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The representation of Jews, Judaism and antisemitism in school textbooks and curricula in Europe

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SHORT SUMMARY

A comprehensive review of how Jewish life and anti-Jewish prejudice are portrayed in school materials

Jewish communities have been integral to Europe's social fabric for centuries, preserving rich religious and cultural traditions while facing recurring periods of exclusion, persecution, and resilience. School textbooks are important vantage points to understand how this history and heritage is represented, (de)constructed and embedded into a shared historical and cultural memory. They are also important practical tools used daily by students, teachers, and parents.

This in-depth study looks into how anti-Jewish prejudice and Jewish culture, history and life are portrayed in secondary education materials in eight European countries. It identifies curricular entry points for teaching about Jewish experiences and antisemitism, analyses how these topics are integrated into textbooks, and explores the narratives and representations that emerge.

The findings highlight both recurring stereotypes and promising practices. By showcasing these contrasts, the study provides targeted recommendations to guide the creation of more inclusive educational materials. It aims to ensure that representations of Jews, Judaism, and antisemitism convey the diversity, richness, and complexity of Jewish life while helping students critically engage with prejudice in historical and contemporary contexts.

only 10%

of textbooks in this study address contemporary forms of antisemitism

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"Since wars begin in the minds of men and women it is in the minds of men and women that the defences of peace must be constructed"

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The representation of Jews, Judaism and antisemitism in school textbooks and curricula in Europe

Foreword

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Jewish communities in Europe and beyond face growing threats which not only impact their human rights but also endanger peaceful coexistence and inclusive societies.

At UNESCO we believe that education is the most powerful foundation for preventing and countering antisemitism. It enables us to confront the roots of prejudice, discrimination and hatred while building resilience against the mechanisms that fuel them. To this end, UNESCO has, over the past decade, developed tailored guidance for teachers, school leaders and other education stakeholders, creating a comprehensive framework for tackling the many forms of contemporary antisemitism.

This publication contributes to that effort by examining how Jews, Judaism and antisemitism are represented in school textbooks across Europe. It is rooted in the understanding that antisemitism, like all forms of discrimination, is embedded into an intricate web of stereotypes, misconceptions and prejudicial narratives. Too often, the representation of Jewish communities is reduced either to the depictions of victimhood or to caricatures rooted in antisemitic propaganda. It is therefore crucial to reassess how educational systems present Jewish history, religion, culture and contemporary life, reflecting the diversity and contributions of Jewish communities to our shared heritage.

Drawing on curricula and textbooks from eight EU countries – Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Spain – this study combines quantitative and qualitative analysis to identify patterns, gaps and biases. It also explores the didactic approaches accompanying these representations, shedding light on how antisemitism is addressed or overlooked in learning materials.

This publication forms part of UNESCO's series dedicated to combating antisemitism through education, alongside research on teachers' perception and on effective educational practices.

Together, these initiatives reaffirm UNESCO's mission to build resilient, inclusive and discrimination-free societies, as set out in the 2023 UNESCO Recommendation on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Sustainable Development.

Through the insights presented in this publication, UNESCO calls for a stronger collective commitment to addressing antisemitism through education. We need to empower young people with knowledge, skills and values essential to building peaceful, inclusive and resilient societies.

Stefania Giannini
Assistant Director-General for Education, UNESCO

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Section 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

Aims and scope of this report

The aim of this report, commissioned by UNESCO and carried out by the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media | Georg Eckert Institute (GEI), is to identify stereotypical representations of Jews and Judaism in the curricula and school textbooks of eight EU countries, and to evaluate the scope of knowledge about antisemitism, as a historical and contemporary phenomenon, represented in these textbooks and curricula. The report aims, on the basis of its findings, to combat the development of national narratives that might provide a basis for anti-Jewish stereotypes and antisemitism, or that fail to address Jewish history, religion and culture. Furthermore, the findings identify false information, images and narratives along with a lack of linguistic and content sensitivity that tie into antisemitic arguments and conspiracies. The findings will hopefully provide a factual basis from which to promote policies, institutional development for the educational sector, and teacher training that increase the adequacy, precision, and translation of Judaism in school education and help to combat antisemitism in schools.

This report will provide an insight into the historical descriptions and representations of Jews, Judaism and antisemitism as well as how the knowledge associated with them is represented in learning materials, specifically in curricula and textbooks. Antisemitic prejudice and stereotyping can occur in descriptions and illustrations related to relevant topics in textbooks. Both can be overt and hostile or can subtly follow corresponding stereotypical representations in sources used or in the author's text. Consideration will also be given to the didactic aspects of questions and tasks that accompany such depictions. In textbook portrayals – according to the hypothesis based on a recent study of textbooks approved in the German federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia[1] – prejudice against Jews can sometimes appear in covert and subtle forms and can be expressed through long-used images, for example, of Jews in the Middle Ages being predominantly employed as moneylenders, through the narrative of an all-encompassing, constant discrimination and persecution through the centuries, or a subsumption of Jewish life and Jewish religious practice under the concept of the 'alien'. This report aims to shed light on such occluded structures of prejudice and provide recommendations to policy-makers, curriculum developers and educators on how to address and correct them.

The examination of curricula and textbooks for this report focused on the subjects of history and civics as they provide knowledge about the history of Jews, the Holocaust, Israel, antisemitism and, in rare cases, about ways to encounter and fight antisemitism. In countries that have interdisciplinary curricula, combining history with geography and/or civic education, these curricula and the corresponding textbooks have been examined as well. The research included mainly curricula and textbooks for the above mentioned subjects defined as suitable for level 2 –

1 Leibniz Institute for Educational Media – Georg-Eckert-Institute (ed.): Darstellungen der jüdischen Geschichte, Kultur und Religion in Schulbüchern des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Braunschweig 2023. (https://www.schulministerium.nrw/system/files/media/document/file/darstellung_juedische_geschichte_kultur_religion_schulbuecher_nrw_abschlussbericht_gei_januar_2023.pdf, last access 04 February 2025)

lower secondary education, by the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED).[2] This generally encompasses years five to ten at general education schools and therefore students aged between 10 and 16. For the research, it was crucial that the curricula and textbooks for the subjects mentioned for these grades covered the topics relevant here.

Current state of research

The current academic debate about the treatment of Jews and Judaism as a subject of teaching and the handling of antisemitism in education focuses on key pedagogical challenges and discusses potential options for action. At a comparative international level, the most recent comprehensive study dealing with teaching about and addressing antisemitism was conducted in 2019.[3] Corresponding recommendations for action were subsequently published.[4]

The exploration of the topic in textbooks as a leading medium in teaching has a long tradition, especially in Germany. Thematical fields such as 'Jewish life', 'Jewish history' and 'Israel' are implemented in educational plans and curricula in various school subjects and didactic contexts.[5] As a result of the cooperation between educational policy-makers, representatives of the Jewish community and actors from the field of educational media producers, a catalogue of recommendations for the representation of Jews, Judaism and antisemitism in school textbooks and other educational media was recently published.[6] Several textbook analyses, particularly those carried out by the Georg Eckert Institute and the German-Israeli Textbook Commission, reveal ongoing problems in the portrayal of Jews and Judaism. Jewish history is often addressed in the context of persecution and the Holocaust and from a limited national perspective.[7] The often one-sided portrayal of Israel is also documented: The country is mostly portrayed as a warring nation in the context of the Middle East conflict, while other perspectives, such as the society, economy and culture of the State of Israel, are hardly taken into account.[8]

2 UNESCO Institute for Statistics: International Standard Classification of Education, Montreal 2011.

3 Weller, Paul, Ihsan Foster, *Classroom challenges for teaching about and addressing antisemitism in the OSCE region*. University of Derby 2019 (https://repository.derby.ac.uk/item/94z78/classroom-challenges-for-teaching-about-and-addressing-anti-semitism-in-the-osce-region, last access 04 February 2025).

4 OSCE, *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education: Teaching Aids*, 2019 (https://www.osce.org/odihr/441146, last access 04 February 2025)

5 Kloke, Martin, Tatsachen und Legenden. Juden, Judentum und Israel in deutschen Schulbüchern. In *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Gemeinde (ZThG)* 22 (2017), 66–76 (https://www.gftp.de/downloads-und-dokumente/send/47-zthg-22-2017/621-gesamt, last access 04 February 2025).

6 Darstellung des Judentums in Bildungsmedien. Gemeinsame Erklärung und gemeinsame Empfehlungen des Zentralrats der Juden in Deutschland, des Verband Bildungsmedien und der Kultusministerkonferenz, Berlin 2024 (https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/2024/2024_12_13-Darstellung-Judentum-in-Bildungsmedien.pdf, last access 04 February 2025).

7 Sadowski, Dirk, Martin Liepach, *Jüdische Geschichte im Schulbuch. Eine Bestandsaufnahme anhand aktueller Lehrwerke*, Göttingen 2014. See also Geiger, Wolfgang, Martin Liepach: *Fragen an die jüdische Geschichte. Darstellungen und didaktische Herausforderungen*, Frankfurt a.M. 2014

8 Deutsch-Israelische Schulbuchkommission, *Deutsch-Israelische Schulbuchempfehlungen*, Göttingen 2015 (https://www.gei.de/forschung/publikationen/details/deutsch-israelische-schulbuchkommission-deutsch-israelische- schulbuchempfehlungen, last access 04 February 2025).

In addition, some textbooks contain depictions that have the potential to link to antisemitic stereotypes, such as the emphasis on the role of Jews as moneylenders in the Middle Ages.[9] With regard to the representation in current textbooks for religious and ethics classes, it was found that the focus on presenting similarities between Judaism and Christianity makes the distinction so blurred that this, in turn, opens up the space for latent anti-Jewish prejudices.[10]

Globally, research into the portrayal of Judaism in school textbooks receives less attention. A study by the Georg Eckert Institute in cooperation with UNESCO found that the portrayal of the Holocaust is subject to common representational patterns that convey recurring geographical and temporal scales, protagonists, patterns of interpretation, narrative techniques and didactic methods. At the same time, all countries exhibit narrative peculiarities, emphasizing the selective information and local significance of the event or appropriating it in the interest of the local population.[11] Further studies show that British textbooks devote less depth to the discussion of the Holocaust than is the case in France.[12] Judaism is given a prominent place in school textbooks in Quebec (Canada) because of its historical significance.[13] The analysis of Norwegian religious education curricula shows that Judaism is taught without a deeper integration into the respective national history.[14]

Selection of countries

UNESCO and the GEI set out to examine curricula and textbooks from 8 EU countries, the following countries having been selected by the research team: Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Spain.

This selection was made against the background of historical, and current characteristics relating to Jewish life and the relationship between Jews and non-Jews in these countries. Poland, Lithuania

9 Leibniz Institute for Educational Media – Georg-Eckert-Institute (ed.), *Darstellungen der jüdischen Geschichte, Kultur und Religion in Schulbüchern des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Braunschweig 2023 (https://www.schulministerium.nrw/system/files/media/document/file/darstellung_juedische_geschichte_kultur_religion_schulbuecher_nrw_abschlussbericht_gei_januar_2023.pdf, last access 04 February 2025).

10 Chiriac, Christine, Dirk Sadowski, "Im Judentum besteht die Bibel nur aus dem Alten Testament." Konstruktionen des Verhältnisses Christentum-Judentum in Schulbüchern für die Fächer katholische und evangelische Religion sowie Werte und Normen. In *Zeitschrift für Religion, Gesellschaft und Politik* 8 (2024), 581-599 (https://doi.org/10.1007/s41682-024-00182- 7, last access 04 February 2025).

11 Fuchs, Eckert, Peter Carrier, Torben Messinger, *The International Status of Education about the Holocaust: A Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula*, Paris 2015 (https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000233964, last access 04 February 2025).

12 Lécureur, Bertrand, *Enseigner le nazisme et la Shoah. Une étude comparée des manuels scolaires en Europe. Teaching nazism and the Shoah. A comparative study of European school history textbooks*, Göttingen 2012 (http://repository.gei.de/handle/11428/118, last access 04 February 2025).

13 Hirsch, Sivane, Marie Mc Andrew, Le traitement du judaïsme dans les manuels scolaires d'éthique et culture religieuse au Québec contribue-t-il à un meilleur vivre-ensemble? In *McGill Journal of Education / Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill* 48(1) (2013), 99-114. (https://doi.org/10.7202/1018403ar, last access 04 February 2025).

14 Thomas, Paul, Abdul-Razak Kuyini Alhassan, Religious education, antisemitism and the curriculum in Norway. In *Theo- Web* 18(1) (2019), 105–123 (https://www.theo-web.de/fileadmin/user_upload/11.pdf, last access 04 February 2025).

and Hungary represent large Jewish populations in Europe that, in the early modern period, demonstrated a cultural and ritual uniformity and strong communal autonomy. An independent and thriving culture also existed among the Sephardic Jews of Greece. Spain played a special role towards the end of the Early Middle Ages and the beginning of the high medieval period when Muslims, Christians and Jews lived a largely prosperous coexistence. This later gave way to the Christian persecution of Jews beginning in the wake of the Reconquista and leading to their expulsion in 1492. The history of Judaism in Germany and France has swung between persecution and expulsion, toleration and eventual emancipation, with the rapid rise of Jews into the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century. Denmark has the oldest continuous Jewish community in Scandinavia, which has existed since the start of the eighteenth century and was also able to rapidly integrate itself into the bourgeoisie.

In addition to a continually amicable, peaceful and mutually beneficial coexistence between non-Jews and Jews, there has also been hostility and persecution in all of the above-mentioned countries since the Middle Ages due to a pronounced, Christian-based anti-Judaism, which, during the nineteenth century, became charged with racist theories which strongly resonated with the population, in conjunction with conspiracy theories akin to modern antisemitism. In Germany during the period of National Socialism this led to state discrimination and resulted in a policy aimed at eliminating Jews. During the Second World War under German occupation, or the control of collaborating governments (France, Hungary), Jewish communities suffered immensely in most of the countries named here; the majority of the Jewish populations of Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and Greece were murdered. In Poland at the beginning and shortly after the end of the Second World War, latent antisemitism broke out in sporadic massacres and pogroms. Yet in all these countries there are individual examples of citizens actively helping and rescuing Jews or – as in Denmark and Greece – of large groups of non-Jewish helpers being engaged in actions to protect entire communities from destruction.

Moreover, the country selection also constitutes a representative cross-section of Western, Southern, Northern, Central and Eastern European countries. For Germany, curricula and textbooks for Saxony were examined in order to cover a federal state with a GDR past. The results of the analysis were supplemented by references to the aforementioned study on the representation of Jewish history, culture and religion in North Rhine-Westphalia, one of the old West German federal states.

School systems and selection of textbooks

The different school systems of the eight countries examined presented researchers with additional challenges relating to the structure of the individual branches of general education, and the design and main content of subjects. To ensure comparability, the requirement for all eight countries was that textbook content examined must range from antiquity to the end of the Second World War to ensure the probability of covering the representation of Jewish history up to and including the Holocaust. As far as the representation of the Middle East conflict and Israel is concerned, this topic is covered in history textbooks and teaching materials in the grades corresponding to ISCED level 2 in Germany, Denmark, Hungary, Poland and Spain. In France and Greece, the Middle East conflict is the subject of history teaching in the higher levels of the *lyceum* (age group 15 to 18) and the topic

is no longer present in the new Lithuanian curricula of 2022. Therefore, only limited statements could be made about the portrayal of Israel and the Middle East conflict in the history textbooks of these countries.

Antisemitism as a current phenomenon, or corresponding topics such as equality, tolerance and respect for other religions or social groups or questions of (anti) discrimination, are also dealt with in subjects such as ethics, social sciences and civic education. In such cases, textbooks for these subjects were examined accordingly.

The selection of the sample was based on the requirement that a minimum of 10 textbooks per country should be examined. Depending on the breadth and distribution of the topics and country-specific characteristics regarding the availability of teaching materials, significantly more textbooks were analysed in certain cases (e.g. Denmark and Poland). In one case (Lithuania), only 6 textbooks could be examined.

In **Denmark**, the *folkeskole* or *grundskole* runs from Grades 1 to 9, i.e. from school entry to the age of 15, followed by an alternative boarding school year (e*fterskole*) or secondary school *(gymnasium)*. History (*historie*) is taught from Grade 3. In Grades 8 and 9, social studies (*samfundsfag*) is added. There is no centralized governmental approval procedure for textbooks in Denmark and teachers are free to choose what they consider best for their lesson planning from the wide range of materials. In Denmark, there is also a strong tendency to use the digital learning platforms of educational media providers. Most schools have a subscription to one of the two major teaching materials platforms, *Gyldendal* or *Alinea*. In addition to interactive textbooks, there are also various additional materials here, which can differ significantly in terms of format and content from the content of regular textbooks.

Given the comprehensive freedom of choice and amount of teaching materials and the trend towards digitalization, a larger number of materials were included in this study for Denmark than for the other countries. This selection includes a total of 21 materials, most of them in digital form, for the subject of history and three digital materials for the subject of social studies. This selection includes textbooks as well as longer and shorter teaching sequences and topic-specific materials. Most of the digital materials are only fully accessible on the internet via licenses.

In **France**, the education system is largely centralised. All pupils attend the same type of school (*collège*) until around the age of 15, and all take the same national exam called the *Brevet*. Streaming into different types of schools occurs after *collège*, after which pupils enter the *lycée* where they may study for three more years and qualify with either a *baccalauréat professionnel* leading towards a vocational qualification, or a *baccalauréat*, which qualifies them for further education. The subject of history at level three (*cycle 3*), dealt with in this report, is generally taught in combination with geography and moral and civic education (*éducation morale et civique*, or *EMC*). Textbooks, therefore, contain three main sections devoted to each of these subjects. Some publishers provide separate textbooks for EMC at the *collège* level. The books examined in this report are: two book series for history, geography and EMC (four books published by *Belin*, and four books published by *Le Livre Scolaire*), and two books for EMC published by *Hachette* and *Nathan* respectively. In France, there is no governmental authority which authorizes textbooks; instead, they are monitored within

the scope of work carried out by commissions called *missions des corps d'inspections*, which are comprised of specialists in the curricula subjects appointed at national or regional levels to ensure that the national curriculum is implemented. Hence publishers are free to determine the content in relation to the curriculum. Teachers are free to choose which textbooks they use in their teaching, and even to use alternative teaching materials if wished.

In **Germany**, the prerogative in educational matters is left to the individual federal states. In the federal state of Saxony, secondary level I begins with Grade 5, with two main school types, the *oberschule* (lower secondary school), which leads to the *Mittlere Reife* certificate in Grade 10, and the *gymnasium* (grammar school), which ends with the *Abitur* (matriculation examination) at the end of Grade 12. Secondary level II here comprises Grades 11 and 12. History (*geschichte*) is taught from Grade 5 which is, in general, aged 10 years. The subject of *sozialkunde* (social studies), as it is called in some other federal states, corresponds in the *oberschule* to the subject of civics and legal education (*gemeinschaftskunde und rechtserziehung*), to which an economics section is added for the *gymnasium*. It is taught from Grade 7. In North Rhine-Westphalia, where textbooks were examined for their portrayal of Jewish history, culture and religion as part of a project carried out by the GEI from 2019 to 2023, history is also usually taught from Grade 5, as is the subject of politics. In so-called *gemeinschaftsschulen* (community schools), which combine secondary and grammar school, there is the subject of *gesellschaftslehre* (social studies) from Grade 5, in which the content of the subjects history, politics and geography is combined. In both Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia, textbooks must be authorized for teaching by the respective education ministries and go through an approval process. The results of the above-mentioned project were used for this study. Of the schoolbooks approved in Saxony, ten history textbooks from Grades 6 to 10 of the publishing houses *Ernst Klett Verlag* and *Westermann Verlag* for the two school types of *oberschule* and *gymnasium* were used, as well as four textbooks published by *Westermann Verlag* and *C.C. Buchner Verlag* for the subject of civics and legal education (and economics).

The highly centralised education system in **Greece** consists of a three-tier school system controlled by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. The three levels are: primary education (Δημοτικό): Ages 6-12; lower secondary level – *gymnasium* (Γυμνάσιο): Ages 12-15; upper secondary level – *lyceum* (Λύκειο): Ages 15-18. History (Ιστορία) is taught in Grades 3-6 of primary education, 1-3 in lower secondary education and 1-3 in higher secondary education, thus covering age groups from 8-18 years. Holocaust education typically appears for the first time in Grade 6 of primary school when covering the Second World War and the German invasion (1941). Knowledge about history from antiquity to modern times is taught again on a deeper level in the three school years of lower secondary education. The Middle East conflict is dealt with in history curricula and textbooks for the *lyceum* level. History is taught alongside 'social and political education' (Κοινωνική και Πολιτική Αγωγή). Greece has a single textbook system where the state provides free textbooks to all students that follow the public curriculum. The publisher for school textbooks in Greece is the Ινστιτούτο Τεχνολογίας Υπολογιστών και Εκδόσεων 'ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ' (Computer Technology Institute and Press 'Diophantus' - ITYE/CTI), an independent non-profit research institute affiliated with the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (MoE). Textbooks are developed under the supervision of the Institute of Educational Policy (IEP) and must be approved by the Ministry of Education. Teachers have some flexibility in using additional resources, but the authorized textbooks remain the primary

teaching tools. For this study, seven textbooks of *Diophantus* for history, used at the primary and lower secondary level, have been analysed alongside five textbooks for social and political education.

In **Hungary's** centralized education system, elementary school (primary school) is compulsory from the age of 6 until the age of 14 (Grades 1-8). The most common type of secondary school spans, in most cases, 4 years (between the ages of 14-18), though 6 and 8-year-long secondary schools also exist. This education cycle ends with the *matura* (school leaving examinations). In Hungary, history (*történelem*) is a compulsory subject in school years 5-8 (primary education) and from Grades 9-12 for 2-4 years (depending on the type of school). The curriculum is taught chronologically from antiquity in Grade 5, reaching recent times (around 2010) by the end of Grade 8. Knowledge about all historical periods is repeated and deepened in secondary schools. Moral and civic values are taught through the subjects of ethics (*etika*) from Grades 5-8. A separate civics subject for primary schools has only recently been introduced in Hungary, but it does not cover any content relevant to this study. The legal framework for textbook publishing allows the licensing of two history textbooks per grade. These are the textbooks in the A and B series published by the national Educational Authority (*Oktatási Hivatal*, OH). The contents of these two series are largely identical, though the B series textbooks are more diverse in the choice of sources and concepts of historical thinking. Another important textbook publisher is *Mozaik*, but the use of its materials is not compulsory. Only textbooks authorized by the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development (OFI) can be ordered by schools. Therefore, only textbooks from the Educational Authority were selected for this report, four each from the A and B series for the subject of history and two for the subject of ethics.

In **Lithuania**, history (*istorija*) is also taught from Grade 5, in the *progymnasial* phase or main school up to Grade 9 or 10, and then in the *gymnasium* branch in Grades 11 and 12. The education system is centralized, and school textbooks are subject to a state review process before publication. In 2022, a new curriculum for the subject of history came into force, and new textbooks for this subject have been published since then. At the time of writing, only six new history textbooks from the publishers *Baltos lankos-Klett*, *Briedis*, Šviesa and *Ugda* were available which cover the relevant topics and were evaluated here.

In **Poland**, the education system is highly centralized as well. The Ministry of Education is in charge of the process of drafting the curriculum that is binding throughout the country. The ministry authorizes textbooks for all school subjects at all levels of education. The structure of the Polish education system was reformed in 2017 from a three-tier model (6 grades of primary school; 3 grades of lower secondary school; 3 years of upper secondary school) into a two-tier model (8 grades of primary school, 4 grades of secondary school). History (*historia*) is taught chronologically: In Grades 5-8 pupils learn about the whole historical cycle including world and European history, from ancient history in Grade 5 till the Second World War and the post-war period in Grade 8. In secondary school, history is taught chronologically again, from antiquity until today but in a deeper manner. Politics and social studies are taught mostly in a subject called Knowledge about Society (*Wiedza o Społeczeństwie*). The subject is taught both at primary schools in Grade 8, and then in secondary schools in Grade 9-12. In 2022, an additional subject called History and the Present

(*Historia i Teraźniejszość*), was introduced combining social studies, politics and post-1945 history. For this report, textbooks of three main publishing houses for educational media, *Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne* (School and Educational Publishers, WSiP), *Nowa Era* and *Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe* (Gdansk Educational Publisher, GWO) were analysed: 12 textbooks used for history teaching in primary schools (Grades 5-8) and 2 textbooks for teaching Knowledge about Society used in primary schools (Grade 8). In addition, 4 textbooks for teaching History and the Present at secondary schools (Grade 9 and 10) are included in this study, published by WSiP and by the *Biały Kruk* publishing house.

In **Spain**, Compulsory Secondary Education (*Educación Secundaria Obligatoria*) covers ages 12 to 16. This stage of education is divided into four grades. Geography and history (*geografía e historia*) are taught together as an integrated subject that includes elements of both historical knowledge and social sciences. Additionally, in one of the four years, students are taught Education in Civic and Ethical Values (*Educación en Valores Cívicos y* Éticos), a subject that focuses on core social values such as equality, respect, tolerance, and human rights. Regarding the textbook system, Spain has a decentralized model due to the autonomy of its various regions (Autonomous Communities), which have the authority to establish from 40 to 50 per cent of educational standards. This regional autonomy affects the production and authorization of school textbooks, with publishers required to produce versions tailored to the specific requirements of each community. For this research, textbooks from the Autonomous Communities of Madrid and Andalusia were chosen due to their demographic significance and their policies of textbook gratuity. Nine geography and history textbooks from the 2023/2024 and 2024/2025 academic years have been selected from the most prominent publishing houses *Grupo Santillana* (*Santillana Grazalema*), *Grupo Anaya* (*Algaida*), *Vicens Vives*, and *Grupo SM*. This selection covers relevant topics from ancient history to the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period till the Contemporary Age. Additionally, two textbooks for the subject Education in Civic and Ethical Values have been included in the analysis.

Methodological approach

The curricula and textbooks were analysed by a team of researchers with in-depth expertise both in the field of textbook research and the countries examined, as well as relevant language knowledge skills. Team members from Denmark, Cyprus (for Greek textbooks), Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Spain were recruited from the research network of the GEI, while the project's principal investigators Dirk Sadowski and Peter Carrier, carried out analyses of the German and French textbooks themselves. National researchers were responsible for selecting the textbooks in collaboration with the principal investigators after having familiarized themselves with the aims, scope and methodology to be applied.

The source materials comprised the lower secondary school curricula for history and social studies and at least ten textbooks or digital educational media units currently in use in schools in the countries concerned. Preference was given to teaching materials which contained at least a minimal amount of information about Jews, Judaism and antisemitism to ensure that the analysis yielded a qualitative evaluation that was relevant for the report. In Lithuania, only six history textbooks were available for consultation following a reform of the curriculum completed in 2022.

The textbooks were subjected to modified qualitative content analysis based on a structured questionnaire which ensured that the information collected was consistent across all eight countries (see appendix). The questionnaire draws on experience gained in other projects carried out at the GEI, such as a study of the international status of education about the Holocaust in textbooks and curricula,[15] and of Jewish history, culture and religion in the textbooks of North Rhine-Westphalia.[16] The questionnaire comprised sixty-six questions in two sections corresponding to the two central topics of the research:

1. **the representation of Jews, Judaism and Israel in textbooks (forty-nine questions), and**
2. **the handling of antisemitism as a social phenomenon in textbooks (seventeen questions). The two sections were divided into sub-sections. Section I contained sub-sections about the portrayal of Jews and Judaism in history prior to 1945 (with general questions and sets of questions about specific historical periods), about the portrayal of Jews and Judaism (without Israel) after 1945 and about the portrayal of Israel. Section II contained four sub-sections with general questions as well as questions about the portrayal of historical and present-day antisemitism and ways of opposing contemporary antisemitism. The team of experts were also asked to record relevant content in history and social studies curricula, and to provide general information about the education and textbook systems in the countries they were working on. Excerpts from textbooks, including visual materials such as maps, graphics, photographs and other images, were integrated into the completed questionnaires. About half of the books examined were available in the GEI library, accessible via the Internet, or were made available to the principal investigators by the researchers after completing their questionnaires. In this way, textbook passages of particular interest could be reviewed and, if necessary, discussed with the team of experts.**

Once completed, the questionnaires' answers were assessed, coded and collated by the principal investigators according to categories which were derived in part inductively from the answers themselves, and in part deductively from existing research and projects previously carried out at the GEI.

This report was compiled and written by Dirk Sadowski and Peter Carrier from the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media in Braunschweig | Georg Eckert Institute under the direction of Eckhardt Fuchs. The questionnaires used to compile the country reports were completed by Julia Feller and Katja Gorbahn of Aarhus University (for Denmark), Eleni Christodoulou of the University of Cyprus (for Greece), Judit Tóth of the University of Pécs (for Hungary), Alvydas Nikžentaitis of the Lithuanian Historical Institute, and Akvilė Naudžiūnienė of Vilnius University (for Lithuania), Sylwia Bobryk of the Europäisches Bildungswerk für Beruf und Gesellschaft, Brandenburg (for Poland), and Mikel

15 Peter Carrier, Eckhardt Fuchs and Torben Messinger, *The International Status of Education about the Holocaust: A Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula*, Paris: UNESCO, 2015 (https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000233964, last access 04 February 2025).

16 Leibniz Institute for Educational Media – Georg-Eckert-Institute (ed.): Darstellungen der jüdischen Geschichte, Kultur und Religion in Schulbüchern des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Braunschweig 2023. (https://www.schulministerium.nrw/system/files/media/document/file/darstellung_juedische_geschichte_kultur_religion_schulbuecher_nrw_abschlussbericht_gei_januar_2023.pdf, last access 04 February 2025)

Bermejo Malumbres and Gabriela Ossenbach of the National Distance Education University (UNED) in Madrid (for Spain). Mera Voigt (GEI) provided invaluable support to the project team by collecting teaching and secondary materials and by helping to put together the final report.

Section 2

Curricula entry points and textbook content

2. Curricula entry points and textbook content

2.1 Curricula entry points concerning Jews, Judaism, and antisemitism

The design of curricula for history and social studies lessons varies greatly in the countries examined here, especially with regard to the scope and detail of the thematic requirements. While, for example, the curriculum in Greece provides detailed thematic requirements, the Danish history curriculum lists thirty very brief 'canon points'. Hungary, with its centralised education system, divides the curriculum into a national core curriculum, which contains the central subjects, teaching objectives and discipline-specific requirements, and a framework curriculum, which presents the lexical items and development tasks, broken down into teaching units. In Germany, the individual federal states have educational sovereignty and determine the objectives and content of the respective curricula. These are also rather brief in terms of thematic content and focus primarily on the development and promotion of key learning skills.

The categories relevant to this report – Jews, Judaism, Israel and the Middle East conflict, and antisemitism – are therefore dealt with differently in the curricula of the countries examined here. In the following presentation, only those curricula entry points are shown that directly relate to the topics relevant here. The curricula of many countries also contain general entries that indirectly suggest the treatment of Jewish history and culture or antisemitism, but do not list them specifically. This is the case, for example, when the Grade 6 history curriculum in Poland states that the student's task is to characterize 'religious and ethnic relations in the [Polish-Lithuanian] Commonwealth'.[17]

In **Denmark**, the subjects of history (*historie*) and social studies (*samfundsfag*) are taught separately. History is compulsory in Grades 3 to 9 and social studies in Grades 8 and 9. Danish teachers have a relatively high degree of freedom in how they design their lessons. For the subject of social studies, the ministerial curriculum specifies areas of competence and central goals, although these are formulated quite broadly. For example, the competency area 'Policy' has the subsections 'Democracy', 'The political system', 'The rule of law and rights', 'Political parties and ideologies', 'Media and politics', 'EU and Denmark' and 'International politics'.[18] Jews, Judaism, and antisemitism are not dealt with as distinct points. Teachers are free to choose which topics and to what extent they cover these competency areas in their lessons. In the subject of history, too, teachers enjoy a relatively large amount of freedom in structuring lessons and in deciding to what extent they cover individual topics. Here, curricula specify not only central goals but also specific topics. Since 2009, a so-called history canon has been binding for the subject. The canon was expanded in 2023 and now includes 30 obligatory canon points which are formulated extremely briefly. For example, in 2023

17 Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej (ed.), [Curriculum for history teaching at primary schools (Grade 4-8)], 2017. In: Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, Poz. 356, p. 96.

18 EMU, Faghæfte: Fælles mål, læsehæfte og vejledning. https://emu.dk/grundskole/samfundsfag/faghaefte-faelles-maal- laeseplan-og-vejledning. Last access 17.09.24.

the Holocaust was explicitly included in the canon points by expanding the point *Augustoprøret og jødeaktio 1943* (August Uprising and Judenaktion 1943) to *Holocaust, jødeaktionen ogaugustoprøret i 1943* (The Holocaust, the Judenaktion and August Uprising of 1943).[19] An official teaching guide expands this canon point to include several perspectives:[20]

Table 1: Curricula guidance for teachers in Denmark

The Holocaust, the Judenaktion and the August Uprising of 1943
The Holocaust is the systematic genocide of millions of people, including at least 6 million Jews. It took place between 1941 and 1945. On 29 August 1943, the Danish government officially terminated its policy of cooperation with Germany. This enabled the German occupying power to launch an action against the more than 7,000 Jews in Denmark as part of the Holocaust. **Examples of perspectives:** • Why and how did the Danish government cooperate with the occupying power, and did the cooperation policy end completely in August 1943? • How were and are stories about the Judenaktion used in Denmark in connection with the Holocaust? • To what extent can the Holocaust and other genocides be seen as the result of longer processes of exclusion and persecution of certain population groups?

The **French** curriculum for history and geography, and for moral and civic education, for the lower secondary level known as 'consolidation' cycle 3 was published in 2015[21] and remains valid at the time of writing, with minor additions published annually in the *Bulletin officiel*. Although the EMC curriculum was revised in May 2024, the most recent stipulations will come into effect only in 2025 and 2026; hence the textbooks examined in this report were conceived before the revised EMC curriculum was published in 2024.[22] The history and geography curriculum addresses Jews, Judaism and antisemitism in the following sections, which address Judaism generally as the precursor of Christianity, and the genocide of Jews and Sinti and Roma as a negation of republican values:

19 EMU, Historiekanon, p. 11. https://emu.dk/grundskole/historie/kanon/historiekanon. Last access 18.09.2024. The term 'jødeaktion', the Danish equivalent of the Nazi term 'Judenaktion' for the arrest and deportation of the Jewish population, also covers the rescue of a large proportion of Danish Jews from the German occupiers in the autumn of 1943. The term 'August Uprising' refers to the revolt of parts of the Danish population against the occupying forces in August 1943.

20 EMU, Historie Untervisningsvejledning 2023, 3. Udgave, p. 23-24. https://emu.dk/sites/default/files/2023- 06/gsk_historie_vejledning_2023.pdf. Last access 18.09.2024. The original text of the canon point itself is reproduced in italics by the authors of this report.

21 Ministère de l'éducation (2015), 'Programmes d'enseignement du cycle des apprentissages fondamentaux (cycle 2), du cycle de consolidation (cycle 3), et du cycle des approfondissements (cycle 4)' : https://www.education.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/imported_files/documents/PDF_BO_MEN_44_26-11-2015_504730.pdf.

22 Ministère de l'éducation (2024), 'Enseignement moral et civique du cours préparatoire jusqu'à la classe terminale', https://www.education.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/ensel934_annexe_ok.pdf.

Table 2: Excerpts from cycle 3 of the history and geography curriculum in France

Curriculum Section	Text
Section 2: 'Foundational narratives, beliefs and citizenship in Mediterranean antiquity in the first millennium B.C.'	'… the birth of Jewish monotheism in a poly-theistic world' … 'When and in which contexts did Jewish monotheism emerge? Athens, Rome, Jerusalem …: the encounter with ancient civilizations introduces pupils to places, texts, histories, founders of a shared heritage' (Ministère de l'éducation 2015, 178)).
Annex about 'French literature.'	'… in connection with the history curriculum, Topic 2' … 'read an extract of Genesis in the Bible' (Ministère de l'éducation 2015, 124).
Section 3: 'The Roman empire in the ancient world.'	'How Christianity emerged from Judaism and developed in the Greek and Roman world.' (Ministère de l'éducation 2015, 178)).
Section 1: 'Europe, a major theatre of total wars (1914-1945)'; subsections 'The Second World War, a war of annihilation. France defeated and occupied. The Vichy regime, collaboration, resistance.'	'The genocides of Jews and Gypsies (sic) and the persecution of other minorities will be studied' (Ministère de l'éducation 2015, 317).

The curriculum for EMC for cycle 3 addresses antisemitism in a section entitled 'Sensitivity: oneself and others', and in the following subsection entitled 'Respect others and accept differences', where antisemitism is listed as a type of 'infringement of other persons'; the curriculum here defines learning goals generally as 'Respect of others in their difference: violation of other persons (racism, antisemitism, sexism, xenophobia, homophobia, harassment...)'.[23] A further section of the curriculum for EMC for cycle 3 deals with 'Judgement: thinking for oneself and with others', where the curriculum invites pupils to 'Nuance one's point of view by considering the points of view of others' in relation to prejudices (Ministère de l'éducation 2015, 169). The revised curriculum for EMC issued in 2024 addresses antisemitism in a section entitled 'Fraternity, equality, solidarity', designed to teach 'understanding the social project of the Republic' (Ministère de l'éducation 2024, 28). It

23 Ministère de l'éducation 2015, 167.

defines stereotypes including racism and antisemitism as forms of discrimination and stereotypes and stigmatization generally (Ministère de l'éducation 2024, 28), and goes on to advise learning about 'Disinformation, conspiracy theories' in relation to public opinion in the internet age and to opinion, belief and knowledge as outlined in the French law of 22 December 2018 regarding the fight against the manipulation of information (Ministère de l'éducation 2024, 38).

Current **German curricula** for the subject of history, in addition to detailed descriptions of the skills to be learned, usually only give the content of the lessons in keyword form. In the 2019 curriculum for the subject of history (secondary school) in Saxony, there are some relevant entries. For Grade 6, in the cross-sectional area of Meeting of Religions in the European Middle Ages with regard to 'the coexistence of cultures in southern Spain', it is suggested that 'the importance of Jewish, Christian and Islamic influences for European culture' should be addressed. 'Current topics with social and political relevance' should also be addressed. The curriculum does not name what these might be. The curriculum states that the values that should be conveyed here are 'tolerance and cultural exchange'. In general, the 'spread of Judaism, Christianity and Islam' should also be covered.[24] In Grade 7, as part of the overarching learning area German states and Europe in the nineteenth century, differentiated lessons – i.e. with interested or particularly talented students – the 'emancipation of the Jews' is also discussed.[25]

National Socialism and the Holocaust are covered in the Saxony history curriculum for secondary schools in two separate learning areas in Grade 8. Learning area 4, which covers 14 lessons, is dedicated to Rule and everyday life under National Socialism. The relevant teaching subjects in connection with the discrimination and persecution of Jews include the topics of Racial Antisemitism and Nuremberg Laws, but also – under the learning aspect of 'assessing the everyday life of children and young people in the Nazi state' – 'Jewish children, exclusion from school, wearing the yellow star'.[26] In learning area 5, Genocide and War crimes are covered in a further 10 lessons. In comparison to the relevant entries in the history curricula of other countries, the teaching objective of 'knowing the uniqueness of the Shoah/Holocaust' stands out. Against this background, the introduction to current forms of genocide and their (criminal) processing seems interesting. Under the heading War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity in the Second World War, the bombing of German cities by the Allies is also covered, for example:

24 Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus (ed.), Lehrplan Oberschule – Geschichte, 2019, p. 12.

25 Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus (ed.), Lehrplan Oberschule – Geschichte, 2019, p. 16.

26 Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus (ed.), Lehrplan Oberschule – Geschichte, 2019, p. 20.

