

Antisemitism Among Young Muslims in London

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Abstract

Until now, little attention has been given to antisemitism among Muslims in the UK. However, the few surveys available on the issue reveal that some antisemitic attitudes are significantly more common among Muslims than among the general population. Statistics on antisemitic incidents suggest that approximately 30% of the perpetrators are Muslim.

In this paper I present patterns of expressions of antisemitism among Muslims. My analysis draws on interviews with 40 young Muslims from London, most of them with South-Asian backgrounds and some of North African or black African origin. I examine the question how negative attitudes toward Jews are shown and how these attitudes are justified. Four categories of antisemitic “argumentations” can be identified: “classical” antisemitism, antisemitism with reference to the Middle East conflict, antisemitism with reference to Islam or the Muslim identity and antisemitism foregoing justifications for an enmity against Jews.

In the literature, these patterns of “argumentation”, particularly those with reference to the Middle East conflict, are often mistaken as sources of antisemitism. But it can be shown that many interviewees use references to the Middle East conflict merely as pretexts to justify their antisemitic resentments and others show antisemitism without any references to the Middle East conflict. Furthermore, I discuss factors that enhance antisemitic attitudes such as influences from families and friends, media, Muslim organisations and particular perceptions of Islam and Muslim identity.

Introduction

Muslims in the UK are far from being a homogeneous group.¹ From a sociological point of view² there is no Islam as a unitary category but as many different interpretations of Islam as there are Muslims: every person who considers himself or herself Muslim must necessarily have his or her very own perception of belief and must be selective in his or her religious interpretations. This is true even if individuals believe otherwise. However, there are religious sources and narratives which are understood by significant numbers of Muslims to be part and parcel of a Muslim identity. A number of studies and surveys show that for most of those who have Muslim backgrounds religion is one of the most important factors in describing themselves.³ A prominent exception however is the Council of Ex-Muslims.⁴

In the UK, there are about 2 million people who identify themselves as Muslim.⁵ The vast majority live in England and Wales, where they form 3% of the population. Most Muslim immigrants came from former colonies such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and India in the 1960s and 70s. In 2001, 74%

¹ Open Society Institute, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report: United Kingdom. Preliminary research report and literature survey, 2007*, pp. 10-13, http://www.eumap.org/topics/minority/reports/eumuslims/background_reports/download/uk/uk.pdf.

² The process of comparing multiple conflicting dogmas requires what Peter L. Berger has described as inherent "methodological atheism." Peter Berger, *The sacred canopy: elements of a sociological theory of religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990)

³ Tariq Modood et al., *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1997); Amir Saeed, Neil Blain, and Douglas Forbes, "New ethnic and national questions in Scotland: post-British identities among Glasgow Pakistani teenagers," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, no. 5 (1999): pp. 821-844; Maria O'Beirne, *Religion in England and Wales: findings from the 2001 Home Office Citizenship. Home Office Research Study 274* (Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, March 2004), <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/hors274.pdf>; The Pew Global Attitudes Project, *In Great Britain, Muslims Worry About Islamic Extremism - Pew Research Center*, August 10, 2006, <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/48/in-great-britain-muslims-worry-about-islamic-extremism>; Dalia Mogahed and Zsolt Nyiri, "Beyond the Veil," April 2007, <http://www.divinity.cam.ac.uk/cip/documents/BeyondtheVeilbyMogahed.pdf>

⁴ <http://www.ex-muslim.org.uk/> [accessed 1 December 2009]

⁵ 1.6 million people identified themselves as Muslim in the census 2001.

of the Muslim population had Asian backgrounds but almost half of the Muslim population was born in Britain.⁶ Despite that, they have to face xenophobic and racist resentments and discrimination, partly directed against their religious affiliation.⁷ Statistics show that Muslims are more likely to be unemployed than any other religious group. A third of Muslims have no qualifications, also the highest proportion of any religious group. And one third of the Muslim population live in the 10 per cent most deprived neighbourhoods.⁸

