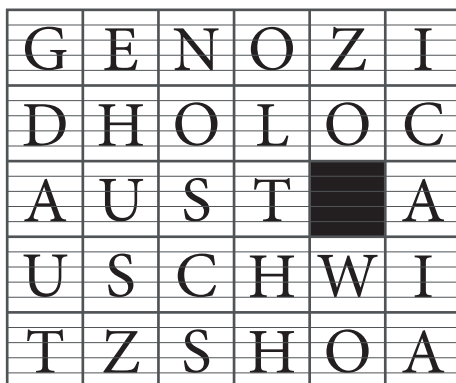




United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

GEORG ECKERT
INSTITUTE

for International
Textbook Research



THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF EDUCATION ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

A GLOBAL MAPPING OF TEXTBOOKS
AND CURRICULA

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Published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 7 place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France, and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, Celler Strasse 3, 38114 Braunschweig, Germany

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UNESCO ISBN 978-92-3-100033-1



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Printed by UNESCO

Printed in France

Abstract

This publication documents the ways in which the Holocaust is presented in secondary school level history and social studies curricula worldwide, and conceptualized and narrated in textbooks from twenty-six countries, with all continents represented. Historical understandings of the Holocaust are defined in terms of the spatial and temporal scales with which the event is portrayed, the protagonists involved, interpretative patterns (according to definitions, comprehensiveness, causes, relativization or banalization), narrative techniques and viewpoints, didactic methods, and national idiosyncrasies. The study is based on 272 currently valid curricula from 135 countries, and on 89 textbooks published in 26 countries since 2000. The aim of the study is primarily to document information in such a way that it reflects local understandings of the Holocaust, principally by recording concepts and narratives of the Holocaust found in educational media currently in use in schools. The findings show both convergence and divergence in the representations analysed. The Holocaust is subject to shared patterns of representation, which include selectivity, personalization, appropriation, screening and omission. It is also subject to narrative idiosyncrasies. One of the main trends worldwide is domestication, a process whereby countries place emphasis on the local significance of the event or appropriate them in the interests of local populations. Drawing on such national and international patterns of representation, the publication concludes by formulating recommendations for future curricula and textbook narratives about the Holocaust. These recommendations relate to such issues as the use of terms, the comprehensiveness of historical facts, the definition of causes, the combination of universal and local approaches, and the development of historical literacy.

Acknowledgements

This report was compiled and written in 2014 by Peter Carrier (principal investigator), Eckhardt Fuchs (project leader) and Torben Messinger (project coordinator). The authors owe their profound gratitude to the research group and to all the people who contributed to this project. Our special thanks go (for analysing curricula) to Mariam Chikobava (Tbilisi), Jungsoon Choi (Seoul), Mona Hegazy (Alexandria), Haykaz Hovhanisyan (Yerevan), György Jakab (Budapest), Rimantas Jokimaitis (Vilnius), Antigoni Loukovitou (Braunschweig), Loranda Miletić (Zadar), Eren Ozalay (Istanbul), Karla Cisneros Rosado (Cancún), Sergey Rumyantsev (Baku), Murat Kaskenovič Sembinov (Almaty), Eszter Simongáti (Budapest), Zrinka Stimac (Braunschweig), Mariya Yanchevska (Braunschweig) and Iryna Yermolayeva (Braunschweig); (for providing curriculum materials) to Ruth Creamer and the International Bureau of Education (Geneva); (for carrying out textbook analysis) to Basabi Khan Banerjee (Braunschweig), Denise Bentrovato (Braunschweig), Edgar Blume (Leipzig), Adrian Burgess (London), Ulrike Capdepón Busies (Hamburg), Diana Dumitru (Chisinau), Stuart Foster (London), Eva Hein (Braunschweig), Yoshie Kittaka (Tokyo), Michelle Koekemoer (Pinetown), Mirjam Körner (Braunschweig), Karolina Kubista (Braunschweig), Claudia Lichnofsky (Braunschweig), Zhongjie Meng (Shanghai), Julia Nohn (Wolfenbüttel), Maya Razmadze (Berlin), Dirk Sadowski (Braunschweig), Tatiana Samorodova (Hamburg), Elizandra de Siqueira (Lucas Do Rio Verde), Johan Wassermann (Ashwood), Anna Zadora (Strasbourg) and Stephanie Zloch (Braunschweig). Special thanks go to Karolina Kubista (Braunschweig) for her thoughtful dedication to the bibliography. Textbooks, reading material, reports and advice about curricula were generously provided by the knowledgeable staff of the library of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig. Thanks go also to Thomas Zimmermann (Leipzig) for editing the maps.

For critical comments on the penultimate draft of the report, our thanks go to the peer-reviewers, including Werner Dreier (Errinern.at), Peter Fredlake (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum), Richard Freedman (South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation), Magdalena Gross (Stanford University), Andy Pearce (University of London), Tracey Petersen (Cape Town Holocaust Centre), and Doyle Stevick (University of South Carolina). This project could have been neither commenced nor successfully completed without the constant commitment of Karel Fracapane and the help of Hannah Marek of the UNESCO Division of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development.

This report was made possible through a grant from the Permanent Delegation of the United States of America to UNESCO.

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Introduction:

Origins, concept, aims and main findings of the study

Origins

This study represents a response to a growing interest in, and relative lack of readily available information about, teaching about the Holocaust around the world, especially in countries whose populations were not directly involved in the event. For example, while most European countries, as well as the United States, Canada, South Africa and Argentina, have made the Holocaust a mandatory or a recommended topic in the teaching of history or other subjects, international assessments of education carried out by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe, the EU-funded Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), the Institute of Education of the University of London, the United Nations Education and Scientific Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)¹ show that teaching about the Holocaust differs considerably from one country to another and within any one country in terms of content, support structures and time allocated to studying the subject. Furthermore, existing international assessments focus almost exclusively on the general framework for Holocaust education without looking at the actual concepts and narratives which feature in the educational media used.

It is for this reason that UNESCO has endeavoured, together with the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, to produce a scientific report about the status of the Holocaust in curricula worldwide and textbooks from twenty-six countries, which includes recommendations for curriculum developers and textbook authors. The report was compiled by a team of researchers at the Georg Eckert Institute in cooperation with UNESCO and its national commissions between 2012 and 2014, with the generous support of over one hundred people from research centres, memorial museums and universities throughout the world, as well as representatives of national educational ministries.

1 OSCE. 2005. *Education on the Holocaust and on Anti-semitism. An Overview and Analysis of Educational Approaches*. OSCE; Lecomte, J. M. 2001. *Teaching about the Holocaust in the 21st Century*. Council of Europe; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). 2010. *Excursion to the Past - Teaching for the Future. Handbook for Teachers*. Vienna, FRA; Institute of Education, University of London (ed.) 2009., *Teaching about the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools. An Empirical Study of National Trends, Perspectives and Practice*. London, HEDP; K. Fracapanè and M. Haß, 2014, *Holocaust Education in a Global Context*. Paris, UNESCO; Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF)/International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), country reports, published since 2009.

Concept

The task of documenting the status of the Holocaust worldwide in curricula and textbooks required us to collect information which reflects the specific historical understanding of the event in a given country and which, at the same time, can be compared across countries whose languages and histories are very diverse. It is for this reason that we chose to record the *concepts* used to refer to, and the *narratives* used to relate, the history of the Holocaust in textbooks and in curricula. Criteria for the exploration of curricula therefore included the contexts in which references to the Holocaust occurred, as well as the discipline in which the topic is taught and the date and country of publication of the document. Similarly, criteria for the exploration of textbook presentations of the Holocaust consisted in the spatial and temporal scales within which the event is recounted, the protagonists, major interpretative paradigms, narrative techniques, didactic methods and national idiosyncrasies. This conceptual and narrative approach provided relatively straightforward historiographical criteria by which curricula and textbooks might be assessed comparatively.

This study adopts an inductive approach, based on insights into traces of local perceptions of the Holocaust provided by researchers who not only know local languages, but also have first-hand experience in education in the countries covered in the survey. This inductive approach therefore reflects the multiplicity of concepts and narratives used to refer to the same event – a multiplicity which derives either from linguistic differences or from curriculum and textbook authors' reasoned choices to adopt one of the many available concepts, such as 'Shoah', 'Holocaust', 'genocide', 'massacre' or 'extermination', and to draw on one of many narrative templates² in order to explain the event. At the same time, the inductive approach helps us to understand how one concept may be used to signify different things in different political and historical contexts, following 'the fact that the same word, or the same concept in most cases, means very different things when used by differently situated persons'.³ Thus, just as concepts have a history and change in meaning over time, they also have a geographical place and change in meaning from one place to another.

Aims

Beyond presenting a record of concepts and narratives with which the Holocaust is represented in curricula and textbooks worldwide, the primary objective of this report is to assess the degree to which concepts and narratives converge or diverge, as well as the international patterns of their convergence and divergence. The study also

-
- 2 James Wertsch is said to have coined the term 'schematic narrative template' in his study *Specific narratives and schematic narrative templates*, P. Seixas (ed.), 2004, *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, pp. 49-62. The Holocaust is, for example, often rendered via a narrative 'fall-rise' template, when contextualized in relation to the institutionalization of genocide prevention after the Second World War.
 - 3 Mannheim, K. 1954, *Ideology and Utopia. An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. Trans. L. Wirth and E. Shils, 1985, New York, Harvest Books, p. 273.

highlights problems encountered and their possible solutions, which we formulate in recommendations.

The aims of the study are fourfold:

Firstly, it provides academic specialists, who are interested in a comparative approach to education about the Holocaust, with *insight into concepts and narratives* of the history of the Holocaust worldwide. In this respect, the aims of the study are not only didactic (highlighting historical inaccuracies), but also historiographical (recording and comparing conceptual and narrative representations of time and space, interpretations, narrative techniques and didactic methods).

Secondly, it provides *educational policymakers, teachers and textbook authors with documentation and recommendations* which may help them to develop new educational policies and directives, as well as to mitigate the misuse of references to this event in an age in which knowledge of the Holocaust is widespread if not global, but where knowledge about the Holocaust is fragmented and often distorted, if not used to political ends.

Thirdly, it provides a work of reference with which educators and educationalists may *cooperate internationally with the aim of analysing or developing shared concepts and narratives* of the Holocaust on the basis of a mutual exchange of ideas about existing educational media in different countries. Thus curriculum developers and textbook authors may use the study to learn how and in which contexts the Holocaust is dealt with in curricula and textbooks in other countries than their own, and therefore learn from one another.

Fourthly, it reveals what is known about the Holocaust in *regions whose populations were not involved in or affected by the Holocaust, and in which its history has not previously been taught*. It also points to directions for further research in this area. The initiatives launched by UNESCO in 2012 and 2013 to consult with ministries of education in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America further challenge educators in all countries to oversee education about the Holocaust in contexts which are disconnected from the societies in whose midst the Holocaust took place.

This report on the international status of education about the Holocaust should help educators to learn from, or even adapt and apply, techniques already tested on the basis of teaching about the Holocaust.⁴ It also complements the initiative of the Salzburg Global Seminar and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to encourage mutual

4 See B. van Driel, 2009, *Teaching about the Holocaust and Genocides in the 21st Century. Pedagogy and Educational Approaches: Some Initial Reflections for Education on the African Continent, Combating Intolerance, Exclusion and Violence through Holocaust Education*, Paris, UNESCO, p. 86. See also the following reports

Holocaust Education in a Global Context, Paris, UNESCO; http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/pdf/27April2012ExpertsMeeting_report.pdf,

Why Teach about Genocide: The Example of the Holocaust? UNESCO Regional Consultation in SubsaharanAfrica; <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002208/220858e.pdf>

Regional Consultation on Holocaust and Genocide Education in Latin America; <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002273/227356m.pdf>

international learning about the Holocaust and other genocides while taking into account 'local narratives',⁵ and the initiative of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the OSCE to encourage teachers to demonstrate the humanistic significance of learning about the Holocaust by 'building bridges to connect with ... students' backgrounds'.⁶

The study differs from previous reports, however, because it does not address Holocaust education in general. Instead, it documents the contents and concepts of education about the Holocaust presented in curricula and textbooks, thereby providing a foundation upon which we may gain understanding of local narratives derived from present-day local perspectives. It also differs from previous reports insofar as its recommendations for good practices have a heuristic value, designed as they are to foster knowledge about mechanisms by which knowledge about the Holocaust and other genocides is de- and recontextualized worldwide, and to offer a tool with which to promote Holocaust literacy among educators and learners alike by providing them with the means to acknowledge different points of view and interpretations, and to learn mutually in an increasingly internationally interconnected educational environment.

Main Findings

The status of the Holocaust in curricula varies considerably worldwide. Our findings revealed four main categories of curricula in respect of the Holocaust:⁷

1. Direct reference: Countries whose curricula stipulate teaching about the Holocaust by using the term 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah', or by using alternative terminologies such as 'genocide against the Jews' or 'Nazi persecution of minorities' (in most member states of the Council of Europe, in North America and by members of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, but also in countries such as Ethiopia, Namibia, South Africa, Chile and Trinidad and Tobago);
2. Partial reference: Countries whose curricula stipulate teaching about the Holocaust in order to achieve a learning aim which is not primarily the history of the Holocaust (concerning responses to the Holocaust outside Europe, for example) or to illustrate a topic other than the Holocaust, where the Holocaust is mentioned as one among other aspects of human rights education (in Argentina, Belize, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and the Canadian Provinces of Alberta, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island and the US State of Maryland, for example);
3. Context only: Countries whose curricula refer to the Second World War or to National Socialism, for example, without referring explicitly to the Holocaust as a term or an event (in Algeria, Bhutan, India and Japan, for example);

5 From Salzburg Global Seminar and United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013, *Global Perspectives on Holocaust Education. Trends, Patterns and Practices*, Washington, Salzburg Global Seminar and United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, p. 47.

6 From OSCE/ODIHR, 2006, *Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism*, OSCE/ODIHR, p. 8.

7 See the table 'Conceptualizations of the Holocaust in secondary school curricula' in chapter 4 for a comprehensive list of countries corresponding to each of the four categories.

4. Neither the Holocaust as a term and an event nor its context is mentioned in the curriculum (in Bahrain, Dominica and Nepal, for example).

The report also documents *textbooks*, focusing in particular on the temporal and spatial scales, protagonists, interpretative paradigms, narrative techniques, didactic methods and national idiosyncrasies with and within which the Holocaust is conveyed. It also focuses on convergent trends or internationally shared narrative templates, and divergent trends or narrative idiosyncrasies, which generally establish links between the Holocaust and local events. There is, for example, a convergent tendency in all countries within the samples of textbooks to explain the causes of the Holocaust on the basis of Adolf Hitler's personal wishes, or on the basis of the purposes and functions of concentration and extermination camps. Textbooks in most countries also focus most closely, via photographs and legal documentation, on the perpetrators' point of view.

In addition to these *general* convergent and divergent tendencies, the report also provides evidence of *regional* convergent and divergent trends. For example, although textbooks in countries in formerly colonized territories in the MENA (Middle East/North Africa) region are similar insofar as they generally devote only a few lines or a paragraph to the Holocaust in the context of the Second World War or of regional history, they do so in very different ways. Similarly, the textbooks of central and eastern European countries face the challenge of acknowledging a common historiographical legacy in which the history of the 1940s is overshadowed by the 'Great Patriotic War' in a variety of ways. While some countries in this region are currently revising representations of the Holocaust in order to acknowledge local collaboration with the National Socialist regime in addition to the dual victimhood endured under communist and National Socialist regimes, others continue to present a largely heroic account of the period in terms of political and military valour. In short, the transnational scale of conceptualizations and narratives of the Holocaust in educational media corresponds to an overlapping multipolar pattern which is partly global, partly regional and partly national.

Questions not directly addressed in this report, but which may be pursued in its wake, concern the extent to which representations of the Holocaust converge in countries which are members of the IHRA or OSCE, in countries which provided havens for large numbers of refugees from the Holocaust, in countries whose history has been marked by genocides or violations of human rights other than the Holocaust, in western European and former eastern bloc countries, or in Europe as a whole.⁸ What emerges clearly from this report is the fact that almost all countries 'domesticate' the event by placing emphasis on local places or people, or by explaining the event in relation to a comparable local or regional genocide or massacre. This general trend towards domestication suggests that the Holocaust has been subsumed not to what Natan Sznaider and Daniel Levy have called a 'cosmopolitan' culture of memory,⁹ but to divergent conceptualizations, interpretations, expediences,

8 Some experts consider that the Holocaust is a unifying 'negative reference point' of European memory. See Kroh, J. 2008. *Transnationale Erinnerung. Der Holocaust im Fokus geschichtspolitischer Initiativen*. Frankfurt am Main, Campus, p. 233.

9 See Sznaider, N. and Levy, D. 2001. *Erinnerungen im globalen Zeitalter – der Holocaust*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp.

and narrative and didactic techniques, which are founded in the local experiences and expectations of curriculum and textbook authors and users. The findings of this report thus testify to what we might call education about Holocausts. Although curriculum and textbook authors almost universally pit 'Hitler' and 'the Nazis' against 'the Jews' in Europe between 1933 and 1945, the precise manner in which they date the event and locate where it took place, or emphasize either its political, ideological, military, legal or moral meanings, generally differ from one another.

The report consists of three parts. Part One explains the origins and background of the study, its objectives and methodology. Part Two, the main section of the study, contains the results of the curriculum and textbook analyses, together with summaries of general tendencies. Part Three presents an outline of recommendations for good practice founded on the insight gained during the project into the inconsistencies and contradictions exposed by the findings. These are designed for use by education policymakers in state education ministries, or by non-governmental experts, teachers and textbook authors who seek support in order to enhance the provision of education about the Holocaust worldwide. The report ends with an appendix and a bibliography of recent studies about curricula and textbook representations of the Holocaust, about the Holocaust in educational media generally, and also includes a comprehensive list of recent reports concerning education about the Holocaust.

PART 1

Background, objectives and
methodology of the study

1. Background

The release of this publication coincides with a number of challenges to which educators (including teachers, textbook authors, curriculum developers and policymakers) involved in teaching about the Holocaust have to devise reasoned responses. These challenges include teaching the topic to pupils who belong to a cohort born four or five generations after the event, to pupils who are exposed to numerous media representations of the Holocaust beyond the control of educational institutions, and above all teaching about the Holocaust at a time when knowledge about the Holocaust is becoming increasingly international and even serves as a measure of the mechanisms by which historical knowledge finds expression on a worldwide scale. The study was conceived primarily in response to the internationalization of knowledge about the Holocaust, but also sheds light on the diverse conceptual and narrative representations of the events to which 'fourth-generation' pupils are exposed paradigmatically via curricula and textbooks.

The internationalization of teaching about the Holocaust has captured the attention of specialists and non-specialists alike in the wake of public debates since the 1990s which cast doubt upon the adequacy of education about the Holocaust for pupils whose migrant parents, grandparents or great-grandparents grew up in places which were not affected by either the Second World War or the Holocaust.¹⁰ However, little attention has hitherto been paid to the ways in which the Holocaust as a topic has itself 'migrated' to multiple age groups, to disciplines beyond history (for example, to political studies, social sciences, literary and religious studies), and especially to countries and continents whose populations have not been affected by the Holocaust or its consequences.

One of the effects of this migration of the Holocaust as a topic is semantic confusion over the meaning of the event as it is conveyed in concepts and narrative explanations. A glance at the international field of education about the Holocaust even reveals a lack

10 See B. Falaize, 2009, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'enseignement des génocides à l'école*, L. de Cock and E. Picard (eds), *La fabrique scolaire de l'histoire. Illusions et disillusion du roman national*, Marseille, Agone, pp. 127-146; P. Carrier, Fear and deference in Holocaust education. The pitfalls of 'engagement teaching' according to a report by the British Historical Association, *Human Affairs*, Vol. 1, pp. 43-55; B. Fechner, G. Kößler and T. Lieberz-Groß (eds), 2000, *'Erziehung nach Auschwitz' in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft. Pädagogische und soziologische Annäherungen*, Weinheim and Munich, Juventa Verlag, pp. 207-227.

of accord over the very name and purpose of this field. 'Holocaust education', 'Holocaust studies', 'teaching about the Holocaust', 'education about the Holocaust', 'teaching from the Holocaust' and even simply 'Holocaust' are among the various titles used to refer to this field of study. Bearing this potential for confusion in mind, and thus seeking to define the object of the study precisely, we therefore explore ways in which the Holocaust is presented as an object of historical knowledge via linguistic *concepts* and the sequential arrangement of information about the past commonly known as *narrative*. By focusing on the content of textbooks and teaching about the Holocaust as well as the ways in which it is conceived of and narrated in history curricula and history textbooks, we strive to address a coherent object of study, referring to historical representations of the event in social studies curricula and textbooks only in cases where educational media pertaining to the field of history were not available.

The challenge of internationalization has been most widely and passionately debated in terms of the function of the Holocaust as a legal and ethical *standard* or 'benchmark'¹¹ by which other genocides are to be measured, that is, as 'a universal standard of good and evil',¹² an 'epistemological moment',¹³ or a 'paradigm of genocide'.¹⁴ According to Sznajder and Levy, memory of the Holocaust is cosmopolitan in part because the event represented an attack on cosmopolitanism itself and on modern (western, Enlightenment) civilization. These authors, although not beyond rebuke, also define the cosmopolitanization of memory as a process in which national narratives are complemented by more universal concerns for human beings, whereby the Holocaust provides opportunities for discussions about injustices in the form of 'post-heroic manifestations of statehood' or 'sceptical narratives'.¹⁵ It is in the context of such claims that the Holocaust is referred to as a measure of legal standards and 'western' morality, according to which Holocaust survivors provide examples for the ways in which survivors of other genocides seek justice, demand apologies, define the nature of commemoration and guide education and recognition,¹⁶ that this report aims to provide first-hand evidence of the contents of curricula and textbooks on a genuinely worldwide scale.

11 Buettner, A. 2011. *Holocaust Images and Picturing Catastrophe. The Cultural Politics of Seeing*. Burlington, Ashgate, p. 146.

12 Sznajder, N. and Levy, D. 2001. *Erinnerungen im globalen Zeitalter – der Holocaust*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, p. 150.

13 Buettner, op. cit., p. 145.

14 Isaksson, M. 2010. *The Holocaust and Genocide in History and Politics. A Study of the Discrepancy between Human Rights Law and International Politics*. Malmö, University of Gothenburg, p. 311. Isaksson describes the significance of the Holocaust in more detail as 'the lens through which other mass atrocities and human catastrophes are viewed and subsequently compared'.

15 Levy, D. 2004. The cosmopolitan figuration. Historicising reflexive modernisation. A. Pofert and N. Sznajder (eds), *Erinnerungen im globalen Zeitalter*, Baden-Baden, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, pp. 177-187, 183.

16 See D. MacDonald, 2008, *Identity Politics in an Age of Genocide. The Holocaust and Historical Representation*, London, Routledge, p. 29.

This study does not provide a blueprint for the standardization of legal and ethical values to be conveyed in education with reference to the Holocaust, both because this issue has already been dealt with adroitly by others,¹⁷ and because law and ethics surpass the scope of this study. Instead, we address the historiographical status of the Holocaust as represented in the specific media of curricula and textbooks, and therefore conceive of the Holocaust not as a legal or ethical standard, but as an object of what Angi Buettner calls the historical 'imaginary'.¹⁸ A historical event may be classified as an object of the imaginary when the 'primary referent' (the historical event as an object of immediate empirical experience) is either remote in time, or when language and imagery (which are also referred to as 'tropes' by Buettner or as 'chiffres' by Harald Schmid)¹⁹ customarily used to recount the event are subject to a process of 'transfer',²⁰ that is, when they are used to depict other events in other times and places. By borrowing the language and imagery of the Holocaust and applying them to the Nanjing massacres of 1937 in China, or to the devastation of cities by atomic bombs at the end of the Second World War in Japan, for example, historians engage in what David MacDonald calls identity-reinforcing techniques in order to 'tragedise their respective pasts'.²¹

17 See Isaksson, M. 2010. *The Holocaust and Genocide in History and Politics. A Study of the Discrepancy between Human Rights Law and International Politics*. Malmö, University of Gothenburg.

18 Buettner, A. 2011. *Holocaust Images and Picturing Catastrophe. The Cultural Politics of Seeing*. Burlington, Ashgate, p. 101.

19 Ibid., p. 141; and Schmid, H. 2008. Europäisierung des Auschwitzgedenkens? Zum Aufstieg des 27. Januar 1945 als "Holocaustgedenktag" in Europa. J. Eckel and C. Moisel, eds, *Universalisierung des Holocaust? Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik in internationaler Perspektive*. Göttingen, Wallstein, pp. 174-202, 177.

20 Buettner, op. cit., p. 97.

21 D. MacDonald, 2008, *Identity Politics in an Age of Genocide. The Holocaust and Historical Representation*, London, Routledge, p. 161. Similar transfers of Holocaust imaginary are practised by Hindu nationalists, or in reference to a 'Cambodian Holocaust' and 'atomic Holocaust' (see Schmid, op. cit., p. 177).

2. Objectives

2.1 The effectiveness of curricula and textbooks as measures of state-sanctioned learning

Curricula and textbooks provide an objectified record of institutionally sanctioned analytical concepts and historical narratives which may be systematically compared on an international level. At the same time, they are subject to constant modification by governmental policymakers and civil society, which is composed of a more or less plural constellation of educationalists including non-governmental advisors, teachers and authors. This report aims to document and compare the ways in which the Holocaust has been conceptualized in the first decade of the twenty-first century, how comprehensively and accurately it is presented, how it is rendered visually in images, and how historical narratives of the event have been structured. On the basis of this information, it is possible to discern patterns and formulate recommendations for the further development of education about the Holocaust.

What is a curriculum and what is its function? Recent research shares the concept of a three-level categorization of curriculum: 'policy' (or 'prescribed'/'intended' curriculum, for example educational policies, standards and curricula), 'programmatic' curriculum (textbooks and individual school curricula) and 'enacted' curriculum (classroom practice).²² The curricula analysed in this study belong to the first category, the *policy curriculum*. One of the ways in which one may determine the status of the Holocaust internationally is therefore by exploring ways – via precise conceptualizations of, and the historical contexts in which *policy curricula* place the Holocaust – in which current state-sanctioned understandings of this event are transmitted in contemporary curricula.

What is a textbook and what is its function? On the one hand, textbooks can be defined as *programmatic curriculum*. On the other hand, and in a more specific way, as Eleftherios

22 Westbury, I. 2000. Teaching as a reflective practice: What might Didaktik teach curriculum?. I. Westbury, S. Hopmann and K. Riquarts (eds.), *Teaching as A Reflective Practice*. London, Routledge, pp. 15-39.

Klerides claims, there are two genres of textbook: one traditional, the other scientific. The first, he claims, emerged in the nineteenth century as a tool used for the development of a sense of national citizenship and identity among citizens.²³ Such textbooks were written in an impersonal tone by authors who denied the role of human agency in the telling of their histories, who endowed their texts with the status of 'factuality', 'immutable truth' and 'unquestionable authority' in their production of 'naturalized' knowledge, and likewise presented history 'as an uncontested truth for the readers to uncritically accept and passively absorb'.²⁴ New historiographical methods of the twentieth century, by contrast, gave rise to textbooks which encourage pupils not merely to assimilate knowledge by authors who ascribe to themselves a monopoly over knowledge, but to learn how to acquire the skills and concepts of historical analysis, to accept different perspectives, and to acknowledge that new hypotheses may in turn be questioned and overturned.²⁵ What do textbooks tell us about the status of the Holocaust internationally? What types of curricula are addressed in this report?

Curricula and textbooks, in particular those designed for history teaching, provide both a space for the formation of a condensed canon of knowledge which is considered to be relevant to a specific society, and a means by which claims to social legitimacy may be made. The study of curricula and textbooks enables us to reconstruct patterns of perception and interpretation, or the standards and values which hold sway at any given time. Moreover, they offer insights into the variety of ways in which national identities are conceived of and constructed. They are ideal sources for the following reasons:

1. Curricula and textbooks strive towards the construction of a socially cohesive understanding of history. They not only determine which historical events are considered relevant and thus worth incorporating into a shared inventory of historical understanding, but also prescribe the interpretative framework in which such events may be classified.
2. Textbooks share a relatively homogeneous function across a wide geographical space. They thus meet a prerequisite for the analysis of ways in which concepts of identity change from place to place and of processes of convergence and divergence to which concepts of the Holocaust are subjected.
3. Curricula and textbooks continue to provide reasonably reliable points of reference for educators. The complexity of the Holocaust and the sensitivity towards the social and political consequences of this event which continues to be felt in the present day mean that teachers are often uncertain about how they should teach the Holocaust. As a result, curricula and in particular textbooks are held by educators to provide secure sources of information and of methods to which teachers refer on the assumption that they provide accurate content and reliable didactic and methodological guidelines,

23 Klerides, E. *Imagining the textbook. Textbooks as discourse and genre*. Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society, Vol. 1, pp. 31-54, 41.

24 Ibid..

25 Ibid. p. 44.

which have been compiled by experienced historians, educational experts and authors. Although textbooks are not a direct reflection of actual learning processes locally, this report, via its focus on curricula and textbooks, does therefore provide insight into information and learning techniques in specific settings.

4. Although television, the internet and family stories generally represent the primary sources of knowledge about the Holocaust, curricula and textbooks tell us a lot about the contemporary formation of historical knowledge because they fix in words the conceptual and narrative categories in which events of the past are to be learnt in a given society. One of our central concerns, when comparing both curricula and textbooks, is therefore to ensure that linguistic variations be given due attention. The absence of the words 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah' (or their equivalents in each language), for example, does not mean that this event is not taught, because alternative words or paraphrases may also convey knowledge of the event in unexpected ways. By assessing such a broad sample of different countries, we draw attention to the local conceptual and narrative renderings of the Holocaust underpinning local understandings (and appropriations) of this event.

2.2 Assessing and comparing representations of the Holocaust in curricula worldwide

The aim of the analysis of curricula is to provide a comprehensive overview of the countries in which the Holocaust features or does not feature in history or social studies education. In addition, where information was available, the report provides an indication of the *historical contexts* in which the Holocaust is treated in education, the type of *terminology* used to teach it, and the *meanings* ascribed to it. Since it strives to offer a broad overview in as many countries as possible and represent all continents, the analysis is therefore confined to general information concerning (a) whether the Holocaust is taught, (b) where, in relation to other historical events, such teaching is stipulated, (c) in what terms it is stipulated, and (where available) (d) any information about the objectives ascribed to teaching about the Holocaust.

Of the 193 countries recognized by the United Nations in which curricula exist and are regularly revised, we were able to collect a total of 272 curricula. The analysis of these curricula is based on documents provided by ministries of education and corresponding institutions, the National Commissions for UNESCO, research institutions and academics. Every country for which a relevant document was made available is included in the analysis. These documents encompass official curricula, curriculum frameworks and syllabi, preferably for the subject of history, partly for social studies and humanities. Accordingly, we did not include syllabi drawn up specifically for Holocaust education by research institutions, such as those prepared by the Holocaust Centre of New Zealand or the Ministry

of Education in Ecuador.²⁶ The number of curricula studied varies from country to country. Moreover, it was not possible to take account of revisions to curricula which took place as the project unfolded. It is not least for this reason that, while every measure was taken to ensure that the data covering curricula content is accurate, it does not present a complete picture. In order to ensure that the findings are comparable, analysis was confined to curricula pertaining to pupils aged between fourteen and eighteen. Specific features of the education systems of the various countries covered, such as the duration of compulsory education and the proportion of young people in education, were not accounted for in this context. Likewise, no information concerning curricula stipulations about the number of lessons to be given in history and social studies generally, or about the Holocaust in particular, is provided in the report.

2.3 Assessing and comparing representations of the Holocaust in textbooks in twenty-six countries

The selection of twenty-six countries on whose textbooks we conducted close analysis was made on the basis of hypotheses designed to ensure that the study covers a wide range of different historical and political contexts whose curricula and textbooks lend themselves to comparison. Although the time and resources available for this study were too limited to ensure a truly systematic worldwide comparison, the selection of countries highlights a wide range of characteristic approaches to the Holocaust in various parts of the world. The criteria for selection were (1) *geographical* (to provide a broad overview of various regions of the world), (2) based on problematic historical and political *issues*, and (3) *pragmatic*. This approach seeks to highlight common features, divergent differences and overlaps in order to enable educational policymakers to learn from challenges which are faced in other countries.

1. Geographical factors

The geographical extent of the textbook analysis encompasses the following countries:

- a. Europe: Albania, Belarus, France, Germany, Poland, Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom (England)
- b. Middle East: Iraq, Syrian Arabic Republic, Yemen
- c. Asia: China, India, Japan, Singapore
- d. North Africa: Egypt
- e. Sub-Saharan Africa: Côte d'Ivoire, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa

²⁶ See Barton, K. 2010. *The Holocaust and senior history in the new curriculum*, Holocaust Centre of New Zealand. <http://www.holocaustcentre.org.nz> (no date); Ministry of Education and Unidad Educativa Experimental Alberto Einstein. 2010. *Los Derechos Humanos, el Holocausto y los Genocidios Recientes*, Quito.

- f. North America: USA
- g. South America: Argentina, Brazil, El Salvador, Uruguay

2. Issue-related factors

The selection highlights a wide range of common features, divergences and overlaps evident in teaching about the Holocaust:

- a. Countries which were either involved in or not involved in the Holocaust.²⁷
- b. Countries in which mass violence or genocide has taken place. In such countries as Rwanda, South Africa and Cambodia, for example, one would expect approaches to teaching and learning about the Holocaust to be influenced by the experiences of local populations. In this respect, the report shows how societies which have endured conflict and genocide deal with the Holocaust and whether comparisons between the Holocaust and local violent events are made in such a way that the historical specificity of both events may be distinguished while enabling pupils to compare the causes and the moral and legal consequences of the events.
- c. Countries which were formerly members of the Warsaw Pact or part of the Soviet Union, some of which have not yet adjusted their national narratives of the Holocaust in order to accommodate conflicting experiences and ambivalent memories of the Second World War since the end of the Cold War.
- d. Countries which represent a wide geographical reach across continents.
- e. Countries which are committed or not committed to education about the Holocaust. The former include: countries which have expressed an intention to promote education about the Holocaust by signing appropriate international agreements; countries which have entered into an informal commitment to promoting education about the Holocaust by having participated in conferences or relevant textbook consultations (in particular, African countries which took part in the UNESCO consultation 'Why Teach about Genocide? The Example of the Holocaust' in 2012); and countries which have committed to promoting education about issues related to the Holocaust such as human rights. The investigation in this study of countries committed to education about the Holocaust necessitates, by way of comparison, treatment of countries which have not committed themselves to this same goal.
- f. Countries which meet or do not meet the educational goals of UNESCO, including human rights education and genocide prevention.²⁸ The report assesses representations of these aims in curricula and textbooks.

27 Aleida Assmann distinguishes between countries whose societies are in possession of a 'historical memory' of the event and those (not involved) who are in possession of 'deterritorialized memory'. See Assmann, A. 2010. *The Holocaust, a global memory? Extensions and limits of a new memory community*. A. Assmann and S. Conrad, *Memory in a Global Age. Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*. Basingstoke, Macmillan, pp. 97-118, 100 and 103.

28 E. Mortimer, K. Shonik Glahn, 2010, *The Global Prevention of Genocide. Learning from the Holocaust*, UN Discussion Papers Series, No. 11.

- g. Countries customarily referred to either as 'western' (including formerly colonial) or 'not western' (including formerly colonized) countries.

3. Pragmatic factors

- a. Constraints on the accessibility of curricula and textbooks in some countries.
- b. Limited availability of language expertise.

2.4 The international status of the Holocaust in educational media

In addition to the documentation of concepts and narratives of the Holocaust in particular countries, the report will also draw conclusions regarding the international patterns according to which topics and interpretations are presented in the sample of curricula and textbooks. The catalogue of criteria used to assess textbook representations of the Holocaust therefore focuses on basic information such as the structure of the textbooks, their historical content, their contextualization of the Holocaust, imagery, protagonists, narrative structure, causes and effects attributed to the event, narrative points of view, interpretations of the event and analogies with other events. Overarching questions were therefore extracted from the initial findings in order to define likely transnational trends. Does education about the Holocaust, as represented in the textbooks, foster understanding of the military, political, legal or moral aspects of National Socialist rule? What role does Adolf Hitler play in the textbooks' depiction of the Holocaust? What meanings are ascribed to the system of concentration and/or extermination camps? Are aspects of recent academic research reflected in textbooks, such as the definition of the Holocaust as the result of a form of colonialism? Do curricula and textbooks address human rights, mutual understanding, democracy, civilization or ethics? Do they frame such approaches in national or international contexts? What didactic methods (whether enquiry-based, reflective, moral or multiperspectival)²⁹ are applied to textual and visual representations of the Holocaust?

Assessment of the international status of the Holocaust in curricula and textbooks entails a level of analytical abstraction based on a series of meta-historical questions: Is the Holocaust 'universalized', as has been claimed in recent research? Is the Holocaust made to function as a model, paradigm or measure of representations of other atrocities in accordance with a process of narrative 'Holocaust transfer',³⁰ of 'frame switching',³¹ or via

29 Kübler, E. 2012. *Europäische Erinnerungspolitik. Der Europarat und die Erinnerung an den Holocaust*. Bielefeld, Transkript, p. 171.

30 Buettner, A. 2011. *Holocaust Images and Picturing Catastrophe. The Cultural Politics of Seeing*. Burlington, Ashgate, p. 97.

31 'Wechselrahmung', according to Ebbrecht, T. 2011. *Geschichtsbilder im medialen Gedächtnis. Filmische Narrationen des Holocaust*. Bielefeld, Transkript, p. 324.

the duplication of 'image schemata',³² where analogies between the Holocaust and other events are constructed by adopting vocabulary and narrative tropes from the Holocaust with respect, for example, to the Ukraine famine, the Nanjing massacre or apartheid in South Africa? What topographies of the Holocaust are dominant (local, German, binational, European)? When is the Holocaust said to begin and to end? How is the history of the Holocaust recontextualized in societies which were not involved in and/or have not experienced local atrocities? Are there recognizable regional commonalities? And is the Holocaust presented as a legal or moral standard by which other events may be compared?

32 Taylor, C. 2002. The cultural face of terror in the Rwanda genocide of 1994. A. Hinton (ed.), *Annihilating Difference. The Anthropology of Genocide*. Berkeley, California University Press, pp. 137-178, 172.

3. Methodology

This report is based on currently valid curricula from 135 (out of a potential total of 193) countries, and on 89 textbooks published in twenty-six countries since 2000. The aim has been primarily to document, that is, to record contents, concepts and narratives of the Holocaust in educational materials as we find them, and in such a way that they reflect local perceptions and understandings of the Holocaust. The study does not interpret history, but rather proposes interpretations of interpretations found in the educational media it investigates. Unlike previous reports, which determine above all 'deficiencies, gaps and distortions' in textbooks,³³ this report therefore records a wide variety of conceptual and narrative representations which define and explain the event in terms of its origins, motivations, causes and effects (denotation), or which arrange information and material concerning the event in order to lend it implicit meaning (connotation). In other words, the principal aim of the study is to record what is represented rather than to test whether what is represented is correct or incorrect, or to uncover deficiencies, gaps and distortions. Moreover, the extreme variety of approaches to the Holocaust encountered in educational media worldwide required us to select generic analytical (conceptual and narrative) criteria which facilitate comparison of curricula and textbooks as starkly contrasting as those from Yemen or Egypt (where textbooks contain only a few lines about the Holocaust) in comparison to those from Germany (where some textbooks contain over thirty pages about the Holocaust). This mapping of textbooks and curricula is based on documentation designed to help educators at all levels to gain insight into the status of the Holocaust and to literally find their way through a quantity of information on a worldwide scale which, without a map, would defy understanding. We further sustain the mapping analogy by referring to 'scales' of representations, either in terms of the temporal and spatial dimensions attributed to the Holocaust within curricula and textbooks, or in terms of the geographical spread of

33 These are the standards by which textbooks are to be measured according to the OSCE 2006 report *Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism*, OSCE/ODIHR, p. 31. The task of testing and correcting the accuracy of textbooks requires meticulous country-by-country studies, based on locally determined criteria. See, for example, T. Sandkühler, 2012, *Nach Stockholm. Holocaust-Geschichte und Holocaust Erinnerung im neueren Schulgeschichtsbuch für die Sekundarstufen I und II*, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik*, Vol. 11, pp. 50-76.

different conceptual and narrative types.³⁴ While Hitler is a central trope in education about the Holocaust in almost all countries, for example, meta-historical explications of individual and social memories and politically motivated commemorations of the event generally feature only in western European textbooks. These 'scales of reference'³⁵ are evidently not homogenous but rather heterogeneous, and involve complex overlapping combinations of dates, authorial viewpoints, contextualizations and protagonists. Thus, although the Holocaust is an increasingly global point of historical reference in curricula and textbooks, it is not presented globally in the same way. Defining and comparing scales in this study therefore helps to show how precisely the Holocaust is represented worldwide.

The report proceeds first by recording the *status* of the Holocaust as found in curricula. Concepts diverge not only from one language to another, but also from one historical context to another. We may assume, for example, that educators in China do not associate the word 'Holocaust' with the same thing as those in France, for example. Moreover, educators generally link the Holocaust conceptually to other, local, contexts in order to appeal to experiences and arouse the interest of pupils in their countries. The report then goes on to record representations of the Holocaust in textbooks. Our questionnaire requested researchers to record the structure of the textbook, the historical context in which it places the Holocaust, the spatial and temporal scale with which the Holocaust is conveyed, the agents involved, principal interpretative (conceptual, historiographical) paradigms, the presentation of causes and effects, the arrangement of visual material, narrative techniques and points of view, didactic approaches, national idiosyncrasies and analogies with other comparable events.

While collecting this information, care was taken to ensure that local points of view were acknowledged and presented as clearly as possible by proceeding *inductively*. Assuming that the term 'Holocaust' can be understood differently in different parts of the world, and that different terminology may be used in different languages to refer to the same event, we strove to document as accurately as possible the variety of specific local understandings of what the Holocaust involved and what it means. To this end, the questionnaires sent to assessors of curricula and of textbooks did not prescribe a standard definition of the Holocaust, but rather requested researchers to seek references to the event, if necessary in their local languages, and to report what concepts and contents were thus conveyed in educational materials. In order to limit the influence of researchers' subjective understanding, the questions were posed in such a way as to invite researchers to record and quote precisely what they found in textbooks in as neutral a manner as possible; leeway for personal interpretation was limited by asking researchers to quote text, state

34 This report therefore differs from previous 'mappings,' which generally serve to assess and define the boundaries of educational materials. See Robley, W., Whittle, S. and Mudroch-Eaton, D. 2005. Mapping generic skills curricula. A recommended methodology. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, Vol. 3, pp. 221-231; van Wiele, J. 2004. Mapping the road for balance. Towards the construction of criteria for a contemporary religious textbook analysis regarding Islam. *Journal of Empirical Theology*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-35; Wilson, T. 2001. *Mapping the curriculum in information studies*. New Library World. Vol. 11/12, pp. 436-442.

35 Rembold, E. and Carrier, P. 2011. Space and identity. Constructions of national identities in an age of globalisation. *National Identities*. Vol. 4, pp. 361-376, 361.

the content of images, provide definitions of rhetoric used, and seek and report thematic foci. In summary, this inductive method was deemed necessary because the recognition of local understandings and misunderstandings of the Holocaust is a prerequisite for historians and educators who wish to build 'bridges'³⁶ between European or western and non-European or non-western historiographies. Revision of curricula and textbooks which provide education about the Holocaust in countries whose history is not connected to the Holocaust or whose teachers are not familiar with events which took place in Europe in the 1940s requires the development of judicious links between local and non-local narratives rather than the importation of standardized approaches to the Holocaust.

3.1 Procedure for the curriculum analysis

Three questions guided our enquiry into the status of the Holocaust in curricula:

1. *Does the curriculum stipulate teaching about the Holocaust (absolute status)?* Researchers were requested to supply additional information about what, if the Holocaust is not addressed, is presented in its place. Where possible, we also acknowledged distinctions between the various statuses of curricula in different countries: curriculum frameworks, the curricula of specific disciplines, the subject addressed (whether history or social studies), the date of the curriculum (allowing for the fact that some countries are undergoing negotiations around introducing the Holocaust in the future) and the fact that teachers often offer teaching about the Holocaust in spite of curricular stipulations.
2. *In what terms does the curriculum stipulate teaching about the Holocaust (semantic status)?* Of interest in this respect are subtle semantic shifts which influence the understanding of the Holocaust in different parts of the world. We therefore observed, for example, whether the customary terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah' are used worldwide, what significance is accorded to them in different contexts, whether they are translated into national and local languages in non-western countries, what alternative terms are used, and how the event is paraphrased in combinations of terminologies juxtaposing war, persecution, killing and genocide, for example.
3. *How does the curriculum contextualize teaching about the Holocaust in relation to other historical topics (relative status)?* This question aims to offer insight into the internal structure of the curriculum, which indicates by implication what status is accorded to the Holocaust in relation to other topics, other historical periods and geographical regions and/or to other events within European or world history. The contextualization of the Holocaust in the curriculum also gives an indication of the didactic status of the event in terms of legal, moral or political learning objectives which curricula developers

36 Cf. OSCE/ODIHR, 2006, *Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism*, OSCE/ODIHR, p. 8.

assume should be attained by learning about the Holocaust. Reading the curriculum on this level requires some sensitivity towards the context and structure of the curriculum itself.

Collaborating researchers received a standard questionnaire in 2013,³⁷ in which they were requested to record the contents of their state's curriculum in three stages: firstly, whether the core terms 'Holocaust' or 'Shoa(h)' occur; secondly, what indirect references to the event occur by means of combinations of terms such as 'concentration camp', 'genocide' or 'National Social(ism/ist)', for example; thirdly, in cases where there are neither direct nor indirect references to the Holocaust, what other contemporaneous events (of European, world or local history) appear in the curricula and/or what alternative uses of the terms 'Holocaust' and/or 'Shoah' are made in reference to events other than the European genocide of the 1930s and 1940s.

At all times, allowance was made for the fact that the results of the enquiry were to be made available to a broad public in English. Researchers were therefore requested to translate terms into English as accurately as possible in order to provide some insight into the semantic connotations of the original language. Since we relied on the goodwill of ministries of education to supply curricula, not all countries of the world are covered here. In many countries, teaching about the Holocaust takes place at different levels, ranging from primary to upper secondary schools, and in different subjects ranging from history to social studies, literature, philosophy and religious studies. In light of the large volume of material available in this domain, we were forced by practical restraints to confine our study to history and social studies curricula for the age group ranging from fourteen to eighteen.

3.2 Procedure for the textbook analysis

Seven questions guided our enquiry into the status of the Holocaust in textbooks:

1. On what textbooks is the sample based? That is, how many textbooks are included in the analysis, when were they published and for what subjects are they designed (history, social studies, literature, philosophy or religious studies), what main topics are chapters devoted to over how many pages, and what space is devoted to the Holocaust in proportion to the overall number of pages in the book?
2. What spatial or geographical scale is ascribed to the Holocaust? That is, does the textbook locate the event in a local, national, European, global or transnational context, and does it draw on texts or maps to do this? Likewise, what temporal scale is ascribed to the Holocaust? That is, when is its beginning and end defined, and what major occurrences are named?

37 Appendix 1 contains a facsimile of the questionnaire concerning curricula.

3. What characteristics are ascribed to which protagonists? That is, how are protagonists defined and qualified (as individuals, groups, or as political, national, religious, ethnic or racial types), are they presented as active or passive agents (via the grammatical use of subjects and objects of verbs), what relationships between groups or individuals become apparent (humiliation, brutality or killing, for example), and how are gender roles represented?
4. What interpretative paradigms are used to explain the event? Are interpretations conveyed via specific conceptualizations of the Holocaust in different languages, and is the narrative comprehensive or else based on existing historiographical paradigms, such as that of a radical 'break in civilization' (Dan Diner), bureaucratization (Zygmunt Bauman), moral responsibility or intentionalism (Lucy Dawidowicz), peer pressure (Christopher Browning), identification, segregation, concentration, expulsion and extermination (Raul Hilberg), cumulative radicalization or functionalism (Hans Mommsen), or colonialism (Donald Bloxham, Dirk Moses)? Where available, further information about textbook authors' interpretations of the Holocaust was recorded concerning agents of *responsibility* (whether rational or pathological subjects or historical processes), *causalities* (such as racism, antisemitism, totalitarianism, authoritarianism, militarism, capitalism or fascism), *banalization* (where responsibility is externalized or expressed in euphemisms) and *distortion* (of statistics, of types of persecution and death). Finally, we recorded textbook examples of *meta-narratives* dealing with memory, monuments, literature or historiography and summaries of pictorial narratives, in terms of canons or montage and anchoring techniques.
5. What narrative structures and points of view do textbook authors apply? This question required researchers to record the proportions allotted by textbooks to either authors' voices or documents, and whether one-sided authorial or multiple perspectives are dominant, whether they convey a progressive, regressive or fatalistic moral tale, use passive or active verbs, make value judgements about the material, revert to stereotypes or express empathy with protagonists and their values (via uncritical use of historic language, for example). The questionnaire also required researchers to record the visual narrative conveyed by the selection and arrangement or sequence of images, that is, (a) whether they are used to illustrate history or rather treated analytically within the textbook (on the basis of information about the photographers, their intentions and the date of the photograph), (b) whether they are used didactically, (c) what anchoring techniques are applied, determining the relationships between images and captions, titles and keys, (d) montage techniques (the degree to which images are contextualized or decontextualized, or interconnected), and (e) anomalies (conveyed by the incongruous juxtaposition of texts and events, times, places in images).

