

Antisemitism

Summary overview of the situation in the
European Union 2001-2005

Working Paper

May 2006

Foreword

Facing the historical development of antisemitism in Europe as well as its present manifestations it is not only important to closely observe the phenomena, identifying the social context which gives rise to the hatred of the perpetrators, but also to listen sensitively to the fears of Jewish communities.

The EUMC¹ provides in this paper a brief overview on the situation in the European Union with regard to antisemitism. The overview covers the years 2001 to 2005 in the countries of the EU 15 – excluding the ten accession countries of 2004. It addresses developments and trends on manifestations of antisemitism and antisemitic attitudes. In addition, the action taken by the EUMC together with other organisations on drafting a common working definition of antisemitism is highlighted in this paper.

From its experience with dealing with antisemitism, the EUMC wants to explicitly point to the need of joint initiatives and clear, strong measures to combat antisemitism in all its forms. We need the courage and commitment of political leaders across the EU to turn words into action, and we need new coalitions between politicians, intellectuals, journalists, teachers and many others in order to overcome hate, discrimination and exclusion. Antisemitism can and must be fought jointly to make sure that never again it gains a foothold in Europe. For all of us it must be clear: Jews and Jewish communities are highly valued and respected members of our European societies, and we must ensure that they are able to feel as such.

Beate Winkler
Director of the EUMC

May, 2006

¹ The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) was established by Council Regulation 1035/97 (EC) in 1997 and is based in Vienna. It is an agency of the European Union. More information on: www.eumc.eu.int

The primary objective of the EUMC is to formulate opinions and conclusions for political decision-makers, and hence to support the European Union and its Member States in taking measures or formulating courses of action on racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. To this end, the EUMC provides them with objective, reliable and comparable data. The EUMC also studies the extent and development of the phenomena and manifestations of racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism, analyses their causes and effects and highlights examples of good practice in dealing with them.

In December 2003, EU Governments decided to extend the EUMC's mandate to a fundamental rights agency. More information can be found on the website of the European Commission:

http://europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/news/consulting_public/fundamental_rights_agency/index_en.htm

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1. Data availability, reliability and comparability

The EUMC since 2000 collects regularly all available data and information on racism and xenophobia in the EU Member States through its Racism and Xenophobia Network (RAXEN)² and has since 2002 a special focus on antisemitism. In March 2004 the EUMC presented to the European Parliament an extensive report on antisemitism in the then 15 EU Member States containing a country-by-country report on all available data and information, a detailed appraisal of the data collection mechanisms, a historical analysis, an elaboration of the conceptual debates and a working definition.³ In addition, a report on perceptions of members of Jewish communities regarding their situation in the EU was presented to the public.⁴

The general aim of the two reports was to raise awareness of the development of antisemitism in Europe and to stimulate a broader public debate in order to generate pressure for clear and strong measures against it. Therefore, the report contained a number of proposals for political action, such as the implementation of legislation countering all forms of discriminatory practices, the better recording of antisemitic incidents, the promoting of education and training measures, the initiation of interfaith and intercultural dialogue and the addressing of the responsibility of the media. In the meantime, there have been some positive developments as regards the implementation of anti-racist legislation as well as governmental and non-governmental initiatives in the field of awareness raising and education. In addition, some EU Member States recently have introduced into their statistical crime recording systems codes for registering crimes motivated by antisemitism.

Despite these improvements, the EUMC's ongoing work on antisemitism and manifestations of racist incidents has shown that due to different levels and methods of data collection mechanisms in the Member States of the EU it is not possible in many cases to provide official or even unofficial statistics and thus comment on trends. Where no official, semi-official or unofficial data exists, NFPs provide the EUMC with lists of cases collected either ad hoc by organisations or through the media. This results in varying degrees of reliability of data and poor comparability.

The EUMC's review of data collection systems indicates also that in some Member States there seems to be a serious problem of underreporting, particularly in reference to official systems of data collection that are based on police records and on crime and law statistics because not all antisemitic incidents registered by the official institutions are categorised under the label of antisemitism and/or not all antisemitic incidents are reported to the official body by the victims or witnesses of an incident. A complementary problem to underreporting is misreporting and overreporting: This could be the case in unofficial data collection carried out by organisations that do not provide information concerning the data collection methodologies employed.

² The RAXEN network is composed of contracted consortia of organisations (research organisations, NGOs, special bodies, social partners, etc) in each Member State of the European Union that function as the EUMC's National Focal Points with the task to collect objective, reliable and comparable data on racism and xenophobia.

³ EUMC (ed.): *Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002-2003*, Vienna 2004.

⁴ EUMC (ed.): *Perceptions of Antisemitism in the European Union*, Vienna 2004.

2. Developments and Trends

The year 2000 marked the beginning of a period in which most EU countries faced a sharp rise in attacks against Jewish individuals and/or Jewish property. Since then, the issue of antisemitism in Europe has increasingly moved to the centre of public attention again. The question of whether a new form of antisemitism has appeared, replacing traditional antisemitism, has become a lively discussed public issue, and many analysts focused their attention on the connection between the crises in the Middle East and acts of anti-Jewish hostility in Europe.

In the reports by the RAXEN National Focal Points there has been some evidence among the registered data that supports the view that there is some linkage between the number of reported antisemitic incidents and the political situation in the Middle East. This could, for example, be seen in the significantly high peak of incidents in some countries during April 2002, the month in which the Israeli army controversially occupied several Palestinian towns. Such a peak has not been repeated during any subsequent month. Furthermore, some of the data indicates that there have been changes in the profile of perpetrators. It has not anymore been mainly the extreme right that was seen as responsible for hostility towards Jewish individuals or property (or public property with a symbolic relation to the Holocaust or to Jews) – especially during the periods when registered incidents reached a peak. Instead, victims identified “young Muslims”, “people of North African origin”, or “immigrants”.

In the following, we shall refer to available governmental and non-governmental statistics on antisemitic incidents for the years 2001 to 2005 in order to provide a rough impression on the development of antisemitic incidents in Europe.

