

# BALLARD BRIEF

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## The Rise of Antisemitism in Germany

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## Summary

Antisemitism has been rising in Germany since the country's reunification in the 1990s. In the modern day, antisemitism takes many forms, including hate speech, violent attacks, and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories. Although antisemitism has been rising in many parts of the world, Germany's history during the Holocaust causes its rise to be especially alarming to the Jewish community. The rise in antisemitism has been caused by the internet, current events like the pandemic and the Israel-Palestine conflict, and right-wing political extremism. Due to the rise in antisemitism, the fear of harassment and violence among Jews in Germany has risen, along with antisemitic vandalism and attacks. The German government has attempted to prevent antisemitism with Holocaust education, but studies are unclear as to whether Holocaust education is effective at combating antisemitism.

## Key Terms

**Genocide**—The UN defines genocide as the intent to destroy (in whole or in part) a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Acts of genocide include killing, causing serious mental or bodily harm, preventing births, and calculating to bring about the physical destruction of a group.<sup>1</sup>

**Hate crime**—A crime motivated by race, color, religion, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or disability.<sup>2</sup>

**Hate speech**—Offensive language targeting a group of people based on characteristics like race, religion, or gender.<sup>3</sup>

**Holocaust denial**—The attempt to deny or trivialize the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany against Jews and others during World War II.<sup>4</sup>

**Radicalism**—The belief that society needs to be changed through revolutionary means.<sup>5</sup>

**Self-determination**—The legal right of a group of people to form their own state and government.<sup>6, 7</sup>

**Xenophobia**—The fear and hatred of foreigners and anything foreign.<sup>8</sup>

## Context

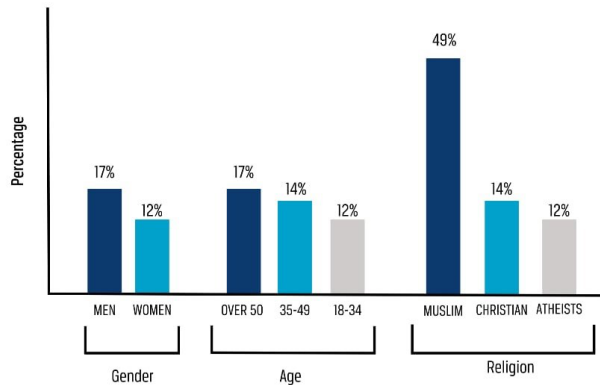
### *Q: What is antisemitism?*

**A:** Antisemitism is anti-Jewish prejudice, discrimination, hatred, hostility, violence, or oppression.<sup>9</sup> Often, antisemitism is directed toward Jewish people, property, community sites, and religious buildings.<sup>10</sup> There are many examples of antisemitism today, including making stereotypical and dehumanizing allegations against Jews, denying the scope or existence of the Holocaust, using antisemitic symbols or images (including the swastika, cartoons using stereotypically antisemitic characteristics, and images comparing Israel's acts to the genocide committed by the Nazis), calling for the harm or death of Jews, and denying Jews their right to self-determination.<sup>11, 12</sup> It is important to note that supporting Palestine or opposing Israel does not inherently imply antisemitism, and

most people who support Palestine are not antisemitic. However, some use the Israeli government's actions as a reason to target non-Israeli Jews (like Jewish Germans), subjecting them to stereotypes and hate for crimes committed by a government that is not theirs.

In Germany, antisemitic beliefs are more common amongst men, people over 50, and Muslims.<sup>13</sup> Most of Germany's antisemitic incidents in 2021 were perpetrated by men (723, compared to 160 women and 73 unknown) and also victimized men (470, compared to 223 women and 271 unknown).<sup>14</sup> When measuring common antisemitic beliefs, the Anti-Defamation League found that 49% of Germans believed that "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to Germany," 42% believed that "Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust," and 31% believed that "people hate Jews because of the way Jews behave."<sup>15</sup>

## Prevalence of Antisemitic Beliefs



### *Q: Who are Jewish people, and where are they located?*

**A:** Judaism is both an ethnicity and a religion, so a person can be ethnically Jewish but not believe in Judaism, and someone who believes in Judaism may not be ethnically Jewish. While the current makeup of Jewish people involves a complex combination of ethnicity and religion, all Jews agree that a child born of a Jewish mother is a Jew, and more progressive Jewish denominations recognize a child as Jewish if either of their parents is Jewish.<sup>16</sup> Religious converts can be recognized as Jewish but must also convert to Jewish culture and identity.

