

Susanne Dengler<sup>1</sup>

## Does it matter how we assess anti-Semitic attitudes? Perspectives from discourse theory and the sociological concept of social latency<sup>2</sup>

*Abstract:* Questionnaires designed to measure anti-Semitic prejudice usually present a number of statements to which participants can respond by choosing among response categories ranging from “disagree” to “agree.” But the value of this standard procedure should be reassessed for several reasons. First, from the perspective of discourse theory, presenting subjects with anti-Semitic statements could possibly reaffirm anti-Semitic stereotypes. Second, the sociological concept of communication latency suggests that respondents may practice “self-censorship,” giving responses they believe to be socially desirable or politically correct rather than expressing their real attitudes.

For these reasons, in addition to the standard procedure, we experimented with an alternative response format which does not ask participants whether they agree or disagree with statements, but instead instructs them to assume the role of a neutral expert and indicate how they would evaluate statements on a scale ranging from “prejudice” to “justifiable.”

Based on data from a pilot study with German and Austrian participants, the present paper compares the effects of these different procedures on study participants’ responses. To assess the different facets of anti-Semitism, we constructed three separate scales and applied Latent-Class-Analysis to each of two questionnaire versions. Our data analysis revealed some differences regarding the respective (latent) classes which did, however, not result from differences in the sociographic data because the participants did not differ significantly in this respect.

### 1. Introduction

Usually anti-Semitic prejudice is measured using questionnaires which present a number of statements and ask study participants to choose a response ranging from “disagree” to “agree.” But this standard procedure is open to criticism for the following reasons. First: It is possible that presenting anti-Semitic statements may reinforce or affirm anti-Semitic stereotypes. Second: It is possible that respondents will not express their real attitudes, but instead give responses they think are politically correct. For these reasons, in addition to the standard response categories, we experimented with an alternative response format which does not ask participants whether they agree or disagree with statements, but instead instructs them to assume the role of a neutral expert and indicate how they would evaluate the statements on a scale ranging from “prejudice” to “justifiable.” The present paper outlines the theoretical reflections – stemming from discourse theory and the sociological concept of social latency – that informed the development and employment of this alternative response format and reports on the results of a pilot study in which it was used.

#### 1.1 Discourse Theory – “Paradoxically, it is language that speaks us...”<sup>3</sup>

In the social sciences there is a fundamental consensus that peoples’ relationships to the world they live in are mediated by socially produced symbolic orders of meaning or knowledge. In the last few decades, the concept of discourse has become increasingly important in studies on the social meaning of symbolic systems. “Discourses can be understood as more or less successful attempts to at least temporarily stabilize attributions of meaning and orders of sense and thereby institutionalize a collectively authoritative order of knowledge in a social ensemble.” (Keller 2007: 7 translation by S.D.) In this paper we draw on discourse research, as conceived of in the discourse of Feminist Theory. Like Cultural Studies and Postcolonial Studies, Feminist Theory has not developed its own separate paradigm, but has, however, essentially inspired and informed the current importance of discourse study through its specific questions and an early and broad inclusion of post-structural concepts, especially ones adopted from Michel Foucault. (ibid. 2007: 7, 54ff)

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<sup>3</sup> Gunew quoted in Braidotti 1994: 15

Discourse theory, as conceptualized in Feminist Theory, analyzes the performative aspect of speech, i.e. the production of things in and through the written and spoken word.<sup>4</sup> Discursive practice refers to the symbolic production of the world, reality, and things in the world through speech. Speech has the potential to actually do things; speech has the potential to act. (Butler 1997: 15f, 29ff, 36ff; Villa 2000: 122)

A fundamental aspect of discourse theory follows from this, namely the assumption that there is no inherent meaning in the "nature of things in themselves," just as nothing exists that has not already been represented or interpreted. There is no "original" being or essence of nature, of social phenomena, of identities or objects to discover, because meanings are always constituted through historically established and changeable interpretations. (Butler 1990: 8, 27, 37ff, 45ff, 171ff; Villa 2000: 125) Meanings cannot be separated from the collectively produced symbolic order that expresses itself mainly in linguistic or conceptual categories.

Thus the function of speech is central for the understanding of this position: Speech is the most obvious expression of the performative. It is never a neutral illustration or description of pre-existing phenomena which exist outside of discourse. Instead, speech enters into their forms of expression; it creates sense in a disordered universe. Or expressed in speech theoretical terms: the signifier (that which denotes), creates the signified (that which is denoted).<sup>5</sup> From this perspective, discourse not only refers to the spoken and written word, but also to a concept of meaning. It designates not only the process by which certain signifiers become meaningful, but also the way in which subjects and objects are constituted as culturally understandable and livable, as "intelligible," as Judith Butler notes.

Erving Goffman (1977) once remarked "that to offer an action means to offer a world." (Villa 2000: 127 translation by S.D.) In the same way, discourse theory holds "that to offer a word means to offer a world." (ibid. 2000: 127 translation by S.D.) But what is the nature of this process in which discursive categories produce realities? Naming (respectively denotation) cannot cause the existence of things or of reality by itself. "Thus, one asks with what mechanisms do discursive categories gain the power<sup>6</sup> to create the "world"?" (Butler 1993: 129 Villa 2000: 126f, 158)

### *Performativity*

Discourse theory focuses on the question: What processes do forms of speaking and writing use to create the effects of realism? Butler draws on the language philosophy of John Austin, who endeavored to elucidate the performative aspects of speech. The expression "How to do Things with Words" (Austin 2002) expresses the basic motif of this position, which is reflected in the concept of the performative or respectively the performative act. (Austin 2002: 28-32, 77f, 110ff) A performative act creates that which it names. It is here that the constitutive or productive power of speech is revealed. Speech, speaking and discourse are understood as productive acts or respectively structures and no longer as the mere illustrations or subjective expressions of individuals. Here speech "is doing" something; it creates the things it denotes. Speech is considered to be a system of signs which produces meanings by itself, with the theoretical consequence that meanings do not exist outside the speech acts within which they are articulated. (Villa 2000: 128)

### *Repetition and Citation*

Social realities are created by speech acts based upon already existing forms of discourse. How does this work? To succeed in creating realities, speech acts must cite already existing meanings or respectively refer to them in one way or another, for example in an affirmative, or also in a negating, in an opposing or in a distinguishing manner. Linguistic performativity "[...] must be understood not as a singular or deliberate »act«, but, rather, as [a] reiterative and citational practice [...]" that can only work as a temporal process. (Butler 1993: 2) This is why there is no true origin of a speech act and no meaning to be discovered. To make sense, a word, denotation or concept must always refer to other words, concepts or denotations. Thus, one central aspect in answering the question of what speech acts create reality and how they do this is the citatory character of performative utterances. Speech acts are successful with regard to the creation of reality effects in the case of repeating past acts, as it were echoing them. (ibid. 1997: 299) Consequently, in order to make any sense at all, speech acts must take place in the field of already existing interpretations or norms; they must be identifiable as citations of those interpretations or norms. (ibid. 1990: 8, 27, 37ff, 45ff, 171ff; Villa 2000: 128f)

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<sup>4</sup> In discourse theory, speech and discourse are differentiated as follows: Speech refers to social communication as concrete action. Discourse refers to meanings, ways of thinking and forms of knowledge constitution that inhere in speech or are conveyed through speech. (Foucault 1976)

<sup>5</sup> The conception of speech (or discourse) outlined here as generating meaning constitutes an important difference between "modern" and "postmodern" epistemologies. (Fuss 1989: 2ff)

<sup>6</sup> In this context power is referred to as epistemological power and not as the power of definition of individuals or social groups. (Villa 2000: 122)

What is interesting to note here is the ambivalence that inheres in linguistic performatives. By citing meanings that already exist, they actually reproduce them. At the same time, they continually create new meanings. Both can happen at the same time, and it is this synchrony that makes change possible.

Now the question is to explain in terms of discourse theory how change is at all possible. If performative speech acts can only succeed by citing pre-existing concepts, then we have to explain how *new* concepts and pluralities of meaning can develop. (Butler 1997: 15f, 29ff, 36ff) "Is a critical handling of existing discourses possible, i.e. with epistemological power?" (Villa 2000: 130 translation by S.D.)

