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## **The Modern Anti-Semitism Israel Model: An empirical relationship between modern anti-Semitism and opposition to Israel**

*Kurzfassung:* Der vorliegende Aufsatz berichtet über unser Forschungsprogramm, das einige der Ursachen und Konsequenzen des Antisemitismus unter der Perspektive eines neuen theoretischen Modells untersucht, das in Form von sechs Experimenten getestet wurde. Das Modell nimmt an, dass Antisemitismus durch Mortalitäts-Salienz verstärkt wird und dass sich Antisemitismus häufig als Feindseligkeit gegenüber Israel manifestiert. Die Ergebnisse zeigen in Übereinstimmung mit unseren Vorhersagen, dass existentiellen Ängste zu verstärktem Antisemitismus und verringerter Unterstützung Israels führen. Insgesamt können diese Ergebnisse als ein vorläufiger Beitrag zur Erklärung der Kontinuität des Antisemitismus dienen.

*Abstract:* The current paper reviews our program of research that has examined some of the causes and consequences of anti-Semitism in which a new theoretical model of anti-Semitism is presented and tested in six experiments. The model proposes that mortality salience increases anti-Semitism and that anti-Semitism often manifests as hostility towards Israel. In accord with predictions, results show that existential fears lead to higher anti-Semitism and reduced support for Israel. Collectively, these results may serve as a preliminary contribution to explaining the continuation of anti-Semitism.

"The Jews ... invented and successfully promoted Socialism, Communism, human rights and democracy so that persecuting them would appear to be wrong, so they may enjoy equal rights with others. With these they have now gained control of the most powerful countries ..."

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad (ADL, 2003)

Much of the world – laypeople, politicians, and scholars alike – seems unaware or unconcerned about modern anti-Semitism. Major scholarly publications on stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination have generally paid little attention to anti-Semitism (e.g., Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2010; Fiske, 1998; Jost & Banaji, 1994) and, except for occasional discussions about whether criticism of Israel is or is not anti-Semitic, anti-Semitism rarely receives much coverage in American media outlets (Sheppard, April 12, 2010). This paper is an effort to begin to redress that gap. The present paper reviews some real world evidence of modern anti-Semitism in addition to our program of research that has experimentally examined some of the causes and consequences of anti-Semitism.

### *Why study anti-Semitism?*

Anti-Semitism is an age old prejudice that continues to exist making it worthy of social scientific attention. Why then has it been virtually ignored? Many factors combine to create a sort of social camouflage covering what is referred to as modern anti-Semitism. First, anti-Semitism is a form of prejudice, and much scholarship seeks to understand prejudice as one source of unfair disadvantage inflicted on particular demographic groups (e.g., Greenwald & Krieger, 2005). Jews, however, are not (in general) socioeconomically disadvantaged. Quite the contrary: At least in the democratic west (Europe and North America) Jews have been very socio-economically successful over the last 60 years (e.g., Burstein, 2007). Second, Israel, the Jewish state, has been highly successful, both economically and militarily. Therefore, to the extent that scholarship on prejudice starts with the implicit question "Who is disadvantaged?" the answer "Jews" is not likely to readily emerge.

Third, the U.S. and Canada in particular are among the least anti-Semitic countries in the world. They have no history of government policies oppressing or harassing Jews, no history of expulsions or state-sponsored violence against Jews, and, in general, have provided a relatively safe and welcoming environment for Jews. Studying anti-Semitism in an environment so favorable towards Jews would appear to be a real nonstarter.

Fourth, nearly all discussions of anti-Semitism include the Holocaust. The attention paid to the Holocaust, both documenting it and understanding it, is clearly a good thing. Nonetheless, we suspect that there has been an unintentional side effect to the relentless emphasis on the Holocaust. First, recent research (Imhoff & Banse, 2010) has shown that acknowledgement of ongoing Jewish suffering resulting from the Holocaust increased German participants' prejudice against Jews. Second, we would speculate that all this attention has unintentionally provided political cover for modern anti-Semites.

To the extent that Nazism is implicitly equated with anti-Semitism, the bar for identifying anti-Semitism has been significantly raised. We are concerned about the possibility that, for many people, advocating exterminating Jews equals anti-Semitism. If so, then, even when a person endorses and promotes all sorts of other beliefs and actions hostile to Jews, as long as they stop short of advocating extermination or blatant exclamations of hatred (e.g., "I hate Jews," vandalizing synagogues, etc.), that person may frequently fail to be recognized as an anti-Semite. These general factors – Jewish success, the relative friendliness of North America toward Jews, and the implicit equating of Nazism with anti-Semitism – have, we speculate, combined to lead many in the West (including social scientists) to completely miss the fact that modern anti-Semitism continues to exist. Although anti-Semitism may have gone unnoticed for many people, there continue to be some very real modern manifestations.

#### *Ongoing evidence of modern anti-Semitism*

*Hate crimes.* Even in the U.S., which has a long history as one of the least anti-Semitic countries in the world, Jews are proportionately subject to more hate crimes than are other ethnic and religious minorities, including African-Americans, Latinos, and Muslims. According to data collected by the FBI, the U.S. Census, and a variety of private polling agencies (FBI, 2004; U.S. Census, 2006) Jews are the only U.S. group that is victimized more than once for every ten thousand members of the population. African-Americans are proportionately the next most frequent target of hate crimes (subject to hate crimes at about half the rate of Jews in the United States). This remains true even in areas like New York where Jews have been known to thrive (Levin, December 31, 2010).

*Special reports.* Despite generally flying under the radar, there have been a handful of special reports over the last several years that have documented modern anti-Semitism. In 2005, the U.S. State Department released a report titled, "Contemporary Global Anti-Semitism: A Report Provided to the United States Congress." It found that:

"Anti-Semitism has proven to be an adaptive phenomenon. New forms of anti-Semitism have evolved. They often incorporate elements of traditional anti-Semitism. However, the distinguishing feature of the new anti-Semitism is criticism of Zionism or Israeli policy that—whether intentionally or unintentionally—has the effect of promoting prejudice against all Jews by demonizing Israel and Israelis and attributing Israel's perceived faults to its Jewish character" (p. 4).

