (see Table 1).

However, alongside this shared experience we can see two types of variation. First, the recent rate of change due to immigration is not uniform. The proportionate increase in international migrants since 2000 in Germany and the United Kingdom has been significantly higher than in Belgium, the Netherlands and France (see Table 1).

Table 1: International migration, 2000 and 2017⁴

Country	2000		2017	
	International migrants (thousands)	Percentage of total population	International migrants (thousands)	Percentage of total population
Belgium	895.9	9	1,268.4	11
France	6,278.7	11	7,902.8	12
Germany	8,992.6	11	12,165.1	15
Netherlands	1,556.3	10	2,056.5	12
United Kingdom	4,730.2	8	8,841.7	13

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs⁵

Second, the number and composition of MENA migrants vary across the five countries included in this study: they comprise a heterogeneous population, including both labour migrants and refugees. Among the countries with a large MENA migrant population, only Germany has a large refugee population. Yet, even in the case of Germany, the presence of refugees stands alongside a far larger number of well-established Turkish migrants. Indeed, if there is a common pattern among MENA migrants across all five countries it is that labour migrants from North Africa and Turkey greatly outnumber refugees.

Each of the five countries displays a distinct pattern.⁶

- In Belgium in 2017 MENA migrants composed 13% of the immigrant population. The largest portion was composed of Moroccans (92,000) and Turks (44,600). Other MENA countries account for a large portion of applications for asylum. There were 44,000 such applications in 2015, half of which came from people who had left Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. Overall, the proportion of MENA migrants has fallen significantly since 2000 when they comprised 20% of the immigrant population.

- In France MENA migrants now account for 41% of the migrant population. This is a significant increase from the figure of 36% in 2000. The increase is largely due to immigration from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The number of immigrants from Algeria has increased from 840,000 in 2000 to 1.5 million in 2017. In recent years there has also been a considerably smaller rise in the total number of refugees. From 2014 to 2015 requests for refugee status rose by 26% from 59,335 to 74,468. However, the origins of these refugees did not follow the assumed general pattern. The largest number was from Sudan, which is not classified as a MENA country, and there were almost as many applications from Bangladesh (3,071) and Kosovo (3,139) as from Syria (3,403).
- In Germany MENA migrants accounted for approximately 20% of all immigrants in the country in 2017. MENA immigration has increased steeply since 2011. In that year MENA migrants accounted for just 9% of net migration, but by 2015 this figure had risen to 44%. The greatest increase was in migrants from Syria, who numbered 367,000 in 2015, and from Afghanistan and Iraq, who numbered 131,000 and 136,000 respectively. Notwithstanding these recent migrant flows, the largest group among the MENA migrants in Germany remains those from Turkey: 1.7m in 2017. Moreover, despite the increase in MENA migration, MENA countries account for a diminishing portion of the migrant population, largely due to the migration to Germany of EU citizens.
- In the Netherlands MENA migrants amounted to approximately 26% of the immigrant population in 2017: Morocco and Turkey accounted for the largest number - 180,000 and 204,000 respectively. Since 2014 there has been a significant increase in immigration from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Syria, which together accounted for a population of 182,000 in 2017.
- In the United Kingdom MENA countries are absent from the top 20 countries of birth among foreign-born residents and account for just 7% of the immigrant population. Migrants from some MENA countries figure prominently among applications for asylum but do not dominate: in 2016 the leading countries of origin for asylum applications were Iran (4,792) Pakistan (3,717), Iraq (3,651), Afghanistan (3,094) and Bangladesh (2,234).

5 Antisemitism

Perceptions and apprehension among Jews

Despite the Shoah, in the immediate aftermath of World War II Jews remained the most significant non-Christian minority in Western Europe. This is no longer the case. That position is now taken by the Muslim minority.

The Jewish communities in the five countries included in this study differ in size. France is the largest with an estimated 500,000 Jews. There are 250,000 Jews in the UK, 100,000 in Germany, approximately 40–50,000 in the Netherlands and 30–35,000 in Belgium. Notwithstanding these distinctions, in all five countries Jews comprise a tiny portion of the population. In France, where the Jewish population is most numerous in both absolute terms and relative to the size of the population as a whole, Jews comprise only 0.77% of the total population. Among the five countries, the Jewish portion of the population is smallest in Germany where it accounts for 0.13% of the total.

Many Jews and Jewish communal leaders express apprehension at the incidence of antisemitism. A survey carried out for the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) in 2012 found that large proportions of Jewish respondents considered antisemitism to be ‘a big or very big problem’ in their country.

In France and in Belgium the proportions were 84% and 77% respectively and in Germany it was 61%. The lowest figure was recorded for the UK but even here 48% of respondents said that antisemitism was ‘a very or fairly big problem’.⁷ The FRA survey did not extend to the Netherlands. However, in 2009 a separate study found that 50% of Dutch Jews reported increased feelings of vulnerability over the previous ten years.

The evidence gathered since 2012 confirms widespread apprehension among Jews.

- In the case of France, a study conducted in 2016 found that 63% of French Jews feel there is ‘a lot’ of anti-Jewish racism in France and 47% report they no longer feel safe. The number of French Jews leaving for Israel increased from 1,900 per annum before 2012 to 7,800 per annum in 2015. This figure fell to 5,000 in 2016, however, it remained more than double the pre-2012 level.
- In Germany, a survey published in 2017 found that 78% of German Jews perceive there is a rising threat.
- In the Netherlands, a survey carried out in March 2017 among 814 self-selected readers of the Jewish weekly *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad* indicates that there are concerns about issues of security and antisemitism. Among those readers who chose to respond to the survey, the largest portion of respondents, 48%, reported that they fear becoming a victim of physical violence related to antisemitism: a significant but smaller portion, 30%, reported that they are not afraid.

Qualitative evidence, including that arising from this research project, confirms and extends these results. For example, Jews in Brussels have on occasion been advised by public authorities to avoid displaying signs of their Jewishness because of the risk of physical violence. It is said that increasing numbers of Jews are leaving the country, including students who choose to study abroad with the aim of escaping ambient antisemitism. Similarly, since the demonstrations and assaults triggered by the Gaza conflict in 2014, some Jewish parents have warned their children not to wear their Star of David in a way that is visible to others. Regardless of the extent of this pattern of migration and avoidance, the circulation of these reports testifies to the growth of a climate of anxiety. In the UK, some political and Jewish communal leaders have asserted that universities are now hotbeds of antisemitism.⁸

In all the countries included in this study concern about threats from jihadist terror and, in particular, the knowledge that terrorists have targeted Jews on some occasions, contributes to the climate of unease. In the Netherlands concerns about the threat emanating from international terrorism have also been voiced by the advisory body for the protection of the Jewish community in the Netherlands, BLEW (Stichting Bij Leven en Welzijn). Whereas BLEW has been in existence since 1983, only in 2014 did it begin to issue reports on 'Terrorism as a threat to the Jewish community in the Netherlands'. In these reports it has characterized the situation as 'critical' and demanded increased security measures for Jewish institutions.

