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Antisemitism 2024

Brief Report

Vienna, March 2025

ANTISEMITISM 2024

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Contracting Authority: Austrian Parliament
Scientific Director: Eva Zeglovits

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 MOTIVATION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Since 2018, a representative empirical data survey on antisemitism in Austria has been conducted every two years on behalf of the Austrian Parliament. The aim is long-term monitoring of the various forms of antisemitism in order to observe developments and to develop effective measures. The continuation of scientific research on behalf of Parliament and further comprehensive empirical surveys on antisemitism under the auspices of the Parliamentary Administration is a fixed measure of the National Strategy against Antisemitism, which has been coordinated by the Austrian Federal Chancellery since 2021.

In 2018, the Austrian Parliament commissioned the first comprehensive data collection on the topic of antisemitism in the country. The results were presented in a descriptive report.

The Antisemitism Study was repeated in 2020, with new topics arising from the discussion following the presentation of the first study and from the events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic. The influence of conspiracy myths and the media (especially social media) was surveyed for the first time.

The 2022 study essentially continued the 2020 survey, with aspects of the war in Ukraine and inflation added to the conspiracy theories. There was a new focus on young people up to the age of 25: their proportion in the sample was increased in order to provide a broad basis for the evaluations, and a special evaluation was conducted which examined in detail those aspects in which young people show stronger antisemitic attitudes than the population as a whole, including regarding Israel-related antisemitism. Following the Hamas attack on Israel in October 2023, young people were surveyed again in summer 2024 and their perceptions of the Middle East conflict were included in the analyses. The results ("snapshot") were published in October 2024. All study results are available for download on the website of the Austrian Parliament.

This Antisemitism Study 2024 continues the series, with some new content: Questions about recognizing antisemitism were added, and assessments of the conflict between Israel and Hamas and patriarchal attitudes were added as further possible explanatory factors. In addition, the desire for a "strong man", which had already been surveyed in 2018, was included again. All three aspects - this much can be said in advance - show clear correlations with antisemitic attitudes. Familiar patterns from the previous surveys are confirmed and new ones are added. As in all previous surveys, in addition to the Austria-representative survey, there was an additional sample in which people with roots in Turkey or an Arabic-speaking country were questioned.

This short report summarises the most important findings. More details can be found in the full report.

1.2 THE SURVEY

The **Austria-representative survey** was conducted in exactly the same way as it was in 2022 and had the following key data:

- Population: Austrian population aged 16 and over
- Survey area: entire federal territory
- Survey method: telephone interviews (CATI), online interviews (CAWI)
- Sample size n=2,037 complete interviews, maximum fluctuation range plus/minus 2.2 percentage points
- Disproportionate stratification by age, with the aim that those up to the age of 25 years old, with a case number of n=387, can be evaluated in more detail; fluctuation range maximum plus/minus 5.0 percentage points
- The questionnaire was estimated to take 15 minutes but proved to take considerably longer to complete (by telephone).

In the overall figures, the young people were again weighted according to their proportion in the population.

The telephone interviews were conducted by IFES on the basis of random numbers (RLD method), while the online interviews were recruited by Demox Research from an existing online pool. Together, these two methods form a representative picture of the Austrian resident population aged 16 and over. Comparisons over time are possible due to the stability of the methods.

The same operationalisation was used in **the additional sample**, as in 2020 and 2022. It comprises a total of n=1,080 people (maximum fluctuation range plus/minus 3.0 percentage points) and is made up of

1. n=577 people with a "family history of migration - Turkey" who were either born in Turkey themselves or at least one of whose parents was born in Turkey.
2. n=503 people with a "family history of migration - an Arabic-speaking country" who were either born in one of the countries listed below or at least one of whose parents was born in one of these countries. Countries were selected in which either Arabic is the official language or the majority of the population speaks Arabic. The countries in question were compared with statistical information on how many people from these countries live in Austria. This resulted in the potential countries of origin being: Egypt, Algeria, Iraq, Yemen, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and South Sudan, Syria, or Tunisia.

For the two parts of the additional sample, post-stratification quotas were set as in 2022 for the telephone interviews, i.e. it was determined in advance how many interviews (for example, with men or women) should be conducted.

For the telephone interviews in the additional sample, respondents could choose whether they preferred to give the interview in Turkish/Arabic or German. The telephone interviews were also combined with online interviews in the additional sample. As operationalisation and survey methods were, therefore, the same in 2022 and 2024, a time comparison is possible.

