

MEMO

Multidimensional
Remembrance
Monitor

STUDY II | 2019



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THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL REMEMBRANCE MONITOR

The Multidimensional Remembrance Monitor (“MEMO”) regularly monitors the state of Germany’s culture of remembrance and its developments, using representative surveys. It examines the historical memories amongst the population, the attitudes towards historical remembrance and factors that can shape or distort such remembrance. MEMO is thus designed to help empirically document the culture of remembrance in Germany.

The survey, addressing representative samples of German citizens, aims to find out for example what events people in Germany consider historically significant, what attitudes the respondents themselves report having about the culture of remembrance in Germany, whether and how these attitudes are changing, what role is being played by the different ways of critically examining history, and the consequences that such examination will give rise to.

By asking these and similar questions, the MEMO studies make an empirical contribution to the discussions on the culture of remembrance in Germany which have an extraordinary influence on the country and on society. In the recurring debates about the status of “the German culture of remembrance”, there has been a lack of systematic, representative studies on the topic. MEMO contributes to closing this gap, making it possible to conduct such debates on the basis of empirical data. The focus of the study is on remembering the persecution, displacement and annihilation of people and groups of people during the time of National Socialism. To what extent do the memories of the Shoah – the Holocaust – and National Socialism still impact the society today? How does remembering the NS time relate to other memories and attitudes? What memories and ways of dealing critically with the time of National Socialism are desired? Which ones are possibly being avoided or repressed?

In a working session in August 2017, experts from the field jointly developed a definition for the concept of a culture of remembrance. This concept, forming the basis of MEMO, is defined by the key dimensions of what is remembered (such as specific events, content of family narratives) and how it is remembered (for example, different ways and places of remembrance and critical examination). A third dimension is the question of why one remembers or what consequences follow for the present from the critical examination of German history.

MEMO I was conducted as a representative telephone survey from December 2017 to February 2018. The results were made available online for the general public in the form of a report (accessible at the Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future” website).

The present study, MEMO II, was conducted in November and December 2018 after critical reflection on the results with experts from the fields of science and practice of the culture of remembrance. The study is now enabling us to trace developments in Germany. In addition, MEMO II deepens the topics that were only touched on in the first survey. In particular, the perception of and ways of critically examining the time of National Socialism in Germany were enquired about in more detail, whereas the focus of the first survey was on the time of World War II. This adaptation of the subject matter is noteworthy, as the sometimes minor changes of questions can result in a change in the focus of the questions and, therefore, the answers. Where necessary, we will discuss the possibility or impossibility of comparing the first and second survey and their results in more detail.

The present report provides an overview of the design of MEMO II, summarises key findings from MEMO I and MEMO II and documents a framework for interpreting them on the basis of differentiated analyses. In addition, the report includes the complete questionnaire used and the complete descriptive analysis of the data.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

On behalf of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence (IKG) at Bielefeld University, the survey institute Ipsos conducted a telephone survey (CATI) between November and December 2018 involving 1,000 randomly and representatively selected respondents from all German federal states. In the standardised telephone survey, respondents answered questions both in open format without specified answer options (e.g. “We would like to know what event from German history you think future generations in Germany should remember most likely”) and in closed formats, where statements were given and respondents could indicate the degree of their agreement or disagreement on rating scales (such as “Being part of Germany means knowing about the history of National Socialism” – “strongly disagree, disagree, neither nor, agree, strongly agree”). Participation in the survey was voluntary and anonymous. There was always an option not to answer a question (“I don’t know” or “No comment”). MEMO is designed in such a way that the survey can be repeated as a whole or in excerpts and thus be expanded into a long-term observation.

The following presentation of the data includes calculations of percentages and mean values. The fact that the answer values for one question do not always add up to 100 per cent is due to some respondents’ “I don’t know” answers or lack of answers. Furthermore, since for some questions more than one answer was possible, response values can add up to more than 100 per cent. The report also includes information on the statistical significance of both reported correlations and mean differences.

Mean values (M) describe the calculated arithmetic mean, i.e. the average of all answers in the survey. Some mean values are differentiated for different age groups (e.g. M_{31-45}) or for groups that answered questions the same way (e.g., $M_{\text{National Socialism v. Reunification}}$).

Correlations (r) describe the strength of a statistical relationship between two variables. They do not enable us to draw conclusions as to the causal direction of this relationship. Correlations or differences can be assumed as “statistically significant” when they are highly unlikely to be random, but systematic. Statistically, significant correlations and differences are identified as such in the report. Low correlation coefficients ($r < .30$) are to be interpreted as tendencies.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE SURVEY SAMPLE

The total of 1,000 respondents, between the ages of 17 and 93 ($M = 50.2$, $SD = 18.8$ years), are a representative sample for Germany with an approximately even gender distribution (51.1% female). The distribution amongst all German federal states is shown below; in analyses at the federal state level, the sometimes low absolute number of cases (minimum of eight respondents in Bremen, maximum of 217 respondents in North Rhine-Westphalia) must be considered. With regard to their age, respondents can be divided into five groups and into four groups in terms of their highest level of formal educational attained. Of all respondents, 19.9% stated that they have a migrant background. Other demographic indicators (information on occupational activity, marital status, net income, religious affiliation) have not yet been included in the analyses reported below.

Distribution of respondents by federal state, in per cent

	%
Baden-Württemberg	13.1
Bavaria	15.6
Berlin	4.3
Brandenburg	3.1
Bremen	0.8
Hamburg	2.2
Hesse	7.4
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	2.0
Lower Saxony	9.6
North Rhine-Westphalia	21.7
Rhineland-Palatinate	5.0
Saarland	1.2
Saxony	5.1
Saxony-Anhalt	2.8
Schleswig-Holstein	3.4
Thuringia	2.7

Distribution of the five age categories, in per cent

Age group	%
16–30 years old	19.1
31–45 years old	17.9
46–60 years old	31.6
61–75 years old	21.7
76 years and older	9.7

Distribution of the four education categories, in per cent

Cat.	Includes	%	% Cat.
1	No High School Diploma	0.4	20.8
	High School Diploma ("Volksschulabschluss")	20.4	
2	Completed 10 th Grade of Vocational School (before 1965: 8 th Grade) ("10. Klasse der polytechnischen Oberstufe")	5.0	48.8
	High School Diploma ("Realschulabschluss", "mittlere Reife")	43.8	
3	Secondary School ("Allgemeine oder fachgebundene Hochschulreife/Abitur")	13.4	13.4
4	Completed degree at a university or technical college	17.0	17.0

PRESENTATION OF KEY FINDINGS

4.1. INTEREST IN GERMAN HISTORY AND EVENTS WORTH REMEMBERING

Overall, respondents reported a rather high level of interest in German history: 52.3% said they were “interested” or “strongly interested” in German history, 33.2% report some interest (“somewhat interested”). Around 60% of respondents felt that German history concerned them personally “rather much” or “very much”.

Would you say that you are interested in German history?				
Not interested at all	Rather not interested	Somewhat interested	Interested	Strongly interested
3.9 %	10.5 %	33.2 %	32.2 %	20.1 %

And to what extent do you feel German history concerns you personally?				
Not at all	Rather little	Somewhat	Rather much	Very much
2.4 %	14.2 %	24.8 %	28.8 %	29.7 %

What should be remembered?

To the open question “We would like to know what event from German history you think future generations in Germany should remember most likely”, 42.7% of all respondents answered with events from the context of National Socialism, 35.4% answered with events from the context of the German reunification. The respondents’ open answers were subsequently sorted (coded) into categories, with explicit answers (such as “World War II”) being assigned to the superordinate category just as keywords (such as “National Socialism”, “persecution of the Jews”) or more specific events (“seizure of power”, “end of World War II”, etc.). If the answers from the “context of National Socialism” are further differentiated, 28.8% of the respondents explicitly answered with a reference to “World War II” while 12.7% explicitly referred to “National Socialism”, “the persecution of the Jews”, “the Holocaust” or “the Third Reich”. The category “Events from the context of reunification” includes answers such as “the division of East and West Germany”, “the fall of the Berlin Wall” or “reunification”.

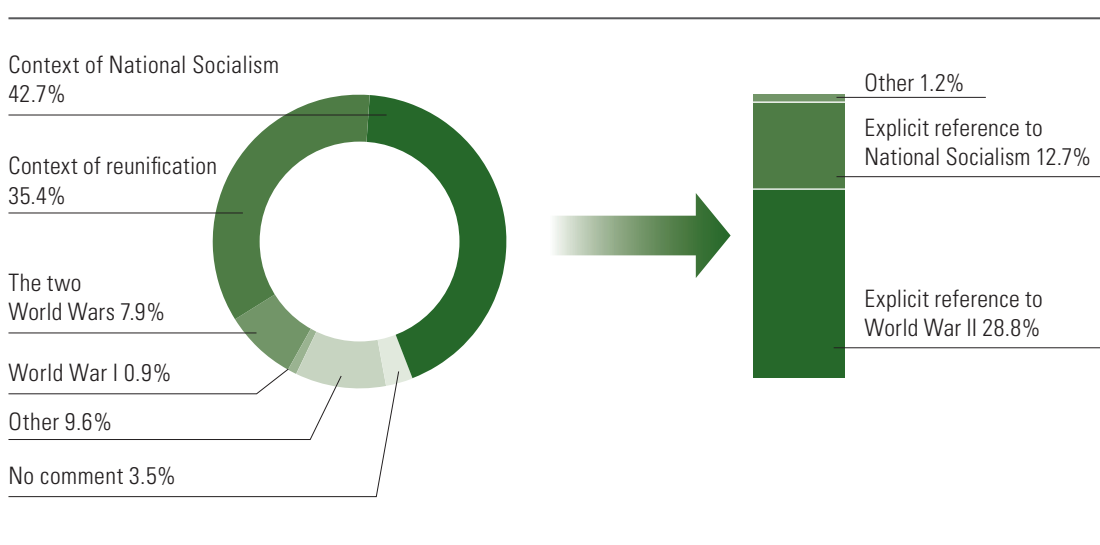


Figure 1.
Coding of the open responses to the question of German history’s most important event worth remembering in future.

Those respondents who answered with events from the context of the time of National Socialism assessed this event to be more negative ($M_{\text{National Socialism}} = 1.43, SD = 1.07$; scale of 1 “negative” to 5 “positive”) than those who answered with events from the context of reunification ($M_{\text{Reunification}} = 4.43, SD = 1.07$)¹. If we compare the demographic backgrounds of the two groups, we find systematic differences: respondents who considered the time of National Socialism to be worth remembering are, on average, somewhat older, more often female and somewhat less formally educated than those who considered it important to remember the reunification. The two groups differ as little in terms of their self-reported interest in German history as they do in the extent to which they considered German history to concern them personally².

	Context National Socialism	Context reunification
Age (ø) ³	50.4 years	48.3 years
Sex (% f/m) ⁴	57/43	49/51
Education (% by categories) ⁵	23/46/14/18	12/57/13/17
East/West (%) ⁶	13/87	14/86

Ways and places of remembrance and critical examination

One block of questions related to the critical examination of the time of National Socialism in various contexts. A total of 45.3% of respondents reported having learned “rather much” or “very much” about the time of National Socialism in school. On the other hand, 35.3% reported that they had learned “rather little” or “nothing at all”. There are systematic differences in terms of the respondents’ age as well as their regional origin: the younger the respondents, the more on average they say they learned about National Socialism in school⁷. In addition, respondents living in the new federal states (former East Germany) say they learned more in school on average ($M_{\text{new federal states}} = 3.47, SD = 1.17$) than respondents from the old federal states (former West Germany) ($M_{\text{old federal states}} = 3.14, SD = 1.31$)⁸.

