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Human rights orientation and modern anti-Semitism

Kurzfassung: Die Erscheinungsformen von Antisemitismus in Deutschland haben sich seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs verändert. Während sich Antisemitismus klassischerweise durch offene rassistische Elemente äußerte, zeigt er heute eher subtile und latente Facetten. In welchem Zusammenhang stehen diese modernen Facetten wie z.B. sekundärer Antisemitismus, latenter Antisemitismus und Kritik an Israel mit Menschenrechtsorientierung?

Auf Basis einer Expertenbefragung und einer Vorstudie wurde die Skala Menschenrechtsorientierung entwickelt, die sich in die Subskalen *Endorsement*, *Application*, *Restriction* und *Willingness* gliedert. In der anschließenden Haupterhebung wurden neben der Menschenrechtsorientierung auch moderne Formen des Antisemitismus bei 304 TeilnehmerInnen erfasst.

Der vorliegende Artikel stellt die entwickelte Skala vor und diskutiert die Ergebnisse der Erhebung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zusammenhangs der beiden Phänomene. Außerdem werden Schlussfolgerungen herausgearbeitet, inwieweit die Ergebnisse eine Überarbeitung der Konzepte des sekundären Antisemitismus wie auch der Kritik an Israel notwendig erscheinen lassen.

Abstract: The manifestations of anti-Semitism in Germany have changed since the end of WWII. Whereas in the past German anti-Semitism was overtly racist, today it is characterized more by subtle and latent facets. How are these modern facets, such as secondary anti-Semitism, latent anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic criticism of Israel, related to human rights orientations?

A survey of experts and a pre-study provided the basis for developing the Human Rights Orientation Scale, which includes the four sub-scales of *Endorsement*, *Application*, *Restriction* and *Willingness* to engage in human rights activity. In a study of 304 German subjects, data was collected on human rights orientations and facets of modern anti-Semitism.

The present paper introduces the questionnaire, discusses the relevance of the study for determining the relationships between human rights orientations and facets of modern anti-Semitism and summarizes the study's implications for viewing secondary anti-Semitism and prejudicial criticism of Israel as facets of modern anti-Semitism.

1. Introduction

As a consequence of WWII and the Holocaust, with their millions of victims, in 1948 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Among others, this declaration is intended to combat state discrimination against and exclusion of individuals and particular groups and was therefore explicitly directed against anti-Semitism and its manifestation in the Holocaust. The preamble states this connection:

"[...] Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind [...] Now, Therefore the general assembly proclaims this universal declaration of human rights [...]" (United Nations, 1948)

Is this politically conceptualized polar opposition between anti-Semitism and human rights at the state and international levels also applicable to personal belief systems? Is it even transferable to more modern, subtler forms of anti-Semitic attitudes?

This empirical study is based on a survey of 304 German participants and investigates the relationship between the anti-Semitic attitudes of individuals and the extent of their support for the human rights principles prescribed in the Universal Declaration.

1.1. Dimensions of human rights orientation

In the past, discussions of the formation of attitudes toward human rights emphasized two dimensions, which had the most important roles in their categories: the *contents* of human rights principles and the *psychological structures* of human rights orientations.

Some researchers focused on the *contents* of human rights principles in order to examine the various different factors contributing to human rights orientations. They found evidence for two-dimensional (among others Sommer and Zinn, 1996; Sommer and Stellmacher, 2009), three-dimensional (Crowson, 2004) and four-dimensional structures (Diaz-Veizades et al. 1995). The different rights were classified in accord with international civil and political rights covenants, on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights, on the other.

Even though it is theoretically quite reasonable to use the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* as a basis for operationalizing human rights orientations, some researchers took a different approach and placed an emphasis on *psychological structures*. Some suggested one-dimensional (McClosky and Brill, 1983) and others multi-dimensional concepts (McFarland and Mathews, 2005). These dimensions are not based on the contents of human rights principles, such as freedom of

speech, but rather on different ways of responding to these principles, such as a readiness to endorse a certain human rights principle or willingness to restrict human rights in certain situations.

The operationalization of the human rights orientation was based on measuring the extent of *endorsement* of human rights principles, which has been suggested by several empirical studies (Grace & van Velzer, 1951; Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990; Diaz-Veizades et al., 1995). However, since human rights principles are stated in the constitutions of many western democracies, this approach carries the risk of introducing biases due to the social desirability and political correctness of supporting human rights: Respondents who express agreement with positive statements on human rights could be doing so to comply with prevailing social norms, rather than because the statements present views they personally hold. Zellmann and Sears (1971) pointed out that approval of an abstract human rights principle cannot be equated with a commitment to realizing this principle in any given context. An adequate measuring instrument for human rights orientations should therefore take this distinction into account by integrating concrete cases of realizing specific principles into the questionnaire.

McFarland and Mathews (2005) maintain that both *endorsement* of and *commitment* to human rights are relevant dimensions when measuring human rights orientation. It is thereby crucial to differentiate between commitment as belief in a country's political responsibility for reaching goals and as willingness to engage in activities to promote human rights on an individual level. Fetchenbauer and Bierhoff (2004) cautioned that the measurement of commitment to human rights on a personal level should be differentiated from a commitment to enforcing human rights using military force. In an empirical study, they found that the latter type of commitment correlated positively with authoritarianism, which in turn is negatively correlated with the factor of endorsement. Therefore, it is more useful to measure individual willingness to engage in promoting human rights than commitment to national policies.

As noted above, endorsement of a human right should not be equated with willingness to implement the right in any given situation. In order to study this aspect, McFarland and Mathews (2005) and Cohrs et al. (2007) examined willingness to restrict human rights under certain circumstances or for certain groups of people. Human rights attitudes involve the willingness to attach importance to the enforcement of human rights even in emergency situations, such as when there is a threat to national security or during wartime.

Consequently, having considered previous findings in this field of research, this study categorized human rights attitudes by taking into account both the *content* and the *psychological* dimensions of human rights orientations.

1.2. Facets of modern anti-Semitism

Following the National Socialist era in Germany, with its catastrophic manifestation in anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, starting in the 1950s it became less and less common for Germans to openly express anti-Semitic attitudes (Bergmann, 2006). Yet, latent anti-Semitism is still found among many Germans (Frindte, 2006). Anti-Semitism has specific characteristic features in Germany: On the one hand, it can be viewed as a component of a constellation of general xenophobic attitudes (Heyder, 2002). On the other hand, it is an attitude independent of other forms of prejudice which shows a different quality caused by particular historical circumstances in Germany: the process of coming to terms with the German past and the question of German guilt and responsibility for the Holocaust.

Thus, Bergmann and Erb (1986) show that since the end of WWII anti-Semitism in Germany has undergone a transformation from a political ideology of the Third Reich to a prejudice on a personal level in post-war Germany.

The prohibition of anti-Semitic statements by societal elites banished anti-Semitic prejudices from the public sphere into the private, where they are found even today. As a result, both Jewish and anti-Jewish issues have disappeared from German public discourse. Bergmann and Erb (1986) explained the paradox of an official ban on expressing anti-Semitism in the public sphere and the simultaneous persistence of anti-Semitic prejudices among a significant number of people in Germany with the concept of *communication latency*. They understand *communication latency* as a functional latency that furthered the integration of post-war West Germany into the Western world and also supported the democratization of German society and its citizens (Bergmann and Erb, 1986).

Due to the official prohibition of publicly expressing anti-Semitic attitudes in Germany, still existing prejudices have found their way into public discourse via *detour communication* or *ersatz communication*. *Detour communication* is a way to circumvent the prohibition and sanctioning of public anti-Semitism by making socially acceptable (or politically correct) statements. This can include criticism of Israel's Palestinian policy, rejection of German responsibility for the Holocaust, its relativization and trivialization or even Holocaust denial (Kempf, 2010; Bergmann and Erb, 1986).

