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Antisemitic Prejudices and Dynamics of Antisemitism in Post-Communist Hungary[1]

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In the former Communist countries, some consequences from the fall of the regime resembled the conflicts arising out of modernisation in Europe in the 19th century. Not only did the political regime collapse, but all acquired statuses and the associated identities were also undermined. The prospects of upward or downward social mobility for a substantial number of social groups were changed and previous social rules and norms lost their validity. The consequences of life strategies and everyday decisions, which had once been easily calculable, became rather unpredictable. Many perceived a weakening of social cohesion and an unraveling of the social fabric. The fear of social atomisation and losing ties to social integrations grew. In the late 19th century it was—among other things—such factors that led to THE development of modern antisemitism. The question today is: Do the conflicts ensuing from the Eastern European transition pose similar risks? Should we fear the emergence of a situation in which major social groups in the post-Communist countries frame their problems in the ever-present language of antisemitism and seek to resolve such problems through the means proposed by antisemitic politics?

Empirical studies provide us with a relatively accurate and comparable picture of the changes that have occurred in anti-Jewish prejudice over time. However, this analysis goes further than this. It sets out from the premise that although the existence, extent and intensity of anti-Jewish prejudices are important signals in a given society, prejudice tends to be a prerequisite for, and indicator of, the dynamics of antisemitism rather than its trigger or cause. Researchers of the history of antisemitism have shown that anti-Jewish prejudice does not inevitably exert a strong influence on political or social events, even when a relatively large number of people harbor anti-Jewish prejudices. Anti-Jewish prejudice, the development of antisemitic culture, and the emergence of an antisemitic political ideology do not necessarily follow one from the other. If, however, for various historical and social reasons they appear at the same time in a society, then sooner or later antisemitism may become a serious and dangerous political and social factor. In other words, if at a time of great social change and in societies plagued by anti-Jewish prejudice there emerges a "culture" and a language that uses popular beliefs and fantasies about "the Jews" to interpret and explain various social problems and conflicts, and seek solutions to the problems in this language—then the different forms of antisemitism may indeed form an explosive mixture. For this reason, the following analysis examines not only the intensity and forms of anti-Jewish prejudice and the groups most likely to exhibit antisemitism, but also the antisemitic discourses heard by the public at large – which are mostly products of the social elite. Political antisemitism has always been the creation of social elite groups, which use it to

1 This article is an updated and revised version of my article *Antisemitic Prejudice and Political Antisemitism in Present-Day Hungary*, in Journal for the Study of Antisemitism, vol. 4. Issue 2, 2012.

accomplish various political goals. The question of the day is whether the danger of antisemitism becoming a definitive element of politics and social life in the countries of East Central Europe is present again in this region.

Antisemitism appeared in Hungary in 1990, in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of Communism and the introduction of free speech and a free press. The phenomenon caused great concern and a heated debate. It was feared that the inevitable economic and social difficulties of the transition would render people receptive to antisemitic ideologies. At the center of the debate was whether the economic and social changes were the cause of the sudden increase in antisemitism and the rapid spread of antisemitic views or whether covert hostility towards Jews was coming to the surface in consequence of the new civil liberties. As the extent of antisemitic prejudice in Hungarian society was unknown, from the mid-1990s onwards a series of research studies were conducted to determine which social groups were affected. The various research projects – including my own empirical studies – sought primarily to measure the proportion of antisemites in Hungary and to identify the most common antisemitic views. On the basis of the results researchers tried to estimate whether or not antisemitism was increasing over time. In my own research, I sought to identify explanatory factors for antisemitic prejudice as well as the typical characteristics of people who were inclined to be antisemitic. A further important aim was to determine the form in which antisemitism appears in the political arena and whether or not antisemitic prejudice was likely to turn into a political ideology. After the publication of a monograph on the findings of research undertaken between 1994 and 2006 (Kovács, 2010), I conducted four further surveys to monitor changes in antisemitic prejudice (2009, 2010, 2011, 2013). In what follows, based on the results of these surveys, I seek to analyze the direction and dynamics of changes observed in recent years. The question I address in this article is: How much has the group of antisemites grown in the Hungarian society? What explains the increase in antisemitic prejudice in Hungary since 2006 and especially since 2009? In the second part of the article, I seek to offer insights into the discourses that give rise to antisemitic culture and then return briefly to the issue of drawing conclusions about the dynamics of antisemitism in present-day Hungary from the findings of the research on prejudice.

1 Measuring antisemitic prejudice

According to the theories of prejudice, there are several layers and dimensions of prejudice. Such dimensions include the content of prejudice (cognitive antisemitism), the emotional intensity of prejudice (affective antisemitism), and a willingness to discriminate motivated by prejudice. In line with these theories, empirical research on prejudice usually aims to measure all three dimensions. By aggregating the results, it can then determine the size of the prejudiced group in the

population studied. In the research presented here, we too employed this method. Using a special group of questions, we measured the content of prejudice, that is, which prejudiced stereotypes about Jews were accepted by respondents and which emotions they felt towards them. We then placed the questions measuring a willingness to discriminate among the questions measuring the content of prejudice.

1.1. Cognitive Antisemitism

The content of antisemitic prejudice was measured by means of a series of statements that we have already employed on several occasions during the past two decades. Respondents were asked to rate on a scale of five the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the eight statements. Table 1 indicates the proportion of those who "fully agreed" or "agreed" with the statements (values 5 and 4 on the five-grade scale).

Table 1. Agreement with antisemitic statements (%)

	Year	Fully agree	Agree
Jewish intellectuals control the press and the cultural sphere	2006	12	19
	2011	14	21
	2013	11	18
There exists a secret Jewish network determining political and economic affairs			
	2006	10	17
	2011	14	20
	2013	15	19
The Jews have too much influence in Hungary			
	2013	12	15
It would be best if Jews left the country			
	2006	5	7
	2011	8	12
	2013	6	9

In certain areas of employment, the number of Jews should be limited			
	2006	5	10
	2011	7	12
	2013	5	11
The crucifixion of Jesus is the unforgivable sin of the Jews			
	2006	8	12
	2011	9	12
	2013	7	8
The suffering of the Jewish people was God's punishment			
	2006	7	7
	2011	5	9
	2013	4	7
Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want			
	2006	8	13
	2011	9	17
	2013	7	15

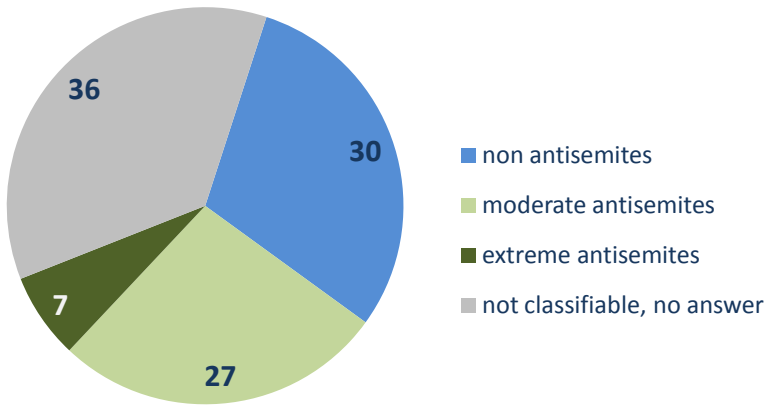
The series of statements included two statements indicating traditional or religiously-based antisemitism, religious anti-Judaism (*The crucifixion of Jesus is the unforgivable sin of the Jews; The suffering of the Jewish people was God's punishment*); four statements expressing common anti-Jewish stereotypes (*Jewish intellectuals control the press and cultural sphere; There exists a secret Jewish network determining political and economic affairs; Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want; The Jews have too much influence in Hungary*); and two statements manifesting a willingness to discriminate against Jews (*It would be best if Jews left the country; In certain areas of employment, the number of Jews should be limited*).