6. What didactic approach do authors adopt?³⁸ What types of exercises do the books contain (storytelling, source interpretation, role play, textual or pictorial analysis)? Are pupils required to rationalize or empathize, via, for example, letter writing, biographical writing and analysis of protagonists' decisions? Do the authors encourage pupils to learn primarily *of* (via a mention), *about* (via narrative or explanatory models) or *from* (via applications of knowledge to specific learning objectives) the Holocaust? In the latter case, are specific learning objectives conceived as pertaining to human rights, citizenship, moral norms (such as tolerance), political systems (such as democracy or dictatorship), legal justice, genocide prevention or history?
7. What idiosyncrasies do the textbooks convey in different national contexts? That is, in what ways is the local relevance of the Holocaust expressed and illustrated, either in relation to local events or memorial sites, to migration, pre- and post-war history, and in relation to atrocities and genocides other than the Holocaust? And in what ways do such local representations either enhance or detract from the general history of the Holocaust, or even sustain bias?

Collaborating researchers were asked to fill in a questionnaire³⁹ on the basis of their reading of up to five history or social studies textbooks currently in use in schools. Researchers were free to choose which textbooks to assess within this framework of guidelines, which stated that the textbooks should represent a wide range of pupil ages (from fourteen to eighteen) and different school types (from technical to grammar schools), be among the textbooks which are most frequently in use, and be either currently in use or published in or since 2000. Questions contained in the questionnaire were ordered in thematic sections which progressively increased in complexity and which provided space in which researchers could add further remarks in order to expand on the questions listed. More specifically, if information about the Holocaust was limited or even absent from the textbooks, the questionnaire provided opportunities to record information about analogies, borrowed vocabulary or contexts in which the Holocaust might or could have been included in the textbooks.

The textbook analysis builds upon the methodology applied to curricular representations of the Holocaust by focusing on the semantic (contextual and narrative) rendering of the event in socio-political contexts worldwide. The narrative approach lends itself in particular to the inductive goals of the project by underscoring local distinctions between textbook content. Moreover, narrative expresses the political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical, religious and moral facets of genocide, as defined by Raphael Lemkin, in non-legal terms.⁴⁰ Narrative also reflects the post-war experiences of a nation, the mnemonic and political rhetoric which has emerged in relation to the Holocaust there,

38 The comparative approach adopted in this study does not consider specific national traditions of teaching.

39 Appendix 2 contains a facsimile of the textbook questionnaire.

40 Cf. Schaller, D. 2008. From conquest to genocide. Colonial rule in German Southwest Africa and German East Africa. D. Moses (ed.), *Empire, Colony, Genocide. Conquest, Occupation and Subaltern Resistance in World History*. Oxford, Berghahn, pp. 296-324, 312 and 343.

and its educational traditions. In this respect, the authors of textbooks, who have been conditioned by a specific sociocultural milieu, in turn determine the narratives contained in textbooks. Above all, however, narrative provides a common ground upon which to compare textbooks in all languages worldwide. Narrative is a quasi-universal form of representation which forms the bedrock of all forms of historical writing and learning and facilitates the formation of historical consciousness.⁴¹ It therefore provides a basis upon which we measure the degree of convergence or divergence of representations in very disparate national contexts. By recording the nuances with which facts and knowledge of an event are transmitted in different countries and regions, we may establish similarities, differences and analogies between representations (in this case, of the Holocaust) on a worldwide scale. The comparative mapping of the status of the Holocaust in textbooks in this report is therefore both *semantic* (drawing attention to differing conceptual renderings of the event in terms of a catastrophe, breach of civilization, massacre or genocide, for example) and *contextual* (drawing attention to national, local and regional specificities, archetypes, paradigms and analogies where they arise, in line with the criteria outlined above for the selection of countries in which close textbook analysis was carried out).

The part of this report which discusses the presentation of the Holocaust in textbooks contains two sections. The first of these provides short country-by-country summaries of national narrative patterns recorded in the textbook samples. The second section defines transnational narrative patterns in the form of a typology based on common spatial and temporal scales, characteristics of protagonists, interpretative paradigms, narrative points of view and didactic approaches. These transnational patterns can, but do not have to, correspond to the criteria underlying the initial selection of countries whose textbooks formed the basis of this report, that is, those involved in or not involved in the event, those in which mass violence or genocide has taken place, those which are former members of the Warsaw Pact or part of the Soviet Union, those which are committed or not committed to education about the Holocaust, those which are 'western' or 'not western', and those which have Arabic-speaking or Muslim majority populations. In short, the conceptual and narrative method is designed to define criteria with which the report may map representations of the Holocaust as they emerge specifically from curricula and textbooks, and which do not necessarily conform to (and may even deviate from) the status of the Holocaust in the mass media or in family stories in the country in question.

41 Hayden White defines narrative and narration as 'panglobal facts of culture'. See White, H. 1987. *The Content of the Form*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Vol. 1.

PART 2

Curriculum and textbook analysis

4. The Holocaust in curricula worldwide

This summary of the status of the Holocaust in currently valid national curricula for secondary-level schooling (for pupils aged approximately fourteen to eighteen) is based on a collection of 272 curricula from a total of 135 nation states, collected over a period of eighteen months from July 2012 to December 2013. We present here the results of this survey in three sections. These consist of a summary of **general trends**, according to which the Holocaust is presented in curricula worldwide, and an explanation of the contexts and semantic idiosyncrasies of references to events which do not conform to the general trends or else constitute borderline cases, that is, which neither refer explicitly to nor entirely disregard the Holocaust. The second part visualizes the geographical distribution of curricular conceptualizations of the Holocaust in a series of **maps**. The final part contains a **table** with a list of countries indicating the subject, the name of the document referred to, its date of publication, the page number referred to, and the terminology used to refer to the Holocaust. In cases where no explicit reference to the Holocaust is made, the table indicates alternative terminology used to refer (even indirectly) to the event, or the context in which it took place. Both the table and the maps define the status of the Holocaust in curricula according to the following categories: direct reference (DR), partial reference (PR), context only (CO) and no reference (NR).

4.1 Categories and contexts of the Holocaust in curricula

Major trends

The study shows that degrees of reference to the Holocaust may best be represented on a sliding scale ranging from 'direct reference' (DR) to 'no reference' (NR). The following typology summarizes categories of reference to the Holocaust with respect to selected

examples of curricula. As indicated in the introduction to this section, however, several curricula make ambivalent or indirect reference to the Holocaust. Many curricula, for example, do not refer to the 'Holocaust' or the 'Shoah', but employ *alternative terminologies* or *refer implicitly to the event* by means of its context. Moreover, the content of official curricula does not necessarily reflect the actual status of teaching about the Holocaust. Although (to take one example) the Holocaust is not a compulsory topic in the Scottish curriculum, the majority of schools in Scotland teach about it,⁴² and the Scottish government supports projects such as 'Lessons from Auschwitz', organized by the Holocaust Educational Trust, and school trips to the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam and to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Conversely, an explicit mention of the Holocaust in a curriculum does not necessarily mean that the topic is actually taught; Ilya Altman has pointed out that only a minority of school pupils in the Russian Federation have taken part in learning about the Holocaust, although it features in the curriculum.⁴³

The categorizations of the status of the Holocaust in curricula may be summarized as follows:

Direct Reference: Countries whose curricula stipulate teaching about the Holocaust by using the term 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah', or by using alternative terminologies such as 'genocide against the Jews', or 'Nazi persecution of minorities':

1. The terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah' are used explicitly. While most curricula employ the term 'Holocaust' (in Albania, Australia, Denmark, Ethiopia and Poland, for example), some use 'Shoah' (Belgium (Flanders), Côte d'Ivoire, Italy and Luxembourg); or the two terms are used as synonyms (in Switzerland (canton of Bern), in Germany (Saxony) and in Argentina). In many countries, the two terms appear within the *context* of the Second World War (this is the most frequent category found in the majority of European countries, in Australia, in several US states, in Chile, Ethiopia, Singapore, South Africa, and Trinidad and Tobago). Additionally, in some cases, the Holocaust is mentioned in teaching units devoted to genocidal crimes (in Canada (Ontario), in Panama and in the USA (Arkansas))
2. The Holocaust is referred to directly, but using *alternative terms* such as 'the singularity of the Jewish genocide' in Spain, the 'Nazi policy of extermination' in Andorra, the 'extermination of Jews' (Belgium (Wallonia)), 'genocide of the Jews' (France, Germany (Lower Saxony)), 'mass murder of [...] Jews' (Trinidad and Tobago), 'persecution of Jews' (Singapore) and 'Final Solution' (Namibia). Another country in which there is no direct reference to the Holocaust, but where the contextualization of themes related to the Holocaust or local terminological usage makes it clear that the Holocaust is in fact stipulated, is Turkey, where 'soykırım' (genocide) is the standard term used to refer to the Holocaust, and where terms analogous to 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah' are strictly avoided in order to emphasize the uniqueness of the genocide against the Jews

42 OSCE/ODIHR. 2006. *Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism*. OSCE/ODIHR, p. 120.

43 OSCE/ODIHR. 2006. *Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism*. OSCE/ODIHR, p. 25.

in contradistinction to the massacre of Armenians in 1915 and 1916, which occurred at a time before the term 'genocide' came into use.⁴⁴

Partial Reference: Countries whose curricula stipulate teaching about the Holocaust indirectly in order to achieve a learning aim which is not primarily the history of the Holocaust (concerning responses to the Holocaust outside Europe, for example) or to illustrate a topic other than the Holocaust (where the Holocaust is mentioned as one among other aspects of human rights education, for example). Most commonly, the Holocaust is named in the curriculum as a *means to other ends*, such that its historical meaning and complexity are not addressed. For example, in Argentina, Belize, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Slovenia, the Holocaust appears as an example of violations of human rights, and is sometimes relegated to footnotes. Similarly, in the USA (Maryland), pupils are required to 'explain the events that led to the beginning of the Second World War', and to 'investigate the response of the United States government to the discovery of the Holocaust and immigration policies with respect to refugees'; in Canada (Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia), pupils are required only to study responses to the Holocaust in Canada.

Context Only: Countries whose curricula refer to the Second World War or to National Socialism, without referring explicitly to the Holocaust:

1. The context in which the Holocaust took place is mentioned without direct reference to the event itself. The curricula of Sri Lanka and India contain references to the 'Results/ impact of Nazism' or the 'Consequences/results/impact of World War II'. Botswana, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Malaysia, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Senegal and Uruguay contain similarly indirect contextualizations. More direct references to the context occur in the Zimbabwean curriculum, which requires pupils to, 'Discuss injustices practised by the Nazis and Fascists', and refers to 'human rights violation' and 'atrocities against minorities and conquered nations'. The Rwandan curriculum, to name another example, requires pupils to 'compare the phenomenon between [sic] Fascism and Nazism and what took place in Rwanda', and refers to 'Nazi doctrines', 'loss of human life', the 'comparative study of various genocides', and 'stages of genocide'; the curriculum of the Democratic Republic of the Congo likewise refers to 'the harmful effects of Nazism'; the Costa Rican curriculum refers to 'antisemitism and racial superiority: the case of Jews, Muslims, Slavs and Gypsies'.
2. The Holocaust is not mentioned in the curriculum, although it does feature in textbooks (for example, in Botswana, El Salvador, Georgia, India, Japan, Norway, Republic of Korea, Rwanda, in some Swiss cantons and in Uruguay).

No Reference

Neither the Holocaust as a term and an event nor its context is mentioned in the curriculum. It is frequently the case in this category that curricula do not stipulate specific content

44 See Bali, R. 2013. Perceptions of the Holocaust in Turkey. G. Jikeli and J. Allouche-Benayoun (eds), *Perceptions of the Holocaust in Europe and Muslim Communities. Sources, Comparisons and Educational Challenges*. Dordrecht and New York, Springer, pp. 61-69, 62.

for history teaching, but rather simply discuss the necessity and purpose of the school subjects of history or social studies and the teaching methods to be used. This is the case in Brunei Darussalam, Dominica, Fiji, Iceland and Thailand.

Idiosyncrasies

Several curricula do not entirely conform to any recognizable pattern and therefore require further explanation. These may be categorized as follows.

Federal education systems

One example here is Switzerland, where education about the Holocaust is obligatory but not contained in the curricula of all regions and cantons because, as Davis and Rubinstein-Avila suggest, no constraints on how this event should be taught are imposed in the face of a complex national story; in Switzerland, for example, Jews were partially accepted as refugees, partly turned away at the border, and the banks collaborated with the Nazi regime. Here, a 'self-reflexive approach' is taken to teaching about the Holocaust.⁴⁵ The Brazilian Ministry of Education issues national guidelines which stipulate teaching about the Holocaust. However, these guidelines are not binding and function only as recommendations whose content can be adapted and extended locally. Curricula for the primary school level at age nine in Brazil are provided on a municipal level, whereas the provincial states determine curricula content for the secondary school level, while schools have the final decision over what is actually taught in classrooms. Following attacks on synagogues and Jewish cemeteries, Porto Alegre was the first municipality to introduce compulsory education about the Holocaust for all public schools in 2010.⁴⁶

Curricula in a state of transition

The history curriculum of 2003 in Finland prescribes the teaching of 'European extremist movements, the crisis of democracy and persecution of people [in] different countries; the Second World War and its consequences', and thus contains only the context but no direct reference to the Holocaust. However, amendments made by the Ministry of Education in 2010 have led to a shift towards a more explicit stipulation of teaching about the Holocaust in the context of human rights education. In the section concerning ethics for school years seven to nine, the curriculum stipulates the teaching of 'human rights violations such as the Holocaust'; in the section devoted to history, 'human rights, human rights violations such as genocide, the Holocaust, and persecution of people in different countries'.⁴⁷ Likewise, in

45 B. Davis and E. Rubinstein-Avila, 2013, Holocaust education. Global forces shaping curricula integration and implementation, *Intercultural Education*, Vol. 1-2, pp. 1-18, 12f.

46 See World Jewish Congress, *Porto Alegre First Brazilian City to Make Holocaust Education Mandatory in Schools*. <http://www.worldjewishcongress.org/en/news/9633>. See also United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Salzburg Global Seminar (eds) 2013. *Global Perspectives on Holocaust Education. Trends, Patterns and Practices*. Washington, USHMM, Salzburg Global Seminar, p. 18.

47 See Finnish Ministry of Education. 2010. *Amendments to the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education of 2004*. Regulation 41/011/2010, 18 June, p. 2.

the section concerning ethics, the curriculum for upper secondary school levels stipulates teaching about 'human rights, human rights conventions and their history, human rights violations such as the Holocaust', and in the section on history, 'human rights, genocide, the Holocaust and persecution of people in different countries'.⁴⁸ This testifies to a shift towards contextualized teaching about the Holocaust, with only one section of the upper-level history curriculum stipulating direct education about the history of the Holocaust.

Irregular naming of victim groups

Mentions of the Holocaust are frequently not accompanied by clear references to groups of victims (examples in this context are Australia, Bulgaria, Canada (Alberta), Ethiopia, Italy, Mexico and USA (Texas)). In some curricula, Jews are the only group of victims named (the curricula of the Walloon and German authorities in Belgium, Côte d'Ivoire, Germany (Bavaria), Hungary and Panama); others point out the connection of the Holocaust to antisemitism [Albania, Canada (Ontario), Ireland, Liechtenstein, Namibia, Portugal and Spain], or make explicit mention of several groups of victims such as Sinti and Roma [(Costa Rica, Ecuador, France, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago and USA (California)), homosexuals (South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, and USA (California)), political opponents (South Africa and the German *Land of Lower Saxony*) and further groups subsumed under 'other minorities' (Germany (Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia), Namibia, Singapore and Swaziland) or summarized as 'others who failed to meet the Aryan ideal' (California).

Curriculum annexes

Côte d'Ivoire does not include the Holocaust as part of the core curriculum, but makes explicit reference to it in an example syllabus in the appendix to the curriculum.

Summary of Findings

The Holocaust is part of the curriculum in approximately half the countries investigated, with contexts and terminologies varying. The Holocaust is located most frequently in history curricula in the context of the Second World War, but features in repeated instances in the context of the issue of 'human rights' or 'human rights violations', thus forming part of teaching in social studies or, more rarely, ethics education or philosophy. The event is referred to primarily using the term 'Holocaust', with isolated preferences of the term 'Shoah' or use of both terms side by side. In several instances, neither 'Holocaust' nor 'Shoah' find use; instead, an unambiguous description of the event appears, using alternative terms such as 'extermination' or 'genocide of the Jews'. Some curricula name only the Jews explicitly as victims, while others, such as Sinti and Roma, people with disabilities, political opponents, homosexuals or other socially marginalized groups, feature much less

48 See Finnish Ministry of Education. 2010. *Amendments to the National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools of 2003*. REGULATION 42/011/2010, 18 June, p. 2.

frequently as explicitly referenced victims. The majority of the curricula do not specify the victim groups to be discussed in teaching. A quarter of curricula contain no reference at all to the Holocaust. We should be aware when interpreting this finding of the fact that some curricula do not prescribe specific content to be taught, but instead discuss, for instance, the purpose of the subject and the methods to be used in its teaching.

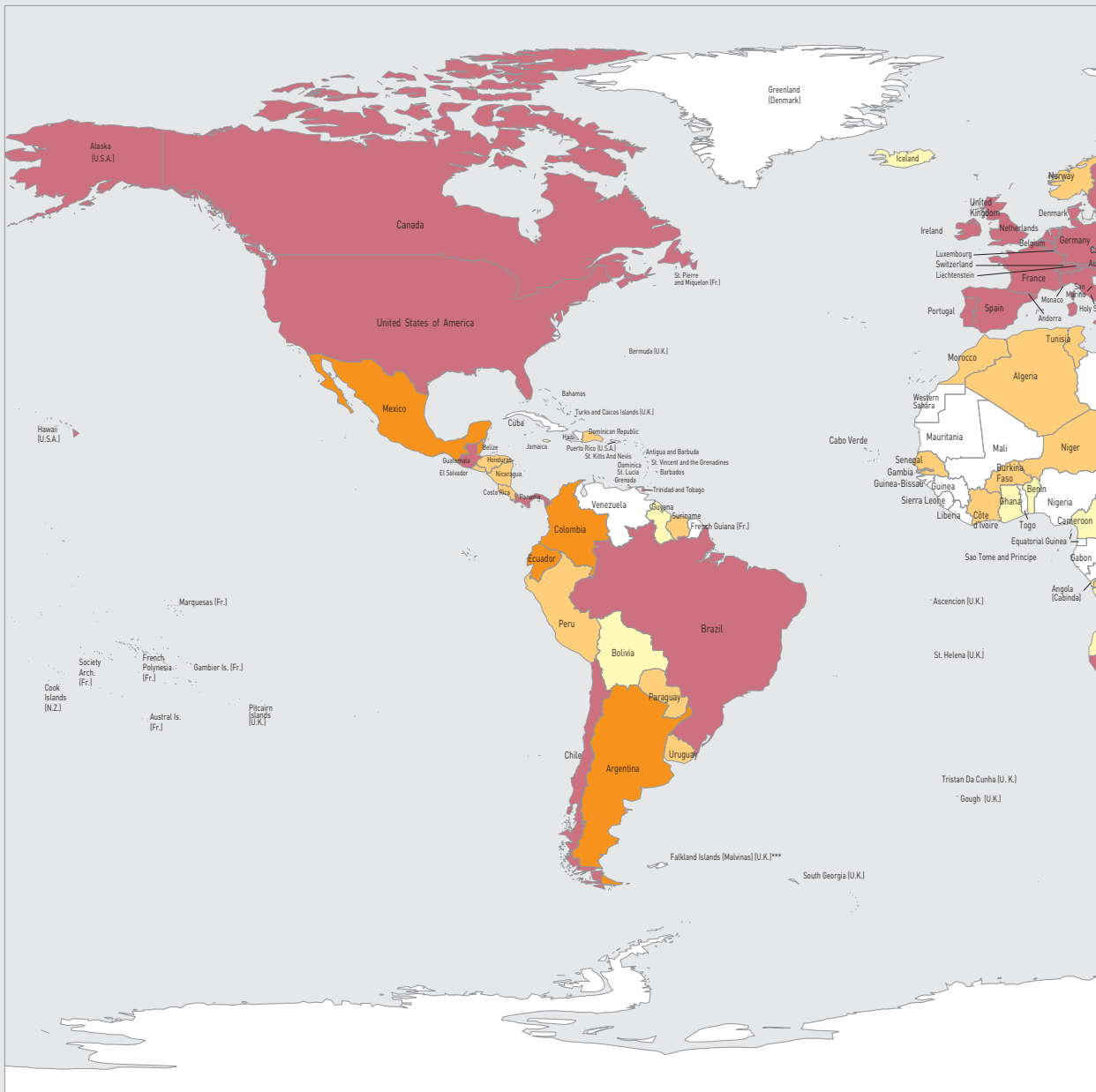
Approximately a third of the curricula, while they fail to mention the Holocaust explicitly, do refer to its context. Such cases range from a reference to the Second World War and/or National Socialism to specifications which allow us to assume that the topic of the Holocaust is part of teaching in the subject, although it is not included explicitly. One example here might be the curriculum in Zimbabwe, which mentions 'injustices practised by Nazis' and 'atrocities against minorities', while that of the Democratic Republic of the Congo includes the issue of 'the harmful effects of Nazism'. These two examples allow us to presume that the genocide committed against the Jews of Europe is among the learning objectives aimed for in the subject, although it does not find explicit mention. In the context of our system of categorization, we placed these curricula among the 'context only' group. Other curricula likewise leave room for potentially divergent interpretations. When, for instance, the Mexican history curriculum for 2013 calls for teachers to raise the issue of the 'consequences of the use of modern technologies in wars and the effects in relation to disregard for human rights (Holocaust, ... the atomic bomb)', or the history curriculum for 2010 in Burkina Faso prescribes teaching about the 'consequences of the Second World War and the human cost [thereof]', does this indicate that the teaching thus given encompasses the Holocaust? The textbooks studied from Norway and Uruguay repeatedly discuss the Holocaust, although the curricula of these countries speak only of the 'impact of the Second World War'. Is this, then, also the case for Lesotho, Malaysia, Pakistan, Peru and Senegal whose curricula feature almost identical wordings? Above, we referred to two further situations, Scotland and the Russian Federation, in which classroom practice diverges from the content of teaching prescribed by curricula.

An examination of countries in relation to the continents in which they are located shows that a comparatively high proportion of curricula in European states, or, more broadly, states belonging to the OECD, prescribe the Holocaust as a compulsory topic. Such a categorization, however, appears to be too general; instead, a number of factors should be taken account of in this regard. First, the availability of data is not consistent, such that European countries and OECD member states provide considerably more data than countries in Africa and Asia. Moreover, a number of curricula suggest that the Holocaust is taught in the countries in question although it is not explicitly mentioned in the curricula.






4.2 Spatial distributions of the Holocaust in secondary school curricula (maps)

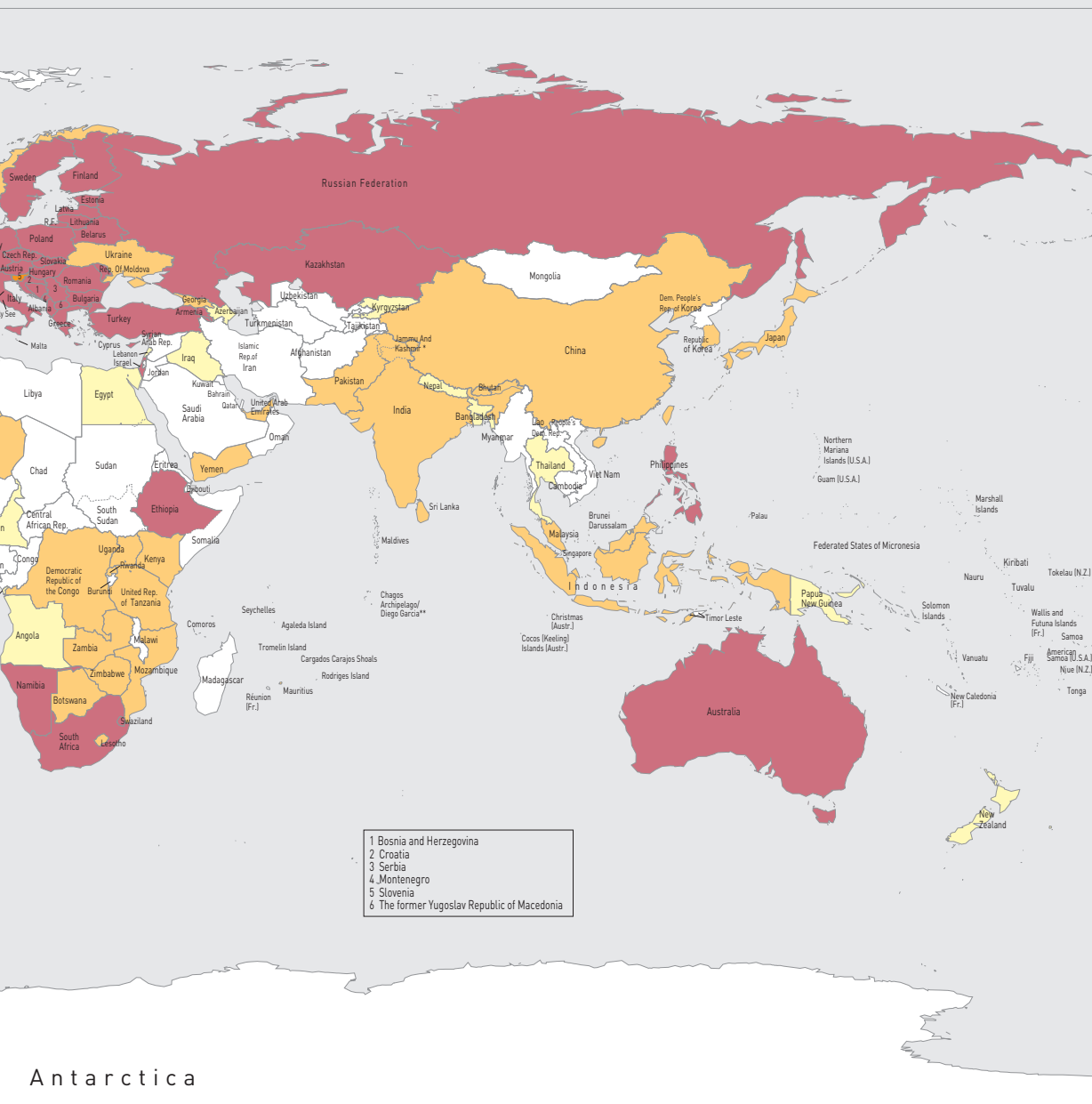
The following maps visualize the data recorded in detail in the table contained in section 4.3. In federal countries, the categorization of the country contained in the maps is based on the aggregate results of selected states or provinces within that country. The category ascribed to the USA is, for example, based on the states of Arkansas, California, Maryland and Texas; the category ascribed to Canada is based on the provinces of Alberta, British Colombia, Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Prince Edward Island.

The status of the Holocaust in curricula worldwide



Key to the maps

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
|  | direct reference |
|  | partial reference |
|  | context only |
|  | no reference |
|  | no data |



Source: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2014

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.
 Final boundary between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan has not yet been determined.

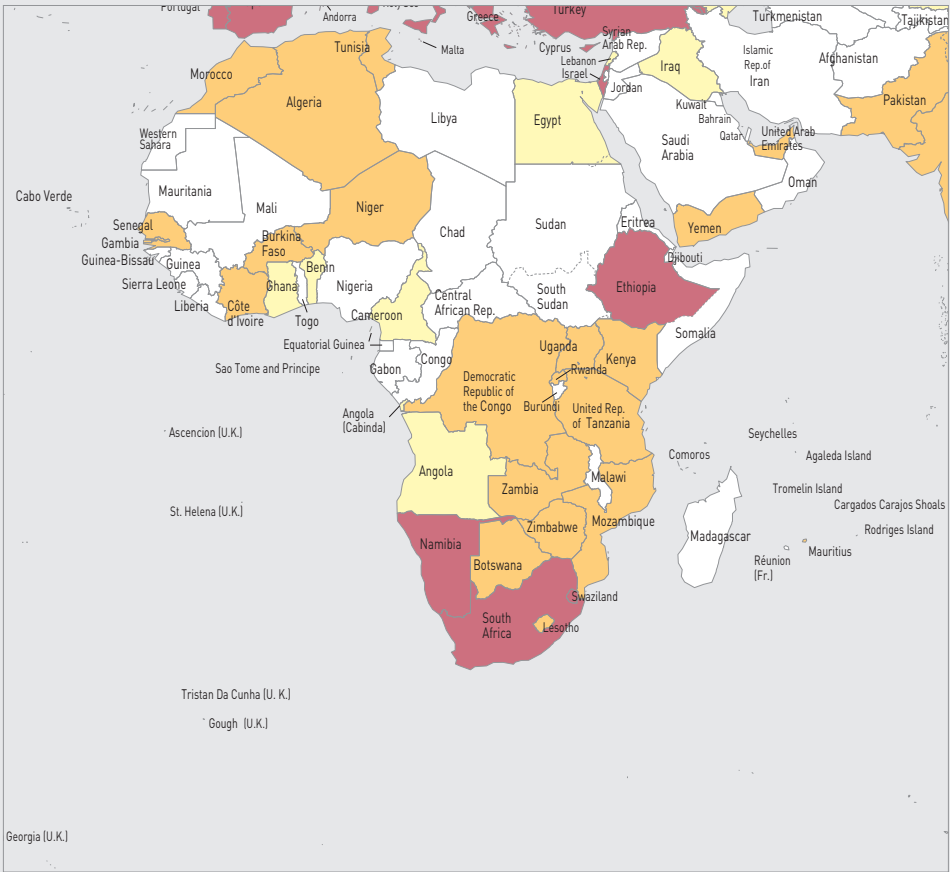
* Dotted line represents approximately the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir agreed upon by India and Pakistan. The final status of Jammu and Kashmir has not yet been agreed upon by the parties.

** Appears without prejudice to the question of sovereignty.

*** A dispute exists between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

The initials in parentheses refer to the administering Power or the Power involved in a special treaty relationship.

The status of the Holocaust in curricula in Africa



Key to the maps

direct reference

partial reference

context only

no reference

no data

Source: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2014

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations. Final boundary between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan has not yet been determined. The initials in parentheses refer to the administering Power or the Power involved in a special treaty relationship.

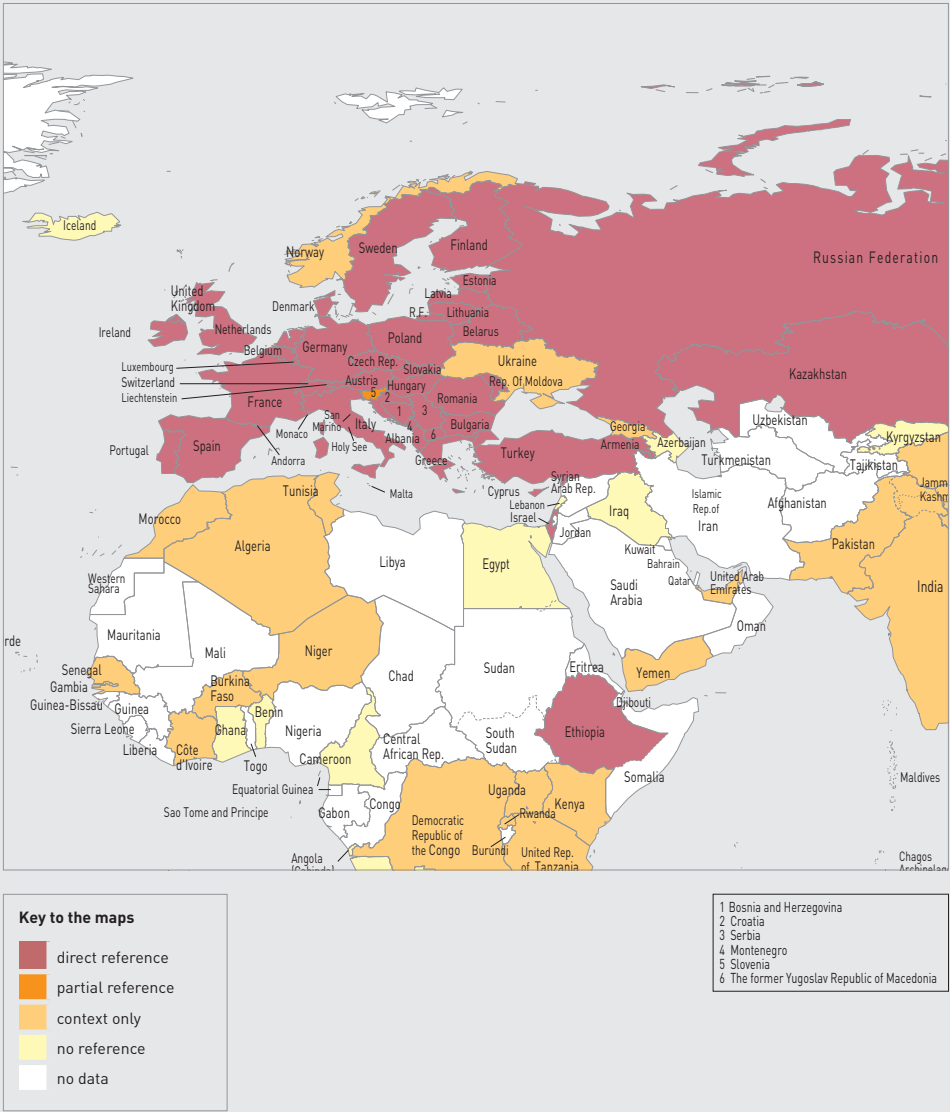
The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

** Appears without prejudice to the question of sovereignty.

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The initials in parentheses refer to the administering Power or the Power involved in a special treaty relationship.

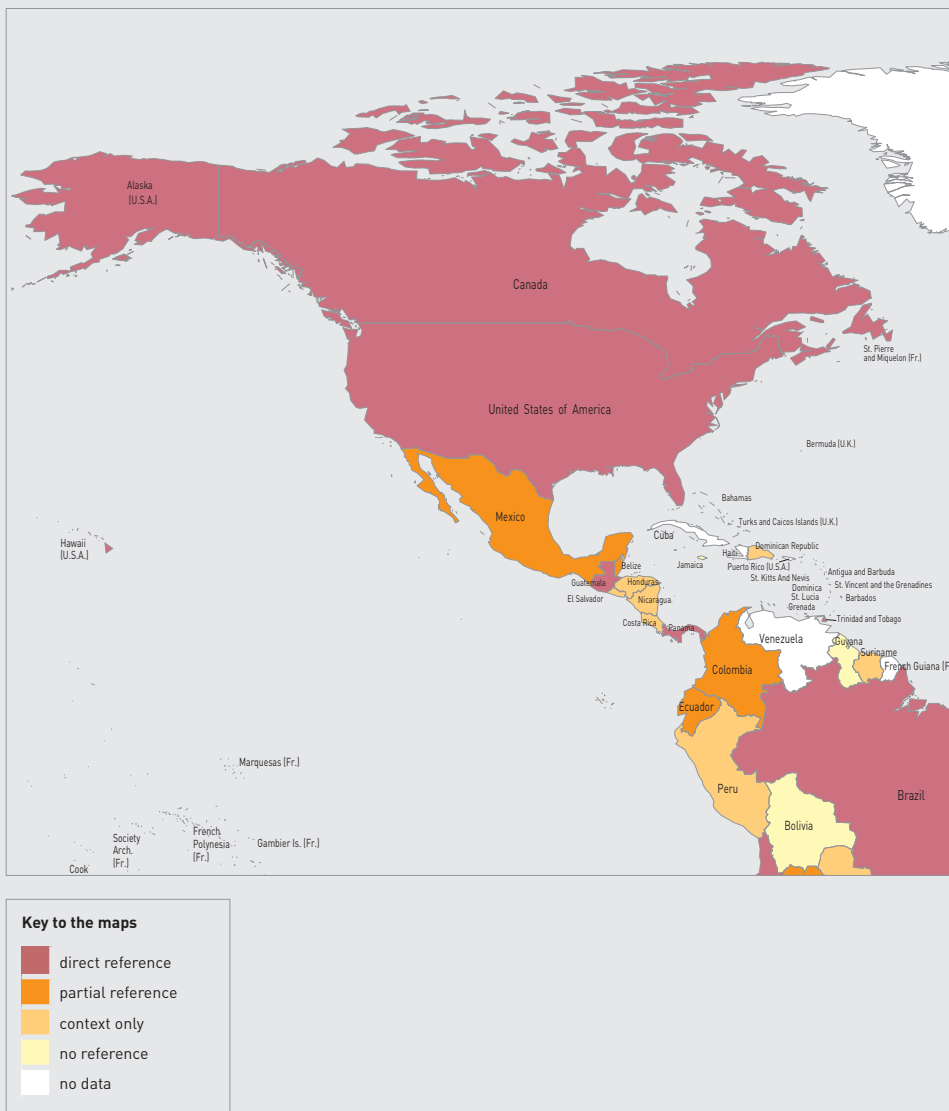
The status of the Holocaust in curricula in Europe



Source: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2014

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations. Final boundary between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan has not yet been determined. The initials in parentheses refer to the administering Power or the Power involved in a special treaty relationship.

The status of the Holocaust in curricula in North America



Source: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2014

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations. The initials in parentheses refer to the administering Power or the Power involved in a special treaty relationship.

The status of the Holocaust in curricula in South America



Key to the maps

- direct reference
- partial reference
- context only
- no reference
- no data

Source: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2014

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

*** A dispute exists between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

The initials in parentheses refer to the administering Power or the Power involved in a special treaty relationship.

4.3 Conceptualizations of the Holocaust in secondary school curricula

The following table indicates countries whose secondary school curricula feature the Holocaust and those which do not. In all cases where information was made available, the precise terminology with which this event is referred to is indicated in the final column. In cases in which no direct reference to 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah' (DR) is made, we quote the alternative terminology used. This may include indirect references to the event (such as 'concentration camp' or 'Final Solution') or to the context in which it took place by means of combinations of terms which clearly indicate teaching about the Holocaust (such as 'destruction + Jews', 'genocide + National Socialism'), or alternative terminology (such as 'totalitarianism', 'fascism', or 'Second World War') which does not indicate the Holocaust but only the context in which it occurred (CO).⁴⁹ The purpose of this curriculum analysis is thus to establish whether teaching about the Holocaust is explicitly addressed in curricula, in what terms the Holocaust is defined, and (where relevant information is available) in which contexts it is dealt with. The study also points out semantic variations arising from the various languages whose vocabularies do not permit the direct adoption of the customary terms 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah'.

Key to the table

DR	direct reference
PR	partial reference
CO	context only
NR	no reference

49 See Appendix I.

Country	Name of document	Subject	Page no.	Date	Terminology	Status
Albania	Programet e Kurikulës Bërthame Të Gjinnazit	History	25	2008	'Hitler's antisemitizmin, holokaustin' (Hitler's antisemitism, Holocaust)	DR
Algeria	منهاج مادة التاريخ للسنة الأولى من التعليم العام الثانوي من المشتركين للجذعين، والتكنولوجي وتكنولوجيا علوم الآداب	History		2005		NR
	منهاج مادة التاريخ	History	8	2006	'الحرب العالمية الثانية ١٩٣٩ - ١٩٤٥ (من) حرب أوروبية إلى حرب عالمية) - الحرب الباردة - الأحلاف العسكرية'	CO
	منهاج مادة التاريخ	History		2007		NR
Andorra	Butlletí Oficial del Principat d'Andorra	General Curriculum	5380	2007	'La política nazi d'exterminació, el genocidi' (Nazi policy of extermination, genocide)	DR
Angola	Currículo do 1º ciclo do ensino secundário	General Curriculum		2005		NR
	Currículo do 2º ciclo do ensino secundário	General Curriculum		2005		NR
Antigua & Barbuda	Social Studies Education for Democratic Citizenship: 7,8,9	Social Studies		2009		NR
	Social Studies Education for Democratic Citizenship: K & 1	Social Studies	65	2009	'Genocide, dehumanizing, stereotyping'	NR

Country	Name of document	Subject	Page no.	Date	Terminology	Status
Argentina	Núcleos de Aprendizajes Prioritarios, Formación Ética y Ciudadana, Ciclo Básico Educación Secundaria, 1° y 2° / 2° y 3° Años	Ethics and Civic Education	23	2011	‘Por ejemplo, casos de discriminación y genocidios a los pueblos originarios, el pueblo armenio, el Apartheid, el Holocausto (Shoá), Hiroshima y Nagasaki, entre otros’	PR
	Formación Ética y Ciudadana, Ciclo Básico de Educación Secundaria	Ethics and Civic Education	7		‘La comprensión de la construcción sociohistórica y validación ética de los Derechos Humanos generada a partir de acontecimientos como el Holocausto y como el terrorismo de Estado en nuestro país.’	PR
	Núcleos de Aprendizajes Prioritarios, 3° CICLO EGB/ NIVEL MEDIO, Ciencias Sociales	Social Studies	26	2006	‘El conocimiento de las nuevas relaciones del Estado con los distintos sectores sociales durante el radicalismo y de los conflictos sociales y políticos más relevantes del período, en el contexto de la Revolución Rusa, de la polarización política de posguerra y de la emergencia del fascismo y del nazismo.’	CO
	Núcleos de Aprendizajes Prioritarios, 6 Segundo Ciclo EGB/ Nivel Primario	Social Studies		2007		NR
	Formación Ética y Ciudadana, Campo de Formación General, Ciclo Orientado, Educación Secundaria	Ethics and Civic Education	2	2006	‘El reconocimiento del sistema y los mecanismos de protección de los Derechos Humanos como construcción histórica y social y su relación con los procesos históricos que contribuyeron a esta construcción en el mundo y en la Argentina, con especial referencia al Holocausto-Shoá y al terrorismo de Estado respectivamente.’	PR
	Ciencias Sociales, historia - geografía – economía, Campo de Formación General, Ciclo Orientado, Educación Secundaria	Social Studies	6		‘La consolidación de los regímenes totalitarios y el estallido de la Segunda Guerra Mundial.’	CO
Armenia	National Curriculum for General Education	General Curriculum				NR
	Համաշխարհային պատմություն	History	32-34	2013	‘Հոլոքստ’ (Holocaust)	DR
Australia	The Australian Curriculum, Year levels 10, History	History	17	2012	‘... The Holocaust from 1942-45’	DR

Country	Name of document	Subject	Page no.	Date	Terminology	Status
Austria	Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule, Unterstufe, Lehrplan „Geschichte und Sozialkunde/Politische Bildung“	History, Social Studies, Politics	4	2004	‘Nationalsozialismus’, ‘Verfolgung’, ‘organisierter Massenmord’, ‘Erinnerungen an jüdisches Leben vor und nach dem Holocaust’ (National Socialism, persecution, organized mass murder, memories of Jewish life before and after the Holocaust)	DR
	Hauptschule, Lehrplan „Geschichte und Sozialkunde/Politische Bildung“	History, Social Studies, Politics	4	2008	‘Nationalsozialismus’, ‘Verfolgung’, ‘organisierter Massenmord’, ‘Erinnerungen an jüdisches Leben vor und nach dem Holocaust’ (National Socialism, persecution, organized mass murder, memories of Jewish life before and after the Holocaust)	DR
	Verordnung der Bundesministerin für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur über die Lehrpläne der Neuen Mittelschulen	History, Social Studies, Politics	46	2012	‘Nationalsozialismus’, ‘Verfolgung’, ‘organisierter Massenmord’, ‘Erinnerungen an jüdisches Leben vor und nach dem Holocaust’ (National Socialism, persecution, organized mass murder, memories of Jewish life before and after the Holocaust)	DR
	Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule, Oberstufe, Geschichte und Sozialkunde / Politische Bildung	History, Social Studies, Politics	4	2004	‘Nationalsozialistisches System und Holocaust’ (National Socialist system and Holocaust)	DR
Azerbaijan	General Education Concept (National Curriculum) in the Azerbaijan Republic	General Curriculum		2006		NR
	Azərbaycan tarixi (V-IX siniflər)	History		2012		NR
	Ümumi tarix (VI-IX siniflər)	History		2012		NR
	Azərbaycan tarixi (X-XI siniflər)	History		2012		NR
	Ümumi tarix (X-XI siniflər)	History		2012		NR
Bahamas	Social Studies Syllabus	Social Studies		2003		NR
Bahrain					The Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Bahrain stated in an email on 17 June 2013 that the Holocaust and related topics are not addressed in Bahraini curricula.	NR
Belarus	АБАГУЛЬНЯЮЧЫ ФАКУЛЬТАТЫЎНЫ КУРС, ПА ГІСТОРЫІ БЕЛАРУСІ, Вучэбная праграма факультатыўных заняткаў, для IX-XI (X-XI) класаў, устаноў агульнай сярэдняй адукацыі, з беларускай і рускай мовамі навучання	History	10, 19	2012	‘Пачатак Другой сусветнай вайны. Палітыка генацыду’. (Start of the Second World War. Politics of genocide)	DR

Country	Name of document	Subject	Page no.	Date	Terminology	Status
Belgium (Flanders)	Secundair Onderwijs, Onderwijsvorm: ASO, KSO, Graad: derde grad, Jaar: eerste en tweede leerjaar, Basisvorming Vak(ken): AV Geschiedenis	History	16	2004	'De Tweede Wereldoorlog en de Shoa' (the Second World War and the Shoah)	DR
Belgium (German-speaking Community)	Rahmenplan für die zweite und dritte Stufe des allgemeinbildenden und technischen Übergangsunterrichts in der Regelsekundarschule, Geschichte	History	36-37	2012	'Holocaust: Die Ideologie des Nationalsozialismus und ihre barbarischen Folgen (Verfolgung der Juden: Von der Entrechtung bis zur Vernichtung)' (Holocaust: The ideology of National Socialism and its barbaric consequences (persecution of the Jews: From denial of rights to destruction))	DR
Belgium (Wallonia)	Enseignement secondaire ordinaire de plein exercice Humanités générales et technologiques Enseignement secondaire général technique de transition, Deuxième et troisième degrés, Programme d'Études du Cours d'Histoire	History	21	2000	'Univers concentrationnaire et génocide. La mise en place des lois raciales - identification et isolement des Juifs - suivie de leur déportation et de l'extermination.'	DR
Belize	Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate, Religious Education Syllabus	Religious Education	176, 177	2012	'From the Tanakh it can be seen that the experience of the Holocaust was not in keeping with the will of God; 'It is human beings by their choice of evil that caused the Holocaust' , 'Some would argue that the experience of the Holocaust was the punishment of God on His people for their sinfulness.'	PR
	Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate, Social Studies Syllabus	Social Studies		2010		NR
	Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate, Caribbean History Syllabus	Caribbean History		2011		NR
Benin	Programmes d'Études Histoire et Géographie, Classes de seconde A et B	History, Geography		2009		NR
	Histoire et Géographie Guide Pédagogique, Classes de seconde A et B	History, Geography		2009		NR
Bhutan	History Syllabus for Classes 11 & 12	History	225-226	2009	'Nazism', 'Hitler (problems facing the Weimar Republic, rise to power [of the National Socialists], Nazi state from 1933 onwards.)', 'Second World War, Aggressive policy of Germany'	CO
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Área: Comunicación y Lenguajes, Ciencias Sociales, Educación Artística, Educación Física, Deportes y Recreación, Educación secundaria, Comunitaria Productiva	Social Studies		2011		NR

Country	Name of document	Subject	Page no.	Date	Terminology	Status
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Republika Srpska НАСТАВНИ ПРОГРАМ ЗА ТРЕЋИ РАЗРЕД ГИМНАЗИЈЕ СВИХ СМЈЕРОВА	General Curriculum	174	2013	‘Стара Градишка, Јасеновац’ ‘концентрациони Логори, фашизмом’ (concentration camps, Fascism)	DR
	Okvirni nastavni plan i program za devetogodišnju osnovnu školu u FBiH	General Curriculum	578-579		‘Nacizam u Njemačkoj, Drugi svjetski rat’ (Nazism in Germany, Second World War)	CO
Botswana	Junior Secondary Syllabi, Social Studies	Social Studies		2010		NR
	Botswana Junior School Syllabus	General Curriculum		2009		NR
	Upper Primary School Syllabus	General Curriculum		2010		NR
	Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education Teaching Syllabus, History	History	8-9		‘[Discuss the] events leading to the rise of Nazi Germany and evaluate their impact on other European countries’, ‘explain how Hitler was able to control Germany after 1933’, ‘causes and immediate results of World War II’	CO
	Junior Secondary Moral Education Programme	Moral Education				NR
	Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education Teaching syllabus, Religious Education	Religious Education		2007		NR
Brazil	PCN+ Ensino médio - Ciências Humanas e suas tecnologias (PCN+ Medial Level Teaching – Human Sciences and their Technologies)	Social Studies	86	2002	‘O nacionalismo no socialismo e no nazismo’ (Nationalism in socialism and in Nazism)	CO
	Plano de Trabalho 2014, História, Médio. Ano: 2º	History	3	2014	‘Estados totalitários (Fascismo, Nazismo, Partido Nacional Socialista, Terceiro Reich, a Raça Aariana e Franquismo; Influências no Brasil)’, ‘Segunda guerra mundial’, (Totalitarian states (Fascism, Nazism, National Socialist Party, Third Reich, the Aryan Race and Francoism; Influences in Brazil), Second World War)	CO
	National Curriculum Parameters, Secondary Education	General Curriculum				NR
	Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para Educação Básica	General Curriculum	497	2013	‘No século XX, com as atrocidades da 1ª Guerra Mundial e, posteriormente, do Holocausto e das bombas atômicas de Hiroshima e Nagasaki, na 2ª grande guerra, os impactos e a grandiosa dimensão do genocídio humano abalaram a consciência crítica internacional’ (In the twentieth century, with the atrocities of the First World War and later, the Holocaust and of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Second World War, [the] impact and grand dimension of human genocide shook people’s critical awareness internationally)	DR