Conversion to Judaism is a serious process; a convert must be approved by a Jewish court and requires certain rituals: namely, circumcision for male converts and mikveh (immersion in a Jewish ritual bath).<sup>17</sup>

There are 14.7 million practitioners of Judaism worldwide, and including non-practicing ethnic Jews, that number increases to 20 million.<sup>18</sup> The majority (6.9 million) of Jews live in Israel, the modern Jewish state.<sup>19, 20</sup> There are also large populations of Jews in the US, France, Canada, the UK, Argentina, Russia, and Germany (118,000 in Germany).<sup>21</sup> Only a small number of Jews chose to return to Germany after WWII—there were only 20,000 Jews in Germany in the 1950s compared to the 523,000 Jews living in Germany in 1933.<sup>22, 23</sup> Today, the largest Jewish communities in Germany reside in the capital Berlin (10,000), Munich (9,500), and Frankfurt (7,000), with around 100 other smaller communities scattered about Germany.<sup>24</sup>

***Q: When did antisemitism begin?***

**A:** In Biblical times, anti-Jew persecution began because the early Jews (Hebrews) refused to adopt the religion and practices of their conquerors; thus, they were resented by other faiths.<sup>25</sup> After the emergence of Christianity, many Christians in power viewed Judaism as a threat to the existence and growth of Christianity.<sup>26</sup> Institutional discrimination against Jews began in the Middle Ages when Jews were forbidden from marrying Christians, holding government positions, and testifying against Christians in court.<sup>27</sup> Anti-Jewish conspiracy theories also grew during the Middle Ages, such as Jews having horns and tails, Jews being money-hungry, and Jews spreading the Bubonic plague. Because of the plague accusations, 100,000 Jews were burned alive in Germany and Austria during the mid-14th century.<sup>28</sup> Jews were also frequently expelled from the countries they were living in. For instance, King

Ferdinand and Queen Isabella expelled approximately 200,000 Jews from Spain in 1492 out of fear they would influence recent Christian converts to revert back to Judaism.<sup>29</sup>

***Q: What is the Holocaust?***

**A:** The largest genocide of the Jewish people happened during the Holocaust (1933–1945) when Nazi Germany orchestrated the mass murder of 6 million Jews in Europe.<sup>30</sup> The Nazi regime, led by Adolf Hitler, promoted racial antisemitism, which is the idea that Jews are racially inferior.<sup>31</sup> The Nazis began the systemic discrimination, isolation, and persecution of German Jews, blaming them for the economic problems of Germany.<sup>32</sup> Nazi Germany forced Jews to identify themselves with the Star of David, organized violent attacks, stole Jewish property and belongings, interned Jews in ghettos and concentration camps, and forced Jews to labor for the war effort.<sup>33</sup> In the end, the Nazis organized the “Final Solution,” where they planned to exterminate all the Jews in Germany,

as well as the other countries they conquered in Europe. German soldiers would go village to village, rounding up Jews and murdering them in mass shootings. Back in Germany and its occupied territory, the Nazis established extermination camps, where Jews were forcibly deported and brought to the camps. After arrival, most were immediately killed in the gas chambers.<sup>34</sup> These camps led to the deaths of almost 2.7 million Jewish men, women, and children.<sup>35</sup>

After the Holocaust, under the influence of the Allied Powers (who took control of the western part of Germany after winning the war), West Germany worked to provide reparations and restitution for the Jewish community. Between 1953 and 1966, West Germany paid a total of \$845 million to the state of Israel and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and another \$125 million in 1988 to Holocaust survivors.<sup>36</sup> In 1999, the German government created a foundation valuing approximately \$5 billion intended to pay Jewish survivors who

performed forced labor during WWII and supported them through 2005.<sup>37</sup> German education also attempted to teach children properly about the atrocities of the Holocaust and prevent antisemitism. Starting in 1992, the German government required Holocaust education in all secondary schools.<sup>38</sup>