### *Performativity and Subversion*

Since each act of speaking or writing is in certain respects subject to the constraint of repetition, i.e. has to follow a recognizable model to make any sense at all, the potential for agency is located in the possibility to vary these repetitions. (Butler 1990: 213) In discourse theory the potential to act consists in the possibility of resignification: If speech acts succeed by citing already existing meanings, change can only be achieved by the use of specific quotation forms. Words or concepts can be used in an affirmative, critical, ironic, distinguishing, etc. manner. The citation can be constructed in such a way that it supports the conventional meaning, but it can also function as a counterpoint or as a mixture of both, namely by supporting parts of the citation and contradicting others. Thus quotation forms can be critical or modifying practices when discourses are changed in such a way that they lose their authority. These repetitions or citation processes offer the possibility for affirmation but also for the critical reframing of statements that enjoy the status of truth. (ibid. 1993: 125) "The question then is not *if* we repeat; the question is *how* we repeat." (Villa 2000: 138 translation by S.D.)

Coming back to our initial reflections on the standard procedure for assessing anti-Semitism, we can state that the problem is not so much the repetition of anti-Semitic statements per se, but the manner of repeating them. From the perspective of discourse theory, questionnaires presenting anti-Semitic statements which can either be rejected or affirmed, take part in the process of (re-)producing anti-Semitic stereotypes. By offering anti-Semitic utterances that can be rejected or supported but which cannot be contradicted in their basic meanings and authority, we cite or respectively repeat existing concepts in an affirmative way. We participate in a process of constructing anti-Semitic "truths" which can be understood, following discourse theory, to exist or continue to exist precisely because they are cited or respectively repeated in a way that affirms their importance.

On the other hand, by asking participants to place themselves in the role of detached expert and indicate how they would evaluate statements which could be made in a controversy on a scale ranging from "prejudice" to "justifiable," we can claim to be casting doubt on anti-Semitic "truisms." The questionnaire presents or repeats certain prejudicial assertions, but at the same time places their meaning up for discussion. By offering the possibility to judge them as either "justifiable" or "prejudiced," we deny them any fundamental "truth" and as a consequence expose them to being questioned and rejected.

With the application of the above-named alternative response categories, the presented items are virtually placed in quotation marks. As a consequence, attention is directed to the instability of supposedly stable concepts. On the one hand, we use and refer to existing concepts, but on the other hand, we take a distanced position from their associations and meanings. Quotation marks put up for discussion the meaning of a concept. In this way we avoid the impression of accepting received or established meanings like anti-Semitism. The intention behind their use is to make it clear that we know about the normative implications that inhere in the reproduced concepts. They must be named, but they shall not be reproduced uncritically.

## **1.2 Communication Latency**

The second reason for experimenting with an alternative response format stems from reflections by Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb (1986, 1991a) on the sociological concept of social or communication latency. This concept supports the view that, because of the social prohibition of anti-Semitic statements, our respondents may be practicing "self-censorship" and expressing views they think are socially desirable or politically correct.

Following Niklas Luhmann (1984), Bergmann and Erb take a systems-theoretical position on the concept of latency. This makes it possible to differentiate between psychic and social latency, i.e. latency in reference to the social system of communication, on the one hand, and latency in reference to the psychic system of consciousness, on the other, and at the same time enables us to ask what function latency fulfills for psychic and social systems.

Whereas the latency of consciousness refers to a lack of awareness or of knowledge, communication latency refers to a lack of discussion of specific topics to make possible and control communication. In the same direction, they differentiate between factual and functional latency. While there are always purely factual latencies in terms of the lack of knowledge and non-consideration of topics, there are also functional latencies

whose task is to protect structures. Thus, latency helps people to avoid the consciousness, or respectively communication, of certain ideas at times when they could cause the destruction or restructuring of the system. It is important to note, however, that the latent does not disappear altogether, but rather specific structures are developed which determine what is allowed to be said or is respectively concealed, considered or ignored. (ibid. 1986: 225f)

Now, the question here is whether anti-Semitism is absent from peoples' minds or public communications or whether its expression and discussion are merely suppressed for reasons of structure protection. In the case of anti-Semitism in Germany, is it a matter of psychic latency or communication latency? The occasionally made anti-Semitic statements, e.g. by politicians and journalists, and the support of anti-Semitic statements by a great share of the respondents in anonymous survey situations put in question the hypothesis of a latency of consciousness. They rather tend to disclose an individual awareness of anti-Semitic attitudes that are expressed not in public, but rather, e.g. in communication with outsiders, in official events or in the media. (ibid. 1986: 227 ibid.: 1991a: 502, 517)

But with regard to the massive public critique that usually follows such occurrences, it becomes clear that these expressions involve the violation of a taboo on the social communication of anti-Semitism. Thus, it is essential to differentiate between the making of relatively explicit anti-Semitic statements on an individual, private level and the social prohibition of anti-Semitic statements by the media, prestigious persons in public life, political parties, churches, etc. However, there is also a separate and marginalized sub-segment in the right-wing extremist milieu that permits the expression of anti-Semitic attitudes. (Bergmann/Erb 1991a: 517) But which structures must be protected by social latency? Following Bergmann and Erb, the existence of social latency has to be understood as a reaction to the Holocaust and other crimes committed during National Socialism.

Since anti-Semitism and the extermination of the Jewish people is regarded as the essence of the National Socialism, the external and internal integration requirements of the successor states of the "Third Reich" (especially Germany and Austria) seem to be central here.

With respect to external integration requirements, a radical change in the publicly desired or undesired topics took place after the war. In order to demonstrate to the world the moral rehabilitation of the successor states and their peoples, there was a dramatic change in discourse topics which emphasized concepts such as "democracy" and "antifascism."

With regard to the internal problems of integration and continuity, we have to ask how, after the collapse of a state that is morally completely discredited, a society can credibly construct a new political system using much the same personnel that were active in the former state. In Germany this was done by deemphasizing the continuity in personnel which prevailed despite official policies of reeducation and denazification, and by emphasizing discontinuity, which was expressed in the German "zero hour" (Stunde Null) thesis.

There are two mechanisms which can support the fiction of discontinuity: On the one hand, there is the postulate of an overall "coming to terms with the past" or "mastering the past" (Rürup 1986) which allows society to return to normality. On the other hand, communication latencies can be created in the period when normalization is difficult to realize. In order to internally as well as externally maintain the fiction of discontinuity, after the end of National Socialism there was an historically new situation in which Germans were forbidden to openly communicate negative stereotypes of Jewish people. Thus, anti-Semitism, which had been a deep and enduring tradition for the German populace and that was even elevated to the state ideology during National Socialism, was banned from public communication overnight. Following Bergmann and Erb, these specific conditions created a not to be underestimated gulf between the anti-anti-Semitic tenor of the media and official institutions and the attitudes of a share of the populace. (Bergmann/Erb: 1991a: 502f ; 1986: 228ff)

### *Moralization of Public Opinion*

In order to identify communication latency in sociology, the authors focus on public opinion, as this is where the taboo on expressing anti-Semitic attitudes, which is only to a limited extent legally grounded, is communicated and perpetuated. Drawing on systems theory, the authors view public opinion in functional terms as an aid in the selection of topics and the articulation of opinions about these topics, thus as a means to reduce arbitrariness. In this context it is important to note that it is not essential for political communication to reach a maximally large public, but rather to have a structuring effect on all, including non-public political communication, by the institutionalization of subjects. In this function as a "substitute for the truth," public opinion orients politics and law.

As a breakdown of latency is always possible in public discussions, specific mechanisms exist to prevent changes in subject matter and fixed opinions. On the one hand, this is the prevention of discussions about certain subjects, e.g. with respect to obscenity, religious sentiments or the causes of conflict. In the case of discussing anti-Semitism, for example, we always run the risk of eliciting expressions of anti-Semitism and as a consequence

of encouraging conflict. In addition to these concrete reasons, as communication partners inevitably reveal aspects of themselves, such as their attitudes and wishes, avoiding particular topics helps speakers avoid being stigmatized as anti-Semitic.

