

**Attitudes Toward Jews, Israel
and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict
in Ten European Countries**



April 2004

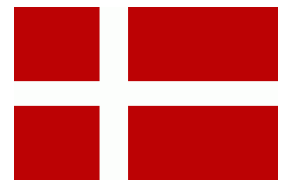


Table of Contents

Methodology	3
Anti-Semitism in Europe	4
I. Anti-Semitism Index	4
II. Trends In Anti-Semitic Attitudes	11
III. Attitudes Toward Jews	17
IV. Age and Education	22
Attitudes Toward Israel	23
Attitudes Toward Palestinian-Israeli Conflict	24
I. Trends In Attitudes Toward Conflict	28
Media Coverage of the Conflict	34

Methodology

- **First International Resources was commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League to research attitudes and opinions in ten European countries toward Jews, Israel and the Palestinian Authority.**
- **Our research focused on the prevalent attitudes of the general public in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland.**
- **Data results for each individual country were weighted based on age and gender. The completed interview data underwent minor weighting to national population data using official government information on age and gender.**
- **Fieldwork was done by Taylor Nelson Sofres, which conducted a total of 5,000 telephone interviews -- 500 in each of the ten countries -- among the general public between March 16-April 8, 2004.**
- **Interviews were conducted in the native language of each of the countries and were completed by TNS.**
- **The margin of error for each country is +/- 4.4 at 95% level of confidence.**

Anti-Semitism in Europe

ANTI-SEMITISM INDEX

Since 1964, the Anti-Defamation League has conducted a series of public opinion surveys in the United States to measure levels of anti-Semitism in the country. An index of 11 questions was developed by researchers at the University of California to be used in these public opinion surveys to provide an analytical tool for identifying which respondents have a propensity to be more prejudiced toward Jews.

In its first European surveys in 2002, the ADL tested four traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes among respondents in Germany, France, Belgium, Denmark and the United Kingdom. The statements tested included:

- 1) Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.
- 2) Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want.
- 3) Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country.
- 4) Jews have too much power in the business world.

Respondents who answered "probably true" to two or more of these statements were considered to harbor anti-Semitic attitudes. In order to most accurately depict changes in attitudes within these five countries, ADL tested these same four questions in its 2004 survey.

Additionally, in its second wave of European surveys in 2002, the ADL tested the complete index of 11 questions in Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Italy and the Netherlands. The index questions were asked again in their entirety in these same countries in 2004. Those respondents who agreed with six or more of these statements were considered to harbor anti-Semitic views.

Before answering any of these questions, respondents were read the following statement: "I am now going to read out another series of statements, again some of them you will agree with and

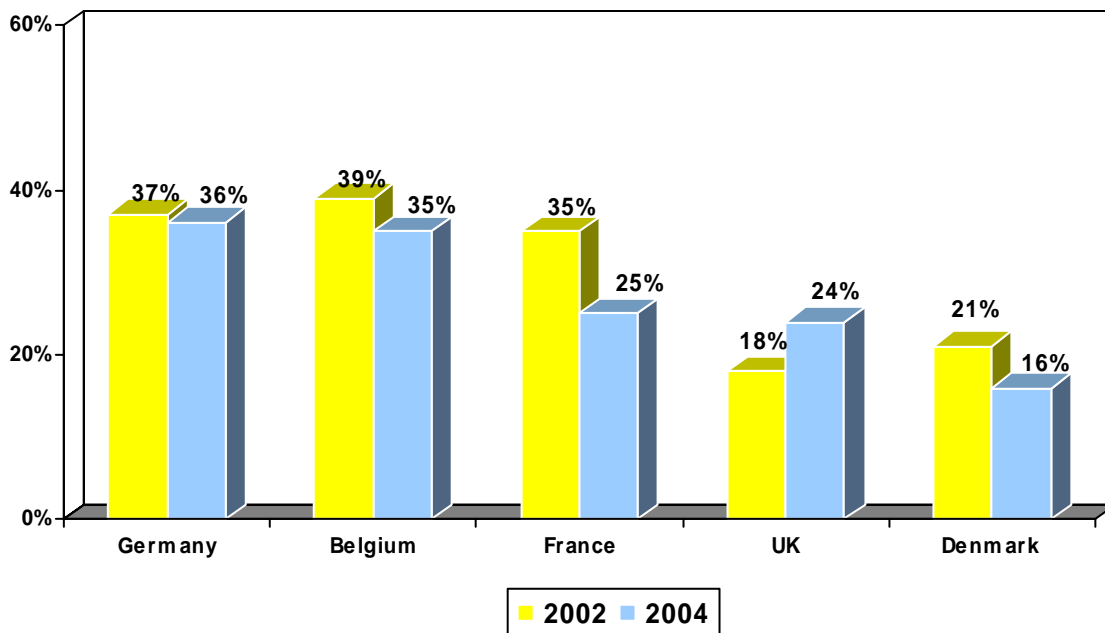
some of them you will not. Please say which ones you think are probably true and which ones you think are probably false.”

The following are all eleven statements that constitute the anti-Semitism index.

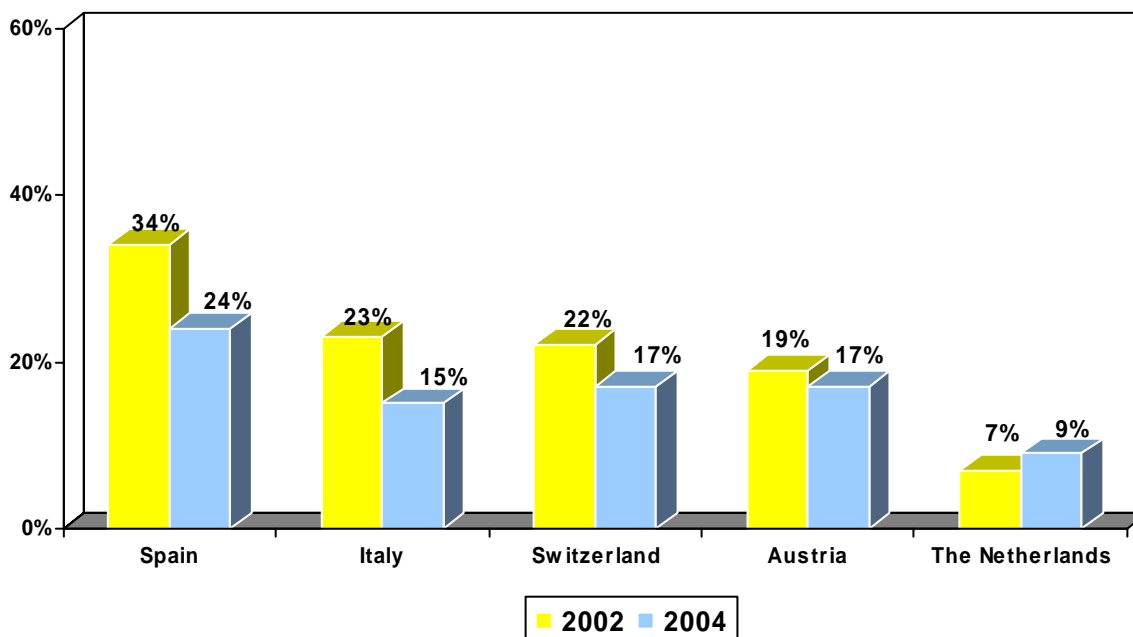
- 1) Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.
- 2) Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want.
- 3) Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country.
- 4) Jews have too much power in the business world.
- 5) Jews have lots of irritating faults.
- 6) Jews stick together more than other Italians (Spanish, Dutch, Swiss, Austrians etc.)
- 7) Jews always like to be at the head of things.
- 8) Jews have too much power in international financial markets.
- 9) Jews have too much power in our country today.
- 10) Jewish business people are so shrewd that others do not have a fair chance to compete.
- 11) Jews are just as honest as other business people.
(Considered prejudiced if answered “probably false” to this statement.)

- 24 percent of those surveyed in Spain harbor anti-Semitic views. The following numbers correspond to the percentage of those considered to harbor anti-Semitic views in each of the five countries where the full index was employed: Switzerland 17 percent, Austria 17 percent, Italy 15 percent, and the Netherlands 9 percent.

- The chart below illustrates the percentage of respondents that are considered to harbor anti-Semitic attitudes in the five countries where the four traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes were tested and compares the results from today with results from 2002.

