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German Institute for Global and Area Studies  
Leibniz-Institut für Globale und Regionale Studien

# Effects of violence by Settlers and Israeli Defense Forces in the West Bank on attitudes towards antisemitic protest behavior among people in Germany

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*Paper presented at the ECPR General Conference,  
University College Dublin, 15<sup>th</sup> of August 2024*



## Schwere Ausschreitungen nach Anschlag

Stand: 21.06.2023 21:24 Uhr

Nach einem tödlichen Anschlag auf Israelis im Westjordanland haben Siedler palästinensische Ortschaften attackiert. Fahrzeuge und Häuser wurden in Brand gesetzt. Ein Mensch soll erschossen worden sein. Israel flog einen Drohnenangriff nahe Dschenin.

One dead and dozens injured after Israeli settlers storm West Bank village



## Toter und Verletzte bei Siedlergewalt im Westjordanland

Israelische Soldaten sind auf der Suche nach einem 14-jährigen vermissten Siedler gewaltsam nach Al-Mughajir vorgedrungen. Siedler zündeten offenbar Autos und Häuser an. Bei Zusammenstößen mit Palästinensern starb ein Mensch.

12.04.2024 22:10 Uhr



Baerbock im Westjordanland

"Was hier passiert, ist illegal"

## Settler violence against Palestinians in the West Bank - visualized

International attention is on Gaza - but attacks by Israelis who live on Palestinian land have been increasing



# Unlawful killings

## West Bank including East Jerusalem

The year was the deadliest for Palestinians in the West Bank since 2005, as Israeli policing operations became increasingly lethal amid impunity for police killings and incitement from leaders.

According to OCHA, Israeli forces killed 493 Palestinians, mostly civilians, during operations against armed groups in Jenin and Nablus. Over 12,500 were injured.

Defence for Children International-Palestine reported that Israeli forces killed 110 children in the West Bank including Jerusalem in 2023. On 5 June, Mohammed al-Tamimi, aged three, succumbed to his wounds after being shot by Israeli forces in Nabi Saleh north of Ramallah as his father drove him to a birthday party. No criminal investigation was opened.



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## Seven Palestinians killed in Israeli West Bank raid

21 May 2024

David Gritten  
BBC News

Dr Oussaid Jabareen, a 50-year-old surgeon at Jenin Government Hospital, was shot dead on his way to work, according to the ministry.

Palestinian media also said a teenage boy was killed while riding a bicycle.



## ANSTIEG RECHTSWIDRIGER TÖTUNGEN VON PALÄSTINENSER\*INNEN IM BESETZTEN WESTJORDANLAND

Krieg in Nahost

## Israel fliegt Luftangriff im Westjordanland

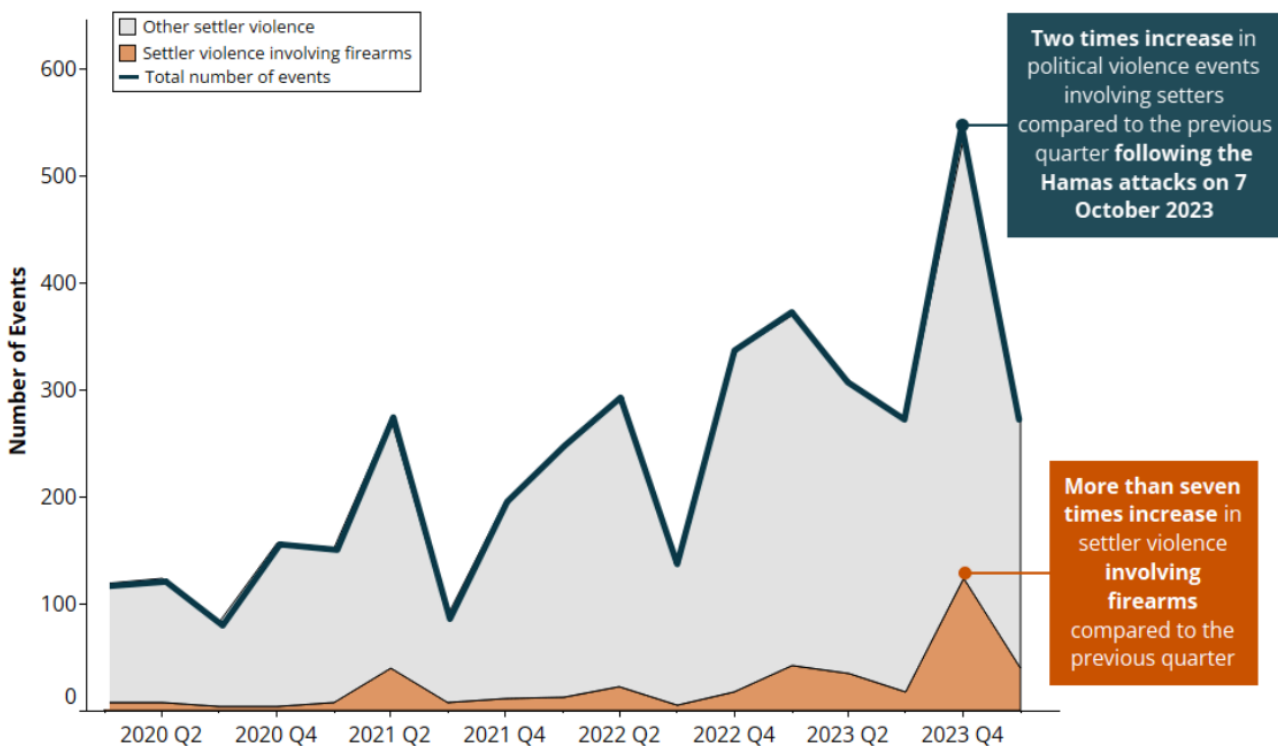
Aktualisiert am 18. Mai 2024, 22:09 Uhr ⓘ Quelle: dpa



Bei Einsätzen der israelischen Armee in Dschenin im Westjordanland sind mehrere Menschen getötet worden. © Ayman Nobani/dpa