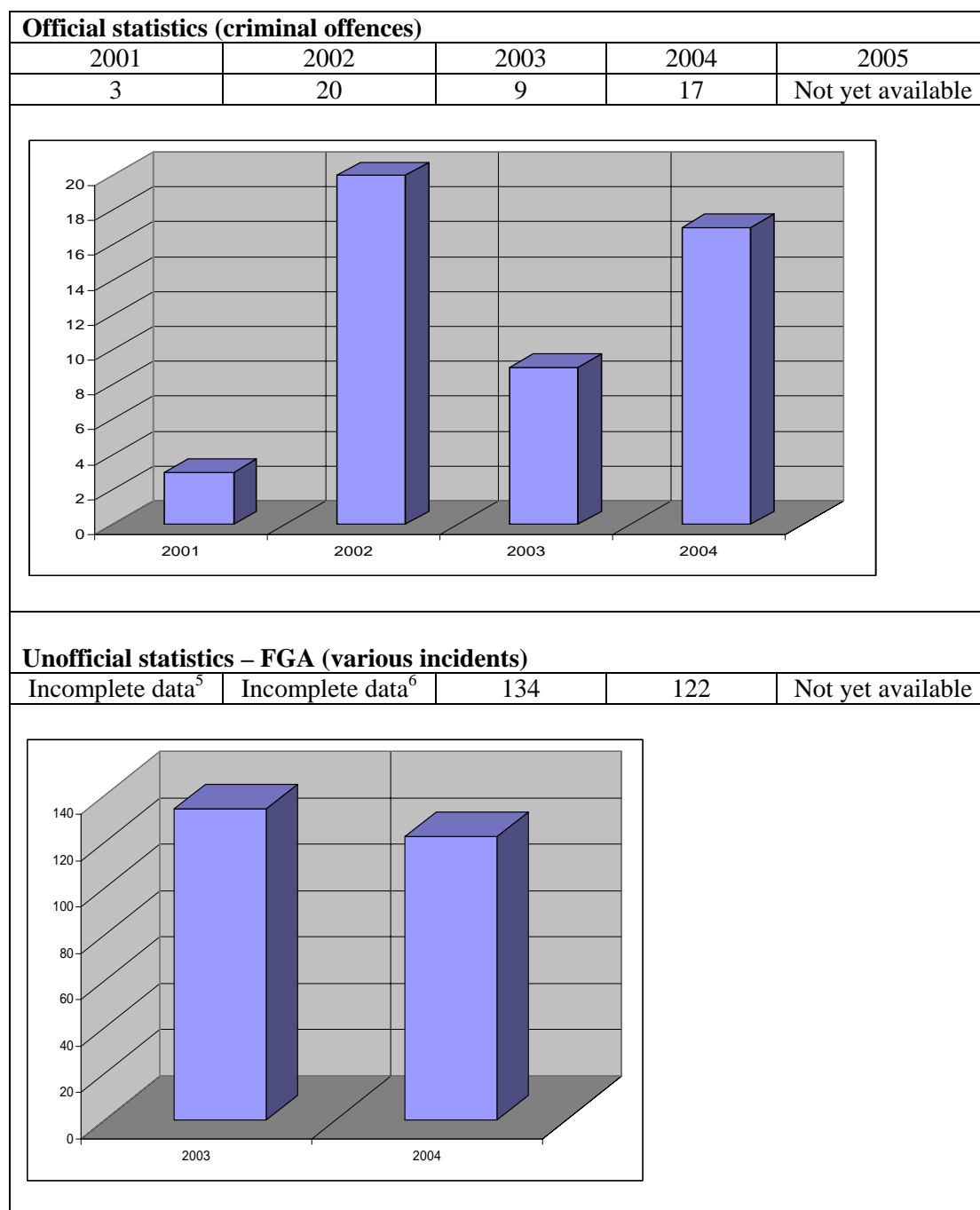
2.1. Antisemitic Incidents 2001 – 2005

For the years 2001 to 2005 there are statistics on antisemitic incidents from the following EU Member States available:

- Austria (official and unofficial data)
- Belgium (official and unofficial data)
- Denmark (official and unofficial data)
- France (official and unofficial data)
- Germany (official data)
- Netherlands (official and unofficial data)
- Sweden (official)
- UK (unofficial data)

AUSTRIA

In Austria, antisemitic incidents are recorded officially **only** in the context of recording activities of extreme right-wing groups. The NGO “Forum gegen Antisemitismus” FGA (Forum against Antisemitism) also records incidents. Official statistics display a sharp rise in antisemitic activities in 2002 as compared to 2001, followed by a marked decrease in registered antisemitic acts in 2003, again followed by a sharp increase in registered acts in 2004. Unofficial data, which displays a much higher rate of antisemitic acts than the official data, shows a slight decrease in antisemitic activities for 2004.

