



**Conflict & Security Theme  
Full Application Form 2008/2009**

**Registration form**

**Please indicate to which programme line the project applies (only one programme line allowed).**

- 1. Ethnic conflict in local communities and societies O
- 2. Conflict around work and organizations O
- 3. Framing conflict in culture, politics, and science X
- 4. Conflict-escalation, justice and intervention O
- 5. Conflict and religion O

**1a. Details of principle applicant**

**principal applicant / contact**

Family name, title(s): Prof. dr. female  
 Evelien Gans  
 university:  
 correspondence address: NIOD,  
 Herengracht 380  
 postal code: 1016 CJ town: Amsterdam  
 telephone: 020-5233800 fax: 020-5233888 e-mail:  
e.gans@niod.knaw.nl

research school:

**co-applicant(s) (optional)**

name, titles, university, department, research school:  
 -  
 -  
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Does the local authority support your application?  
 (Have you informed your superior and does your institute/university accept the conditions for support by NWO?)

<b>yes</b>	
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Relevant authority  
 Name: Marjan Schwegman  
 Position: Director of the NIOD

**1b. Title of research proposal (NL and UK)**

NL: DE DYNAMIEK VAN HEDENDAAGS ANTISEMITISME IN EEN WERELDWIJDE CONTEXT  
 'De Jood' als framing model in Nederland, Marokko, Polen en Turkije  
 UK: THE DYNAMICS OF CONTEMPORARY ANTISEMITISM IN A GLOBALISING CONTEXT  
 'The Jew' as a framing model in the Netherlands, Morocco, Poland and Turkey

**1c. Abstract (100 words)**

Since early Christianity 'the Jew' has been branded as 'the Other', the incarnation of conflict. Thus, antisemitism served as a meaningful frame to interpret threatening developments in society. This project will examine the dynamics of contemporary antisemitism in a globalising context, choosing the Netherlands as point of departure. a. It will analyze the chemistry between Dutch 'traditional' and post-Holocaust anti-Jewish stereotypes and those within the Turkish, Moroccan and Polish communities. b. It will explore, in depth, the relationship between antisemitism, anti-Zionism and



**Conflict & Security Theme  
Full Application Form 2008/2009**

Israel criticism. c. It will move from the Netherlands to Morocco, Poland and Turkey, and back.

**1d. Application to other bodies**

Has the same idea been submitted elsewhere?

no	
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**1e. Past performance on PhDs**

(as dissertation supervisor ("promotor or co-promotor"))

<b>Main applicant</b>	
Name of PhD student	year of PhD ceremony

**1f. Intended starting date: 9 November 2009**

**Research proposal**

**2. Description of the proposed research**

**Word Count:**

The **maximum** length is 4500 words (2a-2e); please see the brochure.

*(footnotes included, references excluded; use word count to specify number of words)*

**2a. Research topic (3776 w.)**

**Historical setting**

If framing is understood as an interpretation scheme consisting of stereotypes individuals rely on to understand and respond to events<sup>1</sup>, **antisemitism** is a **framing model** par excellence. Jews have a long history of being represented as the quintessential 'Other'. Consequently, the stereotypical Jew has been made the incarnation of **conflict**. 'The Jew' in all appearances has provided a meaningful frame for a huge variety of discontented people to analyze frustrating and threatening procedures in their lives, environments, nations and in the world at large. Antisemitism brings the complexity of reality back to a clear, unambiguous model, offering a superficial but powerful explanation of all evil. Historical sociologist Helen Fein defines antisemitism as a lasting, latent structure of beliefs about Jews as a collective. On the individual level, it manifests itself as sentiments; on the cultural level as myths and ideology and, on the socio-political level as social or legal discrimination, political mobilization against Jews, and collective or even state violence aimed at expelling or even killing them for being Jews.<sup>2</sup> The **history** of antisemitism goes back a long way. Since the genesis of Christianity Jew-hatred has been evolving in an evolutionary, dialectical movement, partly based on a legacy from the past, partly developing within new historical and social contexts. In this regard antisemitism manifests itself explicitly as a **dynamic and longitudinal** conflict. Antisemitism should not be approached in an essentialist way, as if it were a never dying, omnipresent, fixed phenomenon. Jews have known times and places of relatively favorable life. Still, antisemitism seems to be a light sleeper who can easily be woken up. A fundamental characteristic of antisemitism is its flexibility. It should be analyzed as a multi-facetted practice for framing all kinds of conflicts in society. In its huge reservoir of stereotypes there are always some that 'serve the purpose'.