As Table 1 shows, with the exception of statements expressing religious anti-Judaism, more people now agree with almost all the antisemitic statements than did so before. The increase is particularly striking in the case of the three statements indicating concern about "Jewish power" and a willingness to discriminate *("Jewish intellectuals control the press and cultural sphere"; "There exists a secret*

Jewish network determining political and economic affairs" "It would be best if Jews left the country"). In 2013, 11-34 % of respondents agreed with the antisemitic statements. Respondents were mostly likely to accept the stereotypes of a "global Jewish conspiracy" and least likely to agree with statements indicative of religious anti-Judaism. Discrimination against Jews would be supported by 15-16 % of respondents. Looking at changes in the surveyed stereotypes over time, we see that, with the exception of one statement, the frequency of agreement with these statements increased significantly between 2006 and 2011. Since 2011, however, there has been a slight reduction in the percentage of respondents accepting antisemitic stereotypes.

Based on respondents' support for, or rejection of, the statements measuring prejudiced stereotyping, we created three groups of respondents, doing so by aggregating their scores relating to eight statements. In this way, the lowest possible score was 8 and the highest possible score was 40. In the first group we placed those respondents that may have accepted a few prejudiced stereotypes, but whose overall responses resulted in a low score on the aggregated scale (8-20 points). Respondents with a medium amount of prejudice (21-30 points) were placed in the second group, while those respondents whose scores indicated extreme antisemitism (31-40 points) were placed in the third group. Based on the calculations,[2] we found that 47 % of all respondents could be assigned to the first group, while 42 % belonged in the moderately antisemitic group and 11 % in the group of extreme antisemites. In the full sample, 36 % of respondents were unclassifiable in view of the high number of "no responses" or "don't knows" (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1
Cognitive antisemitism
(percentage in the full sample, N= 1200)



2 When forming these groups, we considered only those respondents who had responded to all eight questions (N = 764).

Table 2 illustrates how the above groupings reflect differences between the groups in terms of the intensity of antisemitism.

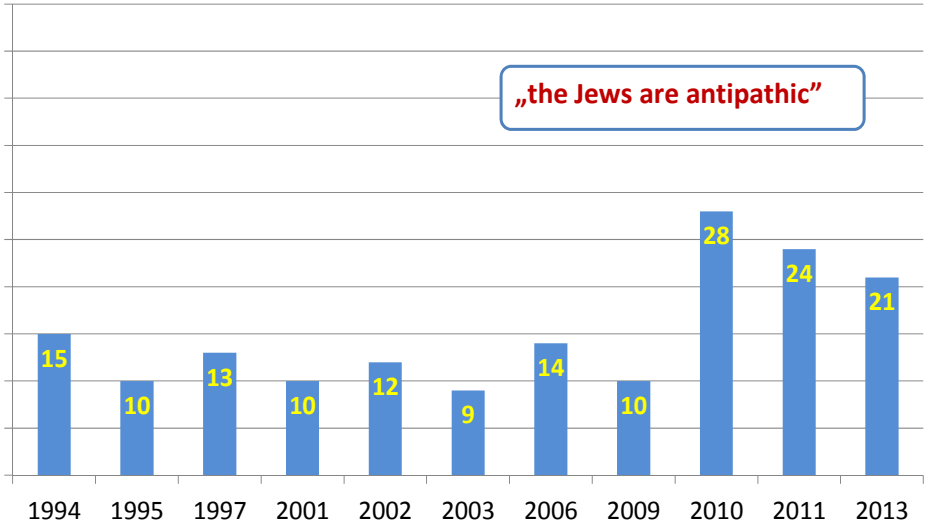
Table 2. Agreement with the antisemitic statements in the various category groups (%)

	extreme antisemites	moderate antisemites	non-antisemites, stereotypers
Jewish intellectuals control the press and cultural sphere	94	33	11
There exists a secret Jewish network determining political and economic affairs	98	54	16
The Jews have too much influence in Hungary	91	45	6
Jews are more willing than others to use *shady practices* to get what they want	91	40	4
It would be best if Jews left the country	83	24	1
In certain areas of employment, the number of Jews should be limited	45	22	2
The crucifixion of Jesus is the unforgivable sin of the Jews	81	22	3
The suffering of the Jewish people was God's punishment	53	20	4

Table 2 also shows, however, that more than one in ten members of the group with a low score accept the two most common antisemitic stereotypes. In other words, these respondents should actually be placed in the group of moderate antisemites. Thus, we may conclude that 35-40 % of the full sample certainly accept some of the antisemitic stereotypes, while 7 % may be viewed – in this dimension – as extreme antisemites. Meanwhile, around a quarter of the full sample is free of any antisemitic prejudice, while the remaining part – more than a third of the full sample – was unclassifiable.

According to the above index that was formed based on agreement with the antisemitic statements, between 2006 and 2011 the proportion of antisemites – particularly "moderate antisemites" – has increased and the proportion of non-antisemites has decreased. The 2013 results show a slight decrease in the size of antisemitic groups.

Figure 2
Emotional rejection of Jews
(agreement in %)



1.2. Affective Antisemitism

Researchers of prejudice are generally agreed that the emotions felt towards a group – hatred, antipathy, rejection, distance – are better indicators of prejudice than the acceptance of negative stereotypes, which can be aspects of learned social knowledge without being emotionally loaded. For this reason, the survey measured, by means of two questions, the extent of antipathy felt towards Jews living in Hungary and the strength of antisemitic sentiment in the population studied.

First, we asked respondents whether they felt antipathy towards Jews or not. The results are shown in Fig. 2. Since the question had been asked in several previous surveys, the changes over time are also presented.

The findings of surveys carried out regularly since 1994 show that – often contrary to the perceptions of observers – the share of affective antisemites among the adult Hungarian population barely changed until 2009. As Fig. 2 shows, between 1994 and 2009 the share of those who emotionally reject Jews varied between 10 and 15 %. After 2009 this percentage increased significantly to 28 % of the adult population in 2010. The graph also shows that the percentage of those who emotionally reject Jews jumped around the time of national elections (held in Hungary in 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010). This indicates that anti-Jewish sentiment strengthened at times of political mobilization, which in turn suggests, that the "Jewish question" regularly became a part of the political campaign. After 2010 the proportion of those who found Jews "to be antipathic" slowly decreased,

in 2011 to 24 % and in 2013 to 21 %, but it has never fallen back to the level measured before 2010.