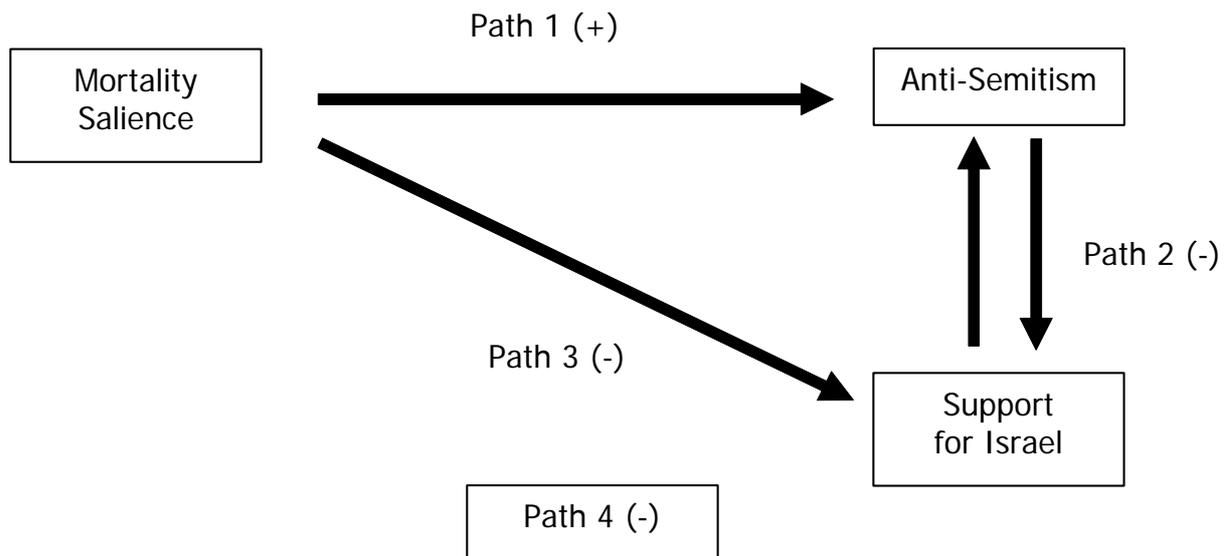
Recently, Human Rights First (a U.S. nonprofit that does not accept government funding) released its own report that both concurred with and expanded on some of the findings of the State Dept. report (Human Rights First, 2007). The mere section headings offer a chilling wake-up call to anyone who has interpreted Jewish success as a reason for unconcern: *Extreme Violence* (in Russia, France, and the U.S.), *Attacks on Jewish Institutions and Property* (in Canada, the Ukraine, the United Kingdom, the U.S. and Austria), *Proliferating Anti-Semitic Discourse* ("Anti-Semitism promoted throughout much of Europe through Internet and other media connected to Middle Eastern ... intended to delegitimize Israel" pp. 11-12), *Anti-Semitism as Public Policy* (e.g., Iran's Holocaust denial conference), and *Anti-Semitism in Central and Eastern Europe*.

*International political statements and events.* The most controversial statements recently made by a major political leader is, of course, Iranian President Ahmedinajad's statements echoing those of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, "that the cancerous tumor called Israel must be uprooted from the region" (Teitelbaum, 2008). Far less well-known are a variety of other events, statements, declarations, etc. that reflect a similar virulent and irrational hostility to things Jewish (including, but not restricted to, the state of Israel). For example, a major Egyptian newspaper, Al-Ushbu, speculated that Israeli nuclear testing may have caused the 2004 tsunami that led to massive death and destruction in Indonesia (Wall Street Journal, 2005), and conspiracy theories suggest that Israel was responsible for the Sept 11, 2001 attacks (Public Broadcasting System (PBS), 2007).

Except among extreme hate groups of the ilk that have been around seemingly forever, one rarely sees this type of blatant anti-Semitic rhetoric in the democratic west. Instead, one finds something far more subtle: Attempts to stigmatize, censure, and sanction Israel for acts and policies that cause far less harm than those of other countries. For example, British academic unions have periodically voted to boycott Israeli products; and both British and American churches have voted or considered votes to divest from Israel. Given the at least comparable, and often far greater suffering and oppression perpetrated by regimes such as China, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Burma, given the occupations occurring in places such as Tibet, and given the vastly greater death perpetrated in conflicts occurring in Chechnya, the Congo, Sri Lanka, and Sudan than in the Arab-Israeli conflicts, the failure of these same unions and churches to advocate for similar sanctions against other, non-Jewish countries, at least raises the specter that the desire to punish Israel might spring from something other than deep and sincere concern for human rights. To gain more insights into the causal mechanisms underlying some of these phenomena, we have performed a series of experiments, which are discussed next.

### The psychology of anti-Semitism

Over the last several years, we have been engaged in a program of research based on the Modern Anti-Semitism-Israel Model (MASIM (formerly the New Anti-Semitism-Israel Model); Cohen, 2009; see Figure 1). The MASIM combines elements of terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986) and modern prejudice theory (Sears & Kinder, 1971) to better understand anti-Semitism. Specifically, the present set of studies tested the hypotheses that uniquely human fears of death serve to perpetuate expressions of anti-Semitism (a-s) and anti-Israeli sentiment.



Path 1 = Mortality Salience increases anti-Semitism.

Path 2 = Anti-Semitism decreases support for Israel.

Path 3 = Mortality Salience decreases support for Israel for reasons other than anti-Semitism.

Path 4 = Decreased support for Israel increases anti-Semitism

Figure 1: Theoretical model

#### *Terror management theory*

*Death denial.* According to terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg et al, 1986), human beings, like all other animals, are driven to survive (Darwin, 1859). However, because of their complex cognitive capabilities, specifically the ability to think abstractly and symbolically culminating in explicit self-consciousness, humans are uniquely aware of the inevitability of death and the ever-present potential for lethal experiences, which creates the potential for paralyzing terror. Terror is the emotional manifestation of the self-preservation instinct in an animal intelligent enough to know that it will someday die (cf. Zilboorg, 1943).

TMT posits that to 'manage' this potentially debilitating terror, humans created cultural worldviews: symbolic conceptions of reality shared by individuals in a group. Cultural worldviews minimize death anxiety by imbuing the world with order, meaning, and permanence, and by providing a set of standards of valued behavior that, if satisfied, confers self-esteem and ultimately, death transcendence through symbolic and/or literal immortality. Thus, from the perspective of terror management theory, individuals manage their terror by maintaining faith in the cultural worldview and living up to the standards of value that are part of that worldview.

*Cultural worldview.* Though the cultural worldview is treated as absolute reality by those who subscribe to it, it is actually a fragile social construction (cf. Berger & Luckmann, 1967; McCall & Simmons, 1966) requiring continual validation from others in order to be sustained, especially when confronted with reminders of mortality. This validation occurs mainly through the process of social consensus (Festinger, 1954; Kelley, 1967). Thus, the mere existence of people with similar worldviews bolsters the individual's faith in the validity of his or her own worldview, thereby increasing its effectiveness as an anxiety-buffer. Likewise, the mere existence of people with dissimilar worldviews threatens the individual's faith in his or her own worldview, thereby undermining its effectiveness as an anxiety-buffer. As such, people generally prefer ideas and people that conform to their worldviews and derogate ideas and people that deviate from them.

To date hundreds of experiments around the world have established the link between death fear and attachment to cultural worldviews. Mortality reminders have induced a heightened tendency in participants to endorse false positive feedback, to demonstrate the self-serving attribution bias, and to extend extra effort in domains relevant to their self-worth (for review, see Greenberg, 2008). Threats to participants' cultural belief systems (i.e. religion) have increased the accessibility of death-related cognitions on a word-completion task (Schimel, Hayes, Williams, & Jahrig, 2007). These studies strongly suggest that investment in a cultural worldview, and obtaining a strong sense of self-esteem by meeting standards of value within that worldview, shelters people from death concerns; and, conversely, that MS motivates people to bolster self-esteem and defend their worldviews.