**Contemporary antisemitism**

The **Shoah**, or **Holocaust**, which reduced the Jews in the European countries under Nazi rule to tiny minority groups, did not mark the end of antisemitism. In contemporary antisemitism, new anti-Jewish prejudices mingled with old stereotypes, like the malignant notion that the (surviving) Jews capitalized their suffering. Gradually, however, under the influence of the knowledge of the

<sup>1</sup> Goffman (1986)

<sup>2</sup> Fein (1987).

mass murder, in Western societies antisemitism became a taboo, and from the 1960s onward, the Shoah was turned into a central element in the public memory and official commemoration of World War II. Moreover, Jews were compensated financially and morally for their losses and Jewish culture revived. Rulers in the Western world fostered the relationship with the Jewish state. As a result of the Shoah, an 'unwritten contract' seemed to exist between Europe and its Jews, which only during the last decades became disputed once again.<sup>3</sup>

Here, the phenomenon of **Secondary antisemitism** (the concept was coined by Peter Schönbach of the Frankfurter Schule, and was elaborated by Theodor Adorno himself), is a first relevant instrument of analysis. The main thrust of the concept is that the Jews embody, just by existing, the awkward, inconvenient memory of Auschwitz and of the national or European crime committed to the Jews.<sup>4</sup> Even in a more provocative way, it held that was formulated as follows: 'The Germans will never forgive the Jews for Auschwitz.'<sup>5</sup>

A second instrument for analysis of contemporary antisemitism is '**gentile /goyish envy**'. This has been one of the key elements of traditional anti-Jewish sentiments and ambivalent feelings towards Jews: envy of supposed Jewish qualities, talents and privileges. After the Shoah a new form made its entry: the envy of the **ultimate victim** who was assumed to **monopolize suffering**.<sup>6</sup>

It makes no sense to perceive Jews as victims forever, and this puts forward a third analytical instrument: **Jewish Narcissism**.<sup>7</sup> The position of contemporary European Jewry is characterized by a mixture of both vulnerability and strength: on the one hand a traumatic past, hidden or outright antisemitism, a minority position, on the other hand a, generally, healthy economic position, active social participation, a rich and valued culture. This combination of strength and vulnerability is confusing for Jew and Gentile alike. Pride of Jewish culture, and of Israel is linked with the painful memory of the Shoah and of murdered loved ones, and anti-Jewish incidents. In this narcissistic self-image there is hardly room for criticism, self-criticism and sense of perspective. Thus, antisemitism can function for Jews as well as a frame to look at the world. Here is the space for Jewish self-perception and antisemitic discourse relating to each other, and for the chauvinistic position 'Israel my country, right of wrong'.

**Zionism** and **Israel** have become, more and more, concretely and symbolically, main issues in a war of sorts, taking place on the forum of international politics, but no less in the academic world, at schools, on the street and in the virtual world of the Internet. Legitimate (harsh) criticism of Israel started to blend with old and newer anti-Jewish stereotypes and with anti-Zionism (the denial of the legitimacy of Israel's existence as a Jewish state), creating a (what I call) **fatal triangle of antisemitism, anti-Zionism and criticism of Israel**.<sup>8</sup> Are these three elements in the ongoing public debate inevitably interwoven? Or can they, in fact, be separated out? This is an ongoing debate, often pursued by journalists, opinion leaders, and also academics from both sides who have difficulties to separate an analysis from their political and emotional agenda.

The controversy about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has got extra impulses by the strong **identification of the Muslim population in Western Europe with the position of the Palestinians**. At this point the **cross-level influences** of antisemitism come into sight. One of the most striking examples is the way in which the Israel-Palestinian conflict has been 'imported' in many places, feeding so-called anti-Israeli enthusiasm.[9] The European Muslim position towards Israel and Zionism, often directed against Jews as such, has religious, emotional and political roots. Anti-Zionism was inspired by the experience of social discrimination in the new societies, the practicing of the imported religion within a strongly secularized context, the impact of new media, like Arab satellite television stations, and the Internet.