1.3 THE CONTEXT OF THE SURVEY: TERROR AND WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The 2024 Antisemitism Study took place in an environment in which hostile statements and acts against Jews had risen to a level not seen for a long time. This was triggered by the Hamas terrorist attack on October 7, 2023 and the subsequent escalation of the Middle East conflict, which sparked a great deal of interest and partisanship in the Western World. The Middle East conflict also had consequences in Austria, Germany, the USA, and Australia. Antisemitism gained a presence in the real world, but even more so in the digital world.

Hamas is internationally classified as an Islamist terrorist organisation. It was founded in 1987 as the Palestinian arm of the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2006, it won the last elections in the Gaza Strip to date. It now rules without democratic legitimacy. It suppresses freedom of opinion and opposition movements. In its charter, which has been in force since 1988, it denies Israel's right to exist and calls for violence against Jews; the text is both anti-Zionist and antisemitic.

1.4 DEFINITIONS: WHAT IS ANTISEMITISM?

In its efforts to identify and combat antisemitism, the Republic of Austria (as well as the European Commission and the European Parliament) relies on the working definition of antisemitism developed by the **International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)** for this purpose and which was published in 2016.

"Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."¹

Antisemitism, as we encounter it in Austria today, has several different manifestations, all of which are surveyed in the Antisemitism Study 2024. Empirically, the following manifestations can be identified:

- Religious antisemitism
- Conspiracy antisemitism
- Racist antisemitism
- Holocaust-related antisemitism
- Guilt-reversal antisemitism
- Israel-related antisemitism
- Non-antisemitism

¹ <https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definition-antisemitism> [13.1.2025]

2 SUMMARY OF THE MAIN RESULTS

2.1 MAIN RESULTS OF THE AUSTRIA-REPRESENTATIVE STUDY

2.1.1 Time comparisons

Antisemitism is a fundamental attitude; significant changes in a short period of time are not to be expected. The results of the 2024 study also show that numerous antisemitic attitudes can be found in the population to a very similar extent compared to 2022.

Racist antisemitic attitudes are very stable; religious antisemitism also shows few shifts, as does guilt-reversal antisemitism.

However, there are noticeable changes in individual antisemitic statements relating to Israel. More people than in 2022 have an opinion on this and also express it, with antisemitic feedback increasing significantly and rejection falling slightly. This applies most clearly to the statements:

- *"With the policies that Israel is pursuing, I can well understand that people have something against Jews."* (plus 8 percentage points approval)
- *"The Israelis basically treat the Palestinians no differently than the Germans treated the Jews during the Second World War."* (plus 5 percentage points approval)

Compared to 2022, young people and people with a university degree in particular are now more antisemitic towards Israel.

It is also striking that in Holocaust-related antisemitism, the statement *"I am against the fact that people keep rehashing the fact that Jews perished in the Second World War"*, i.e. calling for a line to be drawn, has gained in approval. This is most likely due to the fact that young people, whose agreement was still significantly lower in 2022, have become more similar to older people in their antisemitic attitudes.

2.1.2. New questions

The 2024 study contains new questions, including attitudes towards the conflict in the Middle East, which are significantly related to antisemitic attitudes, as well as assessments of what is recognised or perceived as antisemitic.

The vast majority of people in Austria classify Hamas' attack on Israel on **7 October 2023** as an act of terrorism and Hamas as an Islamist terrorist organisation. A little less than half consider Israel's military response to be justified. The high proportion of people who did not answer any of the questions is striking. This reflects gaps in knowledge and a lack of interest,

which can be seen from the fact that around half of those surveyed do not or hardly follow events in the Middle East; uncertainty, and thus the desire not to give a socially-undesirable answer, also probably also played a role.

Recognising antisemitism does not seem easy for many people in Austria, and thus there is a great need for action here. Antisemitism - when it is recognised as such - can be perceived particularly often on **social media**.

Six out of ten respondents consider the statement expressing Holocaust trivialisation "*In the reports on concentration camps and the persecution of Jews during the Second World War, many things are exaggerated*" to be antisemitic, meaning that four out of ten people do not recognise this form of antisemitism (it is prohibited by law in Austria), are unsure, or do not express their opinion.

The recognition and awareness rate for Israel-related antisemitism is even lower than for Holocaust trivialisation: only just over half of respondents classify the statement "*The Israelis basically treat the Palestinians no differently than the Germans treated the Jews during the Second World War*", which is also linked to the Holocaust, as antisemitic.

2.1.3. Stable patterns

The results of the present study also confirm the patterns known from previous surveys. The reproduction of correlations is of particular importance in cross-sectional studies in order to avoid random findings.