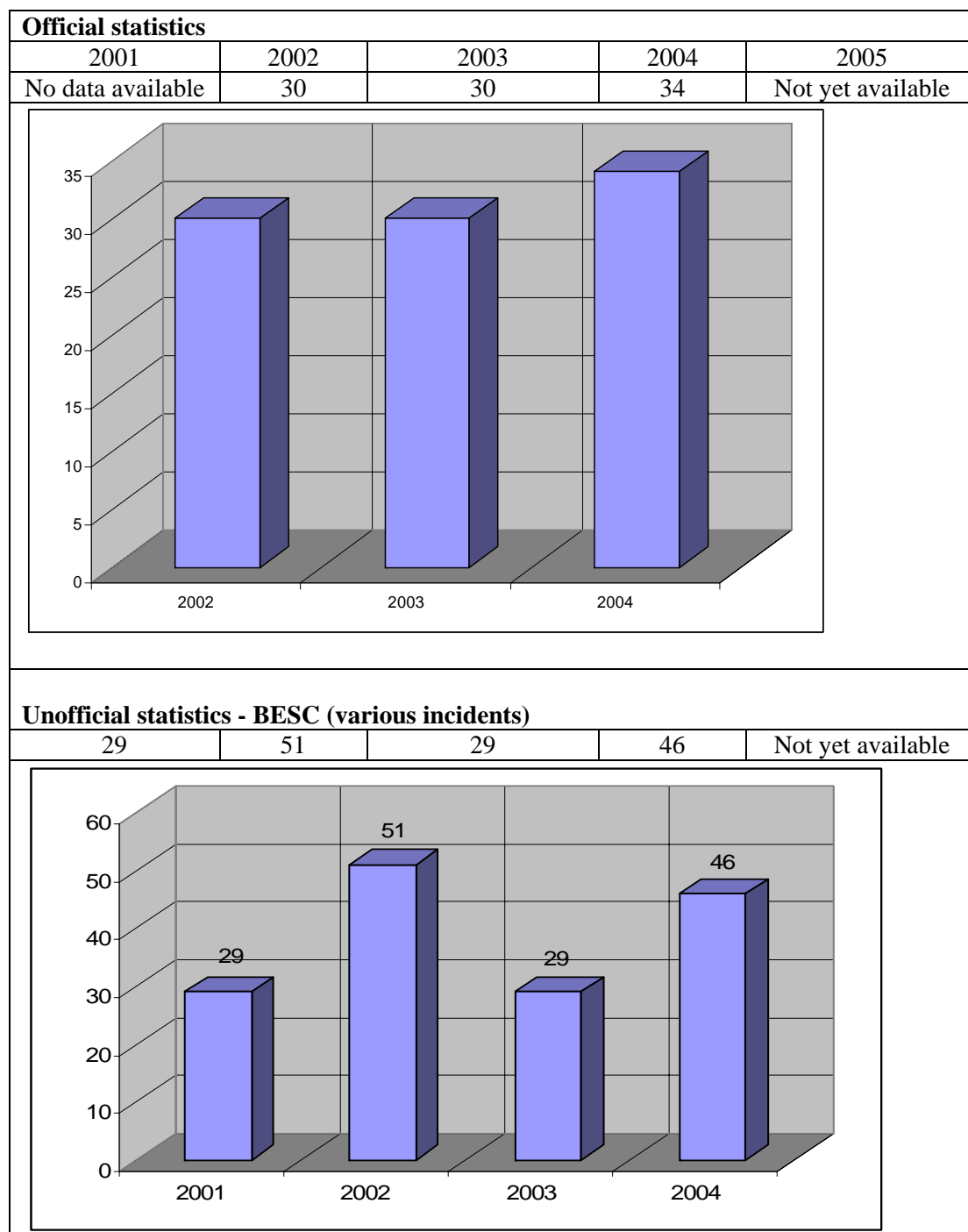


⁵ Monitoring covers only a few months.

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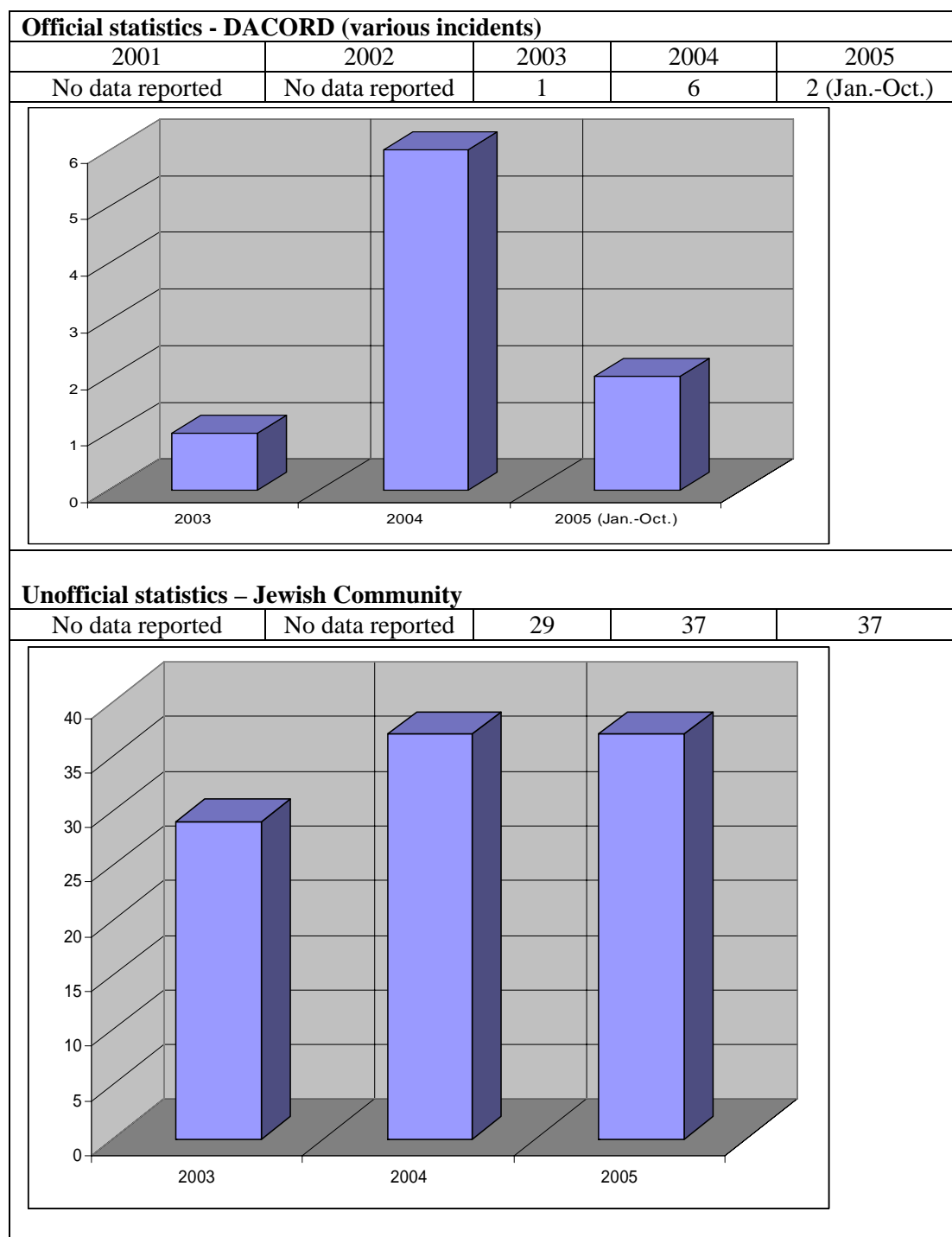
BELGIUM

The CEOOR, specialised body, collects and investigates **allegations of antisemitism** and compiles statistics. Police do not officially record antisemitic incidents. The NGO “Bureau Exécutif de Surveillance Communautaire” (BESC) also records incidents. Official data displays a steady number of antisemitic acts for 2002 and 2003 and a slight increase in 2004. Contrary to this, unofficial statistics display a marked increase in antisemitic activities in 2002 as compared to 2001 and in 2004 as compared to 2003.



