



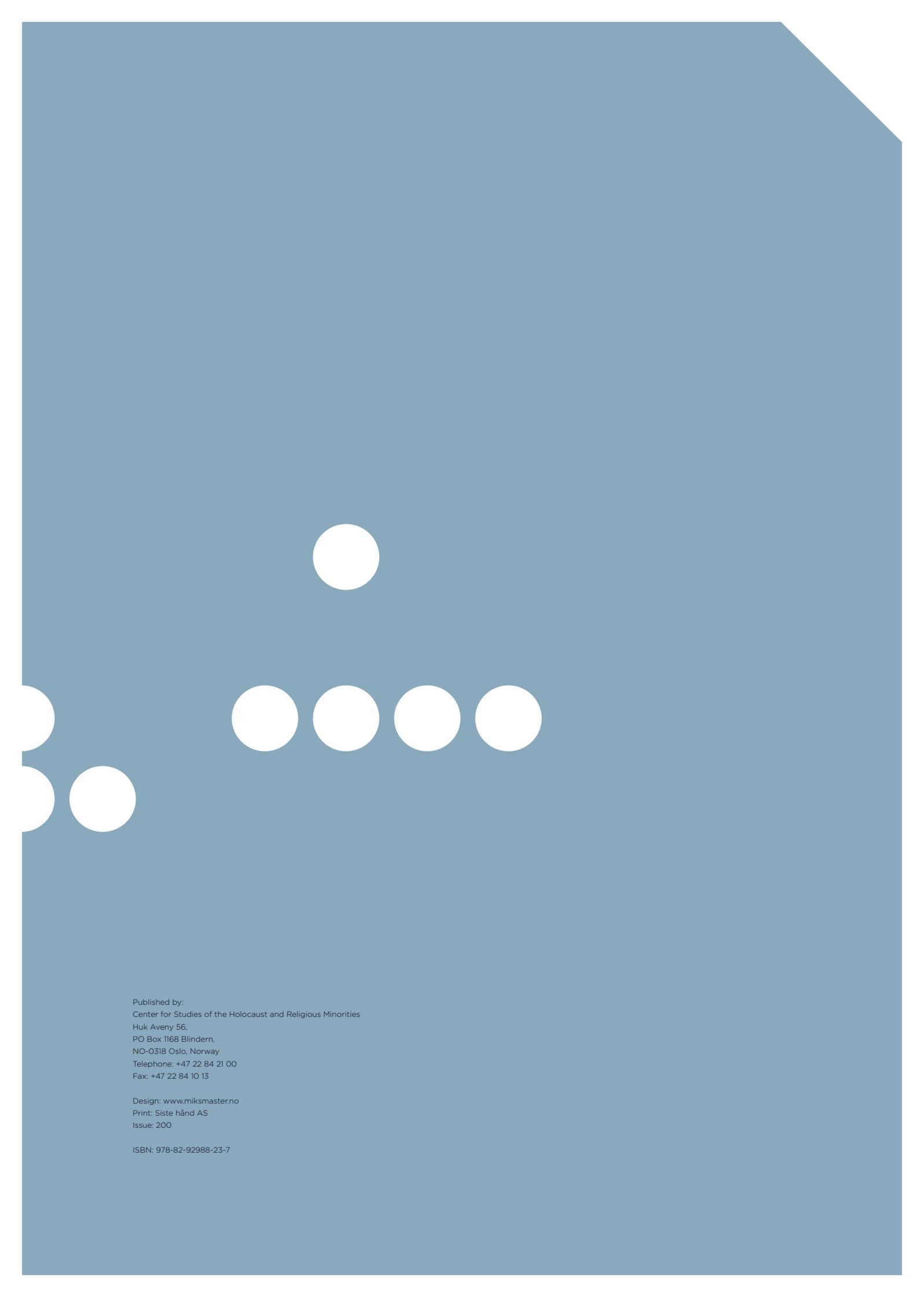
HL-SENTERET

Senter for studier av Holocaust og livssynsminoriteter

ANTISEMITISM **IN NORWAY?**

THE ATTITUDES OF THE NORWEGIAN POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS AND
OTHER MINORITIES

CENTER FOR STUDIES
OF THE HOLOCAUST
AND RELIGIOUS
MINORITIES, MAY 2012

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INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of the first extensive population survey conducted in Norway on the attitudes of the Norwegian population towards Jews and other minorities. The survey was undertaken by the Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities between August 2010 and May 2012. The survey was commissioned by the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice. The Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion bore administrative responsibility for all the ministries. Data collection was carried out by TNS Gallup in November 2011.

Quantitative surveys on attitudes towards minorities are fairly new in Norway, but have been conducted in many countries and used as a tool for highlighting hostility towards minorities. Knowledge about such attitudes is a prerequisite for being able to promote tolerance in a pluralist society. Thanks to this survey, an extensive knowledge base on this topic now exists. We hope the report will encourage self-reflection, understanding and knowledge in a society characterised by cultural diversity.

On behalf of the Project Management Group,

Christhard Hoffmann / Øivind Kopperud / Vibeke Moe

Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities, May 2012

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SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of a survey that the Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities undertook on the attitudes of the Norwegian population towards Jews and other minorities. The data collection was undertaken by TNS Gallup in November 2011. A total of 1,522 individuals took part in the survey.

The results show that stereotypical views of Jews exist in Norwegian society. All in all, 12.5 per cent of the population can be considered as being significantly prejudiced against Jews. When compared to the rest of Europe, the prevalence of antisemitic views in Norway is relatively small and on a par with the UK, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden. Certain antisemitic notions are, however, more widespread in Norway. For example, as many as 19 per cent of respondents agree with the statement that “World Jewry is working behind the scenes to promote Jewish interests” and 26 per cent believe it is correct that “Jews consider themselves to be better than others”.

Antisemitism can also be gauged by analysing negative feelings and social distance. The survey reveals that 9.7 per cent of respondents feel antipathy towards Jews, while 8 per cent of the population do not want Jews among their neighbours or circle of friends. Overall, the three dimensions used in measuring negative attitudes towards Jews are somewhat less prevalent among women, younger people and those with higher education than they were among men, older people and those with lower education.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER MINORITIES

Respondents were also questioned about their attitudes towards immigrants and people of other nationalities

and religions. The results show that the social distance to most other groups is greater than that to Jews. The Norwegian population is most negative towards contact with Muslims, Somalis and Romani (gypsies). Those with the strongest antisemitic attitudes also most strongly reject other groups. This is particularly evident in terms of attitudes towards Muslims, Somalis and Romani. Seventy-six per cent of those who distance themselves socially from Jews display similar attitudes towards Muslims. Antisemitic attitudes are also more common among those respondents who are highly sceptical of immigrants. Such tendencies have been observed in other European countries as well.

The number of respondents who believed that negative attitudes towards Muslims were widespread in Norway was far greater than the number of respondents who believed that negative attitudes towards Jews were widespread. When queried on what they thought the reasons for such prejudices were, respondents often made connections between negative views of Muslims and specific social problems of multicultural Norway. Negative attitudes towards Jews were often explained with reference to the role played by Israel in the Middle East conflict, and almost never with specific reference to Norwegian society. The comments did, however, occasionally contain stereotypical views of Jews or highlighted that such prejudices were often the cause of negative attitudes among other people.

THE HOLOCAUST

There is strong consensus among the Norwegian population that learning about the Holocaust is important. Almost everyone agrees that young people should be

taught about the fate of the Norwegian Jews during World War II, and three in four respondents state as their reason that this tragedy is an important part of Norwegian history. A clear majority believe that today's Jews have every right to remind the world of what occurred during World War II. At the same time, an equally significant majority dismisses the idea that the Holocaust gives Israel the right to any special treatment. Rather, the Holocaust is used against Israel and to some extent also against Jews in general. Almost two-thirds of respondents agree with the statement "Given their particular history, I am disappointed by the way the Jews treat the Palestinians", and 38 per cent believe that Israel's treatment of the Palestinians can be likened to the Nazi regime's treatment of Jews during World War II. One in four believes that today's Jews exploit the memory of the Holocaust to their own advantage. A relatively large proportion (12 per cent) also believes that Jews have themselves to blame for being persecuted. The statistics provided in response to this item were 2 per cent in Sweden and 10 per cent in Germany. Simply put, the attitudes of the Norwegian population towards the Holocaust are complex, with inclusion of the fate of the Jews during World War II in the narrative of Norwegian history and in school curricula on the one hand, and rejection that the Holocaust justifies showing any special consideration to Israel and Jews today on the other.

THE MIDDLE EAST

To what extent do attitudes towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict correlate with the attitudes of the Norwegian population towards Jews? In an attempt to

answer this question, the survey has mapped attitudes towards the Middle East conflict. While approximately half of the respondents take no stand regarding this conflict, 13 per cent support Israel and 38 per cent support Palestine. Three categories emerge: 1. pro-Israeli, 2. pro-Palestinian/critical of Israel and 3. anti-Israel. The second category (pro-Palestinian) dominates, and respondents who fall into this category often express disappointment in Israel. Twenty-nine per cent say that their attitude towards Israel has become more negative (only 2 per cent had become more positive) – a view that is more widespread among men, older people and the highly educated. Further analysis reveals a clear correlation between antisemitism and attitudes towards the Middle East conflict: respondents whose antisemitic attitudes were evident more often than not supported anti-Israeli statements and disagreed with pro-Israeli ones. This, however, does not imply that antisemitism motivates all those who support strong anti-Israel statements. Half of those who support such radical standpoints show no antisemitic attitudes whatsoever. This can also be said, to an even larger degree, of those who are more moderately pro-Palestinian. In this group, 75 per cent show no evidence of antisemitism, with a further 15 per cent revealing only moderate antisemitic attitudes. Thus, correlative trends between antisemitic and anti-Israel attitudes seem to be more complex than what many public debates would have us believe – debates which are often sharply polarised.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Increase awareness of Jewish history, antisemitism and prejudices against other minorities in the school system. Establish these topics as subjects in their own right across higher education institutions. When teaching the topic of antisemitism, there should be a focus on three contexts: (1) antisemitism as a form of racism and xenophobia which is similar to other forms of group-based prejudice, (2) antisemitism in relation to the debates surrounding the Middle East conflict and (3) antisemitism as a phenomenon in its own right, together with its own history and development. Here, the emphasis should be on studying antisemitic myths and prejudices.
2. Repeat this population survey on attitudes towards Jews at least every five years in order to establish a basis for comparison and to highlight any trends. Corresponding surveys should also be undertaken on attitudes towards other minorities – Muslims and the Romani population in particular. In addition, further studies should be done on attitudes within certain groups towards others – Muslims' attitudes towards Jews, for example. The research should encompass both quantitative and qualitative methods.
3. Introduce police records and statistics on hate crime incidents motivated by antisemitism. In order to obtain an extensive overview of the different forms of antisemitism in Norwegian society, cases of antisemitic harassment must also be included.
4. Document experiences of antisemitism among the Jewish minority in Norway. First-hand accounts of the Jews' own experiences are an important part of the broader picture of how antisemitism manifests itself in modern-day Norway.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the autumn of 2009, the Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities was commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to develop a project application for a quantitative population survey to be conducted in Norway on attitudes towards Jews. The outline for the project was sent to the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion in November 2009 and was subsequently granted funding in February 2010. Costs have been covered by the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE PROJECT

During the autumn of 2010, an interdisciplinary project management group was appointed to work on the detailed terms for the survey and to develop the questionnaire. The group was broadly composed of experts in the fields of antisemitism, sociology research and statistics, both in Norway and internationally. In addition, during the preparation phase leading up to the survey, an advisory group – made up of representatives from various religious minorities – was appointed. In the autumn of 2010, two representatives from the Mosaic Religious Community and two from The Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities were appointed to participate on behalf of their organisations.

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1. INTRODUCTION

ON THE SUBJECT OF ANTISEMITISM

Antisemitism – a definition

The term “antisemitism” was first used in Germany in the late 1870s to describe a socio-political movement whose fundamental ideology can be summarised with the motto “the fight against Jewish domination”. The term comprises two parts: “anti”, meaning “against”, and “semitism”, which was a term used in Germany from the end of the 19th century to describe Jews (and Jews only) in ethnic terms, and their supposed nature. “Semitism” was used to denote undesirable social developments, be they modern capitalist developments, materialism or the increasing disregard for traditional values, etc. The “Antisemites” saw themselves as a counter-movement to these forces of modernisation. Regardless of the vagueness of the term (antisemitism is not aimed at “Semites”, only at Jews and their assumed negative influence on society), the word “antisemitism” has been adopted by many languages to describe hostility against Jews.

In the aftermath of the National Socialist genocide of the European Jews, antisemitism became discredited both as an ideology and as a socio-political movement. In contemporary society, the connotations of the term “antisemitism” are therefore overwhelmingly negative. Nobody would openly declare themselves as “antisemite”. A fundamental change has thus occurred in how the term is used. Originally, antisemitism served as the term of choice for a socio-political movement which, due partly to the term’s vagueness, ended up unifying a broad coalition of disillusioned followers. The term has however been rendered useless as an identity marker in contemporary society, even among

extremists, because of its inextricable link to the crimes of the National Socialists.

Charges of antisemitism count as a serious accusation in current public discourse. The lack of a clear definition of the term presents a particular problem in this respect. The conflict in the Middle East has triggered a separate debate surrounding the applicability of the term “antisemitism”. The attempts to differentiate between legitimate criticism of Israeli policies and illegitimate hostility towards Jews have frequently been muted by the polemic tone of the debate between the proponents and the opponents of Israel. While many of Israel’s supporters suspect every criticism of Israel as being antisemitic, hence making the term ever more vague, many opponents of Israel define the term so narrowly that it really only applies to the Nazis’ racist hostility towards Jews and hence has no meaning in the modern world. Thus, the controversy surrounding the term “antisemitism” has itself become a fundamental part of the whole conflict.

A way out of this terminological impasse must be sought by developing a definition of the term broad enough to encompass the different forms of hostility towards Jews – both historically and today.

The complexity of antisemitism is aptly reflected in the sociologist Helen Fein’s definition:

A persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs towards Jews as a collective, manifested in *individuals* as attitudes, and in *cultures* as myths, ideology, folklore and imagery, and in *actions* – social or legal discrimination, political mobilization against the Jews, and collective or state violence – which results in and/or is designed to distance, displace, or destroy Jews as Jews.¹

1 Quotation from Helen Fein, ‘Dimensions of antisemitism: attitudes, collective accusations and actions’, in: Helen Fein (ed.), *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism, Current research on Antisemitism*, vol. 1, Berlin/New York 1987, 67.

In socio-psychological research, distinctions are made between different dimensions of prejudiced attitudes: the cognitive dimension (negative stereotypes), the emotional dimension (antipathy) and the social dimension (social distance). Antisemitic attitudes are measured on the basis of these three dimensions.

The history of antisemitism in Norway

The history of antisemitism in Norway dates far back in time and has its roots in the anti-Jewish Christian tradition in Europe which, among other things, depicted “the Jew” as being a profiteering and deceitful swindler. Norway has never experienced any political or institutionalised antisemitism of the type that other European countries have witnessed, except during World War II when the Norwegian parliamentary system was invalidated. Nevertheless, anti-Jewish myths have left their mark on Norwegian society, visible both among the authorities and on the level of popular attitudes. One way in which this was expressed was the inclusion of Article 2 in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814, banning Jews from the kingdom. The arguments presented in favour of the article partly relied on antisemitic stereotypes of “the Jewish merchant”. Antisemitic prejudices could also be found in Norwegian society: in crime literature and in public debates in the press and periodicals alike. Although those who propounded antisemitic arguments were often met with opposition, antisemitic clichés and stereotypes would far too often remain unchallenged.

One characteristic of antisemitism is that it often comes to the fore in crisis situations – both nationally and internationally. In Norwegian history, there is evidence that events such as World War I, the Russian

Revolution and the economic crisis of the 1920s and 30s contributed to an increase in expressions of antisemitism.

This background forms an important part of the picture when 772 Norwegian Jews (approximately one third of the entire Jewish population in Norway) were arrested and deported to the extermination camp in Auschwitz during the autumn of 1942 and winter of 1943, in which civil servants from outside the Nazi party also participated. A study of antisemitism in contemporary Norway should not disregard this historical backdrop.

Antisemitism since 1945

After World War II, sympathy for the Jewish community following the Holocaust featured little in the national post-war narrative. In the years immediately after 1945, society’s reaction to the Holocaust in Western Europe was characterised by a lack of understanding of the Jews’ real predicament, a repudiation of liability – and silence.² From the 1960s onwards, Norway experienced a shift in consciousness, sparked largely by the legal proceedings against Adolf Eichmann. During the 1980s and 1990s there was a gradual recognition that the Holocaust did indeed concern the whole of Europe as a shared responsibility. For Norway, this shift in consciousness found expression, among other things, in the Restitution Settlement³ designed to compensate Norwegian Jews for the economic losses they had suffered during the war. Increased awareness of the Holocaust did not, however, bring about any changes in the fundamental attitude that Jews were not part of the national “we” in the narratives about the war.⁴ Concurrent with this increased recognition of the extent

2 See Vibeke Kieding Banik, ‘En jøde for en jøde?’ [A Jew for a Jew?] in: Øivind Kopperud, Vibeke Moe and Vibeke Kieding Banik (eds.), *Utenfor det etablerte: Aspekter ved Einhart Lorenz’ forskning [Beyond the established: Aspects of Einhart Lorenz’s research]*, Oslo 2011. For a more general discussion on the situation of Jews in Europe post 1945 see: David Bankier (ed.), *The Jews are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to their Countries of Origin after WWII*, New York/Oxford/Jerusalem 2005.

3 NOU 1997: 22, *Inndragning av jødisk eiendom i Norge under den 2. verdenskrig [Confiscation of Jewish property in Norway during World War II]*.

4 For further information see: Claudia Lenz, ‘Nachbarn, die einfach verschwanden. Judenverfolgung und Holocaust im norwegische Geschichtsbewusstsein’ [The neighbours who simply vanished. The persecution of Jews and the Holocaust in Norwegian historical consciousness], *Yearbook for Research on Antisemitism 2008*, 17–33.

and barbarity of the genocide, antisemitic attitudes were branded illegitimate in the public sphere. “The Holocaust and Auschwitz became universal references for absolute evil,” Robert Fine writes.⁵ Researchers who claim that a new type of antisemitism is emerging today see this development in connection with the delegitimation of antisemitic attitudes. With society no longer tolerating traditionally antisemitic remarks, such attitudes are expressed in different forms. As Henrik Bachner writes: Israel functions as a catalyst for antisemitic attitudes in a culture where hatred towards Jews has become taboo.⁶

Many sources have pointed out some new trends in antisemitism in Europe in recent years.⁷ The Middle East and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is particularly relevant here, since escalation in this conflict is linked to an increase in the number of antisemitic expressions and incidents. Israel’s central position in this respect has been particularly notable since October 2000, when the Second Intifada triggered a wave of antisemitic incidents directed against Jewish people, institutions and cemeteries across Western Europe.⁸

Similarly, the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center in New York in the autumn of 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 triggered further increases in antisemitic incidents where the Middle East conflict was implicated.⁹ A recent example of one

such incident here in Norway occurred in 2009 when mass demonstrations for and against the ongoing war in Gaza took place in Oslo. The anti-Israel demonstrations gradually mutated into anti-Jewish attacks.¹⁰ While the demonstrations started off as a political protest, attitudes and actions from the antisemitic repertoire soon became apparent. The sociologist Michel Wieviorka has examined this phenomenon in his work *La tentation antisémite: Haine des Juifs dans la France d'aujourd'hui (The Anti-Semitic Impulse: Hatred of Jews in France today)*.¹¹ This work is the result of a larger research project on antisemitism in modern-day France. The findings show that such attitudes have a global dimension, to a large extent mirroring events on an international scale. Wieviorka emphasises that it is necessary to include this aspect when analysing national situations.¹² The situation is further characterised by a patchwork of political ideologies, where the activists come from widely divergent groups in society – both radical right- and left-wing movements, as well as certain groups within the Muslim community.¹³

Some researchers see this development as the third stage in the history of antisemitism. The first stage – from the Middle Ages until the end of the 1800s – was religiously conditioned (by Christianity), and the second stage was shaped by a nationalist and

5 Robert Fine, ‘Fighting with phantoms: A contribution to the debate on antisemitism in Europe’, *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 43, no. 5, 2009, 462.

6 Henrik Bachner, *Återkomsten [The Return]*, Stockholm 2004, 559.

7 See for example: Werner Bergmann and Juliane Wetzel, *Manifestations of Anti-Semitism in the European Union, first semester 2002*, Center for Research on Antisemitism, Technical University, Berlin, Vienna 2003; European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) *Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002 – 2003*, Vienna 2004; Pierre-André Taguieff, *Rising from the Muck: The New Anti-Semitism in Europe*, Chicago 2004 and European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Anti-Semitism: Summary overview of the situation in the European Union 2001 – 2008*, Vienna 2009.

8 See for example: Roni Stauber, ‘The Academic and Public Debate over the Meaning of the ‘New Anti-Semitism’’, article published by the Stephen Roth Institute, Tel Aviv University, 2008. For a discussion on antisemitism in Germany, Austria and Eastern Europe post-1945, as well as a discussion of ‘new antisemitism’ see: Trond Berg Eriksen, Håkon Harket and Einhart Lorenz: *Jødehat: Antisemittismens historie fra antikken til i dag [Hostility towards Jews: The History of Antisemitism from Antiquity until Today]*, Oslo 2009, 545–600. Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb undertook a survey on antisemitism in Germany post-1945: Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb, *Anti-Semitism in Germany: The Post-Nazi Epoch Since 1945*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1997.

9 In the autumn of 2001, the United Nations also held an NGO conference on racism in Durban. Due in part to some of the Arab organisations, circumstances escalated into antisemitic demonstrations.

10 For more on this, see: Eirik Eigliad, *The Anti-Jewish Riots in Oslo*, Charleston 2010.

11 ‘Antisemittismens tiltrekningskraft. Hat mot jøder i dagens Frankrike.’ [The attractive force of antisemitism. Hatred of Jews in today’s France.]

12 Michel Wieviorka et al, *La tentation antisémite: Haine des Juifs dans la France d'aujourd'hui [The Anti-Semitic Impulse: Hatred of Jews in France Today]*, Paris 2005, 436–7.

13 See for example: Walter Laquer, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day*, Oxford University Press 2006.

biologically determined form of racism which found its most extreme expression in Nazism.¹⁴

There is nevertheless an ongoing debate as to what extent one can speak of a “new form of antisemitism”.¹⁵ As the report by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) from 2004 points out, a new form of antisemitism could include changes on two levels: in the meaning of the term itself and in its manifestations. To what extent the recent developments involve a fundamental change in the phenomenon of antisemitism is debatable. Many of the traditional antisemitic stereotypes still exist, but in new shapes and combinations.¹⁶

One could argue that it is precisely this combination of old and new elements that best describes antisemitism – both historically and today. In a similar manner, Wieviorka characterises antisemitism in France as being *éclaté*: it is spread between different groups, different communities, between elements representing historical continuity along with new features. But it can be maintained that this development involves a shift in perspective regarding the history of antisemitism in Europe, as it is no longer the Holocaust but the Middle East conflict that serves as the frame of reference. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict opens the door to expressions of antisemitic attitudes. Werner Bergmann and Juliane Wetzel have suggested that the antisemitic tradition of demonising Jews has been transferred to the State of Israel.¹⁷ “Israel’s policies in the struggle with Palestinians are giving Europe renewed licence to openly despise the Jews,” Matti Bunzl writes.¹⁸ This demonstrates the necessity of being able to differentiate between a legitimate criticism

of Israeli politics and a demonisation of Israel that is fundamentally antisemitic. Brian Klug is among those who emphasise the importance of precision in this debate. In his article “The collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism”¹⁹ he shows that criticism of Israel can be powerful, biased and disproportionate without necessarily being antisemitic – a heated debate can be evidence of involved *political* engagement. Likewise, media accounts of the conflict can be both strongly antagonistic and biased without being antisemitic. That said, antisemitic attitudes can indeed claim legitimacy from such accounts, and descriptions of situations can fuel attitudes that lie latent.

While it is important to attempt to address these issues without always reading anti-Jewish attitudes into every attack that is made on Israel, and where precisely such confusion resembles the muddle that sometimes characterises antisemitic attitudes, it is nonetheless crucial for research on this topic to be aware of these characteristics of antisemitism. Otherwise, one runs the risk of underestimating the extent of anti-Jewish attitudes and attributing their prevalence to radical groups alone.

Previous surveys

Over the last 10 years, many surveys on antisemitism and antisemitic attitudes in Europe have been undertaken, and these form a relevant backdrop for our report. The surveys have shed light on different aspects of the phenomenon of antisemitism. Some have focused on the *attitudes* of the population towards Jews, some on how antisemitism is expressed in the public sphere (in the form of media analyses, for example), while

14 See for example: Bernard Lewis, ‘The New Anti-Semitism’, *The American Scholar*, vol. 75, no. 1 2006, 25–36.

15 See for example: Doron Rabinovici et al: *Neue Antisemitismus? Eine globale Debatte [New antisemitism? A global debate]*, Frankfurt am Main 2004.

16 See: EUMC 2004, 24, or: Dina Porat and Esther Webman (ed.): *Antisemitism Worldwide 2008*, Stephen Roth Institute, Tel Aviv University, 2009, 10 and 28–29. Surveys by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) have also touched upon the subject. Among the statements the respondents have given their views on is that Jews are more loyal towards the State of Israel than towards their home country and that they hold too much power in the international finance and business worlds. An example: ADL, *Attitudes Toward Jews in Seven European Countries*, New York 2009 and ADL, *Attitudes Toward Jews in Ten European Countries*, New York 2012.

17 Bergmann and Wetzel 2003.

18 Quoted in Fine 2009, 465.

19 Brian Klug, ‘The Collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism’, *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 37 no. 2, London 2003, 117–138.

others have documented antisemitic *incidents* such as demonstrations or violence against Jews or Jewish institutions. Surveys focusing on Jews' own personal experiences have also been done.

International reports show a marked increase in antisemitic incidents in Europe since 2000. In the most recent period since 2006, however, the overall picture has not been quite as clear; there are significant variations between countries and some countries have even seen a decrease in notable incidents.²⁰ Two reports – one being the *Antisemitism Worldwide 2011* report published by the Stephen Roth Institute at Tel Aviv University and the other an FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights) report – state that despite a decrease in incidents in 2005 and 2008, generally speaking there is evidence of a global increase in antisemitic incidents since the millennium compared to the 1990s. The Stephen Roth Institute also publishes reports on antisemitic manifestations in specific countries. Reports on the situation in Norway have been issued for 1998, 1999, 2003, 2004, 2006 and 2008/9. The year 2006 was reportedly the year with the highest number of antisemitic incidents since World War II. The 2008/9 report showed evidence of a rise in antisemitic incidents around the turn of the year 2008/2009 in connection with the war in Gaza.²¹ However, there is no formal system for mapping antisemitic incidents in Norway and so the reports are based on individual cases which are not placed in a wider context. It is therefore problematic to draw conclusions from this material alone. As a member of The Council of Europe, Norway is under the supervision of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). ECRI monitors how member states combat racism, xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance. Four reports have been published on Norway, the most

recent being from February 2009. Here, antisemitism is discussed predominantly with respect to right-wing extremism. Their findings overlap with the results from the Stephen Roth Institute, recording an increase in antisemitic incidents during the war between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon in the summer of 2006. These incidents included desecrations, insults, threats and physical attacks on Jews.²² Otherwise the report refers to random individual attacks, such as the shots fired at the synagogue in Oslo in 2006. The report also mentions a decision by the Supreme Court on 21 December 2007 where the defendant was found guilty of antisemitic statements (cf. amendment to the Criminal Code, section 135a).

Implementing law amendments and other measures against racism and discrimination does say something about the authorities' relationship to marginal groups and minorities. However, it says little (or what it does say is said only indirectly) about the attitudes towards these groups in the general population.

As the EUMC's 2004 report shows, it is impossible to draw any definitive conclusions from external incidents to popular attitudes in general. One cannot conclude from an increase in antisemitic incidents that antisemitic attitudes in the general population have also increased.²³ The report shows a clear increase in antisemitic incidents in France, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK in the period from 2002 to 2003, whereas in other countries, such as Greece and Spain, there exists a widespread antisemitic discourse without violent attacks being recorded.²⁴ By contrast, France saw a distinct increase in violent incidents while antisemitic attitudes across the country decreased.