Mortality Saliency (MS) effects are driven by heightened accessibility of death-related cognitions outside of focal awareness, which signals the potential for death-related anxiety (see Greenberg, Sullivan, & Arndt, 2008). Furthermore, these effects have been replicated using numerous different inductions designed to increase the accessibility of death-related thought (see Pyszczynski, et al., 2003), and compared to a variety of aversive and non-aversive control conditions (ranging from dental pain to social exclusion; e.g., Landau, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski & Martens, 2006), suggesting convergent and discriminant validity for MS effects.

*Cultural worldview and anti-Semitism.* TMT may be particularly useful for understanding anti-Semitism because outbreaks of anti-Semitism have often occurred following major social disruptions – military defeats, epidemic lethal disease, and massive economic deterioration. Either death, or some threat to people's most cherished beliefs, or both have become salient. TMT suggests that, under such circumstances, many people will attempt to protect themselves by affirming their core values. Jews' survival, their financial success and their unique religious beliefs threaten the worldview of others. This threat can be parried by denigrating Jews.

The basis for predicting cultural hostility towards Jews, therefore, includes all the well-established reasons for outgroup hostility, in addition to some unique ones over and above the usual laws of culturally determined behavior (to be discussed in a later segment). Outgroups might not share the same attitudes and beliefs as ingroups; outgroups compete for resources; outgroups are perceived as more different from ingroups than they really are; outgroups are often seen as less deserving of trust than are ingroups (classic work by Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1979; Tajfel, 1969; Rokeach, 1951 and many others) all attest to these processes. Indeed, many of the classic stereotypes of Jews are well suited to this phenomena ("Jews are clannish, grasping," etc.). This generic outgroup hostility begins to explain why they are potentially threatening.

In support of this view, Greenberg et al., 1990 (Study 1) demonstrated that, consistent with TMT predictions, when Christians thought about their own death (mortality salience) their trait ratings of fellow Christians became more positive and their trait ratings of Jews became more negative. Across all measures, the Christian was rated more positively than the Jew only in the mortality salient condition. Similarly, mortality salience led American college students to increase their agreement with the statement that "the holocaust in Nazi Germany was God's punishment for the Jews" (Kunzendorf, Hersey, Wilson, and Ethier, 1999, as cited in Schimel, Simon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Waxmonsky, & Arndt, J., 1999).

Additionally, subtle reminders of death have been shown to generate physical aggression toward those who threaten cultural worldviews (McGregor, Lieberman, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, Simon, and Pyszczynski, 1998). After a mortality salience or control induction, liberal or conservative college students were given an opportunity to administer a quantity of their choosing of very hot salsa to a student who wrote an essay condemning either liberals or conservatives, and who claimed to dislike spicy foods. (Hot sauce administration was used as a direct measure of physical aggression.) Results indicated no differences in hot sauce allocation for similar and dissimilar others in the control condition; however, following mortality salience, participants administered twice the amount of hot sauce to different others than they did to similar others.

Such defensive reactions to mortality salience are not limited to non-Jews. Studies conducted by researchers at Bar Ilan University (Hirschberger and Ein-Dor, 2006) three months before the Israeli pullout from the Gaza Strip and the Northern West Bank examined whether reminders of death would lead right-wing Israelis to endorse violent resistance against the disengagement plan. Primes of death led to greater support for violent resistance, particularly among participants high in denial. It would appear that when the threat of death is manifest, people are often prone to violent defenses. From a TMT perspective the straightforward explanation for anti-Semitism is simple — when focused on their own mortality, and in need of the protections that their worldviews provide, non-Jews may become more hostile towards Jews, because Jews represent a challenge to their worldviews by being outgroup members.

#### *Subtle modern prejudices*

The tenor of most TMT research suggests that reminders of death will increase prejudice and hostility toward different others. However, although blatant forms of anti-Semitism do exist, prejudice in general is often stigmatized. As such, people may often try to deny or hide their prejudices. Although a person may appear friendly and tolerant, hostility may be

lurking not far from the surface. The terms “modern” or “symbolic” racism were developed because people stopped saying “Blacks are despicable and should not be allowed in our schools or restaurants.” Instead, they simply opposed government policies to promote racial equality, and they opposed candidates supporting those policies (Kinder & Mendelberg, 2000; McConahay, 1986; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Kinder, 1971).

Just as people veil their racism and anti-Black prejudice (e.g., by opposing busing and affirmative action), people may similarly veil their anti-Semitism by opposing Jews’ national aspirations. If one is a racist, opposing affirmative-action is a safe way to express it; if one is an anti-Semite, opposing Israel is a safe way to express it. That is, even when criticisms of Israel do stem from anti-Semitism (and, as we shall demonstrate empirically, not all do), one can rhetorically attempt to claim the “high road” by hiding behind: “I am not an anti-Semite, I just oppose Israeli violence and oppression” (Koteck, 2003).

#### *The Modern Anti-Semitism-Israel Model (MASIM)*

The Modern Anti-Semitism-Israel model (MASIM (Formerly the New Anti-Semitism Israel Model); Cohen, 2009) is a juxtaposition of TMT and modern prejudice theory. The model predicts that when mortality is salient, Jews are commonly perceived as threatening to one’s worldview because they are different than non-Jews in their beliefs and behaviors thus leading to an increase anti-Semitism, which can manifest itself in two ways. It can develop overtly into expressions of anti-Semitism such as verbal slurs, defamation of property or bodily harm; or because prejudice (anti-Semitism) is stigmatized it can manifest itself covertly through the application of double standards, demonization and delegitimization (a product of double standards and demonization) of Israel, the Jewish state. As such, those who harbor anti-Semitic attitudes may increase hostility to Israel.

Figure 1 presents the MASIM’s model of relations between mortality salience, anti-Semitism, and attitudes towards Israel. The model predicts that mortality salience leads to increased anti-Semitism (Path 1), and that increased anti-Semitism leads to decreased support for Israel (Path 2). In addition, however, data suggests that hostility to Israel can feed back to increase anti-Semitism (e.g. Kaplan & Small, 2006). Thus, the model also predicts that anti-Semitism may partially mediate effects of mortality salience on attitudes towards Israel (Path 1 x Path 2).

Such mediation, however, is predicted to be only partial because the model also predicts that mortality salience can increase opposition to Israel for reasons having nothing to do with anti-Semitism (Path 3). This is because Israel, as a combatant for over 60 years, may be regarded as perpetrating human rights violations. Mortality salience activates worldview defenses, and worldviews typically include moral codes. For these reasons, mortality fears lead to more punitive attitudes towards those committing moral transgressions (Greenberg et al, 1990). Mortality salience, therefore, may decrease support for Israel due to heightened moral sensibilities, rather than to the arousal of latent anti-Semitism.