Table 3: Saxony (Germany) history curriculum for secondary schools

Learning Area 5: Genocide and war crimes	10 Lessons
Knowing the uniqueness of the Shoah/ Holocaust • Process of exclusion, disenfranchisement and persecution of the Jews • Wannsee Conference 1942 • Mass shootings, extermination camps, death marches	Module 2, Human Rights and Crimes against Humanity (…) Nuremberg Laws 1935, Kristallnacht 09./10.11.1938, deportation, ghetto Theresienstadt Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek, Babi Yar
Knowledge of possibilities for legal investigation of war crimes and genocide • War crimes and crimes against humanity in the Second World War 1939-1945 • Nuremberg Trials • UN Criminal Tribunal for Crimes Against Peace and Human Rights in The Hague (…)	Module 2, Human Rights and Crimes against Humanity Commissar order, forced labour, murder of prisoners of war, bombing of cities UN Tribunal for the Genocide in Rwanda, Milosevic Trial (…)

Source: Saxony State Ministry of Education (ed.), Lehrplan Oberschule – Geschichte, 2019, p. 20

Israel and the Middle East conflict do not have a designated place in the Saxony history curriculum for secondary schools, but the case study, Historical roots of a current conflict, in Grade 9, gives schools and educational media publishers the opportunity to deal with the Middle East conflict in lessons and textbooks.[27] The Saxony curriculum for the subject of civics/legal education from 2019 does not contain any relevant entries; antisemitism does not appear here as a subject of political education.

Greek curricula are subject to the central governance of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. History is taught alongside Social and Political Education (Κοινωνική και Πολιτική Αγωγή). Both curricula focus on the Greek perspective. The Social and Political Education curriculum for primary level (years three to six), for example, contains only one partial reference to Jews or Judaism in a section devoted to 'Greece in the twentieth century', which requires pupils 'to know about the Greek martyred towns and villages, and about the causes and tragic consequences of the Holocaust'.[28] The history curriculum for the first three years of secondary education called the *gymnasium* (Γυμνάσιο) does not refer explicitly to the Holocaust or to the treatment of Jews, but to their context: 'The rise of totalitarian regimes – The dictatorship of I. Metaxas. The expansionist

27 Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus (ed.), Lehrplan Oberschule – Geschichte, 2019, p. 24.

28 https://edu.klimaka.gr/mathimata/dhmotikou/3125-programma-spoudwn-istorias-dhmotikou

ambitions of the fascist regimes of Italy and Germany'.[29] The following three years of secondary education, called the *lyceum*, require learners to learn about 'the major events of the Second World War up to the defeat of Germany '[30] and 'the practical consequences of racist and nationalist ideologies'[31] and 'define the terms genocide, persecution and ethnic cleansing, as well as the extreme nationalist policies of states towards people of other nations and religions'.[32] In a section devoted to the Holocaust, pupils are required to 'identify/point out the causes of antisemitism in German society and to explore the meaning of the term Holocaust. … To define the hostile attitude towards Jews, which took the form of (was reflected in) the National Socialist ideology of Nazi Germany, and to highlight the Final Solution to the Jewish Question (*Endlösung der Judenfrage*), which methodically planned the extermination of millions of Jews and other minorities of Europe in Nazi concentration camps'.[33] The same section characteristically refers only to 'camps to which Greek Jews were transferred'. Finally, around three pages are devoted to 'understanding the geopolitical term Middle East across time in relation to the political, economic, cultural and religious characteristics of the region, and to highlight the fragmentation of the Arab world'[34] – a section which addresses Zionism and historical details including 'antisemitism that dominated in Europe in the late nineteenth century', 'the First Zionist Congress (1897) in Basel under Theodor Herzl regarding the Jewish people's right to national revival in a country of their own' and 'the Israel-Palestine problem [which] demonstrates in the most vivid way the irrationality of nationalisms and impedes peaceful coexistence between peoples'.[35]

In **Hungary**, history is taught at primary level from Grade 5-8; during this time, pupils cover the entire history of mankind from antiquity to modern times. There are also several short curricula entry points about Jews, Judaism and antisemitism in ethics textbooks. Both the Hungarian National Core Curriculum (NCC) for history and the one for ethics, religion and morality (both from 2020) pay great attention to an area referred to as Judeo-Christian civilization or Judeo-Christian culture. Specifically, for example, the NCC for history states under Principles, Objectives: 'History is by its nature interpretative, with differing opinions on facts necessarily leading to debate. While learning history, these debates encourage the learner to reflect on human values and on concepts such as justice, loyalty, efficiency, empathy and responsibility, which represent fundamental dilemmas in life. The debates can serve the learning of history by making clear to the student the difference between historical fact and interpretation, and by reinforcing the core values of our society *and of our European, Judeo-Christian civilization*.' (NCC, 2020, 343, emphasis by the authors). Or in the case of ethics: 'The aim of the study of ethics is also to develop in the learner (...) a European civilizational identity based on the fundamental values of antiquity, *Judaeo-Christian culture* and the civil legal

29 ΥΠ.Ε.Π.Θ.-Π.Ι. (2003). Διαθεματικό Ενιαίο Πλαίσιο Προγραμμάτων Σπουδών (Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ.) και Α.Π.Σ. Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα Σπουδών. Αθήνα: ΥΠ.Ε.Π.Θ. - Π.Ι..

30 Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών για το Μάθημα της Ιστορίας Στις Α', Β' ΚΑΙ Γ' Τάξεις Λυκείου) (Athens: IEP, 2021), 44-45.

31 Idem., p. 80.

32 Idem., 85-86.

33 Idem., 86-87.

34 Idem., 88-92.

35 Ibid.

order (...)' (NCC, 2020, 360, emphasis by the authors). With regard to the special requirements for the teaching content of Grades 5-8, it continues: '(...)[students can] form an opinion about the moral values of religions based on Judaeo-Christian, Christian values, explore how these values are reflected in human behaviour in community norms' (NCC, 2020, 363). The NCC does not provide a definition of this Judeo-Christian civilization, but the 2020 Framework Curriculum, which specifies the most important subjects of the corresponding lessons, makes it clearer what the Jewish part of this common culture might be. The Detailed Requirements for Years 5 and 6 in history are:

Table 4: 2020 Framework Curriculum in Hungary

Topics	Subtopics	Concepts, data, lexical items	Developmental tasks
The people of the Old Testament	• The Old Testament/ Hebrew Bible: Abraham and Moses. • The founders of the independent Jewish state: the story of David and Solomon.	**Concepts:** monotheism, Bible, Old Testament/ Hebrew Bible, New Testament, Jewish religion, Christian religion, baptism and communion. **People:** Moses, David, Solomon, Jesus, Mary, Joseph, St Peter and St Paul. **Topography:** Jerusalem, Bethlehem.	• Most important events in the life of Jesus. • Interpretation of the moral teachings of Jesus. • Presentation of the main features and spread of Christianity. • The innovations of the Hebrew Bible that are still relevant today: monotheism, the Ten Commandments, weekly rest day
The life of Jesus, his teachings and Christianity	• Stories from the New Testament. • The main teachings of Christianity. • The spread of Christianity. • Scenes and rituals of Christian life. • The symbols of Christianity.		

Source: Framework Curriculum, History, 2020, 9-10

The common, Jewish-Christian foundations of European culture are seen through the prism of quasi-historical continuity of both religions, their founding figures and their moral and ethical norms.

The contradictions and contrasts between Judaism and Christianity, and the resulting hostility towards Jews on the part of the Christian church over the centuries, are not explored in the curriculum.

The second major relevant area in the Hungarian history curriculum concerns the genocide of the European Jews. The Second World War is dealt with in Year 7. In line with the Framework Curriculum, the following subtopics play an important role in the subject area Holocaust: Nazi concentration

and extermination camps; The Jewish laws in Europe and Hungary;[36] Attempted extermination of European and Hungarian Jews and Gypsies (sic);[37] Victims and perpetrators, responsibility and rescue: some prominent examples.

In **Lithuania** in 2022 new history education curricula for Grades 5-10 were approved by the Lithuanian Ministry of Education and Science.[38] Some aspects in these programmes are relevant for the representation of Jewish history, Judaism and Antisemitism. Already in the curriculum for the first year of history lessons, in Grade 5, there is a topic, The Second World War, in the stories of Lithuanian children which includes the history of the Holocaust in Lithuania and suggests the analysis of testimonies presented by children who survived in the ghettos of Vilnius and Kaunas. Accordingly, it is suggested to visit nearby Holocaust memory places. Another subject for Grade 5 deals with Lithuanian heroes of the first half of the twentieth century, and it includes Lithuanians, who rescued Jews during the years 1941-1944. However, Jews are not only mentioned as victims of persecution or objects of rescue from being murdered, they are also treated as historical subjects and bearers of a unique Jewish culture in Lithuania: In the topic Lithuania and Lithuanians in the world, there is a subtopic about the *Litvaks* (as the Lithuanian Jews called themselves), their cultural heritage and their contributions to science and culture up until the Holocaust.

The curriculum for Grade 6 includes a topic dedicated to the representation of different ethnic and confessional communities in Lithuanian history. It includes the history of Judaism in Lithuania and the cultural heritage of its Jews. Within this subtopic special attention is given to the person of the Vilna Gaon, Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon Zalman (1720–1797), who was a leading rabbinical authority of the eighteenth century. The programme for Grade 7 chronologically focuses on ancient history until the medieval period. It includes a separate topic Jews: the birth of monotheism and its significance to Europe.

There are no specific points in the Grade 8 and 9 curricula emphasizing the treatment of Jewish history and culture. The curriculum for Grade 10 includes the major topic World War II – A Trial of Humanity, in the context of which the Holocaust is discussed in detail. The content requirements in this context are: The Nazi occupation of Lithuania (1941–1944): (…) The Holocaust in Nazi-occupied Europe and Lithuania is being examined; the destruction of Roma and other ethnic, religious, or social groups. The daily routine of war is discussed: concentration and prisoner-of-war camps, (…) collaborating and resistance in Nazi-occupied countries, war refugees. [Keywords:] deportations, special group (*Einsatzgruppe*), ghetto, Holocaust, (…) righteous among the nations.

In the **Polish** history curriculum for primary schools (Grades 4 to 8), there are only a few specific entries on Jews and Judaism. These are also relatively brief. In the curriculum for Grade 5, in connection with Ancient Civilizations, it states that the student 'locates the civilization of the Ancient East (Mesopotamia, Egypt and Israel) in time and space' and 'characterizes the social

36 The somewhat misleading term 'Jewish laws' (*zsidótörvények*) actually refers to the anti-Jewish laws and regulations in Germany, Hungary and other European countries.

37 The term 'Attempted (extermination)' is interesting in that it can be interpreted in a relativizing way, but also opens the door to a view that places Jewish survival and the hope attached to it in the foreground.

38 https://emokykla.lt/bendrosios-programos/visos-bendrosios-programos/11

structure and the religion of (…) ancient Israel'.[39] The next relevant entry is in the curriculum for Grade 8, when it comes to the Second World War and its stages. Here the learning objective is for the student to characterize 'the politics of Germany in occupied Europe: [He/she] presents the extermination of Jews and Roma and the extermination of other nations [and] knows examples of the heroism of Poles who saved Jews from the Holocaust (…).' A third relevant entry in the history curriculum for primary schools can also be found in Grade 8, when the world after the Second World War is covered. Here, the student is asked to describe 'the course of the conflict in the Middle East' in light of the consequences of the Second World War.[40]

The Polish curriculum for the subject Knowledge about Society (Grade 8) appears to be one of the few social science curricula examined here that directly address the phenomenon of antisemitism in the present day. In paragraph VIII, National/ethnic communities and the homeland, it states that the student 'justifies that it is possible to reconcile different socio-cultural identities (regional, national/ethnic, state/civic, European); [he/she] recognises the manifestations of xenophobia, including racism, chauvinism and antisemitism, and justifies the need to oppose these phenomena.'[41]

The **Spanish** educational system, which is regulated by Organic Law 3/2020 or LOMLOE,[42] introduced a competency-based curriculum for the 2022-2023 academic year which grants autonomous communities autonomy over 50 per cent (for regions with co-official languages) or 40 per cent (for other regions) of the curriculum. Hence the government, in consultation with autonomous communities, publishes a core curriculum which defines minimum teaching requirements, while regions develop and complete them within their own curricula. The core compulsory secondary education (ESO) curriculum[43] focuses on two subjects. The first core curriculum for civic and ethical values allows for, but does not explicitly address, Jews and Judaism within a section called 'Society, Justice, and Democracy', where it covers 'Interculturalism. Social inclusion and respect for diversity and ethnocultural and gender identities. LGBTQ+ rights'[44] in relation to human rights, inequality, poverty, minorities, migration and the climate crisis. The second

39 Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej (ed.), [Curriculum for history teaching at primary schools (Grade 4-8)], 2017. In: Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, Poz. 356, p. 93.

40 Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej (ed.), [Curriculum for history teaching at primary schools (Grade 4-8)], 2017. In: Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, Poz. 356, p. 101. In the curriculum of the discipline History and the Present for secondary schools (Grades 9 and 10), the requirements for the student with regard to knowledge of the Middle East conflict are expanded when it states that the student 'explains the significance of the establishment of the State of Israel for the situation in the Middle East and for international politics' and 'knows the most important stages of the Middle East conflict'. Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej (ed.), [Curriculum for History and the Present at secondary schools (Grade 9 and 10)], 2024. In Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, Poz. 1019, p. 518-520.

41 Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej (ed.), [Curriculum for Knowledge about the Society at primary schools (Grade 8)], 2017. In Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, Poz. 356, p. 107.

42 Ley Orgánica 3/2020, de 29 de Diciembre, Por La Que Se Modifica La Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de Mayo, de Educación, 2020).

43 Outlined in Royal Decree 217/2022 (Real Decreto 217/2022, de 29 de Marzo, Por El Que Se Establece La Ordenación y Las Enseñanzas Mínimas de La Educación Secundaria Obligatoria, 2022).

44 'El interculturalismo. La inclusión social y el respeto por la diversidad y las identidades etnocultural y de género. Los derechos LGTBIQ+.' See *Real Decreto* 217/2022, p. 75.

core curriculum for geography and history further defines required 'basic knowledge' in the first and second years of ESO as follows:

Table 5: Secondary education core curriculum for geography and history in Spain (2022-2023)

Curriculum Section	Text
Years one and two of the section 'Societies and Territories'	The influence of Jewish and Islamic civilizations on European culture. (Real Decreto 217/2022, p. 104)
Years three and four of the section of 'Current World Challenges' In the section 'Societies and Territories'	Geopolitics and main present-day conflicts. Genocides and crimes against humanity. Wars, terrorism, and other forms of political violence. Alliances and international institutions, mediation, and peace missions. Humanitarian intervention and Universal Justice. (Real Decreto 217/2022, p. 108) International relations and critical and comparative study of conflicts and violence in the first half of the twentieth century. The Holocaust. (Real Decreto 217/2022, p. 108)

The textbooks analysed in this report are used in the Autonomous Community of Madrid and the Autonomous Community of Andalusia and define more detail about required learning relevant to Jews and Judaism:

Table 6: Curriculum of the Autonomous Community of Madrid in Spain[45]

Year one of ESO, in the section Prehistory and Antiquity In the section Societies and Territories	Judaism. Greece and Rome. From paganism to Christianity. (Decreto 65/2022, p. 525) The role of religion in social organization, the legitimization of power, and the formation of identities: polytheism, monotheism, and the emergence of major religions. (Decreto 65/2022, p. 527)

45 Decreto 65/2022, de 20 de Julio, Del Consejo de Gobierno, Por El Que Se Establecen Para La Comunidad de Madrid La Ordenación y El Currículo de La Educación Secundaria Obligatoria., 396 (2022). https://www.bocm.es/boletin/CM_Orden_BOCM/2022/07/26/BOCM-20220726-2.PDF.

Year two of ESO, in the section Societies and Territories	The Jewish people: origin and characteristics. The presence of Jews in the Iberian Peninsula, their religion, social importance, and legacy until the Catholic Monarchs. The expulsion of Jews and its consequences. The influence of Jewish civilization on European culture. The Jewish legacy in the Iberian Peninsula: its influence on literature, the economy, science, and various artistic manifestations. (Decreto 65/2022, p.530)
In the section Civic Engagement	Religious tolerance and intolerance in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Charitable institutions. Violence and persecution in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. (Decreto 65/2022, p. 531)
Year three of ESO	[No entry on Judaism]
Year four of ESO, in the section History of the Contemporary World: From the First World War to the Collapse of the USSR	The crisis of democracies and the rise of totalitarianisms. Italian fascism. Nazi Germany. Communist regimes. Characteristics of fascist ideologies and regimes. Causes and consequences of the expansion of totalitarian ideologies. (Decreto 65/2022, p. 536) The Second World War (1939–1945). Causes and stages. Main scenarios and evolution of the conflict. Crimes against Humanity. Consequences of the war. The creation of the UN. (Decreto 65/2022, p. 536)
In the section Societies and Territories	International relations and critical and comparative study of conflicts and violence in the first half of the twentieth century. Genocides and crimes against humanity in the twentieth century. The Holocaust. The situation and evolution of the Jewish people after the Holocaust. (Decreto 65/2022, p. 538)

Table 7: The curriculum of the Autonomous Community of Andalusia.[46]

Year one of ESO, in the section Societies and Territories	GEH.1.B.11. The role of religion in social organization, the legitimization of power, and the formation of identities: polytheism, monotheism, and the emergence of major religions. The polytheism of Mesopotamia and Egypt and its relationship with the emergence of the state. Greek mythology and Roman religion. Christianity. (Orden de 30 de Mayo de 2023, p. 161)

46 Orden de 30 de Mayo de 2023, Por La Que Se Desarrolla El Currículo Correspondiente a La Etapa de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria En La Comunidad Autónoma de Andalucía, Se Regulan Determinados Aspectos de La Atención a La Diversidad y a Las Diferencias Individuales, Se Establece La Ordenación de La Evaluación Del Proceso de Aprendizaje Del Alumnado y Se Determina El Proceso de Tránsito Entre Las Diferentes Etapas Educativas., 9727/1 (2023). https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/boja/2023/104/36.

Year two of ESO, in the section Societies and Territories	GEH.2. B.8. The role of religion in social organization, the legitimization of power, and the formation of identities: Origin and expansion of Islam. Islam in the peninsula. The power of the Church in feudal Europe. The Crusades. Heresies, persecutions, and religious wars. Judaism, presence in the peninsula, and expulsion. Converts and Moors Reformation and Counter-Reformation.] (Orden de 30 de Mayo de 2023, p.161) GEH.2. B.16. The roots of Western culture. The construction of cultural identities, the idea of Europe, and Eurocentrism through thought and art. The influence of Jewish and Islamic civilizations on European culture. Islamic presence in Andalusia. (Orden de 30 de Mayo de 2023, p.162)
Year three of ESO	No entry on Judaism.
Year four of ESO, in the section Societies and Territories	GEH.4. B.9. From the Old Regime to the First World War. From the First World War to the collapse of the USSR and the History of Spain: from the reign of Alfonso XIII to the present day. International relations and critical and comparative study of conflicts and violence in the first half of the twentieth century. The Jewish Holocaust. (Orden de 30 de Mayo de 2023, p. 175)

2.2 Major textbook topics concerning Jews, Judaism and antisemitism

In most of the eight countries examined here, the textbook content relating to the topics of Jews, Judaism, antisemitism and Israel or the Middle East conflict is based on the respective curricula. It is therefore not surprising that Jewish history in certain eras, or other content relating to the above topics, does not appear at all in some textbooks. On the other hand, topics that are not part of the curriculum can also be covered at least briefly in some textbooks.

One subject that plays a major role in the respective curricula is the Holocaust. The relevant history textbooks in all the countries covered here devote their own subchapters to the persecution and murder of European Jews in overarching chapters on the history of the Second World War or the emergence of fascism and National Socialism. In Polish history textbooks with chapters on the Second World War, several subchapters of one to two pages each are usually devoted to different aspects of the Holocaust. In *Poland T9* for Grade 8, there are four sections: Shoah, Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Poles Facing the Extermination of Jews; the latter, in line with the curriculum, is mainly devoted to the 'heroism of Poles' who hid Jews or helped them in other ways and thus saved them from being murdered. The discrimination and persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany before 1939 is already covered in a separate subchapter Antisemitism in the Third Reich in *Poland T8* for Grade 7. In the two books examined for Grade 10 in Lithuania (*Lithuania T4* and *T6*), the Holocaust is dealt with on 6 and 7 pages respectively. The two Hungarian history textbooks examined, which deal with the Second World War, devote eight (*Hungary T3*) and seven (*Hungary T7*) pages to the history of the Holocaust. In *Hungary T3*, half a page is also devoted to antisemitism

in Nazi Germany after 1933 and another half page to the antisemitic aspects of Hungarian politics during the military dictatorship of Miklos Horthy (1920-1944); *Hungary T7* deals with these events on one and a half pages and one page respectively. The chapters on the Holocaust in the textbooks of the German federal states also cover an average of 6 to 8 pages; they are also usually embedded in larger chapters on the Second World War. Antisemitism as a central component of Nazi ideology, and the measures of discrimination and persecution that the National Socialists took against Jews in Germany after 1933, are usually dealt with separately in overarching chapters on society under National Socialist rule, usually in separate subchapters or longer paragraphs.

The Holocaust is also covered in Spanish history textbooks although to a lesser extent than in Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian or German textbooks. *Spain T5*, for example devotes several paragraphs scattered throughout a subchapter, amounting to about one page, to antisemitism as a key aspect of Nazi ideology and to antisemitic policies during the Third Reich. The Holocaust is explored in a two-page section, detailing: What Was the Holocaust?, Ghettoization and Forced Labour, The 'Final Solution', and Life in the Warsaw Ghetto. Testimonies from survivors are discussed. There is also a reflection page on the Holocaust. In *Spain T2* a two-page report covers antisemitism, early anti-Jewish measures, the 'Final Solution', and Holocaust remembrance. Interestingly, *Spain T6* deals with Nazi antisemitism and the discrimination and persecution of Jews in Germany 1933-1939 in detail over two pages, but devotes only a few lines to the genocide of the Jews in the section on the consequences of the war, accompanied by a photograph of the Paris Holocaust Memorial and the testimony of a survivor. In the relevant French history textbooks, chapters of approximately thirty pages cover the period of the Second World War, in which on four pages (*France T2*) and six pages (*France T8*) exclusion, violence and genocide against Jews is represented. In Denmark, in addition to the corresponding multi-page chapters in textbooks, there are official learning materials and teaching sequences in digital form that are exclusively devoted to the Holocaust (*Denmark T12, T19, T21*). The Greek textbooks examined for Grades 4 to 9 give the least space to the persecution and murder of European Jews. In the textbook for Grade 6 of primary school (*Greece T3*), the Holocaust is dealt with on half a page, and the same is true for the textbook for Grade 3 of high school (*Greece T6*). Only the textbook for Grade 3 of *lyceum* (*Greece T7*), i.e. for Grade 12, devotes a detailed chapter of five pages to the Holocaust.

Another topic that takes up a considerable amount of space in the history textbooks of several countries examined here is the history of the Jews in ancient times. Monotheism and the Ten Commandments are addressed as cultural achievements of humanity in the schoolbooks of France (ten and more pages), Greece (up to two pages), Poland (four pages) and Hungary (four pages). This usually includes or is followed by a discussion of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity and the history of the latter. The history textbooks of France, Greece and Poland embed the period of the first Israelite kingdoms, through the Babylonian exile, to the destruction of the Second Temple in the discussion of ancient advanced civilizations, the emergence of major religions or in the presentation of the cultures of the Mediterranean region and, in doing so, pursue a more or less historical-critical approach that is based on the historical parts of the Pentateuch, but also on other written sources and archaeological evidence. Hungarian textbooks take a different approach and treat ancient Israel and Judaism as 'People of the Old Testament' (*Hungary T1, T5*) in a subchapter within an overarching chapter on the origins of Christianity, referring mainly to the Pentateuch.

Biblical figures such as Abraham, Moses, David and Solomon appear here as quasi-historical personalities, and the chapters are illustrated with images of paintings and sculptures depicting biblical scenes.

A third, relevant topic that appears in history textbooks in many countries is the Middle East conflict, in the context of which the creation of the State of Israel and its role in the conflict are discussed. *Germany T4* devotes twelve pages to the Middle East conflict in a chapter entitled Case Study: Historical Roots of a Current Conflict, which also covers the wars in Afghanistan, Syria, and Ukraine. *Germany T9* devotes eight pages; no other conflicts or wars are covered here apart from the Middle East conflict. All three Polish history textbooks for Grade 8 examined for this report cover the Middle East conflict to varying degrees, from three pages (*Poland T3*) to ten pages (*Poland T9*). The two textbooks for the mixed subject History and the Present (*Poland T10, T13*) also devote up to eight pages to the Middle East wars from 1948 to 1973 and do so in the context of the treatment of the Cold War. Hungarian history textbooks for Grade 7 (*Hungary T3, T7*) devote one or two pages to the creation of the State of Israel and the First Middle East War in the context of the world-historical events of the immediate post-war period. The two textbooks for Grade 8 (*Hungary T4, T8*) then explore the history of the Middle East conflict in more detail, with three or four pages. Concerning Spanish textbooks for geography and history, *Spain T6* for year 10 devotes half a page to Israel's origins, featuring the Balfour Declaration and Ben-Gurion's Proclamation. The conflict's progression is given a full page, detailing various wars and peace agreements. *Spain T5* devotes one page to Israel and the Middle East conflict under the section A Conflictive Process, part of the decolonization section. Similarly, *Spain T2* briefly touches on the Arab-Israeli wars in the decolonization section, but further explores the conflict in The Recent World: Relations and Conflicts in a two-page section on Israel's creation, the wars, and peace efforts. One of Denmark's digital platforms for educational media offers a separate teaching material on the conflict (*Denmark T8*) alongside short sections in the regular history textbooks. Only two textbooks in the whole sample deal with Israel outside of the conflict context, namely *Germany T9* with a double page about the relations between the State of Israel and Germany and another two pages with 'Different images of Israel' (dealing with culture, science and economy of Israel), and *Spain T2*, which dedicates half a page to Israel's society and economy in contemporary geopolitical contexts within the unit The New World Order. French and Greek school textbooks only cover the Middle East conflict at the lyceum level. While older Lithuanian history textbooks still devoted some attention to the Middle East conflict, the newer textbooks examined here no longer contain any sections on the Middle East conflict following a curriculum change in 2022.

In addition to these three topics – the Holocaust, ancient Israel, and the Middle East conflict – which can be found in the history textbooks of all or many of the countries covered here, the textbooks of some countries also place special emphasis on topics related to their own local or national history of the Jews. Spanish textbooks place particular emphasis on the Jewish experience during key historical epochs. Medieval coexistence between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Al-Andalus is frequently highlighted, with attention to Jewish intellectual contributions, particularly in the fields of science, medicine, and philosophy. In particular, textbooks from the autonomous region of Andalusia include thematic chapters or sections that highlight coexistence between Christians, Muslims and Jews. For instance, *Spain T3* includes a thematic unit titled Al-Andalus and the Christian

Hispanic Kingdoms: The Challenge of Coexistence, interspersed with paragraphs on the role of the Jews in this *convivencia*. *Spain T9*, on the other hand, features a section called The Three Cultures, which includes an external quote of two paragraphs regarding the coexistence among the three cultures. Jewish history at the beginning of the early modern period is predominantly focused on the 1492 expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula and the ongoing persecution of *conversos* by the Inquisition which receive increased attention in *Spain T1, T3, T4* and *T9*.

The special history and culture of the Jews in the Kingdom of Poland-Lithuania in the early modern period is covered in one of the Polish and one of the Lithuanian history textbooks examined. *Lithuania T1* for Grade 6 is devoted to this topic in a 10-page chapter entitled 'How Jewish community life was different from other local communities?' Here the concept of the *Litvaks* is introduced as an intellectually and culturally prominent variant of Orthodox Judaism around the Gaon of Vilna. Among the Polish textbooks, it is *Poland T7* for Year 6, which devotes a double page to the social and economic structure, culture and language of Jews in early modern Poland, including their forms of autonomous self-organization, as in the Council of Four Lands. In both German history textbooks for Grade 7, *Germany T2 and T7*, that were examined for this report, there is a double page about the legal emancipation of the German Jews, their rise to the middle class and their contribution to the culture and economy of the country. In Polish and Hungarian textbooks there are some paragraphs about the role of Jews in the struggling of the respective nation towards independence.

However, it is also interesting to see which topics are, contrary to expectations, completely or almost completely absent in the textbooks of individual countries. For example, the French textbooks examined lack passages on the considerable history of Jews in France in the Middle Ages or on the granting of civil rights by the National Assembly in 1791. Danish teaching materials do not address the impressive history of Jewish communities in Denmark in the late 18th and 19th centuries, and Greek textbooks do not mention the Sephardic community in Thessaloniki or the Romaniote and Sephardic Jews of Crete with their specific culture. In fairness, it must be mentioned here that textbooks and other materials for types of higher secondary education were only included in the analysis in exceptional cases. It is quite possible that textbooks for the *lyceum* in France or Greece or learning materials for the *gymnasium* in Denmark contain some material on these topics. Another point of criticism that should be noted is that transnational or transcultural history of the Jews that goes beyond national borders, such as the approach of an integrated European history of the Jews as called for already by Dan Diner in 2002,[47] cannot be found in any of the textbooks or teaching materials examined here.

47 Dan Diner, Geschichte der Juden – Paradigma einer europäischen Historie, in: Stourzh, Gerald (ed.): Annäherungen an eine europäische Geschichtsschreibung. Wien 2002, pp. 85-104.

Section 3

Curricula entry points and textbook content

3. Thematic analysis

3.1 Narrative and perspectivity in textbook representations of Jews, Judaism and antisemitism

Historical agency, perspectives and diversity

An examination of textbooks approved in **North Rhine-Westphalia** for the subjects of social studies and history revealed that most of the textbooks that were published in the 2010s told Jewish history primarily as a story of suffering and victimisation.[48] This was accompanied by a narrow view of the potential for action, the historical *agency* of Jews, which was determined by external and internal factors in every epoch. In sections on Jewish history in the Middle Ages, the focus was often on the practices of discrimination and persecution against Jews, such as the crusades and plague pogroms, but also the expulsions from cities and territories. In contrast, periods of peaceful coexistence of Jews and Christians in the early and high Middle Ages receded into the background. There was also a noticeable generalization and ahistorical classification of discriminatory practices, such as the wearing of special clothing or markings imposed on the Jews by the church and territorial authorities, or the undifferentiated depiction of Jewish residential districts in the medieval city as a quasi-hermetically sealed ghetto.[49] In these contexts, Jews almost always appeared as nameless collective objects at the mercy of medieval rulers or the Christian population, passively resigning themselves to their fate. Jewish personalities were not named in the context of the depiction of high and late medieval Europe. It is only in the history textbooks published since the late 2010s and early 2020s that a clearer shift away from these narratives towards a portrayal of Jews as active shapers of their history is observed.[50]

For the period of the German Empire and the Weimar Republic, the presentation in the history and social studies textbooks analysed at the time was almost exclusively connected with antisemitic riots and patterns of social exclusion towards Jewish citizens. The focus on antisemitism and exclusion not only resulted in the thematic reduction of Jewish history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but could also give the impression that Jewish life outside of a context characterized by antisemitism had not taken place in this era. Only more recent textbooks,

48 Dirk Sadowski, Zusammenfassung (Summary), in: Leibniz Institute for Educational Media – Georg-Eckert-Institute (eds.) (2023). Darstellungen der jüdischen Geschichte, Kultur und Religion in Schulbüchern des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Braunschweig 2023 (in the following: Report on North-Rhine Westfalian textbooks), pp. 434-435. (https://www.schulministerium.nrw/system/files/media/document/file/darstellung_juedische_geschichte_kultur_religion_ schulbuecher_nrw_abschlussbericht_gei_januar_2023.pdf, last access 4 February 2025).

49 Wolfgang Geiger, Jüdische Geschichte im Mittelalter (Jewish history in the Middle Ages), Report on North-Rhine Westfalian textbooks, pp. 37-39: 'Emphasising the aspect of persecution, even excessively, is not a recipe against antisemitism, but rather turns into the opposite when the Jews are portrayed as 'stranger' than they were, thus also being marginalised in retrospect because they appear marginal, and comprehensible, seemingly real reasons are provided for their rejection.' (ibid., p. 39). (ibid., p. 39).

50 Dirk Sadowski, Zusammenfassung (Summary), Report on North-Rhine Westfalian textbooks, p. 437-438.

published since 2019, primarily intended for grammar schools, began to present a picture of German Jews as (co-)shapers of a modern industrial society and thematized their great desire for education as a prerequisite for their social and economic advancement into the bourgeoisie.[51]

Even the very comprehensive portrayal of the Jews during the National Socialist era and their murder in the Holocaust in textbooks from North Rhine-Westphalia still suffered in many cases from a narrow presentation of history that focused on acts of discrimination and persecution, without considering the potential for action on the part of Jews – albeit very limited by the regime. The Jewish victims appeared predominantly de-personalized as an anonymous, homogenous collective subject. This was often accompanied by a narrowing of perspective on the perpetrators and their view of the events, as was particularly evident in the use of sources (mostly statements by Nazi grandees, but also by the 'ordinary' perpetrators). Jewish perspectives were also given space, albeit to a lesser extent. This applies both to the text sources and to the visual material used. Too few sources and images showed Jewish women as actors in Jewish self-organization and resistance, and there was a lack of corresponding Jewish internal perspectives on these aspects of the actively expressed will of Jews to survive during the National Socialist era and during the Holocaust.[52]

For textbooks that have been published since around 2020, some changes are already recognizable in this respect. This applies both to more recent textbooks authorized in North Rhine-Westphalia and to the **Saxony textbooks** examined here. For example, the depiction of medieval Jewish history in *Germany T6*, p. 88, already partially breaks away from the one-sided perspective on discrimination and persecution when, under the heading Protected and Respected, a section deals with the mostly prosperous coexistence of Christians and Jews in the medieval city until the crusade pogroms. Under the heading Jewish Quarters and Jewish Ghettos, an attempt is made to explain the difference between the spatial order of medieval Jewish life on the one hand and the early modern ghetto on the other hand and thus also to counteract the tendency towards one-sided generalizations with regard to corresponding discrimination practices. However, *Germany T1*, p. 188 still makes this mistake when it says in the glossary on the term 'ghetto': 'In the Middle Ages, Jews in the cities of Central Europe often had to live in a segregated neighbourhood. They were not allowed to practise any trades. They had to wear a yellow patch to identify themselves.'

Both *Germany T2* and *Germany T7* each contain a double-page chapter on the emancipation of Jews in Germany in the nineteenth century, thus breaking with the previously observable narrow focus on antisemitism. A few lines and sections are still devoted to this, and it is emphasized that despite the lengthy, arduous process of legal equality for Jews in Germany, they remained 'second-class citizens' (*Germany T7*, p. 122) and 'still marginalised' (*Germany T2*, p. 138). However, the narrative of legal, social and cultural progress in the lives of Jews in Germany prevails. The process of bourgeoisification of the Jews in the nineteenth century is addressed and reference is made to the 'growing self-confidence of the Jewish middle class', which was expressed, among other things, in the construction of magnificent synagogues (*Germany T7*, p. 122). *Germany T2*, p 139, devotes a separate section to the development of the Jewish community in Leipzig with the large community

51 Ibid, p. 440.

52 Ibid., p. 442.

synagogue built in 1854. It is noted that the city's university opened its doors to Jewish students after the emancipation of the Saxony Jews in 1837. At the same time, it is noted that there were still restrictions in academic life, as Jews were not allowed to become full professors. In *Germany T7*, p. 123, personalities of Jewish origin are honoured, such as Heinrich Heine (with the assignment to research his background) and the member of the first German parliament in 1848/49 Gabriel Riesser. *Germany T2*, p. 138, shows a picture of Heine as well as portraits of the writer Ludwig Börne, the intellectual Rahel Varnhagen and the writer Fanny Lewald.

However, the text also emphasizes that the works of Jewish writers and composers, which are highly valued today, were rarely accepted by a wide audience in the nineteenth century and were hardly read or heard by the middle classes, even though they enriched German culture enormously.

The chapters on the disenfranchisement of Jews in Germany and the Holocaust in *Germany T2* are still very much determined by the focus on the processes of persecution and extermination and on the statements of the perpetrators; for example, an excerpt from Heinrich Himmler's infamous Posen speeches and a statement by Auschwitz commander Rudolf Höss are reproduced, but a member of a police battalion involved in mass shootings also bears witness to his crimes. Jewish voices are occasionally given space, for example on p. 154 when a survivor of the Theresienstadt ghetto reports on the suffering of the Jewish children there. A reference to the target audience is established in an exemplary way when a double-page (pp. 128-129) deals with the 'Everyday life of Jewish children and young people in the Nazi state'. Here, too, the focus is on the practices of exclusion, such as the expulsion of Jewish children from school in 1938, and it is pointed out that Jewish young people no longer had any prospects for the future as a result of the antisemitic measures. At the same time, however, the remaining potential for action of Jews under Nazi rule is acknowledged by referring, among other things, to training programmes created by Jewish organizations: 'Jewish businesses still offered a small number of young people the chance to learn a trade without leaving school.' (p. 128) An excerpt from the graphic novel 'The Search', published by the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, tells of the experiences of the Jewish girl Esther in a way that is appropriate for the target group (pp. 129 and 177). *Germany T8* largely dispenses with sources with original statements by the main perpetrators of the Holocaust and instead cites testimonies of the crimes committed by 'ordinary men', such as statements by a Wehrmacht interpreter and a member of a police battalion involved in shootings (p. 133). Jewish witnesses of marginalization, persecution and extermination also have their say indirectly or directly. On p. 121, for example, reference is made to the Jewish entrepreneur Karl Amson Joel, who had to flee Germany in 1938 and whose company was taken over by the later mail order king Josef Neckermann in the course of 'Aryanisation'. An excerpt from the later testimony of Dina Proničeva, a survivor of the Babi Yar massacre, is printed on p. 135, and a report by Josef Sackar, a member of the Sonderkommando in Auschwitz-Birkenau, on p. 137. Finally, an entire double-page spread is devoted to the fate of a Jewish girl in occupied Poland, Fela Kokotek, who was hidden by a Polish widow and was the only one of her family to survive the Holocaust (*Germany T8*, pp. 138-139).

Saxony textbooks devote some space to Jewish resistance between 1933 and 1945. In the chapter on resistance during National Socialism, *Germany T3*, p. 163, Janusz Korczak and the orphans in his care are presented as an example of Jewish steadfastness in the face of the Holocaust. The report by

the Jewish composer and pianist Władysław Szpilman is cited as a source for this. *Germany T8* prints an excerpt from the 'Manifesto of the Jewish Resistance in Vilnius' from 1 January 1942 on p. 135, which implores the remaining Jews of Vilnius not to be led 'like sheep to the slaughter' and calls for resistance 'to the last breath' against the German occupiers. On p. 150, under the forms of resistance against National Socialism, a section is entitled 'Jewish Resistance', which refers to the participation of Jews in politically motivated resistance groups and in the partisan struggle as well as to the uprisings in the Warsaw ghetto and in the Treblinka, Sobibor and Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camps.

Descriptions of Jewish community life, including intra-Jewish debates (for example, references to the Jewish reform movement and its opponents in the nineteenth century) or, in general, the depiction of a diverse expression of Judaism in the past and present, are still rarely found in German history or social studies textbooks. The Saxony textbooks analysed contain no references on this topic.

In the **Danish teaching materials** analysed, Jews are primarily described as passive objects of history and as victims of discrimination and persecution. This tendency can be seen both in the depiction of the Holocaust and in the relevant medieval depictions. Jews are persecuted and murdered, or they are saved from the German occupiers by courageous Danes. The subjects of the action are therefore the perpetrators or the saviours, while Jewish people are objects of the action. At best, Jews' reaction to discrimination and persecution is described as flight from persecution. There are no indications of other patterns of action, e.g. armed resistance as in the Warsaw ghetto, in the sample analysed, so that the impression of a passive collective almost defenceless and at the mercy of persecution is reinforced. A shift in emphasis towards active behaviour can only be observed when it comes to the creation of the State of Israel and the Middle East conflict. Here, Jews are ascribed a thoroughly active role.

