

**©2008**

**Florette Cohen**

**ALL RIGHTS RESERVED**

**THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM ISRAEL MODEL: EMPIRICAL TESTS**

**by**

**FLORETTE COHEN**

**A dissertation submitted to the**

**Graduate School – New Brunswick**

**Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey**

**In partial fulfillment of the requirement**

**For the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**Graduate Program in Psychology**

**Written under the direction of**

**Dr. Lee Jussim**

**And approved by**

---

---

---

---

**New Brunswick, New Jersey**

**May, 2008**

## **ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION**

### **The New Anti-Semitism Israel Model: Empirical Tests**

**By FLORETTE COHEN**

**Dissertation Director:**

**Lee Jussim**

Anti-Semitism is resurgent throughout much of the world. A new theoretical model of anti-Semitism is presented and tested in three experiments. The New Anti-Semitism Israel (NASI) model proposes that mortality salience increases anti-Semitism and that anti-Semitism often manifests as hostility towards Israel. Study 1 showed that mortality salience led to greater levels of anti-Semitism and higher levels of delegitimization toward Israel. This effect occurred only in a bogus pipeline condition for anti-Semitism, indicating that social desirability masks hostility towards Jews, but not for delegitimization toward Israel. Study 2 showed that mortality salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline manipulation increased perceived justification for offensive political cartoons of Israel but not China. In Study 3 mortality salience was sufficient to increase anti-Semitism when the anti-Semitism scale was integrated in a general assessment questionnaire. Collectively, results suggest that Jews constitute a unique cultural threat to many people's worldviews, and that anti-Semitism and hostility to Israel are related.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express profound gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Lee Jussim, for his invaluable support, encouragement, supervision and useful suggestions throughout this research work. His moral support and continuous guidance enabled me to complete my work successfully. I am also highly thankful to Dr. Sheldon Solomon, Dr. Daniel M. Ogilvie, and Dr. David Wilder, for their valuable suggestions and support throughout this study.

I am as ever, especially indebted to my parents Cohava and Michael Cohen for their love and support throughout my life. I also wish to thank my husband Glen Abady and my children Elie, Becky, Michael, Kelly and Adelle Abady for his support and understanding during my study.

## Table of contents

Abstract of the Dissertation .....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
The New Anti-Semitism Israel Model: Empirical Tests.....	1
The Psychology of Anti-Semitism.....	1
Terror Management Theory.....	3
Religious Reasons for Jews as a Unique Threat .....	7
Purely Secular Reasons for Jews as Unique Threat.....	9
Subtle Modern Prejudices .....	11
Opposition to Israel: Anti-Semitism or Not? .....	11
The New Anti-Semitism-Israel model (NASI) .....	18
Methods.....	22
Participants.....	22
Experimental Design.....	23
Materials and Procedure .....	23
Results.....	26
Preliminary Analyses .....	26
Overview of Main Analyses .....	27
Anti-Semitism .....	27
Delegitimization.....	28
Mediational Analyses.....	28
Discussion .....	31
Hypotheses:.....	35
Methods.....	35
Experimental Design.....	36
Materials and Procedure .....	36
Results and Discussion .....	37
Preliminary Analyses .....	37
Leadership Cartoon.....	38
World Cartoon .....	39
Discussion .....	40
Study 3 tested five main predictions of the NASI model: .....	42
Hypotheses:.....	42
Methods.....	43
Experimental Design.....	44
Results.....	45
Preliminary Analyses .....	45
Anti-Semitism Scale .....	46
General Prejudice.....	47
Delegitimization: Prisoner Petition.....	48
Discussion .....	48
General Discussion .....	50
Weaknesses and Limitations.....	52
Directions for Research.....	55
Practical Applications of the Present Research. ....	57

Conclusion .....	62
Appendix A: Camouflage .....	64
Appendix B: Bogus Pipeline.....	65
Appendix C: Anti-Semitism Scale.....	66
Appendix D: Delegitimization Scale .....	67
Appendix E: Israeli Abuses .....	68
Appendix F: Chinese Abuses.....	69
Appendix G : Anti-Semitism Camouflaged.....	70
Appendix H: Palestinian Prisoner Pettition .....	73
Appendix I: Kosovar Prisoner Pettition.....	74
Footnotes.....	95
Bibliography .....	96
Curriculum Vita .....	105

## List of Tables

Table 1: Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for variables, Study 1. ....	75
Table 2: Cell means on the anti-Semitism scale for Study 1. ....	76
Table 3: Cell means on Levels of Delegitimization towards Israel scale in Study 1.....	77
Table 4: Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for variables, Study 2. ....	78
Table 5: Cell means and contrast coefficients on the leadership cartoon scale for Study 2 .....	79
Table 6: Cell means and contrast coefficients on the world cartoon scale for Study 2. ...	80
Table 7: Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for variables, Study 3. ....	81
Table 8: Cell means on the anti-Semitism scale for Study 3. ....	82
Table 9: Intention to vote on the prisoner petition scale for Study 3.....	83
Table 10: Cell means on the prisoner petition scale for Study 3. ....	84

## **List of illustrations**

Figure 1: Theoretical Model .....	85
Figure 2: Mediational Model 1 .....	86
Figure 3: Mediational Model 2 .....	87
Figure 4: Mediational Model 3 .....	88
Figure 5: Mediational Model 4 .....	89
Figure 6: Cartoon depicting Sharon eating Palestinian children. ....	90
Figure 7: Cartoon depicting Chinese president eating Tibetan children.....	91
Figure 8: Victorious Jew .....	92
Figure 9: Victorious Chinese Man.....	93
Figure 10: Double Standard Model.....	94



## The New Anti-Semitism Israel Model: Empirical Tests

Currently, there is little disagreement that the specter of ongoing violence in the Middle East is of great concern throughout much of the world. It is at the heart of international peace processes and continues to interfere with global economies (Aita, 1997; Pyszczynski, Abdollahi, Greenberg, Solomon, Cohen, & Weise, 2006). However, the resurgence of anti-Semitism accompanying the Middle East turmoil may not be so readily apparent. Anti-Semitism is increasing. This is true not only in the Middle East, where animosity towards Jews is linked to hostility towards Israel (Matas, 2005), but also in the liberal West. Incidents of anti-Semitism throughout Western Europe have steadily increased over the past 10 years (www.adl.org). Anti-Semitic acts in the US increased in 2004 to their highest point in nearly a decade, and were up 17% from the previous year (www.adl.org). Jews are victimized by hate crimes proportionately more than any other racial or ethnic group in America (U.S. Census, 2004-2005). Despite this growing problem, many major works on stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination have paid relatively little attention to resurgent anti-Semitism (e.g., one can find little or no mention of anti-Semitism in Fiske, 1998; Jost & Banaji, 1994, or many other recent reviews).

### The Psychology of Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism is a peculiar social phenomenon, in that many of the stereotypes associated with it are mutually exclusive, and shift radically across time and space. Jews have been condemned for being radical Communists, and for being avaricious capitalists. Fascists in Nazi Germany and in 1980s Argentina accused their nations' Jews of having hidden loyalties to socialist regimes (Rein, 2003), whereas the Soviet Union regularly persecuted its Jews for harboring secret sympathies for the West (Weitz, 2001). Jews have been chastised as corruptly cosmopolitan and as insular traditionalists, as heretical

free-thinkers and as mystical obscurantists, as weak, ineffectual, and effete and as stealthily advancing toward worldwide domination (Johnson, 1987. p. 310; Bernard, 2006).

Some scholars of anti-Semitism see a method in these contradictions. Anti-Semitism may serve to create a tangible target upon which non-Jews project their own fears, especially fears that arise during times of social disruption (Cohn-Sherbok, 2002). Indeed, attacks against Jews spiked during the Crusades, the Black Plague, in France following the Franco-Prussian War, in Russia in the years preceding the Bolshevik Revolution, in Germany following World War I, in the United States during the Depression, in the Soviet Union during the Cold War, and in South America during the transition from dictatorships to democracy. Currently, anti-Jewish sentiment is rapidly spreading throughout the Muslim Middle East, which is itself undergoing massive social change (Glaeser, 2005).

Why this correspondence between anti-Semitism and social transition? Tolerance for others' opinions, especially those that challenge one's own deeply held personal values, are tied to people's own feelings of certainty or worth (Cohen, Aronson, & Steele, 2000). When people feel less secure, they become less tolerant of those whose views, perspectives, or beliefs are different from their own. Yet these findings themselves beg the question, why does insecurity lead to intolerance toward Jews?

The current line of research examines the psychological underpinnings of prejudice and ethnic discord in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on the New Anti-Semitism-Israel model (NASI; Cohen & Jussim, 2006; see Figure 1). The NASI was designed based on a juxtaposition of terror management theory (TMT;

Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986) and modern prejudice theory (Sears & Kinder, 1971). Specifically, the present set of studies tested the hypotheses that uniquely human fears of death serve to perpetuate expressions of anti-Semitism (a-s) and anti-Israeli sentiment.

### Terror Management Theory

Death denial. According to terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg et al, 1986), human beings, like all other animals, are driven to survive (Darwin, 1859). However, because of their complex cognitive capabilities, specifically the ability to think abstractly and symbolically culminating in explicit self-consciousness, humans are uniquely aware of the inevitability of death and the ever-present potential for lethal experiences, which creates the potential for paralyzing terror. Terror is the emotional manifestation of the self-preservation instinct in an animal intelligent enough to know that it will someday die (cf. Zilboorg, 1943).

TMT posits that to ‘manage’ this potentially debilitating terror, humans created cultural worldviews: symbolic conceptions of reality shared by individuals in a group. Cultural worldviews minimize death anxiety by imbuing the world with order, meaning, and permanence, and by providing a set of standards of valued behavior that, if satisfied, confers self-esteem and ultimately, death transcendence through symbolic and/or literal immortality. Thus, from the perspective of terror management theory, individuals manage their terror by maintaining faith in the cultural worldview and living up to the standards of value that are part of that worldview.

Cultural worldview. Though the cultural worldview is treated as absolute reality by those who subscribe to it, it is actually a fragile social construction (cf. Berger &

Luckmann, 1967; McCall & Simmons, 1966) requiring continual validation from others in order to be sustained, especially when confronted with reminders of mortality. This validation occurs mainly through the process of social consensus (Festinger, 1954; Kelley, 1967). Thus, the mere existence of people with similar worldviews bolsters the individual's faith in the validity of his or her own worldview, thereby increasing its effectiveness as an anxiety-buffer. Likewise, the mere existence of people with dissimilar worldviews threatens the individual's faith in his or her own worldview, thereby undermining its effectiveness as an anxiety-buffer. As such, people generally prefer ideas and people that conform to their worldviews and derogate ideas and people that deviate from them.

Cultural worldview and anti-Semitism. TMT may be particularly useful for understanding anti-Semitism because outbreaks of anti-Semitism have often occurred following major social disruptions – military defeats, epidemic lethal disease, and massive economic deterioration. In all cases, either death, or some threat to people's most cherished beliefs, or both become salient. TMT suggests that, under such circumstances, many people will attempt to protect themselves by affirming their core values. Jews' survival, their financial success and their unique moral and religious beliefs threaten the worldview of others. This threat is parried by denigrating Jews (i.e. expressing anti-Semitic attitudes).

The basis for predicting cultural hostility towards Jews, includes all the well-established reasons for outgroup hostility, in addition to some unique ones. Outgroups might not share the same attitudes and beliefs as ingroups; outgroups compete for resources; outgroups are perceived as more different from ingroups than they really are;

outgroups are often seen as less deserving of trust than are ingroups; and so forth (classic work by Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1979; Tajfel, 1969; Rokeach, 1951 and many others) all attest to these processes. Indeed, many of the classic stereotypes of Jews fit these phenomena like a glove (“Jews are clannish, grasping,” etc.). This generic outgroup hostility begins to explain why they are potentially threatening.

In support of this view, Greenberg et al., 1990 (Study 1) demonstrated that, consistent with TMT predictions, when Christians thought about their own death (mortality salience) their trait ratings of fellow Christians became more positive and their trait ratings of Jews became more negative. Across all measures, the Christian was rated more positively than the Jew only in the mortality salient condition. Similarly, mortality salience led American college students to increase their agreement with the statement that “the holocaust in Nazi Germany was God's punishment for the Jews” (Kunzendorf, Hersey, Wilson, and Ethier, 1999, as cited in Schimel, Simon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Waxmonsky, & Arndt, J., 1999).

Additionally, subtle reminders of death have been shown to generate physical aggression toward those who threaten cultural worldviews (McGregor, Lieberman, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, Simon, and Pyszczynski, 1998). After a mortality salience or control induction, liberal or conservative college students were given an opportunity to administer a quantity of their choosing of very hot salsa to a student who wrote an essay condemning either liberals or conservatives, and who claimed to dislike spicy foods. (Hot sauce administration was used as a direct measure of physical aggression.) Results indicated no differences in hot sauce allocation for similar and dissimilar others in the

control condition; however, following mortality salience, participants administered twice the amount of hot sauce to different others than they did to similar others.

Such defensive reactions to mortality salience are not limited to non-Jews. Studies conducted by researchers at Bar Ilan University (Hirschberger and Ein-Dor, 2006) three months before the Israeli pullout from the Gaza Strip and the Northern West Bank examined whether reminders of death would lead right-wing Israelis to endorse violent resistance against the disengagement plan. Primes of death led to greater support of violent resistance, particularly among participants high in denial. It would appear that when the threat of death is manifest, people are often prone to violent defenses.

While TMT paints a grim picture of people in general, it cannot completely explain the history of pervasive victimization suffered by Jews from antiquity to the modern day. From a TMT perspective the straightforward explanation for anti-Semitism is simple—when focused on their own mortality, and in need of the protections that their worldviews provide, non-Jews may become more hostile towards Jews, because Jews represent a challenge to their worldviews by being outgroup members. However, there are quite a large number of religious and historical reasons to believe that Jews are potentially more threatening than other outgroups and may indeed constitute a unique cultural threat. The suggestion that Jews pose a unique threat remains true today to the point that it caused the American delegates at this years OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) meeting of contemporary anti-Semitism to insist that anti-Semitism be recognized as a unique form of prejudice (Wistrich, February 24, 2008).<sup>1</sup>

## Religious Reasons for Jews as a Unique Threat

Judaism is first and foremost a religion. It was the first monotheistic religion, which provided the basis for both Christianity and Islam. It is both ironic and fascinating that religion has played such a large role in anti-Semitism throughout the generations. Here are some key elements that may shed light on this phenomenon.

Deicide. Throughout much of the last 2000 years, the Christian Canon was that Jews killed Christ. Deicide provided a most direct and unique religious/intellectual justification for despising Jews for religious people – and surveys consistently show that nearly half of all Americans believe that the Bible is the literal word of God (e.g., Harris, 2005). Historically, it provided much of the inspiration for everything from mass slaughters during the Crusades, to the Spanish Inquisition, to the Eastern European pogroms.

Exclusivity. Both Christianity and Islam accept the holiness of the Hebrew Bible and welcome new converts. Judaism rejects the Christian Bible and Koran, and makes it very difficult to become a Jew. In fact, whereas Christianity and Islam (and even Hinduism) readily acknowledge the holiness of most of one another's most revered religious figures, Judaism is one of the world's most obdurately rejectionist of all religions. It does not accept the holiness of either Mohammed or Jesus. Whereas both Christianity and Islam accept Judaism as the forerunner (if flawed and incomplete) of their own religions, Judaism bluntly rejects Christianity and Islam as false (although, of course, individual Jews, Christians, and Muslims vary greatly in how accepting or rejecting they are of other religions).

“Chosen people.” According to the Hebrew Bible, which is also considered holy by both Muslims and Christians, Jews are God’s “chosen people.” While ingroup favoritism is, by itself, something that is not unique to Judaism, the nature of that alleged superiority is unique. Whereas both Christianity and Islam proclaim their respective religious superiority, such superiority is based on belief rather than ethnicity or nationality. In the Hebrew Bible the covenant is restricted to the Hebrews and their descendants (and the small trickle of converts who are permitted to enter the religion only after passing numerous rigorous tests). Christians and Muslims are not chosen.

Asymmetry in “holiness” and rejectionism. The Hebrew Bible is holy to both Christians and Muslims. It is part of the foundation of their main sets of religious beliefs. However, Judaism dismisses the Christian Bible and Koran as fictions or historical curiosities.

Asymmetry in acceptance of divine or holy figures. The Jewish religion does not accept the divinity of Jesus or the prophet-hood of Mohammed. Jews therefore deny the core tenets of these faiths. Even Islam does not deny Jesus’s holiness (although it does deny his divinity). And neither Islam nor Christianity denies the holiness of Jewish biblical figures (Abraham, Moses, etc.). This asymmetrical denial of holiness (Jews denying the holiness of major figures in Christianity and Islam but not vice versa) constitutes another religious basis for Jews constituting a unique cultural threat to Christians and Muslims. As Harris (2005, p. 94) put it, when explaining the deep seated nature of Christian and Islamic hostility toward Jews: “Judaism alone finds itself surrounded by unmitigated errors.”



“Theological certainty.” If one is sure that one’s faith is the one and only true faith, and if one’s faith is open to anyone willing to believe and that one’s god rewards the faithful (as is the case with both most of Christianity and Islam), one will frequently come to believe that almost anyone who is “shown the light” will come to believe as one’s self does. If one further believes that those who do not believe are obdurate sinners damned to burn eternally in Hell (as is repeatedly stated in both the Koran and Christian Bible), then the continued existence of such rejectionists constitutes a worldview threat of the first order (see also Goldhagen, 1997; Harris, 2005). Consistent with this view, the Christian Bible exhorts oppression of Jews and characterizations of Jews as evil or malicious. Jesus condemned the Jews as children of the devil and as evil vipers (see *John 8:44; Matthew 12:34* ).

#### Purely Secular Reasons for Jews as Unique Threat

Above and beyond religious ideology, there are other more secular reasons for why Jews are threatening none the less.

Jews pose an economic threat. Whenever Jews have been given a reasonable degree of freedom that approaches or equals that of other citizens, they have achieved economic and professional success at extraordinarily high levels; e.g., Spanish Jews under medieval Islamic rule, Polish Jews in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see <http://members.core.com/~mikerose/history.html>); the Jews of Europe after emancipation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Weber, Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904 [2001]), and modern American Jews.

Jews are successful academically. Furthermore, in the modern world, Jews have had an extraordinary record of intellectual success. Jews represent less than one half of

one percent of the world population, yet of the 750 Nobel Prizes awarded between 1901 and 2006, 158 (21%) went to Jews (Jewish Virtual Library). Although Jews constitute less than 3% of the US population, they disproportionately enter the university system and professions (Birkner, August 23, 2004) and as a result, Jews have substantially higher incomes than do other groups (Smith and Faris 2005). Such disproportionate representation can be a cause of both suspicion and envy (Klug, 2004).

Jews survive. Despite 2000 years of economic oppression, mass conversions, mass killings, and genocides, the Jewish people remain Jewish. Thus what makes Jews uniquely threatening is that they are a tiny minority that has been subjugated by powerful groups from the Greeks to the Romans to the Medieval Catholic Church to Kings and dictators, and millions of Jews are not only still around, they are, in most places, thriving. This constitutes a most unique cultural threat to anyone who believes in their own group's superiority.

The Jewish state threatens and accentuates these fears. Israel operates at levels of democracy, affluence, and military power that may be threatening to many people. Jews, unlike Arab Muslims and Arab Christians, have carved out a democratic form of government, with elections and protections of basic freedoms. A relatively tiny population of Jews (about 5 million living in Israel) defeated and fended off the hostility of hundreds of millions of surrounding Arabs. The standard of living in Israel is much higher than that of most of its neighbors, including its oil-rich neighbors. To the extent that people interpret this as evidence of Jewish superiority, it may be deeply threatening (Klug, 2004).

### Subtle Modern Prejudices

The tenor of most TMT research suggests that reminders of death will increase prejudice and hostility toward different others. However, although blatant forms of anti-Semitism do exist, prejudice in general is often stigmatized. As such people may often try to deny or hide their prejudices. Although a person may appear friendly and tolerant, hostility may be lurking not far from the surface. The terms modern or symbolic racism was developed because people stopped saying “Blacks are despicable and should not be allowed in our schools or restaurants.” Instead, they simply opposed government policies to promote racial equality, and they opposed candidates supporting those policies (Kinder & Mendelberg, 2000; McConahay, 1986; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Kinder, 1971).

Just as people veil their racism and anti-Black prejudice (e.g., by opposing busing and affirmative action), people may similarly veil their anti-Semitism by opposing Jews’ national aspirations. If one is a racist, opposing affirmative-action is a safe way to express it; if one is an anti-Semite, opposing Israel is a safe way to express it. For example, Israel has been involved with numerous wars over the last sixty years. Some of them have been offensive, while others have been defensive. Unfortunately though, even Israeli wars of self-defense may be twisted into evidence of Israeli imperialism and oppression and the “racist” nature of Zionism (Koteck, 2003).