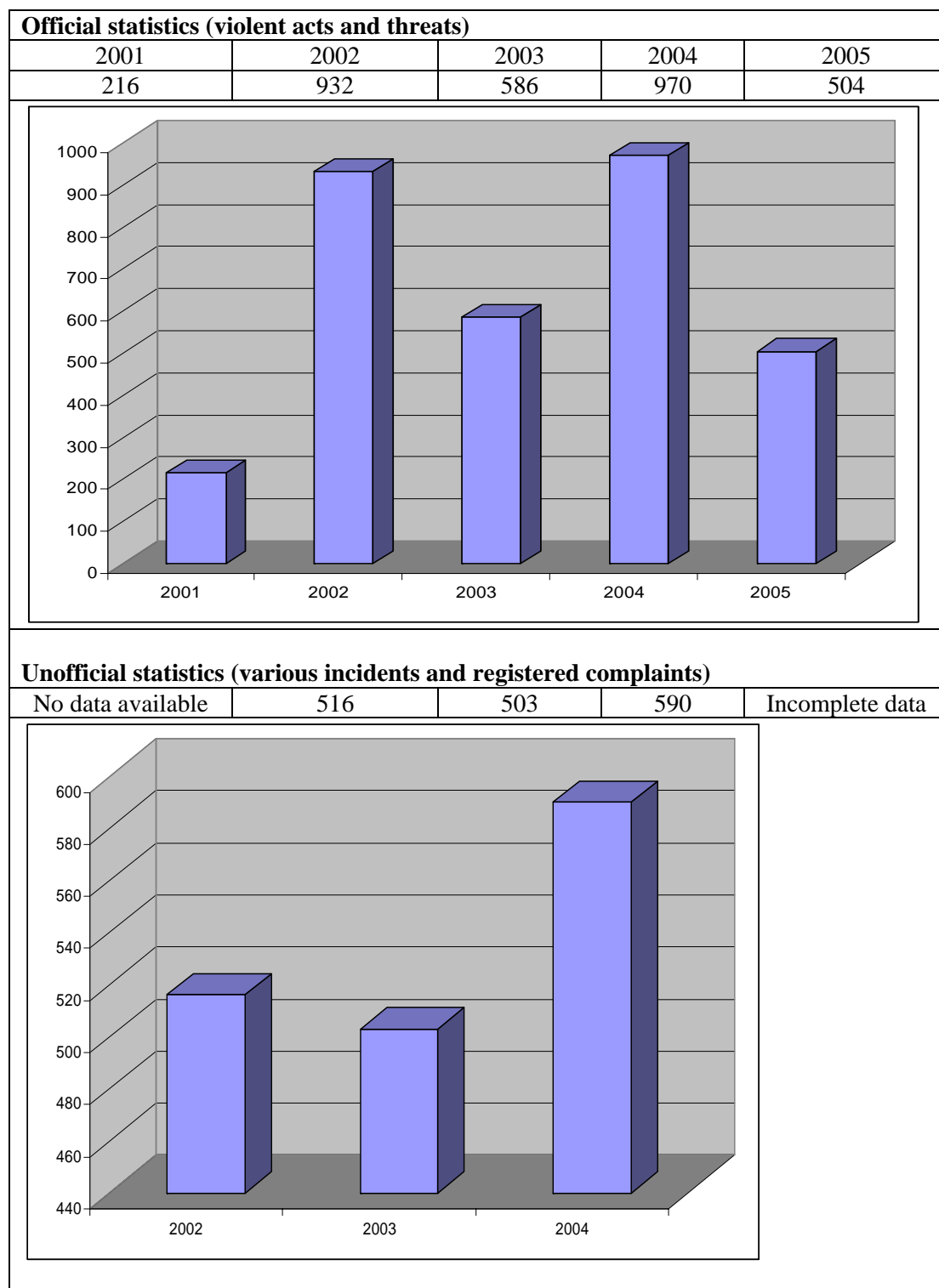
DENMARK

Racist incidents are monitored **officially** by the Danish Security Intelligence Service (PET) without categorising them as antisemitic (based on the incident description we have categorised **tentatively** 7 incidents as possibly antisemitic). Unofficially antisemitic incidents are recorded by the Jewish Community “Det Mosaiske Trossamfund” and the “Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination” (DACORD). Official data, which consists of very low figures, displays a sharp increase in antisemitic acts in 2004 as compared to 2003, followed by a decrease in registered acts in 2005.



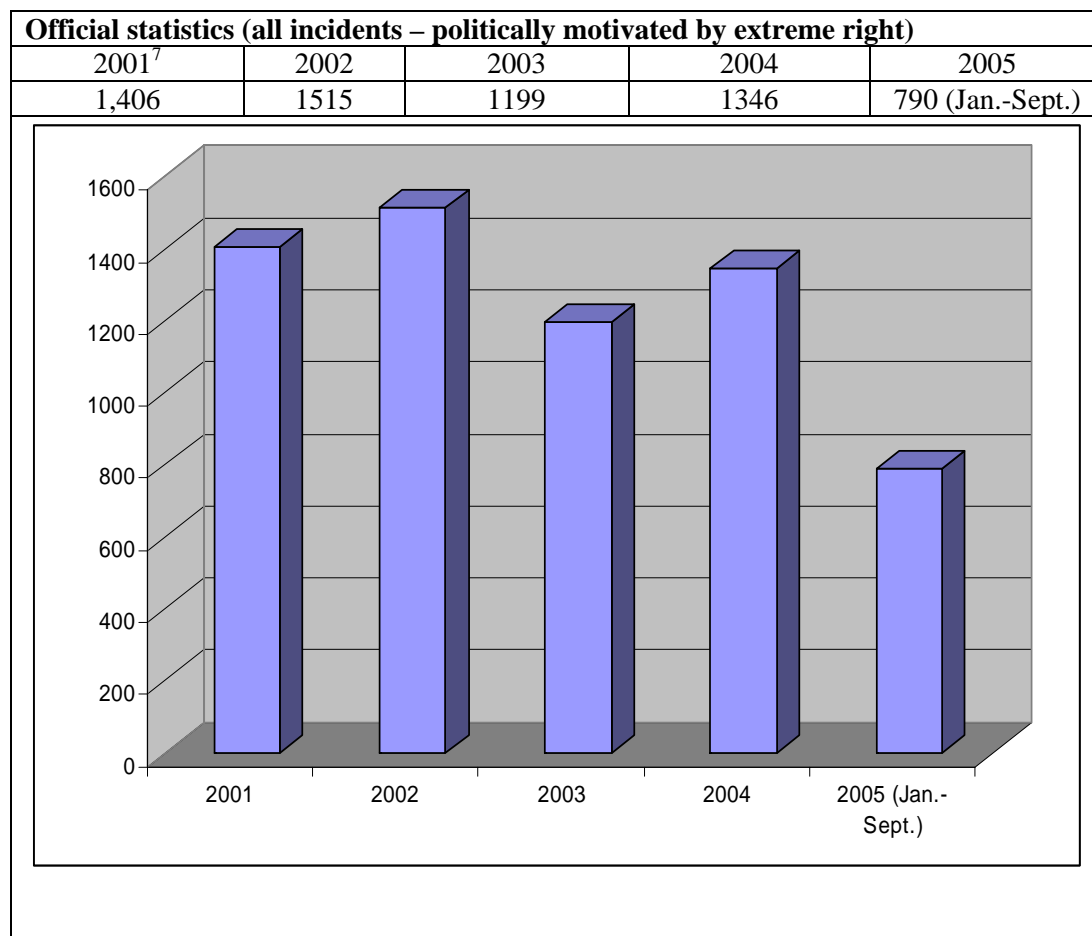
FRANCE

Data are collected officially and compiled into statistics by the Ministry of Interior. Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France (CRIF) records complaints and provides statistics. Official data points to a rather erratic development of antisemitic acts, with high levels of antisemitic activities in 2002 and 2004 and lower rates for 2001, 2003 and 2005.