In addition, the review of Danish teaching materials reveals limited acknowledgment of Jewish contributions to modern culture, the economy, and science. Similarly, the process of Jewish emancipation and the subsequent identification of Jews with the Danish nation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are not addressed in the material under analysis.

The emancipation legislation in other European countries is also only succinctly explored. *Denmark T12* (subchapter *Jøder – en særlig race?* > *Nation og racelære* [Jews – a special race? > Nation and racial doctrine]) briefly refers to the granting of civil rights to Jews by the French National Assembly in 1791, noting in the same context that antisemitism had nevertheless not disappeared, neither in France nor in other European countries. In *Denmark T19* (subchapter *Antisemitisme*), it is also pointed out in general terms 'that European Jews were, however, given more rights and opportunities in the course of the 19th century'. The text does not explain which rights and opportunities are involved here (and where or by whom they were introduced).

In most cases, Jews appear in Danish teaching materials as a collective of nameless people, for example in pictorial sources in which most are depicted as groups – usually as victims of persecution. Only in the context of the emergence of the State of Israel and the Middle East conflict do some Jewish personalities appear, such as Theodor Herzl, David Ben Gurion or Yitzhak Rabin.

Except for a single mention of Golda Meir, Jewish women do not appear in the material analysed from Denmark.

In the chapters on the Holocaust, pupils are often confronted with perpetrator perspectives, particularly in sources, e.g. perpetrator statements in the context of war crimes trials. Examples include excerpts from the statements of Rudolf Höss (*Denmark T6*, p. 166), statements by Kurt Werner on the massacre in Babi Jar and Franz Stangl, commander of Sobibór and Treblinka (Denmark T12, subchapter *Einzatsgrupperne* [sic!] [The task forces]).

Jewish perspectives on the Holocaust are conveyed in the analysed material mostly in the context of the rescue of Danish Jews. Here, the online teaching materials *Denmark T16*, *Denmark T21* and *Denmark T11* use video excerpts from the documentary *Flugten til Sverige – beretninger fra oktober 1943* (Escape to Sweden – Tales from October 1943), a film project from 2013 in which eyewitness accounts from Danish Jews about their escape to Sweden and their stay in the Theresienstadt concentration camp were collected. Much rarer are testimonies of Jewish survivors not connected to the rescue of Danish Jews, e.g. in *Denmark T10* (subchapter *Dødens fabrikker* (The Factories of Death), a direct quote from Eliezer Eisenschmidt, a member of the Sonderkommando (special commando) in Auschwitz-Birkenau, who reports on his horrific experiences.

In Danish teaching materials, the diversity of historical or contemporary Judaism (secular, religious with different currents) is not addressed.

In the **Hungarian history textbooks** examined, the sequence of measures of discrimination, persecution and murder of European Jews is described in the authored text from an objective observer's perspective. The sources provide information about the administrative acts of persecution or contain statements from perpetrators. But testimonies from Jewish survivors are also highlighted. In *Hungary T3*, p. 147, there is the touching memory of a surviving eyewitness, Eliezer Melamed, who describes the brutal separation of a mother from her children during a deportation operation. On p. 150 there is the report of an anonymous survivor who reports on the selection of Hungarian Jews on the 'ramp' of Auschwitz. A short section is devoted to the fate of Anne Frank. Except for her, there are no Jewish female perspectives included in the textbooks examined. In the chapter on the Holocaust in *Hungary T7*, there are hardly any text sources, neither from the perpetrators nor from the survivors.

Jewish resistance is acknowledged in the chapters on the Holocaust in the form of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943. While *Hungary T7* devotes only a few lines to the uprising, in *Hungary T3*, p. 148, the founding of the Jewish Combat Organization and its actions against the German occupiers are described, as is the destruction of the ghetto by German SS troops and the deportation and murder of the surviving Jews. An assignment asks the students to think about why many Warsaw Jews may have joined the hopeless fight against the Nazis.

In the relevant sections on the discrimination, persecution and murder of the Jews, photographs appear in *Hungary T3* and *Hungary T7* which in most cases were taken by the perpetrators and thus reflect their perspective on their victims. The implications of this perspectivity are hardly discussed further. Only in a few cases are the photographs linked to work assignments that go into more detail about the situation depicted and ask about the effect of certain discriminatory practices, as

in *Hungary T3*, p. 146, under a picture showing 'Shaming of Jewish students in a German school in 1935'. The following is written on the blackboard in the classroom: 'The Jew is our greatest enemy. Beware of the Jew!', which is translated into Hungarian in the caption. The assignment is: 'What impact could events of this kind have had?'

Where the role of Jews in the Hungarian economy and their contributions to the country's culture and science are concerned, they are accorded a more active role. An entire section in *Hungary T7*, pp. 41- 42, (likewise *Hungary T3*, pp. 43-44) is devoted to 'Jewish emancipation, the role of Hungarian Jewry in the modernization of Hungary'. The textbook summarizes the situation of Jews in Hungary in the nineteenth century and their contribution to Hungarian economic development as follows: 'The majority of the Jewish population sought assimilation, adopted the Hungarian language, and not only identified with Hungarian national consciousness and culture, but also played a significant role in the economic and cultural life of the period and in the civilization of the country. The masses of Jews lived mainly from retail trade and small industry. Many of them went to university and chose intellectual careers in the hope of advancement. They were the majority of the great Hungarian citizens and capitalists, owners of banks and factories, who played a decisive role in the development of the Hungarian credit system, trade and industry during the dualist era and in the economic modernization of the country.' (*Hungary T7*, pp. 41-42). *Hungary T2*, p. 164 shows a photo of the Great Synagogue in Dohány Street in Budapest and connects the flourishing of the Jewish community with the patriotism of Hungarian Jews in the wake of the revolution of 1848. The caption reads: 'The largest Jewish synagogue in the capital was completed in 1859. Around 4-5000 Jewish soldiers took part in the 1848 Hungarian War of Independence, and the Jewish community supported the fight financially. That is why [the Austrian General Julius from] Haynau imposed severe indemnity on the Jews of Hungary after the surrender at Világos.' *Hungary T8* also emphasizes the social, religious and cultural role that Jews played in Hungarian history. The textbook also refers to the assimilation and emancipation of the Jews (in 1867), and their improving legal and economic situation, which resulted in a high proportion of Jews in Hungary compared to the rest of the region. The textbooks point to the fact that they also played a role in the 1848 Revolution and the Hungarian War of Independence and contributed significantly to the Industrial Revolution in Hungary.

A representation of diversity within a religious or ethnic group counteracts prejudice. A reference to Jewish religious diversity in the context of religious reform in the nineteenth century can be found in *Hungary T3*, p. 43, under a contemporary painting showing Jews praying in a synagogue. It reads: 'Praying traditional Jews. There were several trends in Hungarian Jewry. While the strongly traditional (Orthodox) communities were mainly concentrated in rural settlements, the so-called neologue movement, which adapted their religious customs to the everyday way of modern life, was centred in Budapest.'

For the interwar period and the Horthy era, *Hungary T7*, p. 135, mentions several Hungarian scientists of Jewish origin who achieved breakthroughs in physics, biology and medicine with their achievements, such as Albert Szent-Györgyi who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1937 for his research in Hungary, during which he discovered vitamin C. Other scientists mentioned are Dénes Mihály and Péter Goldmark (invention of the television), Tódor Kármán (supersonic flight) and

rocket technology, György Hevesy (isotopes), Jenő Wigner, Leó Szilárd and Edward Teller nuclear research), Dénes Gábor (inventor of the hologram), and János Neumann (creator of the theory of modern computing). The textbook notes that most of these scientists (whose belonging to the national community is foregrounded by the wording 'most of *our* scientists', emphasis of the author) achieved their success abroad due to the growing antisemitism in Hungary.

Spanish textbooks give special emphasis to the medieval coexistence of Jews, Christians and Muslims in Al-Andalus, while drawing attention to Jewish intellectual contributions to the fields of science, medicine and philosophy (*Spain T1*, p. 138; *Spain T3*, p. 123; *Spain T4*, p. 114). Textbooks also emphasize the Jewish presence in Al-Andalus, though with varying detail. *Spain T1* dedicates two pages to the relationship between Madrid and Islam with three paragraphs about Jews under Muslim and Christian rule (*Spain T1*, p. 91). *Spain T3* includes three paragraphs about Judaism, and features a photograph of the Córdoba synagogue and a brief description of the Jewish community in Andalusian society (*Spain T3*, p.106). It also mentions briefly Muslim and Jewish thinkers (p. 107). *Spain T9* includes a short paragraph about Jewish integration in Al-Andalus and another about Jewish scholars' achievements, which are illustrated with an image of Maimonides (*Spain T9*, p. 112). *Spain T1* also notes that 'The relations between Muslims, Christians, and Jews have gone down in history as a model of tolerance and respect for differences' (p. 90).

In Christian regions of the Iberian Peninsula, coexistence among different cultures emphasizes Jews' contributions to trade, medicine, finance and intellectual life, particularly in institutions like the School of Translators in Toledo (*Spain T1*, p. 136; *Spain T4*, p. 93; *Spain T3*, p. 119; *Spain T9*, p. 125). This school symbolizes collaboration among Jews, Muslims and Christians. However, only *Spain T1* and *Spain T4* mention that Jewish scholars actively contributed significantly to preserving classical knowledge and fostering multicultural exchange. Toledo is frequently referred to as the 'city of three cultures' (*Spain T1*, p. 136; *Spain T4*, p. 93; *Spain T3*, p. 96), with *Spain T4* mentioning other centres like Tarazona, León, and Ripoll.

The textbooks also underscore the intellectual and cultural flourishing of Jewish communities during the Caliphate of Al-Andalus, which *Spain T9* describes as the 'Golden Age of Hispanic Judaism' (*Spain T9*, p. 112). Textbooks from Andalusia note contributions by renowned Jewish scholars like Maimonides, one of the most influential figures in both Jewish and Islamic intellectual tradition (*Spain T3*, p. 107). *Spain T9* also recognizes Hasdai ibn Shaprut, a physician who served as a minister in the court of Abd al-Rahman III, Solomon ibn Gabirol, a celebrated poet and philosopher, and Jonah Ibn Janah, who helped to establish Hebrew philology. *Spain T9* further highlights the contributions of exceptional Jewish women, such as Bonanada, the midwife of the royal family of Aragon, and Floreta Sanoga, a Jewish doctor in Catalonia in the fourteenth century, who were recognized for their work in medicine (*Spain T9*, p. 112). Both of these textbooks reproduce images of the statue of Maimonides in Córdoba.

However, *Spain T9* also includes a quotation by the historian Maria Jesús Viguera Molins emphasizing the fragility of coexistence, in which Molins states that 'the coexistence between Christians, Jews, and Muslims was not always easy' (p. 125). *Spain T3* echoes this by noting that, 'Until the thirteenth century, relations between the Christian and Jewish populations were more or less good, but from then on they began to worsen' (*Spain T3*, p. 117). Although coexistence under

Christian rule is acknowledged, the narrative quickly shifts to highlight moments of marginalization and persecution as political and religious tensions increased. *Spain T9* notes 'a certain level of tolerance' (p. 112), while *Spain T1* and *Spain T4* mention higher taxes and restrictions for Jews compared to converts (*Spain T1*, p. 44; *Spain T4*, p. 22; *Spain T3*, p. 123). *Spain T4* refers to periods of conflict and persecution, by stating 'Although there was peaceful coexistence between Muslims, Christians, and Jews, at certain stages of Al-Andalus, there were conflicts with minorities, who were persecuted, as well as intolerance, particularly during the Almohad and Almoravid periods' (*Spain T4*, p. 22). Hence this portrayal of peaceful coexistence and cultural achievement is often overshadowed by the focus on later periods of persecution, such as the 1391 pogroms and the expulsion of Jews in 1492 (*Spain T1*, p. 138; *Spain T3*, p. 123; *Spain T4*, p. 114).

Despite this thorough evaluation of Jewish medieval and early modern history, Jewish agency is generally understated. While Jews are acknowledged as active participants in medieval societies, particularly within economic and intellectual roles (*Spain T1*, p. 134; *Spain T4*, p. 93; *Spain T9*, p. 112), their portrayal as victims of persecution, especially during the Middle Ages and the Holocaust, dominates the narrative. Textbooks often use language that emphasizes Jewish passivity, as when *Spain T6* states that, 'In 1941 they were forced to wear a Star of David on their clothing to identify them' (*Spain T6*, p. 145).

In most of the Spanish textbooks, Jews are primarily depicted as a collective, particularly in contexts of persecution such as the medieval pogroms, the expulsion of 1492, the intolerance towards conversos, and the Jewish Sephardic diaspora, where they appear as a nameless group enduring suffering. Nonetheless, some individual Jewish figures from the Middle Ages are mentioned, such as Maimonides (*Spain T3*, p. 107; *Spain T9*, p. 112), Benjamin of Tudela or Abraham Ibn Ezra (*Spain T3*, p. 117). These figures underscore the contributions of Jewish communities to the intellectual and scientific advancements of the time. Bonanada and Floreta Sanoga are mentioned in *Spain T9*, although this textbook notes that they were exceptional cases (p. 112).

While individual Jewish contributions are considered, the textbooks rarely provide a broad range of Jewish perspectives. Jewish female voices are rare and, when they do appear, as in the case of Holocaust victims like Anne Frank or Simone Veil, they are primarily framed within the context of victimhood rather than agency. Ursula Hirschman is one of the few women whose political contributions are mentioned, although her Jewish background is not the focus of this section (*Spain T2*, p. 181).

Like the German textbooks, Spanish textbooks also tend to generalize the marginalization and segregation of Jewish communities in medieval ghettos and 'juderías', and thereby reinforce their status as marginalized 'minorities', where they are shown living in separate neighbourhoods with distinct customs and practices (*Spain T1*, p. 108; *Spain T3*, p. 77; *Spain T4*, p. 105).

The Spanish textbooks in the sample make no mention of the legal emancipation of Jews or the processes of acculturation and bourgeoisification that Jews experienced in Europe during the nineteenth century. Significant contributions by Jews to the economy, science and culture, are marginal insofar as figures like Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud and Karl Marx, mentioned in *Spain T6*, are presented without reference to their Jewish heritage. Similarly, the textbooks do not

explore Jewish identification with their respective nations at the turn of the century, and thus omit references to complex Jewish integration efforts during this period.

Documents used to illustrate textbook presentations of the Holocaust generally reproduce a perpetrators' perspective on Jewish victimization. Characteristic of this tendency is *Spain T6*, which initially addresses Nazi racism and the November pogrom in a paragraph together with a photograph of a business marked as Jewish with graffiti (*Spain T6*, p. 143); further documents include an excerpt from *Mein Kampf*, a Jewish caricature, a Nazi school scene (*Spain T6*, p. 144), the Nuremberg Laws, exclusion policies, images of women wearing the yellow Star of David, and a burning synagogue (*Spain T6*, p. 145). Victims' perspectives in this textbook are confined to the testimony of Hedy Bohm in the chapter about war trials (*Spain T6*, p. 153). *Spain T2* likewise prioritizes the perpetrators' viewpoint, explaining the ideological and institutional structures that facilitated the Holocaust without including Jewish voices describing the event (*Spain T2*, p. 61). By contrast, *Spain T5* places more emphasis on the victims' perspective, and includes personal accounts of Holocaust survivors such as Minna Mendel's account of the November pogrom (*Spain T5*, p. 69), and Raszka Galek Brunswic, who recounts the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (*Spain T5*, p. 85). These testimonies are used to prompt pupils to reflect on the moral and emotional dimensions of the Holocaust. Survivors' testimonies like those of Norbert Wollheim and Simone Veil are also included (*Spain T5*, p. 96).

Jewish resistance features in *Spain T5* in a brief paragraph recounting the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943: 'In this climate of desperation, an armed resistance was formed, which led to an uprising in April 1943' (*Spain T5*, p. 85). Jewish history after 1945 is similarly scarcely covered in the textbooks. There is no mention of Jewish communities' efforts to rebuild in Europe or their role in the reconstruction of European nations. Representations both of Jews as active participants in post-war European societies and of discrimination against Jews in the post-war period are largely absent.

French history textbooks focus initially on the emergence of Judaism as a monotheistic religion over ten or more pages in each textbook. No textbooks deal with the Middle Ages and early modern ages, and little space is devoted to the modern age and emancipation. By contrast, chapters of approximately thirty pages cover the period of the Second World War, in which exclusion, violence and genocide against Jews is represented. Most historical documentation covered in moral and civic education textbooks concerns the period of the Vichy regime and the present day (over half a page per book), which is complemented by an additional page devoted to measures and exercises designed to combat antisemitism. Within these contexts, Jews and Judaism are presented both as historical victims and as agents. Agency in ancient times, for example, is attributed to 'the Hebrews' who 'begin to write down their beliefs, which is the birth of the Hebrew bible' (*France T3*, p. 130). Active participation in the course of history is demonstrated in history textbook representations of King Josiah's contribution towards the establishment of monotheism, for example, and the affirmation of monotheism during the Babylonian exile *(France T1*, p. 112; *France T3*, pp. 134, 138). Hence, 'big names' of Judaism are also presented with painted and textual portraits of each of them and their deeds (*France T3*, p. 131). However, *France T1* refers to the period of Babylonian exile as 'The Judeans under foreign domination' (*France T1*, p. 108), during which 'some Judeans were

deported to Babylon' following the destruction of the First Temple (*France T1*, p. 112). Chapters dealing with the Second World War generally depict Jews as passive victims.

Jews also generally appear as a collective. Moreover, when textbooks honour Jewish personalities, they generally do so, in line with secular self-understanding, without reference to religious or ethnic belonging. In the modern era, for example, textbooks pay tribute to Karl Marx (*France T7*, p. 88) and Léon Blum (*France T2*, p. 50) with a short passage about their lives and achievements. Although textbook representations of the period of the Second World War largely present Jews as a nameless collective, photographs do depict (unnamed) individuals in specific situations such as people clearing up the debris of smashed window panes following the November pogrom (*France T2*, p. 51), people being 'selected' on the ramp at Birkenau (*France T2*, p. 59), and people being arrested at gunpoint in the Warsaw Ghetto (*France T2*, p. 71). One textbook names Marianne Cohn, who established a network of young Jewish resisters in 1941, which helped Jews to escape into Switzerland from France (*France T2*, p. 200). Anne Frank features in one EMC textbook (*France T9*). In contemporary times, Daniel Cohn-Bendit is also honoured with a short passage about his role in the student movement of the 1960s (*France T2*, p. 202).

The Jewish perspective therefore does come into play, both in the narrative and in the choice of sources reproduced in textbooks. The Babylonian exile is described for level six as a 'foundational moment' in Jewish history and for Judaism generally, and for theological thought and biblical writing more specifically (*France T1*, p. 113; *France T3*, p. 133). Jews are presented as the authors of the Torah, and the textbooks emphasize the historical utility of both archaeological findings and the bible as sources of knowledge (*France T1*, p. 118; *France T3*, p. 135).

The textbooks initially broach descriptions of the Holocaust from the perspective of the perpetrators by presenting ideological sources created by the National Socialist regime. Most documents quoted are those of perpetrators such as Karl Jäger and Rudolf Höss.(*France T2*, p. 66). *France T9* even inadvertently adopts the perspective of the perpetrators in its authorial texts when stating, for example, that 'Nazi Germany wants to conquer its "living space" and annihilate the Jews of Europe' (*France T9*, p. 94). However, in a few cases Jewish approaches to deportation and internment and violence are presented, as in the quotations from Primo Levi's *If This Is a Man* (*France T9*, p. 108s). Women similarly feature as rescuers in images of Moses being rescued from the Nile (*France T1*, p. 114), and a female doctor, Adélaïde Hautval, is honoured for defending and helping Jews during the Second World War (*France T8*, p. 39). Another textbook quotes from Emmanuel Ringelblum's *Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto*, in which Ringelblum testifies to hunger, disease, execution of people discovered smuggling food, and the numbers of people dying daily (*France T9*, p. 96); it also provides witness accounts by Ilya Ehrenburg and Vassili Grossman (*France T9*, p. 97). Three works recommended to pupils effectively represent Jewish perspectives, namely Art Spiegelman's *Maus* (1991), Primo Levi's *If This Is a Man* (1947) and Roman Polanski's 2002 film *The Pianist* (*France T9*, p. 103).

In spite of the general imbalance demonstrating Jewish victimhood during the Second World War, underpinned by perpetrators' documentation, several textbooks address the resistance of Jews against persecution and extermination. A photograph of the arrest of Jews following the Warsaw ghetto uprising of 1943 depicts both Jewish resistance and the fact that they were subsequently

deported to extermination camps (*France T2*, p. 71). Further documentation comprises a short biography of Marianne Cohn, who established a network of young Jewish resisters in 1941 and who was murdered by the Gestapo as a result (*France T2*, p. 200), and a short biographical note stating that Primo Levi was a 'Jewish Italian resister who was arrested and deported to Auschwitz in 1943' and the 'author of *If This is a Man*, a witness account of the atrocity of the camps' (*France T9*, p. 101).

In the few **Lithuanian textbooks** already available, which follow the 2022 history curriculum, the history of Jews is dealt with primarily in the context of the Holocaust. In this context, Jews are usually displayed as collective and only few Jewish personalities are mentioned, such as Anne Frank or Avrom Sutzkever from Vilnius, a writer who survived the Vilnius ghetto and later reported on his experiences in his memoirs (*Lithuania T4*, p. 169). Jews are described as passive objects of history and victims of persecution, and there are no examples of their resistance presented at all.

In a different context, the history of Lithuania in the second half of the nineteenth century and during the first decades of the twentieth century, at least some aspects become clear that show Jews as subjects of their own history and as co-creators of a common national history. *Lithuania T1* succumbs to a certain dualistic view when a religiously or ethnically and culturally defined Judaism is shown as foreign to a certain degree, while an acculturated and patriotic Jewry is shown as the *telos* of Jewish history, a narrative that is also found in history textbooks of other countries examined here: 'Although Judaism was the most important factor for many Jews for many centuries, uniting the community, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a national understanding emerged among Eastern European Jews, based not only on religion, but also on language and common history. […] During this period, a separate concept of *Litvak* – a Jew from the former lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – was also formed, emphasizing the uniqueness of local Jews, the basis of which was rationality and a sharp mind. At the beginning of the twentieth century, as Lithuania sought independence, some local Jews actively supported the idea of the country's liberation from the oppression of the Russian Empire, and participated in the battles of the Lithuanian War of Independence in 1918–1920. […] As the state was created and grew, local Jews willingly became involved in all areas of public life and were an important and visible part of interwar Lithuanian society' (*Lithuania T1*, p. 121). Even if the dualism mentioned above also shines through in this narrative, it is worth emphasizing that the text points quite well to the emergence of a separate, ethnically or culturally defined Jewish national consciousness in Eastern Europe, even if the central national movements of Eastern European Jewry – Zionism and the striving for national autonomy, as expressed in Bundism – are not explicitly mentioned. In addition, this description of Jewish responses to modernity also expresses a certain Jewish pluralism in history.

Concerning Jewish life after 1945, a small paragraph in *Lithuania T1* addresses post-war Jewish history in Soviet Lithuania as follows: '…like other religious communities, [Jews] could not freely profess their faith. Their religious and cultural heritage was being destroyed, and there were negative attitudes towards this ethnic group. Under such circumstances, a significant part of the local Jews emigrated when the opportunity arose. After the Holocaust, in many Lithuanian towns, where many Jews had previously lived, there was no longer a community of Jews who would gather for worship in the synagogue. During the Soviet period, synagogues that were left without owners were turned into warehouses, private living spaces or cultural centers.' (*Lithuania T1*, p. 123). For

the period after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the picture is drawn of a reawakening of Jewish traditions in Lithuania: 'In Lithuania, which regained its independence, abandoned synagogues were renovated and usually adapted for local cultural needs.' The passage also stresses a post-Soviet, non-religious Judaism, thus pointing to a certain diversity: 'Despite the aforementioned restrictions, Jews came to Lithuania from other countries of the Soviet Union to work. (…) The Lithuanian Jewish community […] was religiously diverse: both those with ties to the *Litvaks* who lived here before World War II, and those beginning to consider this land their home again, adopting and rediscovering the religious practices of Judaism.' (*Lithuania T1*, p. 123).

The **Polish textbooks** analysed for this study generally portray Jews as passive objects of history, except for the chapters that deal with the history of ancient Israel: there they become acting subjects, for example, when it comes to the conquest of the land of Canaan, but also mythological founding figures such as Abraham and Moses appear as leaders of their people and shapers of their destiny. From these mythological times until the 1930s, however, textbooks pay only small attention to Jews as shapers of their own history. Pupils learn vaguely about their diasporic history: that they were persecuted in Western Europe and sought refuge in Poland which is portrayed as a tolerant multicultural country. The agency of Jews in the Second World War is presented as limited and they are predominantly described as victims. Jewish resistance is mentioned only in connection with the Warsaw ghetto uprising, while other forms of Jewish resistance against persecution and extermination – for example Jewish partisan warfare, the Sobibór uprising, covert operations and organized hiding and escape initiatives – are not mentioned. There are no Jewish soldiers in the discussion of the defence of Poland in September 1939 and the Jewish insurgents are omitted from the story about the Warsaw uprising of 1944. Jews are only again shown as agents of their fate when they establish their own state, Israel in 1948.

Until the depiction of the Second World War, Jews appear mostly as a nameless collective, and only few Jewish personalities are mentioned, such as the medieval merchant Ibrahim ibn Jakub (*Poland T16*, p. 188) or the founders of the Warsaw Yiddish theatre in the interwar period, Ester Rachel and Ida Kamińska (*Poland T1*, p. 239). In some cases, the Jewish background of famous personalities is not mentioned: *Poland T4*, p.115, shows an illustration of the house of Izrael Poznański, a businessman, 'King of Cotton' and philanthropist, but does not explain that he was Jewish; *Poland T1*, p. 239 mentions Hugo Steinhaus, Ludwik Hirschfeld, Władysław Szpilman and Julian Tuwim, but describes them merely as Polish. Textbook chapters about the Second World War and the Holocaust mention Jewish people more often, in most cases fighters against the Nazis like Mordechaj Anielewicz (*Poland T3*, p.22), (*Poland T15*, p.75), (*Poland T9*, p. 33), Samuel Willenberg (*Poland T15*, p.29) or Marek Edelman (*Poland T15*, p.75), (*Poland T9*, p. 33), but also martyrs like Janusz Korczak (*Poland T3*, p.22). Jewish women are represented by Anne Frank (*Poland T9*, p. 31) and Golda Meir (*Poland T13*, p. 426).

There are few Jewish personal accounts in the textbooks examined and most of them date from the time of the Second World War. *Poland T9*, p. 31 presents a quote from Anne Frank's diary and words of Marek Edelman (p. 33). *Poland T3*, p. 22 brings in another female Jewish perspective with a quote from Mary Berg's diary from the Warsaw ghetto. A remarkable Jewish perspective in artistic form is

offered by the painting by the Jewish painter Maurycy Gottlieb (1856-1879), which shows Galician Jews praying in a synagogue (*Poland T7*, p. 47).

In Eastern Europe, especially in the Commonwealth/Kingdom of Poland-Lithuania, a specific and extremely vibrant Jewish culture developed from the end of the Middle Ages. However, school textbooks rarely address the inner Jewish life, the specific traditions of Polish-Lithuanian Jewry, its autonomy and self-organization. One exception is *Poland T7* which devotes an entire subchapter to Jews in medieval and early modern Poland (p.46-47). It explains that 'Jews came to Poland as early as in the Middle Ages to protect themselves from persecution' and notes that there were 150 thousand Jews in Poland at the end of the sixteenth century, and 'at least 400 thousand' in the seventeenth century – 'the largest concentration of the Jewish population in Europe'. Without fostering prejudice, the authors describe that Jews 'differed from the rest of society in terms of religion, customs and clothing, (…) their language – Yiddish – was similar to German. (…) They usually lived in separate city districts (and) were eager to trade and lease taverns, mills, and breweries'. These occupations are described as 'mean' activities (with inverted commas), which were 'forbidden to the nobility' (*Poland T7*, p.46). Only from this textbook, Polish students learn that Jews from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth created a unit of self-government. The Council of Four Lands was created to collect taxes more efficiently, but 'it dealt with various matters of Jews from Poland and Lithuania – not only financial' (*Poland T7*, p.47).

The development of Polish Jewry in the nineteenth century and in the interwar period is only touched upon sporadically in the books. *Poland T4*, p.112 describes the multicultural life in the industrial city Lodz and notices that 'Poles, Jews, Germans, Russians and Czechs, followers of Judaism and various branches of Christianity lived here', but it does not explain the role of Jews in industrialization. It also mentions in a few sentences in various chapters Zionism (p. 83), the assimilation of Jews (p.116), Zionism (p.116) and Jewish cinematography (p. 227), but it never systematically explores these topics and how Jewish communities changed and developed in the nineteenth century.

As already stated above, Jews appear in the chapters on the Second World War and the Holocaust primarily as victims; alongside a few testimonies from Jews themselves, the perspective of the perpetrators dominates. However, when describing Jewish resistance, which is mostly limited to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, recognition for the heroism of the desperately fighting Jews seems to come through. *Poland T3* notes the heroism of the Jewish fighters in Warsaw and the tragedy of their situation: 'The heroic fight lasted a month. The insurgents did not fight to win, because it was impossible, but to die with dignity. The Germans brutally suppressed the uprising. Many inhabitants of the ghetto perished, the survivors were transported to extermination camps, and the entire Jewish district of Warsaw was completely destroyed' (*Poland T3*, p.22). In a section about Polish society under the occupation in *Poland T15*, Jews are also presented as heroes, but heroes who first failed to react and passively waited: 'At first, the Jews obediently succumbed to the German terror, hoping for its quick end. However, when the truth about the hidden extermination of the entire nation was revealed, the Jewish people began to make desperate attempts to resist. There were rebellions in concentration camps, ghettos and even extermination camps, which were bloodily suppressed by the Germans. The largest Jewish uprising broke out in the Warsaw Ghetto in April

1943. It is estimated that about 3 million citizens of the Polish Republic of Jewish origin died during the World War II. Only about 350,000 Polish Jews survived the occupation' (*Poland T15*, p. 75). It is interesting that only in the context of heroic acts do the authors write about 'Polish Jews' and underline that they were 'citizens of the Polish Republic', and not simply 'Jews' or 'Jewish population' (*Poland T15*, p. 78).

Moreover, there are very few passages in the textbooks examined in which Jews are portrayed as an integral part of the Polish nation and who identify with this nation. A rare example can be found in *Poland T1*, 2017. The authors include Jews in their account of the January Uprising in 1863, an insurrection in the Congress Kingdom of Poland against the Russian Tsar. They explain that 'it was important to include also the Jewish population in the ranks of the insurgents' and that the manifest of the leaders of the uprising 'proclaimed all "sons of Poland" to be free and equal citizens, regardless of their faith and family, origin and status' (*Poland T1*, p. 82). The call was a success as 'support in various forms was given (...) to the insurgents by many Jewish fellow citizens' (*Poland T1*, p. 84). *Poland T2* informs pupils that in 1861, before the uprising, Jewish rabbis participated in the funeral of five young demonstrators killed by the Russian army. A contemporary painting is printed here as illustration, depicting the burial in the presence of the rabbis (*Poland T2*, p. 78).

In **Greece,** two sets of textbooks are produced corresponding to the *gymnasium* level for pupils from 13 to 15 years of age, and to the *lyceum* level for pupils aged 15 to 18. Civics textbooks for the gymnasium do not mention Jews, Judaism, Israel, antisemitism or the Holocaust. Similarly, the history textbook for year four primary school acknowledges only the influence of the Hebrew language on the Greek language via religious and cultural exchanges (*Greece T1*, p. 114). By contrast, the history textbook for first year *gymnasium* contains extensive recognition of Jewish achievements. The 'Hebrews' (Εβραίοι) are defined as one of the 'first great civilizations' of the Bronze Age and of the Middle East's Fertile Crescent (*Greece T4*, p. 13). In addition, there is a two-page section dedicated to ancient Jewish history, including the Exodus and monotheism (*Greece T4*, pp. 19- 20). A further section dealing with Christianity describes Antioch as a major cosmopolitan centre in which Jews enjoyed peaceful coexistence and religious freedom under the Seleucids and Romans in close relation to Greeks; this textbook similarly acknowledges the role of Jewish culture in the Hellenistic world by honouring the translation of the Hebrew bible into Greek (the Septuagint) for use by the Jewish diaspora in a Greek-speaking environment: 'We should also remember that the Bible was translated from Hebrew into Greek for the Jews of Alexandria' (*Greece T4*, p. 118). The textbook designed for the *lyceum* level for pupils aged 15 and above likewise dedicates a five-page section to the history, culture, civilization and economic, social and political contributions of Jews as well as a reference to the Babylonian captivity (*Greece T6*, p.5).

The Middle Ages and early modernity do not feature Jewish life. For the modern era, the year three *gymnasium* textbook, in a section entitled 'Hellenism from the mid-eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century: economic and social transformations', depicts Jews as one of the key trading communities in the Ottoman Empire alongside Greeks and Armenians (*Greece T5*, p. 23), while emphasizing Jewish assimilation to Greekness: 'Balkan merchants, regardless of their national origin, generally spoke Greek (…). "Greek" primarily meant a traveling salesperson or merchant, and

in this sense, even a Jew could be considered "Greek'" (*Greece T5*, p.23).[53] The recognition of Jews and Jewish history is then reflected in an 'interdisciplinary activity' in which pupils are requested to 'search for information about the origins, social composition and historical path of the Jewish community of Thessaloniki' (*Greece T5*, p. 88).

In spite of these acknowledgements of Jewish cultural and religious heritage, Jews are generally depicted as a group under the oppression of larger powers such as Rome or in the context of Hellenistic and early Christian history. The history textbook for year three *gymnasium*, for example, depicts Jews alongside Greek and Armenian targets of German-backed efforts to reshape the Ottoman economy (*Greece T5*, p. 102) in the context of Turkish nationalism from 1913. Paradoxically, when a Jewish perspective is presented, via the testimonies of Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler who escaped Auschwitz in 1944, these are framed in such a way that they reproduce the image of Jews as victims in a section entitled Dying in Auschwitz: The Holocaust of the Jews (*Greece T5*, p.127). Likewise, no Jewish resistance is addressed in chapter nine of *Greece T3*, which is dedicated exclusively to the liberation struggles and sacrifices from 1941 to 1949 of Greeks who resisted and the mass executions of the National Socialists (*Greece T3*, p. 213 and p. 232).

In sum, little historical agency is ascribed to individual Jews or to Jews as a collective. Even when some famous Jews such as Albert Einstein are honoured for their intellectual achievements, they are presented within the context of National Socialism '… many intellectuals, such as Einstein and Brecht, were forced to leave Germany. Implementing aggressive racist policies, the Nazis persecuted or exterminated all those who were different (political opponents, Roma, homosexuals). Jews, in particular, were treated with extreme hostility and were forced to wear a yellow star.' *(Greece T5*, p. 117). The authorial standpoint also tends to focus on Christianity: Jerusalem, for example, is described as 'the holy city where Christ lived and taught' in the context of its capture by the Seljuk Turks during the Byzantine period (*Greece T2,* p. 91); in the same vein, the Hebrew bible is referred to as the 'Old Testament' (*Greece T6*, p. 41). The Jewish dimension of the Holocaust is also sometimes underplayed when, for example, *Greece T3* describes the Holocaust as 'the extermination of large numbers of people' without reference to Jews (*Greece T3*, p. 209), since the term 'holocaust' is also used in other contexts when referring to the Arkadi Monastery in the Cretan revolution against the Ottomans in 1866 to 1869 (*Greece T3,* p. 159). There is no reference to Jewish women in the history textbooks.

Israel and the Middle East conflict

The portrayal of Israel in textbooks from almost all countries analysed for this report occurs in the context of the Middle East conflict, a complex conflict with far-reaching historical roots, which also has an impact on society (migration, debates about Israel and Palestine) and on the economy (oil crisis) in Europe. There may also be other reasons to deal with Israel in lessons and textbooks. For Germany, this is the special relationship with Israel resulting from its history. Against the background of centuries of persecution of Jews in Europe, culminating in the Holocaust, which is dealt with in the textbooks of all the countries represented here, a presentation of the State of Israel

53 Original quotation from T. Stoianovich, 'The Orthodox Balkan Merchant Conqueror,' in S. Asdrachas (ed.), The Economic Structure of the Balkan Countries, Melissa, Athens 1979, p. 318.

in the textbooks of these countries would also be justified by the importance of educating about the resilience and development of Jewish life and culture after the Holocaust. Given the paucity of information in the analysed textbooks about the history and culture of Jews in their own country or in Europe after the Second World War, without the depiction of Israel, the narrative of Jewish history would end with the Holocaust.

The Study on **North Rhine-Westphalian textbooks** found that in authorized history and social studies textbooks, Israel – if it is dealt with to any significant extent at all – is presented exclusively in the context of the Middle East conflict, with few exceptions. As a result, the country appears above all as a 'warring crisis state in the Middle East'.[54] The depictions of the Middle East conflict often simplify the historical and political complexity of the conflict; Zionism as the basis for the emergence of the State of Israel is hardly ever addressed. In many cases, textbooks did not engage with a dual-narrative approach, only presenting the issue of Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, and ignoring other important aspects of the conflict. This risks only giving students a partial understanding of a complex and sensitive situation.[55]

Of the **Saxony textbooks** analysed for this report, *Germany T9*, like the 2019 version of the textbook approved for North Rhine-Westphalia, stood out because it contains a two-page chapter on the history of relations between Germany and Israel. This deals with the Luxembourg Agreement of 1952 on German restitution payments to Israel and problematizes the term 'Wiedergutmachung' used for 'restitution' in Germany. It also contains a section on civil society relations between the two countries, a section on the relationship between the GDR and Israel and a photo showing a demonstration in Tel Aviv in 1952 against the controversial restitution payments from Germany in Israel. (*Germany T9*, pp. 68-69). A six-page chapter on the Middle East conflict begins by explaining its historical roots. This section deals with Zionism as a reaction to the antisemitic discrimination and persecution in Western and Eastern Europe, addresses the contradictory policies of Great Britain before and during the period of the British Mandate over Palestine, and explains the flaring conflict between immigrant Jews and Palestinian Arabs. This is done in a very factual manner and without attempts to justify the actions of one side or the other and is followed by a sub-chapter on the founding of the state and the Israeli-Arab wars from 1948 to 1973. The flight and expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians is mentioned, as is the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. In a further sub-chapter on controversial issues in the Middle East, a (fictitious) Jewish Israeli and a (fictitious) Palestinian discuss the Israeli occupation policy, the question of Israel's security, the Israeli settlements and the right of return of Palestinian refugees. The Israeli writer Amos Oz and the Palestinian politician Mustafa Barghouti express their views in interview excerpts on the opportunities and limits of a two-state solution or a binational state. The entire chapter eschews emotional text and image and one-dimensional explanations. (*Germany T9*, pp. 132-137) The chapter on the Middle East conflict is followed by a double page showing 'other images of Israel'. Here it says: 'Many people in Germany associate Israel with the topics "Holocaust/Shoah", "Middle East conflict" or "Holy Land". This creates a certain image of Israel. But this image is incomplete.' (*Germany T9*, p. 138) Six current photos refer to life in Israel beyond the

54 Dirk Sadowski, Zusammenfassung (Summary), Report on North-Rhine Westfalian textbooks, p. 445.

55 Ibid., pp. 446-247.

Middle East conflict. They include a simulation of a Mars mission in the Negev Desert, the LGTBQ Pride parade in Tel Aviv and a football match in Israel. The last of six assignments asks: 'Did the pictures match your idea of Israel? Which picture surprised you the most? Which picture is missing? Discuss.' (*Germany T9*, p. 139)

Germany T4 opts to illustrate the text on the topic of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with emotionally charged images, which present Israeli mainly as oppressors and Palestinians as victims. The events leading to the founding of the State of Israel are largely presented factually, and the Zionist movement is described in a particularly reflective manner: 'What they [the various Zionist movements – author's note] had in common was the view that a State of Israel was not only the end of the flight from antisemitism, but above all a self-realization. The founding of a national entity had to go hand in hand with the discovery and renewal of the Jews themselves.' (p. 171) However, in the section 'Current conflicts', for example, the controversial issues are almost exclusively framed as results of Israeli actions: 'In recent decades, Israel has tried to change the situation in its favour on all points. By building Israeli settlements, Israel demonstrated its claim to the land.' (*Germany T4*, p. 168) The failure to present an Israeli viewpoint, such as security concerns, creates an imbalance in the portrayal of the conflict.