Thus, in Germany various facets of modern anti-Semitism derive their dynamics not only from the process of coming to terms with Nazi-era crimes, but also from various individual and societal ways of dealing with the contemporary Middle East conflict.

The facets of anti-Semitic attitudes investigated in this study include those described as classical and latent anti-Semitism, criticism of Israel, secondary anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism.¹

Classical or manifest anti-Semitism refers to the openly expressed abasement of Jews, which draws on traditional myths and prejudices stemming from religious, economic and political motives (Frindte & Wammetsberger, 2008; Frindte et al., 2005a; Heyder et al., 2005). It was operationalized with the following items²:

1. One shouldn't do business with Jews.
2. I am one of the people who dislike Jews.
3. It would be better for Germany not to have any Jews in the country.
7. It is preferable to have nothing to do with Jews.
8. Jews should not interfere where they are not wanted.
9. The whole topic of "Jews" is somehow unpleasant for me.
10. Jews teach their children values and abilities other than those needed to be successful in Germany.

Secondary anti-Semitism refers to the way some Germans deal with Germany's Nazi past and the Holocaust (Frindte, 2006; Frindte et al., 2005a). It manifests itself in the rejection of responsibility for and relativization or even denial of the Holocaust. The debate over collective guilt for the crimes of the Third Reich is a barrier to achieving a consistently positive German national identity (Heyder et al., 2005). The items used were³:

16. Decades after the end of war, we shouldn't talk about the persecution of Jews so much and should finally close the books on the past.
17. We should finally stop talking about our guilt vis-à-vis the Jews.
18. The German people has a particular responsibility vis-à-vis the Jews. (N)^a

a. The Items marked with (N) have been transferred to a negative sign.

Anti-Zionism is an attitude rejecting the founding of the state of Israel in the Middle East that can go as far as denying Israel's right to exist (Frindte et al., 2005a; Frindte, 2006; Frindte & Wammetsberger, 2008). It sometimes also includes the demand that the Jews leave the Middle East. This concept was operationalized with the following statements:

19. Founding the state of Israel was not a mistake. (N)
20. It would be preferable if the Jews left the Middle East.

The concept of *anti-Zionism* is in some ways linked to the concept of *Israel-related anti-Semitism*, which manifests itself in a transfer of anti-Semitic myths and prejudices to the state of Israel, assigning collective responsibility for Israeli policy to all Jews, and interpreting Israeli policy as evidence of a certain Jewish character (Zick & Küpper, 2007, Kempf, 2010).

The different facets of modern anti-Semitism directed at Israel that were identified above should be distinguished from *MS-comparative criticism of Israel*, which emphasizes the similarity of Israeli policies towards the Palestinians to the persecution of the Jews during the Third Reich. Therefore, it reverses the perpetrator-victim relationship, as well as relativizing the Holocaust (Frindte, 2006).

Criticism of Israel can be differentiated into the following categories: *anti-Semitic criticism of Israel* and *attitudes critical of Israel*. Whereas the first type is used to express anti-Semitic attitudes in a socially accepted manner consistent with the concept of *detour communication*, the second is used to criticize Israel's policies vis-à-vis Palestine in a seemingly non-anti-Semitic way (Heyder et al., 2005). Taking the Palestinian side in the Middle East conflict is not necessarily a sign of anti-Semitism. While this could be a form of *detour communication* used to express anti-Semitism, it could also result from efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict that emphasizes safeguarding human rights and criticizes both sides for human rights violations, including those of the Israelis. In some cases, on the other hand, a positive human rights orientation could lead people to take the Israeli side by focusing on human rights violations committed by the Palestinians. Because of these possibilities, human rights orientation is a problematic predictor for general criticism of Israel, since such criticism is not always anti-Semitic in intent.

1. In this study, items were used that draw on Frindte (1999) and Petzold (2003); see appendix.
2. The participants were asked to indicate their agreement with or disapproval of the given statements by rating them on a 5 Point Likert Scale ranging from 1 "completely agree" to 5 "completely disagree."
3. The numbering of the items corresponds to the order in the questionnaire.

The *Criticism of Israel* subscale used in this study is operationalized using statements suggested by Petzold (2003) and Frindte (1999).

11. Israel is exclusively responsible for the emergence and perpetuation of the Middle East Conflict.
12. Israel is a country that stops at nothing.
13. Israel starts wars and blames others for them.
14. The Israelis are occupiers and have no right to stay in the Palestinian territories.
15. What the Israelis do to the Palestinians resembles what the Nazis did to the Jews.

However, as cautioned by Kempf (2010), these statements are of limited usefulness to distinguish between anti-Semitic and non-anti-Semitic criticism of Israel. On the one hand, the subscale includes an item such as "What the Israelis do to the Palestinians resembles what the Nazis did to the Jews," which contains clearly anti-Semitic content (*NS-comparative anti-Semitism*); on the other hand, there is evidence that agreement with some of the items could also be motivated by a different, non-anti-Semitic orientation.

2. Methodology

The two main objectives of this study were to examine the structure of human rights orientations and to explore the relationships between the subscales of human rights orientation and different facets of anti-Semitism. It was of special interest to investigate the extent to which the relationships between a human rights orientation and manifest anti-Semitism also hold for the more subtle forms of modern anti-Semitism, in general, and for different forms of criticism of Israel, in particular.

2.1. Development of the Human Rights Orientation Scale (SHRO)

To achieve the first objective, a questionnaire was constructed based on theoretical knowledge about measuring the psychological dimensions of human rights orientations and on a survey of experts intended to help select the relevant contents.

Thus, the theoretical part combined aspects of a basic endorsement of human rights (Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990; Diaz-Veizades et al., 1995) with more complex aspects. These include the upholding of human rights in certain social contexts, willingness to restrict human rights under certain circumstances (McFarland and Mathews, 2005; Cohrs et al., 2007) and willingness to personally engage in furthering human rights (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004).

The survey was conducted with six experts in the field of anti-Semitism studies in Germany for the survey. The experts were asked to identify paragraphs of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* relevant to the emergence and/or persistence of anti-Semitic attitudes. The identified paragraphs of the declaration served as a basis for constructing items to measure human rights orientations relevant to anti-Semitism. With regard to the participants' ages, it was necessary to adapt the wording of the items to the language and cognitive skills typical of adolescents. This was important in particular with regard to the abstract and complex content of some human rights principles.

A first version of the questionnaire included the results of the expert interviews to help identify relevant contents and combined them with theoretical considerations of various different psychological dimensions. The constructed questionnaire contained 36 items related to human rights orientation, 20 items related to anti-Semitism and ten demographic variables. It was tested in southern Germany in a pre-study of 65 participants aged from 13 to 17.

After a factor analysis to identify statements that could be used for the main study, a final version of the questionnaire was constructed containing four dimensions. The results of the factor analysis of the pre-study were replicated in the main study.¹ Table 1 shows the results of the main study: the wording of the items and their loadings on the different components.

