Report on
PALESTINIAN
TEXTBOOKS

Report on
PALESTINIAN
TEXTBOOKS

Cover photo
Julia Franzmeier

Layout
agentur spezial

Cite as
Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research. *Report on Palestinian Textbooks*. 2021.
urn:nbn:de:0220-2021-0020

REPORT ON PALESTINIAN TEXTBOOKS – EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Report encompasses an analysis of a sample of 156 textbooks and 16 teacher guides published between 2017 and 2019 by the Palestinian Ministry of Education (MoE) for use in general education schools in the subjects: Arabic language, social studies and social upbringing, history and geography, religious education, mathematics, natural sciences and life sciences.

The curriculum reform initiated by the Palestinian Authority in the 2016/2017 academic year remains an ongoing process with textbook revisions being carried out frequently. After the initial completion of this Report therefore 18 textbooks released in 2020 by the Palestinian Ministry of Education have been additionally reviewed.

Palestinian textbooks are produced and located within an environment saturated with ongoing occupation, conflict, and violence, which they in turn reflect. The analysis revealed a complex picture: 1) the textbooks adhere to UNESCO standards and adopt criteria that are prominent in international education discourse, including a strong focus on human rights, 2) they express a narrative of resistance within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and 3) they display an antagonism towards Israel.

Compliance with the principles of global citizenship education

The textbooks extensively address central issues of global citizenship education. In numerous instances the textbooks call for tolerance, mercy, forgiveness and justice. They convey the concept of civil rights and the relationship between citizens and the state. Textbooks for social studies, in particular, also confirm pluralism as a feature of the Palestinian political system and promote political participation in the context of citizenship education. The 2019 editions contain several additional chapters that discuss the meaning of active citizenship and the relationship between the citizen and public spaces, as well as that between the citizen and government. Issues of citizenship are thus allocated more space and further content is dedicated to

them. In all subject areas, the textbooks provide images of society that encompass respectful representations of different social, cultural and religious groups including diversity of skin colour, gender and physical abilities. The textbooks emphasise the primary objective of equal access to facilities and services and equal opportunities for participation in public life, as well as cultural, social and religious values that support various forms of coexistence and dialogue. Religious coexistence between Christians and Muslims is the dominant form presented in the textbooks; other religions are rarely addressed. (For 2020 textbook versions see below.)

Awareness of human rights

The analysis of human rights representations in Palestinian textbooks published between 2017 and 2019 shows an increased focus on the topic and a process of reframing national issues within a global political context. The textbooks affirm the importance of human rights in general and in several places explicitly highlight a universal notion of these rights: emphasising their interdependence and inalienability and referring repeatedly to international documents on human rights. This universal notion is, however, not carried through to a discussion of the rights of Israelis. Group-specific rights, in particular the rights of women, children and persons with disabilities are also discussed extensively. The diversity-embracing approach indicates an increased awareness of and response to international agreements and commitments regarding human rights.

Addressing conflict in human rights discourse

References to human rights serve as a framework through which the textbooks address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the perspective of human rights violations in the context of international law. When the textbooks mention human rights violations, in most cases these are carried out by Israeli protagonists and affect the rights of Palestinians. The textbooks support these assertions by reference to international conventions.

Antagonistic narratives and one-sided representations of the Israeli 'other'

While the analysis identifies an increased focus on Global Citizenship Education and human rights discourse, it also finds antagonistic narratives and one-sided representations of the Israeli 'other' in textbook portrayals of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This primarily applies to the terminology used to refer to the adversary. The term 'Israel' occurs relatively seldom, while the term '(Zionist) occupation' dominates in the books. The cartographic representations of All-Palestine, as a political entity, a geographical region or an imagined homeland, generally do not include the State of Israel or cities founded by Jewish immigrants. A few maps show the borders of the West Bank and the settlements within it, thus visualising the disconnected territorial space administered by the Palestinian Authority.

Recognition of Israel and renunciation of terror in source material

The peace process in the Middle East is discussed in a history textbook for year 10, which quotes the speech given by the Egyptian president Anwar El-Sadat in front of the Israeli parliament in 1977 and the letters of mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO from September 1993. These sources document different steps taken towards the recognition of Israel and the renunciation of violence and terrorism by the PLO. The recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace and security documented in the letters by Yasser Arafat to Yitzhak Rabin stands in contrast to the questioning of the legitimacy of the State of Israel expressed in other passages and textbooks.

Ambivalent representation of Jews in religious education textbooks

When representing Jews collectively as an ethnic and religious group, Palestinian Christian education textbooks acknowledge them as representatives of a further monotheistic faith and largely refrain from reproducing prejudices from the New Testament. Three Islamic education textbooks address Jews and Judaism mainly in the context of early Islam. While two of them deal ambivalently with the motifs of loyalty and treason in reference to some Jewish tribes, one textbook provides a learning context that displays anti-Semitic motifs and links

characteristics and actions attributed to Jews at the dawn of Islam to the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. [For 2020 textbook versions see below.]

The use of the terms *jihād* and *shahīd*

Christian and Islamic religious education textbooks introduce the concept of *jihād* as a spiritual struggle and process of self-reform, but also as engagement in combat. Islamic religious education textbooks explain the rules and conditions of *jihād* and the laws forbidding bloodshed and the killing of innocent people. Especially when taken up in subjects other than religious education, the combat-infused meaning of *jihād* tends to prevail. The term is rarely connected to the current conflict; however, in the few cases where such links are drawn the passages tend to harbour escalatory potential. The term *shahīd* is a key term that is almost exclusively used in the context of the conflict and refers both to individuals killed while committing violent attacks against Israel and to Palestinian victims of violence who were themselves not actively involved.

Representations of violence differ according to subjects

Across the school subjects, the analysis reveals significant differences in the nature and quantity of portrayals of violence. Textbooks for Arabic language contain emotionally laden depictions of Israeli violence that tend to dehumanise the Israeli adversary, occasionally accusing the latter of malice and deceitful behaviour. They depict past acts of violence committed by Palestinians against Jewish paramilitary groups during the British Mandate and subsequently against Israel as part of a heroic struggle against a colonizing oppressor.

Textbooks for history, geography and social studies take a more conceptual approach, consistently placing the facts within the narrative of national resistance. The Israeli opponent is portrayed as aggressive and hostile. The language is however, for the most part, objective in tone and avoids inflammatory expressions. Violence perpetrated by Palestinians, including violence against civilians, is presented as a legitimate means of resistance in certain periods of Palestinian history, alongside peaceful and diplomatic ways of confronting Israel. Especially in higher school years, students are asked to reflect on the use of different means of resistance and to evaluate them.

References to violence in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can also be found in Real Life Connections (RLC) in mathematics and natural science textbooks. Of all the RLC in the textbooks, only a small minority (5 %) are directly related to the conflict. The conflict-related Real Life Connections carry non-escalatory and escalatory potential. (For 2020 textbook versions see below.)

Textbooks for the academic year 2020/2021 reduce escalatory potential

An overview conducted after the initial completion of this Report compared 18 textbooks released online in 2020 by the Palestinian Ministry of Education with earlier versions, and found significant differences. In addition to the increased representation of female and Christian positions there is a reduction in the text and images that have escalatory potential: including the alteration of a specific teaching unit that included anti-Semitic content by several significant changes of the narrative. Some references to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in mathematics and natural science textbooks have been erased completely. References to protagonists of armed Palestinian resistance have in some places been altered or removed.

Palestinian textbooks amended by Israeli authorities

As Israel has annexed East Jerusalem and controls the education sector in this part of the city, Israeli authorities approve and amend textbooks for use in East-Jerusalem schools. A review of 7 amended textbooks has shown, that in spite of significant changes being made to their content, these textbooks do not contain any reference to the amendments made by Israeli authorities nor to the authors of the changed texts. Changes occur on two levels and predominantly concern material that refers to conflict and occupation: the first is the removal of depictions of violence by Palestinians or Israelis, the charting of Israel in maps and the removal of symbolic maps of All-Palestine; on the second level there is an idealisation of the coexistence of Israelis and Palestinians in the amended passages, with no mention of existing tensions. References to Palestinian identity or national symbols are removed, as are passages detailing cultural commemorations and remembrance. The removal of entire chapters on regional and Palestinian history fundamentally changes the national narrative.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1   INTRODUCTION

School textbooks play a crucial role as transmitters and indicators of the hegemonic knowledge that a society deems appropriate for teaching to the next generation, particularly when it comes to topics relating to peace and conflict.[1] Textbooks also constitute the dominant media in many school classrooms.[2] They enjoy wide circulation, young people have unimpeded access to them during their political socialisation,[3] and 'for millions of people they [are] the first, and often the only, books that they […] read'.[4] Research on school textbooks has therefore shown considerable interest in the role these media can play in fostering hatred and even violence or, on the other hand, promoting peace and tolerance. While hatred and violence are certainly not the same, the two phenomena cannot always be categorically disentangled given that inspiring acrimony paves the way for the use of (but by no means deterministically leads to) violence.[5]

School textbooks are particularly relevant in conflict and post-conflict contexts where discourses (as reproduced in educational settings) have considerable potential to contribute to violent escalation or conflict transformation.[6] Conversely, the content of school textbooks can also be influenced by conflict. Conflict-relevant facts and knowledge presented in textbooks can increase and intensify during periods of hostility and war. Finally, school textbooks themselves – and/or their contents – can become the subjects of controversy within a society or between actors from different states,[7] as is particularly the case in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[8] The ubiquity of the conflict and of

the Israeli occupation[9] in the everyday lives of Palestinians in the occupied territories must therefore be addressed in the textbook analysis.

In 2017, the Palestinian Ministry of Education (hereafter MoE)[10] under the Palestinian Authority began to pilot a new school curriculum covering textbooks for school years 1–12.[11] As stated above, textbooks play a role in the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict both as crucial instruments for the political socialisation of the next generation and as controversial objects themselves. Recently, serious allegations have been raised that the new Palestinian textbooks incite hatred rather than promoting tolerance. These allegations are still contested and research is needed to produce robust evidence on the matter.

To address this knowledge gap, the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research developed a conceptual and methodological framework for an academic review of recent Palestinian textbooks and teacher guides. This Report examines how textbooks address central issues of Global Citizenship Education, whether and how peace and tolerance are incorporated into Palestinian textbooks, to what extent they contain incitement to violence and hatred, and, if so, in what ways. It also seeks to provide a factual basis for a constructive discussion between the relevant stakeholders concerning the content of current textbooks and teacher guides, as well as their further improvement. This seems especially pertinent since the curriculum reform initiated by the Palestinian Authority in the 2016/2017 academic year was

---

[1] Naseem, Muhammad Ayaz and Georg Stöber: 'Introduction: Textbooks, Identity Politics, and Lines of Conflict in South Asia', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6 (2), 2014: p. 1–9; Standish, Katerina: 'Looking for Peace in National Curriculum: The PECA Project in New Zealand', *Journal of Peace Education* 13 (1), 2016: p. 18–40.

[2] Fuchs, Eckhardt: 'Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research', *Journal of International Cooperation in Education* 14 (2), 2011: p. 17–34.

[3] Ingrao, Charles: 'Weapons of Mass Instruction: Schoolbooks and Democratization in Multiethnic Central Europe', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1 (1), 2009: p. 180–189.

[4] Lässig, Simone: 'Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1 (1), 2009: p. 1–20; here: p. 2.

[5] Jabri, Vivienne: *Discourses on Violence: Conflict Analysis Reconsidered*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

[6] Davies, Lynn: 'The Different Faces of Education in Conflict', *Development Outreach* 53 (4), 2010: p. 491–497; Paulson, Julia: '''Whether and How?'' History Education About Recent Conflict: A Review of Research', *Journal of Education in Emergencies* 1 (1), 2015: p. 7–37.

[7] Bentrovato, Denise, Karina V. Korostelina and Martina Schulze (eds): *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies*. Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe 141. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2016.

[8] Alayan, Samira: 'Zionism as the Other in Curricula and Textbooks of the Palestinian National Authority', in: Podeh, Elie and Samira Alayan (eds): *Multiple Alterities. Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East*. Palgrave Studies in Educational Media. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 77–97; here p. 79.

[9] For more details see Chapter 3 on conflict in textbooks.

[10] Until March 2019 the Ministry was called Ministry of Education and Higher Education. For the sake of consistency this Report refers to it by its current name throughout.

[11] Throughout this Report school years are given as year 1, year 2, etc., meaning the first, second, etc. year of schooling in the region of the textbook's origin.

not concluded with the publication of revised textbooks in 2017 but remains an ongoing process with textbook revisions being carried out every school year.

This Report begins with a review of the relevant academic literature on the study of contentious textbook content, followed by contextual considerations and the data basis. The methodology is based on an overarching approach that includes criteria with which to study how the content of Palestinian textbooks may lean towards promoting tolerance and understanding or, on the contrary, fuelling hatred and prejudice. This includes a multi-method research design using quantitative and qualitative approaches and a work plan (Chapter 1).

Chapters 2 to 4 present the findings from the qualitative analysis of the textbooks for the main subjects taught in years 1–12 of general public schools and published between 2017 and 2019. These findings are presented in the three chapters on global citizenship education, conflict and real-life connections. Further, following completion of the Report, the European Union provided the Georg Eckert Institute with 18 textbooks of the MoE published in the year 2020. Chapter 5 examines these books with regard to relevant changes. Chapter 6 addresses Palestinian textbooks that have been edited by the Israeli authorities for use in schools in East Jerusalem. The Report's conclusion summarises the findings.

1.1   REVIEW OF RELEVANT ACADEMIC LITERATURE

1.1.1 EDUCATION AND CONFLICT[12]

Inter-state conflicts have frequently been at the focus of the search for conflict prevention measures within the field of education. International textbook revision activities have often responded to the need for such measures.[13] For some decades now, education research has studied the complex relations between societal transformation and conflict from a wider perspective, expanding its focus to include internal tensions.[14]

As conflict and education are interlinked in many ways and on different levels,[15] the ways in which education might contribute to 'post-conflict' reconciliation and reconstruction in the affected society often remain a key question, one that also involves foreign intervention.[16] Here especially, history education is regarded as having enormous capacity to exacerbate or reconcile conflicts, a significant topic in the

---

[12] The sections 1.1 and 1.3.1 are modified versions of: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research: 'Inception Report for a Study on Palestinian Textbooks'. Inception Report, http://www.uklfi.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Inception_report.pdf, 2019, accessed 30 September 2020.

[13] Fuchs, Eckhardt: 'The Creation of New International Networks in Education – The League of Nations and Educational Organisations in the 1920s', *Paedagogica Historica* 43, 2007: p. 199–209; Korostelina, Karina V. and Simone Lässig (eds): *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*. London, New York: Routledge, 2013.

[14] Cole, Elisabeth A. and Judy Barsalou: 'Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict', in: *USIP Special Report* 163, June 2006, https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/sr163.pdf, accessed 25 September 2020; Tawil, Sobhi and Alexandra Harley (eds): *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*. Geneva: UNESCO, 2004; Seitz, Klaus: *Education and Conflict. The Role of Education in the Creation, Prevention and Resolution of Societal Crises – Consequences for Development Cooperation*. Eschborn: GTZ, 2004; Leach, Fiona and Máiréad Dunne (eds): *Education, Conflict and Reconciliation: International Perspectives*. Oxford, etc.: Lang, 2007; UNESCO: *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education. Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011*. Paris: UNESCO, 2011.

[15] Brown, Graham K.: 'The Influence of Education on Violent Conflict and Peace: Inequality, Opportunity and the Management of Diversity', *Prospects* 41 (2) 2011: p. 191–204.

[16] Dimou, Augusta (ed.): *'Transition' and the Politics of History Education in Southeast Europe*. Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe 124. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009; Howlett, Charles F. and Ian M. Harris: *Books, Not Bombs: Teaching Peace since the Dawn of the Republic*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc., 2010.

research area of 'Education and Conflict'.[17] However, the focus rarely lies on apparently 'peaceful' societies or those grappling with serious but less violent conflicts and the best ways to prevent outbreaks of mass violence in such situations.[18] Rather, in post-conflict situations in particular it remains a controversial issue whether – and especially how – to teach about conflicts or whether these topics are best avoided. Different schools of thought advocate varying approaches to handling conflicts and highly controversial issues in schools.

Avoidance of such issues is referred to as 'negative peacemaking'.[19] The exclusion or omission of sensitive topics and issues from the curricula, or giving them the 'silent treatment'[20] in classrooms, is considered a type of avoidance which might lead students to hide their true feelings or censor their own viewpoints. Further, avoidance of conflict distances the curriculum from real life, running the risk of making it appear meaningless.[21] These arguments also hold true when dealing with conflicts in general, including in 'more peaceful' settings. In the discourse on education and conflict the latter mostly refers to violent activities on a large scale, such as wars and civil wars, and is thus understood as a ubiquitous social phenomenon. It is therefore not conceived of as the opposite of 'peace'; rather, peace is a state of society in which conflicts are resolved by non-violent means. 'Peace Education' is dedicated to developing and implementing methods which serve these ends on an international and intra-societal level in terms of the relationship and behaviour of groups of social actors, both in the classroom and beyond.[22]

Peace education scholars investigate how societal narratives shape the understanding of a particular conflict, of representations of the 'other', and of how attitudes towards the 'opponent' are justified.[23] They examine how narratives disseminated through schools, media and social networks shape the collective memories and values of citizens today.[24] While peace education now also covers contexts of non-violent inter-group tensions or relative tranquillity, it still focuses on education for peace in belligerent settings, either in a 'hot' phase, where the conflict cannot be addressed directly, or after 'cooling down', when it can be made the topic of discussion.[25] In a non-violent context, the research focus is more weighted towards conflict and conflict resolution within the school system itself, as well as teaching about human

[17] McCully, Alan: 'The Contribution of History Teaching to Peace Building', in: Salomon, Gavriel and Edward Cairns (eds): *Handbook on Peace Education*. New York: Psychology Press, 2010: p. 213–222.

[18] Cole, Elisabeth A. (ed.): *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007; Tawil and Harley (eds): *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*.

[19] Curle, Adam and Maire A. Dugan: 'Peace Making: Stages and Sequence', *Peace and Change* 8 (2/3), 1982: p. 19–28; Bettman, Ellen H. and Pamela Moore: 'Conflict Resolution Programs and Social Justice', *Educational and Urban Society* 27 (1), 1994: p. 11–21; Fennimore, Beatrice S.: 'When Mediation and Equity are at Odds: Potential Lessons in Democracy', *Theory into Practice* 36 (1), 1997: p. 59–64, Lynch, Kathleen: 'Research and Theory on Equality and Education', in: Hallinan, Maureen T. (ed.): *Handbook of the Sociology of Education*. New York: Kluwer Academics/Plenum Publishers, 2000: p. 85–105; Bickmore, Kathy: 'Teaching Conflict and Conflict Resolution in School: (Extra-)Curricular Considerations', in: Raviv, Amiram, Louis Oppenheimer and Daniel Bar-Tal (eds): *How Children Understand War and Peace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1999: p. 233–259.

[20] Bhattacharya, Neeladri: 'Preface', in: Kumar, Krishna: *Learning from Conflict*. Tracts for the Times 10. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1996: p. ix–x.

[21] Britzman, Deborah: 'Decentering Discourses in Teacher Education: Or the Unleashing of Unpopular Things', in: Weiler, Kathleen and Candance Mitchell (eds): *What Schools Can Do: Critical Pedagogy and Practice*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1992: p. 151–75; Graff, Gerald: *Beyond the Culture Wars: How Teaching the Conflicts Can Revitalise American Education*. New York: WW Norton, 1992; hooks, bell: *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

[22] Brown, Lorraine: 'International Education: A Force for Peace and Cross-cultural Understanding?' *Journal of Peace Education* 6 (2), 2009: p. 209–224.

[23] Hilker, Lyndsay McLean: 'The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace: The Case of Rwanda', Prospects 41 (2), 2011: p. 267–282; Wenden, Anita L.: 'Educating for a Critically Literate Civil Society: Incorporating the Linguistic Perspective into Peace Education', *Journal of Peace Education* 4 (2), 2007: p. 163–180; Salomon, Gavriel and Edward Cairns (eds): *Handbook on Peace Education*. New York: Psychology Press, 2010.

[24] Bar-Tal, Daniel, Yigal Rosen and Rafi Nets-Zengut: 'Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Goals, Conditions, and Directions', in: Salomon and Cairns (eds): *Handbook on Peace Education*; Hakvoort, Ilse: 'Peace Education in Regions of Tranquillity', in: Salomon and Cairns (eds), *Handbook on Peace Education*, p. 287–301.

[25] [Adwan, Sami, Daniel Bar-Tal and Bruce Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?' Portrayal of the "Other" in Israeli and Palestinian School Books', Study Report, 4 February 2013, https://israelipalestinianschoolbooks.blogspot.com/, accessed 15 December 2020.

rights, including children's rights, and related aspects.[26] The treatment of conflicts within such societies seems to receive less attention than in societies experiencing strong tensions.

Academic literature has approached school textbooks, education and educational intervention as the contexts, framework and dimensions of conflicts. Particularly influential in the context of research on conflict and peace is a model published by Johan Galtung in the mid-1990s that offers an entry point for those interested in intervention for the purpose of conflict resolution. Galtung draws a 'conflict' triangle that connects three dimensions: attitudes, behaviour and contradiction. Attitudes are the inner convictions of the protagonists, behaviour their observable actions, and 'contradiction' the subject matter of the conflict. The change potential inherent in the model lies in the possibility that, by changing attitudes, behaviour might change – including the use of violence – and vice versa. Points of contradiction can also be modified. The activities of many organisations interested in conflict resolution seek to transform a conflict by inducing change into one or other of the dimensions with the aim of simultaneously influencing the others.

The model refers to the parties directly involved in the conflict and is relevant for those working on or studying it. However, the conflict not only involves the belligerent parties with their military and/or political wings, but often affects society as a whole. Conflict transformation must result in a wider process of peace-building. Åkerlund[27] therefore introduces an outer circle to the model with analogous dimensions: norms and knowledge correspond to attitudes while the capacity to handle conflicts corresponds to behaviour. Additionally, there may be 'structural risk factors' which are not yet the subject of contradictions but nevertheless pose a danger to the society. Both circles are open to peace process interventions.