In the **Danish teaching materials** analysed, Israel and its history are dealt with almost exclusively in the context of the Middle East conflict. In addition, there are references to Israel in the context of dealing with the 1973 oil crisis and in connection with the topic of terrorism. Domestic political, social or cultural aspects of Israel are almost never dealt with. One notable exception is *Denmark T8* (subchapter *Jødisk kulturkamp spliger Israel* [Jewish cultural struggle divides Israel]), a comprehensive digital teaching material with numerous teaching sequences on the Middle East conflict. Here, an excerpt from a newspaper article from 2013 is used as a source to shed light on domestic political aspects of Israel. The article deals with the political importance of ultra-Orthodox Jews for the government of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (e.g. regarding the introduction of military service for ultra-Orthodox Jews) and the secular Israeli 'resistance against strongly religious Jews'.

There is no information about relations between Denmark and Israel. In *Denmark T2*, p. 84, reference is made to the fact that there are Palestinian refugees in Denmark who came to Denmark in the years following the founding of Israel. The book also points out that these refugees founded a Danish-Palestinian friendship organization in Denmark and that there are also Danish-Israeli friendship organizations. 'Both parties in the conflict therefore have solid supporters and you can therefore occasionally see demonstrations in larger cities in Denmark, where the parties demonstrate against each other'.

All of the Danish teaching materials examined in the study cite the complex mix of reasons for the Middle East conflict, including disagreements over land distribution, religious reasons, wars, the role of Great Britain in the run-up to the founding of the state and that of the neighbouring Arab states. *Denmark T8* emphasizes that religion was one of the strongest reasons for the conflict (subchapter *en religiøs krudtønde* [A religious powder keg]), while *Denmark T24* (subchapter *Hvem har ret til hvad?* [Who is entitled to what?]) emphasizes the conflicts over territorial claims. *Denmark T2* also addresses the different territorial claims.

In general, the Danish teaching materials analysed place the greatest focus on the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, which is reflected in the multitude of image sources, among other things. In particular, the materials include images of Palestinian refugees and the conditions in the refugee camps, as well as photographs of representatives of both sides engaged in a dispute. Images of the first Intifada, as well as photos of the signing of the Oslo Accords, complete the repertoire. A photo in *Denmark T8*, subchapter *Israel grundlægges* (Israel is founded), for example, refers to the role of children in the conflict, with the following explanation: '2010: A Palestinian girl in Hebron in the West Bank demonstrates on the anniversary of the outbreak of the Israeli-Arab war in 1948. The sign symbolizes that Israel should return the keys to Palestine to the Palestinians. The picture is also an example of how the children of the neighbourhood become part of the conflict at a very early age.' It does not mention or depict Israeli children in the context of the conflict, as the image implies the 'children of the neighbourhood (*områdets børn*)' refers here to Palestinians. The depiction of the Middle East conflict is predominantly from a multi-perspective in the sense that both sides are given space to express their own positions, especially in the sources. The authored text also generally endeavours to strike a balance.

Another passage in *Denmark T8* (subchapter *al-Nakba og Farfour* [al-Nakba and Farfour]), which endeavours to provide a balanced presentation, focuses on efforts by both parties to influence the narrative about the conflict: 'In 2009, the word *Nakba*, "catastrophe", was removed from Israeli schoolbooks for Arabic-speaking children. The word was used by the Arabs to refer to the 1948 war. The ban is seen by many as a sign that Israel is trying to interpret the history of the 1948-49 war in a way that makes it appear more positive and Israel-friendly, thus diverging from the Palestinian perception of the war as a trauma. Palestinians are also doing their best to instill certain attitudes in children. In Palestinian children's television, Farfour, the mouse that looked like Mickey Mouse, became a martyr when he sacrificed himself in the fight against Israel.' An assignment on the reasons that may have prompted Israel to censor the word *Nakba* in school textbooks is followed by a second task in which reference is made to the creator of the children's television show about the mouse as a martyr: 'Why does Hamas show a children's programme in which a mouse sacrifices its life in battle?'

Elements that impute evil intentions, demonize, dehumanize or inferiorize Jews or (Jewish) Israelis in the context of the Middle East conflict or that delegitimize Israel cannot be found in the authored text, headlines or captions of the Danish textbooks examined. However, they do appear in some sources that reflect the Palestinian position in the conflict. Only rarely are these contextualized or questioned in the assignments. For example, in *Denmark T2*, p. 74, an excerpt from the PLO Charter can be found as an additional digital source, in which Zionism is described as 'colonialist since its beginnings', as 'aggressive, expansionist and racist in its form' and as 'fascist in its means and goals'. The teaching material adds a further attribute to this characterization of Zionism by describing it as 'gender discriminatory' (*kønsdiskriminerende*), a word that does not appear in the Palestinian National Charter. There are no work assignments to classify the source. *Denmark T2*, p. 75, also devotes a significant amount of space to Yassir Arafat's infamous speech to the United Nations General Assembly in November 1974, from which a part dealing with the 'danger' of Zionism for world peace is quoted. The speech excerpt is accompanied by four assignments that aim to critically examine Arafat's claims. The fourth task is: 'After the Yom Kippur War and Arafat's speech to the

United Nations, Israel was very skeptical of the Palestinians. Why were they skeptical? The message from Arafat and the PLO was peace.' It is unclear whether the last sentence fulfils a rhetorical function or is actually meant literally.

Regarding the representation of Israel, **Hungarian textbooks** examined do not differ much from those of the other countries in the sample. Both the seventh-year textbooks and the eighth-year textbooks contain sections about Israel and the Middle East conflict; the longest section in *Hungary T8* extends over almost three pages (pp. 187-189). In *Hungary T7* the conflict and Israel appears on one and a half pages (pp. 197-198) and is clearly embedded in the events of the Cold War. *Hungary T3* deals exclusively with the founding of Israel in the context of the events after the end of the Second World War. After the authored text mentions the Holocaust as a reason for the establishment of Israel, a student assignment explicitly asks why it was important for the Jews to live in their own, independent state (p. 178). In *Hungary T4*, in turn, a section is devoted to Israel and the conflict in the context of a diachronic overview of the history of the Middle East from the emergence of the Ottoman Empire to the present (p. 179). The tone is very objective in all presentations and the authored text is limited to the reproduction of facts. In the context of the description of the first Arab-Israeli war, in addition to the flight and expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs, it is also mentioned that more than one and a half million Jews also fled from the Arab states to the newly founded State of Israel (*Hungary T7*, p. 198). The reasons for the perpetuation of the conflict are located on both sides, with a slight sympathetic lens for the State of Israel. The intention of Arab states and terrorist organizations to destroy Israel is referred to several times and Israel's military action is justified as defence. In comparison to many other representations of the Middle East conflict in the sample, it is striking that the Hungarian textbooks mentioned do not reduce the conflict to Israeli-Palestinian antagonism, but always keep other Arab/Muslim states in mind as central actors. There are only few sources cited in the chapters examined, the presentation is largely limited to the authored text. Image sources are mostly illustrative; only a few show the conflict or its effects. However, maps are often used to demonstrate the evolution of the Israeli-Arab wars.

In *Hungary T8* the prehistory of the state, the emergence of Zionism and the waves of immigration since the 1880s are discussed. Theodor Herzl is introduced as a Budapest-born writer of Jewish origin and 'dreamer of the Jewish state' (*a zsidó* állam *megálmodója*). The urge of the Jews to 'return to Palestine in some form' is described as a religious and political goal that arose after the destruction of the 'old state of Israel' by the Romans and the dispersion of the Jews throughout the world. (*Hungary T8*, p. 187). The Holocaust is also mentioned as one of the reasons for the creation of the State of Israel, as is the policy of the British Mandate. The State of Israel is described as having been modeled after 'Western liberal democracies' from the outset (p. 188). In a rare way, in connection with the recognition of the state by the international community, especially the USA and the Soviet Union, the national right of self-determination of the Jews and the right of Israel to exist and to defend itself are addressed: 'The international recognition of the State of Israel meant not only that the Jewish people has the right to exist as a state, but also that the established state has the right to self-defense.' (p. 188). Responsibility for the continuation of the conflict is attributed to both sides: 'The extreme Arab forces are openly voicing their plan to "push the Jews into the sea", while on the other side they are changing the ethnic-religious composition of some settlements by resettling the Jewish population. Hundreds of thousands of refugees live in refugee camps

under poor conditions. […] Israel does not recognize the right of the Palestinians to establish an independent Palestinian state, but some of the Arab countries consider Israel's existence to be illegitimate, so they do not recognize it.' (p. 189) The chapter's only illustration related to the conflict shows three children on a pile of rubble and garbage with the caption: 'A Palestinian refugee camp today' (p. 189). The chapter also addresses the controversial issue of Jerusalem's status as the declared capital of the State of Israel, pointing out that many states now recognize this status and are moving their embassies from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

The relations between Hungary and Israel are not touched upon in the examined textbooks, but a map in *Hungary T4*, p. 190, which shows people of Hungarian origin living in countries all over the world, points out that there are 200,000 Hungarian Jews living in Israel.

The representation of the State of Israel in **Spanish textbooks** also focuses in detail on the Arab-Israeli conflict, which overshadows other aspects of Israeli society such as its cultural plurality and technological achievements, and therefore limits complexity.

Zionism is briefly presented in connection with the formation of the state, with a passing mention of the establishment of the state in connection with European antisemitism. The prehistory of Israel is briefly covered in *Spain T5* and *Spain T6*. *Spain T5* introduces Zionism as a movement aspiring to establish a Jewish state noting that, 'Since the late nineteenth century, the Zionist movement aspired to create a state for the Jewish people' (p. 154). Jewish immigration to Palestine during the interwar period is also noted in *Spain T5*, which states that Jewish immigration increased during the 1930s as Jews fled persecution in Europe. *Spain T6* mentions the Balfour Declaration of 1917, reproduces an image of the proclamation ceremony, and invites pupils to reflect on its significance (What commitment did the British government make in this document?) and Ben-Gurion's Proclamation (p. 210).

The Middle East conflict, particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, is the most consistently central theme. The textbooks discuss the UN partition plan of 1947 and subsequent wars between Israel and its Arab neighbours (*Spain T5*, p. 134; *Spain T2*, p. 172; *Spain T6*, p. 210). *Spain T5* notes that, 'The UN approved a resolution calling for the partition of Palestine into two states' and adds, 'As soon as Israel was created in 1948, the Arab countries in the region attacked the new state' (p. 154), while *Spain T2* mentions that the plan was rejected by Arab nations, leading to conflict following Israel's proclamation in 1948 (p. 172). The 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the 1967 Arab–Israeli War, and the 1973 Arab–Israeli War War are emphasized in *Spain T5* and *Spain T6*. Israel's victories and territorial expansion in these wars are detailed, with *Spain T5* stating, 'These wars resulted in successive Israeli victories' (p. 154).

In *Spain T5*, the Middle Eastern conflicts are covered in three paragraphs which address the creation of Israel and the Arab-Israeli wars, accompanied by an image of the 1973 Arab–Israeli War (p. 134). *Spain T5* returns to this topic in a section called 'A Conflictive Process,' which is part of the unit devoted to decolonization, by addressing the Arab-Israeli wars, peace initiatives, and a visual presentation of territorial changes over time (*Spain T5*, pp. 154, 155). *Spain T2* also briefly deals with the Arab-Israeli wars in a section about decolonization (*Spain T2*, p. 98), then again in a section about The Recent World: Relations and Conflicts. This section devotes two pages to Israel's creation,

the wars and peace efforts, including a timeline and a map depicting territorial changes over time (*Spain T2*, pp. 172, 173). Additionally, *Spain T2* dedicates half a page to Israel's society and economy in contemporary geopolitical contexts within the unit The New World Order (p. 156).

Peace efforts, such as the Camp David Accords and Oslo Agreements, are explored in all textbooks (*Spain T5*, p. 154; *Spain T2*, p. 172; *Spain T6*, p. 211), though the unresolved nature of the conflict is emphasized, particularly regarding territorial disputes and refugee issues. *Spain T5*, for example, states 'Israel continued to take military action and establish settlements in Palestinian territory, and Palestinian uprisings and terrorist acts continued' (p. 154), while *Spain T2* adds that '… unresolved issues have prevented peace' (p. 172), and *Spain T6* states that '… today, Israel controls practically all the territory' (p. 211).

The textbooks also address Palestinian displacement (*Spain T5*, p. 154; *Spain T6*, p. 211), territorial occupation, and the status of Jerusalem (*Spain T2*, p. 172). *Spain T5* underscores the fact that, 'The military offensives led to significant displacement of the Palestinian population living in Israel to Lebanon and Jordan' (p. 154). *Spain T2* mentions that 'Israel maintains military control over the West Bank, where it establishes illegal Jewish settlements' and that Israel rejects the return of Palestinian refugees 'arguing that it would destroy its identity as a Jewish state' (*Spain T2*, p. 172). Palestinian resistance also features in *Spain T2*, according to which 'Palestinians organized terrorist attacks (PLO) and civilian attacks against the Israeli army' (*Spain T2*, p. 172). *Spain T6* explains that resistance movements led by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) of Yasser Arafat 'have confronted the Israelis with terrorist acts or urban guerrilla techniques, known as Intifada' (*Spain T2*, p. 211).

Although the textbooks generally maintain a neutral tone, the texts are underpinned by evaluations of Israel's military occupation and illegal settlements. Likewise, Palestinian actions, especially concerning the PLO, are frequently referred to as terrorism (*Spain T6*, p. 211; *Spain T2*, p. 172; *Spain T5*, p. 154). *Spain T2* frames the use of guerrilla warfare by Palestinians as responses to Israeli military actions and provides statistics about the intifadas, noting that '1,162 Palestinians and 160 Israelis died' (*Spain T2*, p. 180), highlighting the asymmetric nature of the conflict.

Beyond the conflict, *Spain T2* shifts its focus to Israel's role in the global order, portraying it as one of the ten most powerful countries, emphasizing its economic, technological, and military developments (*Spain T2*, p. 156). This textbook also highlights multicultural society, addressing economic inequality and tensions between secular and ultra-Orthodox Jewish communities, as well as Israel's shift towards technological industries, stating that 'Israel's economy is based on highly mechanized agriculture. Since the 1980s, it has focused on research, innovation, and high-tech sectors' (*Spain T2*, p. 156).

French textbooks generally address the history and politics of Israel in textbooks designed for the second, first and final upper secondary levels at the *lycée* school (levels *seconde*, *première* and *terminale*) which are not encompassed by this report and which deal with education at the lower secondary or *collège* level. Nonetheless, Israel is mentioned in one sub-chapter called 'A wall which falls, ancient walls, and new walls', which documents fifty walls worldwide, and provides images of the Berlin Wall, the wall separating North and South Korea, and the walls between Israel and the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (*France T2*, p. 208). The caption accompanying the image of the wall

in Israel contextualizes the wall in relation to 'several decades of conflict between Israel and the Palestinians [and] the placing of the territories of the West Bank under the control of the Palestinian Authority in 1995', and presents justification of the building of the wall in 2002 in terms of Israel's security concerns: 'to prevent terrorist attacks, Israel decides to construct a "security barrier" along the borders with the West Bank and Gaza' (*France T2*, p. 209). Other history textbooks used up to level three do not address Israel. In contrast to the textbooks designed for history, geography and EMC, sections of textbooks devoted solely to EMC mention Israel in maps depicting the world order after 1945, in which Israel is classified on a world map as a site of 'international conflict' (*France T9*, p. 131). In sum, at the lower secondary level, French textbooks do not depict the prehistory of the State of Israel (Zionism, immigration, the Balfour Declaration, the establishment of the Yishuv, the Holocaust). Only one textbook addresses this topic, and interprets the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians in terms of security and terrorism prevention on the basis of Israel's policy 'to prevent terrorist attacks'. Images of Israel depict it on a map indicating conflict zones (*France T9*, p. 131), and the wall separating Israel and the West Bank (*France T2*, p. 209). The wall is contextualized historically either as a wall designed to 'prevent migrants from crossing borders' or to 'prevent conflicts or limit terrorist acts' (*France T2*, p. 209).

The new **Lithuanian** history curricula of 2022, unlike the previous ones, do not include any discussion of Israel and the Middle East conflict. Thus, no chapters or sections on this topic were found in the books examined.

All three **Polish history textbooks** for Grade 8 that were analyses, as well as the two History and the Present textbooks for Grade 9 discuss the State of Israel within chapters about the situation of the Middle East. The textbooks for primary school describe the establishment of the State of Israel and the 1948 Arab–Israeli War , the Suez crisis (1956), the 1967 Arab–Israeli War war, the 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the Oslo agreements. Other aspects of the State of Israel, especially in the domestic, social and cultural fields, are omitted. Only *Poland T9* refers to some aspects that are not primarily conflict related. All three textbooks include both Israeli and Arab/Palestinian perspectives, with *Poland T15* and *Poland T3* presenting a slight tendency towards Arab or Palestinian positions. The two textbooks for the subject History and the Present for the *lyceum* are a little more detailed, but also focus exclusively on political and military events. *Poland T10* stresses the importance of Zionism in the process that led to the establishment of the State of Israel. Along with *Poland T13* it places the successive wars in the Middle East in the context of the Cold War.

Compared to the other textbooks, the prehistory of the State of Israel is most extensively covered by *Poland T9*. It mentions the Sykes-Picot agreement, the emergence of Zionism, the Jewish emigration to Palestine starting from the early twentieth century, the role of the Holocaust in the establishment of the State of Israel, and contextualizes the establishment of the State of Israel within the context of Cold War politics (*Poland T9*, pp. 131-132). It introduces multiple, not only Jewish and Arabic, perspectives on the situation and shows numerous photographs such as a picture from 1947 of the ship 'Exodus' that brought Jews who survived the Holocaust to Haifa. The authors explain that: 'The British authorities, opposing the influx of Jewish emigrants, sent these people back to refugee camps in Germany' (*Poland T9*, p. 131). *Poland T15*, p. 115, summarizes the prehistory of Israel as follows: 'Jews did not have an own state since ancient times and lived dispersed around the world.

At the end of the 19th century, the Zionist movement emerged, advocating for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. When Palestine came under British control after World War I, they allowed Jews to immigrate to this land. After the Holocaust, international opinion, including that of the USA and the USSR, supported the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine.' Likewise, *Poland T3* summarizes the historical process that led to the establishment of the State of Israel with similar wording, but already adds a reference to the resistance of the Arab population against Jewish immigration and the development of the Yishuv: 'Their [the Jews'] mass influx led to a growing opposition from Arabs, who feared they would soon become a minority in this land' (*Poland T3*, p.136).

Multi-perspectivity seems to be one of the guiding principles, especially in *Poland T9*, pp. 133-136. It uses a table listing arguments of Arabs and Jews. The arguments have a universal human undertone, so that pupils can identify with both sides. *Poland T15*'s narrative shows Israel as a powerful military actor, while Arab Palestinians are mostly portrayed as victims. At one point it links the fate of the Palestinians with growing hatred of Jews, which risks putting the onus of antisemitic attitudes on the Jewish people rather than on the perpetrators (see chapter on stereotypes): 'An additional problem were the refugees. Nearly one million Palestinians were forced to leave their homes in the part of Palestine assigned to Israel and settle in refugee camps in neighbouring Arab countries. *The fate of the refuges increased the hatred towards Jews'* (*Poland T15*, p.115, emphasis added by the authors). The photograph used crudely emphasizes the asymmetry between the Israeli army and Palestinians (*Poland T15*, p.117). Some of the methods used by the PLO are clearly designated as terrorist acts, such as the 1972 Munich attack: 'Despite the defeats suffered by the Arabs in clashes with Israel, the Palestinians did not abandon their struggle for independence. In 1964, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded, led by Yasser Arafat. This organization operated mainly by means of terrorist methods. One of the most famous actions of this type was the attack on Israeli athletes during the Munich Olympics in 1972. Terrorists then killed 11 Israeli players. Over time, the PLO had to change its tactics. It organized strikes and demonstrations during which there were street fights with the Israeli army. It was called the Intifada' (*Poland T15*, p.116).

Most of the history textbooks analysed deal at least to some extent with the complicated relationship between the Polish People's Republic and Israel until the fall of the Iron Curtain and do so in the context of the balance of power in the Cold War. *Poland T9*, p. 177, mentions that after Israel won the Six-Day war 'the authorities of the Polish People's Republic broke off diplomatic relations with Israel and began a campaign against Zionism, which included the persecution of people of Jewish origin.' *Poland T13*, pp. 385-386, describes the worsening relations with Israel but also the different positions and feelings in Polish society in a more complex manner in a chapter presenting the antisemitic events in Poland in 1968: 'After the Six-Day War in early June 1967, the summit of communist parties in Moscow supported the Arabs and condemned Israel as the aggressor. Following Moscow's lead, the authorities of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) supported the Arab states. The reactions of Polish society were complex. People of Jewish origin living in Poland took satisfaction in Israel's success. Many Poles admired the efficiency of the Israeli army, often saying, "our Jews beat the Russian Arabs". Meanwhile, antisemitic sentiments dominated among party circles, the Citizens' Militia, and the military. For the average citizen, Jewish matters

generally did not evoke strong emotions. However, for the communists, it was different. The Moczar faction saw the war in the Middle East as a good opportunity to strengthen its position.'

In **Greek civics textbooks** at the *gymnasium* level (for pupils aged 12 to 15) there is no mention of Israel or the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians except for a reference to Palestine as an occupied territory in the following quotation: 'Among the international conventions and agreements of states on human rights is International Humanitarian Law (IHL), which is implemented by the International Committee of the Red Cross and signed by almost all states. It applies in cases of declared war (e.g. the Second World War), armed conflict (e.g. NATO-Yugoslavia) or occupation of territory (e.g. Iraq, Cyprus, Palestine).' (*Greece T10*, p.142). By contrast, in the *lyceum* textbooks (for pupils aged 15 to 18), the Middle Eastern conflict is described in a sub-section entitled Decolonisation and the Third World, which is part of a chapter about the postwar world. This textbook presents a descriptive chronology of the history of the area from the Balfour Declaration to the establishment of the State of Israel and its geopolitical implications, referring to the 1948 war as 'intense clashes (…) between Jews and Arabs, leading Britain to decide to withdraw from Palestine in 1948. (…) The newly established State of Israel defeated the armies of five Arab states. Jerusalem was divided between Israel and Transjordan' (*Greece T7*, pp. 152-153). It then recounts the wars of 1956, 1967 and 1973, followed by 'commando operations, spearheaded by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), led by Yasser Arafat' (*Greece T7*, pp. 152-153), the Munich Olympics assassinations of 1972, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which 'provoked strong condemnation from the international community', and the peace process from 1978 with the Camp David Accords, then the first Intifada from 1987. The tone and choice of words is largely neutral, and emphasizes facts over axiological interpretation. The section ends with a brief mention of the second Intifada, whereby 'during the 1980s and 1990s, two large-scale Palestinian uprisings occurred in the occupied territories, while another attempt to resolve the issue failed to bring peace,' and therefore omits mention of the more recent past such as the Oslo Accords or the second Intifada.

3.2 Prejudices in texts and images

A central concern of this study is to examine possible prejudices and stereotypes in the portrayal of Jews and Judaism in school textbooks. These can appear in direct or implicit forms, for example when Jews are prominently associated with money, wealth or power, whether to refute anti-Jewish attitudes or to explain their causes. In these attempts at explanation, Jews are often unintentionally blamed for the discrimination and persecution that affects them. This is a trope that will be described here as 'blame reversal' (which, however, is not identical to the perpetrator-victim reversal, which accuses Jews of being the aggressors rather than the victims). Finally, antisemitic prejudice can also be inadvertently spread through uncritical use of certain problematic terms or imagery (such as caricature or propaganda posters). Contextualization and deconstruction, whether in the author's text, in captions or with the help of student assignments, are of immense importance here. It is important to point out that any criticism levelled against individual passages does not imply antisemitic intent of the learning materials or allow conclusions about the overall portrayal of Jews and Judaism in the textbook, and is only meant to sensitize textbook writers to these often subtle connotations so that they can avoid them in the future.

Prejudices in terms, expressions and symbolic representations

As part of the **Study on North Rhine-Westphalian textbooks**, it became apparent that school textbooks sometimes unconsciously reproduce prejudices against **Jews** in the language of the author's text or the source material. This can occur through the uncritical or non-distanced use of perpetrator language, for example when terms such as 'Final Solution', 'Aryan', 'race' are used without distancing inverted commas or are not deconstructed, or when the German term *Ausrottung* is used for the genocide of the Jews.[56] The labelling of Jews as 'foreigners'[57] or even (in headlines referring to the use of language at the end of the nineteenth century) as 'enemies of the Reich'[58] was also noted as problematic, even if these terms are sometimes used with inverted commas with the intention of distancing. A classic lapsus occurs when two textbooks from 2010 and 2013 refer to the German foreign minister during the Weimar Republic, Walther Rathenau, as the 'Jewish foreign minister, rather than the 'German foreign minister of Jewish origin', as if Rathenau was the foreign minister of a Jewish state.[59] The pre-eminence of the politician's Jewishness over his German identity echoes the antisemitic notion, prevalent in the Weimar Republic, that as a Jew, Rathenau could not represent the interests of the German people vis-à-vis the victorious powers of the First World War. In the **Saxony textbooks** analysed, there are hardly any linguistic representations of anti-Jewish prejudices or an undifferentiated use of perpetrator terms. *Germany T3* and *Germany T8* generally place terms such as 'Aryan', 'Aryanisation' or 'national community' in inverted commas throughout; instead of the euphemistic term *Kristallnacht*, the term *Reichspogromnacht* or 'November pogroms' is used. The deliberate mechanisms underlying the exclusion of Jewish Germans from the 'national community' (*Volksgemeinschaft*) are referred to in the headline in *Germany T3*, p. 126: 'Jewish citizens are turned into enemies'. In the context of the legal emancipation of Jews in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, only *Germany T2*, p. 138, makes a lapse linking Jews and money when it announces 'The Jewish population *benefits* (*profitiert*) from Napoleon' (author's emphasis; this refers to the civil equality of Jews in some German territories following the Napoleonic conquests). The term 'benefit' evokes monetary gains, rather than the long-overdue achievement of equal rights under the law.

As far as the examined **Danish teaching materials** are concerned, *Denmark T12* in particular shows a tendency towards a lack of linguistic sensitivity. A section in the subchapter Jews in the Middle Ages in this material is entitled The plague is the fault of the Jews (*Pesten er jødernes skyld*). Here, the form of a supposed statement of fact is linguistically surprising, as there are no signs of questioning this statement, such as inverted commas or a question mark at the end of the title. The author's text then states that the Jews were blamed for the plague by accusing them of poisoning the wells.

56 'Ausrottung', meaning 'extermination, eradication', has a dehumanising connotation and is used, for instance, in everyday language, for the extermination of vermin. See Matthias Springborn, Gesellschaftslehre (Social Studies), Report on North- Rhine Westfalian textbooks, pp. 153, 170.

57 Martin Liepach/Tamara Schäfer, Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik (Empire and Weimar Republic), Report on North- Rhine Westfalian textbooks, p. 74; Matthias Springborn, Politik (Politics), Report on North-Rhine Westfalian textbooks, pp. 202-203.

58 Martin Liepach/Tamara Schäfer, Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik (Empire and Weimar Republic), Report on North- Rhine Westfalian textbooks, pp. 73-74.

59 Ibid., p. 78.

The author notes that the plague was a bacterial disease, which was not known at the time. A more elaborate explanation of this accusation, such as a reference to scapegoating mechanisms or to conspiracy elements as a characteristic of antisemitism, is missing. The text is illustrated with two images, a painting from 1894 and a woodcut from 1353, showing the murder of Jews during the plague pogroms. The caption under the contemporary depiction, which shows the burning of Jews at the stake, is also questionably worded: 'Jews are burned, accused of poisoning wells that made people sick and killed them'. The poisoning of the wells is thus presented as a fact, the accusation against the Jews is not contextualized, questioned and categorized as fabricated.

Photographs used in chapters about the Holocaust almost always show the perpetrators' perspectives, which is not addressed in the textbooks. As in the captions to the illustrations of the persecution and murder of Jews in the Middle Ages, a lack of linguistic sensitivity is sometimes noticeable in the captions, for example when the caption to a photograph in *Denmark T12* (subchapter *Massedrab på jøderne* (Mass murder of the Jews), which shows the selection of Hungarian Jews on the ramp at the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp, states that the Jews were 'sorted' (*sorteret*) here and those who could not work were sent directly to the gas chambers and 'executed' (*henrettet)*. The choice of the word *henrettet* (executed) for the act of murdering the Jews in the gas chamber seems to reveal a lack of linguistic sensitivity, as the term 'execution' carries judicial connotations (execution as a punishment for a crime) and usually applies to criminals, traitors, insurgents or enemy combatants rather than civilians.

In most cases, the authors of the Danish teaching materials examined put problematic terms such as 'final solution' or 'Aryan' in distancing quotation marks.

In **Hungarian textbooks**, anti-Jewish terminology, especially in the context of fascism and National Socialism, is mostly deconstructed and/or contextualized in the authored text. However, punctuation marks or brackets to express a distancing from the terms, are only one of the analysed textbooks. On p. 102, for instance, problematic terms (e.g. Aryan) are put in brackets and then defined by other words like *legértékesebb német (*árja*)* – 'most valuable German (Aryan)'.

At one point there is also a subtle lapse in the use of chromatic symbolism: In the context of the depiction of the Middle East conflict, *Hungary T4*, pp. 180 and 181, shows two maps of the region. The first depicts the various ethnic groups in the Middle East; the second is based on the predominant religions in the respective countries. In both maps, Jews and Judaism, i.e. Israel, are marked in yellow. While it is natural that Islamic countries are marked in green on the religion map, the choice of yellow can elicit associations with discrimination symbols of the Middle Ages and the Nazis' 'Yellow badge'. Usually, the color associated with Judaism and Israel is blue, and yellow was imposed by authorities persecuting Jews as a 'colour of shame'.

Spanish textbooks, like their German counterparts, also historically contextualise anti-Jewish statements by placing terms like 'Final Solution' or 'parasitic race' in quotation marks (*Spain T2*, p. 60, *Spain T5*, p. 85). Exceptionally, in a section about the Holocaust devoted to the 'Final Solution', *Spain T2* states that, 'With the onset of the Second World War, the Nazis decided to definitively solve the Jewish problem' (p. 61), and thereby reproduces the term 'Jewish problem' without further clarification. Elsewhere, the same book adequately identifies prejudices preceding violence by

explaining that the assassination of a German diplomat in 1938 (a common historiographical trope in and beyond educational media) was used as a pretext or 'incentive' to justify the November pogrom: 'This event served as an incentive for the Nazis to provoke a night of terror' (*Spain T2*, p. 60).

The **French history textbooks** examined in this sample generally address Jews as a group of people called 'Hebrews' or 'Judeans' living in the ancient kingdoms of Judea and Israel, out of which emerged a common set of beliefs which came to form a religion (*France T3*, p. 130; *France T1*, p. 108f). The contextualization of anti-Jewish stereotypes usually requires further contextualization by teachers using the textbooks in the classroom. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is illustrated with the caption 'What is Hitler's "racial theory"? How was it put into practice?' for example, and the term 'parasitism' and the phrase 'living at the expense of others' are brief and not further deconstructed in detail (*France T2*, p. 45). Similarly, the term 'final solution' is not placed in inverted commas in *France T8*, but explained in a separate boxed section entitled 'Vocabulary', in which this term is explained as 'an expression used by the Nazis to indicate the extermination of the Jews from 1942 to 1945' (*France T8*, p. 101).

There are few graphic representations in **Polish textbooks** that could reinforce prejudices. *Poland T12*, p. 72, shows a map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the sixteenth century with drawn depictions of its multicultural population. In addition to Germans, Poles, Lithuanians and Ruthenians, a Jewish person is also shown in the illustration as an old, bearded man in a black caftan and traditional *shtreimel* hat. This depiction contrasts with that of the Poles, who are depicted in a colourful patrician costume, and the young German couple in their pious black, yet elegant clothing. The Jews appear somewhat friendlier in a drawing in *Poland T1*, p. 229, explaining the population composition in Poland in the nineteenth century. Here, the members of the minorities appear in quite colourful clothing. The figure of the Jew still wears an Orthodox costume, but represents a young man who – like all the other male figures – is accompanied by a woman.

An example of a lack of linguistic sensitivity and inadequate contextualization can be found in *Poland T1* in the paraphrasing of the statement of the Polish nationalist politician Roman Dmowski (1864-1939). His opinion about Jews is expressed as follows: 'Rebuilt Poland was to become a mono-national state. Poles, according to Dmowski, were especially threatened by Jews who were difficult to assimilate. They dominated the cities and hindered the emergence of the Polish middle class (...)' (*Poland T1*, p.128). The paragraph reproduces Dmowski's opinion without explicitly refuting it, and the use of the indicative does not allow sufficient distancing to clarify that the last sentence is the politician's opinion and not the historical truth.

Problematic terms from Nazi language are usually placed in inverted commas and are sometimes also explained, as for example in *Poland T4*, p. 174, when 'Kristallnacht' appears in German in inverted commas and is described as the 'peak of the persecution of German Jews (…) the pogrom on the night of November 9-10, 1938'. The term 'Final Solution' is used in a similarly distanced manner and is explained as 'the murder of all European Jews' (*Poland T9*, p. 31). The same applies to terms such as 'Aryan' or 'master race', but in at least one case it is said that 'the annihilation of the *Jewish race* in Europe became one of the main goals of Hitler's policy' (*Poland T3*, p. 21, emphasis by the authors), thus reproducing the perpetrators' framing of Jews as a 'race', a term the scientific validity of which has been discredited.

Greek civics and history textbooks in this sample do not contain anti-Jewish statements or employ terms such as 'Aryan' or 'Final Solution'. The term 'Final Solution' appears once in the *gymnasium* level history textbook, and is placed within inverted commas; in one instance among *lyceum* textbooks, the term 'final solution' is not contextualized or explained (*Greece T7*, p. 129).

Reproduction of antisemitic prejudices

Particularly in the context of medieval history, the textbooks analysed for the **Study on North Rhine-Westphalian textbooks** often contained unintentional reproduction of attributions that may have the potential to serve antisemitic prejudices, in this case specifically the distorted image of the money-grubbing Jew. In the sections analysed, moneylending in return for interest is ascribed to Jews as a central field of employment, although some textbooks present the social and commercial situation of Jews in the Middle Ages in a more nuanced way. The persistence in textbooks of the historically questionable depiction of a dominant role of Jews in the medieval money business (by no means all Jews were moneylenders and not all moneylenders were Jews – Christians were also involved in the money trade, contrary to church regulations) can possibly be explained by the fact that it provides the socio-economic backdrop for ubiquitous discrimination and persecution of the High and Late Middle Ages. The frequent evocation of a connection between Jews and money could reinforce the classic antisemitic stereotype of the 'money Jew', despite the recurring argument that the Jews had no other choice but to trade money at interest because they were forced out of other professions by the Christians.[60]

Most of the textbooks analysed previously in the Study on North Rhine-Westphalian textbooks were older titles from the 2010s. Newer textbooks published from 2020 onwards are much more sensitive when it comes to avoiding the use of stereotypes. This can also be seen in the textbooks approved for the federal state of Saxony. *Germany T6* devotes an entire double page to Jewish life in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. The presentation focuses on the 'positive' aspects of coexistence between Christians and Jews in the High Middle Ages. The first section emphasizes the difference between the Jewish quarters (*Judengasse*) of the time and the ghettos established from the fifteenth century onwards. The second section, entitled Protected and respected, deals with the participation of Jews in city life, the protection granted to Jews by the emperor or bishops and the differentiated occupational structure of Jews in the Middle Ages. A third paragraph, Endangered and persecuted, explains the plague pogroms of 1347-1351 and their causes. Two sources document the protection regulations for the Jews of Worms renewed by Emperor Frederick I in 1157 and the justification of the city of Cologne for the expulsion of the Jews from the city in 1431. The author's text explains that Jewish merchants were engaged in small trade and lent money at interest. 'The church regarded interest profits as immoral – which is why Christian merchants who lent money concealed their interest profits. But contrary to what we sometimes read, Jews were neither completely without rights nor restricted to trade.' Here the author points out that Jews were not exclusively or primarily involved in money trading for interest and that Christians also lent money for interest. In the source on the expulsion of the Jews from Cologne, the city council argues, among other things, that the Jews 'want to lend their money (...) at usury and interest', which is

60 Dirk Sadowski, Zusammenfassung (Summary), Report on North-Rhine Westfalian textbooks, pp. 435-436.

immoral according to Christian precepts. An assignment to explain why money trading was a 'cause for dispute' in the Middle Ages attempts to address and deconstruct this source statement. Another assignment aims to understand the diversity of Jewish professions in the Middle Ages (*Germany T6*, pp. 88-89). *Germany T1*, p. 104, attempts in the author's text to differentiate and counter the stereotype of the 'money Jew' by stating that in the Middle Ages, due to being forced out of trade and crafts by the guilds, 'some' Jews became moneylenders, while others 'traded in second-hand clothes'. One illustration also shows a Jewish surgeon performing an operation in a fifteenth-century book illustration. The caption states that the medical profession was 'one of the few respected professions' that Jews were allowed to pursue in the Middle Ages. An excerpt from a comic on the same page, on the other hand, serves the stereotype by stating that Jews in the Middle Ages were 'forbidden from almost all professions except moneylender', and that many of them therefore 'of course became very rich' (see also the following section).

For the treatment of the modern period, especially the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, no text passages or sources that utilize anti-Jewish stereotypes can be identified in the Saxony history textbooks examined. *Germany T7*, p. 122, describes the 'important role' of Jews 'as entrepreneurs and businessmen' in finance, industry and trade as a significant contribution to 'Germany's rise to become one of the most modern economic powers'. The emphasis on the active role of the Jewish people in the development of the country counterbalances the common antisemitic narrative regarding Jewish power in German society after their emancipation.

An echo of anti-Jewish prejudice can also be seen in some of the **Danish teaching materials** examined. In the context of the description of the persecution of Jews in the Middle Ages, *Denmark T12* (subchapter *Jøder i middelalderen* > *Had mod jøde*r (Jews in the Middle Ages > Hatred against Jews) also makes the economic argument: Some Jews had become rich through money lending and many Christians had debts to Jewish moneylenders who demanded high interest rates. This was also a reason 'for the anger towards Jews'. Regarding the occupational structure of Jews in the Middle Ages, however, Poulsen also refers to 'craftsmen and tradesmen'.