***Q: Where is antisemitism most prevalent?***

**A:** In Europe, antisemitism is more prevalent among the Eastern countries than the Western countries (34% and 24%, respectively).<sup>39, 40</sup> Among countries with Jewish populations especially affected by the Holocaust (Poland, Austria, and Italy), antisemitic rates lie at 48%, 20%, and 18%, respectively.<sup>41, 42, 43, 44</sup> These rates are higher than Germany's, which had an

antisemitic rate of 15%.<sup>45</sup> However, Germany has highly increased rates of antisemitic crime and violence. For instance, in 2010, German police recorded 1,268 antisemitic hate crimes, which rose to 2,032 in 2019 and 3,028 in 2021.<sup>46, 47, 48</sup> This trend, which has been increasing consistently since 2015, shows a staggering increase over the past couple of years, with a 60% increase between 2010–2019 (an average of 6.67% per year), and a 49% increase between 2019–2021, an average of 24.5% per year.<sup>49, 50, 51, 52</sup>

### Antisemitism Rates in Europe



■ = Greater than 40%   ■ = Between 20-39%   ■ = Less than 20%

Sixty-one percent of Germans believed that antisemitism increased over the past 5 years, compared to 36% of all

Europeans.<sup>53</sup> Sixty-six percent of Germans believed that antisemitism is a problem in Germany, and 71% of Germans believe that Holocaust denial is a problem.<sup>54, 55</sup> Additionally, 50%, 48%, and 43% of Germans reported that antisemitism is a problem in political life, schools and universities, and the media, respectively.<sup>56</sup> Although antisemitism rates in Germany are not the highest, the harassment and bigotry that many German Jews experience justify it as an important social issue.

Outside of Europe, there are increases in antisemitism in the United States and the Middle East (specifically Palestine). Although the American antisemitism rate lies at 10%, 60% of the general American public thinks antisemitism is a problem in the US.<sup>57, 58</sup> Antisemitic incidents in the US hit a record high in 2021, with 2,717 reported incidents of assault, harassment, and vandalism.<sup>59</sup> Antisemitic rates in the Middle East are also high. 74% of people in the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa) harbor antisemitic attitudes,

and this number is significantly higher among Muslims in the region than Christians (75% and 64%, respectively).<sup>60</sup> For reference, this global survey of antisemitic attitudes had an overall antisemitism rate of 26%.<sup>61</sup> Due to the Israel-Palestine conflict, rates of antisemitic attitudes in the West Bank and Gaza were extremely high, at 93% in 2014.<sup>62</sup>

## Contributing Factors

### *Online Content and Social Media*

Social media and other online platforms have increased antisemitism because these sites have allowed Germans to express antisemitic views to a wider audience and influence more people. Over 2020 and 2021, there was a 13-fold increase in German antisemitic posts.<sup>63</sup> In 2012, only 64% of Jewish Germans perceived a change in the level of antisemitic expressions, compared to 87% in 2018, an increase of 23%.<sup>64, 65</sup> Sixty-seven percent of

Germans believe that antisemitism on the internet and social media is a problem, and this number rises to 70% among Germans who use the internet every day.<sup>66</sup> Eighty-nine percent of Jews in Europe consider antisemitism most prevalent online and on social media.<sup>67</sup> Eighty percent of Jews in Europe report seeing or hearing antisemitic messages online, compared to 56% on non-online media and 48% at political events; thus, the majority of antisemitic messages that Germans see today are concentrated online.<sup>68</sup> These messages included that “Israelis behave like Nazis toward Palestinians,” “Jews have too much power,” or “Jews exploit Holocaust victimhood for their own purposes.”<sup>69</sup> Audience engagement with antisemitic posts is also significant. Between January 2020–March 2021, German antisemitic content on Telegram, a social media site, received over 2 billion views, and German antisemitic platforms have almost 4 million followers.<sup>70</sup> Over half of the antisemitic online messages came from the top 10 most active antisemitic accounts, so antisemitism is



largely being promoted by a few popular accounts instead of a large number of smaller accounts.<sup>71</sup>

