

# Antisemitism 2.0

## and the Cyberculture of Hate

Hostility towards Jews as a cultural constant and collective emotional value in the digital age (short version)



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How does antisemitism manifest itself in the 21st century? How, where and by whom is anti-Jewish content expressed and disseminated? Which stereotypes are therein encoded, which arguments put forward? What role do emotions and irrational affect logic play in present-day attitudinal and verbalized antisemitism? To what extent has the Internet accelerated the spread and intensification of antisemitism? How can modern manifestations of hatred against Jews be recorded, classified and explained in academic terms?

The long-term study, conducted within the framework of empirical research into antisemitism focusing on the articulation, perpetuation, dissemination and manifestation of hatred against Jews in the Internet<sup>1</sup>, has addressed these issues and conducted quantitatively extensive and detailed content-related research.

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Screenshots title page – sources: Facebook und Twitter [EB\_FB\_20160608, EB\_TW\_20180512\_1, EB\_TW\_20170226]

Since 2004 the antisemitism of the 21st century has been longitudinally studied with the method of corpus analysis : See the research projects conducted at TU Berlin's Institute of Language and Communication at <https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/menue/forschung/forschungsprojekte/> (accessed: 10.07.2018).

This pamphlet presents the most important findings emerging from the research conducted within the "Expressions of Antisemitism in the World Wide Web" project funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) from 2014 until 2018.

## 0. A concise overview of the most important findings<sup>2</sup>

Web 2.0 is the primary multiplier and locus for the transmission of manifestations of antisemitism. Expressions of antisemitic sentiment have increased significantly in the digital age.

- This increase is accompanied by a qualitative radicalization and intensification of expressions of antisemitism (see point 4).
- Consequently, antisemitism's scope for expression as well as the visibility of antisemitic sentiments have grown enormously on Web 2.0 (see points 3,4,10).
- The epoch-spanning reiteration of Judeophobic stereotypes and conspiracy phantasies is revealed in thousands of texts every day in the Internet.
- Classical hostility towards Jews remains the primary conceptual basis for present-day hatred of Jews; 54.02 % (mean value) of all expressions of antisemitism display classical stereotypes (see points 5,6 and 8).
- Muslim antisemitism is also marked by classical stereotypes of hostility towards Jews (see point 7).
- With a mean value of 33.35%, Israel-centered antisemitism is a prevalent manifestation of hatred towards Jews, which is, however, conceptually and affectively determined by classical hatred of Jews (see points 6 and 8).
- The "Israelization of antisemitic semantics" also manifests itself in issues entirely unrelated to the Middle East conflict (see point 6).
- Hatred of Jews projected on to Israel by means of classical stereotypes perpetuates the tradition of radical and eliminatory hostility towards Jews, thus increasingly legitimizing antisemitism in civil society in the absence of counter-measures in the judiciary or politics.
- Despite differing political and ideological beliefs, expressions of antisemitism, regardless of where they originate, display a pronounced uniformity and homogeneity in their encoding of stereotypes and in their argumentation (see point 5).
- The quotidian communication processes of non-extremist everyday users of social media are responsible for the dissemination and normalization (see points 3,10) of antisemitic attitudes; hatred of Jews is revealed as a phenomenon manifest in society as a whole and as an omnipresent aspect of cyberculture.
- At the same time, intensive defensive and relativization strategies are an integral element of antisemitic discourse (see point 9).
- A very pronounced emotional dimension can be observed: Antisemitic pseudo-argumentation displays its own affect logic (see point 8).
- Hatred of Jews reveals itself in the multimodal encoding on Web 2.0 (texts, images, films, songs) as a constant and collective emotional value of cultural memory.

<sup>2</sup> This booklet can only present a brief and concise selection of the extensive and varied research findings. A full and detailed version with tables, analyses and explanations is available at [https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/menue/antisemitismus\\_2\\_0/](https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/menue/antisemitismus_2_0/).