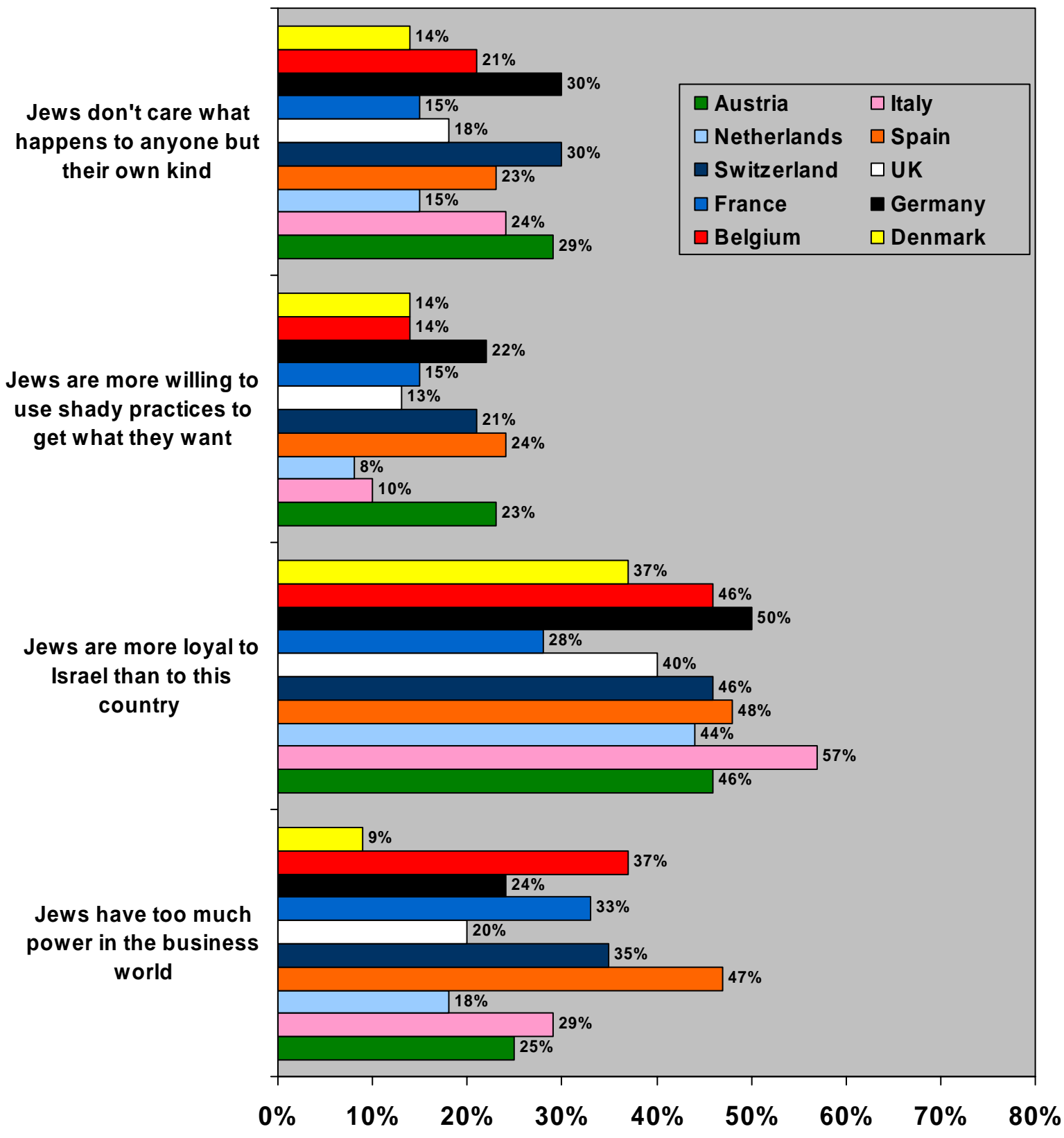


- The chart below illustrates the percentage of respondents that are considered to harbor anti-Semitic attitudes in the five countries where the entire “Anti-Semitism Index” was asked and compares the results from today with results from 2002.

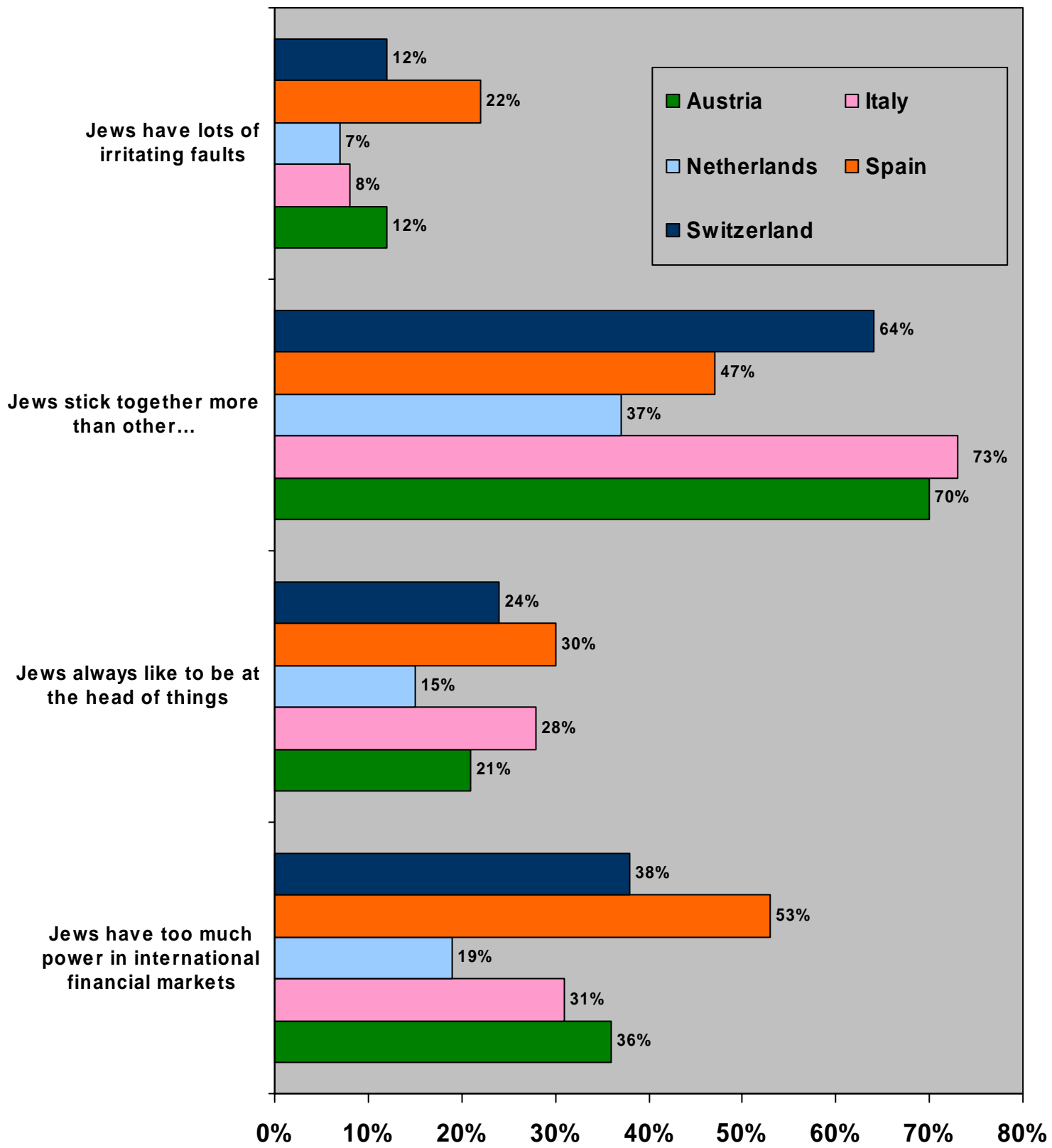


- **A majority of respondents in Italy and Germany responded that it is “probably true” to characterize Jews as being more loyal to Israel than to their own country.**
- **In nine out of the ten countries surveyed, a plurality of respondents agree with the characterization that Jews are more loyal to Israel than to their own country.**
- **A majority of respondents in Spain, 53 percent, believe that “Jews have too much power in the international financial markets.”**
- **Nearly half of Spanish respondents, 47 percent, believe that “Jews have too much power in the business world.”**
- **30 percent of Swiss and Germans respondents think it is “probably true” to say that “Jews don’t care what happens to anyone but their own kind.”**
- **30 percent of Spanish respondents believe that “Jews always like to be at the head of things.”**
- **14 percent of Swiss and Italian respondents believe that Jews have too much power within their particular country.**

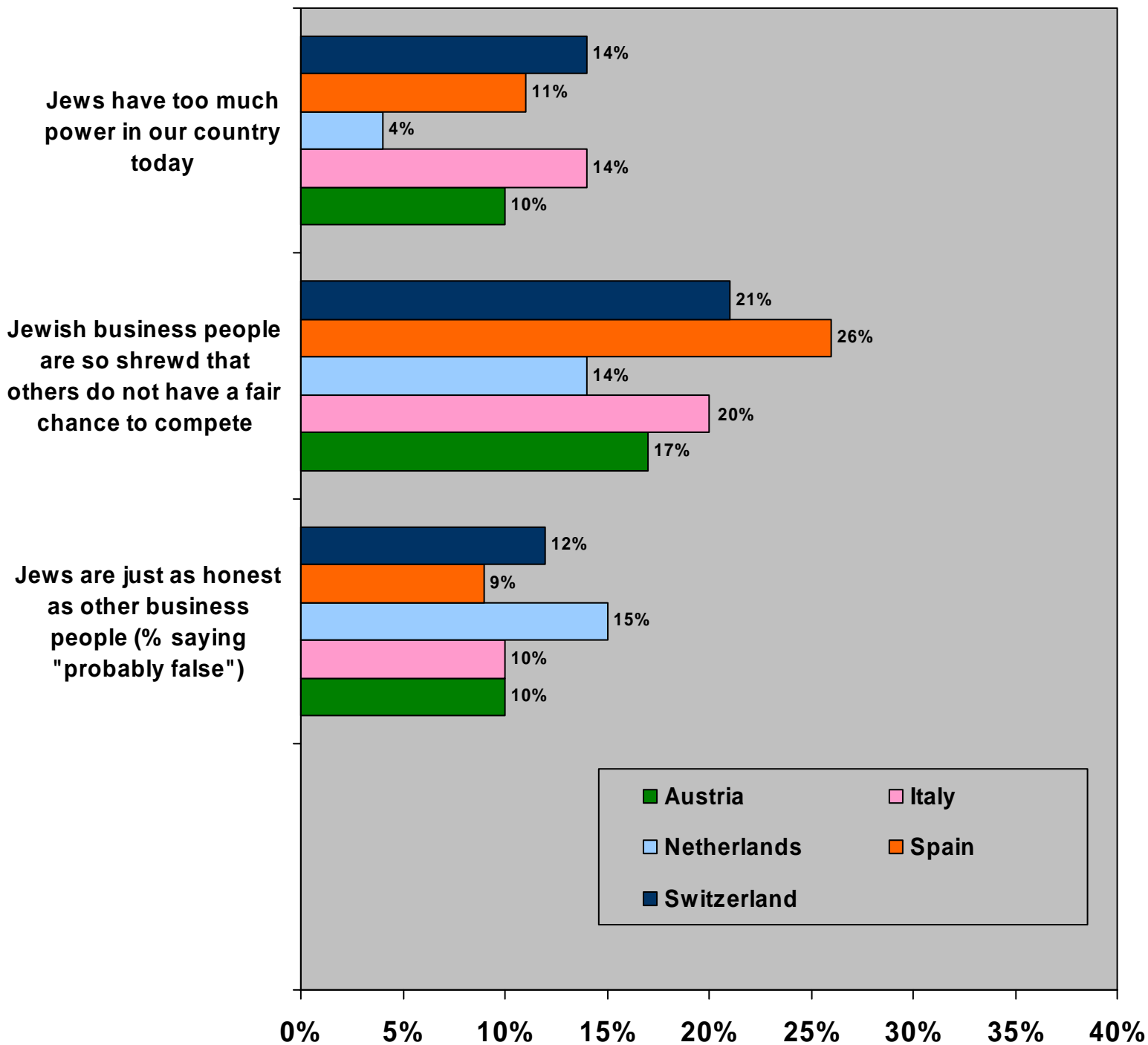
Percent responding "probably true" to each statement.



Percent responding “probably true” to each statement.