The model also posits that a reverse causal path exists. Although concern for human rights violations may lead to reduced support for Israel for reasons having nothing to do with anti-Semitism (Path 3), it may then actually trigger an increase anti-Semitic prejudices (Path 4; Frindte, Wettig, and Wammetsberger, 2005; Kaplan & Small, 2006).

#### *Experimental studies of anti-Semitism*

Three experiments conducted by Cohen, Jussim, Harber & Bhasin (2009) demonstrated that: 1) participants expressed significantly greater levels of anti-Semitism and lower levels of pro-Israeli sentiment when reminded of their mortality and when told that they would be caught in the act of lying; 2) anti-Semitism partially mediated the effects of mortality salience X bogus pipeline manipulation on opposition to Israel; 3) mortality salience increased the perceived size of Israel, but not of other countries; and 4) mortality salience increased opposition to Israeli oppression more than it increased opposition to Russian or Indian oppression.

Study 1 included 151 participants from a Rutgers University psychology class (99 females, 52 males; 9 African-American, 30 Asian-American, 18 Latino, 77 White, 26 “other”; 96 Christian, 3 Muslim, 2 Buddhist, 19 Hindu, 28 “other”) all of which were given extra credit for their participation. A mortality salience (MS) manipulation was crossed with a “prejudice obvious/bogus pipeline” manipulation. In the mortality salience (MS) condition, participants responded to two open-ended questions relating to their own mortality, which read as follows: “Please describe the emotions (in writing) that the thought of your own death arouses in you.” And, “Write down as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you physically when you die.”

Exam salience (control) participants responded to parallel questions regarding taking an upcoming exam, as follows: “Please describe the emotions that the thought of your next important exam arouses in you.” And, “Write down as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you physically as you take your next important exam and when it’s over.” Exam salience provided an apt control condition among college students because, as demonstrated in previous TMT studies, exams are an unpleasant as well as anxiety-provoking yet non-lethal event.

The instructions provided to participants in the Prejudice Obvious condition explicitly stated on the cover page that prejudice towards various groups was being measured. The Bogus Pipeline Condition led participants to believe that any deception on their part ("lying to appear unprejudiced") would be detected by sophisticated methods developed by psychologists.

Three questionnaires were used to assess blatant expressions of anti-Semitism, anti-Israeli sentiment and anti-Palestinian sentiment. The anti-Semitism (A-S) scale was an updated version of Levinson and Sanford's Anti-Semitism Scale (1944), modified to sample anti-Jewish attitudes with 23 contemporary, and less blatant, attitude items such as, "Jews still think of themselves as God's Chosen People," "Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want," and "Jews are just as honest as other businesspeople" (reverse coded). The attitudes towards Israel scale consisted of 10 questions assessing participants' levels of pro-Israeli sentiment such as, "I strongly support the Israeli cause". The attitudes towards the Palestinians scale consisted of 10 questions assessing participants' levels of pro-Palestinian sentiment. Most items were highly similar to the Attitudes towards Israel scale items, such as "The Palestinians have been oppressed by Israelis for decades," "I strongly support the Palestinian cause, and "The Palestinians deserve a homeland." Questions for each scale were scored on a five-point Likert scale. Responses were combined and averaged to create a composite score for each of the three scales (See Cohen et al, 2009 for full scales).

Results revealed that anti-Semitism was negatively correlated with support for Israel ( $r = -.42$ ), and that mortality salience significantly increased self-reported anti-Semitism but only in the bogus pipeline condition (MS had no effect on support for Palestinians,  $p > .1$ ). One implication of this pattern was that people recognize that hostility to Israel stems from anti-Semitism (if not, why the need to hide it?). Mediation analyses then revealed that anti-Semitism partially mediated the effects of MS on attitudes towards Israel. Additionally, reverse mediation demonstrated that opposition to Israel also partially mediated the effects of MS on anti-Semitism<sup>1</sup>.

Study 2 employed 161 participants from a Rutgers introductory psychology class (99 female, 62 male; 8 African-American, 34 Asian-American, 15 Latino, 81 White, 23 "other"; 98 Christian, 13 Hindu, 7 Muslim, 1 Buddhist, 39 "other") and tested the prediction that mortality salience would increase a subtle measure of anti-Semitism. Prior research had shown that fear and prejudice often leads people to overestimate the size and power of minority groups (Allport, 1954; Robb, 1954). More recent evidence showed that a European Union poll found that nearly 60% of those surveyed believed that Israel was the greatest threat to world peace, worse than Iran, North Korea, Syria, and Sudan (The Guardian, 2003). Furthermore, caricatures of Israel often present it or its leaders as looming giants (Gross, 2004; Kotek, 2004).

Therefore, in Study 2 the dependent variable was perceived size of Israel and six other countries. Following a reminder of death or of an important exam, people were given 7 maps and asked to estimate the size of Israel and each of these 6 other countries. As predicted, mortality salience significantly increased the perceived size of Israel, but had no significant effect on the perceived size of any other country.

Study 3 ruled out 1- the alternative explanation that mortality salience increased hostility towards Israel because mortality salience provokes hostility to any nation perceived as committing obvious human rights violations, and 2- the alternative interpretation that prejudice against Jews has something to do with the fact that the principal experimenter was Jewish, that the study was done in a Jewish professor's lab, and that the obvious aim of the studies was in assessing feeling against Jews.

In order to increase the generalizability of this research, this study did not examine college students. Rather, an Indian research assistant surveyed 235 patients (and those accompanying them; average age 45; 155 female, 80 male; 6 African-American, 6 Asian American, 19 Latino, 196 White, 8 "other"; 200 Christian, 3 Muslim, 4 Buddhist, 26 "other") of a local non-Jewish, Indian physician while in the waiting area of either of her two offices. Participants were randomly assigned to either a mortality salience or an aversive pain control induction and were asked to recommend punishments of Russia, India or Israel for (identical) human rights violations. Mortality salience increased willingness to punish Israeli moral transgressions more than it increased willingness to punish Russian or Indian transgressions. Furthermore, despite the fact that an Indian ran the study in an Indian doctor's office and assessed attitudes towards India, post hoc analyses showed that mortality salience had no effect on India. Taken together, these studies provided preliminary empirical support of the MASIM.

#### *Demonization, double standards and delegitimization*

Based on the finding of Cohen et al. (2009) it seems likely that hostility towards Jews and Israel in response to reminders of death will often be expressed in subtle and indirect ways that are plausibly interpretable as something other than prejudice. One way to unveil modern anti-Semitism has come to be known as the "3D" test —double standards, demonization, and delegitimization (Sharansky, 2004). The results of the Cohen et al (2009) study showed that mortality salience increas-

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1. All participants in all studies completed a self-report mood scale (PANAS-X; Watson & Clark, 1992) to assess the affective consequences of the MS induction. No significant effects for affect due to MS manipulations were found in any of the present studies.

es the application of double standards to Israel by showing it increased support for punishing Israeli transgressions more than those of other countries.

