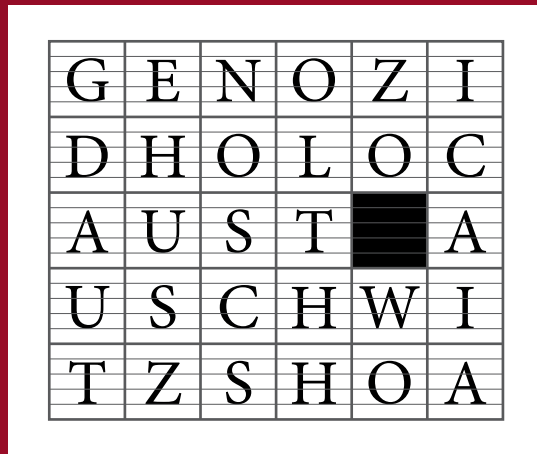




United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

GEORG ECKERT
INSTITUTE
for International
Textbook Research



THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF EDUCATION ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

A GLOBAL MAPPING OF TEXTBOOKS
AND CURRICULA

SUMMARY

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Abstract

How is the Holocaust presented in secondary school level history and social studies curricula worldwide? And how is the Holocaust conceptualized and narrated in textbooks from 26 countries? In order to answer these questions, the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, in cooperation with UNESCO, conducted a research project with the aim of documenting and comparing historical understandings of the Holocaust found in 272 currently valid curricula from 135 countries, and in 89 textbooks published in 26 countries since 2000. The findings show that the Holocaust is subject to shared patterns of representation, which convey recurrent spatial (geographical) and temporal scales, protagonists, interpretative patterns (according to definitions, causes, relativization or banalization), narrative techniques and didactic methods. At the same time, all countries demonstrate narrative idiosyncracies by emphasizing the selective information and the local significance of the event, or by appropriating it in the interests of local populations.

Concept and Aims

The report compiled by UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute in 2015¹ strives to complement existing reports² about Holocaust education by providing hitherto unavailable information about curricula and textbook representations of the Holocaust around the world, especially in countries whose populations were not directly involved in the event. It does not address Holocaust education in general (content, support structures, and time allocated), but the specific concepts and narratives which feature in curricula and textbooks, and thereby provides a foundation upon which we may gain understanding of local narratives derived from present-day local perspectives. Following a presentation of concepts and narratives with which the Holocaust is represented in curricula and textbooks in specific countries, the study assesses how interpretations of this event both converge and diverge internationally. It ends with recommendations on how the Holocaust may be incorporated into curricula and textbooks in the future.

Data and Methods

Documenting the status of the Holocaust worldwide in curricula and textbooks involved collecting information which reflects the specific historical understanding of the event in a given country and which, at the same time,

1 UNESCO/Georg Eckert Institute, eds, *The International Status of Education about the Holocaust. A Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula*, Paris: UNESCO, 2015.

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

can be compared across countries whose languages and histories are very diverse. Criteria for the exploration of curricula therefore included the terminology used to refer to the event, 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 main protagonists involved, major interpretative paradigms, narrative techniques, didactic methods and national idiosyncracies. This conceptual and narrative approach provided relatively straightforward historiographical criteria by means of which curricula and textbooks might be assessed comparatively.

The curricula analysis is based on 272 curricula from 135 (out of a potential total of 195) countries which were valid at the time of the study from 2013 to 2014. The primary aim thereof is to provide a comprehensive overview of the countries in which the Holocaust features or does not feature in history or social studies education. And since it strives to offer a broad overview in as many countries as possible and represent all continents, the analysis is 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 which terms it is stipulated, and (where available) (d) any information about the objectives ascribed to teaching about the Holocaust.

The textbook analysis draws on 89 textbooks published in 26 countries since 2000. The selection of countries was made on the basis of hypotheses designed to ensure that the study covers a wide range of different historiographical forms which lend themselves to infra- and international comparison. It highlights a wide range of characteristic approaches to the Holocaust in various parts of the world. The criteria for selection were (a) *geographical* (to provide a broad overview of various regions of the world), (b) based on *historical and political issues* (countries involved or not in the event, in which mass violence or genocide has taken place, and former members of the Warsaw Pact or the Soviet Union), and (c) *pragmatic* (determined by the accessibility of curricula and textbooks and language expertise). This approach seeks to highlight common features, differences and overlaps in order to enable education policy-makers to learn from challenges which are faced in other countries.

