Foundation EVZ
Remembrance
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Gedenkanstoß
[Call to remember]

Multidimensional Memory Monitor [Multidimensional Memory Monitor]

2025

Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember]-MEMO study

Second Edition

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For more information on Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember]-MEMO study, visit
www.stiftung-evz.de/gedenkanstoss

Errors from the first edition have been corrected in this second edition. This has resulted in minor discrepancies in individual percentages on pages 23, 42, 43, and 48. In addition, the last two lines in the table on page 24 have been removed, as they were accidentally copied from another table.

Project of the Education Agenda NS-Injustice

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Contents

Foreword by the EVZ Foundation

Dear readers,

Right-wing extremist and antisemitic attacks have reached new and troubling highs in recent years. An increasing number of people across Europe hold right-wing populist views. Marking the 80th anniversary of the end of World War II, we ask: What is the current state of critical historical awareness in Germany?

In this representative survey of the *Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember]-MEMO study* , we explored the public's willingness to critically examine the history of National Socialism and investigated the current state of Germany's culture of remembrance. Since 2018, the EVZ Foundation and the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence (IKG) at Bielefeld University have regularly conducted the *Multidimensionaler Erinnerungsmonitor [Multidimensional Memory Monitor] (MEMO)*. The study series provided comparative data and was expanded to address current issues on the Education Agenda NS-Injustice.

What can we conclude?

Memorial site visits are effective – not just as prevention: Memorial sites are central to shaping self-understanding. For those who support a democratic and open society, who want to learn from history – and everyone else. *And voluntary engagement works!* Visits to memorial sites are especially effective for those who experience them as voluntary and self-directed. People who visit former sites of perpetrators and injustice on their own initiative are more emotionally affected, more receptive to learning and more motivated to critically examine the history of National Socialism – and current social issues. The study shows that memorials, as historical sites, play an important role in historical and political education. The study also indicates that intrinsic motivation is a key factor in the success and impact of memorial site visits. This should be considered when designing educational programs.

Reflection on the past and attitudes towards the present appear to be growing increasingly disconnected: Three quarters of respondents believe it is important to keep the memory of National Socialist crimes alive, and nearly 64% see far-right extremism as a major or very serious threat to German society. In contrast, right-wing populist attitudes are spreading: approval of antisemitic statements has risen alarmingly compared with previous surveys. For the first time, more people agreed than disagreed with the statement that it's time for a "Schlussstrich". Those involved in historical-political education must place greater emphasis on the relevance of historical knowledge for present-day action.

Knowledge of the history of National Socialism is declining: The majority of respondents said they first encountered the subject of National Socialism at school. At the same time, the share of those who feel they learned "very much" about National Socialism at school has dropped by half – from around 20% in previous years to just 9%.

There is also very little awareness of the groups persecuted by the National Socialists. Few are aware of the diversity of the groups, and only a quarter of respondents provided realistic estimates on the number of victims. Major gaps in knowledge are especially evident when it comes to people's immediate surroundings and family history. Were grandpa or great-grandpa involved or complicit? Did their employer profit from or during the NS era? What happened in their own town during the National Socialist era? Personal and institutional involvements remain largely unknown. At the same time, this hidden reservoir of knowledge holds great potential for making history-based learning meaningful through local initiatives. Through their workplaces and local communities, even people without a family connection to National Socialism can be encouraged to engage in research, learning or civic involvement related to the past and present.

Young people want to get involved: More than a third of respondents, especially university students, said they wanted to get involved in remembering the National Socialist era. But fewer than 8% of respondents are currently active. This has great potential to turn interested young people into active contributors to a living culture of remembrance.

One of the aims of the *Gedenkanstoß – denk erinnerung weiter [Call to remember – Re-thinking remembrance]* project by the EVZ Foundation is to motivate people, even 80 years after the end of the Second World War, to remember the injustices committed and to learn from them for the future. The multi-modular project within the *Education Agenda on NS-Injustice* program brings the highly relevant question of how critically examining historical NS injustice matters today into the public sphere, presenting and discussing current topics in the culture of remembrance.

The *Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember]-MEMO study* provides the empirical basis for this and highlights where we, along with everyone involved in commemorative work, can take action to counter historical revisionism, antisemitism, antigypsyism and other forms of group-focused enmity.

Dr. Andrea Despot
Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ)

Study methodology

This report is based on a survey carried out in October 2024. A total of 3,911 people with permanent residence in Germany, both with and without German citizenship, were invited to complete an online questionnaire. The respondents were recruited through an online access panel run by the market research company Bilendi. Of the 3,911 participants, 3,000 were randomly selected to form a sample representative of the German resident population. This ensured that, except for the largest federal states – NRW, Baden-Wuerttemberg, Bavaria and Lower Saxony – all others were represented in proportion to their population size. Due to the small sub-sample sizes at the federal state level, differences between individual states are not statistically reliable. However, differences between western and eastern Germany are statistically significant and meaningful.

The study used both closed and open-ended question formats. In the closed question formats, respondents were presented with questions or statements (e.g. "How interested would you say you are, in general, in the subject of history?") and asked to respond using a scale, for example, from 1 "not at all" to 5 "very much". For other statements, the response scale ranged from "Strongly disagree (1)" to "partly disagree/partly agree (3)" to "Strongly agree (5)".

Answers to open-ended questions were qualitatively evaluated where possible and summarized using categories. The categories were presented in tables, sorted by frequency. Participants always had the option to answer these questions with "Don't know".

As usual for this report, the survey questions have been selected and arranged for better readability and clarity. A full descriptive overview of the response frequencies for all questions not covered here can be found in the appendix (p. 59).

In addition to describing the closed and open questions, many sections include comparisons based on various socio-demographic indicators. These mainly included respondents' gender, age and level of formal education. In some cases, distinctions were also made based on whether respondents had grown up mainly in western or eastern Germany, in a more or less urban or rural area, and the size of the town they lived in at the time of the survey.

Some of the questions included here were also asked in previous MEMO studies.[1] These questions occasionally allowed for comparisons with results from previous years' studies to track changes in the culture of remembrance around National Socialism and other socio-political issues.

1 https://www.stiftung-evz.de/was-wir-foerdern/handlungsfelder-cluster/bilden-fuer-lebendiges-erinnern/memo-studie/. Retrieved on March 11, 2025.

The data presented include calculations of *percentages*, *mean values* (abbreviated as *M*) and *standard deviations* (*abbreviated as SD*). The mean value refers to the arithmetic mean, that is the average of the respondents' answers. In some cases, responses to a series of related questions or statements are summarized per person. In these instances, the mean value refers to *item scales* and is labeled accordingly. The standard deviation is a measure of the spread of values; it represents the average deviation of all individual values from the mean. Percentages within a question may not always add up to 100 percent due to missing answers or rounding.

Measures of correlation, such as *correlation coefficients* (e.g. Pearson's *r*, Spearman's rank correlation *ρ*), are also provided. These allow us to determine whether, for example, agreement with one statement (X) is related to agreement with another statement (Y). A correlation can be negative ("the more X, the less Y") or positive ("the more X, the more Y"), with values ranging from -1 to +1. Correlations tell us nothing about cause and effect ("people agree with X because they agree with Y" or vice versa).

Differences in frequency, mean values and correlation coefficients are only included in the following report if they are statistically significant. Statistical significance means that an observed group difference or correlation is unlikely to be due to chance. Differences in means and frequencies are provided in footnotes along with the parameters of statistical significance tests (man values: *t*-tests or results of variance analyses, *F*-tests including effect sizes; frequencies: chi-square tests). Reported correlation coefficients were all significant at the $p < .001$ level.

Description of the sample

The participants included 1,645 women (54.8%) and 1,355 men (45.2%). The average age was 52.6 years (*SD* = 15.9). About 13.3% of respondents reported a family history of migration.[2] When compared with their share of the population according to micro-census data, people from western Germany, men and those under 30 are slightly underrepresented in this sample, while people from eastern Germany, women and those aged 60 and older are slightly overrepresented. Overall, the sample can still be considered representative of the German population.[3]

The sample's distribution across different age groups is shown in Table 1; Table 2 presents the frequency distributions for the respondents' general level of education. The distribution by federal state is shown in Table 3, while Table 4 shows the distribution by size of place of residence.

2 Our definition of family migration history follows the Federal Statistical Office's micro-census concept of "migration background", which has since been extended by the term "family immigration history". The proportion of respondents in our sample with a family migration history is lower than the approximately 19 percent of "immigrant" Germans reported in the 2023 micro-census. Under the definition used here and elsewhere, respondents who, for example, are the third generation living in Germany – even if they personally identify as having a migration or immigration background – are not classified as having a family history of migration. Cf. Anne-Kathrin Will, "Einwanderungsgeschichte". Das neue Konzept zur Unterscheidung der Bevölkerung in Deutschland. Federal Agency for Civic Education, January 13, 2025. Retrieved on February 13, 2025 from https://www.bpb.de/themen/migration-integration/regionalprofile/deutschland/558144/einwanderungsgeschichte/.

3 The present results can be weighted using the so-called raking method, a common approach in population-representative studies, which adjusts the influence of each response based on factors like gender, age group or federal state of residence. Weighted results only deviate minimally, usually by less than one percentage point, from the results presented below. For the sake of clarity, we therefore report the unweighted responses from the random sample of 3,000 respondents mentioned above.

Table 1

Distribution by age group	
Age group	Share
18 to 30-year-olds	7.2%
30 to 40-year-olds	19.4%
40 to 50-year-olds	16.4%
50 to 60-year-olds	19.9%
Over 60s	37.0%

Table 2

Respondents' education level	
Highest formal educational qualification	Share
No school-leaving qualification	0.3%
Hauptschule leaving certificate / Volksschule leaving certificate	10.2%
10th grade of the GDR Polytechnic Secondary School (before 1965: 8th grade)	6.5%
Secondary school certificate / intermediate school-leaving qualification	29.3%
General or specialized higher education entrance qualification	20.8%
University degree	28.4%

Table 3

Origin of participants by federal state

Federal state	Share
Baden-Wuerttemberg	11.7%
Bavaria	14.3%
Berlin	5.3%
Brandenburg	4.0%
Bremen	1.3%
Hamburg	2.7%
Hessen	9.2%
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	2.7%
Lower Saxony	8.9%
North Rhine-Westphalia	13.2%
Rhineland-Palatinate	6.7%
Saarland	1.4%
Saxony	6.6%
Saxony-Anhalt	2.7%
Schleswig-Holstein	5.3%
Thuringia	4.0%

Table 4

Breakdown of the five town size categories

Number of inhabitants	Share
Fewer than 5,000 inhabitants (rural municipality)	20.8%
5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants (small town)	22.2%
20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants (medium-sized town)	22.7%
100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants (small city)	15.4%
More than 500,000 inhabitants (large city)	18.7%

Key findings

Interest in history and prior critical examination of the topic of National Socialism

General interest in the subject of history

To start with, participants were asked whether they were generally interested in the subject of history. Around half (47.3%) said they had a strong or very strong interest in history. Around a third (30.9%) said they (very) often engage with history in their free time, for example, by exploring specific historical events.

How interested would you say you are in history in general?

Not at all	Not very	Somewhat	Quite interested	Very interested
3.8%	12.3%	36.7%	31.6%	15.7%

And how often do you engage with history in your free time, for example, with specific historical events?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
6.7%	19.5%	42.9%	24.5%	6.4%

School lessons

A total of 40.5% of respondents said the National Socialist (NS) era was frequently or very frequently covered in their school lessons. Only 7.7% said this period had not been covered in their school lessons at all.

How frequently was the NS era covered in class during your school years?

Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Very frequently
7.7%	22.3%	29.4%	29.9%	10.6%

A majority of respondents (40.1%) said they learned quite a lot or a lot about the NS era in school. Only 8% said they had learned nothing at all.

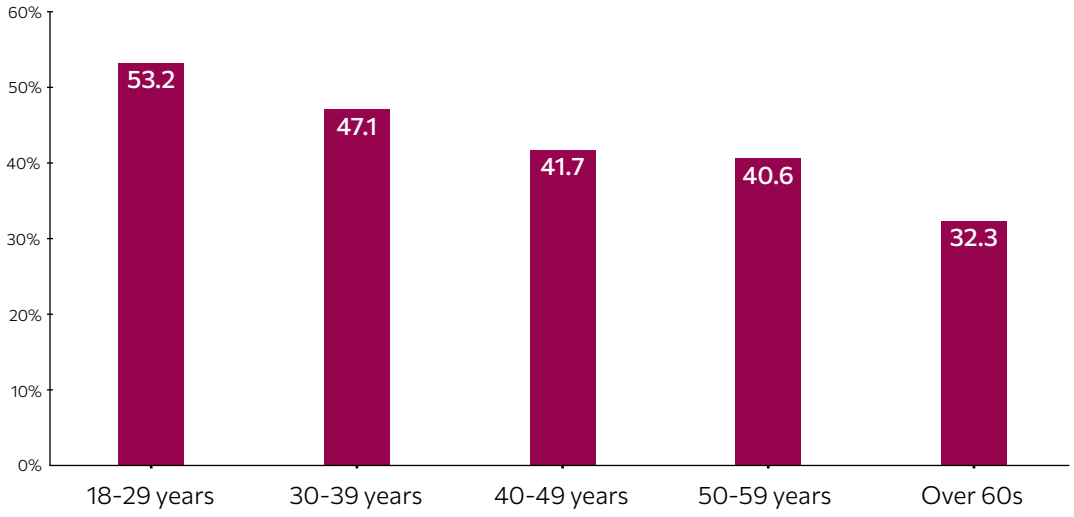
A similar pattern emerges when comparing how often National Socialism was discussed in class with how much respondents felt they had learned about the era. Responses vary by age. For example, 12.9% of over-60s said they had learned nothing at all about the NS era in school, compared with just 2.5% of those aged 18 to 30. However, 54.1% of this group said they had learned quite a lot or a lot about National Socialism.

Compared with the MEMO surveys I to IV (2018-2021) and the MEMO Youth Study (2023), in which the same question was asked, only about half as many people in the current survey said they had learned a lot about the NS era.[4]

And how much did you learn about the NS era at school?

	Nothing at all	Not a lot	Some	Quite a lot	A lot
MEMO I (2018)	13.5%	24.3%	21.6%	19.9%	19.7%
MEMO II (2019)	10.6%	24.7%	19.4%	25.6%	19.7%
MEMO III (2020)	8.7%	26.3%	19.2%	25.8%	20.0%
MEMO IV (2021)	9.2%	23.5%	20.7%	25.4%	21.2%
Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember] 2025	8.0%	23.2%	28.7%	31.1%	9.0%

Percentage of respondents who stated they had learned "quite a lot" or "a lot" about the NS era at school, by age group.



4 The earlier MEMO studies were conducted by phone, whereas the current survey was conducted online. It's possible that more participants in the current survey subjectively felt they had learned little about the NS era at school compared with respondents in earlier studies. However, it is also possible that the middle category is chosen more often in online surveys than in phone interviews. This may explain the shift toward the "somewhat" response category.