The increase in anti-Jewish sentiment was also shown by another indicator, the "liking thermometer" (Fig. 3).

Figure 3
Liking thermometer, 1995-2013
"Do you like the ….living in Hungary?"
1- I don't like them at all --- 9- like them very much
(means on the scale 1-9)

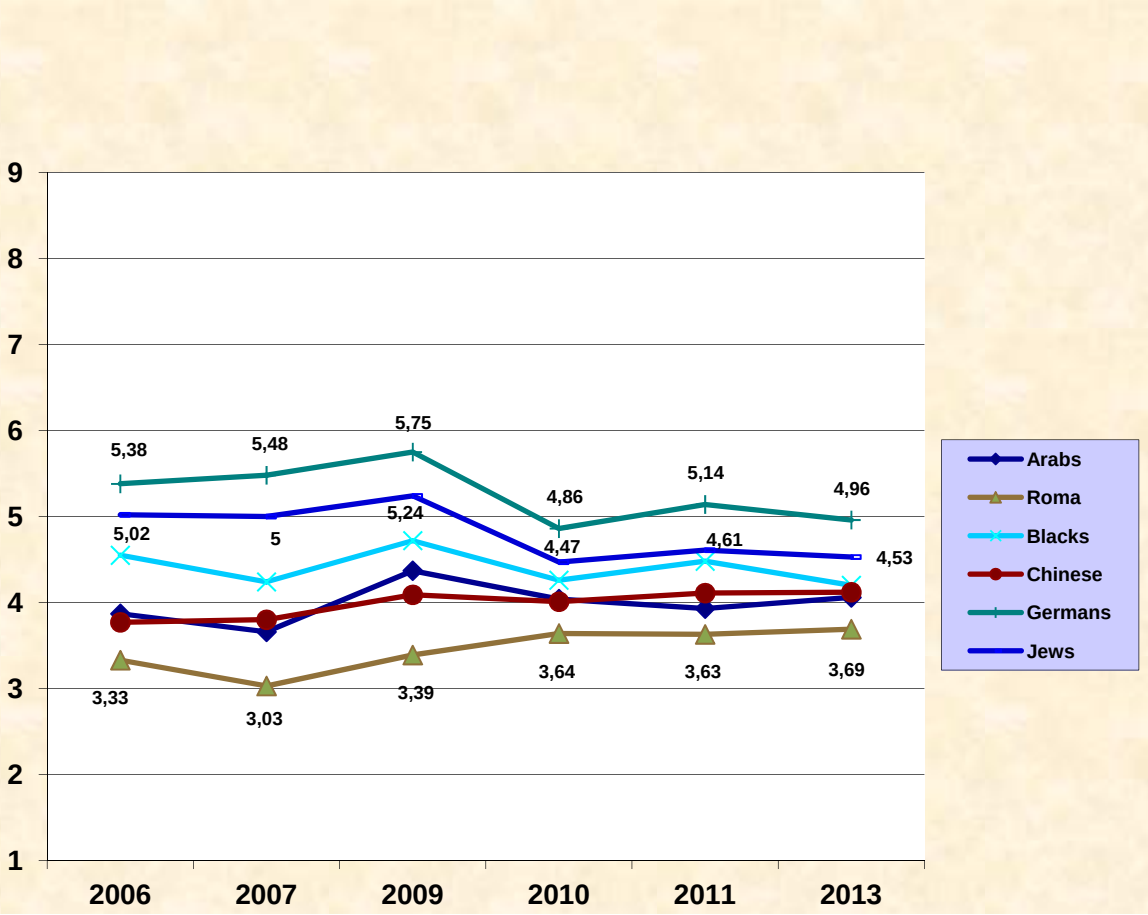
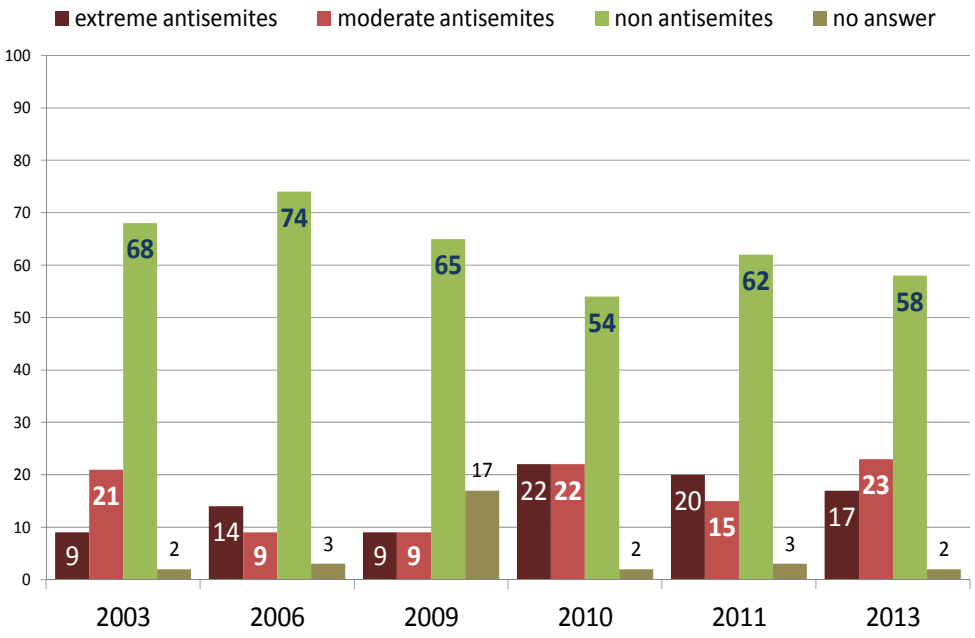


Fig. 3 reveals that respondents generally felt a sense of antipathy towards the ethnic groups living in Hungary: four of the six groups received a sub-medium score (less than 5) in each survey, indicating that respondents disliked rather than liked the ethnic groups listed. On the other hand, the "Swabians" (i.e., the Germans) and the Jews were positioned more favorably until 2009; they were liked rather than disliked, according to the thermometer. After 2009, however, there was a steep decline for both groups. Indeed, by 2013, respondents disliked rather than liked all the groups. In each survey, Roma were the most disliked group, but interestingly the antipathy felt towards them has declined since 2009. The extent of

antipathy towards Jews peaked in 2010. Since that time – similarly to the preceding data – it has diminished slightly.