1. For more information on the sample and the procedure of the main study, see below.

		Wording of the items	Cronbachs α	Components			
Subscale Endorsement	Code		.847	1	2	3	4
Affirmation on abstract principles of Human Rights: • Universality • Equality in Dignity and Rights • Prohibition of Abolishment of Human Rights	M1	Human rights should be valid at all times.		,774		,295	
	M2	All human beings should have the same rights.		,739	,111	,158	,338
	M3	All human beings are equal in dignity.		,667	,264	,135	,206
	M4	Human rights should be valid for all human beings.		,861		,139	,237
Subscale Application			.729				
Application of abstracts principles of Human Rights on ethnic and national minorities: • Prohibition of discrimination	M5	It is unfair if someone is not allowed to work because he or she is a foreigner.		,165			,794
	M6	Work in Germany should be given to white people first. (N)		,219	,130	,253	,722
	M7	If someone was not born in Germany, he or she should not have the same rights as a German. (N)		,326	,166	,222	,691
Subscale Restriction			.758				
Restriction of Human Rights under certain conditions: • Equality before the law	M8	In times of crisis, such as during war time, the government should have the right to restrict some people's rights. (N)			,176	,844	,161
	M9	Even in times of crisis, such as during wartime, everybody should be treated equally under the law.		,407		,704	
	M10	In times of a national emergency, it is permissible to restrict the equality of all humans before the law. (N)		,218	,114	,747	,242
Subscale Willingness			.801				
Willingness to get involved in human right behavior	M11	It is not important to put personal effort into the compliance of human rights, because much has been done already. (N)		,143	,769		
	M12	It does not matter if I get involved or not, it would not change the human rights situation in the world. (N)		,142	,856		
	M13	It does not make sense to wrack one's brain over human rights - I cannot influence them anyway. (N)			,829	,134	,170
Total Scale			.852				

Table 1: The Human Rights Orientation Scale: Wording of the items and participants (N = 304) Varimax Factor Loadings for Principal Component Analysis.

Note: The items marked with (N) have been changed to a negative sign. Loadings < .10 are not presented.

In regard to the factor analysis, the structure of the questionnaire is based on psychological dimensions more than are the subscales dealing with particular contents. Principal components analysis yielded four factors accounting for 69.47% of the variance. The items M1 "Human rights should be valid at all times," M2 "All human beings should have the same rights," M3 "All human beings are equal in dignity," and M4 "Human rights should be valid for all human beings" loaded high on

the first factor. They represent a general affirmation of the abstract human rights principles: *universality of human rights*, *equality in dignity and rights*, and *prohibition of abolishing human rights*. The items were summarized in the first subscale, *Endorsement*.

Additionally, items measuring the application of human rights principles in certain social contexts were used to minimize biases caused by social desirability and political ideology (political correctness). The items M5 "It is unfair if someone is not allowed to work because he or she is a foreigner," M6 "Work in Germany should be given to white people first," and M7 "If someone was not born in Germany, he or she should not have the same rights as a German" apply the principle of *equality before the law* to concrete scenarios, particularly with regard to ethnic or national minorities.¹ All the items loaded high on the fourth factor and were therefore combined in the *Application* subscale.

The items M8 "In times of crisis, such as during wartime, the government should have the right to restrict some people's rights," M9 "Even in times of crisis, such as during wartime, everybody should be treated equally under the law," and M10 "In times of national emergency, it is permissible to restrict the equality of all humans before the law" were used as indicators of the participants' willingness to restrict human rights under certain circumstances, such as during wartime or a national emergency (cf. McFarland & Mathews, 2005). The items loaded high on the third factor and were grouped in the *Restriction* subscale.

The items M11 "It is not important to put personal effort into compliance with human rights, because much has been done already," M12 "It does not matter if I get involved or not, it would not change the human rights situation in the world," and M13 "It does not make sense to rack one's brain over human rights – I cannot influence them anyway" loaded high on the second factor and were combined in the *Willingness* subscale. Thus, the final questionnaire consisted of 13 items related to human rights orientations, 20 items related to anti-Semitism² and 10 demographic variables.

2.2. Procedure, sample, and material

In the main study, participants were surveyed in their school. After consultations with the relevant school principals and classroom teachers, the participants were given the questionnaires in class. They were told that their participation was completely voluntary, they could stop and withdraw from the study at any time, and all their responses would be strictly confidential. The instructions were read aloud, with the pupils reading along. For legal reasons, teachers were present in the classroom during data collection, although they had no role in carrying out the study. Afterwards, the pupils were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

The main study was conducted with 304 participants from southern Germany aged between 14 and 19 years ($M = 15.85$; $SD = 0.904$). To ensure that the participants were demographically representative, 136 were female and 168 were male; 26.3% of the participants ($N = 80$) attended a *Hauptschule*, 25.3% ($N = 77$) a *Realschule*, and 48.4% ($N = 147$) a *Gymnasium*.³ The schools were located in both rural and urban areas. Altogether, 108 9th grade pupils (35.5% of the sample), 148 (48.7%) from the 10th grade, and 48 (15.8%) from the 11th grade took part in the survey. Corresponding to the typical religious membership patterns in southern Germany, 76% of the participants were Catholic, 18.8% Protestant and 4.6% belonged to a different confession or religion or did not specify.

2.3. Statistical methods

The collected data were analyzed using latent class analysis to identify related response patterns in multivariate data (Kempf, 1994). Latent class analysis draws on item response theory, which differs from classical test theory by focusing more on item responses than on test scores only. After identifying the latent classes in the data, second order latent class analysis was conducted to reconstruct the meta-patterns of human rights orientation and modern anti-Semitism. A linear regression analysis evaluated further information on the relationship between human rights orientation and anti-Semitism.

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1. The reason for choosing ethnic or national minorities is the assumption that anti-Semitism represents a type of group-based xenophobia (Bergmann & Erb, 1991; Heitmeyer, 2002).
 2. For an overview see the Appendix.
 3. Germany has a three-track secondary school system: Depending on achievements in primary school, pupils with the talent and desire to attend a university go to a *Gymnasium*, students who are expecting to go on to non-university vocational training attend a *Realschule*, and students who do not expect to continue their education after secondary school, a *Hauptschule*. Under certain circumstances, it is also possible to go to a university without graduating from a *Gymnasium*.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Human Rights Orientation Scale

The latent class analysis of the 13 items of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale* identified four classes according to the AIC Criterion. In the following, the classes are arranged according to content-related criteria to give a more structured idea of the participants' response patterns. The description starts with the class whose participants show the most positive human rights orientation and concludes with the class whose participants expressed the most skeptical positions towards human rights.

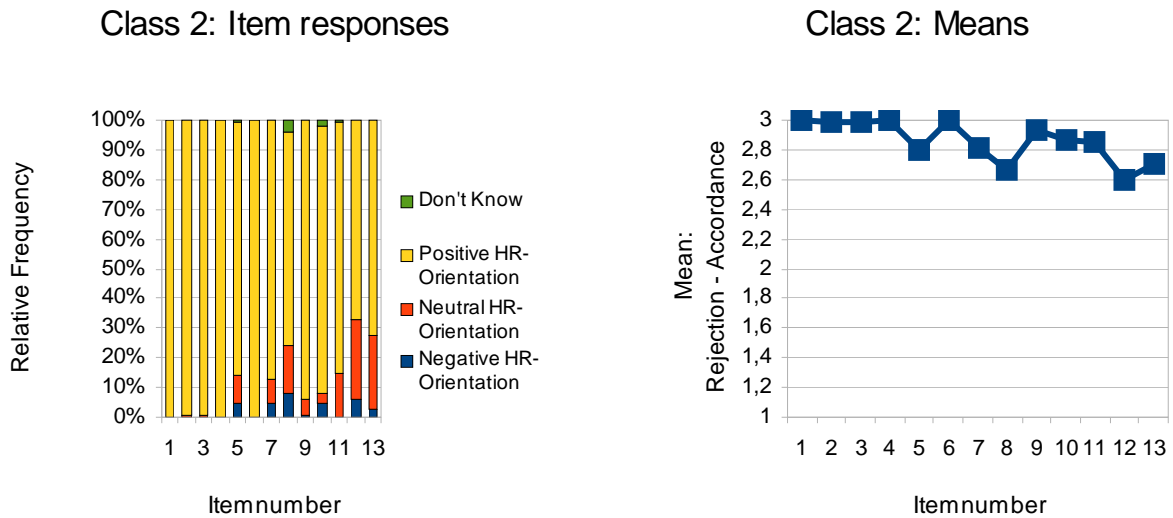


Figure 1: SHRO, class 2: 42.2% of all participants

Class 2 contained 42.2% of the participants. It was made up of participants with a consistently positive human rights orientation, including on the *Willingness* subscale, which measures the conviction that personal engagement in human rights activity is productive and necessary.