One of the most striking slogans and images which have been appearing everywhere in Europe is

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<sup>3</sup> Kovács (2009).

<sup>4</sup> Schönbach (1961); Adorno (1963).

<sup>5</sup> Zvi Rex, quoted in: Broder (1986).

<sup>6</sup> Gans (1994).

<sup>7</sup> Idem.

<sup>8</sup> Idem (2003).

the controversial **equation of Nazism with Zionism** and of Israeli political leaders with Hitler. Many members of the so-called third generation feel stuck between two cultures: the one of their (grand)parents and the other of their country of birth. These youngsters want to hit the West just where it hurts most: on its reference frame of right and wrong. At the same time, we should bear in mind that equations between Zionism and Nazism have originated in the Western world. There, identification with the Jewish state was deep and the disillusion about the repressive occupation policies of Israel was correspondingly large. Since the 1967 war, the equation was employed by radical Leftwing groups all over Europe and still remains, especially among sections of the anti-globalist movements. Presently, a '**new antisemitism**' is pinpointed, in which the stereotype of 'the Jew' has been replaced by Israel as agent of evil.<sup>9</sup>

The preoccupation of the (radical) Left with Israel is connected to the rejection of Zionism by, first (utopian) socialism, and then communism. Zionism was seen as a branch of the doomed tree of nationalism. The communist movement which claimed to stand up for the Arabs, stamped it as 'imperialism'. During the Cold War, in **communist Eastern and Central Europe** Zionism was a contaminated notion. In notorious show trials Jewish communists were accused of espionage for Israel and the Zionist movement: a hardly hidden form of antisemitic discourse inspired anti-Zionism. At the same time the stereotype of the Jewish bolshevist lived on.<sup>10</sup> In the **post-Communist transitional phase**, traditional antisemitism, portraying Jews as aliens and economic profiteers, was allowed to revive once again.<sup>11</sup>

Last but not least: the extreme right never stopped their assaults on Jewish cemeteries and the like, but at the same time neo-Nazi's have been cornered as a consequence of jurisdiction against antisemitism and racism. Internet embodies a world in which interdependence between people and nations all over the world increasing day by day, economically, politically, culturally, socially: the process of globalization. It is exactly here, in the Internet, that the extreme right nowadays finds a new playground, thus contributing to the globalizing dynamics of antisemitism. Elaborating on Shulamit Volkov's definition of antisemitism as a 'cultural code', one could raise the question if contemporary antisemitism is a facet of global culture.<sup>12</sup> It could be very well that antisemitism acts, in a quite novel way, as an agent of (negative) cohesion between divergent national and world-wide groups.

## **Case Studies**

### **I. The Netherlands**

The Netherlands represent a most interesting case to study the Western-European context, owing to its long-standing pragmatic acceptance of a Jewish population and to the interesting shifts of contemporary attitudes. During the German occupation 75% of the 140.000 Jews in the Netherlands have been deported and murdered. The contrast between the traditional image of Dutch tolerance and the high number of Jewish deportees has created the notion of the '**Dutch paradox**'.<sup>13</sup> After the German occupation, antisemitism got a new boost when old stereotypes resurfaced in a new social context. People said that returning Jews were digging up their hidden money and recapturing the best jobs. Apart from the Nazi propaganda, this mainly resulted from the mechanism of '**blaming the victim**' and the **economic and social competition** regarding reclaimed houses, jobs, money and properties in post-war Netherlands.<sup>14</sup>

The post-war Dutch elites made a conscious effort to fix the social memory of the war from the 1950s onwards. In the collective memory the common resistance against the foreign invader became the norm and the Shoah was made a key element of World War II commemoration. 'Never again' was the battle cry to overcome a sense of failure in the past. In this climate, feelings of guilt and shame towards the Jewish population, and outright **philosemitism** were counter poles to the

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<sup>9</sup> Hirsh (2007); Fine (2009).

<sup>10</sup> Gerrits (2009).

<sup>11</sup> Bergmann (2008).

<sup>12</sup> Volkov (2000).

<sup>13</sup> Blom (1987); Bregstein (1994).

