Antisemitism, Conspiratorial Politics, and the US Election of 2020

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Antisemitism and US Politics

Long term presence: both "big" events and ADL count of "incidents."

Research Questions

1) How to measure it? Multidimensional concept
2) What is its relationship to racial resentment and xenophobia?
3) What are determinants of antisemitism: right and left?
4) New Conspiratorialism: QAnon
5) Relationship between antisemitism and QAnon and/or Trump support.

Research Design

Two nationally representative surveys,

January 2020 (N=1097)

August 2020 (N=1612)

August survey contains questions on QAnon (information and support)

One note: Remarkable similarity in results between the two surveys.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics

	January survey	August survey
Age 18-29	22.9	20.2
Age 30-44	28.4	30.1
Age 45-64	32.6	35
Age 65 or older	16.0	14.6
White	71.5	74.4
Black	12.2	12.7
Hispanic	8.1	6.9
Democrat	43.5	34.7
Independent	28.1	28.9
Republican	28.4	36.4
Very liberal	15.6	13.3
Somewhat liberal	20.1	17.4
Moderate	37.2	36.5
Somewhat conservative	15.7	17.2
Very conservative	11.5	15.6
Less than high school	0.9	3.0
High school	22.4	23.0
Some college	30.9	27.8
College degree	32.3	28.7
Some graduate education	4.8	5.0
Post graduate degree	8.7	12.5
Jewish	2.1	3.2
Muslim	1.0	1.6
Evangelical	9.0	11.4
Northeast	19.1	20.3
Midwest	20.4	21.3
South	37.4	39.9
West	23.2	18.5
Sample Size	1,097	1,612

Note: Percentage of respondents in each socio-demographic group and sample sizes.

Table 2: Wording of antisemitism items

Item 1	Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States
Item 2	Jews have too much power over the U.S. government
Item 3	Most Jews have worked hard to reach the success that they have
Item 4	Most Jews have the best interests of America at heart
Item 5	Jews think they are better than other people

Note: For each item, response alternatives included "Not at all true," "Slightly true," "Somewhat true," and "Very true." In coding items for analysis more prejudiced responses were given higher values on a 1-4 discrete scale.

Racial resentment

1) Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

2) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

3) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

4) It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could just as well off as whites.

Xenophobia

1) It is likely that immigrants will take jobs away from citizens.

2) America's culture is generally harmed by immigrants.

3) Immigrants are an economic burden on American society.

QAnon

1) How much have you heard about a group known as QAnon--a great deal, just some, very little, or nothing at all?

2) And based on what you have heard or read, would you say you have a very or somewhat positive impression of QAnon, or a very negative or somewhat negative impression of QAnon?

Table 3: Summary statistics for antisemitism items

January Survey

	1 (least prejudiced response)	2	3	4 (most prejudiced response)	Mean
Item 1	51.6	21.6	16.9	9.9	1.9
Item 2	70.3	14.0	8.4	7.3	1.5
Item 3	39.0	36.8	16.8	7.4	1.9
Item 4	30.3	35.9	23.7	10.1	2.1
Item 5	64.1	17.2	10.6	8.1	1.6

August Survey

	1 (least prejudiced response)	2	3	4 (most prejudiced response)	Mean
Item 1	44.5	21.8	19.7	13.9	2.0
Item 2	57.2	18.0	16.6	8.2	1.8
Item 3	37.8	34.7	18.2	9.3	2.0
Item 4	30.3	34.3	24.6	10.8	2.2
Item 5	52.3	18.5	18.5	10.7	1.9

Note: Percentage of respondents selecting each response alternative, from least (1) to most prejudiced (4), and mean values (on a 1-4 scale), for each antisemitism item.