Åkerlund categorises types of contributions made by Swedish civil society organisations in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building by associating them with the six dimensions.[28] Twenty per cent of the contributions focus on 'norms and knowledge', while only four of them, five per cent, engage with the educational field. Education in the context of conflict and peace-building therefore seems to be located in this area, albeit only one of several relevant aspects. Seen from this angle, education is important because it shapes the attitudes of those involved in the peace process, thereby potentially preventing further violence; just as in the past, some aspects of education may have contributed to the attitudes that led to the existing conflict, possibly promoting group antagonisms and hatred.

With the concept of (possible) change, a temporal perspective is inherent in the conflict triangle, even if not explicitly modelled.[29] A time axis is included in another model, published by Tawil and Harley,[30] which correlates stages of conflict with distinct types of educational initiatives. Conflict, the authors explain, arises from a stage of non-conflict and relative peace. In a 'pre-conflict' stage – i.e. pre-violence – internal trouble begins and social unrest develops. Once the conflict has become violent, the stage of conflict transformation and the transition out of violence follows, in turn evolving into a 'post-conflict' stage. Tawil and Harley correlate different forms of educational initiatives and interventions with this process, which, however, covers more than one conflict stage and 'encroaches' into neighbouring phases. 'Education for prevention (development)' consists of educational measures intended to avoid a conflict or at least the outbreak of violence. The approach taken by traditional textbook revision in the international field can be attributed to this aim, as can the introduction of peace education, for example, in societies not in a 'post-conflict' situation. 'Education in emergencies'

---

[26] Hakvoort: 'Peace Education in Regions of Tranquillity'.

[27] Åkerlund, Anna: *Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace. Experience and Ideas of Swedish Civil Society Organisations*. Sida Studies 13, Stockholm: Sida, 2005: p. 53.

[28] Åkerlund: *Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace*, p. 122–127.

[29] Johan Galtung added aspects of conflict development to the triangle model. He outlined the needs, values and interests from which goals arise. Goals of different actors will sometimes be disharmonious, incompatible or contradictory, and define a conflict. If the pursuit of goals is blocked by others, this leads to frustration and sometimes polarisation, possibly developing into the dehumanisation of the 'other'. Aggression may follow in several steps of escalation, resulting in traumatisation. Victims may begin to dream of vengeance; the victors may celebrate their glory. This will produce a feedback cycle if the conflict is not transformed. See Galtung, Johan: 'Introduction: Peace by Peaceful Conflict Transformation – The TRANSCEND approach', in: Webel, Charles and Johan Galtung (eds): *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*. London, New York: Routledge, 2007: p. 14–32.

[30] Tawil and Harley (eds): *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*, p. 11.

programmes seek to safeguard schooling during and after armed conflict or (natural) disasters. And 'education for social and civic reconstruction' programmes include measures to facilitate the rebuilding of society, reconciliation and so forth.

Tawil and Harley are to be commended for the introduction of the time axis as well as the acknowledgement that not every approach is suited to all situations and that at different stages of conflict development different measures may be required. However, as with all models, this one too presents a simplified picture and has its limitations, such as the equation of conflict with violence. This not only runs counter to a broader definition, it also means that non-violent conflicts tend to be neglected and thus overlooked in terms of 'best practice' models, for example. The model also focuses on internal conflicts and simplifies conflict development, which is often not strictly linear. Further, it is debatable whether educational activities can and should always be adapted according to the stage of the conflict.

Education has been advocated for many years as a positive means towards societal development and modernisation. 'Education for all' was therefore the promise of a brighter future. In the context of the internal strife and violence present in civil-war societies, however, the negative impact of education became obvious for many observers and practitioners in this field. As Bush and Saltarelli have put it: 'In many conflicts around the world, education is part of the problem, not the solution, because it serves to divide and antagonize groups both intentionally and unintentionally.'[31]

The process of restructuring and reconciliation takes time. As Cole and Barsalou observe, 'educational systems often are among the slowest public institutions to make significant changes' and '[s]econdary-school history textbooks rarely, if ever, play a pioneering role in tackling highly sensitive issues or changing historical narratives that are not widely accepted in society.'[32]

1.1.2 SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS AND CONFLICT

Academic literature has approached school textbooks in conflict settings, with an interest in textbooks both as themselves the subjects of a conflict as well as media in which it is addressed, negotiated or reflected.[33] Until recently, content analysis has been the dominant methodology in textbook research, with new approaches increasingly gaining in recognition, such as 'framing' analysis, proposed by Elizabeth Kind for the study of textbooks in conflict settings. Drawing on a study of Rwandan textbooks before and after violent conflict she argues that frame analysis is a useful tool

for shedding light 'on the way in which history education is a form of strategic communication and can reflect, amplify and motivate in contexts of intergroup conflict.'[34]

The impact of school textbooks on students' opinions and worldviews has been studied with a special focus on issues related to peace, conflict and violence. In a review of 42 quantitative studies published between 1996 and 2016 (with few studies available prior to 2005), Østby et al. found that higher rates of primary, secondary and tertiary education

[31] Bush, Kenneth D. and Diana Saltarelli: *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*. Florence: UNICEF, 2000: p. 33.

[32] Cole and Barsalou: 'Unite or Divide?', p. 5 and 9.

[33] Summaries of these studies can be found in: Bentrovato, Denise, Karina V. Korostelina and Martina Schulze (eds): *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies*; Cajani, Luigi, Simone Lässig and Maria Repoussi (eds): *The Palgrave Handbook of Conflict and History Education in the Post-Cold War Era*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019; Ide, Tobias, Jakob Kirchheimer and Denise Bentrovato: 'School Textbooks, Peace and Conflict: An Introduction'. *Global Change, Peace and Security* 30 (3), 2018: p. 287–294 and Podeh and Alayan (eds): *Multiple Alterities. Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East*.

[34] King, Elisabeth: 'What Framing Analysis Can Teach Us About History Textbooks, Peace, and Conflict: The Case of Rwanda', in: Bellino, Michelle J. and James H. Williams: *(Re)Constructing Memory: Education, Identity, and Conflict*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2017: p. 23–48; here: p. 24.

decreased the intensity and likelihood of armed conflict.[35] Secondary education for males is a particularly important predictor. While the causal mechanisms underlying this correlation are not yet understood, plausible links appear to be higher opportunity costs for participating in armed violence (vis-à-vis using the qualifications gained for economic benefits) and less discrimination regarding access to formal education. Higher exposure to peace pedagogy and reflection training as provided by school textbooks might also have an impact, but this link is merely speculative given that textbooks can also promote hatred and uncritical acceptance of authority.[36] There are five reasons why it is generally difficult to establish a link between school textbook content and students' opinions and worldviews: Firstly, access to school textbooks might be very limited, especially in peripheral and conflict-ridden areas.[37] Secondly, even if textbooks are available, teachers might re-contextualise their content, provide additional material, or simply decide not to use them at all. Such practices are well documented for countries as diverse as Argentina, India, Mexico, Peru, the UK and the USA.[38] Thirdly, students might face difficulties understanding textbook content, especially if it is not directly related to their everyday lives and if the pedagogical design of the textbooks is deficient.[39] The fourth reason is

that young people have the capacity to critically reflect upon, question and challenge the views presented to them by all media, including school textbooks. Fukuoka finds that Japanese students are well able to identify and criticise biases in texts, hence concluding that 'history textbooks play a much smaller role than often assumed'.[40] Ahlrichs et al. also ascertain that school textbook content is selectively received, negotiated and re-contextualised by students in German classrooms.[41]

Finally, school textbooks are only one source of information for young people. Their relative impact as compared with other factors has not been comprehensively accessed to date, but is often considered to be limited. Bird, for example, concludes that gossip, traditional storytelling and radio are far more important in conveying knowledge relevant to peace and conflict in Rwanda than formal educational media.[42] A study in Israel finds that, even when confronted with a liberal interpretation of past Arab-Israeli conflict events, such narratives are quickly replaced by or subsumed under the dominant discourses in their social milieu.[43] On a more general level, Staeheli and Hammett claim that the social realities, actions and discourses of schools, communities, families and peers are more important in shaping students' worldviews

[35] Østby, Gudrun, Henrik Urdal and Kendra Dupuy: 'Does Education Lead to Pacification? A Systematic Review of Statistical Studies on Education and Political Violence', *Review of Educational Research* 89 (1), 2019: p. 46–92, doi:10.3102/0034654318800236.

[36] Davies: 'The Different Faces of Education in Conflict'; Rohde, Achim and Samira Alayan: 'Introduction', in: Alayan, Samira, Achim Rohde and Sarhan Dhouib (eds): *The Politics of Education Reform in the Middle East: Self and Other in Textbook and Curricula*. New York: Berghahn, 2012: p. 1–14.

[37] Bentrovato, Denise: *Learning to Live Together in Africa through History Education: An Analysis of School Curricula and Stakeholders' Perspectives*. Eckert. Expertise 8. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2017.

[38] Benwell, Matthew C.: 'From the Banal to the Blatant: Expressions of Nationalism in Secondary Schools in Argentina and the Falkland Islands', in: *Geoforum* 52 (1), 2014: p. 51–60; Bhattacharya, Neeladri: 'Teaching History in Schools: The Politics of Textbooks in India', *History Workshop Journal* 67 (1), 2009: p. 99–110; Colston, Nicole M. and Jacqueline M. Vadjunec: 'A Critical Political Ecology of Consensus: On "Teaching Both Sides" of Climate Change Controversies', *Geopolitics* 65 (1), 2015: p. 255–265; Quartermaine, Angela: 'Discussing Terrorism: A Pupil-Inspired Guide to UK Counter-Terrorism Policy Implementation in Religious Education Classrooms in England', *British Journal of Religious Education* 38 (1), 2016: p. 13–29; vom Hau, Matthias: 'Unpacking the School: Textbooks, Teachers, and the Construction of Nationhood in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru', *Latin American Research Review* 44 (3), 2009: p. 127–154.

[39] Pepin, Birgit and Linda Haggarty: 'Mathematics Textbooks and their Use in English, French and German Classrooms: A Way to Understanding Teaching and Learning Cultures', *Mathematics Education* 33 (5), 2001: p. 158–175.

[40] Fukuoka, Kazuya: 'School History Textbooks and Historical Memory in Japan: A Study of Reception', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 23 (3–4), 2011: p. 83–103; here: p. 98.

[41] Ahlrichs, Johanna, Katharina Baier, Barbara Christophe, Felicitias Macgilchrist, Patrick Mielke and Roman Richtera: 'Memory Practices in the Classroom: On Reproducing, Destabilizing and Interrupting Majority Memories', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 7 (2), 2015: p. 89–109.

[42] Bird, Lindsay: 'Learning About War and Peace in the Great Lakes Region of Africa', *Research in Comparative and International Education* 2 (3), 2007: p. 176–189.

[43] Porat, Dan A.: 'It's Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened: Students' Cultural Comprehension of Textbook Narratives on the Israeli-Arab Conflict', *American Educational Research Journal* 41 (4), 2004: p. 963–996.

than educational media.[44] Nor should the influence of other traditional and social media be ignored in this regard.[45]

This is not to say that school textbooks have no influence on the knowledge gained by young people. They are available to and often compulsory reading for a huge number during an important phase of their lives and thus 'remain the dominant media for knowledge conveyance' in schools.[46] According to Obura, hatred promoted by the formal education system was a key factor in the 1994 Rwandan genocide[47], and Emerson also shows how negative descriptions of the 'other' resonate deeply in Pakistani classrooms.[48] Voigtländer and Voth find that education had an important and long-term effect on

the promotion of anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany, although this link is not directly established but rather assumed after a process of eliminating other plausible explanations.[49] And Ide et al. detect a weak yet significant impact, in the short term, on the importance attached by young people to environmental problems as a result of textbooks linking climate change to conflict.[50]

In summary, although school textbooks certainly play an important role in political socialisation, their impact on students' opinions and worldviews is insufficiently understood, limited by a number of factors, and should therefore not be overestimated.

1.1.3 STUDIES ON PALESTINIAN TEXTBOOKS

As discussed above, political conflicts are often also played out in controversies around the textbooks themselves,[51] as has been reflected in studies and reports written for political stakeholders. Such politically inclined reports have evaluated the contents of teaching materials approved by the Palestinian Authority (PA), and Palestinian textbooks have also been the subject of a number of scholarly analyses.

As Nathan J. Brown has stated, 'The Palestinian curriculum has been the subject of a tremendous international controversy, which centres on a political reading of (or failure to read) isolated passages in the textbooks used in Palestinian schools.'[52] One of the most active and publicly visible institutions with regard to politically inclined reports on textbooks in

the Middle East is the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-se), an NGO based in Israel that was founded in 1998 as the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP). It focuses on studies that examine the depiction of Jews, Judaism and of the State of Israel in textbooks of the Palestinian Authority areas and of Arab countries or those with a Muslim majority population. IMPACT-se describes itself as a 'research, policy and advocacy organisation'.[53] IMPACT-se has published numerous studies investigating the depiction of Israel and Jews in Palestinian textbooks. These reports compile several alarming examples demonstrating a hostile attitude towards Israel and which indicate that Palestinian textbooks cannot be considered politically harmless nor acknowledged to contain

44 Staeheli, Lynn A. and Daniel Hammett: '"For the Future of the Nation": Citizenship, Nation, and Education in South Africa', *Political Geography* 32 (1), 2013: p. 32–41.

45 Kahne, Joseph and Benjamin Bowyer: 'The Political Significance of Social Media Activity and Social Networks', *Political Communication* 35 (3), 2018: p. 470–493.

46 Fuchs: 'Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research', p. 22.

47 Obura, Anna: *Never Again: Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*. Paris: International Institute of Educational Planning, 2003.

48 Emerson, Ann: 'The Making of the (Il)Legitimate Citizen: The Case of the Pakistan Studies Textbook', *Global Change, Peace & Security* 30 (3), 2018: p. 295–311.

49 Voigtländer, Nico and Hans-Joachim Voth: 'Nazi Indoctrination and Anti-Semitic Beliefs in Germany', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America 112* (26), 2015: p. 7931–7936.

50 Ide, Tobias, Adrien Detges and Timo Leimeister: 'Securitization through the Schoolbook? On Facilitating Conditions for and Audience Dispositions Towards the Securitization of Climate Change', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 22 (3), 2019: p. 532–559.

51 Cajani, Lässig and Repoussi (eds): *The Palgrave Handbook of Conflict and History Education in the Post-Cold War Era*.

52 Brown, Nathan J.: 'Palestine: The Unseen Conflict over the Hidden Curriculum', in: Podeh and Alayan (eds): *Multiple Alterities*, p. 55–75; here: p. 55.

53 https://www.impact-se.org/about-us/, accessed 17 September 2020.

comprehensive peace-building educational objectives. The reports' characterisation of Palestinian textbooks is, however, marked by generalising and exaggerated conclusions based on methodological shortcomings. These require further investigation based on an overarching and comprehensive examination of the textbooks, contextualising the specific passages mentioned as well as elements with the potential to promote tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

IMPACT-se directs its studies predominantly at an English-speaking audience outside of Israel, aiming to influence political decision-makers. The Israeli public are, however, undeniably aware of the studies, which are discussed in the press. Israeli politicians also attach great importance to the content of textbooks used in the Palestinian Authority areas which might influence the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians. An overview report produced for the Knesset Committee for Education, Culture and Sport in 2010 by the Knesset Research and Information Centre listed the findings from existing studies on the subject that had been conducted by research institutes, think tanks and by state and international organisations. It concluded that, while no unequivocal point of view could be garnered from the different reports, it was beyond dispute that Palestinian textbooks were imbued with negative depictions with regard to Israel, the Jewish people and the peace process.[54]

Another study on Palestinian textbooks was published at the end of 2017 by the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies (BESA) at Bar Ilan University.[55] This work follows an approach and methodology similar to that employed by the IMPACT-se studies. Based on a sample of 201 textbooks in all subjects for years 1–12 that were used in schools at the time of the study, the BESA study reached an almost identical conclusion: the content of textbooks approved by the Palestinian Authority attempted to delegitimise Israel by denying that the Jewish people had a national claim to a state in Palestine and by describing the presence of the Jews as an occupation. The demonisation of the Jews was viewed as being expressed through their portrayal as enemies of the Prophet and also as currently and historically embodying an existential threat to Palestinians. This tendency was further exacerbated, so the study claimed, by the fact that the Jewish people were always referred to collectively and never as individuals, and the textbooks were also said to lack objective information about the Jews and Israel which might otherwise counteract this trend. Furthermore, the study stated that the textbooks mentally and ideologically prepare students for the violent struggle to eliminate Israel and that the books lacked support for a peaceful solution with Israel.[56]

In addition to these unilateral studies, several bilateral textbook projects have been carried out since the end of the 1990s by Israeli-Palestinian research groups and NGOs examining portrayals of self and 'other' in textbooks. Of these, the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) has contributed widely to textbook analysis in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The IPCRI's report of 2004 is especially noteworthy in this context, stating that, while the textbooks of the then new curriculum were replete with references to the principles of reconciliation and tolerance, they failed to extend these principles and concepts to include the State of Israel and the Jews. Nor did, however, the same textbooks openly promote violence and hatred towards Israel and the Jews.[57]

54 The report (in Hebrew) by the Knesset Research and Information Centre of 30 June 2010 is available online as a PDF file from the following address: https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/535b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977/2_535b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977_11_7890.pdf, accessed 31 October 2020. A supplementary report from 5 May 2013 referenced the 2010 study and reached a similar conclusion: https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/335c6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977/2_335c6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977_11_7424.pdf, accessed 31 October 2020. A similar overview of research positions regarding the content of Palestinian textbooks was carried out by the U.S. Congressional Research Service in 2005 and updated in 2006: Pina, Aaron D.: 'Palestinian Education and the Debate over Textbooks'. CRS Report for Congress. Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metacrs9379/, accessed 19 April 2019.

55 Groiss, Arnon and Ronni Shaked: 'ספרי הלימוד של הרשות הפלסטינית, ההתייחסות ליהודים, לישראל ולשלום' [Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority: The Attitude to the Jews, to Israel and to Peace]. Ramat Gan, 2017, https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/MSPS_141_HE.pdf, accessed 14 February 2019.

56 Groiss and Shaked: 'ספרי הלימוד של הרשות הפלסטינית, ההתייחסות ליהודים, לישראל ולשלום', p. 4–6.

57 Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information: 'Report II: Analysis and Evaluation of the New Palestinian Curriculum. Reviewing Palestinian Textbooks and Tolerance Education Program, Grades 4 and 9'. Jerusalem 2004, https://issuu.com/ipcri/docs/analysis_and_evaluation_of_the_new__435079b984ac19, accessed 10 April 2019.

Numerous academic studies of Palestinian textbooks have been carried out over the past two decades. Firer and Adwan, for example, examined Egyptian and Jordanian textbooks used at the time (2004) in the Palestinian Authority areas as well as new textbooks released by the Palestinian Authority in 2000 and 2001 for use in years 1-6. These textbooks addressed (Palestinian) locations, images, behaviour, culture, norms and values in much more detail than their predecessors. They placed a clear emphasis on Palestinian identity, of which a laboured sense of victimisation under Israeli occupation was a key element. The authors did not, however, note openly negative stereotypes of Jews and Israelis; in fact, non-violent resistance was the focus of the fight against the occupation and there was a recognisable attempt at education for peace, albeit, as they pointed out, with room for improvement.[58]

Parallel to Adwan and Firer's study, an edited volume compiled by Falk Pingel investigated lesson and curricular development in Israel and the Palestinian Authority areas.[59] The chapter by Götz Nordbruch examined the concept of the Palestinian nation in the textbooks in use at the time in the Palestinian Authority areas. It established that 'Palestine' was projected back to the third century and the Palestinians were portrayed to be the descendants of the 'Arabian Canaanites', while the Israelites and the Jewish population were omitted from the national history. The curriculum outlined the importance of Palestine for the Islamic, Christian and Jewish religions, although the Muslim rulers were depicted as tolerant while the Jewish people were portrayed as ungrateful and disloyal. The history of the country between 1882 and 1948 is restricted to selected periods of 'Zionist' activity and various uprisings of the Arab population against European and Jewish immigration. 'The West' is presented as an unreserved supporter of Zionism.[60]

Both the study by Adwan and Firer and Pingel's edited volume resulted from an extensive research project exploring peace education approaches in history, civics and geography lessons in Israel and Palestine, conducted between 2002 and 2010 by the Georg Eckert Institute in cooperation with regional partners. Several Israeli and Palestinian textbooks were reviewed in the context of the project and numerous scholarly articles and reports were published.[61]

Another significant bilateral study of Israeli and Palestinian textbooks was published in 2013 as a result of a collaborative project between Sami Adwan, Daniel Bar-Tal (Tel Aviv University) and Bruce Wexler (Yale).[62] The study, instigated by the inter-religious Council of Religious Institutions of the Holy Land and financed by the US State Department, was based on a broad sample and a sound research design employing recognised methods of textbook analysis.

It 'aimed to document the ways Palestinians and Israelis and the conflict between them are portrayed in each other's school textbooks'[63] and looked at the role of the latter 'in preserving the negative and inappropriate representation of the other and the conflict'.[64]

[58] Firer, Ruth and Sami Adwan: *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in History and Civics Textbooks of Both Nations*. Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung 110, 1. Hanover: Hahn, 2004.

[59] Pingel, Falk (ed.): *Contested Past, Disputed Present: Curricula and Teaching in Israeli and Palestinian Schools*. Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung 110, 2. Hanover: Hahn, 2003.

[60] Nordbruch, Götz: 'Forming Palestinian Society. The Narration of the Nation in the New Palestinian Textbooks', in: Pingel (ed.): *Contested Past*, p. 83–98.

[61] See: http://www.gei.de/en/projects/completed-projects/approaches-to-peace-pedagogy-in-history-geography-and-civics-instruction-in-israel-and-palestine. html, accessed 14 February 2019.