Since 2003 some studies indicate that there is a new and previously unrecognised group of perpetrators of antisemitism in Europe and in the UK who are Muslim.⁹ Few opinion polls among Muslims have included questions on antisemitism. There is no survey on Muslims with the focus on antisemitism. However, the Pew Global Attitudes Project published a survey in 2006 in which they included the question: “Please tell me if you have a very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable, or very unfavourable opinion of Jews.” The survey shows that in the UK, 47% of Muslims and 7% of the general population had an unfavourable opinion of Jews.¹⁰

⁶ Data from the National Census in 2001. Available at Office for National Statistics, “National Statistics Online - Focus On Religion,” <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/focuson/religion/>. For a summary see http://www.bristol.ac.uk/sociology/ethnicitycitizenship/intromuslims_census.pdf [accessed 5 December 2009]

⁷ European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, *Muslims in the European Union. Discrimination and Islamophobia*, 2006, pp. 84-89, http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Manifestations_EN.pdf.

⁸ Data from the National Census in 2001. Office for National Statistics, “National Statistics Online - Focus On Religion.”. For a summary see http://www.bristol.ac.uk/sociology/ethnicitycitizenship/intromuslims_census.pdf [accessed 5 December 2009]

⁹ Werner Bergmann and Juliane Wetzel, *Manifestations of anti-Semitism in the European Union. First Semester 2002. Synthesis Report on behalf of the EUMC*, 2003, http://www.cohn-bendit.de/depot/standpunkte/Manifestations%20of%20anti-Semitism%20in%20the%20European%20Union_EN.pdf.

¹⁰ The Pew Global Attitudes Project, *The great divide. How Westerners and Muslims view each other.*, 2006, p. 42, <http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/253.pdf>.

Opinion of Jews Great Britain April/May 2006	favourable			unfavourable			Don't know/ refused
	total	very	some what	total	very	some what	
general population	74%	22%	52%	7%	3%	4%	19%
Muslims	32%	4%	28%	47%	33%	14%	22%

Source: The Pew Global Attitudes Project,¹¹ compiled by the author.

If we accept that the survey is more or less representative, there are two possible explanations for the differences between Muslims and the general population: either it is due to a general higher degree of antisemitic resentments among Muslims or due to more latent or indirect expressions of antisemitism among the general population. Or it is be a combination of both. Our research shows that there are some specific forms of antisemitism among Muslims. Another survey among Muslims in December 2005 showed that 53% said that Jews have too much influence over foreign policy. 46% said that Jews are in league with the Freemasons to control the media and politics. And 37% of the Muslim population in Britain said that Jews are legitimate targets as part of the ongoing struggle for justice in the Middle East.¹² Statistics from the Community Security Trust on the ethnicity of perpetrators of antisemitic incidents suggest that approximately 30% of perpetrators of antisemitic incidents are Muslim,¹³ despite the fact that only 3% of the general population are Muslims. This can only partly be

¹¹ The Pew Global Attitudes Project, *The great divide. How Westerners and Muslims view each other.*, p. 42

¹² Populus/Times, *Muslims Poll*, 2005, <http://www.populuslimited.com/the-times-muslim-poll-191205.html>

¹³ The Community Security Trust regularly publishes reports on antisemitic incidents. They use six categories to describe the ethnic backgrounds of perpetrators based on physical descriptions: white, East European, black, Asian, Far Eastern and Arab. It can be assumed that the large majority of those classified as Arab and Asian are Muslim. In 2004, 38 percent of perpetrators of antisemitic incidents were identified as being of Asian or Arab appearance, 30 percent in 2005, 34 percent in 2006, 27 percent in 2007, 30 percent in 2008 and 42 percent for the first six months of 2009. Community Security Trust, *Antisemitic Incident Report 2008*, 2009, p. 11, http://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/Incidents_Report_08.pdf; Community Security Trust, *Antisemitic Incidents January-June 2009*, 2009, p. 6, http://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/Incidents_Report_Jan_June_09.pdf; Community Security Trust, *Antisemitic Incident Report 2005*, 2006, p. 12. http://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/Incidents_Report_08.pdf

explained by geographic proximity of the two communities. However, most antisemitic incidents were reported in London and Manchester, the two largest Jewish communities in the UK. Muslims form 8% and 9% of the population in London and Manchester respectively.¹⁴