What would you say: how much did you learn about the time of National Socialism in school?				
Nothing at all	Rather little	Neither nor	Rather much	Very much
10.6%	24.7%	19.4%	25.6%	19.7%

How much did you learn in school about the time of National Socialism?

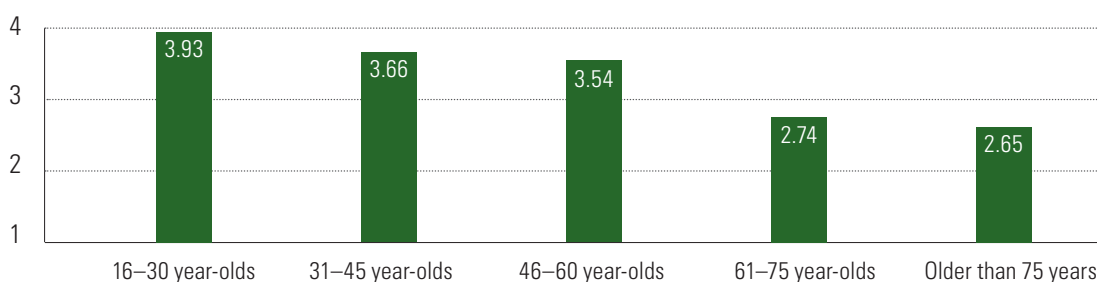


Figure 2. How much was subjectively learned in school in terms of the respondents’ age.

- 1 This difference is statistically significant: $t(779) = 39.09, p < .001$.
- 2 In both cases the mean values do not differ: each $t(779) < 1$.
- 3 This difference is marginal: $t(778) = 1.61, p < .11$.
- 4 This distribution in terms of sex deviates significantly from a random distribution: $\chi^2(1, N = 782) = 4.80, p < .05$.
- 5 $\chi^2(3, N = 781) = 15.65, p < .01$.
- 6 There is no statistically significant correlation here: $\chi^2(1, N = 781) = 0.40, p = .84$.
- 7 The answer to the question correlates negatively with the age of the respondents, $r(998) = -.37, p < .001$, see also Fig. 2.
- 8 This difference is significant, $t(235) = 3.27, p < .01$; degrees of freedom adjusted for heterogeneity of variances.

We find a reverse pattern in how respondents have personally dealt with the time of National Socialism when comparing different age groups. 58.0% of all respondents said they had critically dealt with the time of National Socialism “rather intensively” or “very intensively” on their own; older respondents reported having dealt with the subject more intensively than younger respondents⁹. There are no regional differences apparent in this case.

How intensively have you dealt with the time of National Socialism on your own?				
Not intensively at all	Rather not intensively	Neither nor	Rather intensively	Very intensively
3.9%	12.1%	26.0%	34.6%	23.4%

How intensively have you dealt with the time of National Socialism on your own?

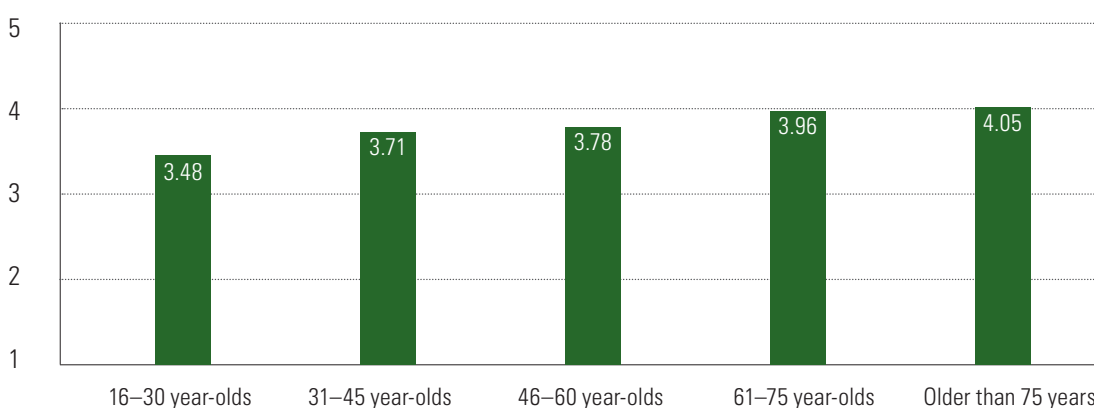


Figure 3. Respondents’ self-chosen dealing with the subject in terms of age.

4.2 WAYS AND PLACES OF REMEMBERING THE TIME OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

The question “How often have you ever done the following to grapple with the subject of National Socialism” introduced a number of possible ways of confronting the subject. Below is a list of the ways in which respondents stated having dealt with the subject, sorted by the frequency of the answers.

The counting shows ways and places of critical examination that were frequently used by most respondents and never been used by only a few (“unimodal – frequent”). These include in particular film adaptations, i.e. documentaries and feature films, which were used “four times or more often” by 75.7% and 66.4% of all respondents, respectively, and were also the most frequently used on average overall. A second group of ways of dealing critically with National Socialism was either never or frequently used by a considerable proportion of respondents (“bimodal – rare or frequent”). This includes grappling with the subject on the Internet (40.4% “never before” and 45.6% “four times or more often”), but also dealing with it in book form (non-fiction books or novels), as well as visiting exhibitions. A third group of ways of critical examination had never been used by the majority of respondents and is therefore found at the end of the list (“unimodal – rare”). This includes attending lectures (65.5% “never before”) and events with contemporary witnesses (68.3% “never before”).

⁹ The answer to the question correlates positively with the age of the respondents: $r(998) = -.20, p < .001$, see also Fig. 3.

How often have you ever done the following to grapple with the subject of National Socialism?					
	Never before	Once	Twice	Three times	Four times or more often
Watched a documentary ($M = 4.41$)	6.3%	5.0%	5.8%	7.0%	75.7%
Watched a feature film ($M = 4.20$)	8.8%	6.5%	7.1%	10.9%	66.4%
Read texts or watched videos on the Internet ($M = 3.11$)	40.4%	3.2%	6.7%	3.3%	45.6%
Visited a memorial site ($M = 3.07$)	22.1%	20.7%	14.7%	12.6%	29.8%
Read a non-fiction book ($M = 3.00$)	32.4%	11.9%	13.2%	7.4%	34.6%
Visited an exhibition ($M = 2.81$)	33.5%	15.9%	12.7%	11.1%	26.5%
Read a novel ($M = 2.79$)	39.8%	10.9%	11.0%	6.5%	31.4%
Attended a lecture ($M = 1.93$)	65.6%	8.2%	7.3%	4.8%	14.0%
Met a contemporary witness ($M = 1.74$)	68.3%	12.0%	6.2%	3.5%	9.9%



We observe a continually high level of interest in the differentiated analysis of Germany's criminal history: The majority of Germans evidently do not want to draw a line under Germany's NS history, but rather wish a continuation of the critical examination of the history and impact of National Socialism. The fact that so many of the respondents consider filmic depictions to play a key role in all of this implies a great responsibility for media education.

Prof. Dr Astrid Messerschmidt (University of Wuppertal)



Memorial sites as places of critical examination

Visits to memorial sites have a special significance for remembrance in the sense that we do not observe any clear tendency here compared to the other types of critical examination. The answers of the respondents are neither unimodal – frequent or rare, nor are they clearly bimodal – rare or frequent: Although about one-fifth of the respondents (22.1%) said they had never visited a memorial site before, about the same number (20.7%) said they had already done so; almost one-third (29.8%) of all respondents even said they had visited a memorial site four times or more to deal with the subject of National Socialism.

Respondents who claimed to have visited a memorial site at least once were asked which memorial site they had visited first. For methodological reasons, this question was asked openly, i.e. without any given answer possibilities, in order to avoid any tendencies or a falsification of the answers. This also means that respondents were able to give answers reflecting their own understanding, and not the common understanding, of a “memorial site” (see below). The open responses were subsequently assigned to the following categories.

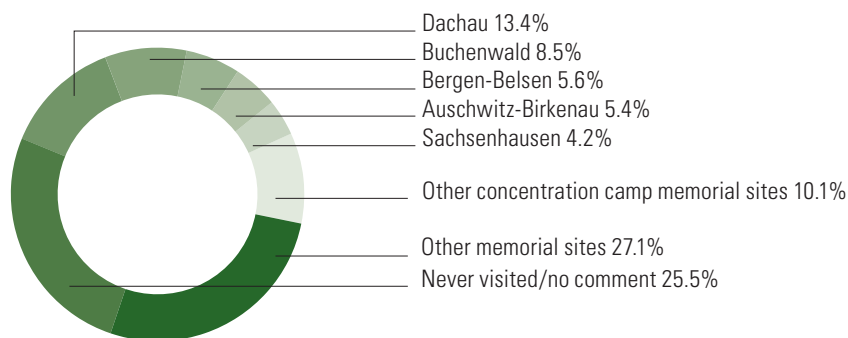


Figure 4. Coding of the open responses to the question of what memorial site respondents had visited.

The five most frequently mentioned memorial sites were Dachau (13.4%), Buchenwald (8.5%), Bergen-Belsen (5.6%), Auschwitz-Birkenau (5.4%) and Sachsenhausen (4.2%). The other entries can in turn be divided into other concentration camp memorials mentioned specifically or not specifically (10.1%, such as Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, Theresienstadt) or other memorial sites (27.1%). With regard to this last group of other answers, it should be noted that it also includes responses that do not fit the common definition of a memorial site and can rather be described as memorials or monuments (such as the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin). Although the category “Other answers” is difficult to interpret, it can be stated that a total of 47.4% of the respondents answered that they had visited a concentration camp memorial site at least once and that they could also back up this information by naming at least one such memorial site.

All the respondents who had already visited a memorial site at least once were then asked questions about the circumstances and impact of their first visit. Only the answers of those 474 respondents who stated that they had visited a memorial at least once and had backed up this information by naming a specific concentration camp memorial site are considered here as a conservative estimate. While somewhat more than half (54.9%) of these respondents stated that their first visit was “entirely” their own decision, the others reported that the visit was “not at all” (23.4%) or “somewhat” (21.5%) their own decision.

The visit to the memorial site ...	The visit to the memorial site ...				
	Not at all	Rather little	Somewhat	Rather strongly	Very strongly
... touched me emotionally. ($M = 4.42$)	1.6%	1.5%	10.9%	25.6%	60.3%
... provided me with new factual knowledge. ($M = 3.84$)	4.2%	5.7%	22.8%	36.7%	30.6%
... motivated me to deal with current social issues more intensively. ($M = 3.35$)	10.1%	13.5%	25.8%	31.9%	18.2%
... motivated me to deal with the subject of National Socialism more intensively. ($M = 3.30$)	11.4%	9.7%	35.0%	25.1%	18.9%

The majority of respondents had visited the memorial site with a school class (47.3%) or with their

family (28.8%). For most visitors, the perception of the memorial site visit was first and foremost an emotional one. Respondents agreed more strongly with the statement that the visit had touched them emotionally ($M = 4.42, SD = 0.86$) than with the statement that the visit had provided them with new factual knowledge ($M = 3.84, SD = 1.06$)¹⁰.

