The Promise of Never Again:
Improving Antisemitism Prevention in the Welfare Sector

A Qualitative Study Conducted in Germany.

A Master's Thesis.

Author:	Anna Katharina Strauss
Supervisor:	Max Koch

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Abstract

Author: Anna Katharina Strauss

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Supervisor: Max Koch

Assessor: Christina Erneling

Lund University; Department of Political Science, Department of Sociology and the School of Social Work; Spring Semester 2022

The rise in antisemitic sentiments and incidents in Germany over the last years, especially visible during the COVID-crisis, shows that such an increase is still possible even with previous applied prevention measures to counter antisemitism. How these measures in the scope of the welfare sector can be improved so that a further rise can be mitigated is the central focal point of this study. The goal is not to present a perfect strategy, but rather gather impulses, impressions, and voices from actors in the welfare sector who experience prevention measures and their appealed clientele first-hand. These impulses and impressions show what prevention aspects need closer inspection and improvement and can thus help show where policymakers and fellow actors of the prevention field should focus on and incite further revision.

The study consists of an interview and a document analysis with the latter providing supplementary insight. To analyse how the gathered impulses and recommendations can improvingly prevent antisemitism, the development-oriented model by Beelmann et al. (2021), the concept of *Sozialraumorientierung* and aspects of Pfeffer and Salancik's (1978) resource-dependency theory were consulted. This allows for an all-encompassing consideration of results and their assignment to possible varying approaches. The main findings are that already established measures and programmes need to be expanded and strengthened. Moreover, a change of perspective for professionals on topics such as the Israel-Palestine-conflict and the diversity of Jewish life must take place. Access to services, for both individuals interested in participating in services and professionals seeking guidance, must be better guaranteed. Financial and material resources are missing and a lack of adequate training for professionals becomes apparent.

Keywords: antisemitism prevention; welfare sector; radicalization; Germany; Jewish community

List of Acronyms

AfD – Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)

AFS – Research Unit for the Fostering Democracy and the Prevention of Extremism of the DJI

BAGFW – Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege (Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare)

BfV – Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution)

BMI – Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat (Federal Ministry of the Interior and Community)

CJD – Christliches Jugenddorfwerk Deutschlands (Christian Association of Youth Villages in Germany)

CST – Community Security Trust

DJI – Deutsches Jugendinstitut (German Youth Institute)

EU – European Union

FRA – European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

GG – Grundgesetz (Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany)

IHRA – International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

OSCE – Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

RDT – Resource-Dependency-Theory

SenBJF – Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Familie Berlin (Berlin Senate Department for Education, Youth and Family)

SenJustVA - Senatsverwaltung für Justiz, Vielfalt und Antidiskriminierung (Berlin Senate Department for Justice of the State, Consumer Protection and Antidiscrimination)

StGB – Strafgesetzbuch (German Penal Code)

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

VersammlG – Versammlungsgesetz (German Law concerning Assemblies and Processions)

ZWST – Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden (Central Welfare Board of Jews in Germany)

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1. Introduction

Ensuring that the atrocities and barbarities of the Second World War never happen again is not only the responsibility of the European Union but also of Germany specifically (European Commission 2021: 1). The promise of "Never Again" is mostly used in relation to Holocaust remembrance (Brudholm & Schepelern Johansen 2018: 195), even though antisemitism does not cease with the holocaust nor is reduced to it. Although the end of the Second World War marks 77 years, antisemitism not only still exists but is also alarmingly increasing in recent years (European Commission 2021: 1). This can be seen in the neo-Nazi attack on a Jewish restaurant in Chemnitz in September 2018 or the right-wing extremist terrorist attack targeted at the synagogue in Halle while Jewish locals were celebrating Yom Kippur (BfV 2020: 5). Antisemitism manifests in various forms. Apart from extremist attacks on properties and institutions belonging to the Jewish community, antisemitism becomes visible in hate speech on the internet, hate crimes or in the form of seemingly casual actions and remarks (European Commission 2021: 2). In Hamburg, desecration of stones in Eppendorf or threats against the Jewish Congregation of Pinneberg are only a few examples to name (Kistenmacher 2016: 4). Especially in the last years, the COVID-19 pandemic has proven that antisemitic prejudices did not disappear completely but shimmered under the surface only to drastically resurface with the start of the pandemic. New conspiracy theories and on- and offline hatred were fuelled and targeted at the Jewish community. For example, the community has been unjustifiably accused of creating the virus and for developing vaccines for profit (CST 2020).

COVID restrictions were compared to policies that resulted in the occurrence of the holocaust. Thus, the survivors' experiences and the grievances of the Jewish community were massively downplayed (European Commission 2021: 2). The statistics of the year 2020 and 2021, both years in which the pandemic was highly prevalent, illustrate this upward trend. In 2020, 2,351 antisemitic offences were reported, which is an increase of almost 16% compared to the previous year (BMI 2021a: 7). In 2021, the number of antisemitic crimes amounts to 1,850 violations. However, the enquiry date for that number is the 5th of November 2021. Hence, the preliminary number of 1,850 will probably further increase since two months were not yet included and people might report past offences later on (Bundesregierung 2021: 4).

The European Commission officially recognized the rise in antisemitic actions during the pandemic in its "EU Strategy on Combating Antisemitism and Fostering Jewish Life (2021-2030)" that was published in 2021. Based on this rise, that is partly due to the pandemic, this strategy was issued and is to be implemented from 2021 to 2030. It includes various measures to prevent a further increase in antisemitism, foster and protect Jewish life and educate in a

feasible way. To combat all forms of antisemitism several key concepts are listed. These include the organisation of an annual civil society forum, supporting the member states in their planning of national strategies, helping organisations to fight and record antisemitic hate speech and expanding the actions against online antisemitism by establishing a European-wide network. The EU will fund several projects helping protect and foster Jewish life (European Commission 2021: 6-24).

While these measures are necessary and helpful, they are mostly focused on the structural level. Member states are only encouraged to take certain actions instead of being provided with specific suggestions. Antisemitism prevention must not only be regarded from a structural point of view. The specificities, like how professionals should act in certain situations, what background knowledge is needed, what information and values must be taught to the younger generation and how to work through antisemitic attitudes on a personal and professional level, must also be considered. This is where the guideline for policymakers "Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education", published by the UNESCO and the OSCE in 2018, comes into play. This guideline addresses the characteristics and consequences of antisemitism and how educational work can counteract this. Educational workers are recommended to use a human rights-based approach, meaning that educational activities encouraging respect and protection for human rights and elemental freedoms are applied (UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 1; 29).

Moreover, measures to promote critical thinking, including a gender perspective and building students' resilience are explained (UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 30-35). The contents that should be taught are explicitly stated: antisemitic stereotypes, the Holocaust, antisemitism in the context of how history is taught nowadays and antisemitism in the media. Depending on educational setting, different modalities of implementation are discussed (39-65).

1.1 Research Problem, Questions and Aim

This recognized rise of antisemitic incidents, turning even more drastic through the pandemic, poses a threat to democracy, the wellbeing of society and to the Jewish communities taking an essential part in guaranteeing the development of the economic, political, and social sector in Europe and Germany (European Commission 2021: 1). It is surprising and devastating that this rise is still possible, especially since a variety of measures to prevent antisemitism have been implemented. The German government initiated multiple projects and programmes, like *Demokratie leben!* (Living Democracy!), to combat antisemitism (Bundesregierung 2022) and the topics of the Second World War and Holocaust are deeply integrated into the curriculum of the ninth and tenth grade (Deutscher Bundestag 2018: 7).

Hartmann (2021: 408) identifies prevention, next to containment and deterrence, as one of the main strategies to combat antisemitism. This means that, generally, focusing on antisemitism prevention proves to be an effective approach to hinder later occurring antisemitic action. However, the problem is that the current measures taken to prevent antisemitism do not seem to be enough, as the increase in antisemitic occurrences during the pandemic indicates. Thus, the main research question arises:

How can antisemitism prevention be optimized in the welfare sector?

The decision to focus on the welfare sector was made based on the topic of the master's programme the author is graduating in and based on the responsibility the welfare sector has for providing antisemitism prevention. The role of the welfare sector is not only to advocate for human rights and social justice but also to challenge any notion of oppression and therefore antisemitism (Cox 2021: 111). In this thesis and based on Cox (2021), the welfare sector is seen as consisting of every welfare organization or institution, governmental or non-governmental, that offers welfare services. This also encompasses educational programmes and services that are related to a welfare organization; hence schools are excluded. These educational programmes are included for two reasons. First, they can be linked to and are administered by welfare organizations. Second, the mediation of education and information leads to future wellbeing of society since education about diversity and democracy can prevent right-extremist actions and attitudes (Beelmann 2017: 40).

It must be stressed that the aim to research how antisemitism prevention can be improved does not mean the previous efforts were not effective. It simply means they were not effective enough or, in other words, could be more effective. The aim of this research is to find out what must change or be added to make them even more or the most effective. While the reports of the European Commission (2021) and the UNESCO and OSCE (2018) also aim to better antisemitism prevention, they differ in certain aspects from this thesis' research. First and foremost, they focus on doing more but not so much on where specifically optimization must start. Second, both reports do not represent the varying levels included in the welfare sector and its responsibility regarding antisemitism prevention. Furthermore, the UNESCO and OSCE (2018) guideline is aimed at policymakers and thus lacks the importance, as the author argues, of specifically targeting employees who work in the antisemitism prevention field, experience the measures' effectiveness first-hand and have liability to implement and optimize them in

practice. The guideline was published in 2018, before the COVID-pandemic happened, Hence, new insights the pandemic might have provided by now can be lacking.

Due to these reasons, the reports are seen as background or complementary information and not as possible documents for this research's aim and analysis. In a way, this research fills in the gaps the two reports leave.

This leads to this research's sub-questions:

What needs to change on a content-related and structural level?
What other needs/demands are not met?
What is working and thus needs to be further expanded?

This is regarded from the perspective of employees working in the welfare sector since they witness antisemitism prevention and its design first-hand and can be seen as experts of assessing the current prevention situation. This study concentrates on antisemitism prevention in Germany due to (1) the researcher's German background and (2) the obligation Germany inherits on combating antisemitism, especially due to its history (Bundesregierung 2022).

The author is aware that this aim is very ambitious and that it is impossible to present the most detailed and effective antisemitism strategy. Hence, it is only aimed to draw attention to specific aspects of antisemitism prevention measures that must be optimized and to provide impulses for further actions and research. These impulses can be useful for fellow employees in the field of antisemitism prevention to see what they can change in their approach to optimize their work but also for policymakers to recognize where improvements are needed and thus give incentive for revisions on a structural level. This research does not intend to measure any prevention policies or outcomes regarding their effectiveness and possible enhancement, it solely strives to present said impulses.

To contextualize this research, a background chapter is provided defining important terms and outlining the current prevention situation. After discussing previous research relevant for this study, theories and concepts used to analyse the results are explained. After illustrating the researcher's approach and the data analysis processes, consisting of an interview and document analysis, the results are presented. These results are then contextualized in the scope of the presented theories and concepts. A final discussion and conclusion mark the end of this thesis.

2. Background

This chapter aims to provide the needed background information necessary for contextualizing the research.

2.1 The Legal and Political Level

On a legal level, the need for antisemitism prevention is based on the third article in the German constitution, called *German Basic Law*. This article forbids any discrimination because of a person's origin, descent, language, faith, political or religious views (GG Art.3). The *Federal Law on Combating Right-Wing Extremism and Hate Crime*, established in June 2020, is an additional and recent step towards ensuring further protection for the Jewish community against antisemitism (Deutscher Bundestag 2020). In a broader sense, the law concerning processions, that can prohibit antisemitic assemblies happening at historically crucial locations (VersammlG § 15), and the penal code, that mitigates the distribution of Nazi propaganda materials (StGB § 86) and condemns the incitement to hatred and violence (StGB § 130), can be viewed as components of antisemitism prevention. Paragraph 46 of the *German Penal Code* will be extended, so that antisemitic motives will be viewed as aggravating to criminal offences. Establishing further laws to combat antisemitism is discussed (Janz 2020).

To fight antisemitism not only on a legal but also on a political basis, the German government issued several projects and guidelines. The German government published a strategy for the prevention of extremism and the promotion of democracy in 2016 that actively supports everyone advocating for democracy (Bundesregierung 2016). The two most important programmes included in this strategy are the federal programmes *Demokratie leben!* and *Zusammenhalt durch Teilhabe* (Social Cohesion through Participation). The government pays over 160 million euros a year to finance these programmes and will continue funding them in the coming years. The programme *Demokratie leben!* consists of supporting various projects and measures throughout Germany that promote diversity and democracy. From 2024 on, the focus will especially be on combating antisemitism and right-wing extremism (Bundesregierung 2022).

The programme *Zusammenhalt durch Teilhabe* fosters democratic initiatives and associations in structurally weak regions (Bundesregierung 2019). Furthermore, the government designated an antisemitism commissioner. Their task is to coordinate measures fostering Jewish life and preventing antisemitism. Generally, the state of Germany recognizes its responsibility to bear in remembrance and to never forget the gruesome events of the Second World War. Through these various projects it acknowledges its accountability to fight antisemitism

(Bundesregierung 2022). The different *Bundesländer* in Germany are urged to develop their own antisemitism strategies (BMI 2018:14). Two of these strategies are included in this thesis research, for this see 5.3.

2.2 Definition of Antisemitism

The non-legally binding IHRA Working Definition is the most used definition of antisemitism worldwide. It was taken on by the IHRA in 2016 as a guiding tool for the IHRA's work. Since then, the definition is used by multiple countries, governmental and educational institutions, non-governmental organizations and law enforcement agencies (European Commission et al. 2021: 6-7). The Working Definition of Antisemitism, adopted by the IHRA Plenary in Bucharest on 26 May 2016 (see IHRA 2016), states that

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

Additionally, the IHRA Working Definition consists of eleven examples of how antisemitism is expressed. Since antisemitism can occur in various contexts and under different circumstances, the Working Definition remarks that the occurrence of antisemitic expressions is not to be reduced to these eleven examples, but that context is to be included instead (European Commission et al. 2021: 9). The eleven examples will be mentioned briefly. The first one describes the encouragement or action to harm people belonging or perceived as belonging to the Jewish community. The second example entails making allegations or statements that are rooted in stereotypes and dehumanization, such as the conspiracy theory that the economy and media is monitored by the Jewish community. Thirdly, it is described how antisemitism can manifest in Jewish people being blamed of being responsible for real or imagined misconducts. The fourth example includes antisemitism becoming apparent in the denial of the genocide of the Jewish people during the Second World War. Similarly, the fifth example entails the accusation that Jewish people invented the Holocaust (European Commission & IHRA 2021: 11-13).

Examples six and seven encompass the notions that Jewish inhabitants are more loyal to Israel than to their native nation and that they should not have a right for self-determination in their home countries. The eighth example describes a form of antisemitism where Israel as a state is

being despised instead of being critiqued like one might do with other states, resulting in an antisemitic double-standard approach when it comes to Israel's doings. Listed as the ninth example is the usage of images and symbols related to classic antisemitism, the tenth example cites antisemitism becoming apparent in the comparison of current politics in Israel with those of the Nazis and the last example includes accusing the Jewish community of every action the Israeli state takes (European Commission & IHRA 2021: 14-16).

These horrendous examples of how antisemitism can manifest itself are still and often reality for the Jewish community. This is shown by the *Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Familie* and the *Anne Frank Zentrum* in their report regarding the everyday life of Jewish citizens in Berlin. This report addresses antisemitic manifestations in which the Jewish community is excluded from society due to Jewish citizens not being perceived as German, in which the existence of the holocaust is doubted or denied and in which an engagement in conspiracy theories takes place (SenJBF & Anne Frank Zentrum 2020: 8-11). Thus, a similarity between the examples mentioned by the European Commission and the IHRA (2021) and the *Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Familie* and the Anne Frank Zentrum (2020) is apparent.