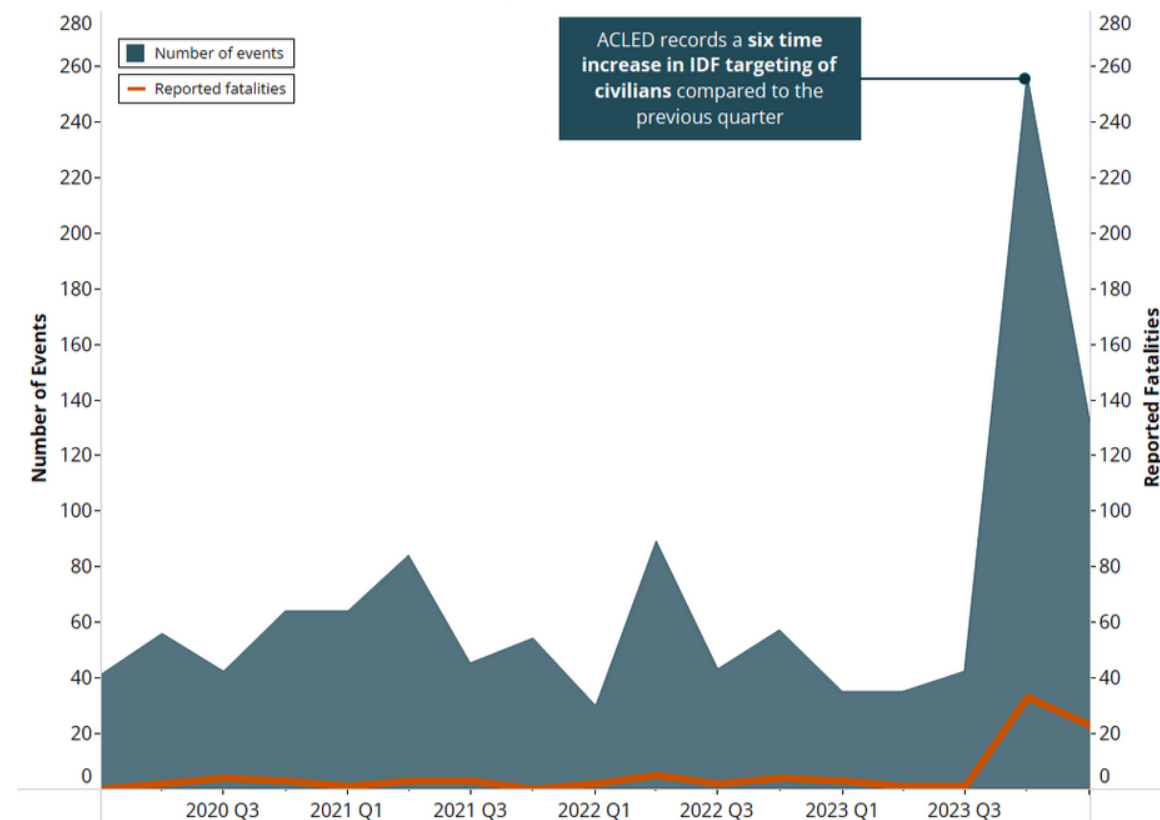
## Political Violence Involving Settlers in the West Bank

January 2020 - March 2024



## Civilian Targeting in the West Bank Perpetrated by the IDF

January 2020 - March 2024



Source: The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED)

Civilians or Soldiers? Settler violence in the West Bank. 10 June 2024

<https://acleddata.com/2024/06/10/civilians-or-soldiers-settler-violence-in-the-west-bank/>



# Frankfurt: Antisemitische Hassparolen



## Germany records sharp rise in antisemitic incidents

Most recorded antisemitic incidents in Germany last year came after the Oct. 7 attack on Israel, according to a monitoring group.

Höchstwert bei politisch motivierten Straftaten

Stand: 21.05.2024 17:22 Uhr



Recherchestelle

Rias: Anstieg antisemitischer Vorfälle um über 80 Prozent im vergangenen Jahr



Auf Flagge uriniert und verbrannt  
Zerstörte Israel-Flagge

# The Study „People in Germany: International“

**MiDInt**

*Menschen in Deutschland: International*

## Research Interest:

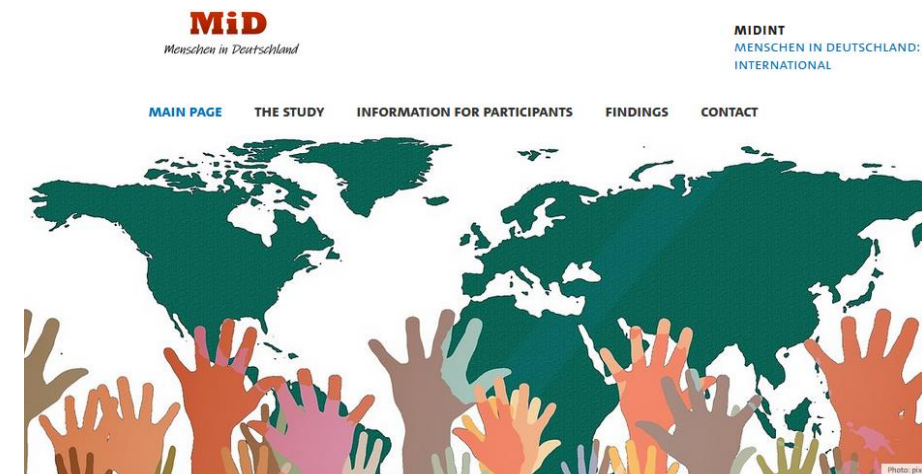
Effects of international events & developments outside of Germany on political radicalization, extremism, antisemitism, islamophobia, and xenophobia in Germany

## Method:

Regularly repeated online surveys of persons aged 18yrs and older living in Germany

Quota-Sample (Sample Size 2.500-3.500)  
Online-Access-Panel  
(Bilendi S.A.: Germany: 300.000)

<https://www.mid.uni-hamburg.de/en/mid-international/midint/midint-startseite.html>



### MAIN PAGE

Welcome to the website of the study "Menschen in Deutschland: International" (MiDInt)!