Intensity of critical examination

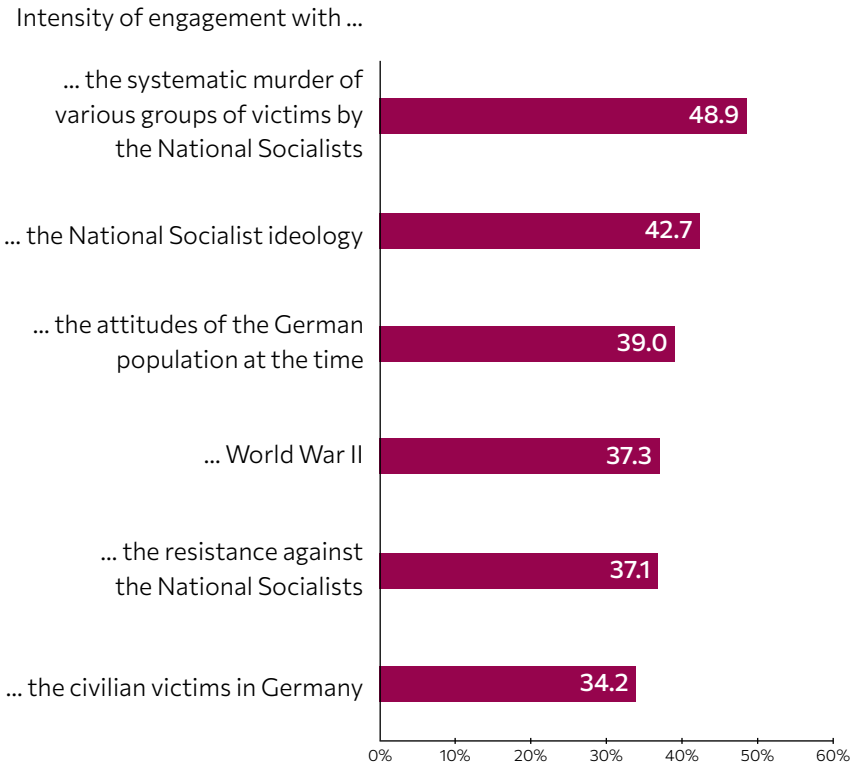
In addition to school lessons, respondents were asked how intensively they had engaged with the NS era in general. A total of 39.7% of respondents said they had engaged with the NS era quite or very intensively.

How intensively have you engaged with the NS era in general?

Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Quite intensively	Very intensively
8.5%	18.2%	33.5%	29.8%	9.9%

The intensity of the critical examination of the NS era was then broken down by subject groups. Quite intensive or very intensive critical examination was most frequently reported with the systematic murder of various groups of victims by the National Socialists (48.9%) and with National Socialist ideology (42.7%). Respondents least intensively critically examined the civilian victims in Germany during the NS era (34.2% quite or very intensively).

Percentage of respondents who stated they had critically examined various aspects of National Socialism "quite a lot" or "a lot".



The level of critical examination across all areas was closely linked to respondents' formal educational qualifications. The higher the stated qualification, the more intensive the stated critical examination of all subject areas (r = .113 to r = .227). The data on overall critical examination of the NS era served as an example: While around half (49%) of those with a university degree said they engaged with the topic quite or very intensively, only about a quarter (23.1%) of participants with a Hauptschule school leaving certificate said the same. There were no statistically significant differences between respondents who grew up mainly in eastern or western Germany.

Knowledge of victim groups under National Socialism

Some previous MEMO studies focused on specific knowledge about the NS era – for example, identifying the period referred to in Germany as the "era of National Socialism" (MEMO Youth Study), or recognizing which groups were persecuted and murdered by the National Socialists (MEMO I, IV and the Youth Study). The current survey also covered specific knowledge about various groups of victims targeted by the National Socialists. These questions focused on the topic of "euthanasia", estimates of the number of victims in that context, and how many Sinti and Roma were murdered by the National Socialists. Respondents were also asked to estimate how many forced laborers were used in the former German Reich during the NS era.

First, participants were asked in an open-ended format what they understood by the term "euthanasia".[5] Just under a third (28.9%) said they didn't know. Another third (35.5%) gave answers that (roughly) described the systematic murder of people with disabilities, mental disorders or physical illnesses; some also mentioned the forced sterilization of these groups (0.5%). Around a fifth (19.6%) of responses referred to the murder of groups not covered by the term "euthanasia" killings (e.g. "persecution and murder of Jews"). A total of 12.5% gave vague statements about the murder or killing of people without naming a specific group, or gave another incorrect definition. This means that around a third (36.0%) of respondents gave an answer that can be seen as relating to the crimes committed by the National Socialists as part of the "euthanasia" murders. The remaining 64% either said they didn't know what it meant or gave an incorrect answer.

Participants were then asked how many people with physical, mental or psychological disabilities were murdered by the National Socialists in Europe.

5 The ancient Greek meaning of the word "euthanasia" is "good death". The National Socialists misused this term as a euphemism for the "euthanasia program", which involved the mass murder of people with disabilities and physical or mental illnesses between 1933 and 1945. Cf. Federal Agency for Civic Education, Euthanasie (2025). Retrieved on March 05, 2025 from https://www.bpb.de/themen/antisemitismus/dossier-antisemitismus/504209/euthanasie/.

How many people with physical, mental, or psychological disabilities do you think were murdered by the National Socialists in Europe?

Fewer than 10,000	Between 10,000 and 100,000	Between 100,000 and 1,000,000	Between 1,000,000 and 10,000,000	More than 10,000,000	No answer / "Don't know"
2.5%	7.5%	20.9%	16.2%	1.8%	51.2%

> *The study shows that the general public still has limited in-depth knowledge about the National Socialist euthanasia crimes. It is therefore the role of the NS euthanasia memorial sites to expand public knowledge through exhibitions and educational programs.*
>
> Dr. Sylvia de Pasquale / Memorial to the Victims of the Euthanasia Murders, Brandenburg an der Havel, Brandenburg-Görden Prison Memorial

Around half of the participants either did not answer the question, or said they did not know. 20.9% estimated between 100,000 and one million, which is closest to current estimates.[6]

Participants were also asked to estimate how many Sinti and Roma were murdered by the National Socialists. Over half (53.3%) of respondents said they didn't know, or left this question unanswered. The remaining estimates were grouped into numerical ranges. A total of 3.6% estimated the number of victims at fewer than 10,000, while 11.2% estimated it at between 10,000 and 100,000. Only about a quarter (25.1%) gave an estimate of between 100,000 and one million, which roughly aligns with the current estimated number of victims of the NS genocide of the Sinti and Roma.[7]

How many Sinti and Roma do you think were murdered by the National Socialists in Europe?

Fewer than 10,000	Between 10,000 and 100,000	Between 100,000 and 1,000,000	Between 1,000,000 and 10,000,000	No answer / "Don't know"
3.6%	11.2%	25.1%	6.9%	53.3%

6 The number of people murdered by the National Socialists due to their physical, mental or psychological disabilities is estimated to be between 200,000 and 300,000. Cf. Federal Agency for Civic Education. Die nationalsozialistischen Morde an kranken und beeinträchtigten Menschen (2022). Retrieved on April 01, 2025 from https://www.bpb.de/themen/politisches-system/politik-einfach-fuer-alle/508035/die-nationalsozialistischen-morde-an-kranken-und-beeintraechtigten-menschen/#node-content-title-1.

7 The number of murdered Sinti and Roma is estimated to be around half a million. Cf. Federal Agency for Civic Education, Ein unbekanntes Volk? Daten, Fakten und Zahlen (2025). Retrieved on March 20, 2025 from https://www.bpb.de/themen/europa/sinti-und-roma-in-europa/179536/ein-unbekanntes-volk-daten-fakten-und-zahlen/.

The result is not surprising, as it reflects decades of denying Germany's responsibility. The genocide of European Sinti and Roma was only officially recognized by the German government in 1982. Including the minority's own perspectives on persecution during and after the Second World War in the culture of remembrance and commemoration, as well as educating the majority society through school and extracurricular programs, are important approaches.

Andreas Neidhart / Project coordination at the Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ)

Finally, respondents were asked to estimate how many people were subjected to forced labor in the former German Reich during the NS era. While 58.2% of respondents were unable to answer, most of the others' estimates were significantly lower than the historical figures, which suggest around 13 million forced laborers in the German Reich and over 20 million in occupied Europe.

How many people do you estimate were subjected to forced labor during the entire period of National Socialism in the former "German Reich"?

Fewer than 10,000	Between 10,000 and 100,000	Between 100,000 and 1,000,000	Between 1,000,000 and 10,000,000	More than 10,000,000	No answer / "Don't know"
1.0%	2.2%	6.2%	22.6%	9.9%	58.2%

Knowledge about NS-reprocessing projects

Numerous projects in Germany focus on remembering and reprocessing the injustices of the NS era. It is unclear how widely known these projects are. The respondents were therefore asked to name any projects they knew of that focus on confronting the crimes of National Socialism.

Most respondents (85.0%) were unable to name any projects. Around one in ten (9.0%) said they knew of one, while 6.0% were aware of several. Respondents who stated knowing of at least one project were asked to describe it using keywords. A total of 432 open responses were provided, which were then categorized and organized. The following table displays the ten most frequently mentioned categories.

Project or type of project	Share of mentions (among the 15% of respondents who knew or could name at least one project)
Memorial site, place of remembrance, or reference to a location where a historical event occurred	40.3%
“Stolpersteine” [stumbling stones]	13.4%
Museums	9.0%
Nuremberg Trials	5.1%
Political initiatives (e.g. funding from ministries)	3.0%
Justice/prosecution of NS crimes after 1945 (excluding the Nuremberg Trials)	3.0%
Historical eye-witnesses (interviews or conversations)	2.8%
Efforts to compensate groups of victims	2.3%
Aktion Sühnezeichen	1.4%
Reference to the Anne Frank House and Anne Frank Foundation	1.4%

Many participants said they engaged quite or very intensively with the NS era, particularly with the systematic murder of various groups of victims. However, only about a third (36.0%) could correctly explain what is meant by “euthanasia murders”, while around a fifth (20.9%) provided a realistic estimate of the number of victims. A quarter (25.1%) of respondents estimated the number of Sinti and Roma victims within a roughly realistic range. Just under one in ten (9.9%) gave the correct estimate of the number of forced laborers in the German Reich. A total of 15 percent were aware of projects dedicated to addressing NS crimes.

> ***The fact that many respondents claimed to have studied the history of National Socialism intensively, yet struggled to answer knowledge questions, suggests gaps in both school and extracurricular education. For me, the study falls short in addressing the personal insights people gain from their critical examination of the topic.***
>
> Dr. Stephanie Bohra / Research associate and head of education at the Topography of Terror Foundation

Memorial site visits

For many people, visiting historical crime scenes and places of remembrance is a tangible way to critically examine the experiences of different victim groups of National Socialism and Germany's NS past more broadly. Almost three quarters of participants (72.1%) said they had visited a memorial site commemorating NS injustice at least once, while 15.7% had visited one more than three times. Around a quarter (27.9%), by contrast, had never visited such a site.

Table 5 shows the stated frequencies from the MEMO V study (2022) and the Call to Remember survey (2024). Participants in the Call to Remember survey were more likely than in any previous MEMO survey to say they had never visited a memorial site.

Table 5

Stated frequency of past visits to memorial sites

	Never	Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times
MEMO V (2022)	22.6%	21.6%	18.2%	10.5%	27.0%
Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember] (2025)	27.9%	27.9%	20.5%	8.0%	15.7%

Most (78.4%) of those who had visited a memorial site could also recall which one it was. They were then asked to name the first memorial or place of remembrance they had visited. They were then asked to answer the following questions in relation to their first visit to a memorial site.

Table 6 lists the sites named by at least one percent of the 1,680 people who had visited a memorial site and could still recall which one (excluding the "Other" category, which included 137 respondents, or 5.9%). Only the first site mentioned was recorded, to keep the data methodologically consistent.

Table 6

First memorial sites and places of remembrance visited

Memorial site / place of remembrance	Frequency of mentions
Buchenwald	28.5%
Dachau	18.2%
Bergen-Belsen	7.9%
Auschwitz/Auschwitz-Birkenau	7.3%
Sachsenhausen	5.4%
Holocaust Memorial in Berlin	3.2%
Neuengamme	2.1%
Unspecific mention of “Berlin”	2.1%
Flossenbürg	2.0%
Theresienstadt	1.7%
Ravensbrück	1.5%
Natzweiler-Struthof	1.1%

Respondents more often visited memorial sites located in their respective regions (i.e. western or eastern Germany). Of those who had visited Buchenwald, for example, 71.6% said they had mainly grown up in eastern Germany. The Dachau memorial site, by contrast, was visited by over 95% of those who had grown up in western Germany.

Visited memorial site alone or with others

More than half (54.2%) of all first reported visits to memorial sites were made with school classes. Around a fifth (21.9%) were with family, followed by visits with friends (11.1%). The remaining visits were made with another group (7.2%) or alone (5.6%). The former Buchenwald concentration camp in particular was visited more often than the other top five sites during school trips.[8]

8 $X^2(16) = 80.89, p < .001$.

Perceived voluntariness of the memorial visit

Whether visits to memorial sites should be voluntary or a compulsory part of school education has already been the subject of several controversial debates in politics and public discourse. Participants were therefore asked to what extent they saw their first visit to a memorial site as voluntary and self-determined.

A large majority reported a high level of perceived voluntariness and self-determination on their visits to memorial sites. A total of 61.4% felt that their visit to the memorial site was somewhat voluntary or very voluntary, and over half (54.0%) felt that it was somewhat or very self-determined. Around a fifth, by contrast, saw the visit as rather or not at all voluntary/self-determined.

Did you feel your visit to this memorial site was voluntary?

Not at all voluntary	Rather not voluntary	Moderately voluntary	Somewhat voluntary	Very voluntary
6.2%	14.0%	18.4%	26.0%	35.4%

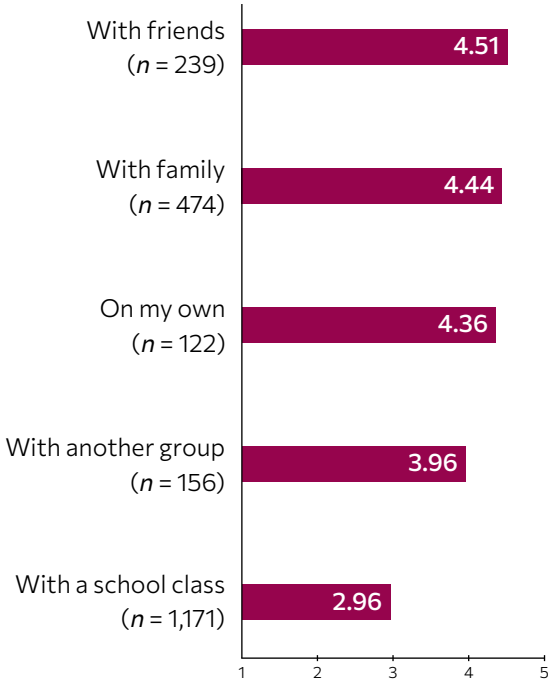
Did you feel your visit to this memorial site was self-determined?

Not at all self-determined	Rather not self-determined	Moderately self-determined	Somewhat self-determined	Very self-determined
6.7%	16.6%	22.7%	26.6%	27.4%

Because the answers to these two questions were strongly interrelated, their mean was calculated for the following analyses to merge them into a single scale. This mean value was lower, on average, among those who had visited the memorial site with a school class (M = 2.96, SD = 1.1) than among those who had visited the site alone, with family, with friends or another group. (M = 4.37, SD = 0.79).[9] The greater variance in responses among those who visited with a school class suggests a wider range of perceptions within this group. In this group, roughly equal numbers rated their visit as (somewhat) not voluntary / not self-determined (40.7%) and as (very) voluntary/self-determined (40.2%), with around 19% choosing the middle category of moderately voluntary.

9 $t(2{,}124.27) = 35.22$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 1.48$.

Mean value of the perceived voluntariness and self-determination of the memorial visit, depending on the circumstances of the visit



Perceived voluntariness of the memorial visit was linked to the respondents' age (r = .161).[10] Respondents who said their visit was somewhat or very voluntary or self-determined were, on average, about four years older (M = 53.2, SD = 16.3) than those who rated it as no more than moderately voluntary (M = 48.9, SD = 15.5).[11] Respondents under 40 were more likely to feel their visit to the memorial site was not voluntary or self-determined (45.1%), compared with only about a third (34.1%) of those over 40.[12]

A regional difference can also be observed here: Overall, respondents who had grown up mainly in western Germany (M = 3.72, SD = 1.16) reported a higher level of voluntariness than those from eastern Germany (M = 3.36, SD = 1.21).[13] This difference is mainly due to the responses of participants who were over 50 at the time of the survey: Among those aged 50 to 60, average perceived voluntariness was M = 3.73 (SD = 1.22) for western Germans, but only M = 3.18 (SD = 1.31) for eastern Germans. Among those aged over 60, average perceived voluntariness was M = 4.10 (SD = 1.08) for western Germans and only M = 3.38 (SD = 1.22) for eastern Germans.[14]

10 $p < .001$.

11 $t(2,160) = 6.01$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.27$.

12 $X^2(4) = 35.60$, $p < .001$.