[62] [Adwan, Sami, Daniel Bar-Tal and Bruce E. Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?' A further publication of the study's results can be found in: Adwan, Sami, Daniel Bar-Tal and Bruce E. Wexler: 'Portrayal of the Other in Palestinian and Israel Schoolbooks: A Comparative Study', *Political Psychology* 37 (2), 2016: p. 201–217.

[63] [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 6.

[64] [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 3.

After a lengthy selection process the textbooks underwent a two-phase process of analysis. The first phase was to identify the units of analysis[65] relevant to the themes of the study. The six adopted themes were: the characterisation of the 'other' group, the 'self' group, religion, peace, conflict, and values. In the second phase these units underwent a standardised content analysis based on 'highly specific sets of evaluation questions related to each study theme and an accompanying implementation manual [that] were used to structure and standardize evaluations of the'[66] books. The study was carried out by a joint Israeli/Palestinian research team who developed and applied a standard manual and feedback system that maximised objectivity.

The study's four principal findings were: 1. The dehumanisation and demonisation of the 'other' occurred infrequently in the textbooks. 2. There was a unilateral national narrative evident on both sides which portrayed the 'other' as the enemy while positively portraying the actions of one's own society in conflict situations and attempts at peace. In Palestinian textbooks the 'other' was generally the Jewish people, who had taken possession of the land, either with the help of international powers or via the Israeli state. The message conveyed was that they wanted not to destroy the Palestinian people but to dominate them. Historical events were selectively chosen (by both sides) and incorporated into their own narratives. 3. Neither side's textbooks included information about the religion, culture, economy or everyday lives of the 'other'. Maps even partially negated the existence of the latter, thus questioning the legitimacy of their presence. 4. While these observations applied to textbooks in all types of schools examined by the study, a quantitative comparison revealed that they featured predominantly in textbooks that were either Palestinian or ultra-orthodox Jewish.[67]

More recent publications have discussed the results of this study and its perception within the conflict context, thus shedding light on the relevance of both textbooks and textbook research as locations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[68] Mazawi situates the debates about Palestinian textbooks within large-scale geopolitical dynamics and intra-Palestinian social and political struggles. He thus gives insight into internal debates quoting Ali Al-Jarbawi, who was involved in the evaluation of social studies and citizenship curricula, asking which Palestine should be taught and how Israel should be presented.[69] Internal debates on the content of Palestinian textbooks are also the focus of an article by Nathan Brown.[70] Elie Podeh contrasts the depiction of the Palestinian claim to the right of return with the representation of the Israeli Law of Return in a binational textbook analysis.[71] And Samira Alayan has devoted much of her scholarly work to the study of Palestinian textbooks, for example on their representations of the Holocaust[72] and their depictions of Zionism[73] as well as on their censorship by Israeli Authorities for use in schools in East Jerusalem.[74] All of the scholarly studies mentioned here focused on earlier generations of textbooks published before 2017.

---

[65] The unit of analysis in the study in question was defined as a literary piece that 'can be a poem, story, chapter, essay, part of a book, etc.'; [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 7.

[66] [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 8.

[67] [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 1–2.

[68] Rohde, Achim: 'Teaching History in Israel-Palestine', in: Bevernage, Berber and Nico Wouters (eds): *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018: p. 353–370; here: p. 364.

[69] Mazawi, André Elias: '"Which Palestine should we teach?" Signatures, Palimpsests, and Struggles over School Textbooks', in: *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 30 (2), 2011: p. 169–183; here: p. 174.

[70] Brown: 'Palestine: The Unseen Conflict over the Hidden Curriculum'.

[71] Podeh, Elie: 'The Right of Return versus the Law of Return: Contrasting Historical Narratives in Israeli and Palestinian Textbooks', in: Lesch, Ann M. and Ian S. Lustick (eds): *Exile and Return: Predicaments of Palestinians and Jews*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005: p. 41–56.

[72] Alayan, Samira: 'The Holocaust in Palestinian Textbooks: Differences and Similarities in Israel and Palestine', in: *Comparative Education Review*, 60 (1), 2015: p. 80–104.

[73] Alayan: 'Zionism as the Other in Curricula and Textbooks of the Palestinian National Authority'.

[74] Alayan, Samira: 'White pages: Israeli censorship of Palestinian textbooks in East Jerusalem', *Social Semiotics* 28 (4), 2018, p. 512–532, DOI: 10.1080/10350330.2017.1339470 and Alayan, Samira: *Education in East Jerusalem. Occupation, Political Power, and Struggle*. London: Routledge, 2019.

1.1.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS ON TEXTBOOKS

As institutionalised educational media, textbooks convey relatively solidified or settled representations of the world and its divisions that prefigure social lines of conflict. By transporting canonised, predominantly state-sanctioned 'knowledge', they describe and set social norms, defining what is to be regarded as 'normality' or 'deviation'. School textbooks exemplify norm-compliant actions and thus shape corresponding patterns of perception and human behaviour. They introduce protagonists who (supposedly) function as 'heroes' or role models, and describe how they deal with conflicts in specific situations. They define identities, usually condensing plurality into a narrower concept and giving special weight to specific – typically 'national', 'ethnic' or 'religious' – identities. Drawing boundaries along these lines becomes relevant for mobilisation processes in many cases of conflict. They assign specific images of 'self' and 'other' to the 'them/us' distinctions made through identity formation, often involving a process of de-individualisation. Often shaped by prejudices, stereotypes and images of the enemy, these can influence the perception of 'self' and 'other' in conflict situations. Textbooks typically contain territorial allocations and convey territorial claims of the (national) we-group, which can stand in contrast to claims of 'others'. They convey an image – a vision or self-image – of their own society, of the nature and function of the society in general, and at the same time, at least implicitly, devalue other forms of socialisation. Conceptions of consensus and conflict are associated with a certain understanding of society. Throughout the world textbooks portray specific conflicts, often wars, providing explanations for them, 'privileging' conflicts that are presented as key, and 'de-conflicting' others by either not addressing them at all or by placing them in a non-conflict context (e.g. crusades depicted as cultural transfer or colonialism as a 'civilising mission'). Due to the institutionally conditioned discursive 'inertia' of textbooks, the explicit presentation of certain conflicts suggests that these are regarded as socially relevant due to their particular durability and intensity.

It is conceivable that textbooks influence perception and convey an understanding of conflicts, that they guide the assessment of possible adversaries, train antagonistic or sympathetic patterns of perception and suggest behavioural patterns for dealing with conflict. This may foster a willingness to adopt violent strategies in the sense that 'wars begin in the minds of men' (UNESCO), or it may inspire less antagonistic approaches and a preference for non-violent problem-solving. Peace pedagogy strives to deliver education oriented towards non-violent solution strategies. Textbook revision attempts to influence the perception of learners in the sense of teaching about peace by revising textbook contents and presentation methods. The different forms of (violent) conflict in the context in which textbook revision is undertaken must be taken into account.

Textbooks not only themselves influence conflict definitions, mobilisation and resolution methods; they themselves are also influenced by conflicts, especially when these are long-term and violent. The intensification of images of the 'enemy' and the focus on facts relating to the conflict, including historical legitimisation, specific perpetrator-victim perspectives, and an emphasis on 'heroism', for example, are probably the most common patterns in which states of war are reflected in textbooks.

The debate on 'education and conflict' deals more broadly with the textbook-conflict nexus. Teaching materials are needed to secure education in war and post-war situations. 'Education in emergencies' is to a large extent about securing such a basic supply. The evaluation of existing books as 'contaminated' becomes a problem and leads to very specific measures such as the blacking-out of text passages before a reform of the education system and the publication of new textbooks can be undertaken at a later stage. In the course of such reform processes, but also independently of them, conflicts can arise within society or between actors from different states regarding the content and presentation of textbooks. In other words, the textbook itself becomes the bone of contention. Often, but not always, the point at issue is one of the examples listed above: a different view of a conflictual relationship history, for example, or the inclusion or exclusion of certain population groups. Such textbook conflicts are usually part of another conflict and can only be fully understood in that specific context.

1.2   BACKGROUND TO CURRICULUM REFORM

The textbooks analysed in this Report are contextualised within the process of curricular and textbook reform and development carried out by the Palestinian Authority since 1993. The demand for Palestinians to establish their own education system has been a component of bilateral negotiations since the Oslo talks. Whereas before the Oslo I Accord predominantly textbooks from Jordan and Egypt – approved by Israel – were available for use in Palestinian schools, in 1994 the Palestinian Authority was given the right to produce its own teaching materials.[75] The Palestinians thus found themselves faced with a dilemma, as Khoury has noted: 'Should the new textbooks narrate a negotiated history that mirrored the territorial compromise the PLO had struck with the Israelis? Or should the textbooks reproduce the traditional Palestinian narrative that claimed all of historical Palestine?'[76] This section of the Report provides an overview of this policy framework, based on documents published by the Palestinian Authority.

The National Committee for Education Reform, part of the Palestinian MoE, has issued a position paper titled 'Curriculum & Incitement' that contextualises the development of the Palestinian curriculum, the debates surrounding it and alleged incitement to violence. It gives relevant insights into the self-ascribed principles and trends, and the philosophy and strategy, that led to the Palestinian curriculum reform and development that commenced in 2015.

The curriculum reform originates more broadly with the founding of the Palestinian National Authority institutions in 1993 as a result of the ratification of the Oslo Accord of the same year between the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel. These institutions include the Ministry of Education (MoE) as well as the Palestinian Center for Curriculum Development. A year later in 1994, the signing of an agreement between the MoE and UNESCO marked the beginning of the development of the first Palestinian

curriculum. Ten years later, in 2004, the pilot version was finalised. According to the position paper the curriculum was drafted on the basis of a variety of international documents 'that support Palestinians' right and access to quality education that respects rights and ensures freedom'[77], such as Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Ten years after the launch of the pilot version, the curriculum was amended by including international standards according to the Universal Declaration on Sustainable Development, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly No. 70/1 and the Incheon Declaration of 2015. This process formulated the overall vision for Palestinian education reform, which, as stated in the position paper, strove for '[a] Palestinian society possessing values, scientific knowledge, culture and technology necessary for the production and use of knowledge for development and liberation.'[78]

The position paper also addresses the political discussion and controversy surrounding its development. It states that, since the first Palestinian textbook was released in 2000, the curricula has been subject to accusations of incitements to hatred and violence through 'systematic defamation campaigns' which have a negative impact on education funding partners and the ongoing development of the educational system.[79]

The position paper states that both the development of the first Palestinian curriculum in 2004 and the reform process of 2016 were guided by the following principles, resolutions and references:

1. The UN resolution that gave Palestinians the right to live in Palestine and establish their independent state, including the United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 67/19 voted at its sixty-seventh session on November 29, 2012, granting Palestine the status of observer non-member state at the United Nations.

---

[75] Cf. Khoury, Nadim: 'National Narratives and the Oslo Peace Process: How Peacebuilding Paradigms Address Conflicts over History', in: *Nations and Nationalism* 22 (3), 2016: p. 415–446; here p. 423; Moughrabi, Fouad: 'The Politics of Palestinian Textbooks', in: *Journal of Palestine Studies* 31 (1), 2001: p. 5–19; here: p. 6 and Brown, Nathan J.: 'Contesting National Identity in Palestinian Education', in: Rotberg, Robert I. (ed.): *History's Double Helix*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006, p. 225–243; here: 227.

[76] Cf. Khoury: 'National Narratives and the Oslo Peace Process', p. 423 and Mazawi: 'Which Palestine should we teach?'. For further discussion see Brown: 'Palestine: The Unseen Conflict over the Hidden Curriculum'.

[77] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education/National Committee for Education Reform: '"Position Paper": Curriculum & Incitement'. Position Paper. n.d., p. 1.

[78] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education/National Committee for Education Reform: '"Position Paper": Curriculum & Incitement'. Position Paper. n.d., p. 1.

[79] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education/National Committee for Education Reform: '"Position Paper": Curriculum & Incitement', p. 1–2.

2. The Declaration of Independence of the State of Palestine adopted on November 15, 1988 in Algeria by the Palestine National Council. The declaration was based on the UN General Assembly resolution No. 181 dated November 29, 1947, which stated the termination of the British Mandate, the partition of Palestine into two states, the assignment of Jerusalem under the aegis of the United Nations trusteeship and the right of refugees to return to their towns and villages from which they were exiled, the UN Security Council resolution No. 242, which provided for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied during the June 1967 war, and the need to bring firm and just peace in the Middle East, as well as UN Security Council resolutions relating to the city of Jerusalem, including resolution No. 446, resolution No. 476 and resolution No. 478 dated 20/08/1980 which confirms the invalidity of all actions carried out by the occupation authority to change the character of the city of Jerusalem and its legal status.

3. Oslo Accords that resulted in the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority as a first step towards ending the occupation and establishing an independent Palestinian state on the 1967 borders.

4. The Amended Palestinian Basic Law of 2003, which is the legislative and legal reference in the Palestinian territories, and whatever it included in terms of intellectual, national, social and cultural principles.[80]

According to the recently released Position Paper II titled 'Ongoing Incitement against the Palestinian Curricula', the curriculum development process was flexible and dynamic from the beginning: 'It took into account feedback from the Palestinian educational community and experts in this arena. The process adhered to international standards in order to achieve the UN's Sustainable Development Goals and consolidate the values of justice, democracy, tolerance, and peace.'[81]

According to the position paper 'Curriculum & Incitement' the Palestinian curriculum seeks to empower Palestinian citizens with knowledge and the moral values of tolerance, love, democracy, acceptance of others, and pluralism.[82] Furthermore, its vision stresses the importance of teaching students to communicate internationally and further promote international understanding and cooperation:

- To raise politically and socially aware youth with values of tolerance, acceptance, dialogue and respect of others, who are aware of the Palestinian national cause, to equip them with all the necessary skills to become active participants in building a Palestinian state on land occupied in 1967 with East Jerusalem as its capital. To raise individuals who are aware and can advocate and implement United Nations resolutions related to a just solution for Palestinians a roadmap for a two-solution state.

- To raise a youth whose values and actions stem from their deeply rooted understanding of the Palestinian cause and who understand that resisting the occupation is a right granted to us by international conventions and UN resolutions including Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which affirms the legitimacy of the right of resistance to peoples under colonization, and resolution No. (1514) of 1960 on granting independence to colonialized countries and peoples. In 1974, the UN General Assembly adopted the Resolution No. 3314 on the right of peoples to struggle in all forms in order to achieve freedom, independence and self-determination.

- The Palestinian curriculum prepares individuals who are inquisitive, principled, tolerant, risk taking, national and internationally minded, critical and creative individuals who possess the knowledge and skill sets necessary for them to keep up with the global pace of knowledge production. It produces individuals who are engaged and open minded towards their own society and others. […]

- The Palestinian curriculum does not identify any political borders of the state of Israel because these borders have yet to be determined within the framework of an agreement for a just, comprehensive and final settlement. The Palestinian curriculum cannot suggest any assumptions for such borders, that are not even identified in the Israeli curriculum, especially in light of the continued settlement activities in the occupied Palestinian territories and the denial of the Palestinian people's right to return and establish their independent state on the 1967 borders since the border demarcation was classified within the final status issues that have not been settled yet.

---

[80] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education/National Committee for Education Reform: '"Position Paper": Curriculum & Incitement', p. 2–3.

[81] State of Palestine Ministry of Education: 'Position Paper II: Ongoing Incitement against the Palestinian Curricula', Position Paper, March 2020, p. 2.

[82] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education/National Committee for Education Reform: '"Position Paper": Curriculum & Incitement', p. 3–4.

- The Palestinian historical narrative remains unchanged and must take into account the destruction of the Palestinian society in 1948, and the establishment of the State of Israel as well as the subsequent Israeli occupation of the rest of the Palestinian territories in 1967 along with the peace agreement and the subsequent violations. Historical narrative of any nation depends highly on the political events and developments that affected its people. Palestinians are no different, their stories of loss, pain and suffering largely make up their discourse and that should not be compromised to appease anyone.

- Educating Palestinians about their legitimate rights in resisting all forms of occupation as guaranteed by international conventions and United National resolutions is a necessary function of the Palestinian curriculum. This is coupled by promoting peace, tolerance and love with others once a just solution that ensures the liberation and establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state is achieved.[83]

The 'Education Sector Strategic Plan' published in 2017 also highlights the importance for the Palestinian education system of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals.[84]

Within the 'Education Sector Strategic Plan' issued by the MoE, education development is contextualised within the Ministry's view of the historic and political background of Palestine.

It considers that

historically, Palestine lies south west of Asia on the southeastern part of the Mediterranean Sea, Eastern Coast, extending to the Jordan River. Thus, it lies in the heart of the world, namely Asia and Africa, which makes it a land bridge linking both continents. It has a large number of historically and religiously important cities. These cities, with Jerusalem at the top, are of high importance for the three monotheistic religions.[85]

With regard to the political situation, it considers that

Palestine is a State under occupation according to the United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 19\67 of the year 2012. It has the most unstable security situation in the world due to the Israeli occupation violations of Palestinian citizens' rights in addition to the physical presence of the colonial settlements that are built on expropriated Palestinian land; a breach of all international conventions and laws. What makes the situation worse, as most international human rights organizations view, is the apartheid wall which Israel built on Palestinian lands in the West Bank, in addition to the violations committed against the Gaza Strip epitomized by the siege. These Israeli policies and measures, which it has accelerated since the inception of the Palestinian National Authority in 1993, worsened and tensed the security situation.[86]

Furthermore, Position Paper II states that the curriculum should be of 'factual' content and reflect the current living situation of the Palestinians:[87]

The curriculum cannot be based on an imaginary history or be used to promote lies. It must reflect today's reality and international law, and aim to educate a generation that believes in justice and democracy. The Palestinian curriculum should serve as a tool to help in building a free, independent Palestinian state where all its citizens are treated with dignity and respect. It is the right of the Palestinian people to teach their history to successive generations with transparency, credibility and justice, just like other nations. This includes Palestinian national figures and historical symbols who resist foreign occupation. This right is granted by international law such as Article 51 of the UN Charter. Several United Nations resolutions recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle; these include UN General Assembly Resolutions 37/43(1982), 2787 (1971), as well as Resolution 1514 (1960) which recognizes the granting of independence to colonialized countries and nations.

[83] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education/National Committee for Education Reform: '"Position Paper": Curriculum & Incitement', p. 4–6.

[84] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education: 'Education Sector Strategic Plan 2017-2022: An Elaboration of the Education Development Strategic Plan III (2014-2019)', https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/planipolis/files/ressources/palestine_education_sector_strategic_plan_2017-2022.pdf, accessed 28 September 2020, p. 7, 19–22, 38–39.

[85] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education: 'Education Sector Strategic Plan 2017-2022', p. 49.

[86] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education: 'Education Sector Strategic Plan 2017-2022', p. 49.

[87] State of Palestine Ministry of Education: 'Position Paper II: Ongoing Incitement against the Palestinian Curricula', Position Paper, March 2020, p. 5.

1.3   METHODOLOGY

Textbook research conducted at the Georg Eckert Institute focuses on discourse-analytical questions, above all with regard to descriptions of 'self' and 'other' as well as historical symbols and changing constructions of society resulting from these. Textbook knowledge; that is, that which appears in textbooks as the central guiding media of school teaching, is widely regarded as both symbolic and discursively contested. On the basis of this canonically condensed knowledge, influenced and sanctioned by the state and social authorities in one way or another, it is possible to identify and examine prevailing social discourses as well as their respective carriers and protagonists. From this research perspective, textbook contents can be analysed as both indicators and factors of societal discourses.

As textbooks are usually compiled of very different types of texts written by different authors and/or obtained from different sources, it is crucial to analyse a sample of several textbooks as a whole rather than looking at individual volumes or selected pages. A systematic, scholarly textbook analysis approaches textbooks and other educational media with a clearly defined set of terms and methods. The basis for this Report is a qualitative content analysis targeting the different subject groups and topic areas addressed in textbooks with specific methods. The analysis of key terms such as 'incitement to violence and hatred' or 'promotion of peace and tolerance' require criteria with which to identify corresponding textbook content. The definition of terms and criteria is therefore derived from secondary literature on peace education research, with a focus on textbook content in conflict settings.

The overarching research method is a qualitative content analysis, complemented by methods from the fields of narrative analysis and quantitative analysis. The classification of the many text passages into appropriate categories is part of the qualitative content analysis, as is establishing their significance. Textbook extracts that refer to issues such as historical, political, social, religio-cultural and economic implications; initiatives for peace, tolerance or dialogue; human rights, and real-life connections were selected for further analysis.[88]

All passages identified as containing relevant text and/or images for this Report were documented and subsequently coded in a digital programme (MaxQDA) with a deductive and inductive coding scheme that translated the research objectives and questions into codes. This coding procedure enabled the documentation, contrast and comparison of inter- and intra-subject text passages.

As textbooks are produced and received within different societal discourses and can therefore only be fully interpreted and classified in their relevant contexts, it is essential to employ methods of discourse analysis in addition to content analysis. Discourse analysis unveils 'hidden' messages by examining the semiotic structure of a certain text (e.g. presuppositions, ruptures, contradictions, impasses, etc.).

Special attention has been paid to the pedagogic and didactic specificities of each discipline and its textbooks: How, generally speaking, are textbooks designed and structured within a certain subject area? How do authored texts, source materials and illustrations work together, and what exercises and tasks are assigned in the context of each lesson? How are the tasks put together – are they designed merely to reproduce content or rather to stimulate discussion? The context of the specific subject must also be taken into account: What learning objectives are prescribed for the subject, what are the principal didactic methods, and what kind of source material plays a significant role? Which specific discourses affect each subject? And what differences in terms of these analytical categories and discourses are apparent between textbooks for different subjects?

As both discourse analysis and qualitative text analysis require substantial interpretation,[89] this Report additionally applies a modified approach from quantitative content analysis to ensure the validity of its results.[90] While the idea of intercoder reliability is not directly applicable to qualitative research,[91] each piece of text in the sample has been analysed by at least two (and wherever the textbook content was particularly context-dependent or ambiguous, up to five) scholars.

