**Confronting Antisemitism from Perspectives of Philosophy and Social Sciences**

# An End to Antisemitism!

Edited by
Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat,
and Lawrence H. Schiffman

## Volume 4

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**DE GRUYTER**

Dedicated to Esther Webman ז״ל (1947–2020).
May her memory be a blessing.

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Armin Lange and Kerstin Mayerhofer

# Confronting Antisemitism from the Perspectives of Philosophy and Social Sciences: Introduction

The present, fourth volume of *An End to Antisemitism!* combines articles that address the study of antisemitism from perspectives of the social sciences, including psychology, philosophy, and pedagogy. The contributions to this final volume of the proceedings series essentially mirror the general approach to combating antisemitism that is suggested by the whole five-volume series *An End to Antisemitism!* One of the series' main arguments is that successful strategies to fight antisemitism must be based on a thorough scholarly and scientific analysis of Jew-hatred. Such an analysis begins with the assessment not only of the level of antisemitism in a given population and time but also by identifying which forms of Jew-hatred were or are more prominent than others. This assessment is followed by an interdisciplinary theoretical reflection of antisemitism and by an analysis of the assessed data. Such theoretical reflection must be the basis for the development of successful strategies to combat antisemitism.

This first part is followed by articles dedicated to the theoretical reflection of antisemitism on philosophical, sociological, and psychological levels. Historical and religious perspectives have been discussed in previous volumes.[1] The results of these theoretical contributions point the way to their implementation in the form of pedagogical studies and as examples of best practices.

## Assessment of Antisemitism

Assessment of the level of antisemitism has been established as one of the key prerequisites to successfully fight it—both in volume 1 of the present series as well as in the respective official catalogue of measures for combating antisemitism.[2] Only an in-depth understanding of the level and nature of antisemitism in

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[1] Cf. A. Lange, K. Mayerhofer, D. Porat, and L. H. Schiffman, eds., *Confronting Antisemitism from the Perspectives of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism*, and idem, *Confronting Antisemitism through the Ages – A Historical Perspective*, vols. 2 and 3 of *An End to Antisemitism!*, edited by A. Lange, K. Mayerhofer, D. Porat, and L. H. Schiffman (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020 and 2021).

[2] Cf. A. Lange, A. Muzicant, D. Porat, L. H. Schiffman, and M. Weitzman, *An End to Antisemitism! A Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism* (Brussels: European Jewish Congress, 2018).

a given society or group allows for the development of effective strategies to counter and combat it. The work of assessing this level of antisemitism is done mostly by various non-governmental and governmental organizations. Surveys assessing the level of antisemitism in a particular society or group are often but not always guided by the methodology of the social sciences. They follow two basic approaches: (1) They measure the number of people fostering antisemitic attitudes and the forms of Jew-hatred in a given society. This is done by asking a set of questions targeted at common attitudes toward Jews and Judaism to a select sample of various members of society; and (2) they measure the frequency in which Jews experience antisemitism and how they perceive it.

Scholars have identified three main forms of contemporary antisemitism, using both assessment approaches: (a) classical antisemitism, drawing back to age-old antisemitic stereotypes that have translated from religio-cultural realms to the general society; (b) the denial of the Shoah or the relativization of it; and (c) the delegitimization and demonization of the State of Israel. How these main forms link together and how they can be assessed is demonstrated in the example of Sergio DellaPergola and his examination of the ADL 100 project by the Anti-Defamation League and of the survey of *Discrimination and Hate Crime against Jews* conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). The importance of a careful antisemitism assessment is further underlined in the article by L. Daniel Staetsky in which he demonstrates that Jewish victims of antisemitism can experience a heightened antisemitic threat level from a population that is composed only to a small extent of hard-core antisemites, such as in the case of Great Britain. Rather, antisemitism has become much more a phenomenon that spans through all parts of society and the political spectrum, sharing select prejudices against Jews as one of the core elements.

Shoah education is an important asset to confront the persistent marginalization and denial of the events of the Shoah. Respective surveys from a pedagogical background, like the one conducted by Reinhold Boschki for secondary education in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, demonstrate that the willingness of educators is of the utmost importance in the fight against antisemitism. Only if they commit to an active reproach of antisemitic attitudes amongst young people, serious changes can be achieved among the youth, which is a social group of high importance when it comes to eradicating antisemitism worldwide. However, Shoah education alone has proven to be only a partial remedy. While it makes clear the horrible persecution and murder that the Jewish people suffered in Europe, Shoah education often fails to link these horrific events to contemporary antisemitic prejudices permeating all parts of society: religion, economy, and politics. In order to counter antisemitism effectively, teachers at all levels and of all different fields must engage in the challenge of explaining what an-

tisemitism is, how it can be detected, and educate the young about what negative consequences can result from antisemitism if it goes unchecked and unchallenged.[3]

In addition to social scientific and pedagogical surveys, case studies about antisemitic incidents as well as reports gathering such incidents are a further important tool for the assessment of antisemitism. Case studies allow for the in-depth study of individual antisemitic events and thus help to better understand which forms of antisemitism are prevalent in a given society or group. The reporting of antisemitic incidents helps to better assess the amount of verbal and physical antisemitic violence as well as the amount of antisemitic discrimination in a particular society. Different ways and systems of reporting have been previously discussed, especially with the focus on the internet and social media, in volume 5 of the present series.[4] Assessments by way of surveys and antisemitism reports are readily available when it comes to the measurement of contemporary antisemitism but are impossible to perform for the assessment of antisemitism in earlier times. This observation reaffirms the importance of case studies. Assessment of antisemitism in the past and present requires, thus, also the study and analysis of individual antisemitic events and phenomena throughout history. Various examples have been collected in previous volumes of the series with a religious and historical perspective, as mentioned above. The present fourth and last volume of the series adds case studies that help to assess the nature of contemporary antisemitism from philosophical, ethical, and psychological perspectives as well as through the lens of general societal processes and changes. These examples include the 2012 debate about religious male circumcision in Germany and Europe more broadly, addressed by Olaf Glöckner, who demonstrates how the lack of knowledge about male circumcision and the pretense of concern for the well-being of children gave a mouthpiece to antisemitic stereotypes about Jewish depravity, venality, and the sexual abuse of children. The case of Achille Mbembe, as discussed by Monika Schwarz-Friesel and Evyatar Friesel, serves as an example for how contemporary anti-Zionism singles out the State of Israel by evoking traditional antisemitic stereotypes in camouflaged hate speech making them acceptable in society. A thoroughly executed study on antisemitic attitudes in the workplace, conducted by Yochanan Altman and his team, demonstrates that even in organizational settings in geographical areas where the Jewish population is sparse (in this case Germany and Austria) antisemitic attitudes are fos-

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**3** Cf. ibid., 79.

**4** Cf. A. Lange, K. Mayerhofer, D. Porat, and L. H. Schiffman, eds., *Confronting Antisemitism in Modern Media, the Legal and Political Worlds*, vol. 5 of *An End to Antisemitism!*, edited by A. Lange, K. Mayerhofer, D. Porat, and L. H. Schiffman (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021).

tered and tolerated, especially in times of societal crises. All of these cases show that Jew-hatred is identity based and attempts to resolve an underlying self-hatred of the antisemite by projecting their self-hatred onto the Jewish other. This observation is underlined by philosophical and psychological evaluation presented by Michel Gad Wolkowicz, and Florette Cohen and her team. Both claim mortality salience as an initiator of antisemitic hate in constructing Jews as a unique cultural threat to many people's worldview. A particularly strong example for this mechanism is the perception of Israel's treatment of Palestine.

As previously mentioned, this first part of the volume collects surveys and case studies to underline the importance of in-depth assessment of antisemitism in all parts of society. They help to draw a comprehensive picture of the reality of antisemitism in contemporary times by taking into account people, institutions, and systems that foster antisemitic attitudes but also the Jewish population as their target.

In his article, *Antisemitism: National or Transnational Constellation?*, Sergio DELLAPERGOLA explores the fundamentals of contemporary antisemitism through the use of quantitative data sources and techniques. For that purpose, DellaPergola primarily analyzes the ADL 100 and the FRA Discrimination and Hate Crime against Jews surveys by way of Similarity Structure Analysis (SSA) taking "both ends of the perpetrator-victim dyad" (23) into consideration. Among antisemites, he identifies three conceptual main strands that overlap significantly: (1) classical antisemitism "attributing to the Jews economic-political power, dominance and exploitation, with further contentions of foreignness to the majority's national interests and physical recognizability" (57); (2) Shoah denial or manipulation; and (3) Israel delegitimization and demonization. The memory of the Shoah is among the most frequent markers of Jewish identification resulting in Jews deeming Shoah denial or minimization as offensively antisemitic. Because of the identificational proximity of Israel with the Shoah, denying Israel's right to exist or boycotting Israel is regarded as similarly antisemitic. The ongoing globalization turns antisemitism into "an insidious global transnational phenomenon" (57). That more prominent Jewish presence in a country is associated with less antisemitism shows that "[a]ntisemitism growingly becomes an insidious global transnational phenomenon unrelated to direct contact with Jews as real-life individuals but largely transmitted against Jews as an immanent collective" (57).

L. Daniel STAETSKY discusses *Quantifying Antisemitic Attitudes in Britain: The "Elastic" View of Antisemitism*. He observes the dissonance between surveys, finding that about 10% of the UK's population are committed to antisemitism, while surveys of Britain's Jewish population demonstrate that 50% of British Jews regard antisemitism as a problem. In response to this dissonance between

antisemitism surveys and Jewish anxiety, Staetsky develops an "elastic" approach to antisemitism (000), which is based on the survey of antisemitic attitudes in Britain by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research. In this elastic approach, Staetsky distinguishes between latent negativity (7.2%), softer negativity (3.0%), and hard-core negativity against Jews (2.4%) on the one hand, and on the other hand he distinguishes between British individuals holding a whole range of negative attitudes and ideas against Jews (2.4%) as opposed to those who hold only a few (15%) or even just one of them (30%). Staetsky argues that high Jewish anxiety about antisemitism in Britain is due to frequent encounters with those British individuals who hold only a few antisemitic attitudes, while the lower numbers of UK antisemitism surveys capture those parts of the population that hold *hard-core* negative, softer, or latent negativity against Jews.

Reinhold BOSCHKI addresses the *Contribution of Religious Education to the Prevention of Antisemitism: An International Empirical Study.* Because the Christian roots of antisemitism are also evident in current manifestations of the hatred of Jews in European societies, there is a need for churches, theology, and religious education to grapple with and tackle the problem of antisemitism as an issue of their own. Boschki's research project examines how the complex topic of Holocaust remembrance and antisemitism is approached and perceived by pupils and teachers in religious education in the curriculum of secondary schools in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. An online questionnaire was used to provide statistical data about various ways of teaching Holocaust remembrance and about antisemitism. According to Boschki's results, religious education is able to provide a substantial contribution to learning remembrance in school education, a process that goes hand in hand with learning to combat antisemitism, racism, and "group focused enmity" (81). Some teachers see clearly that antisemitic attitudes are still present in our society and will confront students about anti-Jewish thinking. They use various methods to teach about the Holocaust such as showing and discussing movies about the Holocaust, reading books like *Night* by Elie Wiesel, visiting memorial sites, such as concentration camps, or visiting Jewish communities and synagogues to get in touch with Jewish life today. Some teachers invite Jews to their classroom, make bicycle excursions to find traces of former Jewish life, or visit Jewish museums. The teachers said that there is an obligation to unmask Christian and biblical roots of anti-Jewish attitudes and emphasize a new theological understanding of the close relationship between Christians and Jews.