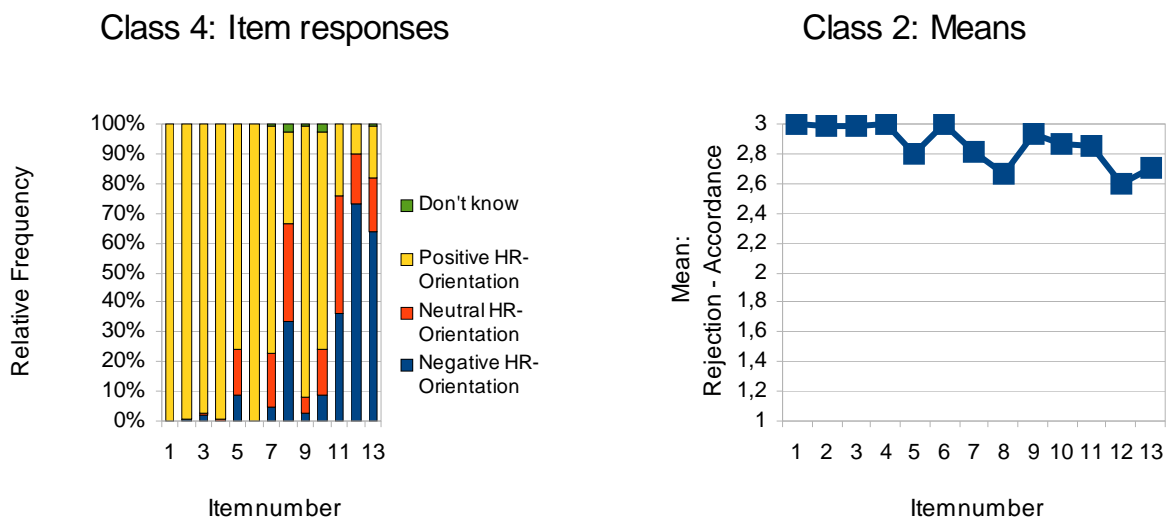
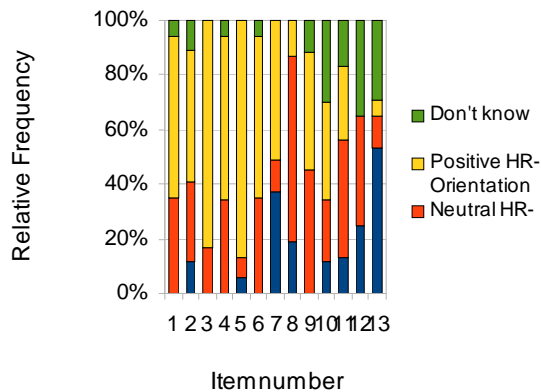


Figure 2: SHRO, class 4: 45.1% of all participants

Class 4 contained 45.1% of the participants. It was characterized by participants with a clearly positive human rights orientation but only a low willingness to engage in activities to promote human rights.

Class 1: Item responses



Class 1: Means

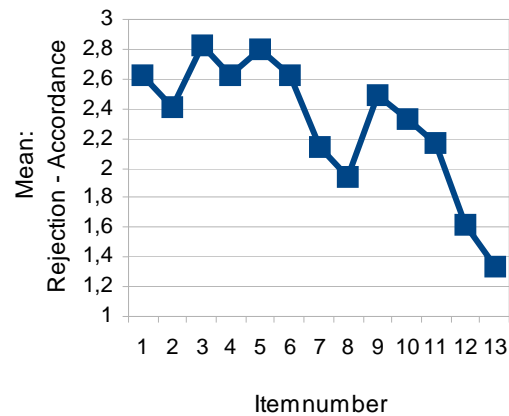
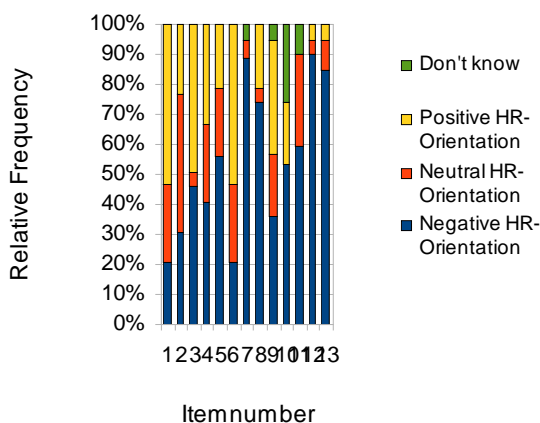


Figure 3: SHRO, class 1: 6.0% of all participants

Class 1 contained 6.0% of the participants. It was characterized by participants with a relatively positive human rights orientation, except for item no. 7 ("If someone was not born in Germany, he or she should not have the same rights as a German") and item no. 8 ("In times of crisis, such as during wartime, the government should have the right to restrict some people's rights") and a relatively significant reluctance indicated on the *Willingness* subscale (items no. 11, 12, 13). Thus, participants belonging to this class seemed to accept denying rights to certain groups and to be unwilling to actively engage in promoting human rights.

Class 3: Item responses



Class 3: Means

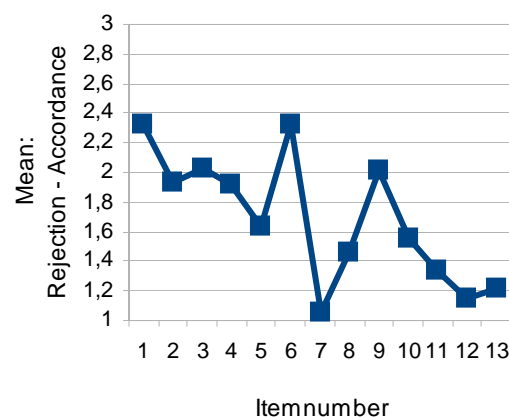


Figure 4: SHRO, class 3: 6.7% of all participants

Class 3 contained 6.7% of the participants. It was characterized by participants with a negative human rights orientation. They displayed clearly xenophobic attitudes by rejecting item no. 5 ("It is unfair if someone is not allowed to work because he or she is a foreigner") and also especially strongly rejecting item no. 7 ("If someone was not born in Germany, he or she should not have the same rights as a German"). Participants in this class were also characterized by a willingness to restrict human rights under certain conditions (items no. 8 and 10).

Summarizing the results of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale* analysis, it is important to state that overall the participants displayed a positive human rights orientation (87% of all participants); the *Willingness* subscale turned out to be distinctive for classes 2 and 4. Only class 3 (6.7% of all participants) expressed a clearly negative human rights orientation.

3.2. Anti-Semitism Scale

The latent class analysis of the 20 items of the *Anti-Semitism Scale* also identified four classes based on the AIC Criterion. Here as above, the classes are discussed in order according to content-related criteria. The description starts with the class including the participants showing the least anti-Semitism and concludes with the class containing the participants who most strongly expressed anti-Semitic attitudes.