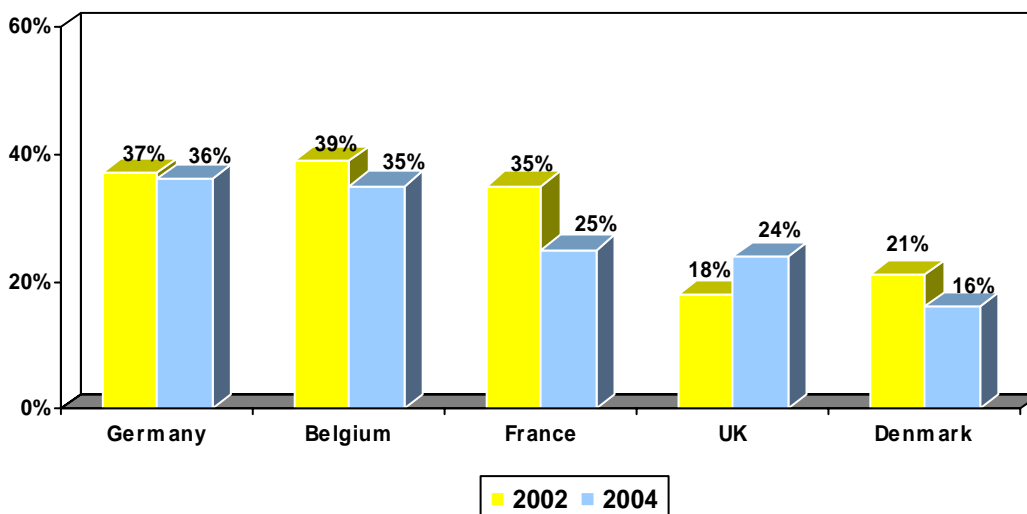
Percent responding "probably true" to each statement.



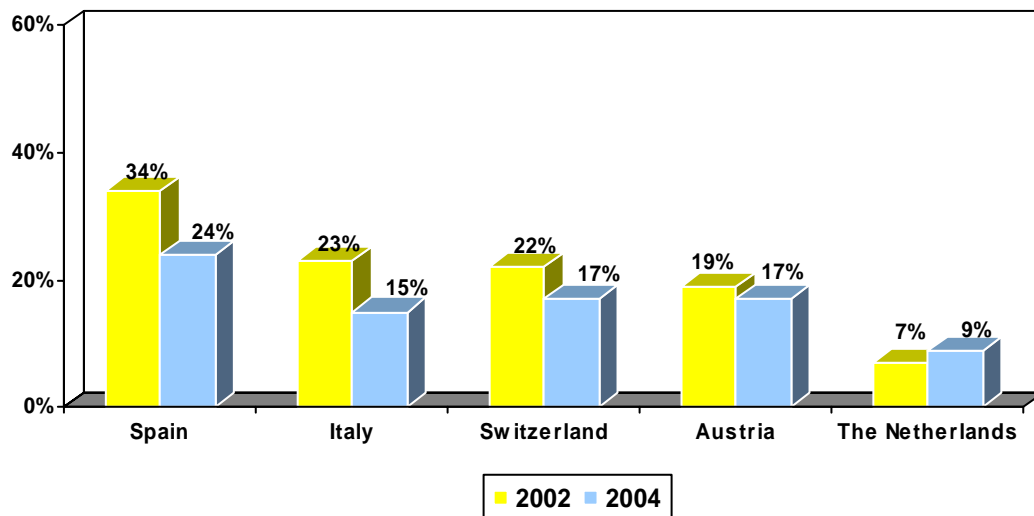
TRENDS IN ANTI-SEMITIC ATTITUDES

In 2002, the Anti-Defamation League conducted similar surveys of attitudes towards Jews, Israel and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Where applicable, the following section compares results from the 2002 surveys with results from the recently completed April 2004 survey.

- The 2004 survey indicates that over the past two years, in most European countries, there has been some decline in the acceptance of certain traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes.
- In 2002, ADL tested public acceptance of four traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes in France, Germany, Belgium, Denmark and the UK. Since 2002, the data indicates that the UK is the only country to experience a rise in public acceptance of the four traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes below:
 - 1) Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.
 - 2) Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want.
 - 3) Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country.
 - 4) Jews have too much power in the business world.
- In 2002, 18 percent of respondents in the UK responded that at least two of these four statements were "probably true." Today, that number has risen to 24 percent.
- The chart below, tracks the percentages of people in each country who believe that at least two of the statements listed above are "probably true."

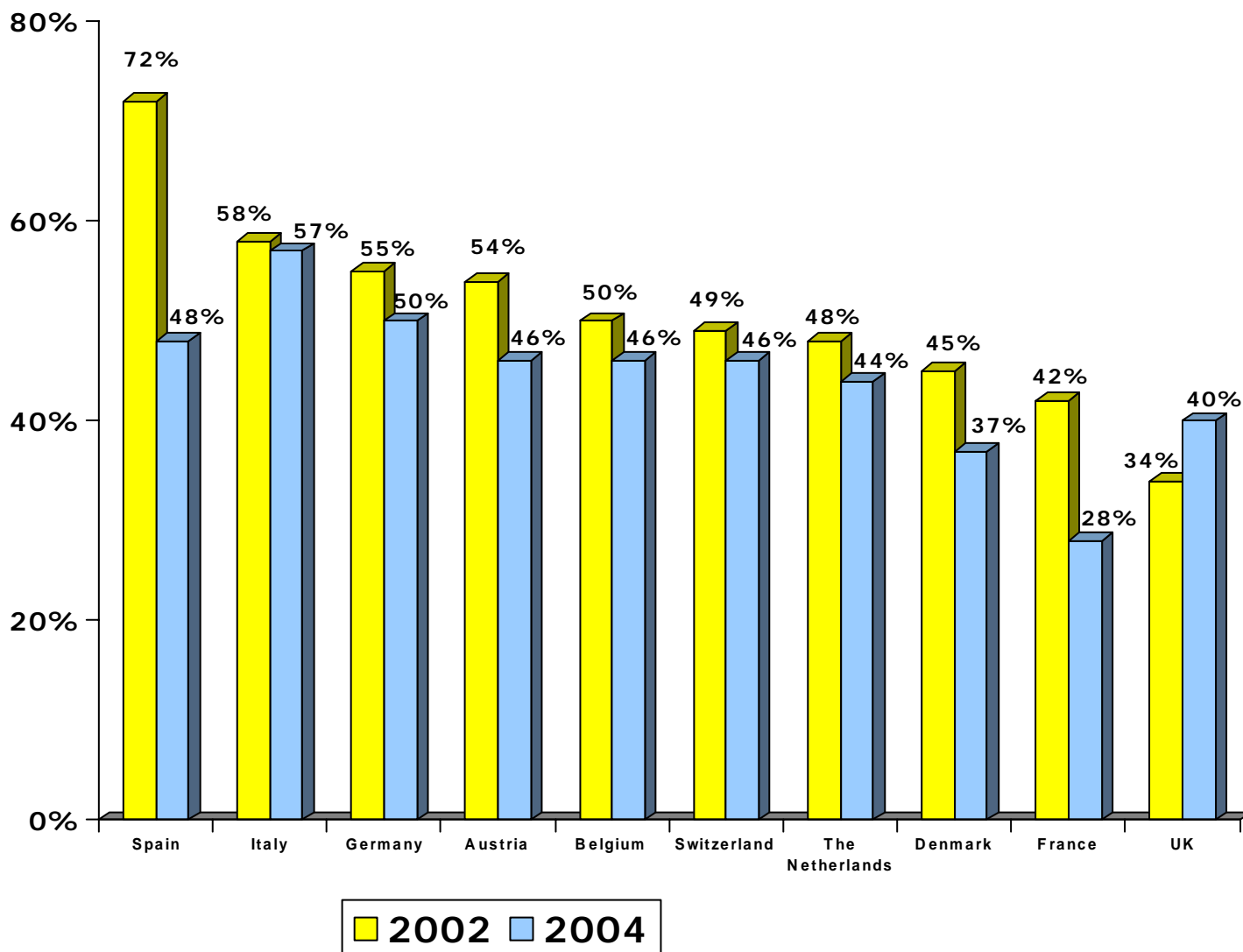


- Additionally, towards the end of 2002, ADL tested its entire “Anti-Semitism Index” in Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Austria and the Netherlands.
- The data indicates that anti-Semitic attitudes have declined in four of the five countries in which the full index was tested in both 2002 and 2004.
- For example, 34 percent of Spanish respondents in 2002 were considered to harbor anti-Semitic views. Today, that number has dropped to 24 percent.
- In Switzerland, the percentage has dropped from 22 to 17. In Italy it has declined from 23 to 15 and in Austria from 19 to 17.
- The Netherlands is the only to witness a slight increase from 7 percent to 9 percent.



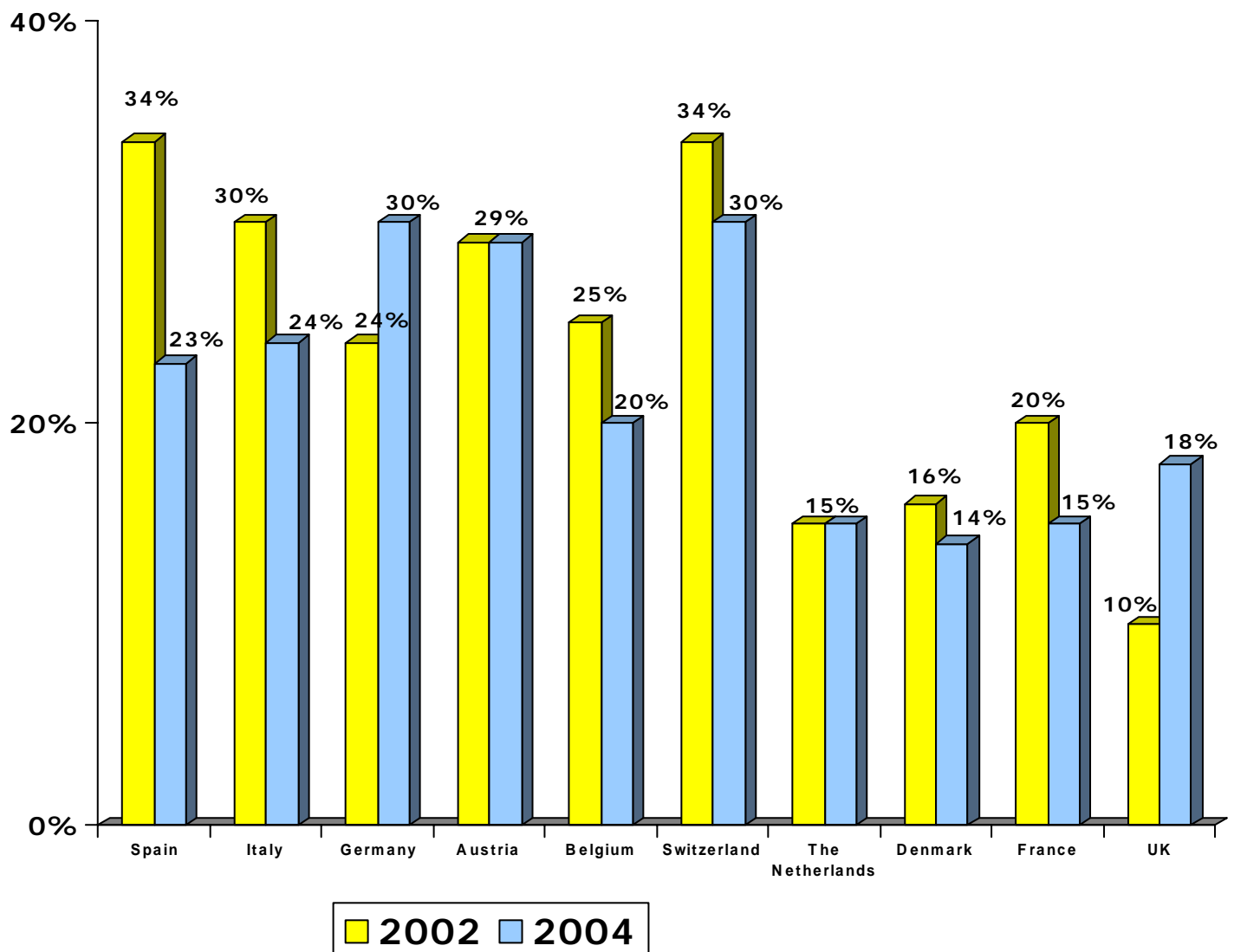
1. Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country.