The fact that some reports have found an increase in antisemitic manifestations in Norwegian society in the

20 See among others: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA): *Annual Report 2010*, Vienna 2010, 38; FRA, *Anti-Semitism – Summary overview of the situation in the European Union 2001-2008*, Vienna 2009.

21 Stephen Roth Institute: 'Norway 2006' and 'Norway 2008/9', Tel Aviv University.

22 The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI): *ECRI's report on Norway (cycle 4 of the monitoring project)*, 24 February 2009, 30.

23 EUMC 2004, 16-22 in particular.

24 This does not necessarily imply that such incidents have not occurred; it may be due to inadequate recording.

form of violent incidents or prejudiced statements in public says little about the *attitudes* of the population in general. It is not clear whether such statements reflect a temporary shift in discursive boundaries or whether they in fact reveal more fundamental and permanent changes in attitudes.

In Sweden, the Living History Forum has started a large research project on majority-minority relations, including the topic of antisemitism. The first of several surveys was done in 2003.²⁵ A total of 10,600 primary and secondary school students took part in the survey. The results showed that the majority of teenagers had a positive attitude towards minority groups, while 8 per cent were classified as being “very intolerant”. Six per cent of the teenagers showed very intolerant attitudes towards Jews. In March 2006, an in-depth report on antisemitism was published, written by Henrik Bachner and Jonas Ring: *Antisemitiska attityder och föreställningar i Sverige [Antisemitic attitudes and conceptions in Sweden]*.²⁶ The finding of the survey that a quarter of the respondents were against having a Jewish Prime Minister in Sweden attracted widespread attention. A significant proportion (36 per cent) had what is referred to as an ambivalent attitude towards Jews; that is to say that they shared some, but not all, of the views which the analysis deemed as being antisemitic.

In November 2009, the Living History Forum completed a large new survey on the attitudes of secondary

school students.²⁷ In this survey it was revealed that 6.5 per cent of the teenagers had a very negative attitude towards Jews and a total of 18.6 per cent had a negative attitude. Around half the teenagers showed ambivalent attitudes towards Jews. Thus, between the two surveys in 2003 and 2009, a slight trend towards increased antisemitism was recorded.

The issue of the Norwegian population’s attitudes towards Jews was touched upon briefly in the survey *Values in Norway 1990*.²⁸ In this survey, one of the questions posed to the participants in the interview was who they would prefer to have as a neighbour. Here, “Jews” was one of several possible answers. Ten per cent of the respondents said they did not wish to have Jews as their neighbours. This question is also included in the present survey and a comparison can hence be made. Norway was also included in the latest survey by the Anti-Defamation League on attitudes towards Jews in Europe.²⁹ In this survey, respondents were asked to give their views on four negative statements about Jews.³⁰ With 16 per cent agreeing to these antisemitic statements, the results rank Norway between the Netherlands and the UK.³¹ Another relevant precursor to this present survey was the study on racism and antisemitism among secondary school students, conducted by the Education Agency in Oslo.³² In 2002, the Jewish community of Oslo also undertook a survey among its own members which included, among other topics, their relationship with

25 Jonas Ring and Scarlett Morgentau: *Intolerans: Antisemitiska, homofobiska, islamofobiska och invandringsfientliga tendenser bland unga [Intolerance: Antisemitism, homophobia, islamophobia and animosity towards immigrants among young people]*, on behalf of the Living History Forum and the Stockholm Criminology Symposium (Brå), Stockholm 2004.

26 Henrik Bachner and Jonas Ring: *Antisemitiska attityder och föreställningar i Sverige [Antisemitic attitudes and conceptions in Sweden]*, on behalf of the Living History Forum and the Stockholm Criminology Symposium (Brå), Stockholm 2006.

27 The Living History Forum, *Den mångtydiga intoleransen: en studie av gymnasieelevers attityder läsåret 2009/2010 [The multidimensional intolerance: a study of secondary school students' attitudes during the academic year 2009/2010]*, Stockholm 2010.

28 Ola Listhaug and Beate Huseby, on behalf of Statistics Norway: *Values in Norway 1990*, Institute for Sociology, Trondheim University, 1990. The survey is based on a representative selection of the Norwegian population aged 18-79. It maps, among other things, values and attitudes.

29 ADL 2012.

30 The statements were: 1) Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country, 2) Jews have too much power in the business world, 3) Jews have too much power in international financial markets, and 4) Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust. Respondents were also asked whether they agree or disagree with the statement that “Jews are responsible for the death of Christ”, if their opinion of Jews was influenced by actions taken by the State of Israel and whether they believed the violence directed against European Jews was a result of anti-Jewish feelings or anti-Israel sentiment.

31 See section 4.3

32 *Mapping of knowledge about and attitudes towards racism and antisemitism. Survey on students (grades 8-10) in the schools in Oslo*, Completed for the Education Agency in Oslo, Oslo 2011.

Israel and antisemitism.³³ Many of the respondents reported that they perceived antisemitism to be on the increase in Norway, but without reference to personal experiences. In the analysis, this was linked to the way in which the Middle East conflict was covered in the Norwegian media, which the respondents perceived as being biased against Israel.

THEMATIC STRUCTURE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In recent years, it has often been stated that anti-semitism has increased in Norway. These statements have frequently been offered in response to specific incidents, such as the shooting incident at the synagogue in Oslo in 2006, caricatures with antisemitic undertones, harassment of Jewish schoolchildren, calls for a boycott of Israeli goods and the famous author Jostein Gaarder's article 'Guds utvalgte folk' [God's chosen people]³⁴. However, it has not been possible to assess whether these events reflect a general increase in antisemitic attitudes.

As already mentioned, a relevant precursor to the present survey was the study on racism and antisemitism among secondary school students, undertaken by the Education Agency in Oslo in 2011. But no survey of this topic has ever been conducted on a general sample of the population. Hence a crucial goal for this survey has been to establish a knowledge base in a field lacking data in Norway. It has also been important to ensure by means of this survey that Norway is included in the European landscape in terms of research in this area. As this is the first survey of its kind, we are unable to state whether or not antisemitism is on the increase in Norway. We can

only describe how the situation is today – offering a snapshot of Norwegian popular attitudes.

Surveys from other European countries show that respondents who have negative attitudes towards Jews often also have negative attitudes towards other groups.³⁶ Hence, we wanted to study anti-Jewish attitudes not as an isolated phenomenon, but rather in connection with attitudes towards other minorities. Placing attitudes towards Jews in a broader context has allowed for the identification of when and to what extent anti-Jewish attitudes differ from other types of prejudices.

The other element that has shaped our study is the respondents' attitudes towards the Middle East conflict. Today's antisemitism can be characterised as fluctuating in line with the situation in the Middle East – there is a marked increase in antisemitic incidents and attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions when the conflict escalates. This in turn leads to mobilisation of anti-Jewish attitudes. It is important to differentiate between criticism of Israel and antisemitism, but the inclusion of questions on the population's attitudes towards Israel has made it possible to assess the extent to which negative attitudes towards Israel correlate with negative attitudes towards Jews.

While the Middle East conflict has provided a new frame of reference for antisemitism, old stereotypes live on in Europe. In an attempt to understand this complexity, the survey also includes questions linked to traditional, stereotypical views of Jews.

On the basis of these focus areas we formulated the following research questions for the survey:

1. Do negative attitudes or prejudices against Jews exist in the Norwegian population?

33 Irene Levin, 'Jødisk liv i Norge. Hva sier DMT Oslos medlemmer om forholdet til Israel og antisemittisme' [*Jewish life in Norway. What the members of the Oslo Mosaic Religious Community say with regard to Israel and antisemitism*], *Hatikva* 2/2004.

34 Jostein Gaarder, 'Guds utvalgte folk' [God's chosen people], article in the daily newspaper *Aftenposten* published 5 August 2006.

36 Andreas Zick, Beate Küpper and Andreas Hövermann, *Intolerance, Prejudice and Discrimination: A European Report*, Friedrich Ebert Academic Foundation, Berlin 2011, 68–71. The report gives an overview of the national attitudes of eight European countries. The survey analysed so-called group-focused enmity – defined as being negative attitudes and prejudices towards groups considered different or abnormal and which are attributed lower social status.

- Who holds such attitudes and prejudices?
- What characterises anti-Jewish attitudes in modern-day Norway?
- How strong are negative attitudes and prejudices towards Jews in comparison to those towards other minority groups?

2. What are the attitudes of the Norwegian population towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

3. How are these attitudes interconnected? Is there a link between anti-Jewish attitudes and a negative opinion of Israel in the Middle East conflict?

METHOD

Developing the questionnaire

The questionnaire was developed by the Project Management Group. Senior advisor Elisabeth Gulløy from Statistics Norway offered expertise on quantitative methods. Various categories of questions were developed in order to cover the research questions for the survey. These sets of questions were tested by Statistics Norway using focus groups. Following Statistics Norway's report, the questions were revised considerably. Statistics Norway's involvement in the project then ceased. The actual completion of the survey was put out to tender and subsequently assigned to TNS Gallup. In collaboration with TNS, the revised questionnaire was again tested and modified.

Since no previous surveys on attitudes towards Jews and other minorities in Norway existed, the questionnaire had to be developed from scratch. Questions that had been used in surveys conducted

in other countries could be used as references, but had to be adapted to fit Norwegian conditions. It was particularly important to discuss how negative attitudes towards certain minority groups could be addressed and measured without the respondents feeling manipulated or offended. All quantitative surveys pose methodological challenges linked to validity – in other words, whether one actually measures what one wants to measure. One issue that arose in this survey was that respondents might have a tendency to answer the questions based on what they believed was “politically correct” or socially acceptable. Additionally, there is the well-known dilemma within research on these types of attitudes – based on group constructions – that one risks reinforcing or indirectly legitimising the view that such groups and boundaries within the population do in fact exist. Offering alternative response options wherever possible has hence been an important aspect of developing the questionnaire, so as to give the respondents the opportunity to take a critical step back from such group constructions. The respondents were also given the opportunity to comment on the survey and answer some questions using free text.

Attitudes towards Jews do not exist in isolation but are usually linked to and dependent on certain contexts. To properly understand the correlation between anti-Jewish attitudes and other variables, the survey has gathered data from five different but related aspects: (1) Attitudes towards immigrants and “foreigners”, (2) Attitudes towards Jews in general, (3) Attitudes towards the Holocaust, (4) Attitudes towards the Middle East conflict and (5) Attitudes towards Jews in Norway.

Conducting the survey

The field research was completed using electronic questionnaires (invitation by e-mail) in the period between 11 and 21 November 2011. Respondents were selected from TNS Gallup's Internet panel entitled GallupPanellet - a database comprising around 45,000 people who have volunteered to participate in surveys. Participants in the panel are selected at random through other telephone and postal surveys run by TNS Gallup. Respondents are compensated through an incentive system which awards them a certain number of points, depending on the estimated time length of the survey. The panel is continually kept up to date through regular recruitment and updating of relevant background information, and respondents who have completed a given number of surveys are automatically unsubscribed.

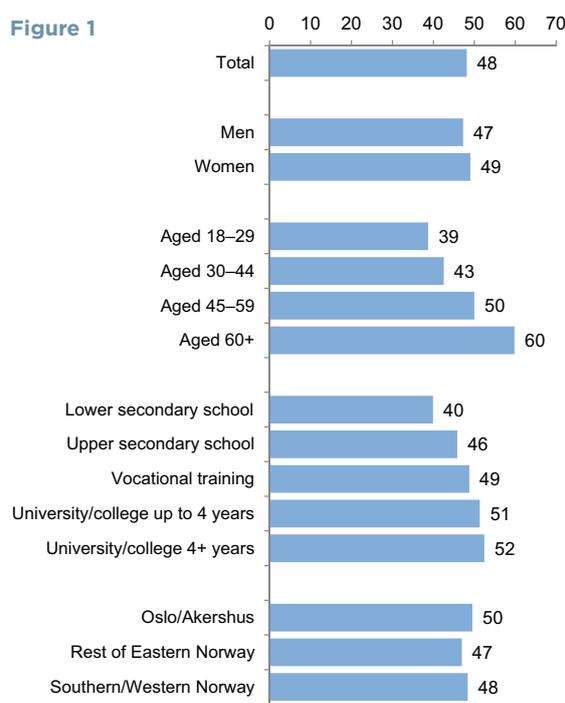
The selection of respondents from a panel can be adjusted with far greater precision than other methods, as the background information on the respondents is known before the survey is circulated. The panel size and method of recruitment provided a representative selection of the population for polling.

The sample

The target group for the survey has been members of the Norwegian population aged 18 and above. The gross sample for the survey was stratified in advance with respect to gender, age, geography and education in order to give as representative a sample of the Norwegian population as possible. The fact that young people and respondents with lower education tend to be under-represented in such surveys was also taken into consideration by proportionally selecting more people from these subcategories. In

total, 3,160 people were invited to participate in the survey and 1,522 people accepted, representing a response rate of 48 per cent. One reminder was sent to all respondents. Figure 1 shows the response rate for the various demographic subcategories. As expected, the response rate was considerably lower among the 18-29-year-olds (39 per cent) and higher among people aged 60 or above (60 per cent). The response rate was also lower among those whose highest level of education was lower secondary school level (40 per cent) and higher among those with longer university education (52 per cent). The task of the Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities was to conduct a general population survey, and so no emphasis was placed on particular social groups.

Figure 1

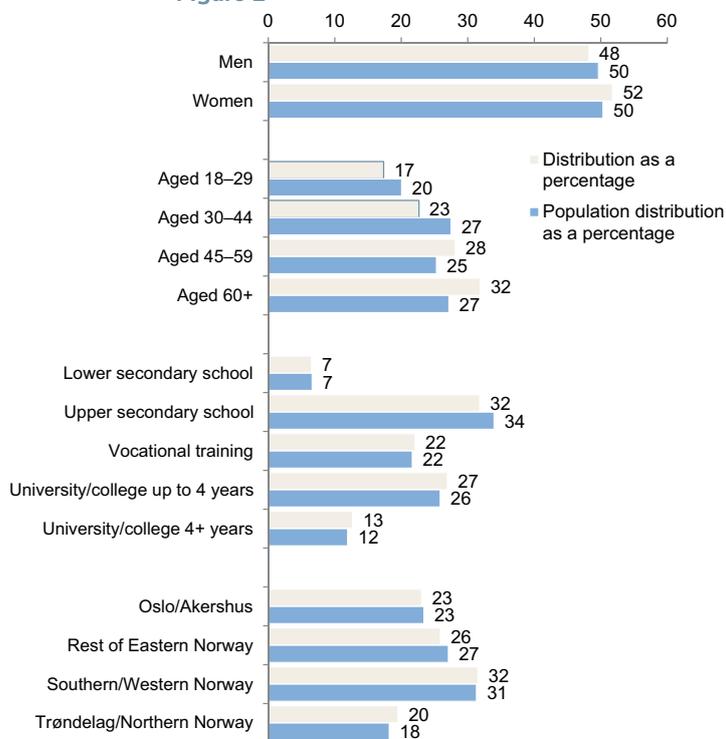


Representativeness

A comparison between the sample and the population with respect to gender, age, education and geographical location (Figure 2) shows that younger people (those aged 44 and below) are somewhat under-represented, while older people (aged 45 and above) are somewhat over-represented. There is no significant variance between the sample and the population with regard to the variables gender, education and geographical distribution. By weighting the results of the survey, imbalances linked to age

have been corrected, and the results can hence be regarded as being representative of all variables (age, gender, education and geographical distribution). There remains, however, an imbalance with respect to religious affiliation in that Muslims are under-represented in the sample. As is often the case with this type of survey, immigrant minority groups also are under-represented among the respondents. It would therefore be important to poll the attitudes of different minority groups in supplementary surveys.

Figure 2



2. RESULTS

The findings are divided into four categories with additional subcategories. The four main categories are: (1) Attitudes towards Jews, (2) Attitudes towards immigrants and people of other nationalities and religions, (3) Negative attitudes towards Jews and Muslims in Norwegian society – views on prevalence, combating, and causes, and (4) Attitudes towards Israel and the Middle East.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS

20

The central issue this survey addresses is attitudes towards Jews. In order to measure these attitudes, we have included questions which analytically can be separated into three different dimensions: 1. The cognitive dimension (stereotypes, prejudices against Jews as a group), 2. The affective (emotional) dimension (feelings of sympathy/antipathy) and 3. A social dimension, which measures degrees of social distance from Jews.

Traditional stereotypes of Jews

The history of antisemitism in Europe dates far back in time and includes many negative prejudices of Jews portrayed as “foreign”, “harmful”, “inferior” or (secretly) “powerful”. These views are deeply rooted in the Christian cultural tradition and have been shaped by the historical circumstances from which they arose, as well as by the role these stereotypes have played throughout history. The idea, manifested in European consciousness, of “the Jew” being “the Other” comprised contradictory stereotypes; Jews were, for example, portrayed as being both “capitalist” and “communist”. The implicit belief that Jews form a group with a set of distinct characteristics has been at the root of this perception. One of the most widespread views is that Jews are more loyal to each other than to

the society around them, hence constituting a “state within a state”. Anti-Jewish myths have provided breeding grounds for conspiracy theories about secret networks of Jews working behind closed doors. An example is the famous hoax *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Another key idea is that Jews are particularly preoccupied or good with money, and thus seek or possess great economic power. After the Holocaust, many of these prejudices were officially discredited, but surveys from abroad show that they continue to exist in more or less modified forms. It is an important aim of this survey to map the extent to which such stereotypes are prevalent in Norway today.

Respondents were asked their opinion on various statements which involved some of the most relevant anti-Jewish stereotypes, from references to their presumed economic power to the belief that Jews themselves are to blame for being persecuted (see Figure 3). Some statements reflect positive stereotypes of Jews.

- The majority of respondents who expressed an opinion chose “Completely disagree” or “Partially disagree” for most statements. The exceptions were “Jews have a strong commitment to the family” and “Jews have too much influence on US foreign policy”; for these statements, more agreed than disagreed (64 per cent and 39 per cent respectively). There was still a significant number which agreed with some of the most negative statements: 19 per cent “Completely agree” or “Partially agree” that “World Jewry is working behind the scenes to promote Jewish interests”. Similarly, 14 per cent of respondents agreed that “Jews have always caused problems in the countries in which they live”.
- Older respondents, men and those strongly pro-Palestine in the Middle East conflict were more likely to agree with all the statements except for the three

positive ones: “Jews have a strong commitment to the family,” “Jews are artistically gifted” and “Jews are more intelligent than other people”.

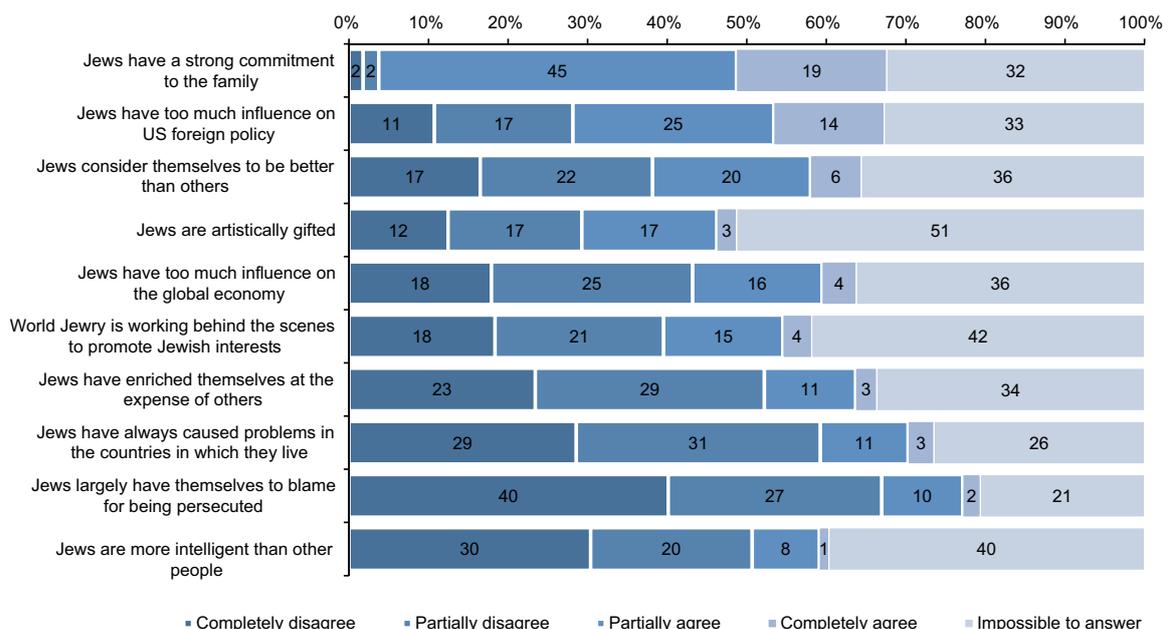
- Those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict and those who support the Christian Democratic Party were less likely to agree with the statements. With the exception of “Jews have too much influence on US foreign policy,” respondents with higher education agreed with these statements *to a lesser extent* than respondents with lower education.
- The statements turned out to be difficult to answer: 21–51 per cent ticked “Impossible to answer”. On the whole, more women ticked this alternative than men.

be that respondents for various reasons disagree with the framing of the question and hence do not wish to give any definitive answer or do not think it is possible. It may also be because they do not think it is appropriate to refer to Jews in the way the statements imply. The result could imply a lack of opinion on Jews or a lack of interest in the issues surrounding them. Equally, it could be put down to a reluctance to express negative attitudes or to respondents feeling that they lack the necessary knowledge to answer the questions properly.

Question: Below is a list of statements that have previously been made about Jews. To what extent do you agree or disagree with them?

The possible reasons for why the questions were considered difficult to answer are numerous. It may

Figure 3



Feelings of sympathy and antipathy towards Jews

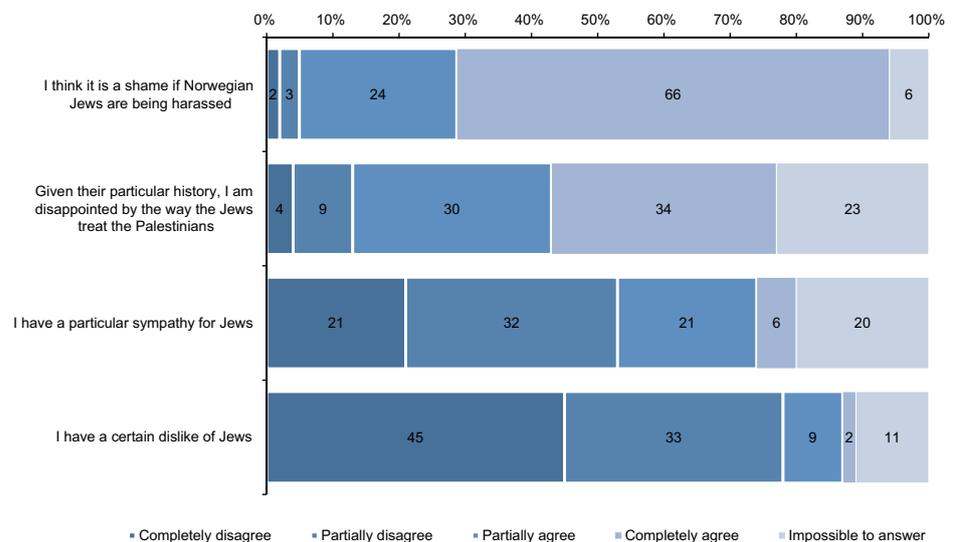
Certain questions in the questionnaire dealt with the respondents' own feelings of sympathy or antipathy towards Jews. As such, these statements touch upon the affective dimension of the respondents' attitudes.

- Almost all of the respondents answered that they would “think it is a shame if Norwegian Jews are being harassed”. This question showed little variation in terms of the different background variables.
- The majority (64 per cent) answered that “Given their particular history, I am disappointed by the way the Jews treat the Palestinians”. This view was held particularly by older people, those pro-Palestine and supporters of the left-wing Red Party, the Socialist Left Party, the Liberal Party or the social-democratic Labour Party. Those pro-Israel and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party or the Progress Party were the groups that disagreed most strongly with this statement.
- Just over a quarter of the respondents (27 per cent) answered that they “have a particular sympathy for Jews,” while 11 per cent admitted they “have a certain dislike of Jews”.

- The statement “I have a particular sympathy for Jews” was chosen to the greatest extent by older people, those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party. Those most strongly pro-Palestine and supporters of the Red Party agreed least with the statement.
- The statement “I have a certain dislike of Jews” held true to the greatest extent among those most strongly pro-Palestine in the Middle East conflict and supporters of the Progress Party. Women, the highly educated, those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict and those who vote for the Christian Democratic Party or the Liberal Party agreed least with this statement.
- Relatively many answered “Impossible to answer” for the statements “I am disappointed by the way the Jews...” and “I have a particular sympathy for Jews”. For the former, it was young people in particular (32 per cent) who had problems taking a position.

Question: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Jews?

Figure 4



Shooting incident at the synagogue in Oslo

In 2006 shots were fired at the synagogue in Oslo. Respondents were questioned on what they thought about this incident (Figure 5). The results show that respondents take the matter seriously but the majority do not believe that the attack reflects the current situation in Norway.

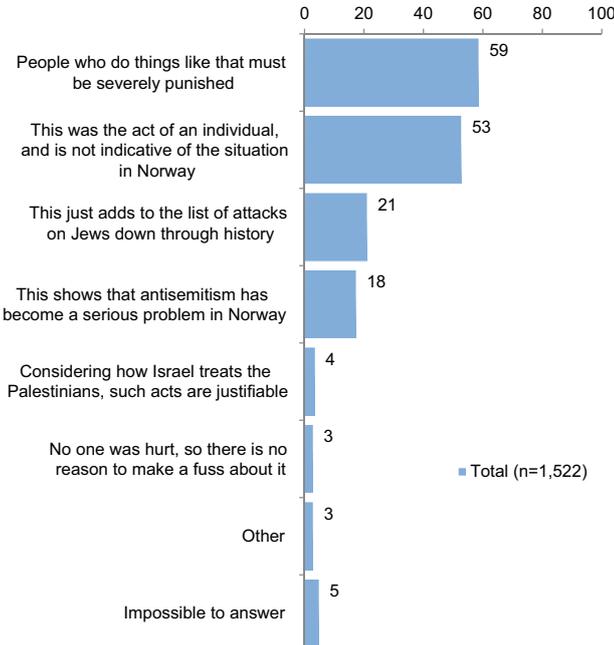
- The majority agreed with the statements “People who do things like that must be severely punished” and “This was the act of an individual, and is not indicative of the situation in Norway”.
- Older people and the highly educated agreed to a greater extent with the first statement, younger people and men with the second.
- Those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict most strongly disagreed with the second statement.
- Around 1 in 5 agreed with the statements “This just adds to the list of attacks on Jews down through history”

history” and “This shows that antisemitism has become a serious problem in Norway”. Older people and those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict agreed with these statements to a greater extent than others.

- A small percentage agreed with the statements “Considering how Israel treats the Palestinians, such acts are justifiable” and “No one was hurt, so there is no reason to make a fuss about it”. Those most strongly pro-Palestine in the Middle East conflict agreed with these statements to a slightly greater extent than others.

Question: Some time ago (in 2006) shots were fired at the synagogue in Oslo. Which of the following statements about the incident correspond with your own views? (Multiple answers possible - results shown in percentages)

Figure 5



The word “Jew” as a term of abuse

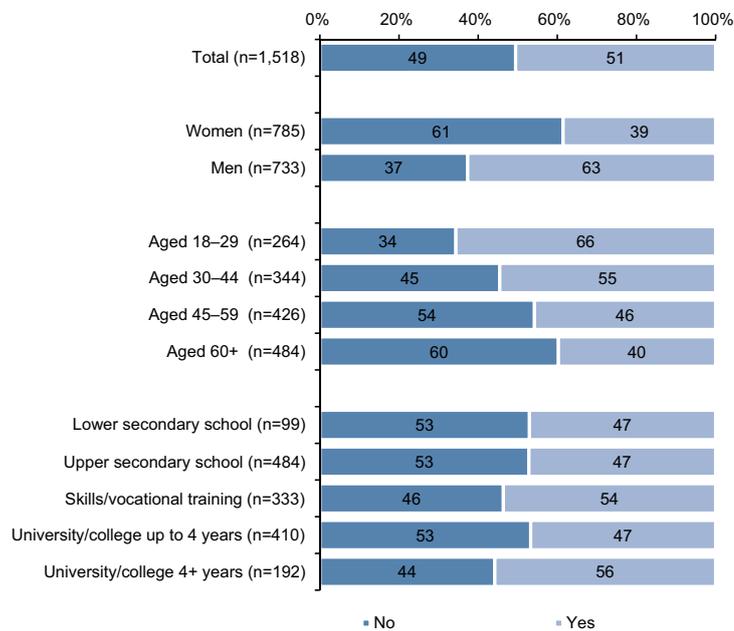
Respondents were also asked about their experiences of the word “Jew” being used as a term of abuse (Figure 6).³⁸

- Around 50 per cent said they had experienced the word being used in this way. The remainder said they had not.
- More men (63 per cent) than women (39 per cent) had heard “Jew” being used as a term of abuse.
- Young people had heard “Jew” being used as a term of abuse to a greater extent than older people.