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Brunei Darussalam	The New 21 st Century National Curriculum	General Curriculum		2008		NR
Bulgaria	учебна програма, ИСТОРИЯ И ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИЯ, IX КЛАС, Ново Време	History		2001		NR
	учебна програма, ИСТОРИЯ И ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИЯ, X КЛАС, Съвременност	History	29, 30, 35	2001	‘Тоталитаризъм: Комунизъм, Фашизъм, Националсоциализъм’, ‘третият райх’, ‘чиста раса’, ‘Антисемитизъм’ (totalitarianism, communism, fascism, National Socialism, Third Reich, ‘pure race’, antisemitism)	CO
	учебна програма, ИСТОРИЯ И ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИЯ, XI КЛАС, История на България	History	52, 59	2001	‘Холокост’ (Holocaust)	DR
	учебна програма, ИСТОРИЯ И ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИЯ, XII КЛАС	History		2001		NR
Burkina Faso	Programmes d'Histoire Géographie de l'Enseignement Secondaire Général	History, Geography	42	2010	‘Les conséquences de la seconde guerre mondiale – le bilan humain’	CO
	Programmes et Curricula d'Histoire-Géographie de l'Enseignement post-primaire	History, Geography	78-79	2010	‘Fascisme’, ‘La Seconde Guerre Mondiale’	CO
Cameroon	General Certificate of Education Board Ordinary Level, Citizenship Education	Civil Education		2011		NR
	General Certificate of Education Board, Philosophy	Philosophy				NR
Canada (Alberta)	Social Studies – Kindergarten to Grade Twelve	Social Studies	22	2007	‘Analyse ultranationalism as a cause of genocide (the Holocaust, 1932-1933 famine in Ukraine, contemporary examples).’	PR
Canada (British Columbia)	Social Studies 11 – Integrated Resource Package 2005	Social Studies	33, 61, 62, 67, 105, 110, 118, 122, 123, 125, 135	2005	‘Recognize the importance of both individual and collective action in addressing human rights issues (e.g. ‘response to the Holocaust’, land mines treaty, Rwandan genocide),’ ‘teach students about the Holocaust and Canada’s role in it.’ ‘Should Canada play a role in ensuring or preserving the human rights of people globally?’	PR
	History 12 – Integrated Resource Package 2006	History	19, 27, 32, 33, 41, 69, 70, 71	2006	‘Analyse the significance of the Holocaust,’ ‘Nazi implementation of racial policies.’	DR

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Canada (Newfoundland and Labrador)	Social Studies – World History 3201	Social Studies, World History	40, 41, 77, 83	2003	'Describe the tragedy of war with reference to each [of]: the Holocaust, allied bombing of Dresden, Japanese treatment of prisoners of war', 'Prepare a multimedia presentation on images of the Holocaust to capture the human experience'	DR
	Social Studies Grade 9	Social Studies	41, 76, 77, 80		'Historical Influences on Identity I: Significant Events (1920-1945) [...] primary attention should focus on: the Holocaust, and the use of atomic weapons', 'Why is it important to study and remember events such as the Holocaust or the use of atomic weapons in the Second World War?', 'What evidence is there that the Holocaust occurred?'	DR
Canada (Nova Scotia)	Canadian History 11 Curriculum	History	42	2002	'Analyse Canada's role regarding Jewish immigration and the Holocaust'	PR
Canada (Ontario)	The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10	Canadian and World Studies	46, 47, 49, 55, 56, 57, 72	2003	'Explain the impact in Canada of the experience and memory of the Holocaust', 'Analyse significant events related to the Holocaust (e.g. the rise of anti-Semitism and Nazism; Kristallnacht; establishment of ghettos, concentration camps and death camps), and Canada's response to those events'	DR
	The Ontario Curriculum Grades 11 and 12	Canadian and World Studies	176, 195, 206	2005	'Explain how genocides that have taken place since 1900 have affected the victims and victimizers, but also the world at large (e.g. famine in Ukraine, the Holocaust, mass executions under Pol Pot, the Rwandan genocide, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia)', 'analyse key factors that have led to conflict and war (e.g. [...] genocides including the Holocaust [...]); 'the Holocaust, genocides in Armenia, Ukraine, and Cambodia'	DR
Canada (Prince Edward Island)	Prince Edward Island Social Studies Curriculum – History 621A, Canadian History	History	68, 156	2010	'Analyse Canada's role regarding Jewish immigration and the Holocaust.'	PR
Chile	Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales. Programa de Estudio, Primer Año Medio	History	35, 45, 84, 92	2011	'Holocausto', 'genocidio nazi', 'Alemania Nazi', 'regímenes nazi' 'Caracterización de los principales rasgos de la Segunda Guerra Mundial: su extensión planetaria, el uso de la tecnología para fines de destrucción masiva, los genocidios y la política de exterminio de pueblos, las cifras superlativas de víctimas civiles'	DR
	Historia y Ciencias Sociales, Programa de Estudio, Cuarto Año Medio	History, Social Studies	30	2004	'El profesor o profesora explica las principales características de la Segunda Guerra Mundial: guerra total, ocupación, resistencia, genocidios (campos de concentración, Holocausto), bomba atómica'	DR
China	义务教育 历史与社会 课程标准	History, Social Studies		2011		NR
	义务教育 历史课程 标准	History		2011		NR
	普通高中历史课程标准 (实验)	History	25	2003	'反法西斯战争'(Anti-fascist war)	CO
	(上海) 中学历史课程 标准	History	33, 59	2014	'意德日法西斯专政'(Fascist dictatorship in Italy, Germany and Japan)	CO

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Colombia	Estándares Básicos de Competencias Ciudadanas	Citizenship Studies	151	2006	‘Como se manifiesta en el preámbulo de la misma “el desconocimiento y el menosprecio de los derechos humanos han originados actos de barbarie ultrajantes para la conciencia de la humanidad” (por ejemplo el Holocausto...)’	PR
	Estandares Basicos de Competencias en Ciencias Sociales y Ciencias Naturales	Social Studies	129		‘Segunda Guerra Mundial’	CO
Cook Islands	Social Science in The Cook Islands	Social Studies	20, 22, 24	2006	The students can demonstrate an understanding of perspective from different positions in an event e.g.: How would Jews in Nazi Germany and Hitler’s blackshirts view each other? World War II, The student can explain the importance of identity for the individual and society both nationally and culturally and how the threat to identity can be perceived in various ways (e.g. social - racism and political - genocide), The students can demonstrate their understanding that ideas and actions that were popular in the past are no longer acceptable, e.g. capital punishment, cannibalism, polygamy, racism, genocide	CO
	The Cook Islands Curriculum Framework	General Curriculum		2002		NR
Costa Rica	Programas de Estudio Educación Cívica	Civic Education	145-146	2009	‘Dictadura/autoritarismo: Alemania Nazi, fascismo’	CO
	Programa de Estudios Sociales, IV Ciclo Educación Diversificada	Social Studies	20	2003	‘Causas y consecuencias de la II Guerra Mundial; ‘El ascenso de los totalitarismos en Europa: el fascismo y el nazismo (nacional-socialismo); ‘Antisemitismo y superioridad racial: caso de los judíos, musulmanes, eslavos y de los gitanos’	CO
Côte d’Ivoire	Programmes Éducatifs et Guides d’Exécution, Histoire et Géographie 4 ^e / 3 ^e (Exemple de fiche de leçon)	History, Geography	52-53		‘Les causes, caractères et conséquences de la Seconde Guerre mondiale’, ‘Faire comprendre les pertes en vies humaines liées à la Seconde Guerre mondiale’, ‘Faire comprendre les destructions économiques liées à la Seconde Guerre mondiale’, ‘Amener les apprenants à comprendre le processus ayant mis fin aux hostilités’ (Shoah. On peut y ajouter d’autres atrocités : déportations, camps de concentration, extermination massive de populations, crimes contre l’humanité, extermination des Juifs) (Exemple de fiche de leçon)	CO
	Programmes Histoire - Géographie Première	History, Geography	4		Les conséquences politiques, économiques, sociales, morales et humaines de la Seconde Guerre mondiale	CO
Croatia	Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu skolu	History	290	2006	‘Drugi svjetski rat, Ključni pojmovi: Blitzkrieg, holokaust, genocid, koncentracijski sabirni logori, antifascistička koalicija, totalni rat, aertve i masovna pogubljenja’ (Second World War, key concepts: blitzkrieg, Holocaust, genocide, concentration camps, the antifascist coalition, total war, victims and mass executions)	

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Cyprus*	Programma Spoudon Istorias	History	30-31		‘Η άνοδος του φασισμού , και του ναζισμού και ο χαρακτήρας της εξωτερικής πολιτικής τους’, Επιλογή και σχολιασμός φωτογραφικού υλικού και κειμένων με θέμα τη ναζιστική και φασιστική ιδεολογία, ‘Ο Β’ Παγκόσμιος πόλεμος, η Ελλάδα και η Κύπρος. Αίτια και κύριες φάσεις του Β’ Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου.’ (The rise of fascism and Nazism and the characteristics of their foreign policy, ‘Selection and commentary [of/on] photographic material and texts on the Nazi and fascist ideology, The Second World War, Greece and Cyprus. Causes and main phases of the Second World War)	CO
Czech Republic	Framework Education Programme for Secondary General Education	General Curriculum	46	2007	‘World War II (global and economic character of the war, science and technology as means for conducting war, the Holocaust)’	DR
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Programme national d’histoire, enseignement secondaire	History	20	2005	‘La montée des dictatures: le nazisme’, ‘les méfaits du nazisme’	CO
Denmark	Fælles Mål 2009 Historie	History	31-32	2009	‘Tyskernes forsøg på at indfange jøderne i Danmark var en del af nazisternes ‘Endlösung’, ‘Nazisternes vej til magten og Anden Verdenskrig, Tysklands “nyordning” af Europa. Forhold i andre besatte lande’, ‘Antisemitismen i Europa, herunder Danmark og jødiske flygtninge i 1930’erne’, ‘Holocaust – forudsætninger – forløb – følger’ (The German attempts to capture the Jews of Denmark were part of the Nazi ‘Final Solution’, The Nazi rise to power and the Second World War, Germany’s ‘new order’ of Europe. Conditions in other occupied countries, antisemitism in Europe, including Denmark and Jewish refugees in the 1930s, Holocaust - assumptions - course - consequences)	DR
Dominica	National Curriculum Framework for Dominica	General Curriculum		2006		NR
Dominican Republic	Propósitos de la Asignatura Educación Moral y Cívica para el Nivel Medio	Civic Education				NR
	Extracto del Currículo del Nivel Medio, área de Ciencias Sociales	Social Studies	14		‘Segunda Guerra Mundial’	CO
	Currículo del Area de Formacion Integral Humana y Religiosa	Religious Education				NR

* The report refers only to the Greek Cypriot sector.

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Ecuador	Actualización y Fortalecimiento Curricular de la Educación Básica, 8.º, 9.º y 10.º años, Área de Estudios Sociales	Social Studies	59, 77	2011	‘Tomemos el caso del exterminio de judíos y gitanos como ejemplo de tema de investigación bibliográfica (y de campo, si se lograra una entrevista con un sobreviviente del genocidio, en este caso), las causas, la secuencia y los fenómenos posteriores de la Segunda Guerra Mundial’	PR
	Lineamientos Curriculares para el Bachillerato General Unificado historia y Ciencias Sociales Primer Curso	History, Social Studies	17	2010	‘La Segunda Guerra Mundial, sus causas y consecuencias’	CO
Egypt	مصر الحضارة – جولة في حضارة مصر وحضارة العالم القديم	History		2013		NR
	الدراسات الاجتماعية – جغرافية العالم وتاريخ مصر الحديث	Social Studies		2013		NR
	المواطنة وحقوق الإنسان الصف الثاني الثانوي	Social Studies		2012		NR
El Salvador	Programas de Estudio – Estudios Sociales y Cívica	Social and Civic Studies	73	2008	‘Valoración ética del uso de armas nucleares y otras acciones contra civiles, en la Segunda Guerra Mundial’, ‘valoración ética de acciones contra poblaciones civiles’	CO
Estonia	National Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools	History	266-267	2011	‘Explain the trends of development in society that made it possible for people to commit crimes against humanity’, ‘explain and know how to use in context the following concepts: genocide, the Holocaust, deportation, gulag’, ‘Crimes of Nazism: the Holocaust’	DR
	Curriculum for Basic Schools	Social Studies	32	2011	‘Explain the meaning of and use in context the following terms: the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (MRP), Holocaust, deportation, treaty of bases, occupation and the United Nations (UN)’	DR
Ethiopia	History Syllabus for Grade 12	History	31		‘What do you understand by the term ‘Holocaust’? Prepare the text for a web page describing the cause[s], events and consequences of the Holocaust’	DR
Fiji	Fiji Islands National Curriculum Framework	General Curriculum		2007		NR
Finland	National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools	History (section on International Relations (HI3))	183 (p. 2 of amendment)	2003 (amended 2010)	‘Human rights, human rights conventions and their history, human rights violations such as the Holocaust’, ‘human rights, genocide, the Holocaust and persecution of people in different countries’	DR
	Amendment to the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004		2	2010	‘Ethics of human rights’, ‘human rights violations such as the Holocaust’	DR

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France	Programmes du collège, Programmes de l'enseignement, d'histoire-géographie-éducation civique, classe de troisième	History, Geography, Civic Education	42-43	2008	'Le génocide des Juifs et des Tsiganes ; l'étude des différentes modalités de l'extermination s'appuie sur des exemples : l'action des Einsatzgruppen ; un exemple de camp de la mort ; le processus de l'extermination, camps d'extermination.'	DR
Gambia	National History Syllabus, Grade 10-12	History	25		'Political parties and associations formed before and after [the] Second World War, Impact of the Second World War, Super Powers – USA & USSR etc'	CO
	Curriculum Framework for Basic Education	General Curriculum		2011		NR
Georgia	Georgia's National Curriculum for 2011-2016	General Curriculum		2011	'Peace and tolerance', 'human rights', 'totalitarianism', 'the world wars', 'society in the twentieth century', 'democracy'	CO
Germany (Bavaria)	Lehrplan für das Gymnasium in Bayern im Überblick	General Curriculum	43	2010	'Nationalsozialismus und Zweiter Weltkrieg (u. a. Führerkult, Entrechtung der Juden, Vernichtungskrieg)' (National Socialism and Second World War (including the cult of the <i>Führer</i> , removal of the Jews' rights, war of annihilation))	DR
Germany (Lower Saxony)	Kerncurriculum für die Oberschule Schuljahrgänge 5 - 10	History	30	2013	'Vorbereitung und Durchführung des Völkermordes', 'Diskriminierung und Verfolgung von Juden, politischen Gegnern und anderen Minderheiten', 'Vernichtung der jüdischen Bevölkerung' (Preparation and execution of the genocide, discrimination [against] and persecution of Jews, political opponents and other minorities, annihilation of the Jewish population)	DR
Germany (North Rhine-Westphalia)	Kernlehrplan für die Sekundarstufe II Gymnasium / Gesamtschule in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geschichte	History	29, 38	2013	'Die Schülerinnen und Schüler erläutern den Zusammenhang von Vernichtungskrieg und Völkermord an der jüdischen Bevölkerung', 'Die Schülerinnen und Schüler beurteilen, unter Beachtung der jeweiligen Perspektive, verschiedene historische Formen der kollektiven Erinnerung an die NSGewaltherrschaft, den Holocaust sowie die Verfolgung und Vernichtung von Minderheiten und Andersdenkenden' (The students [should be able to] explain the relationship between the war of annihilation and the genocide against the Jewish people, The students [should be able to] assess, taking the various relevant perspectives into account,, various historical forms of collective memory of the National Socialist regime, the Holocaust, the persecution and extermination of minorities and dissenters)	DR
	Kernlehrplan für die Hauptschule in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Gesellschaftslehre, Erdkunde, Geschichte/ Politik	Social Science, Geography, History, Politics	42	2011	'Die Beschäftigung der Schülerinnen und Schüler insbesondere mit dem Holocaust als einem Verbrechen einmaliger Größenordnung' (Students should engage in particular with the Holocaust as a crime of unique magnitude)	DR

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Germany (Saxony)	Lehrplan Mittelschule Geschichte	History	16	2009	‘Einmaligkeit der Shoa/des Holocaust, Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek, Babi Jar, Todesmärsche, Massenerschießungen, Vernichtungslage’r (Uniqueness of the Shoah / Holocaust, Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek, Babi Yar, death marches, mass executions, death camps)	DR
Ghana	Teaching Syllabus for History, Senior High School 1-3	History		2010		NR
	Teaching Syllabus for Social Studies, Senior High School 1-3	Social Studies		2010		NR
Greece	Diathematiko Eniaio Plaisio Programmaton Spoudon Istorias	History	205		‘Ολοκαύτωμα’ (Holocaust)	DR
	Epistoniko pedio: kinonikes epistimes kai istoria. Protasi neou programmatos spoudon ja to mathima kinoniki kai politiki agogi E kai ST dimotikou	History	23	2007	‘Στοιχεία για το Ολοκαύτωμα’ (Facts about the Holocaust)	DR
Guatemala	Malla curricular de Ciencias Sociales y Formación Ciudadana Básico, Tercer Grado	Social Studies	1	2014	‘Hechos históricos que desafiaron a los Derechos Humanos entre la Primera Guerra, y Segunda Guerra Mundial. Genocidios y Holocausto del pueblo Judío, la Guerra Civil Española, y el Bombardeo de Guernica.’	DR
Guyana	Social Studies Curriculum guide grade 7	Social Studies				NR
	Social Studies Curriculum Guide Grade 8	Social Studies				NR
	Social Studies Curriculum Guide Grade 9	Social Studies				NR
Honduras	Diseño Curricular Nacional para la Educación Básica, Primer Ciclo	General Curriculum				NR
	Diseño Curricular Nacional para la Educación Básica, Segundo Ciclo	General Curriculum	300		‘Segunda Guerra Mundial’	CO
	Diseño Curricular Nacional para la Educación Básica, Tercer Ciclo	General Curriculum	368		‘Explican y comprenden las causas y consecuencias de la I y II Guerra Mundial’, ‘Efectos de la I y II Guerra mundial’	CO
	Currículo Nacional Básico	General Curriculum		2003		NR

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Hungary	Közműveltségi tartalmak. Történelem	History	10718	2012	'A Holokauszt Európában és Magyarországon.' (The Holocaust in Europe and Hungary)	DR
	Decree on the issue, introduction and implementation of the National Core Curriculum	General Curriculum	88	2012	'The Holocaust in Europe and Hungary, The persecution of Jews; events leading up to the Holocaust; the genocide'	DR
Iceland	The Icelandic National Curriculum Guide for Compulsory Schools - General Section	General Curriculum		2012		NR
	The Icelandic National Curriculum Guide for Upper Secondary Schools – General Section	General Curriculum		2012		NR
India	Secondary School Curriculum, Main Subjects, Vol. 1	General Curriculum	133	2013	'Rise of Nazism', 'The ideology of Nazism', 'The impact of Nazism', 'Discuss the critical significance of Nazism in shaping the politics of [the] modern world', 'Familiarize students with the speeches and writings of Nazi leaders'	CO
	Syllabi for Standards XI and XII, General Subjects	General Curriculum	256	2012	'Rise of Dictatorship in Europe (Fascism and Nazism)', 'Second World War (1939-1945)'	CO
Indonesia	Social Science Subject for Junior High School (SMP) / Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs)/ Islamic Junior High School	Social Science	9	2009	'World War II'	CO
	History Subject for Senior High School/ (SMA)/ Madrasah Aliyah (MA) (Islamic Senior High School)	History	8	2009	'World War'	CO
Iraq	Iraqi Curriculum Framework	General Curriculum		2012		NR
Ireland	History Syllabus, Ordinary and Higher Levels	History	44	2003	'Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust'	DR
Israel	הסטוריה - תכנית לימודים לחטיבה העליונה בבית הספר הממלכתי-דתי (ט' - י"ב) ליחידות החובה	History	53-62	2010	'נאציזם ושואה' (Nazism and Holocaust)	DR
	לימודי היסטוריה בחינוך הכללי, חט"ע, תשע"א - תשע"ג, נושאי לימוד	History	18-21, 31-32, 48-49	2010	'נאציזם, אנטישמיות, מלחמת העולם השנייה והשואה' (Nazism, antisemitism, Second World War and the Holocaust)	DR
	التاريخ للمرحلة الثانوية	History	49	2007	'النازية وإبادة اليهود في أوروبا: الأيديولوجية النازية والعداء لليهود، مظاهر ومراحل الاضطهاد النازي لليهود، قوانين نيرنبرغ، ليل البلور، الحل النهائي. رد الفعل اليهودي والمقاومة في الغيتوات.'	DR
	التاريخ للمرحلتين الابتدائية والإعدادية في المدارس العربية	History	30	2009	مراحل السياسة النازية تجاه اليهود وتنفيذها وصولاً إلى "الحل النهائي"	DR

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Italy	Schema di regolamento recante "Indicazioni nazionali riguardanti gli obiettivi specifici di apprendimento concernenti le attività e gli insegnamenti compresi nei piani degli studi previsti per i percorsi liceali di cui all'articolo 10, comma 3, del decreto del Presidente della Repubblica 15 marzo 2010, n. 89, in relazione all'articolo 2, commi 1 e 3, del medesimo regolamento" : Decreto 7 ottobre 2010, n. 211	General Curriculum	17	2010	'Il nazismo; la Shoah e gli altri genocide del XX secolo; la Seconda Guerra Mondiale'	DR
Jamaica	Curriculum Social Studies Lower Secondary	Social Studies				NR
Japan	Junior High School Course of Study	Social Studies	38, 86	2008	'... Situation of the European and North American nations, and the life of the people during the war'; 'Enable students to understand that the war caused ravages to the people worldwide ...' (paraphrase)	CO
	High School Course of Study	World History	22, 34, 45	2009	'...The causes of the two World Wars and their nature as total wars, and the impact of them on the world and on Japan'; '[...] the rise of fascism relating to the emergence of mass society by focusing on such topics as Nazism in Germany [...] enable students to see that the war caused serious loss of human life, including many civilians' (paraphrase) (trans.)	CO
Kazakhstan	Жалпы орта білім беру деңгейінің «Адам және қоғам» білім саласы пәндерінің, ОҚУ БАҒДАРЛАМАЛАРЫ (қоғамдық-гуманитарлық және жаратылыстану-математикалық бағыттағы 10-11 сыныптар)	General Curriculum	28	2013	'Холокост - геноцид европейских евреев во время второй мировой войне.' (Holocaust - the genocide of European Jews during the Second World War.)	DR
Kenya	Diploma Teacher Education Syllabus, Volume three, Humanities and Creative Arts	Social Studies	45, 47, 83	2008	'Causes and results of WWII'	CO
(Kosovo)**	Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education	General Curriculum		2011		NR

** As understood under UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999).

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Latvia	Latvijas un Pasaules Vēsture, Vispārējās vidējās izglītības mācību priekšmeta programmas paraugs (1. variants)	History	35, 37, 50	2008	'Prot raksturot, skaidrot un analizēt holokaustu, citus genocīdus un noziegumus pret cilvēci Otrā pasaules kara laikā' (Students are able to describe, explain and analyse the Holocaust, other genocides and crimes against humanity during the Second World War)	DR
	Latvijas Vēsture, mācību priekšmeta programmas paraugs speciālajā pamatizglītībā	History	21	2012	'Holokausta notikumiem Latvijas teritorijā, 'Ir iepazinies ar jēdzieniem: holokausts, leģions, koncentrācijas nometnes, emigrācija' (Holocaust events in Latvian territory, [Pupil] Is familiar with the concepts: the Holocaust, the [Latvian] Legion, the concentration camps, emigration)	DR
	Pasaules Vēsture, Pasaules Vmācību priekšmeta programmas paraugs speciālajā pamatizglītībā	History	24	2012	'Ir priekšstats par holokaustu,' 'Pazīst vēstures jēdzienus: holokausts, tolerance', 'Ir iepazinies ar jēdzieniem: okupācija, koncentrācijas nometne, kapitulācija' ([Pupil] Has an understanding of the Holocaust, [is] familiar with the [following] concepts of history: the Holocaust, tolerance; is familiar with the concepts: occupation, concentration camp, capitulation)	DR
Lebanon	Curriculum of Philosophy and Civilization	Social Studies				NR
	منهج مادة التربية الوطنية والتنمية المدنية	Social Studies				NR
Lesotho	Junior certificate, History syllabus	History	50-52	2004	'World War II', 'Hitler'	CO
Liechtenstein	Lehrplan Liechtensteinisches Gymnasium, Oberstufe, Grundlagenfach Geschichte	History	98	2013	'Vom Antisemitismus zum Holocaust' (From antisemitism to the Holocaust)	DR
	Lehrplan Liechtensteinisches Gymnasium, Oberstufe, Grundlagenfach, Religion und Kultur	Religious Education	135	2013	'Christen im 3. Reich', 'Holocaust' (Christians in the Third Reich, Holocaust)	DR

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Lithuania	Socialinis ugdymas 9-10	Social Studies	966	-	‘Apibūdinti per Antrąjį pasaulinį karą pasaulyje įvykdytus nusikaltimus žmogiškumui ir holokaustą’, ‘Dirbdami su žemėlapiais, mokiniai nagrinėja esminius teritorinius pokyčius po Antrojo pasaulinio karo Europoje. Remdamiesi pavyzdžiais, aiškinasi, kokie nusikaltimai žmogiškumui (pvz., komunistų ir nacistų įvykdyti nusikaltimai, holokaustas) buvo įvykdyti pasaulyje (Describe the war crimes committed in the Second World War and the Holocaust. Working with maps, students examine the significant territorial changes after the Second World War in Europe. Based on the examples, analysis of offences against humanity (for example, crimes committed by communists and Nazis, the Holocaust) [which] were carried out in the world)’	DR
	Turinio apimtis, Pagrindinis ugdymas, Socialinis ugdymas, Istorija 9-10 klasės	History	2		‘Aiškinasi karo metu įvykdytus nusikaltimus žmogiškumui ir holokaustą’ (Examine war crimes and crimes against humanity committed during the Holocaust)	DR
Luxembourg	Enseignement secondaire, Classe de 2 ^e , Histoire 2 ^e classique A	History	2		‘La Deuxième Guerre mondiale’ (y compris la Shoah)	DR
Malaysia	Sejarah, sukatan dan kertas soalan contoh	History	10	2012	‘Sebab dan kesan Perang Dunia Kedua’ (causes and consequences of the Second World War)	CO
Malta	History Syllabus, Year 9, Form 4	History	44-45	2013	‘The rise of dictatorial and nationalistic governments in Germany and Italy, Nazi aims, trial of the leaders of the German Government as war criminals due to their responsibility for the Holocaust’	DR
Mauritius	Syllabus Forms I, II & III	General Curriculum	82	2011	‘World Wars’	CO
Mexico	Historia universal contemporánea	History	23	2013	‘...Las consecuencias del uso de nuevas tecnologías en la guerra y su implicación en la violación de derechos humanos (Holocausto, Misiles balísticos, Bomba atómica)’	PR
	Programa de Estudio, Educación Básica Secundaria, Historia	History	36	2011	‘Socialismo, nazismo y fascismo’, ‘Analiza el desarrollo de la Segunda Guerra Mundial y sus consecuencias económicas y sociales’, ‘La Segunda Guerra Mundial: El conflicto armado y sus efectos en el mundo’	CO
	Programa de Estudio, Educación Básica Secundaria, Formación Cívica y Ética	Social Studies		2013		NR
Micronesia (Federated States of)	Curriculum Frameworks	General Curriculum		2009		NR
	Federated States of Micronesia Content standards	General Curriculum				NR

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Montenegro	Istorija, VI, VII, VIII i IX razred osnovne škole	History	23	2012	'Drugi svjetski rat 1939-1945, objasni položaj civilnog stanovništva u ratnim uslovima – holokaust, genocid, materijalne i ljudske žrtve' (The Second World War 1939-1945, explain the situation of civilians in wartime conditions - the Holocaust, genocide, material and human casualties)	DR
	Istorija, I, II, III i IV razred opšte gimnazije	History	23		'Drugi svjetski rat 1939-1945, avede predstavnike fašizma i nacizma u Italiji i Njemačkoj, odredi osobine Hitlerove rasne politike' (explain representatives of fascism and Nazism in Italy and Germany, determine characteristics of Hitler's racial policies)	CO
	OPŠTA GIMNAZIJA, OBAVEZNI IZBORNI PREDMETI, Predmetni programi, ISTORIJA RELIGIJE 1 za I ili II razred, STORIJA RELIGIJE 2 za III ili IV razred	Religious History	18	2009	'Dan sjećanja na holokaust; cionizam' (Holocaust Remembrance Day, Zionism)	DR
	OSNOVNA ŠKOLA, Predmetni program, ISTORIJA RELIGIJE, izborni predmet, VIII ili IX razred	Religious History	8	2009	'Dan sjećanja na holokaust; cionizam' (Holocaust Remembrance Day, Zionism)	DR
Morocco	التوجيهات التربوية والبرامج الخاصة بتدريس مادتي التاريخ والجغرافيا بسلك التعليم الثانوي التأهيلي	History	30	2007	ملف حول مساهمة المغاربة في الحرب العالمية الثانية - المساهمة العسكرية والإقتصادية - وثائق مرفقة بتعليقات تاريخية	CO
	التوجيهات التربوية والبرامج الخاصة بتدريس بمادة الاجتماعيات بسلك التعليم الثانوي الاعدادي	Social Studies		2009		NR
Mozambique	Introdução à Filosofia, Programa do II Ciclo	Philosophy		2010		NR
	Plano Curricular do Ensino Secundário Geral (PCESG) — Documento Orientador, Objectivos, Política, Estrutura, Plano de Estudos e Estratégias de Implementação	General Curriculum		2007		NR
	Programa de CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS para o 3º Ciclo do Ensino Básico (6ª e 7ª Classes)	Social Studies	319, 320, 338		'Impacto da II Guerra Mundial' (Impact of The Second World War)	CO
Namibia	Namibia Senior Secondary Certificate (NSSC) History Syllabus, Ordinary Level Grades 11-12	History	9-10	2010	'...Explain how the Nazis dealt with their political opponents, and also with reference to the violation of human rights,' 'explain why the Nazis persecuted and exterminated many groups in the German society,' 'anti-Semitism, persecution of minorities, the Final Solution.'	DR
Nepal	National Curriculum Framework for School Education in Nepal	General Curriculum		2007		NR

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Netherlands	Karakteristieken en kerndoelen voor de onderbouw	General Curriculum	14	2006	'Waaronder de Wereldoorlogen en de Holocaust' (the World Wars and the Holocaust)	DR
New Zealand	The New Zealand Curriculum	General Curriculum		2007		NR
	Achievement Objectives by Learning Area, Social Studies	Social Studies		2007		NR
Nicaragua	Programa de Estudio de Ciencias Sociales, Educación Secundaria, 7mo, 8vo, 9no grado	Social studies		2009	'Efectos de la Segunda Guerra Mundial'	CO
Niger	Programmes Officiels de l'Enseignement des Cycles de Base II et Moyen, Histoire et Géographie	History, Geography	42	2009	'La Seconde Guerre mondiale et ses conséquences', 'Bilan humain, économique, moral, social et politique de la guerre en Europe, en Asie, en Amérique, en Afrique'	CO
Norway	History - Common Core Subject in Programmes for General Studies	History	5	2009	'Discuss and elaborate on the background of the two World Wars and discuss and elaborate on the impact these wars had on the Nordic countries and the international community'	CO
Pakistan	Higher Secondary School Certificate Examination, CIVICS, PART I	Civic Education		2007		NR
	History of Modern World Syllabus, for Class XI	History	43		'Cognitive Objectives: Know the philosophies behind the dictatorial rulers and causes of their collapse, Understand the causes and effects of World War-II.'	CO
Palestine	First Curriculum Plan	General Curriculum		1998		NR
Panama	Programa Curricular de Cívica duodécimo Grado	Civic Education		2013		NR
	Programa Curricular de Cívica Undécimo Grado	Civic Education		2013		NR
	Programa Curricular de Ética, Moral, Valores y Relaciones Humanas Undécimo Grado	Moral Education	36	2013	'Visiones sociales de la persona humana [...] Fascista'	CO
	Programa Curricular de Filosofía Undécimo y Duodécimo Grado	Philosophy	40	2013	'Investiga, expone y sustenta los antecedentes, hechos, causas y consecuencias de los principales genocidios del XX: Polpot (Camboya) Antigua U.R.S.S., El Holocausto Judío, Dictaduras latinoamericanas'	DR
	Programa Curricular de Historia Moderna	History	48	2013	'Los regímenes totalitarios: Facismo y Nazismo. Segunda Guerra Mundial: causas y consecuencias'	CO
	Programa de Historia 7, 8 y 9	History	72	2013	'La Segunda Guerra mundial (1943-1945), Explicación de las causas que originaron la Primera y Segunda Guerra Mundial'	CO
Papua New Guinea	Social Science Lower Secondary Syllabus	Social Studies	29	2006	'World Wars in Papua New Guinea'	NR

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Paraguay	Programa de Estudio, Historia y Geografía, 8º grado	History, Geography		2011		NR
	Programa de Estudio, Historia y Geografía, 9º grado	History, Geography	52	2011	'Segunda Guerra Mundial'	CO
Peru	Diseño Curricular Nacional de Educación Básica Regular	General Curriculum	395	2008	'Consecuencias de la II Guerra Mundial en América Latina y el Mundo'	CO
Philippines	K to12 Gabay Pangkurikulum Araling Panlipunan Baitang 1 – 10	Social Studies	108	2013	'Nazism', 'fascism', 'Mein Kampf', 'Hitler', 'genocide -malawakang pagpatay na ginawa noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig lalo na laban sa mga Hudyo' (genocide - mass murder committed during the Second World War primarily against Jews)	DR
Poland	Podstawa programowa przedmiotu historia	History	45	2009	'Przedstawia przyczyny i skutki Holokaustu oraz opisuje przykłady oporu ludności żydowskiej' (sets out the reasons and consequences of the Holocaust, and describes examples of Jewish resistance)	DR
Portugal	Metas curriculares de História 9º, Ano do 3º, ciclo do ensino básico	History	4	2014	'Analisar as causas e consequências do racismo alemão, destacando a crença na superioridade da "raça ariana", a criação do "espaço vital" e as vagas de perseguição antissemita que culminaram no Holocausto.' (Analyse the causes and consequences of German racism, highlighting the belief in the superiority of the 'Aryan race', the creation of 'living space' and the waves of antisemitic persecution culminating in the Holocaust)	DR
	Programa de Historia a 10º, 11º e 12º anos, Curso Científico-Humanístico de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Formação Específica	History	49	2002	'Totalitarismo, Fascismo, Nazismo, Corporativismo, Anti-semitismo, Genocídio, Propaganda' (Totalitarianism, fascism, Nazism, corporatism, antisemitism, genocide, propaganda)	DR
Republic of Korea	2009 개정 사회과 교육과정 (제2012-14호)	Social Studies	46, 101	2012	'두 차례에 걸친 세계 대전의 원인과 결과, 평화를 위한 노력을 이해한다', 제2차 세계 대전의 배경을 유럽과 아시아의 경제 공황과 파시즘을 중심으로 이해하고', '유럽의 파시즘과 일제의 군국주의' (Cause and effect of the Second World War, [pupils should] understand the effort for peace, understand the background of the Second World War, focused on the economic crisis and fascism in Europe and Asia, European fascism and Japanese militarism)	CO
	2009 개정 교육과정 총론 (제2012-31호)	General Curriculum		2012		NR
	2009 개정 교육과정 총론 (제2013-7호)	General Curriculum		2012		NR
	Social Studies Curriculum	Social Studies, History	56	2007	'Rise of totalitarianism and development of nationalism in 20C'	CO

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Republic of Moldova	Istoria, Curriculum pentru învățământul gimnazial, clasele V – IX	History	15	2010	‘România, Basarabia și Transnistria între 1941 și 1944. Specificul Holocaust-ului în spațiul românesc’ (Romania, Bessarabia and Transnistria between 1941 and 1944. The specifics of the Holocaust on Romanian territory)	DR
Romania	Programă Școlară, Istorie, Clasa a XII-A1, Ciclu superior al Liceului	History	7	2009	‘la Gulag și Holocaust’ (the Gulag and the Holocaust)	DR
	CLASELE a V-a – a VIII-a Programe Școlare Istorie, Clasele a V- VIII	History	14	2009	‘lagăr de muncă forțată, lagăr de exterminare, Holocaust’ (labour camps, extermination camps, Holocaust)	DR
Russian Federation	ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫЙ СТАНДАРТ ОСНОВНОГО ОБЩЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ ПО ИСТОРИИ	History	4		‘Политика геноцида. Холокост’	DR
Rwanda	History Program for Ordinary Level	History	59, 61	2008	‘The increase of totalitarian regimes in Europe: Fascism’, ‘Nazism’, ‘compare the phenomenon between Fascism and Nazism and what took place in Rwanda’, ‘Show all the consequences of the Second World War’	CO
	History Program for Advanced Level Secondary School	History	32, 33-34, 58, 62	2010	‘The rise of Hitler and Nazism in Germany’, ‘causes and consequences of the Second World War’, ‘Nazi doctrines’, ‘loss of human life’, ‘comparative study of various genocides’, ‘stages of genocide’, ‘European history’	CO
Samoa	Samoa Secondary School Curriculum, Social Studies , Years 9-11	Social Studies		2004		NR
	National Curriculum Policy Framework	General Curriculum		2006		NR
Senegal	Programme d’Histoire	History	17	2004	‘La seconde Guerre mondiale : causes et conséquences’	CO
Serbia	Nastavni program za osmi razred osnovnih obrazovana i vaspitanja	History	134-135		‘Genocid i holokaust’ (genocide and Holocaust)	DR
Seychelles	The Seychelles National Curriculum	General Curriculum		2001		NR
Singapore	History, GCE Academic Level, Syllabus 2195	History	13	2013	Impact of Hitler’s rule on Germany, Social: controlled society and persecution of Jewish people and other minority groups	DR
	History GCE Ordinary Level Syllabus 2174	History	12-13	2013	‘Nazism, Militarism, Authoritarianism’, ‘Case study of Nazi Germany [...] Impact of Hitler’s rule on Germany [...] Social: controlled society and persecution of Jewish people and other minority groups’	DR
Slovakia	Štátny Vzdelávací program Dejepis, Vzdelávacia oblasť Človek a spoločnosť, Príloha Isced 2	History	16	2011	‘Zhodnotiť dôsledky holokaustu’ (assess the impact of the Holocaust)	DR

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Slovenia	Učni načrt, Obvezni predmet, Zgodovina, Splošna gimnazija	History	9, 22, 58	2008	'Obsodijo zločine proti človeštvu, genocide, holokavst in druge oblike množičnega kršenja človekovih pravic' (condemn crimes against humanity, genocide, the Holocaust and other forms of mass human rights violations)	DR
South Africa	National Curriculum Statement – Further Education and Training Phase Grades 10-12	History	21	2011	'Ideas of Race in the late 19th and 20th centuries', 'Nazi Germany and the Holocaust', 'groups targeted by the Nazis, Jews, Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), dark skinned German people, Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, and trade union leaders, Jehovah's Witnesses and thousands accused of 'asocial' or criminal behaviour, as well as homosexual people', 'Choices that people made: perpetrator, bystander, resister, rescuer and the nuances between them - can a perpetrator be at the same time a rescuer; what makes a bystander become either a perpetrator or a rescuer?; Responses of [the] persecuted: exile, accommodation and defiance; from persecution to mass murder: the Final Solution; the creation of labour and extermination camps; and forms of justice: the Nuremberg Trials'	DR
	National Curriculum Statement – Intermediate Phase Grades 4-6	Social Studies	17-18	2011	'World War II 1939-1945'	CO
	National Curriculum Statement – Senior Phase Grades 7-9	Social Studies	41	2011	'Extermination camps and genocide, the Holocaust and the "Final Solution"', 'Nuremberg Laws and loss of basic rights of Jewish people 1935', 'Warsaw Ghetto Uprising'	DR
Spain	Real Decreto 1631/2006, de 29 de diciembre, por el que se establecen las enseñanzas mínimas correspondientes a la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria	General Curriculum	708-709	2007	'Injusticia, discriminación, dominio o genocidio'	CO
	Real Decreto 1467/2007, de 2 de noviembre, por el que se establece la estructura del bachillerato y se fijan sus enseñanzas mínimas.	General Curriculum	45468	2007	'Antisemitismo: la singularidad del genocidio judío'	DR
Sri Lanka	G.C.E. Advanced Level Grade 12-13, History Syllabus	History	34	2009	'The results of Nazism', 'results of the War'	CO
Suriname	Leerlijnen Oriëntatie op Jezelf en op de Wereld (OJW) – Geschiedenis	History	8		'2e Wereldoorlog (1937/1939-1945)' (Second World War (1937/1939-1945))	CO
Swaziland	History 2013-2014 Syllabus	History	7, 9	2012	'Why did the Nazis persecute many groups in German society?; 'Why did the Nazis carry out the Holocaust?; 'Persecution of the Jews and other minority groups', 'the Holocaust.'	DR

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Sweden	Curriculum for compulsory school, preschool class and the leisure-time centre	General Curriculum	167	2011	'Both World Wars, their causes and consequences. Oppression, displacement of people and genocide. The Holocaust and the Gulag.'	DR
	Läroplan för grundskolan	General Curriculum	92	2011	'De båda världskrigen, deras orsaker och följder, samt Förintelsen, folkfördrivningar, folkmord och Gulag' (Both World Wars, their causes and consequences. Oppression, displacement of people and genocide. The Holocaust and the Gulag)	DR
	Curriculum for upper secondary school	General Curriculum		2013		NR
Switzerland (Basel Landschaft)	Stufenlehrplan der Sekundarstufe I des Kantons Basel-Landschaft	General Curriculum	65	2006	'Den Ersten und den Zweiten Weltkrieg als zusammenhängende Kriegsentwicklung begreifen und die Folgen kennen', 'Holocaust, Nazionalsozialismus – Neonazis' (Understanding the First and the Second World Wars as a coherent development of conflict and knowing of the consequences, Holocaust, Nazism – Neonazis)	DR
Switzerland (Bern)	Lehrplan gymnasialer Bildungsgang	History, Politics	66	2005	'Begriffe: Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus, Demokratie, Diktatur, Weltwirtschaftskrise, Expansion, 'Rasse', Flüchtling, Holocaust/Shoa, Asyl' (Terms: Fascism, Nazism, democracy, dictatorship, economic crisis, expansion, 'race', refugee, Holocaust/Shoah, asylum)	DR
Switzerland (Central Switzerland; Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Obwalden, Nidwalden, Zug)	Lehrplananpassungen 2006, Zentralschweiz	History, Politics	2	2006	'Zweiter Weltkrieg, Faschismus - Nationalsozialismus, Weg zum Holocaust' (The Second World War, Fascism - Nazism, the path to the Holocaust)	DR
Switzerland (Jura)	Plans d'études, École secondaire, Histoire + Géographie	History, Geography	5	2007	'La montée des régimes totalitaires, la Seconde Guerre mondiale, les réfugiés'	CO
Switzerland (Lausanne)	Plans d'études, Partie B, Programme Degrés 3 à 9, Histoire	History	15	2006	'Développement des régimes totalitaires ; la Seconde Guerre mondiale'	CO
Thailand	Basic Education Core Curriculum	General Curriculum		2008		NR
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	Историја за 3. Година гимназиско образование	History	17	2005	'Последиците од Втората светска војна и холокаустот', 'Идентификација на причините за холокаустот и антисемитизмот, за концентрационите логори и последиците од холокаустот' (The consequences of the Second World War and the Holocaust, identifying the causes of the Holocaust and antisemitism [and] the concentration camps and the consequences of the Holocaust)	DR
Trinidad and Tobago	Secondary School Curriculum, Forms 1-3	Social Studies	105	2008	'World War II – Adolf Hitler and the mass murder of homosexuals, gypsies, Jews, Romanians, etc.' (section on 'Humanitarian Law – ensuring justice')	DR

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Tunisia	برامج التاريخ والجغرافيا بالمرحلة الإعدادية	History, Geography	11	2006	الحرب العالمية الثانية: الأسباب – النتائج	CO
	برامج التاريخ والجغرافيا	History, Geography	19	2008	من الحرب العالمية إلى الحرب العالمية الثانية. التركيز على أهم نتائج الحرب العالمية الأولى وتوتر العلاقات الدولية بين الحربين وأهم نتائج الحرب العالمية الثانية	CO
	برامج الفلسفة	Philosophy		2006		NR
	برنامج التربية المدنية الثانوية	Civil Education		2008		NR
Turkey	Ortaöğretim Çağdaş Türk ve Dünya tarihi Dersi Öğretim Programı	History	20	2012	'Soykırım' (genocide)	DR
Uganda	History Teaching Syllabus, Senior 1-4	History	39-40	2008	'World War II', 'countries involved in the war', 'why East Africa was involved', 'how the war affected [the] growth of nationalism in East Africa, socially and economically'	CO
Ukraine	ДЕРЖАВНИЙ СТАНДАРТ базової і повної середньої освіти	General Curriculum	21	2004	Причини та Уявлення про світові війни, наслідки світових війн XX ст., 'причин, основних подій тоталітаризму та наслідків світових війн для', 'оцінку вкладу українського народу у перемогу над фашизмом, 'наслідків геноциду і ксенофобії' (Causes and perceptions of World Wars, the effects of the World Wars of the twentieth century, causes, key events [of] totalitarianism and the effects of the Second World War, assessment of the contribution of Ukrainian people to the victory over fascism, consequences of genocide and xenophobia)	CO
United Arab Emirates	توزيع المقررات الدراسية للعام الدراسي ٤١٠٢/٣١٠٢ لمدارس التعليم العام	History	92	2013	الحرب العالمية الثانية	CO
United Kingdom (Bermuda, British Overseas Territory)	Social Studies, World History, Twentieth Century Wars and Technology	Social Studies, History	1		'Holocaust'	DR
	Social Studies, The Twentieth Century in Revolution	Social Studies, History	1		'The rise of the Nazi Regime', 'antisemitism'	CO
United Kingdom (Cayman Islands, British Overseas Territory)	The Cayman Islands National Curriculum, Social Studies Programme of study for Key Stages 1, 2 and 3	Social Studies	21	2008	'World War II: the invasion of Poland, Pearl Harbor, Stalingrad 1942-3, the Holocaust, the D-Day landings, the dropping of the atomic bomb 1945'	DR
United Kingdom (England)	National Curriculum	History	116	2007	'Impact of the two World Wars and the Holocaust', 'the causes and consequences of various conflicts, including the two World Wars, the Holocaust and other genocides'	DR

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United Kingdom (Northern Ireland)	CCEA GCSE Specification in History	History	10-11	2009	'Night of the Long Knives, June 1934'; 'Master Race theory, Propaganda, anti-semitism and reasons for Nazi hatred of the Jews, Nazi policies towards the Jews, including boycotts, removal from jobs, concentration camps from 1933 to 1939, Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and the Night of Broken Glass (Kristallnacht) in 1938, The impact of these Nazi policies on the lives of Jews'	CO
	GCE (A Level) CCEA	History	14	2013	'Social impact of the Nazis: women and family; youth and education; anti-semitism, euthanasia and genocide'	DR
United Kingdom (Scotland)	Curriculum for Excellence: Social Studies, principles and Practices	Social Studies				NR
	Curriculum for Excellence: Social Studies, Experiences and Outcomes	Social Studies				NR
	History National 5 Course Content	History	2	2013	'Hitler and Nazi Germany, 1919–1939', 'World War II, 1939–1945'	CO
United Kingdom (Wales)	WJEC GCSE in History A	History	40	2013	'Final Solution'	DR
	WJEC GCSE in History B	History	53	2013	'The treatment of Jews during the war years', 'development of ghettos; special action squads; the reasons for and implementation of the Final Solution'	DR
United Republic of Tanzania	History Syllabus for Advanced Secondary Education, Form V-VI	History	19	2010	'Impact of [the] Second World War and the Subsequent Changes'	CO
United States of America (Arkansas)	World History, Social Studies Curriculum Framework	History	5	2006	'The worldwide effect of genocide in the 20 th and 21 st centuries using available technology (e.g. Armenia, Holocaust, Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda, Sudan,...)'	DR
United States of America (California)	History - Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools – Kindergarten through Grade Twelve	History, Social Studies	45-46	2000	'The Nazi policy of pursuing racial purity, especially against the European Jews; its transformation into the Final Solution; and the Holocaust that resulted in the murder of six million Jewish civilians', 'how the Holocaust affected world opinion regarding the need for a Jewish state'	DR
United States of America (Maryland)	Maryland State Curriculum – US History	History	11	2006	'Explain the events that led to the beginning of the Second World War', 'Investigate the response of the United States government to the discovery of the Holocaust and immigration policies with respect to refugees'	PR
United States of America (Texas)	Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills for Social Studies (proposed revisions to 19 TAC, chapter 113, 2011)	Social Studies	5, 23	2011	'Analyse major issues of World War II, including the Holocaust'; 'Explain the major causes and events of World War II, including [...] the Holocaust'	DR

Country	Name of document	Subject	Page no.	Date	Terminology	Status
Uruguay	Programa de Historia, Tercer Año – Ciclo Básico –Reformulación 2006	History	6	2006	'Impacto de la crisis de 1929 y de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, dictadura, Derechos Humanos'	CO
	Programa de Historia, Tercer Año de Bachillerato – Opción Social Humanística, Reformulación	History	4	2006	'Guerra y revolución (1914-1945), Los regímenes totalitarios: características generales'	CO
Yemen	منهج التاريخ للصفوف من ٧-٩ من التعليم الأساسي	History	31	2001	السياسات الاستعمارية أثناء الحربين العالميتين	CO
	منهج التربية الوطنية والمدنية للصفوف من ٧-٩ من التعليم الأساسي	Civil Education		2000		NR
Zambia	Civic Education Syllabus, Grade 8-9	Civic Education	24		'Forms of conflict: wars, genocide'	NR
	History Education Syllabus. Grade 8-9	History				NR
Zimbabwe	Advanced Level Syllabus	History	4		'Germany: the Weimar Republic and the rise of Hitler (Nazi Germany)', 'World War II: strategies, military technology and planning. End of war and effects'	CO
	Zimbabwe General Certificate of Education, O-Level Syllabus	History	28-29	2013	'Discuss injustices practiced by the Nazis and Fascists', 'Human rights violations', 'Discussing injustices in both Italy and Germany under the two dictators', 'The Second World War, results, atrocities against minorities and conquered nations'	CO

Categorization of curricula according to status

STATUS	COUNTRIES and territories	No.
direct reference	Albania, Andorra, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Belarus, Belgium (Flanders, German-speaking Community, Wallonia), Bermuda (British Overseas Territory), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republika Srpska), Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada (British Columbia, Newfoundland and Labrador, Ontario), Cayman Islands (British Overseas Territory), Chile, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany (Bavaria, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Saxony), Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Kazakhstan, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Malta, Republic of Moldova, Montenegro, Namibia, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia, Singapore, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland (Basel-Landschaft, Bern, Central Switzerland), Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United States of America (Arkansas, California, Texas), Wales	57
partial reference	Argentina, Belize, Canada (Alberta, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island), Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Slovenia, United States of America (Maryland)	8
context only	Algeria, Bhutan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Burkina Faso, China, Cook Islands, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gambia, Georgia, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Malaysia, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Scotland, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Switzerland (Jura, Lausanne), Tunisia, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Yemen, Zimbabwe	46
no reference	Angola, Antigua & Barbuda, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Benin, Bolivia, Brunei, Cameroon, Dominica, Egypt, Fiji, Ghana, Guyana, Iceland, Micronesia (Federated States of), Iraq, Jamaica, (Kosovo)**, Lebanon, Nepal, New Zealand, Palestine, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Seychelles, Thailand, Zambia	28
no data	Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Barbados, Cambodia, Cabo Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Gabon, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Jordan, Kiribati, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Monaco, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nauru, Nigeria, Niue, Oman, Palau, Qatar, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, San Marino, São Tomé and Príncipe, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Timor-Leste, Togo, Tonga, Turkmenistan, Tuvalu, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam	64

The names shown and designations used on this list do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by UNESCO.