Finally, it should be noted that most of the effects of memorial site visits were not independent of the circumstances of the visits. Thus, respondents who “entirely” decided to visit a memorial themselves did not differ in their assessment of the factual knowledge provided compared to those respondents who only “somewhat” decided or did “not” decide “at all” themselves to go¹¹. However, with regard to the emotional and motivational effect for the respondents to continue grappling with the subject of National Socialism or current social issues after their visit, there are differences between the three groups¹². Those respondents who “entirely” decided to visit the memorial site themselves agreed most strongly with the statements made in this regard.

To what extent was it your own decision to visit this memorial site?

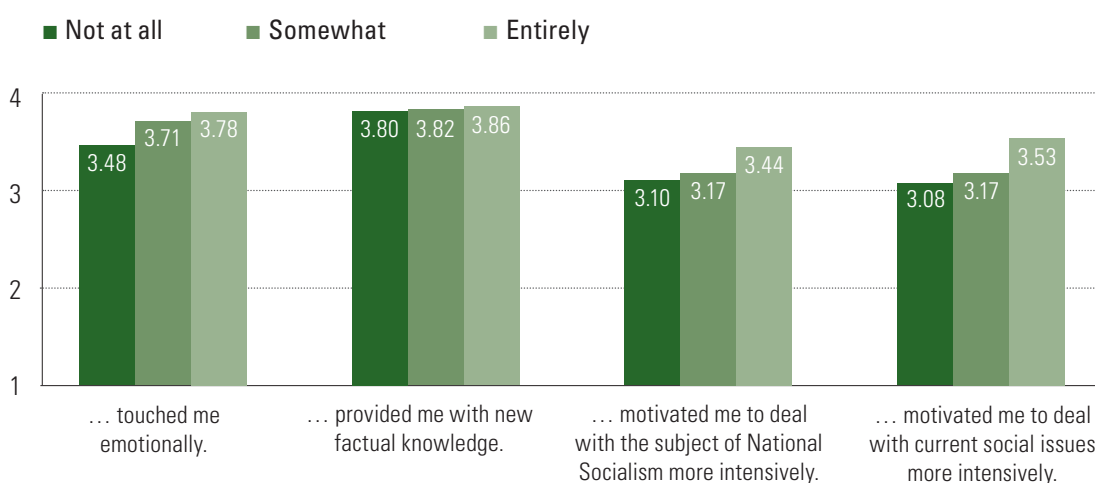


Figure 5. Impact of memorial site visits depending on the circumstances of the visits.

4.3 REMEMBERING THE VICTIMS AND VICTIM GROUPS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

The following open question was asked regarding the remembrance of victims: “Many people and groups of people were killed or murdered during the time of National Socialism. In your opinion, which of these people or groups of people should we remember?”. A total of 958 respondents gave a response to this question. The open answers to the question were subsequently coded; the range of wording used by the respondents was wide. Of those who answered the question, 40.1% stated “all the victims” without specifically naming individual groups, while 9.3% of respondents combined the answer “all victims” with a subsequent emphasis on specific groups (“All of them, Roma and

¹⁰ The two values differ significantly when their dependency is taken into account: $t(473) = 10.87, p < .001$.

¹¹ $F(2.469) < 1$.

¹² $F(2.469) = 17.39, p < .001$, for “... touched me emotionally”, $F(2.469) = 3.93, p < .05$, for “... motivated me to deal with the subject of National Socialism more intensively” and $F(2.467) = 7.01, p < .01$, for “... motivated me to deal with current social issues more intensively”.

Jews”, “All the people – Jews, German citizens, Russians”). Of all the respondents, 27.1% mentioned only one specific group (e.g. “Jews”, “Sinti and Roma”). A total of 23.5% of respondents named several specific groups (“Jews, homosexuals, disabled people”, “Jews, Roma and disabled people”). Where several persons or groups of persons were specified, these were each coded separately and taken into account in the analysis, so that the response values subsequently add up to over 100 per cent.

Which victim groups of National Socialism should be remembered?

All in all, about half of the respondents (49.4%) think we should remember “all” the people who were killed or murdered during the time of National Socialism. More than one-third (37.0%) named “Jews” as a group to be remembered. Soldiers killed in action and German victims (“Germany’s own soldiers killed in action”, “the soldiers and their mothers and families”) are named by 6.6% of the respondents. The group “Resistance” (5.3%) includes specific responses such as “the Scholl siblings”, “White Rose and Stauffenberg” and non-specific responses such as “the resistance forces”. The broad category “Others” (21.3%) includes both answers of specific individuals (“Anne Frank”) and groups of people (“children”) and non-specific answers such as “those who died for others”.

Many people and groups of people were killed or murdered during the time of National Socialism. Which of these people or groups of people do you think we should remember?	
Victim groups	Percentage of the response
All victims/victim groups	49.4%
Jews	37.0%
Sinti and/or Roma	9.9%
Victims of political persecution	7.9%
People with disabilities/illnesses	7.2%
Soldiers killed in action/German victims	6.6%
Resistance	5.3%
Homosexuals	4.0%
Other	21.3%



The finding that half of the respondents would like to remember ‘all the victims’ as a whole can be understood as a tendency to deconcretise the victims, to deconcretise those groups of victims who were systematically persecuted and murdered during the time of National Socialism.

Tom Uhlig (Anne Frank Educational Centre, Frankfurt a.M.)



Intensity of the remembrance of the victims

In response to the question of how often they personally think of the victims or victim groups they mentioned, 44.7% of the respondents answered with “occasionally”; 24.8% “rarely” remember them, while 20.0% “often” remember those people. With regard to the culture of remembrance in Germany, there is a wish for more remembrance: while 45.4% of respondents stated the victim groups mentioned should be remembered in Germany “just as frequently” as was currently the case, 42.2% thought the people they mentioned should be remembered “more often” or “much more often” – only 8.3% were in favour of less remembrance. There is a systematic correlation with the age of the respondents: The older the respondent, the more likely they are personally to think of the people they have mentioned¹³. With regard to the desire for more or less remembrance in Germany, this correlation with age is not evident¹⁴.

How often do you personally think of these people?				
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	All the time
5.5%	24.8%	44.7%	20.0%	2.4%

Do you think these people should be remembered in Germany ...	
	Percentage of the response
... a lot less often than now?	0.8%
... less often than now?	7.5%
... just as often as now?	45.4%
... more often than now?	35.1%
... much more often than now?	7.1%

4.4 FAMILY NARRATIVES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TIME OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Through conversations and stories, narratives about the role of one’s ancestors in the time of National Socialism are being handed down and passed on in families. In order to depict these narratives, MEMO II asked again, but in more differentiated terms, about the respondents’ knowledge of perpetrators, victims, helpers and people who knew about the situation (bystanders) amongst their own ancestors. In interpreting the results, we must consider that the context of the survey differs compared to MEMO I (“time of National Socialism” instead of “World War II”). If one of the previous questions was answered in the affirmative, a follow-up question was then asked as to what category best described the respective perpetrators, victims or helpers. The example of a helper already integrated into the question asked in MEMO I (“for example, hid Jews”) was therefore left out of MEMO II in favour of the new category “Hiding potential victims”. In light of the above, the answers from the two surveys in the section “Family narratives” are comparable only to a limited extent. It should be noted that respondents were able to respond to each question with “I don’t know” or to refrain from giving an answer altogether (“No comment”). Particularly with the question of helpers, a significant percentage of the respondents made use of such answers. This ensured that there were absolutely no forced answers that could have distorted the results.

¹³ $r(972) = .20, p < .001$.

¹⁴ $r(972) = .0, p < .95$.

	Yes	No	I don't know
Were ancestors of you among the perpetrators during the time of National Socialism?	19.6%	69.8%	10.6%
Were ancestors of you among the victims during the time of National Socialism?	35.9%	58.8%	5.3%
Did ancestors of you help potential victims during the time of National Socialism?	28.7%	42.2%	29.0%
Would you say that ancestors of you were 'bystanders' in the time of National Socialism?	39.3%	50.0%	10.6%

Somewhat more than a third of all respondents (35.9%) reported that there were victims among their ancestors during the time of National Socialism. Somewhat less than one-third (28.7%) answered in the affirmative to the question of helpers; approximately one-fifth (19.6%) gave an affirmative answer regarding perpetrators in their own family. In this respect, the ranking of the proportional distribution of these three narratives in the context of the time of National Socialism is similar to that in MEMO I in the context of World War II: In MEMO I respondents most frequently knew of victims (54.4%), second most frequently of helpers (18.0%) and third most frequently of perpetrators (17.6%) among their own ancestors. The respondents in MEMO II, however, most often affirmed the newly included group of “bystanders” amongst their ancestors (39.3%). It cannot and should not be assessed at this point whether these answers are correct or not. We do not imply that respondents deliberately answered untruthfully. On the contrary, we assume that they were providing information that reflected their own opinions or level of knowledge.

The terms “perpetrator”, “victim” and “helper” were consciously left open as in MEMO I, i.e. they were not defined more specifically in the survey. The question about knowledge of “bystanders” was preceded by a definition (“This refers to people who – for example, by knowing about the situation, toleration, political inaction, looking away or blind obedience – became accomplices of the National Socialist crimes.”) If a question was answered in the affirmative, the MEMO II survey asked a differentiated question about which of a list of given categories described the perpetrators, victims or helpers of the respondents’ ancestors in more detail. It was possible to select several categories in each case. Below is a breakdown of what percentage of respondents rated the relevant categories as applicable.

Which of the following categories describe the perpetrators among your ancestors?	
Direct involvement in the acts (e.g. as a member of the SS, soldier or police officer).	12.7%
Indirect involvement in the acts (e.g. as an employee of a public authority).	4.3%
None/I don't know.	4.4%

Which of the following categories describe the victims among your ancestors?	
Members of a persecuted group (e.g. Jews, Sinti and Roma, victims of political persecution).	8.1%
Civilian victims of war (e.g. in air raids).	18.5%
Refugees or displaced persons.	17.4%
None/I don't know.	6.4%

Which of the following categories describe how your ancestors helped potential victims?	
Helping them to flee.	8.2%
Hiding potential victims.	9.6%
Supporting them as a public servant (e.g. issuing false papers).	1.7%
Supporting them in everyday needs (e.g. slipping them food or medicine).	22.4%
None/I don't know.	1.5%

There are some demographic differences between respondents who reported specific family narratives and those who did not. In particular, older respondents were more likely to report helpers and bystanders amongst their ancestors during the time of National Socialism. There are differences depending on the sex of the respondents with regard to their knowledge of victims amongst their ancestors. In terms of their knowledge of perpetrators, victims and helpers, there are no differences between respondents from the old and new federal states. It is worth mentioning that there are systematic differences depending on whether respondents reported a migrant background or not: Respondents with a migrant background reported less frequently that there were perpetrators, helpers or bystanders among their ancestors, but just as frequently that there were victims among their relatives as respondents without a migrant background.

	"Perpetrators"		"Victims"		"Helpers"		"Bystanders"	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Age (ø)	48.7	51.3	52.5	50.3	52.4	49.0 ¹⁵	52.7	48.2 ¹⁶
Sex (% f/m)	45/55	52/48	56/44	49/51 ¹⁷	55/45	50/50	48/52	53/47
Migrant background (% yes/no)	11/89	23/77 ¹⁸	21/79	19/81	15/85	24/76 ¹⁹	26/74	13/87 ²⁰

Only statistically significant differences are highlighted here.

Family dialogue about the time of National Socialism

A subsequent short block consisted of questions aimed at how families deal with National Socialism in their family history. The first questions related to the general frequency of conversations about the time of National Socialism in the respondent's own family. For those respondents who stated that the topic was "never" or "rarely" discussed in their families, a question was then asked about the reasons for this.