Particularly strong explanatory factors for antisemitic attitudes were identified:

- **Tendency towards conspiracy theories:** People who believe in conspiracy narratives have stronger antisemitic attitudes than people who reject conspiracy narratives. This applies to all manifestations of antisemitism.
- **Lack of knowledge:** The more someone knows about Judaism and Jewish life, the more likely he or she is to reject antisemitic statements. This applies to all manifestations of antisemitism.
- **Anti-Americanism:** The more someone blames the USA for the world's problems, the more inclined he or she is to hold antisemitic attitudes; this is particularly true of conspiracy antisemitism and guilt-reversal antisemitism.
- **Age:** Younger people are characterised by more pronounced antisemitic attitudes in some manifestations. This applies in particular to Israel-related antisemitism.

In the case of religious, racist and Holocaust-related antisemitism, younger people, especially younger men, are more likely to express antisemitic attitudes. In contrast, older people tend to agree with conspiracy antisemitism and guilt-reversal antisemitism.

- **Low formal education:** In general, the higher the level of formal education, the lower the level of antisemitic attitudes. This may also have to do with better recognition of socially-desirable response behaviour. In the case of Israel-related antisemitism, the correlation is weaker in some cases, i.e. formal education "protects" less against antisemitic attitudes than with other manifestations of antisemitism.

2.1.4. New connections

Due to current developments along with discussions of the results of previous studies, new hypotheses and content emerged that were included in the study as possible explanatory factors.

- **Patriarchal attitude:** The more clearly someone agrees with statements that question the equality of men and women, the more likely he or she tends to agree with antisemitic statements. This applies to all manifestations of antisemitism.
- **Desire for the political "strong man"** as an indicator of hostility towards democracy and authoritarian attitudes: The more clearly someone expresses the desire for the "strong man", the more likely he or she is to agree with antisemitic statements. This applies to all manifestations of antisemitism. This fits in with the results from 2018, where a strong correlation between authoritarian attitudes ("*right wing authoritarianism*") and antisemitism was proven.
- **Connection with attitudes towards the Middle East conflict:** People who do not classify the Hamas attack on Israel on 7 October 2023 as an act of terror agree with antisemitic statements more strongly than those who do classify the event as an act of terror. This also applies in particular to manifestations of antisemitism that have nothing to do with Israel per se. This result is particularly important, because it shows that trivialising the Hamas terror attack goes hand in hand with antisemitism.

2.2 MAIN RESULTS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE UP TO THE AGE OF 25

A closer look at young people up to the age of 25, which is made possible here by disproportionate sampling, confirms the pattern from 2022: Young people agree with many, but not all, antisemitic statements more often than do older people.

- 15 % of up to 25-year-olds are of the opinion that many things are exaggerated in reports about concentration camps (total population 8%).
- 28% question Israel's right to exist by agreeing with the statement that there would be peace in the Middle East without Israel (total population 14%).
- 18% express racist antisemitism by agreeing with the statement that Jews cannot be expected to be decent (overall population 9%).

Young men are often even more antisemitic than young women.

The factors influencing antisemitic attitudes among young people need to be considered in a differentiated way, because some of the influencing factors - especially the (lack of) knowledge about the Holocaust and Jewish life, patriarchal attitudes and the perception of the Hamas attack of October 7, 2023 - have different characteristics here than in the population as a whole:

- **Lack of knowledge:** Young people are much less likely to answer the three knowledge questions (on the number of victims of the Holocaust, Jewish religious holidays, and the area of Israel) correctly than the population as a whole. Two out of three people up to the age of 25 years old do not know the number of Holocaust victims. Since knowledge is a strong influencing factor, this is a lever that favours antisemitic attitudes among young people, in contrast to the population as a whole.
- **Patriarchal attitudes:** Young people up to the age of 25 are more likely to agree with patriarchal statements than the population as a whole; this is due more to the attitudes of young men than to those of young women. A leverage effect can also be observed here in the same way: Patriarchal attitudes are more pronounced among young people but, at the same time, favour antisemitic attitudes.
- **Attitudes towards the Middle East conflict:** Young people view the Hamas attack differently than the population as a whole; they often do not perceive it as an act of terrorism and more often blame Israel. Since - as shown in the report - there is a strong connection here with antisemitic attitudes, this topic is virtually a gateway for antisemitic attitudes among young people.

The other influencing factors remain relevant, but they do not differ greatly from the overall population in terms of the level of expression: The tendency towards conspiracy theories,

the desire for a political "strong man", and anti-Americanism encourage antisemitism, but here young people up to the age of 25 are no different than the population as a whole.

The use of social media, which - as already shown in detail in the 2020 study - is linked to antisemitic attitudes, plays a particularly important role among young people.

