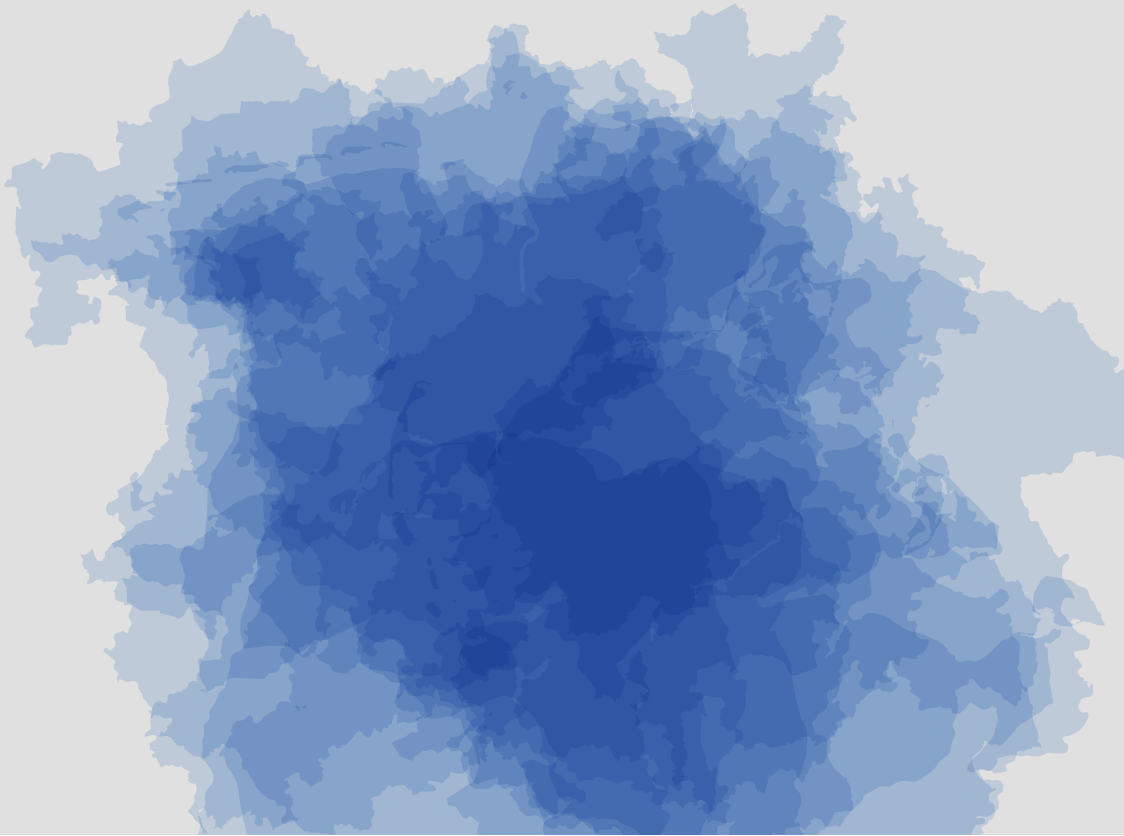




Bundesverband RIAS e.V.
Federal Association of Departments for
Research and Information on Antisemitism



Annual Report

Antisemitic incidents in Germany 2022

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Federal Association of Departments for
Research and Information on Antisemitism
(Bundesverband RIAS)

Gleimstraße 31, 10437 Berlin
Phone: +49 30 817 985 818
Email: presse@report-antisemitism.de

V. i. S. d. P. Benjamin Steinitz,
Bundesverband RIAS

Concept and editing
Bundesverband RIAS

Layout and graphics gegenfeuer.net

Editing Dr. Lars Breuer

Translation Dr. Pavel Sirotkin

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Introduction

The present *Antisemitic incidents in Germany 2022* report brings together the findings of various Departments for Research and Information on Antisemitism (RIAS) belonging to the Federal Working Group (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft, BAG) of the Bundesverband RIAS and run by civic organisations.

On the one hand, the number of antisemitic incidents decreased slightly in 2022. Two contexts that had still been frequent occasions for antisemitic incidents in 2021 played a lesser role last year: although the **corona pandemic** was still the occasion for several antisemitic incidents at the beginning of the year, it lost much of its significance as most government measures were rolled back. The **Arab-Israeli conflict**, too, did not provide any specific occasion in 2022, in contrast to the armed clashes in May 2021 and the accompanying mobilisations from the anti-Israeli spectrum. Nevertheless, Israel-related antisemitism remained at a high level in 2022. The **Russian war of aggression against Ukraine** became an additional occasion in 2022. On the other hand, the Bundesverband RIAS and the RIAS reporting offices recorded more violent antisemitic incidents over the past year. Thus, 9 cases of extreme violence alone were documented, along with 56 antisemitic assaults.

Sources of the data

The subsequent analyses are based on reports of antisemitic incidents by victims or witnesses as well as on information provided to RIAS by other organisations. The reports were registered and processed either by the Bundesverband RIAS or by one of the regional RIAS reporting offices. It should be noted that whether an incident actually comes to the attention of a reporting office depends on various factors. Two important factors are the local awareness of the respective reporting office and the trust placed in that reporting office by the communities of those affected by antisemitism. This trust sometimes has to be built up over many years. The virulence of social debates about antisemitism and — depending on this — sensitivity to the problem also affects the reporting behaviour. Finally, access to systematically analysable sources as well as the human resources of the respective reporting offices also have an impact on whether they can, for example, proactively monitor gatherings where antisemitic incidents may be expected. In short, the extent to which different RIAS reporting offices learn of antisemitic incidents can vary.

There was no systematic, comprehensive cross-checking with police statistics in 2022. Antisemitic crimes that only came to the attention of the police were therefore not included in the statistics. For this reason, it was unfortunately also not possible to check for incidents that might have been recorded twice (by the police and civic reporting offices). However, a systematic cross-checking with other civic actors such as the OFEK counselling centre or members of the Association for Victims of Far-Right, Racist and Antisemitic Violence (VBRG e.V.) did take place.

In addition, there were some institutional changes in the Federal Working Group (BAG) of the Bundesverband RIAS in 2022 which affected the data basis of the antisemitic incidents to be evaluated:

- Six new reporting offices began to systematically document incidents: RIAS Hesse, the Documentation and Information Centre on Antisemitism Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, RIAS North Rhine-Westphalia, RIAS Saarland, RIAS Saxony and RIAS Saxony-Anhalt. For the present report, the incidents registered there have been taken into account for the first time.
- The Antisemitism Unit (Fachstelle Antisemitismus) in Brandenburg did not continue the activities of RIAS Brandenburg in 2022.

For these reasons, the data sources for 2022 differ from that of the previous years. The report for 2021 included data from regional reporting offices in six federal states as well as from the Specialist Office [m²] in Cologne. The present report for 2022 is based on data from regional reporting offices in eleven federal states.¹ In particular, the documented incidents from the following reporting offices are included:

- RIAS Bavaria, run by the Association for Education and Democracy (Verein für Aufklärung und Demokratie e.V., VAD);
- RIAS Berlin, run by the Association for a Democratic Culture in Berlin (Verein für demokratische Kultur in Berlin e.V., VDK);
- RIAS Hesse, run by the Democracy Centre Hesse (Demokratiezentrum Hessen) at the Philipps University of Marburg;
- Documentation and Information Centre on Antisemitism in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania (Dokumentations- und Informationsstelle Antisemitismus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, DIA.MV), run by State-wide Victim Counselling, Assistance and Information for Victims of Far-Right Violence in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern e.V. (Landesweite Opferberatung, Beistand und Information für Betroffene rechter Gewalt in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern e.V., LOBBI);
- RIAS Lower Saxony, run by the Amadeu Antonio Foundation (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, AAS);
- RIAS North Rhine-Westphalia, run by the Association for Education and Democratic Training (Verein für Aufklärung demokratische Bildung e.V., VAdB);
- Specialist Office [m²] miteinander mittendrin. For Democracy – Against Antisemitism and Racism (Fachstelle [m²] miteinander mittendrin. Für Demokratie – Gegen Antisemitismus und Rassismus) at the Information and Education Centre against Far-Right Extremism (Info- und Bildungsstelle gegen Rechtsextremismus, ibs), run by the NS-Documentation Centre of the City of Cologne;
- RIAS Saarland, run by the Adolf-Bender-Centre e.V. (Adolf-Bender-Zentrum e.V.);
- RIAS Saxony, run by OFEK – Counselling Centre for Antisemitic Violence and Discrimination (OFEK e.V. – Beratungsstellen bei antisemitischer Gewalt und Diskriminierung);

1 The recording for the Cologne urban area by the Specialist Office [m²] has been conducted since before the foundation of RIAS North Rhine-Westphalia. By now, the expert office [m²] and RIAS North Rhine-Westphalia are in close cooperation with each other.