How often did or does your family talk about the time of National Socialism?			
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often
15.7%	34.4%	35.0%	14.6%

¹⁵ $t(708) = 2,33, p < ,05$.

¹⁶ $t(870) = 3,59, p < ,001$.

¹⁷ $\chi^2(1, N = 947) = 3,84, p = ,05$.

¹⁸ $\chi^2(1, N = 893) = 13,51, p < ,001$.

¹⁹ $\chi^2(1, N = 709) = 9,28, p < ,01$.

²⁰ $\chi^2(1, N = 891) = 24,72, p < ,001$.

The respondents can be divided fairly equally into those whose families “never” or “rarely” talk about the time of National Socialism on the one hand and those who “occasionally” or “often” do so on the other. Compared to those from the second group, respondents from the first group are on average younger ($M_{\text{never/rarely}} = 48.8, SD = 19.2$ v. $M_{\text{occasionally/often}} = 51.7, SD = 18.2$ years old)²¹ and are just as often from the new as from the old federal states ($\%_{\text{never/rarely}} = 16/84$ v. $\%_{\text{occasionally/often}} = 15/85$)²². The most common reasons given by respondents for “never” or “rarely” talking about the topic was a lack of interest (35.7%), followed by concern that the topic would be too much of an emotional burden for the family (23.9%). The knowledge of one’s own family history is logically related to the frequency with which the family talks about National Socialism: Those respondents who said that the topic was occasionally or frequently discussed in their families affirmed the questions about perpetrators²³, victims²⁴, helpers²⁵ and bystanders²⁶ among their ancestors more frequently in each case than respondents who said their families rarely or never discussed the subject.

What is the reason that you have never or rarely spoken with your family about the topic?	Percentage Partial sample
Not interested in talking about it.	35.7%
Concern that the topic would be too much of an emotional burden for my family.	23.9%
Sense that it is not OK to talk about it in my family.	11.4%
Afraid I might find out there were perpetrators in my family.	4.2%
None of the above/I don’t know.	40.0%

The results reflect the responses of the 501 respondents who answered the previous question about the frequency of family discussions with “never” or “rarely”; it was possible to give more than one answer.

How often did or does your family talk about the time of National Socialism?

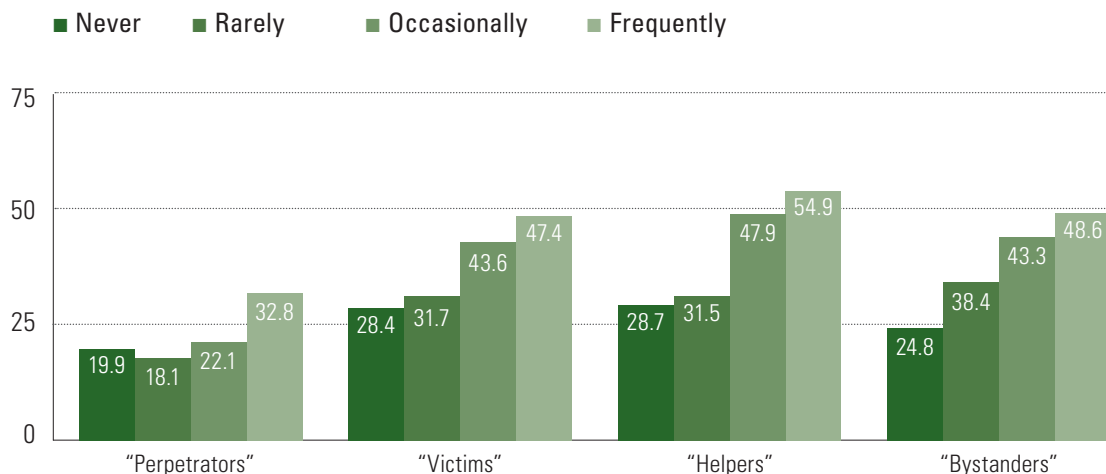


Figure 6. Knowledge of family history depending on frequency with which the family talks about the time of National Socialism (statements in %).

21 $t(996) = 2.48, p < .05$.

22 $\chi^2(1, N = 998) < 1$.

23 $\chi^2(1, N = 894) = 6.15, p < .05$.

24 $\chi^2(1, N = 947) = 20.17, p < .001$.

25 $\chi^2(1, N = 710) = 26.93, p < .001$.

26 $\chi^2(1, N = 893) = 9.32, p < .01$.

In general, most respondents (65.9%) considered it “reasonable” or “very reasonable” to discuss their family’s history during the time of National Socialism. However, only just under half of the respondents (47.0%) stated that they knew where or how they could find out about their own family history.

How reasonable do you think it is for people to deal with their family’s history during the time of National Socialism?				
Not reasonable at all	Not very reasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable	Very reasonable
3.6%	8.1%	22.4%	26.1%	39.8%

Do you know where or how you could find out about your family’s history during the time of National Socialism?		
Yes	No	I don’t know/no comment
47.0%	51.6%	1.3%



There are approaches available for finding out about the time of National Socialism in one’s own family history, but people in Germany do not seem to know about them. Specific points of contact would be the Federal Archives with its various collections, but also the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Bad Arolsen.

Dr Jörg Skriebeleit (Concentration Camp Memorial Site Flossenbürg) —————



Two-thirds of the respondents say it makes sense to deal with the role of one’s own ancestors. This reflects a strong motivation to deal critically with the encumbrances of history, and family narratives play a key role. At the same time, we can see the duality of the biographical/family culture of remembrance: It appears to be the place and source of a motivational structure – subjectively rooted and sustainable – for remembering history. At the same time, it is exactly the medium of the family history that can contain a vacuum, a vacuum that can become a gateway for historical reinterpretations, for deflecting guilt and for all kinds of needs to cope.

Prof. Dr Doron Kiesel (Education Department of the Central Council of Jews in Germany)
Prof. Dr Thomas Eppenstein (Protestant University of Applied Sciences, Bochum) —————

4.5 GERMANS DURING THE TIME OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

One section of the questionnaire referred to how respondents retrospectively assessed the German population at the time of National Socialism, i.e. the recursive perception and evaluation of historical behaviour. This is an important part of a culture of remembrance, as it places people in relation to history and to the actions of people and societies in the past. It includes the question of historical responsibility just as much as the question of the extent to which people in the past are classified as perpetrators, victims or helpers or what reasons are considered relevant for resistance or lack of resistance – in this case against the National Socialist dictatorship.

First, respondents were asked to indicate how much and in what form they assumed the German

population were involved in National Socialism, the proportion of those who knew that people were being systematically murdered, and the reasons why respondents believed little or nothing was done to stop the systematic murders during National Socialism. All the answers reflect the respondents' subjective assessments. In addition, as in the entire interview, the respondents were given the opportunity not to answer questions. The following categories of perpetrators, victims, helpers and people who knew about the situation (bystanders) should not be considered mutually exclusive: historically, one and the same person may have belonged to all four categories. In the survey, it was not only one category that was posed, but always every category.

Behaviour of the Germans during the time of National Socialism

The respondents estimated on average that during the time of National Socialism the German population consisted of about one-third victims (34.7%) and one-third perpetrators (34.0%). According to the respondents, a significantly smaller proportion of Germans (15.8%) helped potential victims. The respondents estimated that more than a third of the population (39.3%) knew people were being systematically murdered during the time of National Socialism. On average, younger respondents estimated the proportion of perpetrators²⁷ and people who knew about the situation²⁸ to be higher than older respondents did²⁹.

During the time of National Socialism, what percentage of the German population do you think...	<i>M</i>
... were among the perpetrators?	34.0%
... were among the victims?	34.7%
... helped potential victims?	15.8%
... knew that groups of people were being systematically murdered at the time?	39.3%

Perception of the German population in the time of National Socialism

Respondents also identified the reasons they considered conclusive as to why people did not do anything about the systematic murdering of groups of people during the time of National Socialism. Given seven possible reasons, respondents were asked to indicate whether they considered the specific reason to be significant for the German population's lack of action. Participants were able to give multiple answers as well as refrain from answering. On average, the respondents chose more than four reasons ($M = 4.24$, $SD = 1.30$) as being relevant for the German population's lack of action, the number of reasons cited correlating positively with the respondents' critical examination of the time of National Socialism – the more intensively respondents stated they had grappled with the time of National Socialism, the more reasons they deemed significant that people did nothing to stop the systematic murders³⁰.

At 95.4%, almost all respondents cited the “fear of punishment or persecution by the National Socialist regime” as a significant reason for the German population's lack of action, followed by a lack of sense of responsibility (73.0%) and an underestimation of the seriousness of the situation (72.8%). Slightly more than half of the respondents suspected that people had shared the views of the National Socialist regime (53.9%) or had had no opportunity to do anything to stop the systematic murders (51.1%).

27 $r(936) = .17, p < .001$.

28 $r(930) = .22, p < .001$.

29 The estimates regarding victims and helpers were uncorrelated with the age of the respondents: $r(914) = -.05$ and $r(938) = .04$.

30 $r(882) = .13, p < .001$.

Why would you say people did nothing to stop the systematic murder of groups of people back then?	Percentage of responses
They were afraid they would be punished or persecuted by the National Socialist regime.	95.4%
They did not have a personal sense of responsibility for taking action.	73.0%
They did not realise the seriousness of the situation.	72.8%
They shared the views of the National Socialist regime.	53.9%
They did not have any opportunity to do anything about it.	51.1%
They did not know anything about the murders.	38.9%
They did not care about the fate of the people being persecuted and murdered.	28.8%

With regard to the particular reasons mentioned for the German population's failure to act, we can see systematic differences in the respondents' ages. Older respondents, compared to younger respondents, agreed more often that the German population at the time of National Socialism had known nothing about the systematic murders³¹, had not recognised the seriousness of the situation³² and had not had any opportunity to do anything about it³³. On the other hand, younger respondents agreed more often than older respondents that the German population had shared the views of the National Socialist regime³⁴.

Why would you say people did nothing to stop the systematic murder of groups of people back then?

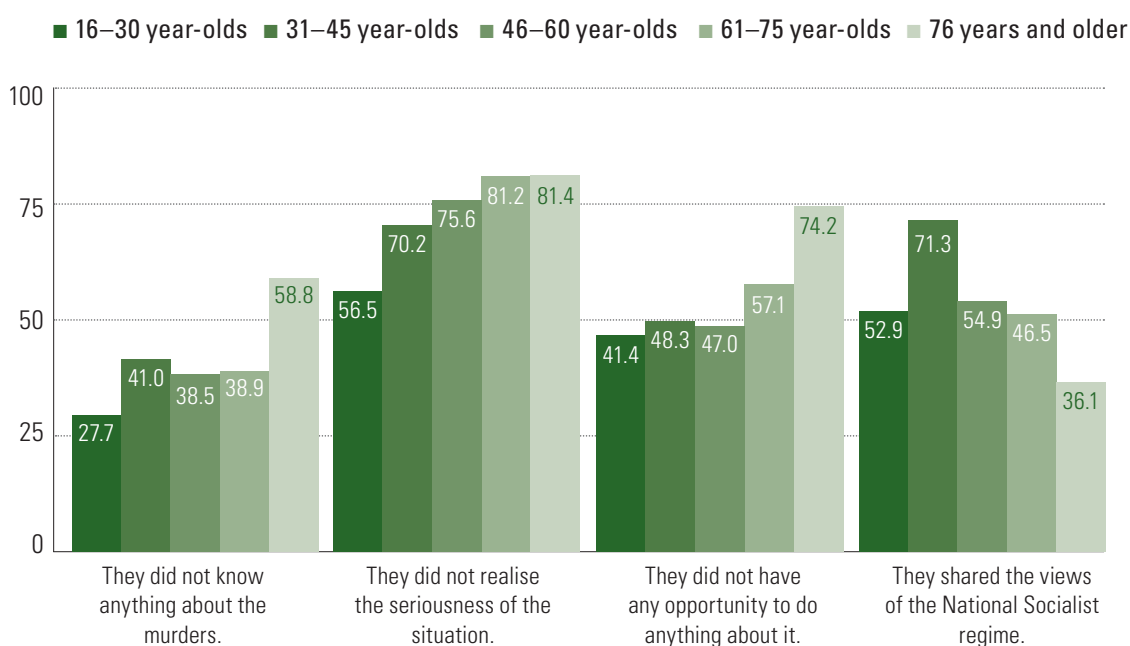


Figure 7. Assessment of reasons for the German population's lack of action, depending on the respondents' age (statements in %).