---

[88]   This methodological approach has been applied to textbooks for religion in the post-conflict setting of Bosnia and Herzegovina. See: Štimac, Zrinka: 'Ignore the War; Concentrate on Peace. Textbook Analysis of Strategies in Post-Conflict Societies: A Praxeological Approach', in: Andreassen, Bengt-Ove, James R. Lewis and Suzanna A. Throbo (eds): *Textbook Violence*. Sheffield: Equinox, 2017: p. 55–73.

[89]   Keller, Reiner: *Doing discourse research: an introduction for social scientists*. London: SAGE, 2013.

[90]   Krippendorff, Klaus: C*ontent Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2004.

[91]   Hardy, Cynthia, Nelson Phillips and Bill Harley: 'Discourse analysis and content analysis: two solitudes?' *Qualitative & Multi-method Research* 2 (1), 2004: p. 19–22.

1.3.1 DEFINITION OF CRITERIA FOR ANALYSIS

This Report is based on the analysis of 172 textbooks and teacher guides published from 2017 to 2019 for all main subjects of the Palestinian Authority curriculum for general education, years 1–12. Additionally, following the initial conclusion of the Report, 18 textbooks published in the year 2020 were analysed with a view to identifying changes (see Chapter 5).

(I) GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION (GCED):

Civic education, Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), intercultural understanding and human rights are the key areas of the UNESCO guidelines of 2014 on textbooks and learning resources. The Report focuses on the following six core criteria chosen from two of the three UNESCO Principles, namely 'Promote Values, Attitudes and Skills for Learning to Live Together' (Principle 2), and 'Enable Learners to Reflect, Think and Build Peace Internationally' (Principle 3), taking into account that the textbooks analysed are located within a long-term armed conflict. The guidelines state that textbooks and learning resources should:

- present a realistic, balanced and respectful representation of different social, cultural and religious groups […] [UNESCO guidelines criterion 2.3];

- draw on positive examples of how diverse social, ethnic and cultural groups manage (and have managed) to live together harmoniously in mutually beneficial ways [criterion 2.4];

- focus on cultural, social and religious values that support peaceful coexistence […] [criterion 2.5];

- increase awareness of and response to international agreements and commitments to human rights […] [criterion 3.1];

- encourage a comparative approach to the teaching of religions […] [criterion 3.6];

- incorporate plans for activities that explore the causes and consequences of conflict or war in ways that promote attitudes and skills for conflict prevention, peace building and global citizenship […] [criterion 3.7].[92]

The chapter on GCED investigates the ways in which textbooks address forms of political participation, environmental issues and intercultural understanding. Civic education is understood as a concept that teaches all aspects of citizenship and aims to enable young people to participate actively in democratic processes in the current global society. The main questions asked are whether the textbooks present realistic and respectful representations of different social, cultural and religious groups, how these groups live together, which cultural, social and religious values presented represent peaceful coexistence between these groups, and how they increase awareness of (and to what extent they are a response to) international agreements on gender equality, cultural diversity and the protection of the environment.[93]

The promotion of human rights is explicitly mentioned in criterion 3.1. Human rights are broadly considered to reflect a set of values supportive of peaceful coexistence (criterion 2.5); further, a respectful presentation of other groups (criterion 2.3) involves acknowledging them as owners – rather than as violators – of human rights. The research team drew on an approach developed by a group of specialists at Stanford University that is widely accepted in the relevant literature.[94] This approach notes for all textbooks how many explicit references to human rights are dedicated to the subject matter and which human rights are discussed (civil, economic, social, cultural), and whether and how human rights violations are mentioned.

[92] UNESCO: *Textbooks and Learning Resources: Guidelines for Developers and Users*, ED-2013/WS/37, Paris: UNESCO, 2014, p. 16–17.

[93] Based on UNESCO criteria 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 as well as 3.1 and 3.6.

[94] Bromley, Patricia: 'Cosmopolitanism in Civic Education: Exploring Cross-National Trends, 1970–2008'. *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 12 (1), 2009: p. 33–44; Ramirez, Francisco O., Patricia Bromley and Susan Garnett Russell: 'The Valorization of Humanity and Diversity'. *Multicultural Education Review* 1 (1), 2009: p. 29–54.

Specifically, the following questions were applied to textbooks:

1. Are human rights explicitly discussed in the textbook?

2. To what degree are human rights discussed in the textbook (one or more sentences, a paragraph, or sub-chapter, an entire chapter or more)?

3. How many pages are devoted to the discussion of human rights?

4. Are any international, regional or national human rights documents mentioned?

5. Which human rights are discussed (civil, economic, social, cultural)?

6. Are group-specific rights (e.g., of women, children, ethnic groups) discussed (without explicit reference to human rights), and if so, which rights and to what extent?

While the discussion of human rights per se is a good indicator of the promotion of tolerance and understanding in a textbook, the specific framing of the topic is equally significant. If, for example, a textbook mentions only the national in-group (Palestinians) or related groups as holders or receivers of human rights, the promotion of understanding in a conflict context might be limited. Discussing the rights of humanity in general or of Israelis specifically is considered a contribution to more peaceful relations. Similarly, portraying other groups or individuals (especially Israelis in this case) as perpetrators of human rights violations (re-)produces a conflict discourse while (critical) reflection of the human rights record of one's own group serves to question binary stereotypes and to reflect upon one's own role in perpetuating the conflict.[95]

This Report therefore extends the Stanford group's approach by including the following items:

7. Who is discussed as the subject/receiver of human rights in the relevant textbook pages (humanity in general, Palestinian groups, Israeli groups, other groups)?

8. Which perpetrators of human rights violations are mentioned (none, Israeli actors, Palestinian actors, other actors)?

This approach will locate Palestinian textbooks within the synchronic and diachronic overview generated by the Stanford group and compare them in terms of the human rights discourse with textbooks from various regions, (post-)conflict settings and times.[96]

(II) INCITEMENT OF VIOLENCE AND HATRED OR PROMOTION OF PEACE AND TOLERANCE:

The above mentioned UNESCO guidelines on promoting values, attitudes and skills for learning to live together and for enabling learners to reflect, think and engage in international peace-building also form the basis of the criteria chosen to identify textbook passages that promote hatred or tolerance. As some aspects of these guidelines are too general to be applied in a scholarly analysis within this specific context, characterised as it is by contested nation-building and persistent conflict, additional criteria were also employed.

Delineating the incitement of hatred and violence in a text is a complex undertaking, and indeed it has yet to be proven that certain texts lead to sustained changes in the beliefs or actions of individuals. Similar issues apply to the identification of content that promotes tolerance and peace. For the purpose of this Report, the following (heuristic) distinctions are used: **a text is considered to foster tolerance** if human rights are acknowledged, tolerance and respect are promoted as desirable goals, or the relevant others are portrayed in

95 Jackson, Richard and Helen Dexter: 'The Social Construction of Organized Political Violence: An Analytical Framework'. Civil Wars 16 (1), 2014: p. 1–23; Korf, Benedikt: 'Who is the Rogue? Discourse, Power and Spatial Politics in Post-war Sri Lanka'. *Political Geography* 25 (3), 2006: p. 279–297.

96 Meyer, John W., Patricia Bromley and Francisco O. Ramirez: 'Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks: Cross-national Analyses, 1970–2008', *Sociology of Education* 83 (2), 2010: p. 111–134.

positive ways. **A text passage or visualisation is considered prone to promote violence** if it either explicitly calls for violent activities or presents violent activities as legitimate action in light of the current conflict situation.

A text is considered to potentially ignite hatred if it denies the human rights of specific groups or portrays these groups according to the criteria listed below. The Report thus reflects the broad academic consensus that the incitement of hatred is intrinsically tied to the portrayal of a respective 'other'/out-group.[97]

The analysis investigates relevant passages in history, civics, geography, religion and language textbooks that explicitly refer to (i) direct, physical violence, (ii) Israel/Israelis, Zionism/Zionists or Judaism/Jews, and (iii) the Israeli-Palestinian or the Israeli-Arab conflict. These categories are particularly important for identifying indirect legitimisation or de-legitimisation strategies for violence.[98] Since violence and hatred always require an entity to turn against, this Report analyses how the relevant 'other' — in this case Israel/Israelis, Zionism/Zionists or Judaism/Jews — is portrayed in the textbooks with regard to all textbook elements that refer directly to or discuss the Israeli-Palestinian/Arab conflict, thus operationalising UNESCO guidelines criteria 2.3 and 3.7.

In this context, the analysis of the depiction of the 'other' is crucial in order to investigate incitement of hatred or violence. Should a text passage or visualisation present one of the following categories, the analysis then considers in further detail whether it promotes hatred:[99]

- Inferiority: The religion, culture or political system of the other group is represented negatively, or its positions and claims are considered unjustified, egoistic or ridiculous.[100]

- Competition: The 'other' group is presented as in competition with the 'us' group. As a consequence, the 'other' group is depicted as responsible for the deprivation and injustices the 'us' group experiences, or even as an essential threat to the 'us' group.[101]

- Aggression: The other group is portrayed as aggressive, for instance due to increasing and unacceptable demands in the context of the conflict, carrying out violent acts, repressing democracy and the well-being of the 'us' group, or refusing to negotiate or engage in other forms of peaceful conflict resolution.[102]

- Homogeneity: The other group is portrayed as homogenous; internal differences and conflicts are not discussed.[103]

- Dehumanisation: The other group is portrayed as lacking human characteristics, such as emotional responsiveness or interpersonal warmth, is associated with uncivilised or even animalistic or demonic attributes, or is discussed with reference to disease and illness.[104]

- Deception: The other group is portrayed as lying about its motives and actions, or as having betrayed the 'us' group and/or 'other' groups.

- Negation: The existence of the other group is denied, for instance on maps, or when historical settlement patterns are introduced. [105]

[97] Tajfel, Henri and John Turner: 'The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior', in: Worchel, Stephen and William Austin (eds): *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1986: p. 7–24; and Kaufman, Stuart: *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War. Ithaca*, London: Cornell University Press, 2001.

[98] Jackson and Dexter: 'The Social Construction of Organized Political Violence: An Analytical Framework'.

[99] Here the analysis follows a methodological tool developed by Tobias Ide: Ide, Tobias: 'Towards a constructivist understanding of socio-environmental conflicts'. *Civil Wars* 18 (1), 2016, p. 69–90.

[100] Jussim, Lee, Richard Ashmore and David Wilder: 'Introduction: Social Identity and Intergroup Conflict', in: Ashmore, Richard, Lee Jussim and David Wilder (eds): *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*. Oxford: OUP, 2001: p. 3–14; Tajfel and Turner: 'The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior'.

[101] Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde: *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Pub., 1998; Korf: 'Who Is the Rogue? Discourse, Power and Spatial Politics in Post-War Sri Lanka'.

[102] Bar-Tal, Daniel: 'Societal Beliefs in Times of Intractable Conflict: The Israeli Case', *International Journal of Conflict Management* 9 (1), 1998: p. 22–50.

[103] Kaufman: *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*; Tajfel and Turner: 'The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior'.

[104] Campbell, David: Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005; Haslam, Nick: 'Dehumanization: An Integrative Review', *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10 (3), 2006: p. 252–264.

[105] Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler: 'Portrayal of the Other in Palestinian and Israel Schoolbooks: A Comparative Study'.

Given that the work for this Report was undertaken in the context of an active conflict in which episodes of armed violence have occurred for almost a century, descriptions of the 'other' group in an antagonistic way, as, for instance, a competitor, aggressor or as violent need not necessarily aim at igniting hatred. For this specific context, therefore, the application of the categories specified above considered particularly how often, how intensively and extensively, in which contexts, and with which motivation or emotive elements they occurred and whether they involved escalatory semantic or pedagogic elements. These characterisations of the 'other' group are considered particularly prone to igniting hatred if they serve as 'diacritica'[106]; that is, if they serve as identity markers that distinguish the other group negatively from the 'us' group. In cases where the above-mentioned criteria are specifically presented in a way that connects the current conflict with narratives about Jews as a collective[107], the Report looked into whether such narratives reflect anti-Jewish prejudices.[108] Thus, a textbook portrayal is characterised as drawing upon anti-Semitic motifs or feeding into specifically anti-Semitic narratives if a) Jews as a collective are assigned negative characteristics such as greed, deception, cowardice, aggression, hatred towards other groups, etc.; b) Jews are alleged to be plotting a conspiracy against the 'in-group' or its representatives[109]; c) the portrayal promotes enmity towards Jews; and/or d) explicitly or implicitly calls upon the reader to engage in violence against Jews.

In this Report, statements are interpreted within their specific contexts, and the analysis considers whether negative depictions are counterbalanced with neutral or positive depictions, such as everyday references[110], explanations[111], commonalities[112], heterogeneity[113] or self-reflection.[114] It is important to acknowledge, however, that such indicators are generally very rare in contexts of intense conflict, particularly with regard to the respective other party.[115]

In order to determine more precisely whether a text passage or visualisation of controversial conflict-related issues might ignite hatred, the Report differentiates between escalatory and non-escalatory representations:

- Escalatory passages and images foster conflict escalation with a strong focus on the side perceived to have caused the grievance in question, with an assessment – explicit or implicit – of that side's actions. Escalation is fostered particularly via the use of certain linguistic and/or didactic devices (also referred to as didactic and/or semantic escalation).

- Non-escalatory representations depict a conflict situation or grievance resulting from the conflict, with or without naming the group responsible for the negative state of affairs and without further emphasis on the group's actions or the consequences of such.

---

[106] Neumann, Iver B.: *Uses of the Other: 'The East' in European Identity Formation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999, p. 5.

[107] Cf. Nirenberg, David: Anti-Judaism. *The History of a Way of Thinking*. London: Head of Zeus, 2013, p. 48–182.

[108] On the different definitions of historical and current anti-Semitism and on the difficulties of reaching a universal definition cf. Porat, Dina: 'The Road to an Internationally Accepted Definition of Antisemitism', in: Small, Charles A. (ed.): *The Yale Papers: Antisemitism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy, 2015, p. 19–33.

[109] On this, see Rickenbacher, Daniel: 'Der "jüdisch-westliche Krieg gegen den Islam" – Genealogie und Aktualität einer Verschwörungstheorie', in: Grimm, Marc and Bodo Kahmann (eds): *Antisemitismus im 21. Jahrhundert. Virulenz einer alten Feindschaft in Zeiten von Islamismus und Terror, Berlin*, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018, p. 157–177. Cf. also Schroeter, Daniel J.: '"Islamic Anti-Semitism" in Historical Discourse', in: *The American Historical Review* 123 (4), 2018: p. 1172–1189.

[110] Standish, Katerina: 'Looking for Peace in National Curriculum: The Peca Project in New Zealand'.

[111] Korostelina, Karina V.: *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures, Dynamics, and Implications*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; Prutzman, Priscilla and Judith Johnson: 'Bias Awareness and Multiple Perspectives: Essential Aspects of Conflict Resolution', *Theory into Practice* 36 (1), 1997: p. 26–31.

[112] Korostelina, *Social Identity and Conflict*; Kriesberg, Louis: *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*: Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

[113] McDoom, Omar Shahabudin: 'The Psychology of Thread in Intergroup Conflict: Emotions, Rationality, and Opportunity in the Rwandan Genocide', *International Security* 37 (2), 2012: p. 119–155; Rothbart, Daniel and Karina V. Korostelina: *Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006.

[114] Pettigrew, Thomas F.: 'The Ultimate Attribution Error: Extending Allport's Cognitive Analysis of Prejudice', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 5 (4), 1979: p. 461–476; Rothbart and Korostelina: *Identity, Morality, and Threat*.

[115] Cf. Benwell: 'From the Banal to the Blatant', Emerson: 'The Making of the (Il)Legitimate Citizen' and Guichard, Sylvie: *The Construction of History and Nationalism: Textbooks, Controversies and Politics*. Abington, New York: Routledge, 2010.

In a *didactic escalation*, the reference to the conflict-related grievance and its perpetrators is repeated and intensified as a result of didactically drawn connections (e.g. image analysis, text reading, exercise, task, required research on a certain topic). Here the analysis distinguishes between tasks that call for unquestioned reproduction and tasks that encourage the students to critically engage with the presented content. Passages were examined regarding the I) diagnostic frames (merely descriptions and explanations of issues or problems), II) prognostic frames (suggesting solutions to or strategies for those problems) and III) motivational frames (including a call for action).[116] A semantic escalation, on the other hand, occurs in the language – or in the imagery – , for instance when referring to the perpetrator of the grievance using derogatory, villainising or demonising terminology, or by using language or imagery to portray the group responsible as particularly violent, aggressive and lacking in human characteristics. The qualitative approach contextualises such depictions with regard to the specific textbook, the overall narrative(s) of the textbook, and the (at times contested) historical knowledge of certain events.[117]

(III) REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS AND EXPERIENCE-RELATED CONTENT:

Experience-related examples are often used in textbooks for the natural sciences and technology, but also in language textbooks.[118] They are intended to give students a concrete and practical example taken from their life-worlds and everyday experience in order to convey a natural law, a mathematical or grammatical principle, or to demonstrate the practical applicability of such. These examples can be visual representations, short textual references, or longer explanations with or without illustrations. They help students to comprehend the more abstract teaching content and are therefore a common element of teaching and textbook cultures worldwide. Sometimes examples from the life-worlds of the students are intentionally used in order to advance a certain kind of thinking or behaviour in compliance with socially or politically aspired objectives. In 2017, the Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (UNESCO) published a guide to embedding education for sustainable development in textbooks for mathematics, science, geography and languages. By using relevant practical and life-world related examples, the authors of this guidebook promote 'double-purpose learning': simultaneously learning a certain discipline with its own categories and questions *and* learning the principles of sustainable development.[119]

The analysis of science, mathematics and language textbooks examines the use of real-life connections and experience-related examples in textbooks of the Palestinian Authority. Recent reports have highlighted a certain number of examples connected to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Palestinian textbooks for the sciences and Arabic language that offer escalatory messages while referring to the realities of the students' everyday lives under occupation.[120]

Experience-related examples tend to be fragmented and appear in isolation in science or language textbooks and have therefore largely remained unconsidered in cultural studies.[121] Further, the field lacks an established methodological approach with which to investigate the relevance of ideologically or politically connoted content in textbooks for the sciences, technology and language. This Report therefore draws on quantitative data and combines them with a qualitative, context-sensitive analysis to investigate real-life connections and experience-related content.

....

[116] Following King: 'What Framing Analysis Can Teach Us About History Textbooks, Peace, and Conflict', p. 42.

[117] Ide, Tobias: 'Critical Geopolitics and School Textbooks: The Case of Environment-Conflict Links in Germany', *Political Geography* 55 (1), 2016: p. 61–70.

[118] The reference here is to textbooks teaching the rules of a certain language (grammar, syntax, morphology) rather than to readers with examples from a specific literary canon.

[119] UNESCO/Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development: Textbooks for Sustainable Development. A Guide to Embedding. New Delhi: Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 2017.

[120] Pardo, Eldad J.: 'The New Palestinian Curriculum, 2018–19, Update – Grades 1–12', IMPACT-se Report. 2018, http://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/The-New-PA-2018-Curriculum_Grades-1-12.pdf, accessed 20 October 2020; Groiss and Shaked: 'ספרי הלימוד של הרשות הפלסטינית, ההתייחסות ליהודים, לישראל ולשלום' [Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority: The Attitude to the Jews, to Israel and to Peace].

[121] There is, however, some research in the field of mathematics and science didactics, e.g. Mosvold, Reidar: Mathematics in Everyday Life. A Study of Norwegian Teachers' Beliefs and Actions Concerning the Connection with Mathematics and Everyday Life. PhD thesis. Department of Mathematics, University of Bergen 2005, p. 99–115, https://de.scribd.com/doc/506952/Mathematics-in-everyday-life-A-study-of-beliefs-and-actions, accessed 25 September 2020.

A) Quantitative analysis:

1. Collection and documentation of all everyday examples in the textbooks, categorising of the text in question (authored text, exercise, heading, etc.) or illustration (photograph, drawing, chart, etc.)

2. Marking of conflict-related examples

3. Measurement of the quantitative relationship between examples that are conflict-related and those which are not (number of examples)

B) Qualitative analysis of conflict-related examples:

4. Analysis of contexts: What different facets of real-life connections are present in the books?

5. Analysis of content-related and semantic structures (which allows for classification to a certain extent, from descriptive experience-related to more prescriptive or even hatred-fostering examples):

   a) Are the conflict-related examples isolated in the text or are they part of the didactic context (e.g. illustration – authored text – exercise)?

   b) Are there ideological/political connotations beyond the experience-related connection?

   c) Are additional attributes used in a certain example in order to mark a potential adversary, and, if this is the case, which attributes are used? Do they contain any messages that could have delegitimising/ dehumanising effects or be prone to igniting hatred?

1.3.2 DATA BASIS

TEXTBOOK SAMPLE

The analysis presented in this Report provides an overview of the textbooks for the main subjects taught in Palestinian schools, which include: Arabic language, social studies and social upbringing, history and geography, religious education, mathematics and natural sciences as well as life sciences. This Report encompasses a sample of 156 textbooks and 16 teacher guides for years 1–12 in these subjects for use in schools providing a general education, in the versions published mainly between 2017 and 2019. This sample of 172 books was selected from a larger corpus with a total of 309 textbook versions and teacher guides, with the aim of including the most recent editions and allowing comparisons between different versions.

Additionally, 18 textbooks updated for the start of the school year 2020/2021 by the MoE were checked for changes; whenever considerable or extensive changes were identified a qualitative evaluation of these amendments followed (see Chapter 5). Further, 7 textbooks amended by the Israeli authorities for use in East Jerusalem schools were also included in the Report (see Chapter 6).

Subjects of textbooks[122]	Textbooks in the sample	Number of teacher guides in the sample	Palestinian textbooks and teacher guides analysed	Textbooks amended by Israeli authorities analysed	Textbooks published by MoE in 2020
Arabic Language	34	1	35	1	7
Social Studies	22	4	26	2	1
History and Geography	15	1	16	1	2
Religion	31	3	34	1	3
Islamic Education	25	3	28	1	3
Christian Education	6	0	6	0	0
Mathematics and Natural Sciences	54	7	61	2	5
Life Sciences	19	4	23	1	2
Mathematics	32	3	35	1	3
Physics	1	0	1	0	0
Chemistry	2	0	2	0	0
Total number	156	16	172	7	18

The MoE alters textbooks within a process that implements edits and changes from year to year. This is reflected in the different versions of textbooks bearing one and the same title.