Table 4: Relationship between antisemitism measure and antisemitism items

January Survey

Antisemitism item	Conditional mean of antisemitism measure (for given values of antisemitism items)				Correlation with antisemitism measure
	Antisemitism item = 1	Antisemitism item = 2	Antisemitism item = 3	Antisemitism item = 4	
Item 1: Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States	-0.59	0.28	0.71	1.21	0.75
Item 2: Jews have too much power over the U.S. government	-0.47	0.72	1.15	1.82	0.87
Item 3: Most Jews have worked hard to reach the success that they have	-0.29	0.06	0.38	0.33	0.28
Item 4: Most Jews have the best interests of America at heart	-0.46	0.01	0.31	0.58	0.40
Item 5: Jews think they are better than other people	-0.46	0.46	0.94	1.42	0.75

August Survey

Antisemitism item	Conditional mean of antisemitism measure (for given values of antisemitism items)				Correlation with antisemitism measure
	Antisemitism item = 1	Antisemitism item = 2	Antisemitism item = 3	Antisemitism item = 4	
Item 1: Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States	-0.74	0.23	0.60	1.15	0.79
Item 2: Jews have too much power over the U.S. government	-0.65	0.44	0.91	1.69	0.90
Item 3: Most Jews have worked hard to reach the success that they have	-0.26	0.13	0.30	0.00	0.18
Item 4: Most Jews have the best interests of America at heart	-0.35	0.05	0.28	0.18	0.25
Item 5: Jews think they are better than other people	-0.65	0.33	0.72	1.36	0.82

Table 5: Relationship between antisemitism measure and racial resentment

January Survey

Racial resentment item	Conditional mean of antisemitism measure (for given values of racial resentment items)				Correlation with antisemitism measure
	Resentment item = 1	Resentment item = 2	Resentment item = 3	Resentment item = 4	
Item 1: Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors	-0.24	-0.1	0.21	0.17	0.21
Item 2: Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class	-0.03	0.04	0.04	-0.05	-0.01
Item 3: Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve	0.04	0.04	0.00	-0.07	-0.06
Item 4: It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites	-0.32	0.01	0.32	0.40	0.34

August Survey

Racial resentment item	Conditional mean of antisemitism measure (for given values of racial resentment items)				Correlation with antisemitism measure
	Resentment item = 1	Resentment item = 2	Resentment item = 3	Resentment item = 4	
Item 1: Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors	-0.44	-0.01	0.21	0.16	0.25
Item 2: Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class	0.09	0.14	0.03	-0.23	-0.14
Item 3: Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve	0.09	0.12	0.09	-0.22	-0.14
Item 4: It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites	-0.44	0.00	0.26	0.37	0.36

Table 6: Relationship between antisemitism measure and xenophobia

January Survey

Xenophobia item	Conditional mean of antisemitism measure (for given values of xenophobia item)				Correlation with antisemitism measure
	Xenophobia item = 1	Xenophobia item = 2	Xenophobia item = 3	Xenophobia item = 4	
Item 1: It is likely that immigrants will take jobs away from citizens	-0.35	-0.05	0.36	0.6	0.41
Item 2: America's culture is generally harmed by immigrants	-0.3	0.12	0.49	0.9	0.47
Item 3: Immigrants are an economic burden on American society	-0.3	0.07	0.29	0.53	0.35

August Survey

Xenophobia item	Conditional mean of antisemitism measure (for given values of xenophobia item)				Correlation with antisemitism measure
	Xenophobia item = 1	Xenophobia item = 2	Xenophobia item = 3	Xenophobia item = 4	
Item 1: It is likely that immigrants will take jobs away from citizens	-0.48	-0.11	0.25	0.59	0.44
Item 2: America's culture is generally harmed by immigrants	-0.46	0.14	0.49	0.79	0.53
Item 3: Immigrants are an economic burden on American society	-0.44	-0.03	0.41	0.59	0.45