The evocation of an inevitable connection between Jews and money does not only affect depictions of the Middle Ages. In connection with the history of the Middle East conflict, *Denmark T2*, p. 61, points out that the Zionist movement aimed to establish a Jewish state and 'for this purpose received financial support from several wealthy Jewish families in Europe, such as the Rothschild banking family' (*Til det formål modtog bevægelsen* økonomisk *støtte fra en række velhavende jødiske familier i Europa, bl.a. fra bankfamilien Rothschild*). It is unclear why this particular aspect of the history of Zionism is emphasized in this way; the connection between the Rothschild family and Zionism is likely to evoke conspiracy theory associations. In this context, it also seems strange to mention that the Balfour Declaration, as 'one of the most controversial examples' of support for Zionism, was handed over 'in a sealed letter' (*i et hemmeligtstemplet brev*). The text does not say to whom the letter was given, but the use of the adjective 'sealed' gives the impression that the whole affair was to be kept secret. This can lead to the perception that this was a secret understanding between the Zionists and the British government, behind which the 'banking family' Rothschild was ultimately responsible.

Hungarian history textbooks present Judaism as something very valuable in the context of the so-called 'Judeo-Christian roots' of European civilization, at least when it comes to the ancient origins of Judaism as it appears in the Old Testament (especially noticeable in *Hungary T1* and *Hungary T5*). However, when describing the origins of Christianity, both textbooks use a very traditional interpretation. It is not mentioned that Jesus was Jewish; he appears quite traditionally as Mary's son, the 'child Jesus' (*Hungary T1*, p. 62). Students can only infer his Jewish background from the mention that Jesus was born in Judea and that Herod, as King of the Jews, ordered the killing of all children born in Bethlehem, or from when Jesus is referred to as the newborn 'King of the Jews' by the wise men from the East in an excerpt from the Gospel of Matthew. The Gospel of Matthew also serves as a source for the Passion and Crucifixion of Jesus. Although the textbook avoids mentioning Jews here, it does state that – according to the Gospel – the 'leaders held a council and decided to kill him. They bound him, led him away and handed him over to Pilate the governor.' The author goes on to write that 'Jesus was sentenced to death and executed by the Romans like slaves or criminals' (*Hungary T1*, p. 64). Even if the author avoids speaking of a Jewish responsibility for Jesus' death, writes neutrally of 'the leaders', and it is ultimately the Romans who crucify Jesus, such responsibility can still be derived from the context of the text. Even in the more elaborate version of the textbook for Grade 5, Jesus' Jewishness is discreetly concealed by quoting or paraphrasing almost exclusively texts from the New Testament (*Hungary T5*, p. 66-67). Instead, the guilt of the Jews in Jesus' death is addressed more directly and even Judas as the archetypal traitor is introduced: 'The Jewish chief priests were jealous of Jesus' popularity. They decided to kill him. One of his disciples, Judas, betrayed him for money, telling them where they could arrest him with the soldiers. Pilate, the Roman governor, sentenced him to death and had him crucified.' [*A zsidó főpapok féltékenyek voltak Jézus népszerűségére. Elhatározták, hogy megöletik. Egyik tanítványa – Júdás – pénzért elárulta, hogy hol tudják a katonákkal elfogatni* őt. *Pilátus, a római helytartó halálra* ítélte és *keresztre feszíttette*.] (*Hungary T5*, p. 67).

When it comes to the depiction of the socio-economic status of Jews and their role in economic life, corresponding stereotypes are also reproduced in Hungarian textbooks, for example in connection with money (lending and ownership), wealth or higher education. Less frequent reference is made to a supposed cultural-religious segregation of Jews in relation to the majority society; especially regarding the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Depictions that show a successful integration of Jews into the Hungarian nation predominate, with assimilation phenomena being connoted positively throughout. Dichotomous constructions that place Jews as 'foreigners' or 'others' alongside the non- Jewish members of the modern nation, i.e. 'Hungarians', can be found, however, in a section in *Hungary T7* about the antisemitic background of the infamous Numerus Clausus Law of 1920. Here one can learn about the reasons that led to the passing of the law, the authored text sometimes using vocabulary ('big capital, mostly of Jewish origin', 'Jewish capitalists') that could inadvertently reproduce antisemitic prejudices. It is shown that the proportion of Jews among intellectuals and liberal professions was particularly high, which, among other things, prompted the government to pass the law. In this context a passage in the authored text reads 'In Hungary, a large number of intellectuals could not find work' (*Magyarországon nagyszámú* értelmiségi *nem tudott munkát találni*) (*Hungary T7*, p. 114), implicitly contrasting Hungarians of Jewish and non-Jewish descent. A diagram on the following page (*Hungary T7*, p. 115) shows the

proportion of Jews in various occupational groups compared to the total population in 1930. The students can see from this that Jews were disproportionately employed in banking and insurance, namely 81 per cent, and otherwise mainly in the liberal professions and in trade, but that they also worked as actors or in technical professions, for example, and that only five per cent were employees. This graphic would benefit from further contextualization to avoid legitimizing stereotypes about Jewish people. It is unclear where the figures for this graphic come from; neither the caption nor the list of sources at the end of the book provide any information on this. (See also the following section.)

The portrayal of Jews in **Spanish textbooks**, particularly when they deal with the Middle Ages, sometimes reproduce stereotypes. Textbooks often depict Jews as bankers and tax collectors, reinforcing historical associations between Jews and wealth (*Spain T3*, p. 77, *Spain T4*, p. 114). They also suggest that Jews had considerable influence in administration and as advisors, 'Although Jews were generally few in number, they exerted significant social influence due to their economic power' (*Spain T1*, p. 91). While some textbooks explain this because of limitations imposed on Jews, who were excluded from Christian guilds (*Spain T3*, p. 77), the association between Jews and wealth persists in textbooks. A further reproduction of antisemitic prejudice is implied by the fact that scant coverage is given to the emancipation of Jews in nineteenth-century Europe, their participation in the industrial revolution, or their contributions to modern science and culture. These omissions implicitly reinforce the idea of Jews as marginal figures in European historical narratives. Few stereotypes are reproduced or depicted in **French textbooks**. One exception is the caricature of Léon Blum in the photograph of part of the exhibition called The Jew and France, which was shown in Paris in 1941 with the support of the German propaganda office. Although the caption clearly contextualizes the exhibition as 'an exhibition of antisemitic propaganda which aimed to demonstrate the control exerted by Jews over France during the 1930s and which led to the defeat', and notes the failure of the event to attract many visitors, the caption of the caricature of Blum in the photograph, which reads 'But look at this convex profile, this hooked nose, this badly formed ear, these flabby lips which the bushy moustache tries to hide, and draw conclusions', is not explained or contextualized (*France T8*, p. 120).

By contrast, sections about the Dreyfus affair are geared towards demonstrating injustice done towards him and thus to underscore his merit as a loyal military officer and therefore honourable member of society. In this way, textbooks reverse the stereotype of Jews as pariahs and underscore their integration into the nation. The Dreyfus affair is presented as a *breach* of justice and of morality (*France T7*, p. 324) and as contrary to republican values (*France T7*, p. 133). This same approach is applied in the EMC textbook *France T8*, which frames present-day antisemitism historically in chapters referring to racism and discrimination in the twentieth century (Vichy), and to the origins of the French republic. In these contexts, contemporary antisemitic discrimination is interpreted as an infringement of the French constitution, more specifically of the principle of equality defined in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 (*France T9*, p. 46). The chapter titles of EMC textbooks further emphasize this tendency to interpret anti-Jewish discrimination as a breach of republican values: 'Being committed to combat racism and antisemitism' (*France T9*) and 'The Republic against antisemitism' (*France T10*).

As a rule, **Polish history textbooks** dealing with the emergence of Christianity recognize the significance of Judaism for the development of the Christian religion. However, the degree to which they do so and the associated narratives and evaluations vary. An example of a very traditional, even anti-Judaist approach is *Poland T16*, which talks about the 'final victory of the new faith [Christianity]' and does not mention that Jesus and his apostles were Jews (*Poland T16*, p.98). Pupils learn from this textbook that Jesus 'taught the Jews living there [in Palestine] that the most important thing is love for the one God and one's neighbours. (…) He criticized those believers [of the Jewish religion] who strictly observed religious regulations, fasting and prayers, but were not merciful towards other people. Some Jews did not like this. Moreover, they were outraged that Jesus pretended to be the son of God and the Messiah (…). They had him captured and sentenced by the Roman authorities around 33 C.E. to death by crucifixion' [*Jezus nauczał wśród mieszkających tam* Żydów, że *najważniejsza jest miłość do jedynego Boga oraz bliźnich. (...) Krytykował tych wyznawców, którzy* ściśle *przestrzegali przepisów religijnych, postów, modlitw, ale nie byli miłosierni wobec innych ludzi. To nie podobało się niektórym* Żydom. *Ponadto oburzali się,* że *Jezus podawał się za Syna Bożego i Mesjasza (...). Doprowadzili do jego ujęcia i skazania przez rzymskie władze około 33 roku n.e. na* śmierć *przez ukrzyżowanie*] (Poland T16, p. 96). This passage not only reproduces the supposed dichotomy that has been put forward for centuries to the detriment of the Jews between Christianity as a religion of love and mercy and Judaism as a rigid and ossified religion of law. It also ascribes blame to the envious 'Jews' for the death of Jesus. They appear here as those who ordered the Romans to capture and kill Jesus. Such portrayal should be actively avoided in the field of education, even more so in a history textbook that is committed to the critical-historical method.

Poland T6 also contains problematic passages. Here, the supposed culprits for the rejection of Jesus are named: 'The Jewish leaders did not want Jews to abandon Judaism and embrace Christianity. That's why they tried to nip the development in the bud [literary translated: "That´s why they tried to crush the fetus"' – *Przywódcy* żydowscy *nie chcieli, by* Żydzi *porzucali judaizm i przyjmowali chrześcijaństwo. Dlatego próbowali zdusić je w zarodku*. (*Poland T6*, p.78). The stereotypical image of the stubborn Jews, or of a Jewish people prevented by their corrupt leaders from accepting the teachings of Jesus, is conjured up here. More moderate is *Poland T5*: It explains that 'initially Christianity developed in Jewish communities', and notes that then 'an important change came through the apostle Paul. He began to preach the Gospel also among people who were not Jews' (*Poland T5*, p.82). Yet, all three history textbooks represent a traditional type of narration, where authors articulate their opinions as 'the truth', instead of giving the readers multiple perspectives on the matter, so that they could arrive at a conclusion themselves.

A connection between Jews and money is not made in Polish schoolbooks (an exception is the illustration of a Jewish 'usurer' in a textbook – see below). This certainly has to do with the occupational structure of Jews in Poland since the early modern period, when Jews were more likely to work as tenants in rural areas in addition to trading. *Poland T12*, p. 72 refers generally to Jewish professions in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period and mentions only briefly that Jews 'engaged in craft and trades', without further details. *Poland T7*, p. 46, states that Jews 'were eager to trade and lease taverns, mills and breweries, because this "mean" activity was forbidden to the nobility.' While this is still a relatively value-free statement (the attribute 'mean' is given a certain distancing by the quotation marks), the same book makes a prejudiced statement elsewhere with

reference to these same professions. When describing the Khmelnitsky uprising in the seventeenth century in which 15,000 to 30,000 Jews were massacred, the author notes that the 'masses of Orthodox peasants wanted to rid Ukraine of "nobility, priests and Jews"' – Jews because they 'were often Managers of noble estates and oppressed the local population' (*Poland T7*, p. 98) – a kind of blame reversal (see below).

Another prejudice from the repertoire of modern antisemitism – Jews as revolutionary and disloyal subversives – could be reinforced by statements about the proportion of Jews among the communists in Poland during the interwar period and after the Second World War and their role in society. Thus, *Poland T15*, p. 54, states that after 1945 'most positions in the administration, economy and education' in the PRP were filled with 'communists [sent from the USSR] or local Jews, Ukrainians and Belarusians, rarely Poles' – the contrasting of Poles and 'local Jews' also promotes the stereotype of Jews as alien and distinct from the national community.

A likewise problematic passage can be found in *Poland T1*: 'In interwar Poland, there were tensions between the Polish and Jewish population, largely of economic nature. Polish right-wing circles accused Jews (who dominated trade) of economic exploitation of peasants and workers, of disloyalty to the Polish state (there were many Polish communists of Jewish origin), and of monopolising many profitable professions (…). They postulated to persuade as many Jews as possible, many of whom felt Poles, to emigrate. Reluctance and competition often turned into antisemitism. It was manifested, for example, in actions to boycott Jewish trade, events called by some pogroms, restricting Jews from entering selected fields of study' (*Poland T1*, p. 230). The text is intended to explain the reasons for antisemitism in interwar Poland. It explains which antisemitic views existed in right-wing circles, and it is also pointed out that many Polish Jews identified with the Polish nation despite the hostility. Nevertheless, it seems that it is intended to provide, if not justifications, then at least seemingly rational explanations for the hatred of Jews: Jews were dominant in trade, and many of the communists were Jews. Furthermore, a contrast is created between Poles and Jews. From this point of view, the learners may ask themselves whether the Jews did not perhaps at least partly deserve this hostility. The wording 'events called by some pogroms' is also ambiguous, suggesting the qualification of pogrom is debatable.

Greek textbooks address Jewish history largely within a Grecocentric assimilatory context. By referring primarily to Greek Jews and, within that context, to Jews as 'Greeks' when they were members of Greek-speaking merchant communities in the Ottoman Empire (*Greece T5*, p. 23), they marginalize non-Greek Jewish communities and their multiple histories. A subtitle in this textbook quotes from a book by T. Stoianovich, who describes how 'Greeks dominate Balkan trade', and goes on to describe how 'even a Jew could be considered "Greek" insofar as "Greek" was a term used in the eighteenth century to refer to all tradespersons'.[61] The same textbook, in a section called Greece and the Balkans immediately after the Balkan wars, reiterates the connection between Jews, economic activity and power when its authors address 'the strong Jewish community of Thessaloniki, which largely controlled the city's economic life' (*Greece T5*, p. 88). Further examples of this tendency to focus exclusively on Greek Jews are found in *Greece T3*, which reproduces four pictures of 'Jews

61 T. Stoianovich, 'The Orthodox Balkan Merchant Conqueror,' in S. Asdrachas (ed.), *The Economic Structure of the Balkan Countries,* Melissa, Athens 1979, p. 318, quoted in Greece T5, p. 23.

of Greece' in the context of the Holocaust (*Greece T3,* p. 210), a tendency reiterated in captions to images which emphasize the nationality of victims as 'Greek Jews [who] suffer humiliation at the hands of the Nazis in Thessaloniki' (*Greece T5*, p. 132). This same pattern is continued in textbooks at the *lyceum* level, in which documents concerning the Holocaust depict only Greek Jews (*Greece T7*, p. 131).

Blame reversal

Closely linked to the unintentional reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes is the phenomenon of blame reversal. In history textbooks from almost all the countries analysed here, there is often a figure of reasoning that seems to place at least partial blame on the Jews themselves in the search for the causes of hostility towards and persecution of Jews in history. This occurs particularly in sections on Jewish history in the Middle Ages, but sometimes also in sections on the discrimination and persecution of Jews in modern times. The argument is often based on the alleged foreignness or otherness of the Jews' religion and customs, as perceived by the majority population. In addition, the motive of envy (of supposed wealth or better education or position) occasionally plays a role in explaining hatred of Jews. Motives of envy and enrichment as a reason for pogroms can be found in some medieval sources, which, if reproduced in textbooks without further contextualization or deconstruction, can provide the basis for such blame reversal frames, as can the authors' emphasis on the otherness and 'foreignness' of Jewish ritual practice in the Christian-influenced environment of the Middle Ages.

In several history textbooks in **North Rhine-Westphalia**, the report of the plague pogrom of 1349 is quoted from the Strasbourg Chronicle, which states that it was mainly due to the Jews' large amounts of money that they were murdered. A similar source is used in the **Saxony** *Germany T1*, p. 105, on the pogroms in the wake of the Black Death to which the Jewish inhabitants of medieval Erfurt were subjected. Here, too, it is said that the 'beginning of their misfortune' was presumably 'the infinite amount of money' that 'knights, citizens and peasants owed them [the Jews, author's note]'. The author's text above the source states on p. 104, under the heading Scapegoats sought and found, that Jews in the Middle Ages were primarily antagonized and persecuted 'because of their faith and their businesses'. In addition, the use of the German word *Geschäfte* (businesses) seems rather old-fashioned in today's parlance and has slightly negative connotations. An excerpt from a comic strip reproduced on p. 104, in which a girl, Barbara, is transported from the present day to a medieval town and asks her companion Johannes about the Jews she has seen for the first time (depicted in the drawing with pointed hats), illustrates what these 'businesses' consisted of. Barbara asks why a man is taking his precious vase to a Jew and not to a Christian pawnbroker, and John replies: 'Christians are not allowed to take interest [...]. Jews, on the other hand, are forbidden almost all professions except moneylenders. Many of them are very rich, of course, and so people are often envious and scold the Jews.' It is true that part of the blame is shifted here to an unspecified authority that had forbidden the Christians to take interest and that banned Jews from other professions. Nevertheless, the fact that 'many' of the Jews are 'of course' very rich and that this is the cause of the persecutions, which are euphemized here as 'scolding', ascribes a problematic social justification to the violence and hostility against Jews (*Germany T1*, p. 104). In its description of the medieval persecution of Jews on p. 88, the textbook *Germany T6* manages to avoid such a reversal

of blame by pointing out, among other things, the long-held Christian hostility towards Jews and the competitive thinking of the guilds as the cause of the discrimination and exclusion of Jews from certain professions. The author's text also explains: 'But contrary to what we sometimes read, Jews were neither completely without rights nor restricted to trade. There were also Jewish craftsmen, scholars and doctors, for example. Some of them achieved prestige and wealth in Christian society. Jews could acquire citizenship (for money) and thus had rights and duties.' (*Germany T6*, p. 88).

Some of the teaching materials examined from **Denmark** also show examples of such practices. Abridged and with a subtle blame reversal motif, *Denmark T12* (subchapter *Jøder i middelalderen* > *Had mod jøder* (Jews in the Middle Ages > Hatred of Jews) states that 'many Christians' in the Middle Ages 'did not like the Jews (...) because they were not Christian and did not recognize that Jesus was the Son of God.' This statement should be contextualised and supplemented by references to elements of traditional Christian antisemitism, to avoid the impression that the Jews themselves, through their 'rigid' adherence to their faith, provided the reason for the hatred directed at them. The circular argument that Christians did not like Jews because they were not Christians and did not follow a central doctrine of Christianity is also a superficial argument that does not help explain the dynamics of medieval antisemitism.

A form of blame reversal can be found in *Denmark T8* when the subchapter *Et forfulgt folk* (A persecuted people) states: 'Although the Jews integrated themselves into the population in many places – especially in Western Europe – many were still skeptical of the Jews. This was mainly due to the fact that their religion stood out. In many parts of Eastern Europe, the Jews also differed linguistically and culturally from the majority of the population.' The sentence insinuates that it was due to the Jews themselves, or more precisely their religion and culture, that a large part of the non- Jewish population was hostile towards them. No reference is made here to antisemitism as the driving force behind hostility towards the Jews.

In some places in **Hungarian history textbooks** one can also find the motif of blaming Jews for the measures taken against them. As in German and Danish teaching materials, this tendency is expressed in a passage that deals with the reasons for antisemitism in the Middle Ages. The religious and cultural otherness of the Jews is taken as the motive for the hatred directed against them by Christians when *Hungary T3*, p. 100, states that the Jews were considered and treated as foreigners by the local population 'because of their different religion and customs' (*Eltérő vallásuk* és *szokásaik miatt a helyi lakosság idegenekként kezelte* őket).

A partially problematic account that describes the emergence of 'political antisemitism' in Hungary after the First World War can be found in *Hungary T7*, pp. 114-115. In addition to the difficult economic and social situation in which Hungary found itself, several reasons are given for the emergence of this form of antisemitism. For example, it is said that 'big capital, mostly of Jewish origin' (*jórészt zsidó származású nagytőke*) played a leading role in economic life, 'especially in the areas of finance, industry and trade' (*különösen a pénzügyek, az ipar* és *a kereskedelem területén*). The 'Jewish capitalists' (*zsidó tőkések*) encountered both members of the middle class and poorer social groups, who identified them with the negative consequences of capitalism. Another reason for the hatred against Jews was that in the Soviet Union, but also in Hungary, many leaders of the proletarian or communist movement were Jews who had given up their religion. This made it

possible to equate both communism and liberalism with Judaism. Tensions were also caused by the fact that Jews were significantly over-represented in intellectual professions, especially among liberal professions, while a large number of intellectuals in Hungary could not find work. With the Numerus Clausus law, Pál Teleki's government wanted to reduce the anti-Jewish sentiment, which was also present in universities, in order to preserve the nation-state. This text clearly shows an attempt to provide plausible reasons for the creation of the Numerus Clausus law, which was primarily directed against Jews. However, several clichés are reproduced: rich, capitalist Jews who dominate the economy, atheistic Jewish communists, and highly educated Jews keeping non-Jews in poverty and unemployment. In this way, the Jews were given part of the blame for the measure taken against them. The text is accompanied by a graphic that is intended to show the disproportionate share of Jews in various liberal professions, in business and in banking, thus further fueling the impression of a partial reversal of blame.

The **Spanish textbook** *Spain T4* addresses historical and religious hostility towards Jews, noting that the pogroms of 1391 were a result of Jews being perceived as 'the people of deicide' by the Catholic Church (*Spain T4*, p. 114). This textbook also cites the historian Julio Valdeón, who writes that Jews' roles as moneylenders intensified resentment: 'Many wealthy Jews acted as moneylenders, treasurers, or tax collectors for kings, nobles and other clergy. This gave them privileges but also increased hatred toward them (debts, tax payments, invidiousness)'. Neither of these quotations is contextualized sufficiently to encourage learners to deconstruct these accusations and reject the narrative of partial blame of the Jews for their own persecution.

The phenomenon of blame reversal can also be recognized in **Polish history textbooks**. *Poland T7*, when describing assimilation of Jews into the Polish nation in the late nineteenth century, also tries to find the reasons for the continued antisemitism and attributes these, at least in part, to the behaviour of the Jews themselves: 'In the 19th century many of [the Jews] abandoned their traditional customs, blended into Polish society and took up intellectual work or trade. The growing competition of Jewish merchants, legal practitioners and representatives of other professions was the reason for the rise of antisemitism, i.e. prejudice or hostility towards Jews.' The author also blames the Jews for the rejection they faced in earlier times: 'Antisemitism, however, had already existed in all of Europe, but earlier it resulted from the religious and moral otherness of Jews, and not from the economic rivalry as in the 19th century' (*Poland T7*, p. 104). The role of the church and popular superstitions in the emergence of the hatred of Jews is completely ignored and instead the 'otherness' of the Jews is blamed for it. The syntagm 'moral otherness' is particularly problematic as it echoes accusations of immorality made against Jews.

In the previous chapter, we referenced the account in *Poland T15*, p. 115, according to which the fate of Palestinian refugees after the founding of the State of Israel 'increased the hatred towards Jews'. It is a presentation of an alleged fact in a very abbreviated chain of causality. In fact, there was already hatred towards Jews in the Arab world before the *Nakba*, which intensified after the founding of the State of Israel, and was directed primarily against this very state as a Jewish state. State propaganda and education, conspiracy thinking and the psychology of defeat also contributed to fueling antisemitism in the Arab world after 1948. However, since these facts are ignored in the above statement, the impression of a causal connection is created. Textbooks are always subject to the

pressure to reduce complexity. However, especially in sensitive explanatory contexts, it is important to ensure that, despite the need for simplification, no misleading abbreviations arise, as is the case in this example.

No significant examples of the phenomenon of blame reversal could be found in the **French** and **Greek textbooks** examined.

Lack of contextualization and deconstruction of image sources

One of the most frequent omissions in the textbooks analysed for this report is the failure to contextualise and deconstruct historical antisemitic sources, especially image sources. Propaganda images, such as antisemitic caricatures and posters, reflect the perspectives of the perpetrators and were designed to influence and persuade viewers into anti-Jewish hatred. They need to be deconstructed carefully and their content, function and effects adequately explained. This type of material needs therefore to be seen as a historical source to be analysed, not just reproduced illustratively.

In the textbooks examined for the **Study on North Rhine-Westphalian textbooks**, such illustrations frequently appear in connection with the depiction of the emergence of modern antisemitism at the end of the nineteenth century or of antisemitism as a core component of Nazi ideology, but only in rare cases are they sufficiently contextualized, and almost never deconstructed. The stereotypes used in the caricatures or on the propaganda posters are not highlighted, nor are the learners encouraged to reflect on the visual representation of antisemitic clichés. There is often a lack of work assignments, at least in the older works, which encourage pupils to deconstruct the function and intention of the image source.

The textbook *Germany T3*, which is authorized for **Saxony**, contains two such illustrations. First, there is a text on antisemitism as one of the main components of Nazi ideology on p. 119 which is accompanied by a drawing from a German textbook from 1936, in which the prototype of the muscular, blond 'Aryan' is juxtaposed with the distorted image of a stereotypical Jew. The text next to it reproduces a mocking poem which ends with the words: 'He [the Jew, the authors] thinks he is the most beautiful, and yet he is so ugly.' There is no further categorization, especially no naming of the stereotypes depicted. However, there are three work assignments which, in addition to describing the content of the picture, ask the pupils to explain the aims that the illustration and the text were intended to achieve and to assess the presumed effect. The situation is similar with a children's book drawing from 1936 reproduced on p. 139, on the exclusion of Jewish children from school. In the textbook, this illustration is linked to the task of using the drawing to characterize the significance of exclusion for the 'national community' sought by the National Socialists. In both cases, however, there is a clear risk that the visual dimension overpowers any rather discreet attempts at contextualization.

Germany T8 avoids the dilemma of showing and possibly spreading antisemitic clichés out of a desire to counteract antisemitic clichés by completely avoiding the reproduction of National Socialist antisemitic image propaganda in the textbook. *Germany T7*, on the other hand, presents a hotel owner's antisemitic advertising card for Frankfurt's 'only Jew-free hotel' from the time of

the German Empire. However, an entire double page is devoted to contextualizing the card. The artefact from 1887 is placed in the category of postcards with a political message, which were popular during the Empire. It is pointed out that the hotel owner, known as a notorious antisemite, was targeting a like-minded clientele and was by no means an isolated case at the time. Another text refers to the resistance of the Jewish community, but also of the city of Frankfurt, against the hotel owner and notes that, despite its widespread prevalence at the end of the nineteenth century, antisemitism did not go unchallenged. An explanatory text deals with the motives behind antisemitic imagery and two sources document the critical attitude of a senior imperial postal official and the reaction of a Jewish weekly magazine to the phenomenon of antisemitic postcards. A series of assignments aim to deconstruct the pictorial statements; one asks the students about possible ways in which such propaganda can be disseminated today. (*Germany T7*, p. 124-125).

In **Danish teaching materials**, there are also medieval and early modern images with anti-Jewish elements, which are hardly classified or deconstructed. In *Denmark T12*, in the section on Jew hatred in the Middle Ages (*Jøder i middelalderen* > *Had mod jøder*), there is a depiction from 1515 that shows the burning of Jews at the stake. As with a second picture source, an 1867 painting depicting the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans, which also shows scenes of violence (Jews being thrown from the roof of the temple), there is no classification beyond the information in the caption and no assignment asking students to gather further information. The caption reads, 'Jews are burned at the stake' (*Jøder brændes på bålet*). It notes that 'one can see on the clothes of the Jews a yellow mark which they were obliged to wear.' This is the only reference to this discriminatory marking requirement; however, the person or institution responsible for this ordinance is not named.

In the same section, *Denmark T12* cites the conviction among the Christian population that the Jews had killed Jesus Christ as a reason for the hatred of Jews in the Middle Ages. It also mentions the 'belief of some that the Jews had sinister ceremonies and, among other things, killed children and drank their blood'. This sentence is illustrated with a contemporary woodcut depicting the anti-Jewish legend of the ritual murder of Simon of Trent. It shows the alleged killing of the boy by several Jewish men and women. The text accompanying the picture reflects the accusations made against the Jews at the time: 'In 1475, the three-year-old Christian boy Simon disappeared in Trento, Italy. The city's Jews were accused of murdering him and using his blood for a Jewish ceremony. Eight Jews were tortured and burned for the murder. Their families were forced to convert to Christianity. In 1588, the Catholic Church declared Simon a saint.' There are several work assignments on this; one of them asks how 'the myth (*myten*) that Jews kill children could have originated'; another asks: 'What explanation can there be for the fact that many Christians believed in this myth?' In the comments for teachers, they are encouraged to provide additional information. For example, they could tell the pupils that it was a common belief among Christians that Jews used blood when making *matzot* for Passover. Other Christians believed that Jews used blood as a special medicine. This is in some sense informative, but it does not directly challenge the blood libel accusation, and there are no further critical attempts to contextualise or explain it (*Denmark T12*, Jews in the Middle Ages > Hatred against Jews [*Jøder i middelalderen* > *Had mod jøder*]).

Danish teaching materials sometimes use antisemitic caricatures, which are not or hardly contextualized. *Denmark T12* (section *Nation og racelære* [Nation and Race Doctrine], for example, shows an American caricature from 1892 under the title 'More Money'; the title apparently belongs to the authors. The caption reads: '[The cartoon] shows the Jew who only thinks about making money, on the right poor Jews flee from Russia to New York. Here they become rich and own all the buildings and companies. Then they move further west to make even more money. Look at how Jews are portrayed. What attitude does the illustrator have towards the Jews?' The tone and the use of the indicative does not challenge the antisemitic narrative presented. A deconstructive approach can at least be found in the assignment for the pupil: 'Look at how Jews are portrayed.' However, without further contextualization and aids to deconstruction of the cartoonist's attitude and message, the answer to the question will only be a surface-level description of the image.

Another antisemitic caricature in *Denmark T13,* in a section on the consequences of the First World War (subchapter *Tyskland skal straffes* [Germany must be punished]), illustrates the so-called 'stab-in-the-back myth'. A person wearing a Jacobin cap with a Star of David, a hooked nose, bulging lips, breasts and sidelocks thrusts a dagger into the back of a German soldier. The pupils are asked to investigate who the person with the dagger symbolizes and 'why the person is a woman with these facial features and a Jacobin cap with a star on her head'. In a sample answer that is only visible to the teacher, a reference is made to the pictorial elements used to caricature Jews and to the reference of the Jacobin cap to the French Revolution, adding: 'During the First World War, France was one of Germany's opponents.' There is no reference to antisemitism in the suggested answer. The chapters on the Holocaust in the Danish teaching materials are illustrated by numerous photographs, most of which are not accompanied by work assignments. The author's text often refers to the role of antisemitic propaganda in various media and exhibitions, which were intended to stir up hatred of Jews among the population. However, antisemitic illustrations such as a page from a Nazi schoolbook with antisemitic drawings or the poster for the exhibition 'The Eternal Jew' – for instance in *Denmark T19*, section *Jøderne som syndebuk* (Jews as scapegoats) – are hardly classified or deconstructed.

Hungarian textbooks contain few historical images that express antisemitism. *Hungary T7*, p. 102, shows the notorious antisemitic poster for the National Socialist exhibition 'The Eternal Jew'. It appears in the textbook alongside a description of the foundations of National Socialist ideology (race theory, antisemitism), and is obviously intended to show how antisemitic propaganda manifested itself in propaganda posters in everyday life. The illustration is accompanied by a work assignment: 'What type of prejudices does the poster portray? (Look out for the money, the sickle and the hammer!)' and thus targets the stereotype of the money-obsessed Jew as well as the conspiracy theory that Jews are behind the Bolshevism that threatens Germany and the world. The task in *Hungary T7*, p. 104, on the antisemitic propaganda poster 'Behind the enemy powers: the Jew', is less well addressed, showing a maliciously caricatured figure, recognizable as an Orthodox Jew, peering out from behind the flags of Great Britain, the USA and the Soviet Union. It simply asks students: 'Based on the picture, name the great powers represented by the flags!'

Spanish textbooks frequently reproduce iconic images related to antisemitism and the Holocaust, such as images of the Star of David used to mark Jews or Nazi propaganda posters (*Spain T6*, p. 145,

Spain T2, p. 60). These images are generally contextualized, with explanations which encourage reflection about how such visual propaganda was used to justify persecution (*Spain T6*, p. 144). When dealing with earlier periods, one textbook not only does not reproduce stereotypes, but invites pupils to reflect conceptually about different attitudes towards minorities, such as tolerance and coexistence, with reference to divergent views held by specialist historians in a section entitled 'Was Al-Andalus tolerant of the Mozarabic and Jewish populations?' (*Spain T3*, p. 123).

In modern contexts, particularly during the Nazi era, antisemitic propaganda is discussed and deconstructed. Textbooks explicitly address how Nazi ideology demonized Jews and constructed harmful stereotypes. Contextualizations of antisemitic stereotypes are therefore generally thorough. B6, for example, warns against these representations, clarifying next to the images that 'antisemitism was fueled by superstitions and slanders' (*Spain T4*, p. 114), and that deicide and blood libel accusations in the Middle Ages were false; it also ascribes the growth of antisemitism after the Black Death to religious animosity (*Spain T4*, p. 115). However, vivid imagery accompanying these sections may inadvertently reproduce stereotypes among pupils: coloured images of a moneylender and a Jew profaning a sacred Christian image printed alongside an equally colourful image of Jews being publicly burned during the pogroms of 1391 develop a visual narrative of ostensible crime and punishment. Similarly, an antisemitic caricature from 1940s Germany, used to illustrate a section entitled Why Were the Nazis Antisemitic?, and printed alongside an excerpt from *Mein Kampf,* may create a visual impression which reinforces antisemitic attitudes in spite of the book's explanation of the role of propaganda (*Spain T4*, p. 144). In general, textbook contextualization's of antisemitic imagery in Spanish textbooks are thorough, but not in themselves alone an adequate defence against further reproduction of stereotypes.

French textbooks contain few historical anti-Jewish or antisemitic representations. An exception to this trend occurs in a photograph of an antisemitic exhibition of 1941 in Paris, which features a caricature of Léon Blum, and which is partially contextualized. Although the sources of quotations of perpetrators (featured in boxes on the textbook page) containing witness reports of mass shootings and gassings are named, they are only briefly contextualized with short questions asking pupils to state, for example, 'What fate awaited Jews arrested by the Einsatzgruppen?' and 'Who is the author of the text? How were Jews exterminated in Auschwitz-Birkenau?' (*France T2*, p. 66). Another textbook reproduces a propaganda poster produced in Germany in 1942 containing a stereotypical antisemitic image of a Jew hiding behind Soviet, American and British flags, which is neither contextualized nor deconstructed (*France T8*, p. 87). Otherwise, gaps in the historiography of Judaism and Jewish life (notably the absence of references to Judaism in the Middle Ages, the early modern period) lead to distortion. The treatment of this topic in the modern Enlightenment period is simplified, via the brief presentation of the Concordat of 1801 (the restoration of religious pluralism after the revolution of 1789), which is illustrated in several textbooks with a historical engraving of Napoleon Bonaparte declaring religious liberty in front of a Catholic bishop, a Jew (wearing a Jewish hat), a Chinese priest and a Muslim (*France T4*, p. 42; *France T7*, p. 53). Further distortion, resulting from the lack of space in or brevity of textbook presentations, occurs in subsequent chapters about the institutionalization of secularism with the law of 1905 concerning the liberty of conscience, which is presented exclusively as a separation of the Catholic church and the state (*France T4*, p. 160f).

As in many textbooks in other countries considered here, photographs, paintings and other images in **Polish history textbooks** are mostly used for illustrative purposes and rarely for didactic purposes. There are some illustrations that can reinforce prejudices because they lack contextualization, be it through work assignments or additional texts that adequately explain the image content. For example, in *Poland T8*, p. 32, there is a historical painting from 1870 that shows a Jew taking a goat away from an indebted peasant family. The caption reads: 'Galician misery: Jewish usurer takes away a goat – provider of food for the entire family'. It remains unclear whether this is the title that the painter Aleksander Kotsis (1836-1877) gave his picture or whether it is the author's explanation. There is no reflection on the content depicted, for example that the depiction itself could be antisemitic in its motivation or iconographic elements. However, there is a box under the picture explaining the term 'usurer' (*lichwiarz*). It reads: 'Usurer – formerly: someone who lent money to others at high interest rates (i.e. he took back much more than he had lent)'. The connection with the antisemitic accusation of usury is not explained here either. The image, caption and explanation of the word reinforce a prejudice rather than refuting it or at least defusing it through contextualization.

Another illustration highlights the problem of a lack of or insufficient contextualization. The problem is solved only partially with the poster for the Nazi exhibition 'The Eternal Jew' 1937/1938, which is used in *Poland T9*, p. 29. Here it appears as 'a cover of an antisemitic book published in the Third Reich (1937). The titular 'eternal Jew' holds gold coins in one hand, a whip in the other, and under his arm, a map of the USSR. In this deceitful manner, Nazi propaganda depicted Jews as repulsive and dirty people, supporters of communism, who live like animals but rule the world thanks to money.' (*Poland T9*, p. 29) Contextualizing the poster as part of a broader exhibition would have been a way to highlight the extent of the antisemitic propaganda machine set up by the Nazi regime. The explanation of the image is basically limited to a description of the image's content. The explanation that Nazis depicted, i.e. imagined, Jews this way does indeed point to the constructed nature of this antisemitic enemy image; however, a consistent deconstruction is missing here. The statement that the Nazis believed Jews lived like animals (a propaganda film of the same name from 1940 paralleled images of Orthodox Jews in the ghetto with shots of rats) is questionably formulated and would require a broader discussion.

There are many photographs shown in the chapters teaching about the Holocaust that show Jewish victims in the ghettos and death camps. In most cases they are contextualized in a sensitive way. In *Poland T15*, p. 28, however, there is picture of Jewish children in a ghetto with a very emotive but unclear and problematic description: 'Jewish children living in the ghetto were often left on their own. Starving, deprived of adult care, they died of exhaustion in the streets'. Since neither the caption, nor the author's text explain what happened to the parents of these children, the learners might lose sight of the fact that the children's situation was the result of the murder of their parents by the Nazis and not of abandonment.

Greek textbooks rarely contain images or visual materials relevant to Judaism or antisemitism. In one history textbook, a page dedicated to the rise of National Socialism in Germany entitled 'Political dimensions of the 1929 crisis' includes a cartoon whose caption reads: 'Blond German children are seen rejoicing as Jewish children and their teacher are expelled from school (image

from a school textbook in Nazi Germany)' (*Greece T5,* p. 117), which contains a caricature of blonde children laughing alongside dark-haired Jewish children and their teacher who walk away with bowed heads. This caricature has the merit that it shows pupils today what textbooks used by their peers in National Socialist Germany looked like and the type of antisemitic messages they contained. There is however a missed opportunity here to highlight how textbooks can be used for propaganda, rather than educational, purposes, thus building their critical thinking skills. Beyond the general indication that this image was taken from a school textbook, however, the image is not further explained or contextualized, and the date, artist or purpose of the image is not indicated. The same section of this textbook also contains a quotation of a witness who claims that he joined the National Socialist Party as a result of food shortages, and who calls these shortages an 'artificial scarcity created by the Jews, which forced workers to run... begging farmers for a little food' (*Greece T5*, p. 117). Although this quotation is taken from Ian Kershaw's famous book *Hitler 1936-45*, the textbook does not clarify that this passage is not the opinion of the historian Kershaw himself.[62]

3.3 Antisemitism as a historical and contemporary phenomenon

School textbooks contain a large variety of definitions and explanations of antisemitism. The purpose of this section is to map out and critically analyse these definitions and explanations. None of the textbooks in this report refer to or apply one of the more recent definitions of antisemitism established by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in 2005, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in 2016, or in the Jerusalem Declaration of 2021. Instead, the teaching materials develop their own inherent, though often eclectic, definitions and understanding of what antisemitism is and how it manifests.