Sample of 172 textbooks and teacher guides selected for this Report:
 2 were published in 2016.
34 were published in 2017.
59 were published in 2018.
77 were published in 2019.

Printed and electronic versions:
Printed versions: 23
PDF-format/printed versions: 14[123]
Electronic downloads in PDF-format: 135

STRUCTURE OF TEXTBOOKS

Arabic Language

A total of 34 textbooks for Arabic language teaching and one teacher guide were analysed in this study, all published by the MoE in Ramallah.

All textbooks consist of two parts for the same year, of which the latest versions were analysed. For the 2017/2018 academic year and years 6 to 12, print and PDF versions were analysed and compared to the latest available versions.

For years 1 to 4 the textbooks are titled *Our Beautiful Language* (لغتنا الجميلة, *lughatunā al-jamīla*).[124] For years 5 to 12 the textbooks are titled: *The Arabic Language* (اللغة العربية, *al-lugha al-ʿarabīa*).

Each textbook contains a preface in which the authors state the main objectives of the textbook, for example to raise a Palestinian society with values, knowledge and education; to help students understand the cultural value of the Arabic language; to enhance their belonging to Palestine and the nation; and to hone their sense of national identity by developing their feeling of belonging to Palestine and by learning and reflecting the particularity of Palestinian life.

---

122 For a detailed list of textbooks see Annex.

123 These versions are identical.

124 In this Report, when quoting terminology used in the textbooks the English translation is given, followed by the Arabic and a transliteration. Textbook excerpts are shown in their original textbook presentation and followed by an English translation. For the transliteration standards used in this Report see '8. Notes on the Transliteration'.

Each textbook contains prose texts which vary between Sayings of the Prophet and other texts selected from Palestinian and Arabic literature. Some texts have been written specifically to address the needs of Palestinian students while others are poems by modern poets from Palestine and the Arab world. Poems and prose alike aim to boost students' analytical and discussion skills, enhancing their linguistic and grammatical competencies.

The tasks and exercises alternate between comprehension questions about the texts or exercises on the grammatical rules learned. One section is dedicated to handwriting and calligraphy, teaching students to write clearly and correctly. A section on the art of writing and written expression concludes each chapter.

Analysis and discussion questions aim to raise the student from the level of receiving knowledge to that of comprehending and reformulating, and being able to develop an opinion based upon that knowledge.

Social Studies

The sample consisted of 22 social studies textbooks and four teacher guides. The textbooks are designed for social studies classes taught in schools from years 1 to 7 and year 9.

In the Palestinian curriculum the subject of social studies is a hybrid of different subjects, depending on the year. In years 1 and 2, the textbook is titled *National and Life Education* (التربية الوطنية والحياتية, *at-tarbīa al-waṭanīa wal hayatīa*). These textbooks include material that covers both nationally oriented social studies such as civics, as well as scientific topics such as natural resources (air, water, soil).

The textbooks for years 3 and 4 are titled *National and Social Upbringing* (التنشئة الوطنية والاجتماعية, *at-tanshi'a al-waṭanīa wal-ijtimā'eya*). These books, unlike years 1 and 2 where science was included, focus only on civics and geography.

For years 5, 6, 7 and 9, the textbooks are titled Social Studies (الدراسات الاجتماعية, *ad-dirāsāt al-ijtimā'eya*). In these years the subject encompasses civics, history and geography. The individual chapters therefore cover a wide range of topics.

The objectives of the social studies textbooks, as stated by the authors, are to provide students with knowledge, skills and values that allow them to interact and participate in the learning process; to participate by exploring the topic and relating it to their own reality and lived experience; to develop an ability to discuss and be solution-oriented; and to become active citizens who are proud of their nation and knowledgeable about the Palestinian cause.

These objectives are reflected in the structure of the units and chapters. They are introduced at the beginning of each unit and repeated at the beginning of each chapter, followed by a series of activities and exercises. Each chapter ends with a section of questions assessing what was learned during the chapter and a suggested task.

Each activity addresses one topic from the chapter and begins with an illustration and/or a quote. This is followed by an implementation section which includes instructions and questions relating to the illustration and/or the quote, where the students are expected to engage in an open discussion that allows them to reflect and share their impressions and thoughts. Finally, the activity ends with the section called 'I have learnt', which includes a summarising text by the authors. Although the authored texts are a significant fount of information for the students, the topics are structured so as to allow students to interact with several sources of information and knowledge.

Geography and History

For this subject area 15 textbooks for years 10 to 12 were analysed as was one teacher guide. In year 10, geography and history are taught together from one textbook, divided into two parts: *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* (جُغرافية فِلسَطين وتاريخُها الحديثُ والمعاصر, *jughrāfiat filisṭin wa tārīkhuhā al-ḥadīth wa al-mu'āṣer*). The first edition was produced in two parts in 2018 and both the print and PDF versions were included in the sample. A second edition of the second part of the book was released in 2019. Both parts include a preface written by the authors, stating the importance of education in general and the purpose of the lessons in the books. They also mention educational goals and the aim of developing a more conscious way of learning and reflecting upon the particularities of Palestinian life. The books contain two to four units, each consisting of three to five chapters. All chapters begin with an illustration and/or a quote and end with exercises and a section titled 'What I have learnt'. The books progress through topics chronologically (e.g. the war of 1948 is followed by a chapter on 1967, and so on).

The combined history and geography textbook for year 10 follows the historical developments of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with accounts of the Nakba (النكبة, *an-nakba*) in 1948 [125] and the Naksa (النكسة, *an-naksa*) in 1967,[126] Palestinian resistance and peace initiatives, and by providing an overview of the Palestinian population and their economic activities.

In years 11 and 12, history and geography are no longer taught together. The geography books focus on technical and environmental aspects of international, regional and local geography. In the history books for year 11, the narrative follows a postcolonial depiction of colonialism in general, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular. The topic encompasses two major units, each containing six chapters, which start by introducing concepts, forms and motives of colonialism before proceeding to concrete examples and finishing with its consequences. The second part of the book for year 11 follows a similar pattern, presenting independence movements in India, Cuba, Vietnam, China and the Arab region, especially Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt in the first unit (divided into six chapters) and dealing with the main political systems that have appeared over human history in the second unit (consisting of five chapters). History textbooks for year 12 cover a longer period of world history, from Islamic conquests and the Crusades to the formation of the European Union, the revolutions in the Arab region, and the fall of the USSR.

Religious Education

The sample for religious education comprised 31 textbooks and three teacher guides on the subjects of Christian education (التربية المسيحية, *at-tarbīa al-masīḥīa*) and Islamic education (التربية الإسلامية, *at-tarbīa al-Islāmīa*). It includes six textbooks for Christian education for years 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12, and 28 books for Islamic education (25 textbooks from years 1 to 12 and three Islamic education teacher guides for years 4, 6 and 11).

Christian education textbooks are written with the participation of representatives from the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Evangelical Churches. The textbooks are

not divided into different parts for each semester; rather, one textbook includes all units for both first and second semesters. Each textbook for years 1 to 12 has a specific theme. For example, the book for year 8 is titled 'Our Church' (كنيستنا, *Kanīsatunā*) and explores the history of the Church with an emphasis on the first six centuries.

Each textbook for **Islamic education** in years 1 to 3 consists of 4 units, and each textbook for the remaining years, from 4 to 12, consists of 6 units. For years 1 to 11, each textbook has two parts: part 1 for the first semester and part 2 for the second, while year 12 has one textbook for both semesters.

Each unit discusses a different theme. From years 4 to 12, the themes comprise: The Holy Qur'ān and its sciences; Islamic faith; noble sayings (حديث شريف, *hadīth sharīf*; the biography of the Prophet and his companions; Islamic jurisprudence (فقه إسلامي, *Fiqh Islāmī*); Islamic thought, ethics and behaviour.

Mathematics and Natural Sciences

The curriculum of the Palestinian Authority includes mathematics (الرياضيات, *ar-riyāḍiyāt*) textbooks for all years, 1-12. Textbooks for the life sciences begin in year 3 and continue until year 12. The life sciences textbook, *Science and Life* (العلوم والحياة, *al-ʿulūm wa al-ḥayāt*), is for years 3 and 9, and *Life Sciences* (العلوم الحياتية, *al-ʿulūm al-ḥayātīa*) for years 10 to 12. Chemistry (الكيمياء, *al-kīmiāʾ*) and physics (الفيزياء, *al-fīziāʾ*) are included in the life sciences and are also taught as separate subjects in secondary schools. The total sample for the Report comprised 32 mathematics textbooks and 22 science textbooks as well as 7 teacher guides.

Mathematics, life sciences, chemistry and physics textbooks are structured in a similar manner. They are divided into units (e.g. chemical reactions in our lives, light and life, and so on). Every unit contains several chapters (ranging from three to nine chapters, e.g. the modern periodic table, reduction and oxidation, etc.). Each unit starts with an introductory page that includes an illustration (a photograph, a chart, a drawing, etc.) and a brief thought-provoking question or short authored

---

[125] Literally: 'catastrophe', referring to the events of 1948 in which some 700,000 Palestinians fled or were expelled from their homeland, and to their resulting refugee situation. See Gelvin, James L.: *The Israel-Palestine Conflict. One Hundred Years of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 127–144; Manna, Adel and Motti Golani: *Two Sides of the Coin: Independence and Nakba 1948. Two Narratives of the 1948 War and Its Outcome*, English-Hebrew Edition, Dordrecht: Republic of Letters Publishing, 2011.

[126] Literally: 'setback', referring to the events in the context of the 'Six-Day War' in June 1967 that led to Israel taking control of parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

text. The learning objectives for the unit are listed on a separate page following the introduction. The chapter consists of diverse tasks, some of which ask the students to explain or carry out what has been described. Authored texts define, explain, pose questions and/or introduce tasks and practical exercises. Illustrations are integrated into many working tasks. Some teaching units are followed by a text box headed 'I have learnt', 'I conclude', 'I recognise' or 'I realise'. Every unit ends with a 'project for the unit' to be carried out by the students. The unit on geometry, for instance, asks the students to draw a football pitch using a ruler and a compass and calculate the dimensions it should have in order to make use of a certain plot with a given area.[127] Similarly, at the end of the 'Cells and Life' unit in the life sciences textbook for year 8, the students are tasked with writing and performing a play about cells with classmates, with every student representing a cellular component.[128]

Teacher Guides

The teacher guides aim to elaborate and expand on the activities in the textbooks. They advise the teacher on how to perform an activity or anchor the theme or concept within a targeted objective. They provide a minimum expectation of what the students are to gain from the lesson. Analysing teacher guides thus gives deeper insight into the topics and unveils disparities between these and the limited information in the textbooks. The teacher guides correspond with the textbooks, following the same structure, but elaborate on the topics in order to help the teacher achieve the chapter's objectives. Every teacher guide also includes guidelines for teaching students with disabilities, explanations of assessment techniques, and tips on conducting an interactive lesson.

Changes between Textbook Versions

The textbooks published between 2017 and 2019 underwent a process that implements edits and changes from year to year. For 38 textbooks an analysis of two consecutive versions was undertaken. These 19 comparisons document an increase in the total number of pages. Fourteen books gained between four and 21 pages between 2017 and 2019. The social studies book for year 8/II published in 2017 contained 79 pages while the 2019 version of the same book had been augmented to 100 pages: an increase of 21 pages. In only two cases had the number of pages decreased: an Arabic textbook for year 8, of which part I was published in 2017, had 11 pages fewer in 2019; similarly, part I of a mathematics book for year 9 had 8 pages fewer in 2019 as compared to the 2017 version. Four textbooks maintained the same number of pages.

Changes in content occur when material is either removed from or added to the textbooks, or both. In some cases such changes are already visible in the table of contents and in the overall number of pages. However, content additions are not necessarily reflected in an increased number of textbook pages. Some 2019 textbooks, for instance, include content additions but have a lower number of pages as compared with the 2018 editions. Changes to existing content take on different forms; the learning objectives of units and chapters are rewritten, existing topics are expanded upon, and such shifts can affect different sections of the textbooks. Some changes reflect an editing process aiming to correct linguistic errors and reshape the structure of the chapters in order to facilitate communication, or to update the units' cover pages.

New content introduced tends to aim towards more elaborative and considerate teaching by providing more detailed instructions on how to carry out activities and assignments, or how to enhance student participation in the learning process.

Content-related changes relevant for the overall framework of the analysis are discussed in the following chapters presenting the findings of the Report.

Further changes in textbooks published by the MoE in 2020 after the finalisation of the textbook analysis for this Report are dealt with in Chapter 5.

---

[127] *Mathematics* 10/II (2019), p. 82.

[128] *Science and Life* 8/I (2019), p. 22.

2   GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Global Citizenship Education (GCED) has increasingly come to the attention of educators, policy-makers and researchers in recent years. This heightened interest is primarily due to the Global Education First Initiative, introduced in 2012 by the General Secretary of the UN, which set out three priorities for education: 'Put Every Child in School', 'Improve the Quality of Learning' and 'Foster Global Citizenship Education'.[129] In addition to examining aspects such as access to and quality of education, which draw on demands made at previous EFA global conferences, the new framing paradigm of GCED now raises the question of relevant content for education. GCED promotes fundamental values in education such as non-discrimination, respect for diversity and solidarity for humanity.[130]

This educational approach draws on the methods and ideas behind existing and well-established educational concepts, such as human rights education, education for sustainable development, education for international/intercultural understanding and education for peace.[131] Ultimately students, according to UNESCO, should be equipped to act effectively and responsibly, at a local, national and global level, for the benefit of a more sustainable and more peaceful world.[132]

In conflict and post-conflict contexts, that is to say in regions affected by crisis or armed violence, by a lack of infrastructure or security, by human rights abuses or precarious living situations, education in general faces enormous challenges. These challenges make it considerably more difficult to satisfactorily convey GCED principles or to develop non-violent conflict management strategies.[133] This chapter focuses on two pillars of GCED: Civic Education and Human Rights Education (HRE), which cover aspects such as education for sustainable development and education for intercultural understanding.

The UNESCO guidelines explicitly mention human rights in several of their criteria, considering their promotion in textbooks as supportive of peaceful coexistence. Their emphasis on interconnectedness and the incorporation of a human rights discourse into textbooks reflects changes that have occurred during the recent era of globalisation, when the notion of territorially bound and politically constituted citizenship evolved into the idea of a 'postnational' or 'cosmopolitan' citizenship.[134] Particularly after the Second World War, the conceptualisation of rights shifted from individual rights to a more universal notion of human rights[135] conceived of as inherent rights to which people are entitled simply by virtue of their being human, rather than as members of a national community.

129 UNESCO: 'Global Education First Initiative'. 1995–2016, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/gefi/home/, accessed 28 October 2020.

130 UNESCO: 'The ABCs of Global Citizenship Education', ED/IPS/ESG/2017/03, 2017, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000248232, accessed 31 October 2020.

131 UNESCO: 'Outcome Document of the Technical Consultation on Global Citizenship Education: Global Citizenship Education: An Emerging Perspective' ED/2013/PSD/PHR/PI/4. 2013, p. 3, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000224115?posInSet=2&queryId=11545292-da6a-470b-a951-edd9b386aa2f, accessed 31 October 2020; see also: Monaghan, Chrissie and Carol A. Spreen. 'From Human Rights to Global Citizenship Education: Movement, Migration, Conflict and Capitalism in the Classroom', in: Zajda, Joseph and Sev Ozdowski (eds): *Globalisation, Human Rights Education and Reforms*, Dordrecht: Springer. 2017: p. 35–53.

132 UNESCO: *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives*. Paris: UNESCO. 2015, p. 15–16.

133 Robiolle Moul, Tina. 'Promotion and Implementation of Global Citizenship Education in Crisis Situations'. 2017, p. 11–13, https://www.gcedclearinghouse.org/sites/default/files/resources/252771e.pdf, accessed 30 October 2020.

134 Soysal, Yasemin: *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994; Bosniak, Linda: 'Citizenship Denationalized', *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 7, 2000: p. 447–507; here p. 447; Bosniak, Linda: *The Citizen and the Alien*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/j.ctt7s254, accessed 30 September 2020; Sassen, Saskia: *A Sociology of Globalization*. New York: Norton, 2007; Somers, Margaret: *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to Have Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

135 Soysal: *Limits of Citizenship*, p. 8.

This shift is reflected in the literature of the field of educational media research. While, historically, schools were key players in the process of incorporating the masses to form a homogenous national citizenry,[136] more recent studies describe human rights education as a central component of global citizenship education.[137] As noted by Elizabeth Buckner and Susan Garnett Russell, global citizenship is 'predicted by the textbook content's reflection of the external world, including international events and mentions of human rights'.[138] At the same time, references to global citizenship can be considered 'manifestations of a world culture that increasingly emphasises interconnectedness in post-national societies'.[139] Studies on recent curricular reforms in several countries around the world show a growing incorporation of global citizenship education[140] and human rights education[141] into school curricula.

Textbook research shows an increased emphasis on universalism and diversity in civic education curricula worldwide since 1970.[142] The analysis of recent changes in South Korean civic education by Rennie J. Moon and Jeong-Woo Koo, for instance, highlights that while national citizenship themes remain core elements, the emphasis on them has weakened and the trend towards the inclusion of global citizenship has dramatically increased, especially in the 1990s and 2000s.[143] Findings also indicate an increase in attention paid to environmental issues in textbooks around the world as a result of a post-national approach.[144]

2.1 CIVIC EDUCATION

Civic education is understood to teach all aspects of citizenship and aims to enable young people to participate actively in democratic processes in the current global society. This section investigates the ways in which Palestinian textbooks address forms of political participation, environmental issues and intercultural understanding. The main questions asked in this section are whether the textbooks present realistic and respectful representations of different social, cultural and religious groups, how these groups live together, which cultural, social and religious values are portrayed that represent peaceful coexistence between these groups, and how they increase awareness of (and to what extent they are a response to) international agreements on gender equality, cultural diversity and the protection of the environment.[145]

[136]   Weber, Eugen: *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France*, 1870–1914. London: Chatto & Windus, 1979.

[137]   Gaudelli, William and William R. Fernekes: 'Teaching about Global Human Rights for Global Citizenship: Action Research in the Social Studies Curriculum'. *Social Studies* 95 (1), 2004: p. 16–26.

[138]   Buckner, Elizabeth and Susan Garnett Russell: 'Portraying the Global: Cross-national Trends in Textbooks' Portrayal of Globalization and Global Citizenship'. *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (2013): p. 738–750; here: p. 738.

[139]   Buckner and Garnett Russell: 'Portraying the Global'.

[140]   Friedman, Marilyn: 'Educating for World Citizenship'. *Ethics* 110 (3), 2000: p. 586–601.

[141]   Firer, Ruth: 'Human Rights in History and Civics Textbooks: The Case of Israel'. *Curriculum Inquiry* 28 (2), 1998: 195–208; Niens, Ulrike, Jackie Reilly and Alan Smith. 'Human Rights Education as Part of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland'. *Journal of Social Science Education* 5 (1), 2006: p. 106–116.

[142]   Bromley, Patricia: 'Cosmopolitanism in Civic Education'.

[143]   Moon, Rennie J. and Jeong-Woo Koo: 'Global Citizenship and Human Rights: A Longitudinal Analysis of Social Studies and Ethics Textbooks in the Republic of Korea'. *Comparative Education Review* 55 (4), 2011: p. 574–599.

[144]   Bromley, Patricia, John W. Meyer and Francisco O. Ramirez. 'The Worldwide Spread of Environmental Discourse in Social Studies, History, and Civics Textbooks, 1970–2008'. *Comparative Education Review* 55 (4), 2011: p. 517–545.

[145]   Based on UNESCO criteria 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 as well as 3.1 and 3.6.

2.1.1 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Issues of civic engagement are represented in texts and images in textbooks for different subjects, especially those for social studies and history, where these issues are intensified in the upper years. *Social Studies*, year 5/II contains a chapter titled 'The Emergence of States' (نشوء الدولة, *nushū' ad-dawla*) that introduces the concept of the state, its functions and branches of government, and related matters. It explores the issues of civil rights and the relationship between citizens and the state, including the right of citizens to be protected by the state and the obligations of citizens to abide by the state's laws. Quoting articles from the Palestinian constitution, the text describes some of the civil rights enjoyed by Palestinian citizens, such as those laid down in Articles 9, 19 and 33, focusing on equality, freedom of expression, and the environment. The chapter provides the following definition of citizen's rights:

حقـوق المواطن: هـي مـا يجـب أنْ يتمتّـع بهـا كلُّ إنسـان علـى وجـه الأرض، ولا يحـقُّ لأيّ أحـدٍ إلغاؤهـا، أو انتقاصهـا، مثـل: الحـقّ فـي التعبيـر عـن الـرأي، وحـقّ اللعـب للأطفـال، وحـقّ التعلُّـم، وحـق المسـاواة، وغيرهـا.

Figure 1: *Social Studies* 5/II (2019), p. 43

Citizens' rights: To be enjoyed by every human on earth; no one can nullify or diminish them, such as the right to freedom of expression, children's right to play, the right to education, the right to equality, and others.

Citizenship rights, and civil and political rights, are presented in several chapters of this textbook, as are the functions and different branches of government and the right to participate in political processes. In the 2019 edition, several additional chapters discuss the meaning of active citizenship and the relationship between the citizen and public spaces, as well as that between the citizen and government. Citizenship is thus allocated more content and space.

Exploring the relationship between citizens and government, the chapters focus on the entitlement of citizens to certain rights, and on the different opportunities available to them that allow them to engage with their society as active citizens. In the textbook for year 5/I (2019) the unit 'The Society in which We Live' (المجتمع الذي نعيش فيه, *al-mujtama' al-ladhī na'īshu fīh*) includes a chapter on 'The State' (الدولة, *ad-dawla*) that outlines the state's characteristics and functions. It also discusses the relationship between the citizen and the government, describing it as one that should be based on dialogue and respect.