- Supporters of the Socialist Left Party (and partly also the Centre Party) had less experience of the word “Jew” being used as a term of abuse.
- Those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict and supporters of the Progress Party or the Red Party had more experience of the word “Jew” being used as a term of abuse.

Question: Have you yourself ever experienced the word “Jew” being used as a term of abuse?

Figure 6



³⁸ Similar questions were also used in other surveys. When the Education Agency in Oslo mapped attitudes among lower secondary school students in grades 8–10, 51 per cent of them confirmed they had experienced “Jew” being used to describe something negative – a result that corresponds well with the population survey. See: Education Agency in Oslo 2011, 43.

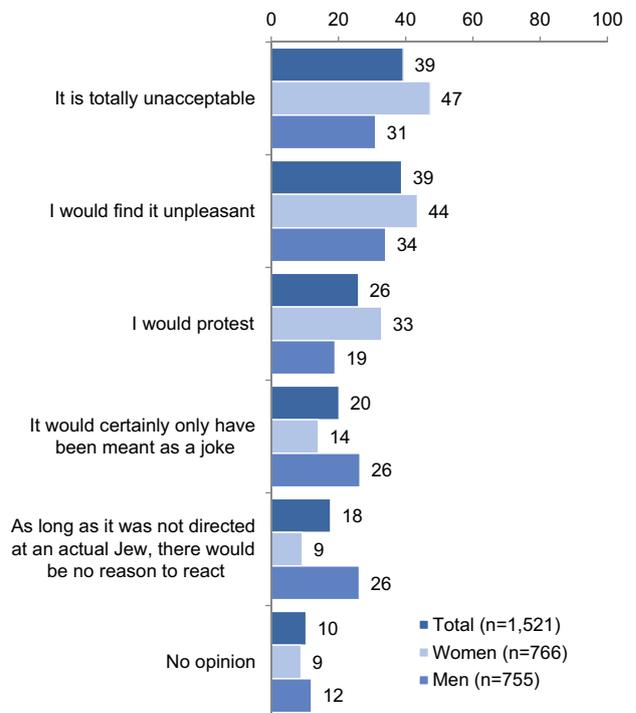
The reaction to “Jew” being used as a term of abuse

Respondents were also asked what they believed to be the correct reaction to such use of the word “Jew”.

- Many chose “I would find it unpleasant” and “It is totally unacceptable” (39 per cent for each).
- The responses “It would certainly only have been meant as a joke” and “As long as it was not directed at an actual Jew, there would be no reason to react” were more prevalent among younger people, men, respondents with lower education, those pro-Palestine, and supporters of the Progress Party or the Red Party.

Question: How do you think you ought to react if you hear the word “Jew” being used as a term of abuse (e.g. “Jew boy” or “f*ing Jew”) by someone you know?**

Figure 7



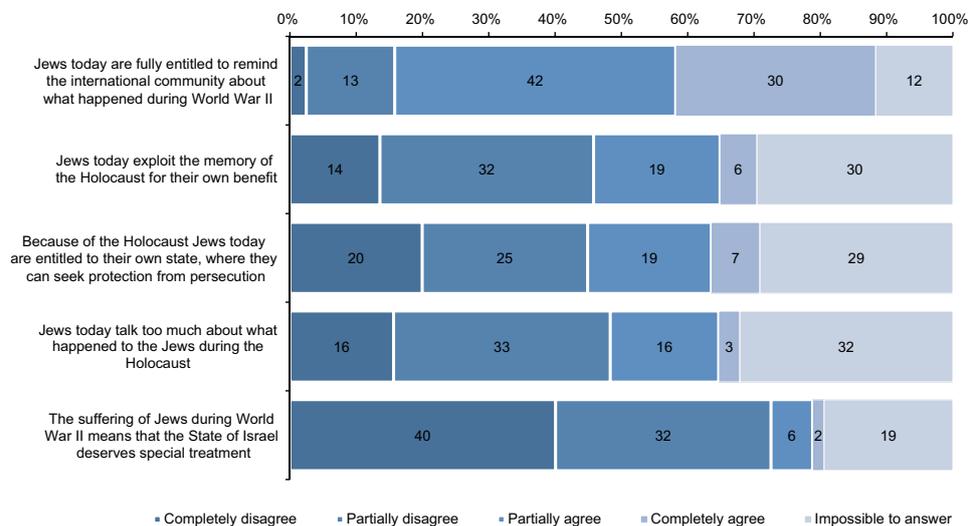
Opinions on Jews and their relationship to the Holocaust

The respondents were asked their opinions on five statements which dealt with Jews and their relationship to the Holocaust.

- The majority agreed with the statement “Jews today are fully entitled to remind the international community about what happened during World War II”. The groups which agreed most with this were those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party.

- The majority of those who did express an opinion disagreed with the statements “Jews today exploit the memory of the Holocaust for their own benefit” and “Jews today talk too much about what happened to the Jews during the Holocaust”. For the first statement there were nevertheless 25 per cent who agreed either partially or completely, and for the second, 19 per cent agreed. The statements were chosen more by men than women and by those most strongly pro-Palestine in the Middle East conflict. To some extent these statements were also more prevalent among supporters of the Progress Party and the Red Party. Supporters of the Christian Democratic Party agreed with the statements to a lesser extent than other groups. The first statement was also supported to a larger extent among older people.
- Most people who took a position also disagreed with the statement “Because of the Holocaust Jews today are entitled to their own state, where they can seek protection from persecution”. Respondents who did agree were more often older, with lower education, most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict, and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party. Those who support the Red Party (and partly also the Socialist Left Party) agreed with the statement to a lesser extent.
- Few people agreed with the statement “The suffering of Jews during World War II means that the State of Israel deserves special treatment.” Respondents who agreed with this to a greater extent were older, had lower education, were most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict, and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party. Those who support the Red Party (and partly also the Socialist Left Party and the Liberal Party) agreed with the statement to a lesser extent.
- The proportion that responded with “Impossible to answer” to some of the statements was significant (>30 per cent). Women gave this response to a greater extent than men.

Figure 8

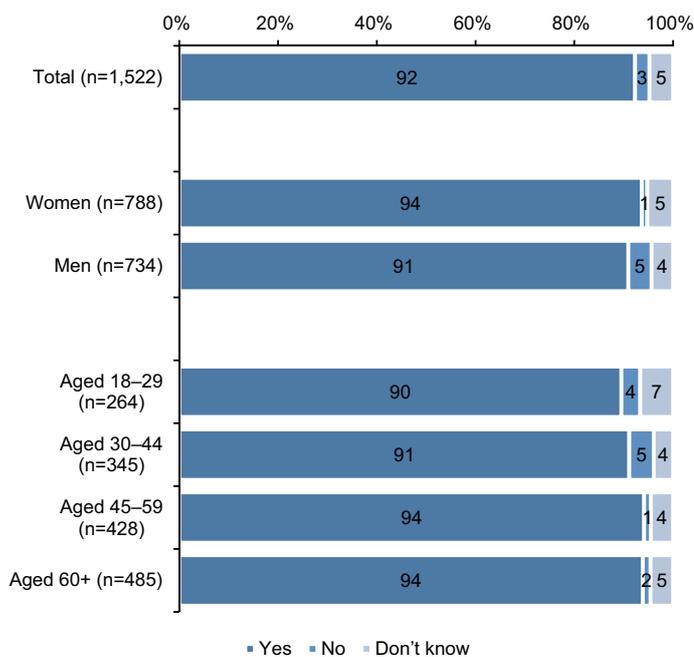


The history of the Norwegian Holocaust in the school curriculum

The respondents were asked their opinion on the school curriculum and whether they thought today’s young people should learn about the fate of the Norwegian Jews during World War II. There was a high degree of consensus – almost everyone answered that they thought this topic should be included in the curriculum.

Question: Learning about what happened in Norway during World War II is part of the school curriculum. Do you think today’s young people should learn about the fate of Norway’s Jewish population during the war?

Figure 9



The respondents were then given follow-up questions on the reasons for their opinions. Figure 10 shows the reasons for why the respondents who answered “yes” believed young people should learn about the fate of the Norwegian Jews during the war. The questionnaire listed alternative answers and gave respondents the choice of ticking more than one.

- With the exception of “Because we owe it to the Jewish victims to remember them”, over 50 per cent agreed with all the reasons for why young people should learn about the fate of the Norwegian Jews during the war.
- Respondents with higher education agreed more than others with “Because it is an important part of Norwegian history”, “In order to prevent anything like that happening again”, “Because it shows us what racism can lead to” and “It teaches us the importance of defending vulnerable groups today as well”.
- Those most strongly pro-Israel and Christian Democratic Party supporters agreed to a greater extent with “Because it shows us that antisemitism also existed in Norway” and “Because we owe it to the Jewish victims to remember them”.
- Supporters of the Socialist Left Party agreed to a greater extent with “Because it shows us what racism can lead to” and “It teaches us the importance of defending vulnerable groups today as well”. Supporters of the Progress Party agreed with these reasons to a lesser extent.

Figure 10

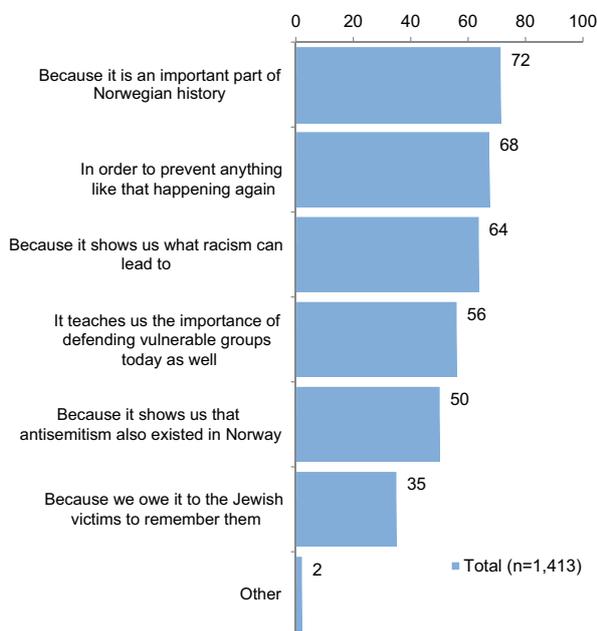
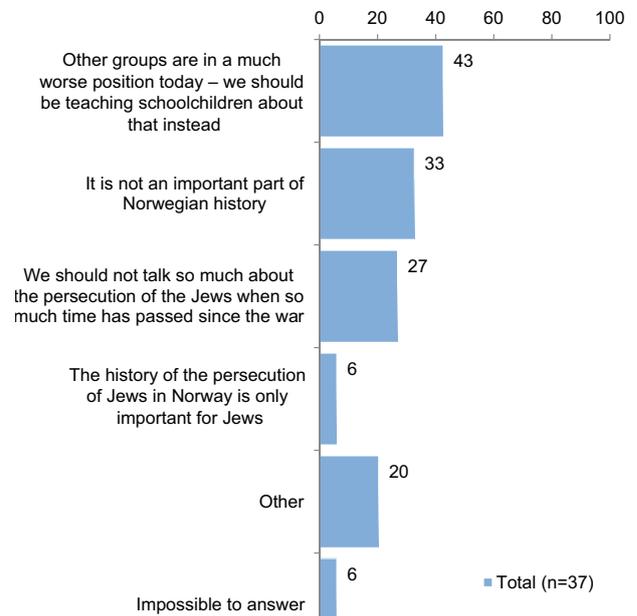


Figure 11 shows what the very few respondents who replied “no” to the question “Do you think today’s young people should learn about the fate of Norway’s Jewish population during the war?” gave as their reason.

- Among the 37 respondents who answered that they did not think today’s young people should learn about the fate of the Norwegian Jews during the war, no single reason was supported by a majority.
- “Other groups are in a much worse position today – we should be teaching schoolchildren about that instead” was the response most people gave, followed by “It is not an important part of Norwegian history” and “We should not talk so much about the persecution of the Jews when so much time has passed since the war”.
- Very few stated their reason as being “The history of the persecution of Jews in Norway is only important for Jews”.

Figure 11



ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS AND PEOPLE OF OTHER NATIONALITIES AND RELIGIONS

One of the issues addressed by the survey was: “How strong are negative attitudes and prejudices towards Jews in comparison to those towards other groups?” The survey therefore included questions on the respondents’ attitudes towards immigrants and people of other nationalities and religions – enabling the respondents’ attitudes towards Jews to be placed in a wider context. In addition it was desirable to analyse to what extent such attitudes coincide: is it the case that those with negative attitudes towards one group have similar attitudes towards others? By analysing the correlation between the various attitudes, such parallels can be drawn.

Group constructions are generalised notions about people whereby individuals are considered as part of a collective and where nuances and differences are wiped out. While thinking in terms of categories is a central part of the cognitive process and a necessary result of conceptual language, group constructions acquire clearly negative features through this form of stereotyping.³⁹

The development of prejudices can be regarded as a process whereby people are categorised on the basis of culturally conveyed negative views. Based on ideas of how certain “categories” of people have particular characteristics (stereotypes) a specific perception is formed of the group that can be either positive or negative.⁴⁰

Prejudices can take various different forms, including a desire to keep a social distance. The survey therefore included questions on what respondents thought of various types of contact with different groups (“Muslims”, “Catholics”, “Jews”, “Somalis”, “Americans”, etc.).

Two of the questions also dealt with the respondents’ opinions on the cultural and economic consequences of immigration.

Contact with people of different nationalities and religions

The survey included questions on the respondents’ attitudes to contact with people of eight different nationalities and religions: Americans, Catholics, Jews, Poles, Pentecostals, Muslims, Somalis and Romani. The respondents were asked to what extent they would like or dislike it if members of the various groups (1) became their neighbour, (2) were brought into their circle of friends, or (3) married into their family.

- The results showed that respondents ranked the different groups in a similar way for all three forms of contact but that they had very different attitudes towards the respective groups.
- The population is most positive to contacts with Americans, Catholics and Jews and least positive to contacts with Muslims, Somalis and Romani.
- All the same, 33 per cent said they would dislike a Jew marrying into their family. 10 per cent said they would dislike having a Jew as a neighbour.⁴¹ 9 per cent said they would not want a Jew in their circle of friends.
- Respondents were generally most sceptical to contacts which involved marriage into their family.
- In general, women responded more positively to all the questions than men.
- Similarly, respondents with higher education responded more positively to the questions than did those with lower education.
- Residents of the urban Oslo/Akershus area responded almost exactly the same as residents

39 For more on the relationship between categories and stereotypes see: Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping: Politics of Representation*, Suffolk 2001.

40 See: Zick, Küpper and Hövermann 2011, 28–30.

41 This is notably the same result which Statistics Norway arrived at in 1990. See: Ola Listhaug and Beate Huseby / Statistics Norway 1990.

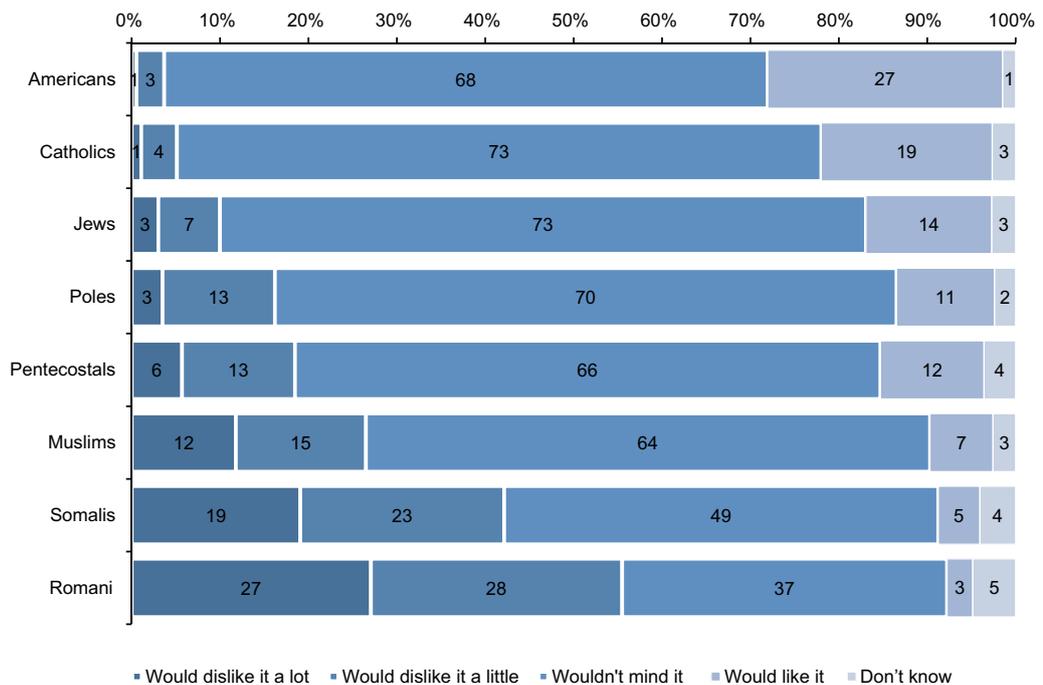
from elsewhere in Norway, or more positively. The exception was Romani; residents of Oslo/Akershus responded far more negatively here.

- Those with high incomes generally responded more negatively regarding Romani and Somalis than those with lower incomes.
- Supporters of the Progress Party were more negative than others to contact with Romani, Somalis and Muslims (and to an extent also with Poles and Catholics).

- Those who vote for parties in the centre and to the left were more positive than others to contact with Romani, Somalis and Muslims – particularly those who support the Socialist Left Party or the Red Party (and partially the Christian Democratic Party).
- Those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict were particularly positive to contact with Americans and Jews, but equally negative when it came to contact with Somalis and Muslims.

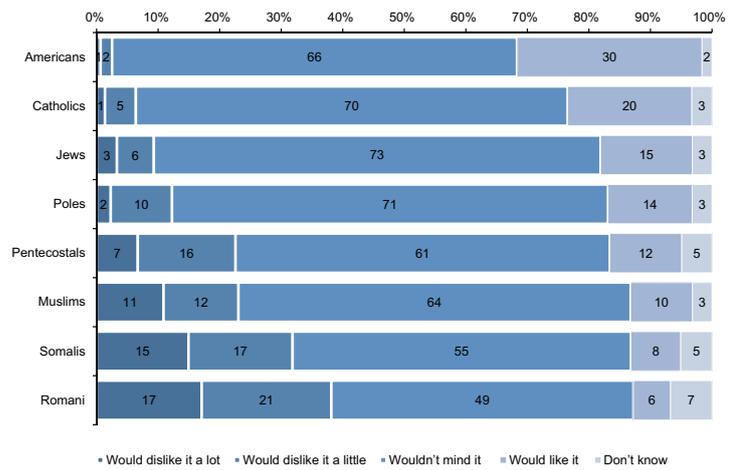
Question: When you think of..., what kind of contact would you feel comfortable with? To what extent would you like or dislike it if they became your neighbours?

Figure 12



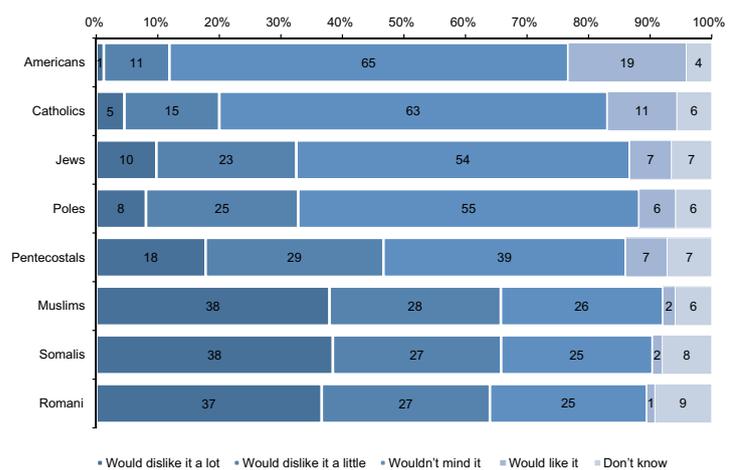
Question: When you think of..., what kind of contact would you feel comfortable with? To what extent would you like or dislike it if they were brought into your circle of friends?

Figure 13



Question: When you think of..., what kind of contact would you feel comfortable with? To what extent would you like or dislike it if they married into your family?

Figure 14



Opinions on the cultural and economic aspects of immigration

Respondents were asked their opinion on the cultural (question 1) and economic (question 2) aspects of immigration by showing their agreement with one of two statements.⁴²

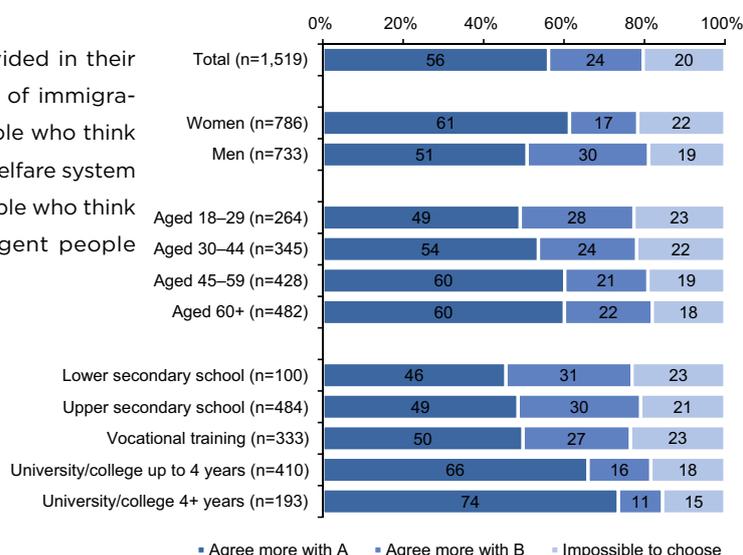
- The majority of the population have a positive impression of the impact immigration has and agree that “Immigrants contribute to greater cultural diversity in Norway, introducing new and exciting food, music, art, etc.” (56 per cent).
- Norwegians are, however, more divided in their opinions on the economic impacts of immigration. There are almost as many people who think immigrants exploit the Norwegian welfare system (36 per cent agree) as there are people who think immigrants are hard-working, diligent people (38 per cent agree).

Question 1: Two people are discussing the possible effects of immigration from other cultures to Norway. Who do you agree with more, A or B?

A: Immigrants contribute to greater cultural diversity in Norway, introducing new and exciting food, music, art, etc.

B: Immigrants’ ways of life do not suit Norway. Their foreign customs are problematic for those around them and could threaten Norwegian culture.

Figure 15



- More than half (56 per cent) said they agreed more with person A. Twenty-four per cent agreed more with person B and 20 per cent were unable to choose.⁴³
- There was some degree of skewness in age and gender, with women and those over 45 agreeing to a greater extent with person A and men and

42 For quite some time, these questions have been posed by the national survey Norsk Monitor, where telephone interviews and postal surveys are undertaken. The results from the present survey, with its Internet sample, closely match those obtained by Monitor in 2011. See: Ipsos MMI's survey *Norsk Monitor 2011*.

43 In Statistics Norway's 2011 survey on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, 35 per cent of respondents agreed with the statement "Most immigrants abuse the social welfare system". This is an increase of 4 per cent on the previous year. At the same time, the number who disagreed with the statement dropped by 4 per cent. Svein Blom / Statistics Norway, *Holdninger til innvandrere og innvandring 2011 [Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in 2011]*, reports 41/2011.

young people aged 18-29 agreeing to a greater extent with person B.

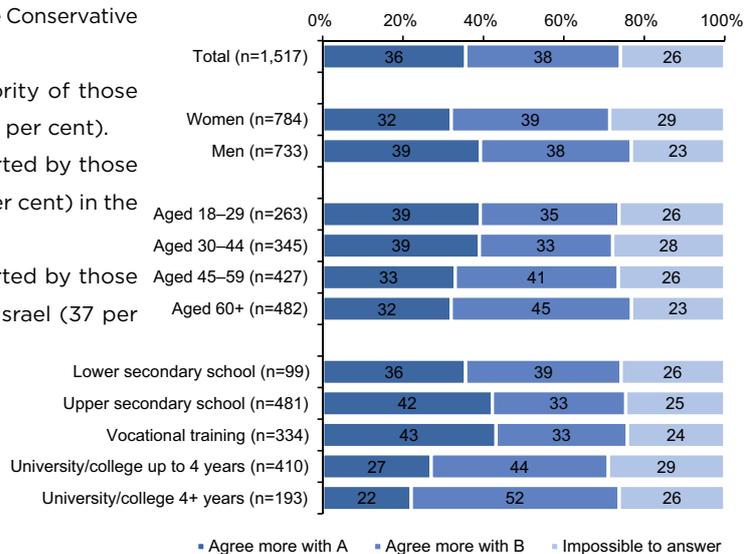
- Respondents with the highest education (74 per cent) agreed to a far greater extent with person A, compared to respondents with the lowest education (46 per cent).
- Person A was supported by a majority of those who support the Socialist Left Party (98 per cent), the Red Party (74 per cent), the Labour Party (73 per cent), the Christian Democratic Party (71 per cent), the Liberal Party (70 per cent) and the Conservative Party (52 per cent).
- Person B was supported by a majority of those who support the Progress Party (67 per cent).
- Person A was most strongly supported by those solely or mostly pro-Palestine (74 per cent) in the Middle East conflict.
- Person B was most strongly supported by those solely (59 per cent) or mostly pro-Israel (37 per cent) in the Middle East conflict.

Question 2: Whose view of immigrants do you agree with more, A or B?

A: Immigrants want to exploit our welfare system and help themselves to benefits that they have made no personal contribution towards.

B: Immigrants are hard-working, diligent people who make a valuable contribution to the Norwegian economy and working life.

Figure 16



- Roughly the same number of respondents support person A (36 per cent) as person B (38 per cent).
- Women supported person B (39 per cent) to a greater extent than person A (32 per cent).
- This question also received a more positive response towards immigration from the older generation than from the younger. Forty-five per cent of the oldest respondents agreed with person B and 32 per cent with person A.⁴⁴

44 This result differs from those obtained by Monitor's survey, where older respondents were no more positive than younger ones. The reason for this difference is presumably that older people who participate in Internet panels differ somewhat from other elderly people where education, professional experience, etc. are concerned.

- The respondents with the highest education (52 per cent) agree to a greater extent with person B. Respondents with vocational training (43 per cent) and those whose highest level of education is upper secondary school (42 per cent) agreed to a greater extent with person A. Person A had most support from supporters of the Progress Party (70 per cent) and the Conservative Party (40 per cent).
- Person B was supported most by supporters of the Socialist Left Party (74 per cent), the Red Party (68 per cent), the Christian Democratic Party (49 per cent), the Labour Party and the Liberal Party (both 46 per cent) and the Centre Party (41 per cent).
- Person A was most strongly supported by those solely (66 per cent) or mostly (43 per cent) pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict.
- Person B was most strongly supported by those solely (56 per cent) or mostly (54 per cent) pro-Palestine in the Middle East conflict.

The respondents were asked what their personal opinions were on the extent of negative attitudes towards Jews and Muslims in Norwegian society. They were also asked their opinion on whether it was important to combat these attitudes and what they thought were the reasons for such attitudes. The last question was open, and the respondents' answers were interpreted using qualitative methods. This question was a follow-on from the question on the extent of negative attitudes and was only asked if the respondents stated that they thought such attitudes were widespread.