On the other hand, communication latency can be guaranteed by the merging of subject and opinion. In this process, communication becomes manipulative in character. One possibility for this merging is the moralization of communication, which is particularly important with regard to our subject, as postwar anti-Semitism is very closely connected to the question of guilt and morals and is obviously subject to manipulative moralization. "The official institutionalization of a subject can be merged with morally judged opinions in such a way that there results the assertion of a moral value with the imperative to agree." (Bergmann/Erb 1986: 234 translation by S.D.) In a so morally charged communication situation, people expressing nonconforming opinions risk losing other persons' respect and esteem. A person's opinions and individual "worth" are merged in such a way that loss of respect is extended to the whole person, whereby the continuation of communication becomes more difficult or even impossible. In the case of negative judgments with regard to Jewish people, the withdrawal of respect that follows is generalized to the person as a whole (regarding him as an anti-Semite). Additionally, there is pressure to give up official positions or jobs, for example, if a person does not manage to regain respect via apologies or exculpatory explanations for statements violating taboos.

Thus, the subject of anti-Semitism is structured dichotomously: There is only conformity or nonconformity, which correspond to respect or disrespect (Luhmann 1978). Along these lines, moralization situates communication about Jewish people under conditions of expressing respect or disrespect.

Bergmann and Erb reach the following conclusion, which in our view seems to be central for questionnaires using standard response categories ranging from individual "disagreement" to individual "agreement": Either people conform by choosing the "right opinion" in order to secure personal and collective respect, or they refrain from discussing a topic or keep silent to avoid being the object of foreseeable expressions of disrespect (moral disapproval). (Bergmann/Erb 1986: 232ff) They state that even if there are also some respondents, a group not to be underestimated, who do not refrain from communicating anti-Semitism in anonymous survey situations, the taboos attached to anti-Semitism generally reduce the willingness of respondents to admit to anti-Semitic attitudes, simply because they know the social risks of incurring moral disapproval. (ibid. 1991b: 279ff)

By asking participants to play the role of neutral expert and judge statements that could be expressed in controversies on a scale ranging from "prejudice" to "justifiable," as in the new response format, we aimed to assess anti-Semitic attitudes not so much directly as indirectly. We asked our respondents not to express their personal opinions, but merely to reflect on the presented propositions on a meta-level of expertise. This possibly reduces their personal involvement and hence their fear of not complying with the social prohibition against expressing anti-Semitism. As a consequence, we assumed that the new response format would allow our respondents to express their attitudes more openly.

## 2. Method

In order to assess the different facets of modern anti-Semitism, we constructed – among others – three scales, one for manifest anti-Semitism, one for secondary anti-Semitism and one for Israel-based anti-Semitism, and used Latent-Class-Analysis to identify typical response patterns.

In the standard response format, participants responded to the items on a 5-point Likert scale: "disagree completely – rather disagree – neither disagree nor agree – rather agree – agree completely". In the new alternative response format, participants responded to the items on a 5-point Likert scale: "prejudice – rather prejudice – partly [justifiable] partly [unjustifiable] – rather justifiable – justifiable."

### 2.1 Manifest Anti-Semitism

Manifest anti-Semitism is the open rejection of Jews based on negative Jewish stereotypes. One dimension of manifest anti-Semitism refers to the overgeneralization of negative characteristics and expressed dislike of and distancing towards Jewish people. It was assessed with the following items:

mani01p: Jews are somehow all the same.

mani02p: The Jews are simply alien and don't belong here.

aslat2p: It is better to have nothing to do with Jews.

asman7p: I am one of those who don't like any Jews.

## 2.2 Secondary Anti-Semitism

Secondary anti-Semitism as a variant of new anti-Semitism is an aspect of coping with or coming to terms with the history of National Socialism. One dimension of secondary anti-Semitism relates to defenses against guilt on the part of the German populace and the relativization of the past and was assessed with the following items:

seku01n: Without the help of the populace, Hitler could not have started the persecution of the Jews.

seku02p: If the Jews had defended themselves more vigorously under Hitler, not as many would have perished.

seku03p: People only talk about the persecution of the Jews. No one talks about how the Germans suffered.

## 2.3 Israel-based Anti-Semitism

Israel-based anti-Semitism, as another variant of new anti-Semitism, is expressed in the evaluation of Israeli policies in Palestine. One dimension of Israel-based anti-Semitism relates to the provocation of sentiments hostile to Jewish people, the claim that Jews exploit the Holocaust, as well as conspiracy theory, and was assessed by the following items:

krit01p: If you want to recognize the true face of the Jews, you only have to watch how they treat the Palestinians.

krit02p: The Holocaust is a welcome means for the Jews to justify Israel's policies.

krit03p: Without the worldwide power of Jewry, Israel could not so easily disregard international law.

krit04p: We should not let ourselves continue to be put under pressure by the Jews to let Israel's Palestinian policies go unchallenged.

## 2.4 Data Analysis

In order to identify typical response patterns, we applied Latent-Class-Analysis (LCA) and used Akaike's (1987) information criterion (AIC) to determine the number of classes needed for an optimal description of the data.

(Latent) classes of typical response patterns on each of the three scales "manifest anti-Semitism," "secondary anti-Semitism" and "Israel-based anti-Semitism" were identified for each of the two response formats. In these analyses, missing data were treated as separate response categories of their own. For the subsequent computation of mean judgments within the groups, however, they were recoded as "neither disagree nor agree" in the standard format and as "partly [justifiable] partly [unjustifiable]" in the alternative format.

## 2.5 Sample

Data collection took place about one year after the Gaza War, from November 2009 until February 2010, whereby 68.5% of the data was collected in Germany and 31.5% in Austria.<sup>7</sup> The total number of participants in the study was  $N = 553$ . The number of participants in the standard procedure was  $N = 283$ , the number of participants in the alternative procedure was  $N = 270$ .

- The age of the participants in the overall sample ranged from 17 to 63 ( $M = 22.73$ ;  $SD = 5.245$ ). The participants in the standard procedure ranged in age from 17 to 54; the ages of the participants in the alternative procedure ranged from 18 to 63.

In the overall sample, 64.7% of the participants were female, and 35.3% were male. In the standard procedure, 67.5% were female, and 32.5% were male; with the new procedure, 61.9% were female, and 38.1% were male.

The great majority of the participants were university students. In the overall sample, 6.0% of the participants had completed vocational training, 9.9% had graduated from a professional school, 11.0% had graduated from a university and 0.9% had a doctorate. With the standard procedure, 6.0% of the participants had completed vocational training, 10.2% had graduated from a professional school, 10.9% had graduated from a university, and 1.1% had a doctorate. With the alternative procedure, 7.9% of the participants had completed vocational training, 10.0% had graduated from a professional school, 10.7% had graduated from a university, and 0.7% had a doctorate.

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<sup>7</sup> The author wishes to thank Gerhard Benetka for collecting the Austrian data and Claudia König and Irina Volf for their assistance in the German data collection.

In the overall sample, 47.6% of the participants were Catholic, 25.5% Protestant, 1.4% Muslim, 0.7% were Jewish, 4.4% belonged to another (mainly Christian) religion and 20.4% belonged to no religion at all. In the standard procedure, 48.4% of the participants were Catholic, 27.2% Protestant, 1.4% Muslim, 0.2% were Jewish, 4.9% belonged to another (mainly Christian) religion, and 18.0% belonged to no religion at all. With the new procedure, 46.7% of the participants were Catholic, 23.7% Protestant, 1.5% Muslim, 0.2% were Jewish, 5.2% belonged to another (mainly Christian) religion and 23.0% belonged to no religion at all.

In the overall sample, 12.8% of the participants had an immigrant background. With the standard procedure, 12.0% of the participants had an immigrant background; with the alternative procedure, 13.7% of the participants had an immigrant background.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Manifest Anti-Semitism

The LCA of the manifest anti-Semitism scale identified 4 classes in the standard procedure (cf. Table 1) and 3 classes in the alternative procedure (cf. Table 2).

The overall distribution of the standard procedure corresponds to that of the alternative one (cf. Figures 1 and 2). All of the four statements are predominantly rejected. Thus, with respect to the overall distribution there is no difference between the two response formats.

No. of Classes	LOG-LIKE	n(P)	df	AIC
1	-792,71	19	1060	1623,42
2	-665,11	39	1040	1408,22
3	-620,72	59	1020	1359,44
4	-585,50	79	1000	1329,00
5	-573,42	99	980	1344,84
6	-571,16	119	960	1380,32
<b>Saturated Model</b>	-527,89	1079		3213,78

Table 1, Manifest anti-Semitism in the standard procedure: goodness-of-fit statistics of the LCA<sup>8</sup>

No. of Classes	LOG-LIKE	n(P)	df	AIC
1	-757,53	20	1275	1555,06
2	-652,16	41	1254	1386,32
3	-611,00	62	1233	1346,00
4	-603,71	83	1212	1373,42
5	-593,26	104	1191	1394,52
6	-589,14	125	1170	1428,28
<b>Saturated Model</b>	-533,74	1295		3657,48

Table 2, Manifest anti-Semitism in the alternative procedure: goodness-of-fit statistics of the LCA

<sup>8</sup> LOG-LIKE = logarithmic likelihood, n(P) = number of parameters, df= degrees of freedom.