13 $t(2,258.3) = 7.57$, $p < .001$.

14 $F(4,1202) = 9.08$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2_{\text{age groups x EastWest}} = .017$.

Assessment of the memorial visit

All respondents who had visited a memorial site at least once were then asked a series of questions about the impact of the visit as they remembered it. Most respondents (78.1%) said the visit to the memorial site had affected them emotionally, either somewhat strongly or very strongly, while only about 6.5% said it had not affected them (much). The picture was more mixed when it came to whether the visit motivated respondents to engage more deeply with social issues. 37.9% stated that the visit had motivated them to engage more with social issues quite or very strongly, while around a quarter (25.5%) stated it did not motivate them (much) to do so. The same applies to the motivation to engage more intensively with National Socialism itself: 39.1% said that the visit had influenced them in this respect, while around a quarter (24.1%) said it did not motivate them much or at all. Around half (54.5%) said they had learned new facts from the visit, while 14.9% said they had not.

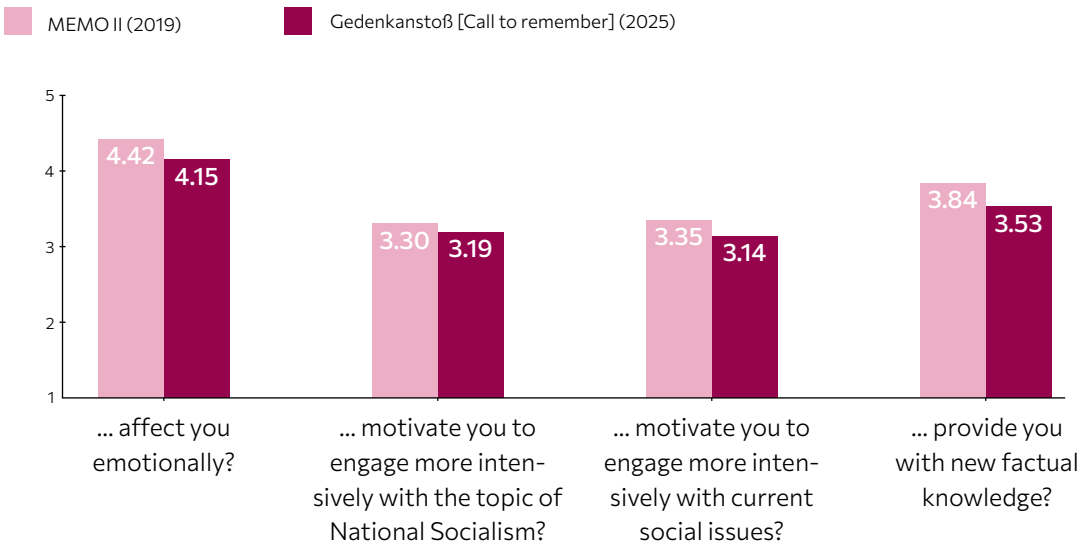
Compared with the MEMO II survey from 2019, which used the same wording for this category, assessments of the memorial visit were slightly less positive overall in the current survey.

All assessments show moderate to strong correlations with one another.[15] This means that each of the assessment criteria for the visit was accompanied by similar ratings for the other criteria. For example, respondents who found the visit emotionally moving were more likely to say it had also provided them with factual knowledge.

How much did the memorial visit...	Time of survey	Not at all	Not much	Moderately	Quite strongly	Very strongly	Mean value
... affect you emotionally?	MEMO II (2019)	1.6%	1.5%	10.9%	25.6%	60.3%	4.42
	Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember] (2025)	2.3%	4.2%	15.1%	33.1%	45.0%	4.15
... motivate you to engage more intensively with the topic of National Socialism?	MEMO II (2019)	11.4%	9.7%	35.0%	25.1%	18.9%	3.30
	Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember] (2025)	7.6%	16.5%	36.7%	27.4%	11.7%	3.19
... motivate you to engage more intensively with current social issues?	MEMO II (2019)	10.1%	13.5%	25.8%	31.9%	18.2%	3.35
	Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember] (2025)	8.1%	17.4%	36.4%	27.7%	10.2%	3.14
... provide you with new factual knowledge?	MEMO II (2019)	4.2%	5.7%	22.8%	36.7%	30.6%	3.84
	Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember] (2025)	3.8%	11.1%	30.5%	37.6%	16.9%	3.53

15 *r* coefficients between .489 and .764.

To what extent did the memorial site visit …

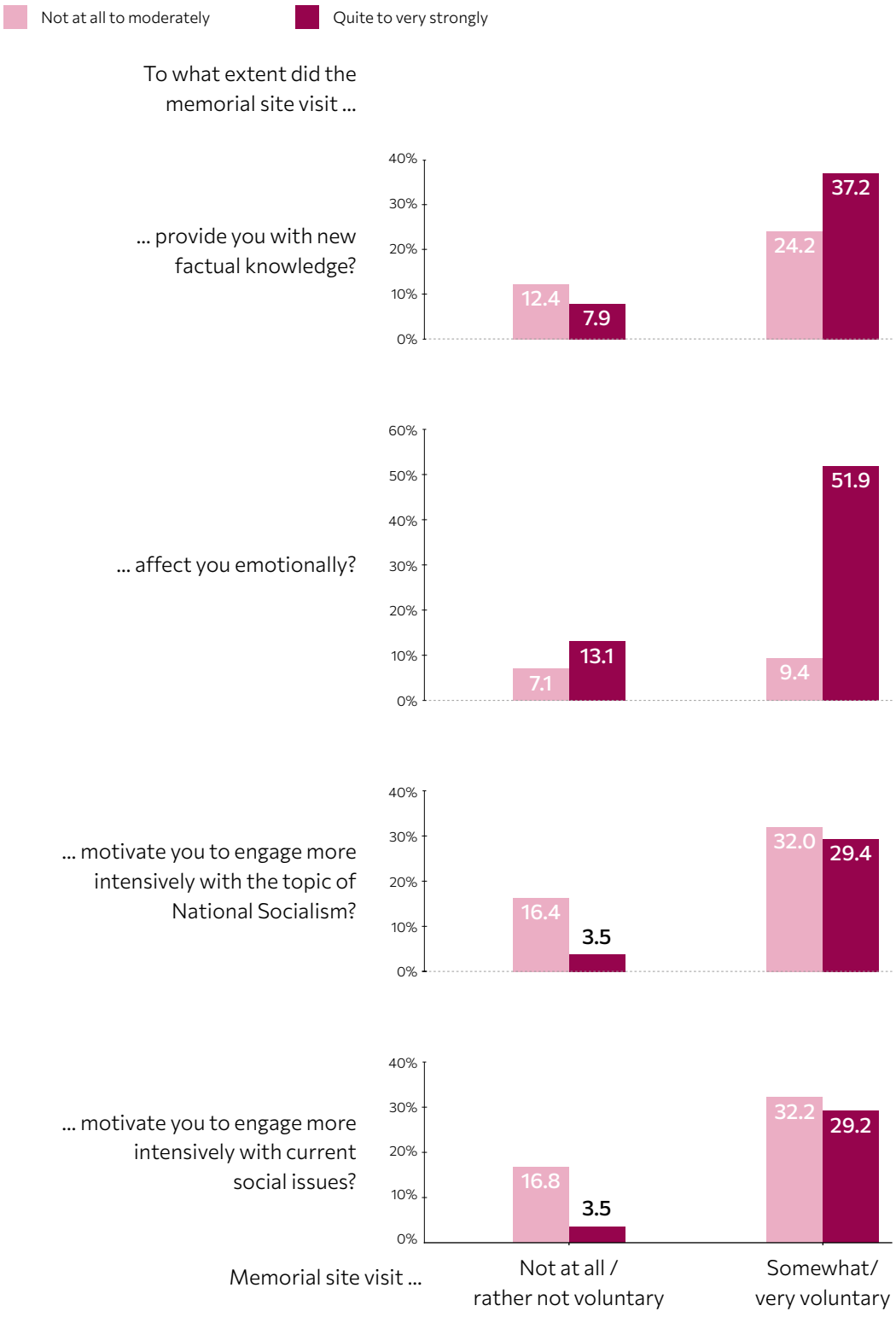


The assessment of the memorial visit was also moderately linked to how voluntary and self-determined the visit was perceived to be. The more voluntary the visit was perceived to be, the more likely respondents were to say it had affected them emotionally (r = .307) and taught them new factual knowledge (r = .254). This connection was even stronger for the motivation to engage more deeply with social issues (r = .400) or National Socialism (r = .383).

The relationships are illustrated in the following figure. Here, the previously explained assessment criteria for the memorial visit are shown in relation to how voluntary the visit was perceived to be.

> *The Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember]-MEMO study shows that voluntariness and self-determination are key factors in whether people rate their visit to a memorial site positively. Schools must be adequately staffed and funded to enable visits to memorial sites. At the same time, pupils should not be forced to take part. Ideally, pupils are involved in deciding which specific institution to visit.*
>
> Dr. Andrea Riedle / Director of the Topography of Terror Foundation

Assessment of the memorial site visit in relation to the perceived voluntariness of the visit



Please note: **The answer category "moderately" was omitted here to clearly distinguish between the perceived involuntariness and voluntariness of the memorial site visits.**

Over three quarters of participants said they had already visited a memorial site commemorating NS injustice, with more than half of these first visits taking place as part of a school trip. More than half of respondents rated the visit as somewhat or very voluntary. The more voluntary the visit felt to them, the more likely they were to report being emotionally affected, motivated to further critically examine National Socialism or current issues, and to have gained new factual knowledge.

> ***The survey results suggest that people who have visited a memorial site and deeply or critically examined the history of National Socialism are more aware of the ideology and propaganda of far-right parties. Low-threshold offerings can help reach as many people as possible. For this reason, memorial sites should remain free and accessible to all.***
>
> Dr. Andrea Riedle / Director of the Topography of Terror Foundation

Sense of agency and engagement in the context of the culture of remembrance

In addition to schools and memorial sites as key places for learning about history and critically examining Germany's past, many other forms of remembrance now exist. Participants in this study were therefore also asked about their personal involvement in the culture of remembrance and the context of their previous critical examination of National Socialism. The statement "I can do something myself to help shape the remembrance of NS injustice" received moderate agreement (M = 3.15, SD = 1.08), with most respondents (38.4%) choosing the middle category of "moderately". Almost as many (37.9%) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.

The statement that remembering the NS era is prescribed in Germany also received moderate agreement (M = 3.17, SD = 1.19). A total of 40.4% somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement, 26.9% somewhat or strongly disagreed, and just over a third (32.5%) chose the middle category "moderately".

Statement	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
I can personally contribute to shaping the remembrance of NS injustice.	9.3%	14.4%	38.4%	28.2%	9.7%
In Germany, remembering the NS era is prescribed.	11.0%	15.9%	32.5%	26.0%	14.4%

Respondents were then asked to give a subjective assessment of how much they themselves are involved in remembering NS injustice. A clear majority of more than two-thirds (69.6%) said they were only slightly or not at all involved in the culture of remembrance. Only about 7.9% said they were somewhat or very strongly engaged, while the remaining 22.4% placed themselves in the middle category "moderately". The

majority of those who reported being strongly or very strongly engaged in remembering the NS era were male (58%)[16] and tended to have a higher level of formal, mainly academic, education.[17] Engaged individuals were more likely to live in large cities with over 500,000 inhabitants[18] and often grew up in highly urban areas.[19] Employment status, on the other hand, was not significantly associated with engagement in remembering the NS era. Reported engagement was slightly, but statistically significantly, higher (M = 2.09) among respondents who had grown up mainly in eastern Germany compared with those who had grown up mainly in the west (M = 2.00).[20]

How engaged would you say you are in remembering the NS era?				
Not at all	Not very	Moderately	Somewhat strongly	Very strongly
36.9%	32.7%	22.4%	6.5%	1.4%

Agreement with the two statements "I can personally contribute to shaping the remembrance of NS injustice" and "How engaged would you say you are in remembering the NS era?" was moderately positively correlated: r = .479. The more respondents felt they could contribute to shaping the remembrance of NS injustice, the more likely they were to be engaged in this area – and vice versa.

It is striking that many respondents said they could personally help shape the remembrance of NS injustice, yet most still reported not being engaged in this area. These individuals represent a key target group for historical-political education, as they are likely to be generally willing to become engaged. They are referred to below as "self-efficaciously disengaged". They include slightly more individuals with an Abitur school-leaving qualification and slightly fewer with a university degree compared with those who reported being highly engaged.[21] The self-efficaciously disengaged were also more likely to be university students, while retired individuals were more likely to be actively involved in remembrance work.[22] In addition, the self-efficaciously disengaged were more often under 40, while those who were engaged were more often over 60[23] (mean value comparison: M = 49.4, SD = 16.7, SE = 0.68 vs. M = 54.4, SD = 16.7, SE = 0.73).[24] There were no significant gender differences in the responses to this question.

These findings suggest untapped potential for broader engagement in remembering NS injustice, particularly among younger people and students.

16 $X^2(1) = 9.34$, $p = .002$.

17 $X^2(5) = 17.35$, $p = .004$.

18 $X^2(4) = 11.42$, $p = .022$.

19 $X^2(3) = 10.93$, $p = .012$.

20 $t(2{,}836) = -2.37$, $p = .018$, Cohen's $d = -0.11$.

21 $X^2(5) = 13.88$, $p = .016$.

22 $X^2(7) = 21.52$, $p = .003$.

23 $X^2(4) = 24.22$, $p < .001$.

24 $t(1{,}131) = -4.98$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = -0.30$.

Many of our students are involved in local memorial projects and sites, especially through research for their final theses, where they lead guided tours or organize information events. Any additional work usually fails due to the underfunding of memorial sites. Students are often under significant pressure to cover their living expenses. They would love to volunteer at memorial sites or other projects focused on the crimes of National Socialism – but they simply can't afford it.

Prof. Dr. Christina Brüning / Professor at Philipps University Marburg, and project manager of the Education Agenda project "Continuities of Anti-Black Racism before, during and after National Socialism"

Context of previous critical examination of National Socialism

A total of 58.0% of respondents had a specific reason for their first critical examination of the topic of National Socialism, while 42.0% did not. Table 7 analyzes the ten most frequently cited reasons for critically examining the NS era.

Table 7

Stated reasons for a first critical examination of the NS era

Reason	Frequency of mentions
Covered in school lessons	40.6%
Family stories or personal conversations with relatives	8.0%
Other private critical examination (e.g. with friends)	2.7%
Visit to a museum or memorial site	1.1%
Entertainment media (e.g. movies)	0.9%
Historical or current events	0.9%
Documentaries (film or print)	0.6%
Journalistic media or reporting	0.4%
Personal experience of the era	0.3%
Other responses	1.7%

Participants were also asked about the broader context of their critical examination of National Socialism beyond their initial encounter. The majority said they chose to engage with the NS era on their own (60.1%) and did so out of personal interest (62.6%). Around one in five (20.9%) said they were worried about expressing themselves incorrectly, while 14.1% feared doing something wrong.

The older the participants, the more likely they were to say that critically examining National Socialism had been their own decision (r = .258), that they had chosen the topics themselves (r = .239) and that they had found the subject interesting (r = .067). At the same time, older respondents were less likely to say they had been required to critically examine National Socialism (r = -.191), or that they had feared expressing them-

selves incorrectly (r = -.123) or doing something wrong (r = -.153).[25] Overall, the older the respondents the more voluntary and natural they perceived their critical examination of National Socialism to be.