Based on two variables indicating the strength of affective antisemitism, the extent of the antisemitic groups altered as follows over time.[3]

Figure 4
Proportion of affective anti-Semites in Hungarian society, 2003 – 2013
(%)



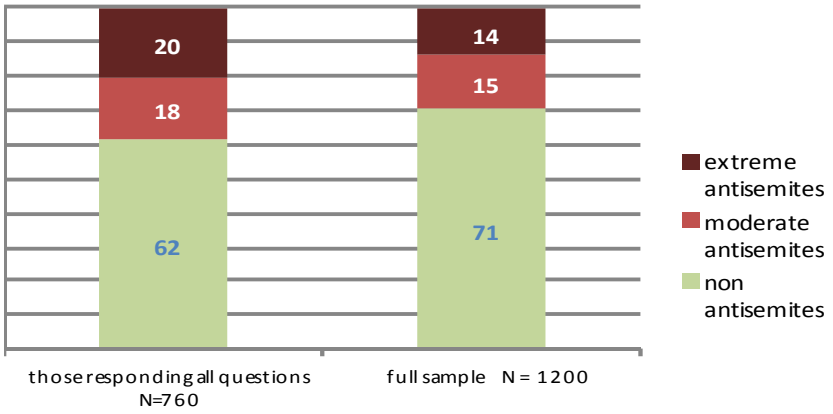
As Fig. 4 shows, the percentage figure peaked in 2010. At that time, 22 % of respondents in the sample were extreme emotional antisemites and an additional 22 % were moderate emotional antisemites. Non-antisemites accounted for just 54 % of the sample. From 2010 to 2011, the proportion of antisemites fell from 44 % to 35 %, and then by 2013 the size of the extreme antisemitic group decreased but the proportion of moderate antisemites increased once again. Thus, the most recent combined figure was 40 %. In general, we can state that since 2010 around four in ten Hungarian adults have harbored strong or moderate antisemitic sentiments.

3 This antisemitism indicator was constructed on the basis of answers to two questions. The first question concerned whether the respondent placed himself or herself in the group whose members "*feel antipathy toward Jews*." The second concerned whether the respondent liked or disliked Jews on the basis of a 9-point scale. Those respondents who stated that they felt antipathy to Jews and scored between 1 to 5 on the dislike/like scale were classified as extreme antisemites; the remnant of the "antipathy" group and those who stated that they don't feel antipathy but fell into the lower tercile (1-3) on the dislike/like scale were classified as moderate antisemites; all other respondents were classified as non-antisemites.

1.3. The Size of the Antisemitic Group in Present-Day Hungary

Evidently, although the groups of cognitive and affective antisemites largely overlap, they are not identical; we do not automatically find the same individuals in the two groups. The hardcore antisemites – those who are active and can be mobilised – characteristically exhibit strong antisemitism in both dimensions. Accordingly, the next step in our analysis was to examine the size of the antisemitic core in the adult population.[4] The results of these calculations are shown in Fig. 5:

Figure 5
Proportion of antisemites in the Hungarian society, 2013 (%)



Thus, we can state that after the 2010 peak, the proportion of extreme antisemites in present-day Hungary lies between 14-20 %, another 15-18 % of the adult population harbors some antisemitic prejudices, and about two-third of the population is not antisemitic.

The changes in the proportion of the antisemitic groups appears in Table 3.

Table 3. Change in the proportion of antisemites among the Hungarian adult population, 2006-2013 (%)

	Extreme antisemites		Moderate antisemites		Non-antisemites/unclassifed	
	full sample	those respond-ing to all questions	full sample	those respond-ing to all ques-tions	full sample	those responding to all questions
2006	13	18	12	16	75	66
2011	17	26	9	14	74	60
2013	14	20	15	18	71	62

4 We made the estimate by placing those respondents classified as extreme antisemites in both dimensions as well as those classified as extreme antisemites in one dimension and as moderate antisemites in the other dimension in the group of extreme antisemites. Meanwhile, those respondents classed as moderate antisemites in both dimensions or as extreme antisemites in one dimension and as non-antisemites in the other dimension, were placed in the group of moderate antisemites. Finally, all other respondents were placed in the group of non-antisemites or – where there was a lack of responses – in the unclassified group.

According to our results (see table 3), by 2011 the proportion of extreme antisemites had risen (from 13-18 % to 17-26%), while the percentage of moderate antisemites had fallen slightly. The figures also indicate a decrease in latent antisemitic views: the number of extreme antisemites increased significantly among those responding to all the statements measuring anti-Jewish sentiment. The results of the 2013 survey show a slight decrease in the proportion of extreme antisemites, but do not indicate significant changes in the general proportion of antisemites and non-antisemites.

2 The Causal Explanation of Antisemitic Prejudice

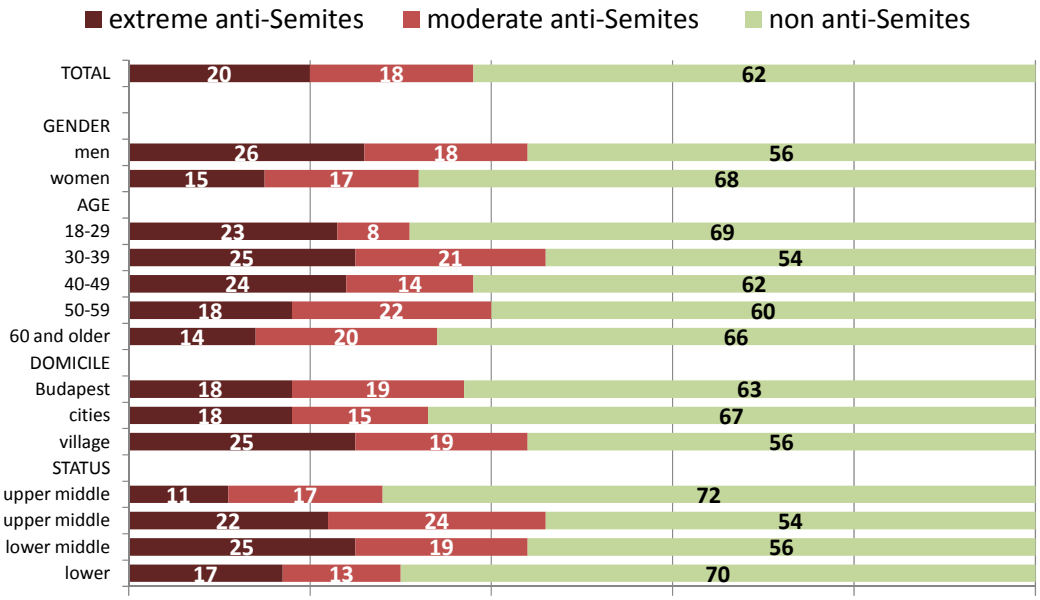
2.1. Antisemitic Prejudice and Socio-Demographic Status

Theories of prejudice often assume that prejudice can be linked with demographic, economic and social indicators that are easy to measure. Whereas studies in Western Europe and the United States found that anti-Jewish sentiment is more common among the poorly educated of lower social classes than among high-status groups, in Hungary the situation is less clear. Indeed, in Hungary, such factors as age, education, the place of residence, social status and deprivation have limited significance in explaining antisemitism: In the major 1995 study, these factors accounted for less than 2.5 % of the variance in antisemitism, and their explanatory potential did not increase in subsequent years (Kovács 2010, p. 53, and Ch. 3). The 2011 survey produced findings similar to those of previous studies. Antisemitic prejudice[5] was barely influenced by the socio-demographic background variables; the explanatory potential of these factors was weak.