Percent responding "probably true"



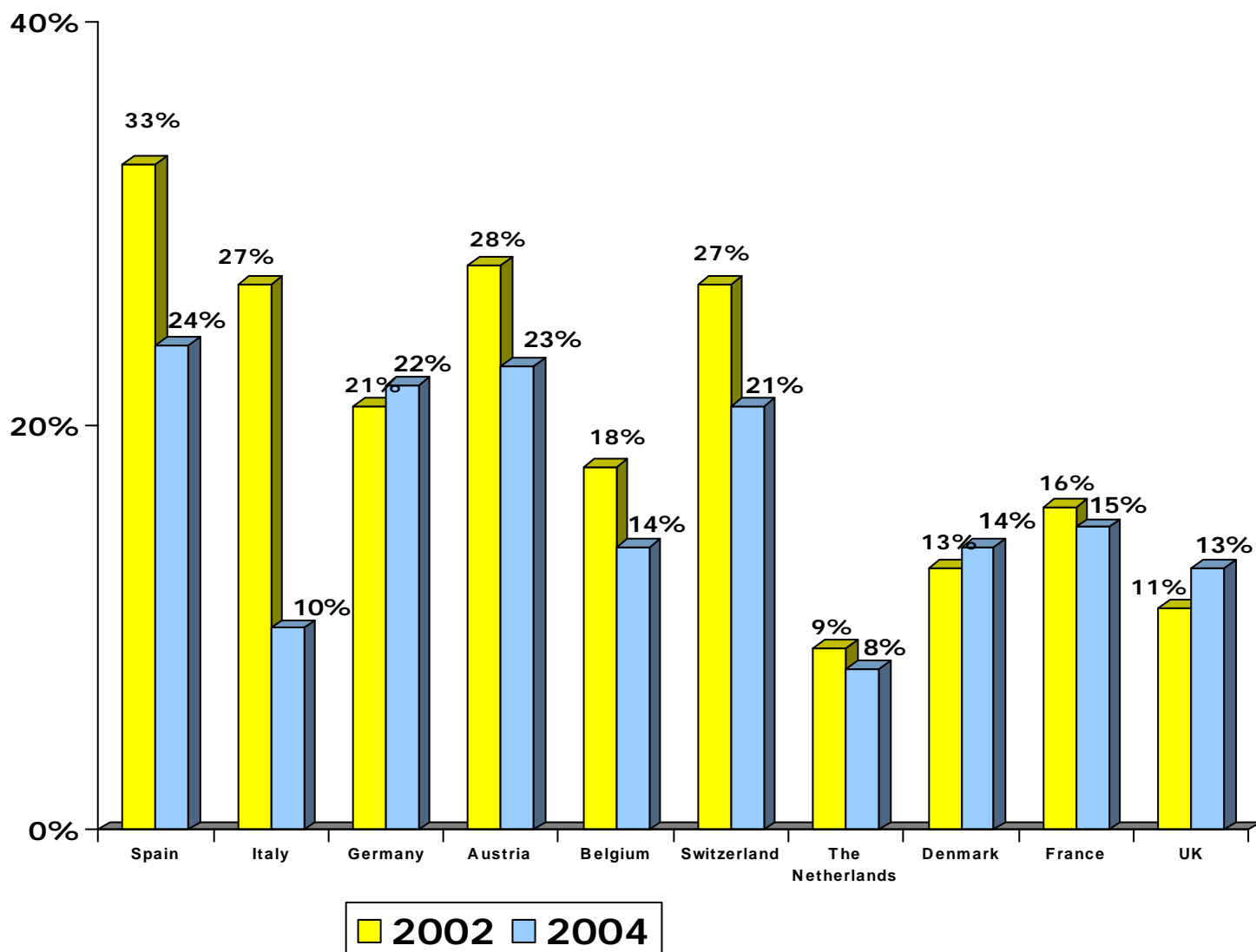
2. Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.

Percent responding "probably true"



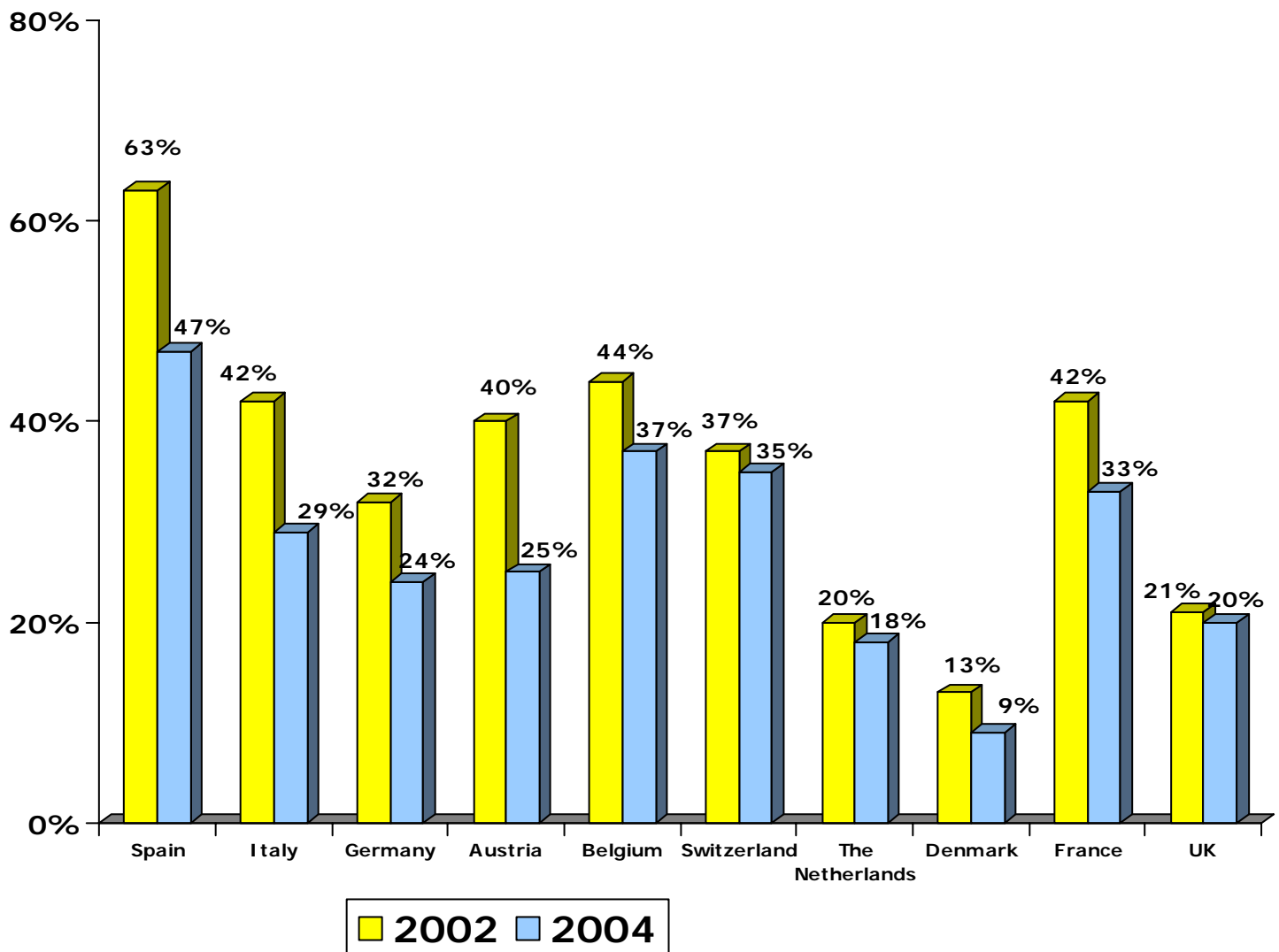
3. Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want.