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

1. On which textbooks is the sample based?
2. Which spatial (or geographical) temporal scales are ascribed to the Holocaust; that is, does the textbook locate the event in a local, national, European, global or transnational context? When is its beginning and end defined, and which major occurrences are named?
3. Which characteristics are ascribed to the protagonists? Are they qualified (as individuals, groups, or as political, national, religious, ethnic or racial types), presented as active or passive agents, and which relationships between groups or individuals become apparent?
4. Which interpretative paradigms are used to explain the event? How do authors explain responsibility, causalities? Is the event banalized or distorted?
5. Which narrative structures and points of view do textbook authors apply? Do one-sided or multiple authorial perspectives dominate? Are narratives progressive, regressive or fatalistic?
6. Which didactic approach do authors adopt?
7. Which idiosyncracies do the textbooks convey in different national contexts? That is, in which ways is the local relevance of the Holocaust expressed and illustrated, either in relation to local events or memorial sites, and in relation to atrocities and genocides other than the Holocaust?

The Holocaust in Curricula

Is teaching about the Holocaust explicitly addressed in curricula? In which terms is the Holocaust defined? In which contexts is it dealt with? The Holocaust is stipulated in the history curricula of approximately half of the countries investigated, with varying contexts and terminologies (see Map). The event is presented most frequently in the context of the Second World War, but also features in the context of lessons about human rights violations. It is generally referred to as the 'Holocaust', while fewer curricula use the term 'Shoah', or else both terms in conjunction. In some cases, curricula forego both the terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah', describing the event with alternative terms such as 'extermination' or 'genocide of the Jews', with indirect references to the event (with terms such as 'concentration camp' or 'Final Solution'), or by combining terms which clearly indicate teaching about the Holocaust (such as 'destruction' and 'Jews', or 'genocide' and 'National Socialism'). In some curricula, only Jews are named explicitly as victims, while references to Sinti and Roma, people with disabilities, political opponents, homosexuals or other socially marginalized groups are infrequent. Most curricula do not specify the victim groups to be discussed in teaching. Moreover, while a quarter of all curricula contain no reference to the Holocaust, they explicitly refer to its historical contexts such as the Second World War and/or National Socialism, so that one may assume that the topic is part of teaching, although it is not explicitly named. 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'.

Representations of the Holocaust in curricula worldwide correspond to one of the following four categories:

Direct references occur in 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'. 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 both in combination (in Argentina, Germany (Saxony) and Switzerland (canton of Bern)). In other countries, the Holocaust is referred to directly, albeit by 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), Ecuador), 'genocide of the Jews' (France, Germany (Lower Saxony)), 'mass murder of [...] Jews' (Trinidad and Tobago), 'persecution of Jews' (Singapore) and the 'Final Solution' (Namibia).