Olaf GLÖCKNER engages with *The Circumcision Debate in Germany in 2012 and its Impacts on Europe.* He especially focuses on the debate about religious male circumcision that followed a ruling of the regional German court in

Cologne from May 7, 2012, criminalizing religious circumcision. Shortly after this ruling, criminal charges were brought against two rabbis in other German cities and a toxic debate full of open and coded antisemitic polemics evolved in Germany. The events in Germany sparked a chain of antisemitic debates and attempts to prohibit it in many European countries. Glöckner emphasizes how the concern for the well-being of young male children became a channel for a range of antisemitic polemics about Jewish depravity, venality, and the sexual abuse of children. He furthermore shows that such antisemitic polemics and legal measures against religious circumcision endanger Jewish life in Germany and all over Europe.

In their article *"To Make the World a Better Place": Giving Moral Advice to the Jewish State as a Manifestation of Self-legitimized Antisemitism among Leftist Intellectuals*, Monika SCHWARZ-FRIESEL and Evyatar FRIESEL identify Israel bashing as the most common strategy of current antisemitism. In contemporary anti-Zionism, the State of Israel is singled out by evoking traditional antisemitic stereotypes in camouflaged hate speech that makes them acceptable in society. As these camouflaged antisemitic polemics are voiced by well-known intellectuals, this widespread form of educated antisemitism became much more acceptable than traditional antisemitism. Their article explains the main argumentation patterns of educated antisemitism and points to its mechanisms of denial and self-justification. Special attention is given to the case of Achille Mbembe and his foreword to the book *Apartheid Israel: The Politics of an Analogy*.

In their article *Contours of Workplace Antisemitism: Initial Reflections and a Research Agenda*, Yochanan ALTMAN et al. aim at drawing the contours of workplace antisemitism by presenting a framework for its study. To embed their propositions, the authors home in on two countries: Germany and Austria. They argue that given the deep-rooted and widespread antisemitic attitudes prevalent in both countries, in spite of their miniscule Jewish population, antisemitism is likely to affect organizations and the people who work in them, Jews and gentiles alike. Altman et al. offer a theoretical lens explicating the underlying motivation for antisemitic conduct—primed subconscious goal pursuits, within the framework of *Goal Setting Theory*[5] and the circumstances that may give rise to it in organizational settings, with particular reference to Terror Management Theory: fear arousing death awareness in times of social strife and radical change, and/or of a global pandemic. The authors propose organizational identifiers for antisemitism tolerance, outlining consequent issues for people management

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**5** Cf. X. Chen et al. "An Enumerative Review and a Meta-Analysis of Primed Goal Effects on Organizational Behavior," *Applied Psychology 70, no. 1* (2021): 216–53.

and possible remedies. The article concludes with suggestions for a research agenda.

Michel Gad WOLKOWICZ's article *The Transmission of Hatred and the Hatred of Transmission: The Psychopathology of a Murder and an Anatomy of a Silence. The Nobody's Name: A Contemporary Symptom* is a case study of the murder of Sarah Halimi in France in 2017. Wolkowicz understands this case as a "contemporary symptom" reflected not only in the act as such but especially in the silencing of its antisemitic nature throughout France from intellectuals, politicians, and within French media coverage. With his case study, Wolkowicz aims at addressing "the psychopathology of antisemitism, anti-Jewish aggressions," and more specifically, of "present-day denials of the Real, a version of 'negationism' or 'denialism,' which has always been consubstantial with it" (155). Jew-hatred can be regarded as an "identity-based hatred" (156), which attempts to resolve a suppressed underlying hatred of parts of the haters' self-identity that are projected onto an arbitrary object in order to find legitimization for it. Jews then come to serve as an archetypal "Other" onto which negative aspects of the self are projected and negated in an "entanglement of archaic envy, mimetic identification, and narcissistic omnipotence, together with a fantasy of substitution" (156). This is especially true for anti-Zionist antisemitism, which demonstrates a desubstantialized reality conflated with political ideology resulting in mass protests and mob-like hatred of the State of Israel and of Israelis. Wolkowicz concludes that antisemitism can be best understood as "a chronic illness of Western politics" and Sarah Halimi's murder, as an example, is perceived as "destructive of humanity" (180). Apparently an isolated act, in reality, the murder "was really the product of an ideological group activated by the hatred of Jews and entailing a collective hush up authorizing an identical repetition and negation" (179). Unfortunately, Wolkowicz sees no end to this repetition and negation and a constant failure of democracy where judges fail to state the law and the media fail to report un-biasedly—a contemporary symptom.

Florette COHEN addresses *Modern Antisemitism: A Psychological Understanding of the BDS Movement* in a five-stage experiment using a new theoretical model of antisemitism. The model has two core proposals: (1) that mortality salience increases antisemitism, and (2) that antisemitism often manifests as hostility toward Israel. The results of the studies demonstrate that mortality salience helps to foster antisemitic attitudes, especially pertaining to Israel's treatment of Palestine, which is regarded as a greater violation against human rights than identical human rights violations such as in India or Russia. According to Cohen, this also leads to increased support for the BDS movement. An increased hostility toward Israel can be observed both from the alt-right and the liberal left especially in the US and in Europe. Concluding, Cohen's results demonstrate that

"Jews constitute a unique cultural threat to many people's worldviews," and "that antisemitism causes hostility to Israel, and that hostility to Israel may feed back to increase antisemitism" (183).

# Theoretical Reflections on Antisemitism

The studies discussed in the first part of the present volume demonstrate how the assessment of antisemitism by way of surveys and case studies raise meta-theoretical questions about the nature of antisemitism. Successful strategies in combating antisemitism thus also need to be based on a (meta)theoretical reflection of Jew-hatred.

Jew-hatred comes in a variety of shades and forms. This heterogeneity and pluriformity of antisemitism has, sadly, added much to its successful continuation. Depending on historical, political, cultural, and religious contexts, antisemitism transforms itself into new forms Jew-hatred adjusting in this way to the ever-changing dynamics of societies and cultures. While through pre-modern and early modern times, Jew-hatred was mainly expressed within a religio-cultural framework of thought, new expressions of antisemitism began to develop with the birth of modernity. The new scientific mindset initiated by the Enlightenment gave birth to racist expressions of antisemitism that became dominant in the history of Jew-hatred, at the latest during the late nineteenth century. In the same time period, due the Industrial Revolution and the evolving capitalist economic system, economic antisemitism also became a popular form of Jew-hatred that often integrated with racist antisemitism. These are just a few examples of the many transformations by which antisemitism adapted to historical developments and changing circumstances. One of the most recent transformations among the ever-changing faces of Jew-hatred is anti-Zionism, that is, the hatred of Israel as the Jewish state. It responds to the changed role of Judaism when it began to strive for a Jewish state and succeeded to establish it with the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. Anti-Zionism is therefore repeatedly addressed in the contributions to this and other volumes of *An End to Antisemitism!* series.

The pluriformity and heterogeneity of antisemitism requests a theoretical reflection not just on one but on many levels. The constant transformation and thus ever-changing nature of antisemitism makes it therefore impossible to restrict its theoretical reflection to one scholarly or scientific approach. On the contrary, the heterogeneous nature of antisemitism requires an interdisciplinary approach that combines social sciences and psychology with philosophy, religious studies, and history, both in its theoretical reflection as much as in its assess-

ment and in the fight against it. The second part of this volume thus presents contributions from a variety of disciplines. They all, however, reflect on and highlight the constant transformation of antisemitism from a theoretical perspective.

Antisemitic perceptions of Jews can be perceived as a negative trope responding to socio-political processes. Especially during times of socio-political crises, antisemitic attitudes flare up at a high level, as Judit Bokser Liwerant demonstrates. This trope, on the other hand, can also be understood as phantasmal, according to Vivian Liska, with regards to the transformation of the negative image of "the Jew" in French philosophy. Lines between perceptions of the Jews based in concrete reality and simple "ideas" of Jews, of their lives and identities, frequently get blurred. This is especially true for contemporary Muslim antisemitism, which often lacks a concrete counterpart in Muslim societies of which Jews mostly are not a part today. Rather, Muslim antisemitism is an amalgamation of contemporary socio-political and socio-economic ideologies and traditional religiously motivated Jew-hatred from the Qur'an and the *hadith*, as Neil J. Kressel demonstrates.

The same blurring becomes apparent when reflecting on the term *antisemitism* per se. As argued in previous volumes, the term *antisemitism* is much debated in historical scholarship. Scholars have claimed that the term is anachronistic and reflects a racial conceptualization of Judaism that cannot be understood outside of the context of nineteenth-century nationalism and racial theory.[6] A polyvalent meaning of the term also points to the plurality of contemporary antisemitism and to possible dangers of abusing the term, as addressed by Lars Dencik. Often times, the term is used for politically motivated utterances fueled by means of economic and political rather than racial discrimination. Theoretical reflections on antisemitism, thus, need to be careful not to step into this trap as overuse and abuse of the term *antisemitism* could disarm the concept of antisemitism altogether. Of course, however, any form of violence (from hate speech to physical attacks) against Jews that are directed against Jews based on their religious and cultural Jewish identity must appropriately be addressed as antisemitic. This is in accordance with the Working Definition of Antisemitism by the IHRA,[7] which the conference and its proceedings took their bases in.

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**6** Cf. K. Mayerhofer and A. Lange, "Comprehending Antisemitism through the Ages: Introduction," in *Comprehending Antisemitism through the Ages*, vol. 3 of *An End to Antisemitism!*, edited by A. Lange, K. Mayerhofer, D. Porat, and L. H. Schiffman (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 1–27.
**7** Cf. "Working Definition of Antisemitism," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued May 26, 2016, https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/node/196.

Antisemitism's heterogeneity and constant transformation also call for a constant re-assessment of existing theories reflecting upon it. One example is Critical Theory, which has been one of the main philosophical approaches addressing antisemitism on the level of metatheory.[8] Growing out of the experience of World War II and the atrocities of the Shoah, Critical Theory established a new categorical imperative, namely that the Shoah must not repeat itself. Nowadays, however, the chronological distance from the Shoah is growing. New and old forms of antisemitism that are disconnected from the Shoah thus weaken the force of Critical Theory's categorical imperative or even make it obsolete. This is especially the case for contemporary Muslim antisemitism, as stated above. Established theories need to be questioned, and, if necessary, queried and updated to fit a new understanding of the growing dangers of antisemitism in contemporary times. Only in this way can antisemitism effectively be combatted as the articles in the second part of the present volume affirm.