Apprehension among Jews in Western Europe is a transnational phenomenon. This is notable in the context of this report because, as we have seen, the presence of MENA migrants in these countries is uneven. We can draw a contrast between the highly variable composition and impact of MENA migrants and the more consistent pattern of apprehension felt among Jews in Western Europe. The fears attached to MENA migrants are not a straightforward reflection of their demographic presence. Let us examine these fears in more detail.

Concerns expressed about recent MENA migrants

In all the countries examined in this study, and across the West more broadly, prominent individuals and institutions have presented recent MENA migrants as an actual or potential source of antisemitism. Much of this discussion arises locally. However, on occasion broad statements have been made concerning the situation in Western Europe.

Individuals and institutions that carry particular authority have expressed the idea that recent refugees bring dangers for Jews in Europe. For example, speaking at UNESCO in January 2016, Rabbi Andrew Baker, who holds the dual offices of Director of International Jewish Affairs for the American Jewish Committee and Personal Representative of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe Chairperson-in-Office on Combating Antisemitism, highlighted the 'antisemitic' character of the societies the refugees had left and the need to teach them to take up commitments to pluralism and gender equality.

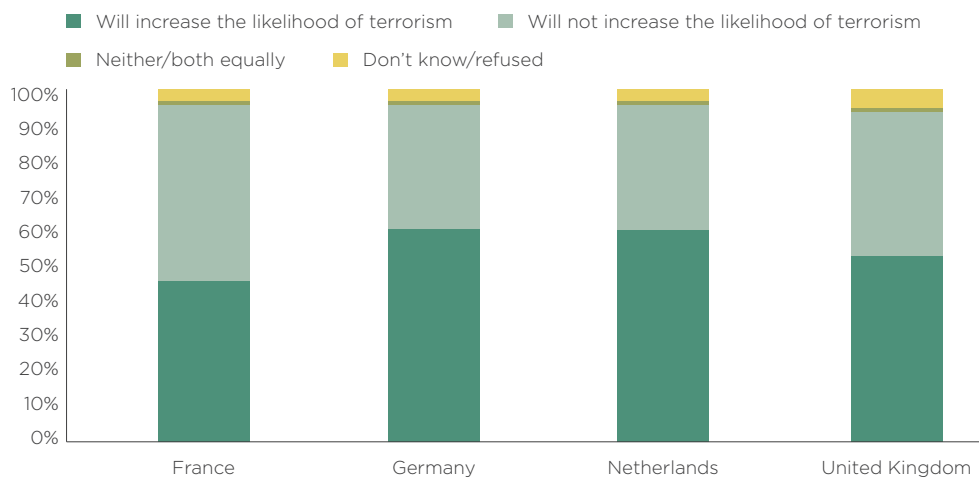
Elsewhere, the perceived dangers are addressed more stridently. One magazine article asserts that 'In Europe's experience, high levels of immigration from the Middle East and North Africa have caused antisemitism to spike.'⁹ Another asks,

'Is it time for Jews to leave Europe?' One of the key reasons for answering in the affirmative, we are told, is that 'traditional patterns of Western antisemitic thought have now merged with a strain of Muslim Judeophobia' which is located in 'Muslim immigrant communities'.¹⁰ Manfred Gerstenfeld, who styles himself 'a leading expert on antisemitism', asserts that 'the massive non-selective immigration into Western Europe has had a profound effect on European Jewry that is more than [*sic*] any other development in the last fifty years'.¹¹

Nevertheless, some different assessments have also been made. The *Report on Antisemitism in 2016* issued by Israel's Ministry of Diaspora Affairs states that 'the wave of immigrants from Muslim countries is not causing an increase in antisemitism'. The report does add, however, that 'it is still a cause of concern for the future, prompting Jewish individuals and communities to reconsider Jewish life in Europe.'¹² But the emphasis here appears to be on the perceptions of Jewish individuals and communities rather than the objective threat carried by immigrants.

Among the broader public, fear and suspicion of refugees is a transnational phenomenon. Apprehension that the arrival of refugees increases the likelihood of terrorist attacks in the countries in which they settle is felt by a majority of the population in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK and by just under half of respondents in France.

Figure 1: Refugees and the likelihood of terrorism, 2016



Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, 2016: www.pewresearch.org

These concerns cross national boundaries but they also take shape within particular national contexts.

In the Netherlands, politicians from the orthodox Christian Reformed Political Party (SGP), the radical right Freedom Party (PVV) and For the Netherlands (VNL) have all suggested that immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East may import antisemitism to the country. Dutch politicians, such as the Minister of Social Affairs and Employment Lodewijk Asscher and the EU commissioner Frans Timmermans, have expressed concern over antisemitism but have been reluctant to confirm the assumption that refugees bring antisemitism to the Netherlands. Jewish organizations and individuals show a range of opinions, but a number of prominent Dutch Jews have voiced concerns that connect refugees with antisemitism, including the Chair of the Central Jewish Council, Ron van der Wieken.

In the case of Germany, the idea that refugees from Muslim-dominated countries import antisemitism to Germany is contested but also widespread. MENA refugees are perceived as a threat to Jews, directly, on account of the antisemitic and Islamist attitudes attributed to them, and indirectly, because the controversy that surrounds their arrival creates an atmosphere that is hostile to minorities in general. In Germany's case, we can trace back the idea of 'imported antisemitism' to the response to the terror attacks known as '9/11'. At that time, some people proposed that antisemitism was being imported by Muslims in Germany via satellite television. By contrast, now it is people – refugees – who are perceived to be the medium of importation. Jewish opinion is mixed and the arrival of MENA refugees can excite apprehension. The head of one Jewish community in a city in the east of the country reported a rise in fear of antisemitism among members of her congregation when the refugee flow from MENA countries reached its peak.

In France concern about antisemitism is focused on the settled and French-born Muslim population, more than upon recent immigrants and refugees. Nevertheless, our fieldwork reveals some concerns among Jews that refugees are arriving from countries in which cultural antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment is pervasive and could, in the future, be a source of antisemitism.

In the UK some politicians and journalists associated with populist and right-wing tendencies, such as Nigel Farage and Douglas Murray, have proposed that the immigration of Muslims is responsible for rising antisemitism. Our fieldwork reveals concerns among Jews in the UK regarding the impact of immigrants on antisemitism. One Jewish communal worker attested, 'it is definitely a concern that gets expressed ... Jewish people will not need to be given the idea that there might be a problem. I think they are going to come up with it themselves, frankly, for quite obvious reasons, I think.' Another observer commented that some organizations 'tap into the fear' in the Jewish community and exacerbate it, 'causing enormous stress for people, that is always a worry'.