### Opposition to Israel: Anti-Semitism or Not?

In the present studies, it is presumed that opposition to Israel sometimes reflects anti-Semitism. However, this premise is potentially problematic because one cannot necessarily infer anti-Semitism from opposition to Israel. One can oppose or condemn

particular Israeli actions on the basis of moral principles that one applies to all groups equally. If one does so, then one is not an anti-Semite. Clearly, not everyone who criticizes Israel is a bigot. However, if one is anti-Semitic, one is likely to oppose, criticize, and attempt to erode support for Israel. Such opposition and criticism is likely to be couched in the high moral language of rights, liberation, oppression, and the like. Thus, in practice, it may often be extraordinarily difficult to distinguish bona fide moral objections to Israeli actions and policies from anti-Semitism masquerading as a moral concern for victims of oppression. How, then, can anti-Semitism that has little connection to Israel, anti-Semitism involving Israel, and opposition to Israel that has nothing to do with anti-Semitism be distinguished? A conceptual tool that may be used to characterize opposition to Israel as a form of subtle anti-Semitism is Sharansky's (2004) prejudicial test for the "3D's": demonization, double standards, and delegitimization.

Demonization. Demonization is the classification of a person or group as evil, thereby justifying or legitimizing either verbal slurs or physical violence. Once demonized, the individual group is denied humane behavior and human respect. Throughout history, demonization has been used by groups and nations as a tool of exploitation and to justify aggression (in the Middle Ages, people were accused of being witches by those who wanted revenge or their property) and the perpetrators of genocide often (e.g., Cambodia, Darfur, Germany, Rwanda, and Turkey) created a political atmosphere supportive of mass murder by demonizing their intended victims (Bar-Tal, 1990a, 1990b).

Nation states in conflict often use demonization in attempts to delegitimize one another. During the Cold war, the Soviets viewed Americans as imperialists, colonialists, exploiters, oppressors, brutal, aggressive, deceptive and untrustworthy (Bialer, 2004). Simultaneously, Americans labeled Soviets as brutal, aggressive, sadistic, ruthless, cruel, devious, oppressive, totalitarian, and militaristic (Bialer, 2004; Buchanan & Cantril, 1953; Cohen, 1986). More recently, American leaders have referred to Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as an “Axis of Evil” (Bush, G.W., January 29, 2002). Sometimes, these efforts quite explicitly evoke demons or devils: Iran’s leaders refer to the U.S. as the “Great Satan” and Israel as the “Little Satan”; and the Venezuelan president has referred to President Bush as “the devil.”

With regard to Israel, a classic example of demonization was the U.N. General Assembly’s declaration that Zionism (Jewish nationalism) was a form of racism (United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379, adopted on November 10, 1975). To condemn Zionism as racist was itself a quintessential act of anti-Semitism because it attempted to cast Jewish national aspirations writ large as inherently immoral. That so many countries in the U.N. voted for this resolution indicates the extent to which anti-Semitism is either actively supported or at least passively accepted throughout much of the world.

More recent (and particularly gruesome) expressions of anti-Israeli sentiment are infused into the media as political cartoons displaying soup cans reading “Made in Israel” on the label and listing the contents as “Palestinian Children Meat,” (Campus watch, April 9, 2002) and Prime Minister Ariel Sharon as the manufacturer. The virulence of this

type of political cartoon strongly implies that something other than mere opposition to Israeli policy is being expressed on this American college campus. This is demonization.

It is absurd to imply that Israeli Prime Minister Sharon (and, by extension the Israeli government and people) killed Palestinian children purposely. While Israeli actions do sometimes result in the death of innocent Palestinians, including children, there is no context here (the most relevant being the fact that many Palestinian terrorist attacks originate from within residential communities). Eliminating context has long been one of the tactics used by skilled propagandists and bigots. Attempting to cast Israeli actions as not merely wrong or immoral, but as viscerally revolting is an act of demonization.

There is, however, one condition under which demonization is not inherently anti-Semitic. Some people may see demons everywhere. An equal-opportunity demonizer, therefore, is not anti-Semitic. Such a person might similarly demonize any person or institution or nation that engages in actions with which they disagree, including, but not limited to Palestinian suicide bombers who kill Israeli children, members of Hamas launching rockets into Israeli residential areas, and mass murderers in Congo, Sierra Leone, and North Korea. They obviously do not need to do all of this, but if they demonize many different groups out of concern for innocent deaths, one would agree that, although they are definitely demonizers, they are not anti-Semitic.

Double standards. A double standard is a criterion or norm, which is applied to one individual or group but not to another. Double standards violate the principle of impartiality, in which the same rules should be applied to all people, groups or nations without exception. Often defenders of double standards deny that a double standard is

being applied. Social psychology has a long history of studying double standards, which is implicit in studies of stereotypes and person perception. The most familiar double standard may be recognized when people judge men differently than women, given identical records, accomplishments and behaviors (see Barrett and Morris, 1993; Foddy and Smithson, 1999; Foschi, 2000; Gentry, 1998 for reviews).

Such a principle is not limited to gender. In the medical field, clinical trials that would be considered unethical in the United States or Europe were conducted in developing countries (Macklin, 2004). In recent international events, after Pope Benedict implied that Islam is inherently aggressive by quoting a 14th century Byzantine emperor, Muslims around the world marched in protest, torching churches and murdering nuns (Berger, September 15, 2006; CBS News, September 17, 2006). This implies a very clear double standard: Muslims are moral when committing acts of violence against persons and property in the name of defending their religion, but Christians are immoral for suggesting that Islam is violent.

With regard to anti-Semitism and criticism of Israel, although prejudice is condemned and the Nazi Holocaust acknowledged as one of the greatest human rights violations in history, Palestinian casualties in Jenin and the West Bank (the occupied territories) are often compared by U.N. members to Jewish Holocaust victims (Human Rights Watch, 2005; Israel News Agency, 2006). This comparison simultaneously belittles the experience of Jewish victims at the hands of the Nazis and compares the Israelis to Nazis by implying that the death of 2000 Palestinians is equivalent to the systematic murder of 6 Million Jews. In direct contrast to Israel, the current genocide in Darfur – which has so far led to about 400,000 deaths and displaced 2.5 million

([www.un.org](http://www.un.org), September 21, 2006)– evokes hardly a peep out of these very same U.N. members who righteously condemn “Israeli aggression.” This is a double standard writ large, and, as such, raises the possibility that something other than mere concern for human rights violations has been motivating the intense criticism of Israel.

Another equally disturbing double standard is the enormous amount of attention bestowed on the Palestinian “refugees” versus the lack of attention Jewish refugees from North African and Middle Eastern countries have received. Much of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is focused on the right of return for Palestinians who were displaced from their homes in when Israel was declared a Jewish state in 1948. Very few however focus on the plight of the approximately one million Middle Eastern Jews who lost their freedoms, property and homes during that same time (Finegold, 2006). People are being morally consistent if they express deep concern about both Jewish and Palestinian refugees, or if they express concern about neither. They are poster children for double standards, however, when they express deep concern about the rights of Palestinian refugees, but not about Jewish refugees.

Delegitimization. Delegitimization literally means causing something to appear illegitimate or invalid. Some of the psychological literature describes delegitimization as expressing excessively negative stereotypes in reference to a specific group. Delegitimized groups are seen as transgressors of basic human norms or values, and are therefore characterized as bad and ultimately evil. Types of delegitimization cited in the literature may include dehumanization, (e.g., depiction of the group as savages, insects, beasts, or monsters), negative trait characterization (e.g., aggressors, idiots, lazy); out-casting (i.e. violators of social norms, murderers or terrorists) and rejected political labels



(i.e., Nazis, communists, socialists; Bar-Tal, 1988; 1990a;1990b). Borrowing from Bar-Tal's definition, delegitimization is the denial of some entity's right to exist because that entity is in itself inherently immoral.

In combination, double standards and demonization suggest that Israel is a despicable, ruthless, brutal, racist, and evil society. When Israeli deaths at the hands of terrorist and rocket attacks are not condemned, it stands to reason that it is because the Israeli state is so despicable, they are getting what they deserve. This is demonization working hand-in-glove with double standards to produce delegitimization.

Zionism has become synonymous with colonialism, with the Israelis being compared to Nazis (Bar-Tal, 1988; Kelman, 1999) and Apartheid South Africa. No nation on earth as small as Israel, and perhaps no nation at all except perhaps for the U.S., is subject to such large doses of international and pseudo-intellectual demonization, with political cartoons depicting former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon eating babies (The Independent, January 30th, 2003). This is demonization in the service of delegitimization. It is no wonder that members of the press have publicly articulated the notion that the creation of Israel was a mistake—a failed experiment (Cohen, Washington Post, 2006). Others have implied that Israel's credibility has been in steady decline since the Six-Day War in 1967 (Judt, May 5, 2006). The implication that Israel will not be able to stay in a Muslim dominated region or that it was never meant to succeed as a nation, demonstrates that the proponents of deligitimizing Israel have already made considerable inroads. Because no other nation has been referred to as a failed experiment, and because as a nation only Israel's fundamental right to exist is called into question on a constant and

continuous basis (Sharansky, 2004), demonization and double standards have made great strides in the service of delegitimization.

#### The New Anti-Semitism-Israel model (NASI)

The New Anti-Semitism-Israel model (NASI; Cohen & Jussim, 2006) is a juxtaposition of TMT and modern prejudice theory. The NASI model predicts that when mortality is salient, Jews are commonly perceived as threatening to one's worldview because they are different than non-Jews in their beliefs and behaviors thus leading to an increase anti-Semitism, which can manifest itself in two ways. It can develop overtly into expressions of anti-Semitism such as verbal slurs, defamation of property or bodily harm; or because prejudice (anti-Semitism) is stigmatized it can manifest itself covertly through the application of double standards, demonization and delegitimization (a product of double standards and demonization) of Israel, the Jewish state. As such, those who harbor anti-Semitic attitudes may increase hostility to Israel.

Figure 1 presents the NASI's model of relations between mortality salience, anti-Semitism, and attitudes towards Israel. The model predicts that mortality salience leads to increased anti-Semitism (Path 1), and that increased anti-Semitism leads to decreased support for Israel (Path 2). Thus, the model also predicts that anti-Semitism may partially mediate effects of mortality salience on attitudes towards Israel (Path 1 x Path 2).

Such mediation, however, is predicted to be only partial because the model also predicts that mortality salience can increase opposition to Israel for reasons having nothing to do with anti-Semitism (Path 3). This is because Israel, as a combatant for over 60 years, may be regarded as perpetrating human rights violations. Mortality salience activates worldview defenses, and worldviews typically include moral codes. For these

reasons, mortality fears leads to more punitive attitudes towards those committing moral transgressions (Greenberg et al, 1990). Mortality salience, therefore, may decrease support for Israel due to heightened moral sensibilities, rather than to the arousal of latent anti-Semitism.

The model also posits that a reverse causal path exists. Although concern for human rights violations may lead to reduced support for Israel for reasons having nothing to do with anti-Semitism (Path 3), it may then actually trigger an increase anti-Semitic prejudices (Path 4; Frindte, Wettig, and Wammetsberger, 2005; Kaplan & Small, 2006).

Three preliminary studies recently conducted by Cohen, Jussim, Harber & Bhasin (in press) demonstrated that: 1) participants expressed significantly greater levels of anti-Semitism and lower levels of pro-Israeli sentiment when reminded of their mortality and when told that they would be caught in the act of lying; 2) Anti-Semitism partially mediated the effects of mortality salience X bogus pipeline manipulation on opposition to Israel; 3) mortality salience increased the perceived size of Israel, but not of other countries; and 4) mortality salience increased opposition to Israeli oppression more than it increased opposition to Russian or Indian oppression.

In Study 1 a mortality salience (MS) manipulation was crossed with a “prejudice obvious/bogus pipeline” manipulation. The instructions provided to participants in the Prejudice Obvious condition explicitly stated on the cover page that prejudice towards various groups was being measured. The Pseudo Bogus Pipeline Condition led participants to believe that any deception on their part (lying to appear unprejudiced) would be detected by sophisticated methods developed by psychologists.

Three questionnaires were used to assess blatant expressions of anti-Semitism, anti-Israeli sentiment and anti-Palestinian sentiment. Results revealed an interaction between MS and prejudice/bogus pipeline conditions such that mortality salience increased self-reported anti-Semitism, but only in the bogus pipeline condition, leading to the speculation that anti-Semitism is stigmatized to the point that, unless participants believed that they would be caught in the act of lying, they biased their answers to appear less anti-Semitic even when reminded of their personal mortality. Similarly, mortality salience decreased support for Israel (but not for Palestinians), but only in the bogus pipeline condition. Mediation analyses then revealed that anti-Semitism mediated opposition to Israel. Additionally, reverse mediation demonstrated that opposition to Israel also mediated anti-Semitism.

Study 2 then tested the prediction that mortality salience would increase subtle or covert measures of anti-Semitism. Specifically, following a reminder of death or an important exam, people were asked to estimate the size of Israel, and several other countries. Participants rated Israel as larger in response to mortality salience, but there were no differences between conditions in the estimates of size for any of the other countries.

Study 3 attempted to rule out the alternative explanation that mortality salience increased hostility towards Israel because mortality salience provokes hostility to any nation perceived as committing obvious human rights violations. Participants were randomly assigned to either a mortality salience or aversive control induction. After reading a supposed Amnesty International excerpt regarding human rights violations committed by Russia, India, or Israel, participants in the MS condition recommended

especially harsh punitive reactions. A significant interaction between mortality salience and country was obtained. A priori contrasts revealed that mortality salience produced exaggerated punitive reactions to moral transgressions by Israel by selectively increasing opposition to Israeli oppression relative to Russian or Indian transgressions. Taken together, these studies provide preliminary empirical support of the NASI model.

The purpose of the present research was to test additional hypotheses derived from the NASI model.

- Study 1 examined explicit reports of anti-Semitism in the form of delegitimization of Israel under mortality salience and bogus pipeline conditions.
- Study 2 investigated demonization and double standards under mortality salience and bogus pipeline conditions.
- Study 3 assessed the relationship between punitive reactions to Israeli moral transgressions and anti-Semitism following a reminder of death.

#### Study 1: Anti-Semitism and Its Relationship to Delegitimization of Israel

Study 1 was designed to replicate the findings of Cohen et al's Study 1 through the use of an anti-Semitism scale. It extends it with an explicit measure of delegitimization of Israel by testing the hypothesis that mortality salience increases explicit anti-Semitism and delegitimization of Israel, but only under bogus pipeline conditions. Previous research (e.g., Devine, 1989; Jones & Sigall, 1971) has demonstrated that questionnaire-based attitudes studies are often limited because their objectives are often obvious. People may intentionally lie or distort their responses on such explicit measures of anti-Semitism in order to appear unprejudiced (Cohen et al, in press). To address this social desirability problem, the bogus pipeline manipulation is a

necessary tool enabling researchers to uncover covert hostility towards Jews even under MS conditions.

Study 1 tested four main predictions of the NASI model:

- Hypothesis 1: Mortality salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline manipulation increases scores on the anti-Semitism scale.
- Hypothesis 2: Higher anti-Semitism scores predict increased delegitimization of Israel.
- Hypothesis 3: Mortality salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline manipulation increases delegitimization of Israel.
- Hypothesis 4: Increased delegitimization of Israel predicts increases in anti-Semitism.

## Methods

### Participants

One hundred and eighty-four participants were recruited from a Rutgers social psychology course and given extra credit for their participation. Participants received course credit for their participation, which lasted about 20 minutes. Participants were run in one session. Thirteen Jewish participants were removed from analyses, leaving a total of 171 participants. This included 86 females and 85 males. Fifteen identified themselves as African-American, 48 as Asian-American, 14 as Latino, 77 as White, and 16 identified themselves as belonging to other ethnic groups. One-hundred identified themselves as belonging to one of the many Christian faiths, 20 as Hindu, 12 as Muslim, 7 as Buddhist, and 32 as “other.”

### Experimental Design

A 2 (Mortality Salient; Pain Salient) X 2 (Bogus pipeline; camouflage “attitudes”) independent groups design.

### Materials and Procedure

Bogus pipeline. Half the subjects were made to believe that the purpose of the experiment was simply to study a variety of attitudes ("camouflage"), and others were made to believe that the purpose of the experiment is to study attitudes and that any lies about their true attitudes can be detected ("bogus pipeline").

In Cohen et al's (in press) Study 1 participants were alerted to the “purpose” of the survey in the prejudice obvious condition, and were thus conceivably able to hide socially unacceptable attitudes. Arguably, prejudice was made salient in this condition to the extent that participants may have actively distorted self-reports, thus leading to the significant results obtained in the bogus pipeline condition. As such it is conceivable that the bogus pipeline findings may not have been because of the bogus pipeline doing anything per se; rather, the wording of the prejudice obvious condition may have stifled anti-Semitic responses that would have otherwise emerged had we described the study as attitude change. The participants in the present study therefore were only led to believe that experimenters were looking for attitudes on social and political issues. Accordingly, the cover page in the camouflage condition neither made it very obvious that prejudice was being measured nor pointed out that questionnaires can catch people lying. It was, therefore, a control condition. (See Appendix A).

Participants in the bogus pipeline condition received the same information about the survey as those in the camouflage condition, with one crucial difference. They were

also informed that the study was focused on attitudes, but they were led to believe that any deception on their part (lying to appear unprejudiced) would be detected by sophisticated methods developed by psychologists (See Appendix B). In keeping with the cover story, participants then completed a series of personality measurements (to be used as filler questionnaires).

Mortality salience. In the mortality salience (MS) condition, participants responded to two open-ended questions relating to their own mortality, which read as follows: “Please describe the emotions that the thought of your own death arouses in you.” And, “Write down as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you physically when you die.”

Pain salience (control) participants responded to parallel questions regarding thoughts of pain, as follows: “Please describe the emotions that the thought of intense physical pain arouses in you.” And, “Write down as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as you experience pain and when it’s over.” Pain salience provided an apt control condition because, as demonstrated in previous TMT studies, thoughts of physical pain are as unpleasant as well as anxiety-provoking yet non-lethal event.

Given that previous TMT research demonstrated that MS manipulations emerge after a short delay and distraction (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Simon, & Breus, 1994), following the MS manipulation participants completed the PANAS-X (Watson and Clark, 1992) to assess the affective consequences (or lack thereof) of the MS manipulation, and a short literary passage used in previous studies to provide the delay and distraction.



Anti-Semitism scale. An updated version of Selznick & Steinberg's Anti-Semitism Scale (1969), modified to sample anti-Jewish attitudes with more contemporary, and less blatant, attitude items such as, "Jews still think of themselves as God's Chosen People" was used (as reported in Smith, 1993; See Appendix C for complete questionnaire). It consisted of 23 questions assessing participants' levels of anti-Jewish sentiment (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .90$ ). Responses were obtained on a five-point Likert scale. Negatively phrased questions were reverse-coded so that a higher score revealed a greater amount of anti-Semitism. In order to keep participants' score on the original 1-5 point scale, participants' responses to the 23 anti-Semitism questions were summed and divided by 23. This average constituted each participant's score on this scale.

Delegitimization survey. As a direct measure of delegitimization participants then answered four questions assessing the degree to which people believed that Israel is a threat to world peace and should cease to exist on a scale of 1-7 (1 = not at all; 7 = extremely) (Appendix D). The scale demonstrated good internal reliability (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .82$ ). Negatively phrased questions were reverse-coded so that a higher score revealed a greater amount of delegitimization. In order to keep participants' score on the original 1-7 point scale, participants' responses to the 4 delegitimization questions were summed and divided by 4. This average constituted each participant's score on this scale.

The anti-Semitism scale and the delegitimization survey were counterbalanced to control for order of presentation. After completing the demographic questionnaire participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

## Results

### Preliminary Analyses

An initial series of univariate ANOVAs, using mortality salience (death, pain) by bogus pipeline (bogus pipeline, camouflage) by scale order, sex, ethnicity, was performed on each of the dependent measures. Because there were too few non-Whites and non-Christians to assess general effects of ethnicity or religion, participants' ethnicity was recoded into White vs. nonwhite, and their religion was recoded into Christian vs. non-Christian. There were, therefore, 12 separate univariate ANOVAs performed 2 scales (anti-Semitism, delegitimization) X 2 orders (anti-Semitism first, delegitimization first) X 3 sets of demographics (sex, ethnicity, religion). These analyses did not yield any significant interactions with mortality salience and, therefore, are not discussed further. All subsequent analyses were conducted as 2 (mortality salience) X 2 (bogus pipeline) ANOVAs.