GERMANY

Data are collected officially by the “Kriminalpolizeilicher Meldedienst – Politisch Motivierte Kriminalität” (KPMD-PMK, in operation since 1 January 2001) records **only** “right-wing politically motivated criminality with an antisemitic background”. Statistical data is provided by the “Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz”. Most of the crimes registered are non-violent crimes (e.g. 22 people were injured as a result of antisemitic crimes in 2004). As it was the case in France, also German figures point to antisemitic activities peaking in 2002 and 2004. For 2001 and 2003 lower figures of antisemitic incidents were registered.



⁷ Due to the introduction of a new system in 2001, figures of previous years are not comparable.

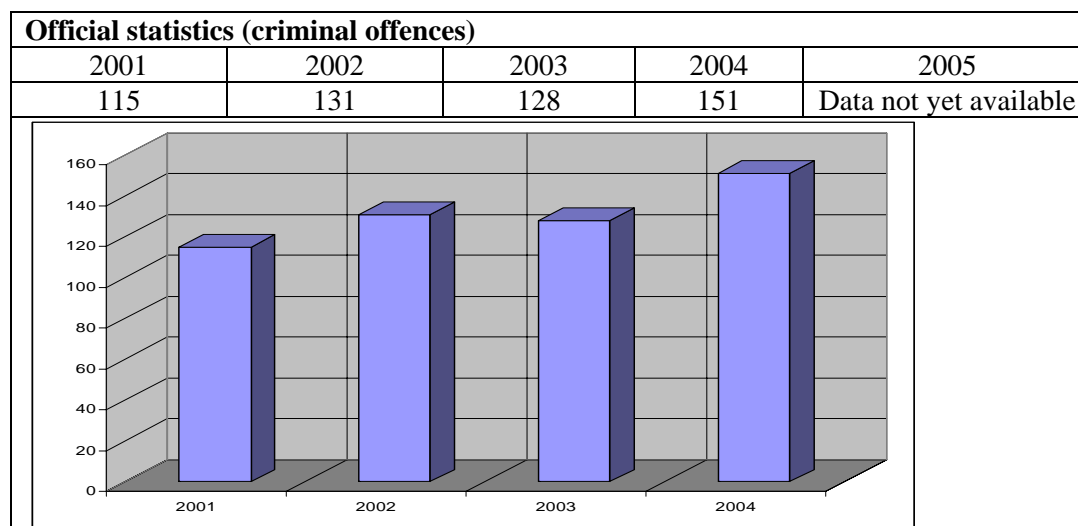
THE NETHERLANDS

Besides official data collection, the NGO “Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israël” (CIDI) and the “National Federation of Anti-Discrimination Agencies and Hotlines” (LVADB) also collect data. Official statistics display a peak in antisemitic activities in 2002, with lower figures in 2001 and 2003.

Official statistics (all incidents)													
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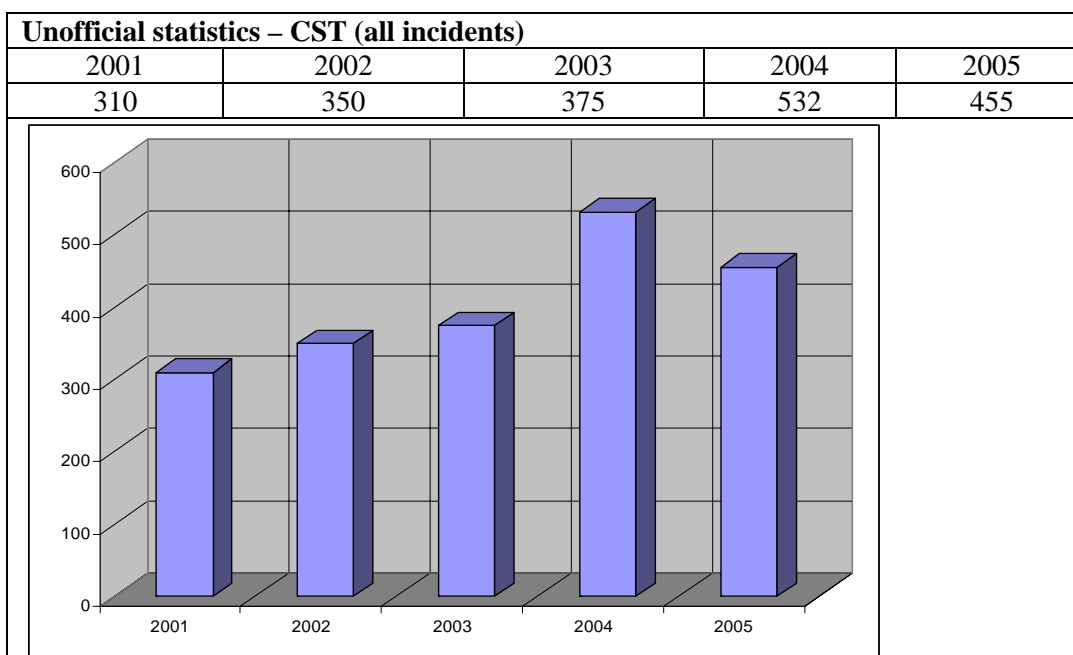
SWEDEN

The Protection of the Constitution Section (PCS) of the Swedish Security Police (Säpo) collects data on antisemitism. Around 30 per cent of all antisemitic crimes are linked to “White Power” groups. In 2004, a new data collection method was implemented by the Swedish Security Police. Therefore, data from 2004 cannot be directly compared to data from previous years.



UNITED KINGDOM

The Community Security Trust (CST), which is part of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, collects data on antisemitic incidents in collaboration with the police. Regional police forces also collect data since 2004. As it was the case with Sweden, the UK also displays highest amounts of antisemitic activities in 2004. In 2005, there was a decrease in the number of antisemitic acts.