Methods, Research Settings and Respondents

The paper is based on qualitative interviews with 40 young men in London who identify themselves as Muslim. Most of them have Asian backgrounds, a few have North African or black African origins. The interviews are part of a comparative study on patterns of antisemitism among young Muslims in London, Paris and Berlin. The sample of interviewees was selected as follows: potential interviewees were approached randomly outdoors. The interview was closed if the person did not fall into the subject group: 15-27 years old, male and self-identifying as Muslim.¹⁵ Most of the participants were interviewed individually, some in groups of two to four, allowing some observations of group dynamics and influences from peers. The focus of the interviews was on perceived discriminations and the perception of Jews. Most of the interviews were conducted in Tower Hamlets.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Relation between data collection and analysis consisted mainly in coding and finding patterns from the data. The analytical strategy is based on a five stage method described by Christiane Schmidt (2004).¹⁶ A standard procedure of inductive category formation was used according to Philipp Mayring.¹⁷ The categories were further differentiated, progressively given empirical content and modified

¹⁴ Data from the National Census in 2001. Office for National Statistics, "National Statistics Online - Focus On Religion."

¹⁵ One exceptions was made with a 30 year old interviewee.

¹⁶ Christiane Schmidt, "The Analysis of Semi-structured Interviews," in *A companion to qualitative research*, ed. Uwe Flick, Ernst von Kardoff, and Ines Steinke (London; Thousand Oaks Calif.: Sage Publications, 2004), pp. 253-258. The strategy was applied exemplarily in the study Christel Hopf et al., *Familie und Rechtsextremismus : familiale Sozialisation und rechtsextreme Orientierungen junger Männer* (Weinheim: Juventa, 1995)

¹⁷ Philipp Mayring, "Qualitative Content Analysis," in *A companion to qualitative research*, ed. Uwe Flick, Ernst von Kardoff, and Ines Steinke (London; Thousand Oaks Calif.: Sage Publications, 2004), pp. 266-269

accordingly, leading to the formation of a typology.¹⁸

The paper firstly presents the four main categories of patterns of antisemitic argumentations, showing how interviewees justify their negative opinion of Jews. Interview excerpts are used to illustrate how they express negative attitudes towards Jews. Secondly, I discuss some factors of influence which enhance antisemitic attitudes based on direct references by interviewees to sources of antisemitic tropes and narratives.

Four Patterns of Antisemitic “Argumentations”

What are the 'rationales' for the hatred of Jews, what do people say, why they don't like Jews? It should be stressed that the 'rationales' of antisemites for their hatred of Jews cannot be taken as the source for their antisemitic resentments. However, four patterns can be identified: “classical” antisemitism, antisemitic resentments related to Israel, antisemitism referring to Islam or Muslim identity and the omission of arguments, expressed in ways such as: I hate Jews because they are Jews.

Less than 20% of the interviewees did not use any of these “argumentations” and did not show any antisemitic feelings.

“Classical” Antisemitism

The first category of antisemitic “argumentation” can be called “classical” antisemitism. These rationales and tropes have a long tradition in modern antisemitism and are readily identified as antisemitic. In this category fall stereotypes of Jews as being rich, stingy, clannish, treacherous, etc. Interviewees often use it by saying that all the big companies are in fact Jewish or that a Jew runs them. Some give examples for these allegedly Jewish companies such as Marks & Spencer, Coca Cola and Sainsbury's. Alleged Jewish influence and conspiracy theories also fall into this category of classical antisemitism. Some see the influence domestically or in the

¹⁸ Schmidt, “The Analysis of Semi-structured Interviews.” The process was simplified in this study. It was successfully applied by Walter R. Heinz et. al. on semi-structured interviews with young people on work related issues. Walter R. Heinz et al., “Vocational Training and Career Development in Germany: Results from a Longitudinal Study,” *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 22, no. 1 (March 1, 1998): pp. 77-101

media while others talk about a general Jewish influence, or the power of Jews in the United States. Two interviewees even believe that Blair and Bush are Jewish. In comparison to Paris and Berlin, the Freemasons are a particular popular trope of conspiracy theories. One participant combines some of the classical tropes. He says:

“Well obviously you can see that Jewish are the rich ones around nowadays. They are the one [sic] who control everything. [...] even Britain because if you see Sainsbury's, Tesco, Iceland, it all belongs to them. They are the rich ones. They're the one [sic] who are controlling the country and the world right now.”