2.3 Definition and Model of Prevention

Generally, prevention aims to avert harm to improve people's quality of life, the economy and society as a whole (Coote 2012: 4). Many governments describe prevention as being more effective than a cure for the (social) problem. Most prevention approaches are construed to interfere early on in people's lives with the aim of decreasing the demand for retroactive or acute public services later (Cairney & St Denny 2020: 2). For society this means forestalling the causation of poverty, unemployment and illnesses and lessening the number of criminal actions, distrust and social conflict (Coote 2012: 4). For a prevention measure to count as successful, it must not only enhance an individual's quality of life but also avert harm to relations across society (8). Prevention is a commonly used method in social policy (Gough 2013: 1). In this context, the avoidance of harm and detriments that decrease social justice and the overall societal wellbeing are the key intents (Coote 2012: 8).

Three forms of prevention, that are detectable across different fields, can be defined: primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. Primary prevention, also described as upstream prevention, describes the intervention method used to avert harm before it arises. This form usually is directed towards whole systems and populations. The secondary prevention approach is also named midstream prevention. Here, the outcome of harm having already occurred is mitigated.

This mostly addresses at-risk groups or areas. The last form of prevention, called tertiary or downstream prevention, entails the coping with the effects of harm that has not or could not be averted to not let matters worsen, with the focus being on specific cases (Coote 2012: 9).

Applying these forms of prevention to the social work or welfare sector, puts the focus on the emergence and identification of a problem and the client. Primary prevention, similar to the previously stated definition, is set to avert the problem from occurring. A problem is seen as a complication in social and personal functioning (Hardiker et al. 1991: 347; Parker 1980). This means that by preventing the problem, the demand for the existence of a client status is also averted (Benn 1976; Richards 1987; cited in: Hardiker et al. 1991: 347). Primary prevention addresses the enhancement of social conditions and the reduction of economic and social risks of individuals and groups (Hardiker et al. 1991: 347).

Secondary prevention includes the early detection and improvement of the problem. In this stage, a person already holds the status as client. While it could be argued that as soon as a person is seen as a client, the term of prevention no longer applies since the focus is on treatment, it is still adequate to view this stage as prevention (Hardiker et al. 1991: 348-347). Prevention is to be achieved throughout all phases (Parker 1980: 44) since further harm must always be averted, no matter the point in time, and an individual's autonomy and social integrity must always be promoted. In secondary prevention, the focal point is on specific clients and not on structures that are consequently concerned with clients (Hardiker et al. 1991: 348-349). Measures in tertiary prevention aim to avert further effects of the problem regarding the client (Hardiker et al. 1991: 349).

Generally, many prevention measures are incited by institutional bodies and can include actions such as funding organizations for implementing certain measures and for further research and educational offers to impact behaviour and public expenditure for specific projects (Cairney & St Denny 2020: 16). The great leeway welfare actors in Germany have in interpreting and implementing their own prevention measures, especially concerning antisemitism prevention, will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.4 Outlining the Current Situation of Antisemitism Prevention

As stated, prevention is one of the major strategic imperatives in combating antisemitism. It should avert actors from holding antisemitic sentiments and conducting antisemitic activities (Hartmann 2021: 408). The welfare sector plays a decisive role in implementing antisemitism prevention measures. It is not only the sector's responsibility to fight and deter any form of

discrimination (Cox 2021: 111) and to promote equality and political stability (Hauser 2004: 1) but workers in this field can also impact social policies (Hardiker et al. 1991: 342).

The welfare sector in Germany, a conservative corporatist welfare state (Headey et al. 1997: 332/356), consists, besides non-governmental organizations and charities, of six main welfare organizations that each have their own institutions (Lange 2002: 75-78). These six organizations are the *Caritas*, *Diakonie* (Diaconia), *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* (Worker's Welfare Association)*, Deutsche Rote Kreuz* (German Red Cross), *der Paritätische* (Association for Welfare Parity) and the *ZWTS* (Central Welfare Board of Jews). The welfare sector in Germany is organized in a federal structure. The associations in the different *Bundesländer* each comprise multiple subdivisions at district or local level. The six main welfare organizations and their sub-associations are predominantly legally independent. In total, over 120,000 institutions are connected to the organizations. These institutions each put their foci differently. While some concentrate on the interaction with refugees, others focus on educational activities regarding certain topics, and some provide a variety of offers. Due to the federal structure, the subdivisions can forward suggestions for improvement based on their practical experiences to the federal state and subsequently to the national level. At this level, the six organizations form the *Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare*. It is the role of the welfare associations, besides issuing offers of help, to present the interests of the affected groups in legislative processes and in the development of socio-political and client-oriented strategies (BAGFW 2022).

The basis for the organization's work constitutes the principle of subsidiarity, obligating the institution on the lowest level undertake the task if viable. Generally, networking takes place between local institutions, institutions on the sub- and national level, in European networks and with actors of the economy and state (BAGFW 2022). The six main organisations are financed through state support, reimbursements from social services and donations (Schmid 2021).

Prevention must be target-group and phenomenon specific (Rahner & Quent 2020: 15). Many prevention programmes not only deal with preventing radicalization but also with consolidating civic initiatives, raising awareness of misanthropic actions and with empowering the people affected (12). What actions employees working in the welfare sector should take to handle right-wing extremism and discriminatory behaviour in their work, is described in the handout of the *Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare*, published in 2017. These suggested actions can help employees to set boundaries and support them in implementing the prevention measures common in the social sector (BAGFW 2017). Measures to prevent antisemitism are not always clearly distinguishable from one another and can overlap as can be seen hereafter. Many

measures are targeted at the younger generation since the juvenile phase is often regarded as the stage in which prevention is the most effective (Sigl 2020: 21).

2.4.1 Standardized Programmes

One approach often used in antisemitism prevention is to establish interaction and contact between members of different religious and social groups with the aim of dismantling stereotypical and discriminatory views and fostering tolerance and empathy. Exchange and co-existence programmes are measures applied to achieve this aim. Exchange programmes mostly take place in school settings but can also be applied to the leisure context. Co-existence programmes' central idea is to show groups that must co-existent in a certain space how to implement this with mutual respect to the other group's history and views (Beelmann 2017: 41-43). One example for a contact programme is the Central Council of Jews' project *Meet a Jew* that enables the meeting and interaction of Jewish and non-Jewish people and is sponsored in the wake of the programme *Demokratie leben!* (Meet a Jew n.d.).

Similarly, multicultural or diversity trainings and anti-discriminatory programmes help conveying equality by communicating a fundamental comprehension of diversity thus decomposing any forms of prejudices. Anti-discriminatory programmes aim to reduce severe forms of devaluation. This is mostly done by using historical examples of human rights violations. Both trainings can be viewed as educational measures since they utilize data to get across their intent (Beelmann 2017: 44). Social trainings are mostly aimed at children but can also be used in the context of mediation training for adults. Their aim is to avert behavioural problems of individuals (46). The measures listed here are mainly primary and possibly secondary prevention activities since their intention is to mitigate a discriminatory stance before it occurs or to address and avert the slightest sign of it (Coote 2012: 9; Beelmann 2017: 46).

2.4.2 Educational Measures

In the welfare sector, political education can occur through various projects, programmes, and activities in and out of school. Workshops and seminars addressing different topics related to antisemitism are initiated by welfare organizations, like sport education projects and peer education (Kompetenznetzwerk Antisemitismus n.d.; UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 63; Teich 2020: 64). A more specific example is the project day the concentration camp memorial site *Neuengamme* offers for school classes where students can learn about its history and meaning. This project day includes pedagogical and interactive learning methods (KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme n.d.).

No matter the learning format, the contents of what needs to be portrayed are corresponding: The examination and history of antisemitic preconceptions and discrimination and the remembrance of the Holocaust (SenJBF & Anne Frank Zentrum 2020: 30, 48; UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 40-46). Like standardized programmes, educational measures aim to promote tolerance but also critical-thinking, resilience and self-reflection (UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 63). Besides political education, general education, meaning equal access, high quality and chances for later employment, is vital for preventing radicalization (Sas et al. 2020: 9).

Political education is not only important for younger people but also for the employees working in the welfare sector, no matter their specific field of work (UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 62). Thus, advanced training should be available for employees working in this sector. This not only helps to extend the professional network but also provides employees with a better background knowledge and helps them deal with discriminatory challenges (Woltering & Höppner 2020: 52; UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 62). The previously mentioned handout by the *Federal Association of Non-statutory Welfare* might pose as a beneficial basis (BAGFW 2017). Educational measures can mostly be assigned to primary prevention since they aim to antisemitic sentiments and views before they can be formed (Coote 2012: 9; UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 63).

2.4.3 Counselling and Exit Programmes

Counselling services for people knowing radicalised individuals in their social environment are often seen as the last possibility to reach these radicalised people and prevent them from further extremist action. Even in the scenario of drastically changing the environment within the process of radicalisation, contact with relatives and friends is usually kept (BMI 2021b: 12). Mobile consulting teams not only work with acquaintances of persons with antisemitic behaviour but also groups and institutions affected by right-wing extremism. Counsellors will guide them towards self-help and strengthening their capacity to act (Nattke 2020: 40-47).

Exit programmes directly aim and offer to assist radicalized people on their way out of extremism. They are applied in and out of prison contexts (BMI 2021b: 12). One example is the counselling centre *Kurswechsel* which advises and accompanies radicalized individuals during their exit from radicalized groups in Hamburg (CJD Hamburg 2019: 6). These counselling and exit programmes are mostly secondary and tertiary prevention measures since harm, in this case antisemitic actions, has already occurred and now further effects, or discriminatory actions, must be averted (Coote 2012: 9; BMI 2021b: 12). Counselling institutions providing help for people who were victims of antisemitic sentiments can be seen

as tertiary prevention institutions because harm was already done and its effects must be minimized, this is in relation to specific cases (Coote 2012: 9; Antidiskriminierungsberatung Hamburg n.d.).

2.4.4 Brief Conclusion

The welfare sector is able and responsible to prevent antisemitism by offering stated measures. These prevention measures are mostly based on either a subject-oriented or a socio-spatial approach (Milbradt 2020: 54). It must be noted that the prevention measures the welfare sector provides are not the only measures needed to combat antisemitism, it takes rather a multitude of different offers in various fields of work, but the welfare sector plays a key role (Rahner & Quent 2020: 5).

However, updated formats of antisemitism prevention are needed, especially with the rise of the New Right (Rahner & Quent 2020: 5; Sigl 2020: 23). A strong focus, like is done with the younger generation, must be set on adults when it comes to antisemitism prevention. Measures for the older generation are lacking as of now (Sigl 2020: 24).

3. Previous Research

Generally, the survey on discrimination and hate crimes of Jewish people in the EU, conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2018), underlines the increased necessity for an improvement of antisemitism prevention measures. The respondents of the survey were individuals aged 16 years and older who regard themselves as Jewish. The study took place EU-wide with the most respondents from the United Kingdom (4,731) and France (3,869). In Germany over a thousand respondents took part. Most of the respondents (89%) perceived a rise in antisemitism over the last five years before start of the survey. 85 per cent of the respondents' regard this as a severe problem. In their respective country of residence respondents estimate antisemitism as one of the most serious political and social problems (FRA 2018: 8-11). It must be noted that this survey was conducted before the start of the pandemic.

Similarly, the qualitative study about antisemitic experiences in everyday and school life, conducted by the Competence Centre for Prevention and Empowerment from 2017 to 2019 and financed through the programme *Demokratie leben!*, illustrates the need for optimized prevention measures so that Jewish children, especially in school, are not exposed to antisemitic expressions. For the study, 23 Jewish young adults and parents were interviewed about the experiences and memories of their school days and about their assessment of the societal

situation in Germany (Chernivsky et al. 2020: 12). The study showed that every interviewee anticipated potentially harmful antisemitic situations. Many of the young adults recounted antisemitic instances in a school context and how this was trivialized by teachers, who often seemed overwhelmed, and met with passivity by their social environment. When asked about the characteristics of efficient interventions, the respondents listed a transparent and serious handling of the situation, a prompt reaction and a secure space and counselling for the processing through the incident (111-114). This study not only shows the demand for further training for teachers on how to handle antisemitic situations but also that prevention is needed to avert such incidents in the future. It underlines how processing measures for the time after the incident must be extended.

However, when it comes to scientific research with the focus on prevention measures, the amount is very limited. The reason for this is twofold. Firstly, fundamental problems of evaluation, like difficulties with recruiting radicalized people, arise. Secondly, many primary prevention measures are labelled with a different name. For example, they can be found under the name of crime prevention so that potential target groups are not deterred by the radicalization or antisemitism label. This complicates determining what counts as antisemitism prevention. Moreover, the lack of significant evaluation studies on the effectiveness of certain prevention measures results in too little knowledge of what concepts and approaches are productive (Beelmann 2017: 38). The study of Feddes et al. (2015) is one of the few that could show the effectiveness of a prevention programme, in this case the Dutch programme *Diamant*. It was demonstrated that by participating in this programme empathy and self-efficacy was increased and propensity to violence decreased. This study, however, used criteria for immediate success and did not measure any criminal offences (Beelmann 2017: 39). Nevertheless, it shows that specific values can be taught through an adequate design of prevention programmes. The important effect of a democracy education measure could be established by Feddes et al. (2019). The measure increased trust in the government and reduced the support of radicalized offences of young people (158-164).

The evaluation of a prevention programme including a four-hour workshop conducted by an ex-member of the radicalized scene reveals hardly any effects on the students which shows that a long-term measure is needed for visible effects (Walsh & Gansewig 2019: 1-42). The long-term effects of a measure for fostering tolerance of children age 8 to 10 could be proven in several radicalization parameters of 14- to 16-year-olds by Beelmann and Karing (2015). The prevention programme, called PARTS, consists of 15 sessions in three modules, discussing indirect exchange contacts, intercultural knowledge and fostering of socio-cognitive

capabilities. Five years after finishing the programme, the participants show significantly lower prejudices and less contact to right-wing environments than a randomized control group. This displays that early prevention measures show an anti-radicalization effect in the later development of individuals (51-58).

Lösel et al. (2018: 89) conducted a systematic review of international research on protective factors against extremism and violent radicalization. Over 2,000 documents were screened, out of which 17 reports chosen that included 21 analyses specifically addressing protective and not risk factors based on quantitative data. This limited amount shows the general lack of research on protective factors. A range of protective factors could be established through the study by Lösel et al. (2018). In the field of individual protective factors, high self-control, employment, empathy, and perspective-taking were listed. Positive parenting behaviour has a positive impact on the family level. On the school level, a deep integration in the school environment and a higher educational level seem to protect against radicalization. Regarding the societal field, integration into society and social bonding were named (96-97). These listed factors can provide an overview of what antisemitism prevention should focus on and in what aspects it can be further developed. This study, for example, underlines the importance of fostering an understanding of democracy and thus measures can further be built on that aspect.

Lastly, the ongoing research by the AFS of the German Youth Institute must be briefly mentioned. The radicalisation of the younger generation and measures of social and pedagogical prevention are the core of this study. This research will not be released before 2024, however, after the release it might provide conducive assessments of what measures are effective in prevention (DJI 2022).

4. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Not only significant evaluations about the effectiveness of prevention programmes are missing, but specific theories regarding the performance and improvement of antisemitism prevention measures are also lacking (Gough 2013: 3). Various reasons for this theory gap are possible. Firstly, the characteristics of prevention measures differentiate depending on whether the approach is holistic, individual, or structural. Secondly, prevention policies and thus measures are shaped by institutions, meaning depending on what aspects institutions focus on measures change (4). Thirdly, the temporal circumstances in which measures are decided upon influence the choice of measure (Beelmann et al. 2021: 24). Hence, prevention measures are dependent on external influences that are mostly unforeseeable and cannot be defined in one theory. Moreover, when it comes to antisemitism or radicalism, no strict causalities exist. The cause

for becoming antisemitic is always rooted in multifunctional developments that cannot easily be narrowed down and predicted with one theory (17).

In this thesis, three concepts and theories will be used that combined help analyse this study's results. The three theories were chosen based on the encompassing explanatory approach they offer when connected. As was stated, a theory that illuminates every aspect of antisemitism prevention is missing (Gough 2013: 3), meaning, a combination of multiple theories makes sense. While the development-oriented model by Beelmann et al. (2021) functions as the main theoretical basis, the concept of *Sozialraumorientierung* and the resource-dependency-theory fill in the gaps the development-oriented model does not complete.