- RIAS Saxony-Anhalt, run by OFEK — Counselling Centre for Antisemitic Violence and Discrimination (OFEK e.V. — Beratungsstellen bei antisemitischer Gewalt und Diskriminierung);
- State-wide Documentation and Information Centre on Antisemitism in Schleswig-Holstein (Landesweite Dokumentations- und Informationsstelle Antisemitismus in Schleswig-Holstein, LIDA-SH), run by the Center for Victims of Far-Right Assaults (Zebra –Zentrums für Betroffene Rechte Angriffe e.V.), and
- RIAS Thuringia, a project of the Institute for Democracy and Civil Society (Institut für Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft, IDZ) run by the Amadeu Antonio Foundation (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, AAS).

Incidents from federal states without regional RIAS reporting offices in 2022 (Baden-Württemberg, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg and Rhineland-Palatinate) were processed by the Bundesverband RIAS.

The antisemitic incidents documented by RIAS only ever capture a slice of the reality. Despite all efforts, we must continue to assume a large number of unreported antisemitic incidents that are never registered.² In addition, the RIAS reporting offices only evaluate incidents that meet the RIAS criteria for an antisemitic incident. For this and other reasons, the number of registered incidents is not statistically representative for the general population. The numbers of antisemitic incidents mentioned in this report therefore do not indicate how many people in Germany as a whole think or act in an antisemitic way. The main aim of this report is to highlight the everyday dimension of antisemitism in Germany.

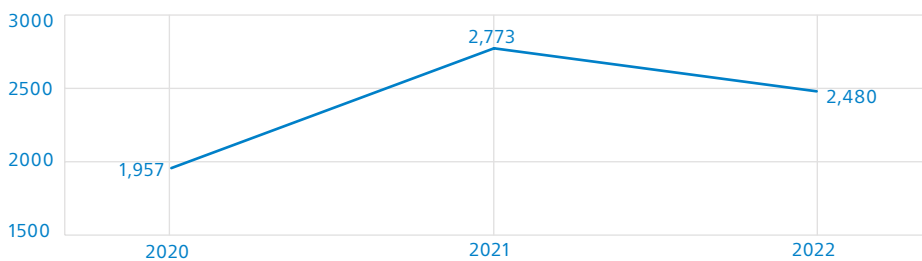
2 In the latest survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 78% of Jewish respondents in Germany said they had not reported the most serious antisemitic incident they personally experienced during the last five years to the police or any other organisation. See European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism. Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU, Vienna 2018, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-experiences-and-perceptions-of-antisemitism-survey_en.pdf, accessed on 09.05.2023, p. 55 ff.

Antisemitic incidents 2022

The RIAS reporting offices recorded 2,480 antisemitic incidents nationwide for the year 2022. On average, that is almost seven incidents per day. These incidents continued to have an impact on the daily lives of Jews in 2022. In addition to many cases of abusive behaviour, nine incidents of extreme violence were documented.

When recording antisemitic incidents, RIAS distinguishes between six different incident types depending on the nature and severity of the incident. According to this system, RIAS reporting offices documented a total of 9 incidents of extreme violence, 56 assaults, 186 cases of targeted damage of property, 72 threats, 1,912 cases of abusive behaviour (including 426 gatherings), and 245 mass mailings in 2022. The total number of antisemitic incidents recorded was almost 11 % lower than in 2021.³ However, the figure is still 26 % higher than in 2020. Analysis of the data shows that central structures of opportunity played a smaller role in incidents in 2022 than they did in 2021. A structure of opportunity refers to certain framing conditions that make antisemitic actions possible or more likely. These can be media events or social debates, but also targeted campaigns by political actors. In 2021, for example, many incidents were directly related to the corona pandemic or the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Number of antisemitic incidents



In 2022, the Bundesverband RIAS and the RIAS reporting offices documented a year-on-year increase in cases of extreme violence for the second year in a row. RIAS considers extreme violence to be physical assaults or attacks that may result in the loss of life or grievous bodily harm, but also the mere attempt of such acts. Since the start of nationwide documentation in 2017, the Bundesverband RIAS and the RIAS reporting offices have never documented so many cases of extreme violence in one year as in 2022. 4 of the 9 cases of extreme violence were reported in North Rhine-Westphalia alone. Three of these occurred within a few days of each other in November 2022: there was an attempted arson attack on the Jewish community in Dortmund, and a Molotov cocktail was thrown at the synagogue of the Jewish parish of Bochum-Herne-Hattingen, missing its target and hitting a school. One day later, bullet holes were discovered on the entrance door of the Rabbi's house of the Old Synagogue in Essen. The fourth case of extreme violence in North Rhine-Westphalia occurred earlier, in May 2022,

3 The figures for 2021 given in this report also include late registrations that could not be included in the 2021 annual report.

when an arson attack was carried out on the cemetery building of the Cologne synagogue community.⁴ Another case of extreme violence occurred in Bavaria in December 2022: On New Year's Eve, the window of a synagogue in Ermreuth was smashed. An attempt was made to set a fire with the help of fireworks.

In addition to Jewish communities, Jewish and non-Jewish individuals were also affected by incidents of extreme violence. In Berlin, there was a case of extreme violence that can be classified as Israel-related antisemitism: A group of five to ten people used baseball bats, knives and pepper spray to attack two young men for allegedly shouting "Free Israel". Two further cases of extreme violence are not presented in more detail for reasons of confidentiality.

In addition to cases of extreme violence, RIAS documented a total of 56 antisemitic assaults in 2022, which is equivalent to one assault per week. 61 % of these assaults were classified as antisemitic othering, with victims being addressed as not belonging to the respective imagined in-group or confronted antisemitically on the basis of their (assumed or actual) Jewishness. One such case occurred in Saxony-Anhalt in May. A couple was travelling in a car; one of them was wearing a kippah and was thus recognisable as Jewish. On the highway, the couple was first blocked by another car and then pursued to a car park. There, they locked themselves in their car. The three men pursuing them attempted to open the doors of the car. They hit the car and spat at the windows, insulted them in an antisemitic way and threatened them with violence.

The political-ideological background (political background for short) is unknown in 75 % of the documented assaults (i.e. in 42 out of 56 cases). It is often particularly unsettling for victims if they cannot identify the origins of antisemitic incidents. This leads to the perception that those incidents can potentially come from anywhere. This in turn makes the confrontation with antisemitism a major factor in the everyday lives of the victims. 14 of the antisemitic assaults in 2022 could be attributed to a political background. Of these, a right-wing extremist background was the most frequent category, with four assaults. One such assault occurred in November in Frankfurt (Oder), Brandenburg. At the premises of an association that promotes anti-fascist and anti-racist youth work, attendees were attacked by a right-wing extremist group with beer bottles and stones and subjected to antisemitic insults. Members of the attacking group repeatedly gave the Hitler salute and shouted at the attendees: "Come out, you bloody Jews!" Previously, they had tried to set fire to objects in the backyard of the association's building.

4 For more details, see: Fachstelle [m²], Prozess um Anschläge auf jüdisches Friedhofsgebäude beendet, 21.01.2023, <https://antisemitismus-melden.koeln/2023/der-brandanschlag-auf-das-friedhofsgebäude-der-juedischen-gemeinde-in-koeln/>, accessed on 13.03.2023.

186 cases of targeted damage of property were also significant for the overall level of incidents in 2022. In April, it was discovered in Rheinberg (North Rhine-Westphalia) that an information board at the Jewish cemetery had been extensively smeared with paint. In addition, two crossed-out Stars of David had been carved there. In 105 cases, memorials or commemorative signs were targeted for damage. For example, in January in Weimar, commemorative Stolpersteine were smeared with grey paint and scratched. In September, several memorial signs of the Ahlem memorial were damaged by graffiti in Hanover. There were also cases of targeted damage of property in the living area of victims. In Dresden, for example, a bottle was thrown at the door of a Jewish tenant's flat, damaging it.

In 2022, RIAS also recorded 72 antisemitic threats. For example, two men threatened to beat up the security staff of a synagogue in Munich. In the Hessian district of Offenbach, a resident threatened his Jewish neighbour through the closed flat door in February. He insulted her in an antisemitic and sexist way.

The number of antisemitic mass mailings, that is, mailings sent to a larger group of addressees, increased from 187 cases in 2021 to 245 cases in 2022, i.e. by 31%. A large part of the mass mailings documented in 2022 were brought to the attention of RIAS Thuringia. Those were antisemitic emails from a single sender with a conspiracist background. He repeatedly confronted the addressees of his emails with antisemitic statements on the corona pandemic and the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine.