Opinions on the extent of negative attitudes towards Jews and Muslims

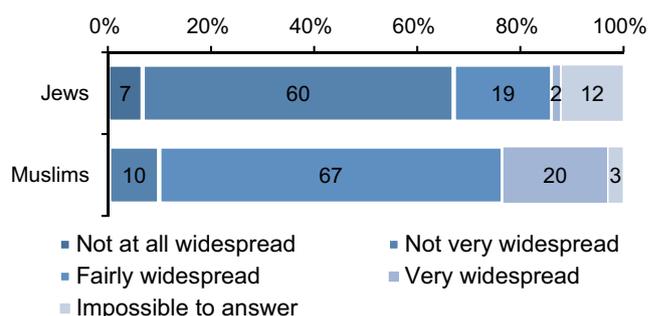
The results show that opinions on the extent of negative attitudes are considerably different for the two

groups. While 21 per cent of respondents said they thought negative attitudes towards Jews in Norway were widespread, as many as 87 per cent believed this to be the case for Muslims. No one answered "Not at all widespread" when it came to negative attitudes towards Muslims. The results may suggest that it is those respondents who are most engaged in the issue - be that in either a positive or negative way - that also think negative attitudes are most widespread. The relationship between the respondents' prejudices and their opinions on the extent of negative attitudes of others is dealt with in more detail in section 3.

- Older people, men, those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party (and partly also the Red Party) were the groups that believed to a greater extent than others that negative attitudes towards Jews in Norway were widespread.
- Younger people and supporters of the Progress Party or the Red Party believed to a greater extent than others that negative attitudes towards Muslims were widespread.

Question: How widespread do you think negative attitudes to... are in Norway today?

Figure 17

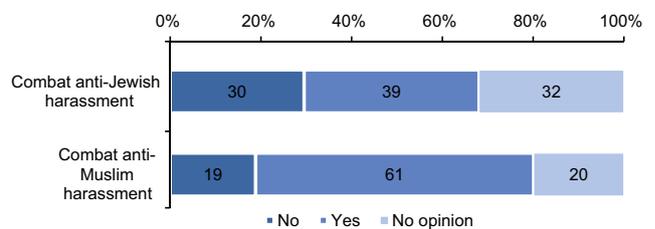


Combating anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim harassment in Norway

- Four in 10 answered that they thought it was necessary to do something about anti-Jewish harassment in Norway. Thirty per cent said they did not think it necessary and 32 per cent stated that they had no opinion.
- Six in 10 answered that they thought it was necessary to do something about anti-Muslim harassment in Norway. Nineteen per cent said they did not think it necessary and 20 per cent said they had no opinion.
- Older people, the most highly educated, those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party or the Socialist Left Party were the groups that responded to a greater extent than others that they thought it was necessary to combat anti-Jewish harassment in Norway.
- The youngest respondents, women, the highly educated, those most strongly pro-Palestine in the Middle East conflict and supporters of the Socialist Left Party (97 per cent), the Red Party (80 per cent), the Liberal Party (79 per cent), the Christian Democratic Party (74 per cent) and the Labour Party (69 per cent) answered to a greater extent than others that it was important to combat anti-Muslim harassment in Norway. Supporters of the Progress Party (32 per cent) agreed with this idea to a far lesser extent than others.

Question: Do you think steps need to be taken to combat ... in Norway?

Figure 18



An interesting finding was the relationship between opinions on the extent of negative attitudes compared to opinions on the need to combat them. While there are more people that believed it was important to combat anti-Jewish harassment (39 per cent) than those who considered such harassment to be a widespread problem (21 per cent), the case for harassment of Muslims was the opposite. Regarding Muslims, more respondents believed anti-Muslim harassment was a widespread problem (87 per cent) compared to those who thought it necessary to do something about it (61 per cent).

Opinions on the reasons behind negative attitudes towards Jews and Muslims

The questionnaire included a comments section so that respondents who thought that negative attitudes towards Jews and Muslims were (quite or very) widespread could give details of what they believed to be the cause of the negative attitudes.

Notably, in principle, these questions do not measure the respondents' own attitudes, but rather their views on other peoples' attitudes. Respondents were allowed to write freely and their answers were interpreted using qualitative methods. This provides a different basis for interpretation and allows for a deeper understanding of the respondents' views than questions with fixed alternative responses. At the same time, however, open questions render the material less suitable for quantification, since every answer can in principle be unique. However, the answers contained some features which recurred and which provided a basis for coding the material and making certain statistical calculations. The results of the calculations must be regarded as tentative due to the complexity of the material, and will only indicate general trends.

In the analysis, the material was coded into two main categories. The first contained answers that explained the attitudes as features *within the group itself* while the second contained answers that found the reason to lie *outside the group*. A diverse range of topics were mentioned by the respondents within these two main categories.

Typical topics mentioned in the category "The reason lies within the group itself"

Opinions on the reasons behind negative attitudes towards Jews:

- The actions of the Israelis/Jews in the Middle East⁴⁵
- Various negative characteristics of Jews (traditional stereotypical views) such as them being arrogant or "clever people". References were also made to "Jews' power" etc.

Opinions on the reasons behind negative attitudes towards Muslims:

- Religion / religious fundamentalism
- Suppression of women
- Terrorism
- Lack of integration / Muslims' own negative attitudes towards the majority
- "Different culture"
- Crime

Generally speaking, there was a clear tendency for respondents to express attitudes towards Jews without relating them to personal experiences. Attitudes towards Muslims, however, were linked to specific social problems. When questioned on attitudes towards Muslims, responses emphasised concrete topics such as negative behaviour, crime, lack of integration and a foreign culture in general. For the corresponding question on Jews, there was a lack of concrete references to Norwegian society.

One consequence of this tendency in the material is that there is a greater degree of detail in the descriptions of the causes of negative attitudes to Muslims than there is in the descriptions of attitudes to Jews. In other words, when the respondents comment on attitudes to Muslims, they point to several *different* causes in their responses, even though the comments also tie in with known, stereotypical views.

When expressing reasons for negative attitudes towards Muslims, many respondents put it down to "a few individuals ruining it for everyone". This response indicates a subtle shading of the group construction – where a number of the respondents realise that it is not the actions or characteristics of the whole group that explain the attitudes. This may

45 In the following analysis, comments which specify reasons for negative attitudes towards Jews as being the Israeli/Jewish actions in the Middle East are coded into the category "The reason lies within the group itself". This is because these comments often, either directly or indirectly, involve interlinking "Israelis" and "Jews". Since this is a question of interpretation, it is possible that some of the comments should have been placed in the category "outside the group" instead. The same goes, to some extent, for the comments that specify terrorism carried out by Muslims as being the reason for negative attitudes.

suggest that the respondents have more *real-life* experiences of dealing with Muslims than they do with Jews and – maybe particularly – a broader knowledge of the construction of prejudices against Muslims.

Descriptions of particular situations or incidents are mentioned when they concern attitudes to Jews almost exclusively in relation to the Middle East conflict. The prejudices against Jews are therefore – according to the respondents – not directed at a concrete Norwegian context, such as a social or cultural *threat*, but rather to perceptions of negative Jewish activities *out there*. The reasons often given for this are certain character traits of Jews, such as arrogance: “They are stubborn, don’t forgive others, don’t want to forget what happened, they show no concern for the Palestinians. God’s chosen people, businessmen”. These stereotypical views were also mentioned without reference to the Middle East conflict.

Regarding the explanations for negative attitudes towards Muslims, many respondents gave the *foreign* aspect as their reason, both in terms of culture and in attributing Muslims with a certain mentality and motivation which clearly separates them from the rest of society. Some put this difference down to an expression of the Muslims’ own wishes: they have “No interest in adapting to Norwegian law or Norwegian culture”. Others describe inherent (essentialising) qualities. Jews and Jewish culture, however, are portrayed as being far less “foreign” in that sense but still *distanced* – both indirectly through the stereotypical views and geographically through the Middle East conflict.

Another very prevalent tendency was to link negative attitudes towards Muslims to religion and religious fundamentalism. It was normally in this

respect that terrorism and the suppression of women were mentioned. These phenomena were referred to as being a result of and an integrated part of Islam, respectively. Regarding attitudes towards Jews, the respondents do not seem to think that religion has any significance, and this topic is very rarely mentioned.

A common feature of the answers in this category is that prejudices are often seen in an international context (terrorist attacks, wars in Muslim countries, the Middle East conflict) whereby negative events abroad are considered to have consequence for people’s attitudes in Norway, too.

Typical topics mentioned in the category “The reason lies outside the group”

Opinions on the reasons behind negative attitudes towards Jews:

- Media coverage of the Middle East
- Old prejudices
- The political left / left-wing statements and policy
- Ignorance
- Connecting Israelis with Jews

Opinions on the reasons behind negative attitudes towards Muslims:

- Generalisations by (other) Norwegians – linking “terrorist” with “Muslim”
- Xenophobia
- Fear of terrorism
- Ignorance
- The reason lies in the media (their focus on terrorism and crime instead of “regular Muslims”)
- The reason lies with the Progress Party

Fear (xenophobia, fear of terrorism) was often mentioned as the reason behind negative attitudes towards Muslims, but, apart from one exception, this was not the case regarding attitudes towards Jews. Here, in contrast, respondents claimed that the attitudes were rooted in old prejudices.

A common factor for both questions is that the respondents regarded a narrow focus and biased portrayals in the media as a reason for people's negative attitudes. The respondents mention portrayals of terrorism in particular as a reason for such attitudes towards Muslims, but also, more generally, that the media mainly focus on negative stories or the actions of individuals and thereby create a wrong impression of the entire Muslim population. In response to the question on attitudes towards Jews, criticism was directed at the media's portrayal of the Middle East conflict.

Also when the reason for the negative attitudes is attributed to the majority population, reference is often made to generalisations, from the behaviour of individuals to that of an entire group, or to associative combinations between, in the case of the Jews, "Israeli" and "Jew", and, often in the case of the Muslims, "terrorist" and "Muslim". This is the counterpart to the answer option "A few individuals ruining it for the rest" (mentioned previously with reference to Muslims). The common denominator for these answers is that they loosen the understanding of "Jews" and "Muslims" as *groups* while the individual emerges, albeit in a slightly different way. Responses to both questions often give *ignorance* as a reason for negative attitudes. In addition, a few respondents said negative attitudes towards Jews arose from attitudes prevalent in the Muslim population.

The relationship between the two response categories

The relationship between the two response categories "The reason lies within the group itself" and "The reason lies outside the group" was different for the two questions. While almost the same number of respondents believe that the reasons for negative attitudes towards Jews lie outside the group as those who believe they lie inside it, far fewer believe that the reasons for negative attitudes towards Muslims lie outside the group (approximately a third) than those who believe they lie inside it (more than half). When asked to explain the extent of negative attitudes towards Muslims, those highly sceptical of immigrants (as measured in section 3) suggest to a greater extent than others that the reasons for these attitudes lie within the group itself. Lack of integration and the view that Muslims have a "different culture" were factors that were often mentioned. When the reasons for the attitudes are attributed to the group itself, such prejudices acquire a greater semblance of legitimacy.

The results of the quantitative questions showed that there were far more respondents who believed negative attitudes towards Muslims to be widespread than respondents who thought that the same applies to Jews (87 per cent and 21 per cent respectively, see Figure 17). At the same time, fewer respondents than expected thought it was necessary to do something about these negative attitudes towards Muslims compared with how widespread such attitudes were considered to be (see Figure 18). Part of the explanation for this may lie in the fact that many people consider the reason for such attitudes to lie within the group; if the problem is seen to lie within the group, there is little that can be done about it by people "on the outside". Perhaps another explanation could be that

those who hold such views do not see a need to combat them.

The respondents' attitudes are fairly polarised. Few (less than 10 per cent) believe that the reason for negative attitudes can be found *both* outside *and* within the group. Among those who do, two things were notable. Firstly, several comments indicate the complexity of the phenomenon itself; comments which, for example, mention both a biased portrayal by the media and the Islamic separation of sexes as reasons for the attitudes. Secondly, some comments seem to indicate that respondents have contradictory attitudes (cognitive dissonance).

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Two of the issues addressed in this survey dealt with how the Norwegian population regard the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and to what extent there is any connection between anti-Jewish attitudes and a negative opinion of Israel's role in the Middle East conflict. In the years immediately following the 1948 establishment of the State of Israel, the relationship between Norway and Israel was strong and very positive. This was particularly so for the political left-wing, which associated itself with the Kibbutzim movement. After 1967, however, this attitude was gradually replaced by a more critical standpoint on the part of the Norwegians, particularly on the political left-wing.⁴⁶

Many studies have, as already mentioned, shown how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict mobilises anti-Jewish attitudes, with antisemitic incidents involving attacks

on Jewish institutions and individuals peaking when the conflict escalates.⁴⁷ In order to gauge the extent to which negative attitudes towards Israel correlate with negative attitudes towards Jews, it was therefore necessary to include questions on the respondents' opinions on this conflict. The questionnaire included questions on the respondents' interest in various conflicts, their view on the Middle East conflict and to what extent their attitude towards Israel had changed. In addition, respondents were asked to respond to a list of statements about the conflict and about Norwegian Jews and Israel.

Interest in various conflicts

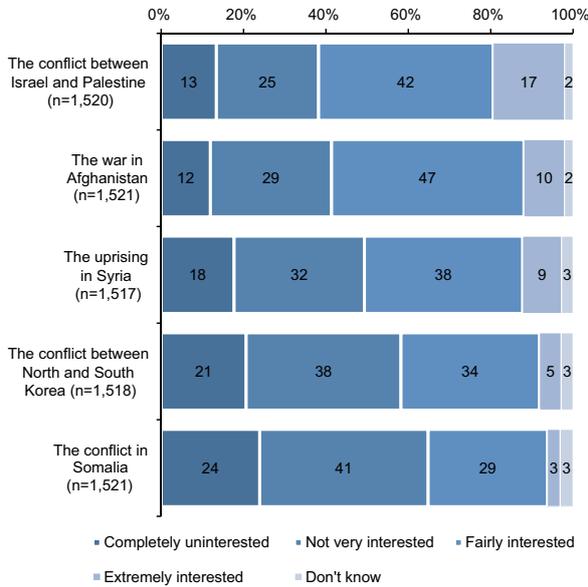
- Of the conflicts mentioned, it was the conflict between Israel and Palestine (59 per cent) and the war in Afghanistan (57 per cent) which were perceived to be the most interesting.
- Of those who said they were very interested in a particular conflict, the largest group, 17 per cent, specified this as being the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Ten per cent said they were very interested in the war in Afghanistan and 9 per cent in the Syrian uprising.

⁴⁶ For a discussion on Norway's relationship to Israel, see: Hilde Henriksen Waage, *Norge, Israels beste venn: norsk Midtøsten-politikk 1949-1956* [Norway, Israel's best friend: Norwegian Middle East policy 1949-1956], Oslo 1996.

⁴⁷ For more on this, see the section entitled 'Antisemitism since 1945' in the introduction to this report.

Question: To what extent are you interested in the following conflicts?

Figure 19

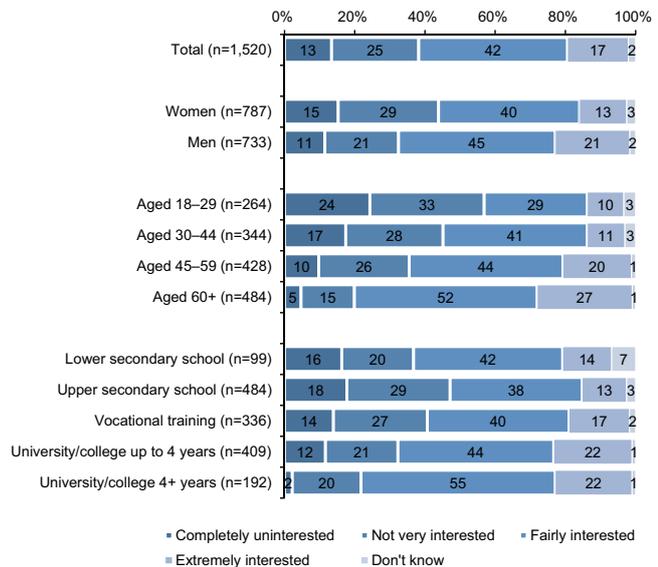


Interest in the conflict between Israel and Palestine

Decompositions were performed for the question regarding people's interest in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for age, gender and education.

- More men (66 per cent) than women (53 per cent) said they were interested in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- The older the respondents were, the more keenly interested they were in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- Respondents with a university/college education were generally more interested in the conflict than those with lower education.
- The stronger respondents support a certain side in the Middle East conflict, the more they show an interest in it.
- Supporters of the Socialist Left Party (88 per cent), the Christian Democratic Party (84 per cent) or the Red Party (69 per cent) were the groups most interested in the conflict.
- Supporters of the Progress Party (57 per cent) were the most likely to show little or no interest at all.

Figure 20



Point of view regarding the conflict between Israel and Palestine

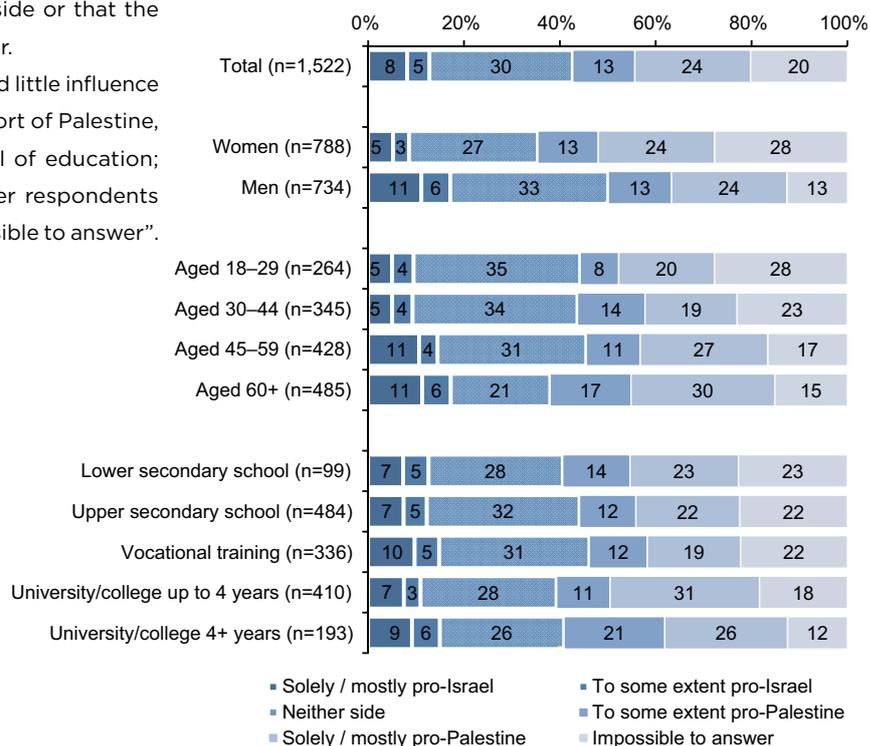
Respondents were asked their opinion on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. There were clearly more respondents who were pro-Palestine than were pro-Israel.

- Thirty-seven per cent said they were a little, mostly or solely pro-Palestine. Thirteen per cent said they were a little, mostly or solely pro-Israel. Half of all respondents said they did not support either side or that it was impossible to answer.
- An equal number of men and women were pro-Palestine. More men (17 per cent) than women (8 per cent) were pro-Israel.
- The older the respondents were, the stronger the likelihood that they took sides in the conflict. Sixty-three per cent of the youngest respondents said they did not support either side or that the question was impossible to answer.
- Respondents' level of education had little influence on the support of Israel. The support of Palestine, however, increased with the level of education; among the highly educated, fewer respondents answered "Neither side" or "Impossible to answer".

- Supporters of the Christian Democratic Party (53 per cent) were most strongly pro-Israel and supporters of the Socialist Left Party (76 per cent) or the Red Party (70 per cent) were most strongly pro-Palestine. Supporters of the Progress Party (43 per cent) said to a greater extent than others that they did not support either side.
- Among those who had been politically active regarding the Middle East conflict, many more were pro-Palestine (79 per cent) than were pro-Israel (11 per cent).

Question: People have differing views on the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Which side do you support most?

Figure 21



Statements about Israel and the Middle East conflict

- The statements about Israel and the Middle East conflict which respondents agreed with most were: “Both the Israelis and the Palestinians are entitled to a state of their own”, “It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians” and “Israel’s use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive”.
- The statements which respondents agreed with least were: “As long as the State of Israel exists there can be no peace in the world” and “The State of Israel deserves special support”.

Age:

- Younger respondents were more positive than older ones about travelling to Israel on holiday.
- Older respondents agreed more than younger ones with the statements “Both the Israelis and the Palestinians are entitled to a state of their own”, “Israel treats the Palestinians just as badly as the Jews were treated during World War II” and “The State of Israel deserves special support”.

Gender:

- Men agreed to a greater extent than women that “Israel is under threat of war from other countries” and “I would consider visiting Israel on holiday”.
- Women agreed more than men that “Israel treats the Palestinians just as badly as the Jews were treated during World War II” and “As long as the State of Israel exists there can be no peace in the world”.

Education:

- Respondents with lower education agreed to a greater extent than those with higher education with the statements “The main reason for the conflict is that some Palestinian groups (such as Hamas) do not recognise the State of Israel”, “Israel is at the forefront of the war on Islamic terrorism” and “As long as the State of Israel exists there can be no peace in the world”.
- Respondents with higher education agreed more than those with lower education with the statements that “Israel’s use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive” and “I would consider visiting Israel on holiday”.

Point of view regarding the Middle East conflict:

- The opinion on the Middle East conflict is the variable which most strongly polarises respondents.
- Those who are most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict agree to a greater extent than those most strongly pro-Palestine with the following statements:
 - Israel is under threat of war from other countries
 - The main reason for the conflict is that some Palestinian groups (such as Hamas) do not recognise the State of Israel
 - Israel is at the forefront of the war on Islamic terrorism
 - Israeli leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict
 - I would consider visiting Israel on holiday
 - The State of Israel deserves special support

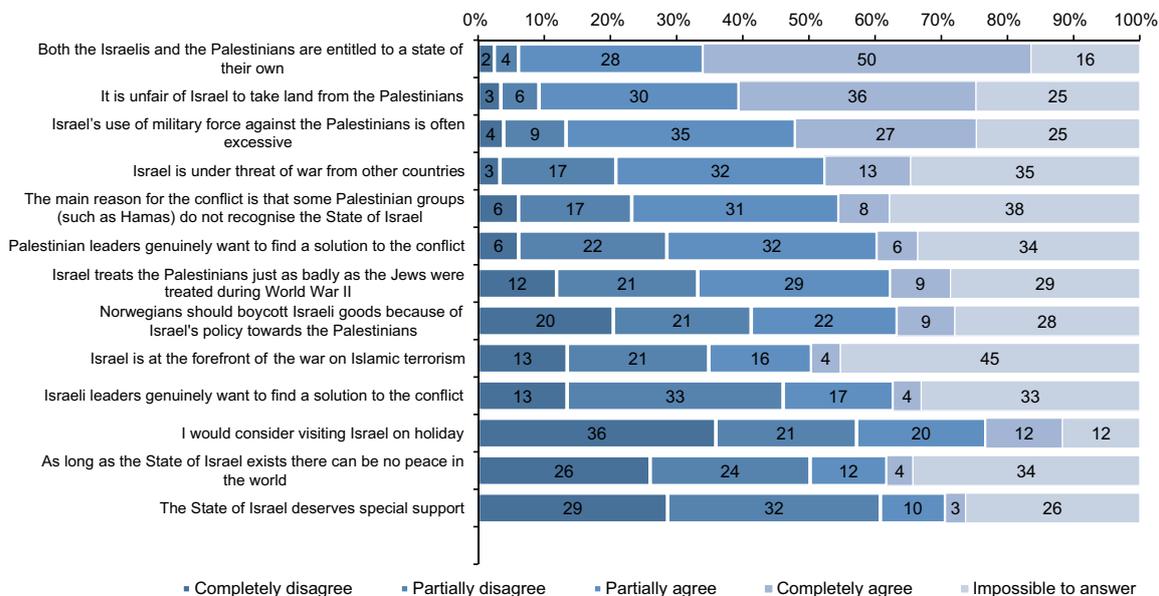
- Those most strongly pro-Palestine – in contrast to those most strongly pro-Israel – in the Middle East conflict agreed to a greater extent with the statements:
 - Both the Israelis and the Palestinians are entitled to a state of their own
 - It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians
 - Israel's use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive
 - Palestinian leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict
 - Israel treats the Palestinians just as badly as the Jews were treated during World War II
 - Norwegians should boycott Israeli goods because of Israel's policy towards the Palestinians
 - As long as the State of Israel exists there can be no peace in the world
- Israel is at the forefront of the war on Islamic terrorism (also the Progress Party)
- Israeli leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict (partly the Progress Party)
- I would consider visiting Israel on holiday
- The State of Israel deserves special support
- Supporters of the Socialist Left Party or the Red Party agreed more than others with the following statements:
 - It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians (partly the Labour Party, the Centre Party and the Liberal Party)
 - Israel's use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive (partly the Labour Party and the Liberal Party)
 - Palestinian leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict (partly the Labour Party and the Centre Party)
 - Israel treats the Palestinians just as badly as the Jews were treated during World War II (partly the Labour Party)
 - Norwegians should boycott Israeli goods because of Israel's policy towards the Palestinians (partly the Labour Party and the Centre Party)

Political preferences:

- There is a marked difference between supporters of the Christian Democratic Party (and occasionally also the Progress Party) on the one side and supporters of the Socialist Left Party and the Red Party (and occasionally the Labour Party, the Centre Party and the Liberal Party) on the other.
- Supporters of the Christian Democratic Party agreed more than others with the following statements:
 - Israel is under threat of war from other countries (partly the Progress Party)
 - The main reason for the conflict is that some Palestinian groups (such as Hamas) do not recognise the State of Israel (also the Progress Party, partly the Conservative Party)
- For many respondents, several of the statements were difficult to express an opinion on – at times resulting in a large number of “Impossible to answer” responses. Particularly women and younger respondents chose this option.

Question: Below are some statements about Israel and the Middle East conflict. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements?

Figure 22



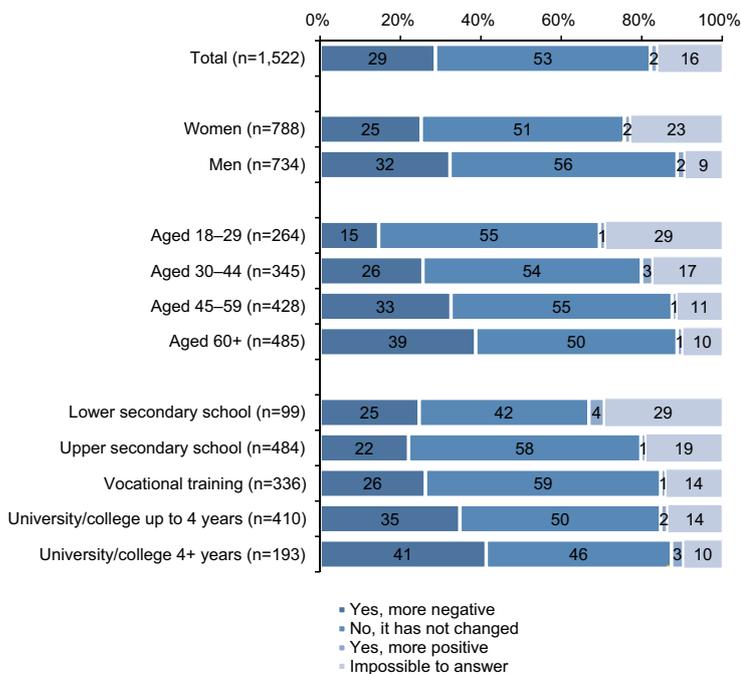
Changed attitudes towards Israel

- Twenty-nine per cent said that their attitude towards Israel had become more negative, while 2 per cent said their attitude had become more positive.
- The majority (53 per cent) said that their attitude towards Israel remained unchanged, while 16 per cent chose the option “Impossible to answer”.
- More men (32 per cent) than women (25 per cent) said their attitude towards Israel had become more negative.
- With respect to their attitude towards Israel becoming more negative, this held true more for older respondents than for younger ones. Younger respondents answered “Impossible to answer” more than their older counterparts.