### **Lack of Platform Management**

Online antisemitism also increases when platforms allow VRWE (violent right-wing extremist) content.<sup>72</sup> The European Commission found that toxic language use is 5–15 times more common among platforms that allow VRWE content.<sup>73</sup> For the purposes of this study, toxic language refers to blatant, aggressive, and demeaning content, which includes hate speech.<sup>74</sup> Platforms allowing VRWE content, like VNN Forum, Stormfront, and Gab, have much higher levels of toxic language than platforms like Reddit and Twitter, which represent the “normal internet” (4.0–17.2% and 0.6–1.1%, respectively).<sup>75</sup> Platforms on the “normal” internet usually have software that flags hate speech against minority groups. For example, in 2020, Facebook updated its policy to block posts promoting Jewish conspiracy theories and blackface.<sup>76</sup> Language models can identify toxic language

based on the relationship between words and flag those labeled toxic language and hate speech.<sup>77</sup> Of VRWE forums, toxic language against Jews is very common, making up 6.3–27.9% of total toxicity, depending on the platform.<sup>78</sup> These online platforms allow creators to promote antisemitism to a wide audience with no limitations on hate speech or other toxic language use.

### ***Current Events***

#### **Israel-Palestine Conflict**

The Israel-Palestine conflict has increased antisemitism in Germany because some Palestine supporters are unable to distinguish between hatred against Jews and resistance to Israel.<sup>79</sup> Additionally, some critics of Israel weaponize the conflict to spread antisemitic theories that Israel is part of a global Jewish plot to manipulate governments, banks, the media, and other institutions for malevolent purposes.<sup>80, 81</sup> Sixty-nine percent of Germans think that the Israel-Palestinian conflict has an effect on how people view Jews in

Germany.<sup>82</sup> Additionally, 73% of Jews in Germany felt like the Israel-Palestinian conflict affected their safety in Germany (the average in Europe was 69%).<sup>83</sup>



The German government attributed 10.6% of all antisemitic incidents as motivated by Israel. Israel-related antisemitic incidents in 2021 consisted of 2 cases of extreme violence, 18 assaults, 27 cases of damage or desecration of property, and 31 threats.<sup>84</sup> Throughout Europe, antisemitic incidents increased during periods of tension between Israel and Palestine.<sup>85</sup> In May 2021, the Israel-Palestine conflict escalated, and hundreds of people (mainly Palestinians) were killed.<sup>86</sup> During that month, 60% of the reported antisemitic incidents in Germany were related to

the Israel-Palestine conflict, and the number of incidents went from 20 in the first week to 193 in the second.<sup>87</sup> By the beginning of June, the average number of weekly antisemitic incidents in Germany had dropped back down to a regular 14, indicating the spike in antisemitism was due to the controversy about the Israel-Palestinian conflict.<sup>88</sup> Two synagogues and a Jewish memorial site in different cities were vandalized on the same night, and in all 3 cases, the police reported that the incidents were motivated by the Israel-Palestine conflict.<sup>89</sup> Demonstrators also burned the Israeli flag, which many Germans attribute to Jews.<sup>90, 91</sup>

## COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic has increased feelings of antisemitism in Germany because theories have circulated blaming Jews for the virus. Since the COVID-19 pandemic began in 2020, over 180,000 posts (1 in 40) have been flagged as antisemitic among German and French social media accounts spreading antisemitism.<sup>92</sup> While not all

of these posts were related to the pandemic, researchers sorted the rise in antisemitic posts related to the COVID-19 pandemic into 5 general categories: the virus is fake and a Jewish plot to mislead the public; the virus is real and Jews created and spread it for malicious purposes; Jews are the primary spreaders of the virus (“Jew flu”); the celebration of Jewish deaths due to the virus; and a push to spread the virus to Jews (the “Holocough”).<sup>93</sup> Additionally, a German organization, the Federal Association of Departments for Research and Information on Antisemitism, attributed 851 antisemitic incidents (31% of all incidents) in 2021 to the pandemic, meaning they mentioned the pandemic or were enabled by it.<sup>94</sup>