Young people up to the age of 25 are also often unable to recognise antisemitism as such, with only around one in two recognising Holocaust trivialisation as antisemitic. Only one in three recognises Israel-related antisemitism.

2.3 MAIN RESULTS FOR TURKISH AND ARABIC-SPEAKING ADDITIONAL SAMPLE

Since 2018, the study has used an additional sample to pursue the goal of describing and understanding how and to what extent antisemitic attitudes are expressed by people who have family roots in one of the countries in which international studies show a particularly high level of antisemitism. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that almost all anti-semitic attitudes are significantly more pronounced in the additional sample than in the population as a whole. The members of the additional sample also recognise antisemitism much less effectively than does the population as a whole.

The majority of respondents from the additional sample were born in Austria and, therefore, went through the Austrian school system. However, we know from the 2020 study that the media consumption of the people in the additional sample differs from that of the population as a whole; it also includes Turkish- and Arabic-language media, which enable and make the consumption of an antisemitic narrative probable.

In principle, the same mechanisms apply in the additional sample as in the population as a whole: the tendency to believe conspiracy narratives, a patriarchal attitude, the desire for a political "strong man", a lack of knowledge about Judaism and Israel, and a low level of education are mostly associated with antisemitic attitudes.

The influencing factors for antisemitic attitudes in the additional sample show the same patterns but are consistently more pronounced. This at least partially explains the higher agreement with antisemitic statements:

- **Propensity for conspiracy theories:** The propensity for conspiracy theories is more pronounced in the additional sample than in the population as a whole.
- **Lack of knowledge:** People from the additional sample are less likely to answer two out of the three questions correctly than the population as a whole, namely the number of victims of the Holocaust and the Passover festival. When estimating the

size of Israel, they are similar to the population as a whole. Around six out of ten respondents from the additional sample do not know the number of Holocaust victims.

- **Anti-Americanism:** The additional sample agrees more strongly with the anti-American statements than does the overall population.
- **Patriarchal values:** The additional sample tends more strongly towards patriarchal thought patterns than does the overall population for both statements.
- **Desire for a politically "strong man":** Every second person in the additional sample believes that a "strong man" would be good for Austria. This is around ten percentage points higher than in the overall population. In addition, more than one out of three people in the additional sample questions the religious precepts regarding the country's laws, and thus the **rule of law**, compared to around one in seven of the population as a whole.
- **Attitudes towards the Middle East conflict:** The assessment of the conflict in the Middle East in the additional sample is much more in favour of a positive image of Hamas and a negative image of Israel than in the population as a whole.

A connection with the **length of stay** in Austria is not clear: respondents born in Austria agree with some antisemitic statements more often, while immigrants agree with others. Although not consistently, there are always correlations with **religiosity**, namely that people from the additional sample who describe themselves as religious - and that is around two thirds, i.e. significantly more than in the overall population - are more likely to hold antisemitic attitudes than those who do not describe themselves as religious.

2.4 OUTLOOK

As comprehensive as this report is, it cannot answer all questions. In many areas, further qualitative research would be necessary to facilitate understanding patterns and correlations in order to ultimately provide a better basis for the development of countermeasures. This applies in particular not only to young people and the additional sample, but also to the influence of social media, which was already addressed in the 2020 study and has been taken up again this time.

The study also includes other content that has not been included in the report due to lack of space. The data from this and all previous parliamentary antisemitism studies are available for academic work on the AUSSDA research platform.

3 SELECTED TABLES

Table 1 Classification of 7.10.2023 as an act of terrorism

<i>"The Hamas attack on Israel was a despicable act of terrorism."</i>	fully and completely	more likely	rather not	not at all	don't know / no answer
2024 Total population	53	19	6	3	19
16 to 25 years	23	22	20	7	28
Additional sample	17	22	20	20	21

Table 2 Religious antisemitism

<i>"Jews are still responsible for the death of Jesus Christ."</i>	fully and completely	more likely	rather not	not at all	don't know/ no answer
2022 Total population	6	9	13	42	30
2024 Total population	4	8	13	44	32
16 to 25 years	4	12	17	38	29
Additional sample	9	14	17	28	32

Table 3 Conspiracy antisemitism

	fully and completely	more likely	rather not	not at all	don't know/ no answer
<i>"The Jews dominate the international business world."</i>					
2022 Total population	10	26	23	21	21
2024 Total population	9	23	23	23	22
16 to 25 years	10	15	25	31	19
Additional sample	23	29	18	16	14
<i>"Today, the power and influence of Jews in international press and politics is once again becoming increasingly apparent."</i>					
2022 Total population	10	26	23	21	21
2024 Total population	8	19	23	23	27
16 to 25 years	10	14	25	26	25
Additional sample	22	29	21	11	18
<i>"Jews have too much influence in Austria."</i>					
2022 Total population	5	14	27	34	19
2024 Total population	5	10	27	36	22
16 to 25 years	7	9	25	38	22
Additional sample	14	24	25	20	17