<sup>14</sup> Gans (2002; 2003).

remnants of latent antisemitism. During the 1980s, however, the dominant World War II narrative and the central position of the Shoah were challenged once again.

In 1987, during (mainly) Jewish protests against the performance of Werner Fassbinders play *Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod* (with its main character referred to as 'The Rich Jew') the director, actors and their sympathizers said in public that the Jews should stop their 'dictatorship of suffering'. The play was supposed to show the mechanisms of fascism – not, however, in a scheme of black and white but in shades in grey. Some time earlier the self-proclaimed champion of free speech, Theo van Gogh, started a crusade against what he defined as the '**commemoration day-industry**'. Employing of stereotypical associations between Jews, money and perversity, he was followed by other columnists. Such tendencies can be found in historiography as well. In *Grijs verleden* (*Grey Past*, 2001), Chris van der Heijden denoted the view as to whether the Shoah constitutes the 'heart of World War II' as a 'template'. The quintessence of his representation is that '**the story of the war made the war worse than the war has been**'. In 2008 Van der Heijden published an essay *Israël. Een onherstelbare vergissing* (Israel. An irreparable mistake) in which he called the founding of Israel into question. Actually, the Second Intifada (2000) had marked the start of a further decline in Dutch identification with Israel, continuing until the present day. Consequently, anti-Zionist and even antisemitic discourses have been on the rise.

The shifts occurring in the triangle of antisemitism, anti-Zionism and criticism of Israel are strongly influenced by the **presence of immigrant-communities**, particularly by those with Muslims in their ranks. At VMBO schools (lower secondary professional education) Shoah-education became problematic because some pupils from this background believed that Jews (read: Israel or Zionists) were 'perpetrators', not 'victims'. In 2003, a local WW2 commemoration committee in a small town refused to pay special attention to the Holocaust at the annual official memorial service, out of fear for protests from the immigrant community. In 2004, it became known that some Turkish mosques were selling a Turkish version of an antisemitic Iranian TV-series entitled *Zahra's blue eyes*. This led to controversy within the Mosque organisations. In November 2004, an Muslim extremist of Moroccan descent, Mohammed Bouyeri, murdered Theo van Gogh as a revenge for his cinematic direction of Hirsi Ali's film *Submission*. In the letter addressed to Hirsi Ali he left behind, he used anti-Jewish Islamic texts and applied these to Dutch politicians and administrators. The letter claimed that the (Jewish) mayor of Amsterdam allows Jews to lie to non-Jews, that the Dutch Liberal Party was led by 'Jewish Masters' and that the Government was supporting a state that committed genocide (i.e. Israel). This element in Bouyeri's letter got little attention.

This project will address complex issues as described above. What is the relationship between actual Jewish manifestations and the image of Jews? What has antisemitism to offer as a frame in the context of the Netherlands as an immigration country? What shifts have occurred in Dutch attitudes towards Jews and towards Israel - and why? Can 'secondary antisemitism' explain changes in the Dutch context? What is the relationship between pleas for free speech, a climate of political (in)correctness and the rise in anti-Zionism and antisemitism? Do critics of Israel try to turn the symbolic authority of the Holocaust *against* Israel?<sup>15</sup> What is the connection between 'traditional' post-Holocaust anti-Jewish stereotypes and those introduced by recent migrant groups? Is there a relationship between antisemitism, racism and islamophobia on the one hand, and philosemitism and diehard support of Israel, on the other?

## **II Morocco and the Dutch Moroccan community**

The integration of the about 335.000 member strong Moroccan community in the Netherlands is a strong concern in today's public debate. Social deprivation and crime are pinpointed in numerous reports. A cause célèbre of maladjusted behavior occurred when Amsterdam-Moroccan youngsters played football with wreaths laid on a World War II memorial. Moreover, young radicals are getting **public attention when they utter antisemitic slogans about 'filthy Jews'**. Websites like Marokko.nl are criticized because of anti-Jewish statements. The question remains to what extent such manifestations represent the general Moroccan attitude towards Jews. No systematic research has been done into the image of 'the Jew' among these youngsters or their (grand)parents, and the

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<sup>15</sup> Furedi (2009).