Some news outlets in Germany and France have attempted to attribute blame for the COVID-19 pandemic to Jews, claiming Sa-CoV-2 as a Zionist bioweapon.<sup>95</sup> Additionally, Jews received online hate during the pandemic because German and French antisemites would post pictures and videos of Jewish social activities that

occurred during the lockdown, blaming all Jews for the actions of individuals.<sup>96</sup> In the wake of global vaccination programs, some conspiracists spread theories that vaccines were a Jewish plot to control, sterilize, or kill non-Jews.<sup>97</sup> Alfred Bourla and Stéphane Bancel, executives of Pfizer and Moderna, were “linked” to the conspiracies because they had Jewish investors, further fanning the rumor that vaccines were part of a Jewish plot.<sup>98</sup>

## ***Right-Wing Extremism***

### **Remnants of Nazi Indoctrination**

The indoctrination of German citizens by the Nazi regime has led to long-lasting antisemitic beliefs. Germans who grew up under Nazi rule, specifically born in the 1930s, were approximately twice as likely to report antisemitic attitudes than those born after the Nazi regime and more likely to show committed antisemitism.<sup>99</sup> The study labels committed antisemites as those whose answers to the following 3 questions were labeled a 6–7 on a 1–7 antisemitism scale: “Do Jews have too

much influence in the world?;" "Are Jews partly responsible for their own persecution?;" and "Are Jews trying to exploit their victim status for financial gain?"<sup>100</sup> Overall, 4% of Germans were labeled as committed antisemites in a study published in 2015, but this number increased to 10% among Germans who were born in the 1930s.<sup>101</sup> While Allied forces largely combatted the indoctrination of German children after the war,<sup>102</sup> these high antisemitic attitudes instilled by extreme right-wing ideology have persisted and contribute to high antisemitism among older Germans today. Because Nazi indoctrination affected those still alive today, it contributed to antisemitic attitudes and behaviors in modern Germany.

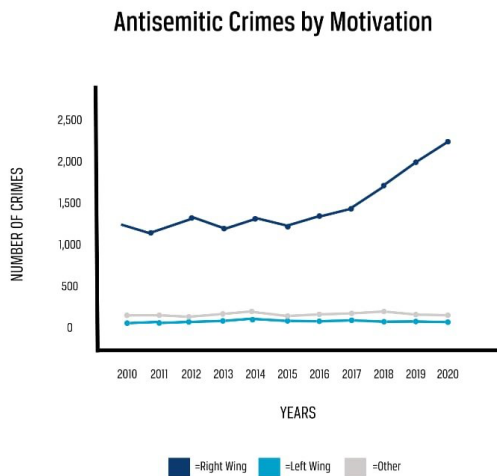
### **Modern-Day**

Modern-day extremist groups also contribute to the rise of antisemitism in Germany. Since the unification of Germany and the increase of governmental record-keeping in the 1990s, the government has recorded an increase in right-wing extremism and

violence in Germany. After the war, political parties could be banned if they undermined or removed the democratic order, which promoted human rights and civil liberties for all.<sup>103</sup>

The German Interior Minister, Horst Seehofer, stated that "more than half...of all politically motivated crimes" in 2020 were committed by right-wing extremist groups.<sup>104</sup> He also reported that the 15.7% increase in antisemitic crimes was "almost all...motivated by right-wing extremism."<sup>105</sup> In 2020, 94.6% of antisemitic offenses (2,224 out of 2,351) were motivated by right-wing crime, compared to 10 left-wing crimes (0.4%) and 117 motivated by other reasons (5%).<sup>106, 107, 108, 109,</sup>  
<sup>110</sup> These numbers rose from years before; in 2018, there were 1,603 antisemitic crimes motivated by the political right-wing, and in 2019, there were 1,898 (increases of 18% in 2019 and 17% in 2020).<sup>111, 112, 113</sup> Germans on the extreme right also tend to have more antisemitic attitudes. A study observed that Germans identifying on the extreme right showed higher levels

of broad antisemitism and were more likely to be committed antisemites (using the same definitions as the Nazi study above).<sup>114</sup>