Social Studies 6 (2019) addresses citizenship in both parts I and II. In part I, the unit titled 'Law and Order Protects our Rights and Responsibilities' (القانون والنظام يحمي حقوقنا وواجباتنا, *al-qānūn wa an-niẓām yaḥmī ḥuqūqanā wa wājibātinā*) includes the chapter 'The Constitution and the Powers of the Government' (الدستور والسلطات السياسية في الدولة, *ad-dustūr wa as-suluṭāt as-siyāsīa fi ad-dawla*), which specifies that Palestine adopts a democratic system of governance, and that a constitution includes not only the rights of citizens but also the laws by which they must abide. The chapter also explains the three powers of a democratic government, the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, with examples of each from Palestine. Part II, containing the chapter 'The Active Citizen' (المواطن الفاعل, *al muwāṭen al-fā'el*), explores ways in which students may become positive and productive participants of their community.

Continuing the topic of engagement in active citizenship, *Social Studies* 7/I (2019) presents a unit on 'Civil Society' (المجتمع المدني, *al-mujtama' al-madanī*), which includes two chapters: 'Civil Society Organisations' (مؤسسات المجتمع المدني, *mū'assasāt al-mujtama' al-madanī*) and 'The Values of Civil Society' (قيم المجتمع المدني, *qiyam al-mujtama' al-madanī*). The chapters define civil society organisations and describe their potential for development and reform in Palestine in particular, underlining the importance of a functioning democratic system for civil society to thrive. Examples are provided of the different civil society organisations working in Palestine, such as the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, the Syndicate of Printing and Publishing Workers, the Independent Commission for Human Rights, Al-ḥaq Defending Human Rights, Inash Al-Usra Association (جمعية إنعاش الأسرة, *jam'iyat in'āsh al-usra*), the General Union for Palestinian Women, the General Union of Palestinian Students, and many others. Both chapters focus on the diverse issues linked to civil society, while embracing different national, political, social, economic, cultural and religious values based on freedom and justice.

Active political participation is addressed in a newly added unit in the 2019 edition of *Social Studies* 9/I (2019) titled 'Participation in Building a Civil Society' (المشاركة في بناء المجتمع المدني, *al-mushāraka fī binā' al-mujtama' al madanī*). The unit comprises 2 chapters: 'Political Participation' (المشاركة السياسية, *al-mushāraka as-siyāsīa*) and 'Elections and Nominations' (الانتخاب والترشح, *al-intikhāb wa at-tarashuḥ*). The chapter on political participation examines closely the role played by Palestinian women through active political participation, including a discussion on quotas for female representation

that continue to expand due to the active mobilisation of the different institutions working on women's issues. The chapter on elections and nominations distinguishes between candidacy itself and the processes through which candidates are nominated, allocating such importance to these procedures that the textbook suggests election days should become official holidays in order to encourage maximum participation in the democratic process.

The concept of political participation and pluralism is developed within the civics textbooks to include more information relevant to the Palestinian citizen, most apparent in year 9/I/Unit 3, which includes two chapters: 'Political Participation' (المشاركة السياسية, *al-mushāraka as-siyāsīa*) and 'Election and Nomination' (الانتخاب والترشح, *al-intikhāb wa at-tarashuḥ*). The chapters introduce different methods of political participation for citizens, with a focus on the importance of elections.

Mathematics textbooks for years 8 and 9 address different aspects of political life in connection with arithmetical and similar tasks. For instance, they demonstrate the political character of the country by portraying Palestinian civilians as voters[146] and as participating in public affairs to establish a better supply of infrastructure.[147]
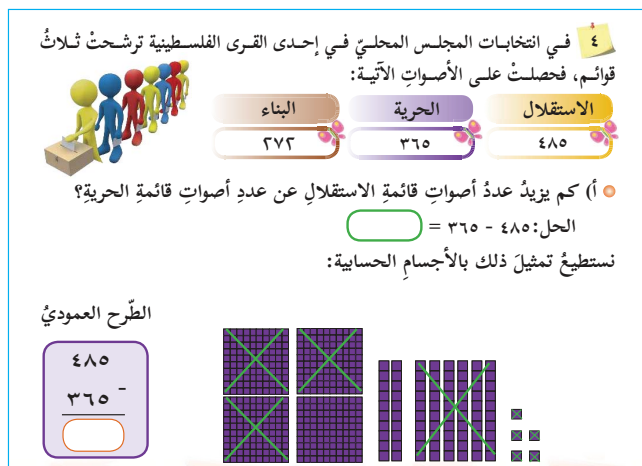

Figure 2: Illustration of voters in an arithmetical task. *Mathematics* 2/II (2019), p. 14

4) In a Palestinian village, three lists ran for the local council elections and they received the following numbers of votes :

The Independence: 485

The Freedom: 365

The national-building: 272

[Calculation]

2.1.2 ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Issues concerning the environment are addressed in textbooks for different subjects or crossover subjects and are extended in new editions, and thus reflect the rising awareness of this topic. In a lesson on the forms and causes of environmental pollution, a heading was added to the 2019 edition to introduce the subject, along with illustrations demonstrating different forms of environmental pollution including waste being pumped into water resources.

Forms of environmental pollution and its causes:
Activity (2): the first task: observe, compare and conclude:
[Images]

Figure 3: *Social Studies* 5/I (2019), p. 36

146 *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 102.

147 *Mathematics* 9/I (2019), p. 35.

Across the school years, Arabic language textbooks intertwine units that aim to enhance language skills, such as reading, writing and listening, with environmental issues. A reading text in *Our Beautiful Language* 3/I (2019) titled 'Our Village is Clean' (قريتنا نظيفة, *qaryatunā naẓīfa*) motivates students to keep their home villages tidy. At the end of the text students are asked to answer questions on human practices that harm the environment, their own role in protecting it, and the consequences of pollution for human beings.[148] *Our Beautiful Language* 4/II (2019) dedicates a listening text to the benefits of solar power (الطاقة الشمسيّة, *aṭ- ṭāqa ash-shamsīa*).[149]

An article on global warming is the basis for a teaching unit on enhancing academic writing skills in *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2018) and has the headline 'Expression: Scientific Article' (التعبير: المقالة العلمية, *at-taʿbīr: al-maqāla al-ʿilmīa*). The one-and-a-half-page text titled 'The Greenhouse Effect: A Ticking Time Bomb' (الاحتباس الحراري: قنبلة موقوتة, *al-iḥtibās al-ḥarārī: qunbula mawqūta*) is taken from an environmental organisation's website and the students are required to analyse the text, taking note of how it is structured.

وَعِنْدَ تَحْلِيلِنا لِلْمَقالَةِ نَتَبَيَّنُ ما يَأْتي:

الفِقْرَةُ الأُولى: مُقَدِّمَةٌ عَنِ الظّاهِرَةِ وَالخَطَرِ النّاتِجِ مِنْها.

الفِقْرَةُ الثّانِيَةُ: تَعْريفُ الاحْتِباسِ الحَراريّ.

الفِقْرَةُ الثّالِثَةُ: رَأْيُ العُلَماءِ في الظّاهِرَة.

الفِقْرَةُ الرّابِعَةُ: كَيْفِيَّةُ الوِقايَةِ مِنَ الظّاهِرَة.

الفِقْرَةُ الخامِسَةُ: الخاتِمَةُ، وَفيها تَلْخيصٌ لآراءِ العُلَماءِ.

Figure 4: *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2018), p. 102

When we analyse the article, we notice the following:
First paragraph: An introduction to the global warming phenomenon and its dangerous consequences.
Second paragraph: Definition of 'Global Warming'.
Third paragraph: Scientists' views on global warming.
Fourth paragraph: Ways of preventing global warming.
Fifth paragraph: Conclusion and summary of the scientists' views.

The Arabic Language 6/I (2019) includes a five-page lesson with a listening text, reading text and connected questions that address the topics of water rationing and noise pollution (ترشيد استهلاك المياه/ التلوّث الصوتي, *tarshīd istihlāk al-miyāh/ at-talwūth aṣ-ṣawtī*).

التَّلُّوُثُ الصَّوتيُّ

بَيْنَ يَدَيِ النَّصِّ:

تَتَناوَلُ هـذِهِ المَقالَةُ ظاهِرَةَ التَّلُوُّثِ الصَّوتيِّ، مِنْ حَيْثُ: مَفهومُهُ، وأَسبابُهُ، وآثارُهُ وأَضْرارُهُ، وَكَيْفِيَّةُ الحَدِّ مِنْهُ.

Figure 5: *The Arabic Language* 6/I (2019), p. 51

Noise Pollution
[Image]
About the text: This article tackles the phenomenon of noise pollution, what it is, its causes, effects and the damage it causes, and ways to reduce it.

At the end, the lesson positions the topic of pollution within the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the final exercise, which concerns a rule of grammar, both 'occupation practices

---

[148] *Our Beautiful Language* 3/I (2019), p. 38–39.

[149] *Our Beautiful Language* 4/II (2019), p. 17.

and the practices of some Palestinians' are blamed. The exercise suggests solutions to raise 'environmental awareness' among Palestinians and to 'unveil the occupation crimes in the media'.[150] While both factors are mentioned as responsible for pollution, it is noteworthy that only the Israeli practice is labelled a crime.

The mathematics textbooks of 2019 refer to global environmental issues in exercises that address environmental and ecological issues such as water shortages or global warming. *Science and Life* 4/II asks which method of transportation – car or bicycle – is better for the environment and *Mathematics* 9/I includes an exercise that depicts the Palestinian government encouraging citizens to save energy.

السُّؤال الخامس: تُشيرُ الصّورتان الآيتان إلى طريقتين للتنقّلِ عبر المدينة.

• ما طريقةُ التنقّلِ الأفضل للحفاظِ على البيئة؟ أُفسِّرُ إجابتي.

Figure 6: *Science and Life* 4/II (2019), p. 64 [151]

Question 5: The following two pictures show two methods of transportation used in the cities.
[Images]
Which method of transportation is better for the environment? State the reasons for your answer.

الأُسس وقوانينها (١)   (١-٥)

نشاط (١): تمتازُ فِلَسطين بأنّ معظمَ أيّام السّنة مشمسة، وتسعى الحكومة الفِلَسطينيّة لترشيد استهلاك الكهرباء، واستغلال الطّاقة الشّمسيّة، وتشجّع المواطنين على استخدام الخلايا الشّمسيّة لتوليد الكهرباء، فكمية الطّاقة الّتي تُطلِقها الشّمس تُفقَد معظمُها في طريقها إلى الأرض، ومع ذلك يصل الأرض في الثّانية الواحدة ما قيمته ٢٢٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠ (٢٢ بليون) كيلو واط/ ساعة من الطّاقة.
يمكن كتابة العدد ٢٢٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠ على الصّورة ٢٢×١٠⁹، باستخدام الأُسس، فالجزء ١٠⁹ مكتوب باستخدام الأُسس، حيث يُسَمّى العدد ١٠ الأساس، والعدد ٩ الأُسّ، باستخدام الأُسس، أُكتُبُ العدد ٢٢٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠ بطريقة أُخرى: _____

Figure 7: *Mathematics* 9/I (2019), p. 18

(1-5) The Foundations [of mathematics] and their laws Activity (1): The advantage in Palestine is that most days are sunny. The Palestinian government seeks to rationalise electricity consumption, use solar energy, and encourage citizens to use solar cells to generate electric power. Not all the energy released by the sun reaches the earth yet the earth still receives 22 billion kilowatt hours of energy [...]

Another exercise features the efforts of the government in dealing with ecological challenges, saving energy and seeking efficient and clean energy alternatives,[152] and the efforts of the Ministry of Health in raising awareness of bacterial infections.[153] War is mentioned as a threat to the earth through global warming.[154]

---

[150] *The Arabic Language* 6/I (2019), p. 56: Exercises: 'Read the paragraph below and extract the verbs in present tense!'

لم تواجه فلسطين مشكلة التلوّث البيئيّ بهذا الحجم كما اليوم، وهذه المُعضلة تتفاقم يومًا بعد يوم، بفعل ممارسات الاحتلال، وممارسات فئة من أبناء شعبنا؛ لذا يجب علينا أن نقف سدًّا منيعًا أمام ممارسات المحتل، ونكشف جرائمه إعلاميًّا، وعلينا كذلك أن ننشر الوعي البيئيّ بين مختلف فئات مُجتمعنا الفلسطينيّ، وليُسهم كلَّ منّا في المحافظة على بيئته المحيطة؛ إذا أردنا أن نعيش على هذه الأرض المباركة بسلام.

[151] *Science and Life* 4/II (2019), p. 64.

[152] *Mathematics* 9/I (2019), p. 18.

[153] *Mathematics* 9/I (2019), p. 23.

[154] *Life and Science* 8/I (2019), p. 89.

2.1.3 DIVERSITY AND INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

The textbooks provide representations of different social, cultural and religious groups in images and by thematically engaging with questions of diversity. Numerous illustrations highlight the diversity of skin colour, gender and physical abilities, often without explicitly mentioning these features.

Figure 8: *National and Life Education* 1/I (2019), Lesson 4, p. 40

In contrast to the 2017 edition of National and Social Upbringing 3/I, the introductory pages to each unit in the 2019 edition were modified to include images and quotes, some of them illustrating diversity and problem-solving skills.

Figure 9: *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I (2019), p. 57

How do I behave with others?
Consider and discuss:
We may differ, but that does not mean that we hate each other, as the diversity of flowers and their differences add to their beauty.

Figure 10: *National and Life Education* 1/I (2019), Lesson 4, p. 46

B) Connect the aid in column (a) with the person who uses it in column (b)

Column (a)   Column (b)

The textbooks assign significant weight to teaching students about people with disabilities and to activities and simulations that foster empathy towards them. This is a continuous process that starts in year 1 by introducing an understanding and recognition of disabilities and continues throughout the textbooks via examples included in different topics or by a designated chapter. A teaching unit on chromosomes in *Life and Science* 8/I portrays Hiba al-Shurafa, a Palestinian teacher with Down syndrome.[155] The textbooks promote social responsibility in the face of global challenges, such as in mathematical exercises referring to infrastructure for better accessibility.[156]

Figure 11: *Life and Science* 8/I (2019), p. 29

[…] However, some children are born with an extra chromosome, so each cell of the body contains (47) chromosomes. This disorder is called Down syndrome.
Patients that suffer from Down syndrome have the following physical features:
1- They have an additional skin fold that comes out from the upper eyelid. They are short in stature, have a flattened face, prominent forehead, large tongues, short hands and feet, and most of them have learning difficulties.
2- Have you ever met anyone who suffers from Down syndrome?
3- How could you help them to be socially integrated?

The integration of disabled people is also reflected in text passages. A passage in The Arabic Language 7/II tells the story of a disabled child who dreamed of becoming a traffic officer; his persistence and efforts to educate himself enabled him to fulfil his dream despite having being bullied by other children.[157]

The textbooks also address the subject of gender equality, either in exercises that motivate students to reflect on gender representations or in authored texts stating that both males and females should share equal responsibilities and rights. *National and Life Education* 1/I introduces the topic with a story of family cooperation. The chapter 'Me and My Family' (أنا وأسرتي, *ana wa usrati*) contains a passage about a girl called Marah who invites her friend Reema over after school. To make the visit a success, each family member (male and female) contributes and cooperates.

Figure 12: *National and Life Education* 1/I (2019), p. 28

Activity 6: Work together
After listening to the story (visiting my friend) and discussing it in class, put the events of the story in order by numbering them from 1 to 4.
[top left] Reema helps my mother prepare the pastries.
[top right] My father helps my mother set the table.
[bottom left] Majed buys the necessities.
[bottom right] My mother serves the pastries and desserts.

155 *Science and Life* 8/I (2019), p. 28–29.

156 *Mathematics* 8/II (2019), p. 73 and *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 18 and 62.

157 *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 28.

These values continue to be present and are most clear in Unit 2 of *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I, Chapter 3, titled 'Our Differences Do Not Nullify Our Humanity' (اختلافنا لا يلغي انسانيتنا, *ikhtilāfunā lā yulghī insāniyatunā*).[158]
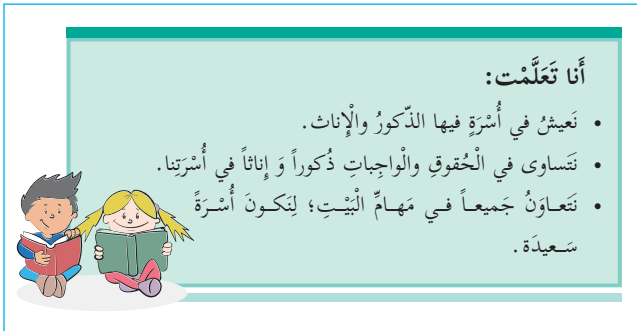
أَنا تَعَلَّمْت:
- نَعيشُ في أُسْرَةٍ فيها الذَّكورُ والْإِناث .
- نَتَساوى في الْحُقوقِ والْواجِباتِ ذُكوراً وَ إناثاً في أُسْرَتِنا .
- نَتَعاوَنُ جَميعاً في مَهامِّ الْبَيْتِ؛ لِنَكـونَ أُسْرَةً سَعيدة .

Figure 13: *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I (2019), p. 76

I have learnt:
- We live in a family that consists of males and females.
- In the family, we are equal in rights and responsibilities whether male or female.
- We all work together on the household chores in order to be a happy family.

Representations of women appear to have been systematically inserted into textbooks for different subjects in order to counter the hitherto male-centric content. Gender equality is addressed in mathematics textbooks, for instance, where a feminist organisation is mentioned that specialises in embroidery and helps Palestinian women to be economically independent,[159] and also by representing male and female protagonists in texts and illustrations.

Exercises in history textbooks for the upper years frequently ask students to reflect on the role of women or on female personalities in historical events. These exercises serve to highlight the fact that historical narratives tend to focus on elites rather than including a wider spectrum of society.

Freedom of expression, dialogue, respectful conversation and forgiveness are addressed in *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I. The second unit contains five different chapters that focus on forgiveness and the acceptance of diversity.

Figure 14: *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I (2019), extract from the contents page

Unit two: How I behave with others
Chapter one: We converse
Chapter two: We may disagree but we can remain friends
Chapter three: Our differences do not nullify our humanity
Chapter four: We forgive
Chapter five: We respect all peoples

Several passages and stories in Arabic language textbooks also call on students to respect others: those who hold different or opposing views and have different interests. Such passages teach that differences of opinion, or more general differences, need not lead to conflict but can rather serve to develop a healthy relationship with the other person. For instance, a listening text in *The Arabic Language* 8/I addresses the significance of unity and plurality in a society, focusing on the negative consequences of disharmony and conflict between people and on the importance of accepting and respecting others' points of view.[160]

Arabic language textbooks discuss tolerance and forgiveness, for example, in the passage below from year 5. The text shows how Islam emphasises the importance of tolerance and forgiveness towards an oppressor even when revenge is possible, and that this behaviour can prevent feelings of hatred from developing.

---

[158] *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I (2019), p. 75.

[159] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 42.

[160] *The Arabic Language*, 8/I (2019), p. 4.

◄ ثانياً- نَقْرَأُ الفِقْرَةَ الآتِيَةَ، وَنَمْلَأُ الجَدْوَلَ بِما هُوَ مَطْلوبٌ:

العَفْوُ شُعورٌ نَبيلٌ، يَتَرَتَّبُ عَلَيْهِ التَّسامُحُ، حَتّى لَوْ كانَ المُعْتَدى عَلَيْهِ قادِراً عَلى النَّيلِ مِنَ الظّالِمِ، وَالعَفْوُ بِهذا المَعْنى صِفَةٌ خُلُقِيَّةٌ أَصيلَةٌ تَدُلُّ عَلى أَدَبٍ رَفيعٍ، وَقَدْ حَضَّ دينُنا الحَنيفُ عَلى الصَّفْحِ الجَميلِ الَّذي لا يَتْرُكُ أَثَراً لِلْحِقْدِ في النَّفْسِ. (المُؤَلِّفونَ)

أَسْماءٌ مَرْفوعَةٌ (الضَّمّة الظّاهِرة)	أَفْعالٌ مُضارِعَةٌ مَرْفوعَةٌ

Figure 15: *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2019), p. 10

> **Second: Read the following paragraph and fill out the table:**
> Forgiveness is a noble feeling that results in tolerance, even if the victim is able to harm the oppressor. Forgiveness in this sense is a noble moral characteristic indicating good social behaviour, and our tolerant religion encourages forgiving in order to prevent hatred.
> [Grammar activity: sorting nouns and verbs into the table]

Another example of forgiveness and mercy is reflected in the text below taken from a chapter for year 6. The short story about two friends emphasises the importance of tolerance in order to forget another's offence. Students are encouraged to learn how to forgive.

سَأَلَهُ صَديقُهُ: لِماذا كَتَبْتَ عَلى الرِّمالِ عِنْدَما ضَرَبْتُكَ في المَرَّةِ الأُولى، وَالآنَ عِنْدَما أَنْقَذْتُكَ كَتَبْتَ عَلى الصَّخْرَةِ؟ أَجابَهُ: عِنْدَما يُؤْذينا أَحَدٌ، عَلَيْنا أَنْ نَكْتُبَ ما فَعَلَهُ عَلى الرِّمالِ، حَيْثُ رِياحُ التَّسامُحِ يُمْكِنُ لَها أَنْ تَمْحُوَ ما كَتَبْناهُ، وَلكِنْ عِنْدَما يَصْنَعُ أَحَدٌ مَعَنا مَعْروفاً عَلَيْنا أَنْ نَكْتُبَ ما فَعَلَ عَلى الصَّخْرِ، حَيْثُ لا يُمْكِنُ لِلرِّياحِ أَنْ تَمْحُوَها.

فَلْنَتَعَلَّمْ أَنْ نَكْتُبَ الإساءَةَ عَلى الرِّمالِ، وَأَنْ نَنْقُشَ المَعْروفَ عَلى الصَّخْرِ.

Figure 16: *The Arabic Language Teacher Guide* 6, p. 266.