31 Respondents who selected this reason were older on average, $t(974) = 4.13, p < .001$.

32 $t(989) = 5.43, p < .001$.

33 $t(974) = 5.13, p < .001$.

34 $t(847) = 3.60, p < .001$; degrees of freedom adjusted for heterogeneity of variances.

4.6 SELF-ASSESSMENT AND PERCEPTION OF PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS

The culture of remembrance involves not only historical knowledge but also a subjective perception and interpretation of historical memory and an attitude towards it. What is remembered can be placed in relation to the present and – especially with regard to the critical examination of the time of the National Socialist dictatorship – used for critical self-reflection. The question of remembering the past and “the others” is embedded in the question: “How would I have acted?”.

Accordingly, MEMO II – in addition to retrospective remembrance – asked about relationships to the respondents themselves and to the present day. What parallels do the respondents see between present-day social developments and the period of National Socialism? How do respondents assess their own potential involvement when they imagine that they themselves had lived in Germany during the time of National Socialism? Questions were also raised about whether and to what extent respondents felt responsible for fighting discrimination and exclusion in today’s society. Again, it must be noted that the respondents always had the option not to answer a question.

“Imagine you yourself had lived in Germany during the time of National Socialism”: a theoretical assessment of one’s own role during National Socialism

The next block of questions was introduced with the sentence: “Imagine you yourself had lived in Germany during the time of National Socialism.” Then various groups (perpetrator, victim, helper, member of the resistance) were presented and respondents were asked to estimate how probable it would have been that they personally would have belonged to these groups.

The majority of the respondents (69.1%) considered it “very” or “rather unlikely” that they themselves would have become perpetrators. Only one in ten (9.9%) considered this to be “rather likely” or “very likely”. About one-third of the respondents assessed the idea that they themselves would have become victims at the time of National Socialism as “very unlikely” or “rather unlikely” (34.9%) or as “rather likely” or “very likely” (39.0%). About two-thirds of the respondents (64.7%) considered it “rather likely” or “very likely” that they themselves would have helped potential victims while only 9.2% imagined it to be “rather likely” or “very likely” that they would not have helped. With regard to the active resistance against National Socialism, the respondents were ambivalent – a total of 35.9% considered it unlikely, 30.8% considered it likely, that they would have resisted while 28.1% were uncertain (“neither nor”).

Imagine you yourself had lived in Germany during the time of National Socialism. How likely do you think it is that you yourself would have...					
	Very unlikely	Rather unlikely	Neither nor	Rather likely	Very likely
... become a perpetrator?	36.7%	32.4%	18.7%	7.3%	2.6%
... become a victim?	10.3%	24.7%	22.6%	27.3%	11.7%
... helped potential victims?	1.3%	7.9%	23.9%	37.6%	27.1%
... actively resisted National Socialism?	9.5%	26.4%	28.1%	17.9%	12.9%

There are statistically significant connections between the demographic background of the respondents and their self-assessed role during the time of National Socialism – younger respondents considered it more likely that they would have actively resisted National Socialism than older respondents³⁵. Male respondents considered it more likely that they themselves would have been amongst the perpetrators ($M = 2.42, SD = 1.25$) than female respondents ($M = 1.87, SD = 1.08$)³⁶. Female respondents deemed it more likely that they would have helped potential victims ($M = 3.98, SD = 0.97$) than male respondents ($M = 3.78, SD = 1.04$)³⁷. The respondents with a migrant background considered it more likely than those without such background that they themselves would have been amongst the victims during the period of National Socialism ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 3.59, SD = 1.27$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.06, SD = 1.28$)³⁸. They also considered it more likely that they themselves would have helped potential victims ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 4.24, SD = 0.91$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.79, SD = 1.01$)³⁹ and actively resisted National Socialism ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 3.43, SD = 1.26$ vs. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.07, SD = 1.35$)⁴⁰.

Assessment of present-day social conditions and personal responsibility

The majority of respondents believed that people today would generally be capable of acts similar to those in the time of National Socialism: overall, two-thirds (65.5%) of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with this statement; about one-fifth (21.5%) (strongly) disagreed. With regard to the perception of current political developments in Germany, approximately one-third of the respondents (35.9%) perceived parallels between current political developments in Germany and the time of National Socialism, or they (strongly) disagreed with this statement (36.1%).

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
I think people today would be capable of acts similar to those of the time of National Socialism.	9.0%	12.5%	11.8%	31.8%	33.8%
I see parallels between current political developments in Germany and the time of National Socialism.	16.0%	20.1%	26.2%	22.3%	13.6%

Another block of questions dealt with the perception of discrimination and exclusion of groups of people in Germany today due to their national origin, religion or other group affiliations. Respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they a) perceived discrimination and exclusion in Germany, b) considered this to be a cause for concern, c) felt responsible for doing something about it, d) felt they had the means to take action themselves, and finally, e) were willing to be active in fighting discrimination and the exclusion of people or groups of people in Germany.

Almost two-thirds of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with each of the individual statements. Responses to the individual statements were closely related (“formed a consistent scale”, Cronbach’s Alpha = .71) – respondents who agreed with one of the statements were more likely to agree with the other statements as well. Those respondents who perceived discrimination and the exclusion of people in Germany on the basis of their national origin, religion or other group affiliations were therefore more likely to consider this to be a cause for concern, were more likely to feel personal responsibility for taking action and were more likely to say they knew what they themselves could do to fight the exclusion and discrimination of people in Germany. Finally they also reported to be more willing to become active in the fight against discrimination and exclusion.

35 $r(998) = -.11, p < .001$; the other three assessments are uncorrelated with the respondents’ age.

36 $t(964) = 7.40, p < .001$.

37 $t(986) = 3.18, p < .01$.

38 $t(994) = 5.25, p < .001$.

39 $t(331) = 6.14, p < .001$; degrees of freedom adjusted for heterogeneity of variances.

40 $t(994) = 3.47, p < .01$.

	Percentage of the response
In my opinion, the discrimination and exclusion of people on the basis of their national origin, religion or other group affiliations is increasing again in Germany.	66.3%
I think the level of discrimination against and exclusion of people or groups of people in Germany is alarming.	59.9%
I feel it is also my responsibility to prevent discrimination and the exclusion of people or people groups in Germany.	61.3%
I know what I can do to help preventing discrimination and the exclusion of people or people groups in Germany.	64.7%
I am willing to get actively involved in fighting discrimination and the exclusion of people or people groups in Germany.	63.3%

The percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with the respective statement is shown here.

4.7 INTERMEDIATE CONCLUSION: PERPETRATORS, VICTIMS AND HELPERS AMONGST THE GERMAN POPULATION DURING THE TIME OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM, IN FAMILY NARRATIVES AND IN SELF-ASSESSMENT

In the course of the survey, respondents submitted their knowledge and assessments of the frequency of perpetrators, victims and helpers during the time of National Socialism, from various perspectives. They described their knowledge of these groups amongst their own ancestors (section 4.4), estimated the involvement of the German population at the time of National Socialism (section 4.5) and finally estimated the probability with which they themselves would have become perpetrators, victims or helpers if they had lived in Germany at the time of National Socialism (section 4.6). If we juxtapose the results of these assessments, we obtain the following picture:

With regard to the group of victims amongst the German population during the time of National Socialism, there is an assessment of slightly more than one third each. The average estimate of the proportion of victims in the German population (34.7%) is roughly the same as the knowledge of victims amongst the respondents' ancestors (35.9%) and the probability with which respondents estimated that they themselves would have been among the victims during the time of National Socialism (39.0%).

There are clear differences in terms of the knowledge or the estimate of perpetrators and helpers during National Socialism. The percentage of perpetrators in the German population at the time of National Socialism is estimated as 34.0%, significantly higher than the knowledge of perpetrators amongst the respondents' own families (19.6%). The proportion of respondents who considered it "somewhat likely" or "very likely" that they would have belonged to the group of perpetrators during the time of National Socialism is significantly lower at 9.9%.

A reverse pattern is shown with regard to the group of helpers: while their percentage in the German population at the time of National Socialism was estimated to be comparatively low at 15.8%, a significantly larger percentage of respondents (28.7%) reported helpers in their own families. The respondents' self-assessment again was significantly higher, with almost two-thirds (64.7%) estimating that they "rather likely" or "very likely" would have helped potential victims. Almost a third of the respondents (30.8%) stated that they likely would have actively resisted National Socialism.

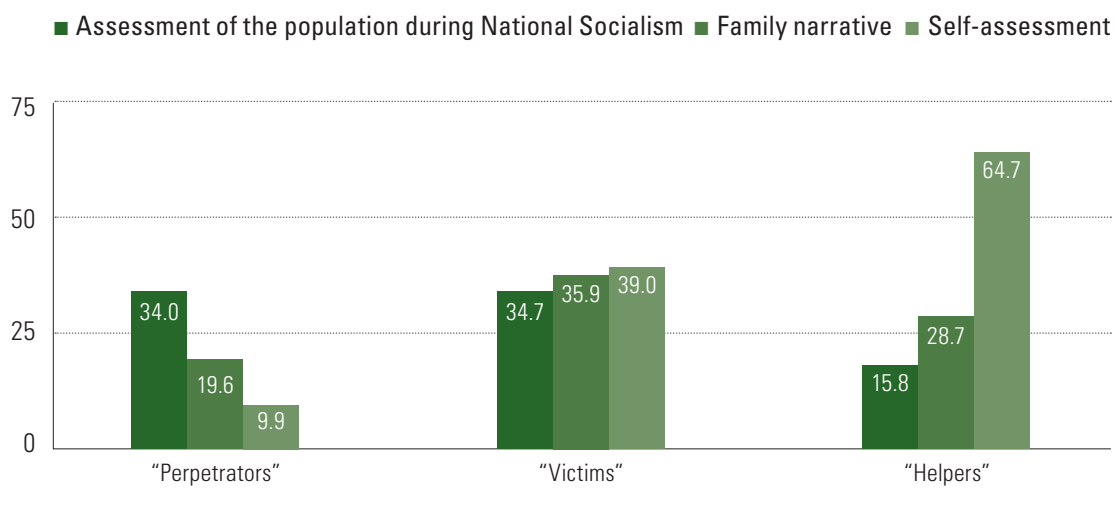


Figure 8. Comparison of the estimates of the proportion of perpetrators, victims and helpers in the German population during National Socialism, in family narratives and in the assessment of their own behaviour had the respondents themselves lived during National Socialism (in %).

