

GANDEL HOLOCAUST KNOWLEDGE  
AND AWARENESS IN AUSTRALIA SURVEY 2021  
PROJECT REPORT





The Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021 is a nationally representative survey of 3,522 Australian adults conducted in September 2021.

This project is commissioned and funded by the Gandel Foundation and conducted by Deakin University.

Project team: Associate Professor Steven Cooke, Dr Donna-Lee Frieze, Professor Andrew Singleton, Dr Matteo Vergani. Data were collected by the Social Research Centre, Melbourne, via their Life in Australia™ online probability panel.

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Front Cover: Buchenwald Memorial by Andrew Rogers, Melbourne. Photograph by S. Cooke, January 2022.

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey is the **first national, large-scale survey of Australians' knowledge of the Holocaust**, their attitudes to Holocaust education and commemoration, their feelings towards Jews and their perspectives on the regulation of antisemitism and hate speech. Funded by the Gandel Foundation and undertaken by researchers from Deakin University, the survey, which consisted of over 70 questions, reached over 3,500 people across all Australian states and territories and is the largest survey of its type ever undertaken. The survey revealed that Australians' knowledge of key historical facts about the Holocaust was generally good, **with almost 70% of Australians correctly identifying that the Holocaust refers to the genocide of Jews during the period 1933-1945**. Just over **half of Australians (54%) correctly identified that the number of Jews murdered was approximately 6 million**. This compares favourably with the results of similar surveys in other parts of the world. Rather than general levels of educational attainment, **the Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey revealed that specific Holocaust education at school or via museums is associated with higher levels of knowledge about the events of the Holocaust**.

A key objective of this study was to understand not just how much Australians know factually about the Holocaust as a historical event, but how aware they are of the catastrophe and its enduring impact in the present day. We conceptualised this Holocaust awareness as *acknowledging the true scale of the Holocaust and caring about Holocaust education*. Australians of all ages showed high levels of Holocaust awareness, with Millennials scoring particularly highly. The survey revealed widespread support for Holocaust education and museums, with **almost 80% of Australians valuing Holocaust memorials and museums, and nearly 70% supporting compulsory Holocaust education in schools**. It also found a **strong correlation between Holocaust awareness and pro-social feeling towards minority groups, refugees, and First Nations Australians**.

However, Australians' knowledge about their own history in relation to the Holocaust is significantly lower than their knowledge about the Holocaust more generally. **Over 70% of Australians knew nothing about Australia's connections to the Holocaust**. The survey found mostly **low levels of Holocaust denial, but some evidence of Holocaust distortion and minimisation and a worrying persistence of latent antisemitic stereotypes**.

The Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey is a landmark baseline study that leads us to the following key recommendations:

1. Include the Holocaust on the curricula of Australian states and territories and support teachers with ongoing accredited professional development;
2. Develop strategies to drive engagement with Holocaust museums, memorials and educational institutions;
3. Research, create, and distribute specific resources to address gaps in Holocaust knowledge, especially the period 1933-1939, and as it relates to Australia;
4. Develop a research agenda to understand the long-term impact of Holocaust education in schools and museums;
5. Challenge antisemitic myths and stereotypes through support for education programs;
6. Improve communication over the need for annual commemorative activities;
7. Provide opportunities for students to engage with Australian Holocaust survivor testimony; and
8. Repeated cross-sectional research.

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# FOREWORD

## Gandel Foundation

*The sheer magnitude, the unprecedented character and the brutality of the Holocaust must always remain part of the collective memory of humankind.*

*It is that universal meaning that many Holocaust educators are hoping to share with their students, and ensure that we not only remember the terrible atrocities and the crimes against humanity that have been committed, but also the acts of sacrifice and heroism that led to many lives being saved.*

*It is undeniable that the Holocaust holds an enduring relevance for the world today, and my family and I are committed to helping preserve the memory of the Holocaust for future generations, and help them learn about the need to protect human rights.*

*Over the years, we have done many things related to Holocaust remembrance, commemoration and education, but this is the first research project, to understand the knowledge and awareness of the Holocaust by the Australian public.*

*And while we can be heartened by the strong support to include Holocaust education in schools and the overwhelming value that the Australians see in having Holocaust museums and memorials, there are also worrying signs of general lack of knowledge and low levels of awareness in other areas.*

*As time goes by, sadly there will be less and less survivors in our midst to bear witness to the horrors of the Holocaust, which means we will need to work even harder to preserve their memories and their stories.*

*We are fully committed to continue working with all our key partners and stakeholders to use these findings to strengthen Holocaust knowledge and awareness in Australia and help build a more compassionate, more cohesive and more humane society.*

*We owe that much to all those that perished in the Holocaust – and all those that survived it.*

### **John Gandel AC**

Founder and Chairman  
Gandel Foundation

## Deakin University

*Deakin University is proud and privileged to partner with the Gandel Foundation in this crucial initiative to understand Holocaust knowledge and awareness in Australia, with the aim of advancing better Holocaust education and keeping the message of these events alive for future generations of Australians. Given the increase in racism and antisemitism in many parts of the world, including Australia, this report has never been more timely.*

*One of the striking findings of this study is the lack of knowledge of Australia's many connections to the Holocaust. As we know, these connections are many, including the contribution of survivors to Australian society. Indeed, Deakin's first Vice Chancellor, Fred*

*Jevons, fled Vienna on a Kindertransport in 1939, becoming an eminent academic in the UK before migrating to Australia in the 1970s to establish our university.*

*This report makes several significant recommendations related to education and research, and Deakin University looks forward to playing our part in advancing this agenda.*

### **Professor Iain Martin**

Vice-Chancellor  
Deakin University

“Australia welcomes the upcoming Gandel Foundation and Deakin University Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia survey, the first and largest of its kind, which will assist research and future policy directions”.

Statement by **The Hon Scott Morrison**, the Prime Minister of Australia in the 2021 Malmo Declaration of the International Forum on Holocaust Remembrance and Combating Antisemitism

“Like all survivors, I am keenly aware of the need for Holocaust commemoration and education, and of the inspiration the younger generation draws from the human rights lessons which can be learnt from that horrific period of our recent past. The Gandel Report makes a significant contribution in assisting us to understand just how we can best fulfil our aim of educating and commemorating. One of the most compelling messages of the Report is that we must all work together to help Australians learn about the Holocaust in schools and museums and share the messages and lessons of hope, courage and humanity to ensure a better future for all”.

**Nina Bassat AM**

Holocaust survivor, Melbourne

Honorary Life Member and Former President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry

Former President of the Jewish Community Council of Victoria

Member of the Advisory Group, Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey

“Gandel Foundation has been at the forefront of fostering Holocaust education for decades, including through the award-winning Gandel Holocaust Studies Program for Australian Educators, which they conduct in partnership with Yad Vashem.

It is vital for countries to conduct research and understand the levels of knowledge and awareness of the Holocaust in their societies, so that they can develop appropriate and effective educational programs. I commend the Gandel Foundation and Deakin University on undertaking this survey, which will undoubtedly lead to even better Holocaust education in Australia and will ultimately promote our common goals. Our work has never been more relevant and we look forward to our continued partnership with the Gandel Foundation”.

**Dani Dayan**

Chairman

Yad Vashem, The World Holocaust Remembrance Centre, Jerusalem, Israel

“AHMA exists to strengthen the impact of Holocaust education and memorial activities on a national level through the co-operation of State and Territory Holocaust museums and education centres. The Gandel Report unequivocally shows the importance and relevance of Holocaust museums and institutions in raising Holocaust knowledge and awareness of the general public, but especially young people. Most importantly, it proves definitively that greater levels of knowledge and awareness about the Holocaust lead to greater empathy and compassion. AHMA members will work together to help implement the key recommendations of the Gandel Report and further expand Holocaust education in Australia, helping strengthen the very fabric of our society”.

**Jayne Josem**

President, Australian Holocaust Museums Alliance (AHMA)

Director & CEO, Melbourne Holocaust Museum

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# BACKGROUND

## Introduction

The Holocaust is part of the Australian story. The number of survivors who came to this country during and after the Second World War, the political decisions that were made, particularly relating to Jewish refugees, as well as alleged war criminals who came here after the genocide means that the Holocaust is intimately connected with Australian history. Holocaust survivors who came to Australia have made a significant contribution to the society and have also been instrumental in keeping the message of these events relevant, with the hope of combatting contemporary forms of racism, antisemitism, prejudice, and hate.

The Australian Government also recognises the importance of the Holocaust for Australian society. Australia was accepted as a full member of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in 2019. Such a commitment on the part of the Australian government is significant, as it denotes official acknowledgement of the relevance and pertinence of Holocaust commemoration, education and research to key civic values in Australian culture and binds the government to establishing a Memorial Day and implementing Holocaust education across Australia's secondary education sector.

Significant work in commemoration, education and research is already undertaken by institutions around the country, including the Sydney Jewish Museum, the Melbourne Holocaust Museum (formally the Jewish Holocaust Centre, Melbourne), Courage to Care and through philanthropic organisations such as the Gandel Foundation and their Gandel Holocaust Studies Program for Australian Educators (GHSP). The announcement in early

2021 of Federal, State and local government funding for new Holocaust museums in Perth, Adelaide, Canberra, Brisbane, and Hobart and NT suggests an increasing acknowledgement of the importance of Holocaust education for not only preserving the memory but also for combatting contemporary manifestations of racism and prejudice.

In many parts of the world however, including Australia, we have seen a recent increase in antisemitic and extremist activity, particularly online. Such a rise suggests the urgent need to understand societal knowledge and awareness of the Holocaust. Large scale surveys of Holocaust awareness and knowledge in the United States, Canada, France, Austria, Germany, and the UK provide both a cause for concern and for optimism. While the finding of the surveys suggest specific understanding of the history of the Holocaust appears limited, there is widespread agreement on the need for Holocaust education and for the relevance of the Holocaust for contemporary societies.

In 2021 the Gandel Foundation commissioned Deakin University to undertake a survey, the Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey (GHKAS) to understand the Australian context. The findings contained in this report will be used to inform the public, State and Federal governments and policy makers about the level of knowledge about the Holocaust in Australia, learning about the gaps and strengths in that knowledge and helping formulate better Holocaust education in schools, through museums and centres, and for the broader Australian population.

# SURVEY AND PROJECT DESIGN

- The survey was designed by the Deakin University research team, in consultation with the Gandel Foundation, the GHKAS Advisory Group and the Social Research Centre, Melbourne.
- Several international surveys were consulted to guide question development, including the Pew Research Center's Religious Knowledge Survey (2019), the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference) surveys in Canada, France, Austria, the United Kingdom, and the United States (2018-2021) and the Campaign Against Antisemitism's UK Antisemitism Barometer (2020).
- Data were collected via the Social Research Centre's **Life in Australia™** online probability panel in September 2021. Some surveys were conducted via telephone.
- Participants across all Australian states and territories were randomly selected to participate in this panel.
- From a total of more than 70 questions, 17 were related to Holocaust knowledge, nine to Holocaust awareness, and six to antisemitism.
- Data are also weighted to ensure representativeness. The weighting means that the sample matches key demographic parameters of the Australian adult population, including age, gender, education, household composition, languages spoken at home, state of residence, and capital city versus rest of state. **The data are representative of Australians aged 18 years or older.**
- There are 3,522 respondents in the sample. In probabilistic terms, the maximum margin of error to apply to this survey is  $\pm 2\%$ . This sample is more than twice the size of comparable existing studies of Holocaust knowledge and awareness.
- The large sample size permits statistically reliable comparisons between groups (i.e. comparison between age groups, gender, levels of education).
- A table in the appendices summarises the sample characteristics (unweighted).

## HOLOCAUST KNOWLEDGE: WHAT AUSTRALIANS KNOW ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

**Most Australian adults know when the Holocaust occurred, and a majority know other key facts, especially about the 'Final Solution', the Nazi-created ghettos and how many Jews were killed.** Other facts, like some of

the ways in which the Nazi regime targeted Jews and Australia's connection and role in relation to the Holocaust, are less well known.

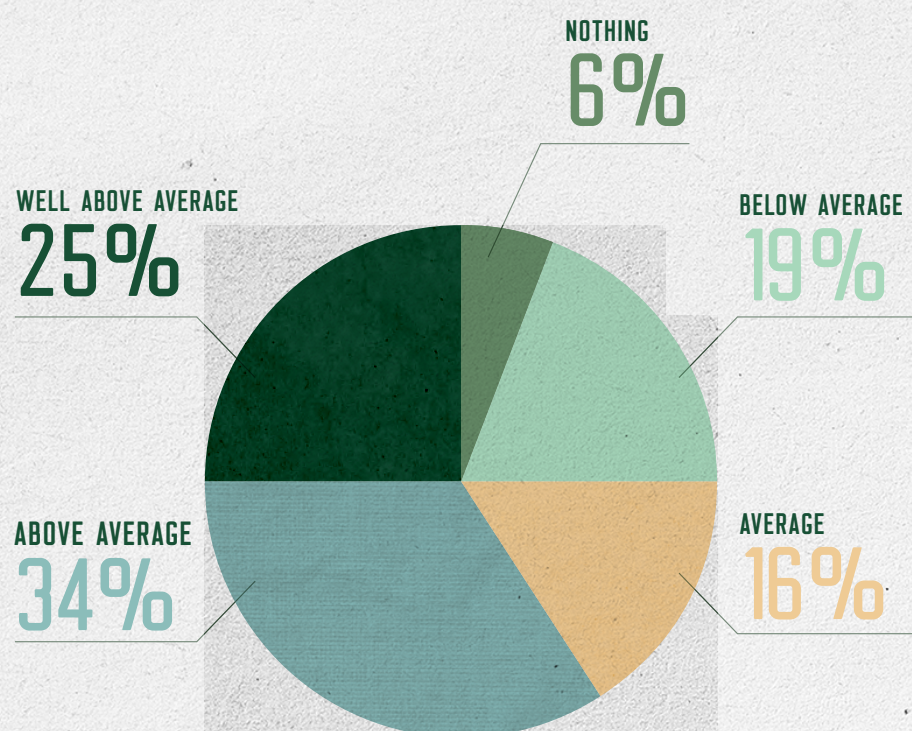
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## Australians are Confident They Know About the Holocaust

At the start of the survey, we asked participants: ‘On a scale of 0-10, where 0 is nothing and 10 is a great deal, about how much do you personally know about the Holocaust?’