** As understood under UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999).

5. The Holocaust in the textbooks of twenty-six countries

5.1 National narrative patterns

The following country studies are based on the selection criteria and methodology outlined in Part One. These countries are: Albania, Argentina, Belarus, Brazil, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Germany, India, Iraq, Japan, Republic of Moldova, Namibia, Poland, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom (England), Uruguay, United States of America and Yemen.

The sample

The sample consists of five textbooks designed for sixteen to eighteen-year-old pupils studying history, published in Tirana either in 1997 (T3) or 2010 (T1, T2, T4 and T5). The books all focus on world civilization with the exception of T4, which is devoted more loosely to 'modern history', while T2 and T3 cover only the twentieth century. All place the Holocaust within the context of the Second World War, and none contain a section devoted specifically to the Holocaust. The national curriculum prescribes education covering 'the history of world civilization' and more specifically about 'the period of the great upheaval, 1914-1945', a theme which is reflected faithfully in books T2, T3 and T4. T1, by contrast, focuses on the history of Albania, south-western Europe and resistance, that is, the 'antifascist struggle' against German occupation. The books contain between a few lines (T4) and three pages (T3) about the Holocaust.

Scale

The titles of sections contextualize the Holocaust within the Second World War as an event taking place either in the world, in Germany, in south-eastern Europe and in Albania (T1), or else as a world event (T2 and T3), as a world and German event (T4), or solely as a German event (T5). T2, T3 and T4 focus specifically on the topography and locations of concentration and death camps, while T4 uses a map to show the locations of camps between 1933 and 1945. Few dates indicate the temporal scale of the Holocaust (T2, T3 and T5 offer none at all), and the events are not presented chronologically. Those dates which are mentioned pertain to war, either 1914 to 1945 as the 'period of the great upheaval' (T2 and T4) or 1942 to 1943 as the period of 'antifascist struggle' (T1). One exception is the reference to the Nuremberg laws in 1935 (T4).

Protagonists

Victims are referred to generically as 'victims', 'Jews', 'Poles'. Perpetrators are referred to equally generically as 'Nazis', 'Germans', 'Aryans', 'Ukrainians', 'Poles' and 'normal population' (T5). Further victim groups are not named. The only individual named (in all five books) is Hitler, whose image is juxtaposed with images of concentration or death camps, such that motivation for and causes of the event are (via visual association) personified, in the absence of other named or 'ordinary' perpetrators. Numbers involved include six million Jewish victims (T1 and T3) and fifty-five million victims generally (T2). Jews are presented only as passive objects of perpetration, while relations between perpetrators and victims derive primarily from the focus on concentration and death camps (T1, T3 and T4) or on racial laws (T2 and T5). The majority of images depict perpetrators, and those which depict victims reinforce stereotypical images of camp prisoners (T2, T3 and T5). The Albanian resistance plays a prominent role in T3, while there is no mention of Jewish

resistance. Ukrainians, Poles, Italians and Japanese people are mentioned in the role as collaborators. No mention is made of female protagonists or of homosexuals.

Interpretative paradigms

The event is defined as 'Holocaust', 'crime', 'mass extermination', 'genocide', 'racial genocide', 'antisemitic genocide' and 'massacre'. Thematic foci are on military and political history, diplomatic relations, with a focus on killing and on Hitler (T5). The narratives are not comprehensive, but limited largely to discussions of camps and racial laws (T1, T2, T3 and T4) or simply to racial laws (T5). None of the books address the history of antisemitism or the life of Jews before 1933 or after 1945. References are made to 'Auschwitz' (T1), 'concentration camps' (T4) and 'extermination camp' (T5) without any information about the function of the places referred to. In addition, T2 and T5 refer only to 'transit camps' (*kampet e perqendrimt*). The narrative is largely factual, and the only identifiable historical paradigm is that of 'upheaval', as prescribed by the national curriculum. The aims of perpetrators are defined as the wish to gain profit from forced labourers (T1), the wish to establish a superior race (T2), and to 'free society from the Marxist and democratic illness' (T2), while the main named causes are racism (T1, T2 and T5), and antisemitism (T2 and T3). References to the legal discrimination of victims in terms of the 'deprivation of liberty and of civil rights' and references to concentration camps as 'institutions for the re-education and salvation of the *Volk*' and as 'transit camps' (T2 and T5), and to mass killings without reference to the identity of those killed (T4) all effectively trivialise the event by not stating explicitly the consequences of the Holocaust. With the exception of T5, which states that the Holocaust was 'singular', the books present the Holocaust as one part of the Second World War. T1 compares the Holocaust to Soviet POW camps, albeit without referring to totalitarianism. Each book contains one or two images pertaining to the Holocaust: two of camp prisoners, one of a mass grave, one of barracks in a camp, and one of the entrances to Auschwitz. Two images differ by showing the boycotting of shops and a still from Charlie Chaplin's film *The Great Dictator* (the fact that this is a film still is not mentioned in the caption). Visual materials are poorly anchored and explained briefly. The narratives contain no metanarratives or explanations of documents.

Narrative structure and point of view

The texts contained in these books have been written exclusively by the textbook authors, and do not therefore cover multiple perspectives. The passive mode is used in all books, which downplays agency and gives the impression that the events unfolded of their own accord. The only documents reproduced are historic photographs. The inconsistent use of inverted commas in the discussion of racial prejudice and quotations of related materials in T2 points towards a lack of historical detachment.

Didactic approach

The Albanian curriculum stipulates that 'practical activities' should accompany specific topics. All the textbooks except T3 therefore address the rescue of Jews in Albania by requesting teachers and/or pupils to seek and provide their own historical documents. However, this topic is not dealt with in the body of any of the textbooks outlined here, and no books indicate what documents to select or how to implement them didactically in the classroom. T5 goes into more detail about such rescues by requesting pupils to formulate their own opinions about motivations for rescue in moral terms (such as hospitality, religious tolerance, humanism and antifascism as national attributes, and the propensity of Albanians to offer protection since they were also dependent upon the protection of others). T1 and T4 name the didactic exercises at the end of each chapter 'Control and Systematic Knowledge'. The exercises generally require pupils to name and correlate dates and events, explain key terms and respond to multiple choice questions.

National idiosyncrasies

Since the books are largely devoted to the world civilizations among which Albania is not included, few references are made to this country's role in the Holocaust. One exception is the mention of the rescue of Jews by Albanians during the Second World War in the context of exercises set at the end of chapters. These are presented either as open questions to be researched by pupils or teachers, or else as a moral (rather than a historical) issue in which moral virtues are ascribed to the Albanian people as a nation.⁵⁰

Bibliography

- T1: Filo, L. and Sala, G. 2010. *Historia e qytetërimit botëror. (bërthamë)*. [The History of World Civilizations. Framework]. Tirana, Botimet Ideart. (history of world civilizations, age 17-18 years, in Albanian)
- T2: Kumbulla-Goce, V. 2010. *Historia e qytetërimit botëror. (Kurrikula bërthamë)*. [The History of World Civilizations. Framework Curriculum]. Tirana, Shtëpia botuese filara. (history, age 16-17 years, in Albanian)
- T3: Mezini, A., Gjeçovi, X., Sadikaj, D. and Bajraktari, J. 1997. *Historia 3* [history for the Third Class]. Tirana, Shtëpia botuese e librit shkollor. (history, age 16-17 years, in Albanian)
- T4: Dërguti, M. and Treska, T. 2010. *Historia e qytetërimit botëror 11* [The History of World Civilizations. 11 Class]. Tirana, Albas. (history of world civilizations, age 16-17 years, in Albanian)
- T5: Paolucci, S., Signori, G. and Thëngjilli, P. 2010. *Historia e qytetërimit botëror XI* [[The History of World Civilizations. 11 Class], Tirana, Pegi. (history, age 17 years, in Albanian)

50 The textbooks thus reflect the marginalized, if not expedient, use, of the Holocaust in the public sphere in order to promote national pride and an image of Albania as a European country promoting ethnic and religious tolerance. See Perez, D. 2013. 'Our Conscience is Clean': Albanian Elites and the Memory of the Holocaust in Postsocialist Albania. J.-P. Himka and J. Beata Michlic (eds), *Bringing the Dark Past to Light. The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*. Lincoln, The University of Nebraska Press, pp. 25-58, 51.

The sample

The sample consists of five textbooks published between 2010 and 2011, and designed for pupils between the ages of sixteen and seventeen. All the books are designed for use in history lessons in state and private schools, and are devoted to either world and Argentinian history (T2, T4 and T5) or world history from 1750 to the present day (T1 and T3). The sections of the books, in which the Holocaust is addressed over four to five pages, are structured similarly. That is, they first present the historical and ideological background at the time of the Second World War, which is followed by more specific topical sections devoted to antisemitism, camps and the 'Jewish genocide' (T1), a comparison of the Armenian genocide of 1915 with the Holocaust (T2 and T5), a national German viewpoint entitled 'From Great Germany to the Genocide' (T4), and a focus on radicalization entitled 'From the Ghettos to the "Final Solution"' (T5). In contrast to the other textbooks, T3 does not contain a section devoted to the Holocaust.

Scale

All textbooks, with the exception of T3, cover significant dates of the Holocaust, while T1 and T2 also address medieval and modern forms of antisemitism. Camps feature prominently in the books, such that the event is associated closely with Auschwitz (T1), Dachau and Buchenwald (T2 and T3), as well as other extermination camps and the Warsaw ghetto (T4). However, the books also contextualize the event in terms of the effects of the Holocaust in Poland (T1 and T2), with reference to 'Germany under National Socialism' (T3) to the war against the Soviet Union (T4), and to the effects of the Holocaust in Europe (T1 and T5) and in eastern Europe more specifically (T3 and T4).

Protagonists

Some textbooks offer generic definitions of victims in terms of 'a broad range of the population ... and all those who did not fit within the narrow Nazi definition of the "nation"' (T1, 156), or in terms of ethnic, sexual and religious 'minorities' (T2, 110). Although Jewish victims are clearly recognized in all of the books, the order in which victim groups are listed gives (in T3, T4 and T5) priority to politically motivated victims, that is, to 'socialists, ... foreigners ...' (T3, 140), 'social democrats, communists, unionists ...' (T4, 166), and 'militant communists, social democrats, unionists ...' (T5, 95). T3 defines victims misleadingly as 'opponents of Nazism' (140), insofar as not all victims actively opposed the regime. Jewish life prior to the Holocaust is recognized in T1 and T2, albeit in terms of antisemitic repression suffered since the Middle Ages and the seventeenth century. T5 begins the section about the Holocaust with a picture of bodies in crematoria, while T4 begins with a picture of Hitler and an excerpt from one of his speeches. Hitler features prominently in all textbooks; T1, T2, T3 and T4 include photographs of him, while T4 and T5 also address the role of Adolf

Eichmann. The phrase 'The German state persecutes...' effectively personifies the state in T3 (140). T2 and T5 contain an equal number of images of perpetrators and victims, whereas T1, T3 and T4 feature mainly perpetrators. Resistance is depicted as political resistance in T1 and T4, and as Jewish resistance in the Warsaw ghetto uprising in T2. Unusually, the 'women of the Rosenstrasse' [gentile wives of Jewish men who protested about and prevented the deportation of their husbands in Berlin in 1943] feature in T4 and T5. Anne Frank plays a central role via photographs and quotations from her diary in T1, T2 and T5. Individual or state bystanders are not mentioned.

Interpretative paradigms

In addition to the terms 'Holocaust' (T1, T2 and T5) and 'genocide' (T1, T3 and T4), authors employ the terms 'extermination', 'killing', 'massacre', and 'Jewish genocide'. More significantly, T2 and T5 offer an analysis of terminology and descriptive definitions of the event as the 'systematic persecution and destruction of European Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators between 1939 and 1945' (T4, 204), and as 'the Nazis' systematic plan of destruction during the Second World War' (T5, 166). The term 'National Socialism' is not used in T4 or T5. All authors explain the Holocaust in comprehensive historical terms in the context of the Second World War and as the culmination of radicalized state violence, with reference to a wide range of documents. T3 is less thorough, and addresses the Holocaust in a thematic box under the heading 'Germany under National Socialism'. The motives of perpetrators are described largely as ideological and antisemitic (in T1, T2 and T4), while T3 has recourse to social psychology, explaining ulterior motives for atrocities in terms of popular dissatisfaction following economic crisis and a sense of racial superiority. T5 focuses primarily on a discussion of existing explanations of motives, referring to Zygmunt Bauman's critique of modernity, Hannah Arendt's study of Adolf Eichmann and the suspension of ethical values. All authors define the aims of perpetrators as the expansion of 'living space' (*Lebensraum*); in addition to the destruction of the Jewish population (T1, T4 and T5) and racial superiority (T2 and T3). T4 also suggests the political aim of quashing opposition via indoctrination. Other aims include economic, political, ideological and territorial factors, while T3 confines its explanation to social psychological reasons, and T2 introduces elaborate historical explanations of the Holocaust in terms of either irrationality (referring to Daniel Goldhagen's identification of antisemitism among German people) or rationality (referring to the works of Adorno, Arendt, Horkheimer and Todorov). In addition to applications of historiographical paradigms derived from the works of Arendt, Bauman and Goldhagen, all authors except those of T1 refer briefly to totalitarianism. However, T4 and T5 associate totalitarianism not with Stalinism and Nazism, but with similarities between Nazism and Italian Fascism. In T2 and T4, personal experiences of victims of the Holocaust are explained in historiographical terms (with reference to Anne Frank) as 'the return of the subject in historiography' (T2, 216), and as 'history from below' (T4, 171). Comparisons of different genocides are offered in all textbooks except T4. The Holocaust is compared particularly with the Armenian genocide in judicial terms (T2) and in terms of technology and administration and human responsibility, while T3 compares the Holocaust

to the Armenian genocide and to repressions committed during the Stalinist regime. The authors present a wealth of meta-historical issues by discussing representations of the Holocaust in filmic and artistic media (T2), in historiography with quotations by Arendt, Daniel Feierstein and Eric Hobsbawm, (T1 and T2), and in the terminology of social psychology (T2 and T5). Similarly, commemorative representations of the event are analysed on the basis of the sixty-fifth commemoration of the liberation of Dachau (T2), the figure of the victim in memory culture generally (T2), the admonitory function of trials of perpetrators and of the UN Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (T4), the central Holocaust monument in Berlin and attempts to prevent further genocides (T5), as well as the debate over Holocaust denial and the role of remembrance of the Holocaust in relation to the creation of the state of Israel (T2). Two to six photographs in each textbook reproduce a number of iconic images of the ramp at Auschwitz-Birkenau, broken shop windows, crematoria and emaciated bodies, but also caricatures of Hitler, paintings, reproductions of newspaper articles, film stills, propaganda posters and contemporary museums. These are complemented with largely descriptive, but also (in T1 and T2) critical captions.

Narrative structure and point of view

All five textbooks contain 70 percent authored texts and 30 percent images and written documents, and relate the history of the Holocaust chronologically with additional sections about specific topics such as antisemitism (T1), psychological, memorial and moral issues (T2 and T5), and the effects of propaganda (T3 and T4). Large numbers of varied documents ensure that contrasting points of view are represented, although this variation is lacking in T3 and T4. The affirmation of the necessity to protect human rights after the Holocaust provides a progressive conclusion to the history of the Holocaust in T3 and T5. However, when the authors of T3 explain the motives for committing or tolerating the atrocities in terms of popular dissatisfaction, they effectively reproduce and perpetuate the explanations provided in National Socialist Party documents of the time.

Didactic approach

The authors provide exercises requiring pupils to summarize issues addressed in the textbooks, join in group discussions, write essays, write a newspaper article, compare documents analytically, analyse texts and concepts, and carry out independent research. The general approach ranges from presenting the Holocaust as a form of monition for future generations (T1 and T5), as a reminder of and means to promote human rights (T2 and T3), and as an event which should be morally condemned (T4).

National idiosyncrasies

The authors rely heavily on representations of Hitler in order to explain the origins and causes of the Holocaust. However, the authors of T4 and T5 also address the role of

Eichmann. The books generally offer pupils a high level of theoretical and meta-historical analysis in the form of, for example, accounts of the degree of rationality or irrationality of motives (T2 and T5), about the merits of different concepts to describe the event (T4 and T5), and about various explanatory models (T5). There is little mention of the effects of the Argentinian military dictatorship of the 1980s and 1990s in relation to Nazism or the Holocaust, and authors do not establish links between European and Argentinian history. However, in the section addressing different definitions of genocide, T5 does state that the Argentinian government persecuted not only guerrilla groups but also civilians. The authors also advise pupils to visit the Anne Frank Centre in Buenos Aires. More pointedly, the fact that T1 and T2 focus closely on the fate of Poland in the Second World War and on issues of memory, could be interpreted as a form of recognition of the large Jewish population which emigrated to Argentina as a result of the Holocaust.

Bibliography

- T1: Alonso, M., Banclowicz, J., Bouziguez, M., Gammático, K., Piglia, M., Pita, V., Poggi, M. and Valle, S. 2002 (reedited 2011). *Historia mundial contemporánea*. Buenos Aires, Puerto de Palos. (history and global history, age 16-17 years, in Spanish)
- T2: Tato, M. I., Bubello, J. P., Castello, A. M., Campos, E. and Domínguez, M. 2011. *El período de Entreguerras*. San Isidro, Editorial Estrada. (history, age 17 years, in Spanish)
- T3: Silveira, A., Belini, C. F., Friedmann, G. C., De Privatelo, L. and Orlando, R., 2009 (reedited 2012) *Historia. Argentina y el mundo entre los siglos XIX y XXI*. San Isidro, Puerto de Palos. (history and global history, age 16 years, in Spanish)
- T4: Andújar, A. et al. 2011. *Historia Argentina en el contexto latinoamericano y mundial (1950 hasta nuestros días)*. Buenos Aires, Santillana. (history, age 16 years, in Spanish)
- T5: Andújar, A. et al. 2010. *Historia. Argentina y el Mundo. La primera mitad del siglo XX*. Buenos Aires, Santillana. (history, age 16-17 years, in Spanish)

The sample

The sample consists of four history textbooks published between 2001 and 2012, and designed for use in state secondary schools by pupils between the ages of fifteen and seventeen. T1, T2 and T3 are devoted to the history of Belarus, whereas T4 is entitled 'The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People in the Context of the Second World War'. T1, T2 and T3 present the Holocaust within the context of the Second World War and, more specifically, in the context of 'occupation' during the 'Great Patriotic War'. T4 presents the Holocaust as a 'policy of genocide and violence' within the context of the second chapter entitled 'Struggle against Nazi Aggression, 1941-1944'. T1 and T4 offer brief chronologies of the event over two and four pages respectively, while T2 covers the event in four sentences and T3 in two paragraphs.

Scale

Maps in T2, T3 and T4 depict the sites of various camps on a European scale. The map in T2 also shows the sites of ghettos and extermination camps, and the map in T3 shows killing sites in Belarus and in the Soviet Union. T1 mentions the Trastsianets camp near Minsk, as well as Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka, but provides no maps to establish an understanding of a more extensive spatial dimension of the Holocaust. In this textbook, and in spite of the maps of Europe showing the sites of camps in T2, T3 and T4, the texts do not explain geopolitical dimensions of the Holocaust, but rather present the events only insofar as they affected Belarus. The only dates found in the textbooks relating to the Holocaust specifically are in the caption accompanying the map of camps in T4.

Protagonists

Jewish victims are named in all textbooks, but only passing mention is made of 'Gypsies' (T1 and T4), Soviet people (T2 and T3), communists (T3) and a 'racially harmful' part of the population, including 'the physically and mentally ill' (T4, 97). T1 names victims as 'people', without reference to the categories defined by the National Socialist regime. No distinctions between the treatment of various victim groups are made, such that the murder of Jews in Belarus in T2, for example, is presented within a passage about the murder of Soviet people; likewise, different victim groups are lumped together indiscriminately in T3, that is, as 'people who perished', and as 'all [who were] condemned to total extermination' (T3, 115 [our emphasis]). All books list the numbers of 'people' killed in the Trastsianets camp, and all books except T4 list numbers of 'people' (T1 and T2) or 'Jewish people' (T3) killed in the Minsk ghetto. T4 also provides the estimated number of Jews killed in Belarus. Perpetrators are referred to as 'Hitler's soldiers' in T1, T2 and T3, as 'Nazis' in T1 and T3, as 'collaborators' in T1 and T2, as 'occupiers' in T2 and T4, as 'Germans' in T3 and as 'aggressors' in T4. None of the textbooks contain images of Hitler in connection with the

Holocaust, nor do they address the role of the Allies, of bystanders, or include individual stories. Similarly, none of the books mention helpers, rescuers, or local people who participated in or abetted killings, or collaborated with perpetrators in Belarus. Partisan resisters feature prominently in all books, and the fate of one, presumably partisan, woman is graphically illustrated in T4 in the image of a child next to his dead mother; although the child is named as Tolia Markovets, no information is provided concerning the place and date of the killing, or the reason for it .

Interpretative paradigms

All textbooks focus on the political and military background of the Second World War. T1, T2 and T3 refer to the event in terms of 'genocide' but also in terms of 'mass murder' (T1), 'planned extermination of the Soviet people' (T2), 'total extermination' (T3) and 'the total extermination of the Jewish population of Europe by the Nazis during the Second World War' (T4). The presentations of the Holocaust are not comprehensive or historical, but consist in brief statements outlining facts of the event such as the numbers of camps and ghettos and the identity of selectively named perpetrators and victims. These statements are generally short and disconnected from the context of the Second World War, and do not constitute explanations of the events of the Holocaust. The aims of perpetrators are described in T1 in the context of the 'Generalplan West', according to which 75 percent of Belarussians were to be killed or displaced and 25 percent of them used for forced labour, while all Jews and 'Gypsies' were to be killed. The authors of T2 describe the aims of perpetrators as a "'new order" ... based on genocide, mass extermination and the theft of national resources' (115). Causes of and motives for the Holocaust are not explained in T4, although references to "'racially harmful"' people (97) suggest ideological motivations. In addition to administrative documents, including a letter from the General Commissar of Belarus about the killing of Jews (T1) and an official order concerning the 'Jewish district' of Minsk (T4), the textbooks contain iconic images of the Holocaust, including camp badges used to identify people from eastern Europe and from Belarus (T2), and the entrance to Auschwitz (T2). Historiographical or commemorative issues are not addressed. The authors of T2 are the only ones to address what they call 'collaborationism' (T2).

Narrative structure and point of view

All authors adopt a single authorial point of view with minimal indications of other interpretations. This imbalance is reflected in the fact that 90 to 100 percent of sections about the Holocaust are devoted to authors' texts alongside 10 percent documents or maps in T1, T2 and T3, while T4 devotes 60 percent of available space to documents alongside 40 percent authors' texts. The authors offer no metahistorical reflection about historical method or commemorative uses of the Holocaust. By confining the scope of the narratives to the period of the war and to Belarussian territory, the books tend to provide fatalistic moral accounts of the Holocaust with no reference to long-term causes or consequences.

Didactic approach

T1 requires pupils to explain the meaning of 'genocide' in relation to a document and secondary literature. T2 and T3 each contain one question about the Holocaust requesting pupils to define the characteristics of the 'occupying regime'. T4 requires an explanation for the forced dislocation of Jews from Minsk, and a definition of characteristics of the genocide in occupied Belarus.

National idiosyncrasies

The textbooks present the Holocaust strictly in the context of Belarussian local or national history, in line with the Belarussian curricula stipulation that teaching about the Holocaust should take place within the context of the history of Belarus and, more specifically, of the 'Great Patriotic War'. Repeated references to the occupation of Belarus in the context of the Holocaust suggest that the Holocaust primarily involved a violation of Belarussian territory. The authors of T2, for example, refer to 'the occupied territory' (115) and T1 to the fact that 'the territory of Belarus was covered with a network of concentration camps' (129), while exercises in T2, T3 and T4 ask pupils to describe the Holocaust from the point of view of members of an occupied country. This local vision of the event is reinforced by further references to camps, but above all to the Trastsianets camp and the Minsk ghetto in Belarus, to the equal status accorded to Jews, 'Gypsies' and Belarussian nationals as victims of the 'Generalplan West' in T1, and by reproducing images of badges worn by eastern Europeans and Belarussians in camps (T2). In short, there is a tendency to nationalize victimhood. Numbers of Jewish victims listed in all four books refer only to those who were killed in either Trastsianets or the Minsk ghetto, although T1 does not name categories of victims and T2 focuses primarily on Soviet victims. By naming perpetrators as 'Hitler's soldiers', 'Nazis', 'collaborators', 'occupiers', 'Germans' and 'aggressors', the textbooks demonstrate a further tendency to externalize perpetration, which is nonetheless not embodied in the person of Hitler, but in multiple, largely German agents.

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The sample

The sample contains three history textbooks (T1, T4 and T5) and two history and media studies textbooks (T2 and T3) designed for fourteen- to seventeen-year-old pupils studying history. The books were published in São Paulo between 2000 and 2011. Three of the books devote up to one page to the Holocaust; in T4 the Holocaust covers four pages. All books treat the Holocaust within sections about the Second World War, while T4 and T5 include additional subsections within these chapters called 'Auschwitz and the Holocaust' and 'The Politics of Jewish Destruction' respectively. T1 and T5 contain photographs and maps, while T2, T3 and T4 contain several different kinds of documents, including speeches, newspaper extracts and statistics. The Brazilian curriculum does not stipulate teaching about the Holocaust.

Scale

T1, T2 and T5 categorize the Holocaust spatially as 'world history', while T3 presents the event as an event in European history while also suggesting links to Brazilian history. Few places are named in relation to the event, with the exception of a reference to 'Auschwitz in Poland' in T3, and to Poland, Russia and Europe in T4. T2 and T5 do not ascribe any dates to the event, while T1, T3 and T4 define only dates and periods in connection with the rise of National Socialism and the Second World War. Exceptionally, T1 mentions 1942 as a significant year in the history of the genocide of Jews.

Protagonists

Each book contains one image of victims alongside several images of perpetrators. Jewish victims are named in T1, T3 and T5, and people and children in T1 and T2. T4 names political prisoners, Soviets, 'Gypsies' and Jehovah's Witnesses. T1 also lists religious leaders, 'Gypsies', homosexuals, union leaders, communists and other opponents. T5 also contains a section about the history of Jews beyond the scope of the Holocaust. This book also explains the ambivalent sentiments of Jews reluctant to leave their homeland and states that they 'paid too high a price for this patriotism' (p. 238). The books focus generally on the roles of individual perpetrators in the Second World War. Hitler features in all books, and T2 specifically refers to his responsibility for the Holocaust. T4 contains additional biographical information about Hitler and Mengele. Other references are made to Mussolini, Stalin, Chang Kai-shek (T1), Nazi, Nazism, Hitler and Goebbels as 'fanatics' and 'scathing speakers' (T2), to Hitler as an 'executioner' (T3 and T4) and as a 'terrorist' (T5). The role of the Allies, such as the entrance of the USA into the war in 1941, is limited to military action, with the exception of Soviet troops' liberation of camps in 1945 (T1). Resistance is likewise presented primarily as 'anti-Nazi' and 'anti-fascist' resistance carried out by partisans (T3), German intellectuals (T5), and by German, French and Brazilian communists (T1).

Nonetheless, T4 mentions the Warsaw ghetto uprising alongside a quotation by Hannah Arendt indicating the 'intense collaboration of the Jewish authorities in genocidal practices in the ghettos and even in the Nazi camps' (p. 171). All textbooks mention the collaboration of the Vichy regime in France.

Interpretative paradigms

T2 and T5 do not use the terms Holocaust or Shoah. Instead they refer to 'extermination' (p. 441) and to the fact that 'the Nazi state carried out a rational plan of industrialized death' (p. 238). T1 refers to 'Holocaust', 'genocide', 'extermination', 'murder', 'harmful human experience', 'confinement', 'execution', 'violence', 'atrocities', 'death' and to a list of a variety of illnesses caused by the medical experiments (p. 429). T3 refers to 'Holocaust', 'genocide', 'mass murder', Auschwitz, 'destruction', 'massacre', 'confinement' and 'cruel persecution'. T4 refers to 'Holocaust', Shoah, 'racial war', 'genocide' and 'killing'. Although the main focus of all books is on the extermination process (deportation, camps, ghettos and killing troops), T2 mentions social, economic and legal discrimination and humiliation. T3 and T5 also outline racial theory, discrimination and slave labour, albeit without much detail. The aims of perpetrators are defined primarily in terms of war aims, though T1 defines additional aims as 'terror', 'indoctrination', 'remilitarisation' and the 'final solution', while T5 states that: 'the Nazis claimed that Jews were exploiters of the people, bankers, loan sharks, rogue traders who deserved death' (p. 238). Motives are defined as 'wounded national pride' (T1), the protection of German territory against 'Jewish exploitation' (T2), and the desire for power and territory (T3) and revenge (T4). Causes are explained throughout as political (the 'lust for power', T1) and ideological (nationalist, anti-communist and territorial, T2). Antisemitism is mentioned in T1 and T5, while T3 and T4 define 'colonial expansion' as an additional cause of the Holocaust. The textbooks testify to complex historiographical models. All books except T5 distinguish clearly between Nazism and communism and thereby reject the totalitarian model; T1 and T5 refer to a breach in civilization, T3 borrows from Eric Hobsbawm the term 'age of extremes', T1, T3 and T4 refer to the Holocaust in terms of a 'culmination', while the subtitle 'Holocaust, Banality of Evil' in T5 is testimony to Hannah Arendt's work on Adolf Eichmann. Unusually, T1 numbers the Holocaust among *causes* of the Second World War, echoing Lucy Dawidowicz's work *The War against the Jews* (1975). Relativization of the Holocaust occurs in T1, which uses the term 'extermination' to describe the Gulag, and the terms genocide and extermination to describe Hiroshima and Nagasaki, while T4 misleadingly claims that Jews were sent to concentration camps 'as political prisoners'. The use of metaphorical language results in anachronistic and banal descriptions by defining Auschwitz as the 'worst place' and as 'hell on earth' (T1), and as a 'death factory' (T3), while Hitler is called an 'executioner' (T3 and T4) and a 'terrorist' (T5). Images show inmates and children in a concentration camp (T1, T3 and T4), the rubble of the Warsaw ghetto (T4) and naked bodies (T5).

Narrative structure and point of view

All texts relating to the Holocaust have been written by the textbook authors, while the proportion of authors' texts in the books as a whole is 50 to 80 percent. All adhere to chronological narratives except T5, which arranges information thematically. The texts are all descriptive and written in the third person singular, and four use the passive voice, whereas T5 also uses the active voice. T4 is the only book to provide multiple perspectives of victims, perpetrators and Allies. T1 and T2 contain progressive narratives by ending with the topic of post-war peace agreements and the role of the United Nations. 'Germany' and 'Germans' are named as collective subjects of history in T1, T2, T3 and T4. T3 quotes the 'Jewish problem' without using inverted commas, and therefore reproduces Nazi terminology uncritically.

Didactic approach

Pupils are offered few opportunities to interpret the event because texts are almost entirely confined to those written by textbook authors. These texts are conceptualized largely in terms of war crimes (T1, T2 and T3), human rights and human morality (T3, T4 and T5), and crimes against humanity (T4). Only T4 contains exercises geared specifically towards the Holocaust, in a rubric entitled 'Holocaust, Banality of Evil', in the form of multiple choice questions and text analysis.

National idiosyncrasies

Brazil is mentioned twice. T3 mentions the interdependence of Brazilian and European history during the Second World War, and T4 mentions, in passing, German and Jewish refugees from the war period in Brazil.

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T3: de Campos, F. and Garcia Miranda, R. 2005. *A escrita da história: ensino médio* [The Writing of History, Secondary School Level]. São Paulo, Escala Educacional. (history, age 14-18 years, in Portuguese)

T4: Vainfas, R., de Castro-Faria, S., Ferreira, J. and dos Santos, G. 2010. *História*. São Paulo, Saraiva. (history, age 16-17 years, in Portuguese)

T5: Schmidt, M. 2000. *Nova história crítica*. São Paulo, Nova Geração. (history, age 14-17 years, in Portuguese)

The sample

The sample contains five history textbooks published between 2005 and 2010, all of which are designed for pupils aged between sixteen and eighteen studying history in the second year of state secondary school. T1 is written for general history lessons, T2 to T5 for an optional course about 'War and Peace in the Twentieth Century'. These books devote only one to two pages to the Holocaust in small print set aside from the main body of the book and called 'linked knowledge'. The Holocaust is thereby treated within the historical framework of the Second World War, which in turn is presented as a war against fascism. T1 is an exception insofar as it deals with the Holocaust in a chapter devoted to 'Germany, Italy and Japan on the Path to Fascism' in a unit called 'The Capitalist World in the "Great Depression"'. The Holocaust is not stipulated in the Chinese curriculum.

Scale

All textbooks address world history, while T3, T4 and T5 also focus more specifically on a comparison of Germany's and Japan's role in the war, and T1 on Germany, Italy and Japan. Although geographical data and references to specific sites are scarce, T4 refers to the 'war in Europe and Asia', and T2, T4 and T5 mention the site of Auschwitz and thereby localize the event. The timescales are largely those of the Second World War. However, T1 and T2 recognize the historical significance of the acquisition of power by the Nazi Party in 1933 and the radicalization of violence in 1941 (T1 and T2). T4 also mentions 'Kristallnacht' of 1938, and T5 mentions the Wannsee Conference of 1942.

Protagonists

Victim groups mentioned in the books comprise Jews (in all books), Jewish scientists and the 'inferior race' (T1), Poles (T3) and Polish Jews and European Jews (T5). The numbers of Jewish victims are given as 11 million (T1), 6 million (T4), while T1 and T2 also refer to 6 million victims without indicating the identity of these victims. T5 also refers to one million people who died in Auschwitz. T1 refers to Jewish life beyond the Holocaust in its mention of refugees who fled to South Africa and to Shanghai. Hence, Chinese rescuers who welcomed Jewish European refugees are defined as a category of protagonist in this textbook. No other victim groups, whether bystanders, resisters, Allies or collaborators, are mentioned. The categories of perpetrators mentioned include 'Nazis', 'Nazi Germany', 'German fascists', 'fascists', the 'Nazi Party', the 'Nazi government', 'Hitler' and 'Hitler's government'. Both Germany and Japan are categorized as 'fascist' states and (in all books except T5) treated in close conjunction. There is no indication of details of relations between perpetrators and victims, or among victims and perpetrators respectively, and no reference is made to the role of women.

Interpretative paradigms

The event is conceptualized in Mandarin in T1 as 'genocide' (*zhongzu miejue*), 'murdered Jews' (*bei tusha de Youtairen*) and 'murder' (*shanghai*), in T2 as 'genocidal murder' (*zhongzu miejuexing de datusha*), in T3 as 'the policy of genocide' (*zhongzu miejue zhengce*), in T5 as murder and as genocide, while T4 does not offer a definition. All textbooks refer to the treatment of victims, in particular in camps, as 'concentration' (*jizhongying*). The thematic focus is placed on the political and military (T5) unfolding of the Second World War, and on Hitler's function (T3, T4). The books respond essentially to questions concerning the way in which Hitler and the Nazi regime rose to power, the effects of German fascism and of the Second World War, and how antisemitism developed after 1933. In short, the books enquire into *what* happened and *how* it happened while treating the questions as to who and why they acted rather obliquely and with little detail. Although the textbooks mention the social exclusion and humiliation which preceded the genocide, as well as antisemitic policies (T1, T4), 'concentration', and 'killing' (T1, T3), 'gassing' and 'shooting' (T2, T5), 'medical experimentation' (T4) and 'slave labour' (T4, T5), their narratives are not comprehensive. The 'breach in human historical civilization' mentioned in T2 and the 'huge disaster for human beings' mentioned in T3 echo the historiographical paradigm coined by Dan Diner. Causes of the Holocaust are ascribed primarily to fascism (all books), to racial prejudice (T1, T2, T3 and T4), and to antisemitism (T1, T3) and the aim of 'corporating' the national community via 'genocidal exclusion' (T1), while responsibility is ascribed to Hitler (T1, T3 and T4). The Holocaust is relativized in relation to the Nanjing massacre of 1937 in all books. T2 and T3 accord equal weight to the two events (with a photograph of Japanese soldiers killing Chinese civilians, for example), while T1 and T4 accord greater significance to the Nanjing massacre than to the Holocaust. By contrast, T5 treats these two events in separate sections and invites pupils (in an exercise) to compare perceptions of victims in Japan and Germany respectively. The ascription of the event to 'fascism' in all books, to 'racial prejudice' in T1 to T4, and its definition as a 'huge disaster' in T3, suggest that the Holocaust was akin to a natural disaster without identifiable human agency. Images include two photographs of heaps of bodies and two photographs of the Auschwitz extermination camp. These are well anchored by captions but limited in scope and not treated analytically. T2 and T5 both include information about and a metanarrative account of memorial policies in Germany in order to highlight insufficiencies of Japanese memorial policies (T2 on the basis of Willy Brandt's kneeling at the memorial of the Warsaw ghetto uprising in 1970, and T5 on the basis of a speech by Hans-Dietrich Genscher).

Narrative structure and point of view

The textbook texts are dominated almost exclusively by authors' texts. Exceptions to this are the shifts of perspective offered by the quotations of the leading Nazi lawyer and Governor General of the General Government, Hans Frank, at the Nuremberg Trials (T2), and of Genscher (T5). The naming of victim and perpetrator groups in generic terms, the almost complete omission of other groups, and the lack of detail about individual agents, their

functions, decisions, motivations and the consequences of their acts could be viewed as a form of inadvertent stereotyping. Authorial judgements are confined to the words 'crazy' (T2, T3) and 'unbelievable' (T2).

Didactic approach

T1, T2 and T5 contain exercises about the Holocaust. T2 and T4 require pupils to compare reactions to the Second World War and approaches to war crimes in Germany and Japan, while T1 requests pupils to seek documents relating to Jewish refugees in Shanghai, to conduct interviews with witnesses, and to discuss their findings. Documentation, which is limited to the four photographs of bodies and of Auschwitz, and to quotations by Genscher and Frank, is not incorporated into exercises.

National Idiosyncrasies

The Chinese textbooks are characterized by their conceptualization of the Holocaust as 'genocide' committed in the context of the Second World War by a 'fascist' regime and, in particular, by the fact that they closely compare this event to the treatment of Chinese civilians by Japanese troops during the atrocities in Nanjing in China in 1937. German and Japanese crimes are presented in close conjunction in four of the books, and the terms 'genocide' (*datusha*, T2) and 'kinds of crimes' (*zhongzhong zuixing*) are used to describe both of the events (no specific terms equivalent to the terms 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah' are used in the books). The events of the Holocaust are therefore treated in largely abstract, general terms with little historical detail, and with only one explicit link of the event to Chinese history in relation to the arrival of Jewish refugees in Shanghai in T1. Moreover, the presentations of the Nanjing massacre as a historically more significant event than the Holocaust effectively reverses the western perspective in T1 and T4.

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The sample

The sample contains one textbook designed for fifteen- to sixteen-year-old pupils studying geography and history, published by Ceda and Hatier in Abidjan and Paris in 1999. The Holocaust is treated in a section called 'The Genocide', which appears in chapter twenty-four, entitled 'Collaboration and Resistance', which in turn is located in the section on 'Two World Wars'. Approximately one and one-third pages are devoted to the Holocaust, although the curriculum does not stipulate teaching about this subject.

Scale

Maps of the world showing military alliances and strategies feature alongside a map of Africa that shows significant sites of the Second World War. The text locates the Holocaust firmly in Europe, and particular emphasis is placed on the roles played by Germany and France. The temporal scale is confined to the 1930s and 1940s, with no mention of causes or effects before 1935 or after 1945. The year 1935 is associated with the beginning of 'terrible discrimination', 1936 (inaccurately) with the 'creation of concentration camps', 1942 with the 'final solution', and 1945 with the discovery of the camps and the Nuremberg trials.

Protagonists

Hitler features prominently in the textbook, in two out of four photographs related to the Holocaust or to the war. Excerpts from *Mein Kampf* are also quoted. Other named perpetrators are 'Nazis', 'SS', 'Gestapo' and the French militia. Victims are named as 'millions of men, women and children' and as 'opponents', who are said to include 'Jews and Gypsies'. This phrasing subsumes Jews and 'Gypsies' to the generic term 'opponents', suggesting that all Jews and 'Gypsies' were committed to conflict with or to resistance to the regime. No bystanders or rescuers are named, while resistance is given considerable emphasis, defined as having been carried out by 'communists, Jews, and all those who opposed the Nazi regime and collaboration' (54). Although Jewish life before 1939 is alluded to, and although Jews are partially counted among those who resisted the regime, including those involved in violent resistance and sabotage, the Warsaw uprising of 1944 is mentioned without mention of the Warsaw ghetto uprising of 1943. The relation between perpetrators and victims (who are here called 'opponents') is defined in terms of the 'tracking down' and 'extermination' of the latter by the former. The book states that six million Jews were killed. However, since the authors pointedly name victims generically as 'millions of men, women and children', and quote only one survivor (Olga Lengyel), one may say that victims are generally identified less in terms of group categories defined by perpetrators at the time (Jews, 'Gypsies', political opponents, Slavs, people with disabilities and homosexuals) than in terms of humanity, men and women and children.

Interpretative paradigms

The terms 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah' are not used. Instead, the event is defined legally as a 'genocide of Jews and Gypsies' and, in relation to the Nuremberg trials, as a 'crime against humanity'. A further term is 'methodical and systematic "final solution"'. The authors place emphasis on political and ideological developments and on warfare, collaboration and resistance, while providing a balanced representation of the social exclusion, discrimination and killing of victims. No distinction is made between concentration camps and extermination camps. The emphasis placed on the deportation, concentration and extermination of Jews and 'Gypsies' suggests that Raul Hilberg's historiographical categorization of the treatment of victims has partially found its way into the textbook. Moral responsibility is accorded solely to Hitler as a person on the basis of his 'decision' to carry out the Holocaust. Definitions of causality vary from a 'mission of the Aryan race' to 'racial domination' and the aim of the National Socialists to achieve 'world domination' (which effectively conflates the Holocaust with war aims). Meta-narratives are absent. Illustrations are generally poorly anchored, that is, with scant captions which show sites without naming them. These include canonical icons of the Holocaust such as emaciated camp prisoners wearing striped pyjamas (alongside war-related images of Hitler, collaborators and a sabotaged train). Relativization of the Holocaust takes on three forms, namely, (a) the juxtaposition of 'Jews and Gypsies' without mention of other victim groups and without explanation of the different types of treatment to which they were subjected; (b) the presentation of suffering during the Holocaust in close conjunction with the suffering caused by the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and (c) the emphasis placed on the 50 million victims of the war, among whom were those who died in concentration camps. Moreover, banalization of the Holocaust results when Jews are named as 'opponents' ('opponents, especially Jews and Gypsies'), for although this suggests that Jews offered resistance to the regime and were therefore not passive victims, it also suggests that their persecution occurred in response to and as a form of punishment for their acts.

Narrative structure and point of view

The narrative provides a balance between authorial and quoted viewpoints (approximately 50 percent authorial texts, 20 percent images and 30 percent quoted materials). Multiple perspectives are featured, encompassing a survivor witness, Hitler, Chamberlain, survivors of Hiroshima, and de Gaulle. The narrative juxtaposes regressive and progressive elements, referring to the 'moral shock' of the war, but also to resistance and sabotage. References to 'terrible discrimination', 'dreadful persecution' and the 'horrors of Nazism' demonstrate moral judgement and empathy with the victims' perspective.

Didactic approach

Didactic exercises are vague, non-analytical and confined to the captions of images, as pupils are asked to 'work with' maps, and (in relation to a photograph) to 'observe the

emaciation of these prisoners, worn out by forced labour and famished, condemned to the gas chamber'. However, reference to a separate book of pupils' exercises or *Cahier d'activités* suggests that exercises corresponding to this textbook may be found elsewhere. There is no overarching didactic principle beyond the appeal to understand the Holocaust as a genocide whose causes were rooted in the logic of military warfare.

National idiosyncrasies

Inconsistencies in the text suggest that these are rooted less in a systematically biased approach (aiming deliberately to relativize or banalize the event) than in a lack of the information required for a balanced interpretation of the event. Particularly noteworthy is the focus on the role of France and the adoption of the traditionally French thematic foci of resistance and collaboration, which provide the framework in which the Holocaust is treated (the two historical figures of de Gaulle and Pétain embody this tension); thus the former colony still appears to be influenced by a historiographical bias inherited from its former colonizer. The Holocaust is mentioned in relation to colonialism insofar as it provided a pretext for the improvement of relations between colony and colonizer. In other words, although many African nationalists initially refused to aid France in its war effort, their recognition that Germany was conducting 'racist projects' (p. 56) encouraged some to support the French war effort against Germany, both because they opposed racism, and because by offering support they wished to encourage France to relax colonial rule in Africa.

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The sample

The sample consists of one textbook designed for eighteen-year-old pupils studying Arab history, and published in Cairo in 2011. The section pertaining to the period in which the Holocaust took place is called 'The Arab-Israeli Struggle'. Teaching about the Holocaust is not stipulated in the Egyptian curriculum.

Scale

The book mentions the duration of the Second World War from 1939 to 1945, indicating that the Holocaust took place at the end of the period of German Nazism. The book contains no references to the spatial scope of or places in which the Holocaust took place.

Protagonists

Perpetrators are named as Nazis. Victims are named as 'people', and as Jews of Germany and Eastern Europe. In this section, primary agency is ascribed to individual and institutional agents including 'pressure from Hitler and his National Socialist system of rule over the Jews', since 'Palestine was the preferred region for German Jews especially because the English government and the Jewish Agency provided the refugees with the greatest possible help so that they could settle effectively' (p. 224).

Interpretative paradigms

The Holocaust is evoked (but not named) obliquely in the section of the textbook which, according to the title of the section, focuses on the politics and ideology of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and on the Zionist movement in Palestine. The reference to the Holocaust in terms of 'wild crimes against the Jews' suggests that the event was driven by irrational impulse. Beyond the reference to the fact 'that the Nazis killed or burned about six million people', the book contains no historical information about the Holocaust such as dates and places and protagonists. While the cause of the Holocaust is not named, the book states that 'pressure from Hitler and his National Socialist system of rule' lent legitimacy to colonial claims to land in Palestine. 'After the end of the Second World War the Jewish Agency transferred tens of thousands of people from Germany to Palestine in such a way that the British troops were bothered because the country could take them in only at the expense of the Arabs living there' (p. 227). Moreover, the authors argue that Zionist and American interests coincided in the fight against Nazi Germany and in the MENA region' (p. 226). By stating that the crimes committed against Jews by National Socialists were first announced by the Zionist propaganda organization (emphasizing both the propagandistic nature of the information and the origin of the information from the adversary of Palestinians), the authors further disqualify the veracity of the event.