Types and definitions of antisemitism

The textbooks analysed in the **Study on North Rhine-Westphalian textbooks** mostly deal with antisemitism and hostility towards Jews from a historical perspective, especially in the chapters on National Socialism (antisemitism as the core of National Socialist ideology) or in chapters on the German Empire with descriptions of the emergence of racial pseudo-science and of biological antisemitism. Social studies and politics textbooks in North Rhine-Westphalia often draw a parallel between the antisemitism of the National Socialists and today's extreme right-wing antisemitism, but ignore other forms of antisemitism, such as left-wing antisemitism or antisemitism in the context of the Middle Eastern conflict. A single history textbook from the North Rhine-Westphalia sample devotes one page to antisemitism in German popular culture, more precisely in German-language rap music.[63]

Not all textbooks from the North Rhine-Westphalia sample, which address the topic of antisemitism from a historical or contemporary perspective, offer adequate definitions of antisemitism; some older depictions of anti-Jewish attitudes or acts don't even mention the term 'antisemitism'. If a

62 Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1936-1945, Nemesis*, trans. Gr. N. Kondylis, Scripta, Athens 2001, p. 357.

63 Dirk Sadowski, Zusammenfassung (Summary), Report on North-Rhine Westfalian textbooks, p. 458-459.

definition of antisemitism is given, it is mainly associated with general discrimination or subsumed under the term racism. In doing so, specific aspects of antisemitism that distinguish it from other racist attitudes are lost. This applies above all to the conspiracy theory component, as expressed both in typical anti-Jewish libels ('poisoning the wells' or ritual murder myths) and in modern tropes such as the control of the financial, media or political system by Jews.[64]

Different types of antisemitism hardly play a role in the **Saxony history textbooks** analysed. With one exception, antisemitism is dealt with from a historical perspective. Some textbooks offer definitions of antisemitism in the glossary. *Germany T3*, p. 198, defines antisemitism as 'aversion or hostility towards Jews' and 'a term for ethnic-racist views based on social, ethnic and religious prejudices'. *Germany T7*, p. 180, explains that the term 'antisemitism' originated in the nineteenth century and describes 'a form of hostility towards Jews'. The text attempts to differentiate historically between traditional anti-Judaism and modern antisemitism: 'In contrast to older forms of hostility towards Jews, antisemites see Jews as a separate "race". In their eyes, the "Jewish race" is inferior to other "races"'. However, both these definitions also fail to address the conspiracy theory component of antisemitism.

Attempts at definitions and historical examples of antisemitism can also be found in **Danish history textbooks** and supplementary materials for history lessons. Neither in the authors' texts nor in additional sources is a distinction made between different forms of hatred of Jews. Moreover, in the textbooks examined, antisemitism is almost exclusively located in historical contexts. In some history textbooks, however, the persecution and murder of Jews in the Holocaust is also dealt with in the context of human rights, which at least implicitly points to the current significance of antisemitism (e.g. *Denmark T2* 2017, p.154, *Denmark T22*, p. 136f.).

Most of the definitions of antisemitism in the Danish teaching materials examined are very brief. It is defined in several of the materials examined as 'hatred against Jews' (e.g. *Denmark T6*, p. 186; *Denmark T19*, subchapter *Antisemitisme*; *Denmark T17*, subchapter *Holocaust*) or 'Jew-hatred' (*Denmark T2*, p. 142). *Denmark T2* defines antisemitism elsewhere as 'hateful sentiment' against Jews (p. 59) and again in more detail as hatred against Jews that 'expressed itself in religious, political and racist delusions about people of Jewish origin' (p. 159). *Denmark T8*, subchapter *Antisemitisme*, defines it as 'hatred or hostile attitude towards Jews', in *Denmark T12*, subchapter *Jøder og antisemitisme* (Jews and antisemitism) antisemitism is defined as 'prejudice and hatred against Jews as a group'. *Denmark T7* and *Denmark T19* make the connection between antisemitism and racism. *Denmark T7* distinguishes between biological and cultural racism and defines cultural racism as follows: 'When people are treated differently because of their different ethnicity, culture or religion, we speak of cultural racism' (*Denmark T7*, subchapter *Biologisk og kulturel racisme* [Biological and cultural racism]. *Denmark T19* calls the policy of the German National Socialists 'racism towards Jews' (subchapter *De jødiske synagoger* ['The Jewish synagogues']).

In **Hungarian textbooks**, antisemitism is considered exclusively from a historical perspective. *Hungary T3* and *Hungary T7* have separate short sections on this topic. *Hungary T3* describes antisemitism in the context of the rise of fascism and National Socialism in Europe as follows,

64 Ibid., p. 459.

emphasizing its medieval religious roots: 'The antecedent of antisemitism is anti-Judaism. While antisemitism was directed against people of Jewish descent, anti-Judaism discriminated people of Jewish religion. The rights of the Jewish people were restricted almost everywhere in medieval Europe.' (*Hungary T3*, p. 100). In the glossary at the end of the book, the authors define 'Political Antisemitism' as 'the political version of the ethnic, racist hatred against Jews that developed in the 19th century.' Its main goal is 'to gain popularity among people prejudiced against Jews in order to gain political advantages.' (*Hungary T3*, p. 228) This also addresses the role of the population as a carrier of antisemitic attitudes. *Hungary T7*, p. 102 also relates to the historical roots of the phenomenon, but connects it to modern prejudices. It states that antisemitism was not a product of the twentieth century 'but has been rearing its head in Europe for hundreds of years. One of its ideological bases is the race theory developed in the 19th and 20th centuries.' In the glossary 'Antisemitism' is defined as 'hatred of Jews. Antisemites regard the Jewish population in their own country as foreign, harmful and inferior.' (*Hungary T7*, p. 238).

Textbooks used in Andalusia and Madrid examined in this report, which we refer to collectively as **Spanish textbooks**, similarly address antisemitism historically, and focus on persecution such as the 1391 pogroms and the expulsion of Jews in 1492 (*Spain T1*, p. 138, *Spain T3*, p. 123, *Spain T4*, p. 114). Textbooks used in Spain offer various definitions of historical antisemitism, presenting it as an ideology with deep historical roots, extending beyond personal prejudice. *Spain T5* defines it as 'hatred towards the Jewish population' (p. 59), while *Spain T6* describes it as 'a doctrine that proclaims hatred of Jews', emphasizing that it has been persistent in Europe since the Middle Ages (p. 144). *Spain T2* focuses on the role of antisemitism in Nazi ideology, but no formal definition is mentioned (p. 60). In medieval contexts, *Spain T4* uses both 'anti-Judaism' and 'antisemitism' without clearly distinguishing between the terms (p. 105, p. 114-115). Although *Spain T1* (p. 138) and *Spain T9* (p. 93) briefly mention antisemitism, no formal definition is provided in those books, highlighting inconsistencies in how the term is addressed across the materials.

French history textbooks often use glossaries to define concepts. The glossary contained in *France T7* defines antisemitism generally as 'hatred and rejection of Jews' (*France T7*, p. 324). In chapters dealing with the National Socialist regime, antisemitism is defined in the glossary as 'a racist doctrine and practice carried out against Jews' (*France T2*, p. 45), and as 'hostility and racial rejection towards Jews' (*France T2*, p. 81). Textbooks for EM also contain detailed definitions of present-day antisemitism in terms of racist discrimination. Antisemitism is defined twice as 'hatred of Jews' in *France T9*, first in a list of 'important words' (*France T9*, p. 46), and second in a glossary (*France T9*, p. 78). In the section devoted to 'Combatting discriminations' this textbook lists antisemitism restrictively as an example of discrimination related to 'religion (racism, antisemitism)', while framing antisemitism as 'an obstacle to equality' and as a 'prejudice [which] … undermine[s] the principles of equality and justice in our society' (*France T9*, p. 46). In short, textbooks for EMC tend to define antisemitism not primarily historically, but rather as an infringement of republican principles.

Lithuanian history textbooks examined for this study deal with the phenomenon of antisemitism exclusively in the context of National Socialism and the Holocaust. It is described as 'political, economic, social activities against Jews and its justification' (*Lithuania T6*, p. 104).

In contrast to this definition, which focuses more on the political and ideological dimensions and effects of antisemitism, **Polish textbooks** in their definitions point more to the level of prejudiced attitudes (hostility) and emotions (hatred): textbooks for the subject history define antisemitism as 'prejudice or even hatred towards representatives of the Jewish people' (*Poland T4*, p. 119), or 'the attitude of hostility and hatred against Jews and people of Jewish origin' (*Poland T1*, p. 230. The latter definition points out that even people who no longer see themselves as Jews (for example after converting to Christianity) can be treated with hostility as Jews. The definition in *Poland T10* is similar when it states: 'Antisemitism – dislike or hostility towards Jews or people of Jewish origin' (*Antysemityzm – niechęć lub wrogość wobec* Żydów *lub osób pochodzenia* żydowskiego) (*Poland T10*, p. 51).

Of the social studies textbooks examined, *Poland T17* defines antisemitism as 'a type of discrimination against a specific national community (…) which manifests itself in a hostile attitude towards Jews' (*Poland T17*, p. 124). *Poland T18* states that antisemitism means 'hostility towards Jews as members of a nation or religious group' (*wrogość wobec* Żydów *jako członków narodu lub grupy wyznaniowej*) (*Poland T18*, p. 89). Both definitions thus remain vague when it comes to naming the characteristics and manifestations of antisemitism, although *Poland T18* emphasizes that the hatred is directed against Jews, regardless of whether they define themselves as national or religious or are seen as such by others.

The analysed Polish textbooks do not mention any forms of contemporary antisemitism. *Poland T17* and *Poland T18* discuss contemporary antisemitism only vaguely and not specifically in the Polish context.

No **Greek textbooks** explicitly define or analyse antisemitism in any historical period, or directly address antisemitic stereotypes or tropes. Prejudice against Jews is implied through passages on the persecution of Jews during the Holocaust as a form of genocide by the National Socialists or by 'Hitler's regime'. *Lyceum* textbooks similarly do not address antisemitism explicitly (*Greece T6*). Although the *lyceum* textbook for year three (*Greece T7*) directly refers to the Holocaust and the 'Final Solution' and the 'Middle East Problem', the word 'antisemitism' does not appear at all.

Antisemitism: manifestations and explanations

In the sections on Jews in the Middle Ages in the **Saxony history textbooks** analysed for this study, the roots, causes and reasons of religious hostility towards Jews are often inadequately deconstructed. *Germany T1*, p. 104, explains that Jews were 'often antagonized and persecuted because of their faith and their business [...]'. The text also refers to the 'scapegoat function' of the Jews in the context of the Black Death and the plague pogroms. The role of the church is not mentioned here. The phrase 'because of their faith and their business' is problematic, as it localizes the reasons for hostility among the Jews themselves (see also above). *Germany T6* on p. 88 is far more accurate and correct, locating the causes more on the side of the Christians: 'There has always been the accusation [on the part of the Christians, the author] that the Jews were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. [...] In addition, Jewish merchants were despised as competitors. The Christians also accused them of charging excessive interest. This sometimes turned into acts of violence – such as during the great plague of 1347-1351. As the epidemic could not be explained, the Jews

were accused of poisoning the wells.' The term 'antisemitism' is taken up again in the chapter 'Emancipation of the Jews': 'Parts of the population reacted to the legal improvement of Jews with hostility, the religious hatred of Jews in the Middle Ages was combined with racial theories, which gave rise to modern antisemitism' (*Germany T6*, p. 123). In connection with the deconstruction of an antisemitic postcard from the imperial era, the textbook also refers to contemporary Jewish voices that positioned themselves in the fight against antisemitism (*Germany T6*, pp. 124-125).

In the chapters on National Socialism, the Second World War and the Holocaust, antisemitism is characterized as one of the main components of National Socialist ideology. These sections are often followed by brief explanations of the term, such as in *Germany T3*, p. 118, where the author's text emphasizes that 'the exclusion of people of the Jewish faith has been a Europe-wide phenomenon since the Middle Ages [...] and was initially justified on religious grounds. The National Socialists took up this aversion as racist antisemitism.' *Germany T3* barely touches on the widespread antisemitism among the population, on which the National Socialists were able to build to some extent, although a section on the everyday life of Jewish children and young people from 1933 onwards refers to the hostility and assaults to which young Jews were subjected by teachers and their non-Jewish classmates (*Germany T3*, pp. 128-129). Under the heading 'Persecution "from below"', *Germany T6*, p. 116, dedicates a short section to the everyday antisemitism of ordinary people: 'The Jews experienced in everyday life how friends, neighbours, colleagues or customers withdrew from them, showed open hostility and hatred or took part in defamation and harassment.' The book also shows how the German population profited from the 'Aryanisation' of Jewish property (p. 120f.).

Following the current history curriculum for Saxony, the two textbook series examined offer a chapter on conspiracy theories in their textbooks for Grade 10 under the heading 'Truth' and 'Manipulation' – Instrumentalization of the Past. In a subchapter on the 'stab-in-the-back' myth, *Germany T10*, p. 81, refers to the antisemitic components of this conspiracy belief that prevailed in the Weimar era. The book shows a Nazi propaganda poster from 1942 entitled 'Judas' Betrayal', on which an arm with a Star of David on the sleeve stabs a German soldier in the back. The assignment for this is: 'Examine [the source] and explain the intention behind using the image of the "stab-in-the-back" myth here.' *Germany T5* also contains a chapter on this topic, but without references to the antisemitic stereotypes also used by nationalist circles at the time. In the context of the topic 'Truth' and 'Manipulation', *Germany T10*, p. 84-85, also deals with Holocaust denial. The phenomenon, which is particularly well-known in right-wing extremist circles, is treated under the term 'Auschwitz lie'. A historical overview is given and the claims of Holocaust deniers are deconstructed and rejected. A second section deals with the trivialization of the Holocaust by means of historically false equations, such as comparing Jewish victims with those affected by the sanitary measures during the COVID-19 pandemic.

There are many references to antisemitism and hostility towards Jews in the material examined from **Denmark**, but these phenomena are comparatively rarely explained. Most explanations can be found for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where antisemitism and hostility towards Jews are explained in the context of the rise of nationalism. *Denmark T2*, p. 59f. points out, for example, that European Jews had already been living in small local communities for hundreds of

years. The strengthening of national movements ensured that 'Jewish communities were regarded as foreign bodies in several European countries'. *Denmark T8* points out that 'in the 19th century [...] nationalism flourished in Europe, and the unique culture, language, history and religion of each country received more attention. This led to increased attacks on Jews whose culture, language and traditions differed from those of the majority' (subchapter *Theodor Herzl*). In a further subchapter, *Denmark T8* explains medieval antisemitism by detailing linguistic and cultural differences to the majority population as well as with religious prejudices, specifically the accusation of Christ's murder (subchapter *Et forfulgt folk* (A persecuted people'). The scapegoat theory is addressed by *Denmark T19*: 'Jews were abused and hated as scapegoats for centuries, for example when things went badly economically' (subchapter *Antisemitismen* (The Antisemitism).

Denmark T12 discusses emerging nationalism in the chapter 'Nation and race theory' (*Nation og racelære*). On the emerging 'racial doctrine' it says in general terms: 'It was thought that human masses not only looked different but had different characteristics. [...] And that this was the reason why European cultures were more developed, while other cultures, such as African cultures, were backward and primitive.' This statement is flanked by two antisemitic caricatures. They are an American caricature from 1892 (already discussed above) and a British caricature from 1891, which depicts an ostensibly wealthy top hat-wearing Jew, with banknotes and bonds spilling out of his coat pockets. He advises a traditionally dressed fellow Jew, who is kowtowing to the Russian police beadle, to come to Great Britain, as there is no persecution there and one can quickly make a fortune. The author goes on to say that 'Jews were a minority in European countries. Racial researchers emphasized that Jews were a separate race, which they called the Semitic race. Like other races, certain characteristics were ascribed to Jews. Most were negative, e.g. that Jews were greedy and only wanted to seize wealth. Several racial researchers emphasized that it was harmful to mix races. If a Jew had children with a non-Jew, the bad traits would be passed on to the children. Many also believed that Jews formed a secret network striving to take over the world. Some were convinced that Jews were a danger to the nation and society.' (subchapter *Jøder - en særlig race?* > *En semitisk race* [Jews - a separate race? > A Semitic race]). The text highlights the fact that the idea of race and the antisemitic tropes resulting from it were socially constructed and it is consistent in its use of distancing language. It also identifies the conspiracy-theory elements of antisemitism. Beyond this, however, the text offers no direct and explicit refutation to the antisemitic claims. Furthermore, 'race', 'racial theory' and 'racial researcher' are not placed in quotation marks.

In connection with the biography of Theodor Herzl and the emergence of Zionism, the Dreyfus Affair is also mentioned in *Denmark T8*, subchapter 'Theodor Herzl', but the students receive hardly any further information on this in the material. They are tasked with researching independently and creating an e-book with their findings. *Denmark T12* also addresses the discrimination against Jews under antisemitic auspices in the nineteenth century. He refers to the 'introduction of laws by the Russian tsar in the 1880s that made it difficult for Jews to make a living' and mentions raids and repression that caused over a million Russian Jews to flee, mainly to the USA, but 3000 also to Denmark. There is no more detailed information or work assignments here (*Denmark T12*, subchapter *Jøder - en særlig race?* > *Jøder- en trussel?* [Jews - a special race? > Jews - a danger?] – at least here the question mark after the headings indicates a certain distancing from the corresponding assertion).

In the chapters on National Socialism and the Second World War, antisemitism is named as the central ideological driving force that led to the Holocaust in all Danish textbooks dealing with the subject (e.g. *Denmark T23*, p. 178, or *Denmark T19)*, which names the 'antisemitism of the National Socialists as the most important cause of the Holocaust' (subchapter *Holocaust*). *Denmark T12* names the NSDAP as an openly antisemitic party that classified the Jews as 'internal enemies' and wanted to remove them from the 'Volksgemeinschaft' (subchapter *Nazisternes magtovertagelse* [Nazi takeover]). *Denmark T19* (subchapter *Jøderne som syndebuk* [Jews as a scapegoat) refers to the function of antisemitism in identifying a supposed internal enemy. The book also addresses the conspiracy ideology component of modern or National Socialist antisemitism: 'Hitler and the Nazi Party believed that the Jews were part of an international conspiracy against Germany and the German population.' This classification is illustrated with a poster for the exhibition 'The Eternal Jew', which, however, is neither contextualized nor combined with critical student assignments.

In **Hungarian history textbooks**, antisemitism is first discussed in the context of the rise of fascist movements in Europe, especially National Socialism in Germany. As already mentioned, *Hungary T3* traces twentieth century antisemitism back to its medieval roots. With regard to anti-Judaism in the Middle Ages, the book states that Jews 'were required to wear distinguishing garments or special badges on their clothes, were allowed to live only in designated places, could only engage in certain occupations and could not own land. They were considered and treated as foreigners by the local population because of their different religion and customs. Some people took advantage of this to stir up hatred against them. Therefore, throughout history (...) the Jews have often become victims of violent attacks.' (*Hungary T3*, p. 100). Modern antisemitism is described as a major element of National Socialist ideology (*Hungary T3*, p. 100; *Hungary T7*, p. 101-103). The Hungarian textbooks examined deal with the rise of racist antisemitism and its effects in Germany and other European countries, paying particular attention to the corresponding developments in Hungary itself. *Hungary T3* and *Hungary T7* attribute discrimination against and riots against Jews in Hungary in the interwar period to the antisemitism that was also on the rise in Hungary at this time. According to the authors, Jews had disproportionately occupied prominent positions in culture and business, so that it was easy to make them scapegoats for the difficult political and economic situation in which Hungary found itself after the First World War and the Treaty of Trianon (*Hungary T3*, p. 113). These prejudices are named and rejected as false. There was a perception of Jewish war suppliers during the First World War that they supplied poor quality clothing and food to the army, but made huge fortunes in the process. However, the textbook clarifies that also many Christian suppliers were involved in such practices. In fact, the text counters this narrative by highlighting that many young Jewish man fought in the army themselves, and that Jewish suppliers were essential for the functioning of the Hungarian military. Another common accusation against Jews was that many of them were communists – an accusation that the textbook also refutes (*Hungary T3*, p. 113).

The textbook also deals with the anti-Jewish legislation under Horthy, particularly the discriminatory Numerus Clausus law of 1920, which allocated university places to Jews in proportion to their share of the total population. As a result, the proportion of Jewish students in universities fell drastically. The textbook includes a paragraph on 'different points of view', which shows that the introduction of the law was surrounded by serious disputes: while some people considered it unacceptable that Jews were 'over-represented' in certain academic careers, others opposed its introduction

because of its violation of the principle of equal civil rights (*Hungary T3*, p. 114). In the chapter about the Holocaust, the antisemitic laws that were passed in Hungary in the 1930s and 1940s are also discussed in detail. *Hungary T3*, p. 146-147 links it to the intensifying antisemitism in Hungary in the 1930s, 'which was reflected in state legislation and regulations. In 1938, the Hungarian parliament passed a law that stated that 20 per cent of lawyers, doctors, engineers, journalists, and business employees could be Jewish. It was the first Jewish law, with which the equality of civil rights that had existed since the age of dualism was abolished'. The antisemitic laws of 1939, which limited the proportion of Jews in the above-mentioned professions to 6 per cent, as well as the third so-called 'Jewish Law' of 1941, which was modeled on the Nuremberg laws of 1935 and banned marriages between Jews and non-Jews, are also dealt with in detail. *Hungary T7*, p. 156, also contains similar sections on antisemitic policies and legislation under Horthy and points out that the 1939 law was a turning point in Hungary: for the first time, Jewishness was not defined on the basis of religion, but, similar to Germany, on the basis of racial criteria (ancestry and ethnicity).

Hungary T7 contains a seven-page chapter on the Holocaust (in *Hungary T3* it covers 8 pages), which deals with the discrimination, persecution, and extermination of European Jews under National Socialist rule. The focus is on the actions of the German occupiers, with the rampage of the Einsatzgruppen, the ghettoization of the Jews, their deportation and murder in the extermination camps in the East (*Hungary T7*, p. 155-161). But a whole page is also devoted to the persecution and extermination of the Hungarian Jews with the involvement of Hungarian perpetrators. The headline of the section is 'The attempt to exterminate the Hungarian Jews and Gypsies (sic)', thus highlighting the resilience of Jewish and Roma communities despite the genocide. The German occupiers, but also the fascist Arrow Cross Party, are named as the driving forces, while it is pointed out that Horthy himself intervened and thus saved 'half of the Budapest Jews'. In *Hungary T3* the chapter about the Holocaust covers 8 pages (p. 146-153). Here the headline above the relevant sub-chapter is 'The Tragedy of Hungarian Jewry'. The textbook states that the destruction of Hungarian Jewry would have been impossible without 'the cooperation of the Hungarian public administration (civil servants and gendarmerie)' (*Hungary T3*, p. 150).

Antisemitic pogroms and war crimes committed by Hungarians are not concealed. A photo in *Hungary T7*, p. 165, shows a street in Novi Sad in January 1942 covered with corpses. The author's text describes the massacre in which 1,246 Jews and Serbs were murdered by Hungarian troops and then thrown into the Danube. The terror of the Arrow Cross soldiers against Jews, particularly the mass shootings on the banks of the Danube at the end of 1944, is also dealt with. For example, *Hungary T3*, p. 151, contains a report by an eyewitness.

Spanish textbooks examine antisemitism and hostility towards Jews primarily in medieval Spain and Nazi Germany. In the Middle Ages, hostility towards Jews is attributed to religious and economic factors. Religious animosity led to violence committed in particular by Christians, including forced conversions, and the 1492 expulsion of Jews (*Spain T1*, p. 176, *Spain T4*, p. 121, *Spain T3*, p. 167, *Spain T9*, p. 168). *Spain T4* mentions that Jews were falsely blamed for poisoning wells during the time of the Black Death (*Spain T4*, p. 74); *Spain T3* similarly states that, 'In 1348, the Black Death sparked unfair persecutions against Jews in the cities hardest hit by the epidemic' (p. 85). A section entitled 'Anti-Judaism in *Spain T4* states that, 'The crisis of the 14th century was the

breeding ground for a growing hostility against the Jews, which led to numerous pogroms (looting and massacres of an ethnic or religious minority) both in Castile and in Aragon. In Castile, laws were approved that forced them to live in close neighbourhoods and to wear a distinctive sign, to cause their economic and social exclusion and force them to convert. The consequence of these events was the massive conversion of Jews, called conversos, forced to embrace the new faith under threat of death' (p. 105). There are two more paragraphs in this section which are devoted to 'Ayllon's laws', a set of legal measures that segregated Jews and imposed restrictions on them during the fifteenth century prior to the Edict of Expulsion of 1492. *Spain T4* also devotes two pages to the 1391 pogrom, a series of violent attacks on Jewish communities, using primary sources and graphic representations (p. 114-115). The processes that lead to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and the events themselves are dealt with to varying degrees (three lines with a map in *Spain T4* to two pages in *Spain T1*) in all relevant textbooks examined. *Spain T4* dedicates a paragraph to the doctrine of 'limpieza de sangre' ('purity of blood') which lead to the discrimination and persecution by the Spanish inquisition of those with Jewish and Muslim ancestors, and which is thought to be one of the first expressions of antisemitism on a racist basis (p. 171).

In representations of twentieth century history, antisemitism is consistently portrayed in all Spanish textbooks as the fundamental ideology underpinning the Holocaust, identified as the driving force for the persecution and extermination of Jews (*Spain T5*, p. 59, *Spain T2*, p. 60, *Spain T6*, p. 144). *Spain T6* explores the roots of Nazi antisemitism in a section entitled Why Were the Nazis Antisemitic?, explaining Hitler's racial theories and including excerpts from *Mein Kampf*, in which Hitler blames Jews for Germany's defeat in the First World War and subsequent economic problems (*Spain T6*, p. 144). Beyond this, several textbooks ascribe persecutions to racial state antisemitism, based on the belief in Aryan racial superiority, with Jews portrayed as an inferior race (*Spain T5*, p. 59, *Spain T2*, p. 60). *Spain T5* includes an excerpt from the Holocaust Encyclopaedia that states that, 'They referred to them as a "parasitic race" that was destroying the Aryan race', and that, 'This false belief was the reason they persecuted the Jewish people' (*Spain T5*, p. 60). *Spain T2* likewise emphasizes that antisemitism was central to the Nazi party's ideology from its inception and 'as a result, they carried out relentless persecution against Jews and their properties from the moment they gained power in Germany' (*Spain T2*, p. 60). One textbook explains Nazi antisemitism historically by linking it to long-standing European prejudices dating back to the Middle Ages based on scapegoating, showing how the Nazis amplified earlier antisemitic narratives: 'Antisemitism was not a new doctrine promoted by the Nazis but had been a constant presence in Europe since the Middle Ages' (*Spain T6*, p. 144).

French textbooks address antisemitic events occurring in the late nineteenth end twentieth centuries, by focusing on the Dreyfus affair and on National Socialism and the Holocaust. Earlier examples of antisemitism are not addressed. Likewise, antisemitism is not explicitly historicized in history textbooks: although Jews are presented as victims of discrimination and persecution, textbooks rarely explain the historical roots and meaning of this ideology. History textbooks devote two pages to the Dreyfus affair, which they explain as a breach of justice and of morality (*France T7*, p. 324) and, by evoking Dreyfus at the end of the chapter called 'The III Republic from 1870 to 1914', as contrary to republican values (*France T7*, p. 133). Antisemitism is named as a motivating factor for repression and anti-Jewish violence during the Second World War. Among mentions of the antisemitic measures implemented in Germany are the revocation of German citizenship, the

prohibition of marriage between Jews and Germans, and violence against property (*France T2*, p. 50), then deportation, incarceration in ghettos, mass murder by Einsatzgruppen and gassing (*France T2*, p. 59 & 66; *France T8*, p. 96f & 100) and the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 more generally (*France T8*, p. 65). *France T8* further describes the 'Final Solution' as the moment when 'the extermination was decided in 1942' (*France T8*, p. 100), followed by the establishment of 'killing centres like Treblinka or Auschwitz-Birkenau' in which 'deported Jews were gassed then incinerated in crematory ovens' (*France T8*, p. 100). One chapter about 'The Nazi Regime' opens with an antisemitic quotation from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and from the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 (*France T2*, p. 45), for example. Similarly, another textbook introduces the chapter about the Second World War by stating that 'Jews and Gypsies [sic.] were victims of genocides' (*France T8*, p. 83), by reproducing a photograph of Einsatzgruppen shooting Jews in Ukraine in 1941 (*France T8*, p. 86), and by reproducing an antisemitic propaganda poster containing a stereotypical image of a man wearing a black suit, a David star around his waist, and hiding behind British, American and Soviet flags, alongside the slogan 'Behind the enemy powers: the Jew'; the caption of this image classifies it as a 'Nazi poster, 1942' (*France T8*, p. 87). Antisemitic tendencies within the general population and motives are not addressed.

Moral and civic education textbooks mostly refer to concrete examples of hostility towards Jews during the Second World War, which they explain in terms of exclusion, deportation and murder (*France T8*, p. 39) ordered by the National Socialist regime, and to the prohibition of children from entering certain public spaces ordered by the Vichy regime (*France T10*, p. 10).

In **Lithuanian history textbooks** following the new curriculum of 2022, antisemitism is exclusively localized in the context of National Socialism, the Second World War and the Holocaust. In one of the textbooks for Grade 10 the topic of antisemitism is part of a separate sub-chapter Racial politics and Antisemitism. In this sub-chapter antisemitism is explained as a part of the Nazi racist ideology (*Lithuania T6*, p. 104). It is named as the driving ideological force behind the discrimination, persecution, and extermination of the Jews in the Holocaust. However, as a phenomenon it is only associated with Nazi Germany and its policy in the occupied territories during the war: 'Antisemitism was a state policy in Nazi Germany. During the German occupation of different European countries, an antisemitic policy was established in those countries as well.' (*Lithuania T6*, p. 192). *Lithuania T4* describes the increasing discrimination against Jews in Germany: 'In 1933, when the Nazis came to power, they began the persecution of the Jews. When the Second World War started, these persecutions became even more intense. Jews had to wear a separate sign on their clothes – the star of David. Their number in concentration camps increased even more.' (*Lithuania T4*, p. 175) Regarding the Holocaust in Lithuania, a Grade 6 history textbook states: 'The life of the Jewish community in Lithuania was disrupted and marked by tragedy during the Second World War. During this war, when Nazi Germany occupied Lithuania (1941–1944), the occupiers and their local assistants murdered the majority of Lithuanian Jews, without distinguishing between children, the elderly, women and men. These massacres took place both in Lithuania and in other Nazi-occupied territories, and a general term was later coined to describe them – the Holocaust. (…) The Holocaust fundamentally changed the situation of both local Jews and Lithuanian society as a whole' (*Lithuania T1*, p. 122-123).

Polish history textbooks focus on antisemitism during the Nazi era and the Holocaust, but also partly cover its manifestations in the interwar period and after the Second World War in the People's Republic of Poland. They do not discuss, however, the situation in other countries than Nazi Germany and Poland. Only *Poland T4* refers very generally to the increasing antisemitism in Europe in the nineteenth century and names Zionism as a response to Jew-hatred: 'As nationalism developed in Europe, hostility towards Jews grew. In response, Jewish nationalism, called Zionism, began to take shape' (*Poland T4*, p. 83).

In general, the reasons for antisemitism are rarely discussed. The role of the church in the spread of antisemitism is never addressed. For the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, economic reasons (competition between Jewish and non-Jewish merchants) are sometimes cited, or the Jews themselves are held responsible for the hatred towards them in the sense of blame-reversal (see below): *Poland T7* attributes it to the self-imposed isolation of the Jews from other nations, which is justified by the fact that they wanted to preserve their religion. According to the authors, it was this isolation that aroused hostility from other nations (*Poland T7*, p. 47). The textbook blames the 'aversion to Jews' in the Middle Ages for the emergence of 'false stories about them'. However, the textbook fails to explain where this 'aversion' came from. It names the accusation of ritual murder as the central form of these 'false stories': 'For example, it was said that Jews murdered Christian children to add their blood to the matzah'. At the same time, the textbook tries to refute and reject this accusation: 'It was untrue: the Bible forbids Jews to eat blood at all, so they do not eat food containing animal blood' (*Poland T7*, p. 47).

Poland T8 (p. 32) again blames economic competition for the rise of antisemitism in late nineteenth century Poland: 'In the 19th century many of [the Jews] abandoned their traditional customs, blended into Polish society and took up intellectual work or trade. The growing competition of Jewish merchants, legal practitioners and representatives of other professions was the reason for the rise of antisemitism, i.e., prejudice or hostility towards Jews'. However, 'antisemitism also resulted from the nationalism developing in Europe at that time, i.e. the conviction about the separateness of one's own nation and the superiority of its interests over the interests of other nations. Nationalists sought to create single-nation states, which must have led to conflicts – and conflicts that could not be resolved. To which country should belong, for example, a village where Poles, Ukrainians and Jews had lived for hundreds of years?' (*Poland T8*, p.104). *Poland T4* also blames Polish nationalists who 'from the beginning of the 20th century (...) began to display antisemitic attitudes, which worsened relations between Jews and Poles' (*Poland T4*, p. 119).

Concerning the interwar period, the discussion about the coexistence of Jews and Poles is mostly undertaken in chapters dealing with the development of new political parties and the growth of the ethnic right-wing Roman Dmowski´s political party. There, textbooks reveal the growth of Polish antisemitism and give examples of prejudice against Jews. *Poland T8*, for example, tells the story of Polish religious tolerance being replaced by the growing antisemitism in Poland. The textbook contains a photograph which shows students who 'hang anti-Jewish banners on the gate of the University of Warsaw (…): "We demand a ghetto for Jews and a reduction in fees"' (*Poland T8*, p. 223). Despite the hostility towards Jews in the interwar period, which is also described in *Poland T4*, the authors are convinced that 'despite various difficulties, the situation of national minorities in Poland

was better than in neighbouring countries. Representatives of other nations could establish their own political parties, cultural association, schools and magazines. Cinematography, e.g. in Yiddish, was developing (*Poland T4*, p.53).'

The role of racist antisemitism in the Ideology of National Socialism is addressed by the textbooks that deal with the developments in Nazi Germany and the Second World War. *Poland T8*, for example, states that 'a very important element of National Socialism was racism: the Germans were allegedly the most perfect of the races: the "master race" (...). According to Hitler, Jews were on the bottom of the racial ladder – they were to blame for all the misfortunes of Germany and the world, including communism in Russia. Antisemitism, that is, hostility towards Jews, was one of the basic features of Nazism' (*Poland T8*). The textbooks explore in detail the measures of discrimination and exclusion to which Jews in Germany were exposed between 1933 and 1939, from the professional bans to the Nuremberg Laws and the November pogroms of 1938. They also include measures that made everyday life more difficult for German Jews, such as the ban on visiting cinemas and theatres (e.g. *Poland T4*, p. 174). *Poland T8* describes the forced emigration of 300,000 Jews from Germany by 1939 and states: 'However, others - over 200,000 - did not want or had nowhere to run. These people were murdered by the Nazis during World War II' (*Poland T8*, p.161).

The Holocaust is covered in all history textbooks in several subchapters, which are devoted not only to the exterminations sites and mechanisms of terror and extermination, but also to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the attitude of Poles towards the Holocaust. Concerning the topography of the genocide, pupils learn that the 'extermination camps where the Jewish population was deliberately exterminated' were 'for practical reasons (…) located in occupied Poland – since the largest concentration of Jews existed there' (*Poland T15*, p. 29). *Poland T9*, p. 32, adds as a reason that the crimes in Eastern Europe could be better concealed from the population in Germany. *Poland T3* includes a map of the Holocaust in Europe that shows that ghettos, concentration camps and death camps were not only located in Poland, but in the whole of Europe (*Poland T3*, p. 21).

Poland T9 in particular deserves credit for providing a comprehensive picture of the geography of the Holocaust. The author emphasizes that 'the murder of all European Jews' took place especially in the USSR and Poland by mass executions and later in the extermination camps (*Poland T9*, p. 31). He lists examples of the biggest extermination camps and writes that 'trains from Poland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Slovakia, Greece, France arrived in the extermination camps'. The author explains that 1-1.35 million European Jews died in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. Finally, he emphasizes that 'the most Polish Jews - about 850,000 - perished in Treblinka. In 1942, up to 12,000 Jews were killed there daily' (*Poland T9*, p.32). These paragraphs highlight the diverse origins of European Jews and humanizes them. Finally, the textbook acknowledges the historical singularity of the Holocaust and that the Jewish population was its primary victim: 'In total, the Germans murdered about 6 million European Jews - about 3.5 million of them in extermination camps. The crime that has no comparison in history was called the *Shoah* (Hebrew: "destruction") or the Holocaust' (*Poland T9*, p.32).

Poland T9 is also the only textbook to mention, albeit briefly, antisemitism in the immediate aftermath of the Nazi defeat. It admits that in 1945 'there were units [of the Polish independence underground] that carried out nationalistically motivated murders (for example on Jews)' (*Poland*

T9, p. 149). However, a thorough discussion of the antisemitism in post-war Poland and of what happened to Jews returning from the death camps, including episodes of violence such as the 1946 Kielce pogrom, is missing. For the period of the Cold War, the history textbooks mention the antisemitic campaign of 1968, in which Jewish students and Jewish members of the Communist Party were accused of subversive efforts and Zionism and which resulted in a large-scale purge within the party and the forced emigration of many Jewish Poles. *Poland T9* positions the campaign within the wider context of international politics and the politics within the Polish Communist Party (*Poland T9*, p. 176). *Poland T10* describes how the Polish government had accused the Polish Jewish minority of 'agent activity' and expelled 13,000 Jews from Poland (*Poland T10*, p. 230). *Poland T13* shows a photograph of a gathering of men (it is not said which gathering it is, but it could be a party meeting) holding up several signs with slogans reading, among others: 'Zionists to Israel!'. The caption states that the antisemitic campaign began already after the 1967 Six-Day War and that a faction in the Communist Party 'even compared the Israeli army's actions to the actions of the Nazis.' It also refers to the rampant antisemitism 'in party circles, in the citizens' militia and in the army' at the time (*Poland T13*, p. 386).

Greek textbooks evoke no antisemitic tropes or stereotypes such as blood libel, well poisoners, deicide or modern biologistic antisemitism. Instead, this sample suggests that the textbooks, such as the civics textbook for the fourth-year *gymnasium*, frame antisemitism within the universal terminology of racism, prejudice and discrimination against minority groups generally. Nonetheless, one history textbook for *gymnasium* does note how the National Socialist regime used propaganda to blame Jews for the economic crisis of the 1920s (*Greece T5*, p. 115). Likewise, in the sub-section of a civics textbook for upper secondary education (*lyceum*), authors indirectly address antisemitism in a section entitled 'Respect for the "other" and tolerance' by describing anti-Jewish prejudice among European societies during the Second World War in terms of indifference, and by pointing out that European countries responded to the National Socialist exclusion and destruction of Jews only when circumstances directly affected their domestic societies: 'Initially, there was no reaction to the Nazi persecution of the Jews. In other European countries, the various ghettos to which Jews were deported were news in the newspapers; it did not concern those who were not Jews. When the war broke out, Europeans realized that the persecution of Jews was a precursor to their own suffering.' (*Greece T11*, pp.160-1).

Instigators and perpetrators

In the **Saxony history textbooks** analysed for this study, the perpetrators of the Holocaust are mostly 'the National Socialists', the SA and SS, the Gestapo and, of course, Nazi leaders such as Hitler and Goebbels. *Germany T3* at least points out that the genocide of the European Jews would hardly have been possible without the involvement of ordinary people such as railway workers, administrative officials, camp workers and guards. *Germany T6*, p. 140, under the question of what the German population knew about the Holocaust, also refers to the 'train drivers, switchmen, timetable makers, who always led new, full trains to the extermination camps [...], the employees of the city administrations who deleted the names of the deported Jews from the address books [...], the tax officials who auctioned off the property of the deportees, the people who bought property of Jews at auction, some of which was labelled with the names of the owners'.