According to the results of the 2013 study the explanatory potential of these indicators remained unchanged. The influence of these variables was significant only among those accepting the religious anti-Judaism statements: in this group, we found statistically significant overrepresentations of respondents aged over 60, of people with less than 8 grades of education, and of rural dwellers. Further, among both the affective and cognitive antisemites, men significantly outnumber women, while the upper-middle status group is overrepresented among the antisemites and the upper status group is overrepresented among the non-antisemites. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of cities outside Budapest are underrepresented among the cognitive antisemites (those accepting a large number of antisemitic stereotypes) compared with all other domicile groups, as are also residents of Budapest compared with village dwellers. The significant demographic, economic and social differences among the two groups of antisemites and non anti-Semites are shown in figure 6: the proportion of antisemites is larger than average among men, in the 30-39 age group, among village dwellers and in the middle status groups.

5 The antisemitism indicator was formed as a principal component based on respondents' agreement with the statements in Table 1, and from the two items that serve to measure affective antisemitism.

Figure 6
Anti-Semitism and demographic, social and economic indicators
(in %)



2.2. Antisemitic prejudice and social attitudes

While antisemitic prejudice[6] was barely influenced by the socio-demographic background variables (R^2<5% in all surveys), other attitudes, however, did explain in large part antisemitic prejudice: in 2002, xenophobia, anomie, nationalism and conservatism accounted for 43 % of the variance in antisemitism. Moreover age and social status showed an effect only through such attitudes: older people and those of lower social status proved to be more receptive to these attitudes than did others (Kovács 2010, p. 106).

The 2011 survey[7] produced findings similar to those of previous studies. Xenophobia, religious conservatism, law-and-order xenophobic attitudes, anomie and nationalism do greatly influence support for antisemitic views (R^2 = 31%).[8] In

6 The antisemitism indicator was formed as a principal component based on respondents' agreement with the statements in Table 1and from the two items that serve to measure affective antisemitism (see note 1).

7 Since the results of the 2013 study were very similar, we won't discuss them in this section separately.

8 These variables were formed as principal components. The items used to create the principal components were as follows: Law-and-order xenophobia: immigration rules should be tightened; would support the death penalty; would limit the number of colored people in the country (agreement/rejection); Religious conservatism: would restrict abortions; has religious convictions; considers homosexuality to be immoral (agreement/rejection); Xenophobia: like/dislike of eight ethnic groups (score on scale); Anomie: in this country you have to be dishonest to get rich; if people had the will, they could determine the fate of the country (rejection); nowadays the courts do not serve justice to the people; nowadays the country's leaders

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the course of previous studies, we saw that anomie – that is, distrust of ethical and social norms and of institutions and political leaders – contributes to the development of antisemitic prejudice (Kovács 2010, p. 56-60). The 2011 survey confirmed this observation: anomic attitudes directly and indirectly – in the second case by inducing nationalism, law-and-order xenophobia and general xenophobia, strongly influence the development of antisemitic prejudice.

People who are generally hostile to all "outsiders" – i.e. xenophobes – are also hostile to Jews. In addition to xenophobia-driven antisemitism, two other types can be observed. The first of these has been identified in many studies: this has always been the traditional terrain of antisemitism. This group is highly receptive to religious conservative attitudes (this applies particularly to women in the group) and to law-and-order xenophobia (this applies particularly to men). Older and poorly educated village-dwellers are overrepresented in this group, among whom men typically display anomic attitudes. A rather different group appears to comprise those people whose antisemitism is induced primarily by nationalism. In this group, we find young and strongly anomic people. However, it is impossible to link anomie – which induces nationalist attitudes –with a clearly definable social group. A great variety of people may perceive a weakening of social cohesion and an unraveling of the social fabric. Since a fear of social atomization and loosing ties to social integrations – and thus the presence of anomic attitudes – may be caused not by real deprivation, but by a loss of social status and a diminished ability to cope with the complexity of society – particularly at times of rapid change -, these attitudes may not necessarily be linked with clearly definable social groups.

2.3. **Antisemitism and Politics**

Summarizing the findings of the various preceding analyses, we can state that although we see the emergence of a characteristic attitude structure associated with strong antisemitic prejudice and can also identify links between these attitudes and certain indicators of status, the links cannot fully explain the development of antisemitic prejudice or, in particular, changes occurring in such prejudice over time. Our investigations also produced results indicating that certain sociological or social psychological factors do give rise to a *proclivity* to prejudice, but that other factors then determine whether such a proclivity *becomes manifested* in prejudice.[9] This hypothesis is supported by four observations.

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are not really concerned about people like you; today, everyone and anyone can be bought (agreement/rejection); Nationalism: a firmer stand should be taken to defend the interests of the Hungarian minorities abroad; the defense of Hungary's national interests is more important than EU membership; in important matters, people with strong national feelings should have a decisive say (agreement/rejection).

9 These results are in accord with the findings of a survey conducted in 2008-2009 by the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Zick, A., Küpper, B., & Hövermann, A., 2011). This study mapped out the propensity to intolerance, prejudice, and discrimination in eight European countries, including Hungary. In their analysis of the results, the researchers found that among the eight countries, the surveyed cluster of attitudes— the "group-focused enmity"—was most typical in Poland and then in Hungary. The explanatory potential, however, of the attitude variables, ideological attitudes, and value variables they used for a causal explanations of the phenomenon (including anomie and religious conservatism, which we also have used) was weakest in Hungary—although in Hungary as well they found a significant correlation between them and group-focused enmity.

In the course of the analysis, we clustered the respondents in groups based on their average scores in the background attitude variables. As a result of this procedure, in addition to a strongly antisemitic group with high average scores on each attitude variable (cluster 3) and a clearly non-antisemitic group with low average scores on each variable (cluster 1), two further groups (cluster 2 and cluster 4) were formed (see Table 4).

Table 4. Antisemitism an social and political attitudes
(factorscore averages; N=742)

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4
Law-and-order xenophobia	-1.11274	.39902	.50689	.48485
Religious conservatism	-.23066	-.27972	.69365	.07092
Nationalism	-.67519	.54870	.87141	-.44614
Anomie	-.28525	.71233	.68054	-.81072
General xenophobia	-.64262	-.25403	1.02775	.35505

People in both clusters (cluster 2. and 4.) are less antisemitic than on average, but more antisemitic than the obviously non-antisemitic group (cluster 1). They do exhibit above the average some of the attitudes associated with antisemitism: law-and-order attitudes, nationalism and anomie in cluster 2, and religious conservatism and law-and-order xenophobia in cluster 4. Whereas both in the antisemitic cluster 3 and in the non-antisemitic cluster 1 inhabitants of cities are present in significantly higher proportion, in cluster 2 and cluster 4 village dwellers are overrepresented, but whereas cluster 4 tends to be made up of older people with little education, in cluster 2 we typically find young people (18-29 age group) who are relatively better educated (particularly, skilled workers). This finding indicates that place of residence can influence whether attitudes inducing antisemitic prejudice do in fact give rise to prejudices. It seems this happens more in cities – the primary arenas of political life and the consumption of political media – than in villages. Budapest residents – especially those of high status – belong among the well-integrated non-antisemites with liberal attitudes, while people living in urban areas outside Budapest – especially those of lower status – score high on the above attitude factors and are typically found among the extreme anti-Semites. Village dwellers – depending on their age and level of education – have attitudes that in the case of urban dwellers induce antisemitism, but the effect of such attitudes in the rural milieu is not as strong as in urban areas.