The encoding and spread of antisemitism is increasing globally, particularly via Web 2.0. This development in the virtual world correlates to that in the real world where antisemitic abuse, attacks<sup>3</sup>, threats and insults occur, and which has witnessed the phenomenon of the "new unease"<sup>4</sup>, in other words the fear and concern felt in the Jewish communities of Germany and Europe.<sup>5</sup> This impression has now been scientifically confirmed by our long-term study based on broad empirical evidence. This study was conducted on the basis of extensive corpus studies, meaning quantitative and qualitative analyses of large data quantities of authentic texts. It is only through this approach that an indication can be gained concerning attitudinal antisemitism, its cognitive representation and emotions, as well as its communicative forms of transmission. The study examined over a number of years which antisemitic content was made accessible and disseminated in various areas of the World Wide Web and by what means. As part of this process, expressions of antisemitism as they are currently verbalized were classified according to the dominant stereotypes of classical, post-Holocaust and Israel-centered antisemitism.<sup>6</sup> It was examined which stereotypes were explicitly or implicitly encoded and which were dominant. The strategies users revert to in order to render Judeophobic positions and pronouncements acceptable, or to defend or reinterpret such positions, were also identified and elucidated. Finally, the role played by emotions in the encoding of anti-Jewish texts was examined.

The specifics of Internet communication (reciprocity, active cyber participation, speed, free access, multimodality, anonymity, global connection) and the increasing relevance of social media as an opinion-forming source of information for the whole of society have resulted in a rapid, unfiltered and almost unchecked spread of anti-Jewish ideology, which in purely quantitative terms is without precedent. The digitalization of information and communications technology has rendered "Antisemitism 2.0" multipliable online in a rapid, multimodal manner, diverse in terms of text type and unspecific in terms of recipient. Every day thousands of new expressions of antisemitism are posted adding to the available anti-Jewish texts, images and videos which have been stored on the Internet for years. In a ten-year comparison, there has been a three-fold increase in the number of antisemitic online comments between 2007 and 2018. Additionally there are scarcely any areas of discourse in Web 2.0 where users are not at risk of stumbling upon antisemitic texts, even when not actively seeking such content. (see point 3). The Internet functions, particularly in the everyday areas of communication of social

3 The Department for Research and Information on Antisemitism (RIAS) in Berlin also registered an increase in antisemitic incidents (see RIAS Annual Report 2017: <https://report-antisemitism.de/media/bericht-antisemitischer-vorfaelle-2017.pdf> (accessed: 10.07.2018)).

4 In June 2016 a conference was held on the current situation regarding antisemitism in Berlin. The findings of the conference are to be published in 2018 in a collected volume entitled *Das neue Unbehagen* (The New Unease).

5 In this context see the findings of a study report prepared for the expert committee on antisemitism on Jewish perspectives on antisemitism in Germany by Zick, A./Hövermann, A./Jensen, S./Bernstein, J., 2017. *Jüdische Perspektiven auf Antisemitismus in Deutschland. Ein Studienbericht für den Expertenrat Antisemitismus*. Universität Bielefeld. Online: [https://uni-bielefeld.de/ikg/daten/JuPe\\_Bericht\\_April2017.pdf](https://uni-bielefeld.de/ikg/daten/JuPe_Bericht_April2017.pdf) (accessed: 10.07.2018).

6 We distinguish between the stereotypes of classical antisemitism (CIA), which characterized discourse until 1945, the concepts of the post-Holocaust phase (PHA) after 1945, which gave rise to the stereotypes of Holocaust exploitation, resentful unforgiveness and taboos on criticism. These post-Holocaust stereotypes ultimately rest upon the classical stereotypes of JEWISH VENGEANCE, GREED and EXERCISE OF POWER but have been adopted to a modern context projected onto the experience of Auschwitz and should be seen in the context of the rejection of guilt, the refusal to remember and the antisemitism of the desire to be free of feelings of guilt (*Entlastungsantisemitismus*). In the research these are sometimes referred to as "primary and secondary antisemitism". We wish to make a case, however, for not using the latter terms any more as they give rise to semantically confusing interpretations. The third variation is Israel-centered antisemitism (IA) which is sometimes described as "new". This manifestation of present-day hatred towards Jews should, however, not be seen as unconnected to the conceptualizations of classical hostility towards Jews (see point 6).

media, as a multiplier, as it makes expressions of antisemitism very widely accessible, ensuring their global dissemination at every level of Web 2.0, thus hastening the normalization of hatred towards Jews.