Family migration histories are also connected to how these statements were assessed. People with a migration history were slightly less likely to say they had critically examined the topic on their own initiative (M = 3.58, SD = 1.08) than those without such a background (M = 3.69, SD = 1.10).[26] Similarly, respondents with a family migration history were somewhat more likely to report that they had been required to critically examine the topic (M = 2.64, SD = 1.14) than those without such a background (M = 2.51, SD = 1.15).[27]

When I previously engaged with the NS era …	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly agree, partly disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
… it was my own decision.	5.6%	6.8%	27.0%	35.0%	25.1%
… it was because I had to.	23.2%	25.3%	32.3%	12.7%	5.8%
… I was genuinely interested in it.	6.0%	5.4%	25.5%	37.1%	25.5%
… I was pleased to do so.	8.7%	13.2%	40.6%	25.2%	11.8%
… I was afraid of saying something that wasn't allowed.	27.1%	27.9%	23.7%	15.7%	5.2%
… I avoided saying certain things for fear of personal consequences.	35.2%	26.3%	22.0%	11.9%	4.3%
… I was free to choose which topics I wanted to critically examine.	6.0%	7.9%	28.7%	35.6%	21.7%
… I was worried about making a mistake.	29.5%	30.7%	25.6%	11.2%	2.9%

Respondents showed strong interest in critically examining National Socialism and felt it was both voluntary and natural. Many said they could, in principle, contribute to the remembrance of NS crimes, but only a few were actually engaged in this area. There is clear potential for engaging young people and students in commemorative work.

25 All reported correlation coefficients were statistically significant at the $p < .001$ level.

26 $t(2{,}988) = 1.95$, $p = .052$, Cohen's $d = 0.11$

27 $t(2{,}981) = -2.14$, $p = .033$, Cohen's $d = -0.12$

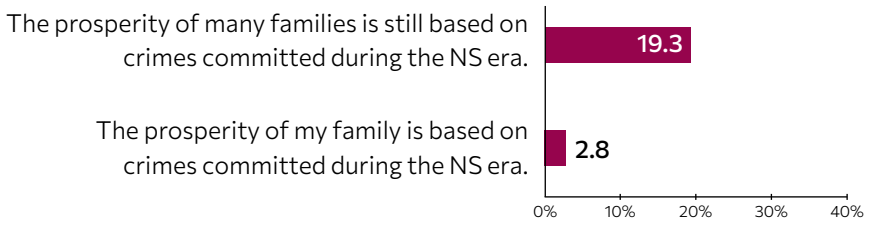
Historical continuities of National Socialism within the family, industry and region

Industry in general and one's own employer

Another section of the survey explored respondents' knowledge of historical continuities. For example, participants were asked to assess their knowledge of the German industry's and public's involvement in the NS system and how this continues to have an impact today.

Just under a fifth (19.3%) of all respondents somewhat or strongly agreed that the prosperity of many families in Germany today can be traced back to crimes committed during the NS era, while 41.4% somewhat or strongly disagreed. Agreement with the corresponding statement about their own family was significantly lower: 89.9% strongly or somewhat rejected the idea that their own prosperity was due to crimes committed during the NS era.

Somewhat or strongly agree with the statements:



Statement	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
The prosperity of many families is still based on crimes committed during the NS era.	20.3%	21.1%	39.3%	14.4%	4.9%
The prosperity of my family is based on crimes committed during the NS era.	79.4%	10.5%	7.1%	2.1%	0.7%

Around a quarter of respondents (27.2%) somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement: "The prosperity of many companies is still based on crimes committed during the NS era".

The prosperity of many companies in Germany is still based on crimes committed during the NS era.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
12.6%	17.9%	42.3%	20.3%	6.9%

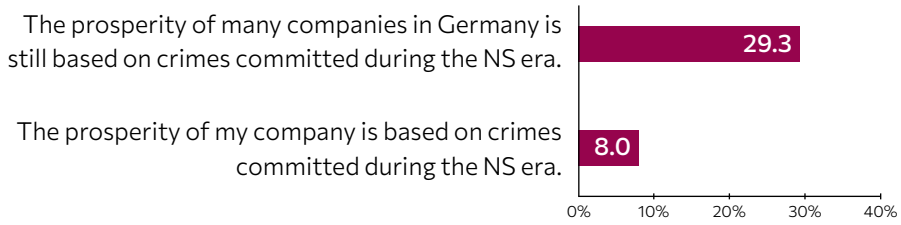
Almost a quarter (24.3%) of respondents in employment or working relationships said the company they worked for had already existed before or during the NS era; 56.9% said it had not and 18.8% said they didn't know. 497 people said they knew the company they were working for at the time of the survey had already existed during the NS era. These responses followed a similar pattern to the question about family prosperity: Almost 30% of these employees agreed that the prosperity of many companies in Germany is still based on crimes committed during the NS era. However, only 8.0% somewhat or strongly agreed with the same statement about their own company, while the majority (73.4%) somewhat or strongly disagreed.

Statement	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
The prosperity of many companies in Germany is still based on crimes committed during the NS era.	12.3%	18.7%	39.6%	21.9%	7.4%
The prosperity of my company is based on crimes committed during the NS era.	51.5%	21.9%	18.3%	5.6%	2.4%

***Please note:* Analysis was limited to those who stated that the company they worked for had existed before or during the NS era (n = 497).**

> *For decades, most Germans avoided critically examining their own family history and the possible involvement of their ancestors in National Socialism and its crimes. In memorial education, it's important to address and discuss possible support for, or involvement in, crimes – whether in the workplace or within one's own family – more than has been done in the past.*
>
> Dr. Stephanie Bohra / Research associate and head of education at the Topography of Terror Foundation

Somewhat or strongly agree with the statements:



***Please note:* Analysis was limited to those who stated that their company had existed before or during the NS era (n = 497).**

While around 20 to 30% of respondents perceived historical continuities and linked the prosperity of families and companies in Germany to crimes committed during the NS era, the majority strongly rejected such continuities in relation to their own families and employers.

Assessment of respondents' own knowledge of German industry's involvement in the NS system

Participants were also asked to assess their general knowledge of German companies' involvement in the NS system. Most respondents rated their knowledge as moderate (*M* = 2.69, *SD* = 1.03). However, around one in five (20.8%) said they had extensive or very extensive knowledge in this area. This self-assessed knowledge was linked to the respondents' level of formal education (*r* = .142).[28] The higher the respondents' level of education, the more they rated their own knowledge. This reported knowledge was also linked to origin: respondents who said they had grown up mainly in eastern Germany gave higher average ratings (*M* = 2.82, *SD* = 1.03) than those who grew up mainly in western Germany (*M* = 2.66, *SD* = 1.04).[29]

How would you rate your knowledge of German companies' involvement with National Socialism?

Very low	Somewhat low	Moderate	Somewhat high	Very high
14.9%	25.3%	39.1%	17.2%	3.6%

Almost half (43.3%) of participants said they knew of a company that still exists today and had profited from the NS era. Table 8 lists the ten most frequently named companies. In this analysis, it's important to note that some companies emerged from others after 1945 (e.g. BASF and Bayer from IG Farben), while others are associated with different brand names (e.g. Daimler and Mercedes-Benz), which was partly reflected in participants' responses.

28 $p < .001$.

29 $t(2,916) = 3.83$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = -0.16$.

The merged steel company Thyssen-Krupp (under names like Krupp, Kruppstahl or Thyssen) was by far the most frequently mentioned. Around 44.1% of respondents who named a company that had profited from NS era crimes mentioned Thyssen-Krupp; across the entire sample, the figure was 18.3%. A total of (at least) 160 individual companies or industries were named.

Table 8

The ten most frequently named companies that respondents said had profited from crimes committed during the NS era.

Company	Share of mentions (based on those who named at least one company *n* = 1,300)
Thyssen-Krupp (including variants such as "Krupp")	44.1%
BASF	13.3%
Volkswagen	13.3%
Bayer	10.5%
IG Farben	7.5%
Siemens	6.6%
Daimler (also Daimler-Benz)	5.5%
BMW	5.2%
Mercedes (also Mercedes-Benz)	4.0%
Bahlsen	3.2%

Companies themselves can actively contribute to the promotion of democracy by confronting their own history and communicating it to their employees. They have a strong interest in their own company's role during National Socialism.

Dr. Andrea H. Schneider-Braunberger / Managing director of the Society for Business History

Assessment of respondents' knowledge of the NS era in their place of residence

Another section of the questionnaire focused on respondents' knowledge of their own place of residence during the NS era. Participants were asked to assess their general knowledge of their place of residence during the NS era, as well as to name specific local sites they associate with that period and how often they visit them. Finally, respondents were asked whether local and regional aspects should play a greater role in commemorating the NS era.

> *NS sites are hard to grasp, especially when they're layered over by the everyday world people live in today. By creating living memory markers there, people can discover that this local history is relevant to them.*
>
> Dr. Veronika Heilmannseder / Concept and project management (state) for the Education Agenda project "Butter, Livestock, Destruction"

On average, respondents rated their knowledge of what happened in their region during the NS era as fairly low (M = 2.28, SD = 1.03). Almost two thirds (63.3%) of respondents said they knew little or nothing about the history of their place of residence during the NS era.

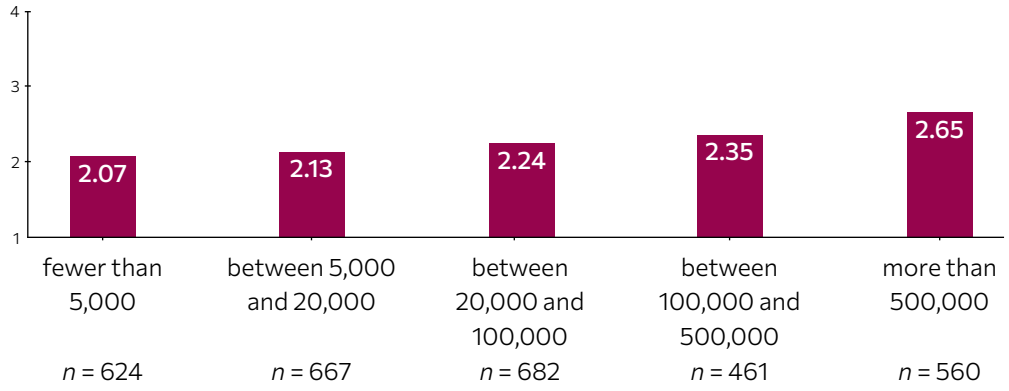
How much do you know about what happened in your place of residence during the NS era?

Nothing	Not much	A moderate amount	Quite a lot	A lot
24.9%	38.4%	23.5%	10.5%	2.7%

Differences were significant depending on the town's size. Reported knowledge was highest in large cities with at least 500,000 residents and lowest in rural communities (with fewer than 5,000).

Size of the town Number of respondents in the sample	Rural community (fewer than 5,000 inhabitants) *n* = 624	Small town (between 5,000 and 20,000 inhabitants) *n* = 667	Medium-sized town (between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants) *n* = 682	Small city (between 100,000 and 500,000 inhabitants) *n* = 461	Large city (more than 500,000 inhabitants) *n* = 560
Mean value	2.07	2.13	2.24	2.35	2.65

Mean value of reported knowledge of the history of National Socialism in respondents' place of residence, by town size



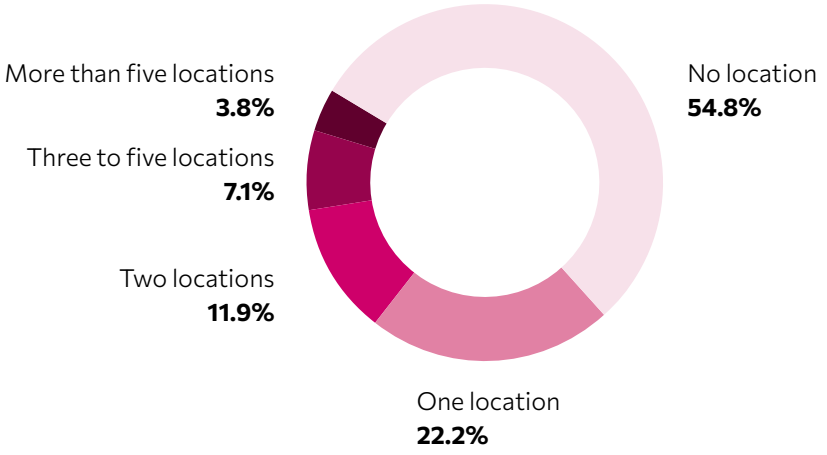
A location in the place of residence associated with the NS era

More than half of the respondents could not name a location in their place of residence they associated with the NS era. Around 22% named one location, and a similar share (22.8%) named two or more.

Are there any locations in your place of residence that you associate with the National Socialist era?

No location	One location	Two locations	Three to five locations	More than five locations
54.8%	22.2%	11.9%	7.1%	3.8%

Are there any locations in your place of residence that you associate with the National Socialist era?



The more locations respondents said they knew, the higher their average stated level of critical examination of the NS era (r = .328).

There were also significant differences in responses based on town size, mirroring the patterns seen above regarding knowledge of one's own town's history: The larger the town, the more locations respondents were able to associate with National Socialism. Specifically, around two thirds (66.8%) of respondents from towns with fewer than 5,000 residents could not name a location; only 14.5% knew of two or more. In contrast, only about a third (37.4%) of respondents from large cities with over 500,000 residents could not name any location with an NS past, while 37.6% knew of two or more.

Size of the town Number of respondents in sample	Rural community (fewer than 5,000 inhabitants) n = 624	Small town (between 5,000 and 20,000 inhabitants) n = 667	Medium-sized town (between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants) n = 682	Small city (between 100,000 and 500,000 inhabitants) n = 461	Large city (more than 500,000 inhabitants) n = 560
No location	66.8%	61%	53.1%	53.1%	37.4%
One location	18.8%	21.9%	23.3%	22.6%	25.0%
Two locations	9.5%	9.7%	13.6%	13.2%	14.3%
Three to five locations	2.9%	4.9%	8.2%	7.8%	12.8%
More than five locations	2.1%	2.4%	1.8%	3.3%	10.5%

At first glance, it might seem that people in large cities are generally better informed. But unlike in large cities, villages naturally lack NS era monumental buildings; the history there is much more fragmented: Which farms made use of forced labor? Was there a subcamp nearby? This isn't immediately obvious. When a third of people in small villages can name even one location connected to the NS era, that's not insignificant. On the contrary, it shows that people are attentive to their surroundings and historically aware. It also highlights the great potential for more local history initiatives, which are doing important work in many places and deserve much wider recognition.

Dr. Veronika Hager / Scientific advisor to the board of the
Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ)

Although they made up only 5.3% of the total sample, 17.4% of those who said they knew more than five NS-related locations in their town were from Berlin. It's worth noting that Berlin, as the former Reich capital, is now a center of NS-era remembrance culture and has a higher-than-average number of memorial and remembrance sites compared with other large cities.

Respondents who said they knew of at least one location in their town linked to the NS past were asked to briefly describe the one they most strongly associated with the National Socialist era. Their responses have been systematized to the greatest possible extent and are shown in the following table. Places of National Socialist violence were mentioned most often (24.4%), followed by monuments and memorial sites for victims of National Socialism (19.1%). All other responses were under 10%.

Response	Share
Places of National Socialist violence (e.g. former concentration camps, prisons or deportation train stations)	24.4%
Monuments and memorial sites for victims of National Socialism (e.g. "Stolpersteine" [stumbling stones], museums, artworks)	19.1%
Locations related to the rule of the NS regime (e.g. renamed squares, streets, administrative buildings)	9.3%
Locations related to Judaism (e.g. synagogues, Jewish cemeteries)	9.1%
Entire regions or parts of the country	7.7%
Former military facilities or sites (e.g. barracks, airfields)	6.7%
(Former) industrial sites linked to the NS regime (e.g. munitions factories)	5.2%
Churches and cemeteries	3.9%
Places damaged by the war (e.g. buildings restored after the war)	3.4%
Places of remembrance for fallen soldiers (e.g. military cemeteries)	3.1%
Former bunkers	2.9%
Locations connected to one's own family history (e.g. houses of ancestors)	2.7%

A good third (35.3%) considered the location somewhat or very important personally, while a similar share (34.7%) found it somewhat or not at all important. Slightly more respondents were emotionally affected by the location, with 39.2% saying it moved them strongly or very strongly.

Is this location personally important to you?				
Not at all important	Not very important	Moderately important	Somewhat important	Very important
11.1%	23.6%	30.0%	24.7%	10.6%

How strongly does this location affect you emotionally?				
Not at all	Not much	Moderately	Strongly	Very strongly
9.4%	18.5%	32.8%	27.4%	11.8%

Finally, participants were asked how often they visit this location. Very few said they visited daily (4.7%), while nearly half reported going less than once a year (47.3%).