Table 7: Linear regression models of antisemitism

	January Survey			August Survey		
	Coefficient	Std. Err.	P-value	Coefficient	Std. Err.	P-value
Intercept	**0.550**	**0.138**	**0.000**	**0.607**	**0.116**	**0.000**
Age	**-0.006**	**0.002**	**0.000**	**-0.012**	**0.001**	**0.000**
White	-0.111	0.095	0.244	-0.061	0.090	0.502
Black	**0.328**	**0.116**	**0.005**	**0.264**	**0.105**	**0.012**
Hispanic	0.078	0.126	0.535	0.096	0.117	0.412
Democrat	0.006	0.068	0.933	-0.053	0.058	0.357
Republican	0.027	0.075	0.715	**0.274**	**0.057**	**0.000**
Liberal	-0.103	0.066	0.117	0.063	0.055	0.255
Conservative	-0.006	0.073	0.932	-0.083	0.057	0.142
Education	**-0.065**	**0.022**	**0.003**	**-0.035**	**0.016**	**0.030**
Muslim	**0.701**	**0.255**	**0.006**	**0.665**	**0.167**	**0.000**
Evangelical	**0.201**	**0.090**	**0.026**	**-0.170**	**0.067**	**0.012**
Jewish	-0.305	0.177	0.085	-0.240	0.120	0.046
N	1,097			1,612		
R-squared	7.6			11.5		

Note: The table gives OLS estimates for linear regression models of the relationship between point estimates of the antisemitism measure (dependent variable) and respondent socio-demographic characteristics. Bold font is used to highlight coefficients significantly different from zero at a 95% confidence level.

Table 8: Linear regression models of antisemitism and information/support for QAnon

	Dep. var.: Information on QAnon			Dep. var.: Support for QAnon		
	Coefficient	Std. Err.	P-value	Coefficient	Std. Err.	P-value
Intercept	**1.330**	**0.132**	**0.000**	**2.731**	**0.178**	**0.000**
Antisemitism measure	**0.327**	**0.028**	**0.000**	**0.526**	**0.036**	**0.000**
Age	**-0.008**	**0.002**	**0.000**	**-0.011**	**0.002**	**0.000**
White	**0.222**	**0.102**	**0.029**	0.040	0.139	0.775
Black	0.168	0.118	0.156	0.103	0.156	0.510
Hispanic	**0.333**	**0.131**	**0.011**	0.004	0.169	0.981
Democrat	**0.182**	**0.065**	**0.005**	0.070	0.085	0.411
Republican	**0.147**	**0.065**	**0.023**	**0.340**	**0.086**	**0.000**
Liberal	**0.271**	**0.063**	**0.000**	-0.137	0.077	0.078
Conservative	-0.106	0.064	0.099	0.089	0.086	0.300
Education	**0.146**	**0.018**	**0.000**	-0.033	0.023	0.157
Muslim	0.036	0.189	0.849	0.415	0.211	0.050
Evangelical	-0.065	0.076	0.396	0.031	0.102	0.761
Jewish	**0.502**	**0.135**	**0.000**	-0.023	0.147	0.878
N	1,598			781		
R-squared	18.7			35.6		

Note: The table gives OLS estimates for a linear regression model of the relationship between information and support for QAnon, respectively, and respondent characteristics, for the August 2020 survey. Bold font is used to highlight coefficients significantly different from zero at a 95% confidence level.

Table 9: Linear probability model of antisemitism and Trump voting

| | Dep. var.: Voting for Trump | | |
	Coefficient	Std. Err.	P-value
Intercept	**0.222**	**0.050**	**0.000**
Antisemitism measure	**0.027**	**0.011**	**0.011**
Age	0.000	0.001	0.780
White	**0.105**	**0.039**	**0.007**
Black	-0.051	0.045	0.258
Hispanic	0.031	0.050	0.533
Democrat	**-0.184**	**0.025**	**0.000**
Republican	**0.415**	**0.024**	**0.000**
Liberal	**-0.048**	**0.024**	**0.042**
Conservative	**0.183**	**0.024**	**0.000**
Education	-0.003	0.007	0.655
Muslim	0.038	0.072	0.601
Evangelical	0.018	0.029	0.528
Jewish	-0.041	0.051	0.430
N		1,612	
R-squared		48.1	

Note: The table gives OLS regression estimates for a linear probability model of the relationship between self-reported intention of voting for Trump and respondent characteristics, for the August 2020 survey. Bold font is used to highlight coefficients significantly different from zero at a 95% confidence level.