In her contribution, Judit BOKSER LIWERANT focuses on *Antisemitism and Related Expressions of Prejudice in a Global World: A View from Latin America*. She understands the antisemitic perception of Jews as a negative *tropos* and addresses the socio-political processes and praxis that patterns this *tropos* in Latin American societies from the arrival of Jewish immigration during the 1920s–1940s until today. To do so, Bokser Liwerant analyzes "the historical pattern of recurrence and change, the non-linearity and complexity of the interactions and mutual influences between antisemitism and related prejudices" (219). She focuses "on the interaction between antisemitism, anti-Israelism and anti-Zionism as singular yet overlapping phenomena at the meaning-making level" (219). Bokser Liwerant identifies three stages in the ideological history of the negative *tropos* of the Jews. In first stage, before and during the Nazi-period, in Latin American societies the *tropos* of the Jew was determined by western European Jew-hatred and Nazism. Antisemitic expressions were articulated in the framework of immigration and that impacted different conceptualizations of nation and society impacting vice versa immigration policy negatively. During the second stage, in response to the Six-Day War, regional, national, and global scenarios were reconfigured impacting the *tropos* of the Jews in Latin American societies bringing together Jews, Israel, and Zionism in an antisemitic triangle. Anti-Zionism accumulated old antisemitic referents and combined in this way the hard nucleus of prejudice with changing motivations and functions. During the third stage, in the twenty-first century, she observes yet another permutation

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**8** Many contributions in volume 5 interact with it in more detail. Cf. Lange et al., *Confronting Antisemitism in Modern Media, the Legal and Political Worlds*.

in the antisemitic *tropos* of the Jews as the Palestinian cause instrumentalized transnational advocacy networks and global civil society. Anti-Zionism became a trans-regional and transnational cultural code that as a mobilization myth has an effect on Latin American societies as well. While *tropos*-building does not necessarily result in practices of discrimination, nevertheless, Bokser Liwerant concludes, it needs to be "contextualized within each country's political culture and status of human rights. Understanding its strength emerges as a *sine qua non* requirement when attempting to account for the actual extent of antisemitic danger derived from discursive and symbolic violence" (248).

In her article, *The Phantasm of the Jew in French Philosophy: From Jean-Paul Sartre to Alain Badiou*, Vivian LISKA reconstructs the perception of the Jewish other in French philosophy from "Sartre's contentious designation of the Jew as nothing but a construction of the antisemite to its openly antagonistic and highly problematic inflection in Alain Badiou's call for the disappearance of the 'SIT Jew,' who derives his identity from the triad Shoah, Israel, and the Talmud" (253). Against Sartre and others, Liska argues that neither can a concrete Jewish person exist with a conceptualization of Jewishness nor can such a conceptualization of Jewishness be developed without remnants of concrete encounters of Judaism. She points to a spectrum of differently combined external and internal ascriptions of Jewishness, which are co-determined by the very mode of signification and along which the figure of the Jew in the works Jean-Paul Sartre, Maurice Blanchot, Jean-François Lyotard, and Alain Badiou can be situated. The spectrum reflects an increasingly problematic attitude toward Judaism, in which the borders between anti-Zionism, anti-Judaism, and antisemitism blur. Sartre, Blanchot, and Lyotard would transform the historically negative image of "the Jew" into a trope that testifies to its own phantasmal character. Badiou fills this empty trope with an abstract universality in declaring "Jew" a metaphor without origin.

Neil J. KRESSEL addresses an important question in his article: *Does Islam Fuel Antisemitism?* He scrutinizes quotes by extremist Islamist religious and political leaders with regards to their scientific accuracy and religious soundness and aims at uncovering the political, sociological, and psychological foundation of these people's antisemitism. The prevailing antisemitism in many parts of the Muslim world, however, makes it difficult to confirm that contemporary Muslim antisemitism is Islamic only and not in actuality an amalgamate of contemporary socio-political and socio-economic ideologies reinforced by classical teachings from the Qur'an and the *hadith*. In order to better identify Islamic religious sources of antisemitism, Kressel proposes twelve categories, among them verbal attacks and denunciations and public opinion in media as well as physical terror targeting Jews and Jewish institutions and institutionalized discrimination

against Jews via official laws and organizational policies. While certainly all of these categories also take their support from religious Islamic sources, the "main engine behind contemporary Arab and Muslim antisemitism" (276), however, is the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The historical tradition of antisemitism, corroborated by religious teaching, is subsequently used to explain and support socio-political anti-Zionist arguments and render them antisemitic. Islam is certainly not "eternally, irredeemably, and incurably hostile to Jews" (278), Kressel concludes, however, many Muslim thinkers have shaped a self-perception of predisposed Muslim antisemitism being derived from traditional religious beliefs. As such, it is particularly hard to conquer, and Kressel calls for "an encounter with its antisemitic past similar to that which the Catholic Church and other Christian denominations had in the mid-twentieth century" (279). Sadly, however, he does not remain quite positive that this will happen in the near future. His initial question, does Islam fuel antisemitism, has to be answered with a yes. Albeit a tentative one, it is still a yes.

Lars Dencik focuses *On the Ethical Implications and Political Costs of Misinterpreting and Abusing the Notion "Anti-Semitism"* today. Dencik builds his argument around four main points. First, today's use of the notion of "anti-Semitism" points to a need to sort out and distinguish from one another the contemporary mainly non-racist form of Jew-hatred from other politically motivated uses and abuses of the notion of "antisemitism." Second, three main forms of contemporary Jew-hatred exist. Classical antisemitism is at home mainly in the radical right. "Aufklärungsantisemitismus" denotes critique of core Jewish practices even calling for their prohibition and is often at home in a liberal and left wing milieu. "Israel-derived antisemitism" emanates from hostility of the perpetrators toward the State of Israel and/or anger due to actions taken by the Israeli state but targets all Jews everywhere in the world. It is mainly at home with Muslim extremists and the political left. Third, a symbiosis exists between the interest of terrorist and other violent Jew-haters and alarmist Jewish voices emphasizing chronic fear and anxiety among diaspora Jews. Fourth, overuse and abuse of the term "antisemitism" disarm the concept of antisemitism.

Lars Rensmann addresses *The Politics and Ethics of Anti-Antisemitism: Lessons from the Frankfurt School*. He argues that the thinkers of the Frankfurt philosophical school—otherwise known as Critical Theory—and in particular Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, and Leo Löwenthal provide with their work important resources not only for the analysis of contemporary antisemitism but also for critical political and ethical responses to it. To achieve this goal, Rensmann first elaborates on the task of critical enlightening about the nature and causes of antisemitism and antisemitic myths. A key part of the "enlightenment project" is analysis of new or modernized forms of antisemitism, such as

hatred of the Jewish State of Israel and Israeli Jews, post-Shoah equations of Jews and Israelis with Nazis, or the phenomenon of antisemitism denial. In a second step, largely confined to the negative ethics of Critical Theory, Rensmann outlines ethical implications of the general features of antisemitism as resentments against and projections toward a minority, and the particular features of antisemitism as a modern world explanation and conspiracy myth. In a negative dialectic established by Adorno, the Shoah points to a "new categorical imperative," that the Shoah, symbolized by the image of Auschwitz, will not repeat itself, that anything similar must not happen again. Building on such negative ethics, Rensmann finally develops the foundations of positive political and legal responses to antisemitism in domestic society, politics, and international relations. He asks for a defense of the rule of law and institutions of liberal democracy as well unconditional solidarity with factual truth, because as a distinctly anti-modern ideology, antisemitism flourishes especially in demagogic and totalitarian structures.

## Education about Antisemitism and Teaching Ways to Combat It

The continuing transformation and heterogeneous nature of antisemitism implies, thus, that educating youth about antisemitism is an important aspect in the ongoing fight against it. Education offers the opportunity to influence and inform a younger generation positively about Judaism and critically about antisemitism.

After the antisemitic genocide committed by Nazi-Germany, Shoah education had and has a key function in this educational process. The role of Shoah education in the pedagogical fight against antisemitism is a thematic thread binding together many of the articles in the third and final part of this volume. However, Shoah education can only be one tool among many in the important educational process and fight against antisemitism. While it is and remains an effective tool to combat some manifestations of antisemitism and teach a younger generation about antisemitism's most dangerous consequences and effects, the effectiveness of Shoah education is limited with regards to other forms of Jew-hatred. Shoah education, therefore, needs to be accompanied by teaching the histories of antisemitism and Judaism exhaustively.

The contributions of Henry Maitles, Paul Thomas and Abdul-Razak Kuyini Alhassan, Julia Spichal, and Lars Fischer provide pedagogical flashlights on such a combined approach. Their case studies demonstrate that learning

about the Shoah results in a heightened degree of tolerance against minority groups, while it decreases the persuasiveness of antisemitic stereotypes only slightly. This is especially true for Muslim students whose particular interpretation of Islam is often one of the main motivators for their antisemitism. Shoah education can, in this case, heighten the awareness of the problem of antisemitism and its dangers, however, it cannot help to eradicate antisemitic attitudes that take their roots from a variety of religio-cultural but also socio-political notions of identity and difference as well as of discursively shaped and established social hierarchies.

Religions play an important role in the establishment and continuation of antisemitic stereotypes. Therefore, religious education holds a special role in the educational process of teaching about antisemitism and about ways to combat it. Age-old Christian antisemitic stereotypes, for example, still permeate textbooks and curricula, which, in turn, perpetuate the very same stereotypes. This has been demonstrated by Julia Spichal who calls for a thorough revision of educational material such as textbooks, especially in, but not restricted to, religious education.

Secondary education, however, is not the only field where an evaluation of curricula and unquestioned antisemitic attitudes is something most desirable. Academic education, too, needs to reflect on its educational processes. Lars Fischer calls for concrete action, for example via the exposure to living Judaism accompanied by addressing and suppressing antisemitic stereotypes in academia. The academic world needs to free itself from societal assumptions about antisemitism that impede academia's contribution to the changing of attitudes toward Jews both among individuals and on a broader societal level.

Again, also in education, assessment is of utmost importance. Only if schools and educational institutions are able to evaluate the level of antisemitic attitudes present on their campuses, both amongst students and educators, they can start an educational process to combat antisemitism. Like theoretical reflection, education about antisemitism must react to its constant transformation in order to stay on top of antisemitism's various manifestations, to teach about and help counteract them. Self-assessment—on a personal and institutional level—is of key importance in the fight against antisemitism.

In this spirit, the present volume ends with a best practice example from the realm of education. Yad Vashem's Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) on the Shoah was launched in 2016 as the first of its kind. This course, designed by Yossi Kugler and Dafna Dolinko, and addressed to anyone with an interest in the Shoah, including students, educators, academics, and policy-makers, is not restricted to the Shoah alone. Rather, it addresses Jew-hatred in its historic and religious depth as well as in the width of its many contemporary forms.

Over two millennia of the history of antisemitism are taught in this course and antisemitism is reflected on from the perspectives of sociology, linguistics, philosophy, the political sciences, and history. All these fields of study and theory link together to present antisemitism in a comprehensive way, to demonstrate its versatile nature and raise awareness for the importance of the fight against it.

In his article, Henry MAITLES asks *Does Learning about Genocide Impact on the Values of Young People? A Case Study from Scotland.* His study is based on the observation that issues involving topics such as an understanding of human rights, democracy, genocide, antisemitism, Islamophobia, and racism can be central to the development of more rounded human beings. In the West of Scotland, students in the final year of primary education (11–12 years old) and first year of secondary education (12–13 years old) were given some learning experiences outside of the normal curriculum ranging from understanding genocide, including the Holocaust and Rwanda, to UNESCO rights respecting schools' initiatives to understanding poverty in the developing world to challenging intolerance. They were surveyed before this special course and after it to ascertain if their attitudes had been affected. It was found that students were more tolerant toward minority groups after learning about the Holocaust. Nevertheless, the number of students who thought there were too many Jews in Scotland was only slightly decreased, and Jews in Scotland are only 0.1% of the population. In terms of gender, it was found that the girls were much more understanding and tolerant in general than the boys. Concluding, Maitles remarks that while Holocaust education is usually done in the context of history, there is value in mixing the historical knowledge of the events with a strong focus on its evils and that this is the end to which behaviors, such as stereotyping and racism, can lead to, when young people learn both *about* and *from* the Holocaust.