- More respondents with higher education (41 per cent) than with lower education (25 per cent) said that their attitude towards Israel had become negative.
- Those most strongly pro-Palestine in the Middle East conflict answered to a larger extent than others that their attitude had become negative.
- Supporters of the Progress Party or the Christian Democratic Party responded to a lesser extent than others that their attitude had become negative.

Question: Would you say that your attitude towards Israel has changed?

Figure 23



Reasons behind changed attitudes towards Israel

Respondents who responded that their attitudes towards Israel had changed in some way – be that positively or negatively – were asked the reasons why. For this, the questionnaire included a comments section where respondents could write freely. The answers were interpreted using qualitative methods.

As is shown in Figure 23, far more respondents said their attitude towards Israel had become negative as opposed to more positive, and the comments were thus characterised by criticism of Israel’s role in the Middle East conflict. Generally, respondents gave concrete explanations and often gave particular situations or political decisions as the reasons for their attitudes having changed. For example: “The Knesset and the government ignore the fact that the majority of the Israeli population want a separate Palestinian state, and the government continues its blockades and keeps establishing new settlements.” There were many comments that expressed an impression of excessive use of power on the part of Israel. Some comments made very serious allegations against Israel: “The State of Israel is selfish. Doesn’t care what the rest of the world has to say. Killing innocent civilians under the guise of war.”

Many respondents expressed the opinion that the attitudes of the Israelis were characterised by ruthlessness: “Israel is arrogant and treats the Palestinians like stones that they can throw around and move about just as they please.” Some of the comments again referred to generalised views about Israelis, indicating that remnants of the classic antisemitic views about Jews being vindictive still remain: “They’re unable to forgive. They should take a leaf out of Nelson Mandela’s

book.” Several respondents expressed scepticism about whether the Israelis genuinely wanted peace.

Certain comments made historical references and indicated that a form of continuity between today’s Israelis and the Jews of the Holocaust still existed – one which originally imposed a moral duty on the Israelis but which they have now violated. “Today’s Jews can no longer blame the Holocaust. They can’t just do as they please. They’re abusing the sympathy the world afforded them after the war.” This is how several of the respondents explained that their attitudes in general had changed through the situation in the Middle East: “Sympathy for the Jews was strong after the war. But the reality changed, hence my opinion.” Some respondents hinted that the historical relationship between victim and offender had been turned on its head by the situation in the Middle East: “Because Israel brings up centuries of genocide and persecution, yet they treat Palestine / the Palestinians in the same way.”⁴⁹

Certain respondents said personal experiences were the reasons for their changed attitudes – whether positively or negatively: “I’ve been there and feel I now have a somewhat more nuanced view of the country/conflict. I’ve come to understand that, given the geography, it’s not that easy to come up with a two-state solution. I also met Jews who wanted this, not just peace [sic].” One survey participant revealed how individual personal experiences had contributed to making his attitude towards Israelis generally more negative: “I go to school with lots of Israelis and they’re really self-centred and full of themselves. So I have a somewhat negative impression of Israelis.”

A small number of respondents said their attitude had become more positive: “Every day, Israel is attacked

by Hamas; Israel is a democratic state which is entitled to its own land!”

Compared to how many respondents referred to the media as the reason for negative attitudes towards Jews,⁵⁰ there are relatively few here who mention this influence in relation to attitudes towards Israel. Perhaps this is the result of respondents having to explain their own attitudes in this question, as opposed to the reasons for other people’s attitudes.

Norwegian Jews and Israel

Respondents were asked their opinions on two statements about Jews and their relationship to Israel.

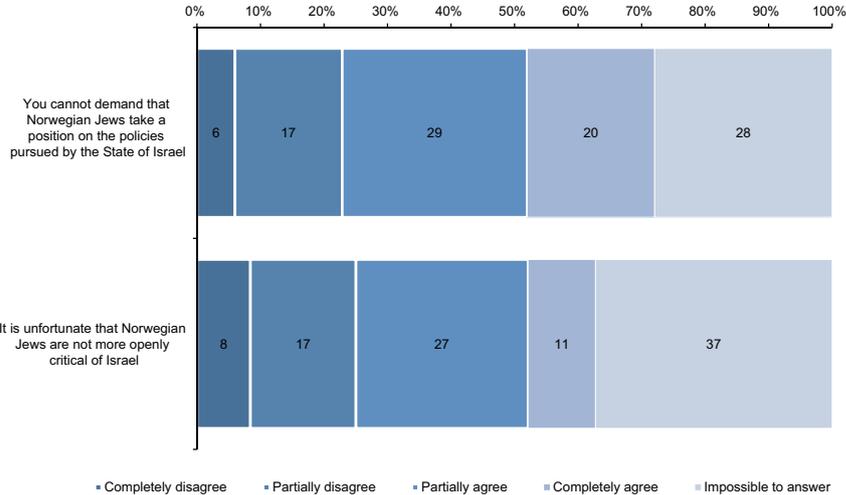
- Around half of the respondents agreed with the statement “You cannot demand that Norwegian Jews take a position on the policies pursued by the State of Israel”. Twenty-three per cent disagreed with this statement.
- The statement was supported to a *lesser* extent by older people and those who strongly supported one side in the Middle East conflict.
- Thirty-eight per cent of respondents agreed with the statement: “It is unfortunate that Norwegian Jews are not more openly critical of Israel”. Twenty-five per cent disagreed with this.
- The statement was supported to a *lesser* extent by those with the highest education, those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict, and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party, the Progress Party or the Conservative Party.
- The questions were considered difficult to answer, with 28 per cent and 37 per cent respectively choosing “Impossible to answer” for the two statements.

49 This conception is similar to a typically subtle expression of antisemitism, often called ‘secondary antisemitism’, which arose particularly in Germany and Austria following the Holocaust. It expresses the idea that Jews exploit the Holocaust to their advantage or that they themselves have also become perpetrators. For more on this see: Trond Berg Eriksen, Håkon Harket and Einhart Lorenz 2009, 545–558.

50 See section: ‘Opinions on the reasons behind negative attitudes towards Jews and Muslims.’

Question: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Figure 24



Background material on respondents and a copy of the questionnaire are included as appendices to this document.

3. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

NEGATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF JEWS – EXTENT, CONSEQUENCES, REASONS

Attempting to establish to what extent negative attitudes towards Jews exist in Norwegian society is no easy task. The distribution of responses for each concrete question depends on both subject content and linguistic form. It is therefore useful to pose several questions with varied content and form and then analyse the data as a whole, thereby determining any patterns in the answers. This can be done using indices which are a combination of several individual questions with related content. Asking multiple questions gives more reliable measurements, as the significance of random errors of measurement is reduced. It also allows for more accurate measurement of complex characteristics that cannot be captured by one question alone. Presented below are three indices for different types of negative opinions, followed by a combined index based on these three indices.

These three indices correspond to the three dimensions of antisemitism introduced earlier in the report: a cognitive dimension, an affective dimension and a dimension for social distance.⁵¹

Index 1: Prejudices against Jews

The questionnaire included a series of statements about Jews which the respondents were asked to respond to. The statements reflected various negative, stereotypical views of Jews familiar from antisemitic arguments.

The response alternatives were:

Com-pletely disagree	Partially disagree	Partially agree	Com-pletely agree	Impos-sible to answer	No response
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Table 1. Percentage that agree with the statements either partially or completely

Agree:	Partially	Completely	Total
Jews consider themselves to be better than others	20.2	6.6	26.8
Jews have too much influence on the global economy	16.6	4.7	21.3
World Jewry is working behind the scenes to promote Jewish interests	16.0	3.8	19.8
Jews have always caused problems in the countries in which they live	11.3	3.1	14.5
Jews have enriched themselves at the expense of others	11.3	3.1	14.5
Jews largely have themselves to blame for being persecuted	10.8	2.2	13.0

The total of what we can refer to as prejudiced responses (the statements “Partially agree” and “Completely agree”) varies between 13 and 27 per cent. The bulk of the negative answers comprised the more reserved “Partially agree”. Those who answered “Completely agree” made up between 2 and 7 per cent.

An index will be calculated for prejudices against Jews by adding up the number of times respondents responded to the negative statements with “Completely agree” (scoring 2) or “Partially agree” (scoring 1) versus other answers (scoring 0). This gives an index for prejudices that vary between 0 and 12.

⁵¹ In these analyses, weighting for age was not used. Broadly speaking, the results are identical with those obtained when weighting is used, but in some cases deviations of one percentage point may occur.

Table 2. Index for prejudices against Jews

Dichotomised index	Score	Number	Percentage	Percentage
Low	0	834	54.8	87.5
	1	258	17.0	
	2	161	10.6	
	3	79	5.2	
High	4	48	3.2	12.5
	5	34	2.2	
	6	36	2.4	
	7	23	1.5	
	8	17	1.1	
	9	12	0.8	
	10	6	0.4	
	11	6	0.4	
12	8	0.5		
Total		1,522		100.0

A majority of 54.8 per cent said that none of the statements corresponded with their own views. Extremely high scores were rare; overall 1.3 per cent scored in the interval 10–12 and 4.7 per cent of respondents' scores fell into the upper bracket (7–12). If we divide the scale into two intervals, 0–3 and 4–12, 12.5 per cent

of the sample scored high on the index for prejudice against Jews.

Index 2: Social distance from Jews

In the survey, respondents were asked how they would react if people from different nationalities or religious groups were to become their neighbours or brought into their circle of friends. The question on allowing others to marry into the family was not used because some respondents may find this to be so dependent on the individual person that it is not necessarily a good indicator of social distance.

Question: When you think of Jews, what kind of contact would you feel comfortable with? To what extent would you like or dislike it if they ... became your neighbours (1); ... were brought into your circle of friends (2)?

Table 3. Attitude towards contact with Jews as neighbours or part of your circle of friends (percentage)

	Would like it	Wouldn't mind it	Don't know	Would dislike it a little	Would dislike it a lot	Total
Jews as neighbours	14.7	72.4	2.8	7.2	2.9	100.0
Jews as friends	15.3	72.0	3.2	6.3	3.2	100.0

An index for social distance can be constructed by giving 2 points for “Would dislike it a lot”, 1 point for “Would dislike it a little” and 0 points for other answers. The sum of this gives an index which varies between 0 and 4. Eighty-eight per cent of respondents express no form of reluctance. At the other end of the index, 2.6 per cent strongly dislike both forms of contact. If we regard scores between 2 and 4 as high, then 91.9 per cent score low on the index for social distance and 8.1 per cent score high.

Table 4. Index for social distance from Jews

Dichotomised index	Score	Number	Percentage	Percentage
Low	0	1,343	88.2	91.9
	1	56	3.7	
High	2	73	4.8	8.1
	3	10	0.7	
	4	40	2.6	
Total		1,522		100.0

the index) while 12 per cent gave at least one negative answer. Social distance from Poles (18 per cent) and Pentecostals (25 per cent) is more prevalent, and is far more prevalent for groups such as Muslims (31 per cent), Somalis (45 per cent) and Romani (59 per cent). Conversely, there was less social distance from Americans (4 per cent) and Catholics (7 per cent).

Figure 1. Index for social distance from people of different nationalities and religious groups (to what extent would people dislike it a lot or dislike it a little if a member of said group became their neighbour and/or were brought into their circle of friends (percentage)).

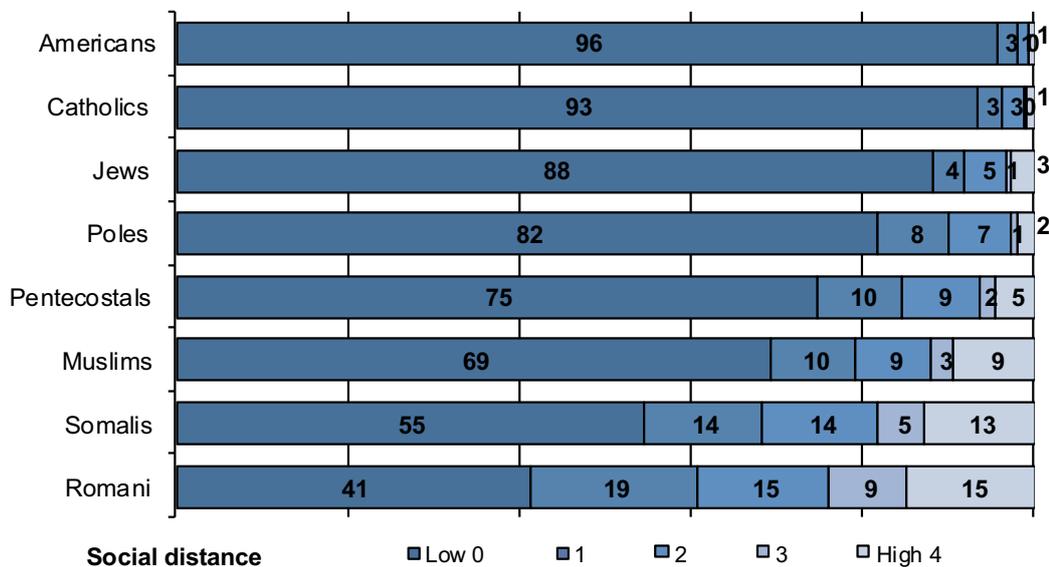


Figure 1 shows the distribution of the index for social distance from all the groups mentioned. Overall, 88 per cent showed no signs of disliking contact with Jews as neighbours or within their circle of friends (score 0 on

When the index is dichotomised as in Table 4 - where the dividing line falls between index scores 1 and 2 - the percentage for considerable social distance varies between 2 per cent for Americans and 39 per cent for Romani. The score for Jews remains relatively low at 9 per cent, ranking between Catholics and Poles.

Table 5. Percentage with considerable social distance from various social and religious groups.

	Romani	Somalis	Muslims	Pentecos- tals	Poles	Jews	Catholics	Americans
Consider- able social distance	39	32	21	15	10	8	4	2

No group remains unaffected by the reluctance of others to make contact, but it is the Muslim, Somali and Romani minorities that are particularly affected. Two questions that can be asked regarding social distance from Jews are: 1) whether this forms part of a

more general reluctance towards other nationalities or religious groups, and 2) whether those who distance themselves from Jews also wish not to have contact with members of the three most marginal minority groups.

Table 6. Social distance from Jews seen in relation to distance from other religious groups and people of different nationalities (percentage).

Social distance from seven other groups		Distance from Jews		Total
		Little	Considerable	
No considerable distance	0	44.0	0.3	44.4
	1	22.0	0.8	22.8
	2	13.0	1.1	14.1
	3	8.0	0.9	8.8
	4	3.9	2.2	6.0
	5	1.0	1.5	2.4
	6	0.1	1.1	1.2
Considerable distance from all groups	7	0.0	0.3	0.3
Total		91.9	8.1	100.0

Distance from Jews	
Little	Considerable
48	4
24	10
14	14
9	11
4	27
1	18
0	14
0	3
100	101

Social distance from Romani, Somalis and Muslims		Distance from Jews		Total
		Little	Considerable	
None of the groups	0	48.8	0.7	49.5
	1	21.2	1.2	22.4
	2	13.3	1.5	14.9
All three groups	3	8.5	4.7	13.3
Total		91.9	8.1	100.0

Distance from Jews	
Little	Considerable
53	8
23	15
15	19
9	59
100	101

The answer to both these questions is a definite “yes” (Table 6). Of those who wished not to have contact with Jews (index scores 2–4), there was almost no one who did not also feel distanced from some of the seven other groups (4 per cent versus 44 per cent for those who scored low on reluctance towards contact with Jews, top right-hand table). More than half (62 per cent) of those with considerable social distance from Jews also had considerable social distance from at least four of the seven other groups. Take the three minority groups Muslims, Somalis and Romani, for example: 78 per cent of those who would dislike having Jews as neighbours or friends felt similarly towards at least two of these three other groups (bottom right).

As the bottom left-hand table shows, this means that the percentage of respondents who would dislike contact with Jews but not with any of the other three minorities is as little as 0.7 per cent. If we also include those who feel considerable social distance from just one of the three groups, 1.9 per cent of the sample wishes not to have contact with Jews in particular, i.e. without this being combined with a corresponding distance from the other minority groups. The fact that negative attitudes towards Jews correspond with negative attitudes towards other groups is a typical phenomenon which has also emerged in other surveys.⁵²

Index 3: Dislike of Jews

Respondents were asked two questions linked directly to their feelings of sympathy and antipathy towards Jews (the affective dimension):

Question: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Jews?

- I have a particular sympathy for Jews
- I have a certain dislike of Jews

Table 7. Distribution of answers for the statement “I have a certain dislike of Jews” (percentage)

- Completely agree 1.5
- Partially agree 9.6
- Impossible to answer / no response 11.2
- Partially disagree 32.9
- Completely disagree 44.7

Results show that among those who say that they “Completely agree” or “Partially agree” that they have a certain dislike of Jews, there are some who also say they have a particular sympathy towards Jews (0.3 per cent and 1.1 per cent, respectively, calculated for the entire sample). While this may suggest that one of the questions has been answered incorrectly, it may also be that this result mirrors a real ambivalence in feelings. Such feelings can be both positive (for instance, due to the Jews’ particular history) and negative (for instance, due to modern-day Israel’s policy regarding the Palestinians) at the same time. Regardless of why an individual answers both positively and negatively, it may be reasonable to keep people with “mixed” response patterns out of the picture when defining dislike of Jews and just consider those who exclusively have a dislike of Jews. If we give 2 points to the answer “Completely agree”, 1 point to “Partially agree”, 0 to the rest, and disregard those who also have

52 See: Zick, Küpper and Hövermann 2011. This survey highlights a significant correlation between the various categories of prejudices and, as such, stipulates that group-based prejudices are often connected. If a person holds prejudices towards one group, he/she is likely to hold prejudices against other groups too. The survey found that there was a particularly strong correlation between negative attitudes towards immigrants and negative attitudes towards Muslims. A significant correlation was also found between negative attitudes towards immigrants and negative attitudes towards Jews, and between anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish attitudes.

a particular sympathy towards Jews, we are left with an index from 0 to 2, with the following distribution:

Table 8. Index for dislike of Jews

Dichotomised index	Score	Number	Percentage	Percentage
Low	0	1,374	90.3	90.3
High	1 2	129 19	8.5 1.2	9.7
Total		1,522		100.0

Index 4: Combined index for antisemitism

The three indices discussed above can be combined to create a combined index. They each measure different aspects of negative attitudes towards Jews. By combining the three indices and adding the number of high scores, we obtain a combined index for antisemitic attitudes.

Each of the three indices was dichotomised, as shown in Table 9, in accordance with the above discussion on each of the individual indices. For two of them the threshold that was set required more than one negative answer to the individual questions for the index score to be regarded as high. This was to ensure that the answers included were clearly and consistently indicative of negative attitudes. Thus, the combined index indicates how many of the three types of negative attitudes towards Jews are held by each respondent according to this dichotomy between the indices.

Table 9. The three indices for different types of negative perceptions of Jews

Indices	Dichotomised		Percentile distribution	
	Low (0)	High (1)	Low	High
1) Prejudices	0-3	4-12	87.5	12.5
2) Social distance	0-1	2-4	91.9	8.1
3) Reluctance	0	1-2	90.3	9.7

The distribution of the combined index for antisemitism is shown in Table 10. By dichotomising indices as described in the discussion on the individual indices, a total of 20 per cent score high on at least one of the three indices. Only 2.4 per cent show a consistently negative response pattern by scoring high on all three indices. If one decides that a high score for just one of the three indices does not give sufficient basis to say that there is a consistently antisemitic attitude, and if a requirement is set for at least two high scores, the conclusion is that 7.6 per cent of the respondents in the sample have pronounced antisemitic attitudes.

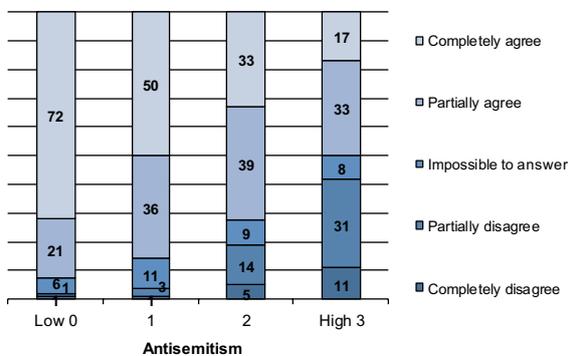
Table 10. Antisemitism index based on number of high scores, on three dichotomised indices

Index score	Number	Percentage	Dichotomy	Percentage
0	1,212	79.6		
1	195	12.8	Low	92.4
2	79	5.2		
3	36	2.4	High	7.6
Total	1,522	100.0		100.0

Validation of the antisemitism index

The correlation between index scores and respondents' responses to various questions is shown below. The questions included here dealt with the situation for Jews in Norway; namely, respondents' reactions to the harassment of Norwegian Jews, the shooting incident at the synagogue in Oslo, and whether the fate of the Norwegian Jews during World War II should be taught in the schools. Subsequently, results are shown for the questions on whether Jews today talk too much about the Holocaust and/or misuse the memory of the Holocaust. If the index for antisemitism does indeed measure antisemitic attitudes, there should be clear differences in the distribution of the responses to these questions between the groups with different scores on the index. This turns out to be precisely the case, with steady and substantial increases in negative answers as we move across the index from left to right, from scores 0 to 3 on the index.

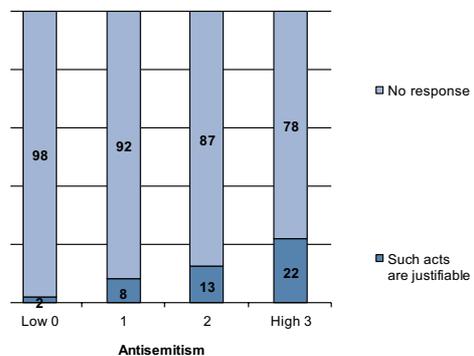
Figure 2. I think it is a shame if Norwegian Jews are being harassed (percentage).



Among those who scored lowest on the index for antisemitism, there were almost none who did not think it was a shame if Norwegian Jews were being harassed; in other words they completely disagreed (1 per cent) or partially disagreed (1 per cent), while 72 per cent completely agreed. At the opposite end of the index (score 3), 11 per cent said that they completely disagreed with the statement, 31 per cent partially disagreed, while only 17 per cent completely agreed. If we consider the total of the two negative response options, the dichotomy falls between the index scores 0 and 1 (2 per cent and 4 per cent, respectively) on the one side, and between scores 2 and 3 (19 per cent and 42 per cent respectively) on the other. This corresponds to the dichotomy used for the combined index.

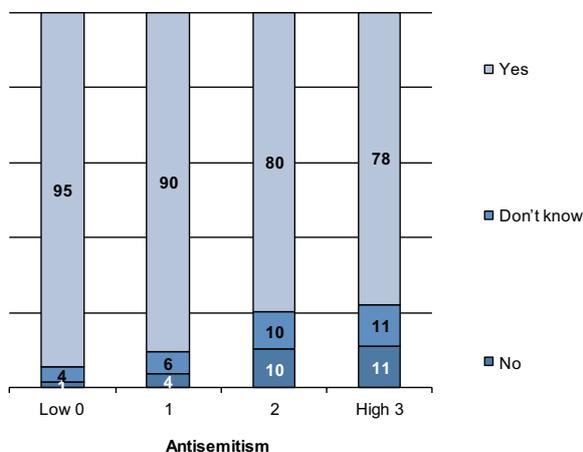
Figure 3. Some time ago (in 2006) shots were fired at the synagogue in Oslo. Which of the following statements about the incident correspond with your own views? (Multiple answers are possible)

- Considering how Israel treats the Palestinians, such acts are justifiable (percentage).



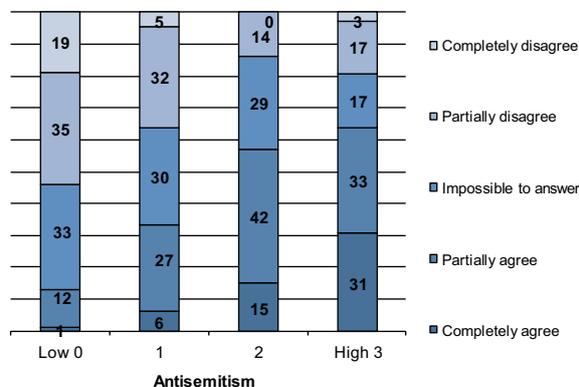
The proportion of respondents who believe the attack on the Oslo synagogue to be justifiable is small. The index values increase from 2 per cent to 22 per cent. The largest difference, measured using a percentage difference, lies between scores 2 and 3 on the index.

Figure 4. Learning about what happened in Norway during World War II is part of the school curriculum. Do you think today's young people should learn about the fate of Norway's Jewish population during the war (percentage)?



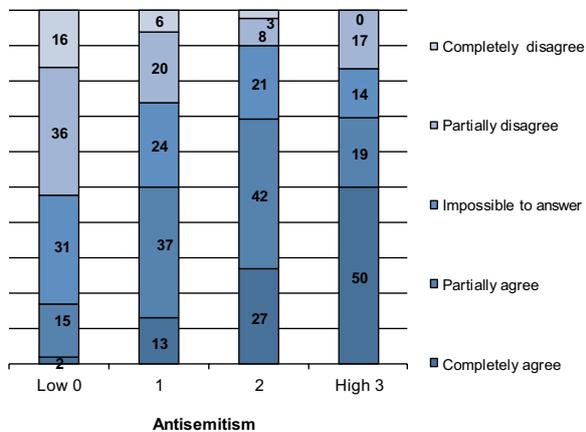
There are very few who believe that the Norwegian Jews' fate during the war should not form part of the school curriculum. The proportion that answers "No" increases from 1 to 11, and the proportion that answers "Don't know" from 4 to 11, with increasing values on the antisemitism index. The most marked divide falls between index values 1 and 2.

Figure 5. Jews today talk too much about what happened to the Jews during the Holocaust (percentage).



The tendency of respondents to agree completely or partially with the statement that Jews today talk too much about the Holocaust increases from 13 per cent to 33 per cent, 57 per cent and 64 per cent as we move across the antisemitism index from 0 to 3. Once again, the biggest shift occurs between scores 1 and 2 on the index.

Figure 6. Jews today exploit the memory of the Holocaust for their own benefit (percentage).



56

The proportion of respondents who partially or completely agree that the memory of the Holocaust is exploited increases from 17 per cent for the lowest level of antisemitism to 69 per cent for the two highest. Here, the biggest shift occurs between index values 0 and 1.

*

The conclusion then, as expected, is that there is a close and clear correlation between the antisemitism index and these questions about various aspects of the situation for Jews in Norway and the use of the Holocaust in political debates. But the correlation is not complete, because for several of the questions, many respondents have an index score of 3 without having given a negative answer. The clear trend does, however, give reason to believe that the index does measure antisemitic attitudes. Furthermore, it looks as though the distinction between high and low values

on the index, when dichotomised, should be placed between scores 1 and 2, in line with the choice that was already made.

*

Having tested the validity, we will now consider two other opinions that might be influenced by the position on the antisemitism index, but where the direction of this correlation is not obvious.

Opinions on the extent of and need to combat negative attitudes towards Jews in Norway

The following two questions were asked in the survey:

How widespread do you think negative attitudes towards Jews are in Norway today?

Do you think steps need to be taken to combat anti-Jewish harassment in Norway?

There is a striking contrast between the response patterns of these two questions. The higher the score on the antisemitism index, the more widespread negative attitudes are perceived to be. While just 18 per cent of those who scored 0 (those showing no signs of the three forms of negative attitudes) believe that such attitudes are quite or very widespread in Norway, the equivalent figure for the highest scoring respondents is 64 per cent. This pattern can be interpreted as follows: those respondents who themselves are critical have a tendency to think that others are too.

Figure 7. How widespread do you think negative attitudes towards Jews are in Norway today (percentage)?