In the case of Belgium, negative comments regarding immigrants are made chiefly by members of political parties on the right and the extreme right. Some representatives of the NVA (New Flemish Alliance) – the largest political party in the country and part of the governing coalition – and members of the government have expressed prejudices about recent refugees and immigrants.

Some themes recur in these comments on recent MENA migrants:

- The migrants' origins lie in countries where antisemitism is widely diffused; the migrants are presumed to carry with them an animus against Jews and Israel
- There is concern that there may be terrorists active among the refugees or others who are vulnerable to radicalization
- Attitudes to recent MENA migrants are closely related to concerns about the integration of Muslim minorities in Western Europe
- There is concern that antisemitism expressed by the second and subsequent generations of MENA migrants who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s will be reproduced among new migrants.

As several of these points illustrate, the response to MENA migrants conceives of them not only as refugees or labour migrants but also as Muslims. The inflow of MENA migrants and the connected crisis of refugee protection has crystallized and extended pre-existing anxieties and controversy regarding the growing

Muslim presence in Western European society. The prospects for absorbing and integrating a predominantly Muslim population of refugees has become a flashpoint for conflict between the proponents and opponents of liberal policies on immigration and cultural pluralism.

The theme of 'Muslim antisemitism' plays a key role in these debates. In part this is because of the experience and impact of jihadist terror which on some occasions has been aimed specifically at Jewish targets. In part, too, it is a consequence of the role played by Holocaust memory, and the related commitment to overcoming antisemitism in the construction of European identity after the end of the Cold War.¹³ In this context, the commitment of Muslims to expunge antisemitism is regarded as not only good in itself but also as a marker of Muslims' capacity to integrate within European society. At the same time, the focus on Muslim antisemitism can promote a process of 'externalization': the projection of antisemitism in the majority society on to Muslim and immigrant minorities.¹⁴

6 Measuring Antisemitism

Having established the numbers of MENA migrants and the fears that others attach to them, we now consider the extent and nature of antisemitism in the countries under consideration.

There are two sorts of statistical data employed to assess and measure antisemitism: surveys of attitudes and tallies of antisemitic incidents and crimes. Both carry limitations and problems of interpretation.

Surveys of attitudes give different results depending on the questions asked. Questions that invite respondents to agree or disagree with an antisemitic statement (for example, 'Jews talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust' or 'Jews have too much power in world affairs') invariably elicit higher measures of antisemitism than questions that are more broadly formulated (for example, whether respondents have a favourable or unfavourable opinion of Jewish people). Additionally, the sampling and weighting techniques employed, the methods used to gather data, the way in which antisemitism is defined, and the questions posed, are among factors that can lead to different results.

There are also problems attached to the statistics generated by police and civil society institutions which record antisemitic crimes or incidents. We know that many antisemitic incidents and crimes are not reported or not properly recorded. It follows that any recorded rise in the level of antisemitic crimes or other incidents may reflect changes in recording techniques or victims' increasing willingness to report, instead of, or as well as, changes in antisemitic behaviour.

Despite these caveats, when taken as a whole and in relation to the question addressed in this report, the evidence builds a consistent picture:

- Perceptions of Jews among the population as a whole are broadly positive and not worsening
- In general, levels of antisemitic crime and harassment fluctuate in ways that are linked to events in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.

Attitudes to Jews

One useful survey that enables us to compare data across Western Europe is the 'Global Attitudes and Trends' survey carried out by the Pew Research Centre. This gives us snapshots of opinion in the UK, France and Germany, taken in 2011, 2014, 2015 and 2016, and for the Netherlands for that final year. This data shows that the tendency since 2011 is towards a more favourable opinion of Jews. Even in the case of France, the country with the highest level of unfavourable opinion, the percentage of respondents with an unfavourable opinion of Jews has fallen since 2011.

Table 2: Attitudes towards Jews

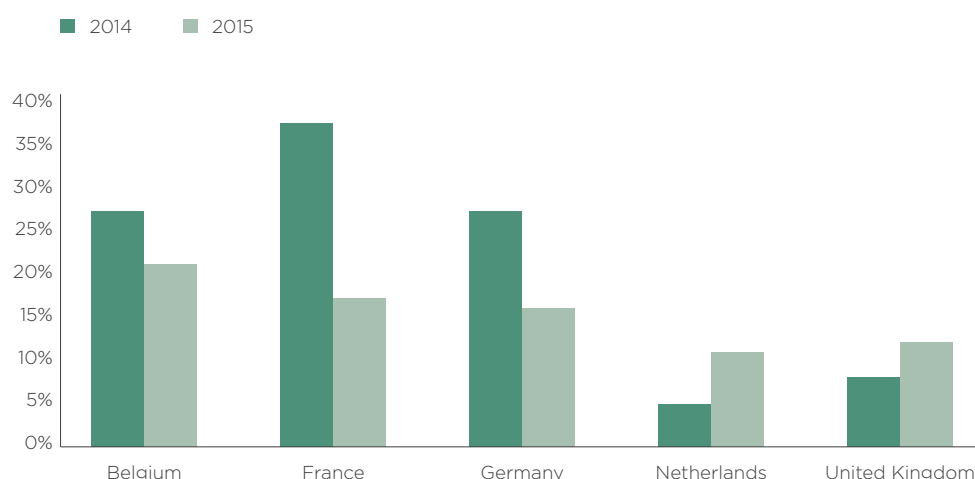
	2011			2014			2015			2016		
	F	U	DK/R	F	U	DK/R	F	U	DK/R	F	U	DK/R
France	84	16	0	89	10	1	92	7	1	85	10	5
Germany	71	18	11	82	5	13	80	9	11	88	5	8
United Kingdom	76	7	17	83	7	10	86	7	7	85	7	8
Netherlands										90	3	7

Key: F - Favourable, U - Unfavourable, DK/R - Don't know/Refused

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project: www.pewresearch.org

A second dataset comes from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) *Global 100 Anti-Semitism Index*. These figures arise from surveys undertaken in the second half of 2013 and early 2014 and then in March/April 2015. They are derived from a set of 11 questions that offer respondents a series of negative statements about Jews. The ADL judges that a positive answer to a majority of the questions (six or more) is the threshold determining whether or not someone is antisemitic.

Figure 2: Level of antisemitism in Europe - ADL Global 100 Anti-Semitism Index



Source: ADL Global 100 Anti-Semitism Index 2014 and 2015¹⁵

The two countries that display rising levels of antisemitism in 2015 remain the countries with the lowest levels overall. The balance of evidence indicates that antisemitic attitudes in Western Europe are low and/or falling.

This depiction is broadly confirmed by other surveys that focus on attitudes in particular countries.