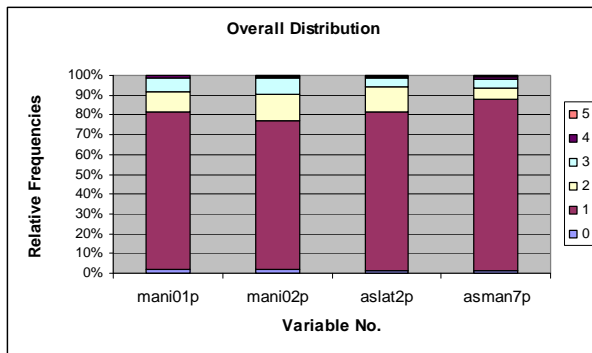


Figure 1, Overall distribution in the standard procedure

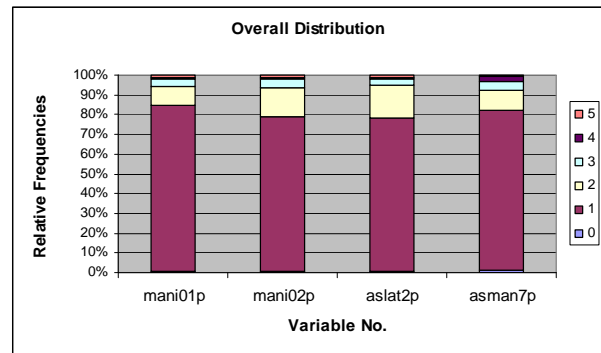


Figure 2, Overall distribution in the alternative procedure

mani01p: Jews are somehow all the same.  
 mani02p: The Jews are simply alien and don't belong here.  
 aslat2p: It is better to have nothing to do with Jews.  
 asman7p: I am one of those who don't like any Jews

In class 4, which only exists in the standard procedure (cf. Figures 3 and 4), the statements are mainly unanswered. Coming back to our theoretical reflections, it can be assumed that respondents belonging to this class possibly worry about expressing their real (anti-Semitic) attitudes, fearing the social prohibition against expressing anti-Semitism, and therefore prefer not to answer at all rather than rejecting the statements. Thus, whereas the fundamental overgeneralization of Jewish people (mani01p), postulated distancing (aslat2p) and antipathy towards Jewish people (asman7p) are mostly not responded to, the othering of Jewish people (mani02p) is without exception not responded to. From this it follows that the othering of Jewish people (mani02p) displays the highest percentage among the offered statements which are not responded to.

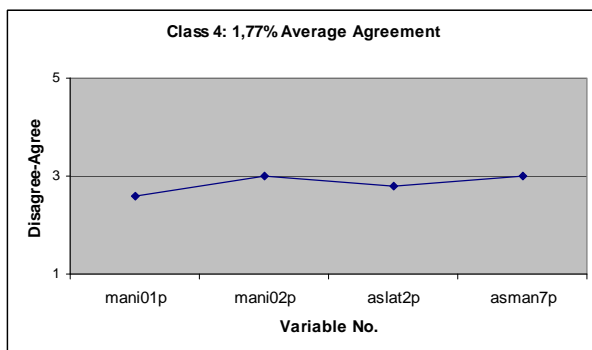


Figure 3, Class 4 in the standard procedure

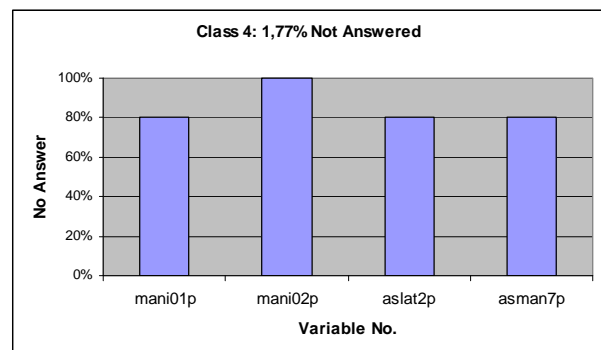


Figure 4, Class 4 in the standard procedure

Class 1 of the standard procedure (cf. Figure 5) corresponds to class 1 of the new procedure (cf. Figure 6). In the new procedure it is however slightly larger. All of the four statements are clearly negated in both procedures. Thus, in class 1 there is no difference between the two formats.

Class 2 of the standard procedure (cf. Figure 7) resembles class 2 of the new procedure (cf. Figure 8). In the new version it is however slightly larger. It becomes clear that the participants reject the postulated otherness and exclusion of Jewish people (mani02p) and the expressed preference of avoiding contact with Jewish people (aslat2p) less often in the new procedure than in the standard procedure. Thus, the othering of Jewish people (mani02p) and distancing from them (aslat2p) are more marked.

Class 3 of the standard procedure (cf. Figure 9) resembles that of the alternative procedure (cf. Figure 10). In the alternative version it is however slightly smaller. Whereas participants tend to reject the statement "Jews are somehow all the same" (mani01p) in the context of the standard procedure, they do not take a position in this regard in the alternative procedure. As a consequence, the overgeneralization of Jewish people (mani01p) comes to the fore more strongly.