Responses are shown in Figure 1.

**FIGURE 1. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: SELF-RATED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST (% OF POPULATION)**



*Note for all figures in this report, totals may not add to 100% due to rounding or because small proportions of ‘don’t know’ and ‘no answer’ responses have been omitted to simplify the figures.*

*Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.*

Overall, Australians claim to have above average knowledge of the Holocaust (the mean score was 5.75). A quarter (25%) claim to have well-above average knowledge of the Holocaust. By contrast, about one in 20 adults (6%) say they know nothing about the Holocaust.

Not shown in the chart, men are slightly more confident than women in their Holocaust knowledge and members of the older generations are substantially more confident than younger Australians of their knowledge of this historical event.

As we show below, while many Australians do have very good to excellent knowledge of the Holocaust, overall, their confidence is somewhat overstated. **Actual knowledge is lower on average than perceived knowledge.**

## In Their Own Words: What is ‘the Holocaust’?

Taking our cue from cognate international studies of Holocaust knowledge, participants in the GHKAS study were asked to describe in their own words what they thought the term the Holocaust refers to. The results are shown in Table 1.

**TABLE 1. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: COLLATED RESPONSES TO QUESTION: 'AS FAR AS YOU KNOW, WHAT DOES THE "HOLOCAUST" REFER TO?' (% OF POPULATION)**

Item	%
Genocide/extermination of Jewish people	29%
Mass murder of Jewish people	27%
Genocide/extermination of Jewish and other peoples (e.g. Roma, LGBTIQA+, Slavs)	11%
Discrimination/persecution of Jewish people	5%
Death/destruction/war/mass murder in general	5%
Other	3%
Use of concentration camps by the Nazi regime	3%
Ethnic cleansing	2%
Hitler/Nazism	2%
Genocide in general	2%
World War II	1%
Discrimination/persecution of Jewish and other peoples	1%
Attempt to establish an Aryan 'master race'	1%
Reference to unrelated events of World War II	1%
Holocaust denial	1%
Don't know	5%
Refused	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Note for all tables in this report, totals may not add to 100% due to rounding or because small proportions of 'don't know' and 'no answer' responses have been omitted to simplify the tables.*

*Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.*

The three most common responses were 'genocide/extermination of Jewish people' (29%), 'mass murder of Jewish people' (27%) or the 'genocide/extermination of Jewish and other minority groups' (11%). These are all considered as correct answers.

These three most common responses added together (which equals 67%) indicate that **almost 7 in 10 Australian adults understand that the Holocaust refers to the intended mass killing of Jews.**

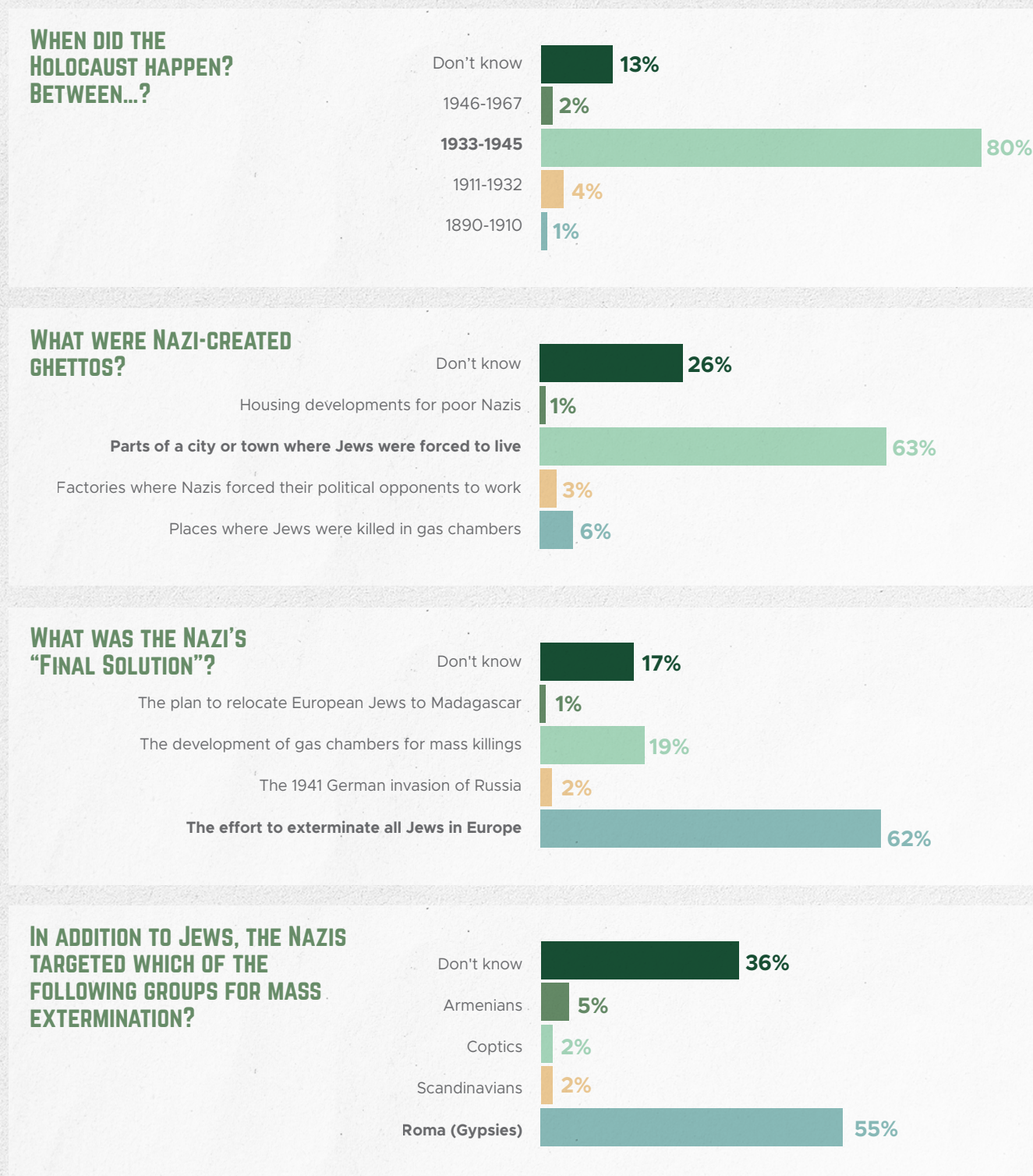
Other answers that people provided recognise aspects of the Holocaust, such as the persecution of Jews (5%) or Nazi concentration camps (3%). A small proportion did not know or refused to answer questions about the Holocaust. Further, a very small proportion denied the Holocaust.

Overall, these answers demonstrate that a large majority of Australian adults are familiar with the Holocaust.

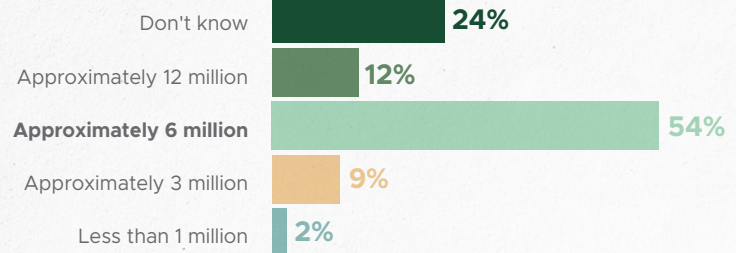
## Factual Holocaust Knowledge

The GHKAS participants were asked nine factual questions about the Holocaust. These ranged from fundamental questions about the scale of the genocide and when and where it took place, through to questions that identify a deeper knowledge of events, for example the name of the laws the Nazis enacted to persecute Jews. In each instance, participants were given four possible correct choices, plus a 'don't know' option. Responses are shown in Figure 2. The correct answers are shown in bold.

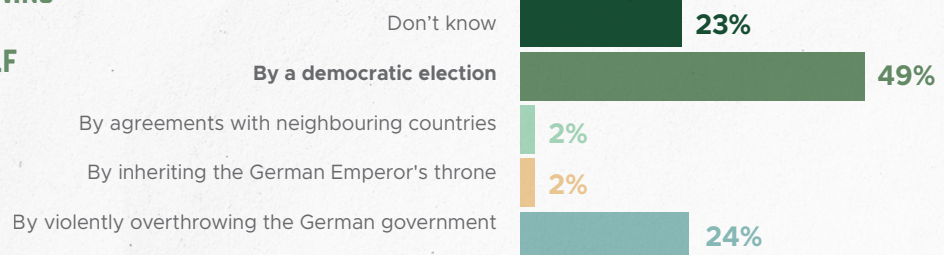
FIGURE 2. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST (% OF POPULATION)



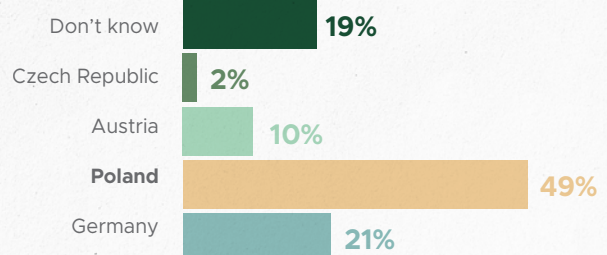
### HOW MANY JEWS WERE KILLED IN THE HOLOCAUST?



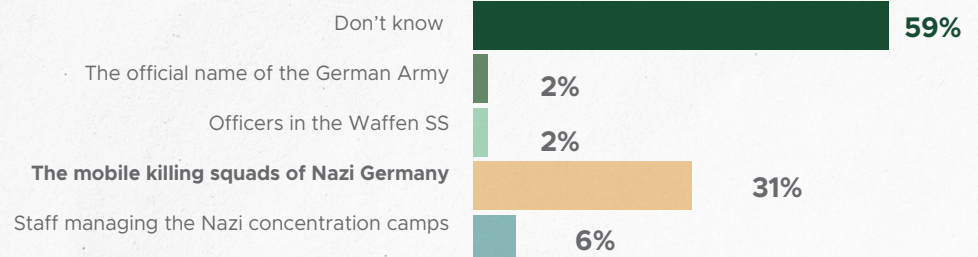
### WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BEST DESCRIBES HOW ADOLF HITLER BECAME CHANCELLOR OF GERMANY?



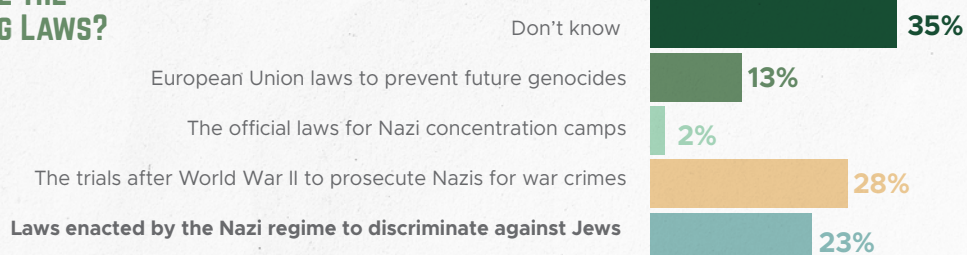
### AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU IS IN WHICH COUNTRY?



### WHAT WERE THE EINSATZGRUPPEN?



### WHAT WERE THE NUREMBERG LAWS?



Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

- Eight-out-of-ten (80%) Australian adults know the Holocaust took place between 1933-1945.
- Six-out-of-ten (63%) Australian adults know that the Nazi-created ghettos were parts of a city or town where Jews were forced to live.
- Six-out-of-ten (62%) Australian adults also know that the Nazi 'Final Solution' refers to the effort to exterminate all Jews in Europe.
- Slightly more than half (55%) were aware the Nazis also targeted the Roma for mass extermination.
- Slightly more than half of Australian adults (54%) correctly identified that the Jewish death toll in the Holocaust was approximately 6 million. A quarter (24%) don't know.
- About half of the adult population (49%) were aware that Hitler came to power via a democratic election. The same proportion (49%) could correctly place the location of Auschwitz-Birkenau.
- Two other facts were known by less than a third of the population:
  - that the *Einsatzgruppen* were the mobile killing squads of Nazi Germany (31%), and
  - the Nuremberg laws were discriminatory laws directed against Jews (23%).

## An International Comparison: United States

How does Australia compare with the United States? Leading research organisation, Pew Research Center, surveyed adults in the United States in 2019, asking four of the Holocaust knowledge questions included in the GHKAS. The Pew survey method closely matches the GHKAS approach, and the data are directly comparable. Overall, data shows that Australians know more than people in the United States when it comes to four key facts. This is shown in Figure 3.