Narrative structure and point of view

The text was entirely written by the authors, with no additional documentation or quotations. The narrative offers contradictory statements concerning the event. For example, the authors' suggestion that 'it is claimed that' the Holocaust took place emphasizes doubt about the veracity of the killing of six million people, who are not named in relation to the number of dead. At the same time, the reference to 'terrible crimes' amounts to a moral condemnation of them.

Didactic approach

The book contains no didactic exercises related to the Holocaust.

National Idiosyncrasies

The Holocaust is not named or referred to directly. It does, however, evoke the event within the context of the ongoing political conflict between Israel and its neighbouring states and in relation to Palestinian and Zionist interests.

Bibliography

T1: Qawsi, A., Al-Dessouki, A., Nuwar, A., Radwan, B. A., Youssef, A., and Helal, A. A. 2011. *al-hadara al-islamiya wa tarikh al-arab al-hadith /Islamic Culture and Recent Arab History*. Cairo. (history, age 18 years, in Arabic)

The sample

The sample contains one social sciences textbook currently in use in state schools by fourteen-year-old pupils, but whose date of publication cannot be established. The textbook contains one page about the Holocaust within a section devoted to world history and, more specifically, within a subchapter devoted to 'The Two World Wars', in which there are subsections entitled 'The Emergence of Autocratic Regimes', 'German Nazism' and 'Causes and Consequences of the Second World War'.

Scale

The textbook refers to the year 1933 when Hitler rose to power, and to 1935 when it claims that Jews were persecuted and killed in concentration and extermination camps. The authors do not name the sites of camps, but frame the event within German history while indicating the European dimension of the Second World War in two maps showing dates of events of the war.

Protagonists

Emphasis is placed on the representation of perpetrators, above all of Hitler, with reference to a quotation from *Mein Kampf*, while authors also refer more generally to the Hitler Youth, the SS, SA, a totalitarian regime, the Nazi government and the NSDAP. Victims are defined as political opponents (as victims of concentration camps from 1933), Jews (as victims of concentration camps from 1935) and communists, who are represented graphically in a photograph of emaciated prisoners in a barrack (an image which is not accompanied by a caption). No individual victims are represented. Collaborators are mentioned, and the Allies are mentioned, albeit not in relation to the Holocaust (as bystanders, for example), but in terms of their capacity to respond militarily to the 'aggressive foreign policy of Hitler' (p. 71).

Interpretative paradigms

The general focus of the chapter is placed on the Second World War, in which the Holocaust is addressed within a separate box. However, the authors explain the etymology of the term 'Holocaust' and also refer to the event as 'extermination', 'mass murder' and 'the systematic and organized murder of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators' (p. 70). The narrative is concise but not comprehensive, for the Nuremberg laws and the Wannsee Conference are not treated. The motives of perpetrators are explained as a reaction to 'a sense of belittlement, political and territorial revenge ... as well as frustration' (p. 70) which is said to have followed the Treaty of Versailles. Their aims are described simply as 'expansionism' and the murder and destruction of Jews, while causes are defined in economic and psychological terms as the fear of middle class people of the consequences of the Russian Revolution and of the effects of the economic crisis, and in ideological terms

as anticommunism, fascism, a personality cult, and 'subordination of the law and individual liberties to all kinds of authority of the state' (p. 71). However, neither antisemitism nor racism is mentioned among the causes. The National Socialist regime is likened to Italian fascism and other 'totalitarian' regimes as an 'autocratic' regime, which the authors posit in contrast to democracy. However, no comparison is made to communism or Stalinism in this regard. Four images comprise two maps of Europe, one portrait of Mussolini and one photograph of emaciated concentration camp prisoners, the latter of which contains no caption and therefore no indication of which camp is featured or when the photograph was taken. Instances of metanarratives include an explanation of the etymology of the term 'Holocaust' and separate boxes containing definitions of such terms as 'SS' and 'Reichstag'. Moreover, although Hitler is portrayed as a key perpetrator, references to a 'personality cult' and the 'glorification of the *Führer*' demonstrate critical narrative detachment from his role.

Narrative structure and point of view

The text is entirely authorial, that is, it includes no textual documentation to supplement the visual documentation. The authors adopt a moral stance in the didactic questions posed to pupils, where they request pupils to define 'disadvantages of this [Nazism] for humanity' (70). Moreover, the overall moral story is one of progress insofar as the foundation of the United Nations and the promotion of peace after 1945 are mentioned. The authors primarily use the passive mode to describe the Holocaust.

Didactic approach

The textbook contains a variety of types of exercises including class discussion of 'ideas about Hitler and Nazism', descriptive summaries (in loose connection with the image of Mussolini) of 'characteristics of an autocratic regime' and of the 'disadvantages of an autocratic regime in contrast to the advantages of a free and democratic society' (p. 69) and (in loose connection with the captionless image of emaciated camp prisoners) of 'the injustices committed during the Holocaust'. The pupils are also asked to summarize characteristics of a 'regime of tyranny' and to list disadvantages of Nazism for humanity in a table. In short, the exercises generally pertain to ideology and are more descriptive than enquiry-based.

National idiosyncrasies

The authors explain the Holocaust on the basis of ideology, the role of concentration and extermination camps and Hitler, albeit with little (and incomplete) historical explanation, which is partially a consequence of the fact that this textbook is designed for use in social science lessons. Instead, the Holocaust is explained in broadly political terms as the consequence of autarchy as opposed to democracy. Thus, the approach is less historical than political and moral. No links are made to El Salvadorian history, although the hinging

of the argument on the disadvantages of autocracy may well derive from the turbulent and polarized political events that have taken place in El Salvador since the 1970s. The frequent qualification of perpetrators as 'German', as in the almost tautological term 'German Nazism', ascribe the event to the German nation as a whole.

Bibliography

Meza, D. X. and Guzmán, J. L. *Estudios Sociales y Cívicas 9*, El Salvador, Education Ministry of the Republic of El Salvador. http://www.mined.gob.sv/descarga/cipotes/LT_noveno_grado_0_.PDF (undated online resource currently in use). (Social sciences, age 14 years, in Spanish)

The sample

The sample contains four history textbooks published between 2011 and 2012, covering the three levels of schooling in which teaching about the Holocaust takes place, in line with the state curriculum. T1 and T2 are designed for sixteen-year-old pupils studying at the first level or *premier cycle* of the secondary state school or *lycée*. T1 deals with the Holocaust over eighteen pages in a chapter devoted to the Second World War and T2 covers it over thirty-eight pages in a chapter exploring world wars in the twentieth century. Both textbooks also refer to the Holocaust in further chapters devoted to totalitarian regimes. T3, designed for pupils between the ages of sixteen and seventeen at the final level or *terminale*, devotes twelve pages exclusively to the remembrance and memory politics of the Holocaust, while T4, designed for fourteen-year-old pupils at the third or *troisième* level of the *collège* school, deals with the Holocaust in a separate box entitled 'Narrative: The Shoah', which covers one page within a chapter called 'The Twentieth Century and Our Age'.

Scale

T1 refers primarily to dates of the Second World War, but includes significant dates in the history of the Holocaust, including the Nuremberg Laws and the Wannsee Conference as well as references to the USSR in the 1930s. T2 and T4 focus on the radicalization of persecution in and from 1942, although T4 quotes 1933, 1939, 1942 and 1945 as the key moments of both the war and Holocaust, while T2 also mentions political antisemitism of the 1930s. T3 refers exclusively to memorial politics from 1945. Spaces and locations play a central role in the explanation of the Holocaust. T1 in particular demonstrates the regional, French and European scale of the event, with additional information about the war in East Asia. Maps of Europe and Asia show military strategy, train routes, camp locations and areas where Jews lived, while photographs show the effects of the scorched earth policy in the USSR and of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945, alongside six photographs of camps, two of ghettos, two plans of camps and three sites of massacres. T2 demonstrates the European scale of the event in its section entitled 'How Genocide Developed on a European Scale', while T3 deals with remembrance only in France. All of the textbooks refer to camps, and T1 and T2 contain maps of locations of camps in Europe.

Protagonists

All four textbooks refer to Jews and 'Gypsies', but give little detail about the latter. T1 also mentions women and children and slave labour victims, while T4 features handicapped people, and T2 represents homosexuals and 'race defilers' and individuals including Primo Levi, Rudolf Vrba, Raoul Wallenberg and Sophie Scholl. All books extend the range of victims to include members of the resistance, prisoners of war and French 'voluntary'

forced labourers (STO), while T1 tends to nationalize victims in terms of 'Chinese civilians', 'French deportees', 'Ukrainian Jews', 'Hungarian Jews' and 'French civilians'. The majority of photographs in all books depict victims, showing in graphic detail forms of camp life, humiliation, modes of killing and corpses. Jewish life in Eastern Europe is mentioned only briefly in T1. T1 and T4 emphasize several times that perpetrators were 'German Nazis' (T4), 'the German occupier', 'Nazi Germany' and 'Germany'. These books also include 'the French administration of Vichy', while T3 names only French perpetrators of the Vichy regime; T2 refers not to German perpetrators, but only to individuals including Heydrich, Höss, Mengele and Hitler alongside Stalin and Mussolini. Hitler is mentioned only once in T2, alongside a small portrait. Only T1 explains collaboration and collaborators under the Vichy regime, and bystanders feature only marginally in T1 (where a neighbour of deportees is quoted) and in T2 (where images feature onlookers in scenes in which victims are publicly humiliated). Surprisingly, (non-French) resistance is treated only in T1, which addresses the siege of Leningrad, and in T2, which addresses the Warsaw ghetto uprising, the White Rose group, rescuers in Chambon-sur-Lignon, the rescue of Jews in Denmark in 1943, and the Auschwitz revolt of 1944.

Interpretative paradigms

While T3 and T4 employ the terms 'Shoah', T1 and T2 renounce entirely both 'Shoah' and 'Holocaust', preferring instead to use 'genocide of Jews', 'destruction of Jews', 'massacre' and 'extermination of Jews and Gypsies' (T1), or else 'genocide of Jews and Gypsies', 'genocide by bullets', 'massacre' and 'mass death' (T2). The thematic focus is a balance between military, political and human factors in T1, of political and military factors in T2 and T4, while T3 addresses the historiography and memory politics of the Holocaust. Each book also defines a historiographical paradigm, explaining the Holocaust as a 'gradual process' in T1, as a 'final stage of racial antisemitic policy of the Nazi regime' in T2, as a 'catastrophe' which challenged French national cohesion in T3, and as a 'catastrophe', which is quoted as the translation of the word 'Shoah' in T4. The influence of professional historiography is apparent in references to the work of Patrick Desbois on 'the Shoah by bullets'⁵¹ (T2), to the stages of 'identification', 'concentration' and 'exclusion' proposed by Raul Hilberg (T1), and to the work of Christopher Browning on the mentality of German soldiers (T2). The motives of perpetrators are explained in T1 and T2 with reference to Rudolf Höss' self-justification of his obedience towards the orders of superiors. Further motivations include revenge for 'treatment of Germans' (T1, 102) by Jews, a 'political campaign against the Judeo-Bolshevik system' (T1, 102), and a sense of racial superiority and dislike of 'Gypsies' and Jews (T4). The aims of perpetrators are described in T2 and T4 as the withdrawal of rights from and the killing of Jews and 'Gypsies', and in T1 as economic gain, a 'political and racial struggle', as a 'crusade of destruction', and as striving for 'living space' (102). T1 likewise ascribes the Holocaust to multiple economic, racial, political, military and social causes. By contrast, the emphasis placed in T2 on policy and decisions made by Reinhard Heydrich

51 Desbois, P. 2007. *Porteur de mémoires. Sur les traces de la Shoah par balles*. Neuilly-sur-Seine, M. Lafon.

or followed by Höss, on the Wannsee Conference, and the definition of the Holocaust as the 'final stage of racial antisemitic policy' suggest that individual interests underpinned causes and thus adhere strongly to the 'intentionalist' explanation of the Holocaust. T2 also evokes the 'failure of democracy' as a negative cause of the event. The textbooks also testify to four kinds of relativism. First, T1 juxtaposes photographs of Auschwitz and the Nanjing massacre, thus creating a visual association between the effects of the Holocaust in Europe and the Japanese invasion of China in 1937. Second, T3 juxtaposes photographs of Dresden and Hiroshima after bombing in 1945, thus creating a visual association between the effects of Allied bombings on Germany and Japan and the effects on people in these countries. Third, T1 and T2 address the Holocaust not only in sections about the war, but also in sections about totalitarian regimes, where they refer to suffering caused by the National Socialist and Soviet regimes in such general terms that specific facts become indistinguishable. T1, for example, defines the Holocaust as a consequence of totalitarianism, a 'total project of society' which aims to exclude 'all those who do not fit into this project' (p. 214). T2, for example, defines three parallels between forced labour, state violence and state enemies (p. 213). The avoidance of the terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah' compounds the comparison of the National Socialist and communist 'systems'. Finally, T4 universalizes the significance of the Holocaust in moral and legal terms when its authors write of an 'unspeakable crime' and a 'crime against humanity' without further explaining the moral and legal significance of the crime. The textbooks contain fourteen (T2), sixteen (T3) and twenty-seven (T1) images respectively, while T4 contains only one sketched drawing of inmates in a camp. Images are accurately anchored with captions describing the content and origins of the images, and T1 even contains a section about Robert Capra's photographic journalism. The textbooks are strictly historical and do not address social questions, political remembrance or commemoration of the Holocaust. By contrast, T3, which is designed exclusively for the final years of secondary schooling, and presupposes that pupils have already learnt the history of the event, deals solely with remembrance. Denial is mentioned but not explained, alongside the wilful destruction of traces, constructions of false memory, competition between victim groups for recognition from 1945 (between the STO and groups representing 'camp prisoners' and 'military prisoners') and the failure, prior to the 1970s, to recognize Jewish deportees. T3 provides additional information about cooperation between national and regional memorial museums (between the Shoah and resistance memorials in Paris, for example) and about aesthetic techniques, including the censorship of films showing French collaboration and the memorial functions of architecture.

Narrative structure and point of view

The textbooks contain between 20 and 40 percent authorial texts alongside textual and visual documents which depict the multiple viewpoints of protagonists and (in T3) those of filmmakers, journalists, historians and politicians, while T4 contains only the author's text and one image on a single page. T1 and T4 adopt a chronological narrative, while T2 is arranged according to topics and T3 delineates three stages of remembrance after 1945. The passive voice is used only briefly in reference to people being 'eliminated' or 'removed'

in T2. Unusually, T4 establishes a polarity between a French national 'us' to refer to readers of the textbook from 2012, and a German 'them' to refer to German advocates of National Socialism of the 1930s and 1940s. The frequency of these pronouns in phrases such as, 'We have seen that the German Nazis were racist ... They thought that the German race ...' (T4, p. 203), combined with emotive language referring to 'unspeakable crimes', accentuate this polarity. All of the textbooks adopt a general moral narrative which depicts regression followed by progression, ending in the post-war period in T1, the liberation of Auschwitz in T2, and the 'condemnation' of the crimes by all German governments and, therefore, their confirmation of adhesion to the western alliance after 1945. T3 even provides a progressive rendering of post-war French memory politics, which is depicted in two stages, the first of which is depicted as biased towards resistance and patriotic remembrance of the war victory, the second of which (from the 1980s) acknowledged Holocaust denial in France, collaboration and the role of the Vichy regime in the deportation of Jews, but also that of French rescuers, which culminated in the inauguration and state sanctioning of the Shoah Memorial in Paris in 2005.

Didactic approach

Didactic exercises are printed in T1 on every second page and include analysis of texts, pictures and documents, essay writing and class discussion; the chapter is structured according to sections called 'study', 'lesson', 'revision' and 'exam preparation'. T2 contains questions on every double page requiring pupils to summarize information, analyse pictures and documents, write compositions and do extra reading. T3 also features questions about each document on every page, with a revision section containing questions about historical texts, witness accounts and internet sites. However, the didactic sections ask 'what' and 'how' rather than 'why' questions. The overall didactic approach demonstrates a minimal focus on human rights principles and a greater focus on exemplary individual and group acts of resistance and rescue, and also pays homage to the western military victory over Nazism as well as the values upheld by the post-war western alliance, of which Germany is said to be a member.

National idiosyncrasies

The textbooks largely echo the teaching content about the Holocaust outlined in the curriculum for the first and second years of the lycée (age 16). The curriculum prescribes teaching about, 'The Second World War: War of destruction and the genocide of Jews and Gypsies' in the subsection called 'World Wars and the Hope for Peace' in the general section called 'War in the Twentieth Century', but also includes a general section about 'The Century of Totalitarianisms'.⁵² The tendency to relativize the Holocaust as one among other genocides, and as the result of one of several forms of totalitarianism, is reflected in the juxtaposition of images of Auschwitz and the Japanese invasion of China in 1937,

52 Ministère de l'Éducation nationale. 2010. Bulletin officiel spécial no. 9 du 30 septembre. *Programmes d'enseignement du lycée*, p. 19.

of Dresden and Hiroshima, and in descriptions of Nazism and communism in general terms of state violence and exclusion and (in T4) in the moralization and legalization of the Holocaust. The local or national character of the narrative is evident in the traces of memorial events of the 1990s in France, including the trials of Vichy officials (featured in T3) and the state recognition of the involvement of the Vichy regime in the Holocaust as well as the role of 'righteous gentiles' (featured in T2 and T3). Unusually, previous historiographical paradigms which paid homage to the French resistance, or referred to the 'Shoah' rather than to the 'Holocaust', are largely absent from these textbooks. Nonetheless, national heritage is upheld in particular in relation to the aftereffects of the war on the memory of French people, who are described as being 'divided', 'fighting', 'bruised' (*meurtris*), although 'resisting' and facing 'French responsibilities' (T3, 103). Moreover, T3 reserves more space for remembrance of the resistance and the STO than of Jewish victims. The narratives of regression followed by progression and of memory politics which progress from patriotic remembrance of a heroic nation in resistance to remembrance of a moral nation in which there were both collaborators and rescuers (and which has since recognized both groups) echoes enlightenment traditions in France.

Bibliography

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T2: Cote, S. 2011. *Histoire. Nouveau programme 2011*. Paris, Nathan. (history, age 16 years, in French)

T3: Colon, D. 2012. *Histoire Term L, ES*. Paris, Belin. (history, age 17-18 years, in French)

T4: Nemo, P. 2012. *Manuel d'histoire*. Paris, La librairie des écoles. (history, age 14 years, in French)

The sample

The sample consists of five history textbooks published between 2007 and 2011 for pupils aged fourteen to sixteen (T1, T2, T3 and T4) and sixteen to nineteen (T5) studying in state schools. They variously devote eleven (T4), fifteen (T5), twenty-one (T1), thirty-six (T2) and thirty-seven (T3) pages to the Holocaust, which amount to between a quarter and half of the volume of the chapters devoted to the period. All of the textbooks deal with the Holocaust in chapters devoted to the Second World War, National Socialism or the National Socialist dictatorship or to a combination of these topics. Within these chapters, all the textbooks devote a section to ideology and life during the National Socialist regime and a section to either 'genocide' (*Völkermord*), 'marginalization', 'denial of rights', or 'murder'; they all also contain sections about resistance and about the commemoration of the Holocaust in the form of monuments or memorial museums.

Scale

All the authors present the Holocaust as a part of German history, with additional references to its European and regional or local dimensions. Maps of the locations of camps in T1, T2 T3 and T5 visualize the Holocaust in European terms. All authors ascribe a central role to Auschwitz, either to explain the functions of extermination camps (T1, T2 and T3) or to provide a symbol of organized mass murder (T4 and T5). T1, T2 and T3 refer specifically to events in Lower Saxony, Saxony and Bavaria; T4 requests pupils to explore memorial sites in their own vicinity. All textbooks also present the events chronologically in relation to the period of the National Socialist regime (from 1933 to 1945), while T4 and T5 depict significant occurrences in timelines. T2 traces foreign policy in Germany over the long term, from Bismarck to Hitler.

Protagonists

All of the textbooks present thorough discussions of those involved in the events, by name and with reference to actions, perpetrators, victims and those who resisted the regime. T1 and T3 devote most space to victims, although T1 and T2 also feature German victims of Allied bombings. By contrast, T2 and T5 devote most space to perpetrators, including individuals such as Goebbels, Heydrich, Hitler, Himmler, Höss and Mengele. Hitler features prominently in T3 in authorial text, quotations and photographs; Rudolf Höss is also quoted at length in T4 and T5. Beyond the effects of persecution and extermination, Jewish life is represented in T1, T2 and T3 in terms of emigration during the National Socialist regime, including self-help measures taken by the Jewish Cultural Federation. T1 and T4 also provide overviews of Jewish history since the Middle Ages, addressing emancipation, cultural achievements, Jewish life in Germany after 1945 and the foundation of Israel, but also antisemitism during the Wilhelmine Empire. Considerable attention is paid to

resistance. In addition to groups uniting workers, church members, and partisans and their heroes, for example, Jewish resistance is addressed in T1 and T3 in discussion of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. T2 focuses on cultural resistance in the form of desertion, refusals to join the National Socialist Party or its youth movements, the spreading of critical jokes, and inner or spiritual resistance. T3 focuses on all facets of German resistance, including communists, social democrats, unionists, the attempted assassination of Hitler in 1944, the White Rose group, the Kreisau Circle, and individual acts carried out by diplomats and soldiers or civilians such as August Landmesser, who refused to raise his arm to greet Hitler (see T1 and T3). The collaboration of Christian churches with the National Socialist regime is addressed in all books except T5, while state collaboration is mentioned briefly in relation to the Vichy regime in France (T2) and to the Ustasha and Arrow Cross regimes in Croatia and Hungary, in addition to the collaboration and cooperation of members of fascist movements in Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway (T3). T3 also briefly addresses the reticence of many countries in admitting large numbers of Jewish refugees from mainland Europe from 1938 onwards. Bystanders to the atrocities are also mentioned only in passing, when the authors of T4 evoke the possible effects of photographs of massacres taken secretly by German soldiers, and when the authors of T5 discuss the effects of soldiers' testimonies about massacres when visiting their homes on leave. A section devoted to Anne Frank features in T1, which also honours the resistance member Lissy Rieke.

Interpretative paradigms

The term most consistently used to describe the Holocaust in these textbooks is 'genocide' (*Völkermord*). Other terms include 'Holocaust', 'Shoah', 'extermination of the "Jewish race"', 'systematic murder of all Jews in Europe', 'mass extermination', 'industrial murder', 'systematic murder of civilians', 'murder of Jews', 'mass murder', '"Final Solution of the Jewish question"', 'factory-like mass murder' and 'terror'. Documents vary in type from photographs, maps, caricatures, speeches, propaganda posters, drawings, laws, minutes of meetings and witness and diary reports, almost all of which depict the activities or ideals of perpetrators. The contents of all textbooks are comprehensive and largely adhere to the stipulations contained in state curricula; the principal topics covered are the Nuremberg Laws, the November pogrom, types of discrimination and humiliation, the ghettos, shootings, gassings and deportations during the Second World War, and the Wannsee Conference and the camps. The main focus of the relevant sections of T1, T2 and T3 is not the Holocaust, but 'dictatorship' and the political evolution or survival thereof, as well as everyday life under the dictatorship in Germany. Only T4 focuses more squarely on the process of persecution and destruction, while T5 focuses on research about perpetrators and the role of German people in the events. T4 presents the Holocaust within the context of National Socialism while reserving a separate section for the Second World War, whereas all other textbooks present the Holocaust within the context of the Second World War and of National Socialism. Although the textbooks focus on perpetrators, they contain few references to the motivations of perpetrators, which are described in T1 and T2 as ideological and as ideological and careerist in T5, whereas T3 suggests perpetrators were

acting under duress. The aims of the perpetrators are, with the exception of T4, attributed ultimately to Hitler or 'Nazis', and described in all books as the exclusion and destruction of Jews, or additionally as the enforced conformity (*Gleichschaltung*) of society and the media (T1), the establishment of an ethnic or 'people's community' (*Volksgemeinschaft*) (T1 and T2), and as war and the territorial expansion of the 'Great Germanic Empire' (T2). Authors describe the causes of the Holocaust primarily as ideological enmity or prejudice towards Jews in combination with a number of other causes which differ in priority and range from personal economic gain (T1 and T5) to the gradual radicalization of attitudes in Germany and 'colonial' expansion (T2), but above all as relating to ideological factors (in addition to antisemitism) such as racism (in all books) and social Darwinism (T1 and T3). Although authors rarely refer to existing historiographical paradigms, T4 and T5 define the Holocaust as the 'end of humanity' and as the 'climax of antisemitism' respectively. The juxtaposition of victims of the Holocaust and war victims in T1 effectively relativizes the Holocaust. Likewise, by presenting the German population at the time of the event in very general terms, T2 relativizes the responsibility of its individual members.

The number of images depicting the Holocaust ranges from approximately ten in T4 and T5 to between thirty and forty in T1, T2 and T3; these images include portraits, propaganda posters, images of camps, signs, badges, maps and monuments, and the majority of them reproduce the point of view of perpetrators. All the textbooks demonstrate a high level of abstraction or meta-historical information. T2, for example, contains explanations of different terms referring to the event, and T4 explains the term '*Volksgemeinschaft*', while T1, T2 and T3 provide analyses of images and (in T1, T3 and T5) analyses of the 'stumbling blocks' (*Stolperstein*) memorials. Further metahistorical analyses of commemorations of the Holocaust refer to the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin in T2, T3 and T5, to forms of Holocaust denial in T2, and all textbooks except T2 and T5 encourage pupils to visit concentration camp memorials, or to independently seek traces of the Holocaust locally (T1 and T3).

Narrative structure and point of view

Between 50 and 80 percent of the textbooks are taken up by authorial texts, alongside between 20 and 50 percent consisting of documents and images. Textbook authors adopt neutral points of view, with documents providing additional viewpoints, which are confined largely to those of perpetrators and victims in T1 and T5, and largely to perpetrators alone in T2, T3 and T4. The authors of T5 present not only the history of the event, but above all the historiography relating to it. The history is personalized on the basis of accounts of individuals' experiences of the events (Anne Frank, members of the resistance and Nazi youth in T1 and T2) and on the basis of quotations from the commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Höß (T4 and T5), from survivors (T4), and from eyewitnesses of the November pogrom and of Auschwitz (T2 and T3). The moral tales implicit in the accounts vary in their type and emphasis from progression (in reports of escape and post-war reparations to victims in T1), to decline (the definition of the Holocaust as the 'end of humanity' in T4), to fatalism (in T5, which laments

the insufficiency of remembrance of the Holocaust in contemporary German society, where right-wing extremism is said to be increasingly socially acceptable). All authors make liberal use of the passive mode and therefore omit the names of protagonists, in particular of perpetrators. In extreme cases these rhetorical constructions have a euphemistic effect, as in the descriptions of Jews who 'were abducted' (T1, p. 36) or who 'lost their lives that night' (during the November pogrom, T1, p. 34). Alternatively, agency is ascribed to Hitler, or to 'Nazis' or 'the National Socialists'. T5 employs the passive mode in descriptions of persecution, but nonetheless names protagonists and their functions in descriptions of killings. In some instances, the authors might be said to inadvertently perpetuate the viewpoint of perpetrators, as in a photograph reproducing antisemitic stereotypes which is not supplemented with any critical commentary (T2) and in the uncritical use of the term 'exterminate' (*vernichten*) without inverted commas (T4).

Didactic approach

All textbooks contain exercises in which pupils are asked to analyse documents. T4 and T5 also require pupils to write analytical essays from the point of view of both perpetrators and victims regarding the behaviour of the German population and of the 'special units' (*Sonderkommandos*) (T5) or justifying the location of camps and reasons for and against emigration among Jews (T4). Further types of exercises include analysis of speeches (T1), independent research about various victim groups (T4) and independent research into local traces of the events of the Holocaust (T2) or archival research (T3). T1, T3 and T4 all encourage pupils to visit concentration camp memorials. Although images generally have an illustrative function, that is, the texts do not examine the images analytically, all books (except T5) contain didactic exercises addressing some of the images. T3, for example, compares an original photograph and the retouched version used for propaganda purposes. However, the juxtaposition of photographs illustrating persecution in the 1940s and interethnic relations in 2010 in T1 fosters an anachronistic effect. T1, T4 and T5 address contemporary right-wing extremism in connection with the Holocaust, while T2 addresses Holocaust denial in detail.

National idiosyncrasies

This sample of textbooks presents the Holocaust within the context of the history of National Socialism, therefore as an aspect of national history. At the same time, the European dimension is regularly emphasized or visualized in maps, even though the books provide little detail about collaboration with the implementation of the Holocaust on the part of individuals or other states in Europe. Above all, the regional dimension of the event is emphasized, in Lower Saxony in T1, Saxony in T2 or Bavaria in T3, for example, which is reinforced by the books' didactic focus on educational visits to local camp memorials. Faithful to the stipulations of regional (but nationally coordinated) curricula, authors of different books present largely the same topics, whereas the choice of images differs considerably. Emphasis is placed on dictatorship (T1, T2 and T3) and life under a dictatorship

and ideology (in all books), on political events and war (T2 and T3) and on resistance (T1, T2 and T3). The books feature multiple visual and textual documents depicting the activities, speeches and propaganda of the perpetrators. The avoidance of naming individuals or institutions when explaining causes (by use of the passive mode) and the frequent ascription of motives to Hitler and to ideology generally reduces complexity and exonerates those responsible. At the same time, the limited information about the collaboration of states and people outside of territories occupied by the National Socialists shows that teaching about the Holocaust is contextualized in national terms. The didactic approach which appears to dominate in these books revolves not around teaching about the Holocaust in terms of human rights, but around teaching skills of historical research (via document analysis) and relying on the moral and political lessons of the Holocaust to encourage a liberal mindset, if not resistance in the face of resurgent right-wing extremism, by providing models such as August Landmesser's refusal to perform the Hitler salute (T1 and T3).

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- T2: Andres, C., Baumgärtner, U., Bode, D., Döscher, H.-J., Heldt, P., Henning, D., Meilchen, G., Schrapps, H. and Stangl, C. 2007. *Anno 5 Sachsen*. Braunschweig, Westermann. (history, in the series 'Anno', age 14-16 years, in German)
- T3: Brückner, D., Focke, H., Heigenmoser, M., Lachner, H., Natzer, U., Sigel, R. and Weber, J. 2010. *Das waren Zeiten 4 Bayern*. Bamberg, Buchner. (history, in the series 'Das waren Zeiten', age 14-15 years, in German)
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- T5: Bender, D., Gröbel, M., Sturm, R. and Wunderer, H. 2011. *Geschichte und Geschehen. Oberstufe Nordrhein-Westfalen*. Stuttgart, Ernst Klett. (history, in the series 'Geschichte und Geschehen', age 16-19 years, in German)

The sample

The sample is based on five textbooks published between 1995 and 2006. Three of these are designed for world history (T1), Indian history (T2) or Indian and world history (T4), the other two for social studies in India (T5) and in India and the world (T3). The books devoted to India accord no special status to the Holocaust and mention it only in passing in relation to the Second World War or not at all; history books treat the Holocaust within sections dealing with the Second World War, focusing mainly on historical processes, actors, the rise of Nazism and Hitler, and consequences of Nazism and the war. The curriculum does not prescribe teaching about the Holocaust.

Scale

Maps showing locations of concentration camps and photographs of cities and buildings clearly locate the events in Europe in T1 and T3. T4 also locates the events in Europe in its text. Further reference to exiled Jewish scientists in the United States (T4) and to Gandhi's letters to Hitler appealing for an end to the violence indirectly highlight the global dimension of the Holocaust. The thematic contexts of the chapters in T1, T3 and T4 place the Holocaust in a global context, with reference to nationalism only in general terms. While three of the five textbooks (T1, T3, T4) focus clearly on 1941 as the moment at which the violence became extreme, T1 also dates the 'machinery of terror' (incorrectly) from 1934, while only T3 provides details of discrimination from 1933 onwards, the effects of the Nuremberg laws of 1935 and the creation of ghettos. T3's mention of the influence of Spencer and Darwin on racial ideology effectively extends the roots of the Holocaust back to the nineteenth century. The same textbook documents commemorations of the Holocaust in the present day, in diaries, memoirs, museums, diaries and literature.

Protagonists

A broad spectrum of perpetrators and victims is named. Priority is given to groups of protagonists, named as 'Nazis' or fascists, but also to 'armed volunteers' and 'brownshirts' (T1 and T4), to the 'Hitler Youth', gestapo, SS, SD and SA. 'Germany' is named as the perpetrator of the genocide (T3). Victims are named as Jews (T2), and as communists, social democrats, innocent civilians, Jews, disabled people, 'Gypsies', blacks, communists, trade union leaders and social democrats (T3). Three of the books state that six million Jews were murdered, while T3 adds 200,000 'Gypsies', 1 million Polish civilians, 70,000 disabled and old people and political opponents of Nazism. T1 also mentions victims of slave labour, (inaccurately, two million) prisoners of war and slave labour. Nazi stereotypes are discussed in T1 and T3. Other types of involvement mentioned include the passive role of bystanders (T3), allied resistance (T1), and German and Italian resistance (T4). The depiction of the relations between perpetrators and victims is confined to violence

and killing and includes medical experiments. Hitler is mentioned in terms of his rise to power (T3, T4), but does not dominate the narrative, for Heydrich (T1) and a pro-Nazi teenager, Erna Kranz, are also featured (T3). Members of the resistance (Pastor Niemöller, T3) and cultural resistance (Picasso, Brecht, T1) are quoted, and in particular linked to Gandhi's appeals to Hitler (T3) and to Nehru's support of republican Spanish resistance (T4). Of particular note is the juxtaposition of protagonists of the Second World War and the Holocaust with figures and movements from Indian history, including the anti-colonial resistance movement in India (T1). Since protagonists of all types are largely referred to in generic terms as 'Jews', 'Nazis' or 'blacks', protagonists are gender neutral. Exceptions to this are the quotations in T3 describing the everyday lives, under the Nazi regime, of the teenager Erna Kranz and a boy called Helmuth.

Interpretative paradigms

Conceptualizations of the Holocaust include 'mass murder' (T1), the euphemistic *ihudi bitaran* ('driving out the Jews', T2), 'genocidal war', 'mass murder', 'crimes against humanity' (T3) and barbarities and inhumane acts (T4). Topics are covered comprehensively, and include (in T1, T3 and T5) the history of the war, the rise of Nazism, legal measures implemented by the National Socialists, antisemitism, crimes against humanity, ghettos, racism, social and professional exclusion and humiliation. Mention of the 'crisis of civilization' (T2) and the behaviour of 'ordinary people' (T3) are suggestive of two major historiographical paradigms. Although the causes of the Holocaust are described essentially as territorial (the claim to '*Lebensraum*') and economic (the claim to resources), T1 and T2 also refer to ideological and racial motives, the desire for revenge for the Treaty of Versailles, and the misuse of language and media. Although the Holocaust is set firmly within the Second World War, the ideological and geopolitical aims behind it are clearly named, avoiding banalization of the event. One textbook (T3) provides a meta-historical narrative of the Nazis' attempt to destroy evidence of the Holocaust in 1945 and about the role of museums, commemorations, memoirs, literature and films about the Holocaust after 1945. The same book is the only one which contains images, including 'benches only for Aryans', a corpse on a fence, a train wagon, 'Gypsies' and children being deported, and piles of clothes.

Narrative structure and point of view

The textbooks in this sample reflect different structures and approaches. T1 contains 70 percent authorial texts alongside 10 percent sources and 20 percent images, whereas T3 contains only 20 percent authorial texts alongside 25 percent sources and 55 percent images. T4 contains text written exclusively by the authors. Four out of five of the books contain only one (authorial) narrative point of view, while T3 combines various perspectives. Two of the books (T1 and T3) cover protagonists and historical processes and consequences, while T4 covers mainly historical causes and background. All adopt a chronological approach, except T3, which recounts the history in reverse order beginning with the Nuremberg trials,

and ending with the rise of Nazism and the effects of the First World War. The main war narratives are presented in terms of the rise and fall of Nazism, and rounded off in morally 'progressive' terms with the intervention of the Allies (T1 and T3) and the organization of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. The authors of T1, T3 and T4 frequently pass judgement on the events as 'severe', 'cruel' and 'inhumane', with superlatives such as 'most barbaric' and 'most brutal'. The authors of T4 appear to sympathize with European nationalist movements and the Axis powers, while T5 presents the fate of German people after the First World War, the rise of Nazism and fascism and the 'blackshirt movement', albeit uncritically and without mentioning the Holocaust. The political bias of some authors is expressed implicitly via the association of recent Indian history with the history of the Second World War and its consequences (see 'national idiosyncrasies' below).

Didactic approach

T1, T3 and T4 contain exercises which include recall and analytical questions, work on maps, literature, film and photographs. T3 also contains role-play questions. However, only T3 adopts an inquiry-based approach; the other books provide a one-sided authorial viewpoint. Although T1 and T3 mention crimes against humanity, and T4 cruelty and inhumane acts, the presentation of the Holocaust is not geared towards human rights or citizenship education or genocide prevention. In sum, learning *of* and *about* outweighs learning *from* the Holocaust.

National idiosyncrasies

Representations of the Holocaust in Indian textbooks vary considerably. Unlike world history textbooks, for example, books devoted to Indian history and social studies contain either only a brief mention (T2) or no mention (T5) of the Holocaust. A further reason for this disparity is that the books largely reflect the political context in which they were published.⁵³ T1, T2 and T4, for example, were published at a time when the federal government was under the executive control of the Left Front party, in 1995, 2005 and 2005 respectively. The fact that the Holocaust is overshadowed or marginalized by preoccupation with the war, and in particular with antifascist resistance, is therefore not fortuitous, but reflects the appropriation of the Indian struggle for independence as a legacy of the left. Thus T1 directly juxtaposes a narrative of resistance to the Nazi war effort (and, by implication, to the Holocaust) with the struggle for Indian independence. The total disregard of the Holocaust in T5 is, on the contrary, partly a consequence of the fact that this book reveals sympathies with the nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and with its attempts to establish a territorially undivided India (*akhand bharat*) by relying on militarization, industrialization and on the 'sons of the land' (*bhumiputra*), that is, ideals which echo the ideals of the National Socialists in Germany. T3, which presents the rescue of Jews and Gandhi's historic appeal to Hitler to end the war and atrocities against civilians, reflects

53 See Khan Banerjee, B. 2007. *West Bengal history textbooks and the Indian textbook controversy*. International Textbook Research, Vol. 29, pp. 355-374.

a third, more liberal, approach to the Holocaust. More generally, detail of the geopolitical or territorial motives of the Nazis (T1 and T3) and the persecution of coloured people (T3) implies comparison of the Holocaust to colonialism. T1 even associates the ideological quest to 'europeanise' Asia with Germany's territorial expansion.

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- T3: Nair, J. et al. 2006. *India and the Contemporary World – I*. New Delhi, National Council of Educational Research and Training. (Social science, in the series 'India and the Contemporary World', age 15-16 years, in English).
- T4: Malik, M. 2005. *Saraswati History. Modern India and the Contemporary World*. New Delhi, Saraswati House. (history, age 17-18 years, in Bengali).
- T5: Om; H. et al. 2002. *Contemporary India I*. New Delhi, National Council of Educational Research and Training. (Social studies, in the series 'Contemporary India', age 15-16 years, in English).

The sample

The sample consists of one textbook designed for eighteen-year-old pupils studying history, published by the Iraqi ministry of education in 2013. The section pertaining to the period in which the Holocaust took place is called 'Recent European History'. Teaching about the Holocaust is not stipulated in the curriculum of Iraq, such that the relevant section of the textbook is devoted to the main events of the Second World War.

Scale

One map shows the movements of German troops during the Second World War. Neither this image nor the text defines the spatial or temporal scale of the Holocaust.

Protagonists

The principal agents referred to in the book are leaders of the National Socialist Party, who are assumed to have been the sole agents in the event and likewise to have been punished in the context of the Nuremberg trial of 1945. 'The leaders of Nazism violated human rights like the right to live and to freedom. These leaders committed crimes against humanity and war crimes, which is why the special court called the Nuremberg Tribunal was established in order to conduct a lawsuit against the leaders' (p. 118). Victims are referred to generally as victims of the Second World War, that is, as twenty-one million refugees or displaced persons.

Interpretative paradigms

One sentence alludes indirectly to a violation of human rights and a crime against humanity; the textbook conceptualizes the event in purely legal terms as one which ended with the judgement of the Nuremberg Tribunal, including the forms of punishment they received. The presentation is not comprehensive and does not include information about types of persecution and killings. However, the political, military and ideological ('fascist') aspects of the Second World War are related chronologically, including details of German Nazism and Italian Fascism. In general, the book presents the Holocaust exclusively as a violation of human rights by Nazism and Fascism, without offering insight into its historical, economic, moral and political dimensions. The book refers to a further consequence of the Second World War, namely the settlement of Jews in Palestine, resulting from the lack of resolution of the British Mandate to limit immigration in spite of the White Book of 1939, and the rise of Jewish 'terror groups' (p. 118).

Narrative structure and point of view

The text is written in the third person. The author's reference to the 'fairness and transparency' (p. 119) of the tribunal in Nuremberg defines a clear moral bias towards the legal process set up by the Allies, while no adjectives indicate the author's judgement of the National Socialists beyond the reference to violations of international law.

Didactic approach

The book contains no didactic exercises related to the Holocaust.

National idiosyncrasies

The Holocaust is not named or referred to directly. The history presented in place of the Holocaust focuses primarily on the ideology of the National Socialist party and its breaches of international law. Although the violation of human rights and crimes against humanity are named, they are defined as results of war alone; moreover, the naming of these legal categories does not suffice to convey the historical, legal and moral significance of either the Second World War or the Holocaust. The link between the Holocaust and the immigration of Jews prior to the establishment of the state of Israel is alluded to, while its cause is explained only as the lack of resolve of the British to limit immigration and its effect is explained as the rise of Jewish 'terror groups'.

Bibliography

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The sample

The sample contains five history textbooks published between 2007 and 2013. T1 is designed for pupils aged twelve to fifteen studying social studies. T2 to T5 cover world history for pupils in the sixteen- to eighteen-year-old age group. Although the Holocaust does not appear in the Japanese curriculum, the Second World War is given priority. All textbooks contain sections devoted to the Second World War or to the 'two world wars', and the Holocaust generally features in these sections of the textbooks, covering three to six pages alongside additional sections devoted to 'Nazi fascism'.

Scale

The Holocaust is presented as a German, European and world phenomenon. All textbooks contain maps of Europe showing the location of Auschwitz. Texts in T1, T2 and T3 focus on concentration and death camps, including Auschwitz. T1 also contains a map showing the sites of battles fought during the Second World War and (in relation to the section about Anne Frank) one depicting Amsterdam in the Netherlands. The temporal framework adopted by all books is that of the rise and fall of Nazism and the Second World War.

Protagonists

Hitler features prominently in the textbooks, each of which contains two to three photographs of him. All textbooks juxtapose images of Hitler with images of Jews held in camps. They also feature personal stories from the lives of, and biographical information about, Hitler, Anne Frank (T1), de Gaulle (T2 and T3) and Tito (T2 and T3). Perpetrator agents named alongside Hitler are 'Nazis', 'Germany' and the 'secret police'. Victims are named as 'Jewish and Slavic people' in T4 and T5, which also feature images of Jews being deported. The books specify the number of Jewish victims as either 'about six million' (T1) 'more than 5.5 million' (T2) and 'five to six million' (T3), while T4 and T5 refer to 'many'. Additional victims are defined as communists in all books, liberals and democrats (T1, T4 and T5), Slavs (T4 and T5), Poles, Roma and Russians (T3), and political opponents generally (T4 and T5). Additional information about the Jewish history of the nineteenth century (T1, T2 and T3), about Zionism (in all books) and the present-day Arab-Jewish conflict (T4 and T5) is also provided. Efforts to end the war made by the Allies are linked to de Gaulle (T2, T3, T4 and T5). Two textbooks also discuss the role of Churchill (T4 and T5), while the Allies' failure to intervene in the Spanish Civil War is also mentioned in T2, T3, T4 and T5. Acts of political resistance are ascribed to the Popular Front and to Tito (T2 and T3). Documentation related to protagonists comprises a picture of Anne Frank, letters in favour of and against Hitler, and quotations by Hitler (T2 and T3).

Interpretative paradigms

T2 and T3 use the term 'Holocaust'. However, the event is more commonly defined as the 'expulsion of Jewish people' (T4, p. 326 and T5, p. 360) or 'discrimination against Jewish people, sent to concentration camps' (T1), although all books additionally mention deportation, mass murder, massacres, concentration camps and Auschwitz. The identical phrase (in T2 and T3), 'Mass massacre committed by Nazis on Jewish people (Holocaust) and other massacres are products of war' (p. 175 and p. 177) is misleading on account of its generality and because it defines the events as a consequence of war alone and does not explain multiple causality and the complex relationship between the Second World War and the Holocaust. All textbooks effectively relativize the Holocaust by naming it together with Guernica, the dropping of atomic bombs, the forced labour imposed by Japan in Asia (T1, T2 and T3) and the Japanese invasion of 'China and other Asian countries' (T4 and T5). The books refer not to China but to 'Asia' in relation to this event. Motivations for the Holocaust are ascribed to Hitler personally in T1, T2 and T3: 'It was Hitler's thought that, in order for the German race to survive, it was necessary to expand eastwards...' (T1, p. 206); 'Hitler concluded that Jewish people were people who destroy culture. ...' (T2, p. 166 and T3, p. 170). Nationalism and fascist, colonial and racial ideology are named as further motives (T1, T2 and T3). In these books, causes of the Holocaust are also ascribed to Hitler personally, to the National Socialist Party, and to exclusive nationalism (T3) and racism (T4 and T5). The aims discussed focus not on destruction but on exclusion, related to the expansion of territory (T1), 'establishing an ethnic community' (T4, 326 and T5, p. 360), 'security' (T4 and T5), 'oppression' of communists (T2 and T3) and of Jews (all books), attacks on communists and liberals (T1), the exclusion of 'others' (T3) and 'other cultures' (T2), and the expulsion (T4 and T5), subjection to pogroms (T2), and persecution (T1) of Jews. Each book contains up to ten photographs depicting the Second World War, including maps of Europe marking the site of Auschwitz, images of deportations (T4 and T5), two pictures of Anne Frank in T1 and images of Auschwitz in T1, T2 and T3.

Narrative structure and point of view

The text contained in the books is predominantly written by the textbook authors, ranging from 50 percent (with 40 percent images and 10 percent sources in T1, T2 and T3) to 80 percent (with 20 percent images in T4 and T5). The narratives are all neutral and chronological, with little expression of direct empathy with protagonists or moral bias, with the exception of expressions such as 'severe occupation policy' (T1). Authors combine a rise-fall narrative of fascist powers with a rise narrative of western powers, particularly in T4 and T5, which explain the demise of fascist powers in terms of their particularistic appeal, in contrast to the rise of members of the Atlantic Charter in terms of their international, universal appeal.

Didactic approach

Only T1 contains exercises. These require pupils to write a chronology of the events of the Second World War and to summarize the rise of National Socialism in Germany and Fascism in Italy. Keywords ('Nazi', 'resistance', 'Holocaust') are explained in the margins of all textbooks.

National idiosyncrasies

All textbooks focus on the causes and effects of the Second World War, on the person and role of Hitler, on Auschwitz, and on types of persecution and violence, though they offer limited explanation of their causes and effects. Only T4 and T5 suggest that motives for the Holocaust were rooted in racism, the desire for national 'purity', and the putative national humiliation following the Treaty of Versailles. Links to Japanese history are explained by defining Japan alongside Germany and Italy as fascist states. Germany and Japan are presented as Axis powers which lost the war (T1) or as fascist states (T2, T3, T4 and T5), although no systematic comparison of states, methods and motivations is provided. In addition to the use of the homonym 'fascist' to link (but not compare) the roles of Germany and Japan, T4 and T5 place emphasis on the use of forced labour in both of these countries, and on their contemporaneous efforts to deal with national consequences of the Treaty of Versailles. The textbooks therefore inculcate the Japanese state in terms of the 'invasion, conscription, and forced labour that Japan imposed on Asian people' (T1, p. 211, T2, p. 175 and T3, p. 177), the 'Japanese invasion of Asia' (T4, p. 336 and T5, p. 370), or the 'cruel acts and imposition of forced labour on Asian people and taking prisoners of war on a regular basis' (T4, p. 333 and T5, p. 367). T2 makes a more explicit comparison of German and Japanese policy with reference to 'policies ... such as the pogrom against the Jewish people and Japanese colonial policy' (p. 139), albeit without further explanation of this comparison.

Bibliography

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- T3: Okazaki, K., Ito, S., Sakamoto, T., Kondo, K., Kudo, M., Aizawa, T., Kobayashi, A., Matsushige, M. and Kawate, K. 2013. *World History A*. Tokyo, Teikoku Shoin. (history, age n/a, in Japanese)
- T4: Sato, T., Kimura, S. and Kishimoto, M. 2007. *World History B*. Tokyo, Yamakawa Shuppansha. (history, age n/a, in Japanese)
- T5: Kimura, S., Sato, T. and Kishimoto, M. 2013. *World History B*. Tokyo, Yamakawa Shuppansha. (history, age n/a, in Japanese)

The sample

The sample consists of three history textbooks published in 2012 for use by fourteen- to fifteen-year-old pupils (T2), fifteen- to sixteen-year-old pupils (T1) and sixteen- to eighteen-year-old pupils (T3) in state schools. T1 presents the Holocaust over two-thirds of a page within a section devoted to 'Nationalism and Fascism', while T3 treats the Holocaust over four pages in a section called 'Why the Nazis Persecuted and Exterminated Many Groups in German Society, and Why They Carried Out the Genocide' within a general chapter about the Second World War. T2 was found to contain no information about the Holocaust.