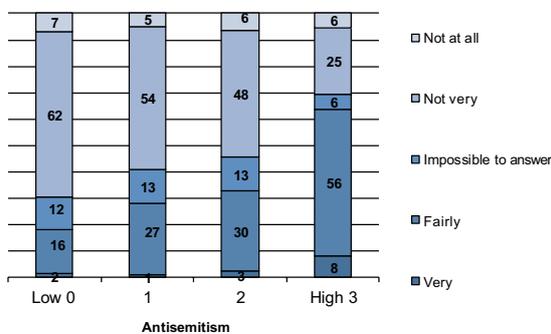
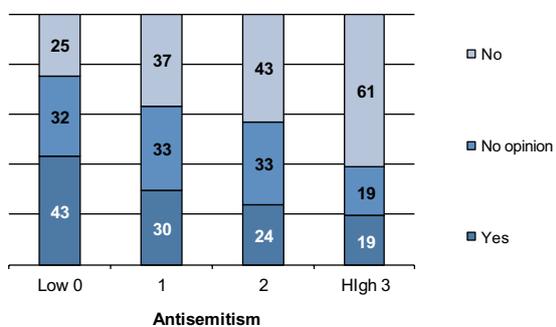


Figure 8. Do you think steps need to be taken to combat anti-Jewish harassment in Norway (percentage)?



With regard to opinions on the need to combat anti-Jewish harassment, however, the pattern is the direct opposite. For those scoring 0 on the antisemitism index, as many as 43 per cent answered “yes, something should be done” and 25 per cent answered “no” (despite only 2 per cent stating that they thought negative attitudes were very widespread and 16 per cent, quite widespread). This can be interpreted as a sign that these respondents fear antisemitic attitudes could become more widespread, and that one must therefore be prepared.

Of those who scored 3 on the index, 19 per cent answered “yes” and 61 per cent “no” to the question regarding the need to combat anti-Jewish harassment. This is despite 56 per cent saying negative attitudes are quite widespread and 8 per cent, very widespread.

Analysis of potential reasons for antisemitism

The examples above show which consequences an antisemitic attitude can have for perceptions of reality and opinions on the need to take action regarding the situation for Jews in Norway. But what are the possible reasons for the negative perceptions of Jews? Do gender, age, place of residence, education and profession have any role to play? Can negative perceptions of Jews be linked to a general scepticism of immigrants? Does someone’s opinion on the Middle East conflict influence the type of perceptions they have about Jews?

It is difficult to draw causal conclusions from interview data. What the data can show are statistical correlations, but these do not necessarily reflect causal influence. Correlation may be brought about by underlying causal variables, something one can attempt to reveal through analyses where such variables are controlled. But one can never be 100 per cent sure that such a control will cover all the relevant variables.

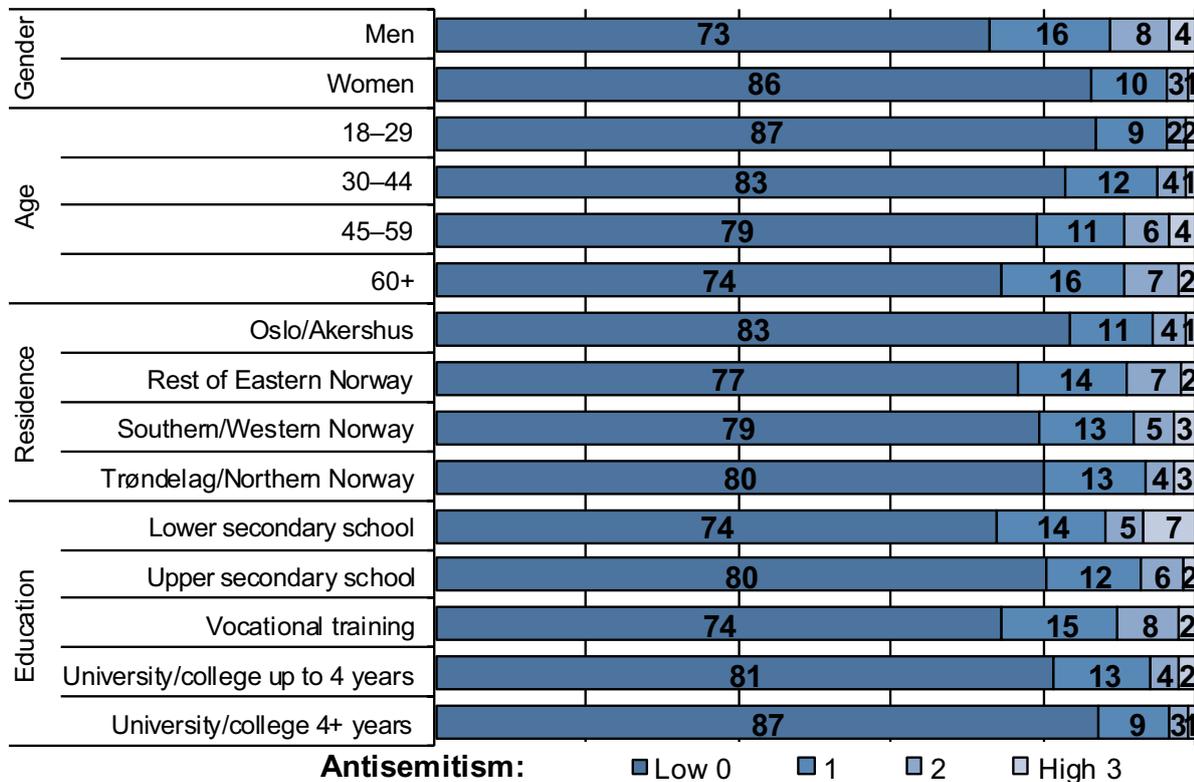
Another problematic area is causal direction, i.e. in which direction an influence between the variables works. This particularly applies to the relationship between negative perceptions of Jews and opinions on the Middle East conflict, where any influence that does exist probably works in both directions.

Variations in antisemitism between social groups

The differences between women and men, between young and old, and between people with higher and lower education, where the former of each pair has

the lowest frequency of negative opinions, are so clear that we can expect these to reflect corresponding differences in the population at large (the differences are statistically significant). But these differences are nevertheless relatively minor. For instance, the proportion with no high scores on any of the three individual indices (who score 0 on the combined index) varies between 73 and 87 per cent. The percentage with high scores on the combined index (2-3) varies between 4 and 13 per cent.

Figure 9. Social characteristics and negative attitudes towards Jews (percentage)



Scepticism towards immigrants and antisemitism

It could well be that how one considers immigrants from foreign cultures influences the attitude one has towards Jews. Respondents were asked the following two questions on their views on immigrants in Norway:

Question 1: Two people are discussing immigration from other cultures to Norway and the effects this may have. Who do you agree with more, A or B?

Person A says: Immigrants contribute to greater cultural diversity in Norway, introducing new and exciting food, music, art, etc.

Person B says: Immigrants' ways of life do not suit Norway. Their foreign customs are problematic for those around them and could threaten Norwegian culture.

Question 2: Whose view of immigrants do you agree with more, A or B?

A says: Immigrants want to exploit our welfare system and help themselves to benefits that they have made no personal contribution towards.

B says: Immigrants are hard-working, diligent people who make a valuable contribution to the Norwegian economy and working life.

Table 11. Positive or negative attitude towards immigrants (percentage)

	A	Impossible to answer	B	Total
Immigrants and Norwegian culture	57	20	23	100
Immigrants and Norwegian welfare system	34	26	39	99

As for the consequences of immigration on Norwegian culture, the results show a clear majority of positive attitudes. Those who believe immigrants make a positive contribution to the Norwegian economy constituted a small majority.

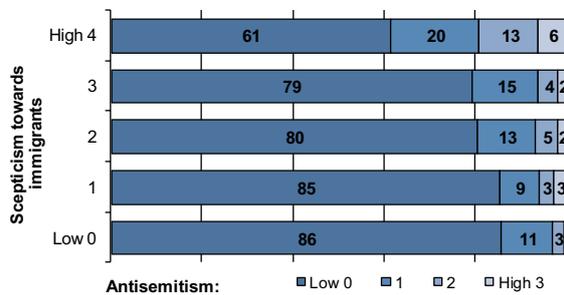
We can construct an index for scepticism towards immigrants by giving 2 points to negative answers to each question, 1 point to those who do not state an opinion or who do not answer, and 0 points to those who opt for the positive answer. In doing so, our index varies between 0 and 4. Compared to the antisemitism indices previously presented, this index for scepticism towards immigrants has a far more even distribution pattern and more high scores.

Table 12. Index for cultural and economic scepticism towards immigrants (percentage)

Index value		(N)	Percentage
Low	0	1,343	88.2
	1	56	3.7
	2	316	20.8
High	3	163	10.7
	4	261	17.2

When comparing people with differing degrees of scepticism towards immigrants, it is only those with the highest index scores (those who believe immigrants both threaten Norwegian culture and exploit the welfare system) who clearly stand out from the rest in terms of scores on the antisemitism index. Thus, being highly sceptical of immigrants can be said to go hand in hand with antisemitic attitudes.

Figure 10. Scepticism towards immigrants and negative perceptions of Jews (percentage)



Religiosity and antisemitism

An index with four values was constructed for degree of religiosity, based on the following questions:

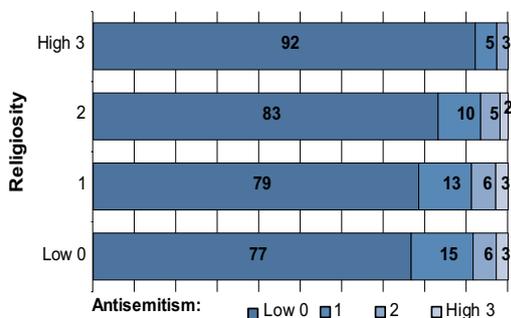
Question: We would like to ask you some questions about your attitude to religion. Do you consider yourself to be religious? How big a part does religion play in your life?

Table 13. Index for religiosity (percentage)

Religiosity	(N)	Percentage
Not religious	835	54.9
Unsure, prefer not to answer	205	13.5
Religious, does not play a big part	368	24.2
Religious, plays a very big part	114	7.5

There is a correlation between how big a part religion plays in someone's life and their tendency to think negatively of Jews. Particularly those who consider themselves religious and who state that religion plays a very big part in their lives score low on the antisemitism index, with just 3 per cent scoring 2 and no one scoring 3. There are fairly small variations between the other groups. The sum of scores 2 and 3 lies between 7 and 9 per cent.

Figure 11. Religiosity and negative attitudes towards Jews (percentage)

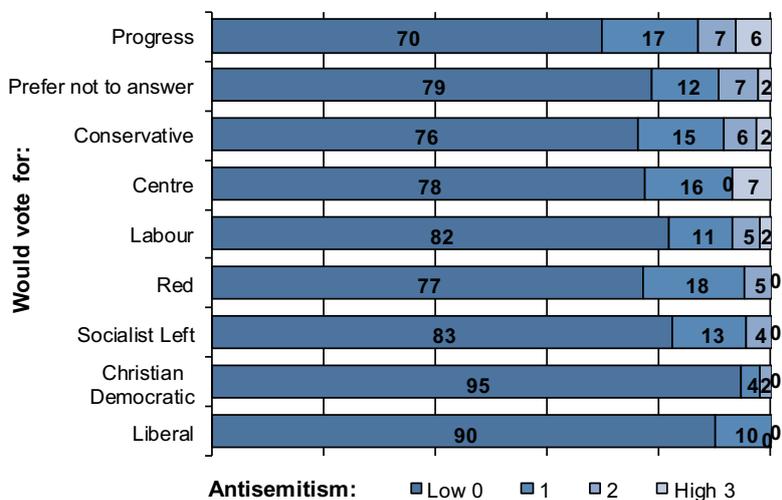


Political preferences and antisemitism

Certain differences become apparent when respondents' preferences for political parties are analysed in conjunction with negative attitudes towards Jews. Supporters of the Christian Democratic Party, the Liberal Party and the Socialist Left Party score the lowest and supporters of the Progress Party, the Centre Party and the Conservative Party, the highest.

In Figure 12, political parties are ranked according to proportion of high scores (2-3) on the antisemitism index. Except for the Progress Party on the one side and the Christian Democratic Party and the Liberal Party on the other, there are comparatively small variations between the parties' supporters.

Figure 12. Political preferences and negative attitudes towards Jews (percentage)



The various factors seen in relation to one another

Several of the characteristics discussed above relate to one another. Scepticism towards immigrants is somewhat more prevalent among the very religious than among others, for example. So the question is: how do such correlations impact on different groups' perceptions of Jews? This can be examined by entering all the results into a regression model in a multiple regression analysis. To simplify the comparison, the different variables are dichotomised according to the results of the above analyses. The classification and distribution this gives are shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Dichotomisation of variables for regression analysis

Variable		Values	(N)	Percentage
Gender	1	Men	788	52
	0	Women	734	48
Age	1	Aged 45+	913	60
	0	Aged 18-44	609	40
Education	1	Lower	919	60
	0	Higher (university/college)	603	40
Scepticism towards immigrants	1	High (4)	261	17
	0	Low (0-3)	1261	83
Religiosity	1	Low (0-2)	1,408	93
	0	High (3)	114	7
Political party (Dummy 1)	1	Progress Party	133	9
	0	Other	1,389	91
Political party (Dummy 2)	1	Christian Democratic Party + Liberal Party	138	9
	0	Other	1,388	91

Table 15 shows the results of the analysis. The regression coefficients correspond to percentage differences. The bivariate coefficient for men versus women (at 7.5), for example, shows that the percentage of men scoring highly on the antisemitism index lies 7.5 percentage points above the women's (as Figure 9 shows – with 12 per cent of men and 4 per cent of women scoring 2-3 on the index). When we control for the other variables in the table, this difference falls to 5.8 – a figure that is still high enough for us to assume that such a difference between genders also exists in the Norwegian population. Older respondents have negative perceptions of Jews more often than younger ones, and similarly, those with lower education more often than those with higher education. However, the effect of education is so much reduced when we control for other variables that we cannot be sure that such a difference applies in the population at large. The same goes for the tendency for everyone but the strongly religious to more often score highly on the antisemitism index. Progress Party voters rank higher and Christian Democratic Party voters lower than other voters in the proportion with high values on the index. For Progress Party voters the coefficient is positive after control, which means that when we take into account other differences between the voter groups, the Progress Party voters in the sample are in fact less negative in their attitudes towards Jews than are other voters. But neither this difference nor that for Christian Democratic or Liberal Party voters is significant after control.

Table 15. Regression analysis of the effect on the proportion with a high score on the antisemitism index (2-3)

	Bivariate	Multivariate
Men versus women	7.5	5.8
Older versus younger people	4.9	4.5
Lower education versus higher	3.7	(1.9)
High versus low scepticism towards immigrants	14.0	12.6
Others versus strongly religious	5.3	(3.3)
Progress Party voter*	5.0	(-1.0)
Christian Democratic Party or Liberal Party voter*	-7.0	(-4.6)

As one might expect, the largest difference in anti-semitism occurs between people who are highly sceptical of immigrants and those who are not - these being related attitude variables. Gender and age follow next, but the significance of these features of the tendency to have negative attitudes towards Jews is not particularly great. The combined explanatory power of the variables in Table 15 for variations in antisemitism is no more than 6.2 per cent. There is thus a need to look for other explanatory variables. We shall now examine what significance opinions on the Middle East conflict may have for perceptions of Jews.

Opinion on the conflict between Israel and Palestine

One of the questions in the questionnaire dealt with who respondents supported most in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

Question: People have differing views on the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Which side do you support most?

Table 16. Who one supports the most in the Middle East conflict

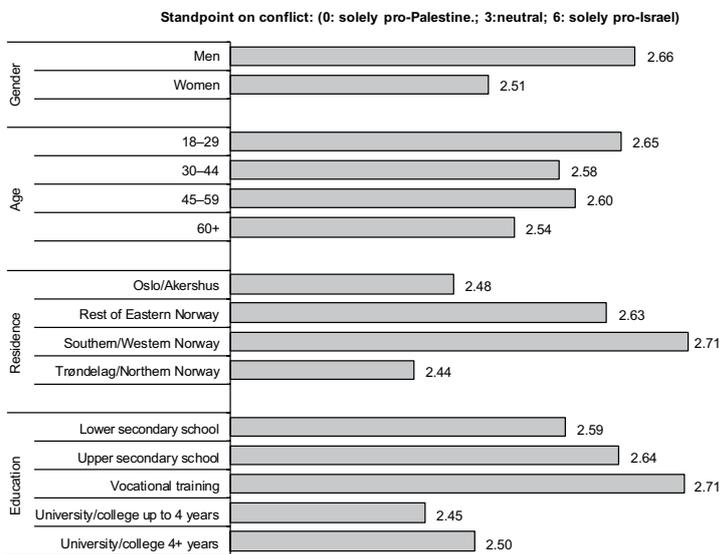
Answer	(N)	Percentage	Percentage
Solely pro-Israel	18	1.2	
Mostly pro-Israel	111	7.3	
To some extent pro-Israel	72	4.7	13.2
Neither side			
/impossible to answer	746	49.0	49.0
To some extent			
pro-Palestine	200	13.1	
Mostly pro-Palestine	340	22.3	
Solely pro-Palestine	35	2.3	37.8
Total	1,522		100.0

Around half of the interviewees do not support either side in the conflict while 13 per cent are pro-Israel and 38 per cent are pro-Palestine. Of those who do support one side, the ratio of those pro-Palestine to those pro-Israel is roughly 3 to 1. Very few respondents state that they solely support one of the two sides - as few as 1.2 per cent Israel and 2.3 per cent Palestine.

To get an idea of social variations in the opinions on the conflict, we can calculate an average as follows: give "Solely pro-Palestine" 0 points, "Mostly pro-Palestine" 1, "To some extent pro-Palestine" 2, "Neither side" or "Impossible to answer" 3, "To some extent pro-Israel" 4, "Mostly pro-Israel" 5, and finally "Solely pro-Israel" 6. This gives a scale with a midpoint of 3. In accordance with the response distribution shown above, the average for the whole population is 2.58 - below the midpoint, down on the "Palestinian" side of the scale. Figure 13 shows how this varies between different social categories.

* Compared to voters from other parties and will not vote / declare party.
 (:): The correlation is not statistically significant (p>0.05)

Figure 13. Opinions on the parties to the Middle East conflict (Average for 0–6 variable, where high values mean supporting Israel).



All the averages lie on the “Palestinian” side of the scale, below the midpoint of 3. The strongest tendency for being pro-Palestine is found among women, older people, residents of Trøndelag/Northern Norway or Oslo/Akershus and those with a university/college education.

Opinions on the conflict depend on the position on the antisemitism index: the lower the score, the closer the average leans towards support for Israel. Which side is taken also depends on scepticism towards immigrants as measured by the index discussed above. Here, the greater the support for Israel, the greater is the scepticism towards immigrants. The extreme positions in the table are, on the one hand, people who scored highly on the antisemitism index but who are not so sceptical towards immigrants (averaging 1.38) and, on the other, those with positive perceptions of Jews who are highly sceptical of immigrants (3.27). The latter is the only group with an average on the “pro-Israel” side of the neutral midpoint of 3.

Table 17. Opinions on the parties to the Middle East conflict (average for 0–6 variable, where high values mean supporting Israel), dependent on the value of the antisemitism index and index for scepticism towards immigrants.

Negative perceptions of Jews	Scepticism towards immigrants			Difference
	Low 0	Medium 1–2	High 3–4	
High 2–3	1.38	1.69	2.25	0.87
Medium 1	1.63	2.34	2.71	1.08
Low 0	2.31	2.69	3.27	1.06
Difference	-0.93	-1.00	-1.02	

The questionnaire also included a series of statements about different aspects of the Middle East conflict. The following introduction was used:

Question: Here are some statements about Israel and the Middle East conflict. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements?

Table 18. Opinions on the statements about the Middle East conflict.

	Completely disagree	Partially disagree	Impossible to answer	Partially agree	Completely agree	Total	Partially + completely agree
Pro-Palestine statements							
Both the Israelis and the Palestinians are entitled to a state of their own	2	3	16	28	50	100	78
It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians	3	6	25	30	36	100	66
Israel's use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive	4	10	25	34	28	100	62
Israel treats the Palestinians just as badly as the Jews were treated during World War II	12	21	28	29	10	100	39
Palestinian leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict	6	22	33	33	6	100	39
Norwegians should boycott Israeli goods because of Israel's policy towards the Palestinians	21	20	28	22	9	100	31
As long as the State of Israel exists there can be no peace in the world	26	23	35	12	4	100	16
Pro-Israel statements							
Israel is under threat of war from other countries	3	17	34	32	13	100	45
The main reason for the conflict is that some Palestinian groups (such as Hamas) do not recognise the State of Israel	6	17	37	31	8	100	39
I would consider visiting Israel on holiday	35	22	12	19	12	100	31
Israeli leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict	14	32	33	17	4	100	21
Israel is at the forefront of the war on Islamic terrorism	13	22	45	15	5	100	20
The State of Israel deserves special support	28	32	27	10	3	100	13

To make it easier to interpret the trends in Table 18, the statements have been organised by the proportion of respondents who completely or partially agreed with them and by drawing a distinction between statements with a pro-Israel or a pro-Palestine content (this grouping, based on the content of the statement, corresponds to the correlation between respondents' opinions on the statements and who they support in the conflict, as shown in Table 19 below).

Of the pro-Palestine statements, the following three were supported by a clear majority of respondents: "Both the Israelis and the Palestinians are entitled to a state of their own" (78 per cent), "It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians" (66 per cent) and "Israel's use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive" (62 per cent). The pro-Israel statement that the most respondents agreed with was "Israel is under threat of war from other countries" (45 per cent).

Naturally, there is a correlation between how these statements are perceived and who the respondent supports in the conflict – as shown in Table 19. This table shows both the bivariate correlations and controlled effects in the form of multivariate regression coefficients. In the regression analysis, which side the respondent supports depends on the variable (scale 0–6 with neutral answers scoring 3), and all the

statements constitute independent variables (scale 0–4 with “Impossible to answer” scoring 2). The regression coefficients show the expected difference in average on the 0–6 scale for respondents who are one score apart on the 0–4 scale for a statement.

Table 19. Correlation between opinions on various statements about the Middle East conflict and whether one supports Israel or Palestine*

Statements	r (bi-variate)	b (multi-variate)
10 Palestinian leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict	-0.43	-0.218
4 Norwegians should boycott Israeli goods because of Israel's policy towards the Palestinians	-0.56	-0.198
7 It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians	-0.58	-0.197
11 Israel treats the Palestinians just as badly as the Jews were treated during World War II	-0.48	-0.092
8 Israel's use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive	-0.45	-0.070
5 Both the Israelis and the Palestinians are entitled to a state of their own	-0.22	-0.047
2 As long as the State of Israel exists there can be no peace in the world	-0.21	(-0.036)
3 I would consider visiting Israel on holiday	0.30	(0.015)
13 Israel is at the forefront of the war on Islamic terrorism	0.34	0.066
1 Israel is under threat of war from other countries	0.33	0.091
12 The main reason for the conflict is that some Palestinian groups (such as Hamas) do not recognise the State of Israel	0.42	0.133
6 The State of Israel deserves special support	0.55	0.146
9 Israeli leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict	0.52	0.187

() Not significant ($p > 0.05$).

* Positive figures mean that support of the statement increases the probability of support for Israel, and negative figures, support for the Palestinians.

The statements which in the multivariate analysis show strongest correlation with taking sides in the conflict is the opinion that the side one supports genuinely wants to find a solution to the conflict. The next highest multivariate values are for the statements “Norwegians should boycott Israeli goods” and “It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians”. Regarding pro-Israel support, the statements “The State of Israel deserves special support” and “The main reason for the conflict is that some Palestinian groups (such as Hamas) do not recognise the State of Israel” score highest.

To identify which statements are perceived in similar ways by respondents, a factor analysis was conducted on which opinions typically occur together. The factor analysis of the pattern in correlations between statements is a principal component analysis with varimax rotation. The pattern that emerges for

which statements are most closely related appears meaningful and straightforward to interpret. This provides the basis for constructing three indices. All statements, except for number 3 (visiting Israel on holiday) are included in an index. Unsurprisingly, since this is a limited subject area, the explanatory power is high (the first three factors explain 52 per cent of the variation in the way statements are responded to). In Table 20, the questions which are highly loaded on the rotated factors are marked (>0.50 for positive loadings). The fact that negative loadings are lower can be put down to the tendency by some respondents to stick to a “set response pattern” (i.e. statements are answered in the same way, regardless of the statement’s content).

Table 20. Factor analysis (principal component with varimax rotation) of statements about the Middle East conflict.*

No.	Statements about the Middle East conflict	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3
1	Israel is under threat of war from other countries	0.53	0.12	-0.34
2	As long as the State of Israel exists there can be no peace in the world	0.05	-0.15	0.78
3	I would consider visiting Israel on holiday	0.28	-0.12	-0.44
4	Norwegians should boycott Israeli goods because of Israel’s policy towards the Palestinians	-0.33	0.24	0.62
5	Both the Israelis and the Palestinians are entitled to a state of their own	0.04	0.76	-0.22
6	The State of Israel deserves special support	0.55	-0.40	-0.27
7	It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians	-0.30	0.75	0.18
8	Israel’s use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive	-0.26	0.65	0.16
9	Israeli leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict	0.58	-0.29	-0.26
10	Palestinian leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict	0.04	0.51	0.35
11	Israel treats the Palestinians just as badly as the Jews were treated during World War II	-0.16	0.35	0.63
12	The main reason for the conflict is that some Palestinian groups (such as Hamas) do not recognise the State of Israel	0.69	-0.04	-0.13
13	Israel is at the forefront of the war on Islamic terrorism	0.75	-0.15	0.16

* “Impossible to answer” / Unanswered = 2, on the scale 0-4.

The first of the three indices gauging opinions on the Middle East conflict (based on factor 1) consists of five statements which predominantly support Israel (pro-Israel). The second, with four statements, is a mix of statements which support the Palestinians or are critical of Israel (pro-Palestine / critical of Israel). The third index comprises three statements which are very negative of Israel (anti-Israel).

Table 21. Classification of the statements into three indices, based on the results from the factor analysis

Pro-Israel

- 13 Israel is at the forefront of the war on Islamic terrorism
- 12 The main reason for the conflict is that some Palestinian groups (such as Hamas) do not recognise the State of Israel
- 9 Israeli leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict
- 6 The State of Israel deserves special support
- 1 Israel is under threat of war from other countries

Pro-Palestine / critical of Israel

- 5 Both the Israelis and the Palestinians are entitled to a state of their own
- 7 It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians
- 8 Israel's use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive
- 10 Palestinian leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict

Anti-Israel

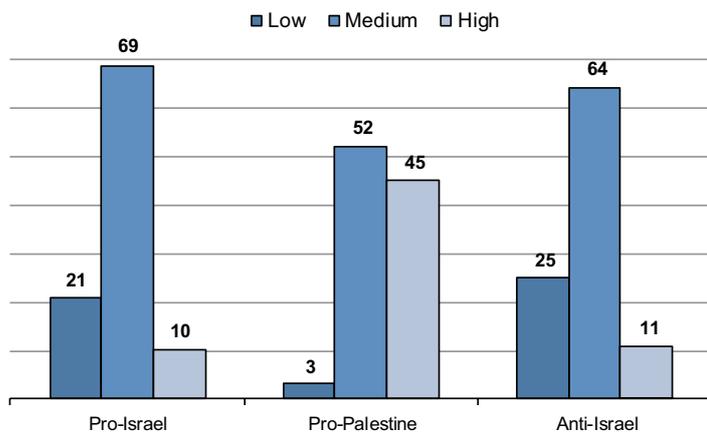
- 2 As long as the State of Israel exists there can be no peace in the world
- 11 Israel treats the Palestinians just as badly as the Jews were treated during World War II
- 4 Norwegians should boycott Israeli goods because of Israel's policy towards the Palestinians

Table 22. Distribution on the three indices of attitudes towards the Middle East conflict

Pro-Israel	(N)	Percentage	(N)	Percentage
0	6	0.4		
1	11	0.7		
2	25	1.6		
3	41	2.7		
4	52	3.4		
5	100	6.6		
6	83	5.5	318	20.9
7	100	6.6		
8	158	10.4		
9	167	11.0		
10	337	22.1		
11	137	9.0		
12	83	5.5		
13	65	4.3	1,047	68.8
14	49	3.2		
15	35	2.3		
16	25	1.6		
17	17	1.1		
18	13	0.9		
19	12	0.8		
20	6	0.4	157	10.3
Total	1,522	100.1	1,522	100.0
Pro-Palestine / Critical of Israel	(N)	Percentage	(N)	Percentage
0	4	0.3		
1	4	0.3		
2	6	0.4		
3	9	0.6		
4	16	1.1	39	2.6
5	21	1.4		
6	27	1.8		
7	39	2.6		
8	230	15.1		
9	123	8.1		
10	178	11.7		
11	179	11.8	797	52.4
12	187	12.3		
13	160	10.5		
14	145	9.5		
15	147	9.7		
16	47	3.1	686	45.1
Total	1,522	100.3	1,522	100.1
Anti-Israel	(N)	Percentage	(N)	Percentage
0	90	5.9		
1	74	4.9		
2	99	6.5		
3	119	7.8	382	25.1
4	146	9.6		
5	178	11.7		
6	361	23.7		
7	178	11.7		
8	117	7.7	980	64.4
9	80	5.3		
10	46	3.0		
11	23	1.5		
12	11	0.7	160	10.5
Total	1,522	100.0	1,522	100.0

Figure 14 shows a simplified version of the distribution of the three indices, trichotomised into (approximately) equally spaced intervals (0–6, 7–13, 14–20 for the first index, 0–4, 5–10, 11–16 for the second, and 0–3, 4–8, 9–12 for the third).