Current manifestations of 21st century antisemitism are cognitively based upon transmitted Judeophobic stereotypes, and emotionally on a collective feeling of hatred; as such they represent a modern recrudescence of a culturally rooted resentment. Israel-centered antisemitism<sup>7</sup>, a dominant form of the manifestation of current hostility towards Jews in Web 2.0 with a mean value of 33.35 %, pursues the age-old adoption pattern of hatred towards Jews, whereby any manifestation of Judaism which can be opportunely defamed (in this case the State of Israel) is focused on negatively. Antisemitism is not merely a system of prejudice; it is rather a system of belief and a way of interpreting the world which is deeply rooted in occidental structures of thought and emotion. Patterns of linguistic usage perpetuate the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes, thus ensuring they remain part of the collective consciousness. Even the experience of the Holocaust failed to break this tradition. With a mean value of 54.02 %, classical stereotypes of hatred towards Jews figure very significantly in Antisemitism 2.0. It should be observed that hatred of Jews and hatred of Israel form a conceptual symbiosis which is largely determined by the collective concept of the ETERNAL JEW with its centuries-old constructed characteristics OF JEWS AS FOREIGN/OTHER/EVIL, AS VILLIANS, EXPLOITERS, AS VENGEFUL SCHEMERS AND PEOPLE OBSESSED BY POWER, MURDERERS, PRACTICERS OF RITUALS AND BLOOD CULTS, LAND GRABBERS, DESTROYERS AND CONSPIRATORS. Other than in superficial variations regarding encoding, there are no significant differences between the antisemitism of the Right or the Left, Muslim antisemitism or that of users from the political center. The authors of expressions of antisemitism draw upon the classical stereotypes of hostility towards Jews and use uniform arguments determined by an emotional affect logic.<sup>8</sup> These reveal numerous strategies seeking to defend against, deny, reinterpret and marginalize<sup>9</sup> the hatred of Jews to be found in society as a whole. In order to conform with post-Holocaust consciousness and achieve an appearance of political correctness and social acceptability, ostensive antisemitism is reclassified in this process as "criticism" in pseudo-political discourse, and as "art or freedom of opinion" in German-language rap. There are consequently many different ways in which expressions of antisemitism are camouflaged. Rather than the lexemes *Jews* or *Judaism*, substitute expressions such as *Israelis* or *Zionism*, ciphers such as *Rothschild*, vague paraphrases such as *that influential circle* or rhetorical questions such as *Why are Zionists evil?* are used to spread anti-Jewish semantics. The rising articulation of comparisons with the Nazi regime, brutal pejoratives (*filth, plague, cancer*) and fantasies of violence (in

7 A textual analysis of Israel-centered antisemitism (IA) makes it absolutely clear that such comments have nothing to do with "criticism of Israeli politics" (in this context see *Sprache der Judenfeindschaft im 21. Jahrhundert*). The criteria for Israel-centered antisemitism are: De-realization through the projection of Judeophobic stereotypes on to Israel and / or comparisons with the Nazi regime, delegitimization of the right to existence and negative criticism conducted through an attempt to present the actions of the Israeli state as uniquely bad (e.g through superlative constructions such as "the biggest threat to world peace" or "the worst criminal regime") as well demonizing pejorative terms.

8 Due to the uniformity of antisemitism, no clear distinctions can be drawn between politically and ideologically motivated hatred of Jews. This leads to a leveling of positions and at the same time (as a result of this lack of orientation and uniform adaptation) to a consolidation of anti-Jewish resentment. The quasi identity structures which users stumble upon on a daily basis at all levels of the Internet, reinforce and strengthen the impression that this form of hostility towards Jews and towards Israel are normal and legitimate.