Scale

T1 mentions only 1933, while T3 provides considerable detail about events, which are dated clearly as 1933, 1935, 1938, 1939, 1941, 1942, 1943 and 1944. T1 defines the places in which the Holocaust occurred with reference to German, European and world history, and contains a map (in a section devoted to the Second World War) depicting the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. T3 refers to Germany, Poland, Russia and Eastern Europe generally as the areas subjected to National Socialist expansionism, and contains a map showing the locations of various camps in Europe.

Protagonists

Both books define perpetrators as 'Hitler' and 'the Nazis', including 'the Brownshirts or Storm Troopers' and the 'Nazi army' (T1), as well as 'collaborators', Mengele, Himmler, Goebbels and the Gestapo (T2). T3 further names as perpetrators the SS, the SA and 'the Germans'. Victims are defined in detail in T1 as Jews and non-Jews ('opponents of Nazism, homosexuals and Gypsies' and 'mentally and physically challenged people') (p. 160), and in T3 as 'those of "mixed" blood', 'Slavs', 'Poles', 'Jewish people', 'Jewish men, women and children' (p. 196), 'Sinti and Roma', 'opponents' in general, including 'the mentally ill, criminals, homosexuals, drunks, tramps and other "undesirables"' (p. 194) as well as 'black people, and some religious groups (such as the Jehovah's Witnesses)' (p. 172). The author of T1 clearly gives numbers of Jewish and non-Jewish victims, while the authors of T3 provide considerable detail of numbers of Jews, non-Jews, sterilized people, homosexuals, victims of so-called euthanasia, and Roma and Sinti. T3 also mentions German victims of Allied air raids in Dresden in 1945. No details about Jewish life before 1933 or after 1945 are provided. Bystanders are addressed thoroughly in T3 in terms of the inaction of the Allies following reports about the crimes and their sense of shock and disbelief on discovering the camps. German bystanders are also addressed in terms of their failure to respond to the persecution in spite of their knowledge of it; the reasons for their not responding are said to include coercion, conditioning, ignorance, manipulation or fear. T3 also addresses the underground working-class resistance, church leaders' and doctors' opposition to the

so-called euthanasia programme, passive resistance, resistance among young people and German citizens, Jewish resistance and state repression of such resistance. The same textbook even addresses the ambivalent role of the special units or '*Sonderkommandos*'.

Interpretative paradigms

The event is defined variously as the 'Holocaust', the 'mass murder of the Jews', as a 'Nazi genocide' during which Jews and non-Jews were 'exterminated'. The authors of T3 also define the events as 'human rights violations', and the authors of T1 explain that, 'The Nazi tried to eliminate the Jews people [sic] ... by brutally murdering them in concentration camps' (p. 160). T1 does not provide a comprehensive historical narrative of the event, focusing instead on racism, which it illustrates by means of portraits of Hitler and Darwin side by side in order to emphasize the roots of modern racism in social Darwinism. T3, by contrast, provides a comprehensive historical narrative of the events while focusing primarily on ideology derived from the Nuremberg Laws, types of persecution and killing and details of the camps. While both books cite Hitler as a driving force and primary cause of the event, T3 not only underscores the scientific legitimisation of racism with reference to social Darwinism and the eugenics movement, but also the influence on history of Hitler's character as a 'fascist dictator' (p. 172) and 'aggressive politician' (p. 31) and of his personal wishes. He is said to have wished to 'allow only "true" Germans to live in Germany' (p. 182) and to '"cleanse" the Aryan race of bad genes and what he saw as a financial burden to society' (p. 194), to have 'believed passionately in the ideas of "pure blood" and different "races"' (p. 194), and to have believed in the fact that German people belonged to an 'Aryan "master race"' (p. 194); likewise, references to his 'obsessive antisemitism', his 'hatred of Jewish people' as 'the most dominant theme of his political career' and as 'a key part of the Nazi ideology' (p. 195) all testify to a personalization of the causes of the Holocaust. In addition to Hitler's racism, and his personal wishes and decisions, T1 lists ideology and scapegoating generally among the causes of the Holocaust. T1 also likens German Nazism to Italian Fascism since they are both said to be characterized by a lack of democracy and freedom, the widespread use of propaganda and violence, a 'ruthless' security apparatus and 'hatred of communism and democracy, and of particular groups of people, e.g. Jews and black people' (p. 154). By contrast, T3 underscores the difference between Nazism and Fascism by associating the former with an 'empire, based on the principles of the purity of blood, and on the ideas of race science' (p. 172). Among the few references to memory and commemoration in relation to the Holocaust are the observations in T3 that the White Rose resistance group is 'honoured all over Germany today' (p. 200). Concurrently, T1 states that the genocide of the Herero in Namibia has been commemorated with a memorial stone and an official apology on the part of the von Trotha family, and that the Cassinga massacre of 1978, in which South African soldiers attacked Namibians, is still present in the minds of contemporary Namibians. The wide range of images include two to three photographs of Hitler in each book, a photograph of corpses and a drawing of soldiers beating Jews in T1, and a propaganda poster and an image of ransacked shops after the November pogrom of 1938 in T3.

Narrative structure and point of view

T1 consists exclusively of text written by the textbook authors and images, with no written sources or quotations. T3 contains 65 percent authorial text alongside written sources which document the viewpoints of perpetrators, those involved in the resistance, and bystanders, though not those of victims. T3 provides a historical narrative of stages of the Holocaust focusing on ideology and persecution, while T1 focuses on ideology and persecution without historical contextualization. Narrative modes are neutral and contain few expressions of moral judgement such as 'brutal' and 'horror' in T1 and T3.

Didactic approach

Exercises contained in T1 request pupils to 'list Hitler's beliefs' and to write generally about 'the impact of Nazism on the German people' (p. 160) on the basis of documents. T3 covers a broad range of exercises, including image analysis (of propaganda posters and symbols), text analysis (with respect to eugenics and *Mein Kampf*), and general descriptive writing about policies, the large numbers of victims and the small numbers of those who resisted. T1 links the past effectively to the present day by including an exercise asking pupils to 'Explain why the Cassinga Massacre should never have happened and should never be forgotten' (p. 24).

National idiosyncrasies

No direct historical links between the Holocaust and the genocide against the Herero people are stated in these textbooks. Nonetheless, implicit links between the Holocaust and Namibian or African history more generally are connoted. T3 emphasizes that 'about 500 teenagers of mixed African and German parentage were also sterilized by secret order' (p. 190) while T1 draws attention to Jews and black people as the main targets of Nazism and Fascism. T1 also emphasizes the influence of fascist and racist ideas on South Africa's apartheid government and on its control over Namibia during the South African occupation (p. 159). Vocabulary used to describe early twentieth-century Namibian history in the relevant section echoes closely the vocabulary used in the section about the Holocaust. Thus in T1 the event is described as the 'destruction of the Herero people' (p. 37) which followed from the '*Vernichtungsbefehl* or extermination order' given by von Trotha to 'annihilate' Herero "'sub-humans'" (p. 45). Forms of persecution are also listed as the confiscation of property, segregation, discrimination, exploitation, forced labour and deportation (pp. 38-39) and the use of German 'concentration camps', where 'half' of the prisoners 'died due to bad conditions and cruel treatment' (p. 43).

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- T1: Ranby, P. 2012. *Go for History. Grade 10*. Windhoek, Macmillan Education Namibia Publishers. (history, the last in a series of three textbooks for the junior secondary level called 'Go for History', age 15-16 years, in English)
- T2: Ranby, P. 2012. *Go for History. Grade 9*. Windhoek, Macmillan Education Namibia Publishers. (history, the last in a series of three textbooks for the junior secondary level called 'Go for History', age 14-15 years, in English)
- T3: Weldon, G., Riffel, I., Willemse, M. and du Plessis, A. 2012 (first published 2011). *Macmillan History for Southern Africa. Learner's Book*. Manzini, Macmillan Boleswa Publishers. (history, age 16-18 years, in English)

The sample

The sample contains five history textbooks published in 2012 for pupils aged from sixteen to eighteen studying in state and private schools. The books adhere to the curriculum reforms implemented in Poland in 2009, which contain detailed recommendations concerning teaching about the Holocaust. The Holocaust is dealt with over between five and twelve pages per book, in sections focusing on the Second World War, with the exception of T4, which contains sections entitled 'Genocide' and 'Holocaust of Jews'. The sample does not cover supplementary teaching materials devoted exclusively to the Holocaust.

Scale

T1 and T4 date the Holocaust from 1933, while T2 and T5 recount events from 1939 onwards. T3 opens the section about the Holocaust with an excerpt from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. In all of the books the presentation of the Holocaust ends with the Warsaw ghetto uprising of 1943, with the exception of T4, which closes with details of the uprisings in Treblinka and Sobibor. T2, T3 and T5 present the Holocaust as part of Polish history, while T1, T2 and T4 present it in the context of European history. All of the books also refer to other European nations on whose territories the event unfolded, including the Soviet Union, the Baltic states, Bulgaria, Hungary, France and the Netherlands, while T3, T4 and T5 also refer indirectly to the significance of the events outside Europe, in Armenia, Cambodia, China and Israel.

Protagonists

In addition to German soldiers, the police and the SS, the textbooks refer to individual perpetrators such as Jürgen Stroop, Kurt Möbius (T1), Reinhard Heydrich, Kurt Gerstein (T2, T4) and Adolf Eichmann (T3). Particular emphasis is placed on the participation of Polish people in pogroms (T1, T2 and T4) and in the blackmailing of Jews (T2, T3 and T5) and on the Jewish ghetto police (T3 and T5). Victims are defined primarily as Polish and European Jews, while several other victims group such as Roma and Slavs are also mentioned alongside individuals including Mordechai Anielewicz, Janusz Korczak, Marek Edelman, and various 'Polish families' (T1, T2 and T3) who helped Jews. Bystanders include the 'European population' (T1), 'silent onlookers' (T1), the Polish population and neighbours (T2 and T5). Documents also refer to the Polish government in exile (T4) and to Polish citizens' complaints about silent onlookers (T5). All the textbooks refer to acts of resistance in the Warsaw ghetto uprising, in local ghetto uprisings, and by Jewish combat units and non-Jewish helpers; all books (except T4) also mention the Council to Aid the Jews (*Żegota*) and (with the exception of T1) the Polish underground state. Collaboration features in relation to Croatia, Bulgaria and France (T1), France (T2) and Belarus, Ukraine and Lithuania (T3).

Interpretative paradigms

The Holocaust is conceptualized variously as Holocaust (*Holokaust*), Shoah (*Szoo*), as the 'persecution' or 'destruction' of Jews, and as 'murder', 'mass destruction', 'genocide', 'crime' or the "'final solution'". A wide variety of documents including photographs, maps, statistics, minutes, witness reports, and maps is combined with a thorough account of the stages of and main topics relating to the Holocaust, including local massacres carried out in Jedwabne, Babi Yar and Ponary. Nonetheless, the thematic foci of the accounts in T2, T3 and T5 are largely on political and military history, while T1 and T4 provide a balanced account of political, military and everyday occurrences. The aims of the perpetrators are depicted in all books as the "'final solution to the Jewish question'", the destruction of Jews, Roma and Slavs (T3, T4 and T5), and (in all books except T1) territorial expansion, in combination with motivations such as a belief in propaganda (T1), a sense of duty (T3) and the wish for revenge. The sequential organization of information suggests that causes of the Holocaust were connected with the radicalization of the Second World War (T1, T2 and T3) or with the occupation of Poland (T1, T3, T4 and T5), while the textbook authors give more explicit expression to causes in terms of racism, antisemitism, territorial expansion and, in T4, nationalism. All authors compare the National Socialist regime to other regimes by referring to totalitarianism (T1, T2 and T4), authoritarianism (T1) and fascism (T1, T2, T3 and T5). T1 also compares the Holocaust explicitly with the genocide against Armenians and the Holodomor in Ukraine and with victims of Stalinism, of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia and of the communist regime in China, albeit without relativizing the Holocaust, because the author underscores the singularity of the Holocaust and distinguishes between the various motives, methods and aims underpinning the crimes. Further comparisons are formulated less explicitly by applying generic terms such as 'genocide' (T1, T3 and T5) and 'terror' (T1, T3, T4 and T5) or 'cleansing' (T1 and T3), in particular in order to describe the genocide in Cambodia, and by illustrating the plight of people during the Holodomor with photographs of emaciated children (all books except T5) and with a picture of skulls in relation to Cambodia (T1). The books contain between six (T5) and sixteen (T3) images relating to the Holocaust, including iconic images such as the Warsaw ghetto, emaciated children, the yellow star, and images of the ramp at or entrance to the extermination camp at Auschwitz. Most images depict victims, some both victims and perpetrators, and all books except T5 depict Hitler. Almost all of the textbooks address modes of transmission (metanarratives) by reflecting on the singularity of the event (T1), the politics of memory in Israel (T3, T4 and T5), the history of the iconic 'Arbeit macht frei' sign in Auschwitz and of concentration camp memorials (T3), and by explaining certificates issued by the Yad Vashem memorial to those who rescued Jews (T4 and T5).

Narrative structure and point of view

The narratives are all presented chronologically on the basis of 50 to 70 percent authorial text alongside 25 to 40 percent images and 5 to 10 percent sources. Alternative viewpoints to those of textbook authors are therefore provided on the basis of documents in the form of

maps, photographs, legal testimonies, witness reports, statistics and retrospective witness accounts. Although authors frequently use the passive mode, agents are named clearly, while some stereotyping is conveyed by means of references to 'the' Germans and 'the' Jews. All narratives contain progressive elements of hope on the basis of Jewish resistance and/or Polish helpers.

Didactic approach

T1 and T3 contain exercises on every page, while T2, T4 and T5 contain questions at the end of the section in the form of explanations, pictorial analysis, work with statistics and the interpretation of documents and maps. All books except T4 require pupils to interpret images. Historical terminology is indicated in bold type or italics, while T1 also provides a glossary. T5 also requests pupils to explore events relating to the Holocaust in their vicinity.

National idiosyncrasies

The local significance of the Holocaust is given particular emphasis in Polish textbooks. T1, T4 and T5, for example, treat the Jedwabne massacre of 1941, while T4 treats Polish society under German occupation. By contrast, although concentration or extermination camps such as Auschwitz are included in the books, they do not play a central role in these textbook narratives. The national spatialization of the event is underscored insofar as the Holocaust is presented as an event in Polish history in T3 and T5, and as a consequence of the German occupation of Poland in T2, T3, T4 and T5. Poland is further highlighted by photographs of Janusz Korczak in T1 and T3, and by placing emphasis on the Warsaw ghetto uprising, *Żegota*, Polish helpers and the Polish underground government. At the same time, the textbooks contain thorough depictions of perpetrators, victims and resistance alongside reasoned comparisons of the Holocaust with other genocides, which do not neglect to underscore the singularity of each event.

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- T1: Stola, D. 2012. *Historia. Wiek XX*. Warsaw, Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN. (history, age 16-18 years, in Polish)
- T2: Dolecki, R., Gutowski, K. and Smoleński, J. 2012. *Po prostu historia*. Warsaw, Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne (WSiP). (history, age 16-18 years, in Polish)
- T3: Roszak, S. and Kłaczek, J. 2012. *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX*. Warsaw, Nowa Era. (history, age 16-18 years, in Polish)
- T4: Kozłowska, Z. T., Unger, I. and Zajac, S. 2012. *Historia. Poznajemy przeszłość*. Toruń, SOP Oświatowiec. (history, age 16-18 years, in Polish)
- T5: Zajac, S. 2012. *Teraz historia*. Toruń, SOP Oświatowiec. (history, age 16-18 years, in Polish)

The sample

The sample consists of five textbooks for use in contemporary history lessons published between 2002 and 2013, two of which are devoted to world history (T1 and T3), one to Romanian history (T2) and two to Romanian and world history (T4 and T5). All of them treat the Holocaust in sections dealing with the Second World War, except T3, which discusses the Holocaust in a chapter called 'Democratic Countries and Totalitarian Regimes'. Two books contain a subsection called 'The Holocaust', while the others contain sections on, respectively: 'Concentration Camps and Extermination Camps', 'Jewish Genocide', and 'Policy towards Jews and Roma'. All treat the events over one and a half to two pages, although the subject is not stipulated in the curriculum.

Scale

The topography of the Holocaust presented in the textbooks is located largely in Germany and in territories controlled by Germany (T1, T3, T4), although no maps are printed to illustrate this. The extent of the event is defined as German and European in T1, T3 and T5, and as German and Romanian in T2 and T4. T2 names the regions from where Jews were deported as Bessarabia and Bukovina, and those to which they were deported as Transnistria. T5 also deals with the Holocaust in Romania. T4 mentions the Chisinau ghetto. However, no books mention sensitive sites such as Bogdanovka or the Cernauti ghetto, which were central killing sites, or the transit, concentration or death camps in Transnistria. Although the Holocaust is generally treated as an integral part of the Second World War, few specific dates are mentioned in relation to this event. Consequently, T2, T3, T4 and T5 focus largely on the period from 1941 to 1944, during which Romania was an ally of Germany and in conflict with the Soviet Union. Only T1 links the Holocaust to 1933 and 1945.

Protagonists

There is a tendency to generalize the identity of victims in terms of 'sixteen million people', of whom 'six million were Jews' (T1 and T4); with only scant mention of other groups of victims apart from Roma. Particular attention is paid to the origins of Jews; the books list 'German and European' Jews (T1), Jews from Europe, Hungary and 'territories occupied by Germany', 'Romanian and Ukrainian Jews' and 'local Jews' (T4), and Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina (T2 and T5). The books mention types of treatment including discrimination, deportation, slave labour, internment, shootings, gas vans and 'extermination'. Hitler plays a prominent role in three of the books, alongside Germany in two books and the 'Romanian authorities' in three books. No bystanders, allied responses or resistance are mentioned. However, Romanian collaboration with the National Socialist regime features prominently

in T2, T4 and T5, following 'pressure' from Germany and an 'alliance' between the two nations. Neither individual women nor groups of women feature in the books.

Interpretative paradigms

Four out of five books use the term 'Holocaust', alongside 'extermination of Jews', 'Shoah', 'Jewish genocide' and 'catastrophe'. The thematic focus is on state policy and military strategy, to the extent that the Holocaust is treated neither in a chronological order, nor in relation to systematically defined topics, but rather in a fragmented fashion (largely spread over different sections devoted to such themes as totalitarianism, modes of administrative organization, the Second World War). T3, T4 and T5 underscore similarities between National Socialism, communism and Fascism in terms of their common 'totalitarian' characteristics. The argumentation is generally causal, referring to ideology and pressure placed on Romania by Germany. In addition, references to National Socialist 'mythology' in T4 and T5 and to the desire for revenge for defeat in the First World War present irrational modes of explanation. The ascription of responsibility for the Holocaust to Hitler (T1, T4, T5), Antonescu (T2, T5) and Himmler (T3) testifies to the personalization of, or an intentionalist approach to, historical causality. Explanations of Himmler's and Antonescu's personal doubt in the face of complex decisions (T2, T3, T5) add credibility to the intentionalist approach but also, in the context of the totalitarian paradigm, detract from specific ideological and political causes of the Holocaust. Nonetheless, further causes of the event are referred to as racism, the aim to dominate Europe, and Romania's need to maintain relations with the National Socialists in Germany. T5 even describes German pressure on Romania as 'colonial'. The books contain images of camps, barbed wire, bodies, a train and prisoners. References to films, to measures undertaken to come to terms with the Holocaust in Germany, to memorial days, monuments and Willy Brandt's visit to the Warsaw ghetto monument in 1970 testify to a sophisticated second-order approach to the event. However, some descriptive, ahistorical captions accompanying images are inaccurate and misleading (such as the labelling of an image of walking deportees as 'The extermination camp in Bogdanovka', which suggests that the mass killings in this place were in fact merely deportations).

Narrative structure and point of view

The textbooks largely give priority to authorial narratives, and contain between 40 and 75 percent authorial text alongside 30 to 40 percent images and textual sources. Quotations from historians' works and of speeches by Antonescu and Himmler provide multiple perspectives, albeit without providing victims' points of view. Moral narratives range from those of decline (of human rights, T1) to progression towards international conventions after 1945 (T3) and towards efforts made by states to come to terms with the event (T5). All books use the passive tense extensively and thus avoid directly referring to perpetrators of the event. In addition to the totalitarian explicative paradigm, the books draw analogies between the Holocaust and other events by defining both the communist and National

Socialist crimes as 'mass purges' (T3), and the Holocaust and the genocide against Armenians as 'mass exterminations' (T5). Authors generally either express sympathy with victims (T1 and T2) or are judgemental of Germany and Romania (T5). One reference to the 'criminal acts of Jews' in T2 without inverted commas reflects the influence of the perpetrators' perspective on textbook authors as a result of an uncritical reading of primary sources.

Didactic approach

T1 and T5 contain no didactic exercises related directly to the Holocaust. Exercises in the remaining books require pupils to explain their attitudes towards the persecution (T2), to compare a speech by Himmler to a letter by Lenin and to compare numbers of victims of Nazism to those of communist regimes (T3), to independently seek information and summarize the analyses given in the textbook (T4). Emphasis is placed on the presumed moral dilemmas faced by Hitler and Antonescu (T2 and T4), with pupils thus effectively invited to empathize with, or understand the motives and behaviour of, perpetrators. The exercise in T3 requiring pupils to compare numbers of victims under the Nazi and communist regimes on the basis of two tables showing a total of 60 million victims of communism (from 1924 to 1975) and 6 million victims of Nazism demonstrates a radical relativist bias.

National idiosyncrasies

Textbooks in the Republic of Moldova tend to either avoid naming perpetrators (as 'special German troops' and 'Hitler' in T1) or provide a sympathetic image of them (quoting Hitler's and Himmler's motivations at length in T3, for example), and to universalize the identity of victims as 'people'. In extreme cases (T3), they relativize numbers of victims of the Holocaust in relation to those of communism. This approach reflects the local history of the region and in particular its perceived sense of victimhood in relation to the Soviet Union. T2 and T5, for example, draw on the stereotype of Jews as communists, that is, as people who were primarily loyal to the Soviet Union (from which Romania captured Transnistria in 1941) rather than to the nation. Furthermore, the event is largely *externalized* and *delocalized* insofar as no specific local sites of persecution and killing are dealt with with any degree of precision. Perpetration is generally ascribed to states and institutions. T1, for example, ascribes responsibility to 'special German troops', while T2, T4 and T5 hold 'Romanian military authorities', the 'Romanian state', the 'Romanian army' and 'gendarmes' responsible, alongside the 'German army', 'Germany', 'German soldiers', 'local ethnic Germans' and '*Einsatzgruppe* D'. No local inhabitants are named among perpetrators or collaborators. T1 focuses on German perpetrators. By contrast, T4 characteristically downplays the responsibility of the Romanian authorities by not explicitly mentioning their role in deportations and persecution, and by portraying Antonescu's motivation in patriotic terms insofar as he is said to have striven to liberate Transnistria from Soviet occupation and to have preserved Romania's sovereignty by reinforcing its alliance with Germany. The

discrepancies between the textbooks may be largely explained by the differing historical viewpoints of Romanian and Moldovan communities within the state, and by the fact that changes were made to some textbooks in 2006 and 2007 following pressure placed on the education ministry by the Jewish community.⁵⁴ Books published before this date tended to reflect Romanian interests, either by placing blame for the Holocaust on Germany (T1) or by relativizing the severity of crimes committed by the National Socialist and communist regimes (T3). By contrast, T2 and T5 reflect a Moldovan standpoint by placing responsibility on Romania and on Antonescu, while T4 contains a combination of characteristically Moldovan and Romanian narratives.

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- T2: Enciu, N. 2005. *History of Romanians. Contemporary Era* [Istoria românilor. Epoca contemporană. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a de liceu]. Chișinău, Civitas. (history, age 17-18 years, in Moldovan)
- T3: Enciu, N. and Mistreanu, T. 2006. *World History. Contemporary Period: Grade XII* [Istoria universală. Epoca contemporană: clasa XII]. Chișinău, Civitas. (history, age 17-18 years, in Moldovan)
- T4: Șarov, I., Cașu, I., Dobzeu, M. and Cerbușcă, P. 2013. *History of the Romanians and of the World. Textbook for Grade IX* [Istoria românilor și universală. Manual pentru clasa a IX]. Chișinău, Cartdidact. (history, age 15 years, in Moldovan)
- T5: Șarov, I., Cașu, I., Păslariuc, V., Solomon, F. and Cerbușcă, P. 2013. *History of Romanians and the World. Textbook for Grade XII* [Istoria românilor și universală. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a]. Chișinău, Cartier. (history, age 17-18 years, in Moldovan)

54 See S. Ihrig, 2009, Der transnistrische Holocaust in den Schulbüchern der Republik Moldova, W. Benz and B. Mihók (eds), *Holocaust an der Peripherie. Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940-1944*, Berlin, Metropol, pp. 225-239, 232.

The sample

The sample contains five history textbooks published between 2000 and 2009, and designed for pupils between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. T1 and T3 are devoted to contemporary history. T2 and T4 cover twentieth-century Russian history. T5 deals with modern history in general. All books were published before the decision taken by the Russian Ministry of Education and Science in March 2012 to include instruction about the Holocaust in state schools for pupils from the age of fourteen. All books deal with the Holocaust in sections entitled 'The Second World War', 'The Great Patriotic War 1941-45' (T2) or 'The Great War. The Victorious People' (T4). None of the books contain a section devoted specifically to the Holocaust, although the textbooks devote between three and eleven pages to this topic.

Scale

All the textbooks present the Holocaust as a German and European phenomenon which directly involved the Soviet Union. Although none of the books contain maps, T1 and T3 mention the sites of ghettos and camps including Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau. T2 addresses the Generalplan Ost, T3 mentions the camps in Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Dachau, Majdanek and Treblinka, and inaccurately defines them collectively as 'death factories' (p. 147). Discussion of genocide more generally also links the events of the Holocaust to Armenia, the Balkans and Yugoslavia and Serbia. All textbooks contextualize the events within the time of the Second World War, while T3 additionally addresses the November pogrom of 1938, and T5 the significance of 1933 as the year in which the National Socialist Party acquired power, and 1942 as the year in which killings were intensified.

Protagonists

Victims are named primarily as Jews, Roma and Slavs, but also include 'bankers', 'communists', 'democrats' and 'socialists' (T1), the 'Soviet people' (T2), 'Russians', 'Ukrainians', 'Poles' and 'bolshevists', while all but T1 write about "'inferior'" peoples. Jews are associated with 'capital' (T1, p. 87), 'conspiracy' (T4, p. 184), and defined as being, in the view of the National Socialist regime, an 'inner enemy' and 'inferior' (T3, p. 100, p. 147), and an 'obstacle' (T1, p. 87). Jewish life before 1933 or after 1945 is not discussed. While T3 refers to six million Jewish victims, this and all other books quote numbers of victims generally in terms of Soviet prisoners of war and civilians (quoted as twenty-seven million, half of the total fifty-four million victims of the war (T5)), victims of camps in general including Ukrainians, Russians and Poles (T3), soldiers, partisans, victims of the siege of Leningrad and of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima in 1945, and people on Soviet territory or territory occupied by the German army. The depiction of resistance is confined to communist resistance, and although collaboration by the Committee of Muslims of Crimea, the Russian liberation army under General Vlassov (T2), the Vichy regime in France

(T3) and by satellite states in Slovakia and Romania and SS divisions in the Baltic States is mentioned, no insight into personal stories or motivations is provided. The depiction of perpetrators' motivations is similarly simplistic; perpetrators are presented as 'striving for power' (T1, T2, T3, T4), seeking to ensure the 'supremacy of the German race in Europe' (T4, p. 192), aiming for territorial expansion (T5) and waging a 'battle of European culture against Russian and bolshevist barbarity' (T5, p. 258).

Interpretative paradigms

The Holocaust is conceptualized generically as 'Holocaust' (Холокост, T2, T3) and as 'genocide' (геноцид, T1, T3, T5), while most books provide generic descriptive phrases such as 'policy of extermination of entire peoples' (T3, 152) or 'measures driven by human hatred' (T4, 191). At the same time, some phrase the event in terms of 'Hitlerian aggression' (T2, 204) or the 'policy of Hitler Germany' (T4, p. 191), or in terms of 'Nazi terror against Jews' (T5, p. 259). All books focus primarily on military strategy and political events, while T2 also ascribes central importance to Stalin, and T4 repeatedly to the 'great patriotic war'. Aims of the National Socialists are defined in terms of 'world power' and '*Lebensraum*' (T1, p. 87), the destruction of the USSR and the communist party (T2), destruction of Jews (T2, T5), racial superiority (T4) and the enslavement of Slavs (T5). Causes are defined as *racial* in relation to Jews and Slavs (T1, T3 and T4), as *political* in relation to the communist party (T1, T2 and T4), as *economic* (T3), as the *individual* will of Hitler (T3, T4 and T5) and as *ideological* (anti-Jewish in T1 and T5, anti-Slav in T5, and anti-democratic in T4). T2, T4 and T5 primarily enquire into the aims and effects of National Socialist policy on Soviet territory. The tendency, in T2 for example, to name victims in only general terms as 'many peoples' (p. 228), combined with the juxtaposition of references to Jewish and Slavic victims, as well as the juxtaposition of the destroyed cities of Hiroshima and Coventry in T5, relativizes victimhood at the expense of historically detailed explanation of categories, aims, causes and motives. The sample contains one image of the march for life, one of a yellow star, two of emaciated victims, and two of destroyed houses, alongside several images of Stalin and Soviet soldiers, none of which are referred to in didactic exercises. T2 and T4 address the question of memory and commemoration in relation to the eternal flame in remembrance of fallen soldiers and 9 May, commemorating the declaration of the end of the war.

Narrative structure and point of view

The textbooks contain between 60 and 90 percent authorial text alongside 10 to 40 percent images and documents. The narratives are chronological and progressive, in line with a teleology leading to military victory. T2, T3 and T5 contain only the viewpoint of the authors, including emotive references to 'the bloodiest and most cruel war' (T2, p. 237) or 'the cruellest and most powerful enemy' (T3, p. 141), while T1 and T4 present multiple viewpoints via documents. T2 encourages pupils to adopt a national bias by introducing narrative bias in an exercise which calls upon pupils to answer the question: 'What did Hitler's ideologues plan for our country?' Presentations of the views of perpetrators, such

as 'The Jews were the source of misery in Germany and an inner enemy' (T3, p. 100) or 'The protection of European civilization from the conspiracy of Jews and democrats, bolshevists and revolutionaries' (T4, p. 184), are not clearly demarcated with inverted commas or qualifying authorial remarks.

Didactic approach

T4 contains questions requesting pupils to interpret historical sources, while T2 contains two questions, one of which requests pupils to define Nazi plans 'for our country' in relation to a quotation from Heinrich Himmler, the other of which enquires into the aims underpinning and results of German policy in the occupied Soviet territory.

National idiosyncrasies

The survey revealed that the Russian textbook narratives of the Holocaust and its context focus not primarily on the Holocaust, but on Soviet resistance and victimhood. The primary aims of the National Socialists are, for example, defined as the destruction of the USSR and the communist party in T2, and as the enslavement of Slavs in T5, while the aim of the National Socialists is defined as a 'battle of European culture against Russian and bolshevist barbarity' in T5 (p. 258). Two textbooks (T4 and T5) even associate the war effort in Germany with Europe or with the 'protection of European civilization' (T4, p. 184), and thus polarize Russia and Europe geographically in relation to the Second World War. The subsection in T4 dealing with the war is entitled 'The Great War: The Victorious People', and thus pointedly associates the victimhood of the Soviet people with collective heroic resistance. In sum, the Holocaust is presented but also largely displaced by a history of oppression and Soviet heroism which subordinates the history of the Holocaust to a history of war, does not mention or examine in detail either perpetrators or victims, and even underpins this history with narrative bias in favour of a partial account.

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The sample

The sample contains one textbook designed for approximately fifteen-year-old pupils studying history, published by Netmedia Publishers in Kampala, Uganda, in circa 2009. The Holocaust is treated briefly in three sections of the books: Firstly, in a section on 'Hitler and Nazism in Germany' in the second chapter of Part II, entitled 'Between the Two World Wars'; secondly, in a section on 'The Consequences of the War' in the third chapter of Part II, entitled 'The Second World War (1939-1945)'; thirdly, the Holocaust is mentioned once in comparison to the genocide of 1994 in Rwanda in a section on 'The 1994 Tutsi Genocide' in the third chapter of Part III, entitled 'The 1990-1994 Liberation War and Tutsi Genocide'. These mentions encompass seven lines, five lines and one sentence respectively.

Scale

The Holocaust is located in Poland, Russia, Germany, Europe and the world, while no specific places or topographies are mentioned. No dates are ascribed to the event beyond its contextualization within the scope of the Second World War.

Protagonists

Victims are defined somewhat inconsistently, first in terms of 'target scapegoats', that is, 'communists, socialists, liberals, Jews, ethnic and racial minorities, traditional national enemies, members of other religions, secularists, homosexuals, and [referring to opponents of the regime] terrorists' (p. 36). Later, victims are defined exclusively as 'millions of Jews' (p. 40) following 'the deliberate murder in extermination camps of over five million Jews and hundreds of thousands of non-Jews, mainly in Poland and Russia' (p. 45). Although Jewish life before and after the war is not treated, historic discrimination is briefly mentioned. Further victims mentioned include victims of the war (Russians, Poles, Germans, Chinese and, in Hiroshima, Japanese people). The book also represents Germany as the victim of the 'unrealistic and unfair' Treaty of Versailles of 1918. The book contains no images of victims. Hitler plays a central role as an archetypal perpetrator. Further perpetrators include 'Nazism', which is named once as the subject of perpetration, and 'Germans', most of whom are said to have 'gladly accepted Hitler as their leader'. The use of the definite pronoun 'the' in relation to 'Germans', 'Italians', 'Japanese', 'Americans' and 'Jews' evokes national stereotypes. No bystanders or members of the resistance are mentioned. However, collaboration with those responsible for the Holocaust is addressed in relation to colonialism, where Chapter IV states that 'World War II saw the colonies help their colonial masters to fight an unknown enemy ... The future Prime Ministers Hendrik Verwoerd and B. J. Vorster of South Africa supported Adolf Hitler, while most French colonial governors loyally supported the Vichy government until 1943' (p. 51).

Interpretative paradigms

The Holocaust is defined in terms of 'genocide', 'Holocaust', 'deliberate murder', and 'terrible atrocities', and as 'deliberate murder in extermination camps'. It is presented in the context of the Second World War in close relation to Hitler and Nazism, and the narrative addresses causes, the course and consequences of the event in political and military terms. Although the presentation of the history of the Holocaust is not comprehensive (the text mentions only the scapegoating of and discrimination against Jews that accompanied the rise of Nazism in Germany and their subsequent 'extermination'), considerable detail about methods of discrimination and persecution (economic, social and legal exclusion, including the obligation to wear the yellow star, and 'spontaneous acts' resulting from 'relentless propaganda and misinformation') is given. No reference to or adaptation of historiographical paradigms is apparent. One cause of the events is defined in terms of German people's 'revenge' (p. 23) for the conditions imposed under the Treaty of Versailles, motivated by a widespread sense of injury to national 'pride' and 'prestige' (p. 41). More frequently, however, the cause is ascribed to Hitler's personal desire for power, for revenge and his deliberate manipulation of the population, as reflected in reproductions of portraits of Hitler and Mussolini. This personalization partially reduces the cause of the Holocaust as a whole to Hitler's personal grudges and affects without further explanation: 'Hitler and the Nazis blamed many of Germany's troubles on the Jews'; '[Hitler] felt great anger and shame for his adopted country ... he came to hate the new German government, Jews and anyone associated with the Versailles Treaty'. At the same time, the textbook authors mention ideological causes (racism and the geopolitical claim to '*Lebensraum*') and propaganda. The Holocaust is partially *trivialized* by its contextualization as one among other 'consequences of the war' (the title of the subsection in Part II, Chapter Three), implicitly *relativized* in the section entitled 'The Rise of Totalitarian States in Europe', and again relativized in relation to the genocide of 1994 in Rwanda in Part III, Chapter Three. The book contains no treatment of metahistorical issues concerning its transmission via memory, monuments, or historiography. However, the condemnation of the 'French denial of the Tutsi genocide' does evoke contested interpretations of the past, albeit not in relation to the Holocaust.

Narrative structure and point of view

The text referring to the Holocaust was written entirely by the textbook authors, without the addition of documents and with no images or quotations relating to the event, with the exception of two indirectly relevant images (of Hitler and Mussolini) and one quotation by Winston Churchill. Authorial bias is expressed in affective terms in relation to the 'horrifying powers of destruction' resulting from the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 and in relation to the genocide in Rwanda, which is described as 'terrible massacres', 'slaughter and carnage', a 'bestial act', 'shocking cruelty', and a 'killing orgy of unquantifiable proportion'. Analysis of motivations for the Holocaust as a reaction to the effects of the Treaty of Versailles suggests, in some instances, the narrators' connivance, if not empathy, with the German 'victims' insofar as the text refers to the 'unrealistic and unfair' Treaty of Versailles, to the

'great need for revenge against the signatories of the settlement' (p. 23) resulting from 'feelings among the oppressed [sic] societies like the Italians and Germans whose pride and prestige was denied by the victorious powers during the 1919 Versailles settlement'.

Didactic approach

The textbook does not contain any exercises, with the exception of 'revision questions' at the end of subchapters, which require pupils to collate facts rather than to analyse them.

National idiosyncrasies

The textbook's thematic bias, which explains the Holocaust in terms of types of persecution and the central role of misleading media propaganda, effectively *recontextualizes* or *reconceptualizes* the past (1941-1945) in the light of the genocide of 1994 in Rwanda. Conversely, the description of the genocide in Rwanda with terms 'borrowed' from language traditionally used to describe persecution during the Holocaust also highlights the *intertextual* nature of the Holocaust insofar as the linguistic representations to which it gave rise continue to fuel representations of comparable subsequent events. Authors write, for example, of 'terrible massacres', 'killings', 'mass murder', 'slaughter and carnage', 'catastrophe', a 'beastly act', 'shocking cruelty', and of a 'killing orgy of unquantifiable proportion', a 'crime against humanity', and of 'atrocities' and 'extermination'. A *reversal of perspective* is implemented in the chapter about the genocide in Rwanda, in which the Holocaust is evoked in passing in order to illustrate the uniqueness of the genocide in Rwanda in terms of its rapidity, its brutality, the hands-on nature of the violence, its openly public nature and the fact that (unlike the Holocaust) the involvement of many ordinary people in the violence 'made it a collective crime, rather than that of a few leaders' (p. 113). More mitigated claims to uniqueness of the genocide in Rwanda include its definition as 'one of the worst humanitarian catastrophes in the world' (p. 119), and as 'one of the worst crimes against humanity in the twentieth century' (p. 120). In didactic terms, the textbook effectively adopts or projects representations of the local Rwandan experience onto the presentation of the Holocaust in order to make the latter understandable to Rwandan pupils (in the new socio-historical context seventy years after the event). In historiographical terms, the Holocaust and the genocide of 1994 in Rwanda are rendered with dehistoricized and often moral and emotive vocabulary, according to which 'their characteristics are fervent nationalism, disrespect for human rights and freedoms, xenophobia and scapegoating', and in which 'rampant sexism', 'rampant corruption', 'relentless propaganda' and 'controlled mass media', 'avid militarism' and 'obsession with national security' are rife.

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The sample

The sample contains one history textbook, published in 2013, called *All about History. The Making of the Contemporary World Order 1870s-1991*, which deals with contemporary European history for fourteen- to fifteen-year-old pupils. The Holocaust is addressed specifically over three pages and more generally over approximately ten pages in sections called 'Persecution of Jewish People and Other Minority Groups', 'The Night of Broken Glass, 1938', and 'The Holocaust during World War II'. However, all these sections are contained in the general chapter called 'Hitler's Germany', which provides the overall context for the treatment of the Holocaust.

Scale

The geographical reach of the Holocaust is largely defined in association with the location of concentration and extermination camps in Germany, Austria and Poland, by citing the fact that 'many Europeans were antisemitic (p. 99). A further spatial context is given with reference to the German military invasion of the Soviet Union. Special significance is ascribed to almost every year between 1933 and 1942 in relation to such events as the building of the concentration camp at Dachau, the boycotting of shops considered to be 'Jewish', and the implementation of the Nuremberg Laws. However, the textbook establishes no link with the periods prior to 1933 or after 1945.

Protagonists

Images in the textbook present a balance between perpetrators and victims, who are often depicted together. A table provides a thorough overview of the categories of victims established by the National Socialists, in combination with thorough details on the numbers of victims from each group. A chronology of acts of discrimination against Jews is listed separately from discussion of other minorities and political opponents. The life of Jews beyond the Holocaust is indicated with reference to religious allegiance and emigration during the 1930s. However, stereotypes are reproduced in terms of 'wealthy Jews' who are 'good businessmen' (p. 74). The authors refer to perpetrators as 'Nazis', 'SS', 'SA', or else as the individuals Hitler, Göring, Himmler and Röhm. Subtitles such as 'To what extent was Hitler's rise to power due more to favourable circumstances than his leadership abilities?' and 'Hitler's leadership abilities' and repeated references to Hitler's 'hatred' (p. 74), 'intention' (p. 101) or his 'campaign to exterminate the Jews' (p. 86) indicate considerable focus on this figure and an explanation of the event in terms of his personal wishes. The Evian conference of 1938 depicts the Allies' failed attempts to accommodate large numbers of Jewish refugees. French, Polish, Soviet and Yugoslav resistance movements are mentioned alongside informers. Gender relations are raised in terms of a split between women who perceived the National Socialist regime to be oppressive and those who enjoyed its benefits.

Interpretative paradigms

The textbook provides a thorough chronology of events including ideology, laws, stages of persecution and the functions of camps. However, the attention to historical and in particular political detail is not supplemented with thorough explanation. The event is defined as the 'Holocaust' (p. 71, p. 74 and p. 101), the 'mass murders of Jews' (p. 100), 'the most well-known impact of Hitler's rule' (p. 86), and as a 'campaign' or 'Hitler's widespread campaign to exterminate the Jews and other minority groups which he considered to be racially impure' (p. 86). The sequence of subtitles in the chapter about 'Hitler's Germany' provides a general explanation of the event in terms of Hitler's personal wishes and motives: 'Hitler hated communism [...] he blamed the Jews for all of Germany's ills' (p. 99), and 'Irrational hatred of the Jews seems to have been an important part of Hitler's view of the world and eventually culminated in the Holocaust' (p. 74). Further causes are stated more generally to be antisemitism, belief in racial superiority, and the search for scapegoats for the economic crisis of the 1920s. The event is thus explained partly in rational (economic, racial) terms and partly in irrational terms as a result of personal prejudice. The Holocaust is not relativized; the authors rather compare National Socialism with communism in distinct terms. Photographs include those of the boycotting of shops, German Jews being deported, a Star of David badge, a portrait of Josef Mengele and survivors in Buchenwald at the moment of liberation in 1945. These are not dated and their origins are not explained. The textbook is generally factual, does not address the Holocaust in relation to other genocides or to colonialism, and does not address the memory or commemoration of the event. The textbook contains only one metahistorical reference, in the form of questioning whether historians believe that Hitler *intended* to implement the Holocaust from the outset, and that they generally agree 'that responsibility ultimately lay with Hitler' (p. 101).

Narrative structure and point of view

The narrative point of view is largely that of the authors, with 60 percent of the chapter taken up by text written by them, alongside 30 percent images and 10 percent textual documents. Other perspectives are conveyed via a quotation from a camp survivor and from a speech by Hitler. The reader is also frequently addressed in questions as 'you'. The authors insert moral judgements by means of the adjectives 'power-hungry' (p. 90) or 'notorious' (p. 101), for example, and perpetrators are generally active subjects of verbs, while victims are passive objects of verbs. In some cases the narrators also reproduce stereotypes about Jews as 'wealthy' people. Moreover, considerable detail about Goebbels (in a special section about Goebbels) and about Hitler's skills as a 'true orator' and a 'powerful speaker', his 'strong belief in himself', 'charisma', 'incredible energy', and his status as a 'master of gauging the mood of the audience' who 'knew the concerns of the people' (p. 74) border on fascination if not empathy with (whereby readers are encouraged to put themselves in the place of) this perpetrator. In one case, the authors state that suffering among German people caused them to blame Jews, and that Jews were 'unpopular amongst the German people who were suffering due to economic problems in post-World War I Germany' (p. 73),

albeit without further explaining or criticizing this attitude, its alleged motivations and justifications.

Didactic approach

In addition to advice given to pupils to carry out independent research, this textbook contains several questions which encourage reflection about historical dilemmas via empathy with protagonists. These include such questions as, 'How would you feel if you were one of the German Jews ... Or how would you feel if your friends were among those?' (*sic.* p. 86), or 'What do you think you would do, especially if you knew very well that lending support to a Jewish friend might cost you your own life?' (p. 100).

National idiosyncrasies

Unusually, the Holocaust and the Second World War are treated in separate chapters; the Holocaust is contextualized in a chapter about the social impact of Hitler's personal power on Germany. Thus the personalization of the motivations and causes of the Holocaust governs the organization of material concerning the Holocaust in this textbook. No connections are established between European and non-European history or with other genocides, nor is the event explained in universal moral or legal terms.

Bibliography

Ling, J. and Paul, A. 2013. *All About History: The Making of the Contemporary World Order 1870s-1991* (Unit 2: The World in Crisis). Singapore, Pearson Education South Asia.

The sample

The sample contains five history and geography textbooks published between 2012 and 2013 and designed for pupils between the ages of fourteen and fifteen. The books in the sample are structured in remarkably similar ways, in line with the national curriculum of 2013. All of the textbooks treat the Holocaust over two to four pages in the first sections of the books, which are entitled 'Rise of Nazi Germany and World War II (1919-1945)', and each contain a unit called 'World War II: Europe' and a further subsection about 'Extermination Camps, Genocide, the Holocaust and the "Final Solution"'. Only T3 differs from this pattern insofar as the relevant subsection is called 'Genocide, the Holocaust and the "Final Solution"'.

Scale

The Holocaust is presented as a European and world phenomenon. Maps are provided in all books except in T3. However, these inform readers primarily about Europe as a geopolitical entity during wartime rather than about the Holocaust. T1, for example, shows a map of 'German-occupied Europe in 1944', while the maps in T2 and T4 represent distinctions between allied and axis countries and the borders of Europe in 1938 respectively. All books likewise refer to the sites of camps. The 'mass murder of Jews by the Nazis' is dated in T1 from 1933 to 1945 (p. 43), while T2, T3 and T4 associate the Holocaust more precisely with the intensification of persecution from 1941 to 1942 (T2), with reference exclusively to 1941 as the moment at which the 'final solution' was instituted (T3). By contrast, T5 defines successive periods from 1938 to 1941 and from 1942 to 1945.

Protagonists

All textbooks refer to perpetrators as 'Nazis' or 'the Nazis', but also focus on individuals such as Josef Mengele (T1), Heinrich Himmler and Hitler (T3 and T4) or on the SS (T2). Victims are similarly identified primarily as 'Jews' or 'Jewish', but also (in T5) as 'German Jews' (p. 124). T4 and T5 refer exclusively to Jewish victims, while T1 lists several groups including disabled people, intellectuals, political opponents, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Roma, and even addresses the concept of 'the other'. T2 pays particular attention to 'non-Jewish', including black, victims, and T3 to Jews and other "'undesirables'" (p. 119) generally. Jewish history before 1933 and after 1945 is depicted only in other sections of the textbooks. All textbooks name the numbers of Jewish victims of the Holocaust, while T1 and T2 also provide numbers of other victim groups and of 'non-Jews' respectively. All textbooks likewise treat the topic of resistance by presenting the White Rose resistance group, the Confessing Church, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Anne Frank and the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Although no references are made to the failure of the Allies to intervene in the atrocities, the ambivalence of their role as liberators of the camps and as discoverers of the horror there is addressed in T1, T3 and T4.

Interpretative paradigms

Concepts defining the events include 'Holocaust', 'genocide', 'systematic killings' (T1 and T2), 'extermination' (T1, T2 and T3), 'systematic genocide' (T2 and T3), 'Final Solution' (T3), 'massacres' (T3) and an explanation of the Greek words 'holos' and 'kaustos' (T3). Documentation is varied and comprises maps, photographs, facsimiles, extracts from Anne Frank's diary, caricatures, tables and eyewitness accounts. All images depict victims; only 10 percent of the images in T2 depict perpetrators alongside victims. The textbooks focus primarily on political policies and motivations such as territorial expansionism, as well as on military manoeuvres, but also enquire into how the Holocaust happened, and present its significant stages and discuss discrimination, humiliation, social exclusion and murder in response to this question. T4 differs insofar as it enquires into *why* the event took place and why camps were set up. Camps are mentioned but not explored in detail, and the terms 'concentration' and 'extermination' when defining camps are used interchangeably in T3. No mention is made of perpetrators' personal motivations for their actions. In line with the South African curriculum, which prescribes that 'the study of history ... support[s] citizenship within a democracy by ... promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices ...',⁵⁵ the textbooks present the Holocaust as an example of the violation of human rights by underscoring similarities, on the basis of images and texts, with South Africa's policy of apartheid, and by comparing the Holocaust with other genocides such as the Rwandan genocide. Likewise, emphasis placed on the definition of the concept of genocide creates a common conceptual thread between the Rwandan genocide and the Holocaust. However, only T3 and T5 make explicit mention of the fact that injustices done to the Jewish people violated their basic human rights. None of the textbooks address meta-historical questions such as types of historiography or the commemoration of, or transmission of personal memories of, the Holocaust.