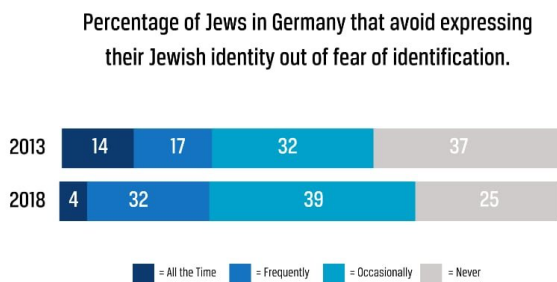
Additionally, 83% of Germans on the political left believe that people denying the Holocaust is an issue, but only 63% of Germans on the political right agree.<sup>115</sup> While not all the people on the political right are right-wing extremists, this data does show an association between right-wing political beliefs and antisemitic beliefs. Right-wing extremism promotes antisemitic beliefs and causes higher levels of antisemitic violence.

## Consequences

### *Fear of Harassment*

Because of rising antisemitism, Jewish Germans fear public harassment or violence because of their Jewishness. Sixty percent of serious antisemitic harassment in Europe was attributed to the victim being able to be identified as Jewish.<sup>116</sup> In 2018, 59% of German Jews worried about being a victim of verbal insults or harassment because of their Jewishness, compared to 47% in 2013.<sup>117, 118</sup> This fear has risen as antisemitism has grown. In 2018, Jews in Germany avoided wearing, carrying, or displaying things in public that could identify them as Jewish all the time, frequently, or occasionally at rates of 4%, 32%, and 39%, respectively.<sup>119</sup> In total, 75% of Jews in Germany have avoided showing their Jewish identity out of fear of identification and the ramifications of antisemitism.<sup>120</sup> This behavior has risen since 2013 when only 63% avoided showing their Jewish identity (at rates of 14%, 17%, and 32%, respectively).<sup>121</sup> While the

amount of people who avoided wearing, carrying, or displaying items identifying them as Jewish at all times has gone down, the overall number has grown.



The fear of harassment is also based on the level of identifiable Jewishness. Of self-assessed highly religious Jews, 64% said they feared being a victim of

antisemitic verbal or physical harassment, compared to 38% with a low self-assessed religiosity.<sup>122</sup> Therefore, Jews avoid spaces that could easily identify them as Jewish. 49% of Jews in Germany avoid certain places in their area at least occasionally because they do not feel safe there as Jews, compared to 34% of all European Jews.<sup>123</sup> Almost half of Jews in Germany worry about becoming the victim of a physical attack because of being Jewish,<sup>124</sup> and this perception of harassment has resulted from actual events and trends in Germany. In 2018, 29% of Jews in Germany reported experiencing offensive or threatening comments in person over the last year, a rise from 21% in 2012.<sup>125</sup>

### ***Vandalism and Destruction of Jewish Spaces***

As a result of antisemitic beliefs among Germans, the vandalism of Jewish heritage sites has increased in recent years. In 2020, the German government recorded 167 antisemitic incidents of damage or desecration of property, 43 of which occurred in Berlin.<sup>126</sup> The

large amount of vandalism instances in Berlin is likely because it has the largest Jewish population.<sup>127</sup> The number of cases of targeted damage or desecration of property classified as antisemitic increased to 204 in 2021 (a 22% increase from 2020).<sup>128, 129</sup> 61% of Germans believed that vandalism of Jewish buildings and institutions and the desecration of Jewish cemeteries were a problem, while 53% believed that antisemitic graffiti was a problem.<sup>130</sup>

There have been high-profile instances of antisemitic vandalism in Germany. In 2021, graffiti was discovered at the Auschwitz concentration camp containing antisemitic slurs and slogans and made front-page news.<sup>131</sup> Additionally, in 2022, swastikas and support for Hitler were found carved into one of the concrete blocks in the Memorial to the Murdered Jews in Berlin.<sup>132</sup> The German government also identified cases of vandalism of personal property—a Jewish man’s flat was egged, and an office of a Jewish person was vandalized with “HH” (“Heil