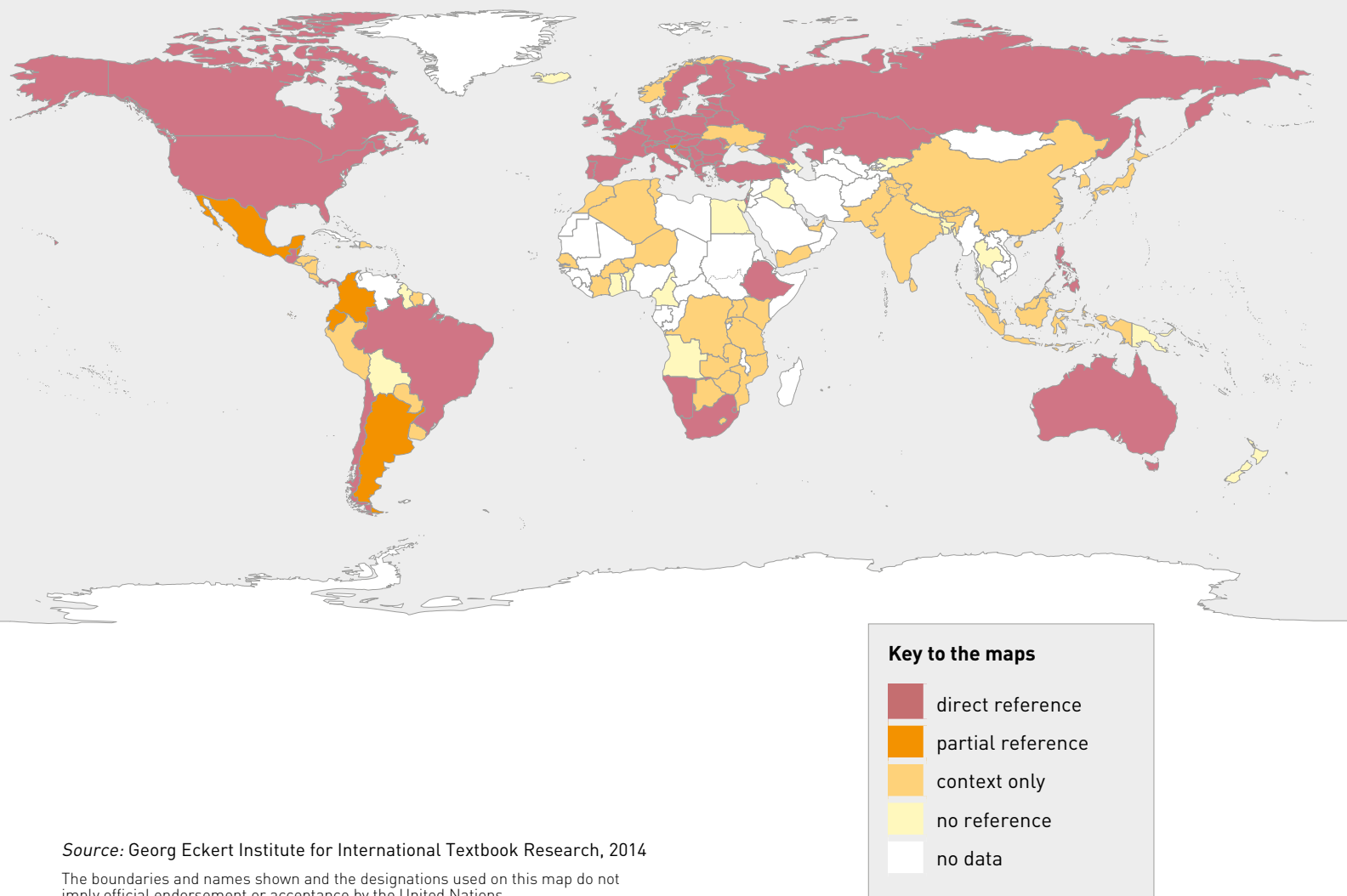
Partial references occur in countries whose curricula stipulate teaching about the Holocaust indirectly in order to achieve a learning aim which is not primarily the history of the Holocaust (concerning responses to the Holocaust outside Europe) or to illustrate a topic other than the Holocaust (where the Holocaust is mentioned as one among other aspects of human rights education). In such cases, when the Holocaust is named in the curriculum as a *means to other ends*, the historical meaning and complexity of the event are not addressed. The curricula of Argentina, Belize, Columbia, Ecuador, Mexico and Slovenia thus present the Holocaust as an example of violations of human rights. Similarly, in the United States of America (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'.

The context only is provided in countries whose curricula refer to the Second World War or to National Socialism, without referring explicitly to the Holocaust. The curricula of Sri Lanka and India, for example, 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. The Rwandan curriculum likewise 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'; while the curriculum of the Democratic Republic of the Congo likewise refers to 'the harmful effects of Nazism', and the Costa Rican curriculum refers to 'antisemitism and racial superiority: the case of Jews, Muslims, Slavs and Gypsies'.