- In the case of France, the National Consultative Commission for Human Rights (CNCDH) annual barometer of racism, antisemitism and xenophobia shows that the image of Jews has been improving since 2000 and that Jews are by far the most accepted minority in the country. Negative stereotypes about Jews reached a peak in 2013–2014. The ban placed on an antisemitic show by the humourist Dieudonné M’bala M’bala and the ban placed by the government on pro-Palestinian demonstrations led to a record proportion of respondents, 37%, to declare their agreement with the proposition that ‘Jews have too much power in France’. But this figure subsided, receding to 21% in autumn 2016.

- In Germany, surveys of antisemitism often distinguish between ‘traditional’, ‘secondary’ and ‘Israel-related’ antisemitisms. Traditional antisemitic stereotypes are either stable or decreasing in Germany. The highly esteemed Mitte survey shows a declining incidence of these stereotypes from around 15% at the beginning of the millennium to 6% in 2016. German social scientists also measure ‘secondary antisemitism’ – forms of antisemitism that function as a defence of parents’ or grandparents’ responsibility for the Holocaust: for example, the idea that Jews now seek to profit from persecution suffered under the Third Reich. The levels recorded for secondary antisemitism are higher than for ‘traditional antisemitism’ but they too are in decline: 26% in 2016 according to the Mitte survey, whereas in 2011 the figure was 39%. We can observe a similar trend with regard to Israel-related antisemitism, which we consider below.
- In the United Kingdom, a survey published by YouGov in June 2015 found that 7% of British adults had either a ‘fairly negative’ or ‘very negative’ opinion about Jews. This finding was broadly confirmed in 2017 by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) report on *Antisemitism in Contemporary Great Britain* that found about 5% of the general population ‘can justifiably be described as antisemites.’¹⁶
- The most recent data for Belgium, published in 2017, appears to confirm the high levels revealed by ADL (see Figure 2). The survey found that 49% think that Jews have a special relationship with money and that 18% think that Jews are not Belgian ‘like others’. This figure for those who regard Jews as essentially ‘other’ is slightly lower than the figure given by the ADL *Global 100 Anti-Semitism Index* in 2015. However, not much weight should be placed on the precise comparison between two surveys employing different methodologies.

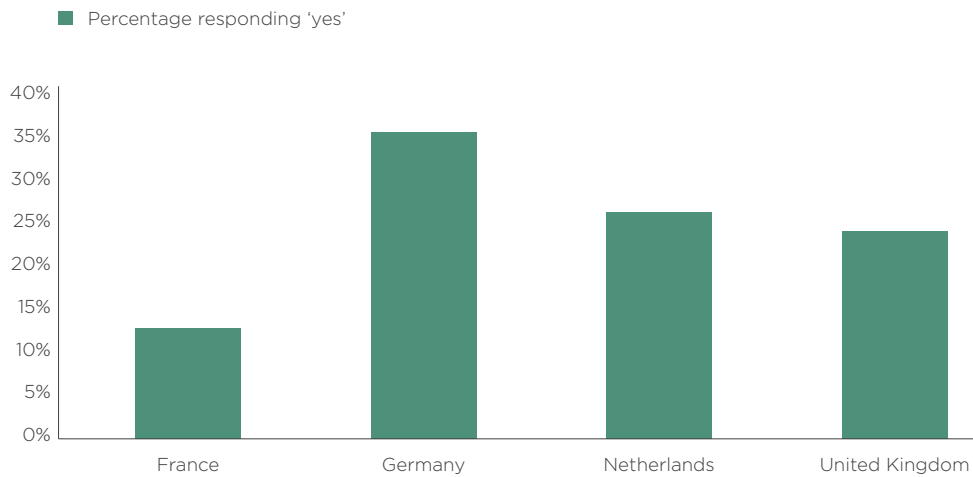
Whereas traditional antisemitism is in decline, it is Israel-related antisemitism that now provokes controversy and is sometimes said to be on the rise. In their 2017 report, *Different Antisemitisms*, Lars Dencik and Karl Morosi define Israel-derived antisemitism as when Jews outside Israel ‘are attacked, verbally or physically, just because they are Jews and because of how those who attack them perceive the State of Israel’.¹⁷ This is a useful definition, which we use in this report. Nevertheless, it requires judgement to determine which incidents and utterances fit the definition. In each of the countries included in this report there are some controversial and well-publicized incidents that demonstrate the absence of consensus over where legitimate criticism of Israel ends and antisemitism begins. The *Antisemitismus in Deutschland* (2017) report, produced by an expert group commissioned by the German Bundestag, points out that when making judgements we should take into account not only what people say but also to whom, in what circumstances and with what intentions. We follow *Antisemitismus in Deutschland* in acknowledging the existence of a ‘grey zone’ with regard to criticism of Israel, which leads to legitimate disagreement over what is and what is not antisemitic.¹⁸

What is clear, however, is that in each of the countries included in this study there are times when criticism of Israel and/or of the Zionist idea also provides an occasion for antisemitic rhetoric and behaviour. The tendency to extend criticism of Israel to Jews in general is not restricted to any one section of the population. Much of the discussion over Israel-related antisemitism focuses

on attitudes and behaviour among Muslim minorities and within the political left. In France, for example, there has been an emergence of antisemitism among young people: both those of immigrant descent, who support the Palestinian cause and feel antagonistic to Israel and Jews in general, and among others with high educational attainment and above average income, who identify with the far left, are not generally racist and who reject traditional antisemitic stereotypes. In Germany, however, Israel-related antisemitism is more associated with right-wing than left-wing viewpoints.

The most extensive assessment of Israel-related antisemitism comes from a survey conducted by the ADL in 2012 which, among other questions, asked respondents whether their opinions of Jews were influenced by the actions of the State of Israel.

Figure 3: Is your opinion of Jews influenced by actions taken by the State of Israel?



Source: ADL Attitudes Toward Jews in Ten European Countries (March 2012)¹⁹

In the case of Germany, more recent data suggests that Israel-related antisemitism is becoming less extensive in that country. The best estimate, from 2014, based on an unambiguous question, places this at 20%. This figure reflects the number of respondents who 'wholly' or 'partly agree' with the statement that Israel's policies leads them to look at Jews with less sympathy. It represents a significant reduction from the figure of 32% a decade earlier.²⁰

Crimes and threats

The institutions that record antisemitic crimes and incidents vary from country to country and so too do the protocols they employ. For these reasons we do not compare absolute levels of recorded incidents and crimes between countries. We can, however, compare trends as they arise in different national contexts.

When we examine trends in levels of recorded antisemitic incidents, we find that in all five countries the Second Intifada, which commenced in October 2000 and lasted until February 2005, was a significant turning point. Since 2000, particular events in Israel, Gaza and the Occupied Territories have elicited a response in

Western Europe, including antisemitic incidents. Among these events are the entry of the Israel Defence Forces into Jenin in 2002 and the targeted killing of Sheik Yassine in 2004, Operation Cast Lead in 2009 and Operation Protective Edge in 2014.