The study "Menschen in Deutschland: International" (People in Germany: International) is an online access panel survey that is approximately representative of the population in Germany and is conducted by the University of Hamburg and the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA). It explores the attitudes and opinions of people in Germany regarding current international events, political decisions, or international crises and problems, and evaluates how these perceptions influence their opinions on political issues in Germany.

The study is conducted regularly at 2-month intervals. It addresses the adult population in Germany aged 18 and over. The first survey wave took place in November 2022. Further surveys are taking place every two months since the beginning of February 2023.

On the following pages you will find more information about this study. We look forward to your visit!

[Main page](#)



# Design of the Survey Experiment: Vignettes (AV) and DV's

General Introduction for all respondents:

*The security situation in the Middle East, particularly the relations between Israel and Palestinians are a problem since many years.*

**Vignette (independent variable = IV)**

"The following news was recently published:  
A few days ago a Palestinian village in the West Bank was shelled with machine guns and grenades ..... An elementary school was also hit and many children were seriously injured, three of them fatally.

Randomization

Exp. Group 1  
(n=769)

... by the Israeli military ...

Exp. Group 2  
(n=822)

... by Israeli settlers ...

Control Group  
(n=851)

No message

**dependent variables: DV's 1-4**

*"To what extent do you find the following behavior right or wrong?"*  
(-3 = completely right / +3 = completely wrong)

legal protest  
critical towards  
Israel

**DV1:**  
Demanding Israel should "withdraw from the occupied territories"

illegal protest  
anti-Semitic

**DV2:**  
Shouting  
„Death to the Jews“

**DV3:**  
Shouting  
„Death to Israel“

**DV4:**  
Burning the  
Israeli flag

# Distribution of DVs: Evaluation of legal protest critical towards Israel and of illegal forms of antisemitic protest

(only control group n=851)

	compl. wrong -3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	compl. right +3	% > 0
<b>Legal criticism of Israel</b>								
<b>DV1:</b> Demanding Israel should withdraw from the occupied territories	8.6%	3.3%	4.7%	43.8%	11.6%	8.8%	19.2%	<b>39.6%</b>
<b>Illegal anti-Semitic protests</b>								
<b>DV2:</b> Shouting "Death to the Jews" during a demonstration	73.1%	5.5%	3.8%	12.8%	2.1%	1.1%	1.6%	<b>4.8%</b>
<b>DV3:</b> Shouting "Death to Israel" during a demonstration	71.8%	5.6%	3.9%	13.3%	2.5%	1.1%	1.8%	<b>5.4%</b>
<b>DV4:</b> Burning the flag of the State of Israel during a demonstration.	62.0%	7.6%	5.1%	18.9%	2.2%	2.1%	2.1%	<b>6.4%</b>



# Effects of confrontation with the message from the vignette on DV1: Acceptance of legal protest critical towards Israel (% > 0)

## IV (independent variable)

"The following news was recently published: A few days ago a Palestinian village in the West Bank was shelled with machine guns and grenades ..... . An elementary school was also hit and many children were seriously injured, three of them fatally.

Randomization

Exp. Group 1  
(n=769)

... by the Israeli military ...

Exp. Group 2  
(n=822)

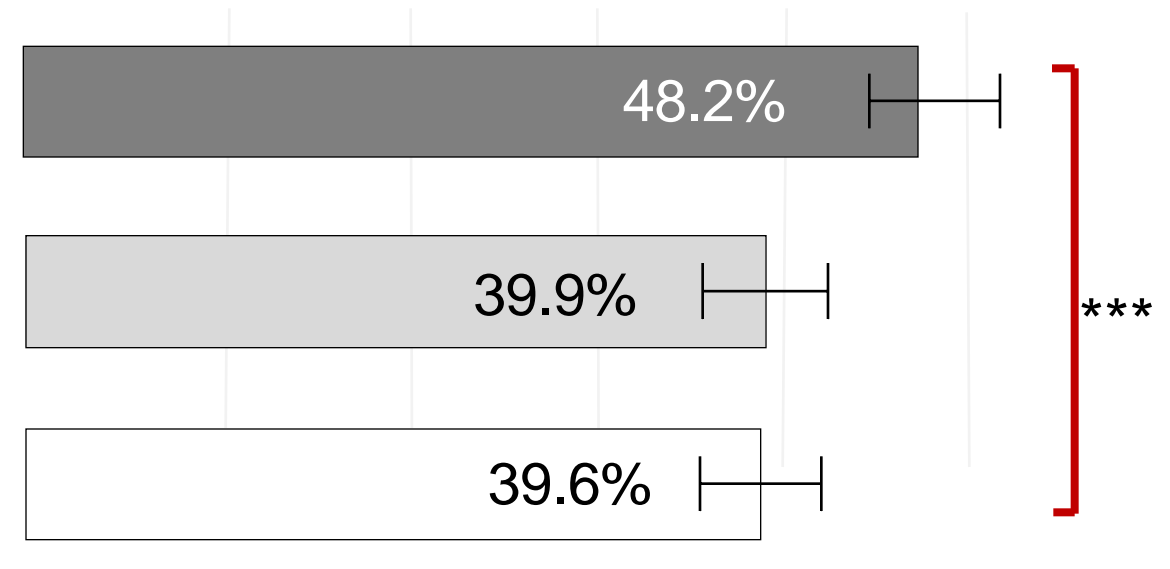
... by Israeli settlers ...