transfer of such images over the generations.<sup>16</sup>

The starting point should be the understanding that the (grand)parents have personally known Jews back in Morocco. Jews have been living among the Moroccan Berbers in the Rif mountain (the area of origin of most Dutch Moroccans) for around 2000 years.<sup>17</sup> The **(cultural) history of Moroccan Jews** is rich and the dominant narrative about their history is, as in most Islamic countries, positive: a peaceful yet separate coexistence. This narrative, however, needs more differentiation.<sup>18</sup> The founding of Israel and its war with the surrounding Arab countries, caused an outbreak of anti-Zionist feelings and the first wave of **Jewish emigration to Israel. Anti-Zionism** became more widespread and reached a climax during the 1967 war. Of the 265.000 Jews in 1948, today some 5.000 remain. Recently, the Moroccan-Israeli relationship has improved with synagogues and schools guarded and the Jewish-Moroccan cultural heritage protected. The bomb attacks in Casablanca in May 2003 particularly shocked Morocco.

This project will study the contemporary history of the Moroccan Jews and question how this history has been presented in Morocco. How do Moroccan history books describe Jewish history? What images of the Jews and stereotypes are transferred to and prevail among the Moroccan community in the Netherlands? What is their function and through which channels are they transmitted: through family stories, television programs, the internet, school, mosques, peer groups, visits to Morocco? What is the role of the unofficial Moroccan authorities in the Netherlands: the embassy, banks, teachers and imams? What is the particular connection to Israel, the Palestinians and the Middle East?

### **III Turkey (on the edge of South Eastern Europe and the Arab/Asian world)**

In Turkey, a long-lasting myth exists about the alleged mysterious and powerful role played by **crypto Jews** in Turkey from the Ottoman Empire to the present. The about 373.000 member strong Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands probably also knows the story, but nobody has asked them about it. As the so-called emotional thermometer of Turkish-Dutch indicate, anti-Jewish feeling in the Turkish community are quite strong.<sup>19</sup> Here the historical background is important once again. In the Ottoman Empire, Jews and Christians were more privileged than other minority groups, while remaining second hand citizens (*dhimmi's*) all the same. When the empire collapsed in the wake of World War I, in 1923, Turkey arose as an independent, secular republic with Kemal Atatürk as its indisputable leader. As in Morocco, in Turkey the dominant narrative on the Jews is rosy: in the young state Jews became fully fledged citizens, and in the build-up to World War II German-Jewish refugees were welcomed. Only very recently, historiography has started to debunk this all too optimistic interpretation.<sup>20</sup> In the 30s, antisemitism and forced assimilation politics intensified. After World War II, with Atatürk gone, Islamist parties gained political space once again. Islamist circles revived the ancient myth of the crypto Jews. According to this paranoid set of framing, the crypto Jews were responsible for historical disaster. They allegedly put an end to the Ottoman Empire and Atatürk himself was presented as a crypto Jew.<sup>21</sup>

Presently, Turkey has developed ambivalent feelings towards Jews, and a **split relationship with Israel**. Both states closely work together, military and economically, for all sorts of practical and strategic reasons. But a huge part of the Turkish population is fiercely anti-Israel, anti-Zionist and anti-American. Besides, the sale of virulent antisemitic publications is tolerated. In the 40s, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* found their way to Turkey and conspiracy theories flourished. At present, *Mein Kampf* remains a bestseller. The moderate Islamic government has a zigzag policy: first permitting the population to express their anger against Israel and their solidarity with the Palestinians and then tightening the leash again. The government's distinction between 'respectable Turkish Jews' and others, is not accepted by Turkish Islamite extremists, as indicated by the bomb attacks on Istanbul synagogues in 2003.

<sup>16</sup> Mainly in terms of (de)radicalisation: Sloodman & Tillie (2006); Demant e.a. (2008).

<sup>17</sup> Obdeijn (2002); Verdonck (2005).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Trevisan Semi (2007).

<sup>19</sup> Verkuyten (2006); www.kennislinks.nl

<sup>20</sup> A.o. Rifat Bali (2006; 2008).