In 2022, RIAS also documented 1,912 incidents of abusive behaviour, representing 77% of all documented antisemitic incidents for the year. In 2021, the share was almost 80% of all incidents. The consistently high number of cases in this category shows that antisemitism is often expressed in rather everyday and non-violent ways. The category of abusive behaviour includes antisemitic statements, but also damage to or smearing of non-Jewish property with antisemitic symbols or slogans. In February, for example, the writing "Jews Jena" was discovered at the railway station in Apolda (Thuringia). In May, an employee of a memorial site for the victims of the Nazi regime in Rhineland-Palatinate was subjected to antisemitic insults. The victim was in charge of an information booth at a festival when a group of persons with a conspiracist background disrupted the festival and relativised the Shoah with their statements. One person said in an aggressive tone that the dead Jews would turn in their graves if they knew how the government in Germany dealt with people opposed to vaccination. She shouted at the employee: "Something like you has no place in Germany."

Finally, 426 gatherings were also recorded as antisemitic incidents in 2022. This means that antisemitic statements were documented in the announcement of the gathering, in speeches, on banners and posters or in shouted slogans. Compared to 453 cases in the previous year, the number decreased slightly. However, the share of gatherings in total incident occurrence remained almost constant: it was 17 % in 2022 and 16 % in 2021. A large proportion of antisemitic gatherings in 2022 could be attributed to a conspiracist background (43 % of all gatherings). More than half of the gatherings were related to the corona pandemic. A quarter of these gatherings took place in January 2022 alone — as the year progressed, the relevance of this structure of opportunity diminished.



Rheinberg, North Rhine-Westphalia, April 2022: Targeted damage of an information panel at the Jewish cemetery.

Image credit: Jan Braunholz



Ahlem, Lower Saxony, September 2022:

Targeted damage to the Ahlem memorial site.

Image credit: Amadeu Antonio Stiftung

Antisemitism affecting everyday life

Many antisemitic incidents directly victimise individuals. In 2022, 961 incidents affected institutions and 557 incidents affected individuals. In 313 cases, the affected persons were Jewish or Israeli. In some cases, several people or even larger groups were affected by a single incident. Thus, a total of 661 Jewish and Israeli individuals were victims of incidents in 2022. For example, in August in Munich, a security guard gave the Hitler salute to 16 Israeli athletes who were on their way to a memorial for the 1972 Olympic attack.

RIAS also records the gender of the affected persons. As in the previous year, women were underrepresented compared to their share of the total population in 2022: Men were victims in 263 incidents and women in 153 incidents. For 81 incidents, no information on gender is available, and in 60 cases, it involved mixed-gender groups.

Antisemitic incidents often take place in locations that the affected person regularly visits or that they cannot avoid in their everyday lives. In February, for example, a student had left a Jewish school in Hamburg when someone shouted "Heil Hitler" at her at a bus stop in the immediate vicinity of the school. The student was able to withdraw from the situation by getting on the bus. RIAS recorded a total of 143 incidents in public transport over the last year. Jews are also confronted with antisemitic statements while shopping or in other everyday situations. In May, a Jewish man went to a café in Hamburg with a friend. He was recognisable as a Jew because of his kippah. The waitress asked the his friend if he was paying for both of them. The friend replied in the negative, saying, "He has enough money, he can pay for himself." The waitress replied: "Yes, you can tell he has money by his cap. They always have enough money." She went on to say that the chain (to which the café belongs) "also belongs to one of those." The man and his friend expressed their indignation at such a statement and left the café. Another case was documented in Berlin in July: A person picked up a parcel at a kiosk and had to show their identity card. The kiosk operator tried to guess their country of origin from the name. When he said "Israel", the kiosk operator replied that he already recognised this from the person's curls, but also from the fact that "they all" had so much money. The affected person objected that this was antisemitic, to which the kiosk owner replied, "But it's true, isn't it?" In total, RIAS recorded 41 antisemitic incidents in the commercial sphere (e.g. shops) and 24 incidents in the catering sector last year.

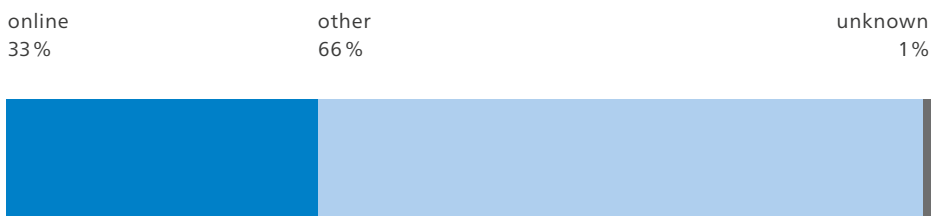
Antisemitic incidents that occur in their residential environment often have a significant impact on the affected individuals. They might occur in their own flat, the staircase or the direct neighbourhood. 103 such incidents were documented in 2022. In January, a man in Berlin harassed his Jewish neighbour. The affected man was in the process of cleaning out his cellar when the neighbour addressed him with the words “Work sets you free.” The neighbour had been aware for a long time that the affected was Jewish. The man criticised this statement and called on the neighbour to refrain from making it in the future. However, the neighbour dismissed him as “too touchy” and refused to apologise. A similar situation occurred in March in Gelnhausen (near Hanau, Hesse): A landlord happened to meet his tenant, with whom he was in a legal dispute, in the hallway of the house. When he asked her about the keys to the flat, she replied: “I don’t ask you why you are a Jew and haven’t been gassed yet.” The landlord is Jewish.

In 2022, RIAS documented significantly more antisemitic incidents in educational and cultural institutions (kindergartens, schools, universities, museums, theatres and similar institutions) than in previous years. In 2022, there were a total of 170 incidents compared to 70 incidents in 2020 and 97 incidents in 2021. One reason for this sharp increase is that RIAS became aware of more incidents from the arts and culture scene nationwide. These include, for example, productions of the play “Vögel” in Munich, in which, according to an analysis by RIAS Bavaria, the Shoah is relativised and stereotypes of anti-Judaic and Israel-related antisemitism are reproduced.⁵ Another reason for the increase are numerous antisemitic incidents in the context of the documenta fifteen art exhibition in Kassel. Meanwhile, the number of recorded antisemitic incidents in schools also increased from 57 incidents in 2021 to 76 incidents in 2022. This includes, for example, antisemitic graffiti on school buildings or antisemitic statements by students and teachers. Some of these were aimed directly at Jewish students.

5 For more details, see: RIAS Bavaria, Dimensionen des Antisemitismus in ‘Vögel’ und in der Abwehr der Kritik. Eine Analyse der Recherche- und Informationsstelle Antisemitismus (RIAS) Bayern, December 2022, https://report-antisemitism.de/documents/2022-12-15_rias-by_Analyse_Voegel_RIAS_Bayern.pdf, accessed on 23.03.2023.