Concerning the main agents of antisemitism, the National Socialists and Hitler are clearly named in **Danish teaching materials** as the driving forces in the context of the Second World War and the Holocaust, which is evident in the author's text, but also in the sources used (such as corresponding excerpts from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*). State-fueled antisemitic persecution in Russia in the nineteenth century is also addressed in several texts (e.g. *Denmark T6*, p. 186f). However, the driving forces behind antisemitism and hostility towards Jews stay vague for large parts of the material, as the perpetrators remain linguistically invisible, for example using the passive voice or impersonal language constructions. Examples include formulations such as 'At the end of the 19th century [...] no one believed that the Jews were responsible for the plague. At this time, antisemitism was widespread in Europe' (*Denmark T12*, sample answers to source 2: Massacre of the Jews) or *Denmark T2*, p. 59f.: 'As a result, the Jewish communities in several European countries were regarded as foreign bodies.' The example from *Denmark T2* also makes the group of perpetrators so difficult to grasp because it is unclear which countries are involved. Antisemitism as part of Danish history is only rarely and indirectly described. In *Denmark T16* (subchapter *Jødernes skæbne* [Fate of the Jews], in the context of the occupation and the Holocaust, it is stated in a very general and relativizing way: 'There was also a certain antisemitism in Denmark and Norway'. The learners are however confronted with source material that documents antisemitic attitudes in Denmark, for example in the form of a newspaper article in *Denmark T12* (subchapter *Krystalnagen* [Kristallnacht]) or in the same material in the subchapter *Jøderne - en trussel* (Jews - a threat), about which the pupils are asked content-related questions.

Some of the Hungarian perpetrators of the Holocaust are listed by name in the analysed **textbooks from Hungary**, but the focus is on high-ranking officials of the Arrow Cross, the fascist Hungarian militia. In addition to its leader Ferenc Szálasi, other significant perpetrators appear, such as the then Prime Ministers László Bárdossi and Döme Sztójay or Interior Minister Andor Jaross. Miklós Horthy's responsibility is still debated, but he is generally portrayed as a victim of circumstances rather than a perpetrator.

Various groups are identified as instigators of antisemitism in different periods in **Spanish textbooks**. In the Middle Ages, religious and political leaders, particularly within the Christian Church, are cited (*Spain T4*, p. 114-115). During the 1391 pogroms, religious figures like Ferrand Martínez are said to have incited violence with inflammatory sermons, leading to mass killings and forced conversions (*Spain T9*, p. 93). In later periods, textbooks identify Adolf Hitler (*Spain T5*, p. 84) or 'the Nazis' (*Spain T2*, p. 60) as the main perpetrators of the Holocaust. At the same time, one textbook used in Spain also explores the role of collaborators by inviting pupils to consider why some French citizens collaborated with the Nazis and whether this occurred elsewhere in Europe (*Spain T6*, p. 152). However, the use of the passive tense sometimes leads authors to omit references to agency. *Spain T5*, for example, states that 'the so-called "Final Solution" was adopted, which led to the mass and planned extermination of the Jewish population in gas chambers and their disappearance in the crematory ovens of the extermination camps' such as Auschwitz and Treblinka (85).

Few groups or individual perpetrators are named in **French textbooks**. *France T9* characteristically uses the passive mode and thus does not mention those who ordered or implemented deportations, murders or discrimination. However, most sections of French history textbooks

dealing with the Second World War name Hitler, the National Socialist regime, and the Vichy regime as driving forces behind hostility towards Jews. The responsibility of the Vichy regime in relation to the mass deportation of Jews from France in July 1942 is acknowledged in timelines (*France T2*, p. 77, p. 80). The government in Vichy is clearly identified in a subtitle as 'An antisemitic regime' (*France T2*, p. 80); other materials (in their sections devoted to EMC) also adopt a subtitle calling Vichy 'an antisemitic regime' and quote the anti-Jewish legislation of October 1940 defining Jewishness in racial terms and prohibiting Jews from professions (*France T8*, p. 111). More specifically, a photograph of a round-up of Jews in Paris in August 1941 identifies the 'French police and German soldiers arresting Jews, who are subsequently deported to camps' and defines the Vichy regime as 'antisemitic' and its policy of collaboration to 'place its police force in the service of the occupier in order to arrest Jews' (*France T2*, p. 77, p. 81f). *France T8* likewise illustrates 'French gendarmes registering the identity of Jewish prisoners at the Pithiviers camp following a round-up in 1941' (*France T8*, p. 111).

In **Lithuanian history textbooks**, too, the main perpetrators of the Holocaust are initially Hitler and the 'Nazis'. However, *Lithuania T6*, p. 190, provides a more detailed explanation about the perpetrators and the mechanisms of the genocide, highlighting the fact that numerous institutions and actors shared responsibility: 'The "Holocaust" (in Hebrew *Shoah* ["catastrophe, annihilation"], the process of mass annihilation of the Jewish nation, was not a centralised process. The government of Germany had not established any particular organization which would be responsible for Jewish matters. There was no separate funding for the murdering of the Jews. The government administration, the army, the party and the economic structures were all involved in anti-Jewish activities'. This passage counters the common narrative that only a small party elite was responsible for the murder of the Jewish population and sheds light on the complex and multilayered nature of the process.

The portrayal of the collaboration of parts of the non-Jewish population in Lithuania is very limited in the Lithuanian textbooks examined. The participation in the crimes of the German occupiers is described in vague terms, and the Lithuanians are more likely to appear as victims of National Socialist politics, unwillingly taken into service by the Nazis and their local representatives. While talking about the terror during the Nazi occupation in Lithuania, *Lithuania T4* states: 'Ethnic minorities in Lithuania (especially, Jews, Roma, Poles) were particularly exposed to persecution. (…) As soon as the Nazis reached Lithuania, they began to implement the Holocaust. [SS Brigadeführer] Franz Walter Stahlecker was nominated as a leader of the *Einsatzgruppe*, which was responsible for the mass murder of Jews in the Baltic countries. The Nazis recruited (…) local inhabitants and local government institutions, which were subordinate to the administration of the Nazis' (*Lithuania T4*, p. 168). In this way, collaboration is presented not as a choice of free will, but as the result of the historical circumstances, related to the occupation of the country. The textbooks examined rarely focus on specific examples of local collaboration in the persecution and murdering of Lithuanian Jewry. On the other side, there is stronger emphasis on the representation of individual efforts to save Jews from extermination in Lithuania. The main narrative in the textbooks is that Lithuanians did what they could in the harsh circumstances to help local Jews: 'The majority of the population condemned the Holocaust, and those, who were braver and had high moral values, tried to help Jews. Famous Lithuanians (K. Grinius, S. Raštikis and others) and Catholic priests tried to persuade

the *Ostland* administration to stop the mass murder of Jews in Lithuania, but nobody paid attention to them. Local inhabitants, despite the danger, tried to save Jewish lives' (*Lithuania T4*, p. 168). The same textbook then provides in a small paragraph the opportunity for debate by presenting the case of the collaborator Jonas Noreika (1910-1947) and the divided attitude in Lithuanian society about his memorialization (*Lithuania T4*, p. 170). The pupils are invited to discuss his controversial memorialization and that of other people, who – according to the textbook authors – might have been involved in the Holocaust, but also were active in the fight for Lithuanian independence. The textbook authors provide information about Noreika and his activities, but they do not provide any guidance on how this information could be interpreted. Since the rest of the relevant textbook chapter presents ordinary Lithuanians mostly as sympathizers or rescuers of Jews, the students could get the impression cases like Noreika's were the exception.

Polish history textbooks name different perpetrators and groups of perpetrators when it comes to antisemitic hostilities and measures. These are often, but not always, external to the Polish ingroup; some textbooks, however, also name antisemitism in Polish society. In the context of the Khmelnytsky uprising and the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1648, 'masses of Orthodox peasants' are blamed for the massacres who wanted to cleanse Ukraine of 'nobility, priests, and Jews'. The 'insurgents' murdered Poles and Jews alike: They 'attacked the estates of the Polish nobility and magnates and murdered Poles and Jews – from children to the elderly' (*Poland T7*, p. 98). With regard to the historical assessment of the massacres, the text acknowledges the controversial legacy of the revolt, especially with 'Jewish historians': 'Jewish historians pick Khmelnytsky to pieces, because his insurgents murdered thousands of Jews in Ukraine' (*Poland T7*, p. 100). This statement could be read in the context of the overall framing of the Khmelnitsky Uprising in the context of a 'victimhood competition'. However, the focus on the Jewish identity of critical historians is problematic, because it can potentially create the impression that their negative views are rooted in ethnic grievances.

For the interwar period, Polish history textbooks show how Polish nationalists encouraged anti-Jewish violence and riots. *Poland T8* shows how economic competition between Jews and non-Jews was exploited by nationalist politicians and names antisemitic manifestations of their ideology: 'There was fierce competition between Polish and Jewish traders, craftsmen and representatives of the liberal professions. Polish nationalists emphasized the national nature of this rivalry (although they were not antisemites). [Polish nationalists] claimed that Jews were driving Poles out of the labour market; that they were taking over Polish cities – to take power in Poland. That is why nationalists demanded that Jews should be forced to emigrate. Young National Democrats organized antisemitic riots (there were fatalities) and smashed windows in Jewish shops. In 1937, the so-called Numerus clausus was introduced at a few Polish universities (…). It was a limitation of the number of Jewish admissions to 10% of all students.' (*Poland T8,* p.223). The authors' quick and unsubstantiated value judgement about the Polish nationalists not being antisemitic may appear surprising, as it contrasts with a detailed list of their anti-Jewish attitudes, opinions and actions that include violence. *Poland T4* also blames the National Democratic Party, which 'spread antisemitic slogans, which worsened Polish-Jewish relations. On the initiative of the nationalists, among others, Ghetto benches at universities were introduced. (…) Under pressure from the National Democratic Party, the university authorities also used the so-called Numerus clausus, i.e. they accepted only

10% of people of Jewish nationality as students – this corresponded to the percentage of this minority in Poland. Pogroms, i.e. organized attacks on the Jewish population, also took place' (*Poland T4*, p.227).

Concerning the Second World War and the Holocaust, it is primarily the Germans, Hitler, the Nazis, the 'Third Reich' and SS-units who committed the murderous crimes against Jews. *Poland T9* points out that most of the victims of the Nazi extermination policy in occupied Poland were Jews. The materials are keen to emphasize that these crimes were committed by the Germans, even if they happened on Polish territory: 'From 1942, next to the [Auschwitz] concentration camp the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp was established, where the Nazis murdered Jews. Therefore, the current correct name of the former camp in Oswiecim is the former German concentration and extermination camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. (...) This place became a symbol of genocide, especially the extermination of the Jews' (*Poland T9*, p.61).

Since the curriculum emphasizes 'the heroism of Poles who saved Jews from the Holocaust,'[65] all the textbooks bring many examples of Polish rescuers of Jews. But they also state that many Poles were passive bystanders or that some even collaborated with the occupiers. *Poland T15* admits that 'even in countries trying to save Jews, however, there were cases of cooperation with the occupier. (…) In Poland, people who helped the Germans in finding hiding Jews were called *szmalkownicy*' [i.e. 'sleazy blackmailers', with a contemptuous undertone] (*Poland T15*, p. 30). Similarly, *Poland T3* describes the denunciation of Jews by Poles, but emphasizes that there were many people in the country who helped Jews despite the risk to their own lives: 'Poles for hiding Jews and helping them were punished with death. And although there were some who took advantage of the difficult situation of Jews – blackmailed them and threatened to hand them over to the German authorities, and in return for silence they expected money or valuables – many people risked and sheltered Jews or helped them in other ways' (*Poland T3*, p.23). Of all the history textbooks examined, only *Poland T9* points to the fact, that some Poles not only collaborated with the occupiers when they handed over hidden Jews, but also participated in crimes themselves. It is the only textbook that mentions the Jedwabne massacre: 'After Hitler's attack on the USSR, groups of Poles took part in pogroms against Jews organized or encouraged by the Germans. In the town of Jedwabne, near Łomża, some of its inhabitants and local peasants murdered no less than 340 people (1941).' However, to put things into perspective, the author adds: 'The perpetrators should be convicted for this crime, but not the nation, because most Poles condemned the extermination. Thousands of Poles saved Jews, although for this help, they risked the lives of their entire families' (*Poland T9*, p.62).

Explicit reference to instigators and perpetrators of antisemitism in **Greek textbooks** is rare. Characteristically, one *lyceum* textbook loosely names the National Socialist regime in Germany as the context in which the Holocaust was perpetrated, and thus indirectly as the perpetrator of the Holocaust: 'With the onset of National Socialism in Germany, they [the Jews] emigrated to America' (*Greece T12*, p.106). 'The Nazis' and 'German people' are more commonly named as perpetrators when, for example, 'The Nazis organized mass rallies to incite fanaticism among the German people (…) the Nazis persecuted or exterminated all those who were different (political opponents, Roma,

65 Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej (ed.), [Curriculum for history teaching at primary schools (Grade 4-8)], 2017. In: Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, Poz. 356, p. 101.

homosexuals). Jews, in particular, were treated with extreme hostility and were forced to wear a yellow star' (*Greece T5*, p.117). One *lyceum* textbook also mentions 'Hitler's regime' as responsible for the persecution of Jews, in the context of a discussion of a famous Holocaust-themed movie: 'R. Benigni's *Life is Good* [film] is about the persecution of Jews by Hitler's regime' (*Greece T10*, 2019, p. 14). Greek textbooks in the sample do not refer to local populations or collaborators as perpetrators.

Antisemitism as a contemporary phenomenon

A double page in the **Saxony** *Germany T3* textbook is dedicated to the topic of 'Antisemitism today', a rarity in the corpus of history textbooks from countries analysed for this report. The subchapter follows on from the chapters on National Socialism, the Second World War and the Holocaust. The text emphasizes that antisemitism did not disappear after the Second World War, but that there are still repeated attacks on Jewish citizens and Jewish pupils in Germany today. Two excerpts from newspaper articles document the antisemitic harassment and insulting of Jews in everyday life and the protective measures that Jewish communities take against possible attacks. However, the textbook does not stop at describing acts directed against Jews, but proposes an educational activity 'Pupils against antisemitism' together with a corresponding action plan. This plan includes contacting Jewish communities, engaging in dialogue with Jews and publishing the results of this dialogue in the school newspaper or on the school website (*Germany T3*, pp. 166-167).

The Saxony textbooks examined for this report for the subjects of social studies and legal education hardly deal with the topic of contemporary antisemitism. *Germany T13* and *Germany T11* deal with various forms of extremism (right-wing and left-wing extremism as well as Islamist extremism) under the heading Dangers to democracy, but hardly address relevant antisemitic attitudes in this context. *Germany T13* mentions in connection with right-wing extremism that its supporters trivialize National Socialist crimes and deny the Holocaust (p. 85). *Germany T11* states that right-wing extremists are 'against everything they consider foreign, e.g. foreigners, Muslims, Jews or homosexuals' (p. 118). In the context of conspiracy narratives and fake news as a threat to democracy, the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government is quoted on the coronavirus pandemic and the fact that, in 2020, conspiracy theories about coronavirus were 'repeatedly linked to incitement against people of Asian origin and to racism and antisemitism' (*Germany T11*, p. 123). However, the textbook does not explore this any further. *Germany T13* mentions a case of victim-offender mediation on p. 144: Two young people who had damaged a memorial commemorating the Holocaust were given a reprieve because they had 'faced up' to a dialogue with the Jewish community in Hanover and had helped with the 'preparation of festivities' there. But here, too, the term 'antisemitism' is missing, and one wonders whether this example of an antisemitic act, which ultimately ended well for the perpetrators, is suitable for the prevention of antisemitism.

Contemporary antisemitism is not addressed in the **Danish teaching materials** examined. In connection with the murder of a Jewish security guard in front of a Copenhagen synagogue in February 2015, no explicit connection is made between this terrorist act and anti-Jewish hatred. (*Denmark T22*, p. 35; *Denmark T23*, p. 83; Denmark 24, subchapter *Terrorangrebet i København* (Terror

attack in Copenhagen). In *Denmark T9*, one sentence refers to the denial of the Holocaust as a conspiracy belief, but the antisemitic nature of Holocaust denial is not highlighted.

There are hardly any statements on antisemitism in Europe and especially in Hungary in the present in the **Hungarian textbooks** examined. Although reference is made to the persecution of various ethnic groups under Communist rule after 1945, Jews are not specifically mentioned.

Since **Spanish textbooks** largely approach antisemitism historically, they rarely specifically address contemporary antisemitism. No specific groups or individuals are identified as the main drivers of contemporary antisemitism in the textbooks nor do they provide any detailed descriptions of how Jewish communities respond to contemporary antisemitism. Contemporary antisemitism is mentioned only in *Spain T11*, primarily within the broader framework of modern hate crimes and prejudice. It is presented alongside other forms of discrimination, with data showing its ongoing presence in Spanish society. Tables tracking hate crimes, including those based on religion, highlight that antisemitism remains an issue (*Spain T11*, p. 22 & 90). The focus on antisemitism as a distinct problem is limited and mostly mentioned in statistical tables rather than addressed and deconstructed critically. Unlike history textbooks, **French textbooks for EMC** link deportations of Jews from France during the Second World War specifically with present-day discrimination, and devote chapters to 'Being committed to combat racism and antisemitism' (*France T9*) and 'The Republic against antisemitism' (*France T10*). Moreover, an exercise in *France T9* invites groups of pupils to make a poster protesting against either 'Racism yesterday and today' or 'Antisemitism yesterday or today'. The pedagogical guidelines advise pupils that combatting racism and antisemitism 'requires remembering the past and getting involved today' (*France T9*, p. 41).

EMC textbooks mention 'physical aggression', 'degradation' and 'inscriptions of slogans' (*France T10*, p. 10) among examples of contemporary antisemitism. Contemporary antisemitism is addressed in these textbooks primarily as the negation of republican and constitutional principles and values entailing prejudice, discrimination and inequality. An example of this is a section devoted to 'Secularity (*laïcité*), a principle of tolerance', which contains an illustration of a work of art by the French street artist Combo from 2015 calling for the coexistence of the three monotheistic religions (*France T1*, p. 12). *France T7* reproduces an image of the same work of art to symbolize the 'liberty of conscience and belief' (*France T7*, p. 308). More specifically, *France T10* presents statistics of antisemitic aggression and attacks from 2015 to 2021, and documents a robbery motivated by antisemitism in the Paris suburb of Créteil in 2018, as well as currently valid criminal laws pertaining to antisemitic discrimination (*France T1*, p. 10). *France T9* features a two-page section devoted to the 'Week of education and actions against racism and antisemitism', which contains a photograph of a street demonstration in Paris in 2019 with the caption 'React against antisemitism', and invites readers to watch a video of the demonstration. A text box also explains that tombs in Jewish cemeteries are becoming more frequently desecrated, and that four Jews were murdered in Toulouse in 2012 in an act of terrorism (*France T8*, p. 40). A further photograph shows the stele containing the list of names of deportees from Izieu in 1944 (*France T9*, p. 39).

The **Lithuanian history textbooks** examined for this study deal with antisemitism exclusively in the context of National Socialism and the Holocaust. They do not address current forms of antisemitism.

The **Polish** history textbooks examined here deal with antisemitism exclusively from a historical perspective. The two textbooks for the subject Knowledge and Society, *Poland T17* and *Poland T18,* focus on the discussion of tolerance and build arguments against intolerance, xenophobia and stereotypes. They treat antisemitism as a form of intolerance – they define it briefly but do not discuss it in detail. As already stated above, *Poland T17* defines antisemitism as 'a type of discrimination against a specific national community (…) which manifests itself in a hostile attitude towards Jews.' However, the textbook's focus on historical antisemitism is clear when it immediately states: 'The most tragic consequence of chauvinism, racism and antisemitism was the Holocaust during the Second World War. The purpose of this mass murder was to murder all Jewish inhabitants of the territories that were under the control of the Third Reich.' (*Poland T17*, p. 124) This does not touch on the actuality of antisemitism or specificities of antisemitism in contemporary Poland. *Poland T18*, after defining antisemitism (see above), points to the need for tolerance and respect for other communities, but does not address antisemitism specifically (*Poland T18*, p. 89). There are no assignments, primary sources or detailed discussion of the features of contemporary antisemitism. Similarly, learners are not familiarized with strategies and means to confront antisemitism, despite the importance that the curriculum gives to recognizing and combating antisemitism and other forms of collective hatred: Pupils should be able to 'recognize the manifestations of xenophobia, including racism, chauvinism and antisemitism, and [to] justify the need to oppose these phenomena'.[66]

Neither **Greek history** nor **civics textbooks** deal with antisemitism as a contemporary phenomenon.

66 Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej (ed.), [Curriculum for Knowledge about the Society at primary schools (Grade 8)], 2017. In Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, Poz. 356, p. 107.

Section 4

Summary of key findings

4. Summary of key findings

Main narratives and historical agency of the Jews

The main strands of the historical narrative in European school textbooks are still determined by national perspectives. Jewish history can only be integrated into these narratives to a limited extent. Diasporic Jews appear as one of those minorities 'who live in several languages and cultures simultaneously, a kind of third element (neither us nor them) that questions national narratives and thereby arouses unease.'[67] In the representation, this results in constrictions, omissions and adaptations. In the context of this study, the question arises as to how Jewish history appears in textbooks when it is viewed from the outside through the national perspective and is also subjected to the constraints of didacticization and reduction of complexity.

In Germany, over the past 20 years it has often been pointed out that in German textbooks, Jewish history is viewed primarily from the perspective of the Holocaust and presented as an almost continuous history of discrimination and persecution, in which the Jews appear primarily as a collective object with limited historical agency. In this interpretation, the persecutions of the Middle Ages – the crusade and plague pogroms as well as expulsions from cities and territories – form the second fixed point alongside the National Socialist genocide of the Jews. This portrayal creates a one-sided image that makes positive identification almost impossible, at best generating some empathy and at worst promoting prejudice.

The textbooks examined for this study confirm this tendency. In addition to German textbooks, French, Spanish, Danish, Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian and Greek educational media often depict the history of Jews in the diaspora as a history of discrimination and persecution: Jews are subjected to degrading labeling requirements and other discriminatory practices, they are expelled, burned, or gassed. At best, they are saved by the Righteous Among the Nations, hidden by heroic Poles under German occupation or brought to Sweden by courageous Danes. Something always happens *to* them, and historical agency rests with the perpetrators or rescuers.

Nevertheless, there are important differences to note between the textbooks of the eight countries. There are individual emphases that work against this narrative of passive acquiescence and in some cases break through it. For example, French, Hungarian, Polish and Greek history textbooks, in line with the respective curricula, place great emphasis on the presentation of Ancient Israel, i.e. the history of the Jews in antiquity since Biblical Times, emphasizing their impact on the development of monotheism and of European civilization. In addition to this focus in the curriculum of the four countries mentioned, the history textbooks of six countries for the upper grades of lower secondary school also deal with the emergence of the Zionist movement, the founding of the State of Israel and its role in the Middle East conflict. In France and Greece, this is dealt with in upper secondary school (*lyceum*). This story also shows Jews as nation-builders, therefore as subjects and

67 Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej (ed.), [Curriculum for Knowledge about the Society at primary schools (Grade 8)], 2017. In Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, Poz. 356, p. 107.

determinants of their own history. The creation of the State of Israel fits the pattern of nation-state historical narratives that dominate textbook representations.

This perspective has an advantage: pupils are taught a different side of Jewish life, that focuses on political and cultural agency rather than victimization. The narrative is articulated around two historical poles; Ancient Israel as a matrix of Jewish political identity, and the State of Israel as its modern-day incarnation. In this way, history is told from a powerful primordial point (Ancient Israel) to a powerful *telos*, the State of Israel.[68] However, between these two points lie almost 2000 years of diasporic existence, during which historical agency is contingent and depends on external factors, such as the legislation of tolerance and emancipation enacted in Western and Central Europe since the end of the eighteenth century.

It should also be noted that there are differences in the types of historical sources used to depict Jewish ancient history: Hungarian and Polish textbooks are chiefly based on Biblical texts and narratives. In other cases, such as France, Biblical sources have a more limited role and are used alongside other historical accounts and archeological findings.

A meaningful break with the narrative of passive acquiescence and limited agency is prominent in the Spanish textbooks examined (*Spain T1*, *T3*, *T4*, *T9*). The idea of *Al Andalus*, the *convivencia* of Jews, Christians and Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula under Muslim rule in the tenth and eleventh centuries, is part of the national self-image of Spain.[69] However, regardless of this and the fragility and duration of this *convivencia* (at least one of the textbooks, *Spain T4*, refers to the rapidly deteriorating situation under the Almoravids and Almohads), the materials acknowledge diasporic Jews as key actors in social life, producing important personalities such as Maimonides and Chasdai Ibn Shaprut and contributing to a common, flourishing culture and science.

Another approach to breaking through the above-mentioned dominant narrative and showing Jews as actors in the context of modernity, is to focus on the emancipation of Jews in the nineteenth century and their reaction to it, or to shed light on the role of Jews in the interwar period, their contributions to society, culture and the economy. In Germany, Saxony textbooks show the emancipation of Jews in Germany as a long road with obstacles, citing Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Börne or Fanny Lewald's significant contributions to German literature (*Germany T2, T7*). Saxony and Hungarian textbooks deal with the bourgeoisification and rise of Jews in their respective societies and show how Jews openly showcased their success by building magnificent synagogues (Leipzig, Budapest) (*Germany T2, Hungary T2, T8*). Hungarian, Polish and Lithuanian history textbooks refer briefly but clearly to the increasing identification of Jews with their respective nations and their participation in the independence struggles of 1848 (*Hungary T2*), 1863 (*Poland T1*) and 1918/20 (*Lithuania T1*). A Greek textbook emphasizes the contributions of Jewish traders to the economy of the Mediterranean and Asia Minor and proudly points out that they were also considered 'Greeks' among the other peoples (*Greece T5*). Finally, a Hungarian textbook highlights the contributions

68 This creates another distortion: If Jews come from 'Israel' and belong to 'Israel', then they are foreign in Europe and elsewhere. Cf. ibid. pp. 103-104.

69 Cf. David Nirenberg: Islam and the West. Two Dialectical Phantasies, in ders., Neighboring Faiths. Christianity, Islam, and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today. Chicago 2016, pp. 191–211.

of Hungarian scientists with a Jewish background (and does not conceal their struggles with antisemitism in Hungary) (*Hungary T7*). Interestingly, the emancipation of the Jewish population does not feature prominently in the French textbooks examined, despite the decisive impetus given by the National Assembly in 1791 for the legal equality of Jews. Danish teaching materials also lack references to the development of the Danish Jewish community since the late eighteenth century.

Jews appear here as actors, as subjects of their own history and shapers of a shared economy and culture. Pupils who learn about this history of national Jewish minorities in their own countries will potentially also create a stronger affective bond with the Jewish community, learning to value their contribution and engage positively with them in the present too.

The risk of such perspective, however, is to present integration and assimilation as the unique objective of Jewish life, and thus devalue other paths chosen by European Jewry, such as traditional Judaism, which was the largest group of Jews in Eastern and Central Eastern Europe until the Holocaust. Here, references to Jewish diversity would be very helpful. The plurality of Jewish identity and experiences is also a potential defense against antisemitic prejudice, which tends to portray Jews in simplistic, monolithic and caricatural ways. However, there are hardly any references to Jewish diversity in modern times in the textbooks examined, and only one Hungarian textbook (*Hungary T3*) refers to the internal religious differentiation in Hungary in the mid-nineteenth century into Orthodox and 'neolog' Jews, a variety of Conservative Judaism.

A positive appraisal of the traditional Jewish way of life can be found in Lithuanian textbooks in the more detailed presentation of the so-called *Litvaks*, the rabbinical school of the so-called *Mitnagdim* ('opponents', referring to their opposition to the Hasidim) led by the rabbi and talmudist Elijahu ben Shelomo Salman (1720-1797), known as the Gaon of Vilna,. The textbooks highlight their scholarship and culture, which was characterized by 'rationality and a sharp mind' (*Lithuania T1*, p. 121). The Lithuanian curriculum stipulates that this form of Judaism should be taught in class. Without curricular guidelines, it is up to the authors to decide whether they want to deal with early modern (or even modern) forms of traditional Judaism. For example, only one Polish textbook contains a two-page description of the culturally unique Polish-Lithuanian Jewry, including an insight into community life and the structures of autonomous self-organization in the early modern period (*Poland T7*). In the textbooks examined from all countries, however, there are no references to the *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment) or to different responses and debates within Jewish thought about the challenges of modernity and of secularism.

In view of the seemingly ubiquitous discrimination and persecution of Jews, such depiction of Jewish cultural, political and historic agency is of immense importance. Agency and resistance should also be included in narratives about the genocide of the Jewish population during the Second World War. Textbooks in almost all countries address Jewish resistance, usually the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, in their depiction of the Holocaust. In Polish textbooks, it is particularly prominent; the Jewish resistance fighters around Mordechai Anielewicz and Marek Edelman appear as heroes, their hopeless struggle framed not primarily as a struggle for survival, but as a better way of dying (*Poland T3*). Uprisings in extermination camps or other forms of Jewish resistance are mentioned much less frequently; for example, a Saxony textbook (*Germany T8*) mentions the Jewish resistance in the Vilna ghetto in its famous appeal ('not like sheep to the slaughter!') and a French textbook

refers to Marianne Cohn (1922-1944), who belonged to the *Organization Juive de Combat* and helped Jewish children escape to Switzerland (*France T2*). Only in the Danish digital teaching materials examined could no reference be found to Jewish resistance under National Socialist rule; only flight is described here as a Jewish reaction to the threat of extermination (*Denmark T11, T16, T21*).

Jewish perspectives

In addition to the portrayal of Jewish agency, the inclusion of Jewish perspectives is also important to shift the focus away from the perpetrators and their worldview. In most textbook depictions in all the countries examined here, the perspective of the perpetrators dominates the portrayal of the Holocaust. The numerous photographs used in the books reflect the perpetrators' view of their almost always nameless victims. They show how Jews were made to wear the yellow star, forced to perform degrading work, arrested after the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising or selected at the Auschwitz ramp. This view of the perpetrators should be problematized and work assignments should encourage reflection on the photographer's point of view. Even the depictions of medieval persecutions used in many teaching materials rely on Christian renditions and imagery, rather than on the available Jewish sources, such as paintings from Jewish religious texts (such as Passover *Haggadot*, used during Passover celebrations) or excerpts from Jewish texts and reports on the persecutions.

Despite this dominance of perpetrator perspectives, particularly with regard to the Holocaust, Jewish voices are also heard in the textbooks. In addition to Anne Frank's diary, these are increasingly source testimonies from lesser-known survivors, such as in a Saxony textbook (*Germany T8*) the story of a Jewish girl hiding (and ultimately rescued) from the Nazis in occupied Poland, the account of a survivor of the Auschwitz *Sonderkommando* in Danish material (*Denmark T10*), or the excerpt from the memoirs of Avrom Sutzkever (1913-2010), writer and survivor of the Vilnius ghetto, in a Lithuanian textbook (*Lithuania T4*). A French textbook quotes from the chronicle of the Warsaw ghetto by Emanuel Ringelblum (*France T9*). Through the use of graphic novels (*Germany T2*) or references to films by directors such as Steven Spielberg or Roman Polanski on the subject (*France T9*), other media are also used to familiarize pupils with Jewish experiences during this period.

For other eras, Jewish testimonies are not found in the textbooks, but reference is made to Jewish personalities, their work and their significance: Moses Maimonides and Solomon Ibn Gvirol (*Spain T1, T3, T4, T9*), Ludwig Börne and Fanny Lewald (*Germany T2*), the sisters Ester Rachel and Ida Kamińska (Poland T1). A rare example of the inclusion of a visual Jewish perspective is the illustration of a painting of praying Jews by the Jewish painter Mauricy Gottlieb (1856-1879) in *Poland T7*.

Perspectives of Jewish women also appear, whether in the form of self-testimonies or in reports about them. Jewish women are particularly prominent in Spanish textbooks: Bonanada, Floreta Sanoga, Anne Frank, Simone Veil, Hedi Bohm (survivor of Auschwitz), Minna Mendel (report on the November pogrom of 1938), and Raszka Galek Brunswic (survivor of the Warsaw ghetto). In some cases, the focus on these figures can also highlight the specific nature of female Jewish experience and survival in the context of antisemitic discrimination.

Representation of Israel

Within the framework of nation-state-based historical narratives which are prevalent in school textbooks, the State of Israel frequently appears as the *telos* of Jewish life and history. The depiction of Israel in the textbooks and teaching materials of all eight countries examined here takes place almost exclusively in the context of the Middle East conflict; Israel thus inevitably appears as a 'warring crisis state in the Middle East', as the German-Israeli Textbook Commission already stated in 2015 with regard to German history textbooks.[70] There are only two exceptions to this: in Germany, a Saxony textbook which takes a look at German-Israeli relations against the backdrop of the troubled history also sets out to show 'other images of Israel' (*Germany T9*); a Spanish textbook also deals with Israel's society and economy from a human geography perspective (*Spain T2*). In addition, only one Hungarian textbook (*Hungary T8*) at least makes it clear that Israel is modeled on liberal Western democracies, a fact usually missing from other accounts. Bilateral relations with Israel are also not dealt with, with the exception mentioned above. A Danish teaching material makes it clear that the conflict in the Middle East impacts Danish society via Palestinian migrants and pro-Israeli 'friendship societies' and generates protests and demonstrations (*Denmark T2*).

The textbooks and materials of most of the countries examined present the prehistory of the conflict and the founding of the State of Israel and deal with Zionism, Jewish immigration to Palestine and British policy before and during the Mandate period. However, there are gaps in the curriculum: the life of the *Yishuv* (Jewish community residing in Palestine prior to the establishment of Israel), and early conciliation and mediation efforts between Jews and Arabs in Palestine as early as the 1920s and 1930s, as attempted by the *Brit Shalom* organization, are neglected.

The significance of the existence of the State of Israel for Jews, both Israelis and those living in the diaspora, is little explored in the textbooks examined. This significance can at best be explained indirectly through the presentation of the emergence of Zionism as a reaction to antisemitism and persecution and the Holocaust. The cultural and affective connection of Jews to the State of Israel is emphasized most strongly in a Hungarian textbook, when a task asks the reader to reflect on why it was so important for Jews to have their own state after the Holocaust (*Hungary T3*).

Only Polish and Hungarian textbooks and one of the Saxony textbooks (*Germany T9*) explicitly embed the conflict in wider political contexts (especially the Cold War), do not reduce it largely to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and also name other important actors. Most of the books present the conflict in a factually neutral way, with the focus on conveying facts. The presentation is balanced and great importance is attached to multi-perspectivity and humanizing all sides.

Linguistic insensitivity and prejudice

Despite all the care with which textbook authors and editors treat the topics of Jews, Judaism and antisemitism, there sometimes seems to be a lack of sensitivity or attention in the linguistic formulations. In Germany, an example can be seen in the designation of Walther Rathenau (1867-1922) as the 'Jewish foreign minister', as was the case in two older textbooks from North Rhine-

70 Deutsch-Israelische Schulbuchkommission (ed.), *Deutsch-Israelische Schulbuchempfehlungen*, Göttingen 2015, p. 2

Westphalia. Likewise, in a Saxony schoolbook, the use of the term 'profited' Jews in the context of the legal emancipation of Jews under Napoleonic rule is unfortunate as it can evoke associations between Jews and money.

Furthermore, an insensitive use of language can manifest itself in two ways; firstly, in the reproduction, without distancing language, of anti-Jewish prejudices or accusations, for example when the heading of a section in an online Danish teaching material on the persecution of Jews in Europe at the time of the Black Death reads 'The plague is the fault of the Jews', without this statement being classified as an accusation by contemporaries by means of quotation marks or a question mark (*Denmark T12*). Secondly, the horror of the Holocaust can be euphemized through language such as when terms like 'sorted' (*sorteret*) or 'executed' (*henrettet*) are used to describe the extermination process in death camps (*Denmark T12*). It should be noted here, however, that there are linguistic and cultural differences which must be considered when assessing the choice of language.

Sensitivity is also necessary when using the language of the perpetrators, which is inevitable in a history textbook. Terms such as 'race' in the sense of National Socialist ideology or 'final solution' should, when they appear in contemporary sources, be properly explained and contextualized. In the author's text, they should always be marked with distancing quotation marks. This is usually done in the textbooks of all the countries covered here. However, there are exceptions, for example when terms such as 'racial researcher' are not recognized as problematic and are not marked accordingly, or when the 'final solution to the Jewish question' propagated by the Nazis is not placed in quotation marks.

The othering of Jewish citizens through linguistic exclusion, such as in an older German textbook with the heading 'Living with foreigners', is becoming increasingly rare, but some language can still create artificial dichotomies: for example, some Polish textbooks refer to 'Poles' and 'Jews' separately (*Poland T1*, p. 230, *Poland T15*, p. 54). However, this is corrected when the latter appear as 'Polish Jews' or 'Polish citizens' when it comes to their heroic resistance during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (*Poland T15*, p.78).

Finally, another insensitive unintentional symbolic form of reproducing prejudice should also be pointed out when the colour yellow, which invokes the colour of the markings used to discriminate against Jews in the Middle Ages and during the Nazi era, is used in a Hungarian textbook to depict Jewish settlement areas on maps of the Middle East (*Hungary T4*, pp. 180 and 181).

Reproduction of stereotypes

In addition to presumably unintentional linguistic lapses, stereotypes against Jews can also be indirectly and unintentionally reproduced. In very few cases, prejudices are also reproduced directly; this is the case in the context of traditional Christian religious accusations against Jews.

The most frequently encountered argumentation structure is that which links *Jews and money*. Older German textbooks were criticized for the way in which money trading for interest was frequently portrayed as the main occupation of Jews in the Middle Ages. This was possibly done to provide an economic explanation to the hostility faced by Jewish populations: money trading for interest made

some Jews rich and, according to this narrative, led to envy and anger among the indebted Christian population. More recent textbooks from North Rhine-Westphalia and Saxony, which were examined here, attempt to move away from this one-sided portrayal and paint a more differentiated picture of Jewish income and occupational structures in the Middle Ages. The focus on money trading in the Middle Ages is not universal; it is for example almost completely absent from Polish textbooks. In early modern Poland, Jews often functioned as tenants of noble estates, mills and inns; as such, however, they also appear in a Polish textbook as oppressors and exploiters of the agrarian Polish population (*Poland T7*, p. 98). In one case, however, the Jewish 'usurer' (*lichwiarz)*, who deprives a peasant family of its food, also appears visually in the form of a painting from the nineteenth century (*Poland T8*, p. 32). In more recent times, problematic references to a connection between Jews and money can be found, for example, in a Hungarian textbook, when 'big capital, mostly of Jewish origin' or 'Jewish capitalists' are mentioned for the period of industrialization (*Hungary T7*, p. 114). A Danish teaching material presents Zionism as a project promoted by rich Jewish elites when it states that 'wealthy Jewish families' and the 'Rothschild banking family' were among the strongest supporters of the Zionist movement (*Denmark T2*, p. 61).

This last example already points to another antisemitic prejudice that links *Jews and power*. The two concepts are intertwined, as Jews were frequently accused of yielding their economic power to exert control over society. For the Middle Ages, a Spanish textbook states that 'although Jews were generally few in number, they exerted significant social influence due to their economic power' (*Spain T1*, p. 91). In a Polish textbook, the accusation made by Polish nationalists in the interwar period that Jews dominated trade is repeated several times, without proper distancing or deconstruction of the antisemitic prejudice which underlay it. In general, it is conceivable that textbook authors face a dilemma when portraying the bourgeoisification processes of Jews and the Jewish contribution to the economic development of a nation, which was particularly impressive in banking, trade and industry, among other things. A Saxony school textbook shows how the balancing act can succeed, stating that it was also thanks to the initiatives of Jews in industry, finance and trade that Germany was able to develop into a modern economic power from the end of the nineteenth century (*Germany T7*, p. 122). A positive framing, that highlights Jewish entrepreneurs' insertion into both broader historical patterns such as rapid industrialization and into a national community (rather than globalized and impersonal finance), can counter conspiratorial perspectives and exaggerations.