The second observation has been that the same group of attitudes induces regionally different effects in terms of the strength of antisemitism. The antisemites tend to live in the country's eastern region or in central parts of the Great Plain, while non-antisemites are more likely to come from the northeast or from the southern part of Transdanubia. However, the presence of attitudes usually inducing prejudice, is not significantly different in the different regions. Consequently, those factors which transform these attitudes into manifest prejudice must be

present in different intensity and function more effectively in certain regions than in others.

Third, we discovered significant differences between the clusters in terms of political interest and political activity – the latter being expressed in electoral activity and in party choice. Members of the antisemitic cluster characteristically exhibit strong political interest and a high level of political activity, whereas members of clusters 2 and 4, who have similar social attitudes but exhibit sub-average manifest antisemitism, are characterized by low levels of political interest and electoral activity (the non-antisemites score close to the average). It seems, therefore, that the effect of attitudes inducing antisemitism differs not only in the various settlement types and regions, for we also observe that the realization of this effect is linked with respondents' relationship to politics: a similar attitude structure gives rise to stronger antisemitism among those respondents with a greater interest in politics, with a higher level of electoral activity and well-developed party preferences.

Finally, we compared the proportion of antisemites in different regions of the country and at various points in time. The comparison showed interesting changes. Between 2003 and 2009 the proportion of antisemites was significantly higher than elsewhere in the southwestern and central regions of the country (i.e., in southern Transdanubia, Pest County, and Budapest). However, after 2009 the surveys revealed substantial changes: in 2011, the proportion of antisemites increased significantly in northern parts of the Great Plain and in the northeastern region, while non-antisemites were significantly more numerous in Budapest and in Pest County – and in the northwestern region – than they were elsewhere. Thus, the results of surveys conducted in different years show, that the intensity of antisemitic prejudice changes over time even within the same region. It is unlikely, however, that this is the consequence of regional changes in the background attitudes, because changes in such attitudes as law-and-order, conservatism, xenophobia, and anomie, if at all, usually occur slowly and gradualy. Thus, other factors must be contributing to the changing intensity of antisemitic prejudice. In this respect, a striking phenomenon is, that the change shows strong parallels with changes over time in party preferences.

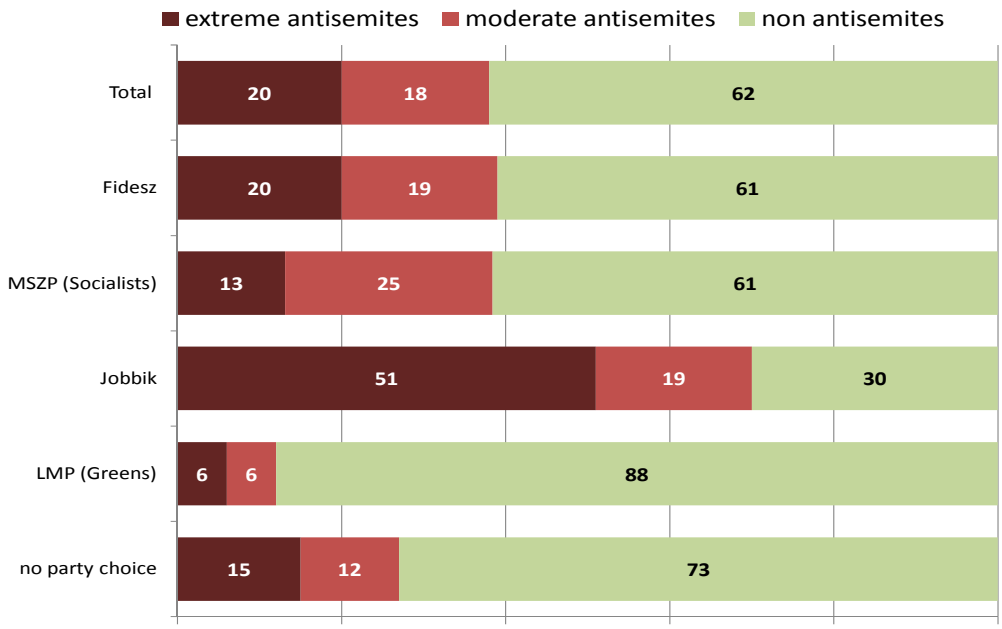
Between 1994 and 2006, the political party of the Hungarian far right was the Hungarian Justice and Life Party led by the antisemitic writer István Csurka. This openly antisemitic party, which at the 1998 elections succeeded in crossing the five-percent threshold needed for representation in Parliament, was particularly successful in Budapest (where it received almost 9 % of the vote), as well as in Pest County and in several other urban centers. In 2002, however, the party failed to enter Parliament, and so at the 2006 elections it formed an alliance with the new far-right party, Jobbik. A resounding defeat was the result: the alliance of the two parties won only 2.2 % of the vote. Thereafter Jobbik gradually won over the former MIÉP-voters and added new voter groups to the far right's constituency, thereby squeezing the Hungarian Justice and Life Party out of Hungarian politics. In the initial period, support for Jobbik – which was still modest – was most visible in those regions where the Hungarian Justice and Life Party had recruited a substantial share of its supporters. Over a three-year period, however, the situation changed radically: at the 2010 elections, when Jobbik achieved 17 % of the vote,

support for the party was greater than average in the northern Great Plain region and in northern Hungary (22-24 %), while it was below average in Budapest (13.8 %) and in southern Transdanubia (13.5 %).10 Evidently, this change occurred parallel to with contemporaneous regional changes in the spread of antisemitic prejudice. The question arises: to what extent does the former phenomenon explain the latter?

It is unlikely that antisemitism increased suddenly in these regions during this period, and that the new antisemitic voters then found their party in Jobbik. It is far more likely that the far-right party, whose rhetoric gives an important place to antisemitism, mobilized the latent prejudice among its potential voters and "taught" them to consider antisemitism to be an accessory of – or, indeed, an acceptable element in – their choice of party. This does not mean that Jobbik mobilized primarily antisemitic voters. This is what the Hungarian Justice and Life Party had sought to do – with little success. According to our survey findings, in 2011 65 % of Jobbik voters harbored antisemitic prejudice, two years later 51 % of them were extreme and 19 % moderate anti-Semites (Figure 7). But the research study – the aim of which was to determine why Jobbik's Facebook fans support the party – found that no more than 4 % of respondents mentioned antisemitism as a motive for their party choice (Bartlett et al, 2012. p. 50).