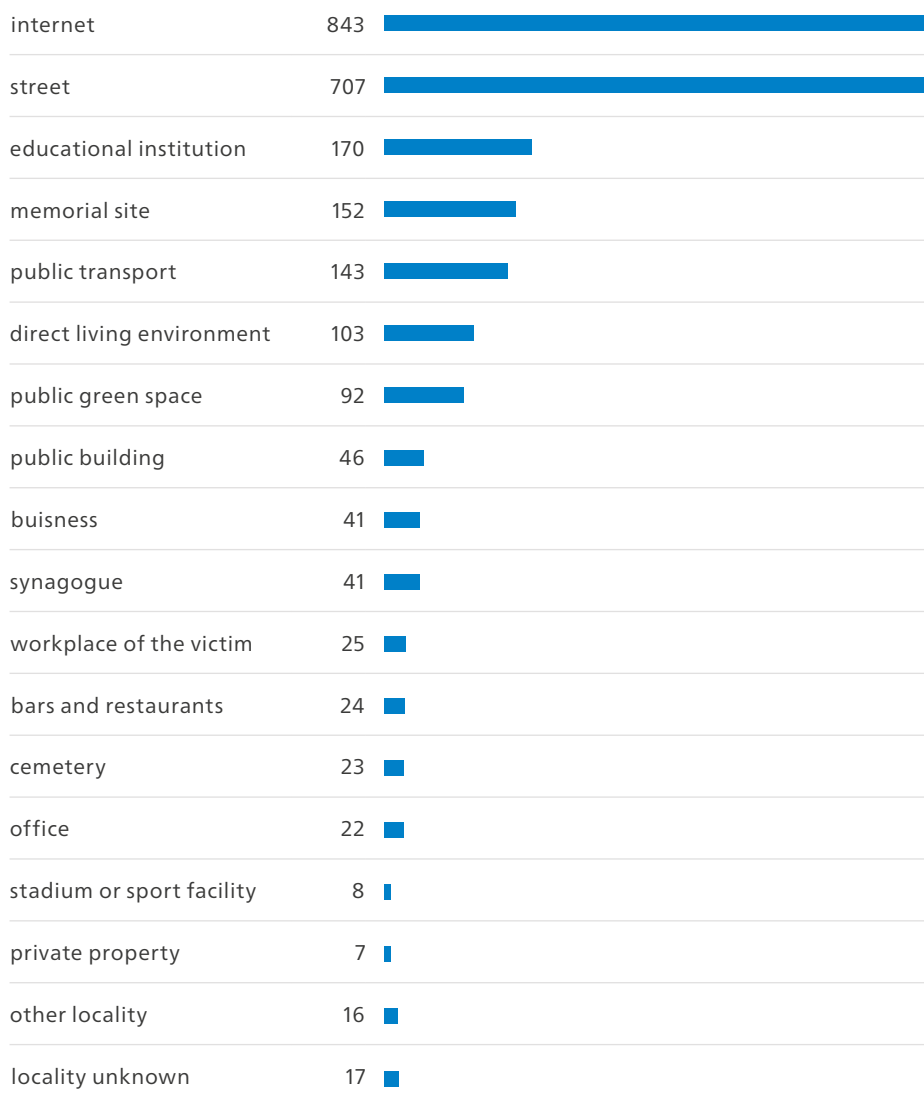
In 2022, RIAS recorded a total of 843 antisemitic incidents on the internet. This means that every third documented incident (33 %) occurred online. The share of these online incidents in the total number thus remained constant compared to the previous year (34 % in 2021). It should be noted that RIAS only records antisemitic statements on the internet if they are aimed directly at specific persons or institutions. These include emails, direct messages via messenger services or comments and postings on social media platforms in which specific people are tagged. For example, in January, two people commented on a tweet by a person recognisable as Jewish who was promoting the corona warning app: "Can anyone explain to me the relationship between this lady and certain decision-makers? I mean, you don't post something like that voluntarily without getting some kind of benefits in return, do you?" To which a second person replied: "That's Jews for you." Antisemitism on social media platforms, in emails or direct messages often has a similar profound effect on those affected as face-to-face antisemitic incidents.

Online incidents and other incidents in 2022



The severity of antisemitic incidents can sometimes vary greatly, as can be seen in the different locations where they occur. This is illustrated by the following list showing where such incidents occurred in 2022. Thus, antisemitism is not confined to certain locations or situations.

Locations of antisemitic incidents



Antisemitic incidents in everyday situations — whether in one’s own living environment, on social media platforms, while shopping, on public transport or on the way to school or to work — often directly disrupt the daily lives of those affected. Therefore, affected persons are usually not in a position to avoid these potential threats. This underscores the everyday character of antisemitism: Jews encounter it in all kinds of situations, including their daily lives. This, in turn, directly impacts their sense of security. An analysis of interviews with representatives of Jewish communities and institutions by the Bundesverband RIAS shows that many victims adapt their everyday life to such situations; for example, many try not to be recognisable as Jews.⁶

Occasions for antisemitic incidents

The work of the Bundesverband RIAS and the RIAS reporting offices over the past years has shown that certain structures of opportunity often play a crucial role in the development of incidents. Under certain circumstances, occasions such as the corona pandemic or acute escalations of the Arab-Israeli conflict open up an opportunity for people to make antisemitic statements or to act antisemitically. It is crucial to emphasise that these structures of opportunity are not the reason for antisemitic statements or actions; they merely provide a framing. Therefore, in the context of the framing conditions for antisemitic incidents that they alter, these occasions are also referred to as structures of opportunity.

As a rule, already existing antisemitic sentiments are linked to a current context, for instance one that is highly visible in the media. It is characteristic of structures of opportunity that they are often accompanied by increased mobilisation by political actors. They can, at least temporarily, reinforce antisemitism or contribute to its more open or violent expression.⁷ Two structures of opportunity that had strongly shaped incident occurrence in 2021 played at most a minor role in 2022. In the past year, there were no comparable mobilisation efforts by political actors in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Accordingly, fewer antisemitic incidents occurred in this context than in 2021. Protests in the context of the

6 For more details, see: Bundesverband RIAS, „Das bringt einen in eine ganz isolierte Situation.“ Jüdische Perspektiven auf Antisemitismus in Deutschland 2017–2020, 18.02.2023, https://report-antisemitism.de/documents/2023-02-28_Isolierte_Situation_Web.pdf, accessed on 21.03.2023.

7 For more details, see: Samuel Salzborn, Antisemitismus zwischen Tat und Straftat. Zur Dunkelfelderhellung am Beispiel des Berliner Modells der Antisemitismusbekämpfung, in: Recht und Politik, 57 (2021), p. 221–227, here p. 226.

corona pandemic⁸ also became increasingly less important with the gradual removal of most government containment measures from March 2022 onwards. In 2021, 31 % of all antisemitic incidents were related to the corona pandemic. In 2022, it was still 27 % of all incidents. For individual incident types, the proportion was even higher: the corona pandemic played a role in incidents at 35 % of all gatherings and in 28 % of the documented mass mailings. However, it should be noted that 55 % of all incidents related to the corona pandemic were documented in the first quarter of 2022. RIAS had already observed a similar seasonal accumulation in 2021, when 49 % of all incidents related to the corona pandemic were documented in the last quarter of the year. At the end of 2021, there were debates on compulsory vaccination and social restrictions for people not vaccinated against the coronavirus, which were met with strong protest.

In 2022, the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine became another occasion for antisemitic incidents. In part, antisemitic conspiracy myths, according to which secret powers were behind the corona pandemic and directed world events, were simply transferred to the war. Nevertheless, antisemitic stereotypes played a relatively minor role in the various debates, campaigns and mobilisations related to the Russian war of aggression. RIAS registered a total of 281 antisemitic incidents in 2022 with explicit or implicit links to the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine. Here, explicit means that the war is directly addressed in incidents; implicit means that the incident could only occur because of the war, but does not take the war as its actual subject. That is the case, for example, when Jewish refugees from Ukraine are subjected to antisemitic hostility without the hostility itself being directly related to the war.

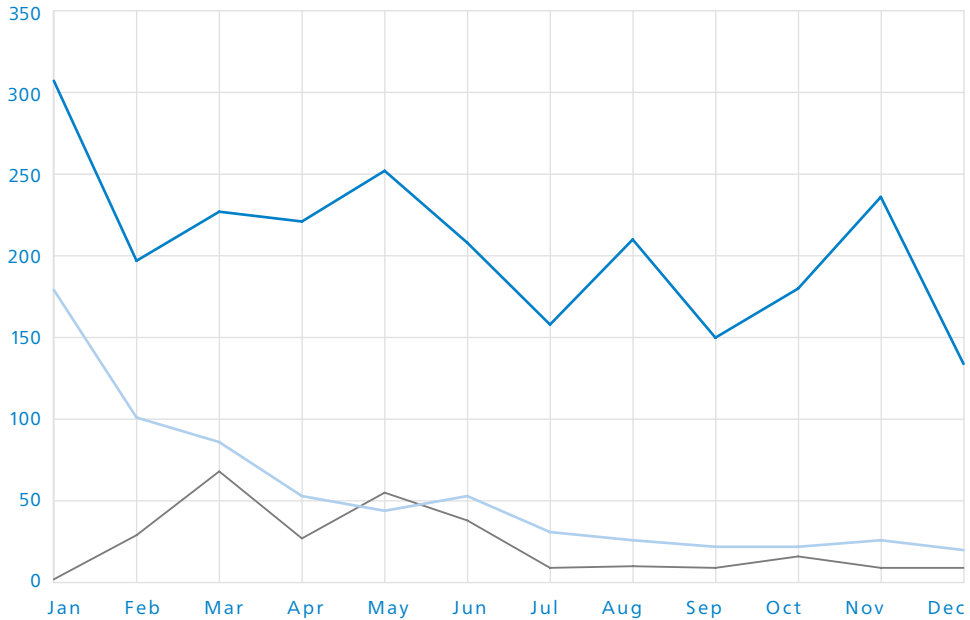
In the following examples, however, the connection to the war was explicit: In May, a door in Regensburg, painted in the Ukrainian national colours of blue and yellow, was smeared with a Star of David and the addition “= Z”. While driving in a taxi in Berlin in August, a Jewish passenger was confronted with the driver’s conspiracist statement that Americans and Israelis were profiting from the war because it was about power and money.

Overall, 11 % of antisemitic incidents in 2022 were related to the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine. These included 2 assaults, 3 cases of targeted damage of property, 3 threats, 131 mass mailings and 142 cases of abusive behaviour. One in four incidents related to the Russian war of aggression was classified as modern antisemitism, meaning that antisemitic stereotypes about the power and wealth of Jews were used.