In their article, *Challenging Antisemitism: A Pedagogical Approach in a Norwegian School*, Paul THOMAS and Abdul-Razak KUYINI ALHASSAN present a study conducted by the Center for Studies of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities in Norway on attitudes toward Jews and manifestations of antisemitism in a high school in Oslo with a majority of students self-identifying as Muslims. Semi-structured interviews, classroom discussions, and a trip to the synagogue in Oslo were employed in generating the data. It is recognized that several perpetrators of antisemitic acts in recent years have been young immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa. Groruddalen and Søndre Nordstrand are sections of Oslo in which many residents have immigrant backgrounds from countries such as Pakistan, Somalia, Poland, Iraq, and Eritrea to name the most prominent. Norway has a long history of antisemitism and anti-Jewish laws. The medieval, Christian association of the Jew with the Devil has persisted and resonates with students from Muslim backgrounds. Ubiquitous and blunt antisemitic state-

ments were expressed even when the topic was unrelated to Jews. Students revealed that they saw the cause of antisemitism as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and that the Jews must have done something to deserve hatred such as a desire of Jews to control the world. It was clear that the variant of antisemitism in the study was first and foremost secreted through a religious lens—a particular interpretation of Islam. As a result, Thomas and Kuyini Alhassan recommend breaking up the concentration of students where antisemitic views cluster in certain districts by bussing them to other school districts (363). The Holocaust, mentioned only briefly, must be taught explicitly and systematically. Teachers, however, are on the frontlines of this challenge and have been entrusted with the all-important task of inculcating values amenable to nurturing citizens of an increasingly interconnected and pluralistic world.

Julia Spichal deals with means of *Overcoming Antisemitic Biases in Christian Religious Education.* In her dissertation research, Spichal found that antisemitic prejudices are being circulated as so-called facts. While this is a serious problem and is a testament to the tenacity of antisemitism, apparently Christian religious education is also a contributing factor. Examining curricula and textbooks in Germany and Austria, Spichal takes one example: the relationship of Jesus to the Pharisees, comparing its treatment from studies done in 1995 to the way in which it is presented today. The school books she examined tend to present issues that are really conflicts between Jesus and the Pharisees as being between Christianity and Judaism in general. They imply that Judaism and Christianity split during the lifetime of Jesus and that there is a causal relationship between Jesus' conflicts with the Pharisees and his crucifixion. It is imperative to establish unequivocally that Jesus was a Jew and that therefore it doesn't make any sense to insinuate antagonism between him and "the Jews." In fact, they were mostly in agreement on fundamentals. Also it must be stressed that Pontius Pilate was responsible for Jesus' crucifixion. These recommendations foster a nuanced portrayal of Jesus' relationship with the Pharisees at primary schools.

In his *Study of Antisemitism in the Modern Jewish and Judaic Studies Context*, Lars Fischer analyzes some of the erroneous ways in which antisemitism is all too often treated based on the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School. He states, first of all, that antisemitism is rooted in both Western culture and Muslim societies as a means of self-understanding—that they are built on contrasting themselves to everything Jewish (377). In his view, general Judaic Studies scholars cannot speak about antisemitism in an academic way unless they are trained to specialize in this subject. To subscribe to the notion that there is a "Jewish Question" or "Jewish Problem" implies that the Jews are in some way responsible for this problem and that the "solution" requires the manipulation of the Jews (380). Since antisemitism is not a personal matter but an accepted societal as-

sumption, it is possible for Jews to be antisemites as well as Christians or Muslims. To try to reduce antisemitism by having more contact between such societies and actual Jews will not be productive because the existence of stereotypes impedes the transformation of attitudes. Therefore, it is better to repress antisemitic speech than to allow it to go on the rampage unchecked. We must reject the notion of a kernel of truth to antisemitism because the Shoah affected all Jews, no matter who they were or what they had done or not done. Similarly, to deny the Jews the right to their own country, and to hold Israel to a standard higher than that which applies to other countries is inherently antisemitic.

In their contribution, *"Antisemitism from Its Origins to the Present": An Online Video Course by Yad Vashem*, Yossi KUGLER and Dafna DOLINKO focus on one of the most important initiatives in antisemitism education in recent years. Yad Vashem's ten-hour video course brings together short videos of fifty experts from Israel, Europe, and the United States that address the over two millennia of the history of antisemitism from among others the perspective of sociology, linguistics, philosophy, the political sciences, and history. The course is structured into six lessons, the first three of which explore the origins of antisemitism and its history until the Shoah. The last three engage with Islam and contemporary antisemitism in all its expressions. Different from volume 2 of the conference proceedings, the Yad Vashem course understands antisemitism in the world of Islam as an exclusively modern phenomenon beginning in the nineteenth century, although it does interact with the earlier history of Jews in the world of Islam. The course ends with a discussion about various strategies to combat antisemitism in research, legislation, education, and other fields.

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# Contours of Workplace Antisemitism: Initial Thoughts and a Research Agenda

In the context of the rising tide of antisemitism worldwide, we wish to draw the contours of workplace organizational antisemitism, a hitherto ignored topic in contemporary scholarship, by presenting a framework for its study. In particular, we propose an interdisciplinary understanding of antisemitism in the workplace, drawing on theories and evidence from economics, management, and business. To contextually embed our propositions, we focus our discussion on two countries: Germany and Austria. We argue that given the deep-rooted, widespread antisemitic attitudes prevalent in both countries—in spite of their miniscule Jewish populations—it would be prudent for organizations and the people who work in them to be aware of and concerned with antisemitism. We offer two theoretical lenses explicating the underlying motivation for antisemitic conduct-primed goal pursuits (Goal Setting Theory) and mortality salience instigation and/or perceived violation of key worldview precepts (Terror Management Theory). These theories provide the dynamic element for our model on its four currents: Jewish "presence" (real and imaginary), implicit discrimination, Jewish identity, and grassroots cultural antisemitism. Highlighting selective issues of relevance to organizations and management, we end with suggestions for a research agenda.

## Introduction

Jew-hatred and anti-Jewish sentiment in Europe, the USA, and numerous other geographies over the past two decades, suggest the existence of a global trend of antisemitism.[1] Barely two generations after the Shoah, at a time when the last Holocaust victims and their perpetrators can still bear personal witness, antisemitism is widespread and not diminishing. This situation confronts us with "[t]he riddle of antisemitism—its longevity and virulence, its seemingly endless

**1** Cf. I. Cotler, *Global Antisemitism: Assault on Human Rights* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2009), and L. Rensmann, "The Contemporary Globalization of Political Antisemitism: Three Political Spaces and the Global Mainstreaming of the 'Jewish Question' in the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Contemporary Antisemitism* 3, no. 1 (2020): 83–108.

capacity for renewal and reinvention."[2] It also draws our attention to a knowledge deficit in contemporary academia.

Business and management studies, which became major academic disciplines in the second half of the twentieth century and continue to grow in importance and influence in the twenty-first century, are, with very few exceptions, conspicuous in their absence from the academic discourse on contemporary antisemitism. The same is true of the discipline of economics. Given the "popularity" of antisemitism and the ongoing debate about jobs for natives as against non-natives,[3] this ignorance is perplexing. Thus we know next to nothing about antisemitism in contemporary work organizations. A critical reflection on the reasons for this gap may be long overdue, but it is beyond the scope of the present contribution. Here we wish instead to draw the main contours for an understanding and study of present-day antisemitism in the workplace.

Whilst antisemitism throughout history has been present in all corners of the globe and continues to be so in a globalised world,[4] the risk of over-generalization of a complex, deep-rooted, and widespread phenomenon is a trap of which to beware.[5] We therefore follow good practice in our respective disciplines,[6] drawing on contemporary research in these fields to develop an understanding relevant to antisemitism at work. We situate our discourse within two geographies that have been historically among the main drivers of antisemitism as societal and cultural phenomena—as well as core players in the Shoah and its aftermath—Germany and Austria.

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**2** M. Baumgarten, P. Kenez, and B. A. Thompson, eds., *Varieties of Antisemitism: History, Ideology, Discourse* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 15.

**3** This debate has held centre stage in the far-right rhetoric post World War II in, among others, Germany and Austria, with slogans such as "Deutschland zuerst, Österreich zuerst" (respectively: "Germany first, Austria first," cf. J. E. Richardson and R. Wodak, "Recontextualising Fascist Ideologies of the Past: Right-wing Discourses on Employment and Nativism in Austria and the United Kingdom," *Critical Discourse Studies* 6, no. 4 [2009]: 251–67) with reference to the DVU and AfD in Germany and the FPÖ in Austria—political movements with a virulent anti-Jewish history.

**4** Cf. G. Rickman, *Hating the Jews: The Rise of Antisemitism in the 21st Century* (Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2012).

**5** Cf. H. Beyer, "The Globalization of Resentment: Antisemitism in an Inter- and Transnational Context," *Social Science Quarterly* 100, no. 5 (2019): 1503–22.

**6** Cf. G. Johns, "The Essential Impact of Context on Organizational Behavior," *Academy of Management Review* 31, no. 2 (2006): 386–408; and W. Mayrhofer et al., "Context and HRM: Theory, Evidence, and Proposals," *International Studies of Management & Organization* 49, no. 4 (2019): 355–71, and idem, "Laying the Foundations of International Careers Research," *Human Resource Management Journal* 30, no. 3 (2020): 327–42.

## Antisemitic Currents Pertinent to the Workplace and Organizations

We identify four currents in our conceptual model of workplace antisemitism. These are:

– "Antisemitism without Jews" in contemporary Germany and Austria
– Implicit and explicit anti-Jewish discrimination in the workplace
– The existential ontology of being a Jew in a post-Holocaust gentile world
– Antisemitism as a widespread grassroots cultural phenomenon

## Jews in Germany and Austria

Formerly at the mainstream as well as avant-garde of its civic institutions and national culture, German and Austrian Jewry today are but a pale shadow of their formidable past, notably in the capital metropolises of Berlin and Vienna. Despite counting a minuscule 0.14% of the population in Germany[7] and 0.1% in Austria,[8] at least 2,275 antisemitic hate crimes were registered in 2020 in Germany, 55 of which were classified as violent—a 60% increase from the previous year.[9] Similarly, incidents in Austria in 2020 "rose to the highest level since the Jewish community's official records began 19 years ago," recording 585 incidents.[10]

Antisemitism as a generalised anti-Jewish attitude (whether against Jews as individuals, Jews as a collective, or "Jews" as an abstract concept) has been and continues to be widespread. In the early 1980s, Marin and Bunzl estimated that 75% of Austrians "express at least some antisemitic attitudes,"[11] with the rest holding strong or very strong anti-Jewish views. The latest study, based on a representative sample of the adult population in Austria, puts 31% of Austrians agreeing with the statement that "most Jews are exceptionally intelligent and

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**7** Cf. S. DellaPergola, "World Jewish Population 2018," in *American Jewish Year Book* 118, ed. A. B. Dashefsky and I. M. Sheskin (Dordrecht: Springer, 2018), 361–449.

**8** Cf. L. D. Staetsky and S. DellaPergola, *Jews in Austria: A Demographic and Social Portrait* (London: Institute of Jewish Policy Research, 2020).

**9** Cf. "Germany Sees Spike in anti-Semitic Crimes," *Deutsche Welle*, February 11, 2021, https://www.dw.com/en/germany-sees-spike-in-anti-semitic-crimes-reports/a-56537178.

**10** Cf. "Austrian anti-Semitism Incidents Hit Record in 2020," *Reuters*, April 26, 2021, https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/austrian-anti-semitism-incidents-hit-record-2020-report-says-2021-04-26/.