To determine if mortality salience affected mood, an analyses of variance was performed on an abridged version of the PANAS-X (Watson & Clark, 1992) including Positive Affect and Negative Affect. Consistent with previous TMT research demonstrating that mortality salience did not influence affect, there were no significant differences found for any of these analyses (all  $p$ . values > .1).

Four extreme outliers ( $\pm 2.5$  standard deviations) on the delegitimization scale were removed before conducting analyses, leaving 167 participants.  $N$ 's vary slightly for subsequent analyses due to missing data. Means, standard deviations and correlations are presented in Table 1.

### Overview of Main Analyses

The main analyses consisted of a series of 2 (mortality salient, exam salient) X 2 (camouflage, bogus pipeline) ANOVAs, performed on anti-Semitism scores and delegitimization scores.

### Anti-Semitism

Consistent with Cohen et al's (in press) Study 1 there were significant main effects for mortality salience,  $F(1, 163) = 4.43, p < .05$ , and bogus pipeline,  $F(1, 163) = 8.19, p = .005$ . These main effects were however qualified by the predicted mortality salience X bogus pipeline interaction  $F(1, 163) = 4.74, p < .05$ . Cell means are presented in Table 2. The main effects resulted from participants reporting significantly greater levels of anti-Semitism under mortality salience ( $M = 2.88, SD = .72$ ) than under pain salience ( $M = 2.67, SD = .61$ ) and more anti-Semitism in the bogus pipeline condition ( $M = 2.92, SD = .63$ ) than in the camouflage condition ( $M = 2.63, SD = .69$ ).

Then regarding the MS X BP interaction, the pattern of cell means clearly supported the hypothesis that anti-Semitism would be highest in the mortality salience/bogus pipeline group. The optimal way to test the MS X BP interaction observed for anti-Semitism would be to demonstrate that there were higher levels of anti-Semitism expressed in the mortality salience/bogus pipeline cell than in any of the other three cells. For the anti-Semitism scores this prediction was tested by a one degree of freedom a priori contrast (Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1991). Therefore, the first hypothesis was tested with a contrast in which the mortality salience/bogus pipeline cell was coded as -3, and all other cells were coded as 1. Mean anti-Semitism was 3.13 in the mortality salience/bogus pipeline cell, whereas it was near 2.6 in all of the other cells, and the a

priori contrast was significant,  $t(163) = 4.13, p < .001$ . An analysis of the residual between groups variance (after accounting for the variance explained by this contrast) was not significant  $F(2, 163) = 0.21, p > .1$ . Furthermore, the a priori contrast coefficients correlated .99 with the observed cell means. In other words, this contrast accounted for nearly all of the systematic variance in anti-Semitism, and what remained was not significant. These results therefore, strongly supported the hypothesis that mortality salience would increase anti-Semitism, but only in conjunction with the bogus pipeline induction.

### Delegitimization

Levels of delegitimization towards Israel were significantly affected by mortality salience,  $F(1, 166) = 7.62, p = .006$ , and marginally affected by bogus pipeline,  $F(1, 166) = 3.88, p < .10$ . Cell means are presented in Table 3. Participants reported significantly higher levels of delegitimization toward Israel under mortality salience ( $M = 3.40, SD = .89$ ) than under pain salience ( $M = 3.03, SD = .83$ ). Participants also reported marginally higher levels of delegitimization toward Israel when led to believe they would be caught lying ( $M = 3.35, SD = .92$ ) than when led to believe that the study focused on assessing their general attitudes ( $M = 3.08, SD = .82$ ). The mortality salience X bogus pipeline interaction was not significant,  $F(1, 166) = .76, p > .10$ .

### Mediational Analyses

Results reported above have already established that mortality salience and a bogus pipeline manipulation each increased anti-Semitism. Before testing mediational models, however, it was necessary to determine whether anti-Semitism is related to levels of delegitimization towards Israel; if it was not, there would be nothing to mediate.

Consistent with the hypothesis, those who were more anti-Semitic also demonstrated higher levels of delegitimization towards Israel,  $r(167) = .41, p < .01$ . The strength of this correlation is worth noting in its own right. It places the relationship between anti-Semitism and levels of delegitimization toward Israel among the largest 25% of effects found in social psychology and are nearly double the average effect size obtained in work on social cognition, attitudes, and inter-group relations (Richard, Bond, & Stokes, Zoota, 2003). It is also consistent with recent findings obtained in several European countries in which anti-Semitism and anti-Israeli attitudes have been shown to be related (Kaplan & Small, 2006).

The relationship between anti-Semitism and levels of delegitimization towards Israel is consistent with the hypothesis that anti-Semitism mediates effects of mortality salience on support for Israel. The next set of analyses directly tested this hypothesis.

Establishing mediation. Mediation can be established by demonstrating four specific results (Baron & Kenny, 1986). First, the independent variable should significantly affect the mediator. Our analyses involving the theoretical a priori contrast have already established that mortality salience and the fear of being caught lying each individually increases anti-Semitism.

Second, the independent variable should significantly affect the dependent variable in the absence of the mediator. This too has been established. Third, the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable should significantly decrease when the mediator is added to the model. In this case, the effect of mortality salience and the fear of being caught lying on levels of delegitimization towards Israel should be reduced when controlling for anti-Semitism. Fourth, the effect of the mediator on the dependent

variable should remain significant, even when controlling for the independent variable. In this case, anti-Semitism should still predict higher levels of delegitimization towards Israel, even when controlling for mortality salience and the bogus pipeline manipulation. The next set of analyses tested the third and fourth requirement for establishing mediation.

Mortality Salience. Testing this hypothesized model required conducting two separate regression analyses. The first regression assessed MS effects on anti-Semitism. The second regression tested MS effects on levels of delegitimization towards Israel, controlling for anti-Semitism, and constituted the key test of mediation.

Results of this model are presented in Figure 2. The link between anti-Semitism and delegitimization remained significant even after controlling for mortality salience,  $B = .39$ ,  $p < .001$ . This supports the hypothesis that anti-Semitism at least partially mediated the effects of mortality salience on delegitimization. Although the path from MS to delegitimization decreased from  $\beta = .21$ ,  $p < .01$  to  $\beta = .15$ ,  $p < .05$ , the Sobel's (1982) test indicated that this reduction in paths was not significant ( $p > .10$ ), indicating that MS increased delegitimization and anti-Semitism, but anti-Semitism did not greatly mediate the effect of MS on delegitimization.

Bogus Pipeline. Results of this model are presented in Figure 3. The link between anti-Semitism and delegitimization remained significant even after controlling for the bogus pipeline manipulation,  $B = .40$ ,  $p < .001$ . This supports the hypothesis that anti-Semitism at least partially mediated the effects of the bogus pipeline manipulation on delegitimization. Although the path from BP to delegitimization decreased from  $\beta =$

.15,  $p > .05$  to  $\beta = .07$ ,  $p > .10$ , the Sobel's (1982) test indicated that this reduction in paths was not significant ( $p > .10$ ).

Alternative Model. Because the previous mediational analysis failed to demonstrate a causal relationship in which anti-Semitism leads to delegitimization towards Israel an alternative model was tested, in order to determine the viability of an alternative assumption: that levels of delegitimization towards Israel causes anti-Semitism and, therefore, mediates effects of mortality salience on anti-Semitism. Thus, Mediation Model 3 (Figure 4) was identical to Mediation Model 1, and Mediation Model 4 (Figure 5) was identical to Mediation Model 2 except that they reversed the assumed causal relationship between anti-Semitism and delegitimization.

Mortality Salience. In support of this “reverse” mediation, the path linking levels of delegitimization towards Israel to anti-Semitism remained significant,  $B = .40$ ,  $p < .001$ , and the effect of mortality salience on anti-Semitism was reduced (from  $.16$ ,  $p < .05$  to  $.07$ ,  $p > .10$ ). A Sobel's test indicated that this reduction was not significant,  $p > .10$  (see figure 4).

Bogus Pipeline. In support of this “reverse” mediation, the path linking levels of delegitimization towards Israel to anti-Semitism remained significant,  $B = .39$ ,  $p < .001$ , and the effect of bogus pipeline on anti-Semitism was reduced (from  $.22$ ,  $p < .01$  to  $.16$ ,  $p < .05$ ). A Sobel's test indicated that this reduction was not significant,  $p > .10$  (see figure 5).

## Discussion

Study 1 was designed to test the hypothesis that mortality salience would increase explicit forms of anti-Semitism, but only when participants believed they would be detected if they misrepresented their responses. In accord with this prediction, mortality

salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline manipulation increased scores on the anti-Semitism scale. In line with Cohen et al (Study 1; in press) in the United States blatant expressions of prejudice are highly stigmatized, making it highly doubtful that many people would declare open hatred of Jews. It would appear that anti-Semitism, much like modern” racism and sexism (e.g., McConahay, 1976; Swim et al, 1995) has gone underground.

However, mortality salience alone was sufficient to increase scores on the delegitimization scale. Perhaps the delegitimization scale used in this study was not as blatantly obvious as the anti-Semitism scale; consequently it did not require the addition of the bogus pipeline manipulation to produce the typical TMT worldview defense effect. While blatant anti-Semitism is not often expressed, many Americans have voiced concern over human rights violations committed by the Israelis (Finklestein, January 14, 2006) while completely ignoring other countries committing similar violations (e.g., China or Saudi Arabia; (Goodstein, 2005). For example, accusing Israel of war crimes for using cluster munitions in the 2006 Hezbollah war (Human Rights Watch, 2008), while ignoring Hezbollah’s use of the same weaponry is anti-Semitism. However, it is a subtle or covert form of anti-Semitism. As such while mortality salience did indeed raise levels of delegitimization towards Israel, Hypothesis 3 (mortality salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline manipulation increases delegitimization of Israel) was not supported. It would appear that participants’ levels of delegitimization increased in the mortality salience condition regardless of the bogus pipeline manipulation. Delegitimization, the implication that Israel is not a legitimate state, is indeed a covert measure of anti-



Semitism and therefore while not specifically predicted here, it did not require bogus pipeline for ms to produce an effect.

In accord with the second hypothesis—higher anti-Semitism scores predict increased delegitimization of Israel— and fourth hypothesis—increased delegitimization of Israel predicts increases in anti-Semitism—anti-Semitism scores significantly correlated with delegitimization scores. Additionally, the link between anti-Semitism and delegitimization remained significant in both directions while controlling for experimental manipulations. However, a causal relationship could not be established in either direction (Sobel’s tests of mediation were not significant).

#### Study 2: Demonization and Double Standards

Participants in Study 1 did not express blatant anti-Semitism (“Jews have a lot of irritating faults”) except under the conditions of mortality salience and bogus pipeline; whereas reminders of death alone were sufficient to raise levels of delegitimization of Israel (subtle measures of anti-Semitism; “Israel is a threat to world peace”). Based on these findings it seems likely that hostility towards Jews and Israel in response to reminders of death will often be expressed in subtle and indirect ways that are plausibly interpretable as something other than prejudice.

Study 2 tested the NASI model through the hypothesis that as a subtle form of anti-Semitism expressions of hostility towards the Jewish state will be magnified by a mortality salience induction even in the absence of bogus pipeline conditions (see figure 1: Path 1 x Path 2). Therefore, a subtle expression of anti-Semitism and anti-Israel sentiment and opposition to Israel in the form of demonization was assessed through obtaining the impressions of two political cartoons. Political cartoons typically use visual

metaphors and caricatures to draw attention to important social and political issues with a humorous or emotional picture. Often during times of war they are used to sway the public opinion in their favor (e.g., Benjamin Franklin's *Join or Die* (1754) depicting a snake cut up into several sections was used in support of the French and Indian War and then during the Revolutionary War.)

Political cartoonists in the Arab media often depict the U.S. and its leaders as exterminators of the Muslim world (Marcus and Crook, November 22, 2004). For example, a popular British cartoon that depicts former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon eating babies is a form of demonization, but it is a very old form of demonization. This cartoon draws heavily on the Medieval Jewish Blood Libels in which Jews were accused of murdering non-Jewish children in order to use their blood to prepare Passover matzos. There are many other examples of modern political cartoons portraying Israel and Israelis as animals, insects, or cannibals (Kotek, 2004). These cartoons are striking in several regards. First, on their face, they seem to reflect the virulent type of loathing that often characterizes deep-seated bigotries. Second, they were obtained from mainstream presses from a variety of countries (American, British, Egyptian). Third, many have a haunting similarity in substance, style, and motif to Nazi-era cartoons depicting Jews in a manner widely recognized as reflecting the most virulent form of anti-Semitism (Lustige Blatter, 1943).

The vile nature of these cartoons may suggest that anti-Semitic attitudes may run wide and deep, and they raise the possibility that these cartoons reflect more than mere opposition to Israel. While it is possible that other countries, cultures, or peoples are similarly depicted as widely and as frequently in such a revolting manner, these real

world examples are also consistent with the perspective suggesting that hostility to Israel may be expressed with such virulence that it is most likely powered, at least in part, by anti-Semitism. Thus, one purpose of this study was to test the hypothesis derived from the NASI that, when we encounter reminders of death, revolting cartoons of human rights transgressors should be viewed as more justified (Path 3 of the figure 1 model). A second purpose was to demonstrate that because mortality salience also increases anti-Semitism and demonization of Israel, it should disproportionately increase support for the anti-Israeli political cartoons more than for those of another country (Path 1 X 2 of the figure 1 model).

Study 2 tested two main predictions of the NASI model:

#### Hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: If mortality salience increases our sense of belief in a moral world order, then mortality salience should also lead to an increase in agreement with offensive cartoons demonizing countries violating human rights (subtle forms of hostility)..

Hypothesis 2: If Mortality salience increases anti-Semitism then it should increase subtle forms of hostility towards Israel more than it does towards other countries.

#### Methods

Methods employed in Study 2 were nearly identical to those of Study 1. One hundred and seventy-six participants were recruited from a Rutgers social psychology course. Participants received course credit for their participation, which lasted about 20 minutes. Participants were run in one session. Fourteen Jewish participants and six Chinese participants were removed from analyses, leaving a total of 156 participants. Four participants were dropped due to missing data. Participants included 97 females and 54 males. Ten identified themselves as African-American, 26 as (non-Chinese) Asian-

American, 17 as Latino, 82 as White, and 12 identified themselves as belonging to other ethnic groups. One-hundred and four identified themselves as belonging to one of the many Christian faiths, 12 as Hindu, 5 as Muslim, 1 as (non-Chinese) Buddhist, and 29 as “other.”

### Experimental Design

Study 2 employed a 2 (Mortality Salience: Death v. Exam) X 2 (Bogus pipeline: camouflage vs. bogus pipeline) X 2 (target country: Israel v China) independent groups design.

### Materials and Procedure

Participants were either led to believe that this was a study assessing general attitudes or one in which they would be caught in the act of lying to appear unprejudiced. They then filled out some filler personality questionnaires followed by the mortality salience or pain salience manipulation. Following the MS manipulation participants completed the PANAS-X (Watson and Clark, 1992) to assess the affective consequences (or lack thereof) of the MS manipulation, and a short literary passage used in previous studies to provide the delay and distraction.

Participants then read a short vignette discussing either Israeli brutality towards Palestinians (Appendix E) or Chinese brutality towards a group of monks (Appendix F) in Tibet. They were then shown 2 cartoons. The first depicted the prime minister of Israel or China eating Palestinian or Tibetan children (Figure 6 and Figure 7 respectively). The second depicts a Jew or a Chinese man controlling the world at the expense of the Palestinian or the Tibetan (Figure 8 and Figure 9 respectively).

Participants then filled out 3 questions asking participants on a scale of 1-5 to what degree they felt the cartoons of either Israeli (Jewish state) leader or the cartoons of Chinese leader is justified (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .82$ ): "Do you believe this representation to be an accurate portrayal of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict?" "Based on the passage you just read how justified is the following cartoon?" "Do you find this cartoon offensive?". In order to keep participants' score on the original 1-5 point scale, participants' responses to the 3 questions were summed and divided by 3. This average constituted each participant's score on this scale. Participants then provided demographic information and were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

## Results and Discussion

### Preliminary Analyses

An initial series of univariate ANOVAs, using mortality salience (death, pain) by bogus pipeline (bogus pipeline, camouflage) by each of the demographic characteristics was performed. Because there were too few non-Whites and non-Christians to assess general effects of ethnicity or religion, participants' ethnicity was recoded into White vs. nonwhite, and their religion was recoded into Christian vs. non-Christian. There were, therefore, 24 separate univariate ANOVAs performed (4 cartoons (Israeli/Chinese Leader, Israeli/Chinese World) by 2 orders (leader first, world first) by 3 sets of demographics (sex, ethnicity, religion)). These analyses yielded only 3 out of 24 possible interactions of a demographic variable with mortality salience and bogus pipeline and, therefore, are not discussed further.<sup>2</sup> All subsequent analyses were conducted as 2 (mortality salience) X 2 (bogus pipeline) X 2 (country) ANOVAs.

To determine if mortality salience affected mood, an analyses of variance was performed on an abridged version of the PANAS-X (Watson & Clark, 1992) including

Positive Affect and Negative Affect. Consistent with previous TMT research demonstrating that mortality salience did not influence affect, there were no significant differences found for any of these analyses (all  $p$  values  $> .1$ ). Additionally, as with Study 1 a test for outliers was conducted and none were found, therefore the sample size was unchanged. Means, standard deviations and correlations among variables are presented in Table 4.

### Leadership Cartoon

Study 2 produced a main effect for the bogus pipeline manipulation  $F(1,150) = 5.16, p = .03$ . Contrary to the predictions, participants in the bogus pipeline condition evaluated this cartoon as being more justified ( $M = 2.88$ ), than participants in the camouflage condition ( $M = 2.60$ ).

Main effects were qualified by a significant ms X country interaction  $F(1,150) = 7.53, p = .007$ . In accord with the second hypothesis participants in the mortality salience condition rated the cartoon of the Israeli leader eating Palestinian babies as more justified than in the control condition ( $M = 2.90, SD = .95$  v.  $M = 2.50, SD = .83, t(147) = 2.18, p < .05$ ). This was not the case with those rating the cartoons of the Chinese leader eating Tibetan babies ( $M = 2.61, SD = .75$  v.  $M = 2.84, SD = .64, t(147) = 1.30, p > .1$ ).

The two-way interaction was however qualified by an unpredicted significant three-way mortality salience X bogus pipeline X target country interaction  $F(1,150) = 6.31, p < .02$ . Based on these findings the assumption – that levels of justification for the cartoons would be highest in the mortality salience/bogus pipeline/Israel group -- was tested with a one-degree of freedom contrast in which the mortality salience/bogus

pipeline/Israel cell was coded as 7, and all other cells were coded as -1. Cell means with contrast coefficients are presented in Table 5.

The pattern of cell means (see Table 5) clearly supported the assumption. Mean attitude toward Israel was 3.38 in the mortality salience/ bogus pipeline cell, whereas it was near 2.65 in all of the other cells. Furthermore, the one degree of freedom contrast was significant,  $t(143) = 3.52, p = .001$ . The residual between groups variance (after accounting for the variance explained by this contrast) was not significant  $F(2, 143) > .1$ , ns, and the contrast coefficients correlated .84 with the observed cell means. In other words, this contrast accounted for most of the systematic variance in attitudes towards Israel, and what was left over was not significant. This contrast, therefore, strongly supports the claim that mortality salience in conjunction with the fear of being caught lying to appear unprejudiced increased demonization of Israel more than for other countries.

### World Cartoon

Study 2 produced a main effect for the bogus pipeline manipulation  $F(1,148) = 8.93, p = .003$ . Contrary to the predictions participants in the camouflage condition evaluated them as being less justified ( $M = 2.61$ ), while when told they would be caught lying participants viewed the cartoons as more justified ( $M = 3.03$ ).

The main effects were qualified by an unpredicted significant three-way mortality salience X bogus pipeline X target country interaction  $F(1,148) = 4.13, p < .05$ . Based on these findings the assumption – that levels of justification for the cartoons would be highest in the mortality salience/bogus pipeline/Israel group -- was tested with a one-degree of freedom contrast in which the mortality salience/bogus pipeline/Israel cell was

coded as 7, and all other cells were coded as -1. Cell means and contrast coefficients are presented in Table 6.

The pattern of cell means (see Table 6) clearly supported the assumption. Mean attitude toward Israel was 3.44 in the mortality salience/ bogus pipeline cell, whereas it was near 2.79 in all of the other cells. Furthermore, the one degree of freedom contrast was significant,  $t(141) = 3.12, p = .002$ . The residual between groups variance (after accounting for the variance explained by this contrast) was not significant  $F(2, 143) > .1$ , ns, and the contrast coefficients correlated .74 with the observed cell means. In other words, this contrast accounted for most of the systematic variance in attitudes towards Israel, and what was left over was not significant. This contrast, therefore, strongly supports the claim that mortality salience in conjunction with the fear of being caught lying to appear unprejudiced increased demonization of Israel more than for other countries.