Beelmann et al.'s (2021) model is manifold, it mostly underlines personal aspects of development, but also integrates societal and social aspects. However, it starts with the focal point being on the individual and goes from there (12). Since two approaches regarding antisemitism prevention measures are common, subject-oriented, and spatial-oriented (Milbradt 2020: 57), a theory that can only explain the results regarding subject-oriented approaches does not suffice. Hence, a theory for the spatial-oriented aspects of prevention must be consulted. This is where *Sozialraumorientierung* becomes effective. To explain the reasoning behind spatial-focused optimization suggestions, *Sozialraumorientierung* can be used.

Both Beelmann et al.'s (2021) model and the concept of *Sozialraumorientierung* lack in integrating what role resource-providers, and the power they hold, play regarding antisemitism prevention. Here, the resource-dependency-theory can further highlight, incentives behind the interviewees' suggestions. *Figure 1* illustrates the interplay of the three stated theories and concepts. In the centre is the individual influenced by personal, social, and societal factors that under imbalanced circumstances might develop further into radicalization (Beelmann et al.'s [2021] model, chapter 4.1). The individual is situated in its community and social space that also influences its feelings and actions (*Sozialraumorientierung*, chapter 4.2). In and out of the community are organizations directly or indirectly providing prevention measures impacting the individual. In turn, the organizations providing these measures are dependent on resources (RDT, chapter 4.3).
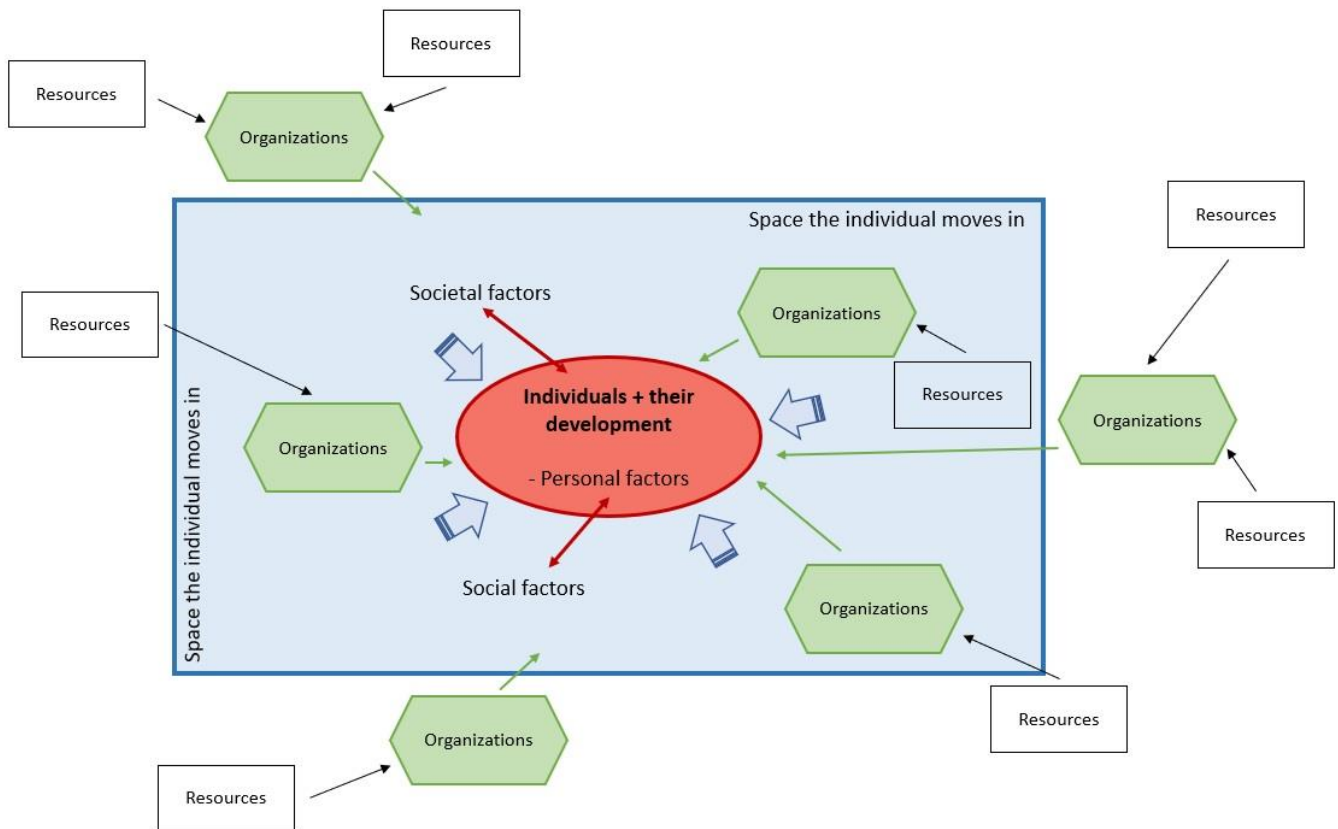
Source: Beelmann et al. (2021); Pfeiffer & Salancik 2003; Seithe & Heintz 2014
Made by the author of this thesis

Figure 1   *Combination of Theories: Development-Oriented Model;*
             Sozialraumorientierung; RDT

It does not mean that the results will be categorized in advance seeing what theory fits best, it rather means that the results will be regarded in terms of the approach the respective interviewee represents and what theory this supports. Based on this allocation, the findings will be further discussed regarding their motivation and incentive using the appropriate theory. Thus, the assignment to one theory can also function as part of the results since it shows what approaches are used more often and seen as more effective. It is also possible that certain findings can be analysed based on multiple theories.

The author of this thesis recognizes the different approaches to prevention the respective theories entail. While the development-oriented model uses the individual as the starting point and then considers its environment (Beelmann et al. 2021), *Sozialraumorientierung* starts with regarding the environment to lead over to the individual (Seithe & Heintz 2014). Resource-dependency-theory uses a very structural approach (Pfeffer & Salancik 1978). The author argues that combining these theoretical approaches, is not contradictory, but rather provides an

all-embracing background for the analysis allowing for viewing the results in context of all approaches.

4.1 The Development-Oriented Model of Radicalization

Radicalization and extremism can be defined as a severe political or religious deviation being expressed through actions or attitudes that do not conform with basic legal norms and societal and humane values. Thus, antisemitism can be a form of radicalization or extremism, meaning the following model can be applied to the context of antisemitism (Beelmann 2019). Due to the lack of specific theories, Beelman et al. (2021) established a development-oriented model of radicalization that is based on multiple theories from various fields. The basic assumption of the model is that radicalization can be explained by biographical processes that give rise to suitable prevention measures. This model is based on a development-oriented perspective on prevention (10).

The various empirical findings and theories the model is based on will be shortly named. Firstly, it is based on theories related to crime and behavioural issues, like the General Strain Theory by Agnew (2006) and the Problem Behaviour Theory by Jessor (2014), that see developmental problems as the result of various societal, biological, individual, and social factors. Furthermore, specific radicalization models (McCauley & Moskalenko 2011; Kruglanski et al. 2014), socio-psychological theories regarding identity and prejudices (Zick et al. 2019) and developmental theories regarding political socialization and intergroup approaches (Beelmann & Raabe 2007) were used. Lastly, various research about risk and protective factors (Borum 2014; Emmelkamp et al. 2020; Wolfowicz et al. 2019) were integrated (Beelmann et al. 2021: 10-11).

The development-oriented model consists of three different stages: the ontogenetic development process, the proximal radicalization process, and the stage of extremist views (see *Figure 2*). Counterproductive developmental processes that build up on each other are seen as the cause for radicalization. In other words, a problematic social development is the reason for extremism (Beelmann et al. 2021: 11).
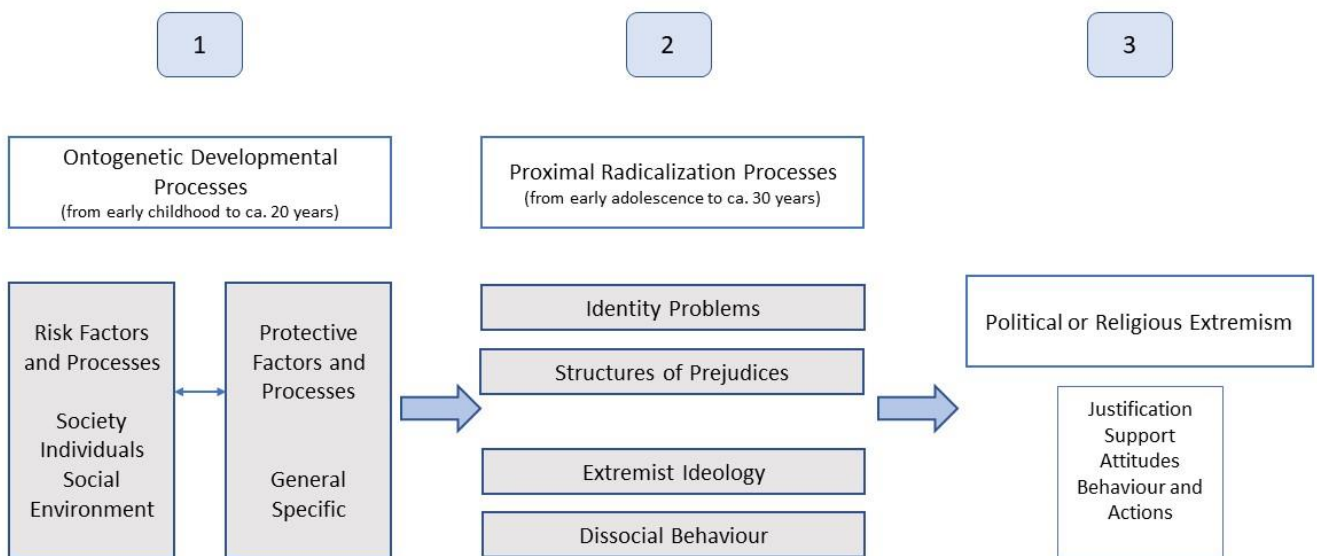
Source: Beelmann et al. 2021: 12
Adapted and translated by the author of this thesis

Figure 2   The Development-Oriented Model by Beelmann, Lutterbach, Rickert & Sterba (2021)

The first stage includes developmental processes that are defined by the interplay of risk and protective factors. Risk factors are social, societal, and individual factors showing a direct causality to extremist attitudes whereas protective factors can offset the effects of risk factors (Beelmann et al. 2021: 11). Examples for risk factors are intergroup conflicts, like conflicts about resources, on the societal level and certain familial socialization characteristics, like a lack of conveying values, on the social level. On the individual level, an excessively high or low self-esteem or the development of certain personality traits are a few examples for risk factors (Beelmann et al. 2021: 11; Beelmann 2017).

Most research focuses on risk factors, meaning that the knowledge of protective factors is not as profound. Most established protective factors relate to the protection of human development, like emotionally reliant relationships, but also democratic values, the ability for critical thinking and an integrative education pose as protective factors (Lösel et al. 2018: 98-99; Beelmann et al. 2021: 13). Only when a negative ratio between risk and protective factors is given long-term, a higher risk for radicalization becomes apparent. Thus, the period from early childhood to early

adolescence must be regarded in its holistic and dynamic development. A chronic negative ratio results in a higher probability for the four proximal radicalization processes the second stage of the model includes (Beelmann et al. 2021: 14). These four content-related processes represent the centre of the radicalization process. They happen between early adolescence and middle adulthood, the period where 90% of extremist offenders radicalize (Beelmann et al. 2021: 14; Borum 2014). The four different processes influence and reinforce each other. Identity problems are psychological states that can be characterized by a sense of injustice, threat of identity, feelings of insecurity and much more (Beelmann et al. 2021: 15; Kruglanski et al. 2014; Hogg 2007).

The psychological state functions as the motivation for the radicalization process. The main risk factors regarding the process of identity problems are experiences with rejection or discrimination and a low or excessively high self-esteem. The next process, the structuring of prejudices, entails the depreciation of members from different social groups and is accompanied with derogatory assessments. Who belongs to the apparent group, is based on visible but also on conceived characteristics. The main risk factors for establishing prejudices are too little experiences of social diversity and thus a lack of empathy, a social environment with similar prejudices and the feeling of endangerment due to the apparently different group. Extremist ideologies are used for justifying the adoption of inequality and the application of violence. Often a correlation between prejudices and establishing an ideology can be seen. The central risk factors for the acquisition of ideologies are certain personality traits, like authoritarianism, visibility of groups supporting ideologies and a lack of media competence. Dissocial behaviour includes the violation of age-related social norms and rules and polar behaviour characterized by aggression. Early-on detectable behavioural problems that developed through insufficient reactions of parents to the child's temper pose as the main risk factor. The more active the four proximal processes are, the higher is the chance of developing extremist views and actions. This model works on a probability basis and not with assured causalities. This theory-based model allows for prevention measures to be derived based on the different risk factors and processes (Beelmann et al. 2021: 15-18).

4.2 *Sozialraumorientierung* and its Derivation from Bourdieu and Thiersch

Sozialraumorientierung, roughly translated as community orientation, is both a concept and an approach in social work. It poses as an advancement of the community work established and institutionalized in the 1970s (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 264-270). *Sozialraumorientierung* is

based on the concept of *Lebensweltorientierung*, lifeworld orientation, by Thiersch (2020) and the theory of social space by Bourdieu (1998) (Milbradt 2020).

Lebensweltorientierung means that by putting the focus on the clients and viewing them in the context of their behavioural patterns and their respective self-interpretations, that stem from and are integrated in societal and individual circumstances, efficient social work can be achieved (Thiersch & Grundwald 2002: 129). Bourdieu (1998: 6) defines social space as space in which agents take positions that are characterized by their relation to one another. Within social space similarly situated individuals form a group and potentially a social class. Additionally, he describes space in its literal sense: as physical spaces, in which activities performed by agents happen, that have symbolic and practical significances relating to the other. Generally, an individual is always located in context (Alanen et al. 2015: 4).

Whereas Bourdieu (1998) mostly concentrates on the specific positioning of agents and groups in social space, *Sozialraumorientierung* focuses on viewing social space as a result of social experience. Social spaces are spatial, social, and substantive areas in which individuals and organizations act, like neighbourhoods or chats in social platforms. The relations between organizations and individuals conclude in social networks. Social spaces allow for interaction, communication, education, consumption, and assistance. Social places can be viewed as projection areas, for instance problems a neighbourhood faces become apparent when regarded as a social space. This perspective allows for identifying present difficulties and improving them (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 261).

The central assumption for the concept of *Sozialraumorientierung* is that social space is an integral and inseparable part of an individual's life and thus must be incorporated when working with clients. A client's social space does not only entail objective resources they need, like access to education or developed infrastructure, but also subjective resources, like how safe their environment makes them feel. It must be differentiated between an objective and a subjective social space. Similar to the previously described developed-oriented model, the external and internal circumstances and resources of an individual must be included as substantial factors in intervention measures. While the development-oriented model by Beelman et al. (2021) addresses issues by focusing on the personal and biographical factors of a person, *Sozialraumorientierung* addresses problems by changing and improving communities' structures and empowering the community itself which indirectly leads to improving clients' issues (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 262-263).

Applied to the context of radicalization, right-wing practices aim for a totalitarian use of space, that disperse any previous multifarious perspectives and usage (Milbradt 2020: 57) which

theoretically can be achieved since social spaces are not only territorial but also entail thought patterns resulting in the manifestation of power structures and related sentiments (Bourdieu 2002: 163). This would mean that by applying the concept of *Sozialraumorientierung* and thus diversifying and developing social spaces, uniformity and hence radicalization can be prevented.