No reference to the Holocaust (whether as a term, an event or its context) occurs in particular when curricula do not stipulate the specific contents of history teaching, but rather discuss merely the necessity and purpose of the school subjects of history or social studies and the teaching methods to be used, as in Brunei Darussalam, Dominica, Fiji, Iceland and Thailand.

The status of the Holocaust in curricula worldwide



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 Holocaust in Textbooks

The study shows how the Holocaust is presented in textbooks designed for 14- to 18-year-old pupils in Albania, Argentina, Belarus, Brazil, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Germany, India, Iraq, Japan, Namibia, Poland, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, Rwanda, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Kingdom (England), the United States of America, Uruguay and Yemen. It outlines *temporal and spatial scales* ascribed by authors to the event, their *characterisations of protagonists*, ways in which they interpret *causes and effects of the event*, their *didactic approaches* and examples of *national or local colour* ('idiosyncracies'), albeit without assuming either global standardization or national fragmentation. The national characteristics of textbook representations of the Holocaust then provided groundings on which to identify ways in which representations converged and diverged internationally.

The findings show that, in spite of certain international consistencies in textbook representations, education about the Holocaust is also partially contingent on local historical concepts and narrative traditions. Textbooks reflect a dual pattern, characterised 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 foundation not for education about the Holocaust, but for education about the Holocausts.

This assessment of conceptual and narrative trends in textbooks enabled us to identify *partially shared narratives* of the Holocaust, based on overlaps between characteristics of textbook representations in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North America, Africa, in countries with local genocides, 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 the sample) employ no derivatives of the terms 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah', but rather the terms 'genocide' (*datusha*) and 'kinds of crimes' (*zhongzhong zuixing*). The Chinese textbooks 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 sum, while the Holocaust is referred to in the textbooks of almost all countries, those textbooks which provide knowledge of the event do not necessarily provide thorough historical knowledge about it. Instead, the Holocaust regularly functions as a model, paradigm or measure of representations of other atrocities in accordance with a process of narrative 'Holocaust transfer',³ of 'shifting frames of reference',⁴ or via the duplication of 'image schemata',⁵ where analogies between the Holocaust and other events are constructed by adopting vocabulary

3 Buettner, *Holocaust Images*, 97.

4 'Wechselrahmung', according to Tobias Ebbrecht, *Geschichtsbilder im medialen Gedächtnis. Filmische Narrationen des Holocaust*, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011, p. 324.

5 Christopher Taylor, 'The Cultural Face of Terror in the Rwanda Genocide of 1994', in Alexander Hinton, ed., *Annihilating Difference. The Anthropology of Genocide*, Berkeley: California University Press, 2002, pp. 137-178, 172.

and narrative tropes from the Holocaust with respect, for example, to the Ukraine Famine, the Nanjing Massacre or apartheid in South Africa. In short, the Holocaust is not a force of international standardization, but proof of the multiscale divergence of overlapping narratives.

The following summary of general convergences and divergences between textbook representations of the Holocaust explains how the Holocaust is described in very different ways. It shows that differences are not only regional or even national, but are often the result of forms of understanding on the part of individual authors.

Spatial and temporal scale

The textbooks offer insight into perceptions of where and when the Holocaust took place. The event is generally named as one which occurred in Europe and Germany, while some textbooks domesticate the event, as in Belarus, Germany and the 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. Transnational spaces are evoked in relation to the topics of collaboration (in France and the Republic of Moldova, for example), emigration (in Argentina, China and the United States of America, for example) and in relation to comparable genocides in China and Rwanda. 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'. 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, Germany, India and Namibia; Jewish history, emigration, or pre-twentieth century antisemitism are addressed in American, Argentinian, German and Japanese textbooks. Likewise, several textbook authors in Argentina, France, Germany, Namibia, and the Russian Federation write about the after-effects or memory of the Holocaust after 1945. 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 Hitler-centrism 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 Indian, Rwandan and South African 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 even 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 also 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). 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.