**11** B. Marin and J. Bunzl, *Antisemitismus in Österreich: Sozialhistorische und soziologische Studien* (Innsbruck: Inn-Verlag, 1983), 178.

wealthy" and that they "dominate the international business world" (26 %).[12] Both statements are of relevance to the world of work. Of significance too are the large numbers of respondents who do not offer an opinion—35 % on the first statement and 24 % on the second, which may indicate reluctance to voice an antisemitic view (see Research Agenda below). A 2019 survey in Germany reports similar results.[13] Both countries have active right-wing parties, with proto-fascist ideologies. The AfD in Germany and the FPÖ in Austria attract a significant following, their messages heavily impregnated with antisemitic tropes and innuendo.[14]

Given their insignificant demographic presence, and with the exception of the Haredi community (who are highly visible in their traditional attire[15]), Jews are practically indistinguishable from the general population; hence the persistence of active antisemitism manifested in anti-Jewish incidents and passive antisemitism reflected in opinion surveys, is puzzling. Of note here is the persistent belief in one's ability to supposedly recognize someone as Jewish—a recurrent antisemitic trope. In the latest Austrian public opinion poll, 9 % of respondents were confident that "when I meet someone, I know within a matter of minutes whether that person is a Jew," whereas 11 % failed to voice an opinion on the statement.[16] The probability that the average Austrian in the provinces can identify someone as Jewish is extremely low, since 86 % of the country's Jewish population resides in Vienna.[17] The vast majority of Austrians—and that is true for Germany too—are not aware of having ever met a (real) Jew in their life.[18] Known as "Antisemitism without Jews,"[19] this state of affairs may engen-

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**12** Cf. Austrian Parliament, *Antisemitism in Austria 2020* (Vienna: Austrian Parliament, 2021).
**13** Cf. "A Quarter of Germans Have Antisemitic Thoughts, New Survey Finds," *The Local*, October 24, 2019, https://www.thelocal.de/20191024/every-fourth-german-has-anti-semitic-thoughts-says-new-study/.
**14** For the AfD see e.g. M. Hübscher, "*Likes* for Antisemitism: The Alternative für Deutschland and Its Posts on Facebook," *Journal of Contemporary Antisemitism* 3, no. 1 (2020): 11–34. For the FPÖ see e.g. M. Reiter, "Antisemitismus in der FPÖ und im 'Ehemaligen'-Milieu nach 1945," *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 27 (2018): 117–49.
**15** Haredi (orthodox) Jews make up a tiny proportion of the miniscule Jewish population in both Germany and Austria. In Austria they comprise 7 % of the Jewish community (cf. Staetsky and DellaPregola, *Jews in Austria*) and in Germany the percentage is even lower (personal communication with Daniel Staetsky, May 2021).
**16** Cf. Austrian Parliament, *Antisemitism in Austria 2020.*
**17** Cf. Staetsky and DellaPregola, *Jews in Austria.*
**18** Cf. J. Masters and A. Mortensen, "A Shadow over Europe: Anti-Semitism in 2018," CNN, November 2018, accessed May 23, 2021, https://edition.cnn.com/specials/europe/anti-semitism-europe.

der a two-pronged dynamic: Whilst sharpening the issue of identity for Jews (should they, consciously or unconsciously, conceal or emphasize their Jewish identity), the gregarious antisemite may happily identify someone as Jewish who is not, and for whom potentially undesirable consequences may ensue. As we shall see, these may have ramifications for the workplace.

## Workplace Discrimation

Due to its scarcity, the academic research effort on antisemitism pertaining to the workplace is rather easy to summarize; its researchers can be counted on the fingers of one hand and are confined to a single geography (the USA and Canada). From the mid-1960s to the late 1980s, the few relevant publications (none of the articles were published in business and management journals) concentrated on the issue of discrimination by North American big business (predominately in the USA).[20] The evidence showed that Jews faced barriers of entry, starting at college recruitment[21] and continuing in promotion to the top corporate echelons.[22] Slavin concluded in a sombre tone: "it seems the present system of corporate recruitment effectively excludes Jews from most sectors of the American economy."[23] Jews also had to face overt and explicit generalized anti-Jewish prejudice,[24] which saw them side-lined into support functions in organizations and the professions: roles and occupations that required technical skills and intellec-

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**19** Cf. B. Marin, "A Post-Holocaust 'Anti-Semitism without Anti-Semites'? Austria as a Case in Point," *Political Psychology* 2, no. 2 (1980): 57–74; Marin and Bunzl, *Antisemitismus in Österreich*; T. Seidenschnur, *Antisemitismus im Kontext. Erkundungen in ethnisch-heterogenen Milieu von Heranwachsenden* (Transcript: Bielefeld, 2013).

**20** The implementation of Title VII from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 may play a role here: its interpretation (or lack thereof) may have inadvertently encouraged the harbouring of antisemitic expressions in the workplace as courts were reluctant to rule on what constitutes a "religion," thereby providing a blanket protection to anything that could be labelled "beliefs." Cf. B. D. Arem, "Never Again in the Workplace: Title VII's Shield of Intolerance," *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 4, no. 1 (2012): 73–87.

**21** Cf. A. K. Korman, "Anti-Semitism in Organizations and the Behavioral Sciences: Towards a Theory of Discrimination in Work Settings," *Contemporary Jewry* 9, no. 2 (1988): 63–85; and S. L. Slavin, "Bias in US Big Business Recruitment," *Patterns of Prejudice* 10, no. 5 (1976): 22–25.

**22** Cf. S. L. Slavin and M. A. Pradt, *The Einstein Syndrome: Corporate Anti-Semitism in America Today* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1982); and Korman, "Anti-Semitism in Organizations."

**23** Slavin, "Bias in US Big Business Recruitment," 24.

**24** Cf. R. P. Quinn et al., *The Chosen Few: A Study of Discrimination in Executive Selection* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Institute for Social Research, 1968).

tual capabilities but were less dependent on social acceptability.[25] Powell compares the level of hindrance to an executive career based on religion, reporting that Jews were nine times more impacted than the second most impacted denomination, Roman Catholics.[26] Moreover, Zweigenhaft demonstrates that Jews were barred from elite social clubs, a key entry route into the executive suite.[27] Commercial banks in particular were singled out as discriminating against Jews.[28]

As Korman's book title *The Outsiders: Jews and Corporate America* reveals, Jews were looked upon as outsiders at a time when being an outsider could be held against you. That was decades before diversity management became *de rigueur*. In today's world of work, being a mere outsider is, on the face of it, no longer a barrier; however the implicit bias inherent in one's construal as *outsider* still holds forth, though it is much more nuanced than outright discrimination.[29]

Whilst at the macro level, the occupational profile of Jews has attracted the attention of economists,[30] the literature on antisemitism from the perspective of labour economics is singularly sparse. Mocan and Raschke reveal that in Germany

> xenophobic, anti-Semitic and racist feelings are tempered when people believe that their own economic situation is in good shape, and these feelings are magnified when people think that their personal economic situation is bad. The same relationship exists for beliefs about national economic conditions.[31]

Economic theory, however, provides us useful insights. For example, *taste-based discrimination* would suggest that if an employer does not like Jews, then, one

**25** Cf. A. K. Korman, *The Outsiders: Jews and Corporate America* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1988).
**26** Cf. R. M. Powell, *Race, Religion and the Promotion of the American Executive* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969).
**27** Cf. R. L. Zweigenhaft, *Who Gets to the Top? Executive Suite Discrimination in the Eighties* (New York: Institute of Human Relations, 1984).
**28** Cf. R. L. Zweigenhaft and G. W. Domhoff, *Jews in the Protestant Establishment* (New York: Praeger, 1982).
**29** Cf. Z. Bauman, *Moderne und Ambivalenz* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2005); and G. Simmel, "Exkurs über den Fremden," in *Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1908), 509–12.
**30** For a recent review, see J. Lipkes, "'Capitalism and the Jews': Milton Friedman and His Critics," *History of Political Economy* 51, no. 2 (2019): 193–236.
**31** N. Mocan and C. Raschke, "Economic Well-being and anti-Semitic, Xenophobic, and Racist Attitudes in Germany," *European Journal of Law and Economics* 41, no. 1 (2016): 6.

would expect that Jews or those believed to be Jews would face a harder time finding and keeping their job. If customers dislike Jews, then a company may have to keep its Jewish employees out of sight.[32] This in turn could impair the performance of employees categorized as Jews, which may impede the chances of future hires—so-called *statistical discrimination.*[33]

The empirical literature shows that employment discrimination against Jews in the USA has receded fast. By the early 1990s, notes: "[i]n the most visible areas of society antisemitism is simply a non-factor,"[34] although the high rate of the self-employed and entrepreneurs among Jews in that period may suggest otherwise.[35] By the early 2000s, commercial banks no longer appeared to discriminate against Jews,[36] and toward the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century, Dinnerstein states

> Jews have become the most successful, admired and respected religious group in America. They have attained a place in society and a level of security and success in the United States that would have been thought unimaginable in the middle of the twentieth century,[37]

a point reiterated by Zweigenhaft and Domhoff,[38] and Chiswick concludes:

> Throughout their over 350 year presence in the US, American Jews have demonstrated extraordinary economic achievements.[39]

This raises an interesting conundrum. If Jews are so successful, why concern oneself with antisemitism (whether it manifests itself or not)? This question brings us to the third current of our conceptual model.

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**32** As was the case with oil companies in the 1960s and 1970s, cf. Korman, "Anti-Semitism in Organizations"; and Slavin, "Bias in US Big Business Recruitment."

**33** Cf. W. Neilson and S. Ying, "From Taste-Based to Statistical Discrimination," *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 129 (2016): 116–28.

**34** L. Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 248.

**35** Cf. B. R. Chiswick, ed., *Jews at Work: Their Economic Progress in the American Labor Market* (New York: Springer, 2020).

**36** Cf. J. D. Gale, "The Effects of Aversive Antisemitism on Selection Decisions regarding Jewish Workers in the United States" (PhD diss., Alliant International University, San Diego, 2004).

**37** L. Dinnerstein, "My Assessment of American Antisemitism Today," in *Antisemitism in North America: New World, Old Hate*, ed. S. K. Baum et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 53.

**38** R. L. Zweigenhaft and G. W. Domhoff, *Diversity in the Power Elite: Ironies and Unfulfilled Promises*, 3rd ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

**39** Chiswick, *Jews at Work*, 326.

## The Other Side of the Coin: Jews in a post-Holocaust Gentile World

In his review of Korman's book, Schwartz offers the following insight:

> To grow up Jewish, at least in my time, was to grow up with the knowledge that one's possibilities were limited. One knew that one could not be a member of certain groups, hold certain occupations, even go to certain schools. [...] Being a corporate executive was never something that I considered as an open possibility. As I grew older I came to realize that the sense of limitation is deeply a part of the Jewish heritage. [...] Later, I came to understand that it was this belief in limitation, the frailty of man, and the tenuousness of life that was in large measure responsible for some people rejecting the Jews. Often the world of these gentiles was a world full of manic optimism, the denial of death [...] No wonder they did not want these Jews around. From their dreams, the Jews keep waking them.[40]

Schwartz directs our attention to the underlying existential tension of a minority group's living experience as being *different*. It is a universal propensity, but for Jews, due to their historical baggage as the canonical outsiders, there are added particularistic undertones, such as being universally disliked because they are unlike, as Baron put it.[41] To complicate matters, Jews are also disliked because they are too un-different[42] as has been the case in Germany and Austria in the period leading up to the Third Reich and the Shoah, when assimilated Jews, including converts to Christianity were particularly singled out in Nazi ideology precisely because they appeared to be indistinguishable from the general population.