4.3 Resource Dependency

Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) introduced the resource-dependency-theory in the late 1970s and it rapidly became one of the leading organizational theories describing how organizations strategize to obtain resources depending on the organization's environment. This means that the organization is reliant on resources the environment provides. In other words, scarce resources would induce organizations to act accordingly so that resources can still be secured. While the environment is mostly not dependable on the organization, this cannot be said the other way around (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003: 23-42). Four forms of organizations' reactions are established. The first one is to either comply with the demands the resource-providers set or to attempt to avoid them. The second kind entails the forming of alternative coalitions, so dependency is shifted, or the increase of influence over providers. The third form describes arranging agreements of varying quality with other organizations and the fourth one defines the attempt to change the regulations and dependencies through political or social operations (92-224).

Even though Pfeffer and Salancik's (1978) theory is based on an economic, and mostly profit-focused, perspective, it can be applied to the welfare sector and its various organizations. As mentioned, organizations in the welfare sector are mainly financed through donations and contributions from state governments, meaning they depend on these governments and donors to operate (Schmid 2021). According to the resource-dependency-theory, this would mean that welfare organizations adapt to supplying and structuring services that show the highest potential of being funded, meaning that the demands of governments and donors are prioritized over the demands of service-takers. Moreover, a tight governmental control might hinder organizations to adapt to societal changes quickly (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003: 202-212).

Hence, it can be argued that this dependency on others for resources can reduce the organization's capacity to supply high-quality and -quantity services (see e.g. Viravaidya & Hayssen 2001). The resource-dependency-theory might help explain findings of this research. Suggestions for antisemitism prevention optimization the interviewees make can be discussed

and viewed in the context of resource dependency which can provide insight into the motivation and incentive behind the improvement suggestions.

It must be noted that the resource-dependency-theory is more complex than is described here. For example, it additionally focuses on power structures in organizations (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003), however, since the theory is mostly regarded in terms of possible influences the government and other actors might have on the interviewees' opinions for improvement, the intraorganizational structures will be excluded.

5. Method and Methodology

This chapter considers the researcher's epistemological and ontological considerations and the relating approach. The data analysis process is explained in its two applications: the interview and document analysis. Limitations and ethical considerations are described.

5.1 Epistemological and Ontological Considerations

Before focusing on the research design, the researcher's scientific standpoint must be established. Mason (2018: 4) defines the ontological perspective as the conceptualization of the character, nature, and essence of things in the world related to the researcher's investigation. Epistemology entails the concern how things are known, whether this knowledge is acceptable and how it can be demonstrated (Walliman 2006: 15; Mason 2018: 7). In this study, the researcher's scientific position is of an interpretivism paradigm. Interpretivism recognizes the important part subjective meanings take in social actions and actors' behaviour. These subjective meanings and interpretations are intended to be unfolded and understood by the researcher and are regarded as knowledge (Walliman 2006: 15).

Moreover, a social constructivist and constructionist approach is used. Social constructionism claims that actor's perceptions and relations to one another are established through society, culture, and context (Owen 1992: 386). Understanding, meaning and identity are generated through individual's interactions with other individuals and their environment. Hence, the model of the social world and its functioning is created based on these subjective understandings and experiences (Leeds-Hurwitz 2009: 892-894). Since reality is constructed through social activity and the interplay of society's members formulate the world's entities and properties, an objective reality cannot be detected (Kim 2001). Objectively real external entities are not given. No individual, no matter if researcher or participant, knows an objective truth or facts but rather builds a subjective and discursive social construction that might change throughout space and time (Anderson & Goolishian 1988: 5; Dickerson & Zimmerman 1996:

80). This means that knowledge is a culturally, historically and socially constructed human product (Gredler 1997).

5.1.1 Research Approach

Related to the epistemological and ontological considerations is the research approach. In accordance with the previously mentioned considerations, it was decided to conduct qualitative research consisting of a conduction of interviews and a document analysis. Qualitative researching aims to inquire in-depth the meaning individuals attribute to a social problem and considers how they experience, interpret, and produce the social world (Creswell 2014: 4), which corresponds with this paper's research question of how antisemitism prevention can be improved regarded from the subjective understandings and experiences of prevention workers. The interpretivism and social constructionism paradigm both underline this notion (8).

Undertaking interviews for this study is well suited since, as previously indicated, (1) the ontological perspective proposes that the understandings and interpretations of individuals function as constructed but meaningful properties of the world and (2) the researcher's epistemological position entails that talking with and listening to people is a meaningful way of generating data (Mason 2018: 111). Since, from a social constructivist perspective, meanings are varied and it is desirable to regard them in their complexity, general and broad interview questions are most adequate which led to the decision of conducting semi-structured interviews. This way, the participants have space to construct their own meaning and focus regarding antisemitism prevention (Creswell 2014: 8). A phenomenological approach to the interviews is adopted (Roulston 2014: 302). Possible questions the author noted as inspiration for the interview appointments are listed in appendix 2 and 3.

Additionally, it was determined to perform a document analysis. The function of this analysis is to contribute supplementary research data to gain further meanings and insights of the handling of prevention (see Bowen 2009: 29-30). Documents are viewed as "social facts", they are generated and applied in socially organized courses (Coffey 2014: 369).

The researcher of this study, through the social constructionist paradigm, intends to stay open and flexible regarding both the meanings and understanding of the prevention workers and contents of the documents and the researcher herself. Hence, she is perceptive of her cultural and social context and recognizes that this might influence her interpretation. Nevertheless, the author still aims to make sense of the participants' and documents' meanings (Creswell 2014: 8).

5.2 Interview Analysis

5.2.1 Sampling

Mason (2018: 54) describes selecting and sampling in qualitative research as *"principles and procedures used to identify and gain access to relevant data sources"*.

To produce useful research material, the sample must be *"generative"* (Mason 2018: 55). Access to data that allows for designing a theoretically based and study-related argument must be given (55). This data must be telling of the *"wider universe"* the research is situated in (Mason 2018: 56). Hence, five employees active in the antisemitism prevention field in the scope of the welfare sector were chosen as interviewees. Since the research question asks about antisemitism optimization in the welfare sector, these interviewees working in and experiencing this specific field and the meanings and insights they thus provide allow for useful and wider-telling data. This is not to be confused with the interviewees communicating wider truths but rather subjective understandings and experiences of the workings and needs in the prevention sector that might offer a wider picture of what must be improved. Since the sample was selected based on its relevance to the research question, strategic theoretical sampling was applied (Mason 2018: 59).

All interviewees are to be anonymized as they do not speak as representatives of their respective institutions but as experienced workers of the prevention field. Thus, in the following their role in the field will be described but no explicit institutions will be named. This role or occupation is regarded as essential for the study, and not their professional career, since it represents their current function they inhabit in the welfare field.   Every participant, as mentioned in 1.1, is either directly or indirectly working for organizations in the welfare sector. This aspect and the feature that participants must be employed in the antisemitism prevention field (see 2.4) are the only criteria for the sample. The participants' gender, age and religion were not asked since they do not show a direct connection to the research questions.

The first participant (R1) works as a pedagogic education worker directly and indirectly for multiple welfare organizations in Hamburg. He offers workshops and seminars for in- and out-of-school contexts. Similarly, the second participant (R2) is an education worker but with the target group of adults. She works for an institution in Berlin dedicated to combating antisemitism. This institution is under the wing of one of the main six welfare organizations. The third interviewee (R3) is employed as a counsellor for clients and a trainer for professionals at a counselling centre for religious-motivated radicalization. The fourth individual (R4) is a project coordinator for a contact programme for children and young adults that takes place nationwide. The fifth interviewee works as a manager, coordinator, and networker of multiple

(welfare) organizations and measures for preventing antisemitism in Hamburg (see appendix 4). Hamburg and Berlin were chosen as the main settings as they are both major cities in Germany that strive to drastically improve antisemitism (Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019).

Every interviewee was contacted via e-mail, except for R3 who was contacted by phone. The interviews took place on zoom due to Covid-measures. An audio recording occurred for every interview except the one with R5. This was done via an app on the researcher's smartphone. During the interviews of R1 and R2 the screen was turned off so an additional audio recording on zoom could happen. This was renounced for later recordings. R5 wished before the interview to avoid the recording since it hinders the flow and authenticity of the conversation. Thus, notes were handwritten during the interview.

Every interview was transcribed (see certain quotes in appendix 5), the interviews of R1 to R4 based on the recording and the interview of R5 based on the handwritten notes. For the applied rules of transcription see Rädiker and Kuckartz 2019, page 44 to 45. Almost 8 weeks passed since five interviewees inclined to participate were found which explains the relatively small sample size of five. All found five participants were very open, interested and showed a high willingness. As a final note, it is not only the individuals that function as the sample but also their "potential witnesses to aspects of the world" (Mason 2018: 63), in this case the social antisemitism prevention sector.

5.2.2 Data Analysis Process

The data was analysed by using the method of thematic qualitative text analysis by Kuckartz (2014). It was chosen based on its deductive and inductive approach to coding. To conduct this coding the computer software *NVivo* was employed. The thematic qualitative text analysis consists of multiple research phases that will shortly be explained in the following. Every stage was applied in this study. The first phase includes the initial work with the text, in this case the interview material. Every transcript was carefully read and important-seeming passages highlighted (Kuckartz 2014: 71). The annotation function of NVivo was particularly used during this phase.

The second stage entails the development of the main thematic categories. These main categories were derived from the research question and questions asked during the interview (Kuckartz 2014: 71). Some of the interview questions were inspired by literary and theoretical input (see e.g. Beelmann et al. 2021; Seithe & Heintz 2014; European Commission 2021). For example, the question *"What do you wish for from the state or other actors to further support*

prevention work?", among others, incited the main category "Strengthening of *Organizational Resources".*

The main categories were tested on three transcripts to see whether they can be executed. After this test, the whole material was coded with the main categories by regarding the transcripts very closely and section-by-section. This represents the third phase. Since one passage can entail various topics, multiple categories can be ascribed. Coding units were determined by semantic boundaries. Not relevant passages were left out (Kuckartz 2014: 72-74).

While the fourth step consists of putting together all passages belonging to the same main category, the fifth stage describes the inductive establishment of sub-categories for the main categories. The sub-categories were developed through the contents of the transcripts, thus inductively and thematically. Similar thematic responses were bundled. Subsequently, the sub-categories were arranged and potentially combined (Kuckartz 2014: 75-78). The sixth phase defines the second coding process with the previously established sub-categories. Hence, a revision of the material must be performed (Kuckartz 2014: 79). The category-based analysis and presentation of results makes up the seventh and final phase. Frequencies of sub-categories per main category, intersections of different categories and the relations between them are to be analysed (Kuckartz 2014: 84-87). A list of all categories/codes is included in appendix 1.

5.3 Document Analysis

5.3.1 Sampling

As stated, the sample needs to provide relevant meaning for the study illuminating the wider universe (Mason 2018: 55-56). Seven documents were selected that, in textual form, entail insights for the optimization of antisemitism prevention and through which meaning could be established (Bowen 2009: 33). These documents were selected by typing in the German version of the buzzwords *"antisemitism prevention optimization"*, *"improving antisemitism prevention", "combating antisemitism"* and *"recommended actions for handling antisemitism"* into Google, Google Scholar, and the database of Lund University. Only the German language was used since this study focuses on the welfare sector in Germany.

Multiple documents came up of which these seven were singled out due to two criteria: (1) the authors of or included in the document are relevant organizations, institutions or individuals that possess knowledge and experience of the antisemitism prevention field and (2) the topic of the document includes the bettering of handling antisemitic actions or the improvement of antisemitism or radicalization prevention in the scope of the welfare sector in Germany. The latter means that documents exclusively applied to school-settings were excluded. To identify

for certain if the documents fell under these criteria they were skimmed before choosing. It was not criterion that the entire material was dedicated to the listed topics but rather that an essential part was dedicated to them.

The chosen documents include two state strategies about antisemitism prevention published by the Hamburg and Berlin senates (SenJustVA 2019; Hamburger Senat 2019); a guideline for combating and handling antisemitism in youth work by the *Amadeu Antonio Stiftung,* a foundation for fostering a democratic civil society (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017); a recommendation of the *Anne Frank Zentrum* on how to teach about antisemitism for pedagogic professionals in all contexts (Anne Frank Zentrum 2010); a scientific report for the Lower Saxony State Prevention Council about radicalization prevention (Beelmann et al. 2021); an article about recommended actions regarding antisemitism that was written by Küpper, Radvan and Chernivsky and published by the *AWO* in a social-work-specialized journal (Küpper et al. 2018); and a handout of the antisemitism prevention forum in 2019 containing its shortened and edited contributions of multiple professionals (Spiegelbild 2019).

Due to the adequacy of the documents' topics and the role of the author in comparison to the research questions, the chosen documents show relevance regarding the research problem and aim (Bowen 2009: 33). The two state strategies (SenJustVA 2019; Hamburger Senat 2019), and no other strategies, were chosen because of the interviewees' settings.

The scientific report by Beelmann et al. (2021) is the same document that presents the development-oriented model. The model is described in chapter 2 and 4, while in the document analysis only chapter 5, that focuses on recommended guidelines for prevention work, is considered. Hence, results only proposed by Beelmann et al (2021) compared to the development-oriented model must be regarded critically since a correlation with the development-oriented model can be expected. Nevertheless, the researcher argues that these results are still valid since Beelmann et al. (2021, ch. 5) offer recommendations vital for prevention work that are based on extensive literature and evaluation. A list of all document sources and their specifics can be examined in appendix 6.

5.3.2 Data Analysis Process

The thematic qualitative text analysis by Kuckartz (2014) was also applied to analyse the documents. This method and its stages were previously explained and thus can be inspected in chapter 5.2.2. To avoid repetitions, this chapter only focuses on the aspects in the respective phases that differ from the interview analysis. Since the documents function as the provision of supplementary data through which corroboration and a reduction in potential biases is to be

achieved (Bowen 2009: 28; Yin 1994), the forming of codes slightly alters. For instance, while the first to fourth phases in the thematic qualitative text analysis remains the same, the fifth to seventh phases slightly differ.

The second phase, in which the main categories are established (Kuckartz 2014: 71), is consistent with the interview analysis since the main categories were already created deductively. Hence, it was only regarded whether they were fitting for the documents so that in the circumstance of them not covering everything, new ones could be formed, though this was not the case for this study. However, the establishment of sub-categories in the fifth stage (75-78) differentiates in the sense that not all of them were constructed inductively. It was examined whether already designed sub-categories during the interview analysis could be applied to the document material, as Bowen (2009: 32) suggests. This was mostly the case. For the remaining passages new sub-categories were inductively produced which further influences the sixth and seventh stage (Kuckartz 2014: 79-87).

In each document, the passages relevant for the research topic were established in the first phase when a careful read-through occurred (Kuckartz 2014: 71). Prior (2003: 3-4) states that documents are almost exclusively viewed as *"containers of content"*, even though other qualities of documents should not be forgotten. In this study, the content of the document is the focal point. The researcher argues that, in the context of improving prevention measures, the most meaning can be retrieved from the textual content directly targeting this topic. However, other qualities (Prior 2003: 4), like the author's background and the document's purpose, are also contemplated.

5.4 Limitations and (Ethical) Considerations

Certain ethical guidelines, like conducting open and transparent research, must be pursued in social research (Denscombe 2010: 307). As stated in 5.1.1, the researcher is aware of her being influenced by social, cultural and historical experiences and constructions and her position as a non-Jewish person (Creswell 2014: 8). It is not strived for total neutrality but rather a reduction of bias by taking a critical stance, also described as reflexivity. The collected data is to be handled in an honest, transparent, and striven non-biased manner (Denscombe 2010: 325). The diverse data collection based on varying and multiple sources and the thorough documentation of findings aims to dissolve this bias. Biased selectivity (Bowen 2009: 32) was reduced by the determination of buzzwords for the document sample and research-question-related criteria for the interview sample. The interviews were transcribed according to certain rules (Rädiker & Kuckartz 2019: 44-45) so that original meanings were maintained. In both the interview

transcripts and the documents, attention was paid to the wording, phrasing and meaning of the texts so that categories could be established representing these expressions.