Percent responding "probably true"



4. Jews have too much power in the business world.

Percent responding "probably true"

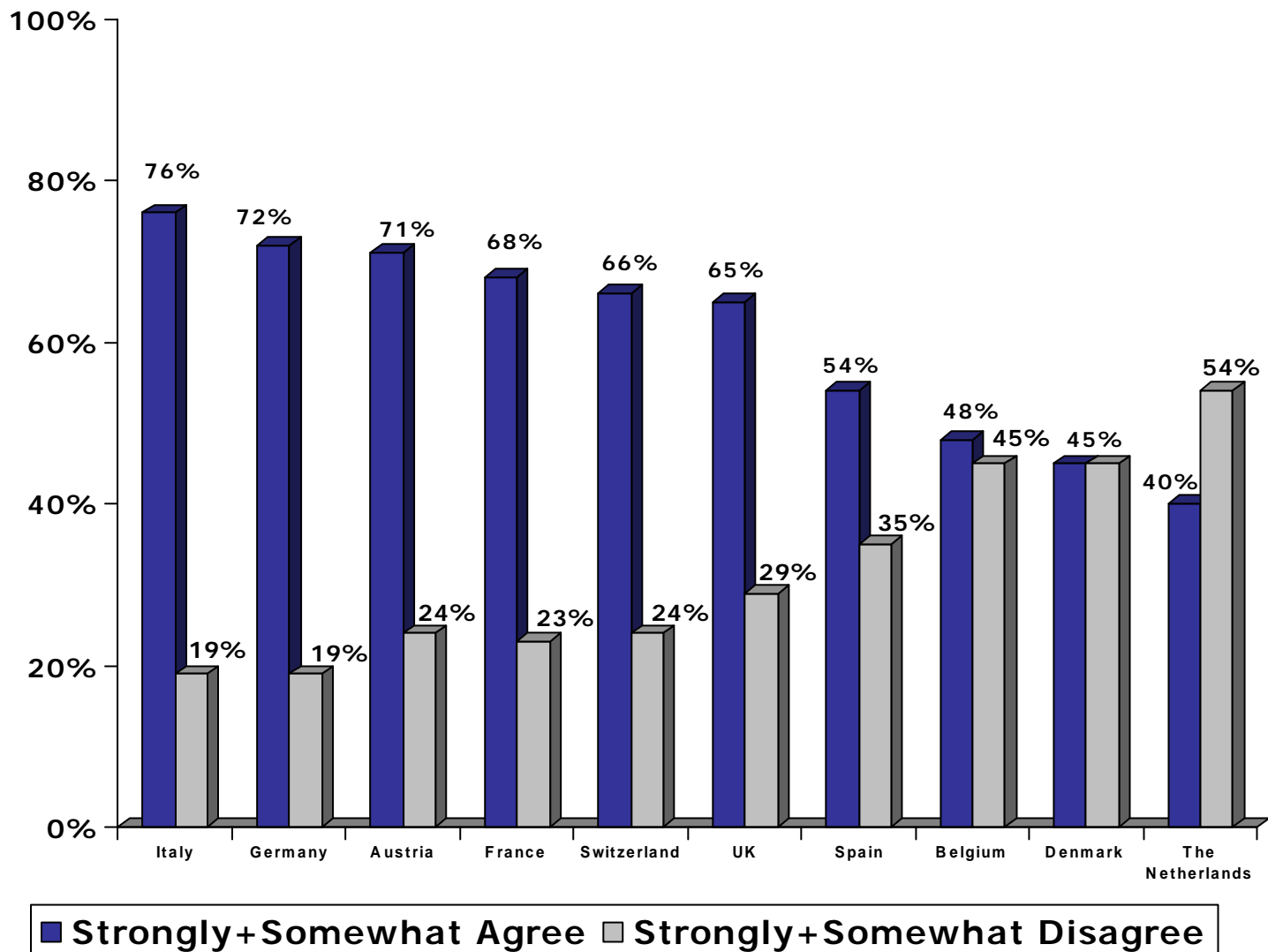


Attitudes Toward Jews

- **The results of this survey continue to confirm results from previous surveys which point to a new form of anti-Semitism taking hold in countries across Europe. This new anti-Semitism is fueled by anti-Israel sentiment and questions the loyalty of Jewish citizens.**
- **A majority of respondents in Italy, 57 percent, and half of the respondents in Germany believe that their Jewish citizens are more loyal to Israel than to their respective country.**
- **More than a third of those surveyed in Italy, 38 percent, are “fairly unconcerned” or “not concerned at all” about violence directed at Jews, Jewish symbols and Jewish institutions throughout Europe.**
- **Only 13 percent of Dutch respondents and 14 percent of German and Austrian respondents say they are “very concerned” about violence directed at Jews, Jewish symbols and Jewish institutions throughout Europe.**
- **28 percent of both French and British respondents say they are “very concerned” about violence directed at Jews – the highest percentage among the countries surveyed.**
- **More than two-thirds of Swiss and Austrian respondents think that their governments are doing enough to ensure the safety and security of Jewish citizens.**
- **28 percent of Italian respondents do not think that their government is doing enough to ensure the safety and security of its Jewish citizens.**

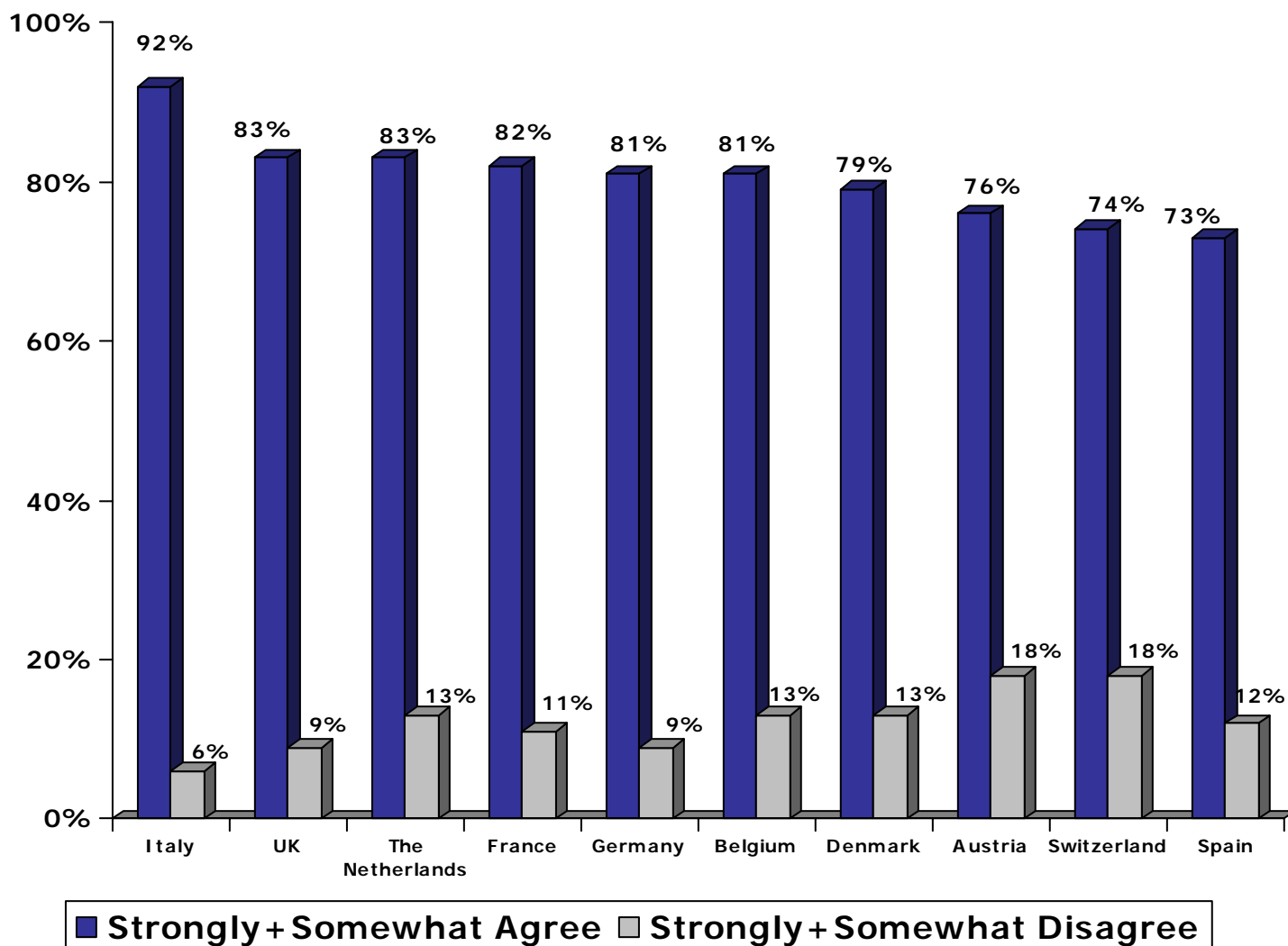
- The data indicates that respondents in eight of the ten countries support increased governmental attention to hate crimes.
- A majority of those surveyed in Holland, 54 percent, say they disagree that their government “should monitor and publicly report on crimes committed against people solely because of their race, ethnicity or religion.”

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following statement. “Our government should monitor and publicly report on crimes committed against people solely because of their race, ethnicity or religion.”



- An overwhelming majority in each country believe it is important for their government to take a role in combating anti-Semitism in their respective countries.

In your opinion, is it very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant or not at all important for our government to take a role in combating anti-Semitism in our country?