Hitler”).<sup>133</sup> However, most incidents of vandalism occur when antisemitic slurs and messages are written on non-Jewish property, like when slogans are spray-painted or put on stickers.<sup>134</sup>

### ***Physical Attacks***

Increased antisemitic beliefs and discussions have led to increased physical attacks against Jews. Violent antisemitic attacks rose from 41 in 2019 to 59 in 2020, an increase of 43.9%.<sup>135, 136</sup> In 2020, Germany had 1 case of an attack of extreme violence (which included attacks that could result in the loss of life or grievous bodily harm, or those that attempt to) and 39 assaults that were classified as antisemitic incidents, which rose to 6 and 63, respectively, in 2021.<sup>137, 138</sup> In 2020, a case of extreme violence occurred when a man attacked a Jewish student with a shovel, leaving the victim in the hospital badly injured.<sup>139</sup> In 2021, the cases included beatings that required the victims to go to the hospital, bullets being fired into a synagogue window, and discovered plans to attack a synagogue in

Hagen.<sup>140</sup> The 500% increase in extremely violent antisemitic attacks and 62% increase in antisemitic assaults shows a trend of increased physical attacks in the last year.<sup>141, 142</sup>

## Antisemitic Attacks



## Practices

### *Education*

Globally, education on Judaism and the Holocaust is sorely lacking. Two out of three people in the world either have not heard about the Holocaust or do not believe it is accurately represented.<sup>143</sup> In Germany, the more

educated a person is, the more they are aware that antisemitism is a problem and is on the rise.<sup>144</sup> Education can help young people become resistant to antisemitic beliefs.<sup>145</sup> Additionally, it is the recommended way to combat unintentional antisemitism rather than publicly shaming the perpetrator.<sup>146</sup> Education can help people correct their antisemitic behaviors by teaching what is antisemitic and how to avoid it.<sup>147</sup> Because school helps define social positions, the classroom can be used to increase feelings of tolerance between different groups.<sup>148</sup> Holocaust education can increase awareness and promote understanding between cultural groups.<sup>149</sup> However, holocaust education in Germany is more focused on the politics of Nazi Germany than the antisemitism and genocide that took place and lacks a diverse perspective on the events of the Holocaust.<sup>150</sup>

Organizations looking to fight antisemitism recommend education as one of the most effective tactics. The Anti-Defamation League, a leading global expert on antisemitism, works



with all levels of schooling to promote anti-bias, antisemitism, and Holocaust education.<sup>151</sup> The ADL had a wide reach in 2021, working with over 4.8 million students in its educational programs and providing over 2,000 colleges and universities with tools to challenge bias and hate on campus.<sup>152</sup> The OHCHR (UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights) recommended 8 action items to fight antisemitism, including educating people to recognize antisemitism and about the Holocaust.<sup>153</sup> Additionally, the EU's Strategy on Combating Antisemitism lists 3 strategies, including education. It recommends enacting education on antisemitism, Jewish life, and the Holocaust (and Holocaust denial).<sup>154</sup> Therefore, while study attempts to measure the impact of Holocaust education on a small scale have been inconclusive, expert organizations recommend education as a useful tool for large-scale change.

### **Gaps**

Although education is considered the greatest force to fight against

antisemitism, a study conducted in the US in 2003 concluded that holocaust education did little to decrease antisemitism levels among university students. The study compared a group of students who took a 16-week Holocaust course to those who took a general WWII course (which had 2 weeks of Holocaust education) and a control group (who took an intro to American politics course). They measured pre- and post-antisemitic attitudes and found no statistically significant relationship. However, there were some issues with the study: the courses were not randomly assigned to the students, and the demographics among the 3 groups were not consistent. The scholars theorized that Holocaust education might not have significant consequences against antisemitism or that pre-existing attitudes overpower education attempts.<sup>155</sup>

# Endnotes

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50.  $60\% \text{ over 9 years} / 9 = 6.67\% \text{ per year}$
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