Schwartz also directs our attention to the interaction between a minority's existential state (and state of mind) and its impact on the majority's worldview, inter alia defining Terror Management Theory (see following) in all but name.

In the preface to their book, Zweigenhaft and Domhoff refer to a remark from a friend who learned about their project "'Is a book about successful Jews ever good for the Jews?' We understand the depth of this concern," the authors note.[43] Remarkably, some 40 years later, in a very different epoch for American Jewry, Chiswick notes in the preface to his book:

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**40** H. S. Schwartz, review of *The Outsiders: Jews and Corporate America*, by A. B. Korman, *Academy of Management Review* 14, no. 2 (1989): 304–5.

**41** Cf. S. W. Baron, "Changing Patterns of Antisemitism: A Survey," *Jewish Social Studies* 38, no. 1 (1976): 5–38.

**42** R. S. Wistrich offered the same hypothesis, cf. *Laboratory for World Destruction: Germans and Jews in Central Europe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

**43** Zweigenhaft and Domhoff, *Jews in the Protestant Establishment*, v.

> I ran into a challenge [...] concern expressed by a few and held more quietly by many others, that research revealing Jewish economic success might generate negative social, cultural and political consequences.[44]

We are into the terrain of what has been dubbed the "Diaspora motive"[45]—the perennial insecurity of migrants; or as Jews would put it, "what will the *goyim*[46] say?" Of course in the case of Jews that is not merely a matter for recent arrivals but an existential ontology: the possibility and potentiality of forced unrootedness being integral to Jewish identity.

The latest survey of European Jews concerning their perception and experience of antisemitism confirms that.[47] Seventy-three percent of Austrian respondents agree that antisemitism is a very big or fairly big problem, and 75 % agree that it increased in the past five years. In response to the question: "Do you ever avoid wearing, carrying or displaying things that might help people recognize you as a Jew in public?", 67 % of Austrian respondents replied in the affirmative (ranging from "always" to "occasionally"). Significantly, 31 % have considered emigrating "because I don't feel safe living here as a Jew." The figures for Germany were higher: 85 %, 89 %, 75 %, and 44 %, respectively. These figures are staggering. They suggest communities living in a permanent state of fear, feeling exposed to ongoing threat to their safety and well-being, unable to freely exercise their religion and manifest their identity.

## Antisemitism as a Cultural Phenomenon

Cotler defines cultural antisemitism as a "mélange of attitudes, sentiments, innuendo and the like in academia, in Parliaments, among the literati, public intellectuals, and the human rights movement—in a word, *la trahison des clercs*,"[48] in reference to Julien Benda's seminal study of 1920s Europe, depicting the "betrayal of the elites." Applebaum brings us up to date as with regards to Poland under Kaczyński and Hungary's Orbán, for example, where antisemitism is actively en-

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**44** Chiswick, *Jews at Work*, i.

**45** Cf. R. Brenner and N. M. Kiefer, "The Economics of the Diaspora: Discrimination and Occupational Structure," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 29 (1981): 517–34.

**46** Goyim (Hebrew, Yiddish) = gentiles.

**47** Cf. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018).

**48** Cotler, *Global Antisemitism*, 11.

couraged by the authorities and the intelligentsia.[49] Justin Welby, Archbishop of Canterbury, put it squarely:

> we have to recognize that antisemitism has been the root and origin of most racist behaviour for the past 1,000 years in this country [England]. It goes right back to the early Middle Ages [...] It seems to be something that is latent and under the surface, and it bubbles to the surface very, very easily indeed. I think it is one of those things that, when we see it, tells us that there are strains and stresses in society. It is the canary in the mine.[50]

We concur with Welby. Notwithstanding the critical role elites play in legitimizing and validating antisemitism at a given place in a given time, the potentiality of antisemitism is in itself a given—the so-called *continuity thesis*,[51] which comes under different titles, such as "the eternal hatred,"[52] "the longest hatred,"[53] "permanent neurosis":[54] anti-Jewish sentiment has been around at least since the birth of Christianity,[55] and it may be traced back to pagan times.[56] Antisemitism is woven into the social-cultural fabric of Western society, notably Europe—a perverse *cultural capital*[57] of sorts. In stating that, we follow Volkov's depiction of antisemitism as anchored in cultural codes.[58] She highlights "the total interconnected ways of thinking, feeling, and acting" subsuming both *Weltanschauung* and ideology, not excluding philosophy, science, and the arts, and "includes tra-

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**49** Cf. A. Applebaum, *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism* (London: Allen Lane, 2020).

**50** Justin Welby, Archbishop of Canterbury, in evidence before the Home Affairs Select Committee at the House of Commons, June 7, 2016.

**51** Cf. S. Ettinger, *Modern Antisemitism: Studies and Essays* (Tel Aviv: Moreshet, 1978) [in Hebrew].

**52** Cf. D. J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1996).

**53** Cf. R. S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991).

**54** Cf. J. L. Talmon, "Mission and Testimony—the Universal Significance of Modern Antisemitism," in *The Unique and the Universal: Some Historical Reflections* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1965), 119–64.

**55** Cf. U. Eco, *Inventing the Enemy* (London: Vintage Books, 2013).

**56** Cf. S. Freud, *Moses and Monotheism* (New York: Random House, 1955).

**57** In reference to Bourdieu's *embodied* cultural capital.

**58** Cf. S. Volkov, "Antisemitism as a Cultural Code: Reflections on the History and Historiography of Antisemitism in Imperial Germany," *Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute* 23 (1978): 25–46; idem, "Readjusting Cultural Codes: Reflections on Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism," *Journal of Israeli History* 25, no. 1 (2006): 51–62; and "Antisemitism as Cultural Code," in *Germans, Jews and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 67–158.

ditions that consciously and subconsciously affect such a collectivity, habits of mind, a variety of automatic reactions, and a plethora of accepted norms."[59]

Cultural codes, according to Volkov, signify larger important life positions, which stand out in particular in times of crisis and strife. Whilst a higher level of formal education was found to be associated with weaker antisemitic attitudes,[60] Schwarz-Friesel and Reinharz in their study of Germany (as well as Austria to a lesser extent) highlight the ubiquity of antisemitism among all social strata.[61]

Contributory factors to widespread grassroots antisemitism in Germany and Austria are *secondary antisemitism*[62] and *victimhood competition.*[63] Both concepts refer to national and personal identity construction. The former refers to individuals' ingrained defensiveness against guilt and addresses those descendants who are aware that members of their families were Nazi supporters (not necessarily as direct perpetrators). The latter refers to the resentment against Jews aroused due to the perception that their own non-Jewish families were also victims of the Nazi period. This sentiment is particularly present in Austria, which held the official position that the country as a whole was "the first victim of Hitler" decades after World War II. Nowadays, one may add *tertiary antisemitism* to the count, as the grandchildren of Nazi perpetrators, supporters, and sympathizers come of age.[64] Indeed, according to Bodemann the Jewish trope is a central element in German identity.[65]

Antisemitism being part and parcel of the cultural milieu of Germany and Austria, we would expect the day-to-day to be imbued with antisemitic behavioural conduct, though not always in an obvious way, since antisemitism went un-

**59** Volkov, "Antisemitism as Cultural Code," 110–11.

**60** Cf. M. Fertig and C. M. Schmidt, "Attitudes towards Foreigners and Jews in Germany: Identifying the Determinants of Xenophobia in a Large Opinion Survey," *Review of Economics of the Household* 9, no. 1 (2011): 99–128.

**61** Cf. M. Schwarz-Friesel and J. Reinharz, *Die Sprache der Judenfeindschaft im 21. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

**62** Cf. *P. Schönbach, Reaktionen auf die antisemitische Welle im Winter 1959/60* (Frankfurt/Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1961).

**63** For a recent article, see G. Antoniou, E. Dinas, and S. M. Kosmidis, "Collective Victimhood and Social Prejudice: A Post-Holocaust Theory of Anti-Semitism," *Political Psychology* 41, no. 5 (2020): 861–86.

**64** Cf. A. Hohenlohe-Bartenstein, "In the Presence of the Past: 'Third Generation' Germans and the Cultural Memory of National Socialism and the Holocaust" (PhD thesis, University of London, London, 2011), accessed May 23, 2021, http://eprints.gold.ac.uk/6601/.

**65** Cf. Y. M. Bodemann, *In den Wogen der Erinnerung: Jüdische Existenz in Deutschland* (München: dtv, 2002).

derground in the aftermath of the Holocaust.[66] Thus, "Jews" is used as a dirty word,[67] and that habitual expression is not confined to the older generation. "Du Jude!" is a derogatory expression common among youth,[68] and typically directed against non-Jews.[69] Jokes about Jews feature regularly in popular culture, establishing a norm of verbal antisemitism,[70] though malice may not always be intended.[71] Yet, the distance between words and action could be rather short, as the history of Germany and Austria taught us.

## Toward a Model of Workplace Antisemitism

Whilst overt antisemitic incidents (e.g., physical attacks, damage to property, and verbal abuse) are evidently on the rise, they pale in significance, at least in terms of number of occurrences, compared to implicit antisemitic manifestations. In modern Germany and Austria, expressing antisemitic views is no longer *salonfähig* (socially acceptable) and in both countries' constitutions and legal systems, expressing such views may land one in jail. Hence, without underestimating the gravity of these overt incidents, an emphasis in understanding day-to-day antisemitism and its prevalence in the workplace should be on its indirect presentation and coded nuance. Importantly, antisemitism as a widespread grassroots ingrained cultural phenomenon necessarily points us toward protagonists' subconscious, if not of entire communities' collective unconscious.

Having outlined the currents relevant to workplace antisemitism, we next introduce our model's conceptual building blocks. While the four currents may be

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**66** Cf. L. Silverman, "Absent Jews and Invisible Antisemitism in Postwar Vienna: Der Prozeß (1948) and The Third Man (1949)," *Journal of Contemporary History* 52, no. 2 (2017): 211–28.
**67** Cf. Seidenschnur, *Antisemitismus im Kontext*.
**68** Cf. A. Scherr and B. Schäuble, "*Ich habe nichts gegen Juden, aber...": Ausgangsbedingungen und Perspektiven gesellschaftspolitischer Bildungsarbeit gegen Antisemitismus* (Berlin: Amadeu Antonio Stiftung + Freudenberg Stiftung, 2007).
**69** Cf. J. Bernstein, *Antisemitismus an Schulen in Deutschland: Befunde—Analysen—Handlungsoptionen* (Weinheim: Beltz Juventa, 2020); and G. Jikeli, "Anti-Semitism in Youth Language: The Pejorative Use of the Terms for 'Jew' in German and French Today," *Conflict & Communication Online* 9, no. 1 (2010): 1–13.
**70** Cf. T. Seidenschnur, "Kontextueller Antisemitismus in einem Alltag ohne Antisemiten," in *Kleine Geheimnisse: Alltagssoziologische Einsichten*, ed. H. Bude, M. Dellwing, and S. Grills (Berlin: Springer, 2015), 159–83.
**71** Cf. S. P. Scheichl, "The Contexts and Nuances of anti-Jewish Language: Were All the 'Antisemites' Antisemities?" in *Jews, Antisemitism and Culture in Vienna*, ed. I. Oxaal, M. Pollak, and G. Botz (London: Routledge, 1987), 89–110.

construed as "constant" elements, the periodic rise and fall in the intensity of antisemitic manifestations (expressions, incidents, attitudes, beliefs) are a variable of the *zeitgeist*.[72]

## Conceptual Building Blocks

We identify two theories that could be instrumental in understanding the alternating peaks and troughs of anti-Jewish sentiment and may provide promising avenues for research into workplace antisemitism: Terror Management Theory and Goal Setting Theory.