Figure 7
Antisemitism and party choice
(in %)

10 Though the regional differences in support for Jobbik remained significant even in 2014, the electoral results of the party became more balanced in the different regions. The regional proportion of Jobbik voters in the 2014 elections: Northern Hungary: 28,7 %; Northern Great Plain: 26,58 %; Southern Great Plain: 21,48 %; Central Hungary: 18,87 %; Budapest: 12,07 %; Central Transdanubia: 20,73 %; Southern Transdanubia: 21,49 %; Western Transdanubia: 20,11 %;



It seems, therefore, that far-right voters are not motivated above all by antisemitism when choosing their party but by other factors. However, an increase in antisemitic prejudice will be a consequence of that choice. Thus, antisemitism correlates with party choice, but it does not explain it. All of this means that the hypothesis can be formulated: the appearance of the antisemitic party (i.e. a purely political factor) is a major and independent explanatory cause of the increase in antisemitism after 2009 which affects it independently of attitudes capable of eliciting antisemitic prejudices.11 This leads us to the methodological conclusion that research on antisemitism should not be confined to the theoretical framework of social psychology and sociology. An explanation of the dynamics of prejudice cannot be reached exclusively by means of socio-demographic indicators and attitudes pointing to a propensity to antisemitism. We need also to examine how anti-Jewish sentiment is transformed into "*political*" that defines the boundaries between political opponents. It is therefore worth investigating how antisemitism fits into Jobbik's general political rhetoric.

3 Antisemitic Discourse

Antisemitic discourse appeared in the Hungarian public space in the immediate aftermath of the political changes of 1989-90. For many people this came as a

11 In the course of linear regression analysis we defined antisemitic prejudice as a dependent variable. Among the independent variables, we also placed – in addition to the attitudes presented above – choice of Jobbik. The variables together accounted for 31 % of the variance of the antisemitism principal component. Choice of Jobbik directly affected the antisemitism variable (beta=.102, sig.=.000), while through its effect on the nationalism variable (beta=.142., sig.=.000), it was also indirectly linked with antisemitism.

shock, because they believed that the old prejudices had passed into oblivion during the four decades of Communism when public antisemitic speech was prohibited. As many sources have since shown, this is not what happened at all (Kovács 2010). Beneath the surface, many antisemitic clichés survived – in the private sphere and in personal communications and especially in non-public intellectual communications (Kovács 2012). Another reason for the survival of the "Jewish question" beneath the surface was Communist party policy. Despite its total control over Jewish institutions and Jewish community life, the Hungarian Communist party (similarly to other Communist parties in East Central Europe) considered the conflicting historical memories about Jews and the Jewish presence in Hungarian society to be disturbing factors. Throughout the period the party kept the problem permanently on the political agenda. In doing so, it (re)constructed the boundaries between Jews and non-Jews by discursive and political means and then eagerly manipulated the self-constructed 'Jewish question' according to its own temporary political aims. This explains to a great extent the open re-emergence of antisemitism after 1990 (Kovács 2014). Nevertheless, during the decades of prohibition, many aspects of the antisemitic vocabulary, language and ideology had indeed faded from public consciousness. Thus, when the antisemitic discourse reappeared in the public space after 1990, a part of Hungarian society – primarily people born after 1956 – had to "relearn" the antisemitic vocabulary and to find a way of systemizing their rather diffuse prejudices. The "relearning process" occurred in the years following the political changes of 1989-90. The emergent antisemitic discourse played a major role in this process (Kovács 2010 Ch. 1.).

The first step in the structural differentiation of antisemitic discourse was to challenge and question the language of the Jewish-Hungarian, liberal-universalist tradition in which Jewish and non-Jewish Hungarians appeared as constituting one single national community. The emerging new discourse branded the Jews as an alien – or newly alienated – outgroup. This was described in terms of a historical process by the renowned Hungarian author Sándor Csoóri already in 1990 (Csoóri, 1990). According to him, the first two decades of the 20th century were the last period in which Hungarian Jews were still able to identify with the most vital issues of the Hungarian nation. "The Republic of the Councils (the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919), the Horthy era, and especially the period of bloody Nazi persecution, destroyed the possibility of a spiritual and emotional bond." Targeting the popularity of what was the liberal party at the time (the Alliance of Free Democrats), which was considered to be "Jewish" by some of its right-wing adversaries, he continued as follows: "Today, attempts at a reverse assimilation are becoming increasingly apparent in our country: the liberal Hungarian Jews are now seeking to 'assimilate', in style and thought, the Hungarians. With this aim in mind, they could establish a parliamentary spring-board – something they had never been able to do before."

The next step in the development of the new antisemitic discourse was to define the relationship between the two groups as one of conflict – as a battle between nationals and anti-nationals. The two groups were construed as permanent adversaries, independent of the characteristics of the political system. Indeed, representatives of the extreme right-wing discourse argued that there was a striking

continuity between the Communist and post-Communist system. In their view the leaders and vehicles of the Communist system were the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, a vengeful minority held permanently in terror and thus looking for foreign protectors and masters. After the fall of Communism, Jews were able to maintain their previous positions of power because the former Communist Jews were linked by a secret thread to Jews who opposed the former political system and founded the strongly anti-Communist liberal party of the transition. The explanation for this was that the experiences and memory of persecution had triggered the same reactions in both groups, despite their seemingly different political stances. For those who have been living in constant fear ever since the Holocaust, anything that happened in the interest of the nation was a threat. Therefore, the former Communists and the liberals of the 1990s became allies and continuously raised the charge of antisemitism in order to delegitimize the anti-Communist national forces representing the real interests of the majority. However, since a small minority like the Jews would never be able to exert decisive influence on the politics of the country, they looked for the support of powerful allies, making use of international Jewish financial and media power. Accordingly, after the fall of Communism new foreign masters appeared, who were no longer in Moscow, but in New York and in Tel Aviv (Csurka 1991). Thus, through a renewal of the old stereotypes of Jewish world conspiracy, local antisemitism was placed in a global context, whereby the struggle of the Hungarian people for survival was presented as just one example of similar struggles against the "globalizing" conqueror of the world, which included the struggle of the Palestinians against Israel and the struggle of the entire Arab world – and even of Europe – against the United States. Additionally, by suggesting continuity between the dominance of the pre-1990 Communist antinationals and the post-Communist liberal ones, the antisemitic rhetoric acquired a system-critical dimension. This enabled those who had opposed the Communist system but who had also been disappointed by post-Communism to express their total rejection of the new system in such language.

On the extreme right this discourse became the general conceptual framework for explaining the difficulties of the post-Communist period and for offering remedies. The late István Csurka, the most influential antisemitic writer and politician of the first two post-Communist decades, characterized the world as follows: "It's a war now, a domestic Hungarian cold war, between the Hungarian people and the domineering foreigners" (Csurka 1995a). "…They've forced upon us a financial system and a colonial financial management administration which (…) aims to establish a secure zone, a refugee camp and a hinterland for the perpetual war in the Middle East. For all this to happen, the primary need is that others rather than Hungarians should dispose of Hungarian assets, or Hungarians who are reliable as far as the Middle East is concerned and who profit from the transaction." (Csurka 1995b) The "…final aim is the extermination of Hungarians. Not by using weapons or poison gas, but by financial policy means, by removing livelihood opportunities, and by leading them towards self-destruction." (Csurka 1998)