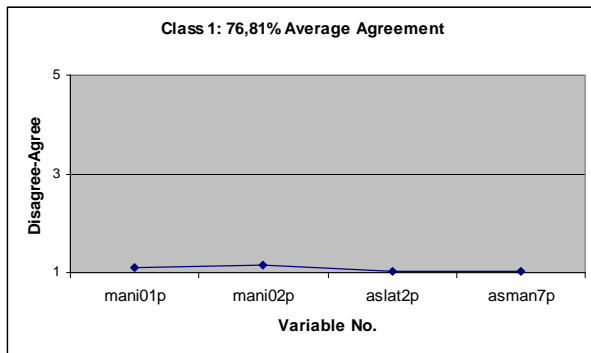


Figure 5, Class 1 in the standard procedure

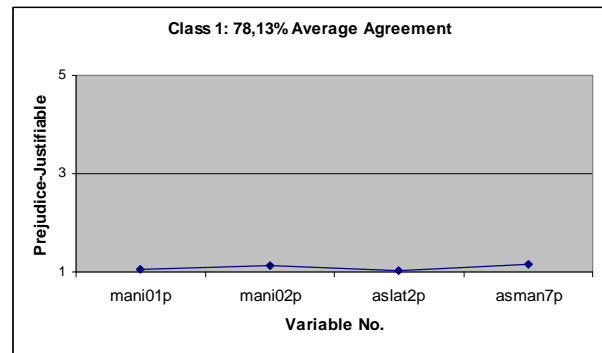


Figure 6, Class 1 in the alternative procedure

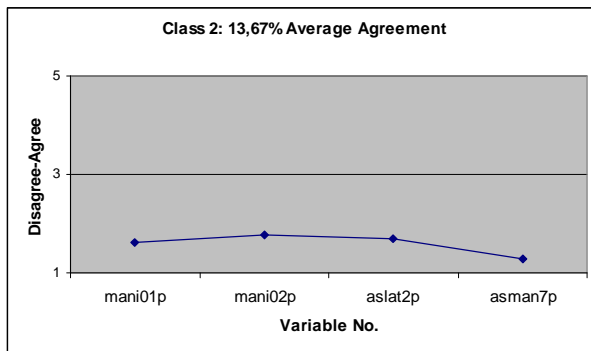


Figure 7, Class 2 in the standard procedure

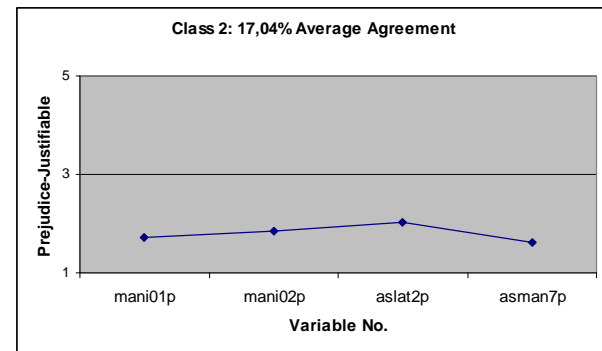


Figure 8, Class 2 in the alternative procedure

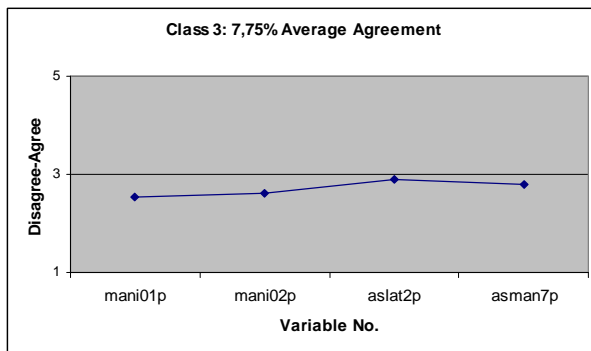


Figure 9, Class 3 in the standard procedure

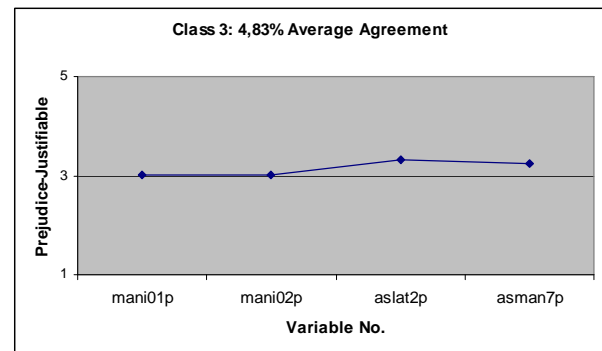


Figure 10, Class 3 in the alternative procedure

### 3.2 Secondary Anti-Semitism

The LCA of the secondary anti-Semitism scale identified 3 classes in the standard procedure (cf. Table 3) and 2 classes in the new alternative one (cf. Table 4).

Within the scope of the overall distribution (cf. Figures 11 and 12), an emphasis on German suffering (seku03p) is rejected somewhat less in the alternative procedure than in the standard procedure. The postulated involvement of the German populace in the persecution of Jewish people (seku01n) is supported somewhat less in the alternative procedure than in the standard version. Thus, the relativization of crimes committed under the Third Reich in terms of the affirmation of German victimhood (seku03p) and the defense against guilt in terms of the attribution of guilt to Hitler (seku01n) become more obvious in the alternative procedure.

No. of Classes	LOG-LIKE	n(P)	df	AIC
1	-1016,66	15	200	2063,32
2	-976,16	31	184	2014,32
3	-949,89	47	168	1993,78
4	-936,88	63	152	1999,76
5	-931,31	79	136	2020,62
6	-926,27	95	120	2042,54
<b>Saturated Model</b>	-901,51	215		2233,02

Table 3, Secondary anti-Semitism in the standard procedure: goodness-of-fit statistics of the LCA

No. of Classes	LOG-LIKE	n(P)	df	AIC
1	-1019,74	15	200	2069,48
2	-1000,89	31	184	2063,78
3	-985,81	47	168	2065,62
4	-978,63	63	152	2083,26
5	-975,08	79	136	2108,16
6	-971,26	95	120	2132,52
<b>Saturated Model</b>	-947,07	215		2324,14

Table 4, Secondary anti-Semitism in the alternative procedure: goodness-of-fit statistics of the LCA

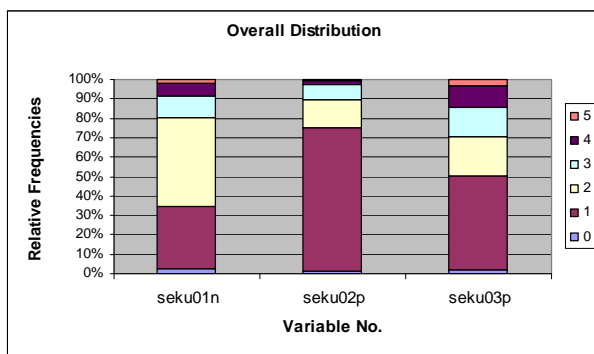


Figure 11, Overall distribution in the standard procedure

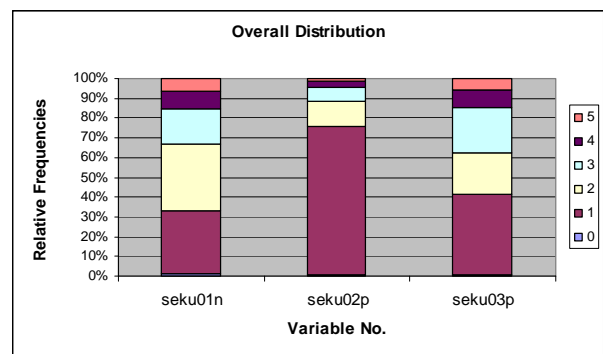


Figure 12, Overall distribution in the alternative procedure

- seku01n: Without the help of the population, Hitler could not have started the persecution of the Jews.
- seku02p: If the Jews had defended themselves more vigorously under Hitler, not as many would have perished.
- seku03p: People only talk about the persecution of the Jews. No one talks about how the Germans suffered.

In class 3, which only exists in the standard procedure, the statements are mainly not answered (cf. Figures 13 and 14). With respect to our theoretical reflections, it can be assumed that respondents belonging to this class are possibly reluctant to disclose their real attitudes because of social latency and therefore prefer not to answer at all. Thus, whereas a defense against guilt in terms of the postulate of a "Jewish share" in the Holocaust (seku02p) and the relativization of National Socialist crimes by emphasizing German victimhood (seku03p) are not answered in many cases, the defense against guilt in terms of the attribution of guilt to Hitler (seku01n) is never the answer. From this it follows that the defense against guilt through the attribution of guilt to Hitler (seku01n) displays the highest percentage among the presented statements which are not answered.

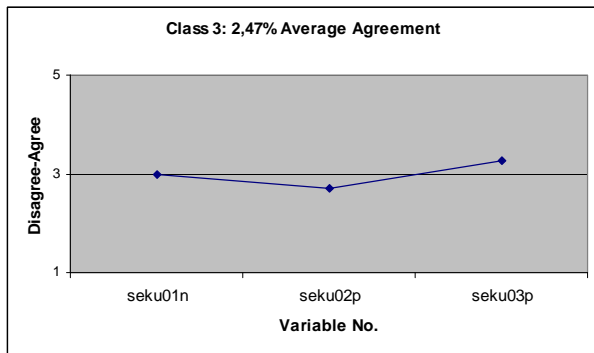


Figure 13, Class 3 in the standard procedure

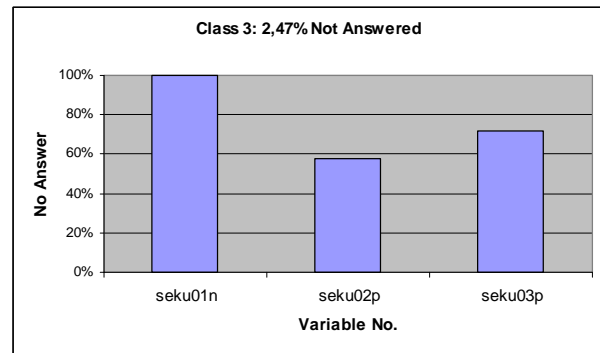


Figure 14, Class 3 in the standard procedure

Class 1 of the standard procedure (cf. Figure 15) resembles that of the alternative procedure (cf. Figure 16). In the alternative version it is however considerably smaller. There is no difference between the two response formats with respect to the (latent) classes. The defense against guilt in terms of the postulate of a “Jewish share” in the Holocaust (seku02p) and the relativization of Nazi crimes with an emphasis on German victimhood (seku03p) are clearly opposed, the postulated involvement of the German populace in the persecution of Jewish people (seku01n) is also, but slightly less often, rejected. Thus, in both versions a defense against guilt by the attribution of guilt to Hitler (seku01n) is answered somewhat more strongly than the other items.