### Discussion

Study 2 tested the hypothesis that expressions of hostility towards the Jewish state would be magnified by a mortality salience induction even in the absence of bogus pipeline conditions. A subtle expression of anti-Semitism and anti-Israel sentiment and opposition to Israel in the form of demonization was assessed through obtaining the impressions of two offensive political cartoons. Results showed that contrary to predictions mortality salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline manipulation increased perceived justification for offensive political cartoons of Israel but not China. Apparently a cartoon of Ariel Sharon eating babies is blunt. I can only speculate that this was in fact an explicit measure of anti-Semitism, and as such, the pattern of results is the same as those in Study 1.



These effects may be interpreted as an effect of mortality salience on moral sensibilities and disdain for transgressors of human rights. However because there were no effects for China the best interpretation of Study 2 is that the anti-Semitism aroused by mortality salience led to these findings (see Figure 10).

### Study 3: Beliefs versus Intention to Act

Study 1 tested the hypothesis derived from the NASI that explicit measures of anti-Semitism and explicit measures of delegitimization of Israel will increase when people are reminded of their own demise and when told they will be caught in the act of lying. Study 2 tested the hypothesis derived from the NASI that demonization of Israel in the form of finding offensive political cartoons justified would increase under the influence of mortality salience more so for Israel than for other countries.

Study 3 addressed two important questions beyond those considered in the first two studies. First, the NASI specifically predicts that anti-Semitism can manifest itself in two ways. It can develop overtly into expressions of anti-Semitism such as verbal slurs, defamation of property or bodily harm; or because prejudice (anti-Semitism) is stigmatized it can manifest itself covertly through the application of double standards, demonization and delegitimization of Israel. As such, is there a relationship between explicit and subtle measures of anti-Semitism?

Second, is there a relationship between stated attitudes and behaviors? Study 3 was designed with these specific questions in mind. Participants' explicit anti-Semitic attitudes and their prejudicial attitudes towards Blacks and Asians were assessed. (Previous TMT studies (Solomon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, 2004) have shown that mortality salience increases derogation of all out-groups, however if Jews are potentially

more threatening than other out-groups and constitute a unique cultural threat there will be a larger increase in anti-Semitism than for other prejudices).

Then the relationship between participants' explicit anti-Semitic attitudes and their subtle anti-Semitic attitudes (through demonization and double standards applied to Israel) were assessed. Lastly, participants' relationship between stated attitudes and behaviors was assessed by asking them to sign a petition either for the release of Palestinian prisoners being detained by the Israelis or Kosovar prisoners being detained by Serbia (a measure of disdain for human rights transgressions; Path 3 of the NASI).

Study 3 tested five main predictions of the NASI model:

Hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1: Mortality salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline manipulation will increase scores on the anti-Semitism scale more than scores on the prejudice towards Asians scale, and racism scale.
- Hypothesis 2: Mortality salience increases the desire to take action opposing Israel and Serbia (human rights transgressors).
- Hypothesis 3: Increased anti-Semitism predicts increases in active forms of opposition to Israel but not other countries (a measure of double standards).
- Hypothesis 4: Active (behavioral) opposition to Israel predicts increases in anti-Semitism scores.
- Hypothesis 5: Mortality salience should significantly interact with the bogus pipeline manipulation to increase explicit anti-Semitism scores, but not on subtle forms of hostility to Israel.

## Methods

The methods employed in Study 3 resembled those of Studies 1 and 2. Three-hundred and thirty-seven participants were recruited from a Rutgers general psychology course. Participants received course credit for their participation, which lasted about 20 minutes. Participants were run in one session. Twenty-nine Jewish participants were removed from the anti-Semitism and delegitimization analyses, and 10 participants were dropped for missing data leaving a total of 298 participants. This included 138 females and 160 males. Eleven identified themselves as African-American, 143 as Asian-American, 24 as Latino, 90 as White, and 30 identified themselves as belonging to other ethnic groups. One-hundred and seventy-five identified themselves as belonging to one of the many Christian faiths, 49 as Hindu, 19 as Muslim, 11 as Buddhist, and 44 as “other.”

For the purpose of the racism scale 29 Jewish participants were reinserted and 12 African-American participants were removed from the analyses, and 5 participants were dropped for missing data leaving a total of 320 participants. This included 161 females and 159 males. One hundred and forty-five identified themselves as Asian-American, 25 as Latino, 119 as White, and 31 identified themselves as belonging to other ethnic groups. One-hundred and sixty-six identified themselves as belonging to one of the many Christian faiths, 49 as Hindu, 29 as Jewish, 19 as Muslim, 11 as Buddhist, and 42 as “other.”

For the purpose of the prejudice toward Asian scales the 12 African-American participants were reinserted and the 145 Asians were removed from the analysis, and 5 participants were dropped for missing data leaving a total of 187 participants. This included 102 females and 85 males. Twelve identified themselves as African-American, 25 as Latino, 119 as White, and 31 identified themselves as belonging to other ethnic

groups. One-hundred and twenty identified themselves as belonging to one of the many Christian faiths, 8 as Hindu, 29 as Jewish, 7 as Muslim, 3 as Buddhist, and 17 as “other.”

### Experimental Design

Study 3 employed a 2 (Mortality Salience: Death v. Exam) X 2 (Bogus pipeline: camouflage vs. bogus pipeline) X 2 (target country: Israel v Serbia) independent groups design. Materials and Procedure

Participants were either led to believe that this was a study assessing general attitudes or one in which they would be caught in the act of lying to appear unprejudiced. They then filled out some filler personality questionnaires followed by the mortality salience or pain salience manipulation. Once completed, they completed a mood inventory to serve as a delay and a distraction. Participants then completed a general knowledge questionnaire consisting of 55 questions in which 10 anti-Semitism questions from the explicit anti-Semitism scale (used in Study 1; (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .87$ ), 3 questions from the racism scale (McConahay, & Hough, 1976; Cronbach's  $\alpha = .63$ ) and the 3 questions from prejudice toward Asian scale (Walker, 1994; Cronbach's  $\alpha = .67$ ) were embedded (the purpose of this racism scale and prejudice toward Asian scale was to determine whether the mortality salience manipulation affected levels of prejudice for Jews, Blacks and Asians equally or if it was unique to anti-Semitism alone). The general questionnaire served to mask the true purpose of the anti-Semitism measure (Appendix G). In order to keep participants' score on the original 1-5 point scale, participants' responses to the 10 questions were summed and divided by 10. This average constituted each participant's score on this scale.

Prisoner Petition. Participants read a petition taken from Amnesty International and modified for the purpose of this research demanding either the release of Palestinian prisoners who have been detained in Israeli jails for over 2 years (Appendix H) or the release of Kosovar prisoners who have been detained in Serbian prisons for over 2 years (Appendix I). Participants were then asked to check off their intent to sign the petition and were told that if they checked off yes they would be provided with a web address in which they could sign the actual petition. They then filled out a survey assessing the validity of the petition (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .93$ ), consisting of the following four questions on a scale of 1-5 (1 being not at all and 5 being extremely): "How valid are the complaints in this petition?", "How willing are you to sign the petition?", "How strongly do you believe that the release of these prisoners is a cause worth fighting for?", and "How strongly do you believe that the United States should assist in the release of these prisoners?" In order to keep participants' score on the original 1-5 point scale, participants' responses to the 4 questions were summed and divided by 4. This average constituted each participant's score on this scale.

In order to control for order effects half of the participants completed the general questionnaire before the petition and the other half completed it after the petition. They then completed their demographic information and were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

## Results

### Preliminary Analyses

An initial series of univariate ANOVAs, using mortality salience (death, pain) by bogus pipeline (bogus pipeline, camouflage) by each of the demographic characteristics was performed. Because there were too few non-Christians to assess general effects of

religion, participants' ethnicity was recoded into Christian vs. non-Christian. Ethnicity was recoded into White and non-White. There were, therefore, 12 separate univariate ANOVAs performed 2 petitions (Israel, Serbia) by 2 orders (questionnaire first, petition first) by 3 sets of demographics (sex, ethnicity, religion). These analyses yielded no significant interactions of a demographic variable with mortality salience and bogus pipeline and, therefore, are not discussed further. All subsequent analyses were conducted as 2 (mortality salience) X 2 (bogus pipeline) X 2 (country) ANOVAs.

To determine if mortality salience affected mood, an analyses of variance was performed on an abridged version of the PANAS-X (Watson & Clark, 1992) including Positive Affect and Negative Affect. Consistent with previous TMT research demonstrating that mortality salience did not influence affect, there were no significant differences found for any of these analyses (all  $p$  values  $> .1$ ). Additionally, as with Studies 1 and 2 a test for outliers was conducted and none were found, therefore the sample size was unchanged. Means, standard deviations and correlations among variables are presented in Table 7.

#### Anti-Semitism Scale

A 2 (mortality salience, pain salience) X 2 (bogus pipeline, camouflage) ANOVA produced only a significant main effects for mortality salience,  $F(1, 294) = 11.24$ ,  $p = .001$ ; Participants reported significantly greater levels of anti-Semitism under mortality salience ( $M = 2.41$ ,  $SD = .84$ ) than under pain salience ( $M = 2.08$ ,  $SD = .82$ ). Cell means are presented in Table 8.

### General Prejudice

Preliminary analyses. Prejudice towards Asians and Blacks were examined to determine whether the effects of mortality salience were unique to anti-Semitism. TMT research has demonstrated that attitudes toward any outgroup would become more hostile following mortality salience, and not only Jews. Mortality salience and the bogus pipeline manipulations were examined to determine the effect on prejudice toward Blacks and Asians. The same mortality salience by bogus pipeline 2 X 2 ANOVA was, therefore, performed on the 3 questions from the racism scale (McConahay, 1986) and the 3 questions from the prejudice toward Asian scale (Walker, 1994) embedded in the general knowledge questionnaire. In order to keep participants' score on the original 1-5 point scale, participants' responses to the 3 questions for each scale were summed and divided by 3. The average constituted each participant's score on this scale.

Black and Asian prejudice. Eleven Black participants were removed from the analyses of the racism scale and 143 Asians were removed from the analysis of the prejudice toward Asian scales. These analysis yielded only a main Bogus pipeline effect for prejudice toward Asians,  $F(1, 186) = 6.51, p < .02$ . Thus, there was only evidence that people were masking their true attitudes toward Asians when they believed they would be caught lying to appear unprejudiced ( $M = 3.09, SD = .48$ ), but not in the camouflage condition ( $M = 2.91, SD = .47$ ). Thus in the current study, hostility following mortality salience appears reserved for Jews, and did not generalize to out-groups in general.

### Delegitimization: Prisoner Petition

Request to sign the petition. To assess behavioral intentions, a chi-square test comparing whether yes versus no votes requesting participants to sign the petition varied as a function of experimental conditions was conducted. Participants were regrouped into 8 cells based on the mortality salience/bogus pipeline/target country interaction. The chi-square was not significant ( $\chi^2(7, N = 297) = .641, p > .10$ ), indicating that intentions to sign the petition did not vary as a function of experimental conditions. The full chi square and counts per cell are presented in Table 9.

Survey. A 2 (mortality salience, pain salience) X 2 (bogus pipeline, camouflage) X 2 (Israel, Serbia) ANOVA yielded only a significant three-way interaction between mortality salience, bogus pipeline, and country,  $F(1, 297) = 7.97, p = .005$ . Pairwise comparisons revealed only a marginally significant difference between the MS/Camouflage/Serbia cell ( $M = 4.28, SD = 1.17$ ) and the MS/Bogus /Serbia cell ( $M = 3.76, SD = 1.11$ ),  $t(290) = 1.921, p < .10$ . It appears that under MS conditions participants rated freeing the Kosovar prisoners more worth fighting than in the bogus pipeline condition. Cell means are presented in Table 10.

### Discussion

Study 3 was designed to assess the relationship between participants' explicit anti-Semitic attitudes and their subtle anti-Semitic attitudes (through demonization and double standards applied to Israel), and participants' intent to act in conjunction with their beliefs by asking them to sign a petition either for the release of Palestinian prisoners being detained by the Israelis or Kosovar prisoners being detained by Serbia. Mortality salience increased anti-Semitism scores with or without a bogus pipeline.



While this finding was not in line with the hypotheses, there is a plausible explanation—the anti-Semitism measure which is normally explicit, became subtle when mixed in with all of the other measures in the general knowledge assessment.

However, there were no significant effects for the behavioral measure, perhaps because asking someone if they are willing to check a box to perhaps sign a petition isn't really that much of a clear-cut behavioral measure. Participants may not have believed that they were truly being redirected to a center in which they would sign a petition for the release of political prisoners – or maybe attitudes have nothing to do with behavior here.

Research suggests that attitude-behavior consistency may vary as a result of vested interests (Green and Cowden, 1992; Sivacek and Crano, 1982). Vested individuals were much more likely to report acting on their attitudes (e.g., joining anti-busing organizations, supporting legislation for changes in the drinking age). Additionally, not all investments are created equal. Just because one cares about a cause does not presuppose taking action on its behalf. Often taking action on behalf of a cause is costly enough that incentives are needed (Green & Cowden, 1992; Perloff, 1987; Snyder, 1993). As such, when one does not have a stake in the cause attitude-behavior consistency may be weak. Anyone may express a supportive attitude, however in order to convert a supportive attitude into a supportive action a stake in the issue is necessary.

Compared with vested individuals, non-vested individuals reasonably will see themselves as having less to gain by taking action. It is very possible that although participants reported higher levels of anti-Semitism under mortality salience the attitude did not produce behavior supporting prisoner release, simply because there were no

incentives to do so. This however, is an empirical question that may be addressed in future research.

### General Discussion

Anti-Semitism has endured for over 2000 years, and continues to manifest itself, making it the oldest form of racial or ethnic prejudice (Sturzberger and Freytag, 2000; Bernard, 2006). Additionally, there is no simple, well-defined reason for its continued existence. Sometimes hating Jews is based on territory; at other times on religion; at still other times hatred is based on racial reasons. Many times the reasons are contradictory. Jews have been hated for being a lazy and inferior race – but also for seeking world domination. How can we understand the current phenomenon that is modern anti-Semitism? Through the New Anti-Semitism-Israel model.

The NASI was designed based on a juxtaposition of terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986) and modern prejudice theory (Sears & Kinder, 1971). Specifically, the goal of this paper was to demonstrate that uniquely human fears of death serve to perpetuate expressions of anti-Semitism (a-s) and anti-Israeli sentiment. This research tested the following predictions derived from the New Anti-Semitism Israel model (figure 1): 1- mortality salience leads to increased anti-Semitism (Path 1), 2- increased anti-Semitism leads to decreased support for Israel (Path 2), 3- anti-Semitism may partially mediate effects of mortality salience on attitudes towards Israel (Path 1 x Path 2), and 4- mortality salience can increase opposition to Israel for reasons having nothing to do with anti-Semitism (Path 3). The model also posits that a reverse causal path exists. Although concern for human rights violations may lead to reduced support for Israel for reasons having nothing to do with anti-Semitism

(Path 3), it may then actually trigger an increase anti-Semitic prejudices (Path 4; Frindte, Wettig, and Wammetsberger, 2005; Kaplan & Small, 2006).

The findings reported for the present research merit attention. Specifically, Study 1 examined explicit reports of anti-Semitism in the form of delegitimization of Israel under mortality salience and bogus pipeline conditions. Participants completed the anti-Semitism scale (Selznick, & Steinberg, 1969) and a delegitimization scale. Results showed that 1- mortality salience increases anti-Semitism, and 2- fear of appearing anti-Semitic reduces expressions of anti-Semitism. First, our participants more readily disclosed their anti-Semitism when reminded of their own demise when they thought they would be caught lying. Second, anti-Semitism and levels of delegitimization towards Israel significantly correlated, Mediation analyses revealed that the link between anti-Semitism and delegitimization remained significant in both directions while controlling for experimental manipulations.

Study 2 investigated demonization and double standards under mortality salience and bogus pipeline conditions through the use of 2 offensive cartoons of the prime minister of Israel or China eating Palestinian or Tibetan children and a Jew or a Chinese man controlling the world at the expense of the Palestinian or the Tibetan. Results showed that mortality salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline manipulation increased perceived justification for offensive political cartoons of Israel but not China. The country manipulation included in Study 2 control for the alternative explanation, that human rights violations lead to increased perceived justification of the offensive political cartoons for reasons having nothing to do with anti-Semitism. Had this been supported there would have been no difference between Israel and China's level of

perceived justification of the offensive political cartoons Therefore, the best interpretation of Study 2 is that the anti-Semitism aroused by mortality salience led to these findings.

Study 3 assessed the relationship between punitive reactions to Israeli moral transgressions and anti-Semitism following a reminder of death. Study 3 results demonstrated that mortality salience was sufficient to increase anti-Semitism when the anti-Semitism scale was integrated in a general assessment questionnaire. The most reasonable explanation for these findings was that the explicit anti-Semitism had become implicit and therefore no longer needed a bogus pipeline manipulation to produce results.

#### Weaknesses and Limitations

Anti-Semitism. In Study 3, mortality salience alone was sufficient to raise anti-Semitism, while in Study 1 a bogus pipeline manipulation was a necessary component as per the NASI model. Does this pattern of results disconfirm the model's predictions? Indeed it does not. Study 1 results replicated those found by Cohen et al (in press) in which mortality salience in conjunction with a bogus pipeline increased anti-Semitism scores. What Study 3's findings do reflect is poor selection of measurements in Study 3. The best possible explanation for Study 3 results would be that in the form presented in Study 3 the measure of explicit anti-Semitism has become a measure of implicit anti-Semitism. In order to test the explicit or implicit nature of these measures future studies should have questions from the anti-Semitism scale dispersed throughout a general assessment questionnaire or presented in its original complete form. Results should demonstrate that dispersed anti-Semitism questions are a subtle measure of anti-Semitism and do not need a bogus pipeline manipulation while as per Study 1 the anti-Semitism

scale in its entirety is an explicit measure of anti-Semitism does thereby requiring a bogus pipeline manipulation to produce effects.

Delegitimization. Delegitimization measures in study 1 were significantly affected by mortality salience even in the absence of a bogus pipeline manipulation. These measures were reflections of modern anti-Semitism and therefore may be interpreted as subtle. Study 3 attempted to demonstrate that people will behave in accord with their prejudices. While they failed to produce the hypothesized results these results should be interpreted with caution. The measures used to assess behaviors were a new paradigm that had never been used before and proved not to be a very direct measure of action. Participants in the general psychology class apparently did not believe that they would be directed to an area in that place and time where they could sign a petition intended free prisoners. While this was a well intentioned first effort, ideally real time behavioral assessments are necessary to assess behavior. Future studies may include an actual sign up sheet which will be collected asking participants to sign up as a volunteer for certain amount of hours, to help the cause.

American college students. The proposed studies were conducted with American participants, thereby imposing a demographic constraint on this research. The U.S. is among the least anti-Semitic of all nations. In contrast to many countries in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, the U.S. has no history of laws segregating Jews from other groups, no history of legally relegating Jews to second-class citizen status, and no history of expulsions, mass murder or genocide against Jews. One can find anti-Semitic publications and websites in the U.S., but they are generally expressions of individuals or fringe groups and, in the rare instances that they come to widespread public attention, are

often roundly condemned. In contrast, for example, one routinely finds political leaders, newspapers, and prominent figures in Europe, North African, and Asia reviving the classic anti-Semitic canards against Jews (for specific examples see NY Times, March 5, 2005; October 17, 2003 - (Reuters) - International – News).

Scapegoating as an alternative explanation. The proposed studies were only designed to test the hypotheses that under certain conditions mortality salience leads to an increase in anti-Semitism. They did not however test alternative possibilities.

Scapegoat theories predict that aggression (often in the form of political intolerance and repression) will rise during times of economic and political distress (Allport, 1944). Consequently frustrations and aggressive impulses will be directed at vulnerable targets, such as minority groups, even when these groups bear no responsibility (actual or perceived) for the distress (LeVine & Campbell, 1971; Lauderdale, Smith-Cunnen & Inverarity, 1984; Green, Glaser, & Rich, 1998).

Examples include the increased lynching of American blacks during the Depression (Hovland & Sears, 1940), and the conflict between East and West Germans during the reunification of Germany (Mummendey & Kessler, 2001).

Many theories of anti-Semitism are based on the scapegoating model, (Levin & Levin, 1982). The main criticism of scapegoating theories has been that the theories have been unsuccessful at explaining why Jews in particular have been the targets of so much discrimination, oppression, and murder? While governments often diffuse responsibility for difficult life conditions and identify a scapegoat for societal problems, in most societies there are many vulnerable scapegoats to choose from.