Table 4 Racist antisemitism

	fully and completely	more likely	rather not	not at all	don't know/ no answer
<i>"You can't expect a Jew to be decent."</i>					
2022 Total population	3	7	13	64	13
2024 Total population	3	6	11	66	13
16 to 25 years	8	10	14	56	13
Additional sample	8	15	21	43	13
<i>"When I meet someone, I know in a few minutes whether that person is Jewish."</i>					
2022 Total population	3	9	20	57	11
2024 Total population	3	8	19	59	11
16 to 25 years	7	12	18	51	13
Additional sample	10	16	22	40	13
<i>"For me, Jews are basically Israeli citizens and not Austrians."</i>					
2022 Total population	8	13	18	46	15
2024 Total population	8	12	16	49	15
16 to 25 years	8	17	15	43	16
Additional sample	11	16	22	37	13

Table 5 Holocaust-related antisemitism

	fully and completely	more likely	rather not	not at all	don't know/ no answer
<i>"In the reports on concentration camps and the persecution of Jews during the Second World War, many things are exaggerated."</i>					
2022 Total population	4	7	19	56	14
2024 Total population	3	5	18	60	13
16 to 25 years	5	10	24	46	15
Additional sample	8	14	25	37	16
<i>"I am against the fact that people keep rehashing the fact that Jews perished in the Second World War."</i>					
2022 Total population	14	20	20	33	12
2024 Total population	18	19	18	34	11
16 to 25 years	10	20	21	31	17
Additional sample	14	23	25	22	15

Table 6 Guilt-reversal antisemitism

	fully and completely	more likely	rather not	not at all	don't know/ no answer
<i>"Jews have little interest in integrating into the country in which they live. That is the main reason for their constant problems."</i>					
2022 Total population	7	15	25	33	20
2024 Total population	6	15	26	33	21
16 to 25 years	7	16	25	29	23
Additional sample	12	24	24	22	18
<i>"It is not just a coincidence that the Jews have been persecuted so often in their history; at least in part, it's their own fault."</i>					
2022 Total population	5	14	22	37	22
2024 Total population	4	15	21	39	21
16 to 25 years	6	13	22	39	21
Additional sample	12	21	25	23	18
<i>"Jews today are trying to take advantage of the fact that they were victims during the Nazi era."</i>					
2022 Total population	12	24	23	24	17
2024 Total population	13	25	23	22	17
16 to 25 years	10	23	23	24	20
Additional sample	21	28	21	16	14

Table 7 Israel-related antisemitism (1)

	fully and completely	more likely	rather not	not at all	don't know/ no answer
<i>"When the state of Israel no longer exists, there will be peace in the Middle East."</i>					
2022 Total population	4	10	25	39	22
2024 Total population	5	9	23	41	21
16 to 25 years	14	14	23	27	22
Additional sample	22	23	23	17	15
<i>"With the policies that Israel is pursuing, I can well understand that people have something against Jews."</i>					
2022 Total population	6	17	24	28	25
2024 Total population	8	23	22	25	21
16 to 25 years	8	19	26	26	22
Additional sample	19	25	22	21	13
<i>"The Israelis basically treat the Palestinians no differently than the Germans treated the Jews during the Second World War."</i>					
2022 Total population	9	21	21	18	31
2024 Total population	12	23	18	18	28
16 to 25 years	19	22	17	16	25
Additional sample	34	23	19	10	14

Table 8 Non-antisemitism

	fully and completely	more likely	rather not	not at all	don't know/ no answer
<i>"Because of the persecution of the Jews during the Second World War, we now have a moral obligation to stand by the Jews in Austria."</i>					
2022 Total population	14	28	22	20	16
2024 Total population	16	29	19	22	14
16 to 25 years	10	26	24	21	18
Additional sample	10	25	25	22	17
<i>"Jews have contributed a great deal to cultural life and science in Austria."</i>					
2022 Total population	32	33	10	6	18
2024 Total population	29	35	10	6	20
16 to 25 years	16	29	15	10	30
Additional sample	12	32	22	14	20
<i>"Jews are unjustifiably antagonised when there are crises."</i>					
2022 Total population	21	35	16	10	19
2024 Total population	19	34	16	9	22
16 to 25 years	16	33	14	15	21
Additional sample	9	24	28	21	18