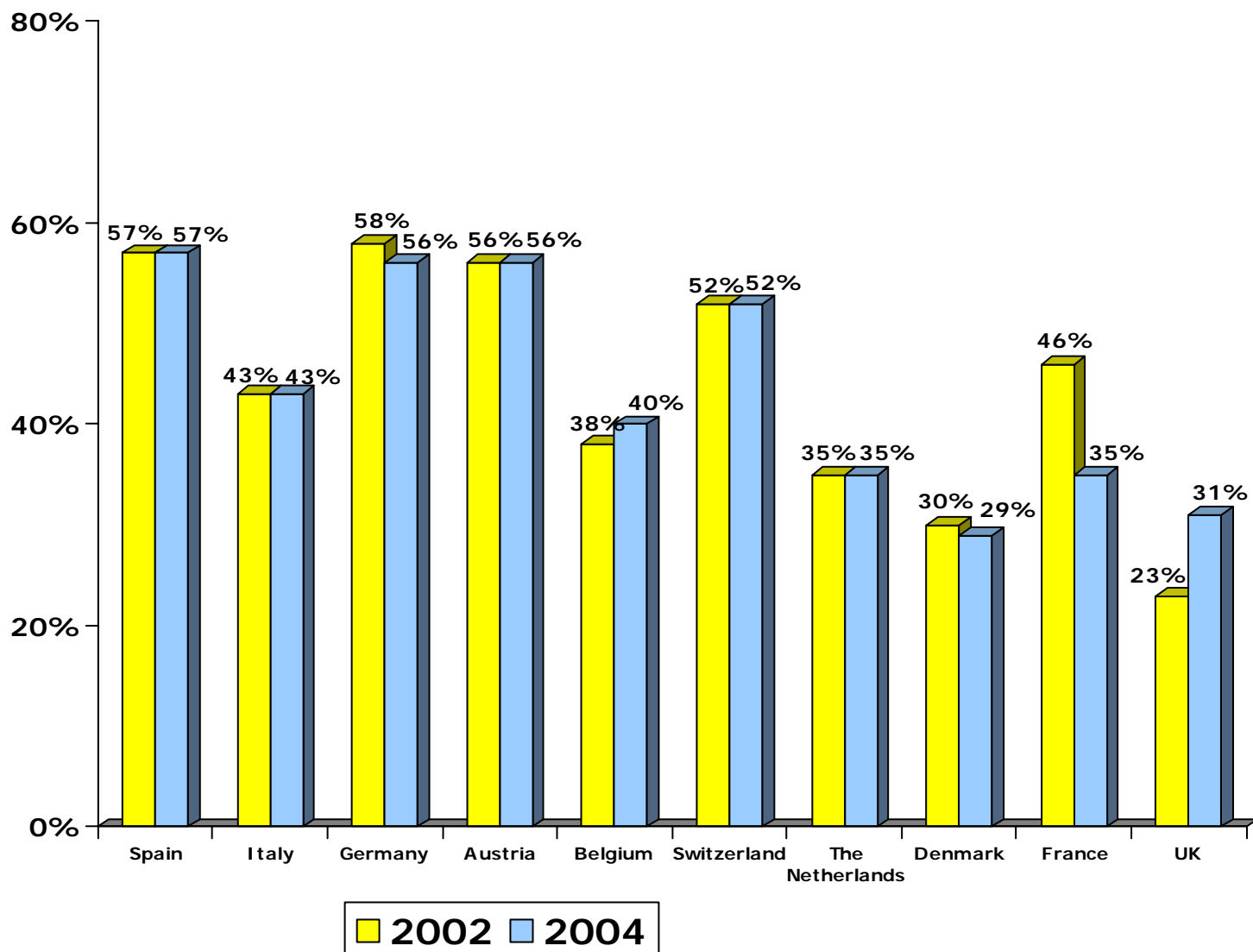


- **Dutch (57 percent), German (45 percent) and Swiss (45 percent) respondents are most likely to believe that anti-Jewish feelings could rise within their borders – the highest percentages of the countries surveyed.**
- **65 percent of those surveyed in Holland and 61 percent in Denmark believe that it is “very” or “fairly” likely that there could be a serious increase in anti-Jewish feeling around the world in the next few years.**
- **Nearly half of those surveyed in Germany, 48 percent, believe it is “very” or “fairly” unlikely that there will be a serious increase in anti-Jewish feeling around the world in the next few years.**
- **Of the ten countries, respondents in Germany, 56 percent, and Austria, 54 percent, are most likely to feel that Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust.**
- **70 percent of Dutch respondents and 66 percent of Danish respondents say that most people in their respective country are prejudiced against other ethnic groups, even if they don’t admit to it in public.**

- A majority of respondents in Spain, Austria, Germany and Switzerland continue to believe that Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust.

Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust.

Percent responding “probably true”



Age and Education

- In the five countries where the full “Anti-Semitism Index” was employed, the data indicates that age and education are key factors in determining the likelihood of a respondent believing in traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes.
- Those over the age of 65 and those who completed their education by age 17 or before, are more likely than the rest of the population to agree with the anti-Semitic characterizations presented in the survey.
- The following table illustrates this trend in the ten countries surveyed.

	Austria	Italy	Netherlands	Spain	Switzerland
Harbor Anti-Semitic Views	17%	15%	9%	24%	17%
Those Aged 65+ Who Harbor Anti-Semitic Views	24%	25%	16%	33%	14%
Completed Their Education By Age 17 Or Before Who Harbor Anti-Semitic Views	30%	20%	19%	27%	25%

- In Switzerland, while those 65+ are slightly less likely to be considered as harboring anti-Semitic views, those aged 55-64 are in fact more likely to be harboring anti-Semitic views. Among those between the ages of 55-64, 23 percent in Switzerland harbor anti-Semitic views.

Attitudes Toward Israel

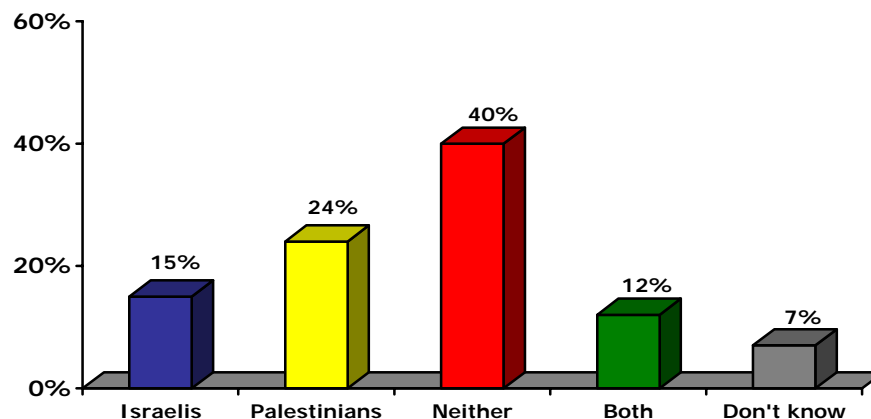
- Overall, the data indicates that Israel is viewed very unfavorably across Europe. Respondents, regardless of gender, age, education, or income level possess extremely negative views about Israel.
- Only 23 percent of those surveyed in the ten countries view Israel favorably. 34 percent say they view Israel unfavorably.
- 15 percent of those surveyed say they sympathize with the Israelis in the current Palestinian-Israeli conflict while 24 percent say their sympathies lie with the Palestinians.
- Nearly half of the respondents, 45 percent, do not think that Israel wants to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians. 34 percent believe that Israel does want to reach an agreement.
- 35 percent of those surveyed believe that the Israeli Defense Forces intentionally target Palestinian civilians. 41 percent believe that civilian casualties are an accidental outcome of Israel's military response.
- 43 percent of Spanish respondents believe that the Israeli military intentionally targets Palestinian civilians.
- 39 percent of those surveyed say that Israel's treatment of Palestinians is similar to South Africa's treatment of blacks during apartheid.
- Less than a third of respondents across Europe, 31 percent, believe that Israel is an open and democratic society.
- A plurality of respondents, 46 percent, do not think that Israel is an open and democratic society. 53 percent of Dutch respondents do not think that Israel is an open and democratic society.
- 55 percent of those polled believe that the outbreak of violence against Jews in Europe is a result of anti-Israel sentiment, while 15 percent believe it is a result of anti-Jewish feelings.

Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

- A majority of respondents across Europe, 53 percent, say that they have been following the coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict a “great deal” or “a good amount.”
- 62 percent of those surveyed, say that they know only “a little” or “nothing at all” about the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, while a little more than a third, 37 percent, say they know a “great deal” or a “good amount” about the history of the conflict.
- Respondents in all ten countries possess highly negative views toward both the Israeli government headed by Ariel Sharon and the Palestinian Authority headed by Yasser Arafat.
- In fact, Ariel Sharon’s government is viewed more unfavorably than is Yasser Arafat’s government. 59 percent of European respondents view the current Israeli government unfavorably, while 52 percent of respondents view the Palestinian Authority unfavorably.
- By a margin of 24-15, respondents say they sympathize more with the Palestinians than with the Israelis when thinking about the current conflict. A plurality, 40 percent, sympathize with neither side.

Thinking specifically about the current conflict between Israel and the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip – are your sympathies more with the Israelis or more with the Palestinians?

Among those surveyed



Thinking specifically about the current conflict between Israel and the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip - are your sympathies more with the Israelis or more with the Palestinians?

Country by country breakdown

	Austria	Italy	Netherlands	Spain	Switzerland	UK	France	Germany	Denmark	Belgium
Israelis	17%	16%	28%	7%	11%	18%	8%	17%	13%	12%
Palestinians	26%	13%	27%	24%	31%	24%	17%	21%	27%	30%
Neither	43%	43%	27%	46%	41%	33%	53%	43%	34%	41%
Both	8%	19%	12%	14%	9%	14%	10%	11%	19%	8%
Don't know	5%	10%	6%	8%	5%	10%	8%	6%	7%	8%

- **Respondents in Italy and the Netherlands are the only ones who say they sympathize more with the Israelis than with the Palestinians.**
- **By a margin of 12 percentage points, 26-14, European respondents think that the Israelis are more responsible for the past three years of violence than are the Palestinians.**
- **However, by a margin of 18-14, Italian respondents are the only group that blames the Palestinians more than the Israelis for the past three years of violence.**
- **38 percent of those polled agree with the statement that “the Palestinian Authority truly wants to reach a peace agreement with Israel.”**
- **French and British respondents are most likely to believe that the Palestinians want to reach a peace agreement.**
- **A majority of Dutch respondents, 59 percent, disagree with the statement that the Palestinians truly want to reach a peace agreement with the Israelis.**

The Palestinian Authority truly wants to reach a peace agreement with Israel.

Country by country breakdown

	Austria	Italy	Netherlands	Spain	Switzerland	UK	France	Germany	Denmark	Belgium
Agree	28%	38%	29%	41%	38%	47%	48%	27%	38%	46%
Neither agree nor disagree	18%	2%	5%	6%	13%	10%	5%	18%	13%	6%
Disagree	42%	41%	59%	27%	38%	31%	27%	43%	38%	37%

- **34 percent of respondents across Europe agree that “Israel truly wants to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians.”**
- **49 percent of British respondents believe that Israel truly wants to reach an agreement with the Palestinians, the highest among the ten countries surveyed.**

Israel truly wants to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians.

Country by country breakdown

	Austria	Italy	Netherlands	Spain	Switzerland	UK	France	Germany	Denmark	Belgium
Agree	31%	40%	33%	28%	26%	49%	39%	29%	27%	34%
Neither agree nor disagree	12%	2%	5%	4%	13%	12%	5%	14%	10%	5%
Disagree	47%	40%	57%	42%	52%	29%	38%	44%	52%	50%

- **Respondents in all ten countries are nearly unanimous in their belief that there is no justification for Palestinian suicide bombers that target Israeli citizens.**
- **However, 15 percent of Swiss and French respondents believe that there is justification for Palestinian suicide bombers that target Israeli civilians.**
- **A majority of people in each country surveyed believe that it is unlawful for Israel to build a barrier that separates Israelis from**

- Palestinians because it collectively punishes the Palestinian people and, in certain areas, runs through Palestinian territory.**
- **Less than a quarter of respondents, 19 percent, believe that the construction of the barrier is necessary in order to protect Israeli citizens and prevent suicide bombers from entering Israel.**
 - **44 percent of those surveyed in Europe believe that their own government's policies toward the Middle East are unbiased. 22 percent say their government's policies have been biased in favor of Israel while only 8 percent believe their government's policies have been biased in favor of the Palestinians.**
 - **A plurality of Dutch respondents, 47 percent, say that their government's policies are biased in favor of Israel.**

TRENDS IN ATTITUDES TOWARD ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT

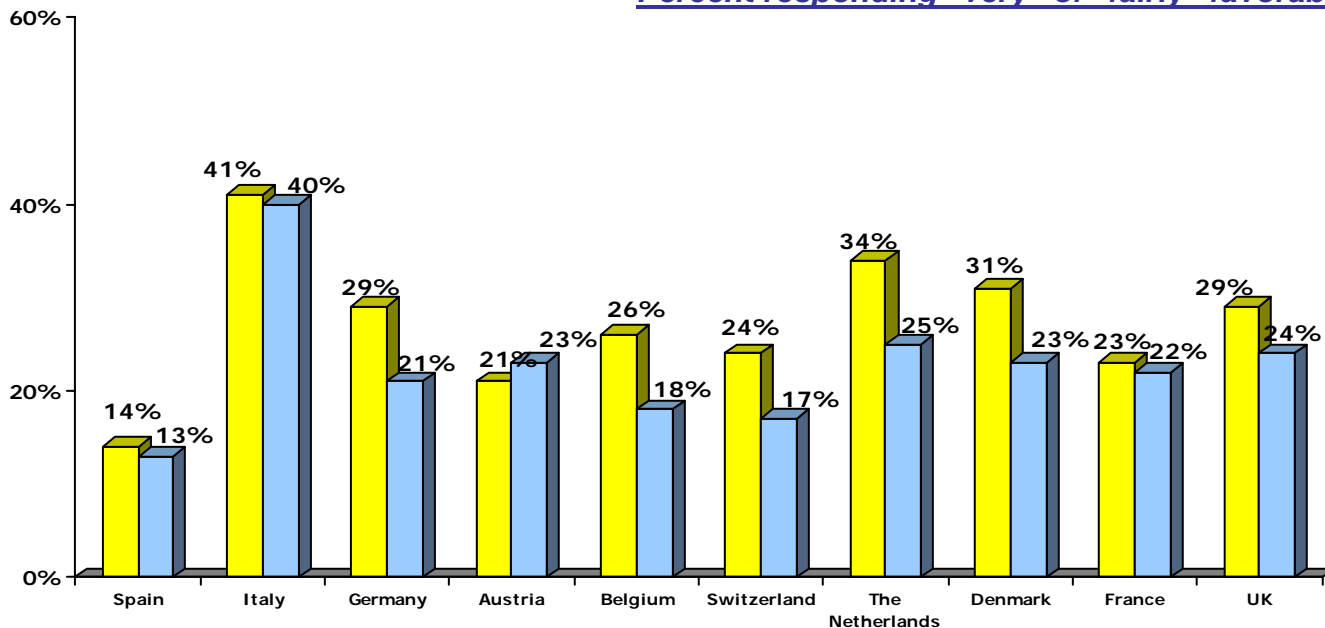
In 2002, the Anti-Defamation League conducted similar surveys of attitudes towards Jews, Israel and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Where applicable, the following section compares results from the 2002 surveys with results from the recently completed April 2004 survey.

- The data indicates that attitudes toward Israel have gotten progressively worse in the last two years among European respondents.
- Regarding the current conflict, the past three years of violence has had an affect on European attitudes, making them less sympathetic to both the Israelis and Palestinians.
- In 2002, 32 percent of respondents across Europe sympathized more with the Palestinians than with the Israelis. That number has declined to 24 percent in the latest survey.
- This decrease in sympathy for the Palestinians has not translated into increased sympathy for Israel, which has remained constant at 15 percent.
- Today, a plurality of respondents in Europe, 40 percent, say that they are sympathetic to neither side in the current conflict.
- Israel's favorability has decreased over the past two years among respondents in Europe. In 2002, 28 percent were favorable to Israel and 29 percent were unfavorable. Today, 23 percent view Israel favorably and 34 percent see Israel in an unfavorable light.
- Most significantly, Israel's unfavorability rating rose from 34 percent in 2002 to 46 percent in 2004 among Swiss respondents.
- Similarly, Israel's favorability ratings have also declined.
- The greatest decline came in the Netherlands with Israel's favorability among Dutch respondents declining from 34 percent to 25 percent. Additionally, in Denmark, Germany and Belgium, Israel's favorability declined by 8 points in each country.

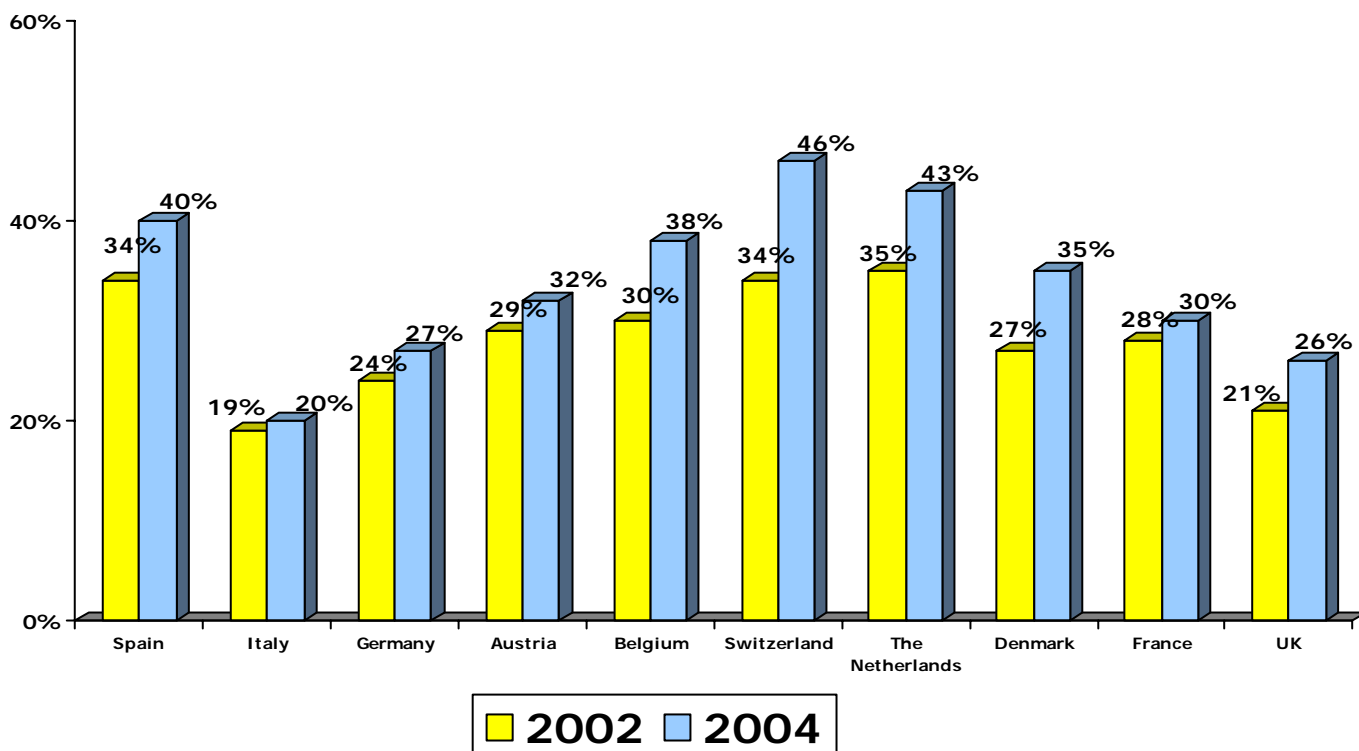
- **Over the past two years, respondents in Europe have become less likely to believe that Israel truly wants to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians.**
- **In 2002, 40 percent of those surveyed believed that Israel wanted to reach an agreement with the Palestinians. That number stands at 34 percent today.**
- **Likewise, in 2002, 38 percent of respondents in Europe agreed that Israel is “an open and democratic society.” Today, only 31 percent of those surveyed across Europe agree with this statement.**

1. *Thinking generally about Israel, would you say that your views are very favorable, fairly favorable, neither favorable nor unfavorable, fairly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?*