**FIGURE 3. KNOWLEDGE OF THE HOLOCAUST: AUSTRALIAN AND UNITED STATES ADULTS COMPARED (% OF ADULT POPULATION IN RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES)**

### United States Adults

- **69%** know when the Holocaust happened
- **63%** know what Nazi-created ghettos were
- **45%** know that approx. 6 million Jews were killed
- **43%** know that Hitler was elected democratically

### Australian Adults

- **80%** know when the Holocaust happened
- **63%** know what Nazi-created ghettos were
- **54%** know that approx. 6 million Jews were killed
- **49%** know that Hitler was elected democratically

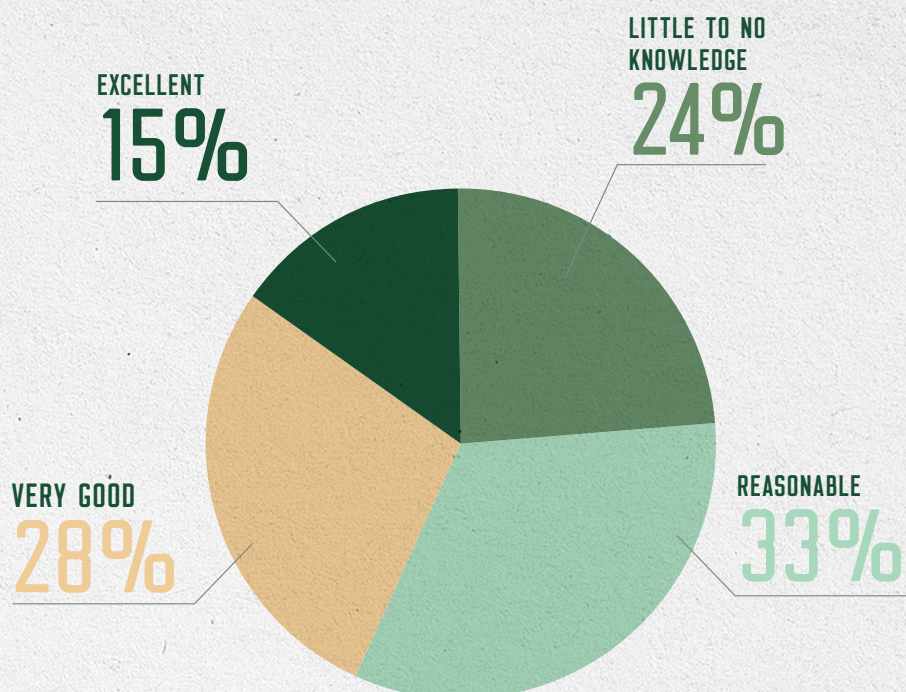
Source: Pew American Trends panel 2019; Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

Australians are somewhat more likely than those in the United States to know when the Holocaust happened (80% compared to 69%), approximately how many Jews were killed (54% compared to 45%), and how Hitler came to power (49% compared to 43%). The same proportion (63%) know that ghettos were parts of a city or town where Jews were forced to live.

## Overall Knowledge

A total score of correct answers (ranging from no correct answers to nine correct answers) was calculated for each survey participant. More people have little to no knowledge than have comprehensive knowledge of the Holocaust. However, **much of the Australian population knows at least three or more fundamental facts about the Holocaust.**

**FIGURE 4. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: OVERALL FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST (% OF POPULATION)**



Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

Figure 4 shows that about a quarter of the adult Australian population (24%) has **little to no knowledge of the Holocaust**. This includes not knowing when the Holocaust happened.

About a third of the population (33%) has 'reasonable' knowledge of Holocaust facts. Most of this group know when the Holocaust occurred, what ghettos were, and what the 'Final Solution' meant. About half of them also knew that about six million Jews were killed.

The two other groups demonstrated a stronger knowledge. Slightly more than a quarter of the population (28%) have 'very good' knowledge. Those with very good knowledge got most answers right but tended to be unfamiliar with what the *Einsatzgruppen* were and the purpose of the Nuremberg laws.

Clearly, those with excellent knowledge (about 15% of the population) were able to answer all, or almost all, questions correctly.

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# HOLOCAUST AWARENESS: WHAT IS THE ENDURING IMPACT OF THE HOLOCAUST?

A key objective of this study is to understand not just how much Australians know factually about the Holocaust as a historical event, but how aware they are of the catastrophe and its enduring impact in the present day. **We find that Australians generally display a good awareness of the Holocaust and its legacy today.**

## Measuring Awareness

We conceptualised Holocaust awareness as *acknowledging the true scale of the Holocaust and caring about Holocaust education*. We created seven survey items to capture this construct.

Survey respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with these statements. Some are positive, and some are negative. This is typically done in surveys to ensure that people pay attention to the questions being asked:

- The Holocaust never happened.
- Too many people exaggerate the scale of the Holocaust.
- People still talk too much about what happened during the Holocaust.
- More needs to be done to educate people about what happened during the Holocaust.
- It is valuable to have Holocaust memorials and museums.
- We can all learn lessons for today from what happened in the Holocaust.
- It should be compulsory for schools to teach about the Holocaust.

We asked participants to rate their agreement with each of the seven items on a scale from 1 (= strongly agree) to 5 (= strongly disagree). (For the purpose of further analysis we conducted, some of the items were reverse coded, which means we organised responses so that they run from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' in terms of positive sentiment.)

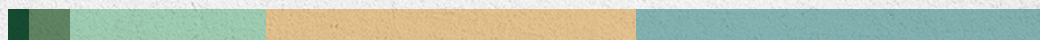
Responses to these questions are shown in the following figure.

**FIGURE 5. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: ITEMS IN THE HOLOCAUST AWARENESS SCALE (% OF POPULATION)**

The Holocaust never happened



Too many people exaggerate the scale of the Holocaust



People still talk too much about what happened during the Holocaust



More needs to be done to educate people about what happened during the Holocaust



It is valuable to have Holocaust memorials and museums



We can all learn lessons for today from what happened in the Holocaust



It should be compulsory for schools to teach about the Holocaust



0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

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## Learning from the Holocaust

Almost 9 in 10 Australians (88%) agree or strongly agree that ‘we can all learn lessons for today from what happened in the Holocaust’, and 10% neither agree nor disagree. Only about 2 in 100 Australians (2%) disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

## Valuing Holocaust memorials and museums

Almost 8 in 10 Australians (78%) agree or strongly agree that ‘it is valuable to have Holocaust memorials and museums’, and 17% neither agree nor disagree. Only 5% of Australians disagree or strongly disagree with the value of Holocaust memorials and museums.

## Upholding Holocaust education

Almost 7 in 10 Australians (69%) agree or strongly agree that ‘more needs to be done to educate people about what happened during the Holocaust’, and 24% neither agree nor disagree. Only 6% of Australians disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

## Supporting compulsory Holocaust education in schools

Compulsory Holocaust education in schools is supported by 66% of Australians, who agree or strongly agree that it ‘should be compulsory for schools to teach about the Holocaust’. About 1 in 4 Australians (25%) neither agree nor disagree, and 9% disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

## Holocaust denialism

Only about 2 in 100 Australians (2%) agree or strongly agree that ‘the Holocaust never happened’, and 6% neither agree nor disagree. In total, over 9 in 10 Australians (92%) disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

## Holocaust minimisation

Holocaust minimisation is more widespread than Holocaust denialism, with 6% of Australians who agree or strongly agree that ‘too many people exaggerate the scale of the Holocaust’, and 19% neither agree nor disagree. Over 7 in 10 Australians (75%) disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

## Demaneing Holocaust education

Less than 1 in 10 Australians (8%) demean Holocaust education by agreeing or strongly agreeing that ‘people still talk too much about what happened during the Holocaust’. Almost 3 in 10 Australians (29%) neither agree nor disagree. More than six-in-ten Australians disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

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## The Holocaust Awareness Scale

We analysed the structure and internal consistency of the scale, and confirmed that all items capture one construct, that is, *Holocaust awareness*. We then combined the items to form a scale ranging from 0 (= lowest level of Holocaust awareness) to 5 (= highest level of Holocaust awareness), and we divided the sample in three groups:

- A group with a comparatively lower level of Holocaust awareness (ranging from 0 to 3.3), which corresponds to 17% of the Australian population.
- A group with a medium level of Holocaust awareness (ranging from 3.4 to 4.6), which corresponds to 64% of the Australian population.
- A group with a comparatively higher level of Holocaust awareness (ranging from 4.7 to 5), which corresponds to 19% of the Australian population.

Combining ‘medium’ (64%) and ‘higher levels’ (19%) of Holocaust awareness, we find that most **(83%) of the Australian population acknowledges the true scale of the Holocaust and cares about Holocaust education.**

## AUSTRALIAN CONNECTIONS

We noted in the introduction that the Holocaust is part of the Australian story. For example, it is estimated that Australia is home to one of the highest number of Holocaust survivors per capita outside Israel.<sup>1</sup> If we widen the broader definition of survivors to include not only those who survived the ghettos, camps or in hiding, but also those who had their lives permanently disrupted or were displaced by the Nazis, then it is estimated that 9,000 refugees arrived in 1938-1940; 17,000 came between 1946 and 1954 and a further 10,000 up to 1961.<sup>2</sup> This transformed the Australian Jewish community, which tripled in size and became significantly more diverse.

There are many other direct connections between the Holocaust and Australian history. Before the war, some Australians spoke out about Nazi treatment of Jews, including Indigenous leader and human rights activist William Cooper, who protested the Nazi's *Kristallnacht* in 1938.<sup>3</sup> Later, in 1940, the ship the HMT *Dunera* arrived in Australia, carrying thousands of Britain's deported ‘enemy aliens’, many of whom were European Jewish refugees. A group of these passengers, who became known as the ‘Dunera Boys’, made vital contributions to Australian arts, science and culture.

Regrettably, at the 1938 Evian Conference – a pre-war conference whose aim was to decide what to do about Jews displaced by the Nazis – Australia was one of several countries that refused to help. Thomas W. White DFC, MP, Minister for Trade and Customs uttered the now infamous statement that, ‘It will no doubt be appreciated also that as we have no real racial problem, we are not desirous of importing one by encouraging any scheme of large-scale foreign migration’.<sup>4</sup>

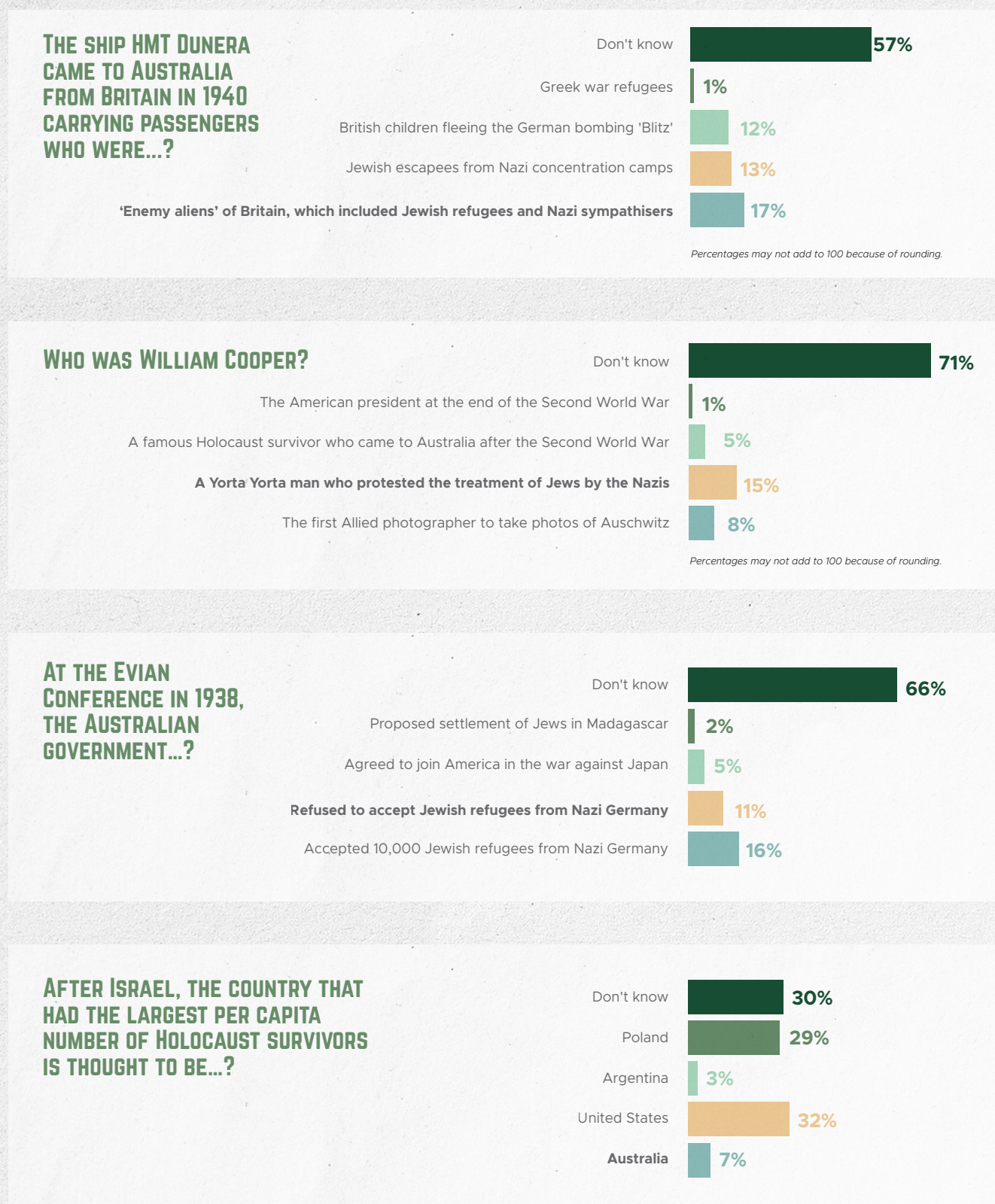
Given these connections, we were interested in what Australians know about their own country's links to the Holocaust.