Interpretative paradigms

Textbooks in almost all countries explain the event as one which stems, at least in part, from the personal convictions of Adolf Hitler. A further frequently named cause of the Holocaust is ideology (racism, antisemitism, totalitarianism, authoritarianism, militarism, capitalism, fascism). Textbooks in Brazil, Côte d'Ivoire, Germany, Japan, the Republic of Moldova and Rwanda even qualify the expansionist policy of Nazi Germany as a form of colonialism. A small number of textbooks, in Argentina, Poland, Spain and the United States of America, for example, complement their presentations of the history of the Holocaust with *metahistorical* commentaries in the form of glossaries of historic terms. Metanarrative 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 the sample. *Comparisons* between the Holocaust and other 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. 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.

Narrative Techniques

Narrative techniques found in a small number of textbooks are 'closed', involving a single authorial voice without quotations or complementary documents (as in Albanian textbooks). At the other extreme, some authors apply 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. However, most textbooks apply a technique midway between these extremes, juxtaposing authorial texts with additional perspectives reflected in quotations and textual and visual documentation. The *narrative point of view* often inadvertently perpetuates 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. Another striking feature concerns the different ways in which authors lend *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, like those from the United States of America, 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 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.

Didactic Approaches

Types of exercises vary widely from the lack of any exercises urging pupils to question and explore materials presented in the textbooks to a wide variety of exercises, including story telling, 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. The textbooks testify to a trend towards stating and affirming *learning objectives* such as human rights (in India, Iraq, Namibia, the 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. 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 Germany and Romania (Republic of Moldova), or explore local historical and commemorative sites (Germany).

Recommendations

The following recommendations are designed for use by education policy-makers, researchers, textbook authors and publishers and educators who are involved in education about the Holocaust. Rather than assessing education about the Holocaust in general, as previous reports and recommendations have done, this assessment focuses on *conceptual and narrative representations* of the Holocaust, and grounds recommendations in *specific examples* drawn from nationally approved *formal curricula* and *textbooks currently in use*, and confines the scope of the recommendations to the *discipline of history* and to the *secondary level*, pertaining roughly to 15- and 16-year-old pupils, the age at which most pupils are exposed to teaching about the Holocaust.

The curricula and textbooks on which the study is based 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 16) in specific places and at specific times. Moreover, they all 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, the 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 makes them imperfect sources of information about 'Holocaust education' as a whole, but also makes them reliable indicators of specific collectively sanctioned conceptualizations and narratives about the Holocaust at a given time in a given place.

Even if learning about the Holocaust makes pupils more aware of human rights or even more skilled in defending them and 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 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.⁶

The recommendations thus appeal generally to educators and authors to practise and provide the educational means by which pupils may develop Holocaust literacy. They 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 decrution over time. Moreover, they define conceptual and narrative standards which must be adapted to local circumstances. Just as standards of historical accuracy are valid throughout the world, standards of historical detail, comprehensiveness and perspective may legitimately differ from one area to another.

6 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.

Recommendations

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, Costa Rica, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 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 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 policy-makers, 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.**

Scale

-
- ? A tendency to confine the main time frame 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.**

Protagonists

-
- ❓ The quantitative and qualitative imbalance of textual and visual representations of protagonists in favour of perpetrators, which not only marginalizes other protagonists but also ascribes 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 placing 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 given 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.**

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 geographical spaces (local, national, and international) where 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 terms such 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 after-effects) of the Holocaust, in turn *with* rather than *to* analogous aspects of other events.**

Narrative structure and point of view

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- ❓ 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.**
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- ❓ 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 protagonists⁷), a *multiscaled approach*, which takes into account individual and group experiences, as they develop at different times and in different places.**

7 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. *Teaching Human Rights. Suggestions for Teaching Guidelines*. Bonn and Braunschweig, German Commission for UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute, 1993, p. 35.

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 to discuss and learn from and about them in the classroom, (b) provide opportunities 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.**

National idiosyncracies

❓ 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, and also 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 use of terminology applied to explain the Holocaust, in multilingual glossaries, for example.**

How do schools 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 publication summarizes the findings of the study *The International Status of Education about the Holocaust: a Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula* carried out by UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, comparing for the first time representations of the Holocaust in school textbooks and national curricula.



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