8 For more details, see: Bianca Loy/Daniel Poensgen, Verschwörungsmymen und Selbstviktimitisierung. Antisemitische Vorfälle im Kontext der Corona-Pandemie, in: INDES. Zeitschrift für Politik und Gesellschaft, (2022) 3-4, p. 94-101.

Antisemitic incidents in 2022

■ total ■ Incidents related to the corona pandemic
■ Incidents related to the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine



Just as in previous years, numerous antisemitic incidents in 2022 involved deflecting the memory of the Shoah. Around the memorial day of 9 November alone, which commemorates the 84th anniversary of the November pogroms in 1938, RIAS documented 31 antisemitic incidents directed against the memorialisation of the Shoah in 2022. These included 14 cases of targeted damage of property, 3 assaults and one threat. Similar commemoration days are the cause of numerous antisemitic incidents year after year.

In Saarlouis (Saarland), several stickers with the slogan "Holocaust industry – End the rip-off!" were discovered in the run-up to 9 November. Most of the incidents occurred at memorials and memorial plaques, such as in Mainz, where there were several cases of targeted damage of property on 9 November. Roses laid on Stolpersteine were removed and destroyed. In Waren (Müritz) in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, a right-wing extremist group disrupted an event commemorating the November pogroms of 1938. In the run-up, a member of the group rode past the memorial on his bicycle and spat at it. A short time later, two more men approached and physically assaulted participants of the commemoration. In some cases,



**Cologne, North Rhine-Westfalia,
February 2022:**
Antisemitic banner with the text
"Vaccination sets you free."



Berlin, November 2022:
Deliberate damage of
a Stolperstein.
Image credit: Verein für Demokratische
Kultur e. V. (VDK)

Jewish communities were also affected by such incidents. For example, the Jewish community in Flensburg (Schleswig-Holstein) received a bomb threat on 9 November. This shows that such an incident on a remembrance day like 9 November is not only a deflection of the memory of the Shoah, but also a threat to Jewish life in Germany today.

Assaults on the commemoration of the Shoah do not always have a right-wing extremist background, as illustrated by an incident in Berlin. There, the slogan "From the river to the sea — Palestine will be free" implying the annihilation of Israel was shouted at an anti-Israeli rally "against colonialism, imperialism, exploitation and oppression". The rally's announcement said that afterwards the participants would "go clean the Stolpersteine together in Neukölln". The example shows that Israel-related antisemitism can indeed go hand in hand with an explicit acknowledgement of the memory of the Shoah — or to put it another way: that the memory of the victims of the Shoah can also be used as a legitimisation for other forms of antisemitism. In Saarbrücken (Saarland) on 6 November, the memory of the Shoah was relativised at a Christian fundamentalist gathering. In front of a centre providing information on abortions, a speaker referred to Stolpersteine as a sign of remembrance and compared the victims of the Shoah to aborted fetuses.

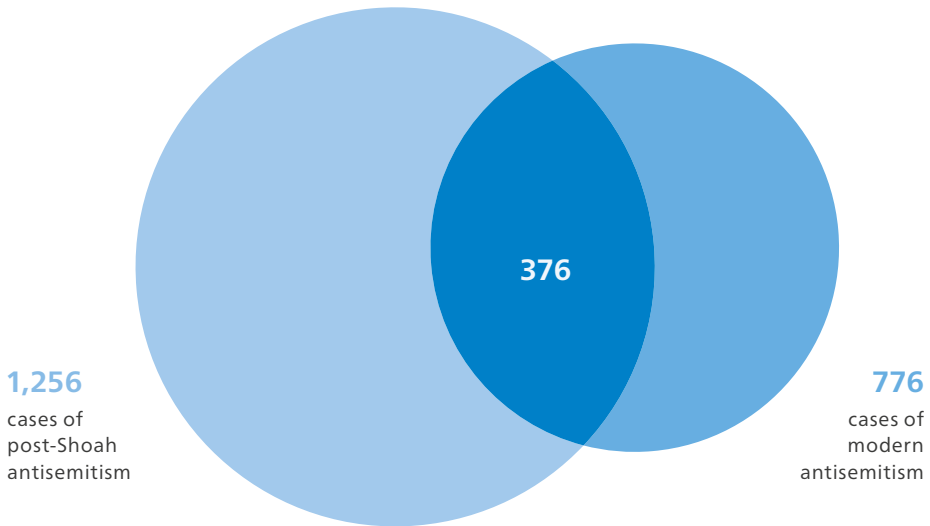
Manifestations of Antisemitism

Different antisemitic stereotypes can be expressed in antisemitic incidents. RIAS assigns these to one of a total of five substantive manifestations. In this context, a single incident is often attributed to several manifestations if the corresponding stereotypes occur. In 2022, there were a total of 3,705 attributions to such a manifestation for 2,480 antisemitic incidents. On average, therefore, each incident was assigned to approximately 1.5 manifestations. On the one hand, it is crucial to make a conceptual distinction between different substantive manifestations of antisemitism — for example, anti-Judaic or Israel-related antisemitism. But it is also crucial to analyse the frequently occurring overlaps of several manifestations. In the following, we will examine three manifestations in more detail: post-Shoah antisemitism, Israel-related antisemitism and antisemitic othering.

Of all antisemitic incidents, the most common manifestation in 2022 was post-Shoah antisemitism. RIAS assigned approximately one in every two incidents (1,256 out of a total of 2,480) to this category. Such references to the Shoah were particularly frequent in the case of antisemitic mass mailings — here, over nine out of ten incidents (229 cases or 93 %) were classified as manifestations of post-Shoah antisemitism. In 2022, the mass mailings as a whole were also often linked to the corona pandemic and had a conspiracist background. This connection partly explains why two-thirds of all incidents of post-Shoah antisemitism had a conspiracist background. In the case of incidents with a right-wing extremist background, on the other hand, roughly one in two was attributed to post-Shoah antisemitism. Post-Shoah antisemitism is the manifestation which most often occurs in overlap with other manifestations — for example, with modern antisemitism, which RIAS also associates with antisemitic conspiracy myths. In November, for example, a victim from Rhineland-Palatinate was approached by a man who recognised him because of his political activism. The man called him a “man of the system” and questioned the validity of elections, which he claimed had been invalid in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1956. According to the man, the Second World War was “instigated by the Rothschilds and other Jews — not Hitler”, and this conspiracy continues to this day. The statements combine conspiracy myths related to the Rothschild family with a form of antisemitic perpetrator-victim reversal that blames Jews for the Second World War. In 2022, RIAS documented such links between post-Shoah antisemitism and modern antisemitism in 376 cases. Stereotypes of post-Shoah antisemitism were also found in almost every second incident of modern antisemitism; more than 60 % of all incidents with these two manifestations were related to the corona pandemic. These often combined antisemitic conspiracy myths with a self-victimisation that relativised the Shoah, for example by wearing so-called Jewish stars.

Overlaps of post-Shoah antisemitism and modern antisemitism

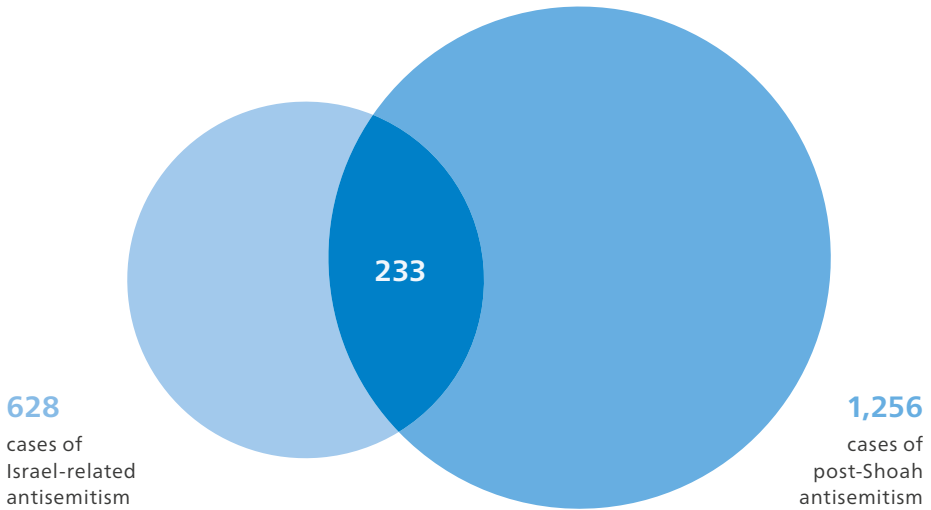
Absolute number of antisemitic incidents assigned to each in 2022.