How often do you visit this location?				
Daily	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year	Less than once a year
4.7%	8.2%	14.8%	25.0%	47.3%

In summary, the respondents had limited knowledge of NS history in their own town. The larger the town, the more likely respondents were to know a location associated with the NS era. Most respondents visited the location less than once a year.

Many respondents acknowledged that the lasting prosperity of German families and companies is linked to involvement in the NS regime, but mostly denied this when it came to their own family or the company they worked for. Almost half of the participants named at least one company they believed had profited from the NS era. Around a fifth said they had (fairly) extensive knowledge of German companies' involvement in the NS regime, while only about 13.2% said they knew a lot or very much about the NS regime's history in their own town.

In rural areas, everyone knows everyone. Anyone who starts reflecting on the NS era here stands out. But once the process begins, many are grateful for the impulse and support.

Dr. Veronika Heilmannseder / Concept and project management (state) for the Education Agenda project "Butter, Livestock, Destruction"

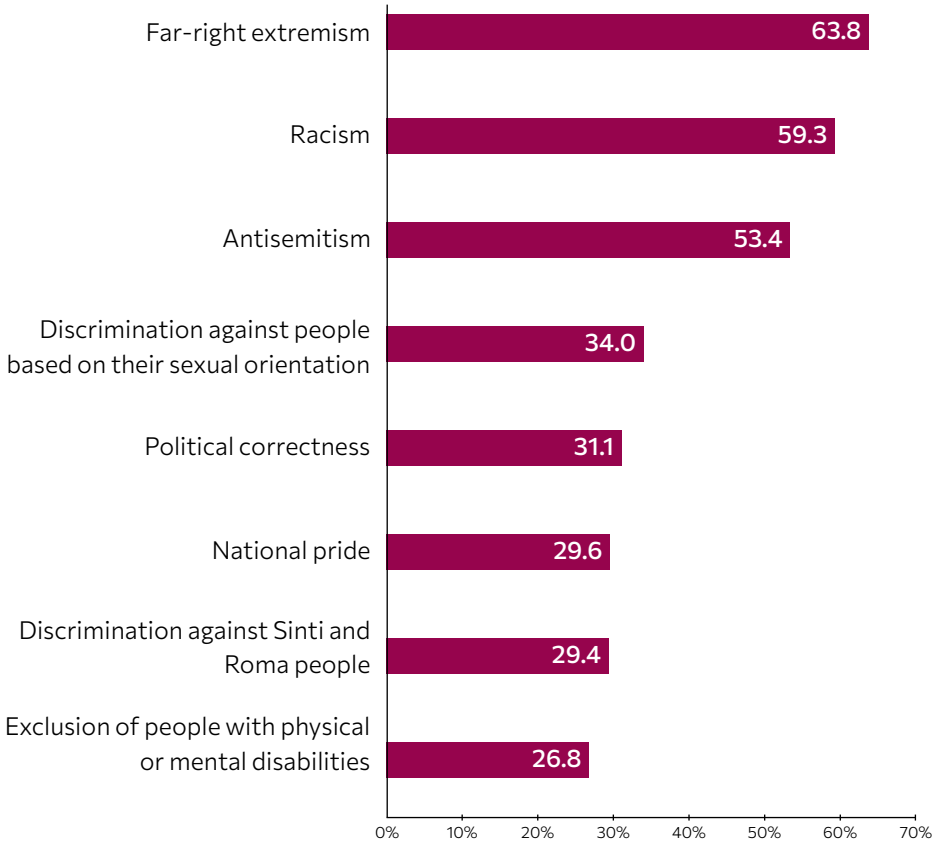
Perceptions of threats to German society

Alongside economic and regional historical continuities, it is often noted that misanthropic attitudes like antisemitism, which defined the National Socialist era, remain present in society today. Participants were therefore also asked about current social issues, including how strongly they believe society is threatened by a number of these phenomena and forms of unequal treatment. They were also asked whether they viewed "political correctness" as something threatening.

Respondents saw the greatest threats to German society as far-right extremism (63.8% somewhat or very great), racism (59.3% somewhat or very great) and antisemitism (53.4% somewhat or very great).

How great is the current threat to German society from the following phenomena?	Very low	Some-what low	Moderate	Some-what high	Very high
Far-right extremism	5.9%	9.4%	20.8%	30.7%	33.1%
Racism	4.8%	9.6%	26.1%	35.6%	23.7%
Antisemitism	5.3%	10.4%	30.5%	33.1%	20.3%
Political correctness	8.6%	18.3%	41.7%	20.9%	10.2%
Discrimination against people based on their sexual orientation	8.6%	22.2%	35.2%	23.8%	10.2%
National pride	12.5%	21.6%	36.0%	20.5%	9.1%
Discrimination against Sinti and Roma people	11.8%	23.3%	35.1%	21.8%	7.6%
Exclusion of people with physical or mental disabilities	12.0%	26.5%	34.5%	19.6%	7.2%

Percentage of respondents who considered the current threat to German society from the following phenomena in Germany to be somewhat or very great



Overall, female respondents rated the threats to society significantly higher than male respondents across nearly all areas.[30] Only political correctness was seen as a significantly lesser threat by women. The assessments were partly linked to where respondents had primarily grown up. The perceived threat of racism, far-right extremism and the exclusion of people with physical or mental disabilities, and Sinti and Roma people, was significantly higher among those who had grown up mainly in western Germany.[31] There were no statistically significant differences in these ratings between people with and without a family migration history. For the other social phenomena and forms of unequal treatment, there were no consistent differences based on socio-demographic factors.

Perceptions of threats to Germany were also linked to respondents' party preferences. Supporters of Die Linke or Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen saw high levels of threat in all areas except political correctness, while AfD supporters showed the opposite pattern.

30 Multivariate main effect of gender: $F(8.2942) = 10.82$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .029$.

31 Multivariate main effect of east/west: $F(8.2861) = 3.69$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .010$.

Table 9

Average threat perceptions by party preference of respondents

How great is the current threat to German society from the following phenomena?	CDU/ CSU	SPD	Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen	AfD	Die Linke	FDP	BSW	Other	Wouldn't vote
Far-right extremism	3.91	4.24	4.47	2.36	4.46	3.80	3.64	3.98	3.44
Racism	3.64	3.93	4.22	2.74	4.30	3.61	3.57	3.73	3.53
Antisemitism	3.66	3.79	4.00	2.82	3.96	3.30	3.36	3.68	3.21
Political correctness	3.08	3.02	2.68	3.43	2.82	3.19	3.12	3.19	2.91
Discrimination against people based on their sexual orientation	3.00	3.36	3.57	2.33	3.60	2.77	2.89	3.20	2.95
National pride	2.85	3.23	3.38	2.29	3.54	2.60	2.81	3.02	2.91
Discrimination against Sinti and Roma people	2.89	3.22	3.36	2.23	3.42	2.66	2.77	2.99	2.77
Exclusion of people with physical or mental disabilities	2.77	3.08	3.24	2.23	3.45	2.58	2.71	2.96	2.85

Among various social phenomena and forms of unequal treatment, most respondents identified far-right extremism, racism and antisemitism as the greatest threats to German society. This perception depends in part on party preference: AfD supporters, for example, named political correctness as the greatest threat.

Perceptions of the AfD in the context of German history

Probably no other German party has sparked as much controversy in recent years as the Alternative for Germany (AfD). Comparisons were often made with the end of the Weimar Republic or the National Socialist era – for example, whether the factors behind the AfD's current success resemble those of the Weimar period, or whether the AfD holds positions similar to those of the NSDAP. In this study, participants were also asked how they view the AfD in relation to German history.

More than half (58.2%) of participants somewhat or strongly agreed that, in light of German history, they could not vote for a party like the AfD. Around half (50.1%) of respondents felt that the AfD poses a similar threat to German society today as the NSDAP once did. Just over a third (39.2%) saw parallels between the social conditions that enabled the NSDAP's success then and those driving the AfD's success today.

> *The approval ratings for perceived threats indicate that many view the AfD as a threat to social values. From a historical-scientific perspective, however, the current social situation should not be equated with that of 1933. Unlike society in the early 1930s, we are not facing existential global economic crises or the aftermath of a world war today. In addition, we have lived in a democracy for decades, with a value system supported by the majority of the German public.*
>
> Martina Staats / Head of the memorial site in Wolfenbüttel Prison and the educational agenda project "2x (un)just?"

More than half of the respondents (57.7%) agreed that it is accurate to describe the AfD as far-right extremist. In contrast, just under a fifth (21.4%) said it didn't matter that the AfD is seen as far-right on some issues, as long as it focuses on the "right issues". Almost a quarter (23.6%) viewed the AfD as a party like any other.

Statement	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
In light of German history, you cannot vote for a party like the AfD.	16.3%	9.3%	15.8%	13.7%	44.5%
I believe the AfD is just as threatening to society today as the NSDAP was back then.	17.8%	12.9%	19.0%	20.2%	29.9%
The social conditions that enabled the NSDAP's success back then are similar to those driving the AfD's success today.	17.1%	16.0%	27.8%	23.0%	16.2%
I don't mind that parts of the AfD are considered far-right, as long as they address the right issues.	43.8%	15.3%	19.3%	11.0%	10.4%
The AfD is just like any other party.	41.0%	17.6%	17.6%	11.9%	11.7%
I think it's correct to describe the AfD as far-right extremist.	15.1%	9.7%	17.4%	16.6%	41.1%

Unsurprisingly, the responses varied based on party preference. The responses below are broken down based on whether respondents said they would (AfD supporters, *n* = 418) or would not vote for the AfD.

93.5% of AfD supporters agreed with the statement that they do not mind the AfD being considered far-right extremist, as long as it addresses the "right issues". There was a clear discrepancy in the perception of the AfD as a far-right extremist party: a strong majority (87.3%) of AfD supporters somewhat or strongly rejected this label. Among those who would not vote for the AfD, however, only 14.7% rejected this label.

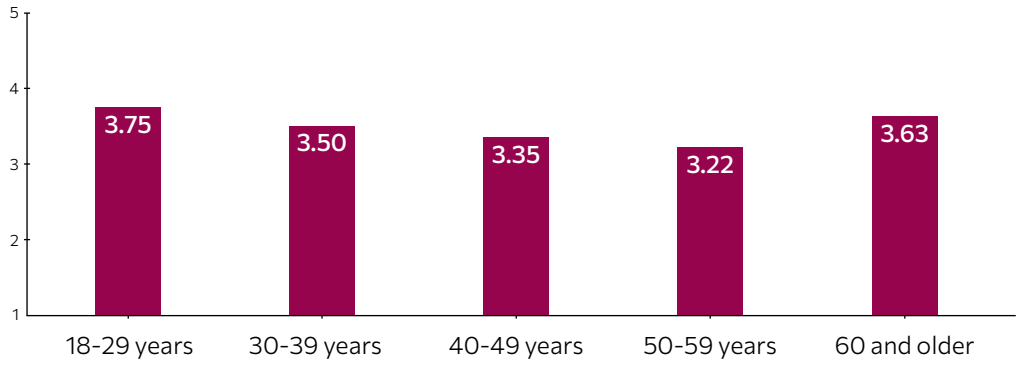
The statements about the AfD are strongly correlated with each other. They were therefore combined into a scale by calculating the mean value of the statements for all respondents. The following analyses refer to this scale for evaluating the AfD.[32]

There is a small but statistically significant positive correlation between the initially stated intensity of critical examination of National Socialism and the extent to which people view the AfD critically, $r = .150$: The more intensively the respondents had engaged with the NS era, the more critical they were of the AfD in the aspects listed above.

Those with a higher level of education were generally more critical of the AfD. However, respondents who had completed the 10th grade (or, before 1965, the 8th grade) of the GDR Polytechnic Secondary School ($n = 194$) were the least critical of the AfD. On average, those who grew up predominantly in the east were less critical of the AfD ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.20$) than those who grew up predominantly in the west ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.22$).[33]

The assessments of the AfD were also linked to age, though not in a linear fashion, but rather following a U-shaped pattern. Respondents under 30 ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 1.02$) and over 60 ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.28$) were more critical of the AfD in terms of its historical context than the age groups in between.

Mean values of attitudes critical of the AfD, broken down by age group



AfD voters were less critical of the AfD in the context of German history compared with other respondents. People who had visited a memorial site or place of remembrance at least once were more critical of the AfD. Respondents under 30 and over 60 also exhibited more critical attitudes towards the AfD. There were also correlations with whether respondents were from eastern or western Germany and with their level of education: participants from eastern Germany, particularly those with the 10th grade of the GDR Polytechnic Secondary School as their highest formal qualification, were less critical of the AfD in a historical context.

32 Coefficients between $r = .490$ and $r = .830$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .940$. Agreement with the statements "I don't mind that parts of the AfD are considered far-right, as long as they address the right issues" and "The AfD is just like any other party" was inversely coded, so that lower levels of agreement with these statements were assigned higher values on the scale.

33 $t(1{,}333.61) = 7.50$, $p < .001$

Antisemitism and attitudes toward Israel

Historically, antisemitism is closely tied to National Socialism and its remembrance. Hamas' terrorist attack on Israel on October 7, 2023, and Israel's subsequent intervention in the Gaza Strip have brought renewed relevance to public and political debates on antisemitism and Germany's relationship with Israel. The respondents were presented with a series of statements to assess current approval of antisemitic views in general and specifically regarding Israel, and to link this to attitudes and experiences within the context of the culture of remembrance. Participants were also asked whether they felt a personal responsibility towards Jews living in Germany and their opinion on whether Germany had a special responsibility towards Israel.

Primary and secondary antisemitism

In social science studies, antisemitism is typically measured using closed-ended questions, assessing the degree of agreement with various antisemitic statements. A distinction is often made between primary and secondary antisemitism.

Primary or classic antisemitism refers to hostile attitudes towards Jews, expressed through direct devaluation and prejudice. This includes beliefs such as Jews being a controlling or all-powerful group, or deceitful individuals. In the following section, primary antisemitism was measured using the statements below: "Jews have too much influence in Germany" and "Jews use more underhanded tactics than others to achieve their goals".[34]

Secondary antisemitism refers to attitudes that downplay the extent of the Holocaust or imply that Jews benefit from the reprocessing of the NS past. The following statements are classified as secondary antisemitism: "I doubt that everything said about the extent of the persecution of Jews is true", "Jews are exploiting the memory of the Holocaust for their own benefit today" and "Many Jews are trying to gain advantage from the past of the Third Reich".[35] This form of antisemitism is often described as "guilt-defense" antisemitism. It allegedly serves to deflect feelings of guilt and historical responsibility for the murder of European Jews, for example, by questioning the extent of the Holocaust or claiming that Jews seek to profit from the reprocessing of National Socialism.[36] For clarification, it should be noted that secondary antisemitism cannot be solely characterized as a psychological defense against guilt. Rather, it also represents a new, modern form of "antisemitism after Auschwitz", which can express antisemitic attitudes within an "anti-antisemitic" social norm.[37]

34 The statements are derived from or based on the socio-psychological concept by Imhoff, R. (2010). Zwei Formen des modernen Antisemitismus? Eine Skala zur Messung primären und sekundären Antisemitismus. Conflict & Communication online (9), 1. Retrieved on March 15, 2025 from https://cco.regener-online.de/2010_1/abstr_dt/imhoff_abstr_dt.htm.

35 Imhoff, R. (2010), op. cit.

36 Adorno, Th. (1971). Zur Bekämpfung des Antisemitismus heute. In: Adorno, Th. Kritik. Kleine Schriften zur Gesellschaft (pp. 105-133). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

37 Höttemann, M. (2020). Sekundärer Antisemitismus – Antisemitismus nach Auschwitz. Dossier Antisemitismus. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. Retrieved on March 7, 2025 from: https://www.bpb.de/themen/antisemitismus/dossier-antisemitismus/321575/sekundaerer-antisemitismus/.

12.3% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "Jews have too much influence in Germany". 8.3% agreed with the statement, "Jews use more underhanded tactics than others to achieve their goals". A good fifth (21.7% and 21.1%, respectively) either agreed or chose the "partly disagree/partly agree" option for these statements.