Three follow-up studies (Cohen, F., 2009) tested the model by examining demonization and delegitimization. Demonization is the classification of a person or group as evil, thereby justifying or legitimizing either verbal slurs or physical violence. Once demonized, the individual or group is denied humane behavior and human respect. Types of demonization include dehumanization, (e.g., depiction of the group as savages, insects, beasts, or monsters), negative trait characterization (e.g., aggressors, idiots, lazy); out-casting (i.e. violators of social norms, murderers or terrorists) and rejected political labels (i.e., Nazis, communists, socialists; Bar-Tal, 1988; 1990a; 1990b). Throughout history, demonization has been used by groups and nations as a tool of exploitation and to justify aggression. For example, the perpetrators of genocide often (e.g., Cambodia, Darfur, Germany, Rwanda, and Turkey) created a political atmosphere supportive of mass murder by demonizing their intended victims (Bar-Tal, 1990a, 1990b). The Cohen, F. (2009) studies specifically examined whether mortality salience increased support for demonizing Israel.

Delegitimization means causing something to appear illegitimate or invalid. Borrowing from Bar-Tal's (1988) definition, delegitimization is the denial of some entity's right to exist because that entity is inherently immoral. Delegitimized groups are seen as transgressors of basic human norms or values, and are therefore characterized as bad and ultimately evil. Demonization is often used in the service of delegitimization – if "they" are merely beasts or insects, or if "their" behavior is sufficiently revolting or immoral, then "they" do not deserve the right to exist. The Cohen, F. (2009) studies, therefore, also examined whether mortality salience increases support for delegitimizing Israel.

### *Empirical findings*

In Cohen F.'s (2009) Study 1, a mortality salience (MS) manipulation was again crossed with a "bogus pipeline" manipulation. Study 1 replicated Cohen et al's (Study 1; 2009) findings using 171 college participants (86 females; 85 males; 15 African-American, 48 Asian-American, 14 Latino, 77 White, 16 "other"; 100 Christian, 20 Hindu, 12 Muslim, 7 Buddhist, 32 "other"): mortality salience increased explicit forms of anti-Semitism, but only when participants believed they would be detected if they misrepresented their responses. As a direct measure of delegitimization, participants answered four questions on a 7 point Likert scale assessing the degree to which people believed that Israel should cease to exist. Questions included: "How much do you believe Israel to be a threat to world peace?" "Israel has been accused of violations against humanity. Given the severity of Israel's transgressions how strongly do you believe they should lose their status as a United Nations member?", "How strongly do you believe that the world would be a better place if Israel ceased to exist?", and "How strongly do you believe that it is in the United States best interest to ensure that Israel continues to exist?"

Mortality salience increased support for delegitimizing Israel, an effect that occurred regardless of whether there was also a bogus pipeline. Consistent with the hypothesis, those who were more anti-Semitic also demonstrated higher levels of delegitimization towards Israel,  $r(147) = -.42, p < .001$ . The strength of this correlation is worth noting in its own right. It places the relationship between anti-Semitism and levels of delegitimization toward Israel among the largest 25% of effects found in social psychology and are nearly double the average effect size obtained in work on social cognition, attitudes, and inter-group relations (Richard, Bond, & Stokes, Zoota, 2003). It is also consistent with recent findings obtained in several European countries in which anti-Semitism and anti-Israeli attitudes have been shown to be related (Kaplan & Small, 2006). Cohen, F. (2009) speculated that the bogus pipeline was not needed to reveal delegitimization of Israel in this study because delegitimization is not readily recognized as blatant anti-Semitism.

Cohen F.'s (2009) Study 2 tested the MASIM through the hypothesis that expressions of hostility towards Israel will be magnified by a mortality salience induction even in the absence of bogus pipeline conditions. Therefore, demonization of Israel was assessed through obtaining participants' impressions of two political cartoons. Political cartoons typically use visual metaphors and caricatures to draw attention to important social and political issues with a humorous or emotional picture.

Political cartoonists in the Arab media often depict non-Arab countries and their leaders as exterminators of the Muslim world (Marcus and Crook, November 22, 2004). And in a Western media outlet, a popular British cartoon that depicts former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon eating babies is a form of demonization. This cartoon draws heavily on the Medieval Jewish Blood Libels in which Jews were accused of murdering non-Jewish children in order to use their blood to prepare Passover matzos. There are many other examples of modern political cartoons portraying Israel and Israelis as Nazis, animals, insects, or cannibals (Kotek, 2004).

These cartoons are striking in several regards. First, on their face, they seem to reflect the virulent type of loathing that often characterizes deep-seated bigotries. Second, they were obtained from mainstream presses from a variety of countries (American, British, Egyptian). Third, many have a haunting similarity in substance, style, and motif to Nazi-era cartoons depicting Jews in a manner widely recognized as reflecting the most virulent form of anti-Semitism. (see <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~jussim/Cohen%20et%20al,%202009,%20with%20supplemental%20materials.pdf>).

The vile nature of these cartoons may suggest that anti-Semitic attitudes may run wide and deep, and they raise the possibility that these cartoons reflect more than mere opposition to Israel. While it is possible that other countries, cultures, or peoples are similarly depicted as widely and as frequently in such a revolting manner, these real world examples are also consistent with the perspective suggesting that hostility to Israel may be expressed with such virulence that it is most likely powered, at least in part, by anti-Semitism. Thus, one purpose of this study was to assess whether mortality salience increases support for the anti-Israeli political cartoons more than for those of another country (Path 1 X 2 of the figure 1 model).

Study 3 therefore tested the hypothesis that expressions of hostility towards the Jewish state would be magnified by a mortality salience induction even in the absence of bogus pipeline conditions.

One-hundred and fifty-two Rutgers University students (97 females, 54 males; 10 African-American, 26 (non-Chinese) Asian-American; 17 Latino, 82 White, 12 "other"; 104 Christian, 12 Hindu, 5 Muslim, 1 (non-Chinese) Buddhist, 29 "other") assessed a subtle expression of anti-Semitism and anti-Israel sentiment and opposition to Israel in the form of demonization. Participants first read a short vignette discussing either Israeli brutality towards Palestinians or Chinese brutality towards a group of monks. Vignettes read as follows:

Violence against Palestinians/Tibetan by Israeli/Chinese security forces is not new; it has accompanied the occupation for many years. Recently, however, a significant increase in the number of beatings and instances of abuse has occurred, in part because of increased friction between Palestinians/Tibetan and Israeli/Chinese security forces. According to many testimonies given to human rights organizations, the security forces use violence, at times gross violence, against Palestinians/Tibetans unnecessarily and without justification.

Participants were then shown impressions of two offensive political cartoons depicting the Israeli leader eating Palestinian babies (See Figure 2) and a Jew atop the world with a bleeding Arab surrendering beneath (See figure 3). Two parallel cartoons of the Chinese leader eating Tibetan babies (See figure 4) and a Chinese man atop the world with a bleeding Tibetan surrendering beneath served as the control conditions (See figure 5).