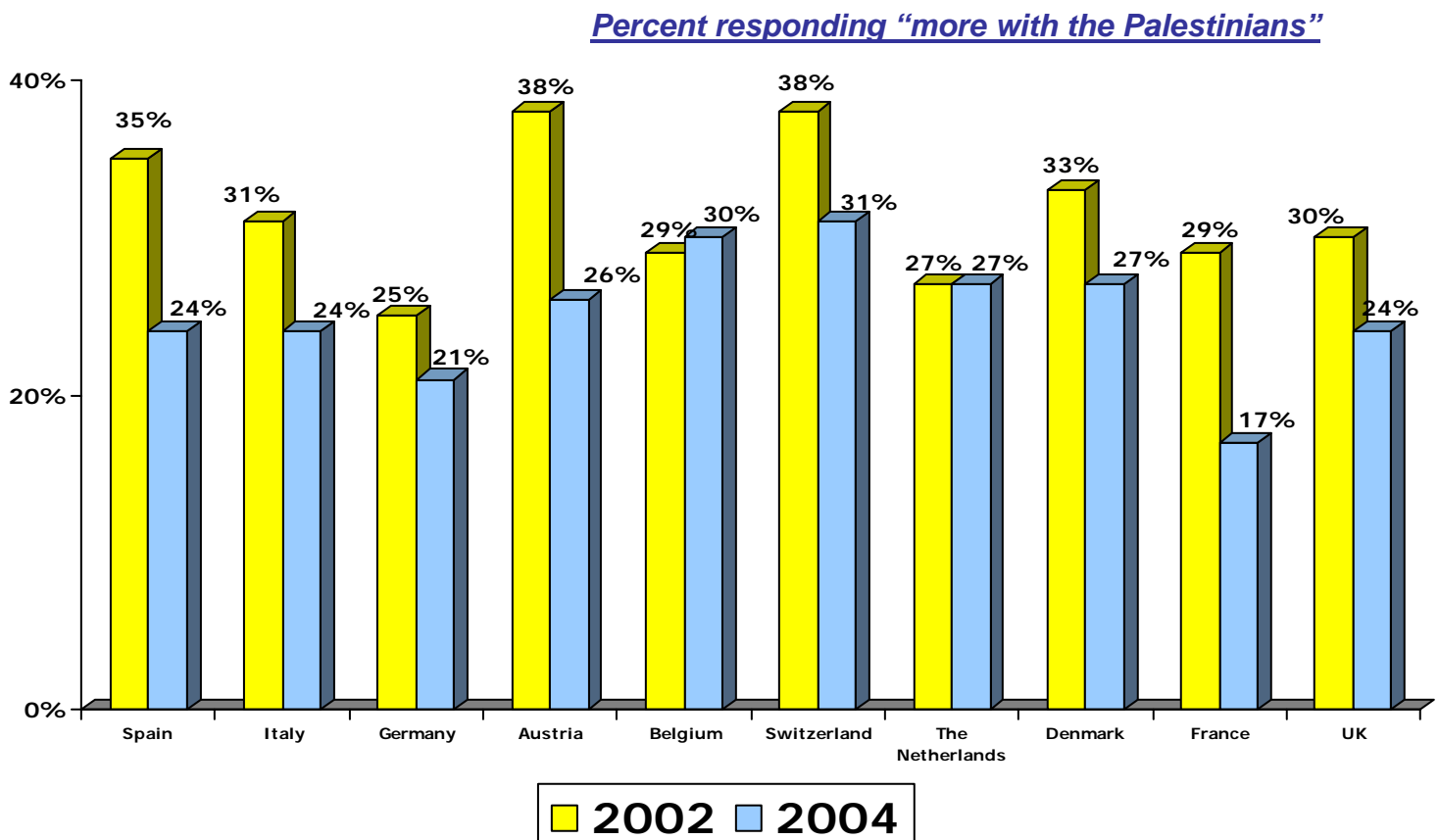
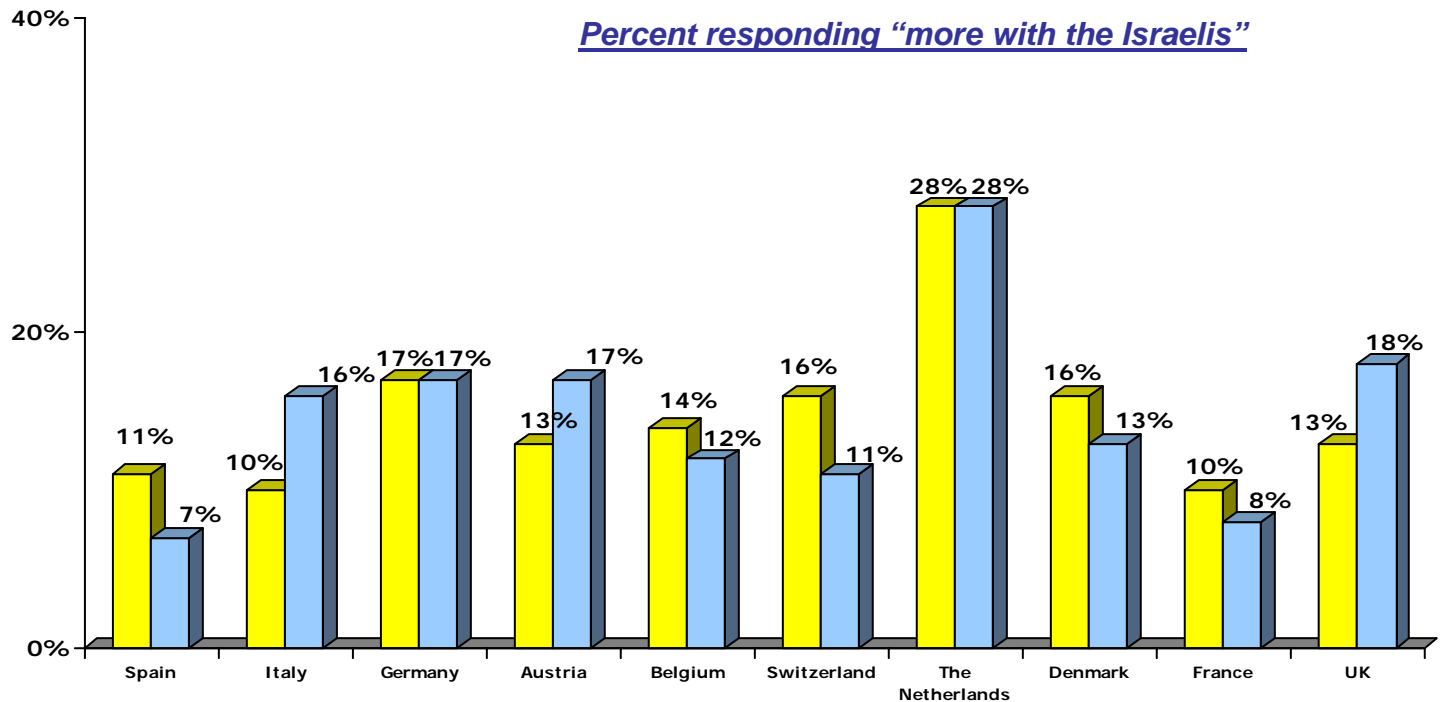
Percent responding "very" of "fairly" favorable



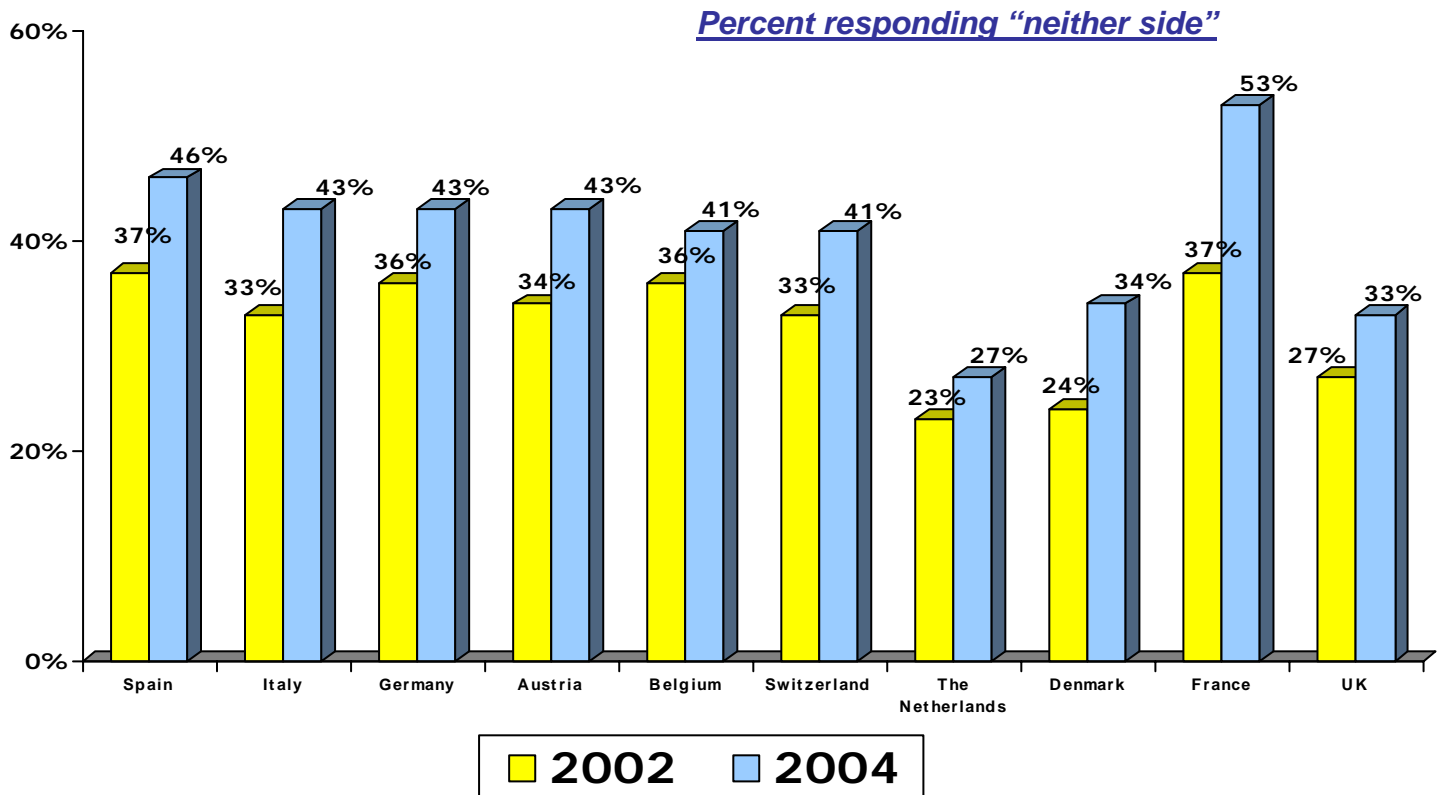
Percent responding "very" of "fairly" unfavorable



2. Thinking specifically about the current conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, are your sympathies more with the Israelis or more with the Palestinians?



2. Thinking specifically about the current conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, are your sympathies more with the Israelis or more with the Palestinians? (Continued)



3. Please tell me whether you agree a lot, agree a little, disagree a little or disagree a lot with the following statement: "Israel truly wants to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians."

	<u>Austria</u>		<u>Belgium</u>		<u>Denmark</u>		<u>France</u>		<u>Germany</u>		<u>The Netherlands</u>		<u>Italy</u>		<u>Spain</u>		<u>Switzerland</u>		<u>UK</u>	
	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04
Agree	31	31	39	34	39	27	47	39	36	29	45	33	40	40	33	28	32	26	54	49
Disagree	47	47	47	50	46	52	43	38	39	44	47	57	47	40	52	42	52	52	27	29

4. Please tell me whether you agree a lot, agree a little, disagree a little or disagree a lot with the following statement: “The Palestinian Authority truly wants to reach a peace agreement with Israel.”

	<u>Austria</u>		<u>Belgium</u>		<u>Denmark</u>		<u>France</u>		<u>Germany</u>		<u>The Netherlands</u>		<u>Italy</u>		<u>Spain</u>		<u>Switzerland</u>		<u>UK</u>	
	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04	'02	'04
Agree	36	28	46	46	42	38	47	48	33	27	32	29	43	38	42	41	37	38	49	47
Disagree	37	42	37	37	40	38	37	27	35	43	58	59	41	41	36	27	41	38	31	31

Media Coverage

- In all ten countries surveyed, media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict directly affects the level of respondent sympathy for the Palestinians.
- Those who say they are following the media coverage “a great deal” or “a good amount” are much more likely to sympathize with the Palestinians than those who say they have followed “a little” or “nothing at all.”
- Overall, 24 percent of Europeans surveyed sympathize more with the Palestinians. However, among those who have been following the media coverage of the conflict a “great deal” or a “good amount,” sympathy for the Palestinians rises to 31 percent.

Thinking specifically about the current conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, are your sympathies more with the Israelis or more with the Palestinians?

Country by country breakdown of Palestinian Sympathy

	Austria	Italy	Netherlands	Spain	Switzerland	UK	France	Germany	Denmark	Belgium
Overall	26%	13%	27%	24%	31%	24%	17%	21%	27%	30%
Following coverage a "great deal" or a "good amount"	30%	16%	30%	30%	41%	34%	25%	27%	34%	41%
Following coverage a "little" or "nothing at all"	21%	9%	19%	16%	19%	16%	10%	16%	19%	19%