Jews have too much influence in Germany.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
36.2%	29.6%	21.7%	7.7%	4.6%

Jews use more underhanded tactics than others to achieve their goals.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
45.0%	25.4%	21.1%	5.3%	3.0%

10.4% of participants somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they doubt the accuracy of what is reported about the extent of the persecution of the Jews. Here too, over a fifth (22.0%) chose the "partly disagree/partly agree" response option.

Around a quarter of respondents (25.9%) somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that Jews today exploit the memory of the Holocaust for their own benefit, while just under a third (30.2%) chose "partly disagree, partly agree". 23.6% somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that many Jews try to gain advantage from the past of the Third Reich. Here too, a good third chose the middle category "partly disagree/partly agree" (29.6%). Less than half of respondents disagreed with the last two statements (43.7% and 46.7%, respectively).

I doubt that everything said about the extent of the persecution of Jews is true.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
45.9%	21.4%	22.0%	6.7%	3.7%

Jews are exploiting the memory of the Holocaust for their own benefit today.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
22.4%	21.3%	30.2%	15.0%	10.9%

Many Jews are trying to gain advantage from the past of the Third Reich.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
23.4%	23.3%	29.6%	14.5%	9.1%

The results of this study clearly show that antisemitic attitudes persist in society and are even growing in some areas. They also show that antisemitism is not only expressed openly but is also embedded in more subtle forms across large parts of society. The approval ratings for the seemingly neutral category "partly disagree/partly agree" are particularly concerning. It becomes clear that individual fragments of antisemitic narratives are even present among those who reject antisemitic statements. The fight against antisemitism must therefore not be limited to times of acute crisis but treated as a continuous responsibility for society as a whole.

Joseph Wilson / Specialist advisor at the Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ)

Compared with previous MEMO surveys, there is a clear increase in explicitly antisemitic attitudes among the German population. In the MEMO II study (2019), around 5.6% agreed with the statement "Jews have too much influence in Germany"; in MEMO III (2020) it was just 2.4%, and in the representative adult sample of MEMO V (2022) it was 3.2%. In the current survey, 12.3% agreed with the statement – about four times higher than the figure recorded in 2022.

Fewer participants (10.4%) agreed with the secondary antisemitic statement "I doubt that everything said about the extent of the persecution of Jews is true" in the Call to Remember survey than in earlier MEMO studies. In MEMO III (2020), 15.7% of respondents still agreed with this statement, and in MEMO IV (2021) the figure rose to 23.0%. A comparison with previous MEMO studies is provided in Table 10.

Table 10

Agreement (somewhat or strongly) with aspects of antisemitism across various MEMO surveys

MEMO... / statement	...I (2018)	...II (2019)	...III (2020)	...IV (2021)	...V (2022)	Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember] (2025)
Jews have too much influence in Germany	5.7%	5.6%	2.4%	-	3.2%	12.3%
I doubt that every-thing said about the extent of the persecution of Jews is true.	14.3%	-	15.7%	23.0%	19.3%	10.4%

The following section breaks down antisemitism approval ratings by various socio-demographic and other indicators. For clarity, we have grouped the individual statements on primary and secondary antisemitism. The scale values for "primary" and "secondary antisemitism" are based on the average responses to the respective statements.

Mean values of primary antisemitism across different groups

The overall mean value for primary antisemitism in the present study was *M* = 2.05 (*SD* = 1.01). Respondents across all age groups showed similar mean values for primary antisemitism (*r* = .005). On average, male respondents (*M* = 2.18, *SD* = 1.09) showed higher agreement with antisemitic statements than female respondents (*M* = 1.95, *SD* = 0.93).[38] Specifically, 16.3% of men tended to agree or strongly agreed with the statement "Jews have too much influence in Germany", compared with only 9.1% of women.

Primary antisemitism was also linked to respondents' level of formal education. The higher the level of education, the lower the average agreement with statements reflecting primary antisemitism.

Respondents who grew up predominantly in western Germany agreed with primarily antisemitic statements slightly less often, but statistically significantly less (*M* = 2.00, *SD* = 1.01), than those who grew up in eastern Germany (*M* = 2.18, *SD* = 1.01)[39].

Individuals with a family history of migration were slightly, but statistically significantly, more likely to agree with primary antisemitic statements (*M* = 2.20, *SD* = 1.11) than other respondents (*M* = 2.03, *SD* = 1.00).[40]

The more intensively participants had engaged with the NS era, the less they agreed with primary antisemitic statements (*r* = -.142). This was especially true for those who reported having engaged intensively "with the systematic murder of various groups of victims by the National Socialists" (*r* = -.198). In other words, among respondents who had engaged somewhat or very intensively with the victim groups of National Socialism, around one fifth (20.8%) agreed with the statement "Jews have too much influence in Germany". In contrast, nearly a third (32.4%) of those who had engaged little or not at all with the groups of victims agreed with the statement.

Respondents who had visited a memorial site or place of remembrance at least once agreed with statements of primary antisemitism slightly, but statistically significantly, less often on average (*M* = 1.99, *SD* = 1.00) than those who had never visited one (*M* = 2.21, *SD* = 1.04).[41]

Significant differences in mean values were found based on party preferences. Supporters of the Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen party agreed with primary antisemitic statements the least on average, supporters of the AfD the most. The figure on page 47 provides an overview of average agreement with primary and secondary antisemitism by party political orientation.

Overall, while there are generally slight – sometimes statistically significant – differences between groups, agreement or lack of disagreement with antisemitic statements was found across all groups. Hostile attitudes toward Jews thus appear to be shared by broad segments of the German population.

38 $t(2{,}670.803) = 6.15$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.23$.

39 $t(2{,}914) = -4.20$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = -0.18$

40 $t(502.55) = 2.94$, $p = .009$, Cohen's $d = 0.17$.

41 $t(2{,}470.07) = 5.31$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.22$.

Mean values of secondary antisemitism across different groups

The overall mean value for secondary antisemitism in the present study was *M* = 2.45 (*SD* = 1.03). The patterns of results for secondary antisemitism largely mirror those for primary antisemitism, though there are some differences. As with primary antisemitism, agreement with statements of secondary antisemitism was statistically significantly higher among male respondents than (*M* = 2.54, *SD* = 1.08) among female respondents (*M* = 2.37, *SD* = 0.97).[42]

Agreement with secondary antisemitic statements was also linked to the level of formal education. The higher the reported level of education, the lower the level of agreement (see figure on page 46).

Unlike with primary antisemitism, there was no statistically significant difference in agreement with secondary antisemitic statements between respondents from western (*M* = 2.43, *SD* = 1.03) and eastern Germany (*M* = 2.49, *SD* = 1.02). The extent of Holocaust trivialization and agreement with the claim that Jews are trying to exploit the Holocaust was similar in both parts of the country, while primary antisemitic prejudices are somewhat more widespread in eastern Germany.

As with primary antisemitism, individuals with a family history of migration were slightly, but statistically significantly, more likely to agree with secondary antisemitic statements (*M* = 2.59, *SD* = 1.06) than other respondents (*M* = 2.43, *SD* = 1.02).[43] For example, 32.3% of participants with a family history of migration somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that Jews today exploit the memory of the Holocaust to their advantage. Among the other respondents, however, the figure was only about 25%.

Like primary antisemitism, secondary antisemitism correlated negatively with the self-reported intensity of personal critical examination of National Socialism (*r* = -.170) – especially with how intensively individuals critically examined the murder of specific groups of victims by the National Socialists (*r* = -.233).[44] The more intense this critical examination, the lower the agreement with secondary antisemitic statements.

Visiting memorial sites was also associated with lower agreement with secondary antisemitic statements. People who reported having visited at least one memorial or remembrance site were statistically more likely to reject such statements (*M* = 2.34, *SD* = 1.01) than those who said they had never visited one (*M* = 2.63, *SD* = 1.05).[45]

Party preference was closely linked to significant differences in agreement with secondary antisemitic statements. These differences follow the same pattern as with primary antisemitism: supporters of Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen showed the lowest agreement with secondary antisemitic statements (*M* = 1.80, *SD* = 0.82), while AfD supporters showed the highest (*M* = 3.12, *SD* = 1.05).

42 $t(2{,}752.01) = 4.51$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.17$.

43 $t(2{,}998) = 2.93$, $p = .003$, Cohen's $d = 0.16$.

44 Both correlation coefficients were statistically significant at the $p < .001$ level.

45 $t(2{,}998) = 5.99$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.24$.

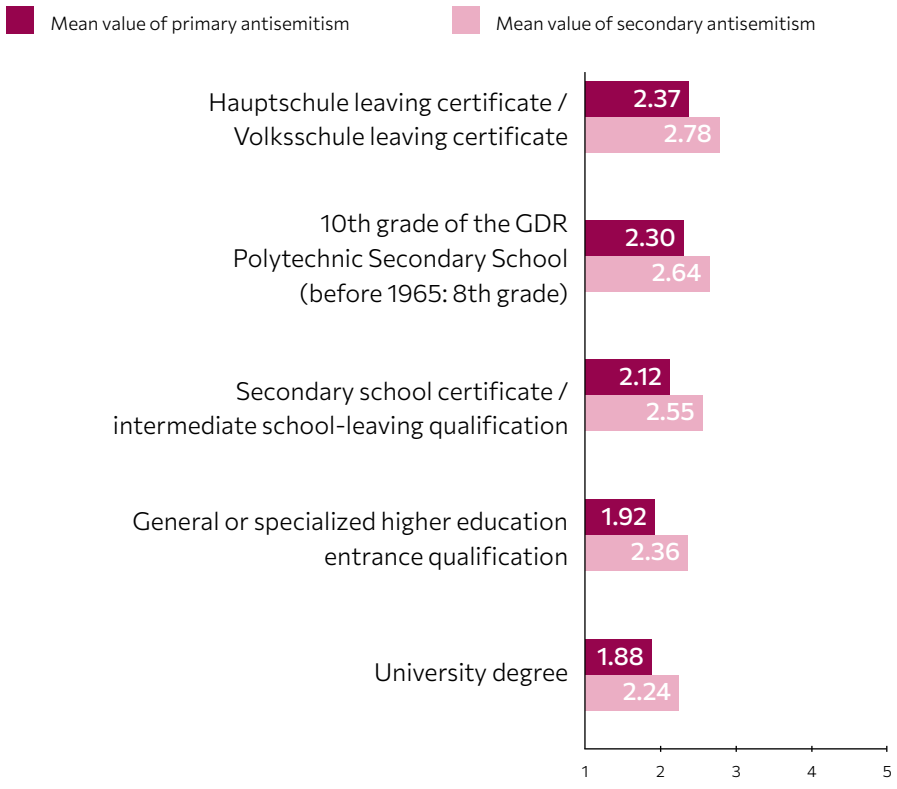
Education remains the most effective tool against antisemitism. We need to invest more in education while also strengthening the so-called middle of society. The higher approval ratings for antisemitic statements among people with a family history of migration are a well-known issue, but antisemitism is not confined to any one group – it exists across all social groups. The solution, then, is to strengthen education – not to resort to racist attitudes.

Derviş Hızarcı / Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Kreuzberg Initiative Against Antisemitism

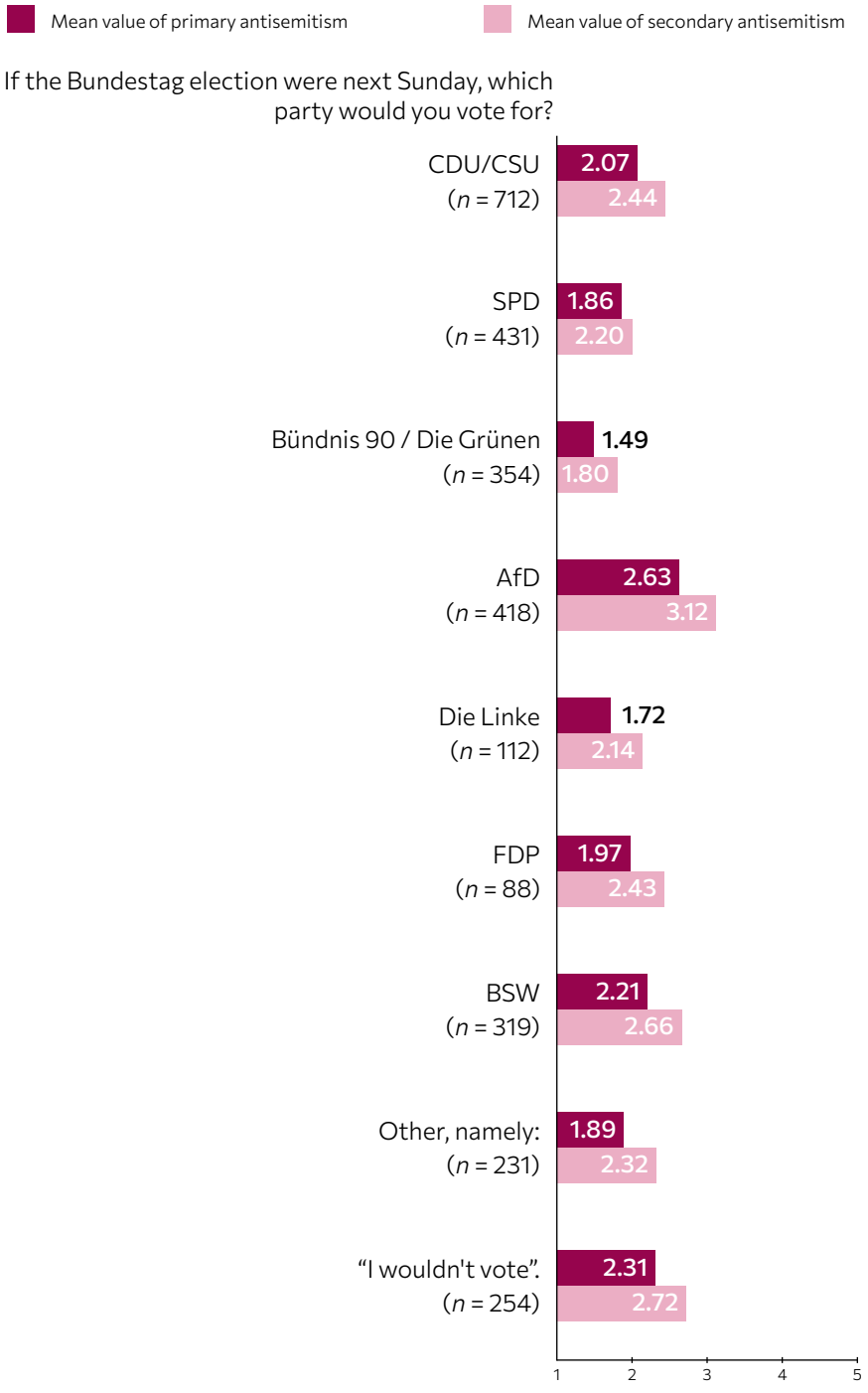
As with primary antisemitism, the range of approval ratings for secondary antisemitism within the groups listed here was greater than the differences between them. Trivializing or downplaying the Holocaust was therefore not limited to specific subgroups of society. Rather, agreement with such statements were widespread across various social groups. These trends suggest a certain level of acceptance, or at least tolerance, of antisemitic views in broader society.

The following figure summarizes the mean approval ratings for primary and secondary antisemitism by level of formal education.

Average agreement with primary and secondary antisemitism, by respondents' level of formal education



Average agreement with primary and secondary antisemitism, by respondents' stated party preference



Israel-related antisemitism

Not every criticism of Israel or its government is antisemitic in itself. However, when antisemitic prejudices or Holocaust-trivializing attitudes are directed at Israel, such as equating its actions with NS crimes or questioning its right to exist, this is considered Israel-related antisemitism.[46] The following section evaluates approval ratings for statements that downplay NS crimes or deny Israel's right to exist, and can therefore be classified as Israel-related antisemitism.[47]

More than a quarter (29.5%) of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement, "What the state of Israel is doing to the Palestinians is in principle no different from what the National Socialists did to the Jews in the Third Reich". Over a third (38.5%) somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that Israel is waging a "war of extermination" against the Palestinians. 8.2% of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that Israel has no right to exist in the Middle East, while around a quarter (22.6%) selected "partly disagree/partly agree".