9 This is the case when, for example, antisemitism is described as a marginal phenomenon associated only with the Right and right wing extremists. Since 2015, the strategy of marginalization has been particularly prevalent in the manifestation seeking to represent hatred of Jews as an "imported" phenomenon and thus relativizing everyday antisemitism in society at large.

the sense of eliminatory antisemitism) are also proof of the tendency towards verbal radicalization as well as of a clear lowering of the threshold of taboos. The attempts at enlightenment in recent decades have not been uniformly successful throughout society, and discussions concerning the dangers of defamatory and demonizing patterns of language use have not resulted in a sensitization regarding antisemitism. Antisemitism has been a growing cause for concern in Germany for many years and continues to be so.

## 1. Data material, crawlers and corpus analyses: the relevance of authentic data

This project also saw the start of a technical pilot project which enabled the comprehensive and automated storing of websites (some 66,374 in total) and user comments using a crawler (a computer program developed for searching in the Internet) specially designed for this project. Thematic-specific subcorpora were created from 265,496 comments and quantitatively and qualitatively coded in detail by means of MAXQDA. This enabled the contextualized analysis of all direct and indirect forms of naturally produced antisemitism<sup>10</sup>. The basic corpus has also been manually extended year on year through the manual inclusion of further Web corpora as well as through extensive sample analyses of all relevant social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, self-help portals and discussion forums on various topics (Judaism in Germany, Middle-East conflict, the culture of memory, solidarity projects and much more). A comparative corpus was provided by 20,000 emails sent to the Israeli Embassy in Berlin and the Central Council of Jews In Germany between 2002 and 2018 for the purpose of examining whether this type of discourse (with personalized addressees) revealed any differences.

## 2. Coding guideline

By means of a coding guideline, which represented the classification list for the workable analysis of expressions of antisemitism, the texts were coded and categorized using a series of mostly dichotomous variables (e.g. anti-Jewish stereotype XY coded: yes/no; expression of emotion: yes/no)<sup>11</sup>. The most important valuation variable was "antisemitic status". If the value of this variable was coded as antisemitic, then it had to be decided when coding, just as with the stereotypes, whether the values were to be classified as classical antisemitism (CIA), post-Holocaust antisemitism (PHA) or Israel-centered antisemitism (IA). An analysis of content was then conducted where the comments were additionally analyzed in detail and according to their context.

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<sup>10</sup> Surveys and interviews are premised on artificially acquired data, influenced by social desirability.

<sup>11</sup> All codings in the research project were double-coded, meaning that they were independently analyzed by two researchers. Coding was always conducted on a conservative basis.

### 3. The omnipresence and accessibility of antisemitism in Web

#### 2.0: "With one click"

"Jews....occupy a country that does not belong to them and kill women and children and show no remorse [...] that's what Jews are....that is the TRUTH" Source: e-hausaufgaben.de [EB\_EHD\_20100219]

A study of Google Search and self-help portals reveals that users, against their expectation, encounter expressions of antisemitism after just one click upon entering keywords such as *Jew(s)*, *Judaism*, *Passover* or *Israel*. Such expressions of antisemitism remain undeleted sometimes for years, such as the question "Why are Jews so evil?" which has been visible on Gutefrage.net since 2011. Expressions of antisemitism are in no way only to be found in political discourse areas; they are particularly prevalent in frequently used every-day Web media. Corpus studies of comments made in connection with campaigns calling for solidarity against antisemitism (*Nie wieder Judenhass* (An end to the hatred of Jews) and *Berlin trägt Kippa* (Berlin wears the kippa)) demonstrate the infiltration of expressions of antisemitism (in some cases more than 37%) even within these communication structures. In this connection, global connections and multimodal links in the Web play a particular role in the transmission of expressions of antisemitism. That users are confronted with indoctrination rather than information or discussion can be seen in all significant social media (Twitter, YouTube, Facebook), as well as in websites as diverse as fan forums, blogs and online booking shops. YouTube comments posted under Judeophobic films showing unfiltered conspiracy fantasies reveal a strikingly high level of violence and hate encoding: "I hope the plague strikes you down - you should pay in agony for your crimes against the peoples of this earth" (comment posted in response to a YouTube video from 23.09.2013 *Die Rothschilds: Eine Familie beherrscht die Welt* (The Rothschilds: A family rules the world), 202313 views. Accessed: 02.06.2018. [EB\_YT\_20171200])