Of late researchers have suggested that scapegoating is likely to be an envious prejudice where rather than choosing a vulnerable group the targeted group is perceived as powerful, dangerous and evil disproportionate to their numbers (Glick & Fisk, 1999, 2001). Jews have indeed been perceived as such a group for all of the reasons previously outlined (see sections titled “Religious and Secular reasons for Jews as a unique threat”). Future research would therefore need to address the possibility that mortality salience increases aggression and scapegoating, for which Jews are a readily available target rather than anti-Semitism per se.

### Directions for Research

The empirical evidence coupled with current world events demonstrates that anti-Semitism is far from dead; In order to get to the root of modern anti-Semitism, one must conduct research at the core of modern anti-Semitism. What differentiates blatant anti-Semitism from subtle anti-Semitism? Are all types of Israeli opposition anti-Semitism? Is anti-Semitism always lurking in the shadows or does fear of death create it?

Studies of Blatant anti-Semitism. Blatant anti-Semitism includes hate crimes, Holocaust denial, and calls for the destruction of Israel. To understand this type of anti-Semitism, future studies must be designed to answer questions such as why are Jews are so disproportionately victimized by hate crimes? And what differentiates Arab opposition to Israel from Arab anti-Semitism? The former question is built on the hypothesis that Jews are threatening above and beyond other out-groups even under the influence of mortality salience.

The latter question entails studying an Arab population either in the U.S. or abroad. Rather than (or, in addition to) targeting American, Western, and largely

Christian populations, future research should focus on Muslims, either within the U.S., Europe or the Middle East. Will Muslim samples respond to a Jewish moral transgression in the same manner as they respond to a Christian, Hindu, or Muslim transgression? If they do, then their responses, no matter how harsh, cannot be labeled anti-Semitism.

Studies of subtle Modern anti-Semitism. In contrast to blatant anti-Semitism, subtle anti-Semitism is not as easily recognizable. Opposition to Israeli policy is not always based in anti-Semitism, rather it may simply reflect human rights concerns and opposition to specific governmental policy. Studies must be conducted to distinguish between anti-Semitic sources of Israeli opposition and non-anti-Semitic sources of Israeli opposition. Possibilities for research include multi-national blind studies (as opposed to one or two comparison countries) which extend the methods used in Study 2 and Study 3 in which Israeli policy is described and labeled as being instituted by many countries, of which Israel is only one.

Furthermore, while Study 2 was successful at demonstrating that mortality salience effects were only significant for Israel, Study 3 did not produce the expected results. Future experiments could be conducted in real-time situations, which may include an actual sign up sheet which will be collected asking participants to sign up as a volunteer for certain amount of hours, to help the cause (as previously suggested). Or, possibly at a computer console where participants would actually be directed to a website to sign a petition if they indicated they would (Yes) sign. Again, those whose support or opposition to a particular policy is not dependent on the nation of origin could not be viewed as anti-Semites; those who express less support for (or greater opposition to) the



Israeli policy (holding other things constant) would, however, being exposed as anti-Semites.

#### Practical Applications of the Present Research.

The present model builds on Terror Management Theory, which has demonstrated that Mortality salience increases in-group favoritism, and rejection of those who are different and those with authoritarian tendencies. It therefore proposes that these same common psychological forces contribute to prejudicial sentiment relating to both Jews and the state of Israel. The same variable that increases anti-Semitic sentiment decreases support for the state of Israel.

The current line of research is in accord with the prediction that, in a world bombarded by current events that heighten mortality salience (e.g., newspaper accounts of terrorism, war, natural disasters etc), anti-Semitism is likely to escalate. This has already occurred in France, where religious Jews have been attacked, synagogues burned and Jewish owned businesses stoned (Stephen Roth Institute, 2003). In many Middle Eastern countries, Israeli flag burning accompanied by shouts of “death to the Jewish infidels” and “Death to Israel” has become common practice (<http://www.adl.org/>). Anti-Semitism worldwide has become such a dire issue that on January 5, 2005 the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, (a division of the U.S. Department of State) issued a report stating that Jews have increasingly become the targets of prejudice and hate crimes at a rate not seen since World War II. What can be done to keep the situation from escalating out of control?

Reducing anti-Semitism. The NASI model specifically accounts for the possibility that Arab-Israeli relations have inspired a new manifestation of Jew hatred—virulent

anti-Zionism. This political and ideological anti-Semitism provides a socially and intellectually acceptable modern disguise for sentiments that have roots going back at least 2,000 years (Gonen, 1975; Kelman, 2001; Bernard, 2006). Once one recognizes anti-Semitism, what can be done to prevent it? Can models of general prejudice reduction be applied to anti-Semitism reduction as well? Would diversity training programs and prejudice reduction education help reduce both explicit and implicit anti-Semitism?

Intergroup contact. Social psychologists have long suggested that intergroup contact positively influences the quality of intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Research has demonstrated that the amount of reported previous contact with outgroup members was generally related to a more positive perception of the outgroup (Castelli, De Amicis, & Sherman, 2007). While contact per se may not be a sufficient condition for this effect (Pettigrew, 1998), it is a potentially powerful tool for changing and ameliorating reciprocal perceptions between social groups.

Two experiments conducted at Rutgers University (Rudman, Ashmore, & Gary, 2001) demonstrated that students enrolled in a prejudice and conflict seminar instructed by an African-American professor showed decreased anti-Black biases at the end of the semester as compared with at the beginning of the semester. These effects were obtained for both explicit and implicit measures of prejudice, suggesting that multicultural education can transform people's attitudes and beliefs at both the conscious and non-conscious level.

However, at times increased contact is difficult to achieve. Often contact is avoided because of preexisting negative attitudes toward the outgroup. Additionally intergroup contact can be stressful and uncertain (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, &

Kowai-Bell, 2001; Richeson & Shelton, 2003). Furthermore, integrating social situations such as the classroom or workplace does not necessarily guarantee increased contact between different groups or reduction in prejudicial attitudes (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Gerard & Miller, 1975). The Rudman et al (2001) studies illustrated that students who voluntarily enrolled in diversity education showed a significant reduction in their implicit prejudice and stereotype scores, compared with control students. In other words in order for contact to reduce prejudice people must be open to intergroup interactions.

Intergroup contact in which members of conflicting groups were open to dialogue has been shown not only to ease tensions between Israelis and Palestinians in the Middle East but has led to strong friendships among members of the opposing groups. Palestinian students from the Hebron area and Israeli students from Bar-Ilan University participated in a series of meetings and activities lasting for about four years. The meetings focused on commonalities between Islam and Judaism and eventually led to several cooperative projects between the two groups. Participants reported positive reactions toward the meetings and attributed them to the discovery of commonalities in the other's religious culture (Molloy, 1999).

Awareness and prejudice rejection. Prejudice in general is often stigmatized often causing people to deny or hide their prejudices even from themselves. Understanding our own biases is the first step to combating prejudice (diversitycouncil.org, 2004). Understanding that a "cheap Jew" joke is a form of anti-Semitism and pointing it out to others does make a difference. Research indicates that people who become self-aware of their prejudiced responses attempt to regulate and reduce them because of the experience of negative self-directed affect (e.g., Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 2002). Recent

research (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006) has demonstrated that confrontations of racial bias successfully reduced the likelihood of biased responses in a later experimental task. Thus, confrontations from others are likely to be effective to the extent that compunctious feelings such as guilt and self-criticism are elicited.

For any type of program to work it is important to emphasize that anyone can develop or reject attitudes of prejudice. Anyone can commit, facilitate, or oppose acts of discrimination. Every person is responsible for his/her attitudes, actions, and influence on others. Overcoming prejudice requires the consistent effort of all people of good conscience. This process requires time and the development of open-mindedness and empathy. Possibilities for prejudice reduction training include social education so that subtle forms of prejudices in general and anti-Semitism in particular may be easily recognized and contested. Organizations such as ADL's A World Of Difference Institute (ADL.org) already provide anti-bias education and diversity training programs. Currently participants in the program are trained to recognize bias and its harmful effects on both individuals and society.

Understanding the role of mortality salience in anti-Semitism. Following from Solomon, Greenberg, and Pyszczynski (2003), the general public has become intimately familiar with the notion that the awareness of death engenders the need for cultural belief systems. And the knowledge that, this belief system produces animosity toward those with different cultural worldviews and an inclination to dispose of residual anxiety via scapegoating may prevent outbreaks of larger scale blatant anti-Semitic behaviors. In the same manner that understanding underlying causes to diseases has produced success in the physical domain through medication and surgical techniques, understanding the

underlying causes to social problems might produce similar success. Educating people of the potentially harmful effects resulting from reminders of death (that are so common in daily life) and incorporating this education with established prejudice reduction programs would aid intergroup relations, fight anti-Semitism and assist in the battle of general prejudice.

The possibility exists that as people recognize that anti-Semitism is a defense mechanism aimed at repressing death related anxieties, they will find other means to assuage their terror and protect against it. Studies have demonstrated that when participants were instructed to think logically negative mortality salience effects disappeared (Solomon, Greenberg, and Pyszczynski, 2003). Defense against anxiety need not come at the price of intolerance towards others. Perhaps such animosities may be directed towards more legitimate and inanimate targets, such as poverty, illness, ignorance and conflict resolution. Recent TMT research has demonstrated that mortality salience increases a need for heroes. After 9/11, Americans demonstrated great appreciation for police officers and firefighters who risked and even gave their lives to protect us. Additionally many Americans behaved in altruistic manners (i.e. many gave blood; donated to police, fire, and other 9/11-related charities). Thus, MS in conjunction with institutionalized prejudice reduction programs can indeed be redirected toward those who exemplify cultural values, act benevolently, or risk their own well-being to help others rather than intolerance.

Reducing unjustified accusations of anti-Semitism. Virulent opposition to Israel is not equivalent to opposition to particular policies or practices adopted by the Israeli government. One can oppose particular Israeli policies or practices without being an

anti-Semite, just as one can oppose American, British, or French policies without being prejudiced against Europeans or Americans, and one can oppose Saudi, Egyptian, or Iranian policy without being prejudiced against Arabs or Muslims. Virulent anti Israeli sentiment, as a manifestation of anti-Semitism, involves several key components: attempts to delegitimize the state of Israel, especially with a goal of eliminating it altogether; holding Israel to standards of behavior to which other countries are not held (double standards); interpreting anything Israel does as manifestations of evil (demonization; e.g., staying in Gaza was evil, because it represented occupying a foreign land, but withdrawing from Gaza was also evil, because it represented a sinister plot to hold on to the West Bank); and blaming Israel for many of the world's evils (e.g., Israel has been criticized and blamed on various websites throughout the internet for both the September 11 World Trade Center attacks and for the Indonesian tsunami (Covitz, Dec 13, 2002; Kalkin, Dec. 30, 2004). This recognition may aid in reducing a cycle that may partially contribute to anti-Semitism.

### Conclusion

Even with media reports of anti-Semitism on the rise, social psychological research has yet to resume its once prominent emphasis on understanding anti-Semitism (Bachner, 2003). This is, however, an unfortunate state of affairs, which the present paper begins to rectify. This research extended the findings of Cohen et al (in press) and provided insight into the psychological underpinnings of anti-Semitism. First, it demonstrated that under the right (wrong) conditions, anti-Semitism readily emerges. Denials of anti-Semitism, therefore, cannot necessarily be taken at face value. Opposition to Israel is a good/convenient method for expressing anti-Semitism without seeming to do so.

Second, the hypotheses derived from the NASI model were built on the original tenets of terror management theory and presented preliminary experimental evidence to support the model. Given the recent rise in the salience of terrorist acts against civilians in the West (World Trade Center, Spanish train attacks, London bus bombings etc.); it seems likely that mortality salience has been chronically raised. If so, then the current model provides a strong explanation for the concomitant rise in anti-Semitism.

The NASI model contributes one explanation toward the international rise in anti-Semitism over the last ten years. Because war, conflict, and extreme economic conditions (unprecedented since the Great Depression; Makin, September 8, 2007) raise mortality salience concerns, anti-Semitism. Higher levels of anti-Semitism, in turn, increase hostility towards Israel. And bitter public condemnation directed at Israel may feed back to increase anti-Semitism. The major advances within social psychology over the last 50 years (i.e., since the last major wave of anti-Semitism research) provide an extraordinary opportunity to understand the sources and consequences of anti-Semitism. They also will undoubtedly help detect the sometimes veiled manner with which anti-Semitism is expressed, and the conditions under which opposition to Israel reflects--and does not reflect--covert anti-Semitism.

## Appendix A: Camouflage

### INSTRUCTIONS: PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

Social psychological research often focuses on people's attitudes toward the social and political issues of the day. Attitudes are extremely important because they can be important influences on people's behavior. People often hold attitudes regarding a great many issues, although they may hold some attitudes more clearly or more strongly than others.

In this study, you will be asked to give both your opinion and how strongly you hold that opinion on a wide array of social issues, including international and national politics, economics, personal social interactions, and various other controversial issues.



## Appendix B: Bogus Pipeline

### INSTRUCTIONS: PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

Social psychological research often focuses on people's attitudes toward the social and political issues of the day. Attitudes are extremely important because they influence people's behavior.

We request that you respond to the following questionnaire as honestly as possible. Responding honestly is sometimes difficult because it might mean admitting that you hold an attitude or belief that is embarrassing or that other people might not approve of. Also, it might involve admitting that you engage in behaviors that are not always moral or pleasant. Psychologists have known for over 50 years that people sometimes lie to portray themselves more favorably than they deserve. In that time, some very sophisticated techniques have been developed to catch people in the act of lying.

For example, consider the following question:

How often do you stop for stranded motorists?

Never                      Rarely                      Sometimes                      Usually                      Always

This question might appear innocent enough, but, in fact, it is one of many tools psychologists use to detect people who lie to create a positive impression of themselves. With the possible exception of policemen on patrol, NO ONE “usually” or “always” stops for stranded motorists. People who say they do are most likely lying.

This questionnaire is peppered with such questions, which are often used in situations where it necessary to detect deception. We feel that because of the potentially important implications of this research, use of such a scale was justified.

Some of the questions assessing deception may be obvious to you, but many will not be obvious. Therefore, we strongly urge you to answer all of the questions as honestly as possible. If you don't, we *will* know that many of your answers are lies. This will allow us to statistically adjust your answers so that they more accurately reflect the real, and considerably less favorable, you. There are, however, no right or wrong honest answers.

When you have completed this questionnaire, please simply turn it over and wait. We will collect them all when everyone is done.

Please do not turn this page over until told to do so.

### Appendix C: Anti-Semitism Scale

Below are statements with which you may agree or disagree. There are no right or wrong answers. Use this scale to indicate the number that best matches your response to each statement.

1	2	3	4	5
<b>strongly disagree</b>	<b>moderately disagree</b>	<b>neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>moderately agree</b>	<b>strongly agree</b>

- \_\_\_ Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want.
- \_\_\_ Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America.
- \_\_\_ Jews are just as honest as other businesspeople.
- \_\_\_ Jews have a lot of irritating faults.
- \_\_\_ Jews have too much control and influence on Wall Street.
- \_\_\_ Jews are losing their distinctive identity and are becoming more like other Americans.
- \_\_\_ Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.
- \_\_\_ Jews always like to be in control.
- \_\_\_ Jews stick together more than other groups.
- \_\_\_ Jews are always stirring up trouble with their ideas.
- \_\_\_ Jews are warm and friendly people.
- \_\_\_ Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust.
- \_\_\_ You can usually tell whether people are Jewish by the way they look.
- \_\_\_ Hollywood is run by Jews.
- \_\_\_ Jews are the cause of much of the tension between Whites and African Americans.
- \_\_\_ Jewish businessmen are so shrewd that other people do not have a fair chance at competition.
- \_\_\_ Jews still think of themselves as God's Chosen People.
- \_\_\_ Jewish employers go out of their way to hire other Jews.
- \_\_\_ Jews have a strong faith in God.
- \_\_\_ Jews have contributed much to the culture of life in America.
- \_\_\_ Jews have too much power in the United States today.
- \_\_\_ Jews have too much power in the business world.
- \_\_\_ Jews always like to be at the head of things.

## Appendix D: Delegitimization Scale

### International Politics

Read each question and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to the country in question. Indicate **to what extent you feel this way right now.**

1. How much do you believe Israel to be a threat to world peace?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very slightly or not at all	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely		

2. Israel has been accused of violations against humanity. Given the severity of Israel's transgressions how strongly do you believe they should lose their status as a United Nations member?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very slightly or not at all	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely		

3. How strongly do you believe that the world would be a better place if Israel ceased to exist?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very slightly or not at all	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely		

4. How strongly do you believe that it is in the United States best interest to ensure that Israel continues to exist?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very slightly or not at all	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely		

## Appendix E: Israeli Abuses

### Opinion Survey

Violence against Palestinians by Israeli security forces is not new; it has accompanied the occupation for many years. Recently, however, a significant increase in the number of beatings and instances of abuse has occurred, in part because of increased friction between Palestinians and Israeli security forces. According to many testimonies given to human rights organizations, the security forces use violence, at times gross violence, against Palestinians unnecessarily and without justification.

Most cases involve a "small dose" of ill-treatment such as a slap, a kick, an insult, a pointless delay at checkpoints, or degrading treatment. These acts have become an integral part of Palestinian life in the Occupied Territories. From time to time, however, cases of severe brutality occur.

Many instances of abuse are not exposed because they have become the norm, and, for Palestinians, filing complaints is very time consuming. Furthermore, many Palestinians, primarily those who entered Israel without a permit, even refrain from filing complaints in cases of severe brutality because they fear that filing the complaint will only bring harm on themselves. Based on past experience, many do not file complaints because of lack of trust in the system – a system which tends not to believe them, and which tends to protect rather than prosecute those who injured them. The numerous restrictions on movement imposed by Israel in the Occupied Territories make it very difficult for Palestinians who want to file complaints to do so.

**Please look at the pictures on the following page and then answer the questions the questions that follow.**

## Appendix F: Chinese Abuses

### Opinion Survey

Violence against various ethnic groups in Tibetan groups by the Chinese is not new; it has gone on for many years. Recently, however, a significant increase in the number of abuses has occurred, in part because of increased friction between Tibetan monks and Chinese forces. According to many testimonies given to human rights organizations, the Chinese forces use gross violence, against Tibetan villagers unnecessarily and without justification.

Most cases involve a "small dose" of ill-treatment such as a slap, a kick, an insult, a pointless delay at checkpoints, or degrading treatment. These acts have become an integral part of life in Tibet. Often, however, cases of severe brutality occur.

Despite media reports many instances of abuse are not exposed because they have become the norm, and, for those living in Tibet, it is impossible to file complaints or press charges. Furthermore, many residents of the Tibetan region, even refrain from filing complaints in cases of severe brutality because they fear that filing the complaint will only bring harm on themselves. Based on past experience, many do not file complaints because of lack of trust in the system – a system which tends not to believe them, and which tends to protect rather than prosecute those who injured them. The Chinese government, while publicly denying that it supports the militia, has provided money and assistance and has participated in joint attacks with the group, systematically targeting the ethnic groups in Tibet.

**Please look at the pictures on the following page and then answer the questions the questions that follow.**

## Appendix G : Anti-Semitism Camouflaged

### General Questionnaire

Below are statements with which you may agree or disagree. There are no right or wrong answers. Use this scale to indicate the number that best matches your response to each statement.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>strongly disagree</b>	<b>moderately disagree</b>	<b>neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>moderately agree</b>	<b>strongly agree</b>

\_\_\_\_1) President George W. Bush has made America safe for Americans and improved the economy.

\_\_\_\_2) Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want.

\_\_\_\_3) The U.S. spends too much money on social programs such as welfare and food stamps.

\_\_\_\_4) Jewish businessmen are so shrewd that other people do not have a fair chance at competition.

\_\_\_\_5) We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

\_\_\_\_6) In a township referendum, only people who are well-informed about the problem being voted on should be allowed to vote.

\_\_\_\_7) Over the past few years, the government and news media have given more attention to African Americans than they deserve.

\_\_\_\_8) Members of Operation Rescue, who support the assassination of doctors who perform abortions should be allowed to organize to increase their influence on Congress.

\_\_\_\_9) Jews have a lot of irritating faults.

\_\_\_\_10) In order to get ahead of others, Asian Americans can be overly competitive.

\_\_\_\_11) Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.

\_\_\_\_12) Except for childbirth capabilities, there are no important biological differences between men and women.

\_\_\_\_13) Individual pregnant women, not the government, should decide whether or not they should have an abortion.

\_\_\_\_14) Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.

\_\_\_\_15) Even if it means fewer jobs and slower economic growth, the government needs to aggressively pass laws protecting the environment.

\_\_\_\_16) It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.

\_\_\_\_17) We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.

\_\_\_\_18) If a pornographer were legally elected mayor of this city, he should not be allowed to take office.

\_\_\_\_19) Discrimination against African-Americans is not a problem in the United States.

\_\_\_\_20) Asian Americans are a group not obsessed with competition.

\_\_\_\_21) Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.

\_\_\_\_22) Jews are always stirring up trouble with their ideas.