<sup>21</sup> 'The Dictator Ataturk was Jewish', www.radioislam.com

Like in the Moroccan case study, this research will examine the contemporary Jewish history of motherland Turkey. It will examine what images of Jews and anti-Jewish stereotypes are transmitted, exchanged and transformed in the interaction between the migrant community and the motherland. What were the reactions to the antisemitic bomb attacks in Turkey, and to several antisemitic political murders as well? What was the response to the film *Valley of the Wolves Iraq* (also screened in the Netherlands) - an outspoken anti-American film with a Jewish doctor who sells organs of murdered Turks to patients in 'New York and Tel Aviv'?

#### **IV Poland**

The Polish labour migration to the Netherlands is a relatively recent phenomenon, which originated in 2004 when Poland became an EU member state. Before that, three waves of immigration occurred in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: after World War I and World War II, and in 1981 when communist Poland imposed martial law.<sup>22</sup> The social position and points of view of the Polish newcomers have hardly been studied. It is even difficult to say how many Poles established themselves, as it is relatively easy to commute to the home country. Presently, an estimated 60.000 Poles are living in the Netherlands. There are several Polish communities, for example in Catholic Limburg, where they are organized around parishes employing Polish priests.<sup>23</sup> This opens questions about the perception here of a film which had a large impact in Poland: *A passion of the Christ* (2004) by Catholic fundamentalist Mel Gibson, which also screened in the Netherlands. The film was accused of using antisemitic stereotypes. In this film the Jews are pictured as anti-Christ; in Poland it strengthened the position of the conservatives in the Church.<sup>24</sup>

In the post-Holocaust era, the combination of 'Poland' and 'Jews', easily evokes the image of Auschwitz. But Auschwitz was a Nazi creation and although Poland has a long history of virulent antisemitism, the relationship between Poles and (Polish) Jews is much more nuanced and complex than one-dimensional Jew-hatred and pogroms.<sup>25</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, a practice of tolerance towards Polish Jews tolerance began to wane. The Catholic Church was an important instigator of antisemitism. Polish anti-Jewish prejudices mixed with Russian, Austrian-Hungarian and German antisemitism, during the so-called Polish Partitions. Yet, during the 20<sup>th</sup> century interwar period Poland remained the home country of three million Jews, albeit in a climate where the programs of several political parties contained anti-Jewish measures. The majority of those three million Polish Jews were murdered by the Nazis.

As in the Netherlands antisemitism and anti-Jewish stereotypes remained – in a significantly more violent manner – as Jewish survivors returned home. In 1945 and 1946 Jews were killed in pogroms in Warsaw and Kielce. Materialistic greed and banditry were intensified by political contrasts. Many Poles loathed the communist takeover instigated by the Soviet Union. But a substantial part of the Jewish survivors had set their hopes on their communist liberators; several of them in fact joined the new state organs. This nourished the pre-war myth of the *Zydokomuna* (Jewish Communism). When Israel was founded, however, Poland followed the Soviet Union in supporting the new state. Hostile feelings returned in 1956 and 1968, when anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish campaigns were started, partly motivated by inner party struggles.

As a result, many Jews left Poland, among them Jan Gross, the author of *Neighbours* (2001). The book revealed a massacre of Polish Jews by their Polish 'neighbours', not by Germans. In Poland, Gross' book and his next one *Fear. Antisemitism in Poland after Auschwitz* (2006), were highly debated. Once again, the anti-Jewish stereotype contained ambivalent and opposite feelings. The relationship between Polish Jews and Gentiles has been characterized as one of 'symbiosis and ambivalence'. A shocking aspect of this relationship is the gap between the pre and post-war period: there were hardly any Jews left. In this void old and new stereotypes, as well as indifference and nostalgia could live side by side. Jewish culture has become immensely popular in Poland.

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<sup>22</sup> Jeroen Malewiz (2008)

<sup>23</sup> JPII Archive (2006)

<sup>24</sup> Michlic (2005) 55

<sup>25</sup> Lehmann (2001).



## Conflict & Security Theme Full Application Form 2008/2009

This project will look into the contemporary Jewish history of motherland Poland. It will examine what images of Jews and anti-Jewish stereotypes are transmitted, exchanged and transformed in the process between Poland and the Netherlands. Do most Dutch Poles and Polish labor migrants practice Catholicism and to what school within the Church do they belong? Do they recognize the decision of the Second Vatican Council (1961-1965) which states that the Jews cannot be held responsible anymore for the crucifixion of Jesus Christ? How do they respond to the rehabilitation by Pope Benedict XVI of Holocaust denier bishop Williamson? Do they know or ever meet any Jews? Were they raised with the myth of *Zydokomuna*? Do they listen to the Catholic (antisemitic) radio station *Marya*? And how do they relate to Israel and the conflict in the Middle East?