Guaranteeing informed consent played an important role in this research. All documents used were published on the internet for the public to read. Interview participation was voluntary and could be ended any time (Mason 2018: 94). Before the conduction of the interviews every interviewee was sent a written explanation of how the collected data was to be managed that they could sign if agreeing. This administration of data entailed that only the researcher can access the collected data, that participants were to be anonymised and an audio recording occurs to help transcribe the interviews. All participants agreed to these terms, except for R5. Hence, in this interview no audio was recorded and the transcript, based on handwritten notes, was sent to the participant afterwards to confirm their approval. At the beginning of every interview, the researcher shortly introduced herself, her background and the purpose of this research.

Since antisemitism is a sensitive topic, close attention was paid to the emotional state of the respondents during the interview (Shaw & Holland 2014: 104), especially since two interviewees indicated of being Jewish. However, no interviewee seemed distressed. In social research, the potential activation of afflicting emotions can also be weighed against the participants' satisfaction in knowing that their understandings are valid and important (108).

Validity of data-generation methods and interpretation must be proven. The first focuses on how well the method corresponds with the research questions. The second entails how valid the analysis and interpretation are (Mason 2018: 236-239). How well the use of interview and document analysis matches the research questions is described in chapter 5.1.1. Validity for the interpretation of the results can be argued based on the demonstration of how the findings were yielded (240). Results are connected to theory and literature and textual examples will be presented. The specificity of how results were reached can be seen in 7.

Proving reliability in qualitative research is nearly impossible since the generated data does not entail a standardized set of assessments (Mason 2018: 236). However, it can be argued that generated results are to a certain extent repeatable (Bryman 2016: 41). This applies especially to the document analysis since they can be retrieved numerous times. When interviewing different people, the results will not be the exact same as the previous ones since the focus is on the subjective understandings of the participants that differ with every new person. Nevertheless, when individuals with the same criteria are chosen a similar conclusion is possibly reached (42).

One main limitation of this study becomes apparent. Temporal circumstances did not allow for a higher sample size in interviews. Conducting seven plus interviews would be reasonable since

this number would be at least as equally as high as the number of documents. Since the interviews function as the basis of this research, this would offer a more solidified foundation. However, the five interviews can still function as a solid basis since their textual provision is comparatively large.

6. Presentation of Results

In this chapter both the results of the interview and the document analysis are presented. It was decided to showcase them in one since they are both based on the same or affiliated codes. The results of the interviews are declared in the respective first section of the sub-chapters and the results of the documents in the last.

The main categories were sorted by overarching themes connected to the theoretical approaches (see 4.): individual-focused factors, impact of environment, structural and multifarious recommendations, and resource-oriented impulses. Each theme consists of its related main categories, in this case also functioning as headlines, and their sub-categories that are highlighted in the text to provide a better overview. Sub-categories are arranged hierarchically according to frequency, starting with the most often named. This way the aspects regarded most important by the interviewee or documents' authors are shown. Quotes are translated by the researcher.

6.1 Individual-Focused Factors

6.1.1   Promoting the Mediation of Protective Values

This category describes the importance of conveying values beneficial for a strong and independent individual's development. Three out of five participants stress the role of teaching and learning **democratic values** (R1, R4, R5). This entails conveying values of equality (R1, R2, R4), tolerance and diversity (R4), deconstructing prejudices (R4, R5) and fostering political knowledge and participation (R1). An understanding of democracy provides individuals with a critical and open perspective on societal and human issues. Prejudices and ideologies are questioned and a sense of being part of society is established, while being aware that society consists of multiple parts that each need to be respected. However, one interviewee (R3) states that teaching of democratic values is not always priority. While he agrees that actions must be based on values of equality, he fears that directly conveying values of democracy results in a discrepancy between client and counsellor. Clients that are already on their way towards radicalization often associate those values with bad experiences. In this case, it is more important to work through and reflect these experiences and subsequently offer stability. One

respondent (R1) also notices that democratic values can only be taught to a certain degree. Sometimes people are not approachable anymore and then it is crucial to recognize the moment to stop.

While school is mostly the place where democratic values are taught, two participants (R1, R2) stress that it should not be the only place and that the embedment of conveying these values should more deeply applied to out-of-school contexts.

Three out of five interviewees (R1, R2, R3) name the importance for the ability of **empathy**. Establishing empathy in individuals results in them comprehending how horrific and dehumanizing antisemitic actions are and how they are never to be performed. Even when differences in people become apparent, empathy still exists and, in a sense, bridges the gap.

Three respondents (R1, R2, R4) put emphasis on helping individuals develop a **positive self-esteem**. This entails that the opinion of themselves is strengthened, that they see their self-value and generally feel seen and valid. Persons with a low self-esteem are more likely to get validation from ideologic groups than people with a higher self-esteem.

The document analysis provides similar results. The importance of **democratic values** is included in five documents (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017; Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Beelmann et al. 2021; Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019). This allows for dismantling discrimination, changing perspectives, putting trust in the legitimacy of democracy and encountering people with an open, tolerant and equal stance. Furthermore, the resulting ability to manage conflicts peacefully is stressed (Beelmann et al. 2021; SenJustVA 2019). The Berlin Senate (SenJustVA 2019) emphasises the importance of integrating education on democracy in youth work.

The ability for **empathy** (Beelmann et al. 2021; SenJustVA 2019) counteracts the solidification of authoritarian ideologies and increases the functioning of a peaceful society. Moreover, the moral ability to judge is enhanced.

Beelmann et al. (2021) describe that the **self-esteem** should be high but not too high. Identity-enhancing measures, like experiential education, and self-affirming measures should be applied to help individuals form a healthy self-esteem. Furthermore, Beelmann et al. (2021) name the establishment of **a sense of belonging**. This is vital for forming a positive self-esteem and feeling worthy. However, an exorbitant identification with one group should be prevented since this promotes underlining differences of individuals.

6.1.2 Strengthening of Individual Resources

This category focuses on the personal resources every individual possesses and how these should be strengthened. One participant (R3) views relationships as the focal point for working with radicalized clients. The aim is to **strengthen potential connections** the individual has. The interviewee notices that most radicalized individuals that turn towards an ideology hold broken or no meaningful bonds with people. This complicates leaving an ideology behind, as is illustrated by the following quote.

"Most of them do not get out because they tore down all bridges" (R3, line 124-125)

Thus, by re-establishing and strengthening supportive relationships the individual had prior, the bridges and the way back remain. In the seldom case of no existing connections that could be restored, for example when parents do not prove resourceful, other relations are found. This can be social workers or caregivers of their residential units.

Another interviewee (R1) acknowledges that **empowering** Jewish persons is generally important. However, it comes with a fundamental problem. It entails that Jewish people are strongly encouraged to reveal their religion, even though a lot of Jews, especially students, do not want this as it can further endanger them. Instead, their own judgement should be more strongly recognized by professionals.

The document by the Amadeu Antonio Stiftung (2017) provides a slightly different stance on **empowerment**. Here, it is seen as necessary but only within certain circumstances. Professionals should acquire knowledge on empowerment measures but also know their limits. Then, empowerment-instructors should be consulted.

6.1.3   Deepening the Teaching of Protective Skills

Four respondents (R1, R2, R3, R5) mention the importance of **fostering critical thinking**. To incite critical thinking means not only regarding antisemitism but also various societal problems. These are to be examined from different perspectives but always showing the logical sequences. For example, it must be shown that crisis result from different economic, environmental, or societal developments and that no evil forces, as is often claimed in conspiracy theories, are behind said developments. It is everyone's right to critique politics, but it must happen logically and nuanced.

As R1 describes, to a certain extent the not-knowing of every specific must also be endured.

Two participants (R1, R2) emphasize the role educational work plays in conveying critical thinking since it also offers solutions to people and provides them with an inspection of their societal role. One respondent (R3) underlines the existence of meaningful relationships because it confronts them with different mindsets.

Connected to the topic of critical thinking but also of conveying democratic values is the need to **deconstruct the different-groups-perspective**. Two interviewees (R2, R4) emphasize that antisemitism is connected to putting people into pre-defined groups. It is important to convey that these groups do not naturally exist, they are men-made and must be set aside. Conveying the notion that people can have more in common with people from so-called other groups, without standardising everything, is vital. Establishing a sense of belonging, as mentioned in 6.1.1, helps as well.

One respondent (R4) mentions that **media competence** in children must be strengthened. Recognizing that most sources on social media, such as TikTok, are not reliable must be learned.

Regarding the document analysis, **deconstructing the different-groups-perspective** is mentioned four times (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017; Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Küpper et al. 2018; Spiegelbild 2019, said by Prof. Dr. Rolf Pohl). In addition to what the interviewees broad across, these documents point out the restriction of identity and perspective that comes with sorting people into different groups. This way Jewish people are only seen as Jewish, instead of some affiliation they might identify more with.

Four documents (Beelmann et al. 2021; Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019; Spiegelbild 2019, said by Hendrik Harteman) emphasize the teaching of **media competence**. Here, the focus should be on critical usage and reception so that fake news and unreliable sources can be detected.

Not only the critical usage of media is important, but also **critical thinking** in general. While the Anne Frank Zentrum (2010) relates critical thinking mostly to historical learning, Beelmann et al. (2021) and the Hamburg Senate (2019) see its importance in hindering the development of identity-related prejudices.

6.1.4   Age to start

The debate about the most adequate time to start applying antisemitism prevention measures is described in this category.

Three interviewees (R1, R2, R4) emphasize the key role **children and   youth**   play   in

prevention. While R4 states *"the sooner the better"* (line 189), R1 underlines that a differentiation within the group of children and youth must be made. Especially when it comes to the educational work about conspiracy theories, individuals should be between 14 to 16 years old. While R2 agrees that starting young is beneficial, the importance of including **adults** is underestimated. The participant notices that often caregivers or teachers indirectly reproduce antisemitism. R1 also observes that professionals sometimes are not reflective enough on their own actions. R4 points out that it can prove difficult to target adults since they have often already established a closed view of life.

The state strategy of the Hamburg Senate (2019) states that *"the most sustainable form of prevention is to empower young people to recognize antisemitic stereotypes"* (p. 11). While other documents do not provide such direct statements, they all entail the assumption to start with **children and the youth**. Two documents (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017; Anne Frank Zentrum 2010) only address measures for young people. Every document includes that **adults** must be targeted in the context of professionals needing more training.

6.2 Impact of Environment

6.2.1   Increasing the Involvement of the Individual's Environment

This category entails notions that speak for a stronger involvement of an individual's environment and the measures it holds. Three respondents (R1, R4, R5) underline the positive effects of **fitness programmes**. They are seen as a beneficial opportunity for bringing people together, bonding and hindering the development of prejudices, and their availability should be guaranteed. R1 adds that the church can and should also provide leisure projects that show the same effects. One participant (R3) not only stresses the importance of involving the client's family, friends, and other social contacts, but also to generally regard their **lifeworld and the experiences** they make and start from there.

The interesting aspect about this category is that the documents tend to put a stronger emphasis on the client's environment. As for programmes an individual should have access to in its living areas, not solely fitness programmes are mentioned but rather the wider topic of **leisure and cultural activities** (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017; Beelmann et al. 2021; Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019). Beelmann et al. (2021) adds the need for **socio-spatial family services**

and **care and support programmes**. These services foster a safe and content development of children.

Furthermore, **educational work** is highlighted. Two documents (Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Hamburger Senat 2019) accentuate how this work, especially historical learning, can be integrated into environments. For instance, synagogues and memorial places can be visited. Two documents (Hamburger Senat 2019; Küpper et al. 2018) emphasize the importance of **starting with people's lifeworld and experiences**. When their own stories and individual connections are considered, they are more open to the content conveyed in measures, especially pedagogic ones.

The Hamburg Senate (2019) sees the need to **better the access to services** so individuals can make better use of them. For this, flyers and further information materials should be distributed in public places such as youth centres. The public relations work of counselling and competence centres should be expanded.

6.3 Structural and Multifarious Recommendations

6.3.1 Strengthening Network and Redistribution of Contacts

This category emphasizes the role a clear plan for professionals of who to turn to in antisemitic cases plays. Three participants (R1, R2, R4) acknowledge the need for **removing barriers to contacts and services** so professionals can receive improved (informational) access. Institutional linkages are lacking. This is especially the case for schools. Teachers do not know what institutions to turn to when an antisemitic incident happened on school ground. Particularly in Hamburg a point of contact is missed.

One interviewee put it in a nutshell:

"[T]here is simply a lack of phone numbers or e-mail addresses that you can contact if you want to take action." (R1, line 376-377)

Five documents (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017; Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Hamburger Senat 2019; Küpper et al. 2018; SenJustVA 2019) entail the notion that a **general intensification of networking** should occur. The interconnectedness of services and cooperation and coordination between institutions must be improved. The two state strategies (Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019) stress specifically that a stronger inter-linkage between service providers is needed, also surpassing the scope of the welfare sector. The cooperation between youth work

and school must be deepened. Moreover, a stronger connection between political and other institutions should be given and the interconnectedness of science and practice is to be tightened.

The two strategies (Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019) accord with the previously mentioned notion of the interviewees that **barriers to contacts and services must be removed**. Access to information and addressability of counselling services is to be optimized. The Hamburg Senate (2019) convoked the *Runder Tisch*, an advisory body consisting of civic and state actors. This body functions to further strengthen the institutional linkages.

6.3.2 Restructuring and Expansion of Measures

This category shows what additional measures are needed and where restructuring is necessary. Four interviewees (R1, R2, R4, R5) speak out about the requirement for **more training programmes for professionals**. Employees need to be sensitised to clearly identify antisemitic sentiments, to understand correlations and to know how to act in those instances. Especially many teachers trivialize incidences, either because they were not trained properly or because they do not know how to conduct the next steps. Every worker in the welfare sector should be better taught how to protect the affected, how to interrupt antisemitic actions and where to report them. This must be an element of the respective education. Problems should be less outsourced to other organizations.

Three respondents (R3, R4, R5) emphasize to **increase exchange and contact** through the suitable programmes. This enables familiarization with different world views and promotes diversity and unity. It increases visibility of the Jewish community and let people with different backgrounds discover their similarities. While one respondent (R1) agrees that contacts are substantial, he also notices that during the Shoah people could see that the prejudices were not true and that still did not suffice to avert harm.

Hence, the respondent concludes that only contact programmes are not enough. The demand for applying **various measures holistically** is also described by R4. This participant states that the work they do is only a small component in a great picture. Two employees (R1, R2) voiced their opinion for developing **measures more long-term**. Only long-term measures allow for a substantial relationship with the individual, a detailed discussion of complex topics and for long-term effects.

One participant (R4) notes that many prevention measures exists but when looking at Germany as a whole they still not suffice. R4 sees the notion of a **missing number of measures** particularly in the context of **offers for adult education**. Furthermore, this interviewee speaks

out for an **earlier intervention** regarding antisemitic incidents. Most intervention happens when incidents have already occurred, which is too late.

The demand for **more training programmes for professionals** also becomes apparent in the document analysis. Six documents (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017; Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Beelmann et al. 2021; Küpper et al. 2018; SenJustVA 2019; Spiegelbild 2019, said by Prof. Dr. Samuel Salzborn) state that to improve antisemitism professionals must obtain a higher security in action and analysis. This is primarily viewed as a training problem.

Four documents (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017; Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019) agree with the demand for developing **long-term measures**. Short-term measures might provide a quick solution in reducing symptoms, but they do not treat the problem at its core.

Three documents (Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Beelmann et al. 2021; Hamburger Senat 2019) emphasize the importance of **exchange and contact** programmes, for the same reasons the interviewees stated. When it comes to **missing measures**, the Hamburg Senate (2019) primarily references contact programmes and educational work.

The strategy of Berlin (SenJustVA 2019) mentions the advantages that come with more **offers for adult education**. Prof. Dr. Samuel Salzborn's statement from the antisemitism prevention forum (Spiegelbild 2019, p. 16) confirms what interviewee R4 said regarding the need to **intervene earlier** in school contexts.

6.3.3 Change of Perspective

This category summarises the diverse notions of where a change of perspective is needed. Three interviewees (R1, R3, R4) note that the topic of antisemitism can be introduced by **covering other forms of discrimination** with which some students might be more acquainted with. This way similarities can be demonstrated and more easily understood. Furthermore, students, who experienced discrimination themselves, feel seen and can potentially understand the severity of antisemitism more accurately than students with no such experiences.