(Nirmal, London, P83: 407-413)

The participant uses familiar antisemitic tropes: the rich Jews, Jewish influence in the economy and he ends up with a world conspiracy theory that Jews control everything.

Antisemitic resentments related to Israel

Unfortunately, we are also getting more and more familiar to another category of tropes and rationales, those that relate hatred against Jews to the Middle East conflict. Interviewees often take the alleged maliciousness of Israel as evidence for the maliciousness of Jews. Israel is often perceived merely as an example of how bad “the Jews” are. Two preconditions must be met to make this argument:

- a) Jews and Israelis are conflated - which most interviewees do to some extent. and
- b) The perception of the Middle East conflict is Manichean and Israel is seen as evil or fundamentally wrong.

Two topoi are frequent in this Manichean view which vilifies and demonizes Israel - and the Jews: “the Jews/Israelis kill children” and “the Jews/Israelis steal the land of Palestinians” or “the Jews/Israelis steal Muslim land.” The majority uses “the Jews” and not “Israelis” in these two topoi. Israel can also be demonized by comparisons to the Nazis. Additionally, some express their wish for the dissolution of Israel which is an antisemitic trope in itself.¹⁹ Two examples may illustrate how

¹⁹ European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, “Working Definition of Antisemitism” (EUMC/ FRA, 2005),

interviewees express antisemitism with reference to the Middle East conflict. Bashkar states:

Muslim groups, they wanted to boycott Israel, so they done leaflet [...] Imagine I buy, they said, it was written, whenever you buy a pack of Benson and Hedges [...] maybe from that £5, 2p is gonna go for the bullet, so he can shoot the Palestinian, - the Israeli soldier. It's a tax.

(Bashkar, London, P68: 607-623)

Bashkar refers to a leaflet calling for a boycott of companies who allegedly support Israel. In the interview he makes clear that he thinks that these companies are Jewish. The support of Israel which he equates with the support of shooting Palestinians is his argument for the legitimisation of an antisemitic boycott. And his perception of how British taxpayers' money is used alludes to further antisemitic perceptions of Jewish influence within the HM Revenue & Customs. While Bashkar accuses Jews of supporting Israel financially, others accuse Jews of supporting Israel morally and thereby justify their negative attitudes toward Jews.

Another example is the demonization of Israel by an equation with the Nazis. Manoj explains:

What we say, is that the Nazi government and the Israeli government, there is no difference in what they do, or how they treat people.

(Manoj, London, P87: 467)

In this statement, he demonizes the Israeli government with an antisemitic equation. During the interview he reveals that he is against “the Zionists” who are, allegedly, in all businesses and support Israel.

However, it should be mentioned that the issue of Israel or the Middle East conflict is not important for all of the interviewees and that many show antisemitic attitudes without any references to the Middle East conflict.

Antisemitism with Reference to Islam or Muslim Identity

A third pattern are 'rationales' that try to justify an enmity against Jews

<http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/material/pub/AS/AS-WorkingDefinition-draft.pdf>;
Natan Sharansky, “3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization,” *Jewish Political Studies Review* 16:3-4 (October 2004)

with Islam or with Muslim identity. The general assumption of an enmity between Muslims and Jews is widespread, also among those who see similarities between Judaism and Islam and also among those who only partly practise Islam.²⁰

This enmity can be perceived as so strong that some participants believe that Muslims and Jews are at war with each other. In these cases, the Middle East conflict often serves as an example. But the assumption of an ongoing war between Muslims and Jews is also put into the context of a perceived long history of wars between Muslims and Jews going back to the days of Mohammed. Others relate it to their belief that the end of the world is near, allegedly the time for religions to be at war with each other. Citing history for a long enmity between Muslims and Jews can be related to interpretations of Islamic scriptures which highlight fights between Mohammed and Jewish tribes. Some say that Jews cannot be trusted because “they” betrayed the prophet Muhammad and refer to the Qur'an or Islamic history. Two examples may illustrate this category of rationales. Baru simply says:

*Religious issues we've got against Jewish people.
(Baru, London, P73A: 259)*

Interviewees are often vague regarding the nature of these “religious issues” but many are nevertheless adamant in their belief that these religious issues are important and reason enough to be suspicious of Jews. Nirmal gives some more details. His statement can serve as an example of how perceptions of historical events at the time of Mohammed can be transferred to the present day. He explains:

Back in those days when prophet, sallallahu 'alayhi wa salam,²¹ was alive and he tried to spread Islam [...], the other religions they didn't want him to spread it. [...] That was the Jewish. He tried to spread it and they tried to kill him [...] the enemies. So in order to defend ourselves we do Jihad. [...] Obviously Islam and Jews we have a conflict with each other. We're enemies [...] Still today they want their revenge they want to be in control.

²⁰ On the basis of their own standards.

²¹ This Arabic formula with the meaning “May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him”, is used by many Muslims to honour the prophet Mohammed whenever his name is mentioned.

(Nirmal, London, P83: 389-417)

Often, we can find a perception of all Jews as one entity, i.e. all Jewish individuals anywhere in the world and anywhere in time are somehow seen as one entity, a unitary category. This can lead to accusations against Jews who live today for things some other Jews might have done about 1400 years ago at the time of the prophet Muhammad.

Omitting Justifications for Negative Attitudes Toward Jews

Some interviewees omit a justification for their negative perception of Jews. They give the impression that they believe it is only “natural” that Jews are perceived negatively and that therefore no explanation is needed. One interviewee hits the nail on the head when he says:

Jewish people are Jewish, that's why we don't like them.

(Sakti, London, P89H: 855)

To say that he must be confident that it is self-evident that Jews are perceived in a negative way. This may be the reason why another interviewee praises Hitler. He states:

Hitler was a great guy.

Q: Well why?

He killed all the Jews.

(Saibal, London, P85: 819-821)

Saibal does not explain why he thinks that it was good that Hitler “killed all the Jews.” But with this statement he expresses his hatred against Jews which defies rationality: his hatred of Jews today is justification enough for him to endorse the murder of the Jews more than 60 years ago.

Combination of Rationales

Of course, participants combine and mix all these different rationales. Sabir for example thinks in peculiar religious categories when thinking about Jews but also in patterns of conspiracy theory and hints to a perception of Jews and money. Consider his own words:

In the Qur'an it says there will be a holy war. One solid war that will end the world and for the first couple of hundred years Muslims will suffer but then the Muslims will overcome and they

will take the pride. They will win the war. And the way it's goin' on, as far as Islam and Jew [sic], the time is actually coming, it's not very far. [...] I think, this is part of the Jewish plan. They are planning it all out, "so let's take out all the Muslims, make their side weaker", 'cause that's what they are trying to do. Because Saddam was a super power man for us because he was a Muslim, strong he had lot of armies, he was a good support to us. If the war came along we would definitely have his support, but now they took him away, they took all his money away, all his weapons.

(Sabir, London, P78: 60)

However, not all interviewees reveal such strong antisemitic perceptions and most interviewees reject violence and open hostility toward Jews.

Distinction Between “Rationales” and Sources of Antisemitism

Having presented these rationales, I want to point out that the arguments people bring forward to explain why they disdain, dislike or hate Jews are not the source of their resentments. The confusion of patterns of “argumentations” of antisemites with the sources of antisemitism is a common mistake, also among scholars on antisemitism. For example Silverstein,²² Bunzl,²³ Holz,²⁴ Lerman²⁵ and Klug²⁶ fall into this trap and want to find the kernel of truth in the arguments of antisemites. And they find themselves adopting the arguments of antisemites, for example by arguing that (antisemitic) hatred against Israel has its origin in the Middle

²² Paul A. Silverstein, “The context of antisemitism and Islamophobia in France,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 42, no. 1 (2008): 1.

²³ Matti Bunzl, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Hatreds Old and New in Europe* (Chicago, 2007).

²⁴ Klaus Holz, *Die Gegenwart des Antisemitismus: Islamistische, demokratische und antizionistische Judenfeindschaft* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2005).