Since 2011 the levels of recorded antisemitic incidents have fluctuated in Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands in step with developments in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. In all four cases the figures show a relatively small peak in 2012 and a larger peak in 2014. Thereafter, in the case of France the number of recorded antisemitic 'acts and threats' shows a slight fall in 2015 and a dramatic decline a year later. In the cases of Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany there is a lowering and levelling in recorded incidents after the peak of 2014.

It is only in the UK that the overall trend is upwards. Here the upward pattern in antisemitic incidents is similar to that in other countries in 2012 and 2014, but the dip in 2015 was shallower than elsewhere and did not sink back to the levels observed in 2011 and 2013, as it did in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands. In the UK, by contrast, there was a further leap upwards in 2016, indeed, above the level recorded in 2014. How should we interpret these figures? In this case there is an unresolved question over whether the pattern reflects a real increase in antisemitism or whether it instead (or also) reflects the greater capacity of the police and a Jewish communal charity (the Community Security Trust) to monitor antisemitism and a greater willingness of victims to report incidents. However, there are compelling reasons to believe that, at the very least, part of the increase is due to increased resources given to policing and monitoring antisemitism and a growing willingness to report on the part of individual victims.

We conclude the following:

- In none of the countries we investigated is there a relationship between the pattern of recorded antisemitic incidents and trends in MENA migration
- The pattern of recorded antisemitic incidents in four of the five countries included in this study exhibit a similar fluctuating pattern since 2011
- The pattern in the UK is a partial exception. It shows a similar pattern up until 2015 but since then, uniquely, it has displayed a rising trend
- Across all five countries examined in this study there is a clear relationship between the level of recorded antisemitic incidents and flashpoints in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. This is a longstanding connection which pre-dates the recent refugee crisis. At the very least, this can be traced back to the Second Intifada, which broke out in 2000.

The exceptional pattern since 2015 in the UK is especially significant in the context of this report because it underlines the absence of any observable connection between MENA migrants and the pattern of recorded antisemitic crime and incidents. In the UK, where MENA migrants have a small presence, there is a rising trend in recorded antisemitic incidents. By contrast, in Germany the level of antisemitic criminal offences reached a peak in 2014 notwithstanding the dramatic growth in the number of MENA migrants the following year.

7 Social and Political Concentrations of Antisemitism

So far we have examined changing levels of antisemitism at a societal level. We have observed that, despite the apprehension expressed by many Jews in Western Europe, other evidence suggests that antisemitism is not becoming more extensive.

We now address the question of whether, despite the overall picture, there are high or rising levels of antisemitism among particular social or political groups or whether antisemitism clusters in particular spheres of public debate.

Muslims and antisemitism

In all the countries we have examined antisemitic attitudes are more prevalent among Muslim minorities than in the general population.

In 2015 the ADL made an attempt to measure antisemitism among Muslims by creating an additional 'oversample' of Muslim respondents to their questionnaire. Here, as in the survey as a whole, results were derived from a set of 11 questions which offer a series of negative statements about Jews, with a positive answer to a majority of the questions being the threshold which determines whether or not someone is classified as antisemitic.

Table 3: Antisemitism among Muslims, 2015

Country	National sample	Muslim oversample
Belgium	21	68
France	17	49
Germany	16	56
United Kingdom	12	54

Source: ADL, Global 100 Anti-Semitism Index, 2015²¹

The size of the ADL 'oversample' is very small: just 100 in each country. For this reason the findings should be treated as suggestive, not definitive. It is significant, therefore, that the broad finding is confirmed by studies conducted within particular countries.

- In the case of Germany, surveys find that antisemitic attitudes are more prevalent among Muslims than elsewhere in the population. However, it is equally important to note that antisemitic attitudes are found not to be a general characteristic of Muslims in Germany but arise only among a minority. A survey among the largest ethnic group, those of Turkish background, found that 49% of the interviewees expressed a positive stance to Jews, 21% adopted a negative one and 30% did not answer one way or the other. Another study published in 2013 found that juveniles with Muslim backgrounds display higher levels of Israel-related antisemitism than are present in the German population more broadly. Among young Muslims with an Arab background this stood at 42% but among others it was around 25%.

- In the Netherlands, the Second Intifada led to the emergence of new patterns of antisemitism which featured Dutch youths with a migrant background. Survey data suggests that this sort of antisemitism may arise in response to events in the Middle East. A survey conducted in 2014–2015 found that many more young Muslims had negative attitudes towards Zionists (66%) than towards Jews (12%). Moroccan-Dutch youth and more recently Turkish-Dutch, mostly male, have been involved in harassment of Jews on the street. Dutch citizens with a Muslim background were clearly present in antisemitic incidents in the summer of 2014. During one exceptional incident Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) supporters carried black flags and shouted in Arabic ‘death to the Jews.’
- The evidence for Belgium tends in a similar direction. A 2010 study among young people found more negative attitudes to Jews among Muslims than among Christians and atheists. Another study, conducted in Flemish secondary schools in 2011, found that antisemitic attitudes were more likely to be found among boys than among girls, and among Catholics and Muslims.
- In the case of France, qualitative evidence suggests that antisemitism develops among the French-born second generation, often of North African origin, and living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The survey data, albeit on small and unrepresentative samples, also suggests that antisemitic stereotypes are more prevalent among the Muslim population in France than the general population.
- In the UK, the Institute for Jewish Policy Research survey *Antisemitism in Contemporary Britain* (2017) found that Muslims were between two and four times more likely than the population as a whole to hold antisemitic attitudes. At the same time, however, the majority of Muslim respondents either disagreed or were neutral in response to the antisemitic statements with which they were presented. We should note, however, that the Muslims in this case are not MENA migrants or their descendants but are predominantly of South Asian origin or heritage.

This consistent picture of antisemitic attitudes among a significant minority of Muslims feeds the apprehension with which many regard MENA migrants. Yet there are reasons for caution at this point.

First, the relative size of the Muslim populations in each of the countries surveyed is small: it varies between 5% of the total population in the UK and 7.5% in France.²² In other words, the degree to which Muslims are responsible for the total levels of antisemitism in these societies is low, as the Institute for Jewish Policy Research has calculated in the case of the United Kingdom.²³ The findings for the Muslim population, therefore, should not deflect from the fact that, for the most part, antisemitic attitudes stem from the majority population, not from minorities.

Second, Muslims encompass a very diverse population which contains distinctions of class, education, sex, ethnic background, generation, religious practice and belief. Surveys of attitudes that are unable to take into account these potential sources of variation may prove blunt instruments.

We must also keep in mind that measuring antisemitic attitudes is not the same thing as measuring antisemitic behaviour. The connection between the two is not inevitable. For the most part attitudes do not translate into behaviour: we need to know more about the circumstances in which this happens. At the same time, we know that a good deal of antisemitic behaviour is 'antisocial' and 'opportunist' in nature, without any clear ideological or religious motive force.