\_\_\_\_23) Flag burning should be legal.

\_\_\_\_24) There is no job that men are more capable of performing than women.

\_\_\_\_25) People make too much of the feelings and sensitivity of animals.

\_\_\_\_26) Asian Americans do not interact with others smoothly in social situations.

\_\_\_\_27) Unhappy people who are just sorry for themselves annoy me.

\_\_\_\_28) Representative democracy is the best form of national government I know of.

\_\_\_\_29) Jews are the cause of much of the tension between Whites and African Americans.

\_\_\_\_30) African-Americans are getting too militant in their push for equal rights.

\_\_\_\_31)

Often times, Asian Americans think they are smarter than everyone else is.

\_\_\_\_32) Sometimes the words of a love song can move me deeply.

\_\_\_\_33) It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.

\_\_\_\_34) The people around me have a great influence on my moods.

\_\_\_\_35) Some songs make me happy.

\_\_\_\_36) Jews still think of themselves as God's Chosen People.

\_\_\_\_37) Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.

\_\_\_\_38) The United States is the most powerful country on Earth.

\_\_\_\_39) Products manufactured in India are superior to products manufactures in other countries.

\_\_\_\_40) Currently the Middle East is the most volatile region in the world.

\_\_\_\_41) Another's laughter is not catching for me.

\_\_\_\_42) Jews have too much power in the United States today.

\_\_\_\_43) Sometimes at the movies I am amused by the amount of crying and sniffing around me.

\_\_\_\_44) Asian Americans are a group not obsessed with competition.

\_\_\_\_45) United Nation members are predominantly European.

\_\_\_\_46) The United States spends too much time meddling in the affairs of other nations.

\_\_\_\_47) Animals should have the same rights as human beings.

\_\_\_\_48) On average men are more aggressive than women.

\_\_\_\_49) Old people are helpless.

\_\_\_\_50) Jews have too much power in the business world.

\_\_\_\_51) A professional organization like the Tobacco Farmers of America has a right to try to increase its influence on Congress by getting its members to vote as a bloc (i.e., a unified group) in elections.

- \_\_\_52) Public officials should be chosen by majority vote.
- \_\_\_53) Women tend to remain cool in spite of the excitement around them.
- \_\_\_54) Little children sometimes cry for no apparent reason.
- \_\_\_55) Jewish employers go out of their way to hire other Jews.



## Appendix H: Palestinian Prisoner Petition

To: Government of State of Israel

### PALESTINIAN PRISONERS, ILLEGALLY DETAINED IN ISRAEL FOR OVER 2 YEARS

We, people from all over the world, call on the Government of the State of Israel to immediately release 1000 Palestinian Parliamentary freedom fighters illegally detained inside Israel since their arrest in March 2003.

These loyal patriots have been subjected to physical and psychological torture, inhumane detention conditions – many often enduring in solitary confinement - and to legal proceedings that are in violation of international law and international fair trial standards. Charges against them are fabricated and have been obtained from witnesses under torture. Many of these men are elected members of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and are popular Palestinian leaders. These nationalists believe as we do that peace will only be achieved through an end to the occupation, and the establishment of an independent and sovereign Palestinian state within the 1967 borders, in the context of a peaceful and just settlement with Israel. We are committed to the right of return for Palestinian refugees, and stand against corruption and the need for financial accountability, transparency and democracy in Palestinian institutions.

We note that numerous international bodies have expressed serious concern about the violations of international law in the case of Palestinian prisoners, and legal procedures which violate international fair trial standards, and the inhumane methods of interrogation and detention to which they have been subjected:

**WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF  
PALESTINIAN PRISONERS BEING ILLEGALLY DETAINED BY THE ISRAELIS.**

We demand that Israel respect international law and adhere to internationally-accepted legal standards to ensure a fair trial for all Palestinian political prisoners.

Sincerely,

The Undersigned

If you answer yes to the following question upon completion of this questionnaire you will be given a web address where you can sign the petition for the release of the above said prisoners.

Please put an X next to your answer: Given the opportunity today I would (YES)\_\_\_\_\_ /would not (no)\_\_\_\_\_ sign the above petition.

## Appendix I: Kosovar Prisoner Pettition

To: Government of Serbia

### KOSOVAR PRISONERS, ILLEGALLY DETAINED IN SERBIA FOR OVER 2 YEARS

We, people from all over the world, call on the Government of the Serbia to immediately release 1000 Kosovar freedom fighters illegally detained inside Serbia since their arrest in March 2003.

These loyal patriots have been subjected to physical and psychological torture, inhumane detention conditions – many often enduring in solitary confinement - and to legal proceedings that are in violation of international law and international fair trial standards. Charges against them are fabricated and have been obtained from witnesses under torture.

Many of these men are elected members of the Kosovar Legislative Council, and are popular Kosovar Albanian leaders. These nationalists believe as we do that peace will only be achieved through an end to Serbian rule, and the establishment of an independent and sovereign Kosovar state, in the context of a peaceful and just settlement with Serbia. We are committed to the right of return for Kosovar refugees, and stand against corruption and the need for financial accountability, transparency and democracy in Kosovar institutions.

We note that numerous international bodies have expressed serious concern about the violations of international law in the case of Kosovar prisoners, and legal procedures which violate international fair trial standards, and the inhumane methods of interrogation and detention to which they have been subjected:

**WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF KOSOVAR PRISONERS BEING ILLEGALLY DETAINED BY THE SERBIANS.**

We demand that Serbia respect international law and adhere to internationally-accepted legal standards to ensure a fair trial for all Kosovar political prisoners.

Sincerely,

The Undersigned

If you answer yes to the following question upon completion of this questionnaire you will be given a web address where you can sign the petition for the release of the above said prisoners.

Please put an X next to your answer:

Given the opportunity I would (yes)\_\_\_\_\_ /would not (no)\_\_\_\_\_ sign the above petition.

Table 1: Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for variables, Study 1.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
1. Bogus pipeline	-----				
2. Mortality Salience	.01	-----			
3. Anti-Semitism	.22**	.16*	-----		
4. Delegitimization	.15	.21**	.41**	-----	
5. Bogus Pipeline X Mortality Salience	.58**	.58**	.31**	.25**	-----
M	0.49	0.50	2.78	3.21	0.25
SD	0.50	0.50	0.67	0.88	0.44

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

N = 167 for all correlations.

Table 2: Cell means on the anti-Semitism scale for Study 1.

	Camouflage			Bogus Pipeline		
Condition	<u>N</u>	<u>M</u>	SD	<u>N</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Pain	42	2.64	0.66	41	2.70	0.57
Death	42	2.63	0.72	42	3.13*	0.63

\* Means differ at  $p < .05$  across rows.

Scores were based on a 5 point Likert scale. Higher scores indicate higher levels of anti-Semitic sentiment. These means are participants' average score on the 23 questions comprising this scale.

Table 3: Cell means on Levels of Delegitimization towards Israel scale in Study 1.

Condition	Pain			Death		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Main Effect	83	3.03	.83	84	3.40**	.89
Camouflage	42	2.96	0.70	42	3.21	0.92
Bogus Pipeline	41	3.10	0.96	42	3.58	0.82

\* Means differ at  $p < .01$  across rows.

Scores were based on a 7 point Likert scale. Higher scores indicate higher levels of delegitimization towards Israel. These means are participants' average score on the 4 questions comprising this scale.

Table 4: Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for variables, Study 2.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
Cond-death	1				
Cond-bogus	-.05	1			
Country	-.02	-.04	1		
Cartoon World	.08	.24**	-.11	1	
Cartoon Lead	.05	.17*	-.02	.33**	1
M	1.50	1.48	1.48	2.81	2.71
SD	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.88	0.81

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

N = 151 for all correlations.

Table 5: Cell means and contrast coefficients on the leadership cartoon scale for Study 2.

Mortality Salience	Bogus Pipeline	Country	N	M	SD	CC
Pain	Camouflage	China	19	2.65	.66	-1
		Israel	19	2.47	.91	-1
	Bogus Pipeline	China	20	3.03	.57	-1
		Israel	18	2.52	.77	-1
Death	Camouflage	China	21	2.67	.79	-1
		Israel	20	2.55	.94	-1
	Bogus Pipeline	China	19	2.56	.73	-1
		Israel	15	3.38	.74	7

Scores were based on a 5 point Likert scale. Higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived justification for the cartoon. These means are participants' average score on the 3 questions comprising this scale

Table 6: Cell means and contrast coefficients on the world cartoon scale for Study 2.

Mortality Salience	Bogus Pipeline	Country	N	M	SD	CC
Pain	Camouflage	China	19	2.70	.90	-1
		Israel	18	2.41	.90	-1
	Bogus Pipeline	China	20	3.10	.86	-1
		Israel	17	2.67	.63	-1
Death	Camouflage	China	21	2.89	1.10	-1
		Israel	20	2.45	.85	-1
	Bogus Pipeline	China	19	2.90	.72	-1
		Israel	15	3.44	.54	7

Scores were based on a 5 point Likert scale. Higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived justification for the cartoon. These means are participants' average score on the 3 questions comprising this scale



Table 7: Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for variables, Study 3.

	1	2	3	4	5
Cond-death	1				
Cond-bogus	.02	1			
Country	.01	-.07	1		
Antisemitism	.19(**)	-.02	.09	1	
Delegitimiza tion	.01	-.02	-.01	-.03	1
M	1.54	1.52	1.49	2.26	4.0
SD	0.50	0.50	0.50	.85	0.81

\*\*  $p < .01$

N = 298 for all correlations.

Table 8: Cell means on the anti-Semitism scale for Study 3.

	<i>Pain</i>			<i>Death</i>		
Condition	<u>N</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Main Effect	135	2.08	.82	160	*2.41	.84
Camouflage	67	2.14	0.91	75	2.40	0.81
Bogus Pipeline	68	2.03	0.74	85	2.42	0.89

\* Means differ at  $p < .05$  across rows.

Scores were based on a 5 point Likert scale. Higher scores indicate higher levels of anti-Semitic sentiment. These means are participants' average score on the 10 questions comprising this scale.

Table 9: Intention to vote on the prisoner petition scale for Study 3

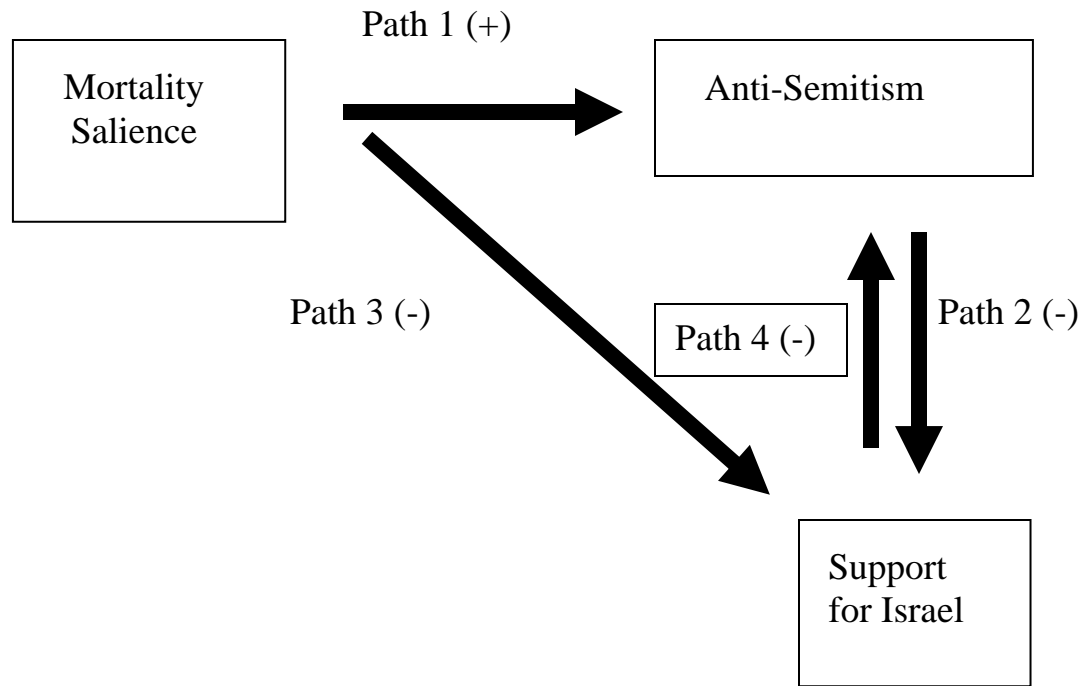
<i>Mortality Salience X Bogus Pipeline X Target Country</i>								
	pain serbia cam	pain serbia bog	pain israel cam	pain israel bog	death serbia cam	death serbia bog	death israel cam	death israel bog
Yes	18	25	26	16	24	30	22	23
No	14	13	10	14	12	15	18	17

Note. Chi-Square was not sig.,  $p > .1$ .

Table 10: Cell means on the prisoner petition scale for Study 3.

<i>Mortality Salience</i>	<i>Bogus Pipeline</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<b>SD</b>
Pain	Camouflage	Serbia	31	1.80	.75
		Israel	36	2.43	.95
	Bogus Pipeline	Serbia	37	2.00	.80
		Israel	31	2.06	.67
Death	Camouflage	Serbia	35	2.23	.77
		Israel	40	2.55	.82
	Bogus Pipeline	Serbia	45	2.56	.91
		Israel	40	2.26	.81

Figure 1: Theoretical Model



Path 1 = Mortality Salience increases anti-Semitism.

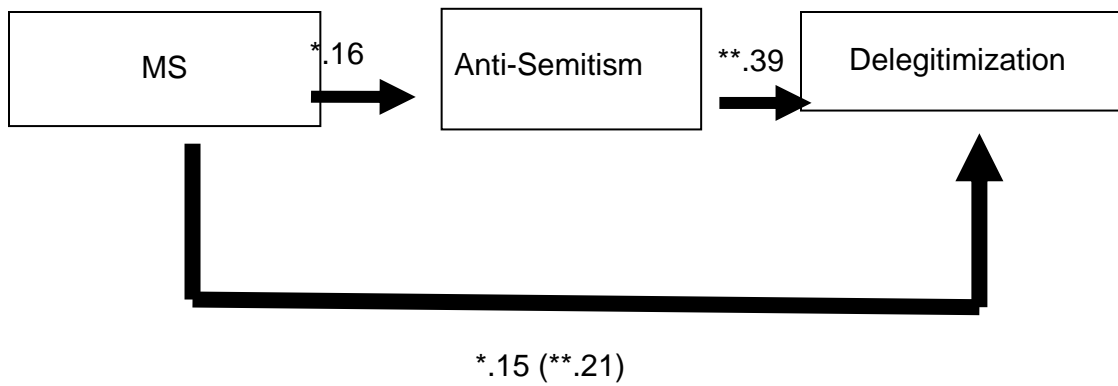
Path 2 = Anti-Semitism decreases support for Israel.

Path 3 = Mortality Salience decreases support for Israel for reasons other than anti-Semitism.

Path 4 = Decreased support for Israel increases anti-Semitism.

Figure 2: Mediational Model 1

Does Anti-Semitism Mediate Effects of Mortality Salience on Levels of Delegitimization Towards Israel?



MS refers to the Mortality Salience condition.

$^{**}$ All coefficients are standardized and significant at  $p < .01$ .

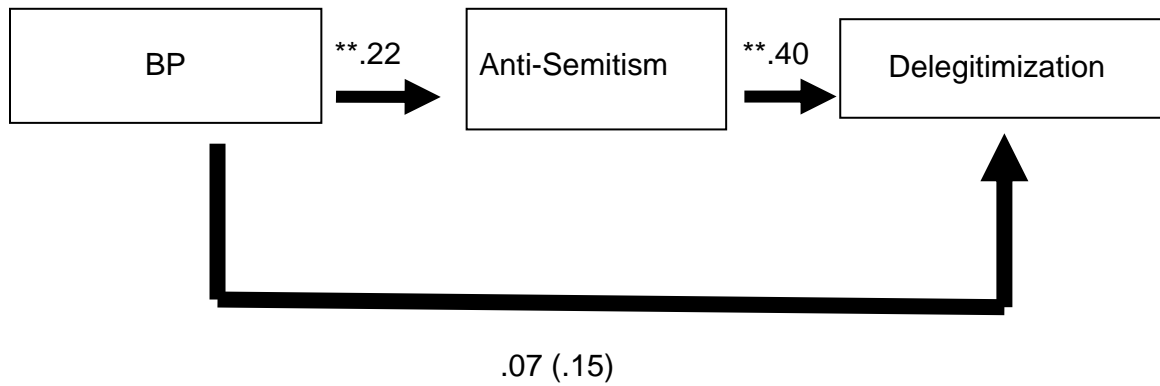
$^*$ All coefficients are standardized and significant at  $p < .05$ .

The coefficient in parentheses was obtained from a model without the mediator.

The change in this coefficient is not statistically significant ( $p > .10$ ).

Figure 3: Mediation Model 2

Does Anti-Semitism Mediate Effects of Bogus Pipeline on Levels of Delegitimization Towards Israel?



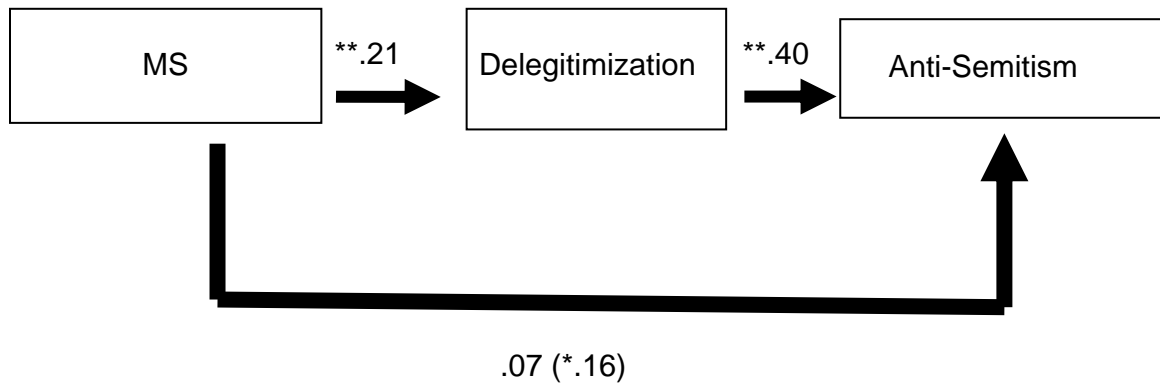
BP refers to the Bogus Pipeline condition.

**\*\***All coefficients are standardized and significant at  $p < .01$ .

The coefficient in parentheses was obtained from a model without the mediator. The change in this coefficient is not statistically significant ( $p > .10$ ).

Figure 4: Mediational Model 3

Does Delegitimization Towards Israel  
Mediate Effects of Mortality Salience on Anti-Semitism?



MS refers to the Mortality Salience condition.

\*\*All coefficients are standardized and significant at  $p < .01$ .

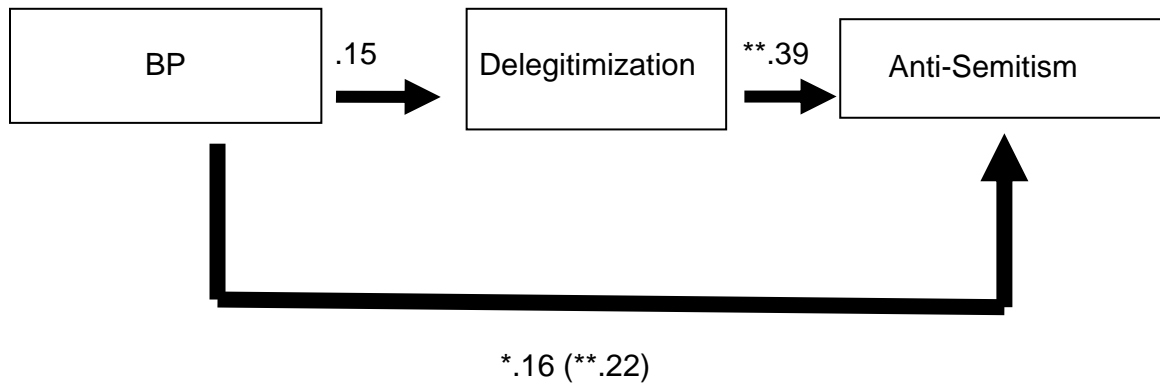
\*All coefficients are standardized and significant at  $p < .05$ .

The coefficient in parentheses was obtained from a model without the mediator. The change in this coefficient is not statistically significant ( $p > .10$ ).



Figure 5: Mediational Model 4

Does Delegitimization Towards Israel  
Mediate Effects of Bogus Pipeline on Anti-Semitism?



MS refers to the Mortality Salience condition.

\*\*All coefficients are standardized and significant at  $p < .01$ .

\*All coefficients are standardized and significant at  $p < .05$ .