### 2b. Approach & methods (414 w.)

In order to examine in depth the dynamics of framing conflict in contemporary antisemitism from a globalizing perspective, the programme consists of four independent and still closely connected studies. Dutch society be point of departure and finish of the research. This is the field of expertise of the applicant/programme leader. The Moroccan, Polish and Turkish communities will be studied from the perspective of connections and interactions with the contemporary histories of their mother countries, and their present country of residence. Thus, the programme will form a complex, but at the same time organic research model which, if it proves to be successful, could serve as an exemplary model for research on contemporary antisemitism.

The research will focus on contemporary debates, developing in the public forums where citizenship is expressed and contested: opinion-producing and reproducing media old and new (general and group-oriented newspapers, magazines, internet discussion groups, blogs and forums; political institutions (on the local, national and international levels), groups of stakeholders (anti-racist organizations, pro-Israeli and pro-Zionist groups, organizations of antisemitic character; those taking an interest in the Middle East and world affairs; churches and clerics (Islamic, Christian, Jewish) and scholars and scholarly institutions. The research will pinpoint public, semi-public and candid contributions to debate, and will explore mobilization of opinion, social influence across communities and across borders. The aim is to understand the multi-faceted practices of contemporary antisemitism from questions on its ideological content, social drive and public impact. The methods employed will be qualitatively oriented, from a multi-disciplinary perspective. Historiography will provide the in-depth background, while methods and techniques from social sciences will be applied to understand the dynamics of the social interaction between the different contenders. Religious scholarship will be called for to analyze the religious backgrounds of antisemitic thinking. The workshops to be organized within the framework of the project will be essentially multidisciplinary.

Because of the high degree of interdisciplinarity, the proposal applies for funding of three researchers at post-doc level, who can be assumed to have acquired the indispensable insight and experience. Language skills will be strongly considered in the hiring process.

### 2c. References

Max. 35 references.

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**Conflict & Security Theme  
Full Application Form 2008/2009**

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**Conflict & Security Theme  
Full Application Form 2008/2009**

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**Conflict & Security Theme  
Full Application Form 2008/2009**

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*Gojse nijd & joods narcisme. Over de verhouding tussen joden en niet-joden in Nederland* (Amsterdam 1994).



**Conflict & Security Theme  
Full Application Form 2008/2009**

'De Rijke Jood. De geschiedenis van een stereotype' (essay), in: *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 16-12-1987.

**2e. Setting within Research Groups** (111 w.)

*Other relevant research, proposal part of a research programme*

The proposed program is primarily embedded in the Research Programme 2007-2012 of the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD) in Amsterdam, and incorporated in Research Track 3 ('Reflection') under the title 'Contemporary antisemitism and the relationship between Jews and non-Jews' ([www.niod.nl/niodreaserach/researchprogram](http://www.niod.nl/niodreaserach/researchprogram)).

The applicant is working in an international network of academic expertise, from whom members of an advisory board will be drawn, among them Frank Bovenkerk (Amsterdam); Francois Guesnet, Gwen Jones and David Hirsh (London); Robert Fine (Warwick) Arus Yumul (Istanbul) Magdalena Marsovsy (München/Budapest); Andras Kovacs (Budapest) Martin van Bruinessen (Utrecht), Hans Blom (Amsterdam), David Wertheim (Amsterdam); Jan Just Witkamp (Leiden).

**3. Organisation of the programme & Timetable**

**Word Count: 404**

*max. 500 words (use word count to specify number of words)*

The applicant, who is a senior researcher in the NIOD, Amsterdam, will take responsibility as the programme leader. The programme will be embedded in the structure of the NIOD (an institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences – KNAW) and subjected to the relevant KNAW/NIOD procedures and policies concerning employment, human resource management, and planning and evaluation of individual and collective progress. (Mid 2009)

When the necessary funding is allocated by NWO, the programme leader will start the selection procedure for three post-doc researchers, paying attention to academic skills, mastering of the relevant languages and versatility in the use of the internet as a source. (deadline for the start of the programme: November 1, 2009).