Antisemitism and the far right

One finding from all the national studies is that antisemitic attitudes and actions continue to be disproportionately present among people who support far-right and right-wing populist political movements.

- In France, survey data confirms that sympathizers of the Front national are more antisemitic than all other parties' supporters. Further, the CNCDH annual Barometer of Racism suggests that the largest component of antisemitism displays a right-wing orientation and is connected to traditional stereotypes linking Jews to money, power and dual allegiance, more than to criticism of Zionism and Israel's policies.
- In the case of the UK, the 2017 JPR survey *Antisemitism in Contemporary Britain* similarly found that the presence of antisemitism among those who identify as 'very right wing' is two to four times higher than among the general population. Moreover, among antisemitic incidents recorded by the Community Security Trust that reveal a political or ideological motivation, those emanating from the far right weigh most heavily. Not only do these incidents outnumber those recorded as stemming from an anti-Israel or Islamist motivation in every year except 2009 and 2014 but, furthermore, the incidents from far-right perpetrators are on a steadily upward trend: the number rose from 100 in 2011 to 160 in 2016.
- In Germany, antisemitic criminal offences are mostly the acts of right-wing, non-Muslim, non-migrant Germans. Here political attitudes continue to exert a marked influence on all forms of antisemitism. There is a linear rise in antisemitic attitudes from left to right. Germany is notable for the presence of Israel-related antisemitism on the political right.
- In Belgium and the Netherlands, by contrast, antisemitism has decreased in the propaganda of extreme right parties. This may be connected to the parties' focus on recent migrants and the identification of Jews as a 'model of good integration' in comparison with Muslim minorities.

8 Muslim Minorities

Muslims: prejudice and disadvantage

How should we account for the elevated levels of antisemitism among Muslim minorities? At first sight the answer seems obvious. Muslim immigrants to Western Europe arrive from countries in which antisemitic attitudes are significantly more widespread than in the countries in which they settle. In 2015 the ADL global survey of antisemitism found that in MENA countries 74% of respondents answered 'probably true' to a majority of the antisemitic stereotypes tested. This figure is considerably higher than the scores for the West European countries which can be seen above in Figure 2. Yet at the same time as we acknowledge this background, we should also enquire how antisemitic attitudes function for MENA migrants once settled in Western Europe and for their children and grandchildren born in Europe.

Across Western Europe, civic participation, respect for law and commitment to the society of settlement is high among Muslim minorities but runs alongside a sense of grievance and injustice which is well grounded. This is what the British sociologist Anthony Heath has termed 'the paradox of integration'.²⁴ Heath was writing about the British context but his findings may be applicable more broadly. This experience of 'thwarted integration' provides an important context for the emergence of antisemitism among a significant minority of the Muslim population.

Numerous studies demonstrate that both Muslims and the children and grandchildren of MENA migrants (overlapping categories) experience disadvantage, discrimination and prejudice. The picture across different countries is remarkably consistent. We find that, compared with the average, Muslims experience poorer educational outcomes, higher rates of unemployment and are more likely to live in deprived areas. In all cases, they suffer from discrimination or prejudice or both. It is not surprising to find that these experiences can create a feeling among Muslim minorities that they have been rejected by the societies in which they live and of which they are a part.

- In Germany, a survey conducted in 2006 highlighted that almost half German Muslims believed that relations between them and non-Muslims had worsened and two-thirds reported experiences of discrimination. A decade later a survey of opinion among the general population found that 41% wanted the immigration of Muslims to be banned and 50% of interviewees felt as though they were strangers in their own land.
- In Belgium we have evidence that Muslims regard themselves as a stigmatized minority. A survey published in 2017 revealed that 70% feel they are considered as foreigners, 68% feel that terrorist attacks lead to higher levels of rejection, and 72% feel they are confined to particular urban enclaves.

These findings prompt the question whether there is any connection between these experiences of discrimination, disadvantage and rejection, on one side, and, on the other, the persistence of antisemitism.

- It is in Germany that there has been most discussion of the possible link between discrimination and antisemitism. Here studies suggest that discrimination and poor integration help to reinforce or prepare the ground for antisemitic thought. They do so in indirect ways: by leading Muslims to social media, radical groupings and mosques that promote antisemitic ideas and conspiracy theories. These studies are significant, not least because they propose a route between the experience of discrimination and prejudice and the development of antisemitic attitudes.
- In the case of France, as we have noted, one source of antisemitism lies within the second generation of immigrants, often of North African origin, living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Here researchers suggest that antisemitism draws strength from discrimination. For example, the heterogeneous *Jour de colère* manifesto against the government, issued in January 2014, encompassed explicitly antisemitic elements, including far-right networks and supporters of the humourist Dieudonné and Alain Soral, founder of the political association and website *Egalité et réconciliation*. Later that year the bans on both Dieudonné's performance and on pro-Palestinian demonstrations appeared to these elements to confirm the status of Jews as a privileged minority with political influence. This perception helped to fuel a sharp rise in antisemitic incidents.
- In the cases of the Netherlands and Belgium, research into antisemitic incidents and the expression of antisemitic sentiments stemming from citizens of Moroccan and Turkish origin suggests that these are related to insecurity as they navigate their position in Dutch and Belgian society.
- In the United Kingdom, research into Muslims with a South Asian background finds that the second generation possess higher expectations of British society than did their immigrant parents. In the face of discrimination and disadvantage they experience a decrease in trust in ways that, in some cases, drive radicalization. A significant minority of British Muslims are susceptible to conspiracy theories (these are more likely to focus on the United States than on Israel) and there is also some sympathy for political violence and terrorism. The sense of alienation among a minority of the second and third generations may provide fertile ground for politicized antisemitism.

It should be possible for us to acknowledge the significance of discrimination and grievance in giving meaning to antisemitism among some Muslims without, at the same time, legitimizing antisemitism and without denying the significance of the ethical and political choices made by individuals.

The possible link between discrimination and antisemitism is important because it suggests that there should be a change of focus. The issue, it appears, is not only one of immigration, but also of thwarted integration as a driver of antisemitism among some Muslims.

The attitudes and priorities of recent refugees

The evidence from all five countries strongly suggests that the daily lives of recent refugees and migrants are framed by insecurity. Their priorities are to find a place to sleep, to acquire papers and to learn the language of their new country of residence in order to find paid work. In short, their daily life is shaped by the

exigencies of their difficult situation rather than by commitment to antisemitism or to any other prejudice or ideology.

Nevertheless, we can expect migrants and refugees to have opinions and attitudes. Public discussion on the subject of refugees is often driven by suppositions, both positive and negative, about what these attitudes are. Optimists point to the fact that refugees have had a negative experience of the regimes they have fled and, in many cases, are educated to a high level. These facets of their experience, some suggest, will predispose them to support liberal values and to reject antisemitism. The contrary view is that MENA refugees and migrants arrive from countries where antisemitic attitudes and antagonism towards Israel as a Jewish state are commonplace and that they bring those attitudes to Europe.