If the pieces of information provided by the respondents are put in relation to one another, we begin to see systematic connections, in particular between the knowledge of the perpetrators, victims and helpers among the ancestors and the assessment of one's own involvement. Respondents who reported knowing that their ancestors were amongst the perpetrators, victims or helpers during National Socialism considered it more likely that they themselves would have been involved in National Socialism compared to those who did not report such knowledge. For example, those respondents who reported knowing of perpetrators amongst their ancestors considered it more likely that they would have become perpetrators themselves ($M = 2.59, SD = 1.30$ v. $M = 1.96, SD = 1.13$)⁴¹. Respondents who knew of victims amongst their own ancestors considered it more likely that they themselves would have been amongst the victims ($M = 3.33, SD = 1.24$ v. $M = 2.98, SD = 1.26$)⁴². Respondents who reported knowing that ancestors of theirs had helped potential victims during National Socialism deemed it more likely that they themselves would have helped ($M = 4.11, SD = 0.90$ v. $M = 3.68, SD = 1.06$)⁴³.



There are aspects we think we know for certain regarding history and how this history is critically dealt with in our society, but what we assume to know is not necessarily reflected in our realities, our knowledge, our narratives and our self-assessment. We need to question our presumed certainties.

Dr Andreas Eberhardt (Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future") ———— <<

41 $t(282) = 6.09, p < .001$.

42 $t(945) = 4.12, p < .001$.

43 $t(673) = 5.77, p < .001$.

4.8 THE CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE TIME OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM: RELATIONSHIPS AND DIFFERENCES

The following are extracts of correlative relationships and differences with regard to the critical examination of the time of National Socialism. For this purpose, we report on relationships and differences that seem relevant in the context of the culture of remembrance and the above-mentioned observations, as well as with regard to the practice of remembrance. On the one hand, this includes relationships with the extent to which respondents had critically dealt with the time of National Socialism. On the other hand, it describes similarities and differences between the answers of those respondents with and without a self-reported migrant background. The relationships are reported in the form of correlations. We wish to point out that correlations only provide information about the strength of relationships between variables (“the more X, the more Y”), but not about the causal direction of these relationships (“Y because X”).

4.8.1 INTENSITY OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE TIME OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

The various ways in which respondents had dealt with the time of National Socialism, such as reading books, watching films, attending lectures or visiting memorial sites, are described in detail in section 4.2. If we summarise these, they can be interpreted as an indicator for the extent to which respondents have critically dealt with the time of National Socialism in different ways. There are a number of systematic correlations between the extent to which the respondents critically dealt with the subject and their answers to other questions.

Respondents who had more intensively dealt with the time of National Socialism also subjectively reported having grappled with National Socialism more intensively⁴⁴, talked with their families about the time of National Socialism more frequently⁴⁵ and knew more frequently of perpetrators, victims and helpers amongst their own ancestors⁴⁶. They estimated the proportion of helpers in the German population during the time of National Socialism to be lower⁴⁷ and the proportion of those who knew about the situation to be higher⁴⁸. The extent of the critical examination with the subject correlates positively with the reported level of civic courage with regard to discrimination and the exclusion of people and groups of people in Germany today (section 4.6)⁴⁹. Respondents who had dealt with the time of National Socialism more intensively reported a greater sense of responsibility for preventing discrimination and the exclusion of people and groups in Germany today⁵⁰, a greater awareness of what they themselves could do to prevent discrimination and exclusion⁵¹ and a greater willingness to actively engage in fighting discrimination and the exclusion of people in Germany⁵².

44 $r(978) = .53, p < .001$.

45 $r(978) = .39, p < .001$.

46 $r(978) = .21, p < .001$.

47 $r(925) = .15, p < .001$.

48 $r(917) = .11, p < .01$.

49 $r(949) = .31, p < .001$.

50 $r(975) = .23, p < .001$.

51 $r(968) = .25, p < .001$.

52 $r(971) = .31, p < .001$.

4.8.2 THE ROLE OF MIGRANT BACKGROUNDS

One-fifth of those surveyed (19.9%) stated that they had a migrant background, i.e. that they themselves or one of their parents had not been born in Germany. It should be critically noted in advance that the reported migrant backgrounds and histories are diverse (e.g. Turkish, Russian, intra-European and non-European) and that any analysis constitutes a rough simplification. If we compare respondents with a migrant background with those who do not, we find a number of similarities and differences. Those respondents with a migrant background were younger on average ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 43.2, SD = 18.4$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 51.9, SD = 18.6$ years old)⁵³. On average, respondents with a migration background reported a somewhat lower level of interest in ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 3.39, SD = 0.95$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.59, SD = 1.06$)⁵⁴ and a somewhat less strong personal connection to German history ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 3.48, SD = 1.00$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.74, SD = 1.14$)⁵⁵. The two groups do not differ in the extent to which they have dealt critically with the time of National Socialism ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 3.02, SD = 0.79$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.01, SD = 0.98$)⁵⁶. As already mentioned, respondents with a migrant background considered it more likely that they themselves would have been victims during the time of National Socialism (with $M_{\text{migrant background}} = 3.59, SD = 1.27$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.06, SD = 1.28$)⁵⁷, that they would have helped potential victims ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 4.24, SD = 0.91$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.79, SD = 1.01$)⁵⁸ and would have actively resisted National Socialism ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 3.43, SD = 1.26$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.07, SD = 1.35$)⁵⁹. With regard to the level of self-reported civic courage in relation to discrimination and the exclusion of people and groups of people in Germany today, those respondents with a self-reported migrant background did not differ from those without ($M_{\text{with migrant background}} = 3.72, SD = 0.79$ v. $M_{\text{without migrant background}} = 3.78, SD = 0.79$)⁶⁰.

5. PRESENTATION OF RESULTS: MEMO I AND MEMO II IN COMPARISON

A number of the questions had already been asked in the same way in the MEMO I survey in order to observe the course and development of attitudes towards the German culture of remembrance. The following is a direct comparison of the answers to the questions that were asked in both MEMO I (2017) and MEMO II (2018) and that are relevant for the context of the culture of remembrance. Various samples representative of Germany were surveyed in each case.

	MEMO I	MEMO II
Would you say that you are interested in German history?	60.2%	62.3%
How much would you say that you learned about the National Socialism in school?	39.6%	45.3%

This shows the percentage of respondents who stated that they were “interested” or “strongly interested” in German history, or had learned “rather much” or “very much” in school.

53 $t(994) = 5.91, p < .001$.

54 $t(330) = 2.62, p < .01$; degrees of freedom adjusted for heterogeneity of variances.

55 $t(335) = 3.17, p < .01$; degrees of freedom adjusted for heterogeneity of variances.

56 $t(358) = 0.18, p < .86$; degrees of freedom adjusted for heterogeneity of variances.

57 $t(994) = 5.27, p < .001$.

58 $t(331) = 6.14, p < .001$; degrees of freedom adjusted for heterogeneity of variances.

59 $t(994) = 3.47, p < .01$.

60 $t(959) = 0.90, p < .37$.

	MEMO I	MEMO II
The era of National Socialism is part of German identity.	63.5 %	71.1%
Part of belonging to Germany is knowledge of the history of National Socialism.	87.7 %	87.2%
It bothers me that Germans are still reproached today for the crimes committed against the Jews.	35.8 %	33.9%
Jews have too much influence in Germany.	5.7 %	5.6%
It is time to draw a line under Germany's National Socialist history.	25.5 %	32.6%
I am proud of how Germany has dealt with its National Socialist past.	31.7 %	31.7%
Germany is a country that has learned from the mistakes of its past.	50.5 %	61.7%
Germany can serve as a successful model of coming to terms with history for other countries to follow.	44.3 %	49.6%

The percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with the respective statement is shown here.

6. AUTHORS' SUMMARY

The results of MEMO II generally reflect a pronounced interest in German history on the part of respondents and a strong personal connection to German history. When respondents were asked about specific events and phases of this history, it became clear that the time of National Socialism was considered an important and memorable part of German history.

In Germany, school plays an important, but not exhaustive, role in how people deal critically with the time of National Socialism. Older respondents in particular reported that they had not learned so much about the period of National Socialism in school. The majority of respondents, however, reported having dealt critically with the topic of National Socialism on their own – older respondents even more intensively than younger respondents. Respondents were also interested in the time and history of National Socialism beyond the context of school and were dealing critically with these topics in various ways. Sources of historical education are essential in this respect. The medium of film is a particularly frequent means of critical examination – across all age groups, respondents reported that they had particularly dealt with the subject of National Socialism through documentaries, but also feature films. Other ways, such as research on the Internet or reading non-fiction books or novels, were more likely to be reported by subgroups of respondents. Two-thirds of the respondents no longer reported having direct encounters and conversations with contemporary witnesses – the worry about a time without contemporary witnesses appears to be a fact for many Germans today already. Future surveys will examine in more detail the question of whether there are ways or places of dealing critically with National Socialism in history are also used beyond those surveyed in MEMO II.

Memorial sites play an essential role as places of education in a culture of remembrance. A remarkably large number of respondents reported having visited a memorial site to grapple with the time of National Socialism; more than half even reported several visits to memorial sites, the first of which – though frequently, but not exclusively, with a school class – had also been with family or friends. In addition, 75% of the respondents reported that their first visit to a concentration camp memorial site was also a personal decision. With regard to the effect of this first visit to a memorial site, the respondents particularly reported having had a strong emotional impression that seemed to remain in their memory. In addition, many reported that the memorial site visit had provided them with new factual knowledge and motivated them to deal more intensively with both the subject of National Socialism and current social issues. The potential impact of visiting memorial sites relating to the period of National Socialism seems manifold. The question that has not been clarified on the basis of

the available data is, on the one hand, which specific factors of memorial site visits have a particularly lasting effect on visitors, motivate them to deal critically with issues or are remembered by them. On the other hand, it is unclear to what extent the visitors' experiences coincide with the expectations they themselves have of visiting memorial sites for dealing critically with the period of National Socialism.

With regard to the remembrance of specific victims and victim groups of National Socialism, two findings are particularly striking. First of all, when asked which victims or groups of victims should be remembered in the future, the majority of the respondents answered unspecifically "all victims", which also seemed to include victims of war, e.g. German soldiers. Remembrance generalised in this way can be interpreted as the "deconcretisation" of the memory of victimhood. Secondly, specific victim groups persecuted under National Socialism were mentioned relatively seldom. It is remarkable here that a significant group of respondents did not name Jews as victims of National Socialism.

Regarding the family narratives, i.e. what respondents reported knowing about the involvement of their ancestors in the period of National Socialism in Germany, the results of MEMO II are comparable to those of MEMO I, where questions were asked about the narratives of perpetrators, victims and helpers in the context of World War II. In the context of National Socialism, too, the particular knowledge of victims and helpers seems to be handed down in German families' narratives, while knowledge of perpetrators is comparatively rare. Half of those asked also denied the existence of bystanders in their own families, i.e. people who contributed to the National Socialist regime's crimes through their knowledge of the situation, tolerance, failure to take action, looking the other way or blind obedience to the National Socialist regime. Those who claimed to know of perpetrators, victims or helpers amongst their ancestors could usually also back up this knowledge with more precise information on how their ancestors were involved in National Socialism.