Israel-related antisemitism also remains significant in terms of the number of incidents. In 2022, RIAS attributed incidents with this manifestation to all political backgrounds. In 2021, there had been a large number of one-sided anti-Israel demonstrations nationwide; these had led to a sharp increase in antisemitic incidents, especially in May 2021. There was no such mobilisation in 2022 — all the more striking, therefore, that the proportion of antisemitic incidents involving Israel-related antisemitism remained almost constant year-on-year: RIAS documented a total of 723 incidents in this category in 2021 (26 % of attributed incidents), and 628 incidents in 2022 (25 % of attributed incidents). Israel-related antisemitism also frequently overlaps with the manifestation of post-Shoah antisemitism: 37 % of all incidents of Israel-related antisemitism were additionally classified as post-Shoah antisemitism.

Overlaps of post-Shoah antisemitism and Israel-related antisemitism

Absolute number of antisemitic incidents assigned to each in 2022.



RIAS classified one in three antisemitic incidents as antisemitic othering. In this manifestation, Jews or people who are thought to be Jews may be marked as alien, or people and organisations may be marked as Jewish in order to mark them as alien. The proportion of incidents with the manifestation of antisemitic othering is particularly high in violent incidents: it reaches 78% for incidents of extreme violence, 61% for assaults and 75% for threats. Jews are thus attacked and threatened simply because they are Jewish; and others because they are marked as Jewish.



Eschborn, Hesse, March 2022:
Shoah-relativising graffiti:
VACCINATION = CYCLONEB [sic!].

Hamburg, July 2022:
Antisemitic graffiti near an
S-Bahn station.



Political-ideological background

RIAS attributes a political-ideological background (political background for short) to antisemitic incidents. This is not the same as the manifestations of antisemitism discussed above. Neither does RIAS automatically attribute a specific political background based on the substantive manifestation of an incident. A political background is only attributed if it can be clearly identified: either from the incident itself (e.g. due to a self-designation of the perpetrators), from the antisemitic stereotypes used (e.g. if they include specific religious beliefs) or from the context of the situation (e.g. incidents in the context of a specific demonstration). In general, the majority of antisemitic incidents cannot be attributed to a political background because the information required to do so is lacking. That was the case for 53% of all incidents in 2022. This proportion has remained constant; in 2021, too, 53% of all documented incidents could not be attributed a political background. The spectrum of incident types that could not be attributed ranges from extreme violence to cases of abusive behaviour. One such case occurred in Berlin in September: A man who was recognisable as Jewish based on his clothing was walking along a footway and talking on his phone in Hebrew. A passer-by insulted and jostled him. Neither the act itself, nor the insults, nor the details of the perpetrator gave clear indications of a specific political background in this incident. As with the different locations (see above), the fact that incidents do not only originate from persons with a definable political background reinforces the perception among Jews that they could be confronted with antisemitism everywhere.

Among those incidents that could clearly be attributed to a political background, a conspiracist background was the most frequent category for the first time in 2022. For RIAS, this includes groups or individuals whose main focus is the dissemination of antisemitic conspiracy myths and who are not recognisably predominated by any other political background. For example, during a demonstration against corona measures in Fürth (Bavaria) in January, a demonstrator wore an armband with the inscription "unvaccinated". This evoked the antisemitic marking practice of the National Socialists with so-called Jewish stars. Several placards made conspiracist references to a "Great Reset" allegedly being carried out by "global elites" with the aim of global levelling and the introduction of a new monetary system. One placard equated current German politicians with Nazi criminals. In total, 530 documented antisemitic incidents last year had a conspiracist background; this corresponds to 21% of all incidents. In 2021, the share was still 16% of all incidents. 40% of all incidents with a conspiracist background were documented in the first quarter of 2022. At the beginning of the year, the measures to contain the corona pandemic were still particularly evident, and the debates and protests against them played a special role in incidents. For the year as a whole, 78% of all incidents with a conspiracist background were related to the or the state containment measures.

There are also notable overlaps with certain manifestations: Stereotypes of modern antisemitism played a role in 74 % of all incidents with a conspiracist background, and stereotypes of post-Shoah antisemitism in 69 %. In terms of incident type, incidents with a conspiracist background were mainly antisemitic mass mailings (36 % or 189 cases) and gatherings (35 % or 185 cases). These findings reveal a pattern: incidents with a conspiracist background were frequently related to the corona pandemic in 2022. The dominant ideas were antisemitic notions of Jewish power combined with antisemitic references to the Shoah. However, the incidents mainly occur in a politicised context — at demonstrations and in letters that resemble political pamphlets and are intended to reach a relatively large audience.

The second most frequent attribution of incidents in 2022 was to a right-wing extremist background. This was the case in 321 incidents or 13% of the total. In 2021, the share was still 17 % (470 cases). It should be borne in mind that it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between an extreme right-wing background and a conspiracist background, especially at gatherings. For example, right-wing extremist actors regularly mobilised for protests of the so-called Querdenken movement, but tried not to be too overt.⁹ RIAS attributed only about 1 % of all antisemitic incidents to an Islamic or Islamist background in 2022; however, a comparatively large number of violent incidents RIAS became aware of had such a background. Of the just 16 incidents that could be attributed to an Islamic or Islamist background in 2022, 3 were cases of extreme violence, 3 were assaults and 2 were cases of targeted damage of property. This means that in 2022, one in three incidents of extreme violence had an Islamic/Islamist background. In May, an antisemitic assault took place in Leipzig. Following a demonstration with an Islamic/Islamist background, three demonstrators insulted counter-protestors in a sexist way and demanded that they hand over their Israel flag. They then proceeded to block the path of the protestors and hit them in the face.

In antisemitic incidents with a Christian or Christian fundamentalist background, which accounted for a total of close to 1 %, the Shoah was relativised several times. In October, for example, cards containing a link to a website with the slogan “Abortion sets you free” were distributed at the so-called “1,000 Crosses March” in Munich. In Dortmund, participants in a November vigil in front of an abortion clinic shouted “Babycaust” — another relativisation of the Shoah. Antisemitic incidents that were attributed to a centrist background for about 3 % of all

9 For more details, see: Bundesverband Mobile Beratung, *Extreme Rechte, Rassismus und Antisemitismus im Kontext der Corona-Pandemie*, 2020, <https://bundesverband-mobile-beratung.de/wp-content/uploads/202301/2020-BMB-Analysepapier-Extreme-Rechte-Rassismus-und-Antisemitismus-im-Kontext-der-Corona-Pandemie.pdf>, accessed on 09.05.2023, as well as Moses-Mendelsohn-Zentrum/Emil Julius Gumbel Forschungsstelle, „Corona-Protteste und die extreme Rechte. Aspekte des Demonstrationsgeschehens in Brandenburg 2020 und 2021, in: *Mitteilungen der Emil Julius Gumbel Forschungsstelle* 10/2022, p. 1–32.

incidents in 2022. For example, there was an incident of antisemitic othering in August in Kassel. It occurred at an information booth that provided information about antisemitism in the context of documenta fifteen; a man insulted the staff of the booth and said that “the Jews” were to blame for Germany proving to be a “bad host”. 2 % of all antisemitic incidents in 2022 were attributed by RIAS to a left-wing or anti-imperialist background.

Entanglements

Antisemitic statements or actions are often accompanied by other stereotypes or ideologies of inequality. RIAS defines these as ways of thinking that reject the equal rights of all people. In many cases, corresponding stereotypes or ideologies are not only expressed in the same situation in which antisemitic statements are made, but are also directly linked to them verbally. Through the entanglement of different ideologies of inequality, the quality of the content of all ideologemes changes; new meaning is added through the connection which is more than the sum of the individual parts. Thus, for example, there is a qualitative difference between someone being insulted in an antisemitic or sexist way, and someone being insulted in an antisemitic and sexist way at the same time. RIAS systematically captures such entanglements of different ideologies of inequality. These sometimes become particularly clear in individual slogans: For example, in October, supporters of the football club Hertha BSC Berlin shouted the simultaneously antisemitic and antigypsyist slogan “Parasites, Gypsies and Jews — Babelsberg 03” at an away game in Leipzig. In 2022, RIAS recorded such entanglements in 479 of the 2,480 documented antisemitic incidents — in other words, in almost one in five incidents.

Entanglements of antisemitic incidents with other ideologies of inequality in 2022

racism	296
sexism	55
hostility towards the LGBTIQ community	49
antigypsyism	13
other ideologies	66

In 2022, the entanglement of antisemitic incidents with racist stereotypes was particularly frequent. For example, RIAS Berlin learned of a conversation in a garden allotment. While two people were talking, a third person joined them and remarked that a lot of money was being sent to Ukraine unnecessarily, although it was needed more urgently in “our country”. This person went on to comment on “the Russians, who are all extremely snooty and disagreeable”, “especially Jewish Russians”, who are “the very worst”. The person went on to rant that Germany was also still paying money to Jews and that “the Jews” were allegedly “never satisfied”; at some point, “enough is enough”. When criticised for these statements, the person reacted by saying that it was not possible to express one’s opinion freely any more. The neighbour concurred.