Figure 14. Distribution on the three Middle East indices, trichotomised into equally spaced intervals (percentage)



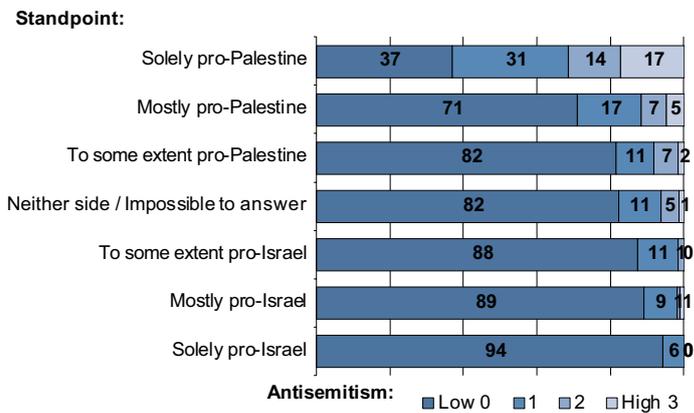
For both the pro- and anti-Israel indices, around two-thirds of respondents fall into the middle category. More respondents score higher on negative opinions than on positive opinions (only 10–11 per cent of respondents can be found in the top third of the scale). The pro-Palestine/critical of Israel index stands out because more than half of respondents have high values and almost none, low values.

Correlation between opinions on the Middle East conflict and antisemitism

What is the correlation between who one supports (Israel or Palestine), reactions to statements about the Middle East conflict, and the extent to which one has a negative attitude towards Jews?

If we look at which party in the conflict respondents support, there is a clear tendency that the proportion with a high score on the three indices of negative opinions of Jews increases as we move along the scale from those solely pro-Israel to those solely pro-Palestine. It is particularly the small group of solely pro-Palestine respondents (2.3 per cent of the sample) that stands out. In this group 31 per cent score between 2 and 3 on the antisemitism index, in comparison to 12 per cent of those mostly pro-Palestine and 9 per cent of those a little pro-Palestine. For those pro-Israel, a score of 2 or 3 on the antisemitism index almost never occurs.

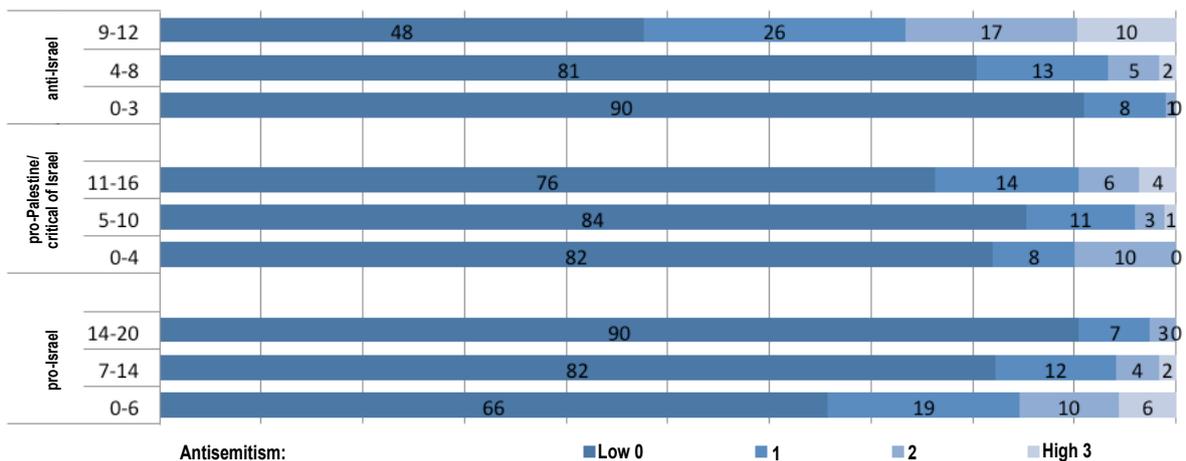
Figure 15. Correlation between who one supports in the conflict and the index of antisemitism (number of high values on three indices of negative perceptions of Jews)



Regarding the three indices for opinions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, respondents who score high on the strongly anti-Israel statements also score particularly high on the antisemitism index; in total 27 per cent score 2-3. Next in line are respondents who fall into the bottom third of the index for pro-Israel statements (16 per cent). For the last index, made up of pro-Palestine or more moderate “critical of

Israel” statements, there are only slight differences between the three groups regarding their scores on the antisemitism index.

Figure 16. Correlation between opinions on the Middle East conflict and the index of antisemitism (number of high values on three indices of negative perceptions of Jews)



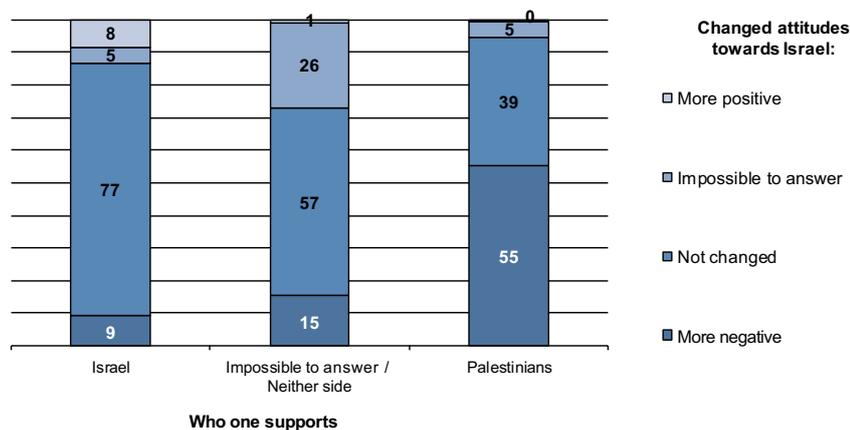
From the data we have at our disposal, it is difficult to say which came first: negative perceptions of Jews or a critical attitude towards Israeli policy. There are nevertheless factors which suggest that attitudes towards the conflict play an important role in influencing respondents' perceptions of Jews.

A critical attitude towards Israeli policy is far more widespread than the estimated occurrence of negative attitudes towards Jews, with 8 per cent scoring highly on the antisemitism index in comparison to 38 per cent who are pro-Palestine. Overall, only a small number within the three groups that are pro-Palestine score high on the antisemitism index (11 per cent score high on at least two of the three indices, compared to 5 per cent of those who support neither side in the conflict and 2 per cent of those who are pro-Israel). Thus for 9 in 10 of those critical of Israel's policy (in that they support the Palestinians in the conflict), this can hardly be explained by them having negative perceptions of Jews.

Similarly, in the last tenth, where the two types of attitudes occur together, it is impossible to say anything about cause and effect. For some of the respondents, it may well be that their negative attitude towards Jews has come about as a result of Israel's policy, but such attitudes could also be the result of the *portrayal* of the conflict and, not least, (and this also underlies the first) of a particular *perception* of it which is characterised by attitudes that promote certain interpretative patterns.

Something which may indicate that opinions on the conflict influence perceptions of Jews is that critical attitudes towards Israel's policy have over time become more and more common in Norway. Thirty per cent of the respondents say that their attitude towards Israel has become negative, and just 2 per cent say it has become more positive. Of those pro-Palestine, 55 per cent now have a more negative attitude towards Israel. The same goes for 15 per cent of those who declare themselves neutral and 8 per cent of those pro-Israel in the conflict.

Figure 17. Opinion on the Middle East conflict and reported change in perception of Israel (percentage)



4. THE NORWEGIAN RESULTS IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The extent of antisemitic attitudes in Norway is relatively low in comparison to countries in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe. Norway thus falls into the same category as the UK, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden (no data for Finland exists as of yet) in Northern and Western Europe. Both the ADL survey from 2012 (where Norway scores 16 per cent on the “prejudice scale”, ranking below the Netherlands (10 per cent) and above the UK (17 per cent)) and the study by the Friedrich Ebert Academic Foundation from the end of 2009 show this trend.⁵³ The value in the ADL report of 16 per cent is comparable to the results of the current survey – namely that 12.5 per cent of respondents score highly on the index for prejudices against Jews. When analysing the answers to the six questions in the index, one notices that the proportion of respondents who agree *completely* is very small (between 6.6 per cent and 2.2 per cent). The proportion that is by far the largest is made up of respondents who tentatively

express vague opinions. In surveys generally, this is very often the case and can be ascribed to people’s tendency to avoid expressing extreme points of view. With respect to positive stereotyping of Jews, it is striking that perceptions of the classic “Jewish qualities” (intelligence, artistic talent) hardly figure. The case in, for example, Germany is completely different.

Concerning the results for antisemitic stereotypes that are revealed in the ADL survey conducted in 2012 (and that of the Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities conducted in 2011), only the question about loyalty constitutes an exception; a markedly larger proportion of respondents in Norway agreed with this statement (more so than in Germany and Austria!). Perhaps this can be put down to the question’s explicit reference to Israel or to the assumption/observation that Jews in the diaspora are strongly attached to and support Israel.

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Prejudice (percentage that agrees the statement probably is true)

Country	Jews are more loyal towards Israel than towards this country	Jews have too much power in the business world	Jews have too much power in the international financial markets
Austria	47	30	38
Belgium	(41)	33 - 2004	33 - 2004
Denmark	(43)	11 - 2004	21 - 2004
France	45	35	29
Germany	52	22	24
Hungary	55	73	75
Italy	61	39	43
Netherlands	47	10	17
Poland	61	54	54
Spain	72	60	67
Switzerland	38	26 - 2004	30 - 2004
United Kingdom	48	20	22
Norway	58	21	23 (Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities 2011: 21%)

53 See ADL 2012 and Zick, Küpper and Hövermann 2011. Norway was not included in the latter.

Country	Prefer not to have Jews as neighbours (%)
Austria	18
Czech Republic	17
Germany	22
West Germany 2006	13
East Germany 2006	15
Hungary	17
Poland	30
Russia	17
Slovakia	16
Sweden	2
Switzerland	8
United Kingdom	12
Norway 2011	10

Sources: Anti-Semitism Worldwide 2000/2001; AJC, 2001, table 10; ADL, 2004. ALLBUS 2006; Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities 2011. Regarding the question on marriage within the family, 33 per cent of Norwegians rejected this idea; placing it above Germany in 2006 in the list of comparisons (West: 24 per cent, East: 26 per cent).⁵⁴

The same pattern also applies for the question on opposing the memory of the Holocaust and the accusation that Jews want to exploit this to their own advantage: 20-25 per cent of Norwegians agree with this, but seen in a European context, the Norwegian results lie far below the average - and again, on a par with Denmark, the UK and the Netherlands.

Country	“Jews today still talk too much about what happened to them during the Holocaust” (% yes)
Austria	45
Belgium	41 (2005)
Denmark	35 (2005)
France	35
Germany	43
Hungary	63
Italy	48
Netherlands	31
Poland	53
Spain	47
Switzerland	48 (2005)
United Kingdom	24
Norway	25 (Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities 2011: 19%)

Source: ADL 2012 and 2005⁵⁵

54 Stephen Roth Institute, Antisemitism Worldwide 2000/1, Tel Aviv University, 2002; American Jewish Committee, Attitudes toward Jews and the Holocaust in Austria. A Public-Opinion Survey, New York 2001; Anti-Defamation League. Attitudes Toward Jews, Israel and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in Ten European Countries, New York 2004. The data from the German General Social Survey 2006 (ALLBUS) can be found in GESIS (German Social Science Infrastructure Services), ZUMA (Social Survey Research Center), and ALLBUS (German General Social Survey), Key issues: Attitudes towards ethnic groups, Mannheim 2006. For an analysis of this data, see: Werner Bergmann and Anna Verena Münch, 'Antisemitismus in Deutschland 1996 und 2006 - ein Vergleich' [Antisemitism in Germany 1996 and 2006 - A comparison], Yearbook for Research on antisemitism (coming 2012).

55 Anti-Defamation League. *Attitudes Toward Jews in Twelve European Countries*, New York 2005.

“Jews exploit the National Socialist Holocaust to their own advantage”

“Today, Jews still try to profit from being victims during the Nazi era”
(respondents who agree partially or completely)

Country		%
Austria	(2005)	42
France	(2009)	32
Germany	(2009)	49
Hungary	(2009)	68
Italy	(2009)	40
Netherlands	(2009)	17
Poland	(2005)	72
Portugal	(2009)	52
Sweden	(2005)	34
Switzerland	(2000)	39
United Kingdom	(2009)	22
Norway	(2011)	25
EU (8 countries as of 2009)		41

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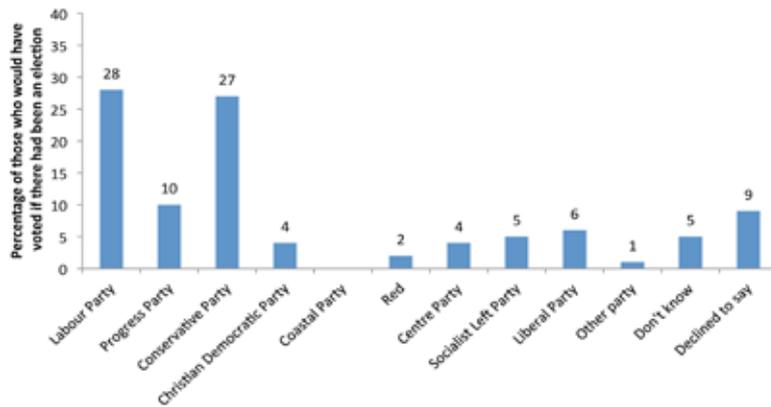
APPENDIX

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT RESPONDENTS

Political affiliation

The respondents' political affiliation very much mirrors that of the general population at the time this survey was undertaken. The Progress Party are somewhat under-represented.

Question: Which political party would you vote for if there were an election?



Reported interest in media

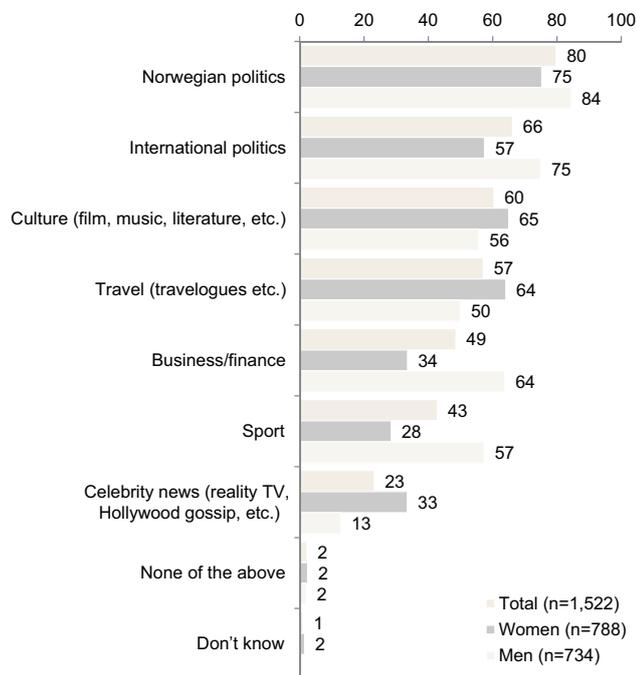
Norwegian politics (80 per cent) and international politics (66 per cent) were the two media topics in which most respondents said they were interested.

The older the respondents and the higher their education, the more likely they were to declare an interest in Norwegian and international politics.

Men and those who support one side in the Middle East conflict were more interested in both Norwegian and international politics than others.

Supporters of the Progress Party or the Centre Party were less interested in international politics than others.

Question: Which of the following topics covered by the media (newspapers, radio, TV) are you interested in?



Exposure to the Middle East through travel

The majority had never visited any of the given countries. Of those that had, most of them had been to Egypt (18 per cent).

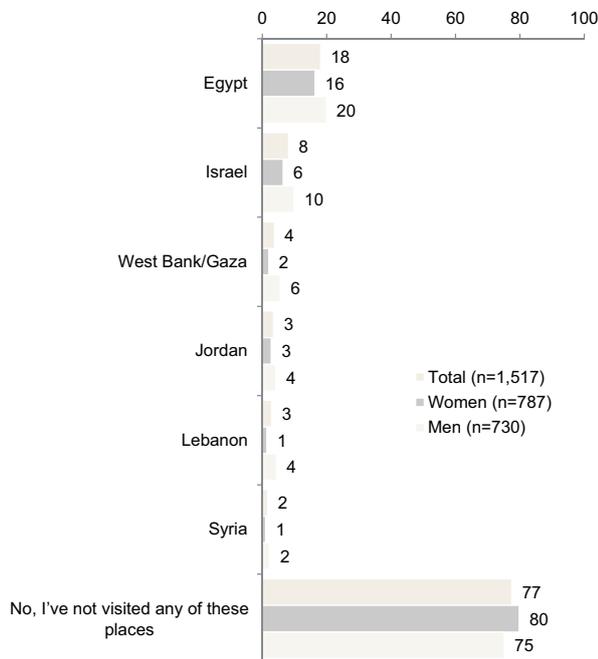
Eight per cent had visited Israel, while 4 per cent had visited the West Bank or Gaza.

Older people, men and the highly educated had visited Israel, the West Bank or Gaza to a greater extent than others.

Those pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict had visited Israel, Gaza or the West Bank to a greater extent than those pro-Palestine (however, they comprise a much smaller group).

Supporters of the Christian Democratic Party had visited Israel (39 per cent), Gaza or the West Bank (24 per cent) to a much greater extent than others.

Question: Have you ever visited any of these places?



Friends who have spent considerable time in the Middle East

Two in three have no close friends or family who have spent more than four weeks in any of the given places.

Sixteen per cent have close friends or family who have spent time in Israel, 10 per cent in the West Bank or Gaza.

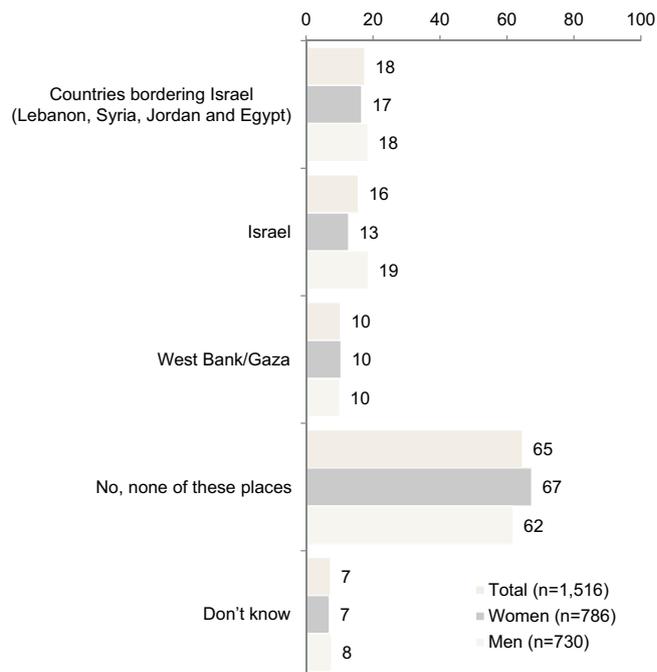
Older people, the highly educated and men (just Israel) have, more so than others, close friends or family who have spent time in Israel, the West Bank or Gaza.

Those pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict have, to a greater extent than others, friends or family who have spent time in Israel.

Supporters of the Christian Democratic Party have to a far greater extent than others friends or family who have spent more than four weeks in Israel (41 per cent).

Supporters of the Christian Democratic Party, the Red Party or the Centre Party (and partly also the Socialist Left Party or the Liberal Party) have to a greater extent than others friends or family who have spent more than four weeks in the West Bank or Gaza.

Question: Have any of your close friends or family members stayed in any of the following places for more than four weeks?



Political activism in relation to the Middle East conflict

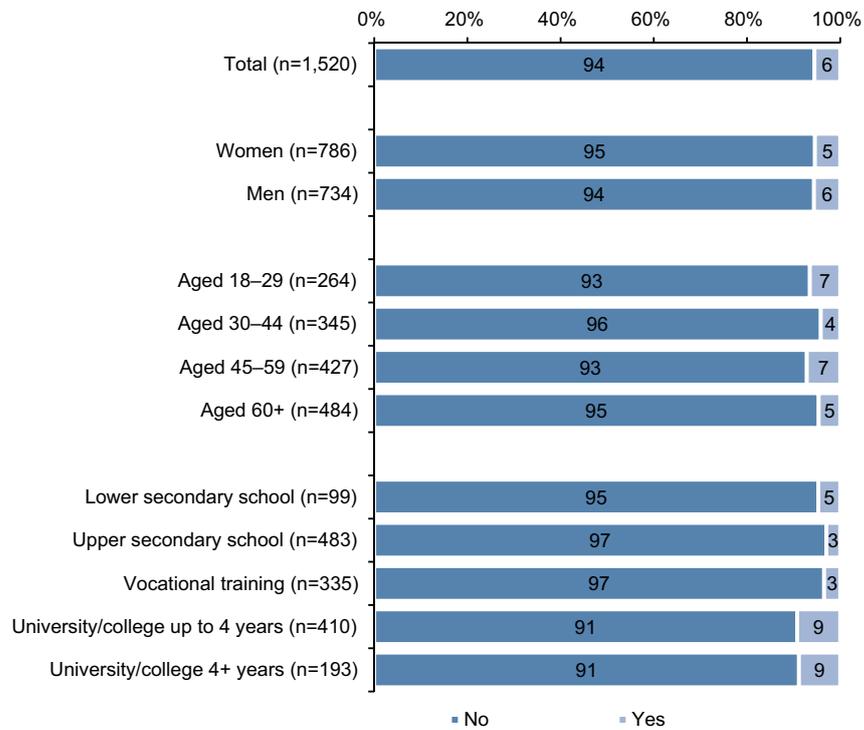
Very few respondents (6 per cent) have been politically active regarding the Middle East conflict.

Those with college or university education (9 per cent) have been politically active regarding the Middle East conflict to a slightly greater extent than others.

Those most strongly pro-Palestine in the Middle East conflict (15–34 per cent) have been far more politically active regarding the Middle East conflict in comparison to others.

Red Party (40 per cent), Socialist Left Party (32 per cent) and Christian Democratic Party (14 per cent) supporters have been the three most politically active groups regarding the Middle East conflict.

Question: Have you ever been politically active with regard to the Middle East conflict (e.g. taken part in any demonstrations, been a member of an interest group, etc.)?



Religiosity

Most people said they do not consider themselves religious.

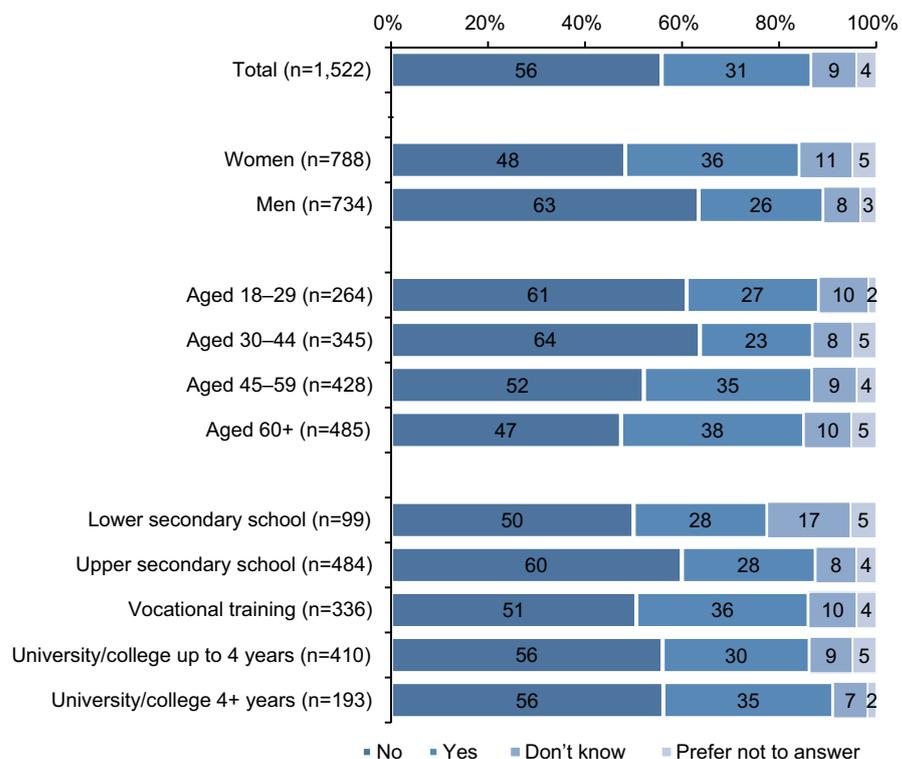
Women and older people said they considered themselves religious to a greater extent than others.

Residents of Southern or Western Norway (39 per cent) and those who live rurally (42 per cent) said they considered themselves religious to a greater extent than others.

Those solely (70 per cent), mostly (51 per cent) or a little (45 per cent) pro-Israel said to a greater extent than others that they considered themselves religious. Roughly 2 in 3 of those who declare themselves pro-Palestine do not consider themselves religious.

Almost all the supporters of the Christian Democratic Party (96 per cent) considered themselves religious. The Centre Party took second place with 37 per cent. Of those who support either the Socialist Left or the Red Party, 3 in 4 said they do not consider themselves religious.

Question: Do you consider yourself to be religious?



The significance of religion

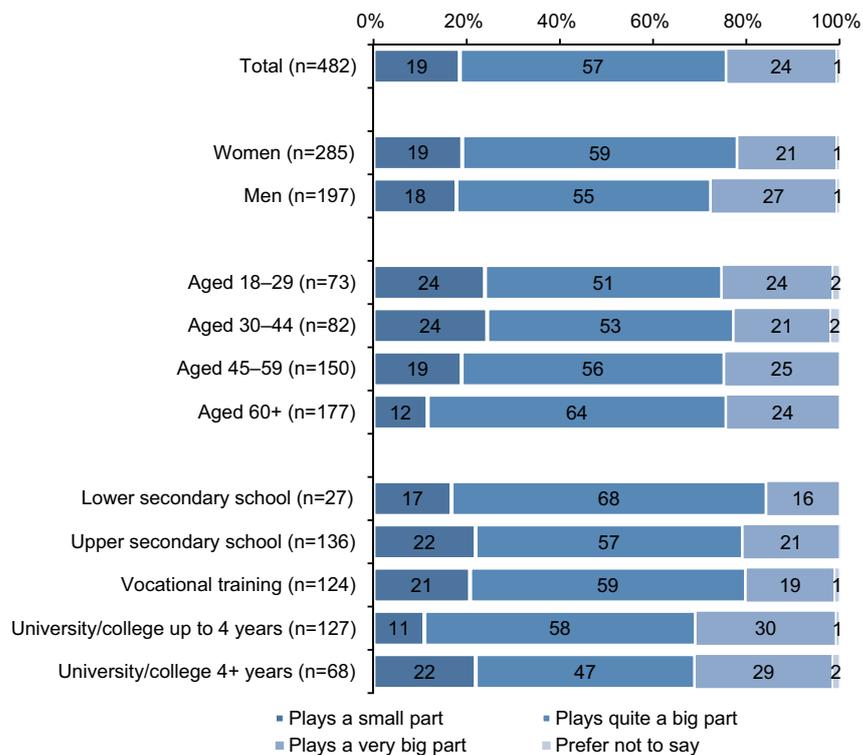
Of those who said they considered themselves religious, the majority (57 per cent) said religion played “quite a big part” in their lives. Nineteen per cent said religion played a “small part” in their lives and 24 per cent chose the option “a very big part”.