Terror Management Theory (TMT) postulates the role of death salience in human behaviour.[73] Central to the theory is the need for defence of one's *cultural worldview* and *self-esteem* in buffering humans against the universal threat of mortality.[74]

> Terror management theory may be particularly useful for understanding antisemitism because outbreaks have often occurred following major social disruptions—military defeats, epidemic lethal disease, and massive economic deterioration. Either death, or some threat to people's most cherished beliefs, or both have become salient. Terror management theory suggests that, under such circumstances, many people will attempt to protect themselves by affirming their core values. Jews' survival, their financial success and their unique religious beliefs threaten the worldview of others. This threat can be parried by denigrating Jews.[75]

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**72** Cf. S. O. Becker and L. Pascali, "Religion, Division of Labor, and Conflict: Anti-semitism in Germany over 600 Years," *American Economic Review* 109, no. 5 (2019): 1764–804.

**73** Cf. B. L. Burke, A. Martens, and E. H. Faucher, "Two Decades of Terror Management Theory: A Meta-analysis of Mortality Salience Research," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 14, no. 2 (2010): 155–95.

**74** Cf. B. J. Schmeichl and A. Martens, "Self-Affirmation and Mortality Salience: Affirming Values Reduces Worldview Defense and Death-Thought Accessibility," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 31, no. 5 (2005): 658–67; and B. J. Schmeichl et al., "Terror Management Theory and Self-esteem Revisited: The Roles of Implicit and Explicit Self-esteem in Mortality Salience Effects," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 96, no. 5 (2009): 1077–87.

**75** F. Cohen-Abady et al., "The Modern Antisemitism-Israel Model (MASIM): Empirical Studies of North American Antisemitism," in *Antisemitism in North America: New World, Old Hate*, ed. S. K. Baum et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 107.

Hence,

> when focused on their own mortality and in need of the protections that their worldviews provide, non-Jews may become more hostile towards Jews; this is because Jews represent a challenge to their worldviews by being outgroup members.[76]

Thus, in periods characterized by strife, threat (to life, livelihood), crises (political, economic, environmental, civil unrest) that produce enhanced death awareness and/or challenge to one's central beliefs, antisemitism, manifesting non-tolerant, aggressive responses, would be expected to rise. Indeed, in one of their earlier studies, Greenberg et al. demonstrated that evoking mortality salience drives Christians to rate more positively fellow Christians and more negatively Jews.[77] Schimel et al. demonstrated a preference for stereotyping and stereotypic thinking in such circumstances.[78]

TMT, a psychoanalytically informed theory, underscores the possibility of activating mortality salience or perceived damage to one's central beliefs, subconsciously[79] as well as consciously.

Goal Setting Theory (GST) is an organizational behaviour theory that deals with the relationship between learning, feedback, and work performance.[80] GST has built on Bargh's automaticity model[81] "that a goal is a mental representation stored in memory, and that it can be activated by a situational cue in the absence of conscious awareness (i.e., a priming effect)"[82] developing an integrat-

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**76** Ibid., 108.

**77** Cf. J. Greenberg et al., "Evidence for Terror Management Theory II: The Effects of Mortality Salience on Reactions to Those Who Threaten or Bolster the Cultural Worldview," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 58, no. 2 (1990): 308–18.

**78** Cf. J. Schimel et al., "Stereotypes and Terror Management: Evidence That Mortality Salience Enhances Stereotypic Thinking and Preferences," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 77 (1999): 905–26.

**79** We use here interchangeably subconscious, subliminal, unconscious, non-conscious, in line with the terms employed by the different sources we cite. We are aware of, but do not attempt to fine-tune, the differences among these terms.

**80** Cf. E. A. Locke and G. P. Latham, *A Theory of Goal Setting and Task Performance* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1990); and idem, "The Development of Goal Setting Theory: A Half Century Retrospective," *Motivation Science* 5 (2019): 93–105.

**81** Cf. J. A. Bargh, "Auto-motives: Preconscious Determinants of Social Interaction," in *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition 2*, ed. E. T. Higgins and R. M. Sorrentino (New York: Guilford Press, 1990), 93–130.

**82** X. Chen et al., "An Enumerative Review and a Meta-Analysis of Primed Goal Effects on Organizational Behavior," *Applied Psychology* 70, no. 1 (2021): 216–17.

ed model.[83] The theory shows that subliminal priming is often achieved by manipulating visual clues (like photos) but also verbally. Priming to behave cooperatively has been shown to enhance performance, while negative feedback[84] is detrimental to one's performance. Chen et al. conclude: "primed goal effects on organizational behavior exist, and these effects are not restricted to the laboratory."[85]

Importantly, subconsciously primed goals, enacted without one's intention or awareness, do not show a differential effect than when they are consciously activated; and any aspect of it, feedback included, could be non-conscious[86] and plays a similar role to the primed goal-performance linkage.[87] Furthermore, habits—automatically repeated in-context behaviours or associations in memory between a context and a response—when activated, may be stronger than (changed) attitudes.[88] Chen et al. comment on organizations more generally: "Over time a [organizational] climate can become second nature, and as result can influence an employee's behavior unconsciously."[89]

The emphasis in GST is on the subtlety of desired outcomes, mediating processes and achievable conduct in a work environment, represented in memory, sometimes symbolically and subliminally primed.[90] An environment (not necessarily work environment) that sends out antisemitic cues may activate antisem-

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**83** Cf. E. A. Locke and G. P. Latham, "New Directions in Goal-Setting Theory," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 15, no. 5 (2006): 265–68; A. D. Stajkovic, E. A. Locke, and E. S. Blair, "A First Examination of the Relationships between Primed Subconscious Goals, Assigned Conscious Goals, and Task Performance," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 91, no. 5 (2006): 1172–80; and G. P. Latham, J. Brcic, and A. Steinhauer, "Toward an Integration of Goal Setting Theory and the Automaticity Model," *Applied Psychology* 66, no. 1 (2017): 25–48.

**84** On communicating low achievement against self-set goals cf. Bipp and Kleingeld, reported in Chen et al., "An Enumerative Review."

**85** Chen et al., "An Enumerative Review," 227.

**86** Cf. M. Frese, "Primed Goals and Primed Actions: A Commentary from an Action Theory Point of View," *Applied Psychology* 70, no. 1 (2021): 262–67.

**87** Cf. G. Itzchakov and G. P. Latham, "The Moderating Effect of Performance Feedback and the Mediating Effect of Self-set Goals on the Primed Goal-performance Relationship," *Applied Psychology* 69, no. 2 (2020): 379–414.

**88** Cf. G. Itzchakov, L. Uziel, and W. Wood, "When Attitudes and Habits Don't Correspond: Self-Control Depletion Increases Persuasion but not Behavior," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 75 (2018): 1–10.

**89** X. Chen et al., "Advancing Primed Goal Research in Organizational Behavior," *Applied Psychology* 70, no. 1 (2021): 277.

**90** Cf. e.g. G. P. Latham and R. F. Piccolo, "The Effect of Context-specific versus Nonspecific Subconscious Goals on Employee Performance," *Human Resource Management* 51, no. 4 (2012): 511–23.

itic conduct, with a correspondence between the level of environmental cues and expressed (antisemitic) behaviour, the workplace included. Hence, in times of increased antisemitic expressions (in the media, online messages, incidents), we would anticipate correspondent expressions also in the workplace: social priming and goal priming are actually the same.[91] Significantly, the target population of antisemitism—Jews—may be more inclined to construe events as antisemitic (i. e., they are more sensitive to interpret cues this way) than non-Jews do: Are they "primed" to detect antisemitic behaviour (that may be unintended as such) more easily, or does their sensitivity "prime" an erroneous judgment?[92]

## The *Jewish Question* and the Workplace

> [N]otions of Jews as malign financial and criminal geniuses [...] remained a mainstay of antisemitic discourse.[93]

> The world is crawling with anti-semites. A Jew always has to be on guard against deadly enemies.[94]

Since the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century when Jews started to gain emancipation and, in tandem antisemitism as a modern ideology emerged, the issue of how to resolve the "Jewish question" in Europe figured prominently on the continent's civic and political agenda; and since at least Karl Marx's *Zur Judenfrage* (1844) also in the discourse of the social sciences. Jews' civic/political responses: agnosticism and/or assimilationism (suppressing or abandoning one's Jewish identity), Zionism (opting for self-determination and statehood), and cosmopolitanism (a search for universal identity) may have, we suggest, their equivalent in the world of work.

Thus, distancing and detracting from one's Jewish identity would mark assimilationism, whether by change of name, or by prominently celebrating non-Jewish festivals, for example. Entrepreneurship may be construed as a (positive) attempt at self-determination in response to a negative work experience or per-

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**91** Cf. J. A. Bargh, "All Aboard! 'Social' and Nonsocial Priming are the Same Thing," *Psychological Inquiry* 32, no. 1 (2021): 29–34.

**92** Cf. S. DellaPergola, "Jewish Perceptions of Antisemitism in the European Union, 2018: A New Structural Look," *Analysis of Current Trends in Antisemitism* 40, no. 2 (2019): 1–86.

**93** D. Vyleta, *Crime, Jews and News: Vienna, 1895–1914* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2007), 225.

**94** E. Canetti, *Auto-Da-Fé*, trans. C. V. Wedgwood (New York: Continuum, 1981), 180.

ceived lack of opportunities.[95] Could cosmopolitanism possibly be traced to exemplary organisational citizenship behaviour, championing corporate social responsibility or rigorous trade union activity? We will not be surprised to learn if the antisemitic representations to these civic/political responses, respectively: the "parvenu Jew," the "pariah Jew," and the "rootless cosmopolitan Jew"[96] have their workplace equivalents too.

Consider the following non-hypothetical scenario.

> At a time of a global viral pandemic that found the world community unprepared, resulting in millions losing their lives and livelihoods—a major upheaval that engulfed all continents: a worldwide rise in antisemitism (incidents, behaviours, beliefs, attitudes) occurs, including a conspiracy theory that blames Jews, for: a) creating and spreading the disease; and b) benefiting from it financially.

> During the pandemic, the tensions between Israel and Hamas, the Palestinian faction that controls the Gaza strip, flare up to a seasonal war, with civilian casualties and damage to personal effects and community infrastructure inflicted by both sides. The Austrian government hoisted the Israeli flag on the roof of its Chancellery in Vienna as a sign of solidarity. In Germany, in an act of solidarity, pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli demonstrations took place in Berlin, Frankfurt, Leipzig and several other cities.

How does a workplace respond? TMT would predict enhanced hostility toward out-group persons, Jews in this instance. Would that hostility manifest in any tangible (and measurable) way?