Control Group  
(n=851)

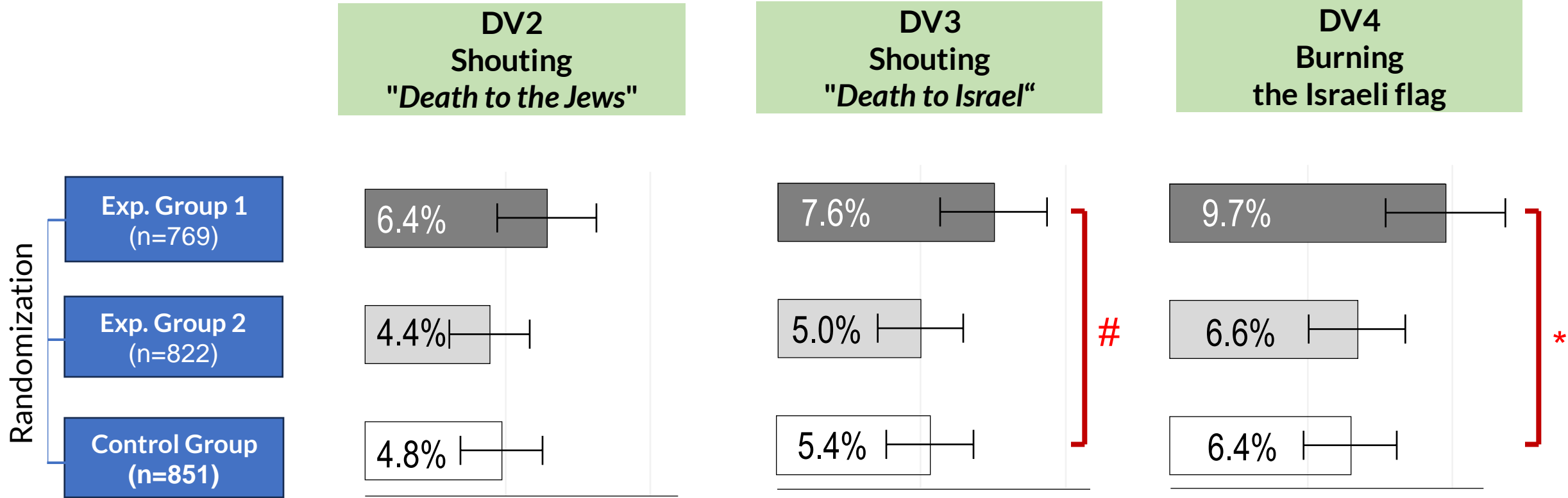
No message

## DV1:

„Demanding Israel should withdraw  
from the occupied territories“



Effects of confrontation with the messages from the vignette on the acceptance of illegal antisemitic protest behavior (DV 2, 3, 4: % > 0)



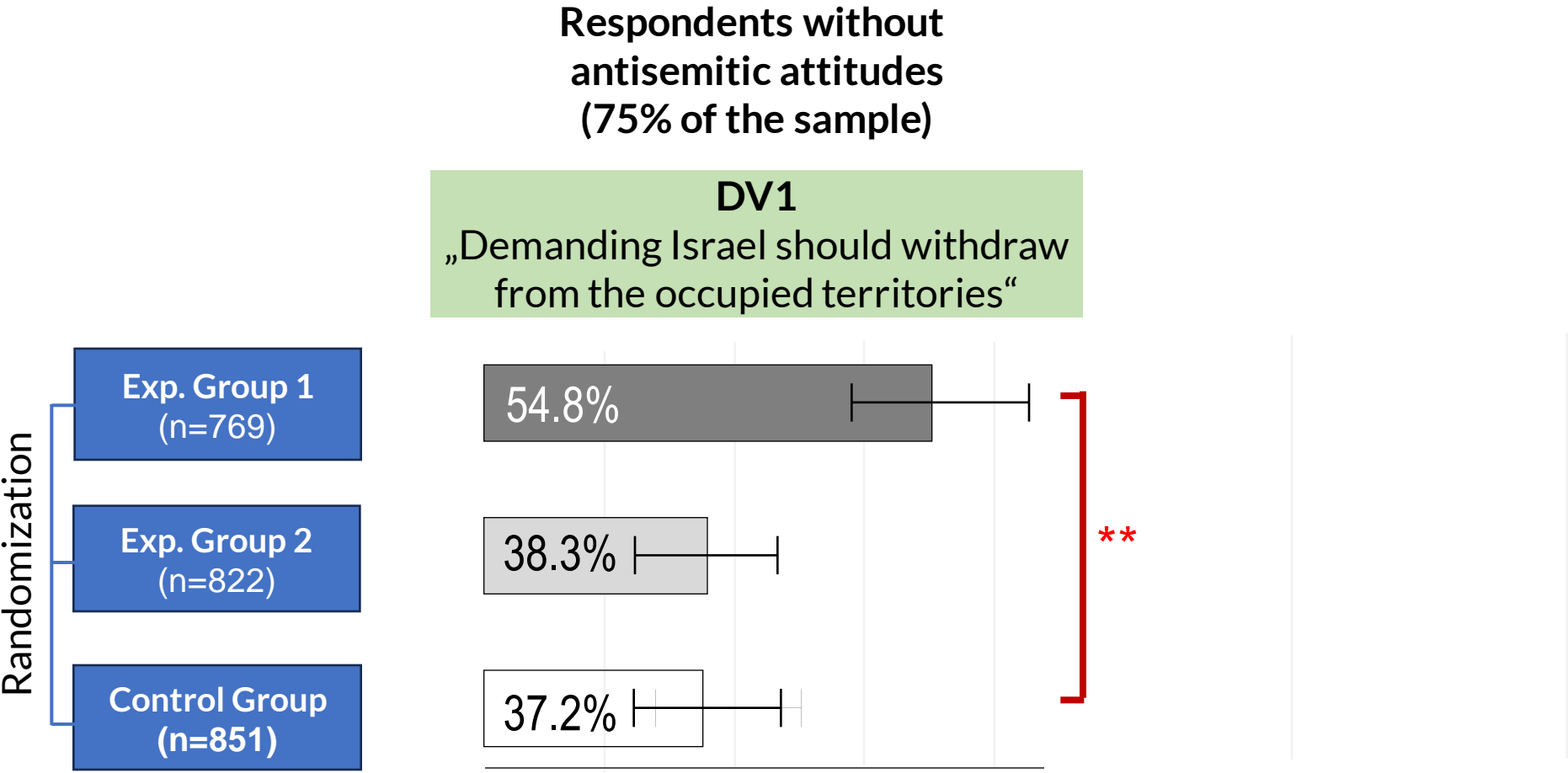
# Classical antisemitic prejudices

(measured before the experimental treatment; distribution of items in total sample; MiDInt wave 3 April 2023)