Other prejudicial concepts occasionally reproduced in school textbooks concern the antisemitic figures of *Jews and secrecy, Jews and intellect and Jews and subversion*. For example, a Danish teaching material states that the Balfour Declaration was delivered in 1917 in a 'sealed letter' (*hemmeligstemplet brev*) (*Denmark T2*, p. 61). The emphasis on this negligible detail in the context of the Zionist efforts to gain British support for the 'Jewish homeland' in Palestine, can feed into the narrative of secrecy and covert influence. A Hungarian textbook refers to the disproportionate number of Jews in academic professions and their low proportion among workers as the context to the antisemitic *Numerus Clausus* law of 1920 under Horthy (*Hungary T7*, pp. 114-115). A Polish textbook states that, in addition to the supposed dominance of Jews in commerce, another reason for the willingness of the non-Jewish Polish population to follow the antisemitic slogans of nationalist politicians was the high number of Jewish communists in the country (*Poland T1*, p. 230).

Hungary T7, pp. 114-115, uses similar arguments – many of the leaders of the communist movement 'were Jews who had given up their religion' – to explain antisemitism in the interwar period.

A problematic reproduction of anti-Jewish Christian prejudices can be found in Hungarian and Polish history textbooks in connection with the treatment of the emergence of Christianity. Following the Gospel, Jews are held responsible for the death of Jesus in the author's text. In a Hungarian textbook, it is the Jewish 'leaders' who deliver Jesus to the Romans on the cross (*Hungary T1*, p. 64). Another Hungarian textbook reads: 'The Jewish chief priests (...) decided to kill him' (*Hungary T5*, p. 67). A Polish textbook states that 'some' Jews did not like Jesus' teachings and therefore had him captured by the Romans and sentenced to death on the cross (Poland T16, p. 96). In this way, Jews appear, if not as perpetrators, then at least as instigators of Christ's murder. The dichotomy between Judaism and Christianity is reinforced by the fact that at no point is it pointed out that Jesus was a Jew, was brought up Jewish and lived as part of the Jewish community to a certain extent. This tendency is not universal, however, as another Polish textbook, *Poland T5*, refrains from reproducing such prejudices when dealing with the life of Jesus. Hungarian materials also frequently point to the Jewish contribution to Christianity, through the concept of 'Judeo-Christian civilisation' (*Hungary T1* and *Hungary T5*).

Blame reversal

Through guilt (or blame) reversal, Jews are implicitly given partial blame for the hatred directed against them and the resulting persecution. Reasons range from the supposed wealth of Jews arousing envy, or money trading for interest and the resulting debts arousing anger to their alleged power creating aversion, etc. In some learning materials, anti-Judaism or modern antisemitism is often explained in shortened or simplistic causal chains: Jews are simply *different* and therefore disliked. Structural features of the blame reversal figure are the systematic ignoring of deeper, systemic or institutional reasons for hatred of Jews, such as the role of the church in the Middle Ages or scapegoating mechanisms that were weaponized by ruling elites to ensure social order, at the expense of Jewish minorities. In a comic strip used in a Saxony schoolbook, it is said that the Jews became rich through money trading, which is why the Christians 'scolded' the Jews (*Germany T1*, p. 104). A Danish online teaching material states tautologically that the Christian population rejected the Jews in the Middle Ages 'because they were not Christians and did not recognize that Jesus was the son of God' (*Denmark T12*). According to a Hungarian textbook, the Jews were rejected in the Middle Ages 'because of their different religion and customs' (*Hungary T3*, p. 100). In a Spanish textbook, a historian's statement that the role of the Jews as money traders and tax collectors and the resulting dependencies contributed to the hatred of Jews in the Middle Ages, is not further contextualized (*Spain T4*, p. 114). And when describing the Middle East conflict in a Polish textbook, it states that the misery of Palestinian refugees after the Nakba 'increased the hatred towards the Jews', without going into other factors of hostility towards Jews and Israel in the Arab world (*Poland T15*, p. 115).

Inadequate contextualization of contemporary antisemitic image sources

Due to their strong impact and potential to spread antisemitic prejudices, antisemitic image sources, especially caricatures and propaganda posters, are particularly sensitive. Learning materials often struggle with the conflicting injunctions to educate about the main features of antisemitism and how to recognize an antisemitic image and the need to not popularize these clichés among a young impressionable audience. Some choose to avoid such depictions completely – as is done in *Germany T8*. Another Saxony textbook, which features a heavily contextualized postcard with an antisemitic message and corresponding caricatures from 1887 (*Germany T7*, p. 124-125), demonstrates an adequate solution, but one that often cannot be imitated given the limited space available. Pupils are given information about the background of such postcards as well as the manufacturer and sender of this specific card. The elements of the card's anti-Jewish imagery are traced back to the iconography of antisemitism, and reactions from the Jewish community and the city of Frankfurt show that these visually aggressive portrayals did not go unchallenged. However, the reproduction of antisemitic caricatures from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is often not accompanied by classifying texts and deconstruction. Work assignments such as the one in a Danish teaching material (*Denmark T12*), which asks how the illustrator of the antisemitic caricature depicted Jews and what attitude he had towards them, are merely descriptive.

Antisemitic propaganda posters or children's book illustrations from the National Socialist era can be found in the relevant textbook chapters of all countries. They are intended to show the brutality with which antisemitism was injected into the everyday lives of the German population as a core component of Nazi ideology. German, Danish, Hungarian and Polish textbooks, for example, show the poster of the exhibition The Eternal Jew from 1937. However, a more detailed classification is rarely provided here, and the work assignments are usually limited to a description of the image's content. A Hungarian textbook approaches the problem differently by asking pupils to name the prejudices depicted in the picture in a work assignment on the poster (*Hungary T7*, p. 102). However, another assignment in the same textbook misses the didactic purpose of an antisemitic propaganda illustration – also frequently printed in the textbooks of other countries – which shows a distorted image of a Jew peering furtively out from between the flags of the Allies, by simply asking the pupils to name the countries represented by the flags (*Hungary T7*, p. 104). Spanish textbooks encourage learners to critically engage with contemporary antisemitic images through appropriately formulated work assignments. As a rule, the authors also describe quite well how Jews were demonized by Nazi ideology, so that the textbook text can help recognize the prejudices and their classification.

When analysing Spanish textbooks and Danish teaching materials, the way in which chapters or sections describing the discrimination and persecution of Jews in the Middle Ages were illustrated stood out. The spread of anti-Jewish stereotypes and frequent accusations of ritual murder are also documented by corresponding illustrations. For example, there are contemporary depictions of Jews being burned at the stake or, in Danish material, a nineteenth-century painting showing the destruction of the Jerusalem temple by the Romans with Jews thrown from the temple roof (*Denmark T12*). These depictions of violence against Jews are purely for illustrative purposes and

are very rarely classified. A woodcut from 1515 in the same material shows the imagined events surrounding the killing of Simon of Trent. Although the assignment in this Danish teaching material classifies the accusation of ritual murder depicted here as a myth and asks why people may have believed it at the time, there is no further classification or even refutation of the accusations.

Antisemitism as a historical and contemporary phenomenon – definitions

All textbooks analysed in this report deal with antisemitism as a *historic* phenomenon by showing that it occurred in the past, and, in some cases continues to occur in the present day. However, very few textbooks deal with antisemitism as a *historical* phenomenon by addressing the continuity of antisemitism, by showing that it has manifested itself in different forms over time, and by explaining that these forms emerge from an arsenal of historically rooted cultural codes. Some textbooks explore such continuity over the short term. In France, for example, they frame the Holocaust within the context of discriminatory measures that began with the revocation of German citizenship, the prohibition of marriage between Jews and Germans, and violence against property (*France T2*, p. 50), followed by deportation, incarceration in ghettos, and eventually mass murder (*France T2*, p. 59 & 66; *France T8*, p. 96f & 100). By contrast, one Spanish textbook draws attention to the long-term evolution of antisemitism, albeit briefly, by stating that National Socialist antisemitism drew on long-standing European prejudices dating back to the Middle Ages, such as scapegoating, and states that 'antisemitism was not a new doctrine promoted by the Nazis, but had been a constant presence in Europe since the Middle Ages' (*Spain T6*, p. 144). The authors of *Hungary T3* offer more historical depth by arguing that European antisemitism in the context of fascism and National Socialism was rooted in, but different from, the religiously connoted antisemitism of medieval times: 'The antecedent of antisemitism is anti-Judaism. While antisemitism was directed against people of Jewish descent, anti-Judaism discriminated people of Jewish religion' (*Hungary T3*, p. 100). The same authors extend this argument by adding that the 'political version of the ethnic, racist hatred against Jews that developed in the nineteenth century [aimed] to gain popularity among people prejudiced against Jews in order to gain political advantages' (*Hungary T3*, p. 228).

Explicit definitions of antisemitism are often printed in the form of a short sentence in a glossary at the end of a chapter or book, or else in separate text boxes. The most common definition used in learning materials presents antisemitism as an *affect*, more precisely 'hatred' (see *Hungary T7*, p. 238; *Spain T5*, p. 59; *Spain T6,* p. 144; *France T7*, p. 324; *France T9*, p. 46) or 'Jew-hatred' (*Denmark T2*, p. 142); *Denmark T2* even defines antisemitism as a 'hateful sentiment' against Jews (*Denmark T2,* p. 59). Textbooks also frequently refer to antisemitism as an *attitude* such as 'hostility and racial rejection of Jews' (*France T2*, p. 81); one German textbook likewise defines antisemitism as an 'aversion or hostility towards Jews' (*Germany T3*, p. 198), while Polish authors call it 'prejudice' (*Poland T4*, p. 119) or 'dislike or hostility towards Jews or people of Jewish origin' (*Poland T10*, p. 51). Other authors categorize antisemitism in biological or cultural terms as 'racism' or 'cultural racism': as 'a racist doctrine and practice carried out against Jews' (*France T2*, p. 45); or as 'a term for ethnic-racist views based on social, ethnic and religious prejudices' (*Germany T7*, p. 180). In a subchapter called Biological and Cultural Racism, one Danish textbook states that 'when people are treated

differently because of their different ethnicity, culture or religion, we speak of cultural racism' (*Denmark T7*). In general, textbooks rarely draw attention to its economic and social dimensions, as outlined in one Lithuanian textbook as 'political, economic, social activities against Jews and their justification' (*Lithuania T6*, p. 104).

Unlike history textbooks, civics textbooks tend to define antisemitism in the context of broader contemporary (twenty-first century) discrimination against minorities, by drawing on the universal terminology of racism, of prejudice and of what the subtitle of one Greek textbook calls 'Respect for the "other" and tolerance' (*Greece T11*, pp. 160-1). Some textbooks even contain detailed lessons specifically outlining the history, forms, effects and even dangers of antisemitism while explicitly setting out to use learning about antisemitism in order to identify and prevent antisemitic acts. French textbooks for EMC, for example, contain detailed definitions of present-day antisemitism in terms of racist discrimination. In a section devoted to Combating Discriminations, *France T9* defines antisemitism as an example of discrimination related to 'religion (racism, antisemitism)', while framing antisemitism as 'an obstacle to equality' and as a 'prejudice [which] … undermine[s] the principles of equality and justice in our society' (*France T9*, p. 46). In short, textbooks for civics or for EMC approach antisemitism not primarily historically, but rather as an infringement of societal principles, which are defined as either republican (in France), moral (in Greece) or legal (in Denmark).

Manifestations and explanations of antisemitism

History textbooks deal with antisemitism largely non-chronologically, within broader thematical chapters. Danish textbooks characteristically explain medieval antisemitism by referring to linguistic and cultural differences and above all to *religious prejudice*, including the accusation that Jews were responsible for the murder of Christ (*Denmark T8,* in the subchapter called A Persecuted People). Hungarian textbooks address anti-Judaism in the Middle Ages phenomenologically by indicating that Jews were subject to hatred and often violence and obliged to wear distinguishing clothing and to live in restricted urban areas (*Hungary T3*, p. 100). Spanish textbooks about the Middle Ages focus on violence committed by Christian authorities, including forced conversions and the expulsion of Jews in 1492 (*Spain T1*, p. 176, *Spain T4*, p. 121, *Spain T3*, p. 167, *Spain T9*, p. 168). In this context, Danish and German textbooks also explore some of the underlying mechanisms of antisemitism, stressing that Jews were frequently used as *scapegoats* when, for example, 'things went badly economically' (*Denmark T19*, in a subchapter called Antisemitism). German and Spanish authors reiterate this argument when referring to 'the "scapegoat function" of the Jews in the context of the Black Death and the plague pogroms' (*Germany T1*, p. 104). *Spain T4* similarly mentions that Jews were falsely blamed for poisoning wells during the time of the Black Death (*Spain T4*, p. 74), while *Spain T3* similarly states that, 'In 1348, the Black Death sparked unfair persecutions against Jews in the cities hardest hit by the epidemic' (*Spain T3*, p. 85).

Jewish life during the modern era, and reactions to modernization processes including hostile reactions to Jewish emancipation, are generally less well covered than medieval times in textbooks. Polish textbook authors explain antisemitism in this period as a result of economic competition between Jewish and non-Jewish merchants, according to which 'the growing competition of Jewish

merchants, legal practitioners and representatives of other professions was the reason for the rise of antisemitism, that is, prejudice or hostility towards Jews' (*Poland T8*, p. 32). Hostility towards Jews in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is more commonly explained in the context of the rise of *nationalism* (*Denmark T2*, p. 59f), the advocates of which 'from the beginning of the twentieth century... began to display antisemitic attitudes, which worsened relations between Jews and Poles' (*Poland T4*, p.119). In these national contexts, racism is said to have emerged and been legitimized with pseudo-scientific arguments. *Denmark T12,* in a chapter called Nation and race theory, draws learners' attention to biological misconceptions about physical and biological human characteristics, some of which were considered to be superior to others. Although nineteenth century *racial theories* are also addressed in *Germany T6* (p. 123), few other European textbooks deal in detail with racial doctrine.

Representations of Jews and Jewish life during the Second World War offer further manifestations and explanations of modern antisemitism. Among these was the *everyday antisemitism*, that 'Jews experienced in everyday life how friends, neighbours, colleagues or customers withdrew from them, showed open hostility and hatred or took part in defamation and harassment' (*Germany T6*, p. 116). Building on everyday antisemitism, one Spanish textbook draws learners' attention to the role of *popular belief* in what is today often called 'conspiracy'; one of these beliefs was that the German 'body' or *'Volk'* was, in medical terms, being attacked from within by 'a "parasitic race" that was destroying the Aryan race', and that 'this false belief was the reason they persecuted the Jewish people' (*Spain T5*, p. 60). German textbooks similarly show the central role of manipulation and of the 'Instrumentalization of the Past' in order to convince citizens of Germany in the Weimar Republic that Jews were responsible for the economic hardships of the 1920s (*Germany T10*, p. 81).

In chapters about National Socialism, the Second World War and the Holocaust, antisemitism is characterized as one of the main components of nationalist ideologies. In this context, European textbooks devote much detail to antisemitic *legislation,* albeit as a means and effect rather than a cause of hostility.

Perpetrators and instigators of antisemitism

Perpetrators of anti-Jewish acts and measures are often not named at all in textbooks. This is achieved by not including the names of perpetrators and instigators of antisemitism, the use of the passive voice, and abstraction. In some cases the role of the church in the spread of antisemitism is not addressed, for example. More commonly, authors' use of the passive voice dissimulates human agency as in *Spain T5*, for example, which states that 'the so-called "Final Solution" was adopted, which led to the mass and planned extermination of the Jewish population in gas chambers …' (*Spain T5*, p. 85). Another form of obfuscation entails ascribing responsibility to an abstract or collective entity (rather than to identifiable groups), such as a belief in racial superiority or the state (see *Spain T5*, p. 59, *Spain T2*, p. 60).

However, textbooks more commonly name specific groups of perpetrators, such as Christians in medieval times and 'the Nazis' during the Second World War, alongside National Socialists, the SA and SS, the Gestapo, Germans, Hitler, the Nazis, the 'Third Reich' and SS-units, and individual leaders such as Hitler and Goebbels. Adolf Hitler is present in iconography, but is not the main focus of

currently used European textbooks, which thus appear to avoid the risk of a Hitler-centric lens that would minimize the role of other institutions in planning and implementing the genocide of European Jews.[71] While textbooks mention Nazi elites, the authors rarely name 'ordinary' people involved in the persecution, such as railway workers, administrative officials, camp workers and guards (see *Hungary T7*, p. 155-161).

Collaborators from allied and occupied countries are also marginal figures in representations of the genocide of Jews during the Second World War. Nonetheless, some Polish textbooks indicate that many Poles were passive bystanders or that some collaborated with the occupiers and were called 'sleazy blackmailers' or '*szmalkownicy*' (*Poland T15*, p. 30). One textbook used in Spain also explores the role of collaboration by inviting pupils to consider why some French citizens collaborated with the National Socialists (*Spain T6*, p. 152). French textbooks call Vichy 'an antisemitic regime', and quote the anti-Jewish legislation of October 1940 (*France T2*, p. 80). When addressing antisemitic acts domestically, the prevailing tendency is to *externalize* rather than *internalize* responsibility by ascribing it to foreign nationals or to irresistible outside pressure. Lithuanian textbooks only marginally address the collaboration of portions of the non-Jewish population in Lithuania, 'who were subordinate to the administration of the Nazis' (*Lithuania T4*, p. 168) or are referred to as 'occupiers and their local assistants' (*Lithuania T1*, pp. 122-123).

By contrast, some Hungarian textbooks draw explicit attention to the voluntary involvement of Hungarian perpetrators in the persecution and extermination of Hungarian Jews, where both German occupiers and the fascist Arrow Cross party are named as the driving forces alongside 'the cooperation of the Hungarian public administration (civil servants and gendarmerie)' (*Hungary T3*, p. 150). *France T8* likewise depicts 'French gendarmes registering the identity of Jewish prisoners at the Pithiviers camp following a round-up in 1941' (*France T8*, p. 111), and the Vichy government is called 'an antisemitic regime' (*France T2*, p. 80). Exceptionally, one textbook used in Poland also mentions postwar Polish antisemitism, supported by 'units [of the Polish independence underground] that carried out nationalistically motivated murders (for example on Jews)' (*Poland T9*, p. 149).

Antisemitism as a phenomenon of the present day

Antisemitism today is either not treated in textbooks (of Hungary, Lithuania or Greece, for example) or only marginally (of Denmark, Spain and Poland, for example). In some cases, learning materials stress the continuity between historical and contemporary antisemitism by framing contemporary human rights legislation as a post-war response to the persecution and murder of Jews in the Holocaust (e.g. *Denmark T2* 2017, p.154, *Denmark T22*, p. 136f.). Contemporary antisemitism is most commonly addressed in the context of hate crimes or prejudice. One Spanish textbook characteristically presents antisemitism in the present day alongside other forms of discrimination defined universally as xenophobia and hate crime (*Spain T11*, p. 22 & p. 90). *Poland T18*, however, addresses tolerance and respect for minorities without mentioning antisemitism (*Poland T18*, p. 89). Other textbooks currently in use in Poland similarly do not provide for teaching about antisemitism today in spite of the curriculum stipulation that pupils should be able to 'recognise the

71 See Stuart Foster, Andy Pearce and Alice Pettigrew (ed.), Holocaust Education. Contemporary challenges and controversies, London: UCL Press, 2020, p. 36-37.

manifestations of xenophobia, including racism, chauvinism and antisemitism, and [to] justify the need to oppose these phenomena'.[72] By contrast, French and German textbooks explicitly address present-day antisemitism. French textbooks for EMC devote chapters to such topics as 'Being committed to combat racism and antisemitism' (*France T9*) and 'The Republic against antisemitism' (*France T10*). These textbooks present antisemitism as the negation of republican and constitutional principles and values, while drawing on recent incidents of antisemitic aggression such as a robbery in Paris in 2018 and on anti-discrimination legislation (*France T1*, p. 10) in order to encourage learners to get involved in activities such as the Week of Education and actions against racism and antisemitism, and to oppose antisemitic acts when they arise. One German history textbook similarly addresses contemporary Holocaust denial and trivialization through public comparisons of Jewish victims to people affected by sanitary restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic (*Germany T10*, pp. 84-85). *Germany T3* also addresses 'antisemitism today' and recent attacks on Jewish citizens and Jewish pupils in Germany and, like the French EMC textbooks, proposes that learners get involved in activities in a section called Pupils against Antisemitism, which recommends that pupils establish contact with Jewish communities and publish reports in their school newspapers or on their school websites (*Germany T3*, pp. 166-167).

72 Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej (ed.), [Curriculum for Knowledge about the Society at primary schools (Grade 8)], 2017. In Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, Poz. 356, p. 107.

Section 5

Recommendations

5. Recommendations

Recommendations for educational policy-makers

National ministries of education or other bodies responsible for developing curricula and approving textbooks should ensure that:

1. Jewish history and culture are given an appropriate place in history curricula. Where necessary, representatives of the Jewish community should be involved in the curriculum development process, as well as in the approval processes for history and social science textbooks.

2. Jewish history is taught as integrated European history, not as a history separate from general European and national histories. When curricula focus on national history, it is important to show the Jewish community as an integral part of that history and not to establish a dichotomous parallel between Jews and the nation.

3. Jewish history does not appear in the curricula exclusively in the context of discrimination and persecution against Jews. Particular emphasis should instead be placed on themes that demonstrate the coexistence of Jews and non-Jews, or that present Jews as co-creators of social, cultural, economic, and political processes and demonstrate their contribution to the development of their respective nations.

4. In the context of the persecution and extermination of European Jews in the Holocaust, Jewish resistance is given prominence alongside activities carried out by local or national populations.

5. The State of Israel is not presented exclusively in the context of the Middle East conflict, but as part of a broader narrative that includes its historical beginnings, the pluralism of its society, politics and culture, and its relationship to Jewish diasporas around the world.

6. Historical antisemitism, its roots, characteristics, actors, and consequences, is addressed in history and social studies curricula alongside types of present-day antisemitism and the need to combat them.

7. Curricula and textbook references do not reproduce stereotypes, prejudice and anti-Jewish sentiment.

Recommendations for textbook publishers and authors

i. Presentation of Jewish history and culture

Textbook authors and publishers responsible for writing and designing textbooks should ensure that:

1. Jewish history, religion, and culture are presented in all their complexity and variety. Whenever possible, transregional and transnational aspects of Jewish history should be considered to complement accounts of national Jewish life.

2. They do not to portray Jewish history exclusively as a history of discrimination and persecution, thereby reducing Jews to mere objects of history. Rather, Jewish agency should be highlighted, whether as communities producing their own cultural, religious and political life, as co-creators of political, cultural, scientific, and economic developments in society as a whole, or as subjects of active and passive resistance to discrimination and persecution at various times.

3. Jewish history is not presented exclusively from an external perspective. It is necessary to include Jewish perspectives and voices from all periods covered. Wherever possible, visual and textual documents should consider an intersectional perspective, particularly regarding gender and how gender can impact experiences of discrimination and resilience. In the context of the Holocaust, for example, this might entail the uses of sterilisation, rape and enforced prostitution, the role of female perpetrators, the division of labour in ghettoes and camps, gendered anti-Jewish stereotypes and intersections between gender, ethnicity and sexuality (including the persecution of homosexuals in history).

4. Textbooks include information about contemporary Judaism and Jewish life, especially highlighting its resilience after the Holocaust, and its diverse religious and cultural manifestations in the modern world.

5. The State of Israel should not be portrayed exclusively in the context of the Middle East conflict. Instead, textbooks should also focus on the social, political, cultural and economic facets of Israel and its history while acknowledging the pluralistic and complex structure of Israeli society and the relationship between the State of Israel and Jewish diasporas around the world.

6. Representations of the Middle East conflict should adopt a multi-perspective and balanced approach which emphasizes the responsibility of all parties involved for a peaceful, political solution to the conflict. One-sided statements or judgments should be avoided.

ii. Avoiding stereotypes and (unconscious) prejudices

Textbook authors and publishers responsible for writing and designing textbooks should ensure that:

1. Terms and attributions that associate Jews with antisemitic prejudices (for example, money, power, secrecy) should be avoided. When using the language of perpetrators and racist, antisemitic terminology (such as the Nazi term 'Final Solution' or the racist construct 'Aryan'), these expressions should be consistently placed in quotation marks and deconstructed rather than reproduced uncritically. It is important in this context to highlight the role of language in normalizing discrimination and in euphemizing extermination and genocide.

2. Similarly, the linguistic 'othering' of Jews with dichotomous oppositions between the national ingroup and Jewish communities or individuals or phrases such as 'living with strangers' should be avoided.

3. In the context of ancient Jewish history or the presentation of the roots of Christianity, the reproduction of traditional religious anti-Jewish stereotypes, such as the idea that the Jews were guilty of the death of Jesus (trope of the deicide), should be consistently avoided.

4. Presentations of medieval Jewish history should not focus disproportionately on the practice of money lending for interest but should consider the variety of Jewish occupational structures. Negatively connoted terms such as 'usury' should be avoided or, if they appear in historical sources, contextualised.

5. Jews are neither explicitly nor implicitly blamed for antisemitism, discrimination, and persecution (otherwise known as blame reversal narratives). Textbooks should favour complex and scientific analyses of antisemitism that highlight its systemic nature and its embeddedness in law, culture, beliefs and social practices, rather than unidimensional explanations such as social resentment against wealthy Jewish individuals.

6. Documents or imagery (such as caricatures, postcards, posters, and photographs) conveying antisemitic meaning are contextualised and assessed in their respective social and historical contexts and in relation to who made them and to what ends. Captions or other accompanying texts may be used to situate and deconstruct these documents in their contexts. Depictions of antisemitic content or of violence directed against Jews should be used with the utmost care and sparingly, in order to avoid emotional images 'overloading' the deconstruction in the text.

iii. The treatment of historical and contemporary antisemitism

Textbook authors and publishers responsible for writing and designing textbooks should ensure that:

1. Antisemitism is not portrayed solely as a historical phenomenon, but that contemporary forms of antisemitism after the Holocaust and its impact of Jewish communities worldwide are also properly addressed.

2. Antisemitism is clearly defined in age-appropriate ways highlighting that antisemitism is a certain representation of Jews as dangerous 'others', that expresses itself both in a hostile *attitude* toward Jews (ideological dimension) and in *acts of violence* against Jews. Textbooks should also emphasize its conspiratorial component, which distinguishes it from other forms of racism. Glossary definitions of antisemitism should underscore not emotions such as 'hatred' and 'hostility', but structural long and short term historical, political, economic and social causes.

3. Textbooks acknowledge and address how antisemitism can be present and operates in one's own history and society. In the context of the Holocaust, both local collaboration and participation in the extermination, as well as the courageous actions of resistance and rescue of Jews, should be documented.

Recommendations for teachers concerning textbook content

Teachers who use textbooks in their classrooms should ensure that:

1. They use only textbooks and other teaching materials that are free of stereotypes that promote antisemitism.

2. Stereotypes, found in teaching materials, that promote antisemitism are explicitly addressed and critically assessed or deconstructed in the classroom. Such representations should not be overlooked because students will inevitably encounter them in the teaching materials and may be influenced by them.

3. Antisemitic statements in historical source materials (text or images) that are not adequately classified or deconstructed in the textbook are discussed in the classroom.

4. Blame-reversal narratives in textbooks are deconstructed by referring to the historical and social manifestations and effects of antisemitism.

5. One-sided portrayals of the Middle East conflict in textbooks are countered in class, and that different opinions of students are allowed and critically discussed.

6. Emotions expressed by students in relation to illustrations or accounts of the Middle East conflict, in particular during times of acute conflict between the parties involved, should be allowed, provided that they are not accompanied by antisemitic or racist statements.

7. When dealing with historical antisemitism in class, it is stressed that antisemitism is not just a problem of the past, but that it is present in today's society and that it should be resolutely opposed.

Appendix

Bibliography of textbooks and teaching materials cited in this report

DENMARK

History textbooks and teaching materials

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Questionnaire

This questionnaire aims to collect information about the portrayal of Jews, Judaism, Israel and antisemitism in history and social studies textbooks or textbooks for combined school subjects and in the corresponding curricula in your country. The facts you note here will be evaluated by us and will be included in the final report, which is being prepared by the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media | Georg Eckert Institute for UNESCO. The questionnaire you complete will not be published; however, you will be named as a contributor to this research project in the final report.

The structured questionnaire and your answers to the questions provided should enable us to gain as accurate an overview as possible of the facets of the portrayal of Jews, Judaism, Israel and antisemitism in schoolbooks and curricula in your country and to compare these with the content of the schoolbooks and curricula in the other seven countries examined. Therefore, the questionnaires for the respondents in all seven countries are identical. We are aware that, for this reason, some important points that are unique to your country's textbooks and curricula in terms of the subject matter may not be covered by this questionnaire. We would therefore be grateful if you could provide us with explanations of these specific features in a separate section at the end of the questionnaire.

Please write your answers to the individual questions in running text; if necessary, you can highlight important points by using italics or bold. Please write no more than half a page per answer; however, supplementary explanations in the separate section at the end of the questionnaire (about country-specific features not covered by the questions) may be longer. If a question is not relevant to the textbooks you are examining, please explain briefly why. When providing specific information or quotations from the textbooks, it is important that you insert a clear reference to the textbook examined and the corresponding page in brackets in the text, as follows (Habermas 2018, p. 34).

These references should be supported by a bibliography at the end of the questionnaire (see format for bibliographical information below). For better illustration, you are welcome to copy pictures described or relevant quotations into the text, while providing a precise reference to the source as described.

Model bibliographical reference:

Johannes Habermas, *European History and Modernity*, Harmondsworth: Collins, 2008 (3rd edition 2018).

A. General information about the education system and the textbook system

Please briefly describe the structures of the school education system (a: whether federal or centralized; b: types of schools) and the textbook market (a: names of main publishers; b: authorization procedures; c: the role of non-authorized learning materials) in your country. Are the subjects of history, politics and social studies taught separately at level 2 – lower secondary level – in ISCED, or are they taught as an interdisciplinary or combined subject?

B. Curricula entry points

Please quote sections of the curricula which are relevant for the topic (copy and paste the original text together with the English translation in brackets, and provide the title of the curriculum, date of publication and page number).

C. Representations of Jews, Judaism, Israel and antisemitism in textbooks

Chapter I: Representations of Jews, Judaism and Israel

Section I a) Jews and Judaism in history

Overarching questions

1. Which epochs and events are particularly prominent in the depiction of Jews and Judaism in the textbooks analysed? For which epochs and events is there the most authored text, documentary materials and illustrations? (Please specify number of pages or fractions of pages.)

2. Are Jews described as passive objects of history and victims of persecution, or do they also appear as active shapers of their own history and the history of Europe? What agency is attributed to them?

3. Do Jews appear as a (nameless) collective, or are Jewish personalities also emphasized? Which personalities are featured? What role do Jewish women play?

4. To what extent does the Jewish perspective itself come into play? Do Jews have a say in the sources or other materials? Do female Jewish perspectives come into play?

5. Which definitions of Judaism are used (exclusively or rather as a religion, or also as a people or nation)?

6. Which stereotypes become visible in the depictions? (referring to money, foreignness of religion and customs, segregation, power over the media or financial markets, etc). Do some concepts or terms have an antisemitic connotation (such as 'usury')?

7. Are dichotomies between Jews and non-Jews constructed in the modern age, in the context of the modern nation (e.g. 'the Germans and the Jews', 'the French and the Jews')? Are these

dichotomies justified in some way or do they appear to be unfounded linguistic constructs? Is there a reluctance to use the words 'Jews', 'Jew' or 'Jewess'?

8. Are Jews portrayed as an integral part of society or rather as 'foreigners', 'others'?

9. Are anti-Jewish statements in contemporary text sources contextualized or deconstructed? Are problematic terms ('Aryan', 'final solution' etc.) placed in inverted commas or is there any other form of contextualizing or deconstruction with regard to these terms?

10. Which images are used and with which caption titles? Are historic anti-Jewish or antisemitic representations sufficiently contextualized and/or deconstructed? How is this done?

Antiquity

1. Is the 'achievement' of monotheism by the Israelites honoured and is the significance of Judaism for the development of Christianity emphasized? Are the Jewish origins of Jesus and the early Christians sufficiently recognized?

2. In addition to the emergence of Christianity, is the development of rabbinical Judaism also discussed, and is the significance of the Torah and Talmud for Judaism emphasized? If so, how?

3. How are relations between Judaism and Islam portrayed in antiquity and the early Middle Ages (e.g. the role of Judaism and Jewish tribes on the Arabian Peninsula for the development of Islam; the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem)?

Middle Ages and early modern period

1. How is Jewish history of the Middle Ages introduced (concerning the Jewish contribution to European culture, the position of Jews in medieval society, the aspect of persecution and discrimination, or other aspects)?

2. How is the coexistence of Jews, Christians (and Muslims) portrayed? Are persecution and discrimination or peaceful coexistence between Christians and Jews (and Muslims) in the foreground?

3. Which practices of discrimination and persecution are dealt with? How are discrimination and persecution explained, and what reasons are given for discrimination and persecution?

4. What antisemitic tropes and stereotypes (blood libel, well poisoners, deicide, etc.) are evoked?

5. How are the expulsions of Jews from some European countries and cities (England, France, Iberian Peninsula) addressed? Is their long-term impact explored?

6. How is the issue of forced baptisms and *conversos* dealt with?

7. What professions are associated with Jews in the Middle Ages? How is Jewish moneylending in relation to Christians categorized in the Middle Ages?

8. Is Jewish community life in the Middle Ages addressed?

9. How is Jewish history treated in the early modern period, what focal points are addressed (persecution and expulsion, Reformation and Judaism, Jewish self-government, the beginning of the Enlightenment and tolerance, etc.)?

Nineteenth century to the interwar period

1. Which processes of social, religious and cultural development of Jews in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are described for your own country and/or for European Jewry (e.g. emancipation, acculturation, bourgeoisification, religious diversification, new religious or political movements, conversion)?

2. Are Jewish contributions to the economy, science and culture recognized?

3. Is Jewish identification with the nation at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century addressed?

4. Is the emergence of modern biologistic (racist) antisemitism addressed and is the Jewish struggle against it addressed?

5. What role do national events such as the Dreyfus trial or the pogroms in the Russian Empire play? Is the emergence of Zionism as a Jewish national movement discussed?

6. How is the shared history of Jews and non-Jews in your country and in Europe in the interwar period described?

The Second World War and the Holocaust

1. Is antisemitism named as the driving ideological force behind the discrimination, persecution and extermination of the Jews in the Holocaust? How are antisemitic tendencies within the general population dealt with? Which other motives are named?

2. What forms of discrimination, persecution and extermination of European Jews are described? Which events (occurring in the 1930s and 1940s) are described as central within the process of discrimination, persecution and extermination?

3. Whose perspectives are adopted in descriptions of the Holocaust, particularly as reflected in documentary sources – those of perpetrators, of victims, or of the supposedly uninvolved?

4. Where does the Holocaust take place geographically according to the textbook narrative, and which central places are named?

5. Who is named as a perpetrator of the Holocaust? What role is ascribed to the population of your country? Is collaboration named in the context of the Holocaust and, if so, how?

6. Are the efforts of individuals to save Jews from extermination described? How much space in teaching is their action given, especially in relation to the role of collaborators or the general context of the genocide?

7. Does the resistance of Jews against persecution and extermination play a role in the portrayal? What forms of resistance are described?

Section I b) Jews and Judaism after 1945/in the present (without Israel)

1. Is Jewish history portrayed in Europe and in your own country after 1945? If so, how? To what extent are Jews portrayed as part of society?
2. Are phenomena of discrimination and persecution after 1945 thematised? If so, which ones?
3. Is the state or social memory of the Holocaust thematised? If so, how?
4. Is the diversity of contemporary Judaism addressed (secular/religious, different religious currents)? Are aspects of Jewish community life, Jewish culture and everyday Jewish life examined?
5. What connection is drawn between current Judaism in your country and Israel?
6. Are Jews presented collectively or also as personalities, and what role do Jewish women play in the portrayal?
7. Which images are used, and with which captions? Are anti-Jewish or antisemitic representations sufficiently contextualized and/or deconstructed? How is this done?

Section I c) Representations of Israel

1. In what contexts is Israel dealt with? Are other aspects of the State of Israel (e.g. domestic political, social, cultural aspects) addressed in addition to the Middle East conflict?
2. Is the prehistory of Israel also covered (e.g. Zionism, immigration, the Balfour Declaration, the establishment of the *Yishuv*, the Holocaust, etc.)?
3. How are the relations between your country and Israel thematised?
4. Which narratives and explanations underpin the depiction of the Middle East conflict in school textbooks (reasons for the conflict, justifications for the actions of the sides involved, conflict between Israel and the Arab world or conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, etc.)?
5. Are there evaluative elements in the author's text, such as accusations of guilt or moral judgements?
6. Are there elements in the author's text or in documentary material that essentialize Israel or Israelis as a kind of an 'ontological aggressor', that demonize, dehumanize or inferiorize them? If such elements appear in documentary material, are they sufficiently contextualized, and do work exercises invite pupils to think about such positions?
7. Which images are used, and with which captions? Are anti-Jewish or antisemitic representations sufficiently contextualized and/or deconstructed? How is this done?

Chapter II: Treatment of antisemitism as a social phenomenon Section IIa) Overarching questions

1. Is hostility towards Jews or antisemitism treated explicitly or as a separate topic, or is it mentioned only sporadically?
2. How is antisemitism defined?
3. Is antisemitism seen as a present-day phenomenon or is it exclusively localized in historical contexts?
4. Which illustrations are used to demonstrate antisemitism? Are historic or contemporary antisemitic pictures (postcards, propaganda posters, leaflets, caricatures, etc.) sufficiently deconstructed and/or contextualized?

Section II b) Antisemitism in history

1. How are hostility towards Jews and antisemitism explained in successive epochs? What reasons are given?
2. Which forms of hostility towards Jews or antisemitism in history are mentioned?
3. Which groups are named as the driving force behind hostility towards Jews and antisemitism?
4. Are hostility towards Jews and antisemitism also described as an inherent feature of one's native local or national history and people or is it primarily located in other places or countries?
5. Which reactions of Jews to hostility towards Jews and antisemitism are described?

Section II c) Antisemitism in the present

1. Is antisemitism addressed in the present day? How, and in what contexts (e.g. racism, discrimination, diversity)?
2. Which forms of contemporary antisemitism are named (e.g. religiously based antisemitism, Holocaust denial and distortion, antisemitism directed against Israel)?
3. Is contemporary antisemitism presented as an inherent feature of one's native local or national society, or is it primarily located in other places or countries?
4. Which groups are named as the driving force behind contemporary antisemitism?
5. Which reactions of Jews to contemporary antisemitism are described?

Section II d) Combating and preventing antisemitism

1. Is antisemitism presented as something that must be opposed?
2. Are concrete strategies and means of combating antisemitism in society named or recommended?

3. Are schools and education shown as arenas for antisemitism or the fight against antisemitism? Are measures against antisemitism in schools and education recommended?

A. Further special features

What special features regarding Jews, Judaism, Israel and antisemitism did you notice that were not addressed in this questionnaire? Are there specific peculiarities concerning the teaching of the topic in your country that you wish to explain?

Curricula quoted (issuing authority, title of curriculum, date issued, page number)

Textbooks quoted (author(s), title, place of publication, publisher, year of publication, page number)

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The representation of Jews, Judaism and antisemitism in school textbooks and curricula in Europe

This comprehensive research, carried out by UNESCO in collaboration with the Georg-Eckert-Institute and supported by funding from the European Commission, examines the ways in which Jewish culture, history, life, and anti-Jewish prejudice are represented in secondary school materials across eight European nations. It highlights opportunities within curricula to address Jewish experiences and antisemitism, reviews how these themes are incorporated into textbooks, and analyzes the narratives and portrayals that arise. The study also looks at the use of visual sources and assesses whether Jewish viewpoints and agency are sufficiently reflected. Finally, it provides tailored recommendations for education professionals to support the development of more inclusive and accurate teaching resources.

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4 QUALITY EDUCATION

Sustainable Development Goals