The programme will be characterized by close cooperation of the three post-docs, under the guidance of the programme leader. The first months of the projects will be dedicated to the elaboration of the conceptualizations and research strategies of the project. By the end of 2009, a more specified Roadmap for the project must be prepared. At the same time, an interactive website, hosted by the NIOD, should be in operation.

The first workshop, in January 2010, will be a discussion of the general concept of the project, as related to contemporary antisemitic discourse and activities in the Netherlands. The workshops will link scholarly expertise and the experiences of societal stakeholders.

In the course of 2010 and 2011, three more workshops of experts and stakeholders will be organized in order to specify the research agendas for the different post-doc projects and to evaluate the first insight.

A final conference is foreseen in the Fall of 2012; the programme leader and the NIOD will take steps to acquire external funding by academic and societal sponsors. Between the Fall of 2012 and the Spring of 2013, the programme leader will write, facilitated by her position as a senior researcher in the NIOD, a concluding essay in which the results of the project are synthesized at a higher level.

**Schedule**

**4. Societal relevance**

**Word Count: 319**

*max. 500 words (use word count to specify number of words)*

The purpose of the programme is to gain in-depth knowledge of the nature of contemporary antisemitism as a long-lasting source of conflict in contemporary society. It is imperative to understand the globalising processes that propel and transform antisemitic discourse and practices, in order to develop strategies and techniques for opposing and eliminating these expressions of conflict. Special attention will be paid to the framing of conflict in permanent interaction between established anti-Semitic patterns in the Netherlands, and those 'imported' by migrant communities in Dutch society.

The recently published report of *The Pew Global Attitudes Project* (17-9-2008) reveals that unfavourable views of both Jews and Muslims in Europe are on the increase; the deepest anti-Jewish sentiments exist outside Europe, especially in predominantly Muslim nations. Two years before *The Report on the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* (2006) concluded that



**Conflict & Security Theme  
Full Application Form 2008/2009**

antisemitic 'physical' violence in Great Britain had increased and antisemitic discourse had been gaining acceptability in several quarters in the public and private domain.

Theory of present-day antisemitism needs innovative concepts. The more so because both academic research and public discourse is mostly very biased, under versus overplaying the impact of contemporary antisemitism. T

his project wants to examine how contemporary antisemitism offers a frame – and thus a perception – to all those who are for different reasons inclined to believe that there is an unambiguous explanation of their worries, frustrations and ambitions, and that Jews, Zionists and Israel are 'more guilty than others'.

The research will be connected to the work of specific stakeholders in society, in the Netherlands the Monitor of Racism and Extremism (dr. Jaap van Donselaar, Anne Frank Foundation and Leiden University) and 'Engage!', a British web-based network for understanding and opposing contemporary antisemitism (Dr. David Hirsh and Dr. Robert Fine, see above). The NIOD is closely cooperating in issues of history and the problems of the multicultural society with Forum, the Dutch Institute for Multicultural Development in Utrecht.

**5. Output and communication plan**

**Word Count: 211**

*max. 1000 words (use word count to specify number of words)*

The output of the programme will be of a multi-media nature.

- The external communication of the project will be web-based from the beginning to the end, not as a medium for research alone, but also as an interactive means of addressing topics, acquiring input and discussing results.
- The workshops organized around the different country-oriented projects are fundamentally thought as interactive meetings, where academic expertise, stakeholders from society and opinion makers exchange insight, points of view and ideas on strategy to deal with contemporary anti-semitism as a source of conflict. A proactive media strategy will be employed in order to gain public attention for, and involvement with, the workshops and the programme.
- Filmed interviews will be made with a selection of the most prominent protagonists in the debate on the challenges of contemporary antisemitism and the means to confront it; this footage will be used for organizing debates.

The academic results will be communicated as written and published reports/monographs at the end of the program. The synthesis/essay, written by the program leader will depart from the conclusions of her earlier essay *Gojse nijd en joods narcisme* (Amsterdam, 1994) and develop new perspectives on the relationship of Jews and non-Jews, and the meaning of antisemitism in a globalizing world.