The coefficient in parentheses was obtained from a model without the mediator. The change in this coefficient is not statistically significant ( $p > .10$ ).

Figure 6: Cartoon depicting Sharon eating Palestinian children.  
[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, March 22, 2004]



Figure 7: Cartoon depicting Chinese president eating Tibetan children.

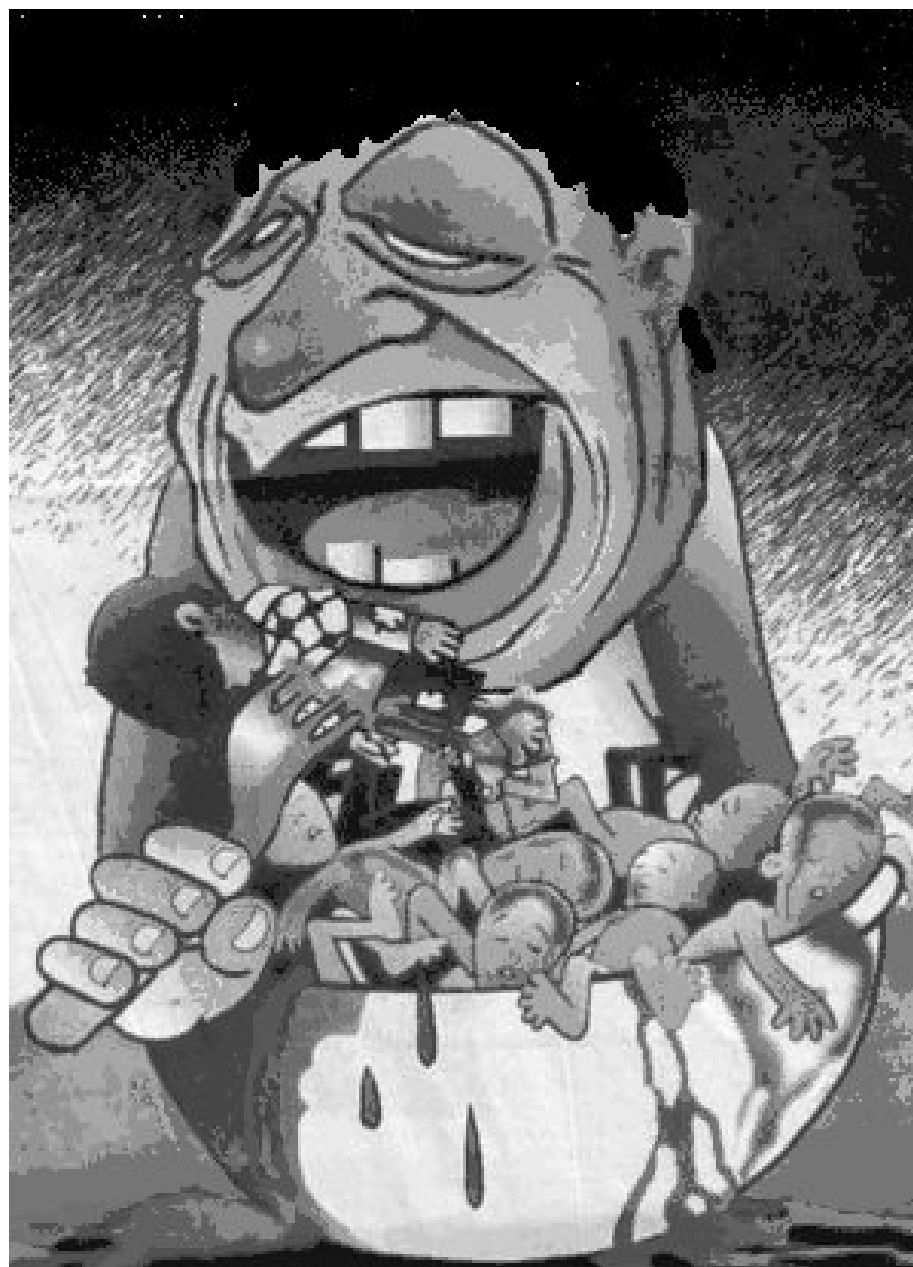


Figure 8: Victorious Jew  
Cartoon depicting Victorious Jew atop bleeding world with a surrendering Arab beneath.  
(Al Hayat Al Jadida, May 14, 2005)

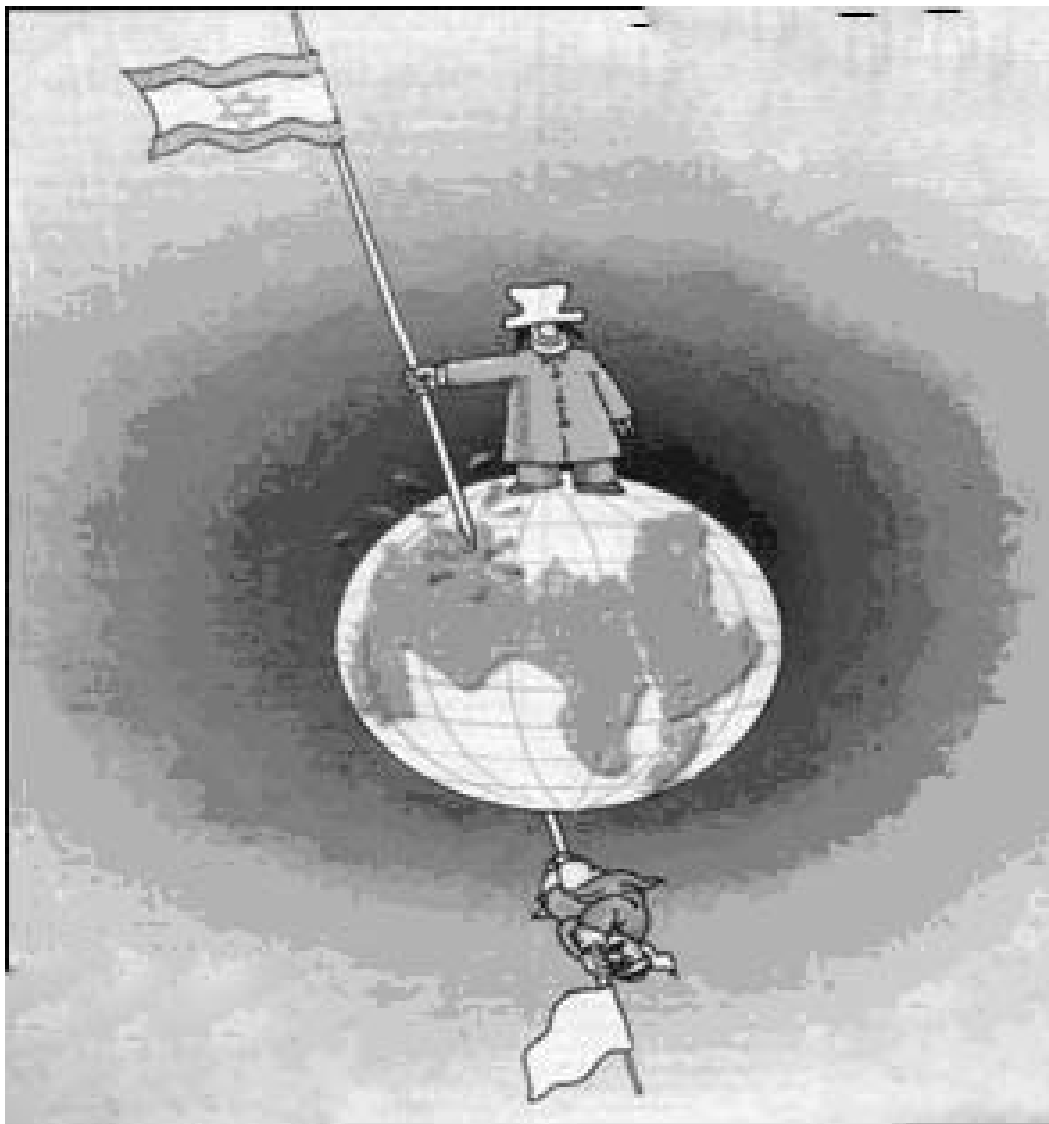


Figure 9: Victorious Chinese Man  
Cartoon depicting Victorious Chinese man atop bleeding world with a surrendering Tibetan beneath.

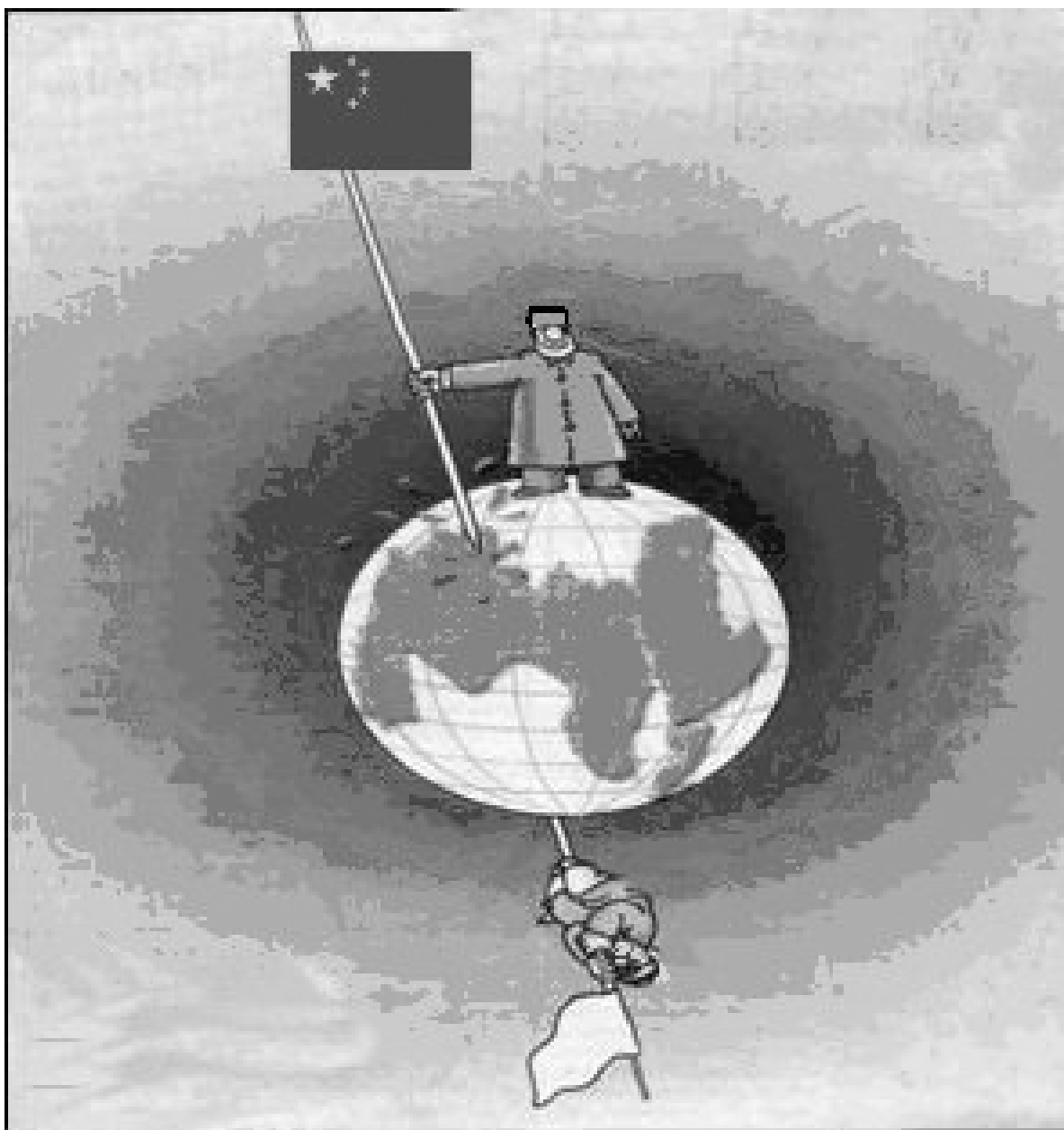
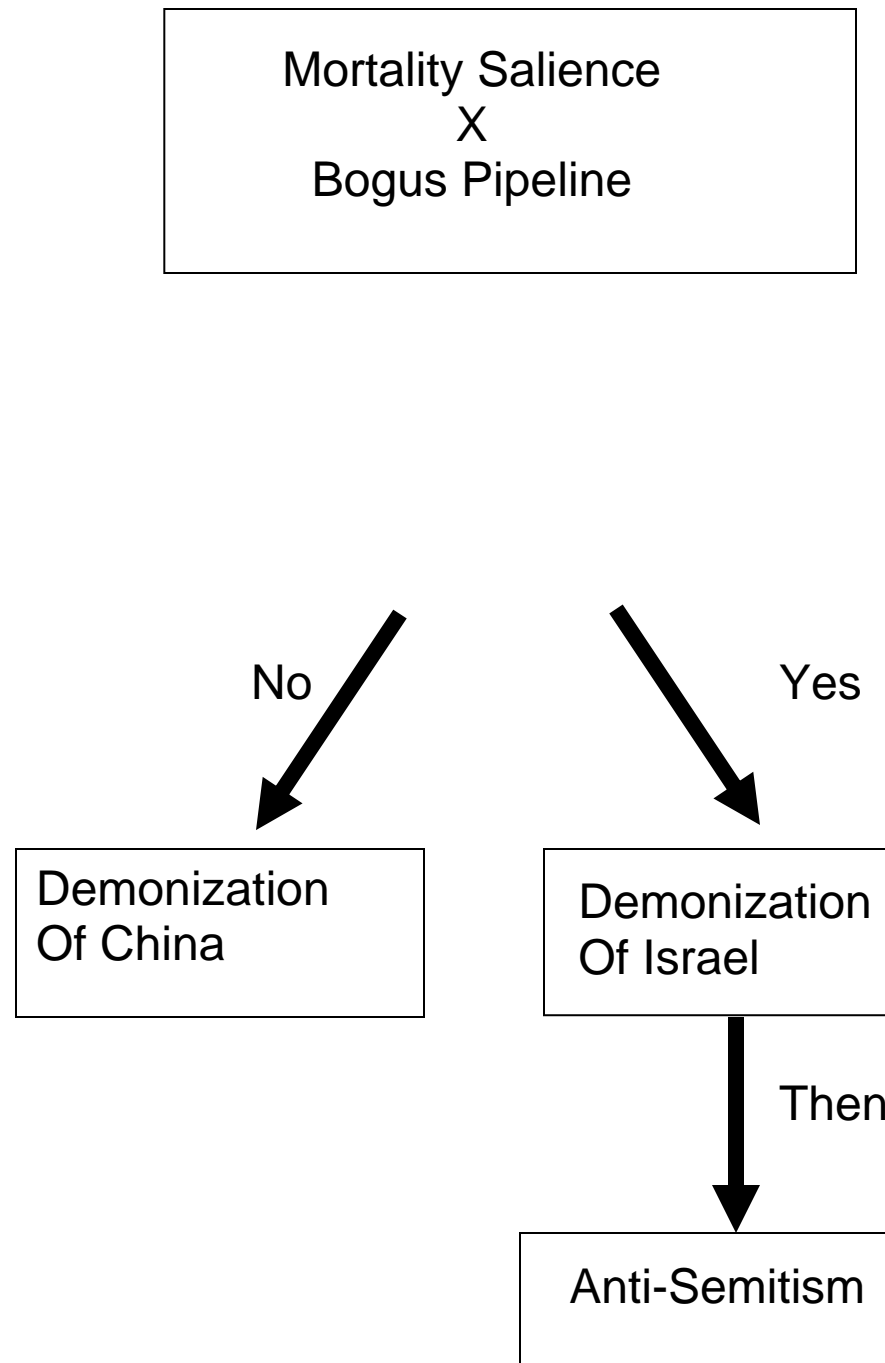


Figure 10: Double Standard Model



Does Mortality Salience X Bogus Pipeline increase Demonization of Israel? = YES

Does Mortality Salience X Bogus Pipeline increase Demonization of China? = NO

Then Demonization of Israel = Anti-Semitism

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> The explanations provided for the uniqueness of anti-Semitism, both religious and secular are speculative. There is no empirical data to date to support these claims.

<sup>2</sup> There was a significant interaction of race (White, non-White) with bogus pipeline for evaluation of the world cartoon,  $F(1,146)=3.97, p=.048$ . There was a race difference under camouflage conditions ( $M's=2.33, 2.06$ , for Whites and non-Whites respectively,  $t(146)=3.15, p<.01$ ), but there was no race difference under bogus pipeline ( $M's=3.02, 3.08$  for Whites and non-Whites, respectively  $t(146)=1.08, p>.1$ ).

There was also a significant interaction of gender (male, female) with mortality salience for evaluation of the world cartoon,  $F(1,148) = 4.15, p=.044$ . There was a gender difference under mortality salience ( $M's=2.60, 3.12$ , for males and females respectively,  $t(148) = 2.61, p=.01$ ), but there was no gender difference under pain conditions ( $M's=2.77, 2.72$  for males and females, respectively  $t(146) = .25, p>.1$ ).

Future research might want to further explore these types of race and gender differences regarding evaluations of political cartoons; they are, however, beyond the scope of the present research and are not discussed further.

## Bibliography

- Aita, J. (October 28, 1997). Doha meeting critical to Mideast peace, economic growth, U.S. says. Retrieved on January 5, 2007 from:  
<http://telaviv.usembassy.gov/publish/peace/archives/1997/me1028c.html>
- Al-Hayat Al-Jadida. (March 22, 2004). Ariel Sharon as devourer of Palestinian babies. Palestinian Media Watch. Retrieved on February 10, 2007 from:  
[http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE\\_ID=48697](http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=48697)
- Al Hayat Al Jadida. (May 14, 2005). Victorious Jew atop bleeding world with a surrendering Arab beneath. Palestinian Media Watch. Retrieved on February 10, 2007 from: <http://www.pmw.org.il/PAVisualsMay2005.pps#265,10,Slide 10>
- Allport, G. H. (1944). *ABC's of scapegoating*. Oxford, England: Central YMCA College.
- Allport, G. H. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Anti Defamation League (2002). Anti-Semitism on the rise in America -- ADL survey on anti-Semitic attitudes reveals 17 percent of Americans hold "hardcore" beliefs. Retrieved on February 4, 2006 from:  
[http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASUS\\_12/4109\\_12.htm](http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASUS_12/4109_12.htm)
- Anti Defamation League (2005). ADL survey: Anti-Semitism declines slightly in America; 14 percent of Americans hold 'strong' anti-Semitic beliefs. Retrieved on February 4, 2006 from, [http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASUS\\_12/4680\\_12.htm](http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASUS_12/4680_12.htm)
- Anti Defamation League (2005). Global anti-Semitism: Selected incidents around the world in 2005. Retrieved on February 4, 2006 from:  
[sematism\\_global\\_incidents\\_2005.asp#top](http://www.adl.org/GlobalIncidents/sematism_global_incidents_2005.asp#top).
- Anti Defamation League (2007). A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE<sup>®</sup> Institute Retrieved on February 5, 2008 from:  
[http://www.adl.org/education/edu\\_awod/default\\_awod.asp](http://www.adl.org/education/edu_awod/default_awod.asp)
- Bachner, H. (2003). Anti-Jewish motifs in the public debate on Israel, Sweden: a case study. In The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism (Ed.) *Anti-Semitism Worldwide*, 1, pp. 5-25.
- Bailer S. (2004). Bargaining success in the European Union - The impact of exogenous and endogenous power resources. *European Union Politics*, 5 (1), 99-123.
- Bar-Tal, D. (1988). Delegitimizing relations between Israeli Jews and Palestinians: A social psychological analysis. In J. Hofman (Ed.), *Arab-Jewish relations in Israel: A quest in human understanding* (pp. 217-248). Bristol, Indiana: Wyndham Hall Press.
- Bar-Tal, D. (1990a). Causes and consequences of delegitimization: Models of conflict and ethnocentrism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 46:1.
- Bar-Tal, D. (1990b). Delegitimization: The Extreme Case of Stereotyping and Prejudice. In *Stereotyping and Prejudice: Changing Conceptions*. Edited by Bar-Tal, D., ed. New York: Springer Verlag,



- Baron R. M. and Kenny D.A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* ;51:1173-82.
- Barrett, G.V., & Morris, S.B. (1993). The American Psychological Association's amicus curiae brief in *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* the values of science versus the values of the law. *Law and Human Behavior*, 17, 201-215.
- Berger, R. (September 15, 2006). West Bank Churches Attacked as Muslims Protest Pope's Remarks on Islam. World News. Retrieved on October 2, 2006 from: <http://article.wn.com/view/2006/09/16/>
- Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality*. Hermondsworth: Penguin.
- Bernard, L. (2006).The new anti-Semitism. *American Scholar*, 75 (1), p25-36.
- Birkner, G. (August 23, 2004). Hillel Guide A Click Away. *Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life*. Retrieved on February 24, 2008 from: [http://www.hillel.org/about/news/2004/aug/20040823\\_guide.htm](http://www.hillel.org/about/news/2004/aug/20040823_guide.htm)
- Blascovich, J., Mendes, W. B., Hunter, S. B., Lickel, B., & Kowai-Bell, N. (2001). Perceiver threat in social interactions with stigmatized others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80, 253–267.
- Brewer, M. B. (1979). In-group bias in the minimal intergroup situation: a cognitive-motivational analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*. 86(2), 307-324.
- Buchanan, W., & Cantril, H. (1953) *How nations see each other: A study in public opinion*. Urbana, Ill.: University Of Illinois Press.
- Bush, G.W. (January 29, 2002). President Delivers State of the Union Address. The President's State of the Union Address: The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C. The White House, President George W. Bush. Retrieved on September 11, 2006 from: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>
- CBS News (September 17, 2006). Italian Nun Murdered In Somalia. Retrieved from: <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/09/17/world/main2015687.shtml>.
- Campus Watch. (April 9, 2002). Palestinian Children Meat. Poster at Palestinian Rally at San Fransisco State University. Retrieved on April 15, 2006 from: [www.campus-watch.org/article/id/605](http://www.campus-watch.org/article/id/605).
- Castelli, L., De Amicis, L. & Sherman, S. J. (2007). The loyal member effect: On the preference for ingroup members who engage in exclusive relations with the ingroup. *Developmental Psychology*. 43(6), 1347-1359.
- Cohen, S. (1986). Knowledge and context. *Journal of Philosophy* 83, 574-583.
- Cohen, G.L., Aronson, J. & Steele, C.M. (2000). When beliefs yield to evidence: Reducing biased evaluation by affirming the self. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26(9), 1151-1164.
- Cohen, F. & Jussim, L. (2006). Anti-Semitism--The Longest Prejudice. Manuscript in preparation for publication.