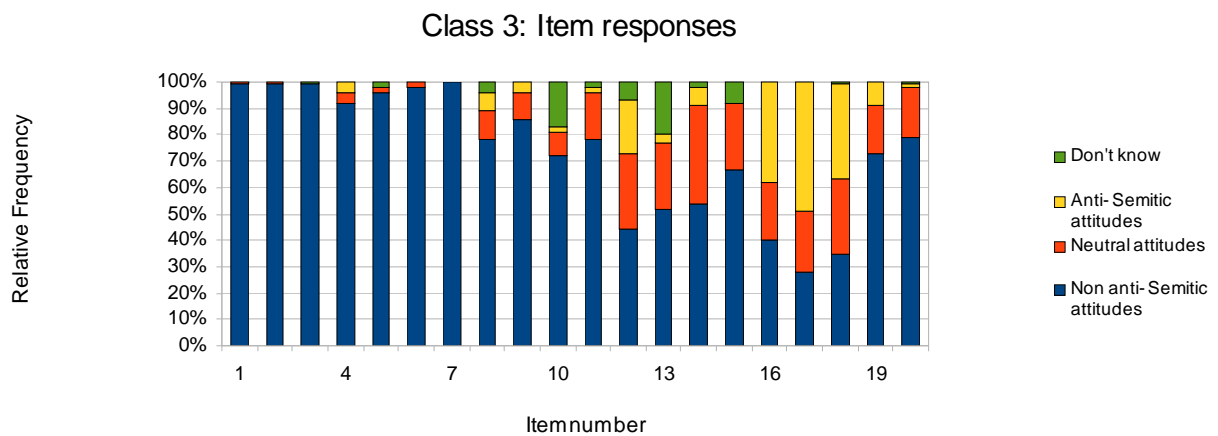


Figure 5: SAS, class 3: 30.3% of all participants

Class 3 contained 30.3% of the participants. It was characterized by participants with a consistently low score on almost all facets of anti-Semitism. Participants belonging to this class displayed a neutral position or, at the most, a slight tendency towards anti-Semitic scores on items that parameterize secondary anti-Semitism (items no. 16 to 18).

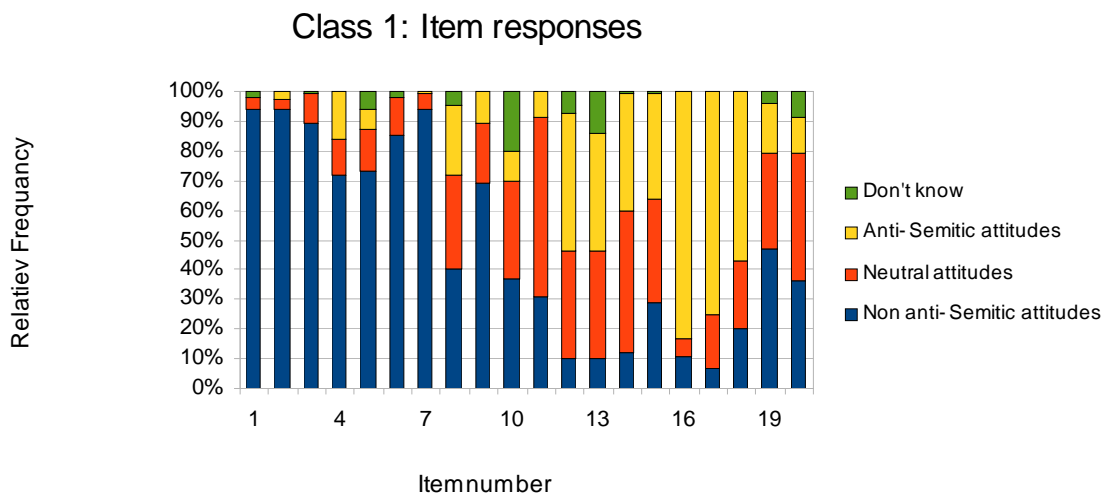


Figure 6: SAS, class 1: 26.9% of all participants

Class 1 contained 26.9% of the participants. It was characterized by participants who had very low scores on the facets of manifest and latent anti-Semitism (items no. 1 to no.10), but scored higher on the facets of *Criticism of Israel* (items no. 11 to no. 15) and secondary anti-Semitism (items no. 16 to no.18). Thus, the participants used more subtle forms to communicate anti-Semitic attitudes. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the class expressed stronger discomfort than

class 2 or class 3 when it came to the topic of "Jews" (item no. 9 "The whole topic of 'Jews' is somehow unpleasant for me").

Class 2: Item responses

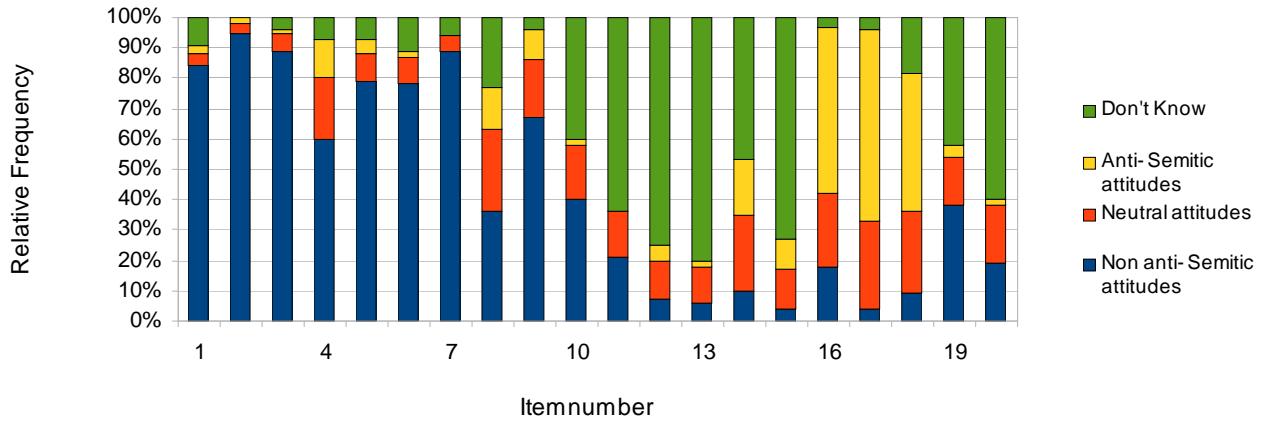


Figure 7: SHRO, class 2: 24.8% of all participants

Class 2 contained 24.8% of the participants. It was characterized by participants who had very low scores on the facets of manifest and latent anti-Semitism (items no. 1 to no.10), but also by a high frequency of indifferent answers ("don't know") on the subscales of *anti-Zionism* (items no. 19 and 20) and *Criticism of Israel* (items no. 11 to 15). Participants in this class showed definite secondary anti-Semitic tendencies (items no. 16 to 18).

Class 4: Item responses

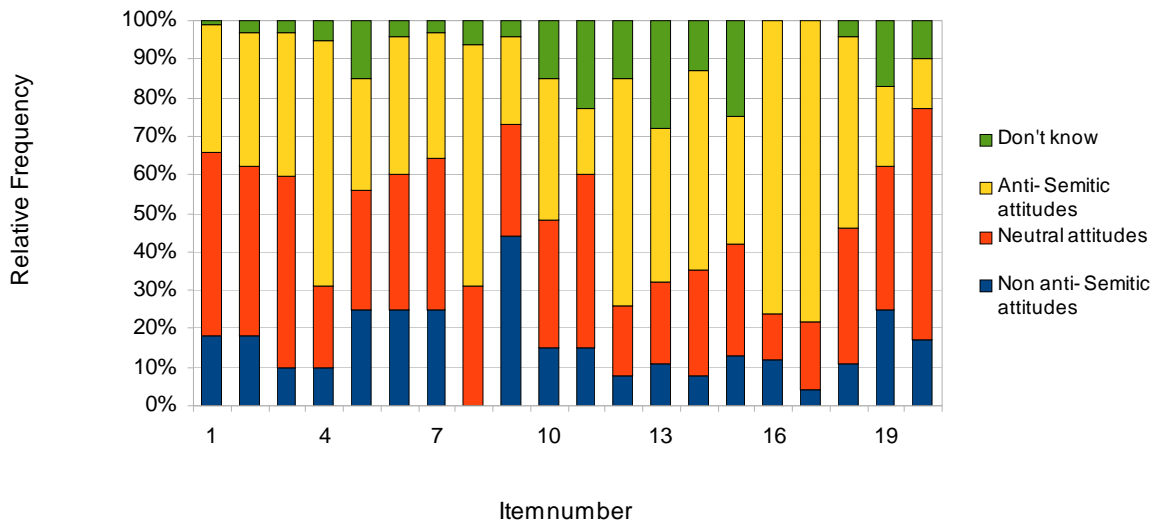


Figure 8: SHRO, class 4: 18% of all participants

Class 4 contained 18.0% of the participants. It was characterized by participants who differed from those in the previous classes. Participants belonging to class 4 showed neutral to anti-Semitic attitudes on the facets of manifest and latent anti-Semitism and clearly secondary anti-Semitic attitudes (items no. 16 to 18) and criticism of Israel (items no. 11 to 15). They were found to display modern anti-Semitism, as they used many forms of communication to express anti-Semitic attitudes (cf. Frindte et al., 2005a,b).