> His friend asked him: 'Why did you write in the sand that I slapped you and then when I rescued you, you wrote that on rock?' He replied: 'When someone hurts us, we should write it in sand so the winds of tolerance can erase it. However, when someone does us a favour, we should write that on rock so no winds can remove it.'
> We should learn how to forget others' offences and how to remember their good deeds.

An activity to foster tolerance in *The Arabic Language* 9/II draws on Islam by asking students to search for references to tolerance and forgiveness in the sayings of the Prophet Muhammed.

نشاط — نَرْجِعُ إلى أَحَدِ كُتُبِ الحَديثِ الشَّريفِ، وَنَسْتَخْرِجُ مِنْهُ ثَلاثَةَ أَحاديثَ تَحْمِلُ مَعْنى التَّسامُحِ.

Figure 17: *The Arabic Language* 9/II (2019), p. 21

> **Activity:** Go back to one of the noble *ḥādīth* books [books of sayings of the Prophet] and extract from it three *Aḥādīth* that convey the meaning of tolerance.

Intercultural understanding is also depicted with reference to ethnic and religious diversity. The textbooks state that human relationships should be based upon respect and acceptance of difference, regardless of skin colour or features, culture or traditions, religion, nationality or language spoken. *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I includes the sentence: 'learning more than one language facilitates our communication and interactions with different nations'.[161]
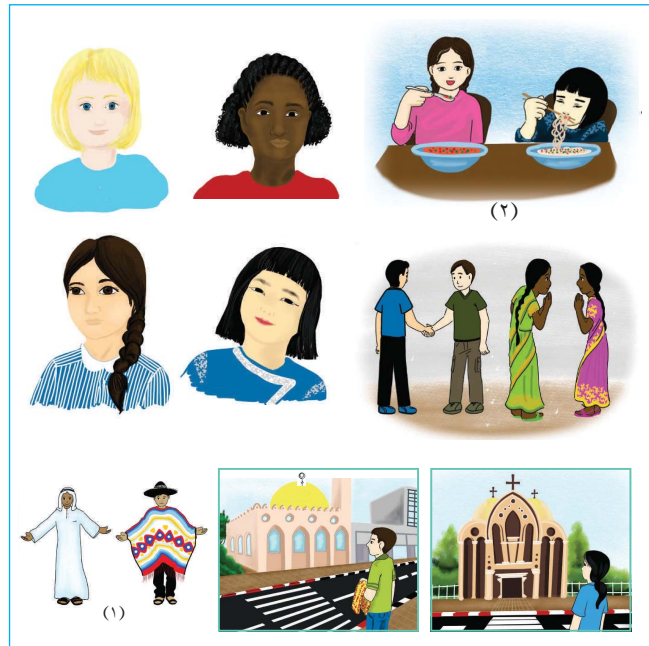

Figure 18: *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I (2019), p. 90-95

---

[161] *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I (2019), p. 96: تعلّم أكثر من لغة يُسهّل علينا التواصل والتعامل مع الشعوب المختلفة.
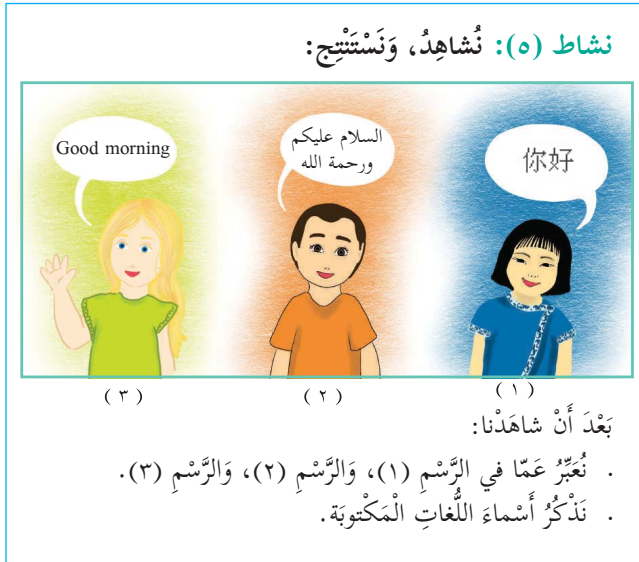
نَشاط (٥): نُشاهِدُ، وَنَسْتَنْتِج:

Good morning
السلام عليكم ورحمة الله
你好

(٣)   (٢)   (١)

بَعْدَ أَنْ شاهَدْنا:

• نُعَبِّرُ عَمّا في الرَّسْمِ (١)، وَالرَّسْمِ (٢)، وَالرَّسْمِ (٣).
• نَذْكُرُ أَسْماءَ اللُّغاتِ الْمَكْتوبَة.

Figure 19: *National and Social Upbringing* 3/I (2019), p. 96

Activity (5): Observe and conclude:

[Image 1]   [Image 2]   [Image 3]
Good morning   Hello [in Arabic]   Hello [in Chinese]
After observing the images:
- Explain what you see in image (1), image (2) and image (3).
- Name the languages used.

Textbooks for several subjects engage with the topic of religious coexistence, especially those for Arabic language and religious education. *National and Social Upbringing* 4/I states that Palestine is an Arab country and part of the Arab world and that the Palestinian people are part of the Arab nation. It also states that 'Islam is the official religion of Palestine but extends respect and sanctity to all monotheistic religions'.

فِلَسْطينُ عَرَبِيَّةٌ؛ فَهِيَ جزء من الْوَطَنِ الْعَرَبِيِّ الكبير، والشعب العربي الفلسطيني جزء من الأُمَّة الْعَرَبِيَّة، والاسلام هو الدين الرَّسْمِيّ في فلسطين، ولسائر الديانات السماوية احترامُها وقُدسِيَّتها.

Figure 20: *National and Social Upbringing* 4/I (2019), p. 9.

Palestine is an Arab country and part of the Arab world, and the Palestinian people are part of the Arab nation. Islam is the official religion of Palestine but extends respect and sanctity to all monotheistic religions.

This statement correlates with the teacher guide for *The Arabic Language*, year 7, which notes that Palestine is the land of the three monotheistic religions.

الفكرة العامة: مكانة فلسطين الروحية والجغرافية وعراقتها الضاربة في جذور التاريخ.
الأفكار الجزئية ومنها:
- فلسطين قلب الأمة الإسلامية والعربية.
- فلسطين أرض الرسالات السماوية الثلاثة.

Figure 21: *The Arabic Language*, Teacher's Guide 7, p. 88

Main idea: the spiritual and geographical importance of Palestine and its historical origins.
Secondary ideas:
- Palestine is the heart of the Islamic and Arabic nation.
- Palestine is the land of the three monotheistic religions.

Textbooks for religious education call for tolerance and coexistence in several instances and aim to enhance corresponding skills such as the ability to enter into dialogue. For example, Christian Education 10 addresses tolerance in the fifth lesson, titled 'The Human is the Creation of God' (الإنسان خليقة الله, *al-insān khaliqat Allah*), with a paragraph headed 'Expressing my Faith':

أُعبِّر عن إيماني:
أيُّها الرّبّ، إنّ أرضنا ليست أكثر من كوكب صغير في الكون الفسيح. إنَّك تدعونا إلى أن نجعلَها كوكبًا لا يتألَّم سكّانُه من ويلات الحروب، ولا يعانون من عذاب الجوع والعطش، ولا تفرقهم انقسامات الجنس، أو اختلاف اللون والمذهب. أعطنا الشجاعة، وبُعد النظر؛ لكي نبدأ هذا العمل منذ اليوم؛ لكي يفخر الجميع بأن يحملوا اسم الإنسان.
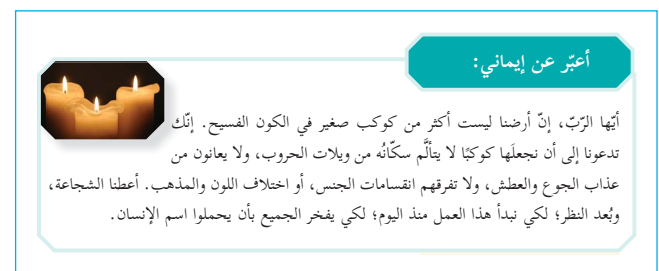
Figure 22: *Christian Education* 10 (2018), p. 40

Expressing My Faith:
Lord, our earth is nothing more than a small planet in the vast universe. You invite us to make it a planet whose inhabitants do not suffer from the scourge of war, do not suffer the torment of hunger and thirst, and are not divided by sex or differences in colour and creed. Give us the courage, the foresight, to start this work from today, so that everyone can be proud to bear the name of man.

This prayer refers to important values such as spreading peace in the world and coexistence among all human beings despite different ethnicities and religions, and working to serve humanity.

Lesson 22 of *Christian Education* 12 also addresses the theme of Justice and Peace. According to the introduction to the textbook, after the lesson students should be able to define the concept of peace and differentiate between 'universal peace' and 'peace with others', to explain the foundations of peace as well as to show the attitude of the Church towards justice and peace.

Christian Education 12 addresses the topic of interreligious dialogue under the title: 'Pluralism and dialogue in Palestinian society' (التعددية والحوار في المجتمع الفلسطيني, *at-taʿadududīa wa al-ḥiwār fī al-mujtamaʿ al-filisṭīnī*). According to the introduction, students are expected to be able to define the concept of dialogue and to describe the features of Christian-Muslim dialogue in Palestine. This dialogue is described in the textbook as being based on the harmonious coexistence of Palestinian people sharing a common language, culture and heritage, social habits and history, on knowledge and understanding, and aimed at building a life in harmony together and a nation with sound foundations.

Figure 23: *Christian Education* 12 (2018), p. 116

Figure 24: *Christian Education* 12 (2018), p. 106

The lesson discusses the Church's role in justice and peace by addressing the Church's calls for justice, peace, freedom and human rights for all human beings in all human societies. It addresses education for peace and the Church's role in raising its children according to these values. It also mentions cooperation on the part of the Church with all people of goodwill in order to establish the rules of justice and peace among the peoples of the world.

Lesson 20: Pluralism and Dialogue in Palestinian Society
Objectives:
By the end of the lesson, students are expected to be able to:
1) List the types of dialogue.
2) Define the concept of dialogue.
3) Describe the conditions for real dialogue.
4) Describe the features of Christian-Muslim dialogue in Palestine.
5) Give an opinion on the following statement: 'Palestine is the land of dialogue'
Did you know that the Church today is the Church of dialogue? [Image]

The textbooks for Islamic education also deal with various topics related to tolerance and dialogue such as: 'Moderation in Islam and avoidance of extremism'[162], 'Dialogue in Islam'[163], 'Religious freedom' or 'No compulsion in Islam'.[164] Various themes are also mentioned in this context, such as Muslims' contributions to civilisation and tolerance in Islam.[165]

The textbook for Islamic Education for year 10/I published in 2018 includes a lesson on moderation in Islam and avoidance of extremism. The 5 pages of this lesson aim to enable the students to define the terms 'moderation' (الوسطيّة, *al-wasṭīa*) and 'extremism' (التطرّف, *at-taṭarruf*), to identify the different aspects of moderation in Islam and the most important ways to tackle extremism in faith, behaviour and thought.[166] The textbook for Islamic Education for year 10/II (2017) dedicates a whole lesson over 6 pages to 'Dialogue in Islam' (الحوار في الإسلام, *al-ḥiwār fī al-Islām*). The introduction emphasises that students should learn the importance of the 'dialogue between Muslims and others' and 'the importance of dialogue for individuals and peoples'. On the first page an illustration shows four hands joining the letters of the Arabic word for 'dialogue' (الحوار, *al-ḥiwār*). The Prophet Muhammad is presented as the role model for dialogue and examples from his own life are given.

Figure 25: *Islamic Education* 10/II (2018), p. 109

Lesson 19: Dialogue in Islam
Objectives: By the end of the lesson, students are expected to be able to:
- Define the concept of dialogue.
- Explain the importance of dialogue in the lives of individuals and peoples.
- Determine the legitimacy of dialogue.
- Clarify the most important types of dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims.
- Explain the different types of dialogue.
- Adapt their behaviour to comply with the concept of dialogue. [...]

In general there has been a noticeable and systematic increase in content addressing the concept of dialogue throughout textbooks for different subjects since 2017.

---

162 *Islamic Education* 10/I (2018), p. 85.
163 *Islamic Education* 10/II (2018), p. 109.
164 *Islamic Education* 9/I (2018), p. 97.
165 *Islamic Education* 9/I (2018), p. 91.
166 *Islamic Education* 10/I (2018), p. 85.

2.2 HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

Providing empirical evidence based on the content analysis of 1,008 social studies textbooks from 100 countries, Patricia Bromley and Julia Lerch understand the expansion of human rights education (HRE) (from 1990 to 2013) as a cultural phenomenon that initially emerged after the Second World War and rapidly spread during the 1990s as a result of increased global cooperation after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Decade for Human Rights Education promoted by the UN between 1995 and 2004.[167]

The Palestinian MoE has positioned itself within this global framework, defining the function of the human rights curriculum as establishing 'human rights as a key tool that enables everyone, especially marginalized groups in different areas, of advancing [sic] themselves toward welfare, without excluding anyone or any group. This is based on equality between males and females, sensitivity to gender, justice, and religious tolerance'.[168]

The findings presented in this section of the Report are based on a methodology which draws from an approach developed by a group of specialists at Stanford University and widely accepted in the relevant literature.[169] Specifically, it applies the following questions to the textbooks:

1. Are human rights explicitly discussed in the textbook?

2. To what degree are human rights discussed in the textbook?

3. Are any international, regional or national human rights documents mentioned?

4. Which human rights are discussed?

5. How are human rights depicted in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

2.2.1 SCOPE OF HUMAN RIGHTS REPRESENTATIONS

The quantitative analysis shows that the issue of human rights occurs both explicitly and implicitly in the textbooks, albeit with varying scope. Human rights are mentioned in all subjects except life sciences, chemistry and physics. A total of 151 explicit references to human rights were found in 47 of the 104 most recent textbooks investigated, in the subjects of social studies (50), history/geography (31), Arabic language (32), Islamic education (10), Christian education (5) and mathematics (23).[170]

Human Rights References according to subject

- Social Studies
- Arabic Language
- Geography/History
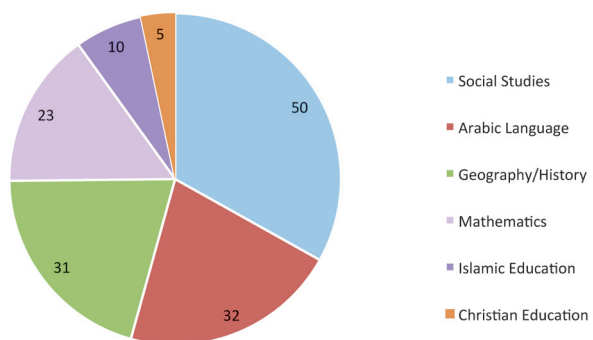- Mathematics
- Islamic Education
- Christian Education

Figure 26: Of the 104 textbooks analysed, 47 contained explicit references to human rights. This pie chart depicts them according to subject.

---

167 Bromley, Patricia and Julia Lerch: 'Human Rights as Cultural Globalisation. The Rise of Human Rights in Textbooks, 1890-2013', in Fuchs, Eckhardt and Annekatrin Bock (eds): *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 345–356.

168 State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education/National Committee for Education Reform: '"Position Paper": Curriculum & Incitement', p. 5.

169 Bromley, Patricia: 'Cosmopolitanism in Civic Education'; Ramirez, Bromley and Garnett Russell: 'The Valorization of Humanity and Diversity'.

170 This total number refers to the latest editions of the textbooks in the sample. Where two or more versions of a textbook were included in the sample in order to compare changes between 2017 and 2019, only one version has been included here. 'References' mean specific structural elements of the textbooks, such as authored texts, sources, illustrations, exercises and so on.

The terms that occur in addressing human rights are 'human rights' (حقوق الإنسان, *ḥuqūq al-insān*), 'rights of individuals' (حقوق الأفراد, *ḥuqūq al-afrād*), 'essential rights' (الحقوق الأساسيّة, *al-ḥuqūq al-asāsīa*) or 'right/s' (حقّ/حقوق, *ḥaq/ḥuqūq*). The references vary from addressing general aspects (such as human dignity, the right to liberty or the right to health care) to human rights in conflict-related contexts (such as the right to self-determination or civilians' right to protection) to other group-specific rights (children's rights, refugees' rights, women's rights, etc.). The references identified address a variety of civil, economic, social, cultural and political human rights.

The length and depth of the discussion in each case depend on the subject's structure and the learning objectives. While human rights are only briefly mentioned in mathematics textbooks (1-2 sentences) as part of a real-life connection or storytelling, with no further discussion or reference to human rights documents, social studies and history/geography textbooks offer in most cases a longer discussion of the specific human right addressed. This may extend to several pages or even a whole unit with reference to regional/national and international human rights documents (such as the UDHR of 1948, International Humanitarian Law, Public International Law, Geneva Conventions, etc.).[171] Textbooks for Arabic language also contain explicit references to human rights throughout different lessons, in both a general and in a conflict-related context. However, apart from a few complete teaching units dedicated specifically to human rights, these references tend to be shorter and less detailed than in the subjects of social studies, history and geography.

The textbooks for religious education analysed for this Report place current human rights discussions such as the right to freedom, right to life and right to equality within the context of religious traditions.

Human rights are addressed in nine of the 15 mathematics textbooks with a total of 23 references. In all these examples they are mentioned briefly (1-2 sentences) since they appear as real-life-connections.[172] There are no references at all to human rights in the chemistry, physics or life sciences textbooks analysed.

The frequency analysis of the references identified shows a remarkable increase in discussions of human rights in the 2019 versions of the textbooks for mathematics, social studies, and to a far lesser degree for Islamic education.

CHANGES IN HUMAN RIGHTS REPRESENTATIONS: COMPARISON BETWEEN 2018 AND 2019 TEXTBOOK VERSIONS
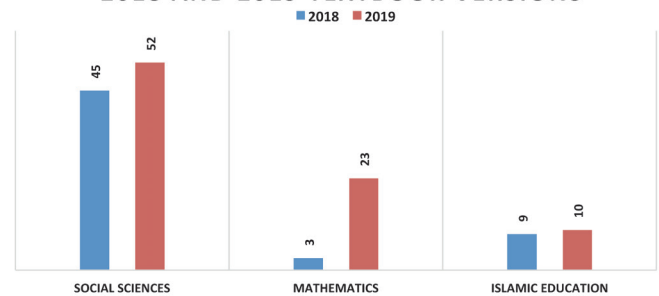

Figure 27: Human Rights Representations: Comparison between 2018 and 2019 textbook versions. Numbers above bars refer to number of identified references.

[171] 'My Rights and my Responsibilities', in: *Social Studies* 4/I (2019), p. 57–95.

[172] See Chapter 4.

2.2.2 REPRESENTATIONS OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The different subjects present general and specific human rights in different contexts, linking them in many cases to international human rights and other relevant documents.

Human Rights Mentioned in Textbooks[173]

Basic Human Rights

Right to liberty

Right to equality

Right to freedom of expression

Right to freedom of religion

Right to nationality

Right to protection against forced migration

Right to self-determination

Rights according to Geneva Conventions

Right to protection of civilians in times of war

Right to protection of property in the event of armed conflict

Other rights formulated in different international declarations

Right to protection

Right to food and nutrition

Right to energy, right to a safe environment

Right to water and sanitation

Additional terms attributed to rights

Right to social justice

Right to resist

Right to self-defence

Right to return

HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL

Social Studies

The social studies textbooks discuss human rights both explicitly and implicitly in textbooks for different age-groups, including a general introduction to the concept and development of human rights as well as a wide range of rights, including children's rights, rights of persons with disabilities, and human rights in times of conflict. The comparison of social studies textbook versions published in 2017, 2018 and 2019 further revealed that textbooks have systematically increased their number of references to human rights over this timeframe. Social studies textbooks emphasise different human rights at different stages.

Textbooks introduce the concept of human rights in the first year of schooling, where chapters focus on the basic rights to which all children are entitled. In the chapters 'Me and My Family' (أنا وأسرتي, *ana wa usrati*) and 'Me and My School' (أنا ومدرستي, *ana wa madrasati*), the children's relationships within the nuclear family and at school are addressed with an emphasis on their different rights at that young age, especially the right to health, the right to play, the right to food and nutrition, the right to freedom of expression, the right to equality, the right to education, and the right to protection.

As children progress through school, the same human rights are explained in more detail and further rights are introduced. Unit 2 of Social Studies 4/I elaborates on the previously mentioned rights by dedicating an entire chapter to each and adding a chapter on the right to live safely.

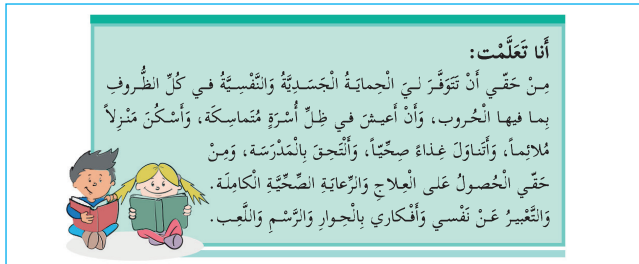[173] List based on codings of textbooks.

Figure 28: *National and Social Upbringing* 4/I (2019), p. 1

Unit two: My Rights and my Responsibilities
Chapter 1: My right to live safely
Chapter 2: My right to food and nutrition
Chapter 3: My right to healthcare
Chapter 4: My right to education
Chapter 5: My right to play
Chapter 6: My right to freedom of expression

The chapter on human rights also includes the responsibilities that derive from these rights for the students. For instance, the right to freedom of expression includes the obligation to respect others' freedom of expression, for example to openly state their opinion (p. 96), and offers means of free expression that include speech, writing, drawing, marches and protests.