Table A1: Linear probability model for binary indicator of support for QAnon

	Dep. var.: Support for QAnon (binary)		
	Coefficient	Std. Err.	P-value
Intercept	**0.229**	**0.053**	**0.000**
Antisemitism measure	**0.178**	**0.011**	**0.000**
Age	**-0.004**	**0.001**	**0.000**
White	0.057	0.041	0.158
Black	**0.099**	**0.047**	**0.036**
Hispanic	0.089	0.052	0.089
Democrat	0.047	0.026	0.073
Republican	**0.113**	**0.026**	**0.000**
Liberal	0.026	0.025	0.306
Conservative	-0.021	0.026	0.401
Education	**0.025**	**0.007**	**0.001**
Muslim	0.107	0.075	0.157
Evangelical	0.020	0.030	0.511
Jewish	0.094	0.054	0.081
N		1,600	
R-squared		22.9	

Note: The table gives OLS regression estimates for a linear probability model of the relationship between a binary indicator of support for QAnon and respondent characteristics, for the August 2020 survey. The dependent variable is coded as 1 for respondents having a somewhat or very positive view of QAnon; and 0 for respondents reporting either being "not at all" informed about QAnon or having a very or somewhat negative view of QAnon. Bold font is used to highlight coefficients significantly different from zero at a 95% confidence level.

Table A2: Linear probability model of antisemitism and Trump voting, including 4-point scale of QAnon support

| | Dep. var.: Voting for Trump | | |
	Coefficient	Std. Err.	P-value
Intercept	0.034	0.088	0.699
Antisemitism measure	-0.003	0.018	0.853
QAnon support (4-point)	**0.097**	**0.016**	**0.000**
Age	0.001	0.001	0.118
White	0.056	0.060	0.350
Black	**-0.138**	**0.067**	**0.041**
Hispanic	-0.045	0.073	0.538
Democrat	**-0.193**	**0.037**	**0.000**
Republican	**0.324**	**0.037**	**0.000**
Liberal	-0.048	0.033	0.156
Conservative	**0.154**	**0.037**	**0.000**
Education	-0.001	0.010	0.937
Muslim	0.027	0.091	0.766
Evangelical	-0.014	0.044	0.758
Jewish	-0.024	0.063	0.700
N	781		
R-squared	44.8		

Note: The table gives OLS regression estimates for a linear probability model of the relationship between self-reported intention of voting for Trump and respondent characteristics, for the August 2020 survey. Bold font is used to highlight coefficients significantly different from zero at a 95% confidence level.

Table A3: Linear probability model of antisemitism and Trump voting, including binary indicator of QAnon support

	Dep. var.: Voting for Trump		
	Coefficient	Std. Err.	P-value
Intercept	**0.199**	**0.050**	**0.000**
Antisemitism measure	0.010	0.011	0.385
QAnon support (binary)	**0.102**	**0.024**	**0.000**
Age	0.001	0.001	0.305
White	**0.099**	**0.038**	**0.010**
Black	-0.061	0.045	0.172
Hispanic	0.022	0.050	0.660
Democrat	**-0.188**	**0.025**	**0.000**
Republican	**0.406**	**0.025**	**0.000**
Liberal	**-0.051**	**0.024**	**0.032**
Conservative	**0.182**	**0.024**	**0.000**
Education	-0.006	0.007	0.417
Muslim	0.026	0.071	0.718
Evangelical	0.017	0.029	0.565
Jewish	-0.050	0.051	0.329
N	1,600		
R-squared	48.7		

Note: The table gives OLS regression estimates for a linear probability model of the relationship between self-reported intention of voting for Trump and respondent characteristics, for the August 2020 survey. Bold font is used to highlight coefficients significantly different from zero at a 95% confidence level.