In addition to a fundamental interest in German history, the results of MEMO II also reflect a clear interest on the part of the respondents in the history of their families at the time of National Socialism. Many seemed to be interested in whether or to what extent their ancestors had been entangled in National Socialism. At the same time, it has become clear that a large proportion of German families rarely talk about this period in history, or do not talk about it at all; reasons include concern that the topic might be too much of an emotional burden. In addition, younger respondents in particular had had less and less contact with people who experienced the time of National Socialism first-hand, and more than half of the respondents did not know where or how they could find out about their family's history during National Socialism. This can be understood as a need for clarification about information and research services which, although they do exist, are apparently hardly known.

In MEMO II, respondents were asked to give their assessment of the German population at the time of National Socialism. Here we see that on average the proportion of victims in the German population is estimated to be as high as the proportion of perpetrators, while the proportion of Germans who helped potential victims is estimated to be low. Particularly with regard to perpetrators and helpers, this shows positively distorted discrepancies between the knowledge reflected in German family narratives and the assessment of the German population under National Socialism.

Fear of the National Socialist regime was cited as the main reason why Germans did little or nothing to stop the systematic murders during National Socialism, but a lack of sense of responsibility and an incorrect assessment of the situation also played a role for many respondents. In this respect, older respondents in particular reported a perception that more strongly defended the German population, assuming ignorance or a lack of opportunity for action; younger respondents were more critical in their assessment. Such tendencies of exoneration versus accusation highlight generational gaps running through the German culture of remembrance which, though not psychologically surprising, may nevertheless pose a challenge to how memories are dealt with.

Many respondents believed that people today would be capable of acts similar to those committed during National Socialism. Some of the respondents also saw parallels between the National Socialist era and current political developments in Germany. This provides important starting points for the political education of children, young people and adults, as such education often deals with historical continuities and ruptures. In the critical examination of Germany's past, it is not only the question of whether or what there is to learn from history. Many people also wonder how they themselves would have acted. As a final perspective with regard to perpetrators, victims and helpers, MEMO II therefore collected the data of what the respondents themselves thought they would have done during the time of National Socialism. Only a small percentage of the respondents indicated that they thought they would have become perpetrators themselves – whereas a large proportion of the respondents estimated that they themselves would have helped or resisted.

A comparison of the respondents' assessment of the German population during the time of National Socialism, of their knowledge of perpetrators, victims and helpers in their own families and of their self-assessment reveals serious differences, with a great deal of scope for interpreting them. The positive self-assessment reflected in the results could result from a self-critical examination of history, from which the respondents have "learned" and are thus actually less susceptible to inhuman ideology today. At the same time, the overestimation of one's own courage and decision-making skills and/or the underestimation of the influence of processes in society as a whole on one's own actions probably plays an important role ("fundamental attribution error"). A pessimistic reading of the results would then be that respondents have rather not "learned" from the critical examination of German history and still underestimate how quickly social norms can shift and ideologies can be established. Correlative findings suggest that a more intensive critical examination of National Socialist history goes hand in hand with a perception of one's own responsibility for engaging in the fight against discrimination and the exclusion of people in Germany, and with one's self-assessed competence and willingness to get active in fighting discrimination and exclusion. Historical political education thus remains a decisive field of action for current social challenges.

ANNEX

COMPLETE PRESENTATION OF
THE DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS

We would like to know what event from German history you think future generations in Germany should remember most likely. (Open answer format)

Event	Percentage of the response
Events from the context of National Socialism	42.7%
Events from the context of reunification	35.4%
The two World Wars	7.9%
World War I	0.9%
Other	9.6%

Reported below are the answers of the 427 respondents who answered the previous question with “events in the context of National Socialism”. It should be noted that this question was coded subsequently as the question was asked open-ended. Explicit responses (e.g. “World War II”) were also coded into the superordinate category, as were keywords that could be clearly assigned (e.g. “National Socialism”, “persecution of the Jews”) or events (e.g. “seizure of power”, “end of World War II”). The wide range of the categories formed is also reflected in the variance of the evaluations of the events.

Would you say this event was ...?				
Negative	Rather negative	Neutral	Rather positive	Positive
81.8%	7.6%	2.0%	2.9%	5.6%

Reported below are the answers of the 354 respondents who, in response to the previous question about an event in German history to be remembered, mentioned events from the context of German reunification. This included answers such as “separation of East and West Germany”, “construction of the Berlin Wall”, “fall of the Berlin Wall”, “reunification” or “9 November 1989”.

Would you say this event was ...?				
Negative	Rather negative	Neutral	Rather positive	Positive
4.3%	3.8%	7.3%	14.1%	70.5%

The category listed as “Other” (96 persons) includes answers such as “foundation of the German empire in 1871”, “women’s suffrage” or unspecific answers such as “the wars”.

Would you say that you are interested in German history?				
Not interested at all	Rather not interested	Somewhat interested	Interested	Strongly interested
3.9%	10.5%	33.2%	32.2%	20.1%

And to what extent do you feel German history concerns you personally?				
Not at all	Rather little	Somewhat	Rather much	Very much
2.4%	14.2%	24.8%	28.8%	29.7%

How much did you like history lessons in school?				
Not at all	Rather little	Somewhat	Rather much	Very much
6.0%	12.9%	18.7%	27.0%	35.4%

How much would you say you learned about the National Socialist era in school?				
Nothing at all	Rather little	Neither nor	Rather much	Very much
10.6%	24.7%	19.4%	25.6%	19.7%

How intensively have you dealt with the time of National Socialism on your own?				
Not at all	Rather little	Neither nor	Rather much	Very much
3.9%	12.1%	26.0%	34.6%	23.4%

Many people and groups of people were killed or murdered during the time of National Socialism. Which of these people or groups of people do you think we should remember? (Open answer format)

The open answers to this question were subsequently coded. If several persons or victim groups were mentioned, each of these was coded separately. The percentage indicated is the percentage of those in the overall sample that mentioned the specific group. The category “Other” (213 persons) includes specific answers such as “Anne Frank”, “children” or “survivors of the concentration camps” just as unspecific answers such as “those who gave their lives for others” or “nobody”.

Victim groups	Percentage of the response
All victims/victim groups	49.4%
Jews	37.0%
Sinti and/or Roma	9.9%
Victims of political persecution	7.9%
People with disabilities/illnesses	7.2%
Soldiers killed in action/German victims	6.6%
Resistance	5.3%
Homosexuals	4.0%
Other	21.3%
I don't know/no comment	2.6%

How often do you personally think of these people?				
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Frequently	All the time
5.5%	24.8%	44.7%	20.0%	2.4%

Do you think these people should be remembered in Germany ...	Percentage of the response
... a lot less often than now?	0.8%
... less often than now?	7.5%
... just as often as now?	45.4%
... more often than now?	35.1%
... much more often than now?	7.1%

How often have you ever done the following to grapple with the subject of National Socialism?					
	Never	Once	Twice	Three times	Four times or more
Read texts or watched videos on the Internet	40.4%	3.2%	6.7%	3.3%	45.6%
Watched a feature film	8.8%	6.5%	7.1%	10.9%	66.4%
Watched a documentary	6.3%	5.0%	5.8%	7.0%	75.7%
Read a non-fiction book	32.4%	11.9%	13.2%	7.4%	34.6%
Read a novel	39.8%	10.9%	11.0%	6.5%	31.4%
Visited an exhibition	33.5%	15.9%	12.7%	11.1%	26.5%
Attended a lecture	65.6%	8.2%	7.3%	4.8%	14.0%
Met a contemporary witness	68.3%	12.0%	6.2%	3.5%	9.9%
Visited a memorial site	22.1%	20.7%	14.7%	12.6%	29.8%

Only the 779 respondents who answered the previous question by saying they had visited a memorial site one or more times were also asked the following questions. As a conservative estimate, only the answers of the 474 respondents who stated that they had visited at least one concentration camp memorial site and subsequently named such a memorial site are presented here.

**Now, please think of the first time you visited a memorial site.
What memorial site did you visit?**

	Percentage of the response
Dachau	13.4%
Buchenwald	8.5%
Bergen-Belsen	5.6%
Auschwitz-Birkenau	5.4%
Sachsenhausen	4.2%
Other specific or unspecified former concentration camps	10.1%
Other memorial sites	27.1%

To what extent was it your own decision to visit this memorial site?		
Not at all	Somewhat	Entirely
23.4%	21.5%	54.9%

Who was with you visiting the memorial site?	Percentage of the response
I was all by myself.	3.3%
My family.	28.8%
My relatives.	2.2%
Friends.	13.0%
My school class.	47.3%
Another group.	4.8%

To what extent are the following statements true of you? The visit to the memorial site...					
	Not at all	Rather little	Somewhat	Rather strongly	Very strongly
... touched me emotionally.	1.6%	1.5%	10.9%	25.6%	60.3%
	None at all	Rather little	Somewhat	Rather much	Very much
... provided me with new factual knowledge.	4.2%	5.7%	22.8%	36.7%	30.6%
	Not at all	Rather little	Somewhat	Rather strongly	Very strongly
... motivated me to deal with the subject of National Socialism more intensively.	11.4%	9.7%	35.0%	25.1%	18.9%
... motivated me to deal with current social issues more intensively.	10.1%	13.5%	25.8%	31.9%	18.2%

The following question was only asked to the 221 people who answered that they had never visited a memorial site:

Now, please imagine you went to visit a memorial site relating to National Socialism.

Would you expect the visit to the memorial site to touch you emotionally?				
Not at all	Not so much	Undecided	Somewhat strongly	Very strongly
6.8%	12.7%	23.6%	24.9%	32.0%

How much new factual knowledge would you expect the visit to the memorial site to give you?				
None at all	Not so much	Undecided	Somewhat	Very much
10.4%	13.4%	48.8%	17.7%	9.7%

The following questions were only asked to the 589 people who, in response to the question above about activities that served the purpose of providing information about National Socialism, had answered that they had read texts or watched videos on the Internet:

When you deal with the subject of National Socialism on the Internet, how often do you use the following media and channels?

	Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often
I watch videos on the topic on platforms such as YouTube.	29.8%	18.8%	31.3%	19.9%
I read articles on knowledge sites such as Wikipedia.	11.8%	23.0%	33.4%	31.7%
I read online newspaper articles.	23.1%	22.5%	25.2%	28.6%
I play computer games that deal with the topic.	82.9%	7.5%	3.7%	6.0%

Suppose that a plaque commemorating victims of National Socialism is going to be erected on your street. Would you be...				
Strongly opposed	Rather opposed	Neutral	Rather in favor	Strongly in favor
1.9%	7.0%	17.7%	33.5%	39.3%

Suppose that a plaque commemorating fallen German soldiers from the Second World War is going to be erected on your street. Would you be...				
Strongly opposed	Rather opposed	Neutral	Rather in favor	Strongly in favor
5.2%	9.5%	30.4%	30.4%	23.4%

How many people have you personally known that lived through the Second World War? (Open answer format, categories formed subsequently)				
0	1–5	6–10	11–30	31–100
5.4%	38.8%	25.5%	18.6%	9.7%

Were ancestors of you among the perpetrators during the time of National Socialism?		
Yes	No	I don't know
19.6%	69.8%	10.6%

The 196 people who answered “yes” to the question were also asked the following question:

Which of the following categories describe the perpetrators amongst your relatives or ancestors? (Multiple answers were possible)

Categories	Percentage, partial sample	Percentage, total sample
Direct involvement in the acts (e.g. as a member of the SS, soldier or police officer).	64.7%	12.7%
Indirect involvement in the acts (e.g. as an employee of a public authority).	22.1%	4.3%
None of the categories listed.	18.5%	3.6%
I don't know.	4.1%	0.8%

Were ancestors of you among the victims during the time of National Socialism?		
Yes	No	I don't know
35.9%	58.8%	5.3%

The 359 people who answered “yes” to the question were also asked the following question:

Which of the following categories describe the victims amongst your relatives or ancestors? (Multiple answers were possible)

Categories	Percentage, partial sample	Percentage, total sample
Members of a persecuted group (e.g. Jews, Sinti and Roma, victims of political persecution).	22.6%	8.1%
Civilian victims of the war (e.g. in air raids).	51.4%	18.5%
Refugees or displaced persons.	48.4%	17.4%
None of the categories listed.	17.0%	6.1%
I don't know.	0.9%	0.3%

Did any of your ancestors help potential victims during the time of National Socialism?		
Yes	No	I don't know
28.7%	42.2%	29.0%

The 287 people who answered “yes” to the question were also asked the following question:

Which of the following categories describe how your ancestors helped potential victims? (Multiple answers were possible)

Categories	Percentage, partial sample	Percentage, total sample
Helping them to flee.	28.5%	8.2%
Hiding potential victims.	33.3%	9.6%
Supporting them as a public servant (e.g. issuing false papers).	5.9%	1.7%
Supporting them in everyday needs (e.g. slipping them food or medicine).	77.7%	22.4%
None of the categories listed.	3.5%	1.0%
I don't know.	1.9%	0.5%

In terms of the behaviour of the German population during the National Socialist era, the term “bystanders” is often used. This refers to people who – for example, by knowing about the situation, toleration, political inaction, looking away or blind obedience – became accomplices of the National Socialist crimes.