Class 2 of the standard procedure (cf. Figure 17) resembles that of the new response format (cf. Figure 18). In the alternative version it is however considerably larger. It becomes clear that in the alternative procedure the emphasis on the involvement of the German populace in the persecution of Jewish people (seku01n) is somewhat less often admitted than in the standard procedure. The assertion of a “Jewish share” in the Holocaust (seku02p) is rejected more strongly in the context of the alternative procedure than in the standard format. Thus, the defense against guilt by the attribution of guilt to Hitler (seku01n) is more obvious in the alternative procedure than in the standard format.

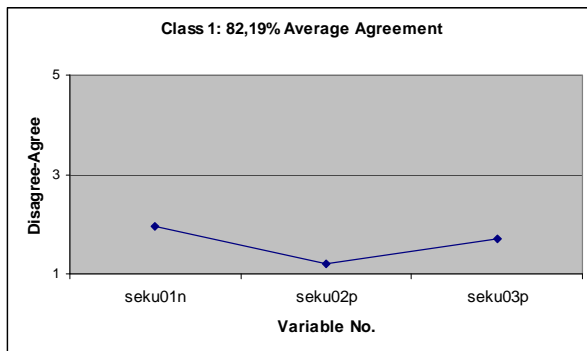


Figure 15, Class 1 in the standard procedure

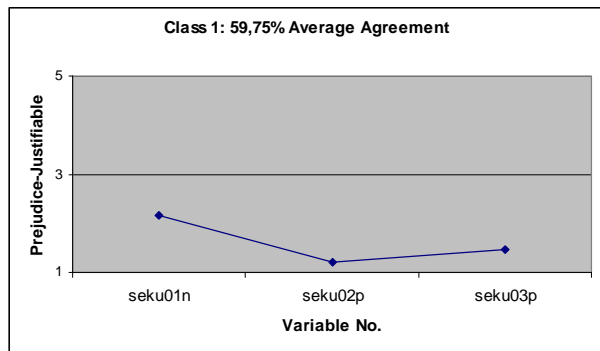


Figure 16, Class 1 in the alternative procedure

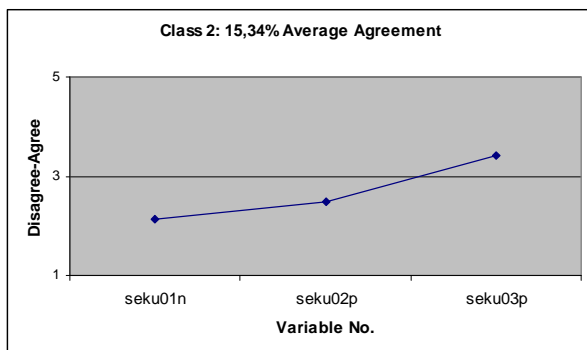


Figure 17, Class 2 in the standard procedure

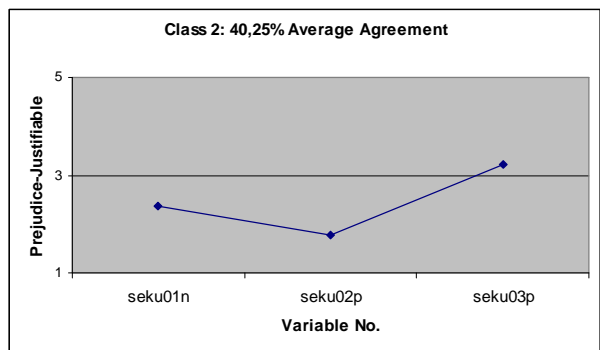


Figure 18, Class 2 in the alternative procedure

Furthermore, we see that class 1, which clearly rejects the statements in both versions, amounts to about 82% in the standard procedure, but only to about 60% in the alternative procedure. With regard to class 2, which rejects

the statements to a lesser degree and/or is rather undecided, the situation is reversed: In the standard procedure it only amounts to about 15%, whereas in the alternative procedure it amounts to about 40%. Accordingly, it can be assumed that the alternative procedure is less influenced by social desirability (political correctness).

### 3.3 Israel-based Anti-Semitism

The LCA of the Israel-based anti-Semitism scale identified 5 classes in the standard procedure (cf. Table 5) and 5 classes in the new response format (cf. Table 6).

Within the scope of the overall distribution (cf. Figures 19 and 20), the participants reject the postulate of a "true" (negative) Jewish identity manifesting itself in interaction with Palestinians (krit01p) slightly less often in the alternative procedure than in the standard version. Thus, the expression of sentiments hostile to Jewish people (krit01p) is more obvious in the alternative version.

No. of Classes	LOG-LIKE	n(P)	df	AIC
1	-1692,62	20	1275	3425,24
2	-1554,29	41	1254	3190,58
3	-1496,44	62	1233	3116,88
4	-1446,13	83	1212	3058,26
5	-1425,00	104	1191	3058,00
6	-1404,61	125	1170	3059,22
Saturated Model	-1273,20	1295		5136,40

Table 5, Israel-based anti-Semitism in the standard procedure: goodness-of-fit statistics of the LCA

No. of Classes	LOG-LIKE	n(P)	df	AIC
1	-1615,32	20	1275	3270,64
2	-1495,45	41	1254	3072,90
3	-1464,59	62	1233	3053,18
4	-1437,21	83	1212	3040,42
5	-1410,97	104	1191	3029,94
6	-1400,17	125	1170	3050,34
Saturated Model	-1233,29	1295		5056,58

Table 6, Israel-based anti-Semitism in the alternative procedure: goodness-of-fit statistics of the LCA

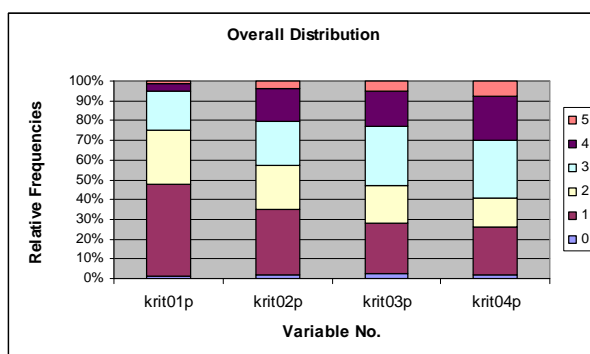


Figure 19, Overall distribution in the standard procedure

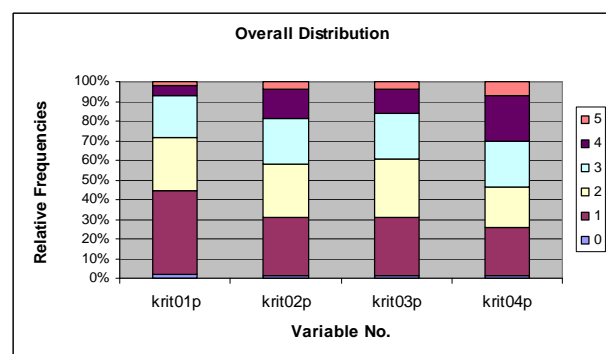


Figure 20, Overall distribution in the alternative procedure

- krit01p: If you want to recognize the true face of the Jews, you only have to watch how they treat the Palestinians.
- krit02p: The Holocaust is a welcome means for the Jews to justify Israel's policies.
- krit03p: Without the worldwide power of Jewry, Israel could not so easily disregard international law.
- krit04p: We should not let ourselves continue to be put under pressure by the Jews to let Israel's Palestinian policies go unchallenged.

Unlike the scales for manifest anti-Semitism and secondary anti-Semitism, in each of the two procedures the scale for Israel-based anti-Semitism reveals one class of participants that mainly did not answer. Possibly these

questions necessitate some previous knowledge of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the history of Israel in general and therefore produce a class of unanswered statements in both versions.

In the context of the standard procedure (cf. Figures 21 and 22), the expression of sentiments hostile to Jewish people in terms of a postulated "true" (negative) Jewish identity manifesting itself in Israeli interaction with Palestinians (krit01p) is mostly not answered. The evaluation of the Holocaust as a "Jewish instrument of justification" for Israeli policies (krit02p), conspiracy theory in terms of the claim that Israel has the privilege to violate international law due to the dominance of Judaism (krit03p) and the postulated Jewish influence on Germany in regard to its position on Israeli policies (krit04p) are without exception not answered, and thus display the highest percentage among the offered statements which are not answered.