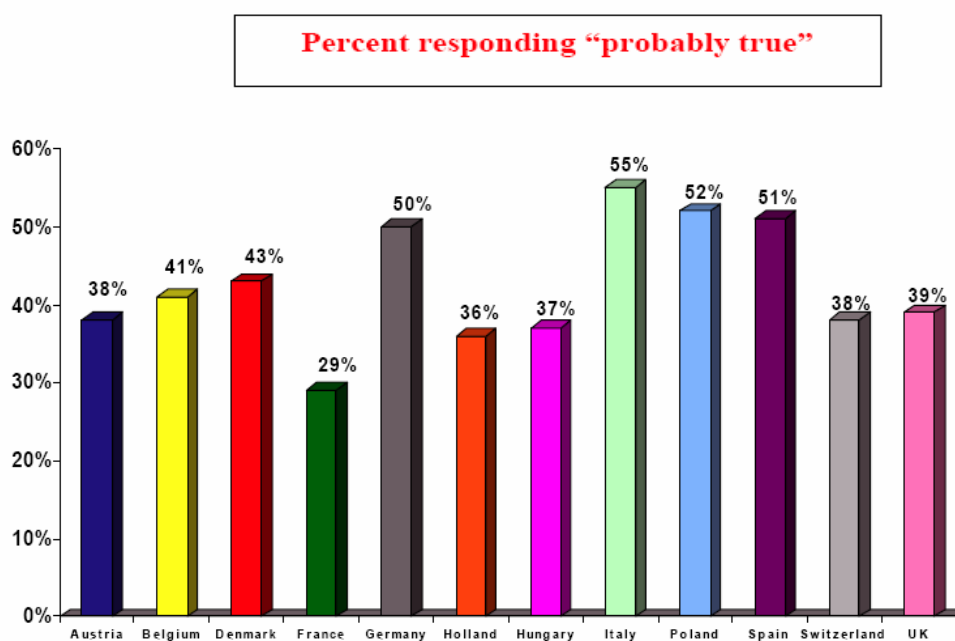


3. Antisemitic attitudes 2002 – 2005

Antisemitic attitudes are surveyed more or less systematically only in Germany and France. The methodologies employed, however, are different and the results are not comparable. The latest (2005) **transnational** survey⁸ by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL)⁹ on antisemitic attitudes covering 11 EU Member States and Switzerland was carried out by “Taylor Nelson Sofres” that conducted between 6,000 telephone interviews among the general public between 11 April and 6 May, 2005. ADL argues that according to the survey findings “a plurality of Europeans believe Jews are not loyal to their country and that they have too much power in business and finance”; which means that “despite good faith efforts by government and the international community to counteract the antisemitism plaguing Europe, millions of Europeans continue to believe the classical antisemitic canards that have dogged Jews through the centuries.”

The 2005 survey indicates that over the past year there has been some decline in the acceptance of certain traditional antisemitic stereotypes in the European countries tested. However, the opposite is true among respondents in **Denmark**, where trends actually point to an increase in the percentage of people agreeing with each of the traditional antisemitic stereotypes tested. Additionally, **Spanish** respondents are more likely to question the loyalty of their Jewish citizens than in 2004. Since 2004, there has been an increase in the percentage of **Italian** respondents who believe that Jews have too much power in the business world. The data indicates that those surveyed in **Italy** and **Spain** are now more likely to think that Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust. There has been a slight increase in the belief that Jews are responsible for the death of Jesus in **Austria, Belgium, Denmark** and **Holland**.

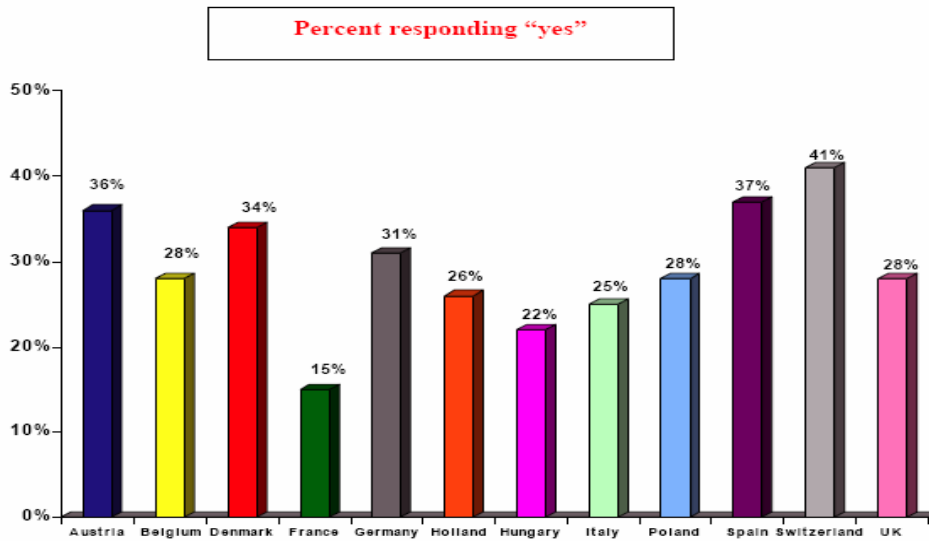
(1) Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country.



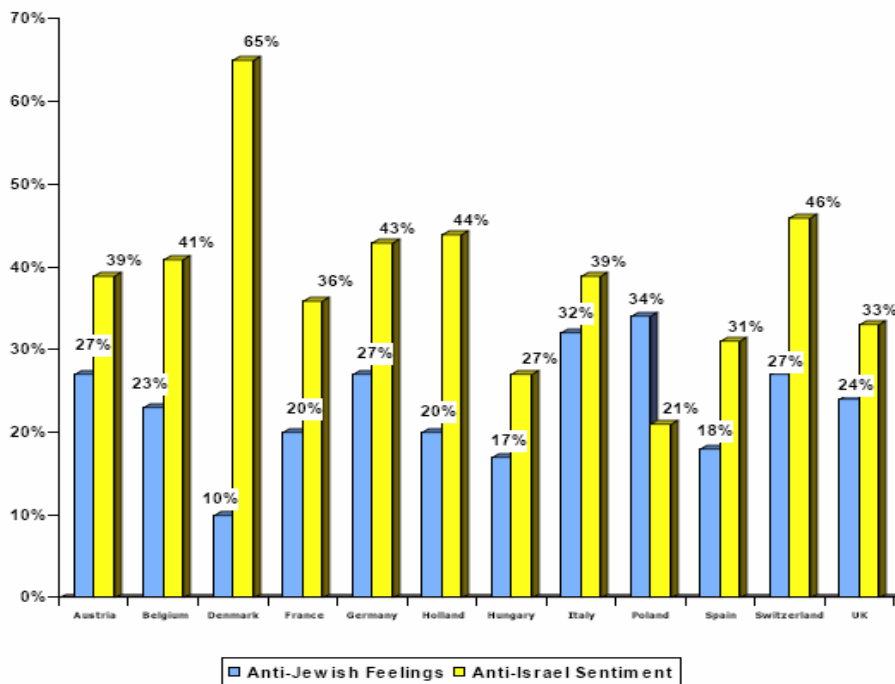
⁸ Margin of error +/-4.5% at 95% level of confidence.