In an environment saturated with anti-Jewish images (from the TV, social media, and the press) and an organizational culture conducive to anti-Jewish sentiment, a generalized negative feedback loop may be directed against Jewish members of the organization and those believed to be Jewish, GST would predict. Would they feel it? Would non-Jews get what is happening? The former may have a (subconscious) invested interest to see no evil, or on the contrary, may be oversensitive; the latter may not recognize the issue at hand—unaware of their own prejudices "since one simply invents who and what is to be stigmatized as 'Jew' or 'Jewish'."[97]

**95** Cf. L.-P. Dana, "The Origins of Self-Employment in Ethno-cultural Communities: Distinguishing between Orthodox Entrepreneurship and Reactionary Enterprise," *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences* 14, no. 1 (1997): 52–68.

**96** Cf. R. Fine, "On the Contemporary Relevance of Arendt's 'Jewish Writings'," in *Unity and Diversity in Contemporary Antisemitism*, ed. J. G. Campbell and L. D. Klaff (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2019), 219–34.

**97** Marin and Bunzl, *Antisemitismus in Österreich*, 187.

# Selected Issues and Associated Questions

## Negative Symbiosis

> In a letter to Karl Jaspers in 1946, on the occasion of the Nuremberg Trails, Hannah Arendt addressed the basic idea of a "negative symbiosis" of Germans and Jews after Auschwitz [...]. One can do nothing either personally or politically about a guilt that lies beyond crime and an innocence that lies beyond good or virtue [...] For the Germans are burdened with thousands, or ten thousands or hundreds of thousands who can no longer be properly punished within a system of laws; and we Jews are burdened with millions of innocents, because of whom each Jew today looks like innocence personified.[98]

Consider the following imaginary tale.

> Joseph K., a rather ordinary bank clerk in a commercial bank in Munich, Germany, feels unease. He can't quite put his finger on it, but in his quotidian dealings with customers and peers he senses a tension that he did not notice before. Is he imaging things? As it happens, Joseph K. is a Jew, and whilst not wearing his Jewish identity on his sleeve, so to speak, he never made a secret of it either.

> Over dinner at home (the pandemic has greatly diminished their social life) the subject of the war in Israel comes up as his wife has relatives there. Joseph K. tries to distract his mind, but the feeling of unease doesn't go away. He spends the night sleepless. The following morning, a colleague at the bank asks him if all is well. He too noticed that Joseph K. isn't his usual self.

Negative symbiosis—that is, a closed feedback loop involving Jews and non-Jews, whereby both sides, for different reasons, share the same source of discomfort, feeding on each other's misery. Jewish apprehension engages non-Jewish resentment, leading both sides to become trapped in habitual (past) perceptions and behaviour—*Huis Clos* indeed. Is there a concrete organizational form to this abstract conceptualization? If so, how can it be de-coupled?

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**98** D. Diner, "Negative Symbiosis: Germans and Jews after Auschwitz," in *The Holocaust: Theoretical Readings*, ed. N. Levi and M. Rothberg (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 425.

## False Positives

> The Jew is one whom non-Jews consider as Jewish: it is the gaze of others that makes the Jew, a Jew.[99]

Consider the following imaginative vignette.

> Gregor S. is a travelling salesman in Vorarlberg, Austria.
> Gregor S. isn't Jewish, but since his school days, when he acquired the nickname "Jew," he got used to being mistaken, from time to time, as one.
> Gregor S. is not sure why, since he never met a Jew in his life, so he can't tell whether there is any resemblance.
> Last week one of his customers asked him, with a wry smile on his face, "Do you think it's kosher what Israel is doing to Palestine?" Gregor S. shrugged his shoulders and didn't reply. "It's just one of those things" his friend comforted him, when Gregor S. told him about that exchange.

In the 1960s USA, Quinn et al. report that nearly half of those executives who were inclined to discriminate against Jews agreed with the statement "most of the time you can tell a person is Jewish by his physical appearance."[100] What are the implications for someone in an organization believed to be Jewish when they are not? According to a 2018 CNN poll, two thirds of Germans and Austrians were not aware of ever having met a Jewish person.[101]

## Pygmalion Effect

> You [a Jew] had the choice of being counted as insensitive, shy and suffering from feelings of persecution. And even if you managed somehow to conduct yourself so that nothing showed, it was impossible to remain completely untouched.[102]

Consider the following factual case.

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**99** According to J.-P. Sartre, who wrote: "The Jew is one whom other men consider a Jew: that is the simple truth from which we must start. In this sense the democrat is right as against the anti-Semite, for it is the anti-Semite who makes the Jew." *Anti-Semite and Jew* (New York: Schocken Books, 1948), 69.
**100** Cf. Quinn et al., *The Chosen Few*.
**101** Cf. Masters and Mortensen, "A Shadow over Europe."
**102** Arthur Schnitzler, *My Youth in Vienna*, quoted by F. Raphael in the Introduction to *Dream Story*, trans. J. M. Q. Davies (London: Penguin Books, 1999), ix.

> Seen by the Christian [midshipmen][103] as a fringe religious group, Jewish midshipmen received multiple comments from the Christian respondents pertaining to acts of intolerance [...] it is interesting that the Christians note the intolerance towards Jews [...] more often than the [Jewish] respondents.[104]

To comprehend the impact a negative or poor self-image may have on a person's view of themselves and on their occupational aspirations, the way it blinds them from facing a (painful) reality, we may need to go back over half a century and consider the status of women in the world of work then. Bem and Bem tell us in a (hyper-realist) *Case Study of a Nonconscious Ideology: Training the Woman to know her Place* what it looks like and feels like at a time of an overwhelming consensus about the place of women in society (homemaker) and at work (minimal engagement, marginal roles):

> The consequence is a non-conscious ideology, a set of beliefs and attitudes which [one] accepts implicitly [...] A society's ability to inculcate this kind of ideology into its citizens is the most subtle and most profound form of social influence. It is also the most difficult kind of social influence to challenge because it remains invisible.[105]

Looking back and realising the long way we have come in Western developed economies as regards a society's view on the place and role of women, may direct us toward possibilities in dealing with other embedded negative beliefs on minority groups, including the most protracted one: Jews.

## Research Agenda

We know a fair amount about antisemitism in the public arena; we know less about the theory of antisemitism;[106] we know little about contemporary targets of antisemitism;[107] we know next to nothing about antisemitism in the workplace

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**103** Midshipman—officer of the lowest rank in the US Navy.

**104** M. B. Krauz, "The Impact of Religiosity on Midshipman Adjustment and Feelings of Acceptance" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, 2006), 46.

**105** Cf. S. L. Bem and D. J. Bem, "Case Study of a Nonconscious Ideology: Training the Woman to Know Her Place," in *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Human Affairs*, ed. D. J. Bem (Belmont: Brooks/Cole, 1970), 89.

**106** Cf. J. Judaken, "AHR Roundtable Rethinking Anti-Semitism: Introduction," *American Historical Review* 123, no. 4 (2018): 1122–38.

**107** Cf. DellaPergola, "Jewish Perceptions."

and in organizations. Therefore, a number of issues rank high on an emerging research agenda to fill this knowledge gap and support action.

## Reliable Data

Establishing the extent and depth of antisemitic conduct and its relevance to work and organizations is no simple task. To start with, we don't have reliable information on its prevalence in the general population. Relying on public opinion surveys on such a sensitive topic is problematic, and in the case of Germany and Austria highly questionable, since expressing antisemitic views may not be compatible with formal and informal norms and could be risky.[108] As pointed out by Kovács, in both countries there is a strong incentive not to reveal one's true positions as regards Jews[109]—a so-called *communicative latency*.[110] Hence, in addition to those who express an antisemitic sentiment, at the very least the "no opinion" figures should be viewed with scepticism.[111] It is possible to improve on the standard public opinion survey, to a degree, but it comes at a cost,[112] and alas, there are no shortcuts.

Data on workplace antisemitic issues is glaring in its absence. It is conceivable that the lack of data indicates a non-issue, that is, there is no antisemitism in the workplace worthy of mention. On the other hand, it may be the case that the lack of data is simply the result of not asking the correct questions or in a correct manner; and, we would add, not listening attentively to what is not being said. Both in-depth qualitative enquiries and field experiments are called for.

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**108** Cf. H. Beyer and I. Krumpal, "'Aber es gibt keine Antisemiten mehr': Eine experimentelle Studie zur Kommunikationslatenz antisemitischer Einstellungen," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozial Psycholgie* 62 (2010): 681–705.

**109** Cf. A. Kovács, "Public Identity in Defining the Boundaries of Public and Private: The Example of Latent Anti-Semitism," *Social Research* 69 (2002): 179–94.

**110** Cf. N. Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme: Grundriss einer allgemeinen Theorie* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1984).

**111** Kovács refers to a 1989 opinion survey in Germany and a 1991 survey in Austria, referencing respectively W. Bergman and R. A. Erb, *Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Ergebnisse der empirischen Forschung von 1946–1989* (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1991); and F. A. Karmasin, *Austrian Attitudes towards Jews, Israel and the Holocaust* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1992).

**112** For a fine example, see I. Krzemiński, "Polish National anti-Semitism," *Polin* 31 (2019): 512–42.

## Mapping Organizational Antisemitism

We have a well-developed set of theories and concepts to map organizational structures, norms and values, and culture.[113] With a specific focus on the issue at hand, one can use them as a starting point and ask questions such as: What does an antisemitic organization look like? Feel like? How shall we categorize an organization's culture as antisemitic? What are the key parameters and how to diagnose them? What is the role of management; or vice versa, how does a non-antisemitic organization that is immune against antisemitism look like and feel like?

On the first set of questions we have the recent case of the British Labour party, which was found to have been antisemitic under the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn (2015 – 2019) in an official enquiry and may serve as an example.[114] There are already a good number of academic and other publications on this case. On the latter, the literature on the healthy workplace, which has had a comeback in recent years, may prove helpful, as well as attempts by various bodies to combat widespread campus antisemitism that may serve as blueprints for other institutions.[115]

## Is Antisemitism a Special Case?

How antisemitism compares to Islamophobia, anti-Black racism, and other current anti-minority trends remains unclear, notes Judaken.[116] In organizational contexts, the relative success of Jews, of which we have evidence for the USA and Canada, raises a further interesting question, since discrimination in the workplace on the grounds of religion or race has typically been formulated in terms of denial or restriction of opportunities.[117] Our analysis points toward

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**113** Cf. e.g. K. S. Cameron and R. E. Quinn, *Diagnosing and Changing Organizational Culture: Based on the Competing Values Framework* (San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, 2011).

**114** Cf. "Investigation into Antisemitism in the Labour Party," Equality and Human Rights Commission, issued October 29, 2020, accessed May 23, 2021, https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/publication-download/investigation-antisemitism-labour-party.

**115** Cf. L. D. Klaff, "Antisemitism on Campus: A New Look at Legal Interventions," *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 2, no. 2 (2010): 303 – 21; and E. G. Pollack, *Antisemitism on the Campus: Past and Present* (Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2010).

**116** Cf. Judaken, "AHR Roundtable."

**117** Cf. e.g. K. A. Phipps, "The Limitations of Accommodation: The Changing Legal Context of Religion at Work in the United States," *Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion* 16, no. 4 (2019): 339 – 47.

more subtle forms of discrimination, the implications and consequences of which are yet to be established; thus calling for an examination of the workplace in the widest terms.[118]

## Final Note

The launching pad for this discourse has been the rising tide of antisemitism in our day and age. Our aim is to bring to the foreground its possible configurations in organizational life. Given the paucity of empirical data, the absence of theoretical frames and lack of know-how on grounded responses, we are necessarily at the very beginning of a scholarly voyage. Still, the journey has started.

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**118** Cf. C. Mainemelis and Y. Altman, "Work and Play: New Twists on an Old Relationship," *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 23 (2010): 4 – 9.

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