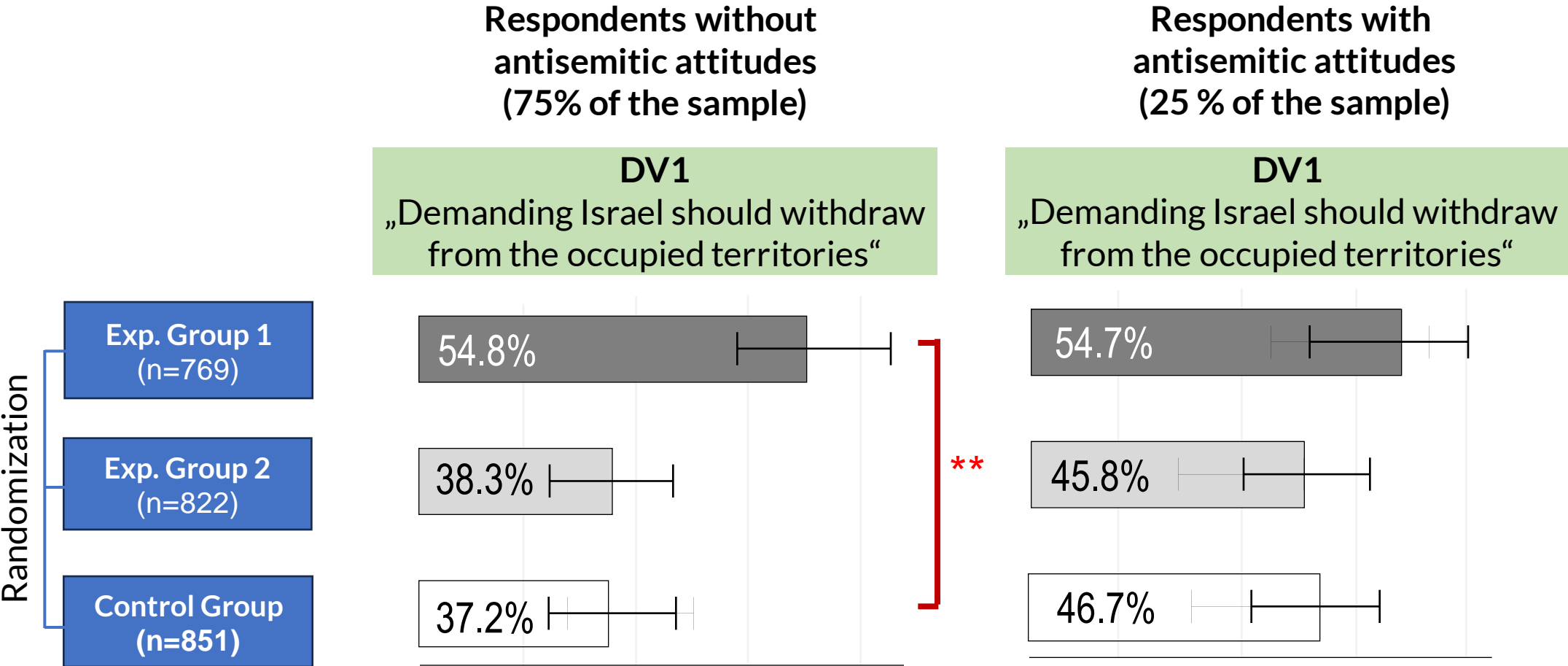
	<i>disagree</i>	<i>tend to disagree</i>	<i>tend to agree</i>	<i>agree</i>	Mean	SD	% >2 at least open to antisemitism
Jews have too much influence in Germany.	48.3%	32.7%	13.3%	5.8%	1.77	0.89	19.1%
Jews cannot be trusted.	59.3%	25.1%	10.1%	5.5%	1.62	0.88	15.6%
The Jews themselves are to blame for their behavior if people think badly of them.	56.1%	25.1%	13.1%	5.8%	1.69	0.91	18.8%
There are too many Jews in Germany.	52.0%	32.1%	11.3%	4.6%	1.68	0.85	15.8%
Entire scale					1.69	0.80	24.4%



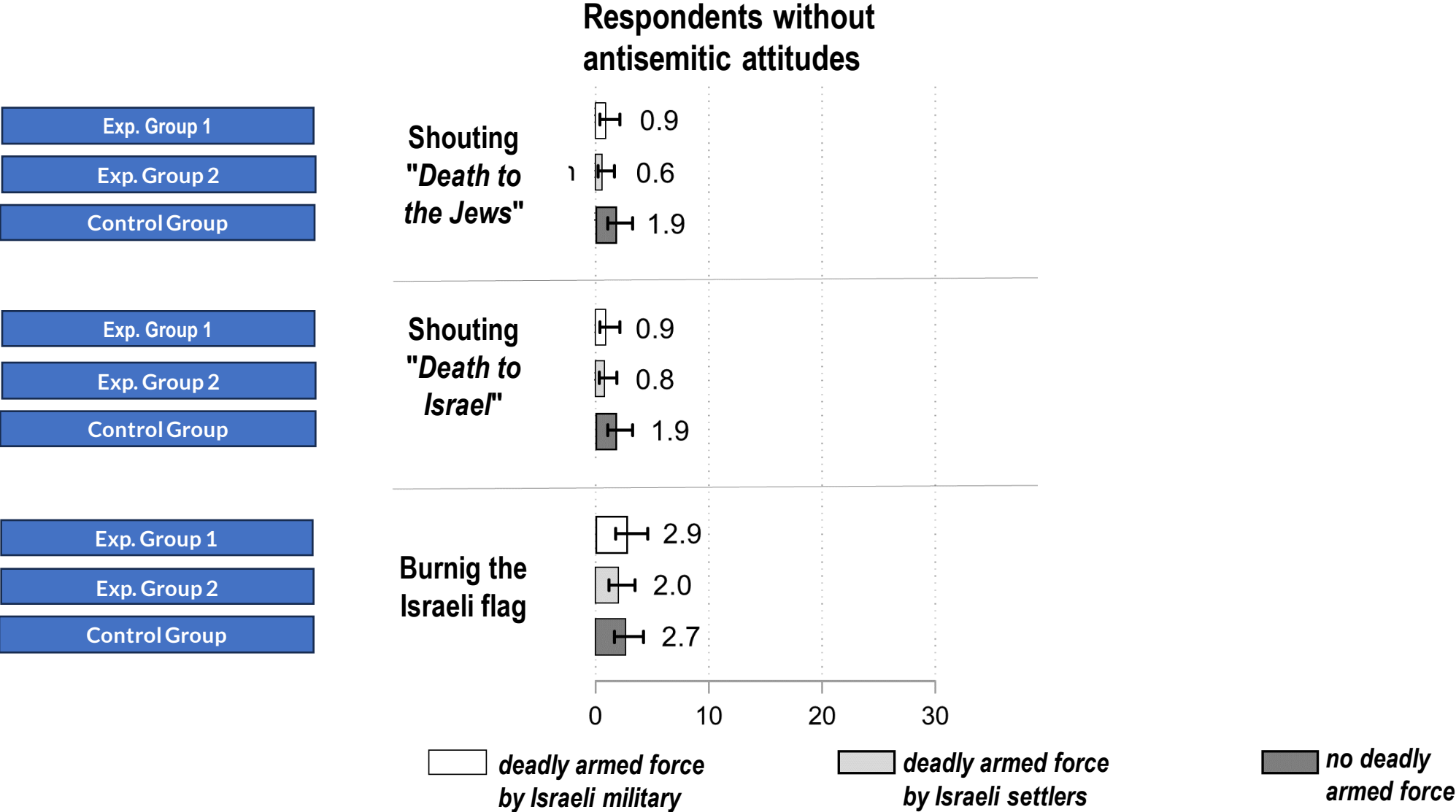
# Effects of experimental treatments on the acceptance of legal protest critical towards Israel: Comparison of respondents with/without antisemitic attitudes