Class 5 of the alternative procedure (cf. Figures 23 and 24) resembles that in the standard procedure. In the alternative version it is insignificantly smaller, however. The expression of sentiments hostile to Jewish people in terms of a postulated "true" (negative) Jewish identity manifesting itself in interaction with Palestinians (krit01p), conspiracy theory in terms of the claim that Israel has the privilege to violate international law due to the dominance of Judaism (krit03p) and the postulated Jewish influence on Germany in regard to its position on Israeli policies (krit04p) are mostly not answered. The evaluation of the Holocaust as a "Jewish instrument of justification" for Israeli policies (krit02p) is without exception not answered and therefore displays the highest percentage among the offered statements which are not answered. In contrast to class 5 of the standard version, there is only one item that without exception is not answered.

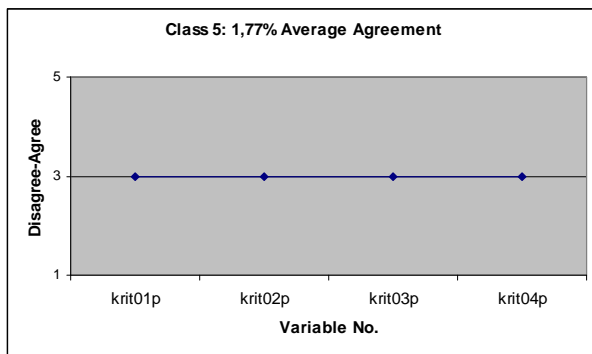


Figure 21, Class 5 in the standard procedure

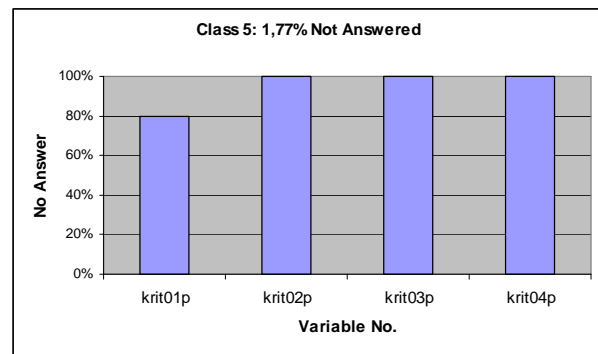


Figure 22, Class 5 in the standard procedure

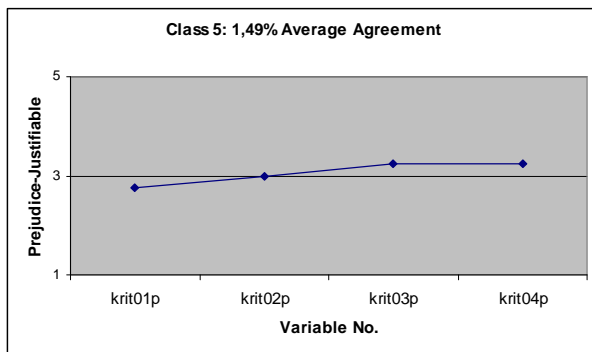


Figure 23, Class 5 in the alternative procedure

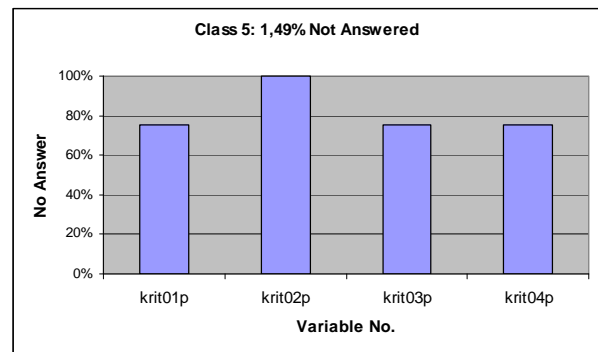


Figure 24, Class 5 in the alternative procedure

Class 1 of the standard procedure (cf. Figure 25) resembles class 2 of the alternative version (cf. Figure 26). In the alternative response format, however, class 2 is clearly larger. The postulated Jewish influence on Germany in regard to its position on Israeli policies (krit04p) is rejected somewhat more strongly in the new procedure than in the standard version. Thus, the postulate of Jewish influence on Germany concerning its position on Israeli policies (krit04p) surfaces less.

Class 2 of the standard procedure (cf. Figure 27) resembles class 1 of the alternative one (cf. Figure 28). In the alternative version, class 1 is considerably larger, however. The postulate of a "true" (negative) Jewish identity manifesting itself in interaction with Palestinians (krit01p) is rejected somewhat more strongly in the alternative procedure than in the standard procedure. Thus, we conclude that sentiments hostile to Jewish people (krit01p) come to the surface slightly less.

Class 2 of the standard procedure and class 1 of the alternative procedure, which tend to the rejection of anti-Semitic statements, as well as class 1 of the standard procedure and class 2 of the alternative one, which clearly reject anti-Semitic statements, together amount to about 70% in both procedures, while within the scope of the alternative procedure each time there is a statement that is rejected somewhat more strongly. While in the context of the standard procedure both classes are about the same size, in the alternative procedure the class (class 2) that rejects anti-Semitic statements more strongly is clearly smaller. Thus the alternative procedure differentiates more clearly between the tendency to rejection and explicit rejection on the side of participants.

Class 3 of the standard procedure (cf. Figure 29) resembles class 3 of the new procedure (cf. Figure 30). In the alternative procedure class 3 is, however, clearly smaller. The participants reject the postulate of a “true” (negative) Jewish identity manifesting itself in interaction with Palestinians (krit01p) and the evaluation of the Holocaust as a “Jewish instrument of justification” for Israeli policies (krit02p) somewhat more strongly in the new response format than in the standard version. The claim that Israel has the privilege to violate international law due to the dominance of Judaism (krit03p) and the postulated existence of Jewish influence on Germany in regard to its position on Israeli policies (krit04p) are rejected more strongly in the alternative procedure than in the standard procedure.

Thus, sentiments hostile to Jewish people in terms of the postulate of a “true” (negative) Jewish identity manifesting itself in interaction with Palestinians (krit01p), the postulate of the “Jewish instrumentalization of the Holocaust” with respect to Israeli policies (krit02p), conspiracy theory (krit03p) in terms of the Israeli privilege to violate international law due to the dominance of Judaism, as well as the postulated Jewish influence on German policies (krit04p), find less expression.

Class 4 of the standard procedure (cf. Figure 31) resembles class 4 of the new procedure (cf. Figure 32). In the new procedure, class 4 is clearly larger, however. The claim that Israel is privileged to disregard international law due to the dominance of Judaism (krit03p) and the postulated Jewish influence on Germany in regard to its position on Israeli policies (krit04p) are supported somewhat less in the context of the alternative procedure than in the context of the standard procedure. Thus, conspiracy theory (krit03p) and the postulated Jewish influence on German policies (krit04p) are supported less.