It is noteworthy that this class also scored highest on item no. 9 (“The whole topic of Jews is somehow unpleasant for me”). Accordingly, this class could be inclined to avoid talking about the “Jews” in public, or could use *ersatz communication* instead. This interpretation is supported by the high scores of the participants in class 4 on the different facets of *detour communication: Secondary anti-Semitism* and *Criticism of Israel*. The scores were even higher than those of class 1.

In summary, most of the participants showed no manifest or latent anti-Semitic attitudes (82%), but clearly agreed with statements parameterizing secondary anti-Semitism. When it came to criticism of Israel and anti-Zionism, they seemed to be undecided. Figure 9 shows an overview of the mean scores of all participants on the different facets.

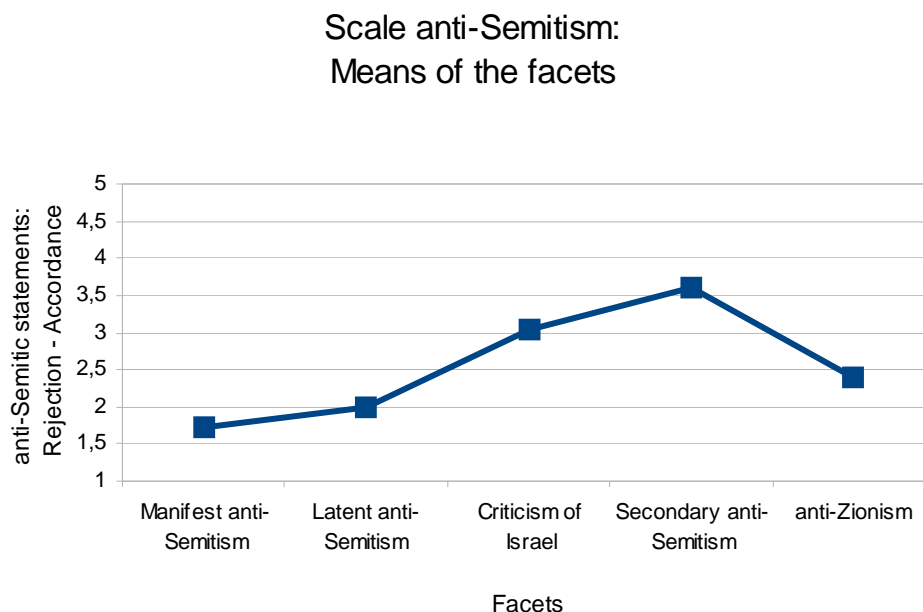


Figure 9: Means of anti-Semitic attitudes of all participants

3.3. Relationship between human rights orientation and anti-Semitism

The relationship between human rights orientation and anti-Semitism was examined using several analytical methods. As indicated in *Table 2*, the correlation was strongly negative overall ($r = -.57$), but differed starkly between the various subscales.

Subscales Human Rights Orientation	Endorsement	Application	Restriction	Willingness	In Total: Scale Human Rights Orientation
Facets of anti-Semitism					
Manifest	-.48***	-.74***	-.47***	-.36***	-.68***
Latent	-.44***	-.65***	-.44***	-.34***	-.62***
Criticism of Israel	.00	-.07	.00	-.06	-.05
Secondary	-.21***	-.28***	-.16**	-.39***	-.34***
anti-Zionism	-.16**	-.33***	-.18**	-.26***	-.32***
In Total: Scale anti-Semitism	-.36***	-.58***	-.35***	-.41***	-.57***

Table 2: Correlation between human rights orientations and facets of anti-Semitic attitudes (Pearson Chi square)

Notes: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Additionally, a linear regression analysis (see *Table 3* for results) also shows a clear link between the phenomena of *human rights orientation* and *anti-Semitism*. The coefficient of determination of a human rights orientation for the overall *Anti-Semitism Scale* is .32. However, since the correlations of the subscales varied greatly, differences in the influence of human

rights orientation on certain forms of modern anti-Semitism will be discussed in more detail.

	Adjusted R ²	SEE	Regression Coefficient B	Beta (standardized)
Manifest AS	.456***	.657	5.751	-.676
Latent AS	.383***	.604	5.160	-.621
Criticism of Israel	-.001	5.417	5.153	-.053
Secondary AS	.115***	.877	5.717	-.344
Anti-Zionism	.096***	.830	4.171	-.315
Total Scale anti-Semitism	.324***	.627	5.328	-.571

Table 3: Human rights orientation as predictor of different facets of modern anti-Semitism

Notes: *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

3.3.1. Human rights orientation and manifest and latent anti-Semitism

The negative correlation was especially high for the *Manifest* and *Latent anti-Semitism* subscales, on the one hand, and the *Application* subscale, on the other hand ($r = -.74$; $p < .001$; $r = -.68$; $p < .001$). Accordingly, human rights orientation has predictive value, especially for manifest and latent anti-Semitism ($R^2 = .46$; $R^2 = .38$). Thus, the theoretical, historical and political ideas behind the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* are also reflected in the participants' belief systems: a positive human rights orientation is strongly opposed to these facets of anti-Semitism. The especially strong (negative) relationship between the *Application* subscale and the *Anti-Semitism Scale* (including all 20 items) can be interpreted as indicating that anti-Semitism is a type of human rights violation and a variant form of xenophobic attitude (cf. Heitmeyer, 2002). The reason for the latter aspect is that the *Application* subscale of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale*¹ was operationalized with statements related to ethnic and national minorities.

3.3.2. Human rights orientation and secondary anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism

Unlike manifest and latent anti-Semitic attitudes, human rights orientation has little predictive value for secondary anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism ($R^2 = .12$; $R^2 = .10$). The weak negative correlations between the scale of human rights orientation and secondary anti-Semitism ($r = -.34$; $p < .001$) and anti-Zionism ($r = -.32$; $p < .001$) also support this finding.

This could be attributable to the theoretical construct of human rights as a group of several rights primarily relevant to *individuals*. In contrast, the concepts of secondary anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism relate to *collective entities*, such as the "German people" or the "state of Israel."²

However, when we combine this result with the findings of the latent class analysis (see above 3.2), it becomes clear that we must reconsider the concept of secondary anti-Semitism. Even participants who rejected manifest and latent anti-Semitic statements (the third class of the *Anti-Semitism Scale*) scored neutral to slightly positive in terms of secondary anti-Semitism. Thus, many young Germans deny responsibility vis-à-vis Jews today. Consequently, rejection of responsibility for the Jews cannot be attributed only to manifest or latent anti-Semitism.

The concept of *Secondary anti-Semitism* should be reconsidered and replaced with a concept based on the individual need for a positive German identity that also creates a demand to close the books on the uncomfortable German past (cf. Frindte et al., 1999). However, the need for identity and the desire for ruling off the past are not completely independent of manifest or latent anti-Semitism, as indicated by the results of the latent class analysis using the *Anti-Semitism Scale*. Although those participants who did not express any manifest or latent anti-Semitic attitudes scored lower on secondary anti-Semitism than the other participants, to a certain extent they still agreed with these statements. Therefore, the concept of secondary anti-Semitism as operationalized in this study must be further researched in order to differentiate and isolate its anti-Semitic and non-anti-Semitic aspects.