Would you say that ancestors of you were ‘bystanders’ in the time of National Socialism?		
Yes	No	I don't know
39.3%	50.0%	10.6%

How often did or does your family talk about the time of National Socialism?				
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	I don't know
15.7%	34.4%	35.0%	14.6%	0.2%

The following question was asked only to the 501 people who answered the previous question saying that they had never or rarely talked about the time of National Socialism at home.

What is the reason why you have never or rarely talked about the topic with your family? (Multiple answers were possible)

Categories	Percentage, partial sample	Percentage, total sample
Not interested in talking about it.	35.7%	17.9%
Sense that it is not OK to talk about it in my family.	11.4%	5.7%
Afraid that I might find out there were perpetrators in my family.	4.2%	2.1%
Concern that the topic would be too much of an emotional burden for my family.	23.9%	12.0%
None of the above/other.	37.7%	18.9%
I don't know/no comment.	2.3%	1.1%

I have the impression that things that happened in the context of National Socialism are kept secret in my family.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
43.7%	25.9%	11.2%	11.7%	4.1%

I think what is said in my family about the time of National Socialism is believable.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
1.9%	2.0%	10.9%	32.9%	49.3%

I would rather not know in detail what role my ancestors played during the time of National Socialism.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
45.7%	25.4%	7.9%	11.4%	7.5%

How reasonable do you think it is for people to deal with their family's history during the time of National Socialism?				
Not reasonable at all	Rather not reasonable	Somewhat reasonable	Reasonable	Very reasonable
3.6%	8.1%	22.4%	26.1%	39.8%

Do you know where or how you could find out about your family's history during the time of National Socialism?		
Yes	No	I don't know/no comment
47.0%	51.6%	1.3%

During the time of National Socialism, what percentage of the German population do you think...	<i>M</i>
... were amongst the perpetrators?	34.0 (<i>SD</i> = 25.3)%
... were amongst the victims?	34.7 (<i>SD</i> = 23.7)%
... helped potential victims?	15.8 (<i>SD</i> = 15.3)%
... knew that groups of people were being systematically murdered at the time?	39.3 (<i>SD</i> = 28,3)%

Where do you think support for the National Socialists was especially prevalent?	
Categories	Percentage of the response
Only in western Germany.	2.7%
More in western Germany.	7.6%
In western and eastern Germany.	68.8%
More in eastern Germany.	7.3%
Only in eastern Germany.	1.9%
Neither in eastern nor western Germany.	7.6%
I don't know/no comment.	4.2%

Where do you think society has particularly succeeded in coming to terms with the time of National Socialism?	
Categories	Percentage of the response
Only in western Germany.	9.5%
More in western Germany.	43.3%
In western and eastern Germany.	20.0%
More in eastern Germany.	7.1%
Only in eastern Germany.	1.4%
Neither in eastern nor western Germany.	13.7%
I don't know/no comment.	5.1%

Imagine you yourself had lived in Germany during the time of National Socialism. How likely do you think it is that you yourself would have become a perpetrator?					
Very unlikely	Rather unlikely	Neither nor	Rather likely	Very likely	I don't know/ no comment
36.7%	32.4%	18.7%	7.3%	2.6%	2.4%

Imagine you yourself had lived in Germany during the time of National Socialism. How likely do you think it is that you yourself would have become a victim?					
Very unlikely	Rather unlikely	Neither nor	Rather likely	Very likely	I don't know/ no comment
10.3%	24.7%	22.6%	27.3%	11.7%	3.4%

Imagine you yourself had lived in Germany during the time of National Socialism. How likely do you think it is that you yourself would have helped potential victims?					
Very unlikely	Rather unlikely	Neither nor	Rather likely	Very likely	I don't know/ no comment
1.3%	7.9%	23.9%	37.6%	27.1%	2.2%

Imagine you yourself had lived in Germany during the time of National Socialism. How likely do you think it is that you yourself would have actively resisted National Socialism?					
Very unlikely	Rather unlikely	Neither nor	Rather likely	Very likely	I don't know/ no comment
9.5%	26.4%	28.1%	17.9%	12.9%	5.2%

Why would you say people did nothing to stop the systematic murder of groups of people back then?			
Categories	True	Not true	I don't know/ no comment
They did not know anything about the murders.	38.9%	58.7%	2.4%
They did not realise the seriousness of the situation.	72.8%	26.3%	0.9%
They did not have a personal sense of responsibility for taking action.	73.0%	23.8%	3.2%
They did not have any opportunity to do anything about it.	51.1%	46.5%	2.5%
They shared the views of the National Socialist regime.	53.9%	42.6%	3.5%
They were afraid they would be punished or persecuted by the National Socialist regime.	95.4%	4.0%	0.6%
They did not care about the fate of the people being persecuted and murdered.	28.8%	69.1%	2.0%

I don't understand why, today, I am still supposed to deal with Germany's history in the time of National Socialism.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
42.2%	20.5%	20.2%	9.9%	6.6%

I think people today would have been capable of acts similar to those of the time of National Socialism.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
9.0%	12.5%	11.8%	31.8%	33.8%

The critical examination of National Socialism is something typical for western Germany.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
22.9%	27.3%	21.1%	15.4%	10.1%

Would you say that you are actively engaged in the culture of remembrance in Germany?		
Yes	No	I don't know/no comment
19.2%	80.4%	0.4%

In my opinion, the discrimination and exclusion of people on the basis of their national origin, religion or other group affiliations is increasing again in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
5.0%	7.6%	19.9%	33.0%	33.3%

I think the level of discrimination against and exclusion of people or groups of people in Germany is alarming.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
5.1%	9.8%	23.5%	28.0%	31.9%

I feel it is also my responsibility to prevent discrimination and the exclusion of people or people groups.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
11.7%	9.5%	16.9%	29.5%	31.8%

I know what I can do to help to prevent discrimination and the exclusion of people or people groups in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
2.2%	10.4%	21.5%	34.0%	30.7%

I am willing to get actively involved in fighting discrimination and the exclusion of people or people groups in Germany.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
4.6%	7.5%	23.7%	33.2%	30.1%

I see parallels between current political developments in Germany and the time of National Socialism.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
16.0%	20.1%	26.2%	22.3%	13.6%

Germany should receive more refugees from regions of crisis around the world.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
11.3%	14.9%	37.8%	20.6%	12.9%

Germany should have an upper limit for the number of refugees admitted to the country.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
21.4%	18.8%	19.1%	21.1%	17.6%

Being German is an important part of my identity.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
5.1%	11.5%	17.4%	24.8%	40.5%

The era of National Socialism is part of German identity.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
3.4%	8.3%	16.6%	29.7%	41.4%

People should finally be able to be proud of being German again.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
6.2%	11.0%	22.7%	29.1%	28.2%

Part of belonging to Germany is knowledge about the history of National Socialism.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
1.1%	2.4%	8.2%	28.0%	59.2%

In the overall context of German history, the period of National Socialism is given too much emphasis.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
18.6%	22.7%	26.1%	19.2%	12.9%

I am concerned that the German culture of remembrance is being overly monopolised by right-wing populists.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
5.5%	12.2%	18.9%	32.0%	30.7%

I think it is good that Germany is part of the European Union.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
1.6%	2.8%	8.3%	18.7%	68.4%

I feel like the politicians in office in Germany represent me and my interests.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
10.8%	22.4%	39.1%	18.5%	7.7%

There are secret organisations that have a great influence on political decisions.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
12.8%	18.3%	20.8%	24.4%	19.3%

Politicians and other leaders are only marionettes of the powers behind them.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
16.7%	21.8%	24.9%	18.6%	15.9%

The media and the politicians are in league with each other.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
20.9%	24.5%	23.2%	15.6%	14.2%

I trust my feelings more than so-called experts.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
6.9%	11.1%	29.6%	24.0%	27.6%

Important eras of German history are directly connected to each other.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
1.4%	6.3%	23.9%	34.1%	30.1%

Even if I have not done anything wrong myself, I feel guilty for the Holocaust.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
47.6%	27.0%	11.2%	7.5%	5.2%

When thinking about how other countries think about Germany because of the Holocaust, I feel ashamed.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
23.9%	21.4%	25.5%	15.7%	10.2%

I feel ashamed because what Germans have done during the Holocaust was so immoral.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
22.4%	13.8%	13.5%	24.9%	24.0%

It bothers me that Germans are still reproached today for the crimes committed against the Jews.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
22.4%	17.7%	24.5%	15.4%	18.5%

Jews have too much influence in Germany.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
51.7%	30.1%	10.1%	2.4%	3.2%

It is time to draw a line under Germany's National Socialist history.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
30.1%	20.4%	16.0%	12.2%	20.4%

I am proud of how Germany has dealt with its National Socialist past.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
11.7%	14.0%	39.7%	18.5%	13.2%

Germany is a country that has learned from the mistakes of its past.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
3.3%	8.7%	25.4%	36.9%	24.8%

Germany can serve as a successful model of coming to terms with history for other countries to follow.				
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither nor	Agree	Strongly agree
4.6%	12.0%	32.2%	29.2%	20.4%

Do you remember what mark you were last given in school for history? Was it a ...					
1	2	3	4	5 or worse	I don't know
16.4%	39.2%	25.1%	6.1%	1.4%	11.9%

How content are you now with your life, all in all?				
Not content at all	Rather discontent	Neither nor	Rather content	Very content
0.6%	1.9%	12.4%	41.4%	43.6%

How often in your life have you felt affected by the following symptoms for at least two weeks?					
	Never	Once	Twice	Three times	Four times or more
Little interest or enjoyment in your activities.	39.1%	13.3%	11.6%	7.6%	26.1%
Low spirits, melancholy or hopelessness.	58.1%	12.7%	7.1%	5.4%	14.1%
Nervousness, anxiety or tension.	41.3%	14.8%	10.0%	6.2%	25.4%
Inability to stop or control your worry.	61.3%	13.5%	7.3%	3.4%	12.7%

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