Knowledge of attitudes and opinions among recent refugees is thin. There is little research to draw upon. Fieldwork conducted for this study suggests that refugees want to integrate and new migrants from the Middle East do not understand why they are likened to the descendants of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants for no reason other than both groups are composed of Muslims.

The most comprehensive knowledge of migrant attitudes comes from evidence gathered in Germany. Here a large and representative survey among recent refugees found that they support democracy to the same high extent as people holding a German passport: 96% said they wanted to have a democratic system while 21% were in favour of a strong leader who does not care about parliaments and elections. These responses are notably similar to those from German respondents, among whom 95% support a democratic system of government and 22% favour a strong leader. Asked about what defines a democracy, 93% answered that civil rights should protect people against state oppression, 93% agreed that men and women should have equal rights, and only 13% that a religious leader should have the last word in legislation. Here, too, the results are not very different from those of German respondents: 83%, 92% and 8% respectively. These results support the anti-alarmist camp.

With regard to antisemitism among refugees we have evidence from only a few studies. One focused on Bavaria and found that a majority (55%) of refugees from Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan agreed with the statement that Jews have too much influence in the world. We should note, however, that although this provides evidence of the diffusion of a particular antisemitic idea it does not satisfy the criteria widely used to identify 'antisemites' or 'antisemitism': this would require positive responses to a series of negative stereotypes. This cautious assessment is confirmed by the finding in another study that one in 24 refugees demonstrated a consistent antisemitic ideology, while the majority expressed fragmentary and contradictory antisemitic attitudes. A study conducted in Berlin and based on group interviews with 68 refugees from Syria and Iraq, provides a similarly complex picture in which 'antisemitic thought patterns and stereotypes' are both 'very widespread' and lie alongside emphasis on the importance of peaceful coexistence of Muslims, Christians and Jews. Many, but not all, interviewees emphasized the difference between talking about Jews and talking about Israel.²⁵

This nuanced picture is confirmed by the evidence from other countries.

- In the Netherlands respondents who have been in contact with Syrian refugees reported the presence of stereotypical images of Israel striving for global and regional supremacy and of Jews as powerful, conspiring and intrinsically bad people. However, government and civil society reports on antisemitism do not contain records of refugees or recent immigrants as perpetrators of antisemitic incidents or as people with anti-Jewish attitudes. There is no attestable impact of recent MENA refugees on recorded antisemitic attitudes and behaviour in the Netherlands since 2011.
- In France, the refugees interviewed for this project seemed unconcerned about Jews, and antisemitism was the least of their preoccupations. Representatives of civil society and the state (university, police, judges, public agencies whose mission is to combat racism, and independent authorities) confirm this picture. They connect antisemitism with extreme right-wing networks and with second-generation youths who come from a disadvantaged background. They do not cite recent MENA migrants as a problem; rather, they think of refugees as the first victims of intolerance. There are, however, indications of a sort of competitiveness over victimhood which can come close to resentment of Jews. One Syrian was reported as saying, 'if we were Jews we would not be treated like that'. Another commented, in the context of criticizing *laïcité* in France, 'Most of the minorities they are fine but the Muslims will never be fine.'
- In Belgium, the available quantitative and qualitative data do not show any rise of antisemitic incidents linked with new migrants.
- In the UK MENA migrants are largely absent from the available data on antisemitism. Interviews for this study generated very few references to prejudice against Jews among MENA migrants and refugees. The majority of respondents were concerned that new migrants might be the victims of hate crime, not the perpetrators.

9 Findings

In this report we set out to investigate whether there is a relationship between two phenomena:

1. The recent arrival of migrants and refugees from North Africa and the Middle East in the countries of Western Europe.
2. The incidence of antisemitic attitudes and behaviour and recorded antisemitic hate crime in those countries.

Our findings lead us to conclude:

- MENA migrants comprise a heterogeneous population whose presence varies considerably across Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.
- Jews in these same countries express apprehension at the perceived spread of antisemitism. MENA migrants, who arrive from countries in which antisemitic attitudes are commonplace, are one focus for this anxiety. Concern at the impact of recent MENA migrants is one facet of a broader unease which focuses on antisemitism among Muslim minorities.
- Despite some variation, attitudes to Jews in these countries are largely positive and not worsening. Statistics for recorded antisemitic hate crime and other incidents do not display a rising trend: they fluctuate in response to periodic intensification in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. The UK is the exception in this regard: here the figures for antisemitic incidents and hate crime did not fall back after 2014 to previous levels.
- Antisemitic attitudes and/or behaviour are disproportionately present among Muslim minorities as well as among people with sympathy for extreme right-wing groups.
- In the case of Muslim minorities, antisemitic attitudes can acquire meaning in the light of their own experiences of prejudice, discrimination and 'thwarted integration'.
- The lives of recent refugees are framed by insecurity and their priority is to establish a new life. There is some evidence that antisemitic attitudes are widely diffused among MENA refugees, as are positive attitudes to democracy, equal rights and peaceful coexistence among Muslims, Christians and Jews. There is no evidence that MENA migrants make any significant contribution to antisemitism at a societal level.
- Neither the analysis of existing data nor of the interviews undertaken for this report suggests a significant connection between recent MENA migrants and the extent and character of antisemitism in Western Europe.
- Antisemitism is a problem that stems from within the majority population and not only or mainly from minorities.

10 Recommendations

Policy and practice

1. Antisemitism should be understood as a singular phenomenon but it can and should be related to other forms of prejudice, discrimination and racialization. Consequently, work against antisemitism needs to proceed in ways that also address racism and prejudice more broadly. Among non-Jewish minorities this approach will help to establish connections between their own experiences and antisemitism. In this way we may promote understanding of similar experiences across diverse groups.
2. There has been little work to date to assess the effectiveness of existing initiatives aimed at the prevention of antisemitism. As a result, this is an area in which we have failed to build on experience. We should map existing initiatives aimed at the prevention of antisemitism and racism. This is a precondition for: assessing which initiatives are effective; establishing the level of resources required to combat antisemitism and racism; and disseminating and reproducing good practice.
3. Policy makers and civil society organizations should take account of the limitations and problems of interpretation presented by different survey methods and by statistics that seek to measure hate crime and antisemitic incidents. In doing so they will be able to safeguard against both complacency and alarmism.
4. More generally, there should be greater exchange between NGOs and policy makers, on one side, and scholars and researchers on the other. This report is, in part, one example of fruitful collaboration as representatives of several organizations contributed to the research. All sides should seek to ensure that NGOs and policy makers benefit from the findings of scholars and researchers.
5. Relations between Jews and Muslims are often vexed; framed by mutual suspicion. There is an urgent need to develop substantive interaction that provides a counterweight to the negative stereotypes and political discourses that generate mutual suspicion.