3.3.3. Human rights orientation and criticism of Israel

Tables 2 and 3 show the special role of criticism of Israel in regard to human rights. First, there is no correlation at all

1. Wording of the items of the *Application* subscale:
M5: "It is unfair if someone is not allowed to work because he is a foreigner."
M6: "Work in Germany should be given to white people first. (N)"
M7: "If someone was not born in Germany, he should not have the same rights as a German. (N)"
2. For the wording of items no. 18 and no. 19 see appendix.

between the subscale of the *Anti-Semitism Scale* and human rights orientation (see *Table 2*). Second, the *Human Rights Orientation Scale* had no predictive value for *Criticism of Israel* (see *Table 3*).

These results support reservations expressed by Kempf (2010), who doubted the usefulness of items¹ developed by Frindte (1999) and Petzold (2003) for the *Criticism of Israel* subscale. Since human rights orientation had a high predictive value for manifest and latent anti-Semitism and was strongly negatively correlated with these two facets, the results suggest that the items dealing with criticism of Israel did not differentiate between criticism of Israel motivated by anti-Semitic attitudes and/or criticism influenced by other factors. The finding that there was no significant correlation between the *Criticism of Israel* subscale and the other subscales of the *Anti-Semitism Scale* also strengthens this conclusion. The results support the initial assumption that a positive human rights orientation could either stimulate or discourage criticism of Israel. On the one hand, people could focus on the human rights situation in the Palestinian territories and criticize Israeli Palestine policy because of deficiencies in the human rights situation there. On the other hand, they could instead focus on the potentially anti-Semitic contents in criticism of Israel and reject even criticism motivated by a positive human rights orientation.

Consequently, human rights orientation does not have predictive value for an undifferentiated concept of Criticism of Israel. At this point, further research is needed to differentiate more accurately between anti-Semitic and non-anti-Semitic attitudes underlying criticism of Israel.

3.3.4. Second order latent class analysis

Additionally, a second order analysis was conducted to reconstruct the meta-patterns of participants' responses on human rights orientation and anti-Semitic attitudes. For this, two variables were generated that had four degrees each, based on the four classes identified by the first order latent class analysis (see *Table 4* and *Table 5*). Using the AIC Criterion, the second order latent class analysis identified two classes that best described the data. For the results of the second order latent class analysis, structured by variables, see *Figure 10*.

Class 1:	Medium positive HR-Orientation on all subscales (low scores on subscale <i>Willingness</i>)
Class 2:	Positive HR-Orientation concerning all subscales (also <i>Willingness</i>)
Class 3:	Negative HR-Orientation (especially on the subscales <i>Application</i> and <i>Willingness</i>)
Class 4:	Positive HR-Orientation concerning all subscales (except <i>Willingness</i>)

Table 4: Variable 1: Human rights orientation

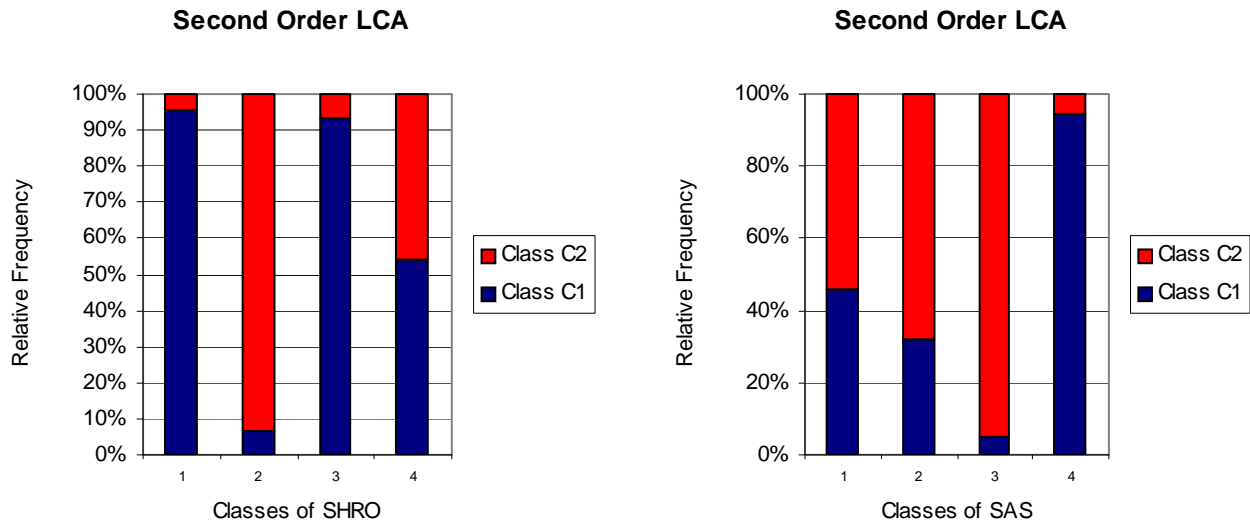
Class 1:	Low scores on <i>Manifest</i> and <i>Latent anti-Semitism</i> , higher scores on <i>Secondary anti-Semitism</i> and <i>Criticism of Israel</i>
Class 2:	Low scores on <i>Manifest</i> and <i>Latent anti-Semitism</i> , characterized by missing values/DKs on the facets <i>Criticism of Israel</i> and <i>anti-Zionism</i> , high scores on <i>Secondary anti-Semitism</i>
Class 3:	No anti-Semitic attitudes
Class 4:	Neutral to anti-Semitic attitudes on <i>Manifest</i> and <i>Latent anti-Semitism</i> , high scores on all other facets

Table 5: Variable 2: Anti-Semitic attitudes

Class C1 (38.7%; blue bars) of the second order latent class analysis is characterized by the fact that almost all the participants who belong to this class held a moderately positive or negative human rights orientation (classes 1 and 3 of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale*). It also included more than half of the participants who expressed a positive human rights orientation but no willingness to become personally involved in promoting human rights (class 4). In contrast, class 2 of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale* (students with a positive human rights orientation *and* a willingness to engage in promoting these rights) is strongly underrepresented. With regard to the *Anti-Semitism Scale* it is noteworthy that almost all the participants who showed strong anti-Semitic attitudes (class 4 of the *Anti-Semitism Scale*) are found in this class, but almost no one is found here who expressed no anti-Semitism at all (class 3).

1. Items of the "Criticism of Israel" Subscale:
 Item no. 11: "Israel is exclusively responsible for the emergence and perpetuation of the Middle East conflict."
 Item no. 12: "Israel is a country which stops at nothing."
 Item no. 13: "Israel starts wars and blames others for them."
 Item no. 14: "The Israelis are occupiers and have no right to stay in the Palestinian territories."
 Item no. 15: "What the Israelis do to the Palestinians resembles what the Nazis did to the Jews."

Class C2 (61.3%; red bars) of the second order latent class analysis consisted of participants with a positive human rights orientation, whereby two-thirds also displayed a willingness to engage in promoting human rights. With regard to anti-Semitism, it is notable that in this class we find virtually no participants with anti-Semitic attitudes on all facets, but virtually all of the participants with no anti-Semitic attitudes.



Class 1: medium positive HRO (except Willingness)
Class 2: positive HRO on all subscales
Class 3: negative HRO (especially Application & Willingness)
Class 4: positive HRO (except Willingness)

Class 1: low on Manifest and Latent AS, high on Secondary AS and Criticism of Israel
Class 2: low on Manifest and Latent AS, high on Secondary AS, missing values on Criticism of Israel and anti-Zionism
Class 3: not anti-Semitic
Class 4: modern anti-Semitic

Figure 10: Class membership structured by variables

Summarizing the results of the second order latent class analysis, on the one hand, only participants with a medium or negative human rights orientation (class 1 and class 3 of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale*) showed anti-Semitic attitudes on all facets, including manifest and latent anti-Semitism. On the other hand, those participants who displayed a positive human rights orientation, including on the *Willingness* subscale (class 2 of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale*), did *not* hold any manifest anti-Semitic attitudes.