²⁵ Antony Lerman, “Must Jews always see themselves as victims?,” *The Independent*, March 7, 2009, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/must-jews-always-see-themselves-as-victims-1639277.html>; Antony Lerman, “Sense on antisemitism,” *Prospect*, August 2002, <http://www.axt.org.uk/essays/Lerman.htm>

²⁶ Brian Klug, “The Myth of the New Anti-Semitism,” *The Nation*, February 2, 2004, <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20040202/klug/5>.

East conflict. Some reformulate arguments of antisemites, saying in effect that people do not mean “the Jews” when they accuse “the Jews” of killing children or saying that people are not resentful against Israeli ordinary citizens when they want to boycott Israeli companies or academics. The sources of prejudice is not to be found in the prejudice. Most people have understood that when it comes to racism or homophobia. People are not racist because black people are stupid and people are not homophobic because homosexuals are ill, both is not true. Prejudice or resentments have more to do with the people who are prejudiced or who are resentful. My data does not allow me to draw conclusions on the psychological reasons for the interviewees to develop antisemitic resentments or pathological projections.²⁷ But the interviews with young Muslim Londoners provide insights in an environment which does not *necessarily* lead to the development of antisemitic attitudes but which enhances antisemitism.

Factors of Influence Enhancing Antisemitic Attitudes

The analysis of factors of influence that enhance antisemitic attitudes is based on references and links the interviewees make themselves rather than based on correlations.

The attitudes of family and friends seem to play an important role in the attitudes of the interviewees. Not only that they adopt their arguments but interviewees also report of social pressure they would feel if they befriended a Jew. However, some interviewees explicitly disagree with antisemitic attitudes from their parents or friends. Generally, antisemitic attitudes seem to be rarely challenged by anybody. In some social circles, an open antisemitic discourse seems to be normal as e.g. an analysis of the presumption that Muslims and Jews are supposed to be enemies show.

The form of expression of antisemitic attitudes seems to change with the level of education: participants with a higher level of formal education tend to show antipathy toward Jews in a socially more accepted way.

Experiences of racism and exclusion do not seem to have a direct influence

²⁷ „The pathology of antisemitism is not the projective behaviour but the failure of reflexion therein.” [translation by the author] Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung : philosophische Fragmente*, Limitierte Jubiläumsed. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verl., 2002), p. 199

on antisemitic resentments. It might be indirectly: discrimination and separation might enhance the search for alternative strong identities. And some relate their Muslim identity to an enmity against Jews.

Islam or the Muslim identity is a factor which should be further differentiated: some literal and authoritative ways of interpreting Islam seem to enhance antisemitic attitudes more than more liberal ways of interpretation. The interpretation of Islam seems to be more important as a factor than the level of religiosity.

In some cases the influence of antisemitic Islamist organisations can be shown. One interviewee for example says that his views on Zionists are similar to those of Hizb ut-Tahir.

Some refer to TV as a source for antisemitic stereotypes. Images of the Middle East conflict reinforce a Manichean view of this conflict and many cite for example Channel 4 for their conspiracy theories. And some refer to the Internet as a source of antisemitic views on the Israeli- Palestinian conflict and also as a source for conspiracy theories.

Conclusions

There are some specific aspects to antisemitism among some Muslims which indicate that the term *Muslim antisemitism* can be helpful in the analysis of contemporary antisemitism. Many associate enmity against Jews with their collective identity as Muslims. It is not reduced to religious interpretations or to Islamist views. Therefore, the term *Muslim antisemitism* is more adequate than the term Islamic or Islamist antisemitism. The term *Muslim antisemitism* is no accusation against all Muslims as for example the term Christian antisemitism shows.

The generation of antisemitic attitudes is complex and no single or combined factors necessarily lead to antisemitic attitudes. This is an indication that individuals have a choice of adopting antisemitic attitudes and hence are held to be personally responsible for antisemitic remarks.

Religion is a factor but further differentiation is needed: the interpretation of religion seems to be more important than the level of religiosity.

The Middle East conflict serves as an important rationale but is not a source of antisemitic attitudes.

More research is required to investigate the influence and interdependency of the public discourse and Muslim antisemitism. Attention should be paid to the wilful ignorance of mainstream society toward some forms of antisemitism from Muslims and Muslim organisations, particularly in two very relevant fields for contemporary antisemitism: diminishing or denial of the Holocaust and hatred against Israel.

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