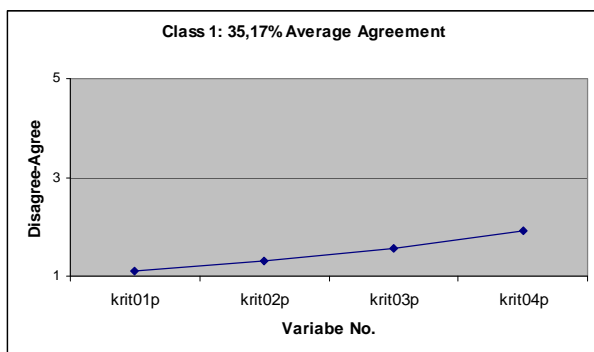


Figure 25, Class 1 in the standard procedure

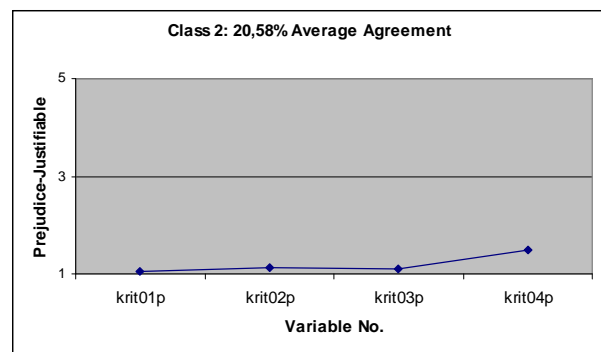


Figure 26, Class 2 in the alternative procedure

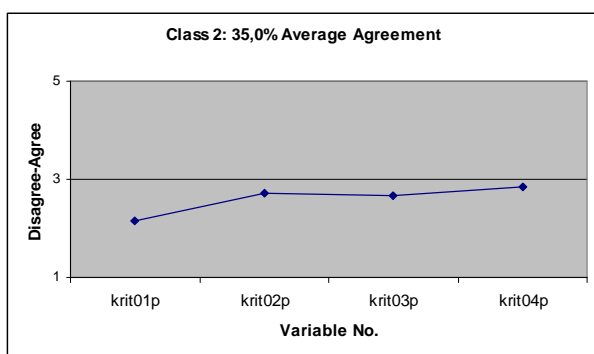


Figure 27, Class 2 in the standard procedure

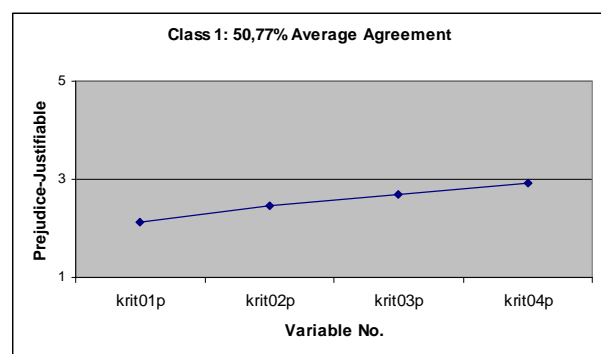


Figure 28, Class 1 in the alternative procedure

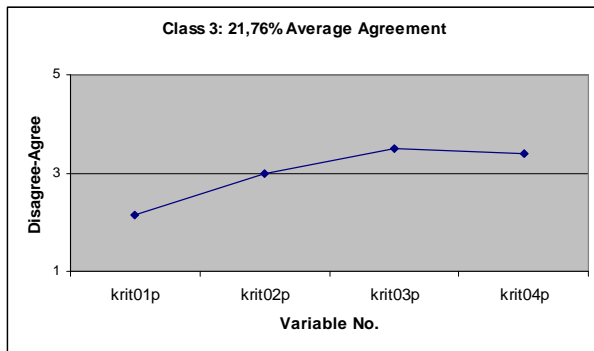


Figure 29, Class 3 in the standard procedure

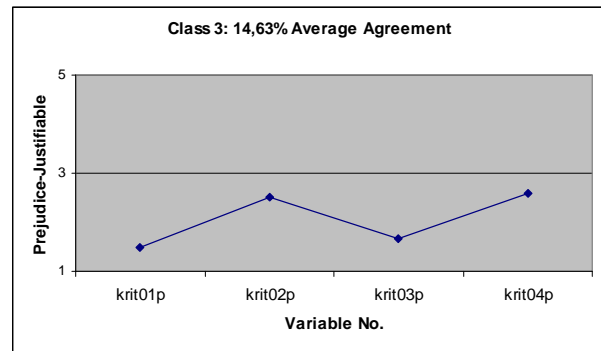


Figure 30, Class 3 in the alternative procedure

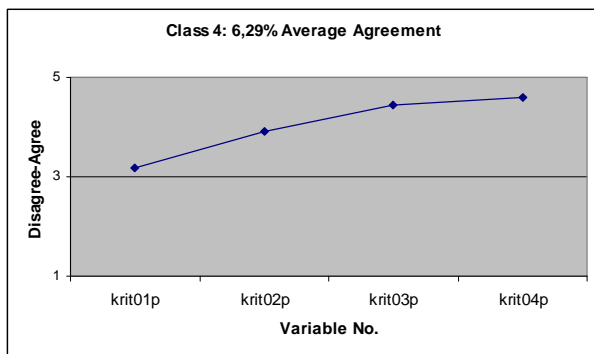


Figure 31, Class 4 in the standard procedure

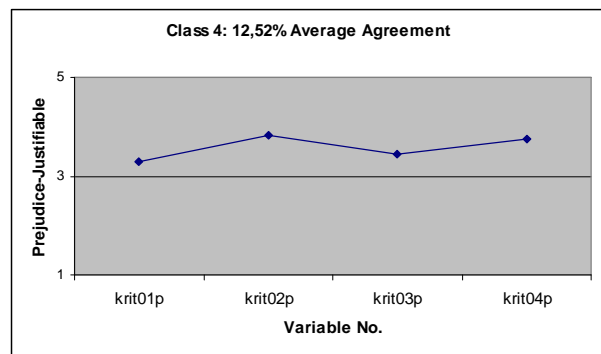


Figure 32, Class 4 in the alternative procedure

If we compare classes 3 and 4 of the two procedures, it becomes clear that the standard procedure shows a mixture of affirmation and rejection, whereas the alternative procedure clearly differentiates between the rejection (class 3) and the affirmation (class 4) of anti-Semitic statements.

Similar to the scale for secondary anti-Semitism, those classes that reject or clearly reject the statements, classes 1, 2 and 3 in both versions, are larger in the standard procedure than in the alternative one. With regard to class 4, which definitely supports anti-Semitic statements, on the other hand, the situation is reversed: whereas it only amounts to about 6% in the standard response format, it amounts to about 13% in the alternative one. Whereas the traditional procedure appears to be more strongly influenced by social desirability, self-censorship is probably at least partially reduced by using the alternative response format.

#### 4. Discussion

We have decided to experiment with an alternative response format for questionnaires designed to assess anti-Semitism. The new format instructs participants to assume the role of a neutral expert and evaluate presented statements on a scale ranging from "prejudice" to "justifiable." The theoretical considerations that led to this approach were influenced by discourse theory and the sociological concept of social latency. As outlined above, the standard procedure presents a number of statements which can be responded to by choosing response categories ranging from individual "disagreement" to individual "agreement." From the perspective of discourse theory, this can potentially reproduce stereotypes and prejudices. At the same time, the sociological concept of social latency suggests that there could be self-censorship on the part of participants, who may adjust their responses to comply with the taboo on expressing anti-Semitism and avoid revealing their real (politically incorrect) attitudes.

For these reasons, in addition to the standard procedure, we applied an alternative procedure that, on the one hand, should help to avoid the affirmation of stereotypes and prejudices by putting up for discussion the established meanings of anti-Semitic semantics per se and, on the other hand, should help to counter the influence on respondents' answers of the social taboo on expressing anti-Semitism through the instruction to evaluate statements from the standpoint of a detached expert evaluator.

The results of the Latent-Class-Analyses applied to the three scales of manifest anti-Semitism, secondary anti-Semitism and Israel-based anti-Semitism suggest that the application of the alternative response format makes it

possible to somewhat counteract the influence of the social prohibition against expressing anti-Semitic attitudes, and as a consequence should allow participants to more openly express their true attitudes. The reasons are the following:

- First, in the overall distributions we can see that anti-Semitic statements tend to be rejected somewhat less or respectively supported somewhat more strongly in the alternative procedure than in the standard version. The scales of secondary and Israel-based anti-Semitism are examples that can be mentioned here.
- Second, in the standard procedure the scales of manifest and secondary anti-Semitism show one class of participants who did not answer at all. In the scale of manifest anti-Semitism this is class 4; in the scale of secondary anti-Semitism it is class 3. In the alternative version, such a class does not exist. Accordingly, it can be assumed that respondents belonging to those classes are possibly fearful of expressing their real (anti-Semitic) attitudes due to the social taboo against anti-Semitism and therefore prefer not to answer at all rather than rejecting the statements.

With the scale of Israel-based anti-Semitism, however, there is one class of participants, class 5, who did not answer the statements in both procedures. One reason for this may be that unlike the statements named above, it presupposes some previous knowledge of the Israeli-Palestinian-Conflict and the history of Israel in general.

- Finally, the differences with respect to class sizes are often smaller with the alternative procedure than with the standard version. In the standard procedure there are usually one or more classes that are quite large and that explicitly reject anti-Semitic statements, as well as one or more classes that are quite small and definitely support these items. This is different with regard to the alternative procedure, as in this case that class or those classes which explicitly reject anti-Semitic statements are often considerably smaller than the corresponding classes in the standard procedure and, as a consequence, that class or those classes that support anti-Semitic statements are larger than the corresponding ones in the standard procedure. This becomes especially clear in the context of the scale of secondary anti-Semitism, therein classes 1 and 2, as well as in that of Israel-based anti-Semitism, therein classes 1 to 4.

All things considered, the application of an alternative response format to questionnaires designed to assess anti-Semitism like the one we have experimented with could be scientifically quite rewarding.

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