Narrative structure and point of view

All narrators adopt a neutral stance except for sporadic references to 'terrible medical experiments' (T1, p. 43), 'shameful episodes in the history of the world' (T3, p. 119), and to events which are 'too horrific to be true' (T4, p. 112), for example. The proportion of the books occupied by authorial text varies considerably between 80 percent in T1 and 20 percent in T5. The multiplicity of viewpoints stands in proportion to the space devoted to documentation in each of the textbooks.

Didactic approach

The textbooks contain largely open questions at the end of each section, requiring pupils to analyse maps (T1), to reflect personally on general questions such as 'Why [...] minority groups [are] more vulnerable than the majority groups' (T1 and T2), or to conduct document

55 Department of Basic Education, Republic of South Africa, 2011, *National Curriculum Statement (NCS). Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) (for history)*, p. 8.

analysis (T2); there are also activities such as designing a timeline or sketching maps (T4), and questions urging pupils to empathize or put themselves ‘in the shoes of...’ (T4, p. 118) or express feelings in relation to a variety of protagonists, including perpetrators (T4 and T5).

National idiosyncrasies

The textbooks contain general descriptions of the aims of perpetrators and the (political, military, geopolitical and economic) causes of the Holocaust, but sparse explanation of their origins, the behaviour of individuals or of long-term social and political consequences of the Holocaust. While T1, T2 and T3 list categorizations of various victim groups, they also contain generic categorizations; other textbooks categorize victims either as only Jews (T4 and T5) or as Jews and other “undesirables” (T3, p. 119), while T2 distinguishes broadly between ‘Jewish’ and ‘non-Jewish’ victims (p. 121). Allusions and associations between the Holocaust and the treatment of people during apartheid and the Rwandan genocide of 1994 are made in all textbooks by defining the events collectively as genocides, and by placing side by side photographs from the Holocaust and of life under apartheid. Different types of resistance are similarly linked insofar as the sections about resistance under Nazism, dealing with Sophie Scholl, the White Rose resistance group, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Confessing Church are followed by references to Martin Luther King and passive resistance and to the suppression of criticism under apartheid. The Holocaust is presented as an example of the violation of human rights by underscoring similarities, on the basis of images and texts, with South Africa’s policy of apartheid. South African textbooks generally do not systematically compare different forms of persecution or genocides, but rather juxtapose the Holocaust and the political circumstances in which it took place with other events and political systems. In other words, the general (if not universal) significance of the event is underscored via references to other events, while the historical specificity of the Holocaust is understated.

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- T2: Ranby, P. and Johannesson, B. 2012. *Platinum Social Science Grade 9*. Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman. (history and geography, age 14-15 years, in English)
- T3: Earle, J., Keats, G., Edwards, V., Sauermaier, C., Roberts, B. and Gordon, J. 2012. *Social Sciences Today Grade 9*. Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman. (history and geography, age 14-15 years, in English)
- T4: Hambly, A., Allwood, J. and Elliot, G. (ed.). 2012. *Spot On Social Sciences Grade 9*. Sandton, Heinemann Publishers. (history and geography, age 14-15 years, in English)
- T5: Friedman, M., Randby, P. and Varga, E. 2013. *Solutions for All Social Sciences Grade 9*. Northlands, Gauteng, Macmillan South Africa. (history and geography, age 14-15 years, in English)

The sample

The sample consists of one history textbook (T2) and four history and social studies textbooks published between 2008 and 2011 and designed for use by pupils aged sixteen studying in state and private schools. All textbooks deal with the Holocaust over between three and six pages in sections devoted to the Second World War, with the exception of T2, which places the Holocaust in a section entitled 'Fascism and Nazism'. T1 contains a subsection devoted to 'Genocides, Deportations and Other Consequences of War', and T4 contains a subsection called 'The Concentration Camps'.

Scale

The textbooks generally do not date the Holocaust clearly. Neither does T1, for example, provide information about dates or places in captions to photographs. T2 and T3 frame the event between 1933 and 1942, while T2 also mentions the November pogrom of 1938. The textbooks generally locate the event in Germany and Europe, while links to other locations are made as follows: to fascism in Italy (T5), to the bombed cities of London and Berlin (T3) and to Europe generally in maps of events of the war (T4) and of camps in Europe (T5). T2 links the Holocaust to Spain by printing and explaining a photograph of Spanish Republicans who were imprisoned in Mauthausen, to Europe on the basis of a map of the locations of concentration camps, and to the world generally by featuring a map depicting the sites of other genocides.

Protagonists

All of the textbooks focus on Jewish victims, while T1 also lists 'Slavs and other ethnic and religious groups, Gypsies, Jehovah's witnesses, homosexuals, trade unionists and persons with congenital diseases'. T5 mentions 'communists and democrats', T3 'political opponents' and 'delinquents', and T2 'Latinos'. None of the textbooks deal with Jewish history before 1933 or after 1945, except indirectly via a reference to the numbers of refugees fleeing Europe from 1932 in T2. T2 also prominently features exiled Spanish Republicans imprisoned in Mauthausen. Hitler features in all textbooks, and T2, T4 and T5 place particular emphasis on the personal influence of Hitler and his ideas on the event, if not as a central cause of the event. The additional mentions of Himmler in T1, of Mussolini in T4 and the Nuremberg Trials in T3 largely ascribe responsibility for the event to the Nazi elite. German bystanders are mentioned in T2, while German resistance features in T1 and T5, as does the collaboration of people in territories occupied by Germany in T5. Images represent approximately equal numbers of victims and perpetrators, while T2 and T5 feature Hitler, the latter combining Hitler's biography with Nazi ideology derived from *Mein Kampf*.

Interpretative paradigms

All textbooks except T4 use the terms *holocausto* and *genocidio*. Other references include 'physical extermination of the Jews' (T1), 'extermination', 'massacre', 'total dehumanization' (T2) or 'genocide of the Jewish population' (T2) or of 'the Jews' (T5). A wide range of documents includes photographs, posters, maps, propaganda, paintings, historical publications, film stills and caricatures. The treatment of terminology, ideology, camps and types of persecution is generally thorough, though not consistent. T5 proceeds chronologically, for example, while T4 focuses mainly on camps; T2 deals with the events primarily in the form of didactic exercises, and T1, T3 and T4 do so within thematic boxes set aside from the main text and discussing 'genocide and deportations' and 'education for subhumans' (T1), the 'Nuremberg Trials' (T3) and 'concentration camps' (T4). T1, T2 and T3 contextualize the Holocaust within the Second World War; T4 illustrates the event by focusing on Auschwitz, while T5 relativizes the event in relation to fascism in general. More explicit explanations of the causes of the Holocaust are political (where the Holocaust is ascribed indirectly to a constitutional fault under the Weimar Republic in T2 and T4), economic (T1, T2, T3 and T5), racial (all books), or else framed in terms of totalitarianism (T3 and T4), territorial expansionism (T1, T2 and T5) and/or Hitler's personal will (T2 and T5). Nonetheless, neither individual perpetrators (except Hitler in T2 and T5) nor victims (except Primo Levi in T3) play a central role in the narratives; explanations of motivations of perpetrators or bystanders are correspondingly sparse, and are confined to references to people's fear of repression or of the German population. T4 and T5 correspondingly explain the event in terms of rationalization, that is, as a result of the exact planning of the functions of camps. The books contain between two and eight images and a number of iconic images such as the yellow star and book burning (T1), emaciated prisoners or survivors (T2, T3, T4 and T5) and the boycotting of shops (T5). Images of victims are generally black and white, while those of perpetrators are in colour, and some captions are omitted in T5. The textbooks contain several complex metanarratives engaging with the memory or transmission of knowledge about the Holocaust via a section about education under the Nazi regime (T1 and T2), quotations from Michael Burleigh, Daniel Goldhagen and the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948 and a still from Charlie Chaplin's film *The Great Dictator* (T2), the Nuremberg Trials (T3), photographs of Yad Vashem (T4) and an extract from the Auschwitz memorial guidebook (T5). T2 addresses the utility of fostering memory of 'extreme human brutality', and T4 requires pupils to search the internet and write down their opinion about the current function of the Yad Vashem memorial.

Narrative structure and point of view

The proportion of space devoted to authorial text varies considerably, from 15 percent in T5 and 20 percent in T3 to 50 percent in T4, 60 percent in T1 and 70 percent in T2. Despite this, all books provide multiple viewpoints via historical documents, except perhaps T4, which provides only visual documentation in the form of maps and photographs. All authors use the passive mode, avoid emotive language (only T4 and T5 contain judgmental adjectives),

and employ inverted commas in order to identify historical terminology, although T2 refers to the 'final solution', 'crystal night' and 'living space' without inverted commas. The moral bias varies from fatalistic, where authors refer to the event as a 'critical moment' (T2) or 'moral crisis' (T4), to progressive, where authors link the Holocaust to the post-war drive to prevent crimes against humanity, genocide and war (T3).

Didactic approach

All textbooks contain open enquiry-based didactic exercises devoted to either source analysis (T2, T3 and T4), critical reflection (T2 and T3), the explanation of camps (T3, T4 and T5), or reflection on links between the Holocaust and present-day 'ethnic cleansing' (T1). More generally, the textbooks explicitly provoke reflection on the Holocaust in connection with mass violence and genocide generally, albeit without explaining these links. T1 asks pupils to investigate the significance of 'ethnic cleansing', T2 evokes the issue of Holocaust denial and provides a world map depicting the sites of genocides occurring in the twentieth century, T3 addresses human rights and contains a box devoted to the creation of the United Nations and a section about the 'moral impact' of the Holocaust, while T2, T3 and T4 evoke the memory of the Holocaust generally.

National idiosyncrasies

A large proportion of the textbooks (T1, T4 and T5) used in Spain treat the Holocaust in the context of the Second World War and in text boxes which are distinct from the main textbook narrative. They refer to a complex array of meta-historical topics, including memory and the transmission of knowledge of the event via film, education, memorials and historiography. Links between the Holocaust and the Spanish Civil War are rare, and none raise the issue of the failure of the Allies to act in defence either of Republicans in 1937 or of victims of the Holocaust. T3 merely states that the German invasion of Spain served to 'test weapons' to be used later in the war, while T2 depicts Republican prisoners in Mauthausen making victory signs with their hands at the moment of their liberation.

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- T3: Garrido González, A. 2008. *Ciencias Sociales. Historia*. Barcelona, Grupo Edebé. (history and social sciences, age 16 years, in Spanish)
- T4: Burgos Alonso, M., Muñoz -Delgado y Mérida, M. 2011. *Historia. Ciencias Sociales. Educación Secundaria 4*. Madrid, Anaya. (history and social sciences, in the series 'Ciencias Sociales, Geografía e Historia', age 16 years, in Spanish)
- T5: García Sebastián, M and Gatell Arimont, C. 2009. *Demos. Ciencias Sociales, Historia. Educación Secundaria. Cuarto Curso*. Barcelona, Vicens Vives. (history and social sciences, age 16 years, in Spanish)

The sample

The sample consists of two textbooks designed for seventeen- to eighteen-year-old pupils studying history. The books were published by the Public Printing and Textbook Agency in 2009 and 2012 respectively. The sections pertaining to the period in which the Holocaust took place are devoted to recent Arab history and are entitled 'Palestine, Jordan and Iraq from European Occupation until the Present Day' and 'Colonial Interests in Palestine before the First World War' (T2). The relevant subsection in T1 is called 'The New System. Fascism and Nazism (National Socialism)'. Teaching about the Holocaust is not stipulated in the Syrian curriculum, so that the sections of the textbooks analysed here are those which cover the period in which the Second World War took place. T1 contains only a brief allusion to the events, and T2 was found to contain no data about the Holocaust.

Scale

The spatial and temporal scales of analysis are determined by the rise of the National Socialist movement and the Second World War.

Protagonists

T1 mentions 'the Nazis' (T1, p. 69), and names victims as 'Jews of Germany and eastern Europe' (T1, p. 69).

Interpretative paradigms

T1 prefaces its treatment of the Second World War by addressing the rise of the Nazi regime and its ideology with reference to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the ideology of the National Socialist Party. The authors also expand on and define: 'The ideology of race: this embodies the foundation of Nazi dogma and is based on the view that the Aryan race is the best of all human races and the creator of civilization' (T1, p. 69). The authors of T1 refer to the Holocaust obliquely by naming conditions under which the Nazis oppressed people in Europe in general terms, whereby 'it was impossible for Hitler to obtain this territory without using weapons' (T1, p. 70). They also mention the withdrawal of the right to vote from Jews, the blame placed on Jews for Germany's defeat in the First World War and Nazi ideology. By contrast, the authors of T2 deal with this period in a section whose primary aim is to explain the aims and interests of the Zionist movement, which is defined as 'one example of western imperialism and colonial settlements' (T2, p. 70), resulting from encouragement expressed by the British mandate to Zionists to settle in Palestine.

Narrative structure and point of view

The texts are descriptive and written in the third person.

Didactic approach

The textbooks contain no exercises about the Holocaust.

National idiosyncrasies

The Holocaust is not named, but referred to indirectly as 'conditions of oppression by the Nazis in Europe'. The history presented in place of the Holocaust focuses primarily on the ideology of the National Socialist Party and the aims of the Zionist movement.

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- T2: Shanyour, I., Saleh, A., Abbas, A., Jusan, A., Dawoud, A., Turabi, A. A., Fiad, A. A-D., Hudri, A., Qabani, M., Az-Zain, M., Hamza, M., Al-Ghazuli, N. and Warda, N. 2012. *Modern and Contemporary History of the Arab Home*. Damascus. (history, age 17-18 years, in Arabic)

The sample

The sample consists of three textbooks dealing with modern world history (T1), general history from 1901 to the present day (T2), and Weimar and Nazi Germany (T3), published or reprinted in 2008, 2009 and 2013 and designed for pupils aged 15-16, 12-14 and 16-18 respectively. The Holocaust is presented primarily in sections and chapters called 'The Persecution of Minorities', 'Why do Genocides Happen?' and 'Why Did the Nazis Commit Mass Murder?', which are in turn located in broader thematic sections devoted to 'Hitler's Germany', 'Living and Working' and 'Germany 1933-45'. The books provide a broad range of thematic foci including political and economic events, social policy as well as social, cultural and everyday life. Unlike many textbooks, T2 places the Holocaust not within the political and military history of the Second World War, but in relation to other genocides of the twentieth century.

Scale

In accordance with the chapters devoted to German history, T1 and T3 characterize the Holocaust as a national event. T1 even refers to 'Hitler's Germany'. T2, devoted to genocides generally, does not present details of the locations involved or the geographical extent of the Holocaust, except in a map of Europe showing the system of railway tracks leading to Auschwitz. A more precise localization of the event is indicated in aerial photographs of Auschwitz in T2 and T3. The textbooks contextualize the event within the timeframe of Nazism and the Second World War (1933-1945), but also include dates of significant events in 1935, 1938, 1939 and refer to the escalation of the violence and killing in 1941 and 1942.

Protagonists

All known victim groups are mentioned in the books. Jews are identified almost exclusively as objects of discrimination and persecution; scant detail is given about the lives of Jews before or after the war, or of the history of antisemitism or of immigration to Israel. Jewish resistance is covered extensively in T1, whereas T2 and T3 do not address either camp or ghetto uprisings. Visual materials depict both victims and perpetrators, although the sources themselves reflect the perpetrators' viewpoints (in images ranging from propaganda posters, antisemitic cartoons, film stills, book illustrations and documents). Perpetrators are identified as 'Nazis', 'the Nazis', 'Hitler', 'Goebbels', 'the Nazi government', 'the German army', 'the Nazi regime' and 'the Third Reich'. Hitler features prominently but is not held solely responsible for the event and his image does not feature in any of the sections dealing with the Holocaust in these textbooks. Sentences are generally structured such that perpetrators are the subjects of significant actions, or else they avoid mentioning the subjects of actions by employing the passive mode. None of the books feature collaborators or collaborating countries. However, T1 presents portraits of the well-known

rescuers Raoul Wallenberg and Oscar Schindler, and T1 and T3 deal thoroughly with the historical role of, and moral issues related to, 'ordinary' German people. References to Anne Frank and to 'defenceless women and children' occur in T1 and T2; all other historical figures are male. Homosexuals are numbered among the victims in all books.

Interpretative paradigms

Several concepts besides 'Holocaust' are used to define the event, including 'genocide', 'mass murder', "'final solution'", 'persecution', 'dreadful slaughter', 'extermination of the Jews' and 'Shoah'. T1 provides incorrect translations of the term 'Holocaust' as 'sacrifice', and of the term 'Shoah' as a 'Jewish term' meaning 'sacrifice'. All three books provide an inclusive definition of the Holocaust by not underscoring its uniqueness, that is, T2 and T3 leave open the question whether the event is unique, while T1 makes the generic statement, 'Systematic killing of the Jews is generally known today as the Holocaust'. T3 covers all stages of the event; T1 covers them briefly, while T2 is neither historical nor coherent. Information is largely accurate, although T2 indiscriminately lumps together Jews, gypsies and homosexuals, who are 'all' said to have been murdered in camps, and T3 provides misleading information that '6 million Jews died in the camps'. Historiographical paradigms are found in T1 in the form of a discussion about alternative 'intentionalist' and 'functionalist' explanations of perpetrators' motivations. However, the implications of Daniel Goldhagen's book *Hitler's Willing Executioners* dominate explanations of the Holocaust in all three books, which enquire primarily: 'What caused some otherwise ordinary people to become killers?' (T2) and 'Why did the Nazis commit mass murder?' (T3). A range of complex causes of the Holocaust are presented, including racism, antisemitism, state ('totalitarian') organization and the 'radicalizing effects of the war' (T3); that is, while explanations are largely rationalized, they also account for Hitler's obsessions (T3) and Hitler's irrational hatred of the Jews. All three books address motivations in terms of the revenge (ascribed to Hitler) against Jews, who were presumed to have been responsible for Germany having lost the First World War. Blind obedience to rules (T1 and T3), a sense of duty, the pressure to conform to the 'ideological', 'biological' or 'social' aspects of the national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*), privileges accorded to helpers (T2) and even pre-emptive attacks on Jews suspected of conspiring against Germany (T3) are also listed among the motivations and aims of perpetrators. T2 tends to relativize the event by dealing with the Holocaust in the general context of genocide. More precisely, it lists the bombing of Dresden by the Allies in 1945 alongside the Ukrainian famine, Srebrenica, Cambodia and Darfur. Although the authors of T2 question whether Dresden can be called '*a Holocaust*' (our italics), the very use of the indefinite pronoun effectively relativizes the event. The comparison of the genocide of 1994 in Rwanda and the Holocaust in T2 focuses on similarities between motivations of perpetrators, who are described as having acted out of 'revenge' in both contexts

Narrative structure and point of view

The balance between textual sources and visual materials (ranging from 50 to 70 percent) and authored texts (ranging from 30 to 50 percent), in combination with a very wide variety of types of documentary sources (including posters, photographs, cartoons, drawings, contemporary and post-war testimonies, letters, speeches, interviews, film stills, reports and diary extracts), ensures that multiple perspectives are represented. Types of argumentation are generally based on causality. The moral bias of the narrative is one of decline and intensification in all three books, with the exception of a marginal element of hope in a letter addressed to the UN in T1, which evokes the education of people to 'become more human'. Of particular note is the representation of subjectivities of authors and readers. All books address the reader as 'you' and the authors of T3 present themselves as 'we'. The narrator of T2 is detached, whereas those of T1 and T3 articulate clear judgemental standpoints. Judgement is expressed unambiguously in terms of 'dreadful slaughter', Hitler's hating Jews 'insanely', 'brutally murdered' victims, the 'full horrors' of the regime, 'hellish' conditions in ghettos, and 'totally discredited Nazism'. At the same time, authorial points of view are complemented by multiple perspectives (presented via a variety of document types and quotations of historians, protagonists and wartime organizations) which ensure that pupils are encouraged to add their own points of view, based on evidence, to those presented in the books.

Didactic approach

T1 and T2 contain didactic question boxes on every page, and T3 contains several exercises. These require pupils to analyse sources and fulfil comprehension and discussion tasks, or to perform role play (T2). T1 and T2 also set a number of 'second order' tasks requiring pupils to consider why textbook authors choose not to print atrocity images, for example, or to assess the utility of different types of sources as evidence. In contrast to such invitations to rationalize the process of historical enquiry, pupils are also invited to read and empathize with different protagonists' perspectives via testimonies of members of the Hitler Youth (T1), of a German railway worker, and with the (imaginary) experiences of grandchildren of a kindertransportee and of Oscar Schindler (T2).

National idiosyncrasies

These books focus on how the Holocaust happened, what caused ordinary people to become killers, why the Nazis committed mass murder and who was responsible. The culpability and responsibility of broad sections of the German population, whether the civil service, the police force, the army, industry or 'ordinary' people, is a constant theme which is presented methodologically in relation to the debate over Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. This approach to understanding mechanisms of responsibility may in fact represent an attempt on the part of textbook authors to supplant the traditional

blaming of German citizens as militaristic in popular English media.⁵⁶ Apart from the partially fictionalized treatment of the kindertransport in T2, links between the Holocaust and English history, such as the ineffectual diplomatic negotiations among Allies, and the initial failure to either believe or respond to the discovery of the death camps, are striking omissions. The lack of detail about the history of antisemitism before 1933, and the lack of treatment of the aftereffects of the Holocaust as an object of international diplomacy and social memory, confine the scope of the Holocaust to the period of the Second World War in these textbooks – notwithstanding the comparisons to other genocides in T2 in terms of rights and morality.

Bibliography

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- T3: Hite, J. and Hinton, C. 2000, reprinted 2013. *Weimar & Nazi Germany*. London, Hodder Education. (history, in the series 'Schools History Project, Advanced History Core Texts', age 16-18 years, in English)

56 Cf. Pearce, A. 2014. Britain and the formation of contemporary Holocaust consciousness. A product of Europeanization, or exercise in triangulation? L. Bond and J. Rapson (eds), *The Transcultural Turn. Interrogating Memory Between and Beyond Borders*. Berlin, de Gruyter, pp. 119-138.

The sample

The sample contains five textbooks covering either American (T1, T2 and T3) or world (T4 and T5) history published between 2010 and 2013, and designed for pupils between the ages of fifteen and eighteen studying in state schools. The sample is heterogeneous insofar as, with the exception of T1, these textbooks present the Holocaust not chronologically but thematically, whereby the event is often fragmented in separate sections. Only T1 contains a section devoted wholly to the Holocaust. The Holocaust is treated in a section called 'War Again in Asia and Europe' in T2, in sections called 'Refugees from the Holocaust' and 'The Last Days of Hitler' in T3, in a section called 'Extermination Camps, the Implementation of Mass Murder, the Question of Responsibility' in T4, and in sections called 'The Context of Atrocities' and 'The Shift to Ideological Conflict' in T5. The scope ranges from half a page in T2 to eight pages in T1.

Scale

All the textbooks name key dates of the Holocaust. In all books the event ends in 1945, while its beginning is named as 1942 in T1, the late 1930s in T2, 1938 in T3 and T4, and 1939 in T5. T1 inaccurately dates the 'final stage' of the 'Final Solution' to 1942, and T4 dates the Wannsee Conference inaccurately. Maps showing the locations of camps in T4 and T5 clearly associate the Holocaust with the geography of Europe; T5 also contains a list of countries, indicating the numbers of Jewish victims in each of them. Further spatial and temporal information extends the scope of the events and/or their causes and effects to nineteenth-century Europe and America (with reference to Jewish emigration to America in T1 and T3), to twentieth-century America (with reference to Jewish refugees from the Holocaust in T1 and T2), to the creation of the state of Israel in T1, T2 and T4, and to universal Jewish history, with reference to Christian antisemitism, in T4 and T5. T5 places the Holocaust in a context alongside other genocides and atrocities, where the authors claim that the atrocities committed under the rule of Stalin and Mao Zedong 'equalled or excelled in scale anything the Nazis did'.

Protagonists

Perpetrators are referred to as 'the Germans' (T1, T2, T4), as 'the Nazis' (T1, T2 and T4) and 'the Fascists' (T2), as 'German Nazis' (T3) and as the personified subject 'Germany' (T4). T1 also names 'doctors', 'officials' and 'guards', while some books also name the individuals Goebbels (T3), Heydrich and Eichmann (T4). Images of Hitler in the general sections covering the Second World War (six in T1, one in T3, and two in T4) tend to personalize historical causality, while T1 and T4 additionally ascribe the cause of the Holocaust to Hitler in statements such as 'Hitler began implementing his final solution in Poland with special Nazi death squads. Hitler's elite Nazi "security squadrons" (or SS) rounded up

Jews...' (p. 751) or by referring to the '[d]ecision to exterminate all Jews by Hitler and [the] German leadership' (p. 792). T1 contains four quotations from survivors, while T1, T3 and T4 provide considerable detail about the names of victimized groups and their numbers: T1 in terms of the groups targeted by National Socialists, T4 in terms of groups targeted by National Socialists and national groups, while T3 distinguishes between civilian and military deaths. The British, French and American Allies are addressed in T1 in relation to the failure of their immigration policies to accommodate refugees from the Holocaust. T1 and T4 depict resistance in the ghettos (underground newspapers, secret schools and help offered by non-Jews), partial state resistance in Denmark and Hungary, and underground civilian resistance in Czechoslovakia, France, Greece and Yugoslavia. 'Ordinary Germans' and Dutch, French, Latvian, Romanian and Ukrainian collaborators with anti-Semitic convictions feature in T4 and T5, and Anne Frank is mentioned in passing in T4.

Interpretative paradigms

The event is referred to variously as 'Holocaust' and 'genocide' (in all books), as the 'systematic murder of six million Jews', 'Auschwitz', 'atrocities', the 'systematic killing of an entire population' and 'mass exterminations' (T1), as 'a Nazi genocide', the 'Nazi regime's genocidal crimes', 'genocidal wartime Holocaust and mass murder' (T3), as 'mass murder', the 'Nazi extermination of millions of European Jews' (T4), and as 'extermination' (T5). All books contextualize the Holocaust within the military history of the Second World War, with the exception of T1, which deals with the event in more comprehensive historical terms in a separate section, and T5, which places the Holocaust alongside the war in a section about genocides and crimes. All textbooks describe forms of humiliation and killing, with the exception of T5, which addresses only types of killing. The cause of the event is ascribed most consistently to Hitler (in T1, T2, T3 and T4), and to 'Nazis' and 'the Germans' (in T1, T2 and T4). In this context, causes of the Holocaust are described almost exclusively in psychological terms and as *irrational*, that is, as 'racial hatred' (T1, p. 792) and as 'evil intentions' of 'Nazis' like Hitler, who is 'probably insane' (T2, p. 706, p. 724), and of a 'frustrated, fanatic, a Pied Piper' (T3, p. 780), of 'sadists and criminals' (T4, p. 794) and of a 'vicious German regime' (T5). Even antisemitism, which is addressed in T1, T2 and T3, is conceptualized in individual and collective psychological terms, and said to be motivated (in T1) by the wish to blame a scapegoat (in T2, p. 724; in T5, p. 993), by a 'vicious' drive, and (in T3, p. 780) driven by 'desperate Germans'. Economic crisis is described in T1, T3 and T4 as a motive for scapegoating, and ideology is ascribed to Hitler's person in T3. T5 names 'ideological and intercommunal hatreds' among the causes of massacres and 'inhuman behavior'. Only T4 suggests that peer pressure and the 'hope of gaining some sort of advantage' may also have driven 'ordinary' people to contribute towards the implementation of the Holocaust, and only T3 mentions bystanders who 'looked the other way'. T1, T3 and T4 relativize the Holocaust by comparing the National Socialist regime to the Soviet communist regime, while T5 (p. 963) defines National Socialism, Fascism and Spanish nationalism collectively as forms of 'political extremism in Europe'. Among the few references to the memory and commemoration of the Holocaust are a boxed

insert about righteous gentiles in T1, a photograph of German civilians being forced to view corpses in 1945 in Buchenwald, and reference to the public debate of 1958 about Pope Pius's knowledge of the atrocities and failure to acknowledge them publicly. Captions accompanying photographs are descriptive but not analytical. T2 and T5 contain single images of a US senator viewing corpses in Buchenwald in 1945 and of US soldiers viewing corpses in the Nordhausen camp respectively. T4 and T5 contain maps of Europe indicating numbers of Jewish victims from each country alongside a table showing numbers of deaths from each victim group. T1 and T3 show more characteristic images of survivors, of identification badges worn in camps, of victims' belongings, and of shattered shop windows.

Narrative structure and point of view

The textbooks contain between 40 percent (T3) and 75 percent (T4) authorial text, accompanied by many visual but either no or few written documents (which are confined largely to quotations by victims in T1 and an excerpt from *Mein Kampf* in T4). While T1 contains a special section devoted to the Holocaust, the event is generally dispersed in fragments across various sections of the other books. The conceptual narrative bias is generally psychological and moral, and largely progressive, insofar as the emigration of refugees and liberation of the camps feature in all textbooks except T4.

Didactic approach

T2 and T3 contain no didactic exercises, while T4 and T5 pose questions requesting pupils to explain general phenomena such as the numbers of victims and motives for the killings. T1, by contrast, contains a wide range of questions requiring pupils to interpret numbers of victims and the terminology of the Holocaust, join in group discussion of texts, and write essays presenting a historical overview and opinions about motives and standpoints of key protagonists such as camp doctors, western states, and those involved in resistance activities.

National idiosyncrasies

The main foci of this sample of textbooks are categories of victims, their numbers, reasons for their persecution, as well as the motives of perpetrators and of western bystanders. The textbooks consistently present stereotypical identities in terms of, for example, 'the Nazis', 'the Germans' and 'the Jews'. The largely thematic, rather than historical, approaches tend to dehistoricize and decontextualize the Holocaust (in sections about 'atrocities' and 'countercolonization' in T5, for example), and instead provide primarily psychological explanations of the event with reference to the motivations of perpetrators, and with reference to racism and personal qualities which are defined as 'evil' (T2), 'dangerous' (T3) and 'vicious' (T5). Two recurring visual topoi in the sample, which covers American and world history, are of American soldiers in the Buchenwald or Nordhausen camps after their liberation (T2, T3 and T5), and of Jewish émigrés to the US, represented

in images of Albert Einstein in T1 and T4 following his emigration to the USA in 1933. These images provide a patriotic image of the USA as a key liberator of the camps and as a haven for refugees of the Holocaust. However, they are also linked more generally to US national and European heritage by means of textual references to nineteenth-century Jewish emigration from Europe to the USA (T1 and T3), to the creation of the state of Israel (T1, T2 and T4) and to Christian antisemitism (T4 and T5). At the same time, T1, T2 and T3 also address the failure of the US government to accept more refugees as the atrocities intensified from 1942 onwards.

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- T3: Kennedy, D. and Cohen, L. 2013. *The American Pageant. A History of the American People*. 15th edition. Wadsworth Cengage Learning. (American history, age 15-18 years, in English)
- T4: Judge, E. and Langdon, J. 2012. *Connections. A World History*. 2nd edition. New Jersey, Pearson. (World history, age 15-18 years, in English)
- T5: Fernandez-Armesto, F. 2010. *The World. A History*. 2nd edition. New Jersey, Prentice Hall. (World history, age 14-18 years, in English)

The sample

The sample contains one history textbook published in 2009 and designed for fifteen-year-old pupils studying history. The textbook is divided into sections devoted to global history, Latin American history and the history of Uruguay. It deals more specifically with the Holocaust in a section entitled 'The World 1930-1945', within which further sub-chapters are called 'Racism and Other Forms of Discrimination', 'Fascism, Francoism and Japanese Nationalism in the 1930s' and 'The Consolidation of Nazism'. One page is devoted to the Holocaust, while its context is treated over a further fifteen pages.

Scale

Although the section addresses world history from 1930 to 1945, the Holocaust is explained only as a short-term phenomenon without connections to this broader period. It is qualified spatially as a German event in a section called 'Great Germany' (*Gran Alemania*), with further references to the sites of camps in Auschwitz, Treblinka and Dachau (which is the subject of one photograph).

Protagonists

Perpetrators are presented as 'Paramilitary Nazi Forces' (*Fuerzas Paramilitares Nazis*) within a text box, while the SS and SA are described as 'violent groups', alongside the Gestapo, the industrial middle class, the military, the Hitler Youth, the Nazi regime and the 'totalitarian' state. Rudolf Höss is quoted in order to explain the camp system, while Hitler features prominently on the basis of a quotation from *Mein Kampf* and because responsibility for perpetration is largely ascribed to him, as in the phrase 'Hitler considered Jews, Slavs and Gypsies to be inferior groups, although it was against the first group that he applied a policy of persecution and destruction' (p. 137). The term '*Der Führer*' is incorrectly translated into Spanish as *el conductor* (the driver). In addition to Jews, Slavs and 'Gypsies', the textbook defines Anne Frank inaccurately as an 'opponent of the Nazi regime' (p. 140), and refers to 'fifty-five million war victims, of which six million were Jews' (p. 145). Neither the role of the Allies nor collaborators nor Jewish life before 1933 or after 1945 is mentioned. Bystanders are alluded to in a caption accompanying a photograph of a passer-by in front of a broken shop window following the November pogrom, which states that attacks on shops had 'not provoked overt rejection among the German population' (p. 137).

Interpretative paradigms

The Holocaust is defined in terms of racial violence (with reference to the work of Olivier Wieviorka, p. 127), genocide, destruction and Auschwitz, while neither the terms Holocaust nor Shoah is used. Types of killing are treated in detail, while central aspects of historical

influence such as the Wannsee Conference or the Nuremberg Laws are omitted. The authors focus on the war, violence and racial discrimination with reference to totalitarianism, while dealing with the Holocaust in separate text boxes. Causes are presented as the rational consequence of economic, ideological (antisemitic and racist), expansionist and political factors, including personal decisions made by Hitler. Motives are likewise described as ideological, that is, as racist and antisemitic, and as obedience. Five images depict a Nazi military parade, a march by the Hitler Youth, broken shop windows, a portrait of Anne Frank, the crematorium in Dachau, and a caricature of Hitler and Stalin as a married couple with the caption 'How long will the honeymoon last?' (p. 138). The authors appear to encourage readers to qualify the Holocaust in universal terms by defining the term 'genocide' (p. 146). The authors explain the Holocaust in the context of twentieth-century totalitarianism, where racial violence 'led, in some totalitarian states, to an unimaginable degree [...] of destruction of entire groups and people on the basis of ethnic and cultural difference' (p. 128). However, the use of the generic term 'racial violence' with reference to the works of Wieviorka, and the comparison of the Nazi regime not with the Soviet Union, but with the regime under Emperor Hirohito in Japan, Francoism and Italian Fascism, mean that the authors' approach is somewhat ahistorical.

Narrative structure and point of view

The narrative comprises 70 percent authorial text and 30 percent images and documents. The authors accurately place historical terminology within inverted commas, but make much use of the passive mode and include direct moral commentary of, for example, Höss' behaviour with respect to criminal law, stating that 'no-one may claim that they passively accepted orders from superior authorities' (p. 146). The authors include a bibliography of further reading at the end of the textbook. The narrative is largely progressive insofar as the authors briefly refer to the definition of genocide and crimes against humanity in relation to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide by the United Nations in 1948 (p. 146).

Didactic approach

The image of Frank and the quotation by Höss are not subjected to document analysis. Instead, the question 'Who was Anne Frank? Why did her private diary become famous?' encourages *biographical enquiry*. The questions following the quotation by Höss ask pupils to define 'What did the Nuremberg Trials involve?' and 'Why was Auschwitz considered to be an extermination camp?' As such, the majority of exercises involve *open enquiry-based questions*, asking pupils whether there may be cases of discrimination in democratic societies, for example. Finally, the authors encourage *class debate* over the definition of the Nuremberg Trials as either 'punishment, revenge or justice', over the appropriateness of bringing the perpetrators of the devastation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki before courts, and over comparison of the Holocaust with other genocides. The authors appear to lend both local *and* universal didactic significance to the Holocaust, because their historical

explanations and rhetoric focus on Germany while also inviting pupils to compare different genocides as violations of human rights and to compare legal responses to the Holocaust with legal responses to the dropping of atomic bombs on Japanese cities.

National idiosyncrasies

The textbook explains the causes of the Holocaust with particular reference to the personal wishes of Hitler and the totalitarian nature of the state, and offers a number of suggestions for explanations of its effects, with a series of broad questions about the similarities between different genocides and about the effectiveness of retribution for war crimes and crimes against humanity and of the Allied military response to the war in 1945. The section of the textbook concerned with the Holocaust contains no references to the national history of Uruguay or to the history of South America.

Bibliography

Artagaveytia, L. and Barbero, C. 2009. *Historia. Mundo, América Latina y Uruguay 1850-2000*. Montevideo, Ediciones Santillana. (history, age 15 years, in Spanish)

The sample

The sample contains five history textbooks published between 2006 and 2009, and designed for pupils between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. Four textbooks are devoted to ancient Arabic and Islamic history and contain no information about twentieth century history, while T5 is devoted to the 'history of the contemporary modern world' and includes sections dealing with revolutions, nations, wars and corporations in modern history. All references to the textbook in this section are therefore solely to T5.

Scale

The textbook contains a map of military manoeuvres during the Second World War, but no explicit references to dates.

Protagonists

The textbook provides details of 'those killed' during the Second World War in the form of a list of countries with the numbers of citizens killed in each one. For example, the victims of war in Germany are defined as 'killed soldiers', 'the wounded', 'the missing' and 'killed civilians' (p. 110). Protagonists are referred to in general terms as countries, as in the phrase 'those countries involved in the war used the most cruel means in order to secure victory' (p. 111). This reference is complemented by the example of the atomic bomb dropped by American forces on Hiroshima in 1945. German perpetrators are not mentioned.

Interpretative paradigms

The textbook focuses on the Second World War and its effects in the Arab-speaking and the colonized world, without mention of the Holocaust, in a section called 'The Second World War' on pages 105-113. In particular, it presents the chronology of the war, its economic and social causes, and the economic, political and social effects of the war on the Arab-speaking world. A subsequent chapter called 'Effects of the New Imperialism and Zionism' on pages 165-169 addresses the roles of the USA and the Soviet Union in the war and mentions Judaism and Zionism. The ideologies of protagonists during the war are named as National Socialism, Marxism and Fascism.

Narrative structure and point of view

The textbook provides a chronological account of the events of the war, in particular of military battles and victories. The narrative is confined to the third person and provides no documentation of various points of view. The adjective 'cruel' is used once to describe the methods employed to 'secure victory'.

Didactic approach

The textbook contains no exercises.

National idiosyncrasies

The textbook which deals with contemporary history and the Second World War omits the Holocaust, and identifies German protagonists only as victims of the war. While criticism of cruelty is associated with the attempt by all countries 'to secure victory', the example used to illustrate this statement is confined to that of the dropping of the atomic bomb by American forces on Hiroshima in 1945.

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5.2 International narrative patterns

The national characteristics of textbook representations of the Holocaust outlined above provide groundings on which we may summarize international convergences and divergences. In keeping with the inductive method presented in Part One, this chapter outlines general patterns on the basis of close readings of temporal and spatial scales, characterizations of protagonists, interpretative paradigms, didactic approaches and national idiosyncrasies found in textbooks, albeit without assuming either global standardization or national fragmentation. In other words, the aim here is to identify conceptual and narrative elements of convergence and divergence *by degrees*, independent of geographically or politically determined educational objectives or expectations.

The findings show that, in spite of certain international consistencies in curricula and textbook representations, education about the Holocaust is also partially contingent on local historical concepts and narrative traditions. Curricula and textbooks reflect a dual pattern, characterized by both convergence and divergence, as documented by the dominant concepts and narrative techniques they contain. While certain regional consistencies are evident, for example, within western Europe, central and eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Africa, North America and South America, the concepts, narratives and thematic foci largely differ not only from one region or country to another, but even from one textbook to another in relation to topics, events and didactic traditions with which the Holocaust is associated locally. The findings therefore suggest that educational media provide a fundament not for education about the Holocaust, but for education about the Holocausts.

This assessment of conceptual and narrative trends in curricula and textbooks might provide an opportunity to reassess Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider's contention that the Holocaust (and, by implication, the media which support education about it) is a mainstay of moral universalism.⁵⁷ Both curricula and textbooks refute the thesis that the Holocaust is a negative point of reference,⁵⁸ for example, by means of which moral universalism may be bolstered or taught because the concepts and narratives they contain, as well as the statements of values and distribution of moral responsibility in historical narratives inherent in them, are neither consistent nor primarily ethical or legal in nature. They attribute a wealth of different concepts, definitions and spatial and temporal scales to the event, and in some cases appropriate or 'domesticate' it to fit local requirements, by, for example, linking it to local events, selectively omitting or adding information, or even by reversing western perspectives via the use of oblique references to the Holocaust in order to illustrate the significance of a more local genocide. Nonetheless, the narrative scales, characterizations of historical protagonists, interpretative paradigms, narrative

57 See Sznaider, N. and Levy, D. 2001. *Erinnerungen im globalen Zeitalter – der Holocaust*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, p. 150.

58 Kroh, J. 2008. *Transnationale Erinnerung. Der Holocaust im Fokus geschichtspolitischer Initiativen*. Frankfurt am Main, Campus, p. 233.

techniques and didactic methods found do enable us to identify *partially shared narratives* of the Holocaust, based loosely on overlaps between characteristics of textbook representations in western Europe, eastern Europe, North America, Africa, or in countries with local genocides, or in Middle Eastern countries, or even in countries with no apparent historical relation to the event. An example of a partially shared depiction of the Holocaust occurs when the Holocaust is *de-* and *recontextualized*, where, for example, vocabulary customarily used to describe the Holocaust, including 'terrible massacres', 'killings', 'mass murders', 'atrocities' and 'extermination', is adopted in Rwandan textbooks to describe the historically distinct though comparable genocide of 1994. Alternatively, the Holocaust is *domesticated*, that is, conceptualized in new idiosyncratic or local ways, as in Chinese textbooks, which (in our sample) employ no derivatives of the terms 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah', but rather the terms 'genocide' (*datusha*) and 'kinds of crimes' (*zhongzhong zuixing*). They thereby render the event understandable for local readers in a language which is familiar to them yet which does not convey the historical specificity traditionally ascribed to the Holocaust by western scholars and teachers. In short, 'Holocaust transfer'⁵⁹ conveyed by 'shifting frames of reference'⁶⁰ in textbooks is not a force of international standardization, but proof of the multi-scale divergence of overlapping narratives.

The following summary of general trends characterizing representations of the Holocaust contained in textbooks is not exhaustive, but based on the criteria defined in the questionnaire, which was distributed to researchers who supplied answers on the basis of close readings of textbooks published most recently, or since 2000. The attempt to trace general convergences and divergences between textbook representations in representative nations should therefore provide insights into international trends, but also invite readers to read the more detailed national outline contained in Part Two of this report. The findings show that the Holocaust is rendered in very different ways, but also that these differences are not only regional or even national, but often the result of forms of understanding on the part of individual authors.

Scale

Spatial scale: The textbooks offer insight into perceptions of where and when the Holocaust took place. Many textbooks ascribe multiple spaces (ranging from local, national to European and worldwide) to the Holocaust via authorial texts and especially in maps which show either the sites of concentration and extermination camps or, less commonly, military manœuvres during the Second World War. Transnational spaces are evoked in relation to the topics of collaboration (in France and Republic of Moldova, for example), emigration (in China, Argentina and the USA, for example) and in relation to mass atrocities or genocide in China and Rwanda, while textbooks from other countries, such as Brazil or El Salvador, do not allude to the significance of the Holocaust in their own

59 Buettner, A. 2011. *Holocaust Images and Picturing Catastrophe. The Cultural Politics of Seeing*. Burlington, Ashgate, p. 97.

60 'Wechselrahmung', according to Ebbrecht, T. 2011. *Geschichtsbilder im medialen Gedächtnis. Filmische Narrationen des Holocaust*. Bielefeld, Transkript, p. 324.

countries. The event is generally named as one which occurred in Europe and Germany, while some textbooks domesticate the event, as in Belarus, Germany and Republic of Moldova, by providing details about the local repercussions of the Holocaust. Details of the occupying regime and administration of the General Government and of the role of satellite states are rare. Transcontinental connections are sometimes established which pit Europe against Asia where, for example, Indian authors refer to the threat of the 'Europeanization' of Asia, where authors of a Russian textbook qualify National Socialism as a 'European' phenomenon, or where another textbook from the Russian Federation refers to a 'battle of European culture against Russian and bolshevist barbarity'.

Temporal scales: The temporal or historical context ascribed to the Holocaust is generally that of the Second World War; time spans given range from 1933 to 1945, with some mentions of key changes in 1938 or 1942 or the Warsaw ghetto uprising of 1943. References to deeper historical currents such as racial theories from the nineteenth century are mentioned in textbooks in Brazil, India, Germany and Namibia; Jewish history, emigration, or pre-twentieth century antisemitism are addressed in Argentinian, German, Japanese and American textbooks. Likewise, several textbook authors in Argentina, France, Germany, Namibia and the Russian Federation write about the aftereffects or memory of the Holocaust after 1945. Although human rights are frequently mentioned in connection with the Holocaust, textbook authors rarely explain or express in detail the universal legal or moral significance of the Holocaust. Some authors, of English textbooks for example, emphasize wider issues regarding how 'ordinary people' became 'killers', and while authors in Singapore focus on the universal history of racism, no textbooks in any countries can be said to present an ahistorical or universal narrative of the Holocaust.

Protagonists

Perpetrators are most frequently referred to as 'Nazis', 'Germans' and 'fascists'. Individuals commonly named include Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich, Höss and Eichmann. Most striking is the extent to which Hitlercentrism pervades textbook narratives of the Holocaust, with Hitler functioning as a moral repository for the event, as embodied in portraits of Hitler, excerpts from *Mein Kampf* and the attribution of sole responsibility to Hitler in such phrases, found in Russian textbooks, as 'Hitlerian aggression' or the 'policy of Hitler-Germany'. By contrast, textbooks in France and Germany generally marginalize the role of Hitler in favour of an explanation of the event as a result of plural causes.

Victims are most frequently named as Jews and 'Gypsies' in textbooks from almost all countries, while other groups of victims, such as Slavs, people with disabilities, political opponents and homosexuals, are named less frequently. Other categories of victims are named, for example, as 'black victims' or 'black people' in South African, Rwandan and Indian textbooks. Generic references to an 'inner enemy' (in one Russian textbook) or to so-called 'inferior' or 'undesirable' 'people' (in Chinese, Russian and Uruguyan textbooks) detract from the specificity of Nazi ideology, while some references to Jewish victims as

'opponents' (in Côte d'Ivoire, for example) may mislead readers into believing that all Jews resisted or posed a threat to the National Socialist regime and that they were therefore a legitimate target of repression. Few textbooks depict Jewish life before 1933 or after 1945 (Germany is one example of a country whose textbooks do); most textbooks therefore largely present Jews as voiceless victims and as objects of perpetrators' volition. Textbook authors in some countries regularly define victims in terms of national groups (as Poles, Ukrainians and Russians in Russian textbooks, for example) or nationalize Jewish identity in terms of 'Polish' and 'European' (in Chinese textbooks), or 'Ukrainian' and 'Hungarian' Jews (in French textbooks). Numbers of victims are named in textbooks from approximately half the countries surveyed; most of these figures are accurate, although several textbooks draw attention not to the overall numbers of Jewish victims, but to the numbers of war victims generally (as in Russian textbooks), and to numbers of victims of specific nations or of specific camps. Images of the destroyed cities of Hiroshima and Dresden in French textbooks or of victims of apartheid in South Africa or of Chinese people during the Japanese invasion of 1937 extend the scope of victims to those of other atrocities.

Other protagonists include members of the resistance, rescuers of the persecuted, the Allies, and local individuals who are named by their proper names, such as Janusz Korczak in Polish textbooks. Few bystanders or collaborators feature in the textbooks.

Individual complexity: The general distinction between active and passive protagonists, which is underscored by the use of the passive mode in several textbooks, highlights a dichotomy which fails to acknowledge the day-to-day responsibilities and decisions with which protagonists such as Kurt Gerstein or members of the *Sonderkommando* (presented in Polish and German textbooks respectively) were faced. Moreover, the focus on concentration and extermination camps as places of systematic persecution and murder detracts from details of lives of individuals at all stages of the Holocaust and from complex relationships between individuals, between individuals and groups, and between one group and another. Gender roles and relations during the Holocaust, as embodied in the different treatment of male and female prisoners or in the behaviour of female camp guards, are addressed in none of the textbooks in this sample; Anne Frank and/or homosexual victims are mentioned in the textbooks, albeit without reference to gender roles and relations.

Interpretative paradigms

Interpretative paradigms: Textbook authors generally present the Holocaust in the context of a political history of the Second World War (of the rise of the National Socialist Party, of Hitler, of nationalism, expansionism and appeasement), but also emphasize state racial policy, Hitler's personal beliefs, totalitarianism, and concentration and extermination camps, while in some cases drawing on historiographical models such as a 'breach in civilization' (in Chinese and Indian textbooks) and stages of 'deportation', 'concentration' and 'extermination' (in the Ivorian textbook) which correspond to the concepts found in Dan Diner's and Raul Hilberg's work on the Holocaust.