Two participants (R2, R3) emphasize how important it is to approach clients with a **non-judgemental attitude** and not directly labelling them as antisemites. The focus should not lay on pinpointing at individuals and condemning them, but rather on analysing the antisemitic actions and expressions, their origin and how gravely they impact other people. It should be clearly stated that these sentiments were antisemitic, but without directly classifying the individual as the worst person. Only with a non-judgemental approach, they are open to critique

and seeing the mistake of their actions. Not the individual should be the focal point, but rather what was said.

Two respondents (R1, R4) stress that the **presentation of the diversity of Jewish life** should be improved. One of them notices:

"When you ask people, what do you associate with the word 'Jew', then the usual buzzwords 'antisemitism', 'holocaust' or 'Shoah' or the Israeli-Palestinian-conflict come up [...], but there is rather little knowledge about actual Jewish life, so that this word 'Jew' [..] has no face at all." (R4, line 65-70).

The topic of diversity of Jewish life should not be introduced through the topic of antisemitism, but rather by enhancing the different sides of what it means to be Jewish, culturally, religiously, historically, and traditionally. Moreover, Jewish people should not be reduced to being Jewish, but viewed in the scope of all their passions, interests and backgrounds, like every person should.

Interviewee R5 contradicts the notion of improving the presentation of the diverse Jewish life to a certain extent. While the respondent states that this presentation is commendable, it is also unrealistic. Most of the Jews in Germany immigrated from the former Soviet Union, they are often dependent on income support and are generally let down by society. Many Jewish people in the public eye have it relatively better and do not belong to the majority so that a distorted picture of reality exists and a problem in perception exist. Hence, it a more realistic picture must be portrayed that not only includes the actual situation of most Jews but also the depiction of what it means to be culturally and ethnically Jewish and not only religiously.

Two participants (R1, R5) notice a surge in **Israel-related antisemitism**. Students, professionals, and many more are not factual in their presentation of Israel. R1 particularly notices this in certain left liberals. A more critical and complex perspective is appropriate.

Interviewee R1 underlines the importance of **recognizing and naming antisemitism** when it takes place. Only then the affected can get the support they deserve, and the problem can be mitigated. Respondent R5 pledges for a **more realistic and multifaceted depiction of the Jewish community in historical learning**. When it comes to the second world war, many events in which Jews revolted, like them being part of the Red Army, are not included in education. R4 underlines the importance of **emotional learning** and not just transferring knowledge in education.

Four documents (Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017; Küpper et al. 2018; Spiegelbild 2019, said by Christoph Manjura) agree with the interviewees who stated that a **non-judgemental perspective** is appropriate when it comes to handling antisemitic incidents. A separation of person and act should occur. Professionals need to illustrate that this act involves antisemitism without declaring the individual an antisemite.

Three documents (Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; SenJustVA 2019; Spiegelbild 2019, said by Prof. Dr. Samuel Salzborn) equally emphasize the importance of **presenting the diversity of Jewish life**. This presentation should take place in every scope and not only in religious education. Counteracting the demonisation of Israel and conveying a multi-perspective and differentiated approach to the **Israel-Palestine-conflict** is strongly advised in three documents (Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017; SenJustVA 2019).

Basing education not only on knowledge transfer but substantially on **emotional and experimental learning** is emphasized in two documents (Beelmann et al. 2021; Spiegelbild 2019, said by Susanne Michal Schwartze). Two documents (Anne Frank Zentrum 2010; Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017) agree with the notion of educating about antisemitism through the **connection to other forms of discrimination**. Like interviewee R1, the *Amadeu Antonio Stiftung* (2017) underlines the importance of **addressing antisemitism by its name**.

6.3.4   Evaluation and Research

This category describes what aspects of antisemitism prevention work need further evaluation or research. Interviewee R1 sees the need for more research and evaluation on three levels. Firstly, **more pilot projects** concerning antisemitism prevention should be conducted. Secondly, **long-term studies** that measure the effect of pedagogic antisemitism prevention work are also needed. Thirdly, a **study about the right-wing party supporters within the teaching staff** is still lacking. Participant R5 emphasizes the need for a **wide-ranging survey on how antisemitism impacts the daily life of the Jewish community**.

Beelmann et al. (2021) mentions the need for **further research on media-based radicalization prevention**. So far, first studies show the positive effects, but more in-depth analysis are required. The Hamburg Senate (2019) demands **evaluations for existing measures combating the development of antisemitic attitudes** that also strengthen an adequate qualification for professionals.

6.4 Resource-Oriented Impulses

6.4.1 Strengthening of Organizational Resources

This category describes the demand for a broader availability of resources needed for the welfare institutions' work. Every interviewee expresses that they are working based on more or less strict concepts. While R1 and R2 mostly use methods integrated in educational approaches, R3 applies a systemic approach. R4 stresses the meeting at eye level and putting the transfer of knowledge second. R5 states to use the IHRA definition of antisemitism as a basis for all further work. The importance of having a **concept** to fall back on becomes apparent when three respondents (R2, R3, R4) talk about institutions where they are missed. Primarily, the school context is named. As stated in regards to the need for more training programmes for professionals, schools lack prevention concepts and guidelines and tend to outsource the problem.

Three participants (R1, R2, R5) emphasize to require more **financial resources**.

One respondent notes:

"We have far too little money. We don't have permanent funding." (R2, line 226)

Many organizations' programmes are financed through project funds for which one must apply regularly. This not only endangers the security of funding and the continuity of work, but it also takes time and energy to file these applications and write reports. Hence, permanent funding must be ensured that is not only guaranteed for major institutions but also for smaller ones. Interviewee R5 speaks out for establishing a funding pool for the youth exchange in Hamburg, similar to the one existing in Bavaria, that adds to the federal funds.

One participant (R3) notices the lack of **material resources** regarding educational materials. A lot of schoolbooks should be revised as they are not timely, especially when it comes to captivating the interest of students from diverse backgrounds.

The two state strategies (Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019) back up the notion to **establish concepts**, particularly in the school context but also in the context of security. This is to be supported by providing information and action guidelines to teachers and by offering programmes targeted at the whole school.

Moreover, the strategies (Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019) emphasize that more **financial resources** must be supplied. Especially youth organizations should be supported. Programmes are to be financed long-term, professionals monetarily assisted and measures to

protect the Jewish community fiscally aided. **Personnel resources** need to be strengthened by training employees more critically and sensitively regarding antisemitism and by increasing the number of staff in counselling centres, as the state strategies (Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA 2019) indicate.

Prof. Dr. Samuel Salzborn illustrates the need for renewing schoolbooks at the antisemitism prevention forum (Spiegelbild 2019, p. 17). Contrary to the interviews, he mostly focuses on the missing contextualization of antisemitism and the one-sided presentation of Israel.

6.4.2   Prioritizing Topic through the Provision of Resources

Four interviewees (R1, R2, R3, R4) agree that antisemitism should be structurally and organizationally prioritized which must be accompanied by a **supply of adequate resources**. Three respondents (R1, R3, R4) state that political education, and especially antisemitism prevention, needs to be put **higher on the agenda** at schools. Space in curriculums must be established and time found. For this, a stronger financial and temporal support is needed. One participant (R2) emphasizes that the topic of antisemitism should not be treated as a side topic but rather as a **holistically integrated topic** in every subject.

The Berlin state strategy (SenJustVA 2019) specifies that the topic of antisemitism prevention needs to be **discussed more widely in subject-specific forums**, particularly in those concerning youth organizations.

7. Discussion of Results

This chapter entails the discussion of the results presented in the previous chapter. For this the theories, concepts and literature described in chapter 2 and 4 are applied.

7.1 Individual-Focused Factors - The Development-Oriented Model of Radicalization

The results focusing primarily on the individual show a great concordance with the aspects of the development-oriented model by Beelmann et al. (2021). Further *promoting the mediation of protective values*, is not only a result of this study but also a crucial part in Beelmann et al.'s (2021: 12-13) model.

Continuously teaching *democratic values* mitigates the missing development of politically positive values, which Beelmann et al. (2021: 13) describe as a risk factor. Moreover, the teaching of democratic values contributes a positive attitude towards society and trusting the government, which pose as extremism-related protective factors (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12-14).

Hence, conveying democratic values can be applied to the first stage of the model targeting children and young adults, meaning it helps offset risk factors through protective factors (12) and thus hinders a potential antisemitic development. Democratic values also play a role during the proximal radicalization process, the model's second phase. When it comes to taking on a religious extremist ideology, a negatively influenced political socialisation is viewed as one of the causes. This would be hindered through the education of democracy (15; 62). By *deconstructing prejudices*, no formation of them evolves, as can be seen in the second stage. An individual relying on democratic values does not tend to justify the usage of violence to enforce its own interests. This means dissocial behaviour is less likely to occur (15). Since the lack of democratic values is not only impactful in the first but also in the second stage, one might argue that democracy education directly influences extremist views. This shows the need for educational measures (see 2.4.2) that take a vital part in portraying democratic and political values (UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 63).

Empathy, emphasized by three participants and two documents, also poses as a component in the development-oriented model as it is listed under protective factors (Beelmann et al. 2021: 13). Hence, it counters a negative risk-ratio that would lead to the proximal radicalization processes, in turn leading to extremist or antisemitic views (14). The development-oriented model (Beelmann et al. 2021) includes a negative or too positive self-esteem as risk factors (13). During the proximal processes they result in identity problems that can make the individual vulnerable to antisemitic sentiments (15-16). While this study's results showed the need for *developing positive self-esteem*, it did not take the danger of a too high self-esteem into account, like the development-oriented model suggests (34).

The need for establishing *a sense of belonging* was emphasized by Beelman et al. (2021) themselves. This must be considered since they also established the development-oriented model. A sense of belonging encourages the development of a stable identity less prone to extremist views (107). Identity problems start to arise in children from 4 to 8 years old. During the adolescence the topic of forging one's identity becomes prominent (104). Thus, the importance of measures providing a sense of belonging should start early on. While the interviewees mostly focused on democratic values, empathy, a positive self-esteem, and the documents added the value of belonging to that list, Beelmann et al.'s (2021) model additionally notes the importance of an adequate communication of values from the social actors in the individual's environment (13).

The *strengthening of individual resources* is mostly located in the first stage of the model (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12-13). *Emotionally secure relationships* are named as an important

protective factor (13). Thus, the notion stated by interviewee R3 that meaningful bonds with people protect one of adopting ideologist views is affirmed. However, R3 also emphasized that these bonds offer a way out of ideology. This does not become apparent in the model (12). The question arises whether protective factors belatedly established can reverse the unbalanced ratio between protective and risk factors and thus hinder further consequences of the proximal processes. Since the support of leaving an extremist group is a measure of secondary and tertiary prevention (Coote 2012: 9; BMI 2021b: 12), it can be concluded that the model mostly focuses on the primary prevention aspect of what relationships mean.

While the interviewees and documents differentiated in their positioning regarding *empowerment*, the model (Beelmann et al. 2021) only briefly mentions as an approach to forming one's identity. Whether this approach is beneficial or not, is not established (41). Hence, a reasonable argument of empowerment preventing antisemitism cannot be made. *Deepening the teaching of protective skills* in prevention work is a rubric entailing many concordances between interviewees and documents. *Fostering critical thinking* is indirectly, and mostly in connection to political education, included in the development-oriented model (12-15). Someone who thinks critically is less likely to believe ideologic narratives (15; 71-74) and to justify violent or illegitimate actions (15; 95) and more likely to question prejudices (15; 50-51). In that sense, critical thinking targets three out of four proximal processes which prevents the formation of antisemitic attitudes (14-16).

The *deconstruction of the different-groups-perspective*, which showed a relation to the portrayal of democratic values, critical thinking and the need for increasing exchange in the analysis, accords with the stated risk factor of having no possibilities for interactions with different social groups (ontogenetic developmental process; 13) resulting in forming prejudices and overidentifying with the apparent group (proximal radicalization process; 15) one is part of, all factors enabling antisemitic views.

Media competence, more heavily emphasized in the document than in the interview analysis, is described as needed to mitigate the adoption of ideologies (Beelmann et al. 2021: 16). This becomes apparent in the proximal process of taking on extremist ideologies that can only be contradicted by taking a critical stance to those narratives (12; 15). Hence, it can be argued that media competence entails the ability for critical thinking and thus shows a similar effect. It is noteworthy that in the analysis a focus on the upbringings of individuals is lacking, while the development-oriented model integrates them in the phase of the ontogenetic developmental processes. Poverty, family conflicts and parental prejudices about certain groups are named as

risk factors (12-13). This is especially interesting since a great proportion of this study's results are directly focused on the individual (see 6.1).

It can only be guessed why the interviewees and the documents did not tend to concentrate on the individual's personal background except for the mentioning of relationships. One explanation could be that the connection between poverty and antisemitic actions is not as obvious and direct as, for example, the ability of empathy might be. This must be further explored.

The analysis' result of *starting with antisemitism prevention early on* is backed up by the development-oriented model which suggests beginning in early childhood. The demand for supplementary targeting adults, especially in the context of their profession, can partly be seen in the model. It only entails the age range up to 30 years (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12). Thus, the effect prevention work has on adults older than 30 years is not ensured and must be further discussed.

Lastly, it becomes apparent that recommendations for optimizing antisemitism prevention, targeted primarily at individuals, contain a variety of measures. Educational programmes can help foster critical thinking and convey democratic values (Beelmann et al. 2021: 111; UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 63), but so can diversity and leisure programmes (Teich 2020: 64). Additionally, these programmes can combat prejudices, form meaningful connection to peers, and strengthen one's identity (Kompetenznetzwerk Antisemitismus n.d; Teich 2020: 64). This speaks for a continuation and expansion of the existing diverse prevention measures.

7.2 Impact of Environment - *Sozialraumorientierung*

The analysed data calls for an *increase of the client's environmental involvement* (see 6.2). This alone represents the core workings of *Sozialraumorientierung* (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 261). Offering *fitness programmes* and other *leisure activities* a person can make use of indirectly impacts the individual. By having access to these services and participating in them, the individual encounters social experiences that positively influence their lifeworld (see *Lebensweltorientierung* in 4.2) and their view of the space they live in. They might feel safer and more content with the possibilities these programmes present. Personal resources for the individuals are offered (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 262-263). Moreover, the structure of the social space, in this case the neighbourhood or district, is changed. By providing these measures the social space is designed for the contentment of its inhabitants, developed, and diversified which leaves less room for right-wing practices (Milbradt 2020: 57) and thus helps improving the prevention of antisemitism.

The same can be applied to *cultural* and *educational programmes, family services* and *support programmes*. Since these services shape the space individuals are a part of, they impact their opinions and sentiments and restructure the environment in a way that leaves less room for antisemitic power structures (Milbradt 2020: 57; Seithe & Heintz 2014: 262-263).

Two documents and one interviewee emphasized the importance of *starting with people's lifeworld and experiences*. This directly addresses the concept of *Lebensweltorientierung* which *Sozialraumorientierung* is based on (Milbradt 2020; Thiersch & Grundwald 2002: 129). A person's behavioural patterns and self-interpretations are integrated in the objective and subjective space they inhabit (Thiersch & Grundwald 2002: 129). By discussing these behaviours and interpretations the subjective space can be optimized since individuals might regard their lifeworld differently. Additionally, weaknesses of the objective space might be detected since limits to a person's possibilities to act become apparent (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 261-263; Thiersch & Grundwald 2002: 129). Hence, through the interconnectedness with individuals' life worlds and social spaces, the latter can be improved, which in turn allows for a reduction in right-wing thought patterns and less possibilities to use space for radicalized practices (Milbradt 2020: 57).

Requirement for the optimization of social space and thus the optimization of prevention work is that individuals have access to these programmes (Milbradt 2020: 57). The Hamburg Senate (2019) explicitly stated that *this access must be improved* in Hamburg to allow for an optimization in antisemitism prevention. Only when access is guaranteed and known, the effectiveness of the measures situated in social spaces can work (Milbradt 2020: 57).