### 4. The increase and radicalization of expressions of antisemitism

"Jews are the greatest misery of mankind" [EB\_YT\_Rothschilds\_201805\_MA]

"The Zionist clans are the plague of the world" [EB\_YT\_Rothschilds\_201707\_A]

In a ten-year comparative study (2007 to 2017), corpus studies examining the comments sections of the quality online media (including *Welt*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Zeit*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *taz*, *Tagespiegel* and *Focus*) reveal a significant increase in verbal antisemitism:



At the same time it is possible to observe a tendency towards a semantic and argumentative radicalization: The prevalence of comparisons with the Nazi regime, fantasies of violence as well as an extreme, demonizing and dehumanizing pejorative language (*plague, cancer, filth*) have doubled since 2009. This demonstrates the lowering of the taboo threshold<sup>12</sup> regarding the articulation of even such explicit and extreme expressions of antisemitism.

## 5. The homogeneity of expressions of antisemitism: continuity and uniformity of the encoding of stereotypes

"...because the Jews are a putrid and degenerate people."

(Ernst Moritz Arndt, 1814)

„#ESC18 Why is a warlike people like Israel, which is not even a part of Europe, allowed to participate in this peaceful event?" [EB\_TW\_ESC18\_20180512\_2]

The patterns of linguistic usage of historical<sup>13</sup> and contemporary hostility towards Jews are strikingly similar in both their semantics and in their form. The fundamental conceptualizations of THE ETERNAL JEW and JEWS ARE THE CURSE OF THE WORLD vary slightly according to the political or ideological orientation of the author of the comment, for example in terms of the choice of ideological vocabulary, but are always recognizable as the base semantics.

Frequently communicated stereotypes are of Jews as FOREIGN, CONSPIRATORS, CHILD MURDERERS, LAND GRABBERS, DECOMPOSERS AND RESPONSIBLE FOR ANTISEMITISM.

Despite stylistic differences, the linguistic usage of most authors of antisemitic texts is strikingly similar and displays equivalent patterns even in the argumentative structure of the texts. This provides proof of the influence of the old patterns stored in the collective memory. The quantitative extent of anti-Jewish encodings at all levels of discourse<sup>14</sup>, their multiple means of dissemination and their semantic uniformity mean that Antisemitism 2.0 is to be seen as an integral part of cyberculture.

## 6. Israel-centered antisemitism

"I do not give my support to murderers. ...Israel is the devil of the modern age" [NWJH\_FB\_Bild\_15\_4MH]

With a mean value of 33.35% in the major corpora, Judeophobic hostility towards Israel is a particularly dominant manifestation of the hatred of Jews in Web 2.0 and can be found at all levels and in all areas of communication even when no thematic connection to

12 The anonymity provided by the Web is not the only factor here: The tendency towards verbal radicalization can, since 2009, also be seen in the email corpus for messages of hate sent with name and address to the Central Committee of Jews and the Israeli Embassy. The Web 2.0 provides users with a large community which reactively confirms their expressions of antisemitism and affectively supports their anti-Jewish beliefs. Filter bubbles and echo chambers in Web 2.0 are significantly responsible for the consolidation and normalization of expressions of antisemitism.

13 A data collection of 800 historical texts (from the 16th century until 1945) containing typical anti-Jewish stereotype encodings and arguments served as a comparison corpus. That antisemitism is today often not recognized for what it is or not classified as antisemitism is related to a too narrow definition, which only views the 12 years of the Nazi era as typical of hatred against Jews. Present-day manifestations of antisemitism can, however, not be explained without taking account of the long Western tradition of Jew hatred and its manifestations over the centuries. It is only through a comparison with the historical texts that it becomes clear that the culturally rooted linguistic usage patterns have hardly altered until today.

14 For users of the Web there are no longer any boundaries between texts seeking to provide information and those seeking to persuade and influence opinion: These problems of classification lead to a lack of transparency and a loss of orientation regarding facticity.