Men and the highly educated said to a greater extent than others that religion played “a very big part” in their lives.

Of those who declare themselves pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict, a majority said that religion plays “a very big part” in their lives. Among those pro-Palestine, a majority said that religion plays “quite a big part” in their lives.

Among supporters of the Christian Democratic Party, 82 per cent said that religion played “a very big part” in their lives. For supporters of other parties, the majority chose the option “a big part”.

Question: [If the survey participant answered “yes” to the question “Do you consider yourself to be religious?”] How big a part does religion play in your life?



Religious affiliation

Six in 10 respondents claimed they were religiously affiliated with Protestantism. Eight per cent declared themselves to be humanists while 24 per cent said they had “No particular religious affiliation”.

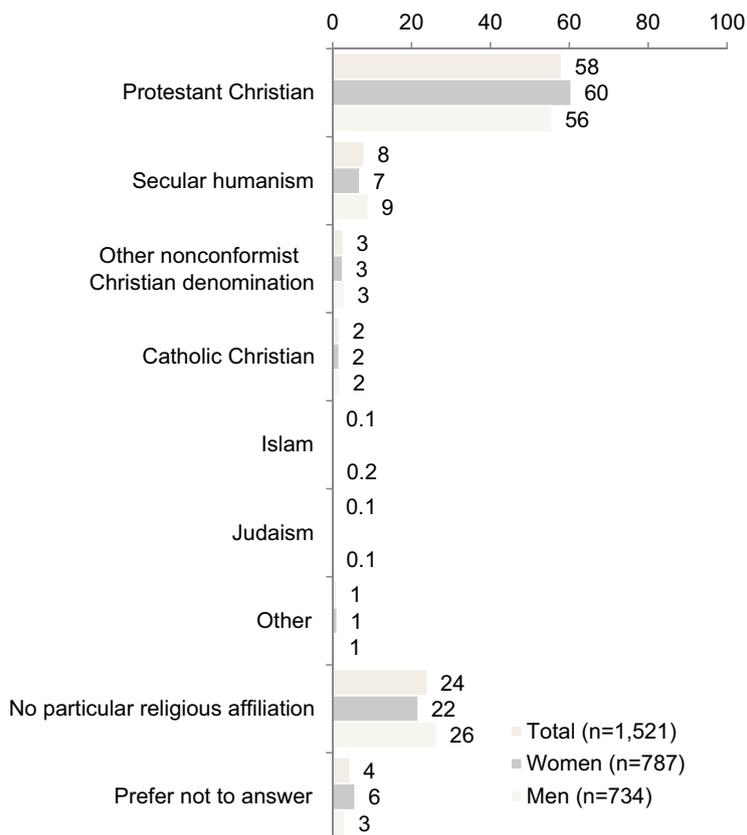
There were very few respondents of other religions.

Older people and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party or the Centre Party (both 72 per cent) responded to a greater extent than others that they were religiously affiliated with Protestantism.

Those most highly educated (13 per cent), those most strongly pro-Palestine in the Middle East conflict (15-17 per cent) and supporters of the Red Party (32 per cent) or the Socialist Left Party (26 per cent) answered to a far greater extent than others that they were humanists.

Those most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict (13-15 per cent) and supporters of the Christian Democratic Party (22 per cent) answered to a far greater extent than others that they belonged to a Christian community not affiliated with the State Church.

Question: With which religion/belief system are you affiliated?



Opinions on the Bible

Twenty-seven per cent responded that they did consider the Bible to be the word of God. Roughly half (47 per cent) said they did not consider this to be the case and 21 per cent said they were unsure.

Older people considered the Bible to be the word of God to a greater extent than did younger people, while those with the highest level of education did so to a lesser extent than others.

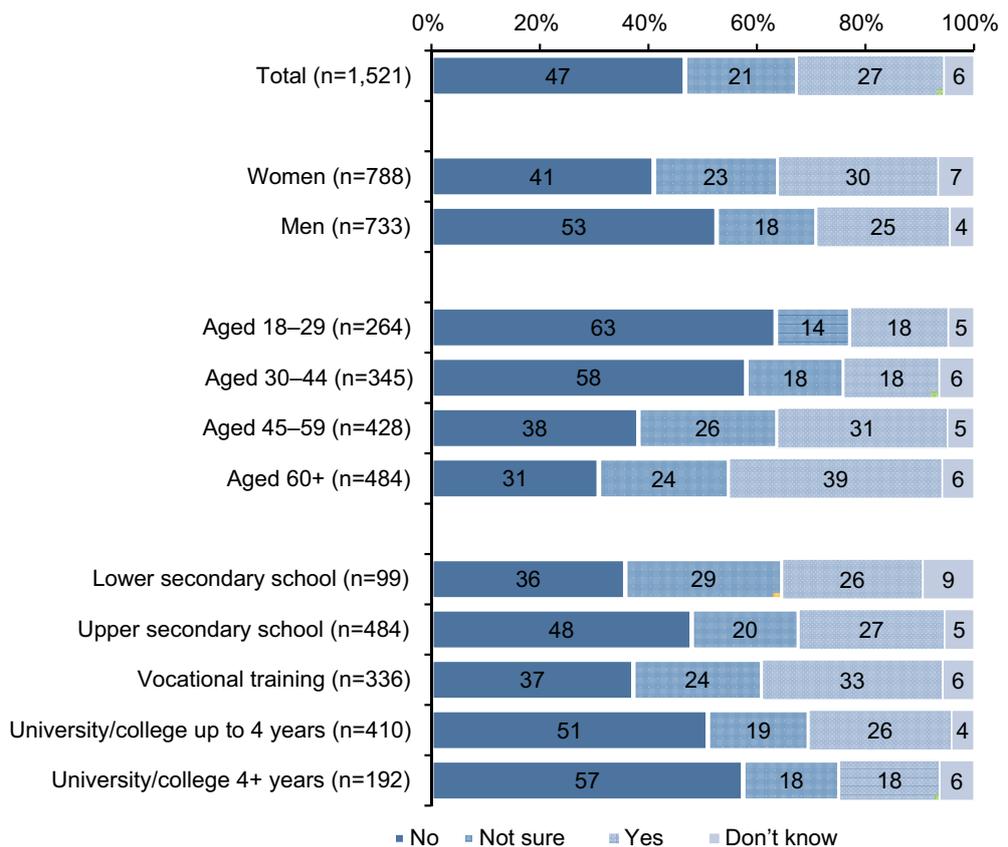
Residents in Southern and Western Norway (32 per cent) said they considered the Bible to be the word of God to a slightly greater extent than others.

Those solely (71 per cent), mostly (55 per cent) or a little pro-Israel (45 per cent) said to a far greater extent than others that they considered the Bible to be the word of God.

Supporters of the Christian Democratic Party (93 per cent) said to a far greater extent than others that they considered the Bible to be the word of God.

Respondents who voted for the Red Party (81 per cent) or the Socialist Left Party (79 per cent) answered to a greater extent than others that they did not consider the Bible to be the word of God.

Question: Do you consider the Bible to be the word of God?



Personal acquaintance with Jews

Twenty-eight per cent said they were personally acquainted with someone they knew was Jewish. The majority (64 per cent) were not personally acquainted with anyone they knew was Jewish.

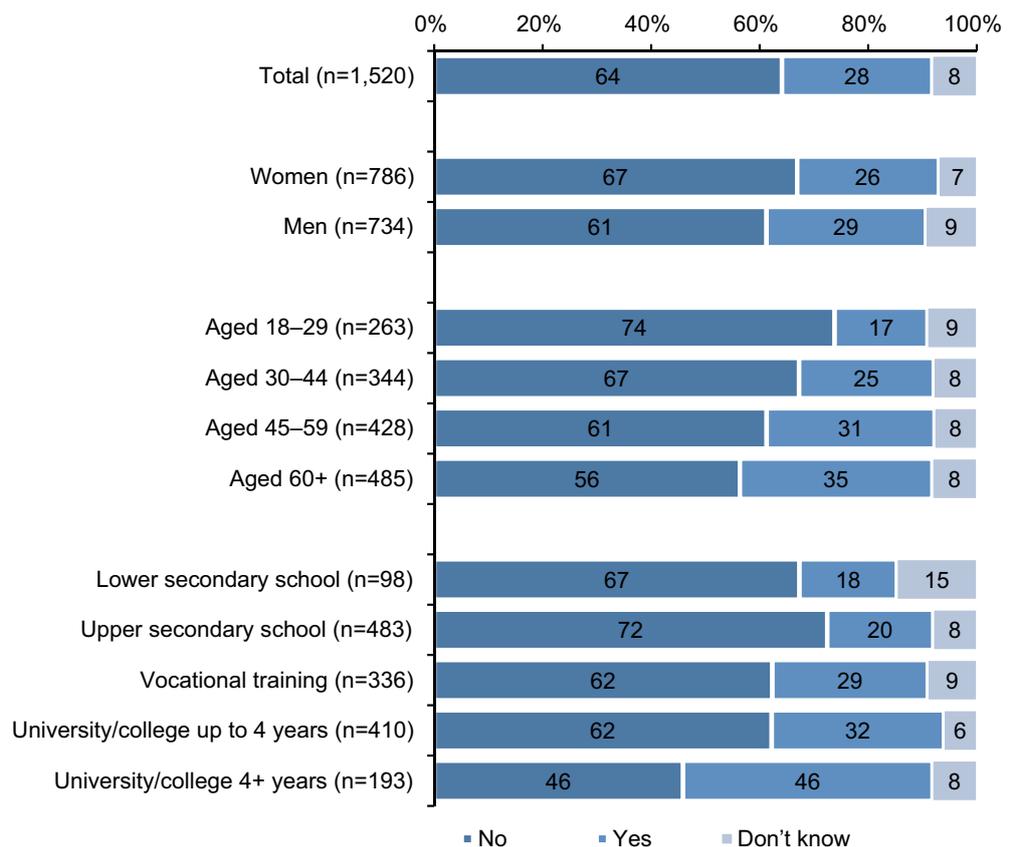
Older people and the highly educated said to a greater extent than others that they were personally acquainted with someone who they knew was Jewish.

Those who are most strongly pro-Israel in the Middle East conflict (41-53 per cent) said to a greater extent than others that they were personally acquainted with someone they knew was Jewish.

Those most strongly pro-Palestine (30-34 per cent) revealed that they were personally acquainted with someone they knew was Jewish to a greater extent than those who supported neither side in the conflict (24 per cent) or who found it impossible to say whether or not they personally knew someone who was Jewish (18 per cent).

Supporters of the Red Party or the Socialist Left Party (both 39 per cent) said to the greatest extent that they were personally acquainted with someone who they knew was Jewish (Christian Democratic Party: 33 per cent).

Question: Are you personally acquainted with anyone that you know to be Jewish?



QUESTIONNAIRE

An overview of the questions put to the respondents is presented below. The questions were asked in the order in which they appear, but some of the multiple-choice answers were randomised (see comments in parentheses).

q12 - Two people are discussing immigration from other cultures to Norway and the effects this may have.

[Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

Two people are discussing immigration from other cultures to Norway and the effects this may have. Who do you agree with more, A or B? Person A says: "Immigrants contribute to greater cultural diversity in Norway, introducing new and exciting food, music, art, etc." Person B says: "Immigrants' ways of life do not suit Norway. Their foreign customs are problematic for those around them and could threaten Norwegian culture."

- Agree more with A (1)
- Agree more with B (2)
- Impossible to choose (3)
- No response (9) [Keep position]

q13 - Whose view of immigrants do you agree with more, A or B?

[Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

Whose view of immigrants do you agree with more, A or B? Person A says: "Immigrants want to exploit our welfare system and help themselves to benefits that they have made no personal contribution towards." Person B says: "Immigrants are hard-working, diligent people who make a valuable contribution to the Norwegian economy and working life."

- Agree more with A (1)
- Agree more with B (2)
- Impossible to choose (3)
- No response (9) [Keep position]

info11

We would like to ask you some questions about contact with people from other nationalities and faiths. For each group of people we would like you to indicate what kind of contact you would feel comfortable with.

LOOP	loop_q11 -	
	<hr/>	
	<input type="radio"/>	Romani ("Gypsies")
	<input type="radio"/>	Somalis
	<input type="radio"/>	Americans
	<input type="radio"/>	Poles
	<input type="radio"/>	Catholics
	<input type="radio"/>	Muslims
	<input type="radio"/>	Jews
	<input type="radio"/>	Pentecostals
<hr/>		
	Starting at	Ending at

Question q11(When you think about ..., what kind of contact would you feel comfortable with?)

Question q11(When you think about ..., what kind of contact would you feel comfortable with?)

q11 - When you think about ..., what kind of contact would you feel comfortable with?

[Randomised answer list ♦ Field width=1]

When you think about ^f('loop_q11')^, what kind of contact would you feel comfortable with? To what extent would you like or dislike it if they ...

	Would like it (1)	Wouldn't mind it (2)	Would dislike it a little (3)	Would dislike it a lot (4)	Don't know (5)	No response (9)
... became your neighbour (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... were brought into your circle of friends (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... married into your family (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

END

Loop loop_q11

q21 - Below is a list of statements that have previously been made about Jews. To what extent do you agree or disagree with them?

[Randomised answer list ♦ Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

Below is a list of statements that have previously been made about Jews. To what extent do you agree or disagree with them?

	Completely disagree (1)	Partially disagree (2)	Partially agree (3)	Completely agree (4)	Impossible to answer (5)	No response (9)
Jews are more intelligent than other people (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jews consider themselves to be better than others (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
World Jewry is working behind the scenes to promote Jewish interests (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jews have enriched themselves at the expense of others (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jews are artistically gifted (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jews have too much influence on the global economy (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jews have too much influence on US foreign policy (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jews largely have themselves to blame for being persecuted (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	Completely disagree (1)	Partially disagree (2)	Partially agree (3)	Completely agree (4)	Impossible to answer (5)	No response (9)
Jews have always caused problems in the countries in which they live (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jews have a strong commitment to the family (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

q22 - To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Jews?

[Randomised answer list ♦ Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Jews?

	Completely disagree (1)	Partially disagree (2)	Partially agree (3)	Completely agree (4)	Impossible to answer (5)	No response (9)
I have a particular sympathy for Jews (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a certain dislike of Jews (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think it is a shame if Norwegian Jews are being harassed (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Given their particular history, I am disappointed by the way the Jews treat the Palestinians (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

q31 - Some time ago (in 2006) shots were fired at the Jewish synagogue in Oslo. Which of the following statements about the incident correspond with your own views?

[Field width=1 ♦ Force Number of Items: Min 0]

Some time ago (in 2006) shots were fired at the Jewish synagogue in Oslo. Which of the following statements about the incident correspond with your own views?

More than one possible answer

- No one was hurt, so there is no reason to make a fuss about it (1)
- People who do things like that must be severely punished (2)
- This shows that antisemitism has become a serious problem in Norway (3)
- This was the act of an individual, and is not indicative of the situation in Norway (4)
- Considering how Israel treats the Palestinians, such acts are justifiable (5)
- This just adds to the list of attacks on Jews down through history (6)
- Other, note down (7)_____ [Keep position ♦ Other]
- Impossible to answer (8) [Keep position ♦ Exclusive]
- No response (99) [Keep position]

q32 - Learning about what happened in Norway during World War II is part of the school curriculum. Do you think today's young people should learn about the fate of Norway's Jewish population during the war?

[Field width=1]

Learning about what happened in Norway during World War II is part of the school curriculum. Do you think today's young people should learn about the fate of Norway's Jewish population during the war?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Don't know (4)

CONDITION	f('q32')== '1'	
	true	false
	Question q32_1(You answered that you think today's young people should learn about the fate of Norway's Jewish population during the war. Why do you think that?)	

q32_1 - You answered that you think today's young people should learn about the fate of Norway's Jewish population during the war. Why do you think that?

[Field width=1 ♦ Force Number of Items: Min 0]

You answered that you think today's young people should learn about the fate of Norway's Jewish population during the war. Why do you think that?

More than one possible answer

- It teaches us the importance of defending vulnerable groups today as well (1)
- Because we owe it to the Jewish victims to remember them (2)
- Because it is an important part of Norwegian history (3)
- Because it shows us that antisemitism also existed in Norway (4)
- Because it shows us what racism can lead to (5)
- In order to prevent anything like that happening again (6)
- Other, note down (7)_____ [Keep position ♦ Other]
- Don't know (8) [Keep position ♦ Exclusive]
- No response (9) [Keep position]

END

Condition f('q32')== '1'

CONDITION

f('q32')== '2'

true

false

Question q32_2(You answered that you don't think today's young people should learn about the fate of Norway's Jewish population during the war. Why do you think that?)

q32_2 - You answered that you don't think today's young people should learn about the fate of Norway's Jewish population during the war. Why do you think that?

[Field width=1 ♦ Force Number of Items: Min 0]

You answered that you don't think today's young people should learn about the fate of Norway's Jewish population during the war. Why do you think that?

More than one possible answer

- It is not an important part of Norwegian history (1)
- We should not talk so much about the persecution of the Jews when so much time has passed since the war (2)
- The history of the persecution of Jews in Norway is only important for Jews (3)
- Other groups are in a much worse position today – we should be teaching schoolchildren about that instead (4)
- Other, note down (5) _____ [Keep position ♦ Other]
- Impossible to answer (6) [Keep position ♦ Exclusive]
- No response (9) [Keep position]

END

Condition f('q32')== '2'

q33 - Here is a list of various opinions about Jews and the Holocaust (systematic genocide of Jews during World War II). To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements?

[Randomised answer list ♦ Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

Here is a list of various opinions about Jews and the Holocaust (systematic genocide of Jews during World War II). To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements?

	Completely disagree (1)	Partially disagree (2)	Partially agree (3)	Completely agree (4)	Impossible to answer (5)	No response (9)
Jews today talk too much about what happened to the Jews during the Holocaust (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jews today exploit the memory of the Holocaust for their own benefit (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The suffering of Jews during World War II means that the State of Israel deserves special treatment (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because of the Holocaust Jews today are entitled to their own state, where they can seek protection from persecution (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jews today are fully entitled to remind the international community about what happened during World War II (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

q41 - Which of the following topics covered by the media (newspapers, radio, TV) are you interested in?

[Field width=1 ♦ Force Number of Items: Min 0]

Which of the following topics covered by the media (newspapers, radio, TV) are you interested in?

More than one possible answer

- Norwegian politics (1)
- International politics (2)
- Sport (3)
- Culture (films, music, literature, etc.) (4)
- Business/finance (5)
- Celebrity news (reality TV, Hollywood gossip, etc.) (6)
- Travel (travelogues etc.) (7)
- None of the above (8) [*Keep position ♦ Exclusive*]
- Don't know (9) [*Keep position ♦ Exclusive*]
- No response (99) [*Keep position*]

q42 - To what extent are you interested in the following conflicts?

[*Randomised answer list ♦ Field width=1 ♦ Not required*]

To what extent are you interested in the following conflicts?

	Extremely interested (1)	Fairly interested (2)	Not very interested (3)	Completely uninterested (4)	Don't know (5)	No response (9)
The war in Afghanistan (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The conflict between North and South Korea (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The uprising in Syria (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The conflict between Israel and Palestine (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The conflict in Somalia (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

q43 - Have you ever visited any of these places?

[*Field width=1 ♦ Force Number of Items: Min 0*]

Have you ever visited any of these places?

More than one possible answer

- Israel (1)
- West Bank/Gaza (2)

- Jordan (3)
- Lebanon (4)
- Syria (5)
- Egypt (6)
- No, have not visited any of these places (7) [*Keep position ♦ Exclusive*]
- Don't know (8) [*Keep position ♦ Exclusive*]
- No response (9) [*Keep position*]

q44 - **Have any of your close friends or family members stayed in any of the following places for more than four weeks?**

[*Field width=1 ♦ Force Number of Items: Min 0*]

Have any of your close friends or family members stayed in any of the following places for more than four weeks?

More than one possible answer

- Israel (1)
- West Bank/Gaza (2)
- Countries bordering Israel (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt) (3)
- No, none of these places (4) [*Keep position ♦ Exclusive*]
- Don't know (5) [*Keep position ♦ Exclusive*]
- No response (9) [*Keep position*]

q45 - **People have differing views on the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Which side do you support most?**

[*Field width=1 ♦ Not required*]

People have differing views on the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Which side do you support most?

- Solely pro-Israel (1)
- Mostly pro-Israel (2)
- To some extent pro-Israel (3)
- Neither side (4)
- To some extent pro-Palestine (5)
- Mostly pro-Palestine (6)
- Solely pro-Palestine (7)
- Impossible to answer (8)
- No response (9) [*Keep position*]

q46 - **Here are some statements about Israel and the Middle East conflict. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements?**

[*Randomised answer list ♦ Field width=1 ♦ Not required*]

Here are some statements about Israel and the Middle East conflict. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements?

	Completely disagree (1)	Partially disagree (2)	Partially agree (3)	Completely agree (4)	Impossible to answer (5)	No response (9)
Israel is under threat of war from other countries (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
As long as the State of Israel exists there can be no peace in the world (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would consider visiting Israel on holiday (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Norwegians should boycott Israeli goods because of Israel's policy towards the Palestinians (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Both the Israelis and the Palestinians are entitled to a state of their own (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The State of Israel deserves special support (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is unfair of Israel to take land from the Palestinians (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Israel's use of military force against the Palestinians is often excessive (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Israeli leaders genuinely	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	Completely disagree (1)	Partially disagree (2)	Partially agree (3)	Completely agree (4)	Impossible to answer (5)	No response (9)
want to find a solution to the conflict (9)						
Palestinian leaders genuinely want to find a solution to the conflict (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Israel treats the Palestinians just as badly as the Jews were treated during World War II (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The main reason for the conflict is that some Palestinian groups (such as Hamas) do not recognise the State of Israel (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Israel is at the forefront of the war on Islamic terrorism (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

q47 - **Would you say that your attitude towards Israel has changed?**

[Field width=1]

Would you say that your attitude towards Israel has changed?

- Yes, more negative (1)
- Yes, more positive (2)
- No, it has not changed (3)
- Impossible to answer (4)

COND

ITIO

f('q47').any('1', '2')

true	false
Question q47_12(Why has your attitude towards Israel changed?)	

q47_12 - **Why has your attitude towards Israel changed?**

[Not required]

Why has your attitude towards Israel changed?

END

Condition f('q47').any('1','2')

q51 - **To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

[Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Completely disagree (1)	Partially disagree (2)	Partially agree (3)	Completely agree (4)	Impossible to answer (5)	No response (9)
You cannot demand that Norwegian Jews take a position on the policies pursued by the State of Israel (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is unfortunate that Norwegian Jews are not more openly critical of Israel (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

q52 – **Have you yourself ever experienced the word “Jew” being used as a term of abuse?**

[Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

Have you yourself ever experienced the word “Jew” being used as a term of abuse?

Yes (1)

- No (2)
- No response (9) [Keep position]

q52_B - **How do you think you ought to react if you hear the word “Jew” being used as a term of abuse (e.g. “Jew boy” or “f***ing Jew”) by someone you know?**

[Field width=1 ♦ Force Number of Items: Min 0]

How do you think you ought to react if you hear the word “Jew” being used as a term of abuse (e.g. “Jew boy” or “f***ing Jew”) by someone you know?

More than one possible answer

- It would certainly only have been meant as a joke (1)
- It is totally unacceptable (2)
- I would find it unpleasant (3)
- As long as it was not directed at an actual Jew, there would be no reason to react (4)
- I would protest (5)
- I have no opinion about this (6) [Keep position ♦ Exclusive]
- No response (9) [Keep position]

q53 - **How widespread do you think negative attitudes towards Jews are in Norway today?**

[Field width=1]

How widespread do you think negative attitudes towards Jews are in Norway today?

- Very widespread (1)
- Fairly widespread (2)
- Not very widespread (3)
- Not at all widespread (4)
- Impossible to answer (5)

CONDITION	f('q53').any('1', '2')	
	true	false
	Question q53_o(What do you think is the reason for negative attitudes towards Jews?)	

q53_o - **What do you think is the reason for negative attitudes towards Jews?**

[Field width=100 ♦ Not required]

What do you think is the reason for negative attitudes towards Jews?

END

Condition f('q53').any('1', '2')

q54 - **Do you think steps need to be taken to combat anti-Jewish harassment in Norway?**

[Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

Do you think steps need to be taken to combat anti-Jewish harassment in Norway?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- No opinion (3)
- No response (9) [Keep position]

q55 - **How widespread do you think negative attitudes to Muslims are in Norway today?**

[Field width=1]

How widespread do you think negative attitudes to Muslims are in Norway today?

- Very widespread (1)
- Fairly widespread (2)
- Not very widespread (3)
- Not at all widespread (4)
- Impossible to answer (5)

CONDITION

f('q55').any('1', '2')

true

false

Question q55_o(What do you think is the reason for negative attitudes towards Muslims?)

q55_o - **What do you think is the reason for negative attitudes towards Muslims?**

[Field width=100 ♦ Not required]

What do you think is the reason for negative attitudes towards Muslims?

END

Condition f('q55').any('1', '2')

q57 - **Do you think steps need to be taken to combat anti-Muslim harassment in Norway?**

[Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

Do you think steps need to be taken to combat anti-Muslim harassment in Norway?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- No opinion (3)
- No response (9) [Keep position]

q66 - **If there were a general election this coming Monday, would you vote?**

[Field width=1]

If there were a general election this coming Monday, would you vote?

- Would definitely not vote (1)
- May possibly vote (2)
- Would definitely vote (3)
- Am not eligible to vote (4)
- Don't know (5)

CONDITION	f('q66').any('2','3')
	true
	Question q66_b(Which party would you vote for?)
	false

q66_b - **Which party would you vote for?**

[Field width=2 ♦ Not required]

Which party would you vote for?

- Labour Party (Arbeiderpartiet) (1)
- Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet) (2)
- Conservative Party (Høyre) (3)
- Christian Democratic Party (Kristelig Folkeparti) (4)
- Coastal Party (Kystpartiet) (5)
- Red (Rødt) formerly Red Electoral Alliance (6)
- Centre Party (Senterpartiet) (7)
- Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti) (8)
- Liberal Party (Venstre) (9)
- Other party (10)
- Don't know (11)
- Prefer not to answer (12)
- No response (99) [Keep position]

END

Condition f('q66').any('2','3')

q67 - **We would like to ask you some questions about your attitude to religion. Do you consider yourself to be religious?**

[Field width=1]

We would like to ask you some questions about your attitude to religion. Do you consider yourself to be religious?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Don't know (3)
- Prefer not to answer (4)

CONDITION

f('q67').any('1')

true

false

Question q67_b(How big a part does religion play in your life?)

q67_b - **How big a part does religion play in your life?**

[Field width=1 ♦ Not required]

How big a part does religion play in your life?

- Plays a very big part (1)
- Plays quite a big part (2)
- Plays a small part (3)
- Prefer not to answer (4)
- No response (9) [Keep position]

END

Condition f('q67').any('1')

q68 - **With which religion/belief system are you affiliated?**

[Field width=2 ♦ Not required]

With which religion/belief system are you affiliated?

- Protestant Christian (Church of Norway) (1)
- Catholic Christian (2)
- Other nonconformist Christian denomination (3)
- Judaism (4)
- Islam (5)
- Secular humanism (6)
- Other religion/faith (8)

- No particular religious affiliation (7)
- Prefer not to answer (9)
- No response (99) [*Keep position*]

q69 - Do you consider the Bible to be the word of God?

[*Field width=1 ♦ Not required*]

Do you consider the Bible to be the word of God?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Not sure (3)
- Don't know (4)
- No response (9) [*Keep position*]

q610 - Are you personally acquainted with anyone that you know to be Jewish?

[*Field width=1 ♦ Not required*]

Are you personally acquainted with anyone that you know to be Jewish?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Don't know (4)
- No response (9) [*Keep position*]

q611 - Have you ever been politically active with regard to the Middle East conflict?

[*Field width=1 ♦ Not required*]

Have you ever been politically active with regard to the Middle East conflict (e.g. taken part in demonstrations, been a member of an interest group, etc.)?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- No response (9) [*Keep position*]

kommentar - Do you have any comments or opinions with regard to the questionnaire you have just completed?

[*Not required*]

Do you have any comments or opinions with regard to the questionnaire you have just completed?