Overall, the number of entanglements has increased by one third compared to 2021. One reason for this certainly lies in the change in societal debates: in discussions about the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine, racist stereotypes about Ukrainian refugees were often combined with antisemitic interpretations of the war. In April, a family in Hamburg received a racist and antisemitic threatening letter after they took in a Ukrainian family and hung a Ukrainian flag on their house in solidarity. The letter referred to people from Eastern Europe in a racist way as “Untermenschen” (subhuman) and threatened for the case that Germany would have to suffer disadvantages in the coming winter (such as a lack of energy): One could “rekindle the stoves that we have had for 75 years. We certainly have enough ‘fuel’.”

Conclusion

The Bundesverband RIAS and the RIAS reporting offices recorded a slight decrease in the total number of antisemitic incidents in 2022 compared to the previous year. However, the figure is still significantly higher than in 2020. Structures of opportunity for antisemitic incidents that had still been central in 2021 — such as mass mobilisations around the Arab-Israeli conflict or the corona pandemic — played a much smaller role in 2022. The Russian war of aggression against Ukraine was a crucial social issue last year, but it did not have the same significance for the scale of antisemitic incidents as the events mentioned above. Nevertheless, one in ten antisemitic incidents in 2022 was related to the war. Antisemitic statements were also intertwined with racist stereotypes about refugees. In total, RIAS documented such entanglements with other ideologies of inequality in 19% of all antisemitic incidents — this proportion was significantly higher than in 2021.

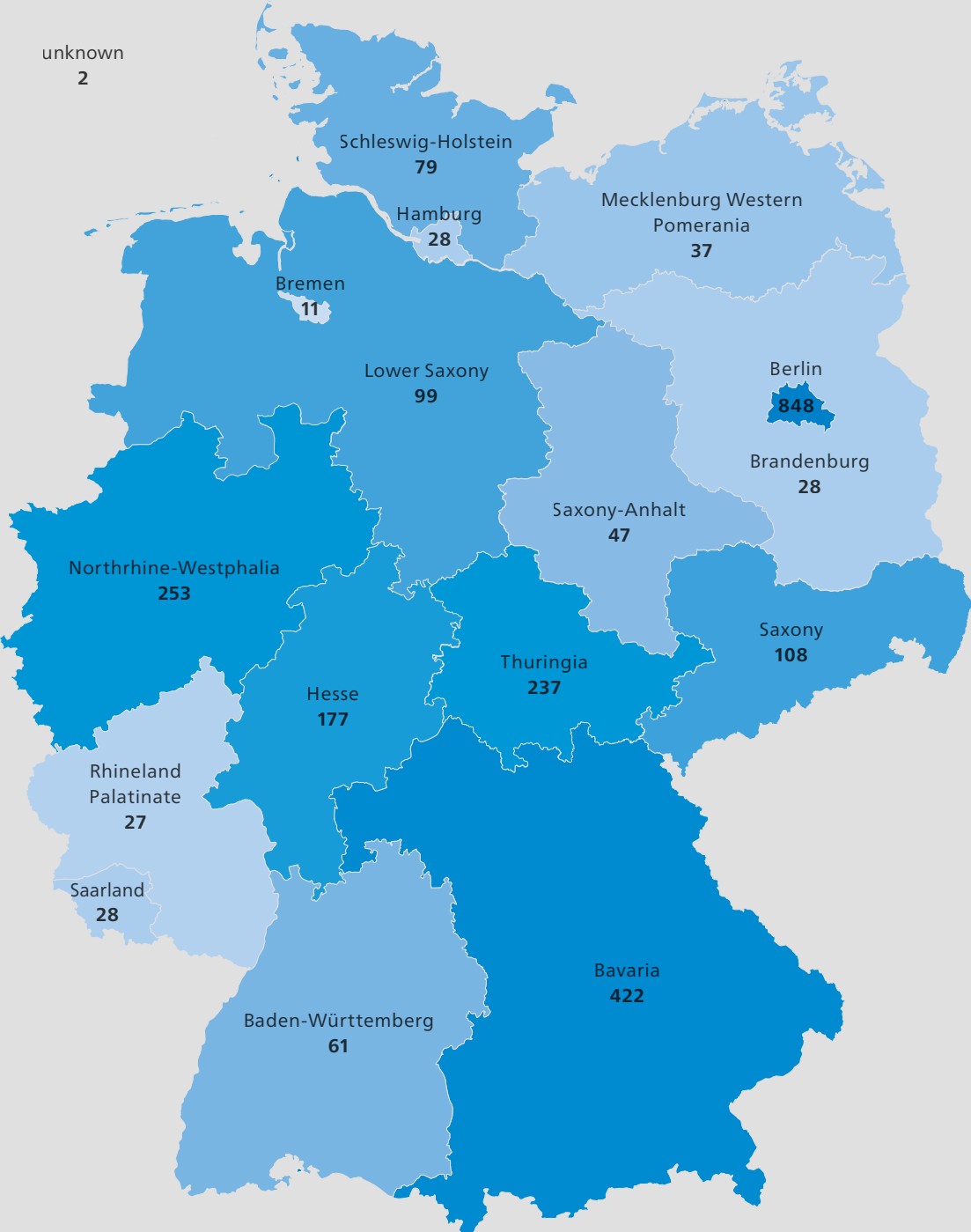
Many antisemitic incidents occur in everyday situations, especially for affected Jews — for example, while shopping, on public transport or in educational and cultural institutions. Antisemitic incidents affected a total of 661 Jewish or Israeli individuals. The number of violent incidents in 2022 showed how serious antisemitic incidents can be for those affected. The nine incidents of extreme violence in 2022 are particularly noteworthy — this is the highest number ever recorded by RIAS in one year. The confrontation with antisemitism is thus on the one hand an everyday experience for Jews and on the other hand can always turn into direct violence. Attacks on synagogues are a special case in point.

In 2022, antisemitism once again manifested itself in many ways: it was linked to Israel or the Shoah, was expressed online or in personal conversations, in different locations and by perpetrators from different political backgrounds. In the latter category, incidents with a conspiracist background gained in importance in 2022. However, this importance diminished significantly as protests against measures to contain the corona pandemic subsided. However, the pandemic remained a central theme for modern antisemitism throughout the year. At gatherings in particular, there are often fluid transitions between actors with conspiracist and extreme right-wing backgrounds. In addition, the significance of the pandemic for the great mobilisation potential of conspiracist actors solidified.

On the substantive level, various manifestations of antisemitism were once again evident in 2022. Almost one in two antisemitic incidents recorded by RIAS contained characteristics of post-Shoah antisemitism. Even without an acute escalation in the Arab-Israeli conflict, which was still a crucial structure of opportunity in 2021, the share of incidents with Israel-related antisemitism remained almost unchanged in 2022. This manifestation thus continues to be of great importance.

Statistics at a glance

Antisemitic incidents 2022 by federal state¹⁰



¹⁰ The total is higher than the overall number of antisemitic incidents because mass mailings with addressees in several federal states were counted as an incident for each federal state concerned, but only once in the nationwide analyses.

Antisemitic incidents by incident type in 2022, 2021 and 2020

	2022	2021	2020
extreme violence	9	6	1
assaults	56	64	39
damages or desecrations of property	186	205	170
threats	72	107	104
abusive behavior	1,912	2,204	1,483
mass mailings	245	187	160
total	2,480	2,773	1,957