⁹ http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/european_attitudes_may_2005.pdf

(6a) Is your opinion of Jews influenced by actions taken by the State of Israel?



(7) In your opinion, is the violence directed against European Jews a result of anti-Jewish feelings or a result of anti-Israel sentiment?



4. Preliminary conclusions

The available data indicate an increase in antisemitic activity in 2002 compared to 2001, and in 2004 compared to 2003. The available data on 2005 indicates a decrease in incidents compared to 2004. As regards causes for increases and decreases, only speculative conclusions can be drawn, namely that developments in the Middle East may have an influence through affecting the Arab and Muslim European communities, as well as the activities and rhetoric of the extreme and far right and to a certain extent the extreme left.

A clear distinction must be made between antisemitism in political and media discourses and concrete incidents directed against Jews. There is no systematic research so far showing the relationship between these two strands. Therefore, the motivation of perpetrators and the relationship between their acts and antisemitic attitudes and ideology remains under-researched and unclear. Further national and transnational comparative research is necessary in order to establish causal links between the formation of antisemitic attitudes and related antisemitic behavioural patterns by specific population groups.

Antisemitic activity after 2000 is increasingly attributed to a “new antisemitism”, characterised primarily by the vilification of Israel as the “Jewish collective” and perpetrated primarily by members of Europe’s Muslim population. The available studies dealing with the perception of Jews within the EU indicate that there is little evidence supporting any change in antisemitic stereotypes. However, public manifestations of antisemitism in politics, media, and everyday life, have indeed changed in recent years, especially since the start of the al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000.

4.1. Historical background

In Europe, antisemitism is a very old and deeply rooted cultural trait that has found a specific political expression since the 19th century initially in the context of the development of racist ideology and later in the context of national socialist ideology. However, in the Arab and Muslim world it is rather the political conflict with Israel that led to a development of antisemitism rather than a dominant a priori prejudice against Jews. It is therefore reasonable to assume that antisemitism in European Muslim communities is directly linked with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and especially the current crisis that began in 2000 with the collapse of the Oslo peace initiative and the outbreak of the al-Aqsa Intifada. However, there is also some research evidence that European antisemitic stereotypes have in recent decades been adopted by sections of Muslim communities around the world and have to some extent acquired a presence independent of underlying national conflicts.

Major aspects of post-1945 antisemitism are the emergence of so-called secondary antisemitism and the transformation of antisemitic expressions through the existence of Israel. Since open antisemitism, in the sense of the often self-declared antisemitism from before the Second World War, after 1945 was associated with “Auschwitz” (the main metaphor up to the 1970s for the genocide against the European Jews) and was censored, antisemitic statements had to be recoded so as to avoid being labelled as such. The result of this transformation is that post-1945 antisemitism can be characterised as an “antisemitism without antisemites”. However, antisemitism since 1945 is not just characterised by the absence of self-

labelled antisemites, but also by “secondary antisemitism”, which, broadly defined, is any form of antisemitism that is itself a reflection of the establishment of the taboo of expressing antisemitism. The notion is commonly used primarily to describe antisemitism in Austria and Germany, where secondary antisemitism is usually considered as a reaction to the debates on national identity and National Socialism. Drawing on older stereotypes about Jewish power and influence in the media, a typical claim of secondary antisemitism is, for example, that Jews are manipulating Germans or Austrians exploiting feelings of guilt. The term has proliferated in scholarly analyses particularly to explain the debates on National Socialism and antisemitism in Germany in the 1980s. Characteristic of all forms of “secondary antisemitism” is that they relate directly to the Holocaust and that they allow speakers to avoid expressing open antisemitism. It is thus a form of recoding antisemitism so that it can be expressed without appearing antisemitic. Secondary antisemitism also has a psychological component. Rather than constituting a form of antisemitism that exists in spite of the history of National Socialism, it exists because of it: in the context of the German debates of the 1980s, Henryk Broder coined the aptly provocative phrase: “Germans will never forgive the Jews the existence of Auschwitz.”

As regards Israel as potential point of reference for antisemitic expressions, the fact should be mentioned that the general image of Israel was rather positive in Europe until 1967, when the Six Day War produced a wave of solidarity with the Palestinians, particularly in Germany. A further change in public opinion came with Israel’s invasion of Lebanon in 1982, when criticism of Israel’s policies increased and the image of Israel deteriorated substantially. The most recent wave of hostile activities against Jewish individuals and institutions began with the breakdown of the Oslo Peace process and the beginning of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000.

The impact of left anti-Zionism to this recent wave remains unclear. Both secondary antisemitism and the use of anti-Zionism as a form of getting around the antisemitism taboo, however, are prevalent among the extreme and far right in Europe. Particularly, Holocaust denial or ‘revisionism’ has become a central part of the propagandistic repertoire of parties and organisations on the right fringe of the political spectrum throughout Europe. Although “revisionism” is not restricted to the right, it has become a central unifying feature of different right-wing extremist movements – both between the often-divided groups within one country and beyond national borders. In contrast to the extreme and far left, antisemitism forms a core element in the formation and networking of right-wing extremist groups.

4.2. Perpetrators of antisemitic acts

There is a commonly assumed change in the profile of the majority of perpetrators of antisemitic incidents from the extreme right to “young Muslims”, “people of North African origin”, or “immigrants” and members of the “anti-globalisation” left in countries, like Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the UK. On the basis of the available statistical evidence this assumption is difficult to substantiate. One has to point here to the difficulty of verifying classifications of perpetrators that are based solely on the perceptions of victims or witnesses, and not on official records, which must rely on specific procedures for determining the identity of perpetrators. Furthermore, the available data neither record the ‘judicial path’ from arrest to prosecution and sentencing

nor do they always provide information regarding the ethnic or religious background of the perpetrators.

As with other categories of data under the heading of antisemitism, there is a wide variety in the reliability and detail of information specifically on the perpetrators of antisemitic acts, and therefore in the generalisations that can safely be made about them. In the course of the rise in antisemitic incidents in Europe over the last few years, there has been a shift in the public perception of the 'typical' antisemitic offender from an 'extreme right' skinhead to a disaffected young Muslim. However, the reports by the National Focal Points (NFPs) of the EUMC network on antisemitic activities in the years 2002 and 2003 suggest a more complex picture than that.