Conceptualizations of the Holocaust: The majority of textbooks in all countries name the event as the 'Holocaust', to which are added, in the course of the presentations, paraphrases of the event in terms of, for example, 'discrimination against Jewish people, sent to concentration camps' (in a Japanese textbook) or, characteristically, as 'systematic killings', 'extermination', 'systematic genocide', the 'Final Solution' and 'massacres' (in South African textbooks). The largely descriptive nature of history textbooks means that they generally adopt inclusive definitions of the event, that is, definitions which derive from the details of the event rather than from an exclusive *a priori* definition. Exceptions to this general rule are cases in which the Holocaust is not named or alluded to euphemistically, as in one Indian textbook, or in which it is paraphrased in partial terms, as in Egyptian and Syrian textbooks.

Aims, motives and responsibilities of protagonists: Most commonly, in almost all countries, the personalization of the event (its explanation as stemming from the personal convictions of one person) in relation to Hitler is a central interpretative paradigm. The textbook currently used in Namibian schools is characteristic of this technique. In this book, the Holocaust is dealt with in a section entitled 'antisemitism', on the first page of which the word 'Hitler' appears in a box in the middle of the page from which arrows point towards party organizations; the authors describe Hitler's personal 'determination to remove Jews from Germany'. English textbooks also refer to Hitler's irrational hatred of the Jews and to his personal desire for revenge against Jews.

Causes: The most frequently named cause of the Holocaust is ideology (racism, antisemitism, totalitarianism, authoritarianism, militarism, capitalism, fascism). Textbooks in Brazil, Germany, Côte d'Ivoire, Japan, Republic of Moldova and Rwanda also qualify the expansionist policy of Nazi Germany as a form of colonialism.

Historiographical paradigms: Most textbook authors make use of one or more historiographical paradigms in order to explain the Holocaust. The two most common, and largely shared, paradigms are the identification of categories of protagonists in terms of perpetrators, victims and bystanders, and the attribution of moral responsibility to one or more individuals in what has become known as 'intentionalism'. Most textbooks in this survey conceive of protagonists as either perpetrators or victims, in addition to those who resisted the regime and, occasionally, bystanders and/or rescuers. No textbooks explore ambivalent roles beyond these categories. In some cases, as in French and Ivorian textbooks, Hilberg's stages of the Holocaust, defined as identification, concentration and deportation, are reflected in textbook representations. Other paradigms include: the 'breach of civilization' ascribed to Dan Diner, which is echoed in textbooks in China and India; the behaviour of 'ordinary Germans' ascribed to Daniel Goldhagen in English textbooks; the effects of bureaucratization ascribed to Zygmunt Bauman, featured in textbooks in Argentina; the effects of peer pressure ascribed to Christopher Browning, discussed in textbooks in the USA; cumulative radicalization or functionalism ascribed to Hans Mommsen, raised in textbooks in England; and references to colonial aspects underpinning the Holocaust, made in textbooks from Brazil, Germany, Japan and Republic

of Moldova. The large variety of historiographical authorities and works referred to in order to explain the event show that there is little consensus between textbook authors over explanatory models.

Metanarratives: A small number of textbooks, in Argentina, Poland, Spain and the USA, for example, complement their presentations of the history of the Holocaust with meta-historical commentaries in the form of glossaries of historic terms. Meta-narrative approaches are pedagogically effective when explaining the political expediency of commemorations of the Holocaust via monuments or in international relations, as in textbooks from Argentina, Germany, India and the Russian Federation. They also encourage a critical approach to such phenomena as the personality cult surrounding Hitler, as outlined in the Salvadorian textbook in our sample. In exceptional cases, authors not only apply historiographical paradigms, but also discuss their merits, as in the sketches of Hannah Arendt's, Zygmunt Bauman's and Daniel Goldhagen's explanations of the Holocaust in Argentinian textbooks.

Comparisons: Comparisons between the Holocaust and other mass atrocities or genocides are often alluded to but not explained. Usage of the terms 'terror' and 'cleansing' in some Polish textbooks to describe historically different events detracts from their historical specificities. Similarly, the use of the term 'terrorist' to describe Hitler in one Brazilian textbook, 'terror' to describe the Holocaust in one German textbook, or even the definition of Zionist forces in Palestine as Jewish 'terror groups' in one Iraqi textbook lend themselves to semantic confusion if not anachronism. Similar semantic confusion arises when the term 'extermination' is used to describe the function of the Gulag in one Brazilian textbook or when a Belarussian textbook inaccurately claims that the National Socialist regime planned the 'extermination of the Soviet people', or when different regimes are described collectively as 'totalitarian' in Argentinian, Brazilian, French, Moldovan, Polish, Spanish, and briefly in English and Rwandan textbooks. The use of the term 'fascism' to describe the German and Japanese authorities during the Second World War and the use of the term 'genocide' (*datusha*) in Chinese textbooks to refer to crimes committed by both the Japanese forces in Nanjing and the National Socialists in the Holocaust detract from historical distinctions. Comparisons are also evoked by the use of images. The juxtaposition of images of different events, such as the images of Auschwitz and the Nanjing massacre in one French textbook, or of Dresden and Hiroshima in another French textbook, the association of suffering during the Holocaust with suffering caused by the atomic bomb in Hiroshima in one Ivorian textbook, or the association of Auschwitz and life under apartheid in one South African textbook, similarly obscure historical differences rather than explaining them comparatively. While such indiscriminate use of terms and imagery to describe different historical events is commonplace, and while textbooks in some countries allude to similarities by juxtaposing images or textual association, some textbooks in Poland and Argentina, for example, avoid relativizing the Holocaust by providing clear explanations of the comparable motives, methods and aims of the perpetrators of different mass crimes.

Narrative techniques

Open versus closed narratives: Narrative techniques found in a small number of the textbooks are 'closed', which means that the authorial perspective involves a single narrative voice without quotations or complementary documents (as in Albanian textbooks). At the other extreme, some authors apply, at least in part, an open technique by juxtaposing images of different historical events (of a man holding his passport during apartheid beside an image of prisoners arriving in Auschwitz in one South African textbook, for example) in order to allude to meanings without explaining them. The majority of textbooks apply a technique midway between these extremes, juxtaposing authorial texts with additional perspectives reflected in quotations and textual and visual documentation.

Points of view: The predominance of textual and visual documentation produced by perpetrators, which generally assures considerable understanding of perpetrators' lives and motives, is frequently found in combination with emotive language expressing condemnation of their acts, often in pathological terms, such as the descriptions of them as 'crazy' and 'unbelievable' in Chinese textbooks. In some cases authors inadvertently perpetuate the perpetrators' viewpoint. One Ivorian textbook, for example, presents victims primarily as 'opponents, especially the Jews and the Gypsies', then as 'millions of men, women and children', then as 'Jews', and thereby reinforces the idea that 'the' Jews and 'the' Gypsies (that is, all of them) were killed as a result of their role as 'opponents', as if the killers, at least according to their own reasoning, therefore had a just reason to kill them. This conflation of members of the resistance, Jews and Gypsies effectively reproduces the perpetrators' view that the Third Reich needed to defend itself against an alleged threat.

Types of moral narrative employed (decline, fatalism or progression): Most striking are the different ways in which authors lend moral value to the Holocaust. Most authors couch the history of the Holocaust in terms of decline followed by progress. However, the object of this progression varies from one country to another. Polish textbooks notably combine stories of national resistance to the German occupation of Poland with references to the Polish underground government, Polish helpers and Jewish resistance as exemplified by the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Russian textbooks, by contrast, as do those from the USA, focus on progression towards military victory in the Second World War and thus present allied military victory in the place of victory over the Holocaust, in particular over the camp system. The French textbook designed for the final year of secondary schooling even presents the history of commemoration of the Holocaust in progressive terms as one which shifted from national homage to national moral integrity via the acknowledgement of crimes. The most commonly found narrative of progression is one which ends with an allusion to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted by the United Nations in 1948.

Implied readers: The complexity of the presentation of, the values named in relation to, and the type of (local, national or international) framework in which authors place the Holocaust, reflects the prior knowledge of the textbooks' expected readers. North American

textbooks, for example, emphasize liberal values and tolerance of difference; Chinese and Albanian textbooks praise local people who helped Jewish refugees; German textbooks extol democracy and the rule of law as opposed to dictatorship, and also assume that the Holocaust is a German event, the product of National Socialism in the absence of non-German collaborators.

Didactic approaches

Types of exercises: These vary widely from, at one extreme, the lack of any exercises urging pupils to question and explore materials presented in the textbooks, to a wide variety of exercises including storytelling, document interpretation, role play, textual or pictorial analysis, and exercises requiring pupils to either find rational explanations of the events or else to empathize with protagonists via letter writing, biographical writing and analysis of protagonists' decisions. In some cases, exercises simply involve collating information provided in the textbooks (Rwanda) or comparing statistics (Republic of Moldova).

Specific learning objectives associated with the Holocaust: The textbooks testify to a trend towards stating and affirming values such as human rights (in India, Iraq, Namibia, Republic of Moldova and Rwanda, for example) or affirming the role of the United Nations in securing human rights after 1945 (in Brazil, El Salvador, Spain or Uruguay, for example), albeit without explaining the origins, meaning, history, implementation and effectiveness of the principles of human rights. Textbook authors adopt similar approaches by affirming democratic values (as in France, Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, South Africa and Uruguay) as a radical alternative to values associated with dictatorship or autocracy (El Salvador), while references to citizenship, moral norms, or genocide prevention are rare. No textbooks in our sample address human rights historically.

Didactic links to localities: Many textbooks link the Holocaust to local horizons by appealing to pupils to, for example, conduct interviews with Jewish survivors in Shanghai (in a Chinese textbook), explore the rescuing of persecuted people in Albania and compare the motivations of perpetrators in Romania and Germany (Republic of Moldova), or explore local historical and commemorative sites (Germany).

National idiosyncrasies

All of the textbooks, to varying extents, decontextualize and recontextualize the Holocaust in terms which are alien to the event itself or partial, in a process of (national) appropriation and 'domestication'. Authors appeal to local readerships, in particular in countries whose populations have no direct experience or inherited memory of the event. These expedient idiosyncrasies are linked largely to the interests of authors writing in the present day within curricular guidelines for identifiable readerships, meaning that textbook representations of the Holocaust may subsume historical information to values or legal and political interests which are largely the product of the situation within and out of which the textbooks are written.

The Holocaust as a measure of local mass atrocities: Some Chinese, Rwandan and South African textbooks radically deviate from western historical perspectives by evoking the Holocaust in sections of textbooks devoted to other examples of persecution or genocide. Chinese textbooks, for example, treat the Holocaust briefly as an example by which to illustrate and measure the extent of the local massacre of 1937 in Nanjing. Experts agree that discussion of the Holocaust among peoples whose countries have only recently experienced mass atrocities, or in which little discussion of the event has hitherto taken place, is an effective way of broaching local persecution *indirectly* while avoiding the conflict which a direct discussion of the issues might provoke.⁶¹

Nationalizing victimhood in post-communist Europe: Belarussian and Russian textbooks generally adhere to the notion that the Second World War involved a violation of national territories. The authors of Belarussian textbooks, for example, refer to 'the occupied territory' and to that fact that 'The territory of Belarus was covered with a network of concentration camps'. Russian textbooks likewise largely displace the Holocaust behind a history of the suppression of Slavs and of Soviet heroism. Textbooks in Albania also appear to uphold the Holocaust as a measure of local heroism by defining the Holocaust as the 'age of upheaval 1914-1945' while drawing attention to heroic acts of Albanian citizens who rescued Jews, and to the humanitarian values of hospitality, religious tolerance, humanism and antifascism. Although Polish textbooks firmly focus on the Polish dimension of the Holocaust by presenting it as an event in Polish history with Polish figureheads and as a consequence of the occupation of Poland, the books in this sample no longer nationalize victimhood, but render multiple perspectives with meta-historical critiques. However, representations from countries of the former Soviet Union and former members of the Warsaw Pact do not conform to a uniform pattern. Research has shown that Baltic States traditionally depict a 'symmetry between Nazi and communist crimes'.⁶² And in Ukraine, the famine known as the Holodomor continues to compete with and even displace representations of the Holocaust, which harbours more ambiguous recollections of both persecution and collaboration among Ukrainian citizens.⁶³

Exculpatory appropriation: By defining crimes committed during the Holocaust as 'genocide' while defining local crimes euphemistically (as 'cruel acts', for example), some Japanese textbooks play down the moral and legal repercussions of crimes committed locally. Thus 'exculpatory interpretations'⁶⁴ of the Holocaust may be used as a 'measure' or

61 This is the case in South Africa and China. See Freedman, R. 2014. Engaging with Holocaust education in post-apartheid South Africa in K. Fracapano and M. Haß (eds), 2014, *Holocaust Education in a Global Context*, UNESCO, Paris, pp. 134-142, 136; and Xu X. 2014. A new frame to reinterpret China's past. Holocaust studies in China, K. Fracapano and M. Haß, *Holocaust Education*. Paris, UNESCO, pp. 143-152, 151.

62 Himka, J.-P. and Michlic, J. 2013. Introduction. J.-P. Himka and J. Michlic (eds), *Bringing the Dark Past to Light*. Nebraska, Uni. Of Nebraska Press, pp. 1-24, 17f.

63 See Dietsch, J. 2006. *Making Sense of Suffering. Holocaust and Holodomor in Ukrainian Historical Culture*. Lund, Lund University Press, p. 234.

64 J.-B. Shin, 2012, The Second World War in world history textbooks of Korea, China, and Japan, U. Han et al. (eds), *History Education and Reconciliation. Comparative Perspectives on East Asia*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, pp. 121-136, 132.

'benchmark'⁶⁵ of the putatively relatively minor significance of local persecution, by which attention is detracted from those responsible for comparable crimes.

Borrowed history in a former colony: By focusing on French collaboration and resistance rather than deportation, the authors of Ivorian textbooks adopt the viewpoint of, and thereby affirm a degree of loyalty to, the former colonial power. The Ivorian textbook, for example, adopts a 'French' reading of the Second World War by emphasizing collaboration and resistance, and by subsuming Jewish victims to the legend of a nation united in resistance which pervaded public perceptions of the role of France during the Second World War until the 1980s.

Political expediency of the Holocaust: In extreme cases, textbooks evoke the Holocaust marginally in a history which focuses entirely on the Second World War. One Indian textbook produced during the mandate of the government coalition led by the Left Front, for example, marginalizes the Holocaust in favour of the history of resistance to the Nazi war effort as an analogy to the struggle for Indian independence. Likewise, the total disregard for the Holocaust in another textbook may be ascribed to the fact that its authors appear to sympathize with the nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and with its radical nationalism and the goal of territorial unity akin to that of the National Socialists. By contrast, liberal authors present Gandhi's attempts to negotiate with Hitler in the hope that the regime may abstain from its racial policy.

Generalization and abstraction: While no textbooks in the sample overtly question the history of the Holocaust, some present it in partial or abstract terms, such that the reader learns little about the event. A Syrian textbook, for example, refers to the event as 'conditions of oppression by the Nazis in Europe'; an Iraqi textbook similarly describes the violation of human rights and crimes against humanity committed under the National Socialist regime, but conceptualizes the event in purely legal terms as one which ended once perpetrators had been tried, punished or exculpated by the Nuremberg Tribunal. Jewish victims of Nazi oppression are named in these textbooks in association with the alleged lack of resolve of the British Mandate to stem Jewish immigration to Palestine.

Selective reductionism: South African and Rwandan textbooks are examples of selective narratives which partly reduce the Holocaust to a form of racism, illustrated with images of Hitler and Darwin side by side, or evoke analogies between life under apartheid and persecution carried out by the National Socialists.

65 Buettner, A. 2011. *Holocaust Images and Picturing Catastrophe. The Cultural Politics of Seeing*. Burlington, Ashgate, p. 146.

PART 3

Recommendations

6. Objectives and scope of the recommendations

The following recommendations are designed for use by educational policymakers, researchers, textbook authors and publishers and educators generally who are involved in education about the Holocaust. They respond primarily to the challenge of (1) developing educational media which are appropriate when teaching about the Holocaust to a fourth generation of people born after the event, that is, for whom the event is distant in time and therefore less immediately relevant to their own lives than it was to previous generations; (2) teaching about the Holocaust in societies characterized by high levels of immigration, where pupils who themselves, or whose parents, grew up in different historical environments relate to the event in different ways and therefore approach historical education with different assumptions; and (3) teaching about the Holocaust in countries whose citizens share no historical memory of the event handed down by previous generations who experienced or witnessed aspects of the event.

It goes without saying that the formulation of recommendations concerning the status of the Holocaust in curricula and textbooks worldwide is a highly ambitious proposition. Is it possible or even necessary to assess whether general standards may be applied worldwide in countries with radically different histories? Are there core conceptualizations and narratives of the Holocaust which may be recommended, and are there commonly agreed means by which knowledge of the Holocaust may be narrated and visualized for effective use by young people in such distant countries? While previous recommendations concerning education about the Holocaust compiled by the IHRA (in the country reports compiled between 2005 and 2012), by the Council of Europe in 2001,⁶⁶ by the Runnymede Commission of the British National Union of Teachers in 2003,⁶⁷ or those implicit in the

66 See J.-M.Lecomte, 2001, *Enseigner l'Holocauste au 21^e siècle*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, and G. Short, 2001, *Teaching about the Holocaust and the History of Genocide in the 21st Century*, Strasbourg, Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, p. 38. See also Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) and Yad Vashem, 2009, *Toolkit on the Holocaust and Human Rights Education in the European Union*.

67 The National Union of Teachers (England and Wales) (ed.). 2003. *Racism and Antisemitism in Schools. Issues for Teachers and Schools*. <https://www.teachers.org.uk/files/active/0/TacklingAnti.pdf>.

UNESCO reports of 2009 and 2012,⁶⁸ and in studies by individual educational experts such as Henry Maitles and Paula Cowan, David Lindquist, and William Shiman and David Fernekes⁶⁹ were more modest in terms of their geographical scope, the following recommendations do not lay claim to universality. Rather than assessing education about the Holocaust in general, as previous reports and recommendations have done, we have limited the assessment in several ways by focusing on *conceptual and narrative representations* of the Holocaust, by grounding the recommendations in *specific examples* drawn from nationally approved *formal curricula* and *textbooks currently in use*, and by confining the scope of the recommendations to the *discipline of history* (quoting social studies curricula and textbooks only where history ones were not available) and (with a few exceptions, where documents were not available) to the *secondary level*, pertaining roughly to fifteen- and sixteen-year-old pupils, the age at which most pupils are exposed to teaching about the Holocaust. Moreover, many of the didactic shortcomings of historical conceptualizations and narratives of the Holocaust in curricula and textbooks are not endemic to the Holocaust, but reflect deficient methods in representations of issues in the humanities in general.

Above all, the sample on which the study is based requires us to acknowledge the limited utility of any recommendations which emerge from it. The curricula and textbooks quoted were published at a particular moment in time between 2000 and 2013, and were generally valid in 2012 and 2013 and made available for use by pupils from specific age groups (generally aged around sixteen) in specific places and at specific times. Although their content is founded on the historical knowledge and educational expertise of teachers and researchers, one must remember that these educational media each fulfil a specific function within an identifiable polity, a function which is not only the dissemination of historical knowledge, but also the *correction* of misunderstandings about the Holocaust previously acquired outside of schools via television, internet, literature, film and stories told in families, for example. It is this inherent contingency of both the production and reception of educational media which make them imperfect sources of information about 'Holocaust education' as a whole, but also make them reliable indicators of specific collectively sanctioned conceptualizations and narratives about the Holocaust at a given time in a given place. It would therefore be imprudent to judge the merit of these curricula and textbooks on the basis of their aptitude to teach anything other than the history of the Holocaust. A moral, philosophical or legal 'message' may indeed be implicit in accounts of history, but this is not their primary function. Even if learning about the Holocaust makes pupils more aware of human rights or even more skilled in defending them and in preventing future genocides, this additional benefit cannot be a *condition* upon which the merit of educational media can be judged or recommendations for their future content

68 UNESCO. 2009. *Combating Intolerance, Exclusion and Violence through Holocaust Education*, May; UNESCO. 2012. *Holocaust Education in a Global Context*, April.

69 H.Maitles and P. Cowan, 2010, Policy and practice of Holocaust education in Scotland, *Prospects. Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, Vol. 2, pp. 257-272, 263; D. Lindquist, 2009, The coverage of the Holocaust in high school history textbooks? *Social Education*, Vol. 6, pp. 298-304; Shiman, W. and Fernekes, D. 1999. The Holocaust, human rights and democratic citizenship education. *The Social Studies*, pp. 53-62.

made, since such a condition surpasses the scope of any history curriculum or textbook. At most, educational media dealing with the history of the Holocaust can serve to help young people to acquire knowledge and understanding of this complex event and even instil an awareness of what one may need to avoid in order for similar events not to happen again, but hardly secure democracy or directly prevent further genocides.⁷⁰

In addition to this caveat concerning the limitations of history curricula and textbooks, readers should also be aware of the limits of these recommendations and apply them with due caution. One may, for example, distinguish between *core* and *formal* recommendations. The discipline of history insists more vehemently, for example, on the accurate depiction of core information including dates and names of places and people and their numbers than on the formal arrangement of information or causal explanation of events. At the same time, the worldwide reach of the material covered in this report suggests that we should acknowledge the conceptual and narrative inflections underpinning the multiple Holocausts found in educational media. It is rarely the case, for example, that the curricula and textbooks of one country are void of all reference to the Holocaust while those of another country are entirely comprehensive and accurate, or that what the materials of one country contain is what those in another country lack, and vice versa. German textbooks are strong on issues of ideology and on documentation but weak on discussions of collaboration. While Moldovan textbooks address collaboration with the National Socialists in Romania, they understate ideology, preferring to explain the event in terms of military strategy and personal decisions. And while South African textbooks explore racism historically in a way which could provide models for European textbooks, they remain somewhat monothematic. Our tentative recommendations for recommendations addressed to curricula and textbook authors are, therefore, that we should strive not towards a one-way flow of knowledge (from 'good' textbooks in some countries as reference points for shortcomings in 'bad' textbooks elsewhere), but rather recognize the potential *complementarity* of interpretations, such that authors in all countries may learn from one another in different ways.

By identifying some of the shortcomings of conceptual and narrative presentations of the Holocaust in these recommendations, we attempt to suggest both *what* and *how* curricula and textbook authors might modify in future curricula relating to and textbook representations of the Holocaust. The recommendations are concerned with arrangements of verbal and visual information and modes of explanation or interpretative paradigms rather than with numbers of pages or the frequency with which topics are mentioned or their relative accretion or decretion over time. Moreover, they define conceptual and narrative standards which are themselves *scaled*, and which must be adapted to local circumstances. For example, while standards of *historical accuracy* are valid throughout the world, standards of *historical detail*, *comprehensiveness* and *perspective* may legitimately differ from one area to another. Textbook authors in China cannot be expected

70 Cf. F. Pingel, 2004, 'Sicher ist, dass... der Völkermord nicht mit Hitler begann und leider auch nicht mit ihm endet'. Das Thema 'Völkermord' als Gegenstand von Unterricht und Schulbuch, V. Radkau, E. Fuchs and T. Lutz (eds), *Genozide und staatliche Gewaltverbrechen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Innsbruck, Studien Verlag, pp. 98-113, 102f.

to treat the Holocaust or even European history in such detail as do their colleagues in France, whose citizens were directly involved in or affected by the Holocaust.

In short, while supporting Davis and Rubinstein-Avila's appeal to educators to eschew 'a standardized, hierarchical, global curriculum' in favour of a 'rhizomatic' approach to education about the Holocaust which allows pupils to build 'on their own experiences'⁷¹ and gain insight into multiple perspectives which allow them to learn for themselves, we also appeal more generally to educators and authors to practise and provide the educational means by which pupils may develop Holocaust literacy.

71 B. Davis and E. Rubinstein-Avila, 2013, Holocaust education. Global forces shaping curricula integration and implementation, *Intercultural Education*, p. 15f.

7. Recommendations

7.1 Curricula

? Naming the Holocaust in the curriculum does not guarantee that teaching about the Holocaust takes place. Likewise, not naming the Holocaust in the curriculum does not preclude teaching about the Holocaust.

→ A review of the conceptualizations and contextualizations of the Holocaust in curricula in connection with learning goals in history and their implementation.

? Some curricula either allude or refer to the Holocaust in ambivalent terms (in Burkina Faso, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Rwanda and Zimbabwe, for example) or mention the Holocaust as an example of human rights violation without first stipulating education about the historical facts of the event (in Colombia, Mexico and Slovenia, for example).

→ Assure explicit mention of the Holocaust and assure that the history curriculum stipulates historical learning about the Holocaust.

? Incongruencies between policy curricula (reflected in curricula) and programmatic curricula (reflected in textbooks) exist both within nations and between nations.

→ A review of curricula conceptualizations and contexts of the Holocaust as well as of related learning goals. Open and collaborative dialogue between policymakers, textbook authors and educators nationally and internationally may enhance the quality of education about the Holocaust on the levels of policy, programmatic and enacted curricula.

7.2 Scale

-
- ❓ A tendency to confine the main timeframe to the years of intense killing from 1942 to 1944 and/or to the years of the Second World War.
 - ➔ **Acknowledge the long-term escalation of exclusion and persecution from the early 1930s onwards, including the long established social and ideological context from the late nineteenth century and far-reaching consequences into the present day. This requires developing understandings of change and continuity.**
-
- ❓ A tendency to name the spaces in which the Holocaust took place in general terms as 'Europe' or 'Germany'.
 - ➔ **Specify the policies and practices of annexation, displacements of national borders and displacements of populations, in particular in annexed parts of Poland and the General Government as well as in satellite and collaborating countries.**
-
- ❓ Incommensurable representation of the multiple spatial (local, national, regional, international) and temporal (short and long term) repercussions of the Holocaust.
 - ➔ **Indicate both the individual and collective significance of historical incidents in the context of their short term and long term causes and consequences and of their multiple spatial (local, national and international or 'universal') dimensions.**

7.3 Protagonists

-
- ❓ The quantitative and qualitative imbalance of textual and visual representations of protagonists in favour of perpetrators, which not only marginalize other protagonists but also ascribe human qualities to perpetrators while naming victims as objects of others' actions.
 - ➔ **Redress the representational imbalance by increasing the space devoted to and by providing insight into experiences of victims, bystanders, rescuers and resisters, while extending representations of them in time (before 1933 and after 1945) in order to provide insight into social relations and agency in all their complexity before, during and after the Holocaust.**

? Personalization of Adolf Hitler fuels a bias towards an intentionalist explanation of history, which in turn oversimplifies explanation, and underpins a moral, psychological and ideological explanation of history by pinning responsibility on one person, at the expense of political, legal, economic, geopolitical factors and in the absence of other political and 'ordinary' protagonists.

→ **Reduce the space accorded to Hitler while underscoring multiple (ideological, political, psychological or economic) factors or causes with which the event may be explained.**

? A lack of insight into the complex situations and dilemmas faced by protagonists entrenches categories defined by National Socialist ideology and perpetuates dichotomous stereotypes of perpetrators and victims.

→ **Provide insight (via quotations of documents) into the everyday decisions faced by protagonists, including their hopes, fears and doubts as well as the motives underpinning their decisions and actions.**

7.4 Interpretative paradigms

? Factual inaccuracies and incomprehensive presentations of the history of the Holocaust, where they occur, are misleading.

→ **Maintain historical facticity by ensuring that textbooks contain accurate basic facts, indicating the beginning, end, major turning points and links to developments before 1933 and after 1945; maintain comprehensiveness by naming (local, national, and international) geographical spaces in which the event took place and by naming protagonists while including references to gender roles and relations; avoid (or else explain) metaphors, euphemisms and examples of personification or personalization.**

? Conceptual inconsistencies, where they occur, are confusing.

→ **Historicize concepts, that is, place and explain concepts defined by the event (such as 'extermination', 'Jewish question', 'final solution', including euphemisms, and ethnic, gender, national, political, racial or religious categorizations), as well as those concepts which have subsequently been used to define the event (such as 'Holocaust', 'Shoah', 'genocide'), and concepts of agency (such as 'victims', 'perpetrators', 'bystanders' or 'rescuers'), in relation to their historical origins and specific spatial and temporal frameworks. Include extended glossaries to explain and contextualize concepts.**

-
- ❓ Misleading juxtaposition of historically distinct atrocities. In place of systematic comparison, semantic conflation of the meanings of such terms as 'Holocaust' and 'genocide', which are often used alternately within text passages as if they were synonyms, and juxtaposition of historically incompatible images (of Hitler and Darwin, or Auschwitz and Nanjing, for example) create semantic allusions if not (often anachronistic) analogies between disparate historical events.
 - ➔ **Compare each aspect (aims, causes, visual icons, laws, language, ideology, violence and aftereffects) of the Holocaust in turn *with* rather than *to* analogous aspects of other events.**

7.5 Narrative structure and point of view

-
- ❓ A tendency to confine the narrative voice to that of one single, neutral point of view.
 - ➔ **Encourage enquiry-based learning, with reference to different documents, by demonstrating the multiplicity of historical narratives of the Holocaust which have arisen over time and which exist concurrently.**
-
- ❓ Frequent recourse to the passive voice, which presents actions without subjects, and essentialization of collective protagonists.
 - ➔ **Use of the active rather than the passive voice; and avoidance of emotive language; build awareness of the essentializing and stereotyping effects of collective nouns such as 'Germans', 'Nazis', 'Jews' and 'Roma'.**
-
- ❓ The predominant focus on the years from 1942 to 1945 marginalizes knowledge of the gradual process of social, legal, economic and physical exclusion from 1933 until 1945 and afterwards, and of the distinctive experiences of people in different parts of Europe, both within and beyond annexed territories.
 - ➔ **Adopt, in addition to the multiperspectival approach (combining viewpoints of different historical protagonists⁷²), a *multiscaled approach*, which takes into account individual and group experiences as they develop at different times and in different places.**

72 Weinbrenner and Fritzsche define multiperspectivity as 'a multiplicity of viewpoints which take into account the ways in which other nations, religions, ethnic groups and cultures see things'. See Weinbrenner, P. and Fritzsche, K.-P., 1993, *Teaching Human Rights. Suggestions for Teaching Guidelines*. Bonn and Braunschweig, German Commission for UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute, p. 35.

7.6 Didactic approach

-
- ? Meanings generated by the selection and sequences of images and by relations between texts and images are often incongruous.**
 - Whether used to illustrate texts or treated analytically (on the basis of information about photographers, their intentions and the date of the photograph), authors should provide information which determines the relation between images, the purposes for which images were created, and the temporal and spatial context in which they are to be understood today.**
-
- ? Today, pupils learn about the Holocaust via a variety of different media ranging from the internet, film, literature and stories told within families by non-experts.**
 - Textbooks should (a) incorporate elements of out-of-school media and thereby both accommodate pupils' prior knowledge and misunderstandings of the Holocaust and provide a platform on which to discuss and learn from and about them in the classroom, (b) provide opportunities with which to develop meta-analytical skills required to critically interpret media of historical knowledge and learning, including language, images, narratives, memorials and rituals and (c) provide information about the ways in which narratives of the Holocaust are constructed textually and visually, both in pupils' own countries and in other countries.**
-
- ? While human rights are frequently mentioned, they are not addressed in history textbooks in such a way that pupils learn to fully understand what human rights are and how to implement them.**
 - Include a section about the history of human rights, including their origins, legal stipulations, violations of them and attempts to implement them, while acknowledging the specificities of the historical discipline, which strives to foster understanding of the entire spectrum of past human endeavour, including heroism, altruism and humanism, but also conformism, thoughtlessness, exclusion, violence and cruelty.**

7.7 National idiosyncrasies

-
- ❓ Overemphasis of local aspects of the Holocaust detracts from learning about the Holocaust in all its dimensions; conversely, overemphasis of the general aspects may detract from the contested local dimensions of the Holocaust.
 - ➔ **Ensure that presentations of the local significance of the Holocaust are complemented by a section describing the history of the Holocaust including main dates, places and sites including protagonists involved.**
-
- ❓ Textual and visual allusions used for dramatic effect and to contextualize the Holocaust in words and images familiar to readers who have little prior knowledge of the event lead to a biased understanding of the Holocaust.
 - ➔ **Explain critically rather than allude to historical connections between, for example, racism and social Darwinism, or Hiroshima and Auschwitz.**
-
- ❓ Inconsistent categorizations of the historical causes and contexts of the Holocaust, in terms of 'dictatorship', 'autocracy' or 'totalitarianism' for example, decontextualize the event and recontextualize it in terms familiar to local readers.
 - ➔ **Explain historically and comparatively the origins and usage of terminology used to explain the Holocaust, in multilingual glossaries for example.**

APPENDIX

8. Questionnaire pertaining to curricula

8.1 Guidelines for searching for terms in curricula

The purpose of this curriculum analysis is to establish (a) whether the Holocaust is explicitly addressed in curricula, (b) in what terms it is defined, and (c) (if it is treated indirectly) in what contexts it is dealt with. We would also like to know (d) what learning objectives (if any) are ascribed to teaching about the Holocaust, and (e) if the Holocaust is not addressed, what is presented in its place. If the event is referred to with terms not included in the lists below, please indicate what these terms are and what they mean. *In all cases please note the original term and its English equivalent.*

We recommend that you proceed with the following steps.

Step I. Direct references to the Holocaust

Do the following terms occur?

Holocaust
Shoa(h)
concentration camp
Auschwitz
other: _____

Step II. Indirect references to the Holocaust (terms occurring in combination)

You may establish whether the Holocaust is referred to indirectly by searching for some of the following terms in combination. In cases where different derivatives of words occur (for example: Germany, Germanic), we recommend that you search only for the root term (German). Please indicate further terms which occur in your own language.

EVENT	PROTAGONIST
genocide	Nazi(s)
catastrophe	Jew(s)
destruction	German(y/s)
massacre	National Social(ism/ist)
extermination	Third Reich
mass murder	Europe(an)
mass killing	1940(s)
pogrom	minority(ies)
‘Final Solution’	Fascism
1940(s)	Zionism
concentration camp	Aryan
deportation	other: _____
antisemitism	
Auschwitz	
other: _____	

Step III. Contemporaneous events (in cases where the Holocaust is not included in the curricula)

If the Holocaust is listed neither directly nor indirectly, please search and record what other contemporaneous events are stipulated in the curricula (such as the Second World War, European history more broadly, or local historical events in your region).

Step IV. Alternative uses of the terms ‘Holocaust’ and/or ‘Shoah’

If the terms ‘Holocaust’ and/or ‘Shoah’ are used in reference to events other than the European genocide of the 1930s and 1940s, please record what the curricula requirements are.

Chile

Term /School year	8	9	10	11	12
‘antifascismo’ Antifascism					p. 119
antisemitism					
Auschwitz					
‘campos de concentración’ concentration camps					p. 30
Denazification					
‘fascism’ Fascism				pp. 19, 77, 82, 145	pp. 8, 16, 20, 27, 30, 70, 71, 84, 95, 97, 99, 119, 120, 122, 128, 134, 139, 142f, 287
Hitler		pp. 28, 37, 43, 46, 92, 95			
‘Holocausto’ Holocaust		pp. 35, 45, 84			p. 30
Jews					
‘época nazi’ Nazi era					p. 118
‘genocidio nazi’ Nazi genocide		p. 43f			p. 30
‘Alemania Nazi’ Nazi Germany					pp. 20, 22, 29, 70f, 84, 99
Nazi occupation					
‘regímenes nazi’ Nazi regime		pp. 28, 37, 43, 46, 95			p. 29
Nazism					
‘Segunda Guerra Mundial’ Second World War		pp. 12, 28, 35, 38f, 43-45, 49, 52, 58f, 82f, 85, 91f, 96		pp. 19, 74, 76, 82, 144f	pp. 9, 16, 20, 22f, 30-32, 35, 47, 61, 72f, 82-86, 89, 116-120, 122, 130, 134, 142, 159, 198, 223, 233, 277, 286, 287
Shoah		p. 86			

8.2 Questionnaire pertaining to textbooks

SCHOOL TEXTBOOK QUESTIONNAIRE

UNESCO / Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research

Thank you for collaborating with our project. The purpose of this survey is to identify and classify narrative paradigms with which the Holocaust is represented in textbooks in your country. We require you to analyse five history or social sciences textbooks currently in use in schools. The criteria for the selection of textbooks (if you have more than five) are: they should reflect a wide range of pupils' ages (from 14 to 18); they should reflect different school types (from technical to grammar schools); they should be those which are most frequently in use; and they should be currently in use (or those published in or since 2000). In order to facilitate this task we enclose (below) a form which you may fill in, using one form for each textbook. We also require you to supply us with additional background information about the teaching of the Holocaust in your country in the table contained in the annex. The questions are ordered in thematic sections and generally increase in complexity as you progress. At the end of each section is a space to add further remarks, where you may expand on your responses to the list of questions above. If a question does not seem relevant to a textbook, leave the answer blank and move on to the next question – but please be aware that, even if your textbooks do not deal explicitly with the Holocaust, you may nonetheless be able to answer a certain number of questions.

We suggest that you proceed by (a) reading the questionnaire in order to familiarize yourself with its aims, (b) reading the textbook, then (c) proceeding to answer the questions.

Name of researcher:
Your email:
Institute:
Postal address:

TEXTBOOK – FACTSHEET

Title of textbook 1:

Author(s):

Place of publication:

Date (year) of publication:

Publisher:

Subject discipline:

Age group:

School year / grade:

Topics of main sections of the book:

Does the textbook belong to a series? If so, what is the title of the series?

.....

What type of school is the textbook used in (e.g. state, private, religious, or other)?

TEXTBOOK QUESTIONNAIRE

A. The structure and content of the textbook	
1. What is the title of the main part, chapter, subchapter and section in which the Holocaust is treated? Please write down these headings, indicating clearly where the Holocaust is included.	<div>1.</div> <div>2.</div> <div>3.</div> <div>4.</div> <div>5.</div>
2. How many pages are devoted to the Holocaust?	<div>1.</div> <div>2.</div> <div>3.</div> <div>4.</div> <div>5.</div>
3. How many pages does the chapter (in which the Holocaust is depicted) contain?	<div>1.</div> <div>2.</div> <div>3.</div> <div>4.</div> <div>5.</div>
4. How many pages does the entire book contain?	<div>1.</div> <div>2.</div> <div>3.</div> <div>4.</div> <div>5.</div>
5. Are documentary sources depicted? If so, what types are used (e.g. legal, literary, speeches, testimony)?	<div>1.</div> <div>2.</div> <div>3.</div> <div>4.</div> <div>5.</div>
6. Further remarks about the textbook not covered by the above questions.	<div>1.</div> <div>2.</div> <div>3.</div> <div>4.</div> <div>5.</div>
B. Historical content	
1. Is the history of the Holocaust presented in a comprehensive manner, or does the textbook focus only on one aspect? Are, for example, the most significant stages of the event covered, such as the Nuremberg laws, pogroms, the Wannsee Conference, the ghettos, the forced euthanasia programme, extermination and concentration camps, or others?	<div>1.</div> <div>2.</div> <div>3.</div> <div>4.</div> <div>5.</div>

B. Historical content	
2. What types of killing are presented (e.g. beating, shooting, hanging, gassing, medical experimentation, slave labour)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
3. What types of persecution are presented (e.g. public humiliation, social exclusion, legal discrimination)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
4. Is the presentation of information such as places and dates accurate? If not, give examples of inaccuracies.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
5. Which terms are used to define the event (Holocaust, Shoah, genocide, mass murder, massacre, murder of European Jews, Auschwitz, atrocity, murder, cruel act, destruction or others)? What terms occur in your language (please quote the original term and its English translation)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
6. What is the thematic focus of the book or section dealing with the Second World War or the Holocaust? Is it on military warfare, ideology, political events or individual experiences? What other foci are there?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
7. Do Auschwitz or other camps feature prominently as the final stage of the Holocaust? Are these camps defined accurately (as 'death' or 'concentration' camps)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
8. Is the life of Jews before and/or after the Second World War in Europe depicted? What does the reader learn about assimilation, acculturation, segregation, emigration or Zionism?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
9. Further remarks on historical content not covered by the above questions.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

C. Historical contexts	
1. What dates are ascribed to the Holocaust, marking main occurrences and its beginning and/or end? Is this event linked to earlier events of the eighteenth, nineteenth or twentieth century, for example?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
2. Is the Holocaust presented as a part of European history, world history, German history or other national histories? What alternative contexts are represented (e.g. family history, local history)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
3. Does the Holocaust stand alone in the textbook or is it treated within the context of the Second World War? Does the structure of the chapter suggest that the Second World War was a motive for the Holocaust, or that they were parallel though unrelated events?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
4. Further remarks about contexts not covered by the above questions.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
D. Pictorial analysis	
1. How many images are used to illustrate the Holocaust?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
2. What types of images are presented (propaganda posters, photographs, original documents, film stills, for example) and are the types of images varied?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
3. What proportion of the pages do images, textual sources and authored texts take up? Please indicate this in terms of a percentage.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

D. Pictorial analysis	
4. Which emblematic images are reproduced in the textbook (for example, emaciated bodies, corpses, fence posts, train wagons)?	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
5. What proportion of the images depicts perpetrators and which proportion depicts victims or other groups? Does, for example, Hitler feature prominently?	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
6. Are the images accompanied by captions? If so, are the captions informative or analytical? Do they name places, identify people, describe situations in the images? Do captions explain when and why the image was made?	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
7. Are pupils expected to draw their own conclusions from images reprinted in the textbooks, or do textbook authors generally offer clear interpretations of them?	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
8. Further remarks about images not covered by the above questions.	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
E. Protagonists	
1. What are the main foci of the text? Victims in general? One set of victims? A single victim? A group of perpetrators? A single perpetrator?	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
2. What collective or individual perpetrator(s) are named? What precise terms are used to define or qualify their characteristics (e.g. 'evil', 'corrupt', 'violent')? Please quote the textbook.	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.

E. Protagonists	
3. What collective or individual victim(s) are named? What precise terms are used to define or qualify their characteristics? Please quote the textbook.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
4. What collective or individual bystander(s) are named? What precise terms are used to define or qualify their characteristics? Please quote the textbook.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
5. What forms of resistance are depicted in the textbook?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
6. Are reactions of western Allies to the Holocaust recorded? If so, what are these reactions?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
7. What details of international or institutional collaboration with the implementation of the Holocaust are presented (e.g. of the Vichy regime, or of the Church)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
8. How are the motivations of individual persecutors defined (e.g. a desire for revenge, a sense of duty, peer pressure, the wish for power, a sense of justice, fear)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
9. Does the book contain personal stories, including individual decisions and dilemmas?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
10. Is space devoted to ambivalence and human error, refusal or heroism, beyond the polarized depictions of victims and perpetrators?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

E. Protagonists	
11. Are examples of connivance, denunciation, resistance and/or independent action among German or other people depicted? Please name such examples.	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
12. Are examples of connivance, resistance, emigration and/or independent action among Jewish people depicted? Please name such examples.	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
13. Further remarks about protagonists featured in this textbook not covered by the above questions.	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
F. Narrative structure and didactic method	
1. Is the approach to the event generally historical (does it unfold chronologically, for example)?	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
2. Is the narrative also organized according to specific themes or problems (such as morality, politics or psychology)?	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
3. What proportion (as a percentage) of the section about the Holocaust consists in texts by the textbook author(s), and what proportion consists in non-authored texts (e.g. in quotations and documents)?	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
4. Does the textbook contain didactic exercises relating to the section about the Holocaust? If so, what type of exercise is required (e.g. textual analysis, picture analysis, document analysis, analysis of objects, visits to historical sites, work with biographies, essay writing, letter writing, role play)? Please quote the questions where relevant.	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.

F. Narrative structure and didactic method	
5. In what ways are places and topographies (e.g. camps, cities, buildings) incorporated into the textbook in order to explain the Holocaust? Do these indicate a geographical bias (indicating that the Holocaust was a local, national, international, European, global event)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
6. Further remarks about narrative structure in this textbook not covered by the above questions.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
G. Causes and effects	
1. How are the aim(s) of the perpetrators of the Holocaust explained?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
2. What types and numbers of victims of the Holocaust are named?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
3. How are the cause(s) of the Holocaust explained in textbooks? In terms of economics, racial prejudice, political persuasion, colonial expansion? Or as a result of individual (and if so, whose) decisions? Indicate any other reasons provided.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
4. What specific ideological cause or causes of the Holocaust are mentioned (e.g. antisemitism, fascism, racism)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
5. Is memory and commemoration of the Holocaust dealt with? If so, how is this done (e.g. with monuments, museums, memorial days) and to what effect?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
6. Further remarks on causes and effects of the Holocaust presented in this textbook not covered by the above questions.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

H. Narrative point of view	
1. Do(es) the author(s) provide explanations of historical documents and quotations?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
2. To what effect(s) are bold and italic lettering used?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
3. What pronouns (if any) are most frequently used in the text (e.g. I, you, we, they)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
4. Are multiple points of view presented or does one point of view dominate the textbook presentation? How are the(se) point(s) of view presented (e.g. in authors' texts, in different documents)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
5. Do the textbook authors use mainly passive constructions (for example, 'The city of Oradour was destroyed because ...?') or rather name active agents such as 'the Nazis', 'fascists', etc?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 4.
6. Does the textbook convey stereotypes? Are, for example, polarities established between 'the Germans', 'the Jews', 'Slavs' and/or other groups?	5. 1. 2. 3. 4.
7. Does the author express judgement on racism, antisemitism or other forms of persecution? How does the author express this?	5. 1. 2. 3. 4.
8. Are nations and national groups such as Germany, Germans, or Jews qualified with adjectives (e.g. 'prosperous', 'non-citizens')? Do qualifications convey a moral or positive or negative evaluation?	5. 1. 2. 3. 4.

H. Narrative point of view	
9. Is vocabulary characteristic of the 1930s and 1940s marked as such? For example, are inverted commas used when dealing with such vocabulary?	5. 1. 2. 3. 4.
10. Are superlatives used (e.g. 'greatest', 'worst', 'most harmful')? Is emotive language used (e.g. 'awful', 'terrible')? If so, which ones in which contexts to which effects?	5. 1. 2. 3. 4.
11. Further remarks on the narrative point of view in this textbook not covered by the above questions.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
I. Interpretative paradigms	
1. To what central question (regarding the Holocaust) does the author of the textbook appear to be responding?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
2. With which historiographical archetypes is the Holocaust defined? For example, revolution, catastrophe, disaster, breach of civilization, or culmination, for example?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
3. Is the Holocaust presented as a unique event?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
4. Are causes of the Holocaust shown to be either rational or irrational? Or as incomprehensible, beyond language?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

I. Interpretative paradigms	
5. Is the National Socialist movement (even erroneously) likened to communism, to Fascism, to Zionism or to other movements? In which way is this likeness presented?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
6. Is the Holocaust presented as a form of, or in relation to, colonial history? If so, please give an example.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
7. Would you say that the treatment of the Holocaust in textbooks is 'revisionist' (i.e. are its effects shown to be similar to those of other examples of persecution)? Please give examples.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
8. Would you say that the treatment of the Holocaust in textbooks is 'revisionist' (i.e. are generally accepted details or facts of the event (e.g. the existence of gas chambers) denied or reinterpreted)? If so, why?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
9. Does the section dealing with the Holocaust reflect a general decline (of morality, human rights, or of modernity, for example), or does it include elements of hope or redemption?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
10. Further remarks about interpretative paradigms in this textbook not covered by the above questions.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
J. Analogies and transfer	
1. How is the Holocaust linked to local or national history in your country?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

J. Analogies and transfer	
2. Are comparisons made between the Holocaust and similar events in other parts of the world? If so, which ones (e.g. genocides, the effects of dictatorships)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
3. If the textbook deals with genocides which are comparable to the Holocaust, does the textbook explain the motives and methods of this genocide in similar ways (for example, national, ethnic or religious or other)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
4. If analogies are made, are the same terms used to describe the two analogous events? If not, what other terms are used and how do they differ?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
5. How are analogies explained (with images, statistics, expressions of moral solidarity, with reference to human rights, for example)?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
6. How does the textbook presume that we remember the Holocaust? As an infringement of human rights? As a crime against humanity? As a war crime? As a negative moral model? As a positive moral model?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
7. What does the textbook tell us about prevention, denial, the destruction of traces, constructions of false memory, competition between victim groups, cooperation between national and regional memorial museums, and aesthetic techniques employed in memorials and memorial museums?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
8. Further remarks about analogies and transfer in this textbook not covered by the above questions.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CURRICULUM

Background information	
What official directives from government ministries and/or local authorities regarding the teaching of the Holocaust exist in your country? Quote, where possible, your country's curriculum, ministerial resolutions, declarations of commitment to international organizations such as the Stockholm Declaration, or relevant programmes for human rights education.	
If the Holocaust is not a compulsory subject, do some (and if so which type of) schools choose to teach about the Holocaust?	
Is the Holocaust dealt with as a subject in its own right? If not, in the context of which subjects and disciplines (history, literature, social studies, religious studies, for example) is it taught? In each case, briefly outline the objectives underlying the teaching about the Holocaust in this particular subject area.	
At what age(s)/at which school level do young people learn about the Holocaust in schools?	
Is time allocated to teaching and learning about the Holocaust in schools? If so, how many hours per week?	

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How do schools worldwide treat the Holocaust as a subject? In which countries does the Holocaust form part of classroom teaching? Are representations of the Holocaust always accurate, balanced and unprejudiced in curricula and textbooks?

This study, carried out by UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, compares for the first time representations of the Holocaust in school textbooks and national curricula. Drawing on data which includes countries in which there exists no or little information about representations of the Holocaust, the study shows where the Holocaust is established in official guidelines, and contains a close textbook study, focusing on the comprehensiveness and accuracy of representations and historical narratives.

The book highlights evolving practices worldwide and thus provides education stakeholders with comprehensive documentation about current trends in curricula directives and textbook representations of the Holocaust. It further formulates recommendations that will help policy-makers provide the educational means by which pupils may develop Holocaust literacy.