Discourse

6. There is an urgent need to appreciate the heterogeneity among MENA migrants and, more broadly, among Muslims and Jews.
7. All sectors of society have a duty to speak responsibly on issues concerning immigration, antisemitism and Islamophobia. In particular, politicians, policy makers, journalists and community leaders have an opportunity to address the issue in ways that promote balanced and evidence-based discussion.

8. The fact that antisemitism is an issue within society as a whole and not only within immigrant or religious minorities should be reflected in public discussion of antisemitism and in policy responses. It is only in this context that we will effectively address antisemitism when it does arise among Muslim populations, including MENA migrants.

Research

9. We need a representative and methodologically sophisticated survey of attitudes among MENA refugees.
10. We still need to know more about the location and dynamics of antisemitism. In particular, we need to know more about the profile of individuals who commit antisemitic acts, including those who operate online and on social media.
11. There is a need for studies that look not only at relations between majority and minority populations but also between different minorities. For example, it would be illuminating and appropriate to examine the attitudes of Jews to Muslims, to augment the existing studies of Muslims' attitudes to Jews.

Endnotes

1. The co-investigators for each country are listed in the appendix.
2. This research project uses the United Nations and World Bank definitions of MENA and, in addition, includes Afghanistan, Eritrea and Turkey. See also Definitions.
3. The countries examined were specified in the original call for research proposals on antisemitism and immigration made by EVZ in February 2016.
4. The UN data is used in this table because it enables comparisons between states. Other population figures cited in this report are taken from the national reports. Note that the figures for France in Table 1 differ from those given in the French national report. There the percentage of immigrants in the total population is given as 8.1% in 2006 and 8.9% in 2014. Both the UN and the French data sets confirm our observation that the rate of population change due to immigration has been slower in France than in the UK and Germany.
5. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2017), Trends in International Migration Stock: The 2017 Revision (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev/2017).
6. Figures below are taken from the national reports and calculated from 'Table 1. Total migrant stock at mid-year by origin', *ibid.*
7. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/data-and-maps/survey-data-explorer-discrimination-and-hate-crime-against>.
8. www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2016/12/22/britains-top-universities-becoming-no-go-zones-jews-baroness/; www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/jo-johnson-concerned-over-rise-in-antisemitism-on-uk-campuses-1.450907.
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13. Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe in 1945* (Heinemann, 2005).
14. Esra Ozyurek, 'Export-import theory and the racialization of antisemitism: Turkish and Arab-only prevention programs in Germany', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 58 (1), 40–65.
15. 2014: <http://global100.adl.org/#map/weurope>; 2015: <http://global100.adl.org/#map/2015update>.
16. Daniel Staetsky, *Antisemitism in Contemporary Great Britain* (Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2017), 3.

17. Lars Dencik and Karl Marosi, *Different Antisemitisms: Perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews in Sweden and across Europe* (Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2017).
18. www.bundestag.de/blob/503220/5dbf53f00644f6aed4e984c529f8165f/antisemitismusbericht_conclusion-data.pdf.
19. www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/adl_anti-semitism_presentation_february_2012.pdf.
20. www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/downloads/DE/publikationen/2017/expertenbericht-antisemitismus-in-deutschland.pdf?__blob=publicationFile.
21. <http://global100.adl.org/#map/2015update>.
22. www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/19/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/.
23. The calculation takes into account Muslims, the far left and the far right. If these groups exhibited the same levels of antisemitism as the population as a whole, those holding 'multiple and intense antisemitic attitudes would only fall from 3.6% to 3.0%', p. 6.
24. www.pearsinstitute.bbk.ac.uk/assets/Uploads/PDFs/Integration-Disadvantage-and-ExtremismMay2014FINAL.pdf.
25. G. Jikeli, *Attitudes of Refugees from Syria and Iraq towards Integration, Identity Jews and the Shoah: Research Report*, American Jewish Committee Berlin, Lawrence and Lee Ramer Institute for German-Jewish Relations (Berlin, 2017).

Appendices

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Biographies

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Jan Davison is Manager of the Pears Institute for the study of Antisemitism, Birkbeck, University of London and its Head of Communications. She has a PhD in inter-organizational decision-making and has worked as a strategic communications consultant for a range of organizations in the private and public sector, including central and local government.

Elodie Druetz is a doctoral candidate in Political Science and Sociology, under the joint supervision of Florence Haegel and Patrick Simon, at the Centre d'études européennes et de politique comparée de Sciences Po and at the Institut national d'études démographiques. Her thesis deals with the experience of racialization and the political behaviours of university graduates of African descent in the French and British context.

David Feldman is Director of the Pears Institute for the study of Antisemitism and a Professor of History at Birkbeck, University of London. His research interests have focused on the history of minorities, particularly Jews and immigrants, and their place in British society. His UK policy work includes the reports *Integration, Disadvantage and Extremism* (2014) and *Sub-Report on Antisemitism for the Parliamentary Committee Against Antisemitism* (2015). He is a member of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Expert Group on Education Policy, advising on its initiative 'Turning Words into Action to Address Anti-Semitism'.

Ben Gidley is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Social Sciences, History and Philosophy at Birkbeck, University of London. Formerly he was an Associate Professor at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford. He has researched and written extensively on migration, diversity and integration. His most recent book, co-edited with James Renton, is *Antisemitism and Islamophobia in Europe: A Shared Story?* (2017).

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Leo Lucassen is Director of Research of the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (International Institute of Social History) in Amsterdam and Professor of Global Labour and Migration History at the Universiteit van Leiden. He has published widely on the history of migration, integration, racism and social engineering, with over 245 scholarly publications, including 11 monographs and 16 edited volumes.

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Nonna Mayer is Research Director Emerita of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, at the Centre d'études européennes et de politique comparée de Sciences Po, Paris. Her main research topics are political attitudes and behaviour, right-wing extremism, racism and antisemitism. Since 2000 she has been part of the team coordinating the National Consultative Commission for Human Rights (CNCDH) Annual Barometer on racism, antisemitism and xenophobia, and its analysis for the CNCDH annual report. In 2016 she was appointed to the CNCDH and to the Scientific Council of the Interdepartmental Commission for the Fight against Racism, Antisemitism and Anti LGBT Hate.

Muriel Sacco is a member of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB). She received her doctorate in political and social sciences from ULB. Her research interests concern integration policies, youth, governance in Brussels and the sociology of migration.

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Annemarike Stremmelaar is a historian focusing on Turkey, the Middle East, and Muslims in the Netherlands. She has worked as lecturer, researcher and editor at Universiteit van Leiden, Radboud Universiteit (Nijmegen), the International Institute for Islam in the Modern World (Leiden), and NIOD, the Instituut voor oorlogs-, holocaust- en genocidestudies (Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies) (Amsterdam). Her topics of interest include antisemitism and discrimination and the memory of the Holocaust and genocide.

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