In some countries – e.g. **France** and **Denmark** – the NFPs concluded that there is indeed evidence of a shift away from extreme right-wing perpetrators towards young Muslim males. In France the Human Rights Commission (CNCDH) noted that the percentage of antisemitic violence attributable to the extreme right was only 9 per cent in 2002 (against 14 per cent in 2001 and 68 per cent in 1994). The CNCDH concludes that the revival of antisemitism can be attributed to the worsening of the Israeli Palestinian conflict, notably in the spring of 2002, corresponding with the Israeli army offensive in the West Bank and the return of suicide bombings to Israel. Antisemitic acts are ascribed by the CNCDH to youth from neighbourhoods sensitive to the conflict, principally youth of North African heritage. In Denmark, according to the NFP, the perpetrators of antisemitic acts were traditionally found amongst the groups of the so-called "Racial revolutionaries". However, for the years 2001/2002, from the reports of the Jewish Community in Denmark, victims and witnesses of antisemitic acts typically describe "young males with Arabic/Palestinian/Muslim background" as being the main perpetrators.

However, it is also possible for the available statistics to point in the other direction. In the **Netherlands** the NFP observed that the small number of ethnic minority perpetrators involved in 'racial violence' in 2002 (5%) was rather striking. Concerning antisemitic incidents in particular, only a very limited number (5) of the large amount of such incidents registered by public prosecutors (60) in 2002 were caused by ethnic minority perpetrators. The NFP points out that although in a number of cases the perpetrators proved to be persons from Islamic circles, the idea that it is mostly certain groups of Moroccan young people who are guilty of antisemitism is not corroborated by the figures from the Dutch authorities. Analysis of the statistics shows that in 80 per cent of the cases of antisemitic violence, the perpetrator was 'white'. In several other countries the lack of reliable statistics on perpetrators means that it is more difficult to make sound conclusions.

According to one analyst quoted by the British NFP, the available data suggests that an increasing number of incidents in the **UK** was caused by Muslims or Palestinian sympathisers, and that surges of antisemitic incidents may be visible manifestations of political violence, perpetrated against British Jews in support for the Palestinians. However, the British NFP points out that, as in other areas of racist violence, there is very little reliable data on perpetrators of antisemitism, and it is difficult to come to sound conclusions. In an analysis of the 20 incidents which occurred in the first five months of 2002 in the categories "Extreme violence" and "Assault", five of the perpetrators were described as white, five as Arabs, three as Asian, and seven as unknown.

In **Austria** there is no systematic data collection on perpetrators, their backgrounds and motives with regard to antisemitic incidents. The NFP quotes a very general appraisal by the Forum against Antisemitism, according to which most of the attacks are committed by right and left-wing extremists as well as by members of the Islamic scene. Contrary to this appraisal, information provided by governmental sources, indicates that perpetrators of antisemitic crimes predominantly stem from right-wing skinhead groups.

In **Belgium** the NFP concludes with regard to perpetrators of antisemitic acts that they are mainly found in the context of political-religious movements, who spread antisemitic ideas among groups of youngsters with Arabic-Islamic origins. Added to this, extreme right organisations are seen to exploit the tensions between Israel and the Palestinian authority in order to set both parties against each other in Belgium as well. However, the Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (CEOOR) concludes that due to the lack of systematic data on racial violence, it is very difficult to make an analysis of the personal characteristics of victims and perpetrators, and they do not have the required information to perform such an analysis.

In **Sweden** there was evidence of incidents committed by people connected to anti-Israeli or pro-Palestine movements, and also of assailants connected to the extreme right. The NFP points out that there is a large “White Power” element in many antisemitic crimes. In Italy, from the NFP research and from cases drawn from the press, the NFP perceives that individuals and groups belonging to several formations of the far-right (generally anti-Jewish and racist; in some cases pro-Palestinian, in others anti-Muslim) constitute the most numerous and aggressive category of perpetrators of racist and anti-Jewish acts.

Finally, the NFPs for **Finland, Greece, Ireland, Luxemburg, Portugal, and Spain** report that there is no data at all on perpetrators of antisemitic acts.

Summing up, the reports of the NFPs have not only shown that some countries have perceived an increase in antisemitic incidents during the last years, but that this increase was also to some extent accompanied by a change in the profiles of perpetrators reported to the data collecting bodies. Particularly in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the UK, it is no longer solely or predominantly the extreme right that is named as alleged perpetrator of antisemitic incidents; a varying proportion of victims of hostility in these countries classified perpetrators to be “young Muslims”, “people of North African origin”, or “immigrants”. In general, on the basis of available data and looking at the EU as a whole, it is problematic to make general statements with regard to the perpetrators of antisemitic acts. In some countries the data collection is reasonably reliable, in some countries the bulk of the evidence is from victims’ descriptions which cannot always be confirmed, and in other countries there is no evidence at all.

5. Antisemitism: Data collection guide - working definition

The basic premise for a valid monitoring and analysis of a phenomenon is an adequate definition; and the basic premise for comparability is the common use of such an adequate definition within the EU, as EUMC reference area. Unfortunately, as the EUMC Report on Antisemitism has shown explicitly this is not being done. Only very few institutions seem to work with an adequate definition of antisemitism, while the others do not make their definition explicit.

A major task of the EUMC is to work towards comparability by developing common indicators, working definitions and methodologies, which could also be used by other international organisations. It is also the task of the EUMC to develop precise and reliable working definitions for data collection in improve our understanding of such phenomena and provide a clear picture of the situation.

In this context the EUMC in close collaboration with OSCE/ODIHR and Jewish organisations discussed in 2004 and 2005 the possibility for a common approach to data collection on antisemitism leading eventually to a draft working definition. The aim would be to propose a common working definition to primary data collectors (government and civil society) at both national and international level in order to improve data comparability. Several organizations and individuals were consulted and contributed to the development of a draft working definition, such as, the European Jewish Congress, the Community Security Trust, the Consistoire of France, the Stephen Roth Center of Tel Aviv University, the Berlin Anti-Semitism Task Force, the American Jewish Committee the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith International, the Tolerance Unit of ODIHR/OSCE, Prof. Yehuda Bauer, Academic Advisor to the International Task Force on the Holocaust, and others.

The draft guide to data collection and working definition were then further elaborated by the EUMC and forwarded to its RAXEN National Focal Points (NFPs) for further feedback in March 2005. The NFPs were asked to check with primary data collectors in their countries in order to provide the EUMC with feedback regarding the effectiveness and relevance of the working definition to their country specific situation. Most NFPs have already sent in their feedback, which is on the whole favourable, but nevertheless also contains a number of proposals for modifications that need to be examined carefully. The draft working definition, which is work in progress, is available through the homepage of the EUMC.¹⁰

EUMC
European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
Rahlgasse 3, A-1060 Vienna
Tel. (43-1) 580 30-0
Fax (43-1) 580 30-91
E-mail: information@eumc.europa.eu
Internet: <http://eumc.europa.eu>

¹⁰ See: <http://eumc.europa.eu/eumc/material/pub/AS/AS-WorkingDefinition-draft.pdf>