## Knowledge of the Australian Connections

Survey participants were asked four specific questions that probed knowledge about Australia's Holocaust connections. This tested knowledge of the Evian Conference, the HMT *Dunera*, William Cooper and Australia's Holocaust survivors. A small proportion of respondents correctly answered any of the four questions. Most did not know any of the answers. **Australians know far less about their country's connections to the Holocaust than they do about events in Europe.**

Responses are shown in Figure 6 below. The correct answers are shown in bold.

**FIGURE 6. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE AUSTRALIAN CONNECTIONS TO THE HOLOCAUST (% OF POPULATION)**



Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

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Only a small proportion of Australians – **one-in-five or less** – correctly identified the kinds of passengers on the *Dunera* (17% correct), knew who William Cooper was (15%), knew that at the 1938 Evian conference, Australia refused to accept Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany (11%) or that Australia had arguably the highest number of Holocaust survivors per capita outside Israel (7%).

With the questions about William Cooper, the Evian Conference and the HMT *Dunera*, most respondents did not know the correct answer, nor did they hazard a guess, preferring instead to answer, 'don't know'. In the question about the location of Holocaust survivors, the United States was the most common incorrect response (32%), followed by 'don't know' (30%).

**Overall, 70% of the adult population knew none of these four facts about Australia's connections.** Seventeen per cent knew one fact, and only 14% knew more than two.

Those with 'excellent' knowledge of Holocaust events in Europe (see earlier section) were more than twice as likely than those with 'very good' knowledge to know the answer to any of these questions about the Australian connections.

In turn, those with 'very good' knowledge of the Holocaust were more than twice as likely as those with 'reasonable' or 'little to no knowledge' to know the answer to any of these Australian connection questions.

**Excellent knowledge of Holocaust events in Europe is strongly related to excellent knowledge of Australian connections.**

## **An International Comparison: Canada and the UK**

Australians are not alone in not being aware of the connection between their own country's history and the Holocaust. A study in Canada in 2019 found that only 19% knew Canada had closed borders to Jewish refugees during the Holocaust, and 27% could identify that Canada turned away the MS *St Louis*.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, a study in the UK undertaken in 2021 found a 'concerning lack of historical knowledge of the United Kingdom's actions during the Holocaust and the World War II [sic]', particularly as it related to immigration policy, and a similar lack of knowledge regarding the 'heroic effort to save Jewish Children through the *Kindertransport*'.<sup>6</sup>

In the next section, we explore the ways in which people are educated about the Holocaust.

# EDUCATION ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

A modest proportion of Australians have visited a Holocaust centre, museum or memorial site, whether that be in Australia or overseas. A larger proportion have had Holocaust education at school or read a book about the Holocaust. Those who have had dedicated education – whether at school or a museum visit – overwhelmingly affirm the value of this education in furthering their understanding of Holocaust history and its importance in the present day.

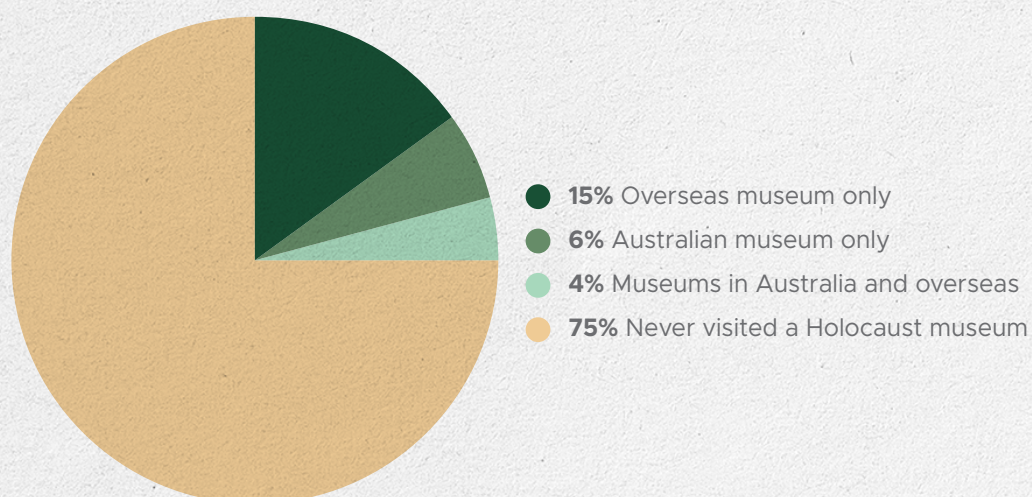
## Holocaust Centres and Museum Visits

Although there were temporary exhibitions from the 1950s in Australia, it was not until 1984 when the first permanent Holocaust museum opened. The Melbourne Holocaust Museum (formerly the Jewish Holocaust Centre) was started by survivors with the aim to both commemorate the six million Jews murdered in the Holocaust, but also educate the broader community about the dangers of antisemitism and racism.<sup>7</sup> This was followed by the Holocaust Institute of Western Australia (Perth) in 1990 and the Sydney Jewish Museum in 1992. More recently, in 2020 the Adelaide Holocaust Museum and Andrew Steiner Education Centre was opened. Further announcements by Federal, State, and Territory governments will mean that by the end of 2024 all states and territories will have a Holocaust museum or education centre in their capital cities.

In Europe and Israel, permanent Holocaust museums were established in the post war period, but it was generally not until the 1980s that institutions were set up away from the sites of atrocity. Visitation numbers to Holocaust museums of course vary, but the major state museums experience high visitation. For example, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has been visited by over 46 million people since it opened in 1993.<sup>8</sup>

**About a quarter of Australian adults have been to a Holocaust centre or museum**, either in Australia or overseas. Of those who have been, **the overwhelming majority found it helpful in learning about the Holocaust**. More detail is shown in Figure 7 below.

**FIGURE 7. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: EVER VISITED A HOLOCAUST CENTRE OR MUSEUM (% OF POPULATION)**



Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

This figure shows that 15% of the adult population have visited a centre or museum overseas but not one in Australia. Six per cent have visited one in Australia but not overseas. A tiny proportion of people (4%) have been to a museum or centre in Australia and overseas. **In total, approximately a quarter of the Australian population has visited a Holocaust museum or centre somewhere.**

Centre or museum visitors were asked which places they had visited, both in Australia and overseas. The survey offered visitors a list of places they could select. First are those places in Australia.

**TABLE 2: HOLOCAUST CENTRE OR MUSEUM VISITORS: PLACES VISITED IN AUSTRALIA  
(% OF THOSE WHO VISITED THE CENTRE)**

Museum or Centre Visited	% of visitors who had been to this centre or Museum
Jewish Holocaust Centre (Melbourne)	42%
Sydney Jewish Museum	42%
The Holocaust Exhibition at the Australian War Memorial (Canberra)	22%
Holocaust Institute of Western Australia	2%
The Adelaide Holocaust Museum and Andrew Steiner Education Centre	1%
Don't know	5%

Source: Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

Respondents could visit more than one centre, thus the total shown in the table adds up to more than 100 per cent. This table shows that 42% of museum or centre visitors had been to the Sydney Jewish Museum and/or the Melbourne Holocaust Museum. The third most visited site was the Holocaust Exhibition at the Australian War Memorial (Canberra) and 22% of the visitors had been there.

How aware are Australians of the existence of these centres and museums? We asked those who had never visited one in Australia if they knew if there was a Holocaust centre or Jewish museum in their state. **About four-in-ten adults in NSW (41%) or Victoria (43%) who have never been to a Holocaust centre or museum know that there is one in their state.** About the same proportion think that there was no such place in their state. Most people in Western Australia (75%) or South Australia (61%) who have never visited a museum or centre did not think there was one in their state. Overall, 22% of Queenslanders have been to a Holocaust museum or centre, either in Australia or overseas (two-thirds of those visitors went somewhere overseas). At present, Queenslanders do not have a museum or centre in their state, and most Queenslanders - about 80 per cent - know there is no centre or museum in Queensland.

Table 3 shows where visitors had been overseas.

**TABLE 3. HOLOCAUST CENTRE OR MUSEUM VISITORS: PLACES VISITED OVERSEAS  
(% OF THOSE WHO VISITED THE CENTRE)**

Museum or Centre Visited	% of visitors who had been to this centre or Museum
Other	31%
The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (Berlin)	28%
Jewish Museum (Berlin)	23%
Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum (Poland)	22%
US Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington D.C.)	11%
Yad Vashem (Jerusalem)	8%
Memorial de la Shoah (Paris)	6%
Museum of Jewish Heritage (New York)	5%
Don't know	3%

*Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.*

Respondents could state that they visited more than one centre or museum, thus the total shown in the table adds up to more than 100 per cent. This table shows that 31% of visitors to an overseas museum or centre had been to somewhere other than those options we presented them in the survey. (Our list comprised the world's most well-known centres and museums.)

Visitors to those other places could tell us which place it was, and the list we received is extensive (196 responses). Some of answers named a city or country where there is a Holocaust-related centre or a Jewish museum (e.g. Prague, Nuremburg) or named a specific museum not on our major places list (e.g. a Holocaust museum in El Paso, Texas; Holocaust galleries at the Imperial War Museum, London; Irish Jewish Museum Dublin among many others).

A small number named Holocaust sites (e.g. Anne Frank's house; Dachau), which were the subject of another survey question (see below).

Of the major sites, approximately a quarter of visitors to an overseas museum or centre had been to the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (Berlin) (28%); the Jewish Museum (Berlin) (23%) or the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum (Poland) (22%).

**These responses indicate that the small proportion of Australians (15%) who have visited a site overseas have gone to a wide variety of Holocaust centres or Jewish museums around the world.**

Museum and centre visitors (whether it be Australia or overseas) were asked how helpful they found the visit or visits in learning about the Holocaust. A plurality of visitors (44%) described their visit as 'extremely helpful' in learning about the Holocaust, and a further 39% described it as 'very helpful'. **A very large majority of museum and centre visitors (83%) thus rate their visits highly in terms of what they learn about the Holocaust.**

## Holocaust Sites

Sites associated with the Holocaust, such as those of former camps and ghettos have a long and complex history of conservation, commemoration, and education.<sup>9</sup> While many have high visitation, for example, Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum receiving over 2.3 million visitors in 2019, others are less well known or visited and are the subject of ongoing debates as to their conservation and use.<sup>10</sup>

A small proportion of Australians (12%) have visited Holocaust sites, such as a former concentration or extermination camp, or Anne Frank's house. Table 4 shows which sites have been visited.

**TABLE 4. HOLOCAUST SITE VISITORS: PLACES VISITED (% OF THOSE WHO VISITED THE SITE)**

Site Visited	% of visitors who had been to this site
Anne Frank's House	43%
Dachau	36%
Auschwitz-Birkenau	31%
Auschwitz 1	25%
Kraków-Plaszów	11%
Somewhere else (please specify)	10%
Sachsenhausen	10%
Schindler's Factory	6%
Mauthausen	5%
Bergen-Belsen	5%
Treblinka	3%
Buchenwald	3%
Belzec	1%
Ravensbrück	1%
Majdanek	1%

*Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.*

Among those who have visited a Holocaust site, the most visited sites are Anne Frank's house in Amsterdam (43% of those visiting a Holocaust site had been there), Dachau (36%), Auschwitz-Birkenau (31%) and Auschwitz I (25%).

Visitors to these sites were asked how helpful they found the visit or visits in learning about the Holocaust. **Nine-out-of-ten visitors (90%) to a Holocaust site described their visit as 'extremely helpful' or 'very helpful' in learning about the Holocaust.**

As we discuss later in this report (see the section on correlates of Holocaust knowledge), people who have visited a Holocaust museum or centre or Holocaust site are far more likely than non-visitors to have 'very good' or 'excellent' knowledge of the Holocaust and display higher levels of Holocaust awareness. **Such a finding shows the abiding value of Holocaust museums and centres in education as well as memorialisation.**

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## Testimony from Holocaust Survivors

The survey also asked respondents whether they have ever heard an in-person talk or lecture from a Holocaust survivor. Nineteen per cent of Australian adults said they had heard such a talk. Of those hearing this talk or lecture, 82% said that it was 'very' or 'extremely' helpful in learning about the Holocaust. People who have been to a Holocaust centre or museum were twice as likely to have heard a talk from a survivor.

And hearing from a survivor is also related to better Holocaust knowledge and awareness. People who had heard a survivor give a talk got on average 5.83 knowledge questions correct (out of possible nine correct), compared to 4.39 for those who had not heard a survivor speak about their experiences. Similarly, those who had heard a survivor give a talk scored 4.3 (out of 5) on the Holocaust awareness scale, compared to 4.00 (out of 5) for those who had not heard a survivor speak about their experiences.

## School Education

One of the requirements of membership of the IHRA is the mandating of the Holocaust on the national curricula of member countries. In Australia, this process was started in advance of joining the IHRA, when then National History Curriculum was introduced in 2010. However, this policy has not been fully implemented, with a significant degree of variation between state and territories.

While Victoria, NSW, Queensland and the Northern Territory have mandated minimum hours, there are no mandated hours in South Australia, Western Australia, the ACT, and Tasmania.<sup>11</sup> Teacher professional development also varies between states and territories and some jurisdictions have developed extensive learning materials for schools. For example, in Victoria, the Education Department worked jointly with the Gandel Foundation and nearly a dozen Holocaust education and Jewish community organisations to review, develop and disseminate significant resources to support teachers and students, including lesson sequences.<sup>12</sup> The year-long professional training program, the Gandel Holocaust Studies Program, also supports Australian educators to study at Yad Vashem, the World Holocaust Remembrance Centre in Israel, to gain historical knowledge and to develop new teaching initiatives for their school and communities.

About a third of survey respondents (30%) indicated they have had dedicated class or lessons at school about the Holocaust. Mostly this was taught as part of History, or to a lesser extent, as part of English, Literature or Religious Studies.

Digging deeper, the survey asked those who had been to school, their views about these lessons, and their impact and value:

- Eight-out-of-ten people (78%) who had lessons at school about the Holocaust agree or strongly agree with the statement that these lessons, 'helped me understand the causes of the Holocaust'.
- Eight-out-of-ten people (79%) who had lessons at school about the Holocaust agree or strongly agree with the statement that these lessons, 'had a lasting impact on me'.
- Slightly more than eight-out-of-ten people (83%) who had lessons at school about the Holocaust disagree or strongly disagree with the statement that these lessons represent a topic that is 'too confrontational for school students'.

For those who had lessons at school about the Holocaust, we found that those in the youngest age group (born 1986-2002) were substantially more likely than those in the older age groups (born 1966-1985 or born before 1965) to have had this specific education.

As we discuss later in this report, **people who have had education at school about the Holocaust are more likely than those who have not to have 'very good' or 'excellent' knowledge of the Holocaust and display higher levels of Holocaust awareness.**

## Books and Popular Culture

The Holocaust is the subject of famous movies and novels, ranging from Hollywood blockbusters such as *Schindler's List* (1993) and *Life is Beautiful* (1997) to numerous documentaries. The range of written work also spans testimony, such as the award-winning memoir of Eddie Jaku, *The Happiest Man on Earth* (2020), to fictionalised accounts that are used in school curricula, including *Maus* by Art Spiegelman (1980).

There is considerable engagement among Australian adults with these sources. This is shown in Table 5.

**TABLE 5. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: EVER DONE THE FOLLOWING HOLOCAUST ENGAGEMENT ACTIVITIES (% OF POPULATION)**

Activity	% of population has done this
Watched documentaries that feature the Holocaust	80%
Watched a movie about the Holocaust	77%
Read history books that discuss the Holocaust	62%
Read novels about the Holocaust	45%
Read a memoir or biography about a Holocaust survivor	45%
Learned about the Holocaust via a website	42%
Learned about the Holocaust on social media	26%

Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

By far the most common source of information or education are the visual sources: **80% of the adult Australian population has watched a Holocaust documentary, and about the same proportion has seen a Holocaust film (77%)**. Sixty per cent claim to have read a history book on the topic of Holocaust. A substantial minority of the population has read a novel, memoir or biography about the Holocaust.

Interestingly, those who had lessons at school on the Holocaust were more than twice as likely as those not having had lessons to have read a history book that discussed the Holocaust. **School is therefore an incredibly important context for Holocaust education.**

**Overall, we find a generally high level of public engagement with Holocaust materials.**

As we show in the next section, those who have visited sites, museums or centres, had lessons at school, or read books and novels are the ones who know most about the Holocaust and display the most Holocaust awareness.

# CORRELATES OF HOLOCAUST KNOWLEDGE

In this section we explore those factors that might lead a person to have higher or lower levels of Holocaust knowledge as measured in our nine Holocaust knowledge questions. Unsurprisingly, we find that specific learning about the Holocaust – whether that be a museum or centre visit or reading a history book – is the key source of knowledge. These sources of information tend to outweigh other things, such as general levels of education.

## Age, Gender, Region

Age, gender and socio-economic status are related to Holocaust knowledge. Men, on average, got higher scores than women in the Holocaust knowledge questions, while Baby Boomers (those born between 1946-1965) scored better than other age groups. More detail is presented in Table 6.

**TABLE 6. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: OVERALL HOLOCAUST KNOWLEDGE BY MEAN VALUES OR PROPORTIONS FOR DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS**

	Little to no knowledge (0-2 correct)	Reasonable (3-5 correct)	Very good (6-7 correct)	Excellent (8-9 correct)	Avg # correct out of 9
	%	%	%	%	
Age Group					
Millennials (b. 1986-2002)	30	32	25	13	4.22
Gen X (b. 1966-1985)	29	30	25	16	4.47
Baby Boomers (b. 1946-1965)	15	35	34	17	5.24
Silent (b. before 1945)	12	43	33	11	5.05
Gender					
Men	20	30	32	18	5.04
Women	28	36	25	11	4.29
Region					
Capital City	24	33	28	15	4.62
Rest of State	24	32	29	15	4.73
Socio-economic Index for Areas based on Index of Relative Social Disadvantage					
Quintile 1 - Most disadvantage	31	35	23	11	4.15
Quintile 2	27	34	27	13	4.41
Quintile 3	24	29	32	15	4.71
Quintile 4	23	35	26	16	4.76
Quintile 5 - Least disadvantage	17	33	33	17	5.11

*Note: all the tables in this section show row percentages – that is, the number 30 in the column headed 'Little to no knowledge', in the row 'Millennials' means that 30% of that age cohort had little to no Holocaust knowledge.*

*Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.*

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We have used familiar generation labels to refer to the different age cohorts in the sample.<sup>13</sup> These generation labels are widely known, save for perhaps the 'Silent Generation', which is the cohort born between the world wars and shortly after the great depression.

The Baby Boomers (born 1946-1965) got an average of 5.24 questions correct, higher than Millennials (4.22), Generation X (4.47), and the Silent Generation (5.05). These are modest rather than large differences.

The table also shows how scores vary between cohorts. Reading down the column of those who have little to no knowledge, we see that the Millennial (30%) and Generation X (29%) cohorts are twice as likely as Baby Boomers (15%) or the Silent Generation (12%) to have little to no knowledge. **Overall, increased age is associated with possessing at least some foundational knowledge of the Holocaust.**

At the other end of the scale, differences between the age cohorts are not as pronounced: 17% of Baby Boomers possess an excellent knowledge of the Holocaust, as do 16% of Generation X and 13% of Millennials. This difference is notable (see below).

Males (av. 5.04) correctly answered slightly more Holocaust knowledge questions than females (av. 4.29). A small proportion of the sample identify as non-binary, gender fluid or something else, however, we have not included their score as there were too few respondents in those groups to make for reliable comparisons.

Females were less likely than males to have little to no knowledge (28% compared to 20%). Conversely, males were more likely than females to have excellent knowledge (18% to 11%). **Overall, gender differences are not as pronounced as age differences when it comes to knowing about the Holocaust.**

Australians live in areas that are characterised by relative social advantage through to relative social disadvantage. The Australian Bureau of Statistics has developed a proprietary measure of 'Relative Socio-Economic Disadvantage' (IRSD). Geographic areas are scored on a scale from 1-5, where 1 represents the most socially disadvantaged and 5 represents the least socially disadvantaged. This measure considers many factors that produce relative socio-economic disadvantage in any geographic area, including a greater proportion of households with low average income, fewer formal qualifications, and less access to the internet, among other factors.

Those who live in the least socially disadvantaged areas got an average of about five questions correct, compared to those who live in the most socially disadvantaged areas, who got on average about four questions correct. This is a modest difference, but one that is not deemed important once other factors are considered (see below).

To simplify the table, we have not added state-based comparisons, and these are often not as important when other factors are taken into consideration, everything from levels of education, socio-economic status to political affiliation. **On average, there is not much state-based variation when it comes to Holocaust knowledge.**

## Education About the Holocaust, Political Affiliation, Social Media Use

Better knowledge of the Holocaust is, unsurprisingly, related to specific education about the Holocaust, including museum and memorial visits, or having read about it. Having Jewish friends and having warm feelings towards Jews generally also figure in better knowledge of the Holocaust.

**TABLE 7. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: OVERALL HOLOCAUST KNOWLEDGE BY MEAN VALUES OR PROPORTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS.**

	Little to no knowledge (0-2 correct)	Reasonable (3-5 correct)	Very good (6-7 correct)	Excellent (8-9 correct)	Avg # correct out of 9
	%	%	%	%	
Highest educational attainment					
Postgrad	21	27	32	20	5.01
Bachelors or Diploma	22	28	33	17	5
Year 12	22	33	30	15	4.84
School <Year 12	33	37	22	8	3.86
Cert I - IV	27	38	23	11	4.28
Have you ever visited a Holocaust museum, site, or memorial?					
Yes	8	32	38	22	5.77
No	30	33	25	12	4.24
Did you have dedicated lessons at school on the Holocaust?					
Yes	13	31	35	21	5.46
No	28	34	26	12	4.33
Have you ever read history books that discuss the Holocaust?					
Yes	11	33	36	20	5.54
No	45	33	16	7	3.25
Have you ever read a memoir or biography about a Holocaust survivor?					
Yes	10	34	36	19	5.54
No	35	32	22	11	3.93
Do you have any friends who are Jewish?					
Yes	16	31	33	21	5.34
No	29	34	26	12	4.31
Number of Jewish knowledge questions answered correctly					
None	65	29	6	0	1.95
One	28	46	22	4	3.98
Two	10	38	38	14	5.37
Three	6	23	44	27	6.28
Four	1	9	38	51	7.27

	Little to no knowledge (0-2 correct)	Reasonable (3-5 correct)	Very good (6-7 correct)	Excellent (8-9 correct)	Avg # correct out of 9
	%	%	%	%	
Where would you place yourself on the political spectrum?					
Left	13	30	38	20	5.52
Centre	27	33	26	14	4.45
Right	21	37	28	15	4.75
Social Media Use					
Low	23	37	29	11	4.55
Medium	24	33	27	16	4.68
High	26	28	31	15	4.71

Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

**Educational attainment (e.g. completing school, university, TAFE) is not decisively associated with better knowledge of the Holocaust.** Those with a Bachelor or diploma qualification had about the same outcomes in the Holocaust knowledge questions (av. 5.00) as those with a Year 12 qualification (av. 4.84), and not much different to those with a postgraduate qualification (av. 5.01). The major difference is between those who left school before Year 12 and those with a postgraduate qualification. Twenty per cent of those with a postgraduate qualification possessed excellent knowledge of the Holocaust, compared to eight per cent of those who had left school prior to year 12.

**Rather than general education, it is specific education about the Holocaust that results in the strongest knowledge of the events.** Those who have visited a museum, site or memorial were far more likely than those who had not to have 'excellent' or 'very good' Holocaust knowledge. The same kind of pattern is true when it comes to having had dedicated lessons at school or reading about the Holocaust (a memoir, biography or history).

**Having Jewish friends, knowing about Judaism and having warmer feelings towards Jews is also associated with stronger knowledge of the Holocaust.** People with Jewish friends got an average of 5.34 questions correct, compared to 4.31 for those with no Jewish friends.

Survey respondents were also asked four knowledge questions about Judaism ('For Jews, what is Rosh Hashanah?', 'The Jewish Sabbath begins just before sunset on which night of the week?', 'Kosher refers to...?' and, 'The modern state of Israel was founded in what year?') Eight out of ten people (78%) who had 'excellent knowledge' of the Holocaust got three or four correct answers to the questions about Judaism. By contrast, about six out of ten people (65%) who knew nothing about the Holocaust also know nothing about Judaism.

**Self-identifying as being on the left of the political spectrum is associated with generally better knowledge of the Holocaust.** We asked our respondents to place themselves on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right. Then, we divided the sample into 3 groups: those on the left side of the spectrum (values from 0 to 2, 17% of the population), in the centre (values from 3 to 7, 64% of the population), and on the right (values from 8 to 10, 19% of the population).

We found that people who place themselves on the left of the political spectrum are somewhat more likely than people in the centre or on the right to have 'excellent' or 'very good' knowledge of the Holocaust. By contrast, those in the centre or the right are more likely than those on the left to have little to no knowledge about the Holocaust.

Finally, we were interested to know if social media use was related to Holocaust knowledge. We asked if our respondents ever use a list of social media platforms, including Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and many others. We divided the sample into three groups:

- Australians who use zero or one social media platform (24% of the population)
- Australians who use two to four social media platforms (52% of the population)
- Australians who use five or more social media platforms (23% of the population)

**Social media use is not related to how much people know about the Holocaust.** As we show in the next section, however, it is related to Holocaust awareness.

## Making Sense of the Correlates: Holocaust Knowledge

Not all these socio-cultural markers are equally important, and some are not as significant once other factors are considered, or ‘controlled for’ in the analysis. For example, it might be that gender has more independent influence on Holocaust knowledge than age. We have used statistical techniques that take into consideration a whole range of factors at once (those listed in Tables 6 and 7) to find out which are strongly associated with excellent Holocaust knowledge, and which are less important.

Below, we describe the factors **most strongly associated** with excellent Holocaust knowledge (8-9 questions correct in the Holocaust knowledge quiz):

- **Reading a history book:** those who have read a non-fiction book about the Holocaust were more than twice as likely as those who had not read a book to possess excellent Holocaust knowledge.
- **Age cohort:** Boomers (as a whole cohort) are almost twice as likely as Millennials to have excellent Holocaust knowledge.
- **Gender:** Males are almost twice as likely as females to have excellent Holocaust knowledge.
- **Holocaust centre or museum visits:** Visitors are about 50 per cent more likely than those who have never visited to have excellent Holocaust knowledge.

Other factors noted in the previous section are important predictors of Holocaust knowledge (e.g. having Jewish friends), but the four factors we identify are especially notable.

# CORRELATES OF HOLOCAUST AWARENESS

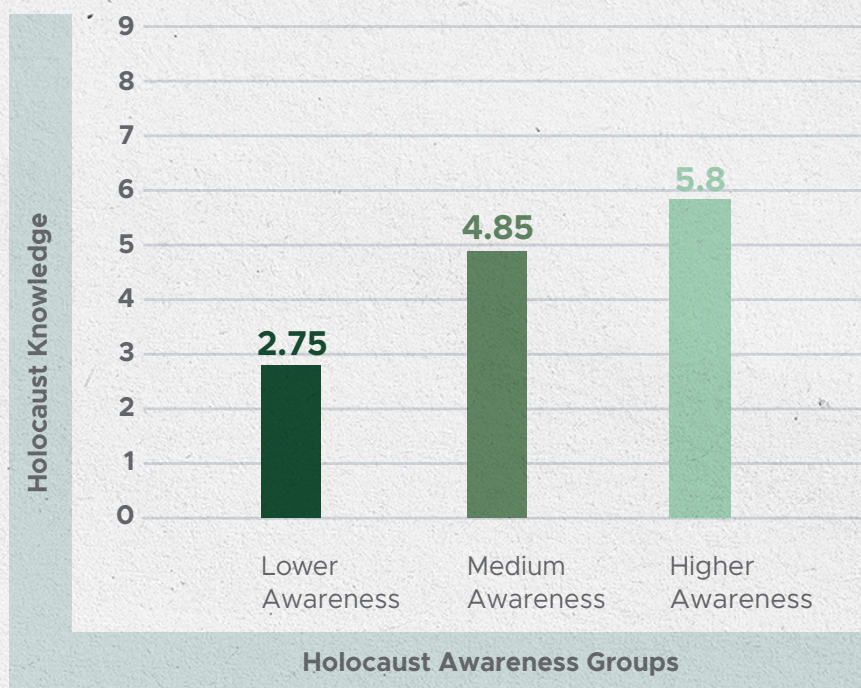
In this section we explore those factors that might lead a person to have higher or lower levels of Holocaust awareness as measured by the seven-item Holocaust awareness scale (see above). Some of those social and cultural factors that predict stronger knowledge of the Holocaust also predict stronger awareness of the Holocaust.

Importantly, we also find that **Holocaust awareness is related to a host of other pro-social attitudes, such as caring about minority groups or First Nations Australians.**

## Knowledge of the Holocaust and Judaism

Australians who have a comparatively lower level of Holocaust awareness on average know less about the Holocaust and Judaism. Conversely, people who have a comparatively higher level of Holocaust awareness on average possess more knowledge about the Holocaust and Judaism. More detail is presented in Figure 8.

**FIGURE 8. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: HOLOCAUST KNOWLEDGE BY HOLOCAUST AWARENESS (MEAN OF HOLOCAUST KNOWLEDGE)**



Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

Figure 8 shows that people with higher Holocaust awareness got an average of 5.8 questions correct in the Holocaust knowledge quiz. Those with medium awareness got an average of 4.85 Holocaust knowledge quiz questions correct. By contrast, those with lower awareness got on average less than three knowledge questions correct.

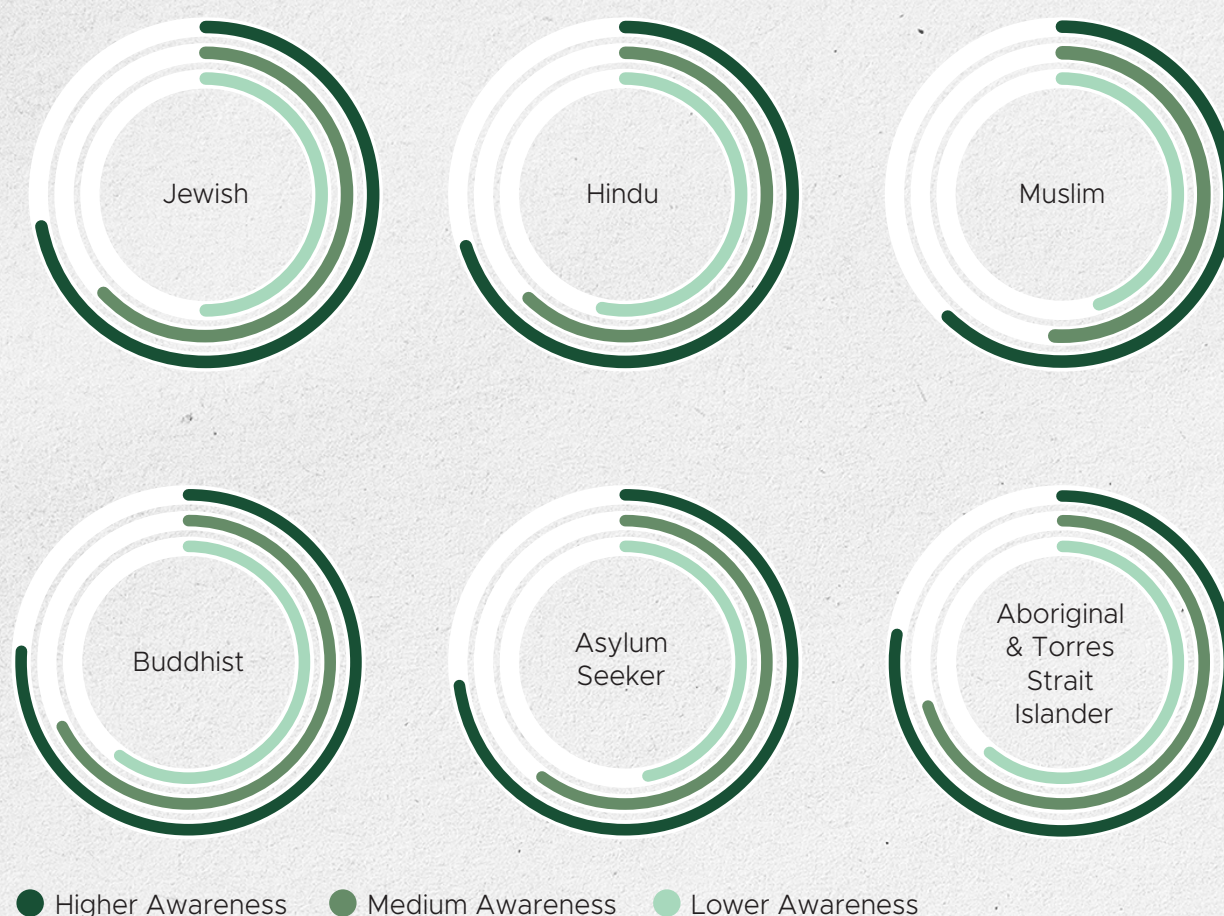
Survey participants were also asked four questions about their knowledge of Judaism (see above). **We found that Australians with higher awareness of the Holocaust know twice as much about Judaism compared to those with lower awareness of the Holocaust.**

## Feelings Towards Minority Groups and First Nations Australians

Holocaust awareness is associated with warmer feelings towards Jews and other religious minorities including Hindus, Muslims, and Buddhists. Importantly, Holocaust awareness is also associated with warmer feelings towards asylum seekers and Australia's First Nations too.

The survey employed a 'feeling thermometer' to measure people's warmth towards different minority groups, with zero degrees representing the coldest and most negative rating and 100 degrees being the warmest and most positive feeling. On average, people who have a comparatively higher level of Holocaust awareness have warmer feelings towards all minority groups. This is shown in Figure 9.

**FIGURE 9: AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: WARMTH TOWARDS MINORITY GROUPS BY HOLOCAUST AWARENESS (MEAN OF WARMTH FEELING THERMOMETER)**



Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

Those with higher awareness indicated, on average, the warmest feelings towards all of the groups shown in Figure 9. For example, **their average warmth towards Muslims was 62, compared to just 45 for those with lower Holocaust awareness.** Similarly, **those with higher Holocaust awareness had an average warmth of 78 towards First Nations Australians compared to 61 for those with lower Holocaust awareness.**

## Age, Gender, Region

As people with higher Holocaust knowledge tend to have higher levels of Holocaust awareness, we could have expected that the correlates of Holocaust awareness and Holocaust knowledge would be similar. Some of them are, but there are also important differences.

For example, women, on average, got slightly higher scores than men in the Holocaust awareness scale. Although the difference is not great, it is a noticeable finding because men possess more Holocaust knowledge than women. This finding is consistent with previous cross-cultural research that found women to have a more caring morality (i.e. high level of concern for interpersonal relationships and emotional sensitivity to the feelings of others) than men.<sup>14</sup> As caring for Holocaust education is a key component of our construct of Holocaust awareness, this might explain why women got higher scores than men in this scale. This is shown in Table 8.

**TABLE 8. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: OVERALL HOLOCAUST AWARENESS BY MEAN VALUES OR PROPORTIONS FOR DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS**

	Lower Awareness	Medium Awareness	High Awareness	Average Awareness Score out of 5
	%	%	%	
<b>Age Group</b>				
Millennials (b. 1986-2002)	15	62	24	4.15
Gen X (b. 1966-1985)	21	62	18	4
Baby Boomers (b. 1946-1965)	16	67	16	4.05
Silent (b. before 1945)	17	72	11	4.02
<b>Gender</b>				
Men	20	65	14	3.97
Women	14	63	23	4.15
<b>Region</b>				
Capital City	17	65	18	4.05
Rest of State	17	63	20	4.08
<b>Socio-economic Index for Areas based on Index of Relative Social Disadvantage</b>				
Quintile 1 - Most disadvantage	23	62	15	3.96
Quintile 2	20	60	19	4.05
Quintile 3	19	62	19	4.05
Quintile 4	15	66	19	4.08
Quintile 5 - Least disadvantage	11	70	20	4.14

*Note: all the tables in this section show row percentages – that is, the number 15 in the column headed 'Lower Holocaust Awareness', in the row 'Millennials' means that 15% of that age cohort have comparatively lower Holocaust awareness.*

*Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.*

The Holocaust awareness scale ranges from 0 (minimum level of Holocaust awareness) to 5 (maximum level of Holocaust awareness). On average, all age groups have high levels of Holocaust awareness: Millennials scored on average 4.15, higher than Baby Boomers (4.05), Generation X (4.00), and the Silent Generation (4.02). These are very small differences.

Males (av. 3.97) have slightly lower Holocaust awareness than females (av. 4.15). Females were less likely than males to have lower awareness (14% compared to 20%). Males were less likely than females to have higher awareness (14% to 23%).

Those who live in the least socially disadvantaged areas had an average level of Holocaust awareness of 4.14, compared to those who live in the most socially disadvantaged areas, who got on average of 3.96. This is a very small difference.

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The differences between capital city and regional areas are negligible, with regional Australians scoring on average 4.08 on the Holocaust awareness scale, and urban Australians 4.05.

**Overall, age and gender are somewhat associated with possessing a higher level of Holocaust awareness.** (See more below.)

To simplify the table, we have not added state-based comparisons, and these are often not as important when other factors are taken into consideration, everything from levels of education, socio-economic status to political affiliation. **There is very little state-based variation when it comes to Holocaust awareness.**

## **Education About the Holocaust, Political Affiliation, Social Media Use**

Better Holocaust awareness is unsurprisingly related to specific education about the Holocaust, including museum and memorial visits, or having read about it. Having Jewish friends and having warm feelings towards Jews is generally associated with higher levels of Holocaust awareness. This is shown in Table 9.

**TABLE 9. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: OVERALL HOLOCAUST AWARENESS BY MEAN VALUES OR PROPORTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS**

	Lower Awareness	Medium Awareness	Higher Awareness	Average Awareness Score out of 5
	%	%	%	
Highest educational attainment				
Postgrad	18	62	19	4.07
Bachelors or Diploma	16	66	19	4.07
Year 12	15	66	20	4.12
School <Year 12	23	59	17	3.96
Cert I - IV	17	65	19	4.05
Have you ever visited a Holocaust museum, site, or memorial?				
Yes	8	63	29	4.28
No	21	64	15	3.98
Did you have dedicated lessons at school on the Holocaust?				
Yes	8	63	29	4.28
No	21	64	14	3.97
Have you ever read history books that discuss the Holocaust?				
Yes	11	66	23	4.19
No	27	61	12	3.85
Have you ever read a memoir or biography about a Holocaust survivor?				
Yes	10	63	28	4.25
No	24	65	11	3.9
Do you have any friends who are Jewish?				
Yes	14	63	23	4.15
No	19	65	16	4.01
Where would you place yourself on the political spectrum?				
Left	8	58	34	4.33
Centre	19	66	15	4
Right	20	62	18	3.99
Social Media Use				
Low	24	64	12	3.9
Medium	18	64	18	4.06
High	9	65	27	4.23

Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

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**Educational attainment (e.g. completing school, university, TAFE) is not associated with higher levels of Holocaust awareness.** Those with a Year 12 qualification have slightly higher Holocaust awareness (av. 4.12) than people with a postgraduate qualification (4.07), a bachelor or diploma (av. 4.07), people who left school before year 12 (av. 3.96) and those with a certificate I-IV (av. 4.05). Overall, the differences are negligible.

**Rather than general education, it is specific education about the Holocaust that is associated with higher levels of Holocaust awareness.** As for the correlates of Holocaust knowledge, Australians who have visited a museum, site or memorial, and Australians who had dedicated lessons at school or read about the Holocaust were more likely to have average higher levels of Holocaust awareness.

**Self-identifying as being on the left of the political spectrum is associated with higher levels of Holocaust awareness.** We found that people who place themselves on the left of the political spectrum are more likely to have a higher level of Holocaust awareness than people in the centre or on the right.

**Interestingly, in this survey, the use of more social media platforms is associated with more Holocaust awareness.** This may be somewhat counterintuitive given the commentary on the prevalence of online Holocaust denial and distortion, and antisemitic tropes, and warrants further investigation. The most probable reason is that Millennials are more likely than the older age groups to have higher Holocaust awareness, and in turn, they are the biggest users of social media. Indeed, as we show below, social media use *per se* is not an important predictor of Holocaust awareness.

## Making Sense of the Correlates: Holocaust Awareness

Below, we describe the factors **most strongly associated** with higher levels of Holocaust awareness (scoring 4.7-5.0 on the Holocaust Awareness scale). Other factors noted in the previous section are important predictors of Holocaust knowledge (e.g. having Jewish friends), but the four factors we identify are especially notable when considering, or 'controlling for' all the factors listed in Tables 8 and 9:

- **Holocaust knowledge:** those with excellent knowledge of the Holocaust are almost four times more likely than those with little to no knowledge of the Holocaust to possess higher Holocaust awareness. Those with very good and reasonable knowledge are at least twice as likely as those with little to no knowledge of the Holocaust to possess higher Holocaust awareness.
- **Gender:** Females are almost twice as likely as males to have higher levels of Holocaust awareness.
- **Age cohort:** Millennials (as a whole cohort) are almost twice as likely as Boomers to possess higher Holocaust awareness. This is clearly a different outcome compared to Holocaust knowledge. **Younger people may know less, but there is an abiding care about the impact of the Holocaust among their generation.**
- **School lessons, biographies and museums:** People who have had lessons at school, read a biography about a Holocaust survivor or have visited a museum are about 50 per cent more likely than those who have never done these things to have higher levels of Holocaust awareness.

Other factors noted in the previous section are important predictors of Holocaust awareness (e.g. having Jewish friends), but the four factors we identify are especially notable.

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# ANTISEMITISM

Antisemitism is hatred of or prejudice towards Jews. In this report, we focus specifically on hatred and antipathy expressed in relation to the Jewish religion or ethnicity, which is also called Judeophobic antisemitism. We are also interested in how Holocaust knowledge and awareness are related to antisemitism.

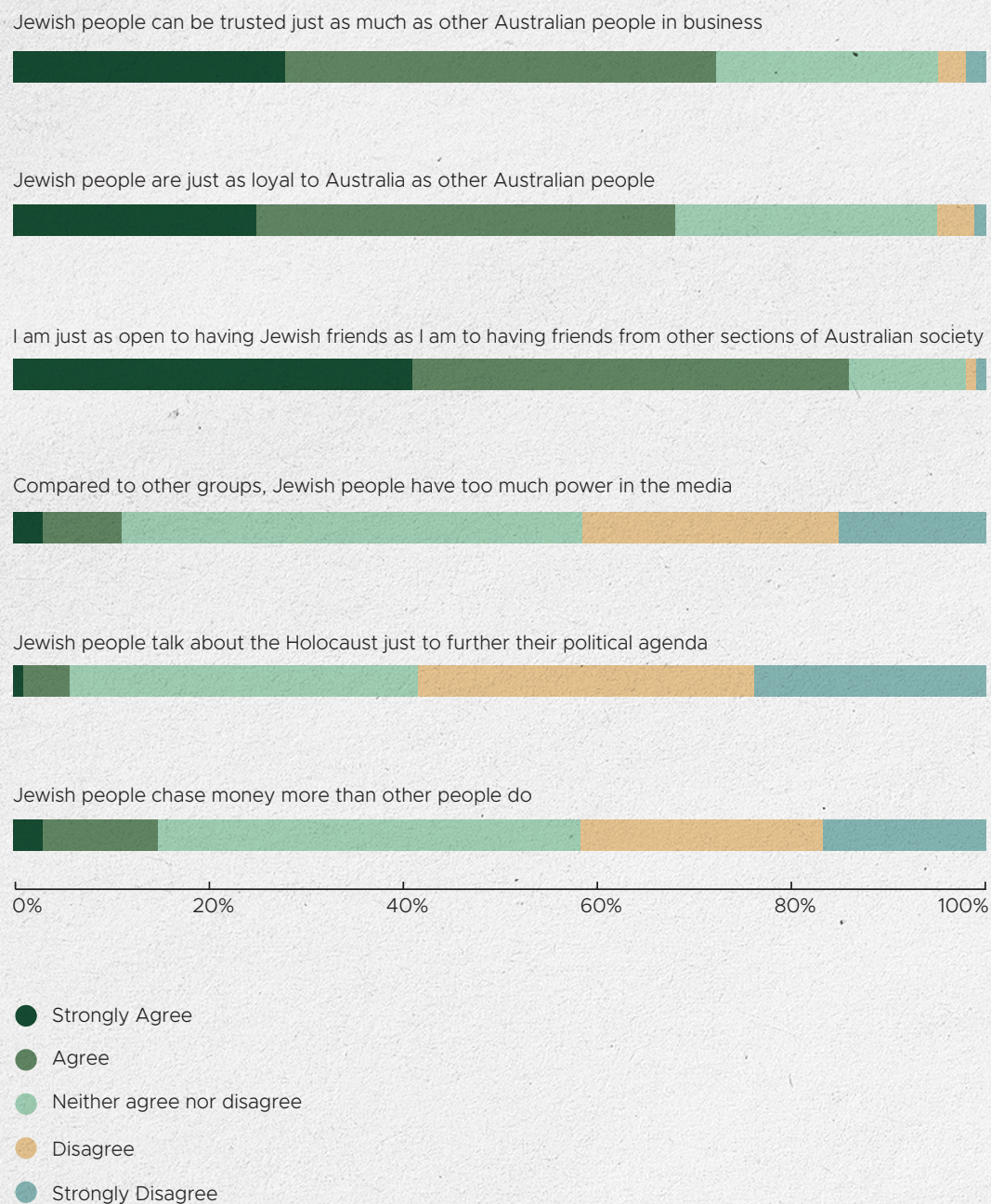
To capture this construct, we adapted six items originally developed for the UK Antisemitism Barometer (see Campaign Against Antisemitism 2020).

We asked participants to rate their agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 (= strongly agree) to 5 (= strongly disagree). Some of these statements are negative, and some are positive:

- Jews can be trusted just as much as other Australian people in business.
- Jews are just as loyal to Australia as other Australians.
- I am just as open to having Jewish friends as I am to having friends from other sections of Australian society.
- Compared to other groups, Jews have too much power in the media.
- Jews talk about the Holocaust just to further their political agenda.
- Jews chase money more than other people do.

The response to these items is shown in Figure 10. (Not shown in this figure, but for the purpose of further analysis we conducted, some of the items were reverse coded, which means we organised responses so that they run from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' in terms of positive sentiment.)

**FIGURE 10: AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: ITEMS IN THE JUDEOPHOBIC ANTISEMITISM SCALE (% OF POPULATION)**



Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021

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### **Antisemitic trope 1 – Jews are disloyal**

The centuries-old myth that Jews are disloyal to non-Jews is shared by 5% of Australians, who disagree or strongly disagree that 'Jewish people are just as loyal to Australia as other Australian people'. Importantly, 27% of respondents neither agree nor disagree with the statement. Over two thirds of Australians (68%) agree or strongly agree that Jewish people are just as loyal to Australia as other Australians.

### **Antisemitic trope 2 – Jews have too much power**

The idea that Jews dominate the world through controlling the media (as well as banks, industry and government) is a prominent myth among people who harbour antisemitic attitudes. About 1 in 10 Australians (10%) agrees or strongly agrees that 'compared to other groups, Jewish people have too much power in the media'. Almost half of Australians (47%) neither agree nor disagree. Only 42% disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

### **Antisemitic trope 3 – Jews are greedy**

One of the most persistent stereotypes about Jews is that they are greedy and would do anything to make themselves rich. A significant minority of Australians (15%) agrees or strongly agrees that 'Jewish people chase money more than other people do'. Forty-four per cent of Australians neither agree nor disagree. Only 42% disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

### **Antisemitic trope 4 – Jews in business**

Another centuries-old antisemitic trope is that Jews can't be trusted in business, because they are thieving and duplicitous. Only 5% of Australians disagree or strongly disagree that 'Jewish people can be trusted just as much as other Australian people in business', and 23% neither agree nor disagree. Over 7 in 10 Australians (72%) agree or strongly agree with the statement.

### **Antisemitic trope 5 – Holocaust guilt**

The idea that Jews use sympathy following the Holocaust to gain advantage for themselves is shared by 6% of Australians, who agree or strongly agree that 'Jewish people talk about the Holocaust just to further their political agenda'. Thirty-six per cent neither agree nor disagree, and 59% disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

### **Exclusion of Jews**

Only 2% of Australians disagree or strongly disagree that they are 'just as open to having Jewish friends as I am to having friends from other sections of Australian society'. Twelve per cent neither agree nor disagree, and most of the Australian population (86%) agree or strongly agree with the statement.

**Whilst the numbers who explicitly support antisemitic tropes is very low, of more concern is the larger proportion of those that neither agree nor disagree on some of the items suggesting a persistent latent antisemitism - associated with certain negative stereotypes - within society.<sup>15</sup>**

We analysed the structure and internal consistency of these items, and confirmed that all items capture one construct, that is, Judeophobic antisemitism. We then combined the items to form a scale ranging from 0 (= lowest level of Judeophobic antisemitism) to 5 (= highest level of Judeophobic antisemitism). We discuss this below.

## **An International Comparison: the UK**

The Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey findings can be compared to the United Kingdom, where the same questions were put to a sample of adults there as part of the UK Antisemitism Barometer 2020 survey (see Campaign Against Antisemitism 2020).

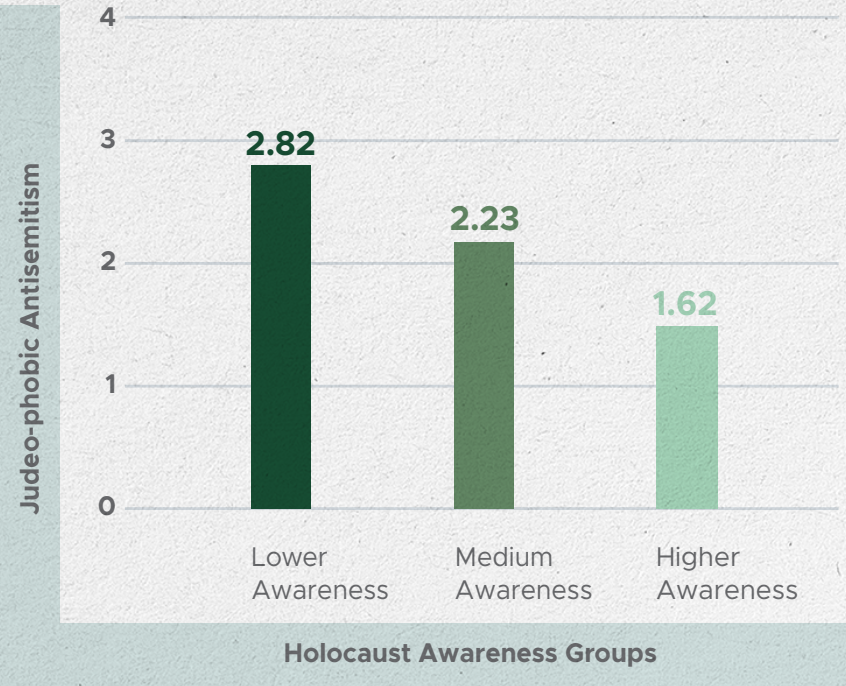
**For the most part, the UK and Australia have similar levels of antisemitism, as measured in these surveys.** There were some small differences: 8% of adults in the UK agree or strongly agree that ‘Jewish people use the Holocaust to further their political agenda’ compared to 6% in Australia; 4% of UK adults agree or strongly agree with the statement about being open to having Jewish friends compared to 2% in Australia. These differences may not be significant when factoring in sample size and data collection methods.

**Correlates of Judeophobic Antisemitism**

As might be expected, having lower levels of Holocaust awareness, lower levels of Holocaust knowledge and lower levels of Judaism knowledge are associated with having higher Judeophobic antisemitic attitudes.

Figure 11 shows the relationship between people’s scores on the Holocaust awareness scale and the Judeophobic antisemitic scale.

**FIGURE 11: AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: ANTISEMITISM BY HOLOCAUST AWARENESS (MEAN OF ANTISEMITISM)**



*Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021*

This figure shows that higher awareness of the Holocaust is associated with lower scores on the Judeophobic antisemitic scale (average for that group was 1.62). By contrast, those with lower awareness of the Holocaust have higher levels of antisemitism (average 2.82).

A similar pattern is evident when it comes to Holocaust knowledge. Those who know the most about the Holocaust displayed the lowest levels of Judeophobic antisemitic.

**Improving Holocaust knowledge and awareness can only have a positive impact on societal attitudes towards Jewish people.**

# ATTITUDES TO THE REGULATION OF ANTISEMITIC AND ANTI-HOLOCAUST SPEECH

The use and dissemination of Nazi symbolism is of contemporary concern in Australia. In 2022 the Victorian Parliament will debate legislation that bans the public display of Nazi symbols – a visible expression of antisemitism. There has also been debate in recent years about whether Holocaust deniers should be prohibited from giving public talks in Australia. We conclude this report by exploring the Australian public's attitude to the regulation of Nazi symbols and anti-Holocaust speech.

We asked survey participants to rate their agreement with three items measuring support for regulating speech that promotes Nazi and antisemitic ideologies on a scale from 1 (= strongly agree) to 5 (= strongly disagree). Some of these are positive statements, and some are negative:

- People should be allowed to use Nazi slogans, gestures, and symbols in Australia if they want to.
- People who question the Holocaust ought to be banned from giving public talks in Australia.
- There is no harm in using social media to question the Holocaust.

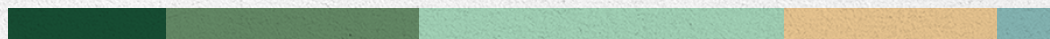
Responses are shown in Figure 12.

**FIGURE 12. AUSTRALIAN ADULTS: ITEMS ASSESSING ATTITUDES TO FREE SPEECH REGULATION (% OF POPULATION)**

People should be allowed to use Nazi slogans, gestures, and symbols in Australia if they want to



People who question the Holocaust ought to be banned from giving public talks in Australia



There is no harm in using social media to question the Holocaust



0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%

● Strongly Agree ● Agree ● Neither agree nor disagree ● Disagree ● Strongly Disagree

Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

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### **Regulation of Nazi slogans, gestures and symbols**

Almost 8 out of 10 Australians (78%) oppose the idea that people 'should be allowed to use Nazi slogans, gestures, and symbols in Australia if they want to', and 15% neither agree nor disagree. Only 7% agree with not regulating Nazi slogans, gestures and symbols.

### **Regulation of Holocaust denialism in public talks**

Public support for regulating Holocaust denialism in public talks is much lower, with only four in ten Australians (39%) agreeing or strongly agreeing that people 'who question the Holocaust ought to be banned from giving public talks in Australia'. Thirty-five per cent neither agree nor disagree, and about one in four Australians (26%) disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

### **Attitudes to Holocaust denialism in social media**

Just over one in ten Australians (14%) agree or strongly agree that 'there is no harm in using social media to question the Holocaust'. About one in three (30%) neither agree nor disagree, and 56% disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

**Overall, most Australians do not want people to be allowed to use Nazi slogans, gestures and symbols.** This is a direct, visible and proactive form of hate and one that the public clearly rejects. When it comes to regulating free speech regarding the Holocaust, opinion is more divided.

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# RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of the Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey lead us to make the following recommendations:

**1. Include the Holocaust on the curricula of Australian states and territories, and support teachers with ongoing accredited professional development**

The survey shows the effectiveness of specific Holocaust education in developing both Holocaust Knowledge and awareness. There is overwhelming public support for the Holocaust to be taught in schools. The unevenness of the application of the National Curriculum as it relates to the Holocaust should be addressed with a consistent and mandatory approach taken across Australia. In addition, teachers should be supported on an ongoing basis by Federal and State education departments working in partnership with Holocaust museums and centres, educational and philanthropic organisations to promote, develop and deliver accredited professional development activities that embed new knowledge, and teaching and learning approaches.

**2. Develop strategies to drive engagement with Holocaust museums, memorials and educational institutions**

By the end of 2024 it is proposed that most states and territories in Australia will have a Holocaust museum or education centre. The Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey provides evidence that confirms the effectiveness of museums and centres in teaching about the Holocaust. Those who have visited are much more likely to exhibit high levels of Holocaust awareness and pro-social tendencies. However, only 10% of the Australian population have visited a Holocaust museum in this country and a high proportion of non-visitors in Victorian and NSW do not know that there are long established institutions in their state. The focus of many Holocaust institutions has rightly been on school students. With increased capacity through new or significantly redeveloped institutions, as well as advances in digital technologies, the opportunity exists to engage with a broader section of the Australian population.

**3. Research, create, and distribute specific resources to address gaps in Holocaust knowledge, especially the period 1933-1939, and as it relates to Australia**

Whilst general knowledge of the Holocaust is good, there are specific gaps. These particularly relate to the antecedents of genocide, especially the political context of 1930s, and the *Einsatzgruppen* or the 'Holocaust by bullets'. Moreover, Australians' understanding of their own country's connections to the Holocaust is poor. This may lead to the impression that the Holocaust is of no relevance in the Australian context. A coordinated approach is required to address these gaps, which should include the Holocaust museums and educational organisations, teacher professional associations, the IHRA and lead to the development and dissemination of learning materials that relate to Australia's connection with the Holocaust and its contemporary relevance in a national and global context.

**4. Develop a research agenda to understand the long-term impact of Holocaust education in schools and museums**

The Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey connected with those 18 years of age and older. We know through the survey that there is widespread support for Holocaust education in schools and museums, a strong perception of the benefits, and a correlation between specific Holocaust education and Holocaust awareness and pro-social attitudes. However, the survey was not designed to research the specific pedagogical approaches through which effective learning over the longer term takes place. Further research is needed in this area.

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## **5. Challenge antisemitic myths and stereotypes in education through support for education programs**

Whilst the survey found that Holocaust denial and overt antisemitism amongst respondents is low, the persistence of latent antisemitic tropes is identifiable by the much larger percentages who are ambivalent (neither agree nor disagree with particular antisemitic tropes). Having lower levels of Holocaust awareness, lower levels of Holocaust knowledge and lower levels of knowledge of Judaism is associated with having higher antisemitic attitudes. Further educational initiatives to increase Holocaust literacy, with a specific approach to understand the origins and persistence of prejudice, are needed.

## **6. Improve communication over the need for annual commemorative activities**

Membership of the IHRA requires Australia to hold national Holocaust commemorative activities. A result of the perception of Australia as having little connection with the Holocaust is a lack of support for such events among the participants in the survey. Whilst there have been very successful initiatives, such as the first national commemoration of International Holocaust Remembrance Day in Australia in 2021, and Holocaust Memorial Week (2018 and 2022), further strategies should be developed by the Federal Government to engage non-traditional audiences with these events.

## **7. Provide opportunities for students to engage with Australian Holocaust survivor testimony**

Survivor testimony is a crucial component of Holocaust education and has the power to provide historical and moral lessons, allowing witnesses to reflect on the ongoing relevance on the Holocaust in the present. The Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey found that Australians who had heard a survivor give testimony were more likely to have higher knowledge and awareness than those who had not had this opportunity. The survey also found that only 19% of Australians had heard survivor testimony. Given the passing of the survivor generation, it is crucial that more Australians have the chance to engage with survivor testimony, either in person, or through digital technology.

## **8. Repeated cross-sectional research**

The generational differences shown in this study, especially around Holocaust knowledge and awareness, highlight the value of repeating in five years research on this topic. This will show the extent to which attitudes and knowledge are changing in the general population and where and how Holocaust education can best be targeted. The older generations know more than younger generations about the specifics of the Holocaust. This is due in large part to the era in which they grew up, a time when there were more Holocaust survivors alive, and the Holocaust was within living memory and their connection to the Second World War. Tracing the continuation of Holocaust awareness and knowledge given the investment in Holocaust education and in new and expanded Holocaust museums and centres in Australia is vital, so that the lessons of the past are not forgotten.

# APPENDICES

## The Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey Sample Characteristics (unweighted)

**APPENDIX TABLE 1: GHKAS 2021 CHARACTERISTICS: STATE OF RESIDENCE, PLACE OF RESIDENCE, GENDER, AGE GROUPS, INDIGENOUS STATUS, COUNTRY OF BIRTH (N=3522)**

		Count	% of Sample (n=3522)
State of Residence	NSW	1011	29
	VIC	903	26
	QLD	692	20
	SA	321	9
	WA	375	11
	TAS	100	3
	NT	15	0
	ACT	105	3
Capital city / rest of state	Capital City	2367	67
	Rest of State	1155	33
Gender identification	Male	1535	44
	Female	1972	56
	Non-binary / Gender fluid / Other	12	0
Age group as of 30th April 2021	18-24 years	140	4
	25-34 years	447	13
	35-44 years	572	16
	45-54 years	586	17
	55-64 years	689	20
	65-74 years	727	21
	75 or more years	358	10
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Origin	Yes – Aboriginal	53	2
	Yes – Torres Strait Islander	1	0
	Yes – both	4	0
	No	3461	98
Country of birth grouping	Australian born	2521	72
	Mainly NESB background	529	15
	Mainly ESB background	462	13

Source: Gandel Holocaust Knowledge and Awareness in Australia Survey 2021.

Note: Proportions in the table may not add to 100 because of rounding

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## Research Team

**Steven Cooke, PhD**, is an Associate Professor of Cultural Heritage and Museum Studies at Deakin University. His teaching and research focuses on the memorial landscapes of war and genocide, and he has published widely on issues related to the aftermath of the Holocaust in the UK and Australia. In recognition of his outstanding expertise on Holocaust education, commemoration and research, he was appointed by the Australian Government as an Expert to the Australian Delegation to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in 2015 and helped draft the report that secured Australia's membership of IHRA in 2019. He currently sits on the Memorials and Museums Working Group of IHRA and is the Deputy Chair of the 'Safeguarding sites a risk' research project, which aims to develop conservation guidelines for Holocaust sites. He is presently working with Dr Frieze on a framework for Holocaust Memorial Week in Australia, funded through the Federal Department of Education, Skills and Employment (DESE).

**Donna-Lee Frieze, PhD**, is a genocide studies scholar with the Contemporary Histories Research Group at Deakin University. She has published widely on twentieth century genocides in relation to philosophy and cultural studies. She is the editor and transcriber of Raphael Lemkin's autobiography, *Totally Unofficial* (Yale University Press, 2013) which has recently been translated into Spanish, German and Polish and is co-author with Steven Cooke of *"The Interior of Our Memories": A History of Melbourne's Jewish Holocaust Centre*, (Hybrid, 2015). Donna has been a Visiting Scholar at the Centre for Genocide and Human Rights at Rutgers University, a Board member for the Institute for the Study of Genocide, New York University and was the 2013 and 2014 Prins Senior Scholar at the Center for Jewish History in NYC. She has been invited to speak at Columbia University and to guest lecture at New York University and has been an academic advisor for several films and exhibitions on genocide. She is the past First Vice-President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars and an expert delegate for the Australian government in the Academic Working Group and the Incoming Chair for the Committee on Holocaust, Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity in the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. She has

taught a course at Deakin University on the Holocaust for over 15 years.

**Andrew Singleton, PhD**, is Professor of Sociology and Social Research in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Deakin. His work mainly explores the interconnections between social and religious change, with a specific focus on Australia and the Global South. Recent research projects include a major national study of Australian teenagers' attitudes to diversity funded by the Australian Research Council. He is the author of three books and numerous articles and reports. His latest book is *Freedoms, Faiths and Futures: Teenage Australians on Religion, Sexuality and Diversity* (Bloomsbury, 2021). A social research practitioner, Andrew incorporates survey research, ethnography, in-depth interviews, focus groups, and archival research into his work. He is particularly interested in the application of mixed methods and making statistical findings accessible and intelligible. Andrew is a skilled quantitative researcher (sampling, survey design, data analysis inc. structural equation modelling) and is one of the pioneers in Australia of latent class analysis. Andrew has been a Chief Investigator on several national and large-scale surveys.

**Matteo Vergani, PhD**, is Senior Research Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation at Deakin University, where he conducts research on risk and protective factors of bias and political violence. He has conducted survey research on Islamophobia and its predictors (e.g. knowledge of Islam, perceived terrorism threat), anti-Asian racism, barriers to reporting hate crime among minority groups (including the Jewish community), and support for political violence in Australia. Matteo has been involved in the creation and the statistical analyses of the Islamophobia Register Australia since its inception in 2016, and he developed a database of anti-Semitism in Australia by recoding incidents captured by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry between 2014 and 2017. Matteo leads the Tackling Hate project within the Centre of Resilient and Inclusive Societies, and convenes the Practitioners Working Group on Tackling Hate in Victoria, which is composed of community and government stakeholders working on preventing and mitigating all forms of hate – including antisemitism.

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## Advisory Group

The research team would like to acknowledge and thank the advisory group of experts who generously gave their time to support the development, analysis, and dissemination of the research.

Nina Bassat AM (Holocaust Survivor, Melbourne)

Richelle Budd Caplan (Yad Vashem – the World Holocaust Remembrance Centre, Jerusalem)

Vedran Drakulic OAM (Gandel Foundation, Melbourne)

Suzanne Hampel OAM (Melbourne Holocaust Museum, Melbourne)

Lauren Hovelroud (Gandel Holocaust Studies Program Alumna, Brisbane)

Rebecca Kummerfeld PhD (Sydney Jewish Museum, Sydney)

Mary Ellen Miller (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra)

Peter Wertheim AM (Executive Council of Australian Jewry, Sydney)

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The project was conducted with ethical approval from the Deakin University Human Research Ethics Committee (project: HAE-21-134).

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