Figure 2: Cartoon depicting Sharon eating Palestinian children. [Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, March 22, 2004]

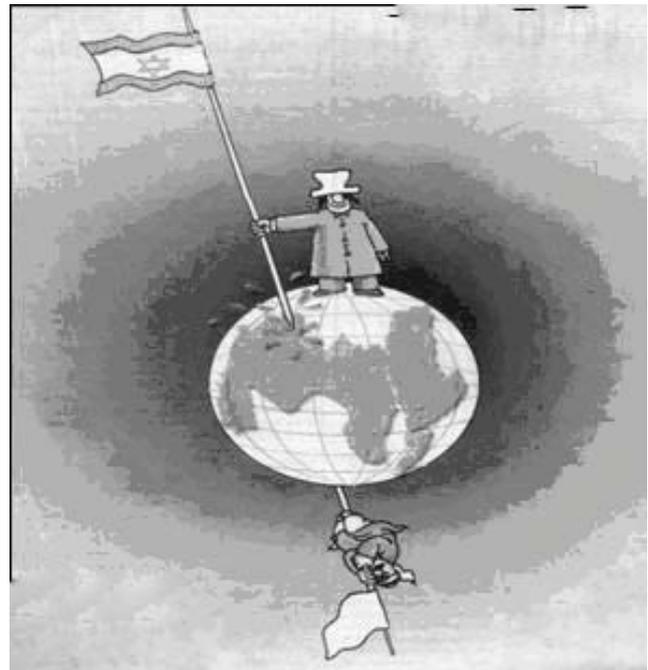


Figure 3: Cartoon depicting Victorious Jew atop bleeding world with a surrendering Arab beneath. (Al Hayat Al Jadida, May 14, 2005).



Figure 4: Cartoon depicting Chinese president eating Tibetan children.

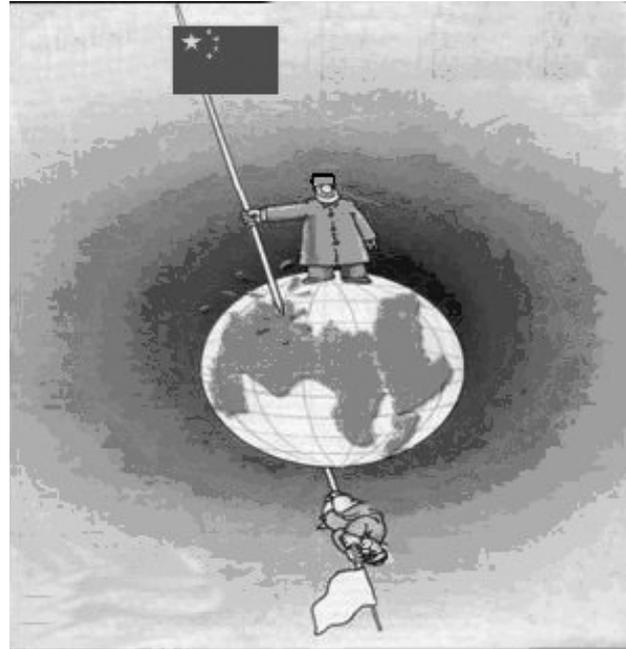


Figure 5: Cartoon depicting Victorious Chinese man atop bleeding world with a surrendering Tibetan beneath.

Participants were asked to indicate on a scale of 1-5 how “justified” they thought each cartoon was. Results showed that mortality salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline manipulation increased perceived justification for offensive political cartoons of Israel but not China (effects were significant for both the Leadership cartoon and the World cartoon). That the bogus pipeline was needed to reveal this effect suggests that, in fact, a cartoon of Ariel Sharon eating babies is a relatively obvious assessment of anti-Semitism.

#### *Unique effects on attitudes towards Jews*

Cohen (2009) examined the possibility that Jews may be uniquely threatening to people’s worldviews. In her Study 3, participants completed scales assessing explicit anti-Semitic attitudes and prejudicial attitudes towards Blacks and Asians. Two-hundred and ninety-eight Rutgers University students (138 females, 160 males; 12 African-American, 145 Asian-American, 25 Latino, 90 White, 26 “other”; 175 Christian, 49 Hindu, 19 Muslim, 11 Buddhist, 44 “other”) participated in 2 (Mortality Salience: Death v. Exam) X 2 (Bogus pipeline: camouflage vs. bogus pipeline) experimental design. Questions included: “Jewish businessmen are so shrewd that other people do not have a fair chance at competition,” “Over the past few years, the government and news media have given more attention to African-Americans than they deserve,” and “In order to get ahead of others, Asian Americans can be overly competitive.”

Mortality salience increased anti-Semitism scores, (but not prejudice scores towards Blacks or Asians)<sup>1</sup>. This result contrasts with some previous TMT studies (Solomon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, 2004) which have shown that mortality salience increases derogation of many out-groups. To our knowledge, however, prior research on TMT and prejudice has only examined attitudes towards a single group at a time. If, as the MASIM predicts, Jews are uniquely threatening, then, when under

1. The complete data set contained 337 participants. Twenty-nine Jewish participants were removed and 10 were deleted due to missing data. For the purpose of the racism scale 29 Jewish participants (and 10 missing religion data) were reinserted and 12 African-American participants were removed from the analyses, and 5 participants were dropped for missing data leaving a total of 320 participants. For the purpose of the prejudice toward Asian scales the 12 African-American participants were reinserted and the 145 Asians were removed from the analysis, leaving a total of 187 participants.

mortality salience, derogating Jews may become more important and more urgent than derogating other groups (in order to maximally assuage the psychological cultural threat that they pose). It would seem that Jews constitute the most threatening cultural threat and thus derogation of Jews was enough to assuage death concerns.

The suggestion that Jews pose a unique threat was shared by the US American delegates at a recent OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) meeting of contemporary anti-Semitism where they insisted that anti-Semitism be recognized as a unique form of prejudice (Wistrich, February 24, 2008). The next section reviews the psychology of Jews as a unique threat.

#### *Why are Jews psychologically threatening?*

Anti-Semitism is a peculiar social phenomenon, in that many of the stereotypes associated with it are mutually exclusive, and shift radically across time and space. Jews have been condemned for being radical Communists, and for being avaricious capitalists. Fascists in Nazi Germany and in 1980s Argentina accused their nations' Jews of having hidden loyalties to socialist regimes (Rein, 2003), whereas the Soviet Union persecuted Jews for harboring secret sympathies for the West (Weitz, 2001). Jews have been chastised as corruptly cosmopolitan and as insular traditionalists, as heretical free-thinkers and as mystical obscurantists, as weak, ineffectual, and effete and as stealthily advancing toward worldwide domination (Johnson, 1987, p. 310; Bernard, 2006). Why is anti-Semitism riddled with so many contradictions? What makes Jews so psychologically threatening?