In the next fifteen years the antisemitic discourse barely changed. The antisemitic texts of Krisztina Morvai, representative of the Hungarian far-right Jobbik Party in the European Parliament, which were written more than ten years

after Csurka's articles, could have been worded by Csurka himself. The discourses point in the same direction: their aim at to construct a powerful "Other", a political enemy able to embody the general Evil in the world. Setting *"our kind [of people]"* against *"your kind"* – outsiders that malign the country and causing the decline of Hungary – Morvai wrote: "*Decisions made by your kind [of people] are always dictated by whatever happens to 'pay off' at a particular point in time, whatever is profitable for you, that is, whatever results in money or power. Common values are replaced by antifascist slogans and anti-Hungarian sentiment, and other ways of bringing 'our kind' [of people] under control." "Your kind* (intend us to be) *obedient subjects, servants and domestics, in an impoverished and maimed Hungary that has been turned into a third-world colony.*" (Morvai 2008) The discourse leaves little doubt about the identity of the 'Other': "*If, after the fifty years of your Communism, there had remained in us even a speck of the ancient Hungarian prowess, then after the so-called 'change of regime' your kind would not have unpacked your legendary suitcases, which were supposedly on standby. No. You would have left promptly with your suitcases! You would have voluntarily moved out of your stolen … villas, and … you would not have been able to put your grubby hands on the Hungarian people's property, our factories, our industrial plants, our hospitals... We shall take back our homeland from those who have taken it hostage!*" (Morvai 2008)

Though Csurka's and Morvai's texts are almost identical in meaning, the political function of the antisemitic discourse seems to be very different in the two cases. Whereas Csurka and his party, the MIÉP, tried to directly mobilize antisemitic groups by their rhetoric, Jobbik seems to exploit the political potential of the antisemitic rhetoric for other purposes. The strongest mobilizing factor of the party program and rhetoric is not antisemitism, but its bluntly racist anti-Roma demands: the facilitation of Roma segregation and the withdrawal of welfare from impoverished Roma groups (Karácsony, Róna 2010). These and some additional programmatic demands of the party – the demand for a revision of the post-war boundaries, the rejection of Western integration – create the radical outlook of the organization, by means of which Jobbik can portray itself as being on one side of the political divide with all the other mainstream parties are on the other. The 'ownership' of these themes positions the party unambiguously in opposition to all mainstream "establishment" parties, be they on the left or right of politics, in government or part of the parliamentary opposition. This self-positioning enabled the party to attract the votes many of those groups that had become disappointed in the post-Communist decades and had turned against the new system in its totality. Many empirical investigations have proved that quite a wide array of different social groups tend to accept anti-establishment views in present-day Hungary, and Jobbik draws support from these various social groups (Karácsony, Róna 2010; Kovács 2012).[12] These people vote for the party for various reasons (Kovács,

12 On the anti-establishment character of the post-communist extreme right, see Bustikova 2009. Research on the rise of the "social demand" for right-wing extremism in Hungary showed that the proportion of those who do not have trust in the existing institutional system grew drastically between 2002 (12%) and 2009 (46%) (Krekó et al. 2011)

2012). Consequently, Jobbik's political success is due to its ability to find the element that binds the various groups together. The common denominator that unites the groups behind the party is a strong anti-establishment attitude, and Jobbik was able to locate easy-to-understand identity pegs for expressing this common denominator as the basic trait of the party's identity. Jobbik's antisemitism should be interpreted in this context.

It is striking that whereas each of the discourse elements underlying the anti-establishment identity have been included in the party's program in the form of concrete political demands, antisemitism has remained at the level of discourse: antisemitic political demands were absent both from the party's program and from the antisemitic discourses in its media. It seems that the present-day Hungarian far-right antisemitic discourse has basically a group-identity function, appealing to those who, for whatever reason, belong to the anti-establishment camp. The heterogeneity of this camp, however, requires a common language, able to express the common group belonging. It is the antisemitic language that makes members of the group recognizable to each other and which allows them to express commonality and groupness. In the case of Jobbik, antisemitism seems to play the role of group language (Kovács, Szilágyi 2012). For people to use this language, they do not necessarily have to be antisemites. But they do have to understand that in certain situations and social milieus they must use this language to express their political and group identity. And they have to learn the "internal" meaning of certain language codes, because overt and public antisemitic speech is not fully legitimate even on the far right.

Based on all this, the hypothesis is put forward that the attitudes explaining antisemitic prejudice – xenophobia, law-and-order conservatism, anomie, and nationalism – induce anti-Jewish sentiment in those instances where political actors undertake the political mobilization of groups with such attitudes, employing the language and culture of antisemitism as a common denominator. This process resembles that which gave rise to German political antisemitism in the 19th century – a process analyzed by Shulamit Volkov in several works. Volkov (Volkov 1978, 1989) demonstrated that the rise of German political antisemitism in the final third of the 19th century could be accounted for by the fact that amid the economic crisis afflicting the country such grave problems as the "social question" and the vulnerability of social integration were increasingly explained in terms of the "unresolved nature" of the "Jewish question," whereby the economic, political, social and cultural "expansion" of emancipated Jewry was used to explain any modern phenomenon perceived as a threat by major social groups. In this way, antisemitism became a discursive code for the rejection of modernity, which political actors then shaped into an effective political ideology for mobilizing groups in society whose status was threatened for whatever reason by modernization. If our hypothesis is true, then a similar process occurred in Hungary after 2006, when antisemitic prejudice strengthened in tandem with the rise of a far-right and antisemitic political party. The function of this antisemitism closely resembles to the function of antisemitism of the 19th century. Whereas 19th-century antisemitism functioned as a code for anti-modernity, serving as a common denominator for hostile feelings related to modernization and its various consequences,

present-day Hungarian antisemitism on the extreme right seems to serve as code for political identity of those who reject the post-transitory system of parliamentary democracy and liberal capitalism.

4 Summary

According to our research findings survey data indicate an increase in prejudice since 2009. This phenomenon is linked with the appearance on the political scene of Jobbik, a more or less openly antisemitic party.

When examining the causes of antisemitism, we reached the same conclusions as in earlier studies: certain attitudes – such as general xenophobia, anomie, law-and-order xenophobia, and nationalism – correlate significantly with antisemitism and well explain its potency. Nevertheless, the most interesting finding of the latest study was that these attitudes do not elicit the same intensity of antisemitic feeling in each social milieu and in each region of the country. The differences correlate with the strength of Jobbik's support in the various regions. Accordingly, we hypothesized that support for a far-right party is not a cause of antisemitism, but – conversely – should be regarded as a factor that mobilizes attitudes leading to antisemitism and that directs people towards antisemitism. Thus, antisemitism is – at least in large part – a consequence of an attraction to the far right rather than an explanation for it.

In this article we examined the functions of the far-right antisemitic discourse as well. In the course of this, we found that the primary function of the discourse is not to formulate anti-Jewish political demands – such demands are practically absent from it – but to develop and use a language which clearly distinguishes its users from all other actors in the political arena, doing so in such a way that those who reject the antisemitic language are presented as supporters of the current political establishment, while those who use the antisemitic language as the radical opponents of it. Thus, the main function of the language is to establish a common identity for groups, which, for various reasons and motives, have turned against the liberal parliamentary system that replaced Communism and have given their support to the anti-establishment far right which does not hesitate to capitalize on these pseudo-revolutionary resentments.

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