- Cohen, F., Jussim, L., Harber, K., and Bhasin, G. (in press). Modern Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israeli Attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.
- Cohen, R. (July 18, 2006). Hunker down with history. *Washington Post*. P. A19.
- Cohn-Sherbok, D. (2002). *Anti-Semitism*. Sutton Publishing. Vol. 1 Continuum.
- Connors, J. L. (2005). Visual representations of the 2004 presidential campaign: Political cartoons and popular culture references. *American Behavioral Scientist*. 49(3), 479-487.
- CoreComm (2008). History of the Jews in Poland. Retrieved on January 3, 2008 from: <http://members.core.com/~mikeroose/history.html>.
- Covitz, A. (Dec 13, 2002). Scapegoats never die, especially when they're Jewish. *Jerusalem Post*. P. 09.A
- Czopp, A. M., Monteith, M. J. & Mark, A. Y. (2006). Standing Up for a Change: Reducing Bias Through Interpersonal Confrontation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Vol 90(5), 784-803.
- Darwin, C. R. (1859). *On the origin of species by means of natural selection, or the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life*. London: John Murray.
- Devine, P.G., Monteith, M.J., Zuwerink, J.R., Elliot, A.J., (1991). Prejudice with and without compunction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56, 5-18.
- Diversity Council (2004). Prejudice reduction workshops. Retrieved on February 24, 2008 from: <http://www.diversitycouncil.org/prw.shtml>
- Dixon, J., & Durrheim, K. (2003). Contact and the ecology of racial division: Some varieties of informal segregation. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 42, 1-23.
- Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison processes. *Human Relations*, 7, 117-140.
- Fischel, J. (2005). The New Anti-Semitism. *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, pp. 225-234.
- Finegold, R. (2006). The other refugees. *World Jewish Digest*. Posted on 7/25/2006. Retrieved on September 22, 2006 from: [http://www.theforgottenrefugees.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=blogcategory&id=15&Itemid=28](http://www.theforgottenrefugees.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=15&Itemid=28).
- Finkelstein, N.G. (January 14, 2006). Why an economic boycott of Israel is justified. Retrieved on September 22, 2006 from: <http://www.normanfinkelstein.com/article.php?pg=11&ar=130>.
- Fiske, S. T. (1998). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. In D. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (eds). *The handbook of social psychology*, Vol. 2 (4th ed.). (pp.357-411). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Foddy, M., and Smithson, M. (1999). Can gender inequalities be eliminated? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62 (4), p307-324.
- Foschi, M. (2000). Double standards for competence: theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26 (1), P21-43.

- Franklin, B. (May 9, 1754). Join or Die. *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Retrieved on April 10, 2007 from: <http://www.earlyamerica.com/earlyamerica/firsts/cartoon/>
- Frindte, W., Wettig, S., and Wammetsberger, D.(2005). Old and new anti-Semitic attitudes in the context of authoritarianism and social dominance orientation—Two studies in Germany. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 11(3), p. 239-266.
- Gentry, M. (1998). The sexual double standard. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 22 (3), P505-512.
- Gerard, H. B., & Miller, N. (1975). School desegregation: A long-term study. New York:Plenum.
- Glaeser, E. L. (2005). The political economy of hatred. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 45-86.
- Glick, P., and Fiske, S.T. (1999). Sexism and other “isms”: Interdependence, status, and the ambivalent content of stereotypes. In W. B. Swann Jr., L.A. Gilbert, and J. Langlois (Eds.), *Sexism and stereotypes in modern society: The gender science of Janet Taylor Spence* (pp. 193-221). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Glick, P., and Fiske, S.T. (2001). Ambivalent stereotypes as legitimizing ideologies: Differentiating paternalistic and envious prejudice. In J.T. Jost and B. Major (Eds.), *The psychology of legitimacy: Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice and intergroup relations* (pp. 278-306). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goldhagen, D. J. (1997). *Hitler's willing executioners*. NY: Vintage Books.
- Goodstein,L.(August. 6, 2005). Threat to divest is church tool in Israeli fight, *New York Times*, Section A, Page 1.
- Green, D. P., & Cowden, J. A. (1992). Who protests: Self-interest and White opposition to busing. *Journal of Politics*, 54, 471–496.
- Green, D.P., Glaser, J., and Rich, A. (1986). From lynching to gay bashing: The elusive connection between economic conditions and hate crime, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 82-92.
- Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., & Solomon, S. (1986). The causes and consequences of a need for self-esteem: A terror management theory. In R. F. Baumeister (Ed.), *Public self and private self* (pp. 189–212). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., Rosenblatt, A., Veeder, M., Kirkland, S.,Lyon, D. (1990). Evidence for terror management theory II: The effects of mortality salience on reactions to those who threaten or bolster the cultural worldview. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 308-318.
- Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., Simon, L., & Breus, M. (1994). Role of consciousness and accessibility of death-related thoughts in mortality salience effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 67(4), 627-637.

- Harris, S. (2004). *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason*. W.W. Norton & Company Inc.: New York.
- Hirschberger, G. and Ein-Dor, T. (2006). Defenders of a lost cause: Terror management and violent resistance to the disengagement plan. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(6), 761-769.
- Hovland, C.I., and Sears, R. (1940). Minor studies of aggression: VI. Correlation of lynchings with economic indices, *Journal of Psychology*, 9, 301-310.
- Human Rights Watch (2005). Retrieved from:  
<http://www.humanrightswatch.org/doc/?t=mideast>.
- Human Rights Watch (2008). Israel's use of cluster bombs shows need for global ban: Attacks in Lebanon violated laws of war. Human Rights News. Retrieved on February 22, 2008 from: <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2008/02/17/isrlpa18071.htm>
- The Independent* (January 30th, 2003). Jews eat Gentile children. *The Independent*. Retrieved on January 21, 2006 from: [www.amptoons.com/blog/archives/2003/01/](http://www.amptoons.com/blog/archives/2003/01/)
- Israel News Agency (2006). Israel launches SEO contest against Iran holocaust cartoons. Israel News Agency. Retrieved on July 5, 2006 from:  
<http://www.israelnewsagency.com/iranholocaustcartoonsisraelseo48480207.html>
- Jewish Virtual Library. (2008). Jewish Nobel Prize Winners. Retrieved on January 3, 2008 from: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/nobels.html>
- Johnson, P. (1987). *A History of the Jews*. Harper & Row: New York.
- Jones, E. E & Sigall, H. (1971). The bogus pipeline; A new paradigm for measuring affect and attitude. *Psychological Bulletin*, 76(5), 349-364.
- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 1-27.
- Judt, T. (May 5, 2006). The country that wouldn't grow up. *Haaretz* Retrieved on May 21, 2006 from: <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/711997.html>.
- Kalkin S.P. (Dec. 30, 2004). US nuclear testing possible culprit for Indian Ocean quake. Retrieved on March 8, 2006 from:  
<http://portland.indymedia.org/en/2005/01/307168.shtml>.
- Kaplan, E.H. & Small, C.A. (2006). Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Anti-Semitism in Europe. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(4), 548-561.
- Kelley, H. H. (1967). Attribution theory in social psychology. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, 15, 192-238.
- Kelman, H.C. (1999). Transforming the relationship between former enemies: A Social Psychological analysis, in R. Rohtstein (Ed.) *After the Peace: Resistance And Reconciliations*. London: Lynne Rienner (193-205).
- Kinder, D., & Mendelberg, T. (1995). Cracks in American Apartheid: The political impact of prejudice among desegregated whites. *Journal of Politics*, 57, 402-424.

- Klug, B. (February 2, 2004). The Myth of the New Anti-Semitism. *The Nation*, p.2. Retrieved on January 3, 2007, from: <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20040202/klug>.
- Kotek, J. (2003). Anti-Semitic motifs in Belgian anti-Israel propaganda. In The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism (Ed.) *Anti- Semitism Worldwide*, 1, pp. 5-25.
- Kotek, J. (2004). Major Anti-Semitic Motifs in Arab Cartoons, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. Retrieved from <http://www.jcpa.org/phas/phas-21.htm>.
- Kunzendorf, R., Hersey, T., Wilson, J., and Ethier, M. (1992). Repressed self-consciousness of death and insensitivity to religious genocide. Unpublished manuscript, University of Lowell, Lowell, Massachusetts.
- Lauderdale, P.P, Smith-Cunnien, J., and Inverarity, I. (1984). External threat and the definition of deviance," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49, 1058-1068.
- Levin, J. and Levin, W.C. (1982). *The Functions of Prejudice and Discrimination*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.
- LeVine, R. A. and Campbell, D.T. (1971). *Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior*. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons.
- Lustige Blatter. (1942). "One eats the other and the Jew devours them all..." *Lustige Blatter*, 27. Retrieved on December 10, 2007 from: [www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/lehmann.htm](http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/lehmann.htm)
- Macklin, R. (2004). *Double standards in medical research in developing countries*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Makin, J.H. (September 8, 2007). Recession 2008? *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved on October 18, 2007 from: [http://online.wsj.com/article/sb118921622921621367.html?mod=rss\\_opinion\\_mn](http://online.wsj.com/article/sb118921622921621367.html?mod=rss_opinion_mn)
- Marcus, I. and Crook, B. (November 22, 2004). US soldier is rapist; Rice is "Exterminator;" US committing "Ethnic Cleansing." PA Press. Retrieved on March 26, 2006 from: <http://www.pmw.org.il/Hate-USA-Part4.htm>.
- Matas, D (2005). *Aftershock: Anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism*. Dundurn Press.
- McCall, George J; Simmons, J.L. (1966). *Identities and interactions*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, Discrimination, and racism*. (pp. 91-125). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- McConahay, J. B., & Hough, J. C. (1976). Symbolic Racism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 32, 23-45.
- McGregor, H., Lieberman, J. D., Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., Arndt, J., Simon, L., & Pyszczynski, T. (1998). Terror management and aggression: Evidence that

- mortality salience motivates aggression toward worldview threatening individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 590-605.
- Molloy, B. (1999). The role of religion in conflict resolution: An Israeli-Palestinian student dialogue. Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. Jerusalem, Israel.
- Monteith, M. J. (1993). Self-regulation of prejudiced responses: Implications for progress in prejudice reduction efforts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65, 469-485.
- Monteith, M. J., Ashburn-Nardo, L., Voils, C. I., & Czopp, A. M. (2002). Putting the brakes on prejudice: On the development and operation of cues for control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 1029-1050.
- Mummendey, A., and Kessler, T. (2001). Is there any scapegoat around? Determinants of intergroup conflicts at different categorization levels, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1090-1102.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65-85. Perloff, R. (1987). Self-interest and personal responsibility redux. *American Psychologist*, 42, 3-11.
- Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J. (2003). *In the wake of 9/11: Rising above the terror*. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- Pyszczynski, T., Abdollahi, A., Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., Cohen, F., And Weise, D. (2006). The Effect of Reminders of Death on Support for Martyrdom among Young Adults in a Middle Eastern Country. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 525-537.
- Rein, R. (2003). *Argentina, Israel and the Jews: Peron, the Eichmann capture and after*. Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland.
- Reuters (October 17, 2003). Malaysian Attacks Jews. Retrieved from: <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C00E3DE143EF934A25753C1A9659C8B63>.
- Richard, F. D., Bond, C. F. Jr., Stokes-Zoota, J. J. (2003). One hundred years of social psychology quantitatively described. *Review of General Psychology*, 7, 331-363.
- Richeson, J. A., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). When prejudice does not pay: Effects of interracial contact on executive functioning. *Psychological Science*, 14, 287-290.
- Rokeach, M. (1951). Prejudice, concreteness of thinking, and reification of thinking. *Journal of Abnormal & Social Psychology*. 46(1), 83-91.
- Rosenthal, R., & Rosnow, R. L. (1991). *Essentials of behavioral research: Methods and data analysis* (2nd ed.). New York
- Rudman, L. A, Ashmore, R. D, & Gary, M. L. (2001). "Unlearning" automatic biases: The malleability of implicit prejudice and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 81(5) , 856-868.
- Schimmel, J., Simon, L., Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., Waxmonsky, J., & Arndt, J. (1999). Stereotypes and terror management: Evidence that mortality

- salience enhances stereotypic thinking and preferences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77, 905-926.
- Sears, D., & Kinder, D. (1971). Racial Tensions and Voting in Los Angeles. In W. Z. Hirsch (Ed.), *Los Angeles: Viability and prospects for metropolitan leadership*. New York: Praeger and Sears, D. O., & McConahay, J. (1973). *The politics of violence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Selznick, G. J & Steinberg, S. (1969). *The tenacity of prejudice: Anti-Semitism in contemporary America*. Oxford, England: Harper & Row.
- Sharansky, N. (2004). 3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization. *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 16, 3-4.
- Sherif, M. (1966). *Group conflict and cooperation: Their social psychology*. London Press, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Sivacek, J., & Crano, W. D. (1982). Vested interest as a moderator of attitude-behavior consistency. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 43, 210-221.
- Smith, C., & Faris, R. (2005). Socioeconomic Inequality in the American Religious System: An Update and Assessment. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44 (1) , 95-104.
- Smith, T. W. (1993). Actual trends or measurement artifacts? A review of three studies of anti-Semitism. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 57 (3), 380-397.
- Snyder, M. (1993). Basic research and practical problems: The promise of a “functional” personality and social psychology. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19, 251-264.
- Sobel, M. E. (1982). Asymptotic intervals for indirect effects in structural equations models. In S. Leinhardt (Ed.), *Sociological methodology 1982* (pp.290-312). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T. (2004). The Cultural Animal: Twenty Yearsof Terror Management Theory and Research. In *Greenberg, Jeff (Ed); Koole, Sander L (Ed); Pyszczynski, Tom (Ed). Handbook of Experimental Existential Psychology. (pp. 13-34). xv, 528 pp. New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.*
- Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism (2003). *Anti- Semitism Worldwide*, 1, pp. 95-114.
- Sturzbecher, D., and Freytag, R. (2000). *Anti-Semitism Among Adolescents*. Gottingen, Germany: Hogrefe.
- Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S., Hunter, B. A. (1995). Sexism and racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(2), 199-214.
- Tajfel, H. (1969). Cognitive aspects of prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*. 25(4), 79-97.

- U.S. Census (2004-2005). Law enforcement, courts, and prisons. Retrieved on September 21, 2006 from:  
<http://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/04statab/law.pdf>.
- U.S. State Department. (January 5, 2005). Report on Global Anti-Semitism, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. Retrieved on September 21, 2006 from:  
<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/40258.htm>
- United Nations. (November 10, 1975). *United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379*. Retrieved on September 21, 2006 from:  
<http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/>
- United Nations. (September 21, 2006). Annan welcomes extension of African Union mission in Darfur. Retrieved on December 10, 2007 from:  
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=19948&Cr=sudan&Cr1=>
- Walker, I. (1994). Attitudes to minorities: Survey evidence of Western Australians' attitudes to Aborigines, Asians, and women. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 46(3), 137-143.
- Watson, D. and Clark, L. A. (1992). Affects separable and inseparable: On the hierarchical arrangement of the negative affects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62(3), 489-505.
- Weber, M. (1904 [2001]). *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York, NY: Routledge Classics.
- Weitz, E. D. (2001). *Stalin's Secret Pogrom: The Postwar Inquisition of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee*, Joshua Rubenstein and Vladimir P. Naumov, eds. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Wistrich, R. S. (February 24, 2008). Waging war on Judeophobes old and new. *Haaretz*. Retrieved on February 24, 2008 from:  
<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=324476&contrassID=2&subContrassID=15&sbSubContrassID=0&listSrc=Y>
- Zilboorg, G. (1943). Fear of death. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 12, 465-475.



## Curriculum Vita

Florette Cohen

## EDUCATION

- 2000-2003    B.S. CUNY Brooklyn College,  
                    Major: Psychology  
                    Minor: Philosophy
- 2003-2005    M.S. Rutgers University  
                    Major: Social Psychology  
                    Minor: Industrial Organization
- 2005-2008    Ph.D. Rutgers University  
                    Social Psychology  
                    Personality  
                    Industrial Organization  
                    Positions Held
- 2003-2008    Dept. of Psychology Rutgers University N.B. Teaching Assistant/  
                    Adjunct Professor
- 2005-2008    Hillel Yeshiva High School. Science Teacher

## PUBLICATIONS

- Cohen, F., Jussim, L., Harber, K., and Bhasin. (in press). Modern Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israeli Attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.
- Cohen, F., Ogilvie, D., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., and Pyszczynski, T. (2005). American Roulette: The effect of reminders of death on support for George W. Bush in the 2004 Presidential Election. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 5, (1), 177-187.
- Cohen, F., Solomon, S., Maxfield, M., Pyszczynski, T., & Greenberg, J. (2004). Fatal Attraction: The effects of Mortality Salience on political preferences as a function of leadership style. *Psychological Science*, 15, 846-851.
- Landau, M., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Cohen, F., Pyszczynski, T., Arndt, J., Miller, C., Ogilvie, D., & Cook, A. (2004). Deliver Us from Evil: The Effects of Mortality Salience and Reminders of 9/11 on Support for President George W. Bush. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 1136-1150.
- Pyszczynski, T., Abdollahi, A., Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., Cohen, F., And Weise, D. (2006). Mortality salience, martyrdom, and military might: The Great Satan versus the Axis of Evil. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 525-537.  
To be reprinted in:

- Pyszczynski, T., Abdollahi, A., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Cohen, F., & Weise, D. (2008). Mortality salience, martyrdom, and military might: The Great Satan versus the Axis of Evil. Reprinted in J. Victoroff & A. W. Kruglanski (Eds). *Psychology of Terrorism: The Best Writings about the Mind of the Terrorist*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Jussim, L., Cain, T., Crawford, J., Harber, K., & Cohen, F. (in press )The unbearable accuracy of stereotypes. In *The Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination*. Nelson, T. (Ed.)
- Jussim, L., Harber, K., Crawford, J., Cain, T., & Cohen, F. (2004). Social Reality Makes the Social Mind: Self-Fulfilling Prophecy, Stereotypes, Bias, and Accuracy. *Interaction Studies*, 6, 85-102.
- Kosloff, S., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Cohen, F., Gershuny, B., Routledge, C. & Pyszczynski, T. (2006). Fatal Distraction: The Impact of Mortality Salience on Dissociative Responses to 9/11 and Subsequent Anxiety Sensitivity. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*.
- Ogilvie, D.M., Cohen, F., and Solomon, S.(in press). The Undesired Self: Deadly Connotations. *The Journal of Personality*.
- Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., Cohen, F., Ogilvie, D.M. (in press). Teach these souls to fly: Supernatural as Human Adaptation. In *Evolution, culture and the human mind*. Schaller, M., Norenzayan, A., Heine, S., Yamagishi, T., & Kameda, T. (eds). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Solomon, S. & Cohen, F. (in press). The psychodynamics of charismatic leadership. In *Social Psychology of Leadership*. Goethals, G., Forsyth, D., & Hoyt, C. (eds). Praeger.