*Jews pose a religious threat.* Throughout much of the last 2000 years, the Christian Canon was that Jews killed Christ. Deicide provided a most direct and unique religious and intellectual justification for despising Jews. Historically, it provided much of the inspiration for everything from mass slaughters during the Crusades, to the Spanish Inquisition, to the Eastern European pogroms. Additionally, Judaism rejects the Christian Bible and Koran, and makes it very difficult to become a Jew. In fact, whereas Christianity and Islam readily acknowledge the holiness of most of one another's most revered religious figures<sup>1</sup>, Judaism is one of the world's most obdurately rejectionist of all religions. Thus Jews denial of the holiness of major figures in Christianity and Islam (but not vice versa) constitutes a religious basis for Jews constituting a unique cultural threat to Christians and Muslims.

*Jews pose an economic and political threat.* Whenever Jews have been given a reasonable degree of freedom that approaches or equals that of other citizens, they have achieved economic and professional success at extraordinarily high levels; e.g., Spanish Jews under medieval Islamic rule, Polish Jews in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see <http://members.core.com/~mikerose/history.html>); the Jews of Europe after emancipation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Weber, Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904 [2001])), and modern American Jews. This type of success rarely goes unnoticed. Research on U.S. campaigns have reported that Jewish candidates are often identified by the group label "Jewish" (e.g., the 1990 U.S. Senate race in Minnesota, the 1998 U.S. Senate race in New York, Arlen Specter's 1995 campaign for the presidential nomination, a 1996 House race in Georgia, and a 2000 Democratic congressional primary in New York). While surveys have shown consistently that overt negative stereotypes of Jews have declined dramatically in the United States, when campaigns cue stereotypic political traits—"Jews are liberal"—they prompt a process of negative stereotyping of Jewish candidates as "Jews are shady," thus causing them to lose political support (Berinsky and Mendelberg, 2005).

*Jews are successful academically.* Furthermore, in the modern world, Jews have had an extraordinary record of intellectual success. Jews represent less than one half of one percent of the world population, yet of the 750 Nobel Prizes awarded between 1901 and 2006, 158 (21%) went to Jews (Jewish Virtual Library). Although Jews constitute less than 3% of the US population, they disproportionately enter the university system and professions (Birkner, August 23, 2004) and possibly as a result, Jews have substantially higher incomes than do other groups (Smith and Faris 2005). Such disproportionate representation can be a cause of both suspicion and envy (Klug, 2004).

*Jews survive.* Despite 2000 years of economic oppression, mass conversions, mass killings, and genocides, the Jewish people remain Jewish. Thus what makes Jews uniquely threatening is that they are a tiny minority that has been subjugated by powerful groups from the Greeks to the Romans to the Medieval Catholic Church to Kings and dictators, and millions of Jews are not only still around, they are, in most places, thriving. This constitutes a most unique cultural threat to anyone who believes in their own group's superiority.

Classic studies on anti-Semitism demonstrated that participants who were more prejudiced against Jews were better able to determine the Jewish identity of the person in the photograph than participants with lower prejudice scores. It was suggested that the prejudiced individuals were more prone to see those who were Jews as threats and thus developed the

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1. Although Christianity was tolerant towards Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses it used to be very intolerant against Jews. Similarly Islam though tolerant (up to some point) towards the elder religions, used to be rather intolerant towards younger religions, (e.g., towards the Baha'i).

ability to quickly and accurately “spot the enemy” in new environments thereby excluding him from advancement (Allport and Kramer, 1946). Five new studies demonstrated an inverse relation between prejudice and accuracy indicating that those who were more prejudiced towards Jews were less accurate at identifying targets as being Jews. Researchers have speculated that today the prejudiced person cannot as easily exclude Jews from advancement or avoid their presence in neighborhoods, educational institutions, and workplaces (Andrzejewski, Hall & Salib, 2009). While anti-Semitism itself continues to exist, its face has changed. Therefore the potential value of being able to “spot the enemy” has been greatly reduced.

*The Jewish state threatens and accentuates these fears.* Israel operates at levels of democracy, affluence, and military power that may be threatening to many people. Jews, unlike most Arab Muslims and Arab Christians, have carved out a democratic form of government, with elections and protections of basic freedoms. A relatively tiny population of Jews (about 5 million living in Israel) defeated and fended off the hostility of hundreds of millions of surrounding Arabs. The standard of living in Israel is much higher than that of most of its neighbors, including its oil-rich neighbors. To the extent that non-Jews are committed to views of their own group’s superiority, this may be deeply threatening (Klug, 2004).

#### *Practical applications of the present research*

The present model builds on Terror Management Theory, which proposes that people rely most heavily on their cultural world views (i.e., their religious beliefs, their national and social identifications, etc.) when reminded of their own mortality. This is because worldviews serve as a defense against mortality fears. A cardinal corollary is that people who threaten one’s world views therefore constitute a signal threat. For the reasons outlined above, Jews may represent the “perfect storm” of world view threat to our mortality-focused participants. Jews represent a theological threat (as a group accused of deicide and that persists in rejecting dominant faiths), a social threat (by attaining eminence disproportionate to their numbers and despite their history), and an outgroup threat, to whom the “generic” liabilities of outsider status accrue. No other group so entirely and so prominently captures all three of these worldview threats. Thus, Jews (and Israel, by extension) should selectively evoke hostility—especially when mortality fears are aroused.

Our research was in accord with these predictions and suggests that, in a world bombarded by current events that heighten mortality salience (e.g., newspaper accounts of terrorism, war, natural disasters etc), anti-Semitism is likely to continue. In France religious Jews have been attacked, synagogues burned and Jewish owned businesses stoned (Stephen Roth Institute, 2003). In many Middle Eastern countries, Israeli flag burning accompanied by shouts of “death to the Jewish infidels” and “Death to Israel” have become common practice (<http://www.adl.org/>).

Additionally, despite Jewish success, most American Jews continue to see anti-Semitism as a problem, with some seeing anti-Semitism as a very serious problem (Cohen, J.E., 2010). Research indicates that a multiplicity of factors affect perceptions of the seriousness of anti-Semitism. Those with a stronger sense of Jewish identity, lower income, and older people are more likely to see anti-Semitism as a very serious problem. Participants also view anti-Semitism as a more serious threat if they live in states with higher anti-Semitic incidents rates and when use of anti-Semitic terms in the news media increases (Cohen, J.E., 2010). So what can be done?

*Reducing anti-Semitism.* The MASIM model specifically accounts for the possibility that Arab-Israeli relations have inspired a new manifestation of Jew hatred—virulent hostility to Israel. This political and ideological anti-Semitism provides a socially and intellectually acceptable modern disguise for sentiments that have roots going back at least 2,000 years (Gonen, 1975; Kelman, 2001; Bernard, 2006). Once one recognizes modern anti-Semitism, it naturally leads to the question of what can be done to prevent it. Can models of general prejudice reduction be applied to anti-Semitism reduction as well? Would diversity training programs and prejudice reduction education help reduce both explicit and implicit anti-Semitism?

*Intergroup contact.* Social psychologists have long suggested that intergroup contact positively influences the quality of intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Research has demonstrated that the amount of reported previous contact with outgroup members was generally related to a more positive perception of the outgroup (Castelli, De Amicis, & Sherman, 2007). While contact per se may not be a sufficient condition for this effect (Pettigrew, 1998), it is a potentially powerful tool for changing and ameliorating reciprocal perceptions between social groups.