# Effects of experimental treatments on the acceptance of legal protest critical towards Israel: Comparison of respondents with/without antisemitic attitudes

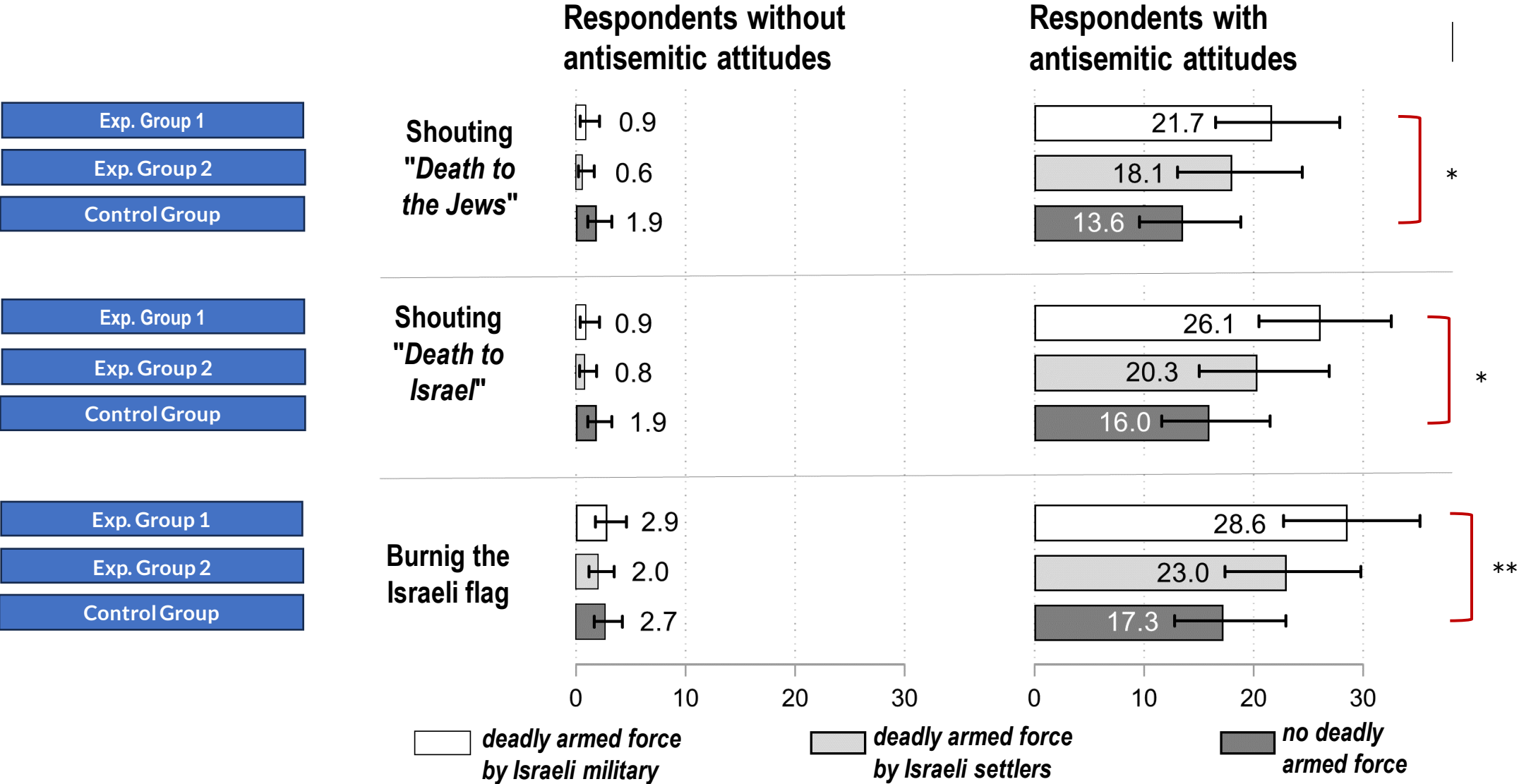


# Effects of experimental treatments on the acceptance of illegal antisemitic protests: Comparison of respondents with/without antisemitic attitudes





# Effects of experimental treatments on the acceptance of illegal antisemitic protests: Comparison of respondents with/without antisemitic attitudes



## Summary

- A confrontation with a text vignette in which armed violence by the Israeli military is addressed resulting in Palestinian children are being killed increases the acceptance of both legal criticism of Israel and (at a comparatively lower level) illegal, anti-Israeli and antisemitic protest behavior.
- This does not apply to similar armed violence perpetrated by Jewish settlers resulting in similar fatalities.
- Increases of the acceptance of illegal, anti-Israeli & antisemitic protest behavior can be observed almost exclusively among people who are open to classical antisemitic prejudices.
- Acceptance of legal protest towards Israel is significantly higher among people who are not antisemitic when confronted with the description of armed violence of Israeli forces killing obviously uninvolved Palestinian civilians (here very young children).