أنا تَعَلَّمت:
مِنْ حَقِّي أَنْ تَتَوَفَّرَ لِيَ الْحِمايَةُ الْجَسَدِيَّةُ وَالنَّفْسِيَّةُ في كُلِّ الظُّروفِ بِما فيها الْحُروب، وَأَنْ أَعيشَ في ظِلِّ أُسْرَةٍ مُتَماسِكَة، وَأَسْكُنَ مَنْزِلاً مُلائِماً، وَأَتَناوَلَ غِذاءً صِحِّيّاً، وَأَلْتَحِقَ بِالْمَدْرَسَة، وَمِنْ حَقِّيَ الْحُصولُ عَلَى الْعِلاج وَالرِّعايَةِ الصِّحِّيَّةِ الْكامِلَة. وَالتَّعْبيرُ عَنْ نَفْسي وَأَفْكاري بِالْحِوارِ وَالرَّسْمِ وَاللَّعِب.

Figure 29: *National and Social Upbringing* 4/I (2019), p. 60

I have learnt:
It is my right to be provided with physical and mental protection under all circumstances, including in times of war; to live in a cohesive family; to live in a proper house; to eat healthy food; and to attend school. It is also my right to receive full health care and treatment; to express myself and my ideas through dialogue, drawing and playing.

This is reiterated in later school years with a chapter on children's rights in year 5 (textbook part II),[174] a chapter on human rights generally in year 6, (textbook part I),[175] and two chapters in the textbook for year 7 (part II) dedicated to human rights in times of conflict, and to the rights of persons with disabilities.[176]

Social Studies 6/I (2019) incorporates a newly introduced chapter titled 'Human Rights' (حقوق الإنسان, *ḥuqūq al-insān*) to discuss the concept in general, with a clear structure and a focus on the characteristics and the different aspects of political and civil rights, economic and social rights, and environmental rights. The chapter defines 'human rights as inherent rights of humans that every human should enjoy', and lists their characteristics as universal, interconnected and inalienable. The discussion covers different categories of human rights such as social rights, economic rights, civil and political rights. The chapter mentions treaties and conventions that 'aim to protect individual and group-specific rights from being violated; for example the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights.'

نَحْنُ تَعَلَّمْنا:
• حقوقُ الإنسانِ: هِيَ الحقوقُ المُلازِمَةُ للبشرِ، ومِنْ حقِّ كلِّ إنسانٍ أن يتمتّعَ بها.
• مِنَ المعاهداتِ والمواثيقِ الدَّوْليَّةِ الَّتي تكفلُ حمايةَ الأفرادِ، والمجموعاتِ مِنَ الأفعالِ الَّتي تنتهكُ حقوقَ الإنسانِ، الإعلانُ العالميُّ لحقوقِ الإنسانِ، واتِّفاقيَّةُ حقوقِ الطِّفْلِ، واتِّفاقيَّةُ القضاءِ على أشكالِ التَّمييزِ ضِدَّ المرأةِ، والعهدُ الدَّوْليُّ الخاصُّ بالحقوقِ المدنيَّةِ، والسِّياسيَّةِ.

Figure 30: *Social Studies* 6/I (2019), p. 90

We have learnt:
- Human rights are inherent rights that every human being should enjoy.
- Treaties and conventions aiming to protect individual and group rights from being violated include: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights.

---

[174] *Social Studies* 5/II (2019), Unit 5, Lesson 2, p. 88.

[175] *Social Studies* 6/I (2019), Unit 3, Lesson 2, p. 90.

[176] *Social Studies* 7/II (2019), Unit 6, Lesson 1, p. 58 and Lesson 2, p. 65.

مِنْ خصائصِ حقوقِ الإنسانِ أنَّها:

- عالميّةٌ: أيْ تنطبقُ على النّاسِ جميعِهِمْ دونَ تمييزٍ، بغضِّ النّظرِ عَنْ دينِهِمْ، أُوْ لونِهِمْ، أُوْ جنسِهِمْ، أُوْ مكانَتِهِمْ.

- مترابطةٌ ومتشابكةٌ: أيْ أنَّها تحترمُ حقوقَ الإنسانِ جميعَها دونَ استثناءٍ، فلا يجوزُ احترامُ حقٍّ، وانتهاكُ حقٍّ آخَرَ، فمثلاً: مِنْ غيرِ المقبولِ تمتُّعُ الإنسانِ بحقِّ التَّعليمِ مِنْ جانبٍ، وحرمانِهِ مِنْ حقِّ توفيرِ الأمنِ مِنْ جانبٍ آخَرَ.

- غيرُ قابلةٍ للتّصرُّفِ: أيْ أنَّها موجودةٌ في كُلِّ شخصٍ، ولا يجوزُ لأيِّ فردٍ، أُوْ جماعةٍ أنْ يتصرَّفَ فيها إلّا بمقتضى القانونِ، وفي حالاتٍ معيّنةٍ.
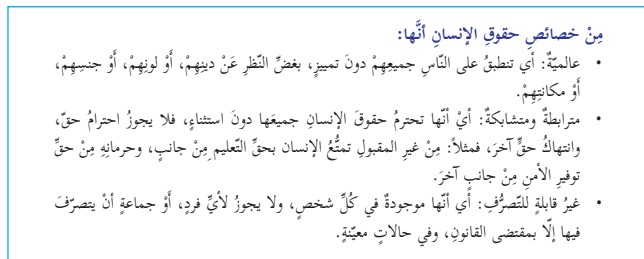
Figure 31: *Social Studies* 6/I (2019), p. 91

Some of the characteristics of human rights:

Human rights are:

- International: They are rights equally applicable to everyone regardless of religion, colour, sex or status.
- Interdependent and interrelated: This means that all human rights are equal in importance and none can be fully enjoyed without the others. For instance, it is unacceptable for a person to enjoy the right to education on the one hand and to be deprived of the right to security on the other.
- Inalienable: These rights are inherent to all human beings; they should not be taken away, except in accordance with the law and in specific situations.

The definition is in line with the international discourse on HRE where it emphasises that humans cannot lose (or be stripped of) their rights, and where it establishes relevance to the children's lives.[177]

Social studies textbooks for different school years present notions of rights and responsibilities that regulate the relationship between authorities and the people as not restricted to the Palestinian context and constitution but as a universal natural structure of human society founded historically in the Code of Hammurabi,[178] the Constitution of Medina,[179] the commandments of Abu-Bakr to Usama bin Zaid's army, and in recent history by the Fourth Geneva Convention,[180] Universal Declaration of Human Rights,[181] the 1954 Hague Convention,[182] and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).[183] The inclusion of regional documents suggests that regional and Islamic history has played a key role in establishing an international historical commitment to human rights. The textbooks thus embed the protection of human rights within the students' own historico-cultural context.

History and Geography

History and geography textbooks contain the second largest share of explicit references to human rights. They discuss them both explicitly and implicitly from year 10 to year 12, including a wide range of political, social and civil rights depending on the topic of the teaching unit. They display a notable focus on international human rights documents signed by the Palestinian Authority.

The history textbook for year 11 portrays human rights (حقوق الإنسان, *ḥuqūq al-insān*) as an essential foundation of the civil state (الدولة المدنية, *ad-dawla al-madanīa*) alongside three other political concepts: the rule of law (سيادة القانون, *siyādat al-qānūn*), democracy (الديموقراطية, *ad-dīmūqrāṭiya*) and citizenship (المواطنة, *al-muwāṭana*). Human rights are defined there as 'our inherent rights or the standards without which we cannot live as human beings and the rights that allow us to develop and use our qualities, intelligence, awareness and talent, and to fulfil our needs'. The teaching unit focusing on the political terms and values introduces a practical task asking students to 'design a poster to present the rights of individuals in the civil state as introduced in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights'.[184]

---

177 Harmat, Gal. *Intersectional Pedagogy: Creative Education Practices for Gender and Peace Work*. London: Routledge, 2020; Osler, Audrey and Chalank Yahya: 'Challenges and Complexity in Human Rights Education'. *Education Inquiry* 4 (1), 2013: p. 189–210.

178 *Social Studies* 6/I (2019), p. 66.

179 *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), p. 44–45.

180 *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), p. 78 / *Social Studies* 7/II (2019), p. 33.

181 *Social Studies* 6/I (2019), p. 23.

182 *Social Studies* 7/I (2019), p. 46.

183 *Social Studies* 6/I (2019), p. 90.

184 *History* 11/II (2019), p. 62.

Figure 32: *History* 11/II (2019), p. 62

The civil state takes diversity into consideration and protects individuals' rights and freedoms. It also goes beyond that to include principles of justice, such as those of citizenship and the rule of law. In a civil state, rights and responsibilities are granted on the basis of citizenship, with no discrimination between citizens on grounds of religion, language, colour, race or gender and, under the rule of law, the protection of human rights and the fundamental freedoms is guaranteed. A civil state also respects pluralism and the peaceful transition of power. This power shall derive its legitimacy from the people's choice and leaders shall be held accountable by the people or by their representatives. Choose the appropriate definition for the foundations of the civil state in the following, and then answer the questions:

Human Rights   The Rule of Law   Democracy   Citizenship

- The relationship of the individual to the state as defined by law, including rights and responsibilities in this state.
- Our inherent rights or the standards without which we cannot live as human beings and the rights that allow us to develop and use our qualities, intelligence, awareness and talents, and to fulfil our needs.
- A principle of governance in which all persons and institutions are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced, independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards.
- A form of government in which the citizens have the right to participate in the implementation of power, to choose their ruler, monitor his actions and disempower him when necessary.

Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History for year 10 includes a remarkable teaching unit titled 'Historical Events after the Passing of President Arafat'. Three illustrations summarise three stages: of holding 'presidential elections in 2015' (illustration of a person voting), the 'unilateral disengagement of the occupation from Gaza in 2005' (illustration of soldiers and bulldozer) and 'Palestine represented in international bodies' (illustration of the Palestinian and UN flags in front of the UN headquarters in New York). The text depicts the unilateral withdrawal of the Israeli army and the evacuation of settlements from the Gaza Strip as a positive development without, however, mentioning Israel. The following tasks ask questions about elections, the meaning of the term 'unilateral disengagement', and the importance of Palestine joining international United Nations organisations. The unit thus depicts an autonomous state that has established democracy and the rule of law with international support.

Figure 33: *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II, p. 85

Historical Events after the Passing of Arafat
Activity 3: Look at the images below and conclude:
[Image 1] The presidential elections in 2015.
[Image 2] Unilateral disengagement of the occupation from Gaza in 2005.
[Image 3] Palestine in international organisations.

On the next page, a text titled 'Palestine in international bodies' highlights the inclusion of Palestine as 'a non-member observer state' of the United Nations General Assembly and a full member of UNESCO and Interpol. The text also stresses the commitments made by Palestine to international human rights and international law by signing documents and conventions such as the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the United Nations Convention against Corruption.

Figure 34: *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 86

Palestine in International Organisations:
In order to enhance Palestine's international and legal status, it became a full member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on 31/10/2011 and a non-member observer state of the United Nations General Assembly in 2012.
In 2014, the State of Palestine signed a set of international conventions and treaties related to human rights law, international humanitarian law, international criminal law, and public international law. It also signed environmental agreements related to natural resources and armaments, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the United Nations Convention against Corruption. The State of Palestine was also recognised as a member of Interpol in 2017.

The textbook thus elucidates that Palestine as a nation is now – at least in part – a recognised participant in a universal, international discourse on human rights.

Religious Education

Human rights are also addressed in textbooks for religious education, where they are located within the framework of religious texts rather than international, regional or national agreements and charters. Among the human rights addressed, respect for life, women's rights and equality between all human beings stand out as the main topics in textbooks for both Islamic and Christian religious education.

Textbooks for Christian education mention human rights in years 9, 10 and 12, quoting passages from the Bible that highlight the principle of equality between men and women.[185] Christian Education 12 (2019) contains a unit entitled 'Human Dignity and the Sanctity of Life' (كرامة الشّخص البشريّ وقدسيّة حياته, *karāmat ash-shakhṣ al-basharī wa qudsīyyat hayātihi*), comprising five pages that discuss human dignity in general, respect for women's dignity, equality between all people, the dignity of the child, and the sanctity of and respect for life in Christian teaching. The lesson emphasises the prohibition of killing and manslaughter and that Christianity rejects all psychological, physical and moral abuse.

Figure 35: *Christian Education* 12 (2018), p. 78

Lesson 15: Human Dignity and the Sanctity of Life Objectives:
By the end of the lesson, students are expected to be able to:
1. Identify the foundations of human dignity in Christianity.
2. Define human dignity.
3. Define the founding principles on which women's dignity rests in Christianity.
4. Describe how Jesus cherished children.
5. Identify actions or deeds that violate the sanctity of life.

The textbook *Islamic Religious Education* 9/II published in 2019 refers to human rights with an entire lesson dedicated to the concept of human rights in Islam. As it explains, Islam defines human rights as the rights given by God to every human being, regardless of nationality, religion or race, and presents the concept of human rights in Islam as being built on the religious foundations of the Qur'ān and Sunnah.[186]

185 *Christian Education* 9 (2018), p. 121 and 78.
186 *Islamic Education* 9/II (2019), p. 96.

The teacher guide for year 4, (2018) refers to a well-known saying of the Prophet Muhammad that God created humans and made them into peoples and tribes so that they might get to know one another,[187] and states that Islam stands for the fight against all forms of discrimination and differentiation on the basis of sex, colour or clan.[188]

الدرس الثامن عشر   حقوق الإنسان في الإسلام

◆ يُتَوَقَّع من الطّلبة بعد نهاية الدّرس تحقيق الأهداف الآتية:

٤- تعداد بعض من حقوق الإنسان في الإسلام.	١- تعريف مفهوم حقوق الإنسان في الإسلام.
٥- الموازنة بين واجبات الإنسان وحقوقه في الإسلام.	٢- التعرف على مكانة الإنسان في الإسلام.
٦- بيان سَنّو الإسلام وتميّزه عن القوانين الوضعية الناظمة لحقوق الإنسان.	٣- التدليل من الكتاب والسُّنّة على حقوق الإنسان في الإسلام.

إن حقوق الإنسان في الإسلام هبةٌ إلهيةٌ خالصةٌ منحها الله لخلقه، فهي ليست من مخلوقٍ لمخلوقٍ مثله، بل هي حقوقٌ قرّرها الله تعالى للإنسان، وتثّبت هذه الحقوق والإنسان جنينٌ في بطن أُمّه قبل أن يولد.

🔷 **مفهوم حقوق الإنسان في الإسلام:**

مجموعة من الحقوق التي وهبها الله لكل إنسان، بغض النّظر عن جنسيته أو دينه أو لون بشره. فهي منحةٌ خالصةٌ من الله تعالى لجميع البشر. قال ﷺ: "يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنَّ رَبَّكُمْ وَاحِدٌ، وَإِنَّ أَبَاكُمْ وَاحِدٌ، أَلَا لَا فَضْلَ لِعَرَبِيٍّ عَلَى عَجَمِيٍّ، وَلَا لِعَجَمِيٍّ عَلَى عَرَبِيٍّ، وَلَا لِأَحْمَرَ عَلَى أَسْوَدَ، وَلَا أَسْوَدَ عَلَى أَحْمَرَ، إِلَّا بِالتَّقْوَى، ﴿إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ﴾" ١.

🔷 **مكانة الإنسان في الإسلام:**

جعل الإسلام للإنسان أعظم مكانة، فأعْلى منزلته على سائر المخلوقات، حيث خلقه الله ﷺ في أحسن صورة، ونفخ فيه من روحه، وأسجد له ملائكته، وسخّر له ما في السماوات وما في الأرض جميعًا، وفضّله على كثيرٍ ممن خلق تفضيلًا، كما

أتذكر:
أهم بنود الوثيقة النبوية في المدينة المنورة.

١- رواه أحمد وصحّحه الألباني.

٩٦

Figure 36: *Islamic Education* 9/II (2019), p. 96

Lesson 18: Human Rights in Islam
By the end of the lesson, students are expected to be able to:
1- Define the concept of human rights in Islam
2- Identify the status of human beings in Islam
3- Verify how human rights are considered in Islam by looking at the Qur'ān and the Sunnah
4- Enumerate some of the human rights upheld in Islam
5- Describe the balance between human rights and human responsibilities in Islam
6- Clarify how Islam is distinguished from the statutory laws regulating human rights

Human rights in Islam are a pure divine gift that God has given to every human being. Human rights are not given by earthly beings, but rather granted by God the Almighty to humans before they were even born.

The Concept of Human Rights in Islam
A variety of human rights given by God to every human being, regardless of nationality, religion or race. A pure gift from Almighty God to every human being. He, the Almighty, said: *'O people, your Lord is one and your father is one. There is no favour of an Arab over a foreigner, nor a foreigner over an Arab, and neither white skin over black skin, nor black skin over white skin, except by righteousness. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of God is the most righteous of you.'*

The Status of Human Beings in Islam
Islam identifies human beings as the best and the most important creatures.
Allah, the Creator, made the human being in the best way and shape; he breathed his spirit into man, and made angels bow to humanity.
Allah subjected all things in the heavens and on earth to the human being, preferring him over all other creatures.

Mathematics

In mathematics textbooks, 15 of the 23 references to rights encompass the right to water, the right to a healthy and safe environment, the right to a family, the right to participate in public affairs, the right to free education, the right to access to energy, the right to health care, the right to food, the right to freedom of speech and expression, the right to social justice, and labour rights. The remaining 8 real-life connections address liberty (against arbitrary detention), freedom of movement, protection against forced migration, the right to hold a nationality, and the right to live in dignity in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Here, reference is made to a variety of civil, economic, social, cultural and political rights.

The following example contains a reference to the right to live in a safe environment. The first sentences address a problem that students are sometimes exposed to: the danger of being hit by fast-moving vehicles. The students are encouraged to actively find a solution to speed-related road accidents in

---

[187] Qur'ān, Surah Al-Hujurat: 13, quoted in *Islamic Education Teacher Guide* 4 (2018), p. 57.

[188] *Islamic Education Teacher Guide* 4 (2018), p. 103.

three tasks: they are to identify proper road signs, measure the distance between the signs and the school according to traffic law, and use a mathematical equation to determine maximum speed.
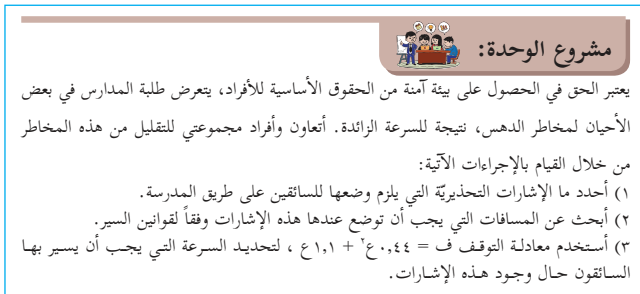

مشروع الوحدة:

يعتبر الحق في الحصول على بيئة آمنة من الحقوق الأساسية للأفراد، يتعرض طلبة المدارس في بعض الأحيان لمخاطر الدهس، نتيجة للسرعة الزائدة. أتعاون وأفراد مجموعتي للتقليل من هذه المخاطر من خلال القيام بالإجراءات الآتية:

١) أحدد ما الإشارات التحذيريّة التي يلزم وضعها للسائقين على طريق المدرسة.

٢) أبحث عن المسافات التي يجب أن توضع عندها هذه الإشارات وفقاً لقوانين السير.

٣) أستخدم معادلة التوقف ف = ٠,٤٤ع² + ١,١ ع ، لتحديد السرعة التي يجب أن يسير بهـا السـائقون حـال وجـود هـذه الإشـارات.

Figure 37: *Mathematics* 8/II (2019), p. 34

Unit project:

The right to live in a safe environment is considered one of the essential rights of individuals (*ḥuqūq alafrād*). Students are sometimes exposed to the danger of being hit by vehicles moving at high speed.

Collaborate with your team members to find a way to minimise this risk by:

1) Identifying which official traffic signs should be placed on roads leading to the school to warn motorists.

2) Measuring the distance that should be maintained between these signs and the school according to traffic law.

3) Use the mathematical equation […] to determine the maximum speed that motorists should respect in accordance with these signs.

In the 2019 version of the mathematics textbooks 20 references to real life that were already included in the earlier versions from 2017 and 2018 were supplemented with an introduction that pointed to the relevance of the problem discussed by highlighting its connection to a human rights issue. In the 2017 version the example mentioned above, for instance, merely refers to the dangers to students posed by fast-moving vehicles, while the 2019 version includes a brief introductory sentence about the basic human right to live in a safe environment.

GROUP-SPECIFIC RIGHTS

The textbooks elaborate further on the rights of specific groups such as the rights of women and children and people with disabilities. The newer textbook editions expand upon the content and scope of earlier editions by restructuring and adding new content.

Children's Rights

The 2019 edition of Social Studies 5/II includes a new chapter on 'Children's Rights' (حقوق الأطفال, *ḥuqūq al-aṭfāl*). This chapter emphasises that children have their own needs and rights regardless of gender, language, skin colour, religion, abilities or disabilities, and discusses the right to life, right to food, right to health, right to identity, right to liberty, and the right to protection.

Similarly, the textbook *The Arabic Language* 6/II dedicates a lesson to a discussion of children's rights, their education and obligations towards their parents, the role of parents, violence practiced by some parents against children, and how children's rights should be respected based on international agreements, specifically the Convention on the Rights of the Child.[189]

Women's Rights

Women's rights (حقوق المرأة, *ḥuqūq al-mar'ā*) and the principle of equality are repeatedly and extensively discussed in textbooks for both Islamic and Christian religious education. Their emphatic message is that God created males and females as equal partners who help each other, that a woman is equal to a man, and that both genders complement one another.[190]

Lesson 16 of the textbook Christian Education 9 is entitled 'Male and Female Created'. It depicts God's creation of man and woman, each with his/her own physical and mental skills, ways of thinking, and behaviour. The relationship between men and women is presented as a relationship of integration, dialogue and understanding, based not on competition but on integration, dialogue and constructive cooperation.[191]

---

[189] *The Arabic Language* 6/II (2019), p. 16–27.

[190] For example: *Christian Education* 10 (2018), p. 38 and *Islamic Education* 10/II (2018), p. 100.

[191] *Christian Education* 9 (2018), p. 121.

Figure 38: *Islamic Education* 12 (2018), p. 125

Activity: How could you convince someone that denying women rights as some Muslims do does not represent Islam?

The woman in Islam is Eve, the mother of mankind and the wife of Âdam (peace be upon him). Like him, she is highly esteemed and shares his obligations.