What the state of Israel is doing to the Palestinians is in principle no different from what the National Socialists did to the Jews in the Third Reich.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
16.7%	18.8%	36.9%	16.9%	10.6%

Israel is waging a war of extermination against the Palestinians.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
12.4%	13.0%	35.8%	23.4%	15.1%

Israel has no right to exist in the Middle East.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
44.3%	24.5%	22.6%	4.4%	3.8%

46 Heyder, A., Iser, J. & Schmidt, P. (2005). Israelkritik oder Antisemitismus? Meinungsbildung zwischen Öffentlichkeit, Medien und Tabus (pp. 144-165). In: Deutsche Zustände. Part 3. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp. For an overview, see Rensmann, L. (2021). Israelbezogener Antisemitismus. Formen, Geschichte, empirische Befunde. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. Retrieved on March 13, 2025 from: https://www.bpb.de/themen/antisemitismus/dossier-antisemitismus/326790/israelbezogener-antisemitismus/.

47 The statements "What the state of Israel is doing to the Palestinians is in principle no different from what the National Socialists did to the Jews in the Third Reich" and "Israel is waging a war of extermination against the Palestinians" were also used in social science surveys several years before October 7, 2023.

A sense of responsibility toward Jews

When it comes to remembering the crimes of the National Socialists, it's often said that people in Germany feel a personal responsibility toward Jews living there. Germany's relationship with the state of Israel today is also a frequent topic of discussion.

44.4% of respondents said they see it as their personal responsibility to "stand in solidarity with the Jews living in Germany". Around a quarter (23.3%) somewhat or strongly disagreed, while a third (32.1%) selected "partly disagree/partly agree".

Around a quarter (24.7%) disagreed with the statement that Jews need a place in the world where they can live safely more than other groups. In contrast, 40.5% agreed with the statement.

Over a third of respondents (39.8%) rejected the statement that Germany has a special obligation toward Israel. 28.5% of respondents agreed with this statement.

I consider it my responsibility to stand in solidarity with the Jews living in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
12.1%	11.2%	32.1%	26.8%	17.6%

Jews need a place in the world where they can live safely more than other groups.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
10.7%	14.0%	34.7%	24.9%	15.6%

Germany has a special obligation toward Israel.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
20.0%	19.8%	31.5%	18.0%	10.5%

Compared with previous MEMO studies, the present survey shows a clear increase in primary antisemitic attitudes. Approval of primary and secondary antisemitism was found across various social groups and could not be attributed to specific subgroups. Depending on the statement, around 30 to 40 percent of respondents agreed with statements downplaying the Holocaust in relation to Israel. On the other hand, about 40 percent felt it was their personal responsibility to show solidarity with Jews living in Germany. A similar number of respondents believed that Jews needed a place in the world where they could live safely more than other groups.

Attitudes and perceptions toward the social memory of National Socialist crimes

What is remembered and how it is remembered in Germany is often a topic of political and public debate. The following statements reflect the respondents' opinions and perceptions on these aspects.

They were first asked if it was personally important to them to remember the crimes of the NS era. Here, 42.8% somewhat strongly or strongly agreed. Only about a quarter (24.6%) agreed that more should be done in Germany to remember the crimes of National Socialism. Even fewer supported the call for more taxpayers' money to be spent on remembering NS crimes. Only 11.6% somewhat or strongly agreed, while more than half (60.4%) somewhat or strongly disagreed with this statement.

It's important to me to keep the memory of the crimes committed under National Socialism alive in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
11.9%	11.8%	33.3%	25.9%	16.9%

More needs to be done in Germany to remember the crimes of National Socialism.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
17.2%	21.5%	36.4%	16.6%	8.0%

More taxpayers' money should be spent on commemorating the crimes of National Socialism in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
33.4%	27.0%	28.0%	8.3%	3.3%

Around one in five respondents (18.2%) somewhat or strongly agreed that remembering the crimes of National Socialism in Germany consists only of meaningless rituals. A total of 41.2% somewhat or strongly disagreed with the statement.

Social remembrance of the crimes of National Socialism in Germany consists only of meaningless rituals.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
14.7%	26.5%	40.4%	13.4%	4.8%

14.9% of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that not everything said about Germany's past can be believed. A total of 52% somewhat or strongly disagreed with this statement. Agreement with this statement varied slightly by age group: around 17.5% of younger respondents aged 18 to 30 somewhat or strongly agreed, compared with just 12.4% of those aged 60 and over.

Not everything said about Germany's past can be believed.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
25.3%	26.7%	32.8%	9.8%	5.1%

In debates about how the NS era is remembered, there is often talk of resistance to National Socialism. Respondents were asked whether Germany should place greater emphasis on commemorating the resistance to National Socialism. 42.1% somewhat or strongly agreed, while only about a fifth (19.3%) disagreed.

Greater emphasis should be placed on commemorating the resistance to National Socialism in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
8.1%	11.2%	38.2%	28.7%	13.4%

A little over a fifth of participants (20.4%) felt it was unnecessary to critically examine the history of National Socialism today. However, more than half (54.6%) rejected the statement.

I don't see why I should still have to critically examine the history of National Socialism today.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
30.7%	23.9%	24.8%	10.6%	9.8%

Almost half (44.8%) of all participants said they were annoyed that Germans are still reproached today for the crimes committed against the Jews, while less than a third (28.2%) disagreed with the statement. Approval ratings in this survey were therefore significantly higher than in the earlier MEMO studies I (2018) and II (2019), which also included this statement.

I'm annoyed that Germans are still being reproached for the crimes committed against the Jews.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
MEMO I (2018)	23.2%	15.2%	24.7%	18.9%	16.9%
MEMO II (2019)	22.4%	17.7%	24.5%	15.4%	18.5%
Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember] (2025)	14.4%	13.8%	26.8%	21.7%	23.1%

Almost half of respondents felt it was important to keep the memory of NS crimes alive, while about a quarter believed more should be done to commemorate them. However, only about one in ten supported spending more taxpayers' money on it. Just under half believed more should be done to commemorate the resistance to the National Socialists. A little over a fifth said they didn't understand why the history of National Socialism still needs to be critically examined today.

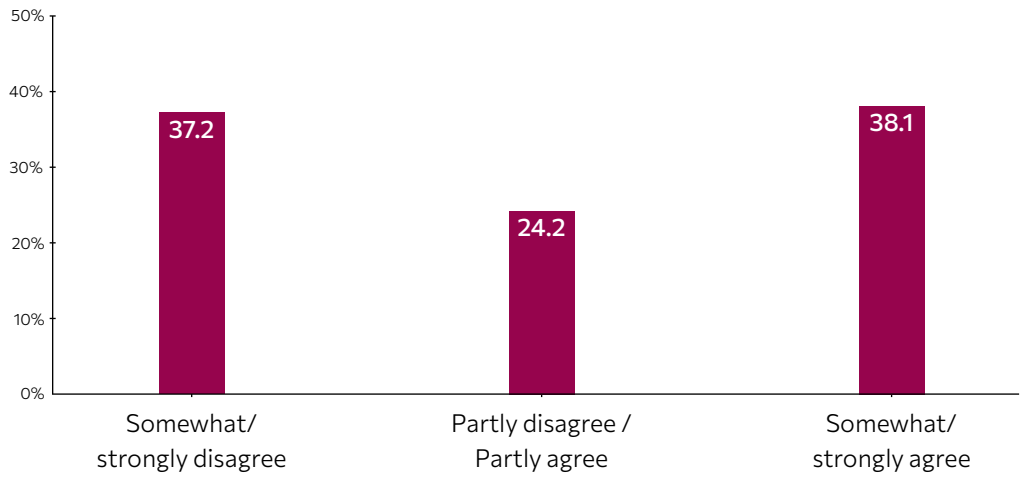
Demands for historical closure

When public debates call for shifting away from the current focus on the National Socialist era in remembrance policy, they often mention a "Schlussstrich" [demand for historical closure under the National Socialst era]. Survey participants were therefore presented with the statement: "It is time for a 'Schlussstrich' under the National Socialst era". The share of respondents who agreed with the statement was roughly equal to the share who disagreed.

It is time for a "Schlussstrich" under the National Socialist era.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
20.4%	16.8%	24.2%	18.1%	20.0%

It is time for a "Schlussstrich" under the National Socialist era.



The statement was also used in a similar form ("a 'Schlussstrich' under the National Socialist German past") in earlier MEMO studies. Because the wording has changed slightly, comparisons are limited but can still indicate trends. Notably, for the first time since the MEMO study series began, a majority of respondents agreed with the call for a "Schlussstrich".

It is time for a "Schlussstrich" under the National Socialist German past.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
MEMO I (2018)	36.8%	16.5%	19.9%	11.4%	14.1%
MEMO II (2019)	30.1%	20.4%	16.0%	12.2%	20.4%
MEMO III (2020)	27.4%	24.3%	20.7%	15.8%	11.3%
MEMO V (2022)	36.4%	19.3%	18.5%	12.7%	12.9%

***Please note:* MEMO IV (2021) and the MEMO Youth Study (2023) did not include a question about a "Schlussstrich" with the NS past.**

To better understand what participants meant by the call for a "Schlussstrich," they were given additional statements on the topic. This included the statement: "We should focus on current problems rather than on events that happened more than 70 years ago". At 43.6%, the statement received clear approval, while only 22.1% of respondents disagreed.

The similar statement "I think it's okay if future generations no longer critically examine the era of National Socialism" was also included in the MEMO IV survey (2021), where 15.9% of respondents agreed with it at the time. In the current Call to Remember survey, however, the figure was notably higher at 20.7%. However, compared with the MEMO IV survey, responses shifted toward the middle: while nearly three quarters had somewhat or strongly opposed the statement in MEMO IV, only just under half (51.6%) did so in the current Call to Remember survey. There was thus a slight increase in agreement and a marked decrease in disagreement with the statement.

We should focus on current problems rather than on events that happened more than 70 years ago.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
9.6%	12.5%	30.2%	20.2%	23.4%

I think it's okay if future generations no longer critically examine the era of National Socialism.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
MEMO IV (2021)	52.2%	20.0%	11.7%	7.7%	8.2%
Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember] (2025)	28.8%	22.8%	23.5%	11.1%	9.6%

The call for a "Schlussstrich" received significantly greater support. For the first time since the MEMO study series began, a majority of respondents agreed. More than in any previous survey, the participants also found it "okay if future generations no longer critically examined the era of National Socialism".

We must firmly oppose all efforts to draw a "Schlussstrich" with this issue. Every policy must be judged by whether it avoids anything that could lead to new crimes against humanity.

Dr. Ralf Possekel / Head of funding at the Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ)

Conceptual perspectives on history

In the context of National Socialism, people often speak of learning from the past for the sake of the future. Participants were asked, in general terms, about their attitude toward history. A solid three quarters (75.5%) believed we can learn from history for the future, while only 4.3% somewhat or strongly disagreed. Around a third (34.4%) believed that history always repeats itself. A total of 30.3% of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that history is written by the winners, 29.4% disagreed, and 40% chose the neutral middle category of "partly disagree/partly agree".

We can learn from history for the future.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1.7%	2.6%	20.0%	34.6%	40.9%

History always repeats itself.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
7.0%	13.3%	44.6%	24.8%	9.6%

History is written by the winners.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
11.4%	18.0%	40.0%	18.4%	11.9%

The study's findings raise the question of whether perceptions of the past and attitudes toward current issues have become increasingly detached from one another. While many respondents believe it's important to critically examine NS injustice, right-wing populist and antisemitic attitudes continue to grow. Our biggest challenge now is to make "learning from history" more concrete and accessible – through local, low-threshold, and engaging approaches that clearly show the past matters to all of us here and now.

Dr. Veronika Hager / Scientific advisor to the board of the Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ)

A solid three quarters of respondents believed we can learn from history, and over a third agreed that history always repeats itself. Opinions were split on whether history is written by the winners.

Summary

Historical interest and critical examination of the NS era

Compared with earlier MEMO studies, a similar proportion of participants in the Gedenkanstoß [Call to remember]-MEMO study reported being interested in and engaged with the topic of history. However, only about 9.0%, roughly half as many as in previous surveys, said they had learned a great deal about the NS era at school. Participants in this study were most interested in the facts about the murder of various groups of victims under National Socialism and in NS ideology.

Knowledge of National Socialism and projects that confront the past

Only about a third (35.5%) of respondents could roughly explain the meaning of "euthanasia" in the context of the NS era. Estimates of the number of victims of the "euthanasia" murders, the number of Sinti and Roma killed by the National Socialists, and the number of forced laborers during the NS era all varied. Around three quarters of respondents were unable to give realistic estimates. A large majority of participants (85.0%) were unaware of any project dedicated to addressing NS crimes.

Context of previous critical examination of the NS era

62.1% of respondents could recall the specific reason for their first critical examination of the NS era. The majority (40.6%) said they first encountered National Socialism at school, followed by family stories or personal conversations with family members (8.0%). Just over 60% of respondents said they had critically examined National Socialism either voluntarily or out of personal interest. However, about one in five said they had felt inhibited – worrying, for example, about saying something wrong (20.9%) or doing something inappropriate (14.1%).

Past visits to memorial sites

According to their own accounts, around a quarter of participants had never visited a memorial or remembrance site for NS injustice, while 72.1% had done so at least once. The former Buchenwald concentration camp was most frequently mentioned as the first memorial site visited (28.5%), followed by Dachau (18.2%) and Bergen-Belsen (7.9%). More than half (54.2%) of first visits to a memorial site happened during school-related activities. More than half of respondents felt their visit was voluntary and self-determined, though this was least true for school-related visits. The earlier a first visit to a memorial site was experienced as voluntary, the more deeply it tended to affect respondents emotionally, expand their knowledge, or motivate further engagement with the NS past or current social issues.

Sense of self-efficacy and active critical examination of the NS era

Over a third of respondents agreed that they could personally do something to help remember the NS era. However, only about 7.9% were actually engaged in commemorating the NS era. Young people and students in particular said they could get involved in principle, but were not (yet) actively engaged. As potentially engaged individuals, they represent a relevant target group for historical-political education.

Historical continuity

A good fifth of respondents agreed that the prosperity of many families in Germany is still based on crimes committed during the NS era; however, fewer than 3% felt this applied to their own family. A quarter believed that the prosperity of many companies in Germany was built on crimes committed during the NS era. However, of those who said their employer had existed before or during the NS era, fewer than 10% believed this applied to their own company. Only a fifth of respondents said they knew much about the involvement of German companies in NS era crimes. 43.7% were able to name at least one company that still exists today and which they said had profited from the NS era.

Respondents' knowledge of the NS era in their own town

Over half of respondents said they knew little or nothing about the history of National Socialism in their own town. Residents of large cities, in particular, reported knowing comparatively more about it. More than half of the respondents could not name a location in their town they associated with the NS era. However, when respondents did mention such locations, they were mainly sites commemorating NS violence or memorials to its victims (e.g. "Stolpersteine" [stumbling stones], artworks).

Perceptions of threats to German society

From a list of various issues, participants saw far-right extremism and racism as the greatest threats to German society, with women perceiving a greater threat than men in nearly all areas. However, the sense of threat was also influenced by factors such as political party preference.

Perceptions of the AfD in the context of German history

Over half of respondents (58.3%) agreed that, in light of German history, they could not vote for the AfD. A similar proportion agreed that it was appropriate to describe the AfD as far-right extremist. Around a quarter (24.2%) viewed the AfD as a party like any other. As expected, AfD supporters were less critical across all relevant issues. Views on the AfD also correlated with how deeply respondents had critically examined the NS era: the more intensively they had done so, the more critical they were of the AfD in light of German history. People under 30 and over 60 viewed the AfD more negatively than the middle age groups.

Antisemitism and attitudes toward Israel

Around one in ten participants agreed with statements reflecting primary antisemitism, i.e., prejudiced attitudes toward Jews. A good quarter believed that Jews exploit Holocaust remembrance for their own personal gain – a view reflecting secondary antisemitism. The higher the respondents' level of formal education, the lower their average agreement with these statements. Respondents from western Germany, those without a family migration background and those who had studied the NS era intensively were less likely to agree with antisemitic statements, while AfD supporters were more likely to do so. Overall, approval of antisemitic statements was strikingly high across all population segments and social groups compared with previous surveys. Almost 30% of respondents were of the opinion that what the state of Israel is doing to the Palestinians is in principle no different from what the National Socialists did to the Jews in the Third Reich. Around 8.2% denied that Israel has the right to exist in the Middle East. Around 44.4% of respondents saw it as their personal responsibility to show solidarity with Jews in Germany, and a good 28.5% believed that Germany had a special obligation toward Israel.