Israel/Middle East is present. This "Israelization of antisemitic semantics" has a very significant impact on the antisemitic communication culture of the Internet. Israel-centered antisemitism (IA) displays all the features of classical hostility towards Jews (de-realization and defamation by means of dissociation, stereotyping, devaluation).<sup>15</sup>

In the Gaza 2014 corpus, multiple stereotype encodings are frequent (mean value of 33.1%) with Israel-centered (59.0%) and classical stereotypes (43.9%) highly prevalent when expressed in various combinations. Post-Holocaust stereotypes (PHA) by contrast only have a 20.0 % representation (see in this context 3.2.1 of the long version). The combination of classical and Israel-centered stereotypes is, at 20.8%, twice as common as combinations of post-Holocaust stereotypes and Israel stereotypes (10.2%), even in discourses without any Middle East /Israel context (such as statements from the Central Council of Jews in Germany; see Schuster corpus in the long version of the booklet). The following table shows the mingling of classical and Israel related stereotypes:

	Total	CIA- Stereotype	PHA- Stereotype	IA- Stereotype
Number	882	356	120	406
Number as a percentage	100 %	40.36 %	13.61 %	46.03 %

Table 1: Overview of antisemitic stereotypes according to category of stereotype in the GAZA 2014 corpus.

## 7. Muslim antisemitism: dominance of classical hatred of Jews and its rootedness in religion

"Zionists are the curse of this world. These filthy cowardly murderers of children should be rounded up and choked on pig shit. Israhell fucking son of a whore terror state. . . . Fuck the lot of you! ! ! ! ! " [MA\_FB\_KI\_2\_S22]

"A curse on you, you Jew scum" [MA\_FB\_GI\_1\_S34]

	Total	CIA- Stereotype	PHA- Stereotype	IA- Stereotype
Number	410	220	46	144
Number as a percentage	100 %	53.66 %	11.22 %	35.12 %

Table 2: Overview of antisemitic stereotypes according to category assigned to "Muslim antisemitism".

Stereotype encoding (JEWS AS INHUMAN, GREEDY PEOPLE OBSESSED BY POWER, MURDERERS, CONSPIRATORS, PRACTICERS OF BLOOD CULTS) and patterns of argumentation ("Jews themselves are responsible for antisemitism as a result of their behavior") of classical hatred of Jews also form the basis of Muslim antisemitism. These are combined with Israel-centered stereotypes (UNJUST OPPRESSOR STATE, DEVIL STATE and TERROR STATE) together with de-realized comparisons to the Nazi regime, demonizing metaphors and hyperboles as well as expressions of a wish to destroy (revealing a strong rootedness in religion):

"in shaa Allah the day will come when Israel will be completely annihilated. Country of filth" [MA\_FB\_MM\_2\_S2]

<sup>15</sup> It is not hard to define the difference between justified criticism and anti-Semitic agitation. If criticism, even harshly formulated, is well-founded and based on facts, no researcher has ever branded or would brand this as antisemitism. See footnote 7 and footnote 17. In this context also see Schwarz-Friesel/Reinharz 2017 as well as Schwarz-Friesel 2015 a, b, c and 2018.

## 8. Hate as a cultural emotional value

"and Israel only exists because it is a Jewish state... the hatred must then be directed against all Jews." [MT\_21072014\_4\_11:45]

With a mean value of 70.3%, hatred is the most commonly encoded emotion. Characteristic for this hatred are obsessivity, cognitive rigidity, a resistance to facts and conceptual deprivation, all of which can be classified as a type of affect logic. There are two types of manifestation of affective and rationally encoded hatred; the egosyntonic (in harmony with the ego) and the egodystonic (ego alien). Rightwing extremist and Islamic antisemites tend to express their hatred affectively, while those from the center and the left, particularly educated users, tend to adopt a pseudo-rational approach connected to defensive strategies and reinterpretation. This communicative practice only emerged after the Holocaust: Egodystonic hatred of Jews is a phenomenon of the modern age, linked to the processes of reason-based enlightenment and rationalization. The experience of Auschwitz makes it impossible for a humanist, educated person to accept old forms of hatred of Jews as egosyntonic.<sup>16</sup> The need to legitimize Judeophobic feelings among such people gives rise to processes of projection and reinterpretation.