The *Willingness* subscale of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale* played a crucial role in differentiating between various types of anti-Semitic attitude. This was the exclusion criterion for class C1. That is, almost all the participants who expressed a willingness to engage in human rights activity were *not* found in class C1, to which almost all participants showing anti-Semitic attitudes on all facets were assigned.

Second order latent class analysis also found evidence that there was almost no overlap between the class containing participants displaying anti-Semitic attitudes on all facets (class 4 of *SAS*) and participants with a positive human rights orientation on all subscales including the *Willingness* subscale (class 2 of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale*). Thus, a positive or respectively negative human rights orientation is an exclusion or respectively inclusion criterion for people with extreme anti-Semitic attitudes.

4. Summary

The first aim of the study presented here was to develop a scale to measure human rights orientation in the context of anti-Semitism and to examine its structure. Therefore, the *Human Rights Orientation Scale* was constructed with four subscales: *Endorsement*, *Application*, *Restriction* and *Willingness*. Taken together, the participants of the main study displayed a positive human rights orientation in general, but were ambivalent when it came to willingness to engage in human rights activities. Based on a latent class analysis, four classes were identified. About 87% of the participants belonged to class 2 and class 4 and displayed a strong positive human rights orientation, which could be distinguished by the *Willingness* subscale. The two smaller classes (class 1 and class 3) were characterized by a moderately strong or negative human rights orientation.

The second aim of the study was to take a closer look at the link between human rights orientation and anti-Semitism. Thus, the study examined whether the theoretically and historically diametrically opposed relation between the two phenomena can also be demonstrated using an attitude survey.

At the start, anti-Semitic attitudes of the participants were measured. In the main study, the great majority rejected manifest and latent anti-Semitic statements. They expressed rather neutral attitudes on the facets of *anti-Zionism* and *Criticism of Israel*. However, most of the participants did agree with secondary anti-Semitic statements. The latent class analysis also identified four classes. One class showed no anti-Semitic attitudes but did have tendencies to agree with secondary anti-Semitic attitudes. Another class (class 2) expressed no manifest or latent, but did express secondary anti-Semitism and was characterized by missing values on the facets of *anti-Zionism* and *Criticism of Israel*. A third class (class 1) did not manifest latent anti-Semitism, but did display secondary anti-Semitism and criticism of Israel. The remaining group, class 4 revealed anti-Semitic attitudes on all facets. Therefore, participants belonging to this class can be characterized as modern anti-Semites.

Then, focusing on the link to human rights orientation, the study found a strong negative correlation between human rights orientation and the facets of *Manifest* and *Latent anti-Semitism*, and a weaker but still notable correlation between the facets of *anti-Zionism* and *Secondary anti-Semitism*. This might be because manifest and latent anti-Semitism (as well as human rights) are conceptualized with a focus on the individual person, whereas the concepts of *anti-Zionism* and *Secondary anti-Semitism* relate to collective entities such as "the state of Israel" or "German responsibility." The *Application* subscale of the *Human Rights Orientation Scale* showed an especially strong negative correlation with anti-Semitism. This correlation provides support for the theory that anti-Semitism is a specific sort of human rights violation that contains a xenophobic component. Thus, human rights orientation is of predictive value for anti-Semitism.

The second order analysis showed that there was virtually no overlap between participants belonging to a class characterized by a positive human rights orientation on all subscales and participants belonging to a class showing anti-Semitic attitudes on all facets. Therefore, a positive human rights orientation on all the subscales could be an exclusion criterion for anti-Semitism on all facets.

The facet of *Secondary anti-Semitism* is characterized by the rejection of the German people's responsibility for the Holocaust and is often accompanied by the demand to close the books on the German past. Most of the participants of the present study agreed with statements that operationalized this content. On the one hand, even participants who rejected all other anti-Semitic items in the study agreed with this facet to some degree. On the other hand, they approved of this far less strongly than the other classes identified by the latent class analysis. Thus, it has to be concluded that the concept of secondary anti-Semitism entails anti-Semitic as well as non-anti-Semitic components. Consequently, in the future it might be necessary to reconsider the concept of secondary anti-Semitism by redefining related terms such as *responsibility* and *guilt*. The temporal distance between the events of the Holocaust and contemporary young people should be taken into account, as well as the need of many young Germans for a positive national identity.

Contrary to other facets of modern anti-Semitism, human rights orientation did not show any correlation with criticism of Israel. These results provide evidence for the theoretical conclusion that positive attitudes towards human rights could both prevent and elicit criticism of Israel. Further research should focus on an adequate differentiation between the anti-Semitic and non-anti-Semitic components of criticism of Israel. Unfortunately, there are reasonable doubts that the items used in this study were able to do so.

At this point, it is crucial to note some limitations of the present study. First, some important demographic variables could not be taken into account. Germany was a divided country for four decades after the war, which had implications for cultural and political socialization. Therefore, further research should include in its samples participants from the former German Democratic Republic. Besides this demographic variable and variables resulting from this aspect, such as religion and political preferences, age was probably the major limitation of the study. Because the participants were between 14 and 19 years old, the results are not easily transferable to German society as a whole.

Besides the composition of the sample, the procedure itself carried the risk of a social desirability bias. For legal reasons, it was not possible to administer the questionnaires in the absence of teachers. Even though the teachers were not directly involved in the implementation of the study, some social desirability biases could still have resulted from their presence while their pupils filled out the questionnaires.

Anti-Semitism has a unique history in Germany. For this reason, some of the theoretical assumptions used for this study are not applicable to other countries. Yet, a theoretical transfer of concepts as well as their empirical implementation in different national or even international contexts might be of further interest.

Nevertheless, the paper presents the *Human Rights Orientation Scale* as a valid and reliable instrument for measuring human rights orientations in the context of anti-Semitism. It also provides insights into the relation between the two phenom-

ena. Additionally, the results presented here are a worthwhile contribution to current debates over a redefinition of the concept of secondary anti-Semitism in 21st century Germany. Moreover, the findings point to the necessity of further research concerning the relationship between anti-Semitism and criticism of Israel.

Appendix

Items used for the Anti-Semitism Scale following Frindte (1999) and Petzold (2003)

Manifest anti-Semitism
1. One shouldn't do business with Jews. 2. I am one of the people who dislike Jews. 3. It would be better for Germany not to have any Jews in the country. 4. Jews should not hold any higher positions in the state. 5. Jews have too much influence in Germany.
Latent anti-Semitism
6. Marriages between Jews and non-Jews should be avoided. 7. It is preferable to have nothing to do with Jews. 8. Jews should not interfere where they are not wanted. 9. The whole topic of "Jews" is somehow unpleasant for me. 10. Jews teach their children values and abilities other than those needed to be successful in Germany.
Criticism of Israel
11. Israel is exclusively responsible for the emergence and perpetuation of the Middle East Conflict. 12. Israel is a country that stops at nothing. 13. Israel starts wars and blames others for them. 14. The Israelis are occupiers and have no right to stay in the Palestinian territories. 15. What the Israelis do to the Palestinians resembles what the Nazis did to the Jews.
Secondary anti-Semitism
16. Decades after the end of war, we shouldn't talk about the persecution of Jews so much and should finally close the books on the past. 17. We should finally stop talking about our guilt vis-à-vis the Jews. 18. The German people has a particular responsibility vis-à-vis the Jews. (N)
Anti-Zionism
19. Founding the state of Israel was not a mistake. (N) 20. It would be preferable if the Jews left the Middle East.

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