Attitudes toward contemporary remembrance of National Socialism in Germany

More than 40% of respondents said it was important to them to keep the memory of NS crimes alive in Germany, while 23.7% said it was not. However, only 24.6% wanted more to be done in Germany to commemorate NS crimes, and just around one in ten (11.6%) supported increased taxpayer spending on remembrance. Over half (54.6%) expressed an understanding of the need to engage with the NS era today. However, one in five (20.7%) felt it would be acceptable if future generations no longer had to critically examine the NS era. 38.1% called for a "Schlussstrich" with the NS era, while a similar share (37.2%) rejected this – making them the minority for the first time since the MEMO study series began.

Appendix: Descriptive analysis of all questions

How interested would you say you are in history in general?

Not at all	Not much	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat strongly	Very strongly
3.8%	12.3%	36.7%	31.6%	15.7%

And how often do you engage with history in your free time, for example, with specific historical events?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
6.7%	19.5%	42.9%	24.5%	6.4%

How often was the NS era covered in class during your school years?

Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Very frequently
7.7%	22.3%	29.4%	29.9%	10.6%

And how much did you learn about the NS era at school?

Nothing at all	Not a lot	A moderate amount	Quite a lot	A lot
8.0%	23.2%	28.7%	31.1%	9.0%

How intensively have you engaged with the NS era in general?

Not at all	Not much	A moderate amount	Quite intensively	Very intensively
8.5%	18.2%	33.5%	29.8%	9.9%

And how intensively have you engaged with the following aspects of National Socialism so far?

Intensity of engagement with ...	Not at all	Not much	A moderate amount	Quite intensively	Very intensively
... the attitudes of the German population at the time	9.0%	16.0%	35.8%	30.4%	8.6%
... the civilian victims in Germany	9.1%	20.6%	35.5%	26.2%	8.0%
... the resistance against the National Socialists	9.3%	17.5%	35.8%	28.0%	9.1%
... the systematic murder of various groups of victims by the National Socialists	8.6%	12.1%	30.3%	35.5%	13.4%
... World War II	9.1%	21.0%	32.4%	26.2%	11.1%
... the National Socialist ideology	9.9%	15.3%	31.5%	31.5%	11.2%

How many people with physical, mental, or psychological disabilities do you think were murdered by the National Socialists in Europe?

Fewer than 10,000	Between 10,000 and 100,000	Between 100,000 and 1,000,000	Between 1,000,000 and 10,000,000	More than 10,000,000	No answer / "Don't know"
2.5%	7.5%	20.9%	16.2%	1.8%	51.2%

How many Sinti and Roma do you think were murdered by the National Socialists in Europe?

Fewer than 10,000	Between 10,000 and 100,000	Between 100,000 and 1,000,000	Between 1,000,000 and 10,000,000	No answer / "Don't know"
3.6%	11.2%	25.1%	6.9%	53.3%

And how many people do you estimate were subjected to forced labor during the entire period of National Socialism in the former "German Reich"?

Fewer than 10,000	Between 10,000 and 100,000	Between 100,000 and 1,000,000	Between 1,000,000 and 10,000,000	More than 10,000,000	No answer / "Don't know"
1.0%	2.2%	6.2%	22.6%	9.9%	58.2%

How often have you visited a memorial site commemorating NS injustice?				
Never	Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times
27.9%	27.9%	20.5%	8.0%	15.7%

Did you feel your visit to this memorial site was voluntary?				
Not at all voluntary	Rather not voluntary	Moderately voluntary	Somewhat voluntary	Very voluntary
6.2%	14.0%	18.4%	26.0%	35.4%

Did you feel your visit to this memorial site was self-determined?				
Not at all self-determined	Rather not self-determined	A moderate amount	Somewhat self-determined	Very self-determined
6.7%	16.6%	22.7%	26.6%	27.4%

To what extent did the visit to the memorial site affect you emotionally?				
Not at all	Not much	A moderate amount	Somewhat strongly	Very strongly
2.3%	4.2%	15.1%	33.1%	45.0%

To what extent did the memorial site visit motivate you to engage more intensively with the topic of National Socialism?				
Not at all	Not much	A moderate amount	Somewhat strongly	Very strongly
7.6%	16.5%	36.7%	27.4%	11.7%

To what extent did the memorial site visit motivate you to engage more intensively with current social issues?				
Not at all	Not much	A moderate amount	Somewhat strongly	Very strongly
8.1%	17.4%	36.4%	27.7%	10.2%

To what extent did the memorial site visit provide you with new factual knowledge?				
Not at all	Not much	A moderate amount	Somewhat strongly	Very strongly
3.8%	11.1%	30.5%	37.6%	16.9%

I can personally contribute to shaping the remembrance of NS injustice.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
9.3%	14.4%	38.4%	28.2%	9.7%

In Germany, remembering the NS era is prescribed.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
11.0%	15.9%	32.5%	26.0%	14.4%

How engaged would you say you are in remembering the NS era?				
Not at all	Not much	A moderate amount	Somewhat strongly	Very strongly
36.9%	32.7%	22.4%	6.5%	1.4%

Statements: "When I previously engaged with the NS era ..."					
	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
... it was my own decision.	5.6%	6.8%	27.0%	35.0%	25.1%
... it was because I had to.	23.2%	25.3%	32.3%	12.7%	5.8%
... I was genuinely interested in it.	6.0%	5.4%	25.5%	37.1%	25.5%
... I was pleased to do so.	8.7%	13.2%	40.6%	25.2%	11.8%
... I was afraid of saying something that wasn't allowed.	27.1%	27.9%	23.7%	15.7%	5.2%
... I avoided saying certain things for fear of personal consequences.	35.2%	26.3%	22.0%	11.9%	4.3%
... I was free to choose which topics I wanted to critically examine.	6.0%	7.9%	28.7%	35.6%	21.7%
... I was worried about making a mistake.	29.5%	30.7%	25.6%	11.2%	2.9%

The prosperity of many families is still based on crimes committed during the NS era.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
20.3%	21.1%	39.3%	14.4%	4.9%

The prosperity of my family is based on crimes committed during the NS era.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
79.4%	10.5%	7.1%	2.1%	0.7%

The prosperity of many companies is still based on crimes committed during the NS era.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
12.6%	17.9%	42.3%	20.3%	6.9%

The prosperity of my company is still based on crimes committed during the NS era. (Analysis was limited to those who stated that their company had existed before or during the NS era, *n* = 497).

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
51.5%	21.9%	18.3%	5.6%	2.4%

How would you rate your knowledge of German companies' involvement with National Socialism?

Very low	Rather low	Moderate	Somewhat high	Very high
14.9%	25.3%	39.1%	17.2%	3.6%

How much do you know about what happened in your place of residence during the NS era?

Nothing	Not a lot	A moderate amount	Quite a lot	A lot
24.9%	38.4%	23.5%	10.5%	2.7%

Are there any locations in your place of residence that you associate with the National Socialist era?

No location	One location	Two locations	Three to five locations	More than five locations
54.8%	22.2%	11.9%	7.1%	3.8%

Is this location personally important to you?				
Not at all important	Not very important	A moderate amount	Somewhat important	Very important
11.1%	23.6%	30.0%	24.7%	10.6%

How strongly does this location affect you emotionally?				
Not at all	Not much	Moderately	Strongly	Very strongly
9.4%	18.5%	32.8%	27.4%	11.8%

How often do you visit this location?				
Daily	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year	Less than once a year
4.7%	8.2%	14.8%	25.0%	47.3%

How great is the threat to German society from the following phenomena?					
	Very low	Somewhat low	Moderate	Somewhat high	Very high
Far-right extremism	5.9%	9.4%	20.8%	30.7%	33.1%
Racism	4.8%	9.6%	26.1%	35.6%	23.7%
Antisemitism	5.3%	10.4%	30.5%	33.1%	20.3%
Political correctness	8.6%	18.3%	41.7%	20.9%	10.2%
Discrimination against people based on their sexual orientation	8.6%	22.2%	35.2%	23.8%	10.2%
National pride	12.5%	21.6%	36.0%	20.5%	9.1%
Discrimination against Sinti and Roma people	11.8%	23.3%	35.1%	21.8%	7.6%
Exclusion of people with physical or mental disabilities	12.0%	26.5%	34.5%	19.6%	7.2%

In light of German history, you cannot vote for a party like the AfD.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
16.3%	9.3%	15.8%	13.7%	44.5%

I believe the AfD is just as threatening to society today as the NSDAP was back then.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
17.8%	12.9%	19.0%	20.2%	29.9%

The social conditions that enabled the NSDAP's success back then are similar to those driving the AfD's success today.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
17.1%	16.0%	27.8%	23.0%	16.2%

I don't mind that parts of the AfD are considered far-right, as long as they address the right issues.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
43.8%	15.3%	19.3%	11.0%	10.4%

The AfD is just like any other party.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
41.0	17.6%	17.6%	11.9%	11.7%

I think it's correct to describe the AfD as far-right extremist.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
15.1%	9.7%	17.4%	16.6%	41.1%

Jews have too much influence in Germany

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
36.2%	29.6%	21.7%	7.7%	4.6%

Jews use more underhanded tactics than others to achieve their goals.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
45.0%	25.4%	21.1%	5.3%	3.0%

I doubt that everything said about the extent of the persecution of Jews is true.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
45.9%	21.4%	22.0%	6.7%	3.7%

Jews are exploiting the memory of the Holocaust for their own benefit today.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
22.4%	21.3%	30.2%	15.0%	10.9%

Many Jews are trying to gain advantage from the past of the Third Reich.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
23.4%	23.3%	29.6%	14.5%	9.1%

What the state of Israel is doing to the Palestinians is in principle no different from what the National Socialists did to the Jews in the Third Reich.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
16.7%	18.8%	36.9%	16.9%	10.6%

Israel is waging a war of extermination against the Palestinians.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
12.4%	13.0%	35.8%	23.4%	15.1%

Jews need a place in the world where they can live safely more than other groups.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
10.7%	14.0%	34.7%	24.9%	15.6%

Israel has no right to exist in the Middle East.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
44.3%	24.5%	22.6%	4.4%	3.8%

Germany has a special obligation toward Israel.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
20.0%	19.8%	31.5%	18.0%	10.5%

I consider it my responsibility to stand in solidarity with the Jews living in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
12.1%	11.2%	32.1%	26.8%	17.6%

It's important to me to keep the memory of the crimes committed under National Socialism alive in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
11.9%	11.8%	33.3%	25.9%	16.9%

More needs to be done in Germany to remember the crimes of National Socialism.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
17.2%	21.5%	36.4%	16.6%	8.0%

More taxpayers' money should be spent on commemorating the crimes of National Socialism in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
33.4%	27.0%	28.0%	8.3%	3.3%

Social remembrance of the crimes of National Socialism in Germany consists only of meaningless rituals.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
14.7%	26.5%	40.4%	13.4%	4.8%

Not everything said about Germany's past can be believed.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
25.3%	26.7%	32.8%	9.8%	5.1%

Greater emphasis should be placed on commemorating the resistance to National Socialism in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
8.1%	11.2%	38.2%	28.7%	13.4%

I don't see why I should still have to critically examine the history of National Socialism today.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
30.7%	23.9%	24.8%	10.6%	9.8%

I'm annoyed that Germans are still being reproached for the crimes committed against the Jews.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
14.4%	13.8%	26.8%	21.7%	23.1%

It is time for a "Schlussstrich" under the National Socialst era.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
20.4%	16.8%	24.2%	18.1%	20.0%

We should focus on current problems rather than on events that happened more than 70 years ago.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
9.6%	12.5%	30.2%	20.2%	23.4%

I think it's okay if future generations no longer critically examine the era of National Socialism.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
28.8%	22.8%	23.5%	11.1%	9.6%

We can learn from history for the future.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1.7%	2.6%	20.0%	34.6%	40.9%

History always repeats itself.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
7.0%	13.3%	44.6%	24.8%	9.6%

History is written by the winners.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
11.4%	18.0%	40.0%	18.4%	11.9%

The following questions and statements were also presented to participants in this survey but were not included in the study report.

Most people in Germany remember National Socialism.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
6.7%	22.1%	43.9%	19.6%	3.5%

German society keeps the memory of National Socialism alive.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
3.4%	7.0%	46.2%	30.9%	8.3%

Society does not care about actively remembering the National Socialist era.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
8.3%	23.7%	47.5%	16.4%	3.7%

People in Germany keep the memory of National Socialism alive.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
4.4%	11.0%	51.0%	27.8%	5.5%

Regional and local aspects should play a larger role in the remembrance of National Socialism.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
10.1%	13.6%	48.1%	21.3%	6.6%

Remembrance of the crimes of National Socialism should take place more often at the original sites of historical events.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
8.5%	10.8%	46.5%	26.6%	7.2%

Even though I didn't do anything wrong myself, I feel guilty about the Holocaust.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
47.2%	21.6%	16.4%	7.5%	2.9%

I feel guilty for what Germans did during World War II.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
45.2%	19.9%	17.9%	8.4%	4.3%

When I think about how Germany is viewed abroad today because of the Holocaust, I feel ashamed.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
22.5%	21.0%	29.6%	16.1%	6.5%

I feel ashamed when I think that other countries might view Germany negatively because of World War II.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
22.8%	21.8%	28.3%	16.9%	5.9%

I am ashamed because what Germans did during the Holocaust was so immoral.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
22.2%	15.1%	24.3%	19.5%	14.4%

The immoral actions of Germans during World War II fill me with shame.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
18.4%	14.5%	25.6%	22.5%	14.6%

When I think about Germany, I think about its past.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
11.7%	21.9%	43.7%	16.4%	6.0%

When I think about Germany, I think about its present.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1.5%	2.2%	24.5%	40.7%	30.9%

When I think about Germany, I think about its future

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1.6%	3.9%	25.8%	41.8%	26.8%

Compared with the past, people like me enjoy less prestige today than we deserve.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
18.7%	27.2%	35.2%	13.9%	4.8%

It makes me angry that people like me are treated worse by politicians today than in the past.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
18.4%	22.2%	30.0%	18.1%	11.2%

I feel nostalgic when I think about the economic advantages that people like me used to enjoy.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
26.6%	25.5%	31.7%	11.1%	4.9%

I can understand and evaluate important political issues well.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
2.4%	7.2%	35.8%	38.4%	16.0%

I believe I am capable of actively participating in discussions about political issues.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
6.5%	12.6%	30.4%	32.5%	17.8%

Outsiders and freeloaders should be dealt with harshly in society.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
12.5%	16.7%	34.8%	20.9%	15.0%

We need strong leaders to ensure safety in society.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
9.4%	11.2%	35.1%	29.3%	14.8%

Established behaviors should not be questioned.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
10.4%	19.8%	40.4%	21.0%	8.2%

Troublemakers should be made to feel unwelcome in society.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
5.0%	7.5%	25.8%	29.6%	28.1%

Social rules should be enforced without leniency.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
10.8%	17.0%	39.3%	20.4%	8.5%

Important decisions in society should be left to leaders.				
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
16.3%	24.1%	41.3%	11.3%	3.1%

We should be grateful for leaders who tell us exactly what we can do.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
18.5%	24.9%	40.1%	9.8%	2.5%

Traditions should be preserved and upheld at all costs.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
3.7%	7.2%	35.1%	31.1%	18.7%

It's always best to do things the usual way.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
9.9%	23.9%	45.1%	13.0%	4.0%

Being German is an important part of my identity.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
9.4%	11.4%	28.3%	29.0%	21.8%

I identify with other Germans.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
5.9%	10.5%	40.9%	30.2%	12.1%

I am proud to be German.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
10.2%	11.4%	33.6%	25.6%	19.1%

We should be able to be proud of being German again.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Partly disagree / Partly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
8.1%	8.1%	29.4%	29.3%	24.9%

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