## Conclusions

- The execution of military violence toward Palestinian civilians by Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) has causal effects on the acceptance of anti-Semitic protest behavior and thus also might considerably effect crime rates in Germany (e.g. illegal, antisemitic protest behavior).
- It is also evident that legal criticism of Israel is very common among large parts of the German population which is not antisemitic. These critical perspectives toward Israel increase substantially if respondents are confronted with IDF's use of violence against civilians in the Westbank without equally reinforcing anti-Semitic prejudices.
- Especially in Germany, a differentiated (public) approach to criticism of Israel ("Israelkritik") is therefore urgently needed.
- *A critical position towards Israel should therefore not be labeled as antisemitic per se by political decision-makers. If a better distinction is not made in this respect in future, this may contribute to a further loss of trust and legitimacy in political decision-makers.*





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***Thank you for your attention!***

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# Selected recent publications of the MOTRA research project on the prevalence of intolerance and prejudices

- Brettfeld, K., Endtricht, R., Farren, D., Fischer, J.M.K. & Wetzels, P. (2021). Spread of politically extremist attitudes and the observation of intolerance, hatred and radicalization in one's own living environment. In: U. Kemmesies et al. (Eds.), *MOTRA Monitor 2020*, (pp. 100-129). Wiesbaden: MOTRA.  
[https://doi.org/10.53168/isbn.978-3-9818469-9-7\\_2020\\_MOTRA](https://doi.org/10.53168/isbn.978-3-9818469-9-7_2020_MOTRA)
- Farren, D., Fischer, J.M.K., Brettfeld, K., Endtricht, R., Kleinschnittger, J. & Wetzels, P. (2023). *Democracy distance, attitudes towards extremism, acceptance of politically motivated violence and intolerance towards minorities and foreign groups among young people and adolescents in Germany 2022*. MOTRA Research Report No. 10 from the Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law. Hamburg: University of Hamburg. <https://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.13176>
- Fischer, J.M.K. & Wetzels, P. (2024). The prevalence of antisemitic attitudes in Germany: Findings from a representative survey on trends since 2021 and the influences of migration background, religious affiliation and religiosity. *Journal of Religion, Society and Politics (ZRGP)*. Online. Open Access.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s41682-024-00167-6>
- Fischer, J.M.K. & Wetzels, P. (2023) Antisemitism in Germany: Necessary differentiations in the migration society. *Legal Psychology*, 9 (3), 346-381.  
<https://doi.org/10.5771/2365-1083-2023-3-346>
- Richter, T., Kleinschnittger, J., Brettfeld, K. & Wetzels, P. (2023). Threat and integration: Attitudes towards refugees in Germany. *GIGA Focus Global: No. 1/2023*.  
<https://doi.org/10.57671/gfgl-23011>
- Richter, T., Brettfeld, K., Greipl, S., Hohner, J., Hunger, S., Kanol, E., El Masri, M. & Wetzels, P. (2022). Effects of the Gaza War 2021 on Germany: A multidimensional analysis of radicalization events. In U. Kemmesies, P. Wetzels, B. Austin, A. Dessecker, E. Grande, C. Büscher & D. Rieger (Eds.), *MOTRA Monitor 2021*, (pp. 222-247). Wiesbaden: BKA. <https://doi.org/10.53168>
- Wetzels, P. & Brettfeld, K. (2023). Political Islamist attitudes among Muslims living in Germany: On the ambivalent role of religion. In: U. Kemmesies, P. Wetzels, B. Austin, C. Büscher, A. Dessecker, S. Hutter & D. Rieger (Eds.). *MOTRA Monitor 2022*, (pp. 366-396). Wiesbaden: MOTRA.
- Wetzels, P., Brettfeld, K., Endtricht, R., Farren, D. & Fischer, J.M.K. (2022). *Prevalence of extremist political attitudes and confrontations with intolerance and political extremism in Germany 2021*. MOTRA Research Report No. 4 from the Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law. Hamburg: University of Hamburg.  
<https://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.10507>
- Wetzels, P., Richter, T., Farren, D. & Brettfeld, K. (2023). Attitudes towards the protests over human rights violations in Iran and their correlations with Muslim hostility in Germany. MOTRA-Spotlight 03/23. Wiesbaden: BKA. <https://doi.org/10.57671/motra-2023003>

# The "MOTRA Spotlight" series with selected key findings of the research



Available online at <https://www.motra.info/publikationen/spotlight/>



# Research reports with results from MOTRA (available online)

<https://www.jura.uni-hamburg.de/die-fakultaet/professuren/kriminologie/forschungsberichte.html> )



## Research Report No. 1

### "People in Germany 2021"

First wave of the German national representative survey:  
Methodology, survey design and sampling

Rebecca Endtricht, Diego Farren, Katrin Brettfeld,  
Jannik M.K. Fischer & Peter Wetzels



## Research Report No. 2

### Young People in Germany 2022 (JuMiD)

*Methodology, survey design, description of the sample,  
and codebook of the national representative survey  
JuMiD 2022*

Diego Farren, Katrin Brettfeld, Rebecca Endtricht,  
Jannik M.K. Fischer and Peter Wetzels



Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law, University of Hamburg

## Forschungsbericht No. 13

### Menschen in Deutschland: International (MiDInt)

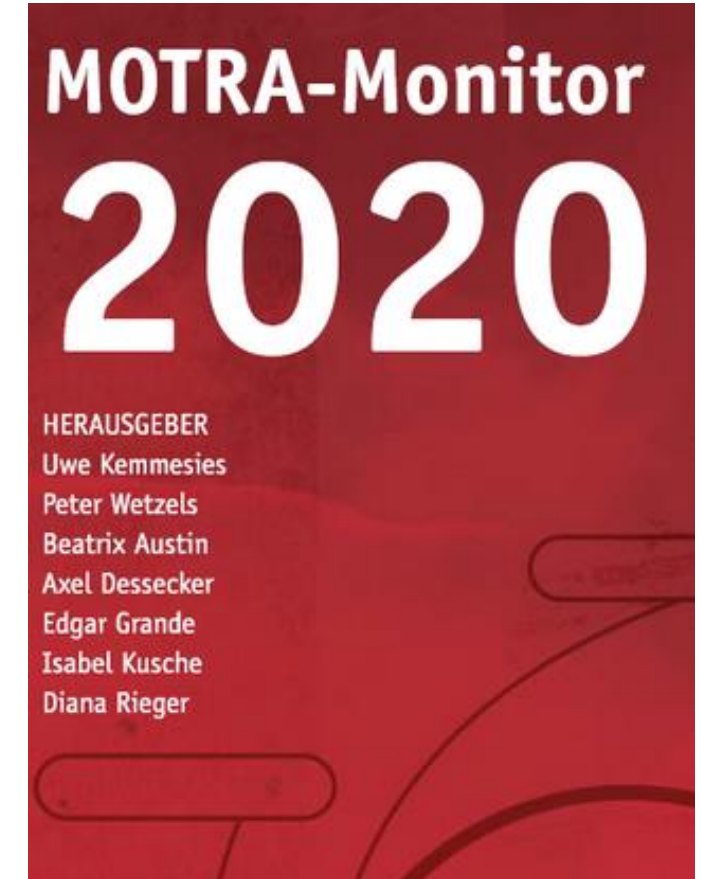
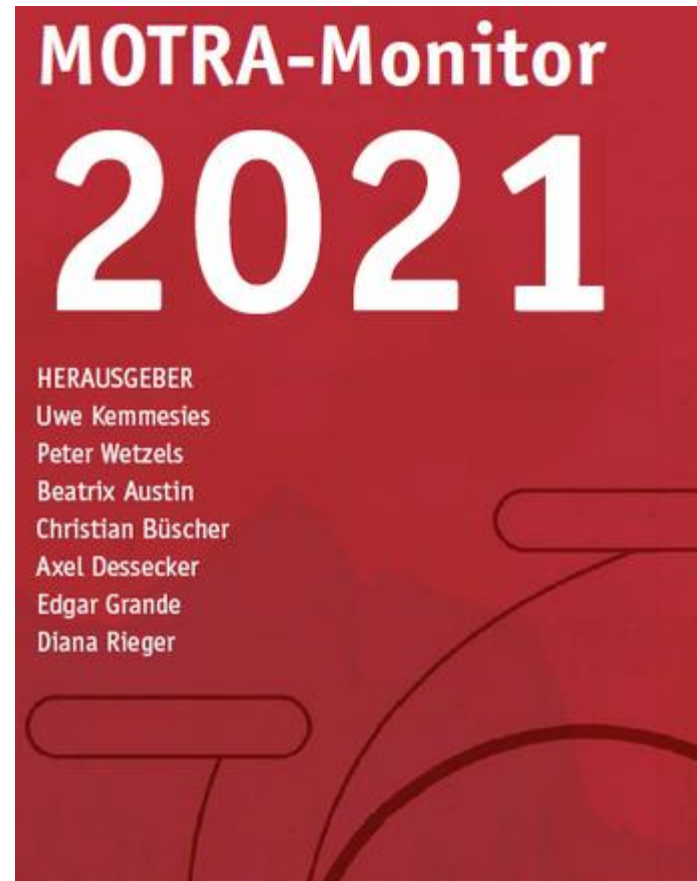
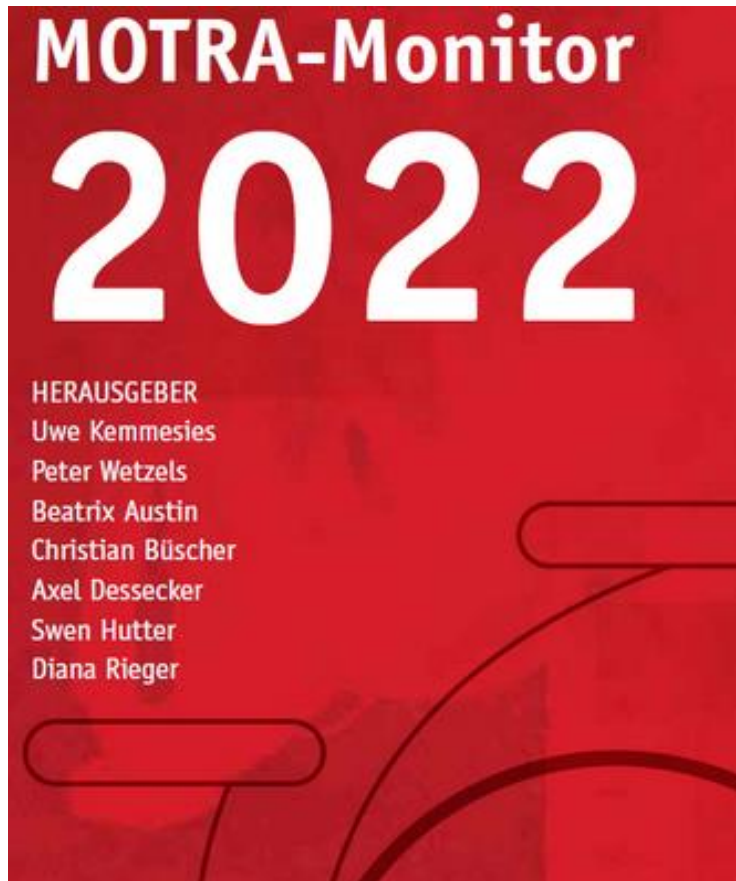
Untersuchungsdesign, Stichprobe,  
Erhebungsinstrument und Codebuch zu Welle 5  
(Oktober 2023)

Janosch Kleinschnittger, Peter Wetzels, Thomas Richter,  
Katrin Brettfeld & Diego Farren



Institut für Kriminologie an der Fakultät für Rechtswissenschaft der Universität Hamburg

# The MOTRA Monitor



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