Two experiments conducted at Rutgers University (Rudman, Ashmore, & Gary, 2001) demonstrated that students enrolled in a prejudice and conflict seminar instructed by an African-American professor showed decreased anti-Black biases at the end of the semester as compared with at the beginning of the semester. These effects were obtained for both explicit and implicit measures of prejudice, suggesting that multicultural education can transform people’s attitudes and beliefs at both the conscious and non-conscious level.

However, at times increased contact is difficult to achieve. Often contact is avoided because of preexisting negative attitudes toward the outgroup. Additionally intergroup contact can be stressful and uncertain (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001; Richeson & Shelton, 2003). Furthermore, integrating social situations such as the classroom or

workplace does not necessarily guarantee increased contact between different groups or reduction in prejudicial attitudes (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Gerard & Miller, 1975). The Rudman et al (2001) studies illustrated that students who voluntarily enrolled in diversity education showed a significant reduction in their implicit prejudice and stereotype scores, compared with control students. In other words in order for contact to reduce prejudice people must be open to intergroup interactions.

Intergroup contact in which members of conflicting groups were open to dialogue has been shown not only to ease tensions between Israelis and Palestinians in the Middle East but has led to strong friendships among members of the opposing groups. Palestinian students from the Hebron area and Israeli students from Bar-Ilan University participated in a series of meetings and activities lasting for about four years. The meetings focused on commonalities between Islam and Judaism and eventually led to several cooperative projects between the two groups. Participants reported positive reactions toward the meetings and attributed them to the discovery of commonalities in the other's religious culture (Mollov, 1999).

*Awareness and prejudice rejection.* Understanding our own biases is the first step to combating prejudice (diversitycouncil.org, 2004). Research indicates that people who become self-aware of their prejudiced responses attempt to regulate and reduce them because of the experience of negative self-directed affect (e.g., Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 2002). Recent research (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006) has demonstrated that confrontations of racial bias successfully reduced the likelihood of biased responses in a later experimental task. Thus, confrontations from others are likely to be effective to the extent that feelings such as guilt and self-criticism are elicited.

*Understanding the role of mortality salience in anti-Semitism.* Educating people regarding the potentially harmful effects resulting from reminders of death (that are so common in daily life) and incorporating this education into established prejudice reduction programs could aid intergroup relations, fight anti-Semitism and assist in the battle of general prejudice. As people recognize that anti-Semitism is, in part, a defense aimed at repressing death related anxieties, they may find other means to assuage their terror and protect against it. When people were instructed to think logically, negative mortality salience effects disappeared (Solomon, Greenberg, and Pyszczynski, 2003).

Defense against anxiety need not come at the price of intolerance towards others. Perhaps such animosities may be directed towards more legitimate and inanimate targets, such as poverty, illness, ignorance and conflict resolution. Recent TMT research has demonstrated that mortality salience increases a need for heroes. After 9/11, Americans demonstrated great appreciation for police officers and firefighters who risked and even gave their lives to protect us. Additionally many Americans behaved in altruistic manners (i.e. many gave blood; donated to police, fire, and other 9/11-related charities). Thus, MS in conjunction with institutionalized prejudice reduction programs can indeed be redirected toward those who exemplify cultural values, act benevolently, or risk their own well-being to help others rather than intolerance.

## Conclusion

Even with media reports demonstrating that anti-Semitism continues to exist; social psychological research has yet to resume its once prominent emphasis on understanding anti-Semitism (Bachner, 2003). This is, however, an unfortunate state of affairs, which the present paper begins to rectify. The current paper provides the first comprehensive review of scientific evidence investigating the psychology of modern anti-Semitism and thus is the first to review what may be considered a revival of empirical anti-Semitism literature.

Issues about what is and is not considered anti-Semitism have been the subject of mainstream commentary for several years. Indeed this review touched on some of that real world discourse while at the same time reviewing the scientific research to date that helps to identify when a belief does or does not reflect anti-Semitism or if it is indeed influenced by anti-Semitism. In real world situations it is impossible to know with certainty whether demonic portrayals of Israel and her leaders is anti-Semitism. This knowledge requires peering into the portrayer's heart and mind. As of yet social science has not acquired the tools to do this, however within the context of a lab social scientists can experimentally create conditions which lead people to develop anti-Semitic attitudes and beliefs that manifest in support for the very kinds of depictions of Israel which in the real world may or may not reflect anti-Semitism.

Although the rebirth of anti-Semitism research is relatively recent our cumulative review highlights that anti-Semites are no more accurate at recognizing Jewish faces than non-anti-Semites (Andrzejewski et al., 2009), anti-Semitism works in subtle ways to undercut peoples' attitudes towards Jewish political leaders (Berinsky et al., 2005), and despite its egalitarian society American Jews view anti-Semitism in the US as a continuous problem (Cohen, J.E., 2010). Our own experimental research (Cohen et al., 2009; Cohen, 2009) provided further insight into the psychological underpinnings of anti-Semitism.

First, it documented real world evidence that anti-Semitism is alive and well at the beginning of the 21s century. Second, it demonstrated that under the right (wrong) conditions, anti-Semitism readily emerges (MS increases anti-Semitism and opposition to Israel). Denials of anti-Semitism, therefore, cannot necessarily be taken at face value. Opposition to Israel is

a good/convenient method for expressing anti-Semitism without seeming to do so. (MS caused Israel to loom large; increased double standards for punishing Israel more harshly than other countries committing the identical human rights violations; and left people more susceptible to demonizing Israel by viewing vile depictions of Israel as more justifiable than vile depictions of other countries).

Third, the hypotheses derived from the MASIM were built on the original tenets of terror management theory. Early experiments in TMT research serve as the preliminary experimental evidence to support the model. Given the salience of terrorist acts against civilians in the West; it seems likely that mortality is also salient. If so, then the current model provides a potential explanation for the continued manifestation of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism, in turn, promotes hostility towards Israel. And bitter public condemnation directed at Israel may feed back into anti-Semitism.

The current wave of anti-Semitism research has demonstrated that the newest manifestations of anti-Semitism are similar in that they are more subtle and less obvious than painting Swastikas on synagogues and chanting anti-Semitic slurs. Real world occurrences and empirical evidence acknowledge that modern anti-Semitism is rarely blatant bigotry. Consistent with the idea that blatant anti-Semitism is unacceptable is the finding that anti-Semitic attitudes are more likely to emerge under bogus pipeline conditions (see Cohen et al, 2009; Cohen, 2009; Imhoff et al., 2010). Whereas we acknowledge that other threats can engage certain defenses and may also lead to anti-Semitism we believe that this review provides an extraordinary opportunity to understand at least some of the sources and consequences of anti-Semitism. Although we do not deny the ongoing existence of blatant anti-Semitism the aim of this paper is to highlight the sometimes veiled manner with which anti-Semitism is expressed, and the conditions under which opposition to Israel reflects--and does not reflect--covert anti-Semitism.

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