Hatred of Jews is determined by classical stereotypes, which, for instance, with 72.77% were highly prevalent in the circumcision debate of 2012 and which can also be found (62.54%) in texts written in solidarity with Jews and Web appeals against antisemitism (Nie wieder Judenhass 2014/ Aufruf gegen Antisemitismus 2014/ Berlin trägt Kippa 2018).

## 9. Communicative strategies: consolidation and legitimization of expressions of antisemitism

"Try as I might, I cannot see any hostility towards Jews, but I do fear these constant accusations could lead to such a hostility." [EB\_FAZblog\_20171013\_BK]

Denial and defensive strategies are typical for the modern-day antisemitism of the post-Holocaust phase: They are decisive in shaping debates about antisemitism (both in the Web and in the public sphere of communication) and have become habitualized as discourse rituals. They serve on the one hand the aim to marginalize present-day hatred of Jews as well as the legitimization and justification of authors. They are based to a large extent on Judeophobic stereotypes<sup>17</sup> and are used exclusively in connection with expressions of antisemitism. The study reveals a clear dissociation: Authors of serious argumentation and criticism do not engage such strategies.

<sup>16</sup> In this context see also Schwarz-Friesel 2018 and Schwarz-Friesel/Friesel 2018.

<sup>17</sup> This is clearly revealed in the imagined taboo on criticism (an argument that was already put forward in the 19th century by among others Marr in 1879) and the claim that "criticism of Israel" and "verbal antisemitism" are directly equated with one another. This refers to an argument that is used exclusively in antisemitic discourse as an attempt to justify anti-Jewish comments. Using the Lexis-Nexis database the project also checked to see if such equating of ideas also occurred elsewhere in the sphere of mass media communication beyond antisemitic argumentation. This yielded a result of 0.0% showing the notion of the "criticism taboo" to be a phantasm.

## 10. Perpetuation, propagation and normalization

"Nazi IŞrael against the rest of the World... Jews, the last of the Nazi bloodline cult..." [EB\_YT\_Israel gegen\_201707\_SZ ]

In terms of the perpetuation of expressions of antisemitism and the, in general, strong manifestation of affect mobilization in Web 2.0, Muslim, right wing and left wing antisemites reveal structurally-equivalent procedures in their multimodal encodings. The potential to influence is located primarily within those communication spaces and portals which provide everyday links to the living environment: In discourses which serve to form groups and a sense of identity such as fan and discussion forums, self-help portals and social networks. These sites are now being purposely infiltrated by users with antisemitic ideologies in order to spread Judeophobic messages as widely as possible in the Web and via a variety of media through the provision of numerous links. Antisemitic content is then encoded via the web in a variety of ways. In addition, hash tags enable a tagging of stereotype content (see for example #KindermörderIsrael, #gazamassacre etc.), which serves to allow the networking of posts on the same topic, thus strengthening the impact of filter bubbles and echo chambers. This enables campaigns striving to achieve enlightenment and to combat antisemitism and hatred of Israel to be extensively infiltrated (see the long version, point 3.2.5). Internet communication thus accelerates both the transmission as well as the acceptance and normalization of anti-Jewish content.

## 11. Overview of the main corpora according to category of stereotype

Corpus	CIA- Stereotype	PHA- Stereotype	IA- Stereotype
2012 Circumcision	72.77 %	24.34 %	2.89 %
2014 DAF	76.38 %	11.31 %	12.31 %
2014 GAZA	40.36 %	13.61 %	46.03 %
2014 meta Tagesschau	33.16 %	4.29 %	62.55 %
2014 NWJ	47.80 %	11.01 %	41.19 %
2007 –2018 MA	53.66 %	11.22 %	35.12 %
<b>Mean values</b>	<b>54.02 %</b>	<b>12.63 %</b>	<b>33.35 %</b>

Table 3: Overview of antisemitic stereotypes according to category of stereotype in the six main corpora.

The entire data material is assembled from 19 corpora. It consists of 60,555 comments written between 2007 and 2018. Of these, 21,590 were selected on a random basis for detailed analysis. In addition, many samples from social media texts were taken and analyzed each year. A full and detailed version complete with tables, analyses and explanations is available at [https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/menue/antisemitismus\\_2\\_0/](https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/menue/antisemitismus_2_0/).

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