7.3 Structural and Multifarious Recommendations – A Mix of Concepts

For a variety of results, only applying one theory or concept does not suffice. Instead, they must be seen contextualized within the scope of multiple theories. To analyse the result of the need to *strengthen the network and the redistribution of contacts* all three concepts used in this thesis must be consulted. *Barriers to contact and services must be removed* for a better redistribution and stronger networking. This shows a certain resource dependency since institutions are dependent on the help of other services consulting them in handling antisemitism (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003: 23-42). If a disruption to this availability is given, further support is not ensured. Thus, the informational and professional resources for handling antisemitism are not present and it cannot further be prevented. Even though this study's results do not give any indication, it should be discussed in what position this dependency puts the organizations in and how this influences their actions (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003: 92-224).

Removing barriers also provides professionals with easier access to information which enhances their knowledge about antisemitism. This increases the prevention impact on clients since professionals are now more sensitized for conveying critical thinking, democratic values and much more (see 7.1). For a *general intensification of networking*, it is important that this occurs integrated in the social spaces of individuals so that the spaces' development and diversification can be ensured (Milbradt 2020: 57).

This study's analysis revealed that a *restructuring and expansion of measures* to improve antisemitism prevention is emphasized by multiple sources. The need for *more training programmes for professionals* allows for a better understanding of antisemitism, its patterns, and roots. Well-trained professionals can critically regard the individual and *intervene early on*. As becomes apparent in the development-oriented model (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12), an early intervention can ensure the balance of risk and protective factors and thus reduces the likelihood for the following proximal processes (12-15). Trained professionals can even interfere during the proximal processes and mitigate a final extremist view (15). Training programmes can be seen as resources. The data analysis underlined the connection between having these resources and the behaviour of professionals (see 6.3.2). In the scope of the resource-dependency-theory (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003), it can be argued that by providing more resources for organizational workings, and thus their effect on prevention, improve.

Increasing exchange and contact between individuals from so-called different groups can dismantle prejudices and foster a sense of unity and belonging. Both are protective factors in Beelmann et al.'s model (2021) that can especially counteract the proximal processes of identity problems and structuring of prejudices (13-15). Exchange can be promoted through contact programmes occurring in the social space of individuals (Beelmann 2017: 41-43). Hence, expanding these programmes in spatial areas can improve its development and greatly impact the individual (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 262-263).

Ensuring *offers for adult education* can, at least to a certain extent, influence the democratic, critical and open understanding of adults which decreases the probability of adopting antisemitic views (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12; also see 7.1). Integrating these offers in social spaces affects people's views of said space and restructures it towards an integrable space with less room for antisemitic emergence (Milbradt 2020: 57). A similar application occurs with the *establishment of long-term measures*. Only when these are oriented longitudinal can a long-lasting effect be guaranteed. This would entail the first two stages of the development-oriented model that focus on offsetting risk and protective factors and mitigating damage that was already done (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12-16). This means that if long-term measures are applied

early and their effect is everlasting, the second (and third) stage of the model would not ensue, meaning no antisemitic sentiments develop.

To improve antisemitism prevention these long-term programmes can be implemented in districts more vulnerable to antisemitism and thus positively influence the residents long-dated through a consistent and lasting development (Milbradt 2020: 57; Seithe & Heintz 2014: 261-263). The same can be applied to the interlocking of *various prevention measures*. According to *Sozialraumorientierung*, by improving this interplay in the social space the individuals and their sentiments will be impacted (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 261-263). Regarding the development-oriented model, an interplay of various measures would enhance the evolution of protective factors and thus hinder antisemitic views (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12-16).

The respective aspects included in the category of *change of perspective* must be highlighted from either an individual-focused development-oriented stance or from both a development-oriented and spatial-focused one. *Referring to other forms of discrimination* targets the individual's understanding of empathy and democracy, displaying a *non-judgemental attitude* demonstrates how to adequately voice critique and improves the understanding of democracy and respect. *Calling out antisemitism* in general and *Israel-related antisemitism* in particular incites a person's ability for critical thinking and understanding how prejudices develop and how they are expressed. All these effects pose as protective factors to antisemitism in the first stage of Beelmann et al.'s model (2021).

Enhancing the *presentation of Jewish diversity* and *depicting Jewish history more realistically and encompassing* work similar in their effort to improve antisemitism prevention. Both show the different aspects of what it means to be Jewish and thus deconstruct prejudices, foster empathy, and increase the sense of unity in society which reduces the incentive to take on religious ideologies and discriminatory practices (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12-15). The somewhat different notion interviewee R5 took when it comes to presenting Jewish diversity, that it must be represented more realistically, does not contradict the previous argument. A more realistic picture can still provide an understanding of Jewish culture, history and religion and dismantle prejudices deriving from a lack of knowledge. Representing Jewish diversity and Jewish history in all its aspects can only happen with *Sozialraumorientierung*. The incorporation of social space, for example the neighbourhood or school, allows for the reproduction of exchange and communication (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 261). Groups consisting of a similar situation in space (Bourdieu 1998: 6) might disintegrate or open to new groups. The community is empowered (Seithe & Heintz 2014: 262-263) and pre-existing structures impacting a person's thought

patterns loosened (Bourdieu 2002: 163), reducing the vulnerability for antisemitic notions in social space and thus in individuals (Milbradt 2020: 57).

Putting more emphasis on *emotional and experimental learning* rather than only on the transfer of knowledge, intensifies the comprehension of democratic and moral values and allows for intergroup experiences, thus offsetting possible risk factors for antisemitism (Beelmann et al. 2021: 13). Emotional and experimental learning occurs through activities like contact programmes, multicultural trainings (Beelmann 2017: 41-44) or experiential education programmes (Teich 2020: 64; UNESCO & OSCE 2018: 63). Offering these programmes in social space impacts the space and the individuals inhabiting it. Spatial learning occurs influencing possibly ideologic views of individuals (Milbradt 2020: 57).

Contextualizing the need for more *evaluations and research* based on theories proves difficult since the purpose and topic of each study must be considered. Ultimately, *long-term studies*, *pilot projects* and *evaluations for existing measures* intend to prove the prevention effect measures claim to have. *Research about the right-wing supporters within the teaching staff* might underline the need for more and a better integration of training programmes for professionals (see 6.3.2). A *wide-ranging survey on the impact of antisemitism on the Jewish community* can show what aspects of antisemitism prevention need further expansion and a closer regard. Thus, conducting the stated studies cannot only be seen as a way of verifying the measures' effects but also the workings and arguments of the theories arguing to prevent antisemitism through the influence of individual, societal and spatial factors (Beelmann et al. 2021; Seithe & Heintz 2014).

7.4 Resource-Oriented Impulses – Resource-Dependency-Theory

The resource dependency of every actor in the prevention field becomes apparent through the stated need for *stronger organizational resources*. *Personnel, conceptual, material,* and *financial resources* must be given, otherwise further workings of antisemitism prevention cannot occur. For instance, multiple interviewees emphasized to need enhanced and more stable funding. If this is not available, certain projects and measures cannot be further implemented. Here, a clear reliance on resources becomes evident (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003: 23-42). Participant R2 stated that many organizations must compete for funding. This raises the question whether these organizations act differently to one another but also divergent to their directives to obtain said resources.

According to the resource-dependency-theory (Pfeffer & Salancik 1978), which states that a scarcity of resources results in a changed behaviour of organizations to secure the left resources

(Pfeffer & Salancik 2003: 23-42), those welfare organizations would diverge from their usual actions to claim state funding. This in turn raises three questions: (1) to what extent governments directly, or indirectly through the actions of organizations, impact antisemitism prevention work, (2) whether this impact is beneficial for the prevention field's workings and (3) how a constant and directive-conforming organizational behaviour can be ensured. Only the answer to the last question is indicated in this study: To guarantee long-lasting and proficient resources by *prioritizing their provision*. The other questions must be regarded in further research.

7.5 Final Discussion

The interview and document analysis reach the same results at large. This is visible in the great overlap of codes. Nevertheless, a slight shift in emphasis is noticeable. Especially the regard of the impact of an individual's environment is more specifically emphasized in the document analysis. A higher variety of programmes functioning as a starting point to spatial development are presented and the focus is directed towards the need for improved access (see 6.2). Moreover, the document analysis incites to include personnel resources as part of the given resources an organization needs to function (see 6.4). Hence, the document analysis provides necessary supplementary data and consequently minimizes bias as was intended (Bowen 2009: 29-30; 38).

When considering the results, the original purpose of the documents (Bowen 2009) and the backgrounds of the interviewees must be contemplated (Mason 2018). Naturally, the interviewees emphasized their specific occupational field and used it as context to many of the questions. For example, participant R3, working in a counselling centre using a systemic approach, underlined the importance of strong connections to other people. Since every person is influenced by society, culture, and context (Owen 1992: 386), viewing themes from a constructed perspective based on one's own circumstantial surroundings cannot be averted. This study's author even argues that the different emphases only provide a more complex insight into the antisemitism prevention field and enhance the results.

The same can be applied to the document analysis. Each document, except for the state strategies (Hamburger Senat 2019; SenJustVA) that are not targeted at anyone specifically, is aimed at professionals to call attention to what needs optimization. Here, the focus is put on different aspects of the welfare sector, varying in each document. Nonetheless, all documents' purposes, even though highlighting different aspects of the welfare field, correspond with the research questions and thus, similar to the interview analysis, contribute compound results.

Generally, a strong interconnection between the results and their respective theories can be seen. Without the provision of efficient resources, neither the individual nor spatial areas can be supported through adequate prevention measures. The individual is always situated in social space and thus it is only a matter of approach what is targeted first (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12; Seithe & Heintz 2014: 262-263). According to this study's result, measured by emphasis and number of codes, a focus on the individual is often put first. Mediating and enhancing this mediation of certain values and abilities holding a protective function (Beelmann et al. 2021: 12) is viewed as the basis and starting point for antisemitism prevention work. However, taking in social spaces and beginning to diversify and improve their development is also regarded as a crucial part of antisemitism prevention work.

Interestingly, the targeting of an individual through social space is more heavily emphasized in the document than in the interview analysis. A reason for that might be the more all-encompassing notion of the prevention field in the documents. Either way, focusing on the individual rather than on the social space is also more prominent in the document analysis.

Lastly, it is noticeable that antisemitism prevention is mostly viewed in terms of primary and secondary prevention (see Coote 2012: 9). This could be because only one interviewee (R3) worked in secondary and tertiary prevention, while the others worked in primary and secondary. However, the emphasis on primary and secondary prevention was also higher in the documents. Hence, a bias is not likely, especially since the interviewees were selected randomly according to availability. Nevertheless, a slight bias cannot be completely excluded and thus must be mentioned.

8. Conclusion

When summarising the study's results in relation to the research questions (see 1.1), it is noticeable that the focus of the results consists of an expansion, deepening and strengthening of already existing measures, guidelines, and communication of values. Thus, a great part of how antisemitism prevention can be optimized in the welfare sector is to start where it is already functioning in principle and build from there. Values and skills, such as democracy understanding, tolerance, diversity, empathy, critical thinking and developing a healthy self-esteem, should further be promoted and strengthened. The individual's environment, both social and spatial, must be increasingly involved. Relationships a person possesses should be encouraged and deepened. Multiple prevention measures should be expanded to foster a sense of unity and blight any arising prejudices: educational programmes, contact and exchange programmes, leisure activities, and socio-spatial support services.

Changes needing to happen on a structural- and content-related level were emphasized by the participants. Networking must be expanded, and connections better and more easily interlaced. Prevention measures should be designed long-term to achieve long-lasting and continuous effects. For professionals, not only an increase in supply of training programmes but also an integration of said programmes in their education must occur. Providing an increased supply is also necessary for prevention programmes targeted at adults. On a content-related level, a change of perspective poses as the focal point. The topic of antisemitism should be made accessible through the experiences and life worlds of the individuals. A sole transfer of knowledge does not suffice, emotional and experimental learning must take place through adequate measures. Covering the topic of general discrimination can be named in this context since many students are affected by it. A more diverse but also realistic presentation of what it means to be Jewish should be portrayed. Especially for professionals, it is vital that a non-judgemental attitude is shown, and that the Israel-Palestine-conflict is handled critically and sensitively.

Certain demands that are not met became apparent. The access to services, both for professionals seeking guidance and for individuals desiring to participate in various programmes, can prove to be difficult and must be improved. Resources, especially financial resources, are often missing when it comes to the continuation of projects. Moreover, the importance of the provision of resources is not fully recognized. Certain research regarding antisemitism prevention is also missing. Many measures need evaluation and long-term studies are rare. Generally, many interviewees emphasized the school context even though the school poses only as a cooperation partner of the welfare sector. This illustrates the demand for necessary change, especially regarding the establishment of concepts and the education of professionals, and how important school is as a support for antisemitism prevention in the welfare sector.

As mentioned, these results function as impressions and impulses deriving from the welfare sector first-hand. Establishing an objective truth was not intended and cannot be discovered since, as the ontological and epistemological perspective of this research suggests, reality is constructed by interacting with others and the environment (Leeds-Hurwitz 2009: 892-894). Nevertheless, these results are still meaningful and valuable because, based on this logic (Leeds-Hurwitz 2009; Kim 2001), the individuals in authority and political positions responsible for the implementation of antisemitism prevention are equally influenced by the input of others. Thus, it can be argued that the recommendations of welfare workers impact the opinions of the people in power and fellow welfare workers looking for an improvement in their

work. This study's results show where improvement is needed and how this can suppositionally be achieved. Welfare workers and people with authority might use these results as incentive for reviewing and adapting their work. Foremost, this study can function as basis for further research and evaluation. The results show what aspects must be regarded and which ones need closer and further inspection.

Additionally, it is necessary to further investigate the causes for why prevention work could not avert this recent rise in antisemitic incidents (see European Commission 2021: 1). The causes might offer more insight into what must change. An evaluation on how great the gap between policy aims and outcomes is, is also vital to assess the actual effectiveness of measures (also see Cairney & St Denny 2020: 1-2). Moreover, to measure effectiveness of programmes evaluations based on evidence-based approaches must be conducted (Nehlsen et al. 2020: 1-2). Since antisemitism prevention is not always directly connected to mitigating antisemitism, but also targeted at countering social inequality, poverty, and crime, to name a few (Beelmann 2017), examining these connections seems essential to improve the all-encompassing notion of antisemitism prevention. This thesis' author is aware that a result like *offering more training programmes for professionals and integrating them into the curriculum* is easier said than done. Thus, how this can be concretely and structurally implemented must be further discussed, particularly on the political level.

As a concluding remark, the theory gap, determined in chapter 4, must be considered. It shows the demand for a theory or model that is specifically applied to antisemitism prevention (also see Beelmann et al. 2021; Gough 2013).