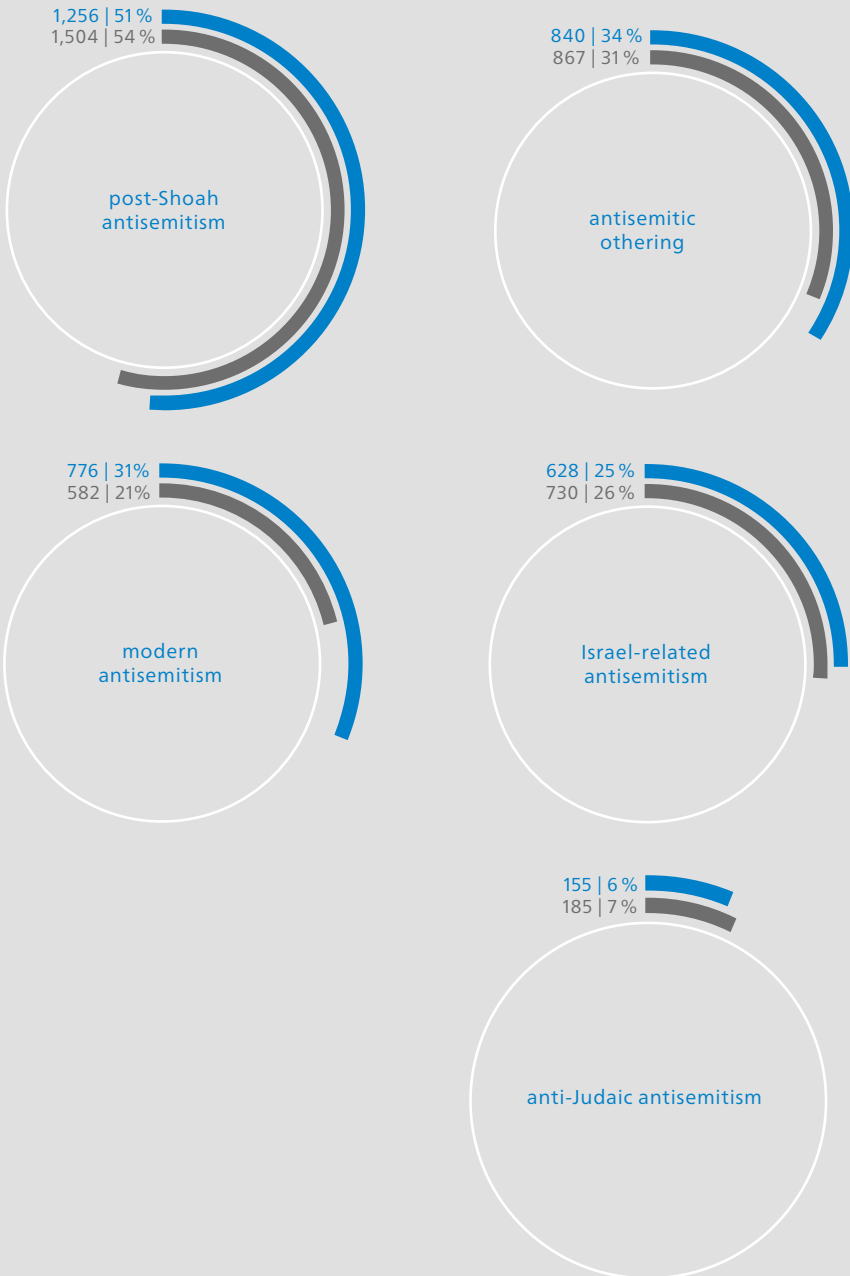
Overlaps in the manifestation of antisemitic incidents

In absolute numbers. The highlighted numbers show the incidents of the respective manifestation that were not assigned to any other manifestation.

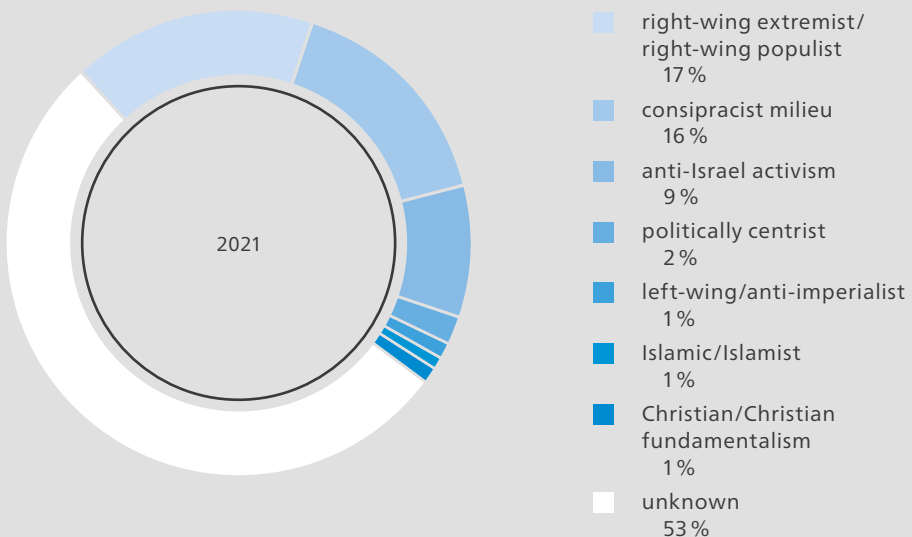
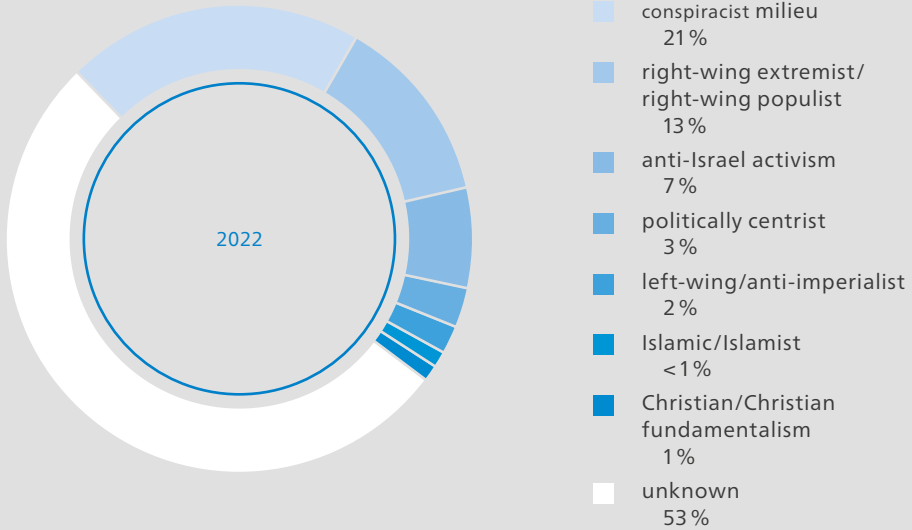
	antisemitic othering	anti-Judaic antisemitism	modern antisemitism	Israel-related antisemitism	post-Shoah antisemitism
antisemitic othering	397	44	155	159	252
anti-Judaic antisemitism	44	41	48	58	70
modern antisemitism	155	48	243	130	376
Israel-related antisemitism	159	58	130	250	233
post-Shoah antisemitism	252	70	376	233	546

Manifestations of antisemitic incidents in 2022 and 2021

Absolute number of incidents attributed in each case and percentage of attributions in the total of all incidents. Antisemitic incidents are often attributed to several manifestations, so that the total sum of the percentages is greater than 100%.



Political-ideological background of antisemitic incidents in 2022 and 2021



Victims of antisemitic incidents

Number of antisemitic incidents affecting individuals in 2022, 2021 and 2020

	2022	2021	2020
Jewish/Israeli individuals	313	433	256
individuals addressed as Jewish/Israeli	37	67	89
persons addressed as political opponents	10	33	17
politicians	13	18	20
representatives of civic society	23	17	18
representatives of memorial initiatives, e.g. memorials to victims of Nazi	8	9	2
police officers	4	3	10
members of the press	6	3	10
other non-Jewish individuals	94	85	59
unknown individuals	49	60	58
total	557	728	539

Number of antisemitic incidents affecting institutions in 2022, 2021 and 2020

	2022	2021	2020
Jewish/Israeli institutions	520	521	463
memorials/memorial initiatives	132	220	120
civic society	240	86	48
institutions addressed as Jewish/Israeli	9	12	10
parties	4	38	15
police	0	5	6
press	3	1	2
other non-Jewish institutions	50	60	23
unknown institutions	3	1	0
total	961	944	687

Report antisemitic incidents by phone:

Bavaria	089 122 23 40 60
Berlin	0152 13 36 21 98
Hesse	0151 43 28 49 00 0151 18 52 27 41
Mecklenburg Western Pomerania	0381 12 87 85 28 0151 169 22 111
Lower Saxony	0159 06 43 21 44
Northrhine-Westphalia	0211 822 660 333
Saarland	06851 80 82 791 0151 271 642 26
Saxony	0159 0677 8551
Saxony-Anhalt	0345 13 18 30 31 0345 13 18 30 36
Schleswig-Holstein	0431 301 40 37 99 mondays 10 a.m. – 12 a.m. thursdays 18 p.m. – 20 p.m.
Thuringia	03641 271 75 73 0176 71 21 30 04
In other states (free of charge)	0800 0 32 32 63 monday – friday 10 a.m. – 5 p.m.



Federal Association RIAS e.V.
Federal Association of Departments for
Research and Information on Antisemitism

You can report your experiences and
observations of antisemitic incidents at any
time via www.report-antisemitism.de

Bundesverband RIAS on the Internet:

www.report-antisemitism.de

twitter.com/Report_Antisem

facebook.com/BundesverbandRIAS

youtube.com/@riasbundesverband

instagram.com/riasbundesverband

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