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Overview of Codes

Individual-focused factors
Promoting the mediation of protective values
      Democratic values
      Empathy
      Positive self-esteem
      Sense of belonging

Strengthening individual resources
      Strengthening potential connections
      Empowerment

Deepening the teaching of protective skills
      Fostering critical thinking
      Deconstructing the different-groups-perspective
      Media Competence

Age to start
      Children and Youth
      Adults

Impact of Environment
Increasing the involvement of the client's environment
      Fitness programmes
      Starting with people's lifeworld and experiences
      Leisure and cultural activities
      Socio-spatial family services
      Care and support programmes
      Educational work
      Better access to services

Structural and multifarious recommendations
Strengthening network and redistribution of contacts
      Removal of barriers to contacts and services
      General intensification of networking

Restructuring and expansion of measures
      More training programmes for professionals
      Increasing exchange and contact
      Holistic application of various measures
      Long-term measures
      Missing measures
      Offers for adult education

Earlier intervention

Change of perspective
  Covering other forms of discrimination
  Non-judgemental attitude
  Presentation of the diversity of Jewish life
  Israel-related antisemitism
  Recognizing and naming antisemitism
  More multifaceted depiction of the Jewish community in historical learning
  Emotional and experimental learning

Evaluation and research
  More pilot projects
  Long-term studies
  Study on right-wing party support within teaching staff
  Wide-ranging survey regarding impact of antisemitism on Jewish daily-life
  Further research on media-based radicalization prevention
  Evaluation of existing measures combating the development of antisemitic attitudes

Resource-Oriented Impulses
Strengthening of organizational resources
  Concepts
  Financial resources
  Material resources
  Personnel resources

Prioritizing topic through the provision of resources
  Increased supply of adequate resources
  Higher position on the agenda
  Holistic integration of topic
  Discussion in subject-specific forums

Appendix 2: Interview Guideline in German (Original)

1. Wie sind Sie in der Antisemitismusprävention tätig? Was sind Ihre Aufgaben?
2. Wie sieht Antisemitismusprävention für Sie aus? Was sind für Sie hier die wichtigsten Aspekte?
3. Benutzen Sie in Ihrer Einrichtung ein bestimmtes Dokument oder Konzept, das Sie als Arbeitsgrundlage nehmen? Wenn ja, welches?
4. Inwiefern arbeiten Sie mit anderen Einrichtungen zusammen? Wie wichtig ist dies?
5. Was funktioniert sehr gut in der Präventionsarbeit und was werten Sie also Erfolg? a. Welche Maßnahmen erachten Sie als sehr notwendig?
6. Woran machen Sie fest, was als Erfolg zu werten ist und wo eventuell noch Verbesserungsbedarf besteht?
7. Gibt es etwas, was sich (grundlegend) in der Präventionsarbeit ändern muss und wenn ja, was? Wo sehen Sie noch Bedarf?
8. Was sollte inhaltlich noch mehr behandelt werden?
    a. Müsste noch mehr über das jüdische Leben gelehrt werden im Vergleich zum Lernen über den Holocaust und Antisemitismus? Wenn ja, über was genau?
    b. Inwieweit sollte über den Israel-Palästina Konflikt gesprochen werden?
9. Inwiefern sollte Antisemitismusprävention strukturell verändert werden?
10. Welche Maßnahmen sollten besser ausgebaut werden?
    a. Wie wichtig sind z.B. Kontaktprogramme bzw. diverser Austausch? Sollte es davon noch mehr geben?
11. Inwieweit ist das Erlernen der Fähigkeit zum Perspektivwechsel wichtig für Antisemitismusprävention?
12. Welche anderen Fähigkeiten oder Werte sollte Antisemitismusprävention noch vermitteln?
13. Inwiefern halten Sie es für richtig, dass ein sehr großer Teil der Antisemitismuspräventionsarbeit auf die Schule ausgerichtet ist? Gibt es andere Bereiche, wo die Präventionsmaßnahmen erweitert werden sollten?
14. Was ist etwas, wo Sie persönlich im Zuge der Präventionsarbeit an Ihre Grenzen stoßen?
15. Was glauben Sie sind Gründe dafür, wenn Präventionsarbeit nicht gut funktioniert?
16. Wie kann die gegenwärtige Antisemitismusprävention noch optimiert werden?
17. Was ist Ihrer Meinung am effizientesten, um Antisemitismus vorzubeugen?
18. Über welches Wissen sollten Mitarbeiter*innen im Feld der Antisemitismusprävention besonders Bescheid wissen? Über welche Bereiche sollten Mitarbeiter*innen noch weiter aufgeklärt/fortgebildet werden? Anna K. Strauss Lund University
19. Wie kann man Betroffene von Antisemitismus noch mehr schützen? Was kann der Wohlfahrtsbereich hier noch mehr leisten?
20. Inwieweit sehen Sie mehr Forschung über die Wirksamkeit von verschiedenen Methoden oder Ansätzen in der Antisemitismusprävention als nötig an? In welchen bestimmten Bereichen fehlt es noch an Forschung oder auch an Literatur?
21. Was würden Sie sich vom Staat oder anderen Akteuren für die Unterstützung der Präventionsarbeit noch wünschen?
22. Gibt es noch etwas, was Sie sagen möchten?

Appendix 3: Interview Guideline in English (translated by this thesis' author)
*was not strictly followed; solely for inspirational reasons

1. What does your work consist of in the scope of antisemitism prevention? What are your responsibilities?
2. What does antisemitism prevention look like to you? What are the most important aspects for you in this regard?
3. Do you use a specific document or concept in your institution that you consult as the basis on which to work?
4. To what extent do you cooperate with other institutions? How important is this?
5. What works very well in prevention work and what do you deem as a success?
   a. What measures do you consider as vital?
6. How do you determine what is considered a success and where else a need for improvement exists?
7. Is there something that needs to change (fundamentally) in prevention work and if yes, what aspect? Where do you see further demands?
8. What should be further covered content-wise?
   a. Should be taught more about Jewish life compared to the portrayal of the topic of the holocaust and antisemitism? If yes, about what specific aspects?
   b. To what extent should the Isarel-Palestine-conflict be discussed?
9. How should antisemitism prevention change on a structural level?
10. What measures should further be expanded?
    a. How important are e.g. contact programmes or a diverse exchange? Should there be provided more of those?
11. To what extent is the ability to change perspectives important for antisemitism prevention?
12. What other abilities or values should antisemitism prevention convey?
13. To what extent do you think it is right that a great part of antisemitism prevention focuses on school? Do other contexts exist in which prevention measures should be expanded?
14. What is something where you personally reach your limits in the course of prevention work?
15. What do you believe are reasons for prevention work not working well?
16. How can the present antisemitism prevention be optimized?
17. In your opinion, what is most efficient to prevent antisemitism?
18. What knowledge should employees working in the field of antisemitism prevention particularly dispose of?
19. How can those affected by antisemitism be further protected? What can the welfare sector further contribute here?
20. To what extent do you think more research on the effectiveness of different methods or approaches in the scope of antisemitism prevention is necessary? What specific areas lack studies or even literature?

21. What would you wish for from the state or other actors so that prevention work can be better supported?
22. Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix 4: Interview Sample – Overview

Interviewee	Occupation/Role in the Field	Connected Welfare Organization
R1	Pedagogic education worker (offering workshops and seminars in school and out of school contexts); antisemitism researcher	Welfare organizations as needed, e.g. *Diakonie* (in Hamburg)
R2	Education worker for adults (offers workshops and seminars); networker and organizer	A centre for combating antisemitism that is under the wing of one of the six major welfare organizations (in Berlin)
R3	Counsellor, Trainer for professionals	Counselling centre for religious-motivated radicalization (in Hamburg)
R4	Project coordinator for a social contact project	Social contact programme of a public body (nationwide)
R5	Manager and coordinator of multiple antisemitism measures and of the network of (welfare) organizations to combat antisemitism	Multiple (in Hamburg)

Appendix 5: Selected Quotes from Interviews

* the line numbers visible stem from the original transcripts and are included to recognize the quotes used in the presentation of results

R1:

375   R: Alles, es fehlt an allem. Es fehlt an institutionellen Anbindungen. Wir haben eben schon
376   darüber gesprochen, es fehlt einfach schlicht an Telefonnummern oder E-Mail-Adressen, an
377   die man sich wenden kann, wenn man etwas machen will. Es fehlt in Schulen an Zeit, es gibt
378   da auch strukturelle Probleme. Ich habe auch schon erlebt, dass wenn Lehrkräfte mich
379   gebucht haben, die Schulleitung im letzten Moment dazwischen gegrätscht ist und gesagt hat,
380   wir müssen den Lehrplan hier erfüllen, wir haben gar keine Zeit für so etwas. Also es ist eine
381   mangelnde Wertschätzung für die politische Bildung vorhanden. Aber, genau, generell gibt es,
382   in Hamburg zumindest, keine Institution, an die man sich wenden kann, wo man relativ schnell
383   und unbürokratisch Hilfe bekommt. Es gibt keine ausgebildeten Teamerinnen und Teamer und
384   weil es das alles nicht gibt, haben wir zurzeit auch nicht viele Teamerinnen und Teamer, die
385   das Thema anbieten können, weil manche von denen sind nach Berlin gegangen, weil sie dort
386   mit ihren Kompetenzen, Jobs finden, die man in Hamburg nicht findet, weil es sie gar nicht
387   gibt.
388   Ich könnte jetzt wahrscheinlich die nächsten 2 Stunden Dinge aufzählen die fehlen *(lacht)*.

R2:

226   R: Geld. Wir haben viel zu wenig Geld. Wir haben keine dauerhafte Förderung. Also eigentlich
227   arbeiten wir, [..] alle mir bekannten Träger im Feld, über Projektgelder. Das heißt, wir müssen
228   in unterschiedlichen Teilbereichen jedes zweite, dritte oder vierte Jahr Anträge stellen und
229   Gelder beantragen, bei Regierungen, beim Senat, beim Bund und durch das Programm
230   „Demokratie leben!". Das ist ein Riesenproblem, weil das wahnsinnig Energie und Zeit frisst,
231   diese ganzen Anträge zu stellen und dann auch wieder die Sachberichte zu schreiben. Wenn
232   die Projekte dann nicht weiter gefördert werden, dann wird unsere Arbeit im Grunde zunichte
233   gemacht. Es dauert richtig lange, um diese ganzen Kontakte aufzubauen, um Leute zu
234   überzeugen, dass da was getan werden muss, um Vertrauen zu schaffen, dass wir gute Arbeit
235   machen, dass es keine Schande ist, sich beraten zu lassen und sich fortzubilden, dass das
236   nicht rufschädigend ist, sondern etwas Gutes. Wenn man dann nach zwei Jahren plötzlich kein
237   Geld mehr hat, dann bricht das einfach alles ab, die Kontakte brechen ab.
238   Da ist einfach keine Kontinuität der Arbeit gewährleistet, man muss immer wieder von vorne
239   anfangen. Das ist ein großes Problem. Wir brauchen auf jeden Fall eine dauerhafte Förderung.
240   Gleichzeitig haben wir das Problem, dass wir in Berlin viele kleinere und mittelgroße Träger
241   haben, die im Bereich der politischen Bildung tätig sind. Wenn jetzt einige von denen eine
242   Strukturförderung dauerhaft bekommen, dann heißt das, dass die anderen gar nichts mehr
243   bekommen oder viel weniger Chancen haben, noch an Geld zu kommen.

R3:

122 Ab einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt, kann man sagen, dass diese Ideologie anfängt, für sie
123 selber keinen Sinn mehr zu machen. Die meisten allerdings kommen da nicht mehr heraus,
124 weil sie alle Brücken abgerissen haben. Das ist das Problem und deswegen arbeiten wir dort
125 mit Bindung, so dass immer diese Türen offen sind, damit sie zurückkehren können und
126 dass sie auch immer anderes Gedankengut mitbekommen, dass sie dem gegenüberstellen
127 können.

R4:

65 Wenn man Menschen fragt, was verbindet ihr mit dem Wort Jude oder Jüdin, dann kommen
66 die klassischen Schlagworte Antisemitismus, Holocaust oder Schoah oder der israelisch-
67 palästinensische Konflikt, beziehungsweise was gerade an Konflikt da passiert
68 beziehungsweise ein ganz starker Bezug zu Israel, aber zum aktuellen jüdischen Leben gibt
69 es eher wenige Kenntnisse, sodass dieses Wort „Jude" oder „Jüdin" überhaupt kein Gesicht
70 hat. Entweder ist das sehr schwarz-weiß und auf diese Schlagworte reduziert oder es ist
71 gänzlich unbekannt, sodass es so eine abstrakte Gruppe ist. Was wir tatsächlich auch
72 versuchen mit unseren Ehrenamtlichen, ist ganz banal zu sagen, wir geben dem Wort „Jude"
73 oder „Jüdin" ein Gesicht, so dass man das nächste Mal, dass man es hört, man weiß, hey
74 bei uns war letztens [..] irgendwie David und Lena in der Schule und dann erinnert man sich
75 an einen konkreten Menschen, an ein Individuum. Es ist nicht mehr diese abstrakte
76 homogene Masse oder das stereotype Bild von einem Rabbiner aus dem Religionsunterricht,
77 was überhaupt nicht falsch ist, aber es zeigt nicht die ganze Vielfalt des jüdischen Lebens.

Appendix 6: Information about Documents

Document/Reference	Type of Document	Purpose	Notes
Amadeo Antonio Stiftung (2017): *Läuft noch nicht? Gönn dir: 7 Punkte für eine Jugendarbeit gegen Antisemitismus!*	guideline	Providing input for professionals employed in the youth welfare sector and showing how antisemitism in youth work can be handled and prevented	
Anne Frank Zentrum (2010): *Antisemitismus – Geschichte und Aktualität Handreichung für pädagogische Fachkräfte und Multiplikator*innen.*	Recommendation/guideline	Showing pedagogic professionals how the topic of antisemitism can be taught in-school and out-of-school contexts	Even though this document was published in 2010, it is still the only recommendation including both in- and out-of-school contexts by the Anne Frank Zentrum [date: May 1st, 2022] and thus seems not to have lost its importance over the years. Hence, it is included in the analysis.
Beelmann, A.; Lutterbach, S.; Rickert, M.; Sterba, L. S. (2021): *Entwicklungsorientierte Radikalisierungsprävention: Was man tun kann und sollte. Wissenschaftliches Gutachten für den Landespräventionsrat Niedersachsen.* Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Zentrum für Rechtsextremismusforschung, Demokratiebildung und gesellschaftliche Integration: Jena.	Scientific report for a state prevention council (Lower Saxony State Prevention Council)	Showing what has been and can be done regarding radicalization prevention and what needs to happen further. A development-oriented model, findings and approaches are discussed to provide further incentive for deepening the topic.	Only chapter 5 is included in the document analysis since it is the only chapter demonstrating recommended actions for prevention work.
Hamburger Senat (2019): *„Antisemitismus – erkennen und begegnen" Entwicklung einer Landesstrategie zur Bekämpfung und Prävention von Antisemitismus zugleich Zwischenbericht des Senats zum Ersuchen der Bürgerschaft vom 18. Dezember 2019 „Jüdisches*	State strategy	Displaying how the state of Hamburg plans to further develop antisemitism prevention and where this change is to start.	

Leben fördern und Antisemitismus entschlossen entgegentreten – Einrichtung des Amtes einer beziehungsweise eines Beauftragten für jüdisches Leben und die Bekämpfung und Prävention von Antisemitismus in Hamburg" *(Drucksache 21/19335). Mitteilung des Senats an die Bürgerschaft.*			
Küpper, B.; Radvan, H.; Chernivsky, M. (2018): *Antisemitismus. Phänomen, Verbreitung und Handlungsempfehlungen für Wohlfahrtsverbände und die Soziale Arbeit.* Theorie und Praxis der Sozialen Arbeit, No. 3/2018. Weinheim: Beltz Juventa, pp. 179-189.	Chapter in a social-work-specialized journal	Providing social workers and welfare organizations with recommendations on how to handle and further prevent antisemitism in their work field. Moreover, informing employees where antisemitism is most prevalent and how its characteristic look is also intended.	
SenJustVA (2019): *Berlin gegen jeden Antisemitismus! Berliner Landeskonzept zur Weiterentwicklung der Antisemitismus-Prävention.*	State strategy	Showing how the state of Berlin intends to further develop antisemitism prevention and what fields and areas need priority in changing or expanding.	
Spiegelbild (2019) (eds.): *Antisemitismusprävention und -intervention als gesellschaftliche Querschnittsaufgaben.*	Handout of the antisemitism prevention forum	Multiple professionals employed in the antisemitism prevention field with expert knowledge spoke at this forum. Their comments and speeches are transcribed and included in this handout. The forum and its speakers intended to call attention to how antisemitism prevention is a societal task and how each individual, but especially employees in various sectors can	The input was analysed based on its correspondence with the research questions. According to this, the contributions of the following speakers were used for the establishment of categories: Prof. Dr. Rolf Pohl (professor for social psychology at Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz University of Hannover);

		make their own contribution.	Hendrik Harteman (director of *Spiegelbild* and project manager of "world wide antisemitism"); Prof. Dr. Samuel Salzborn (guest professor for the Technical University of Berlin); Christoph Manjura (head of Department for Social Affairs, Education, Housing and Integration in Wiesbaden); Susanne Michal Schwartze (high school teacher for history and political science, teacher for specific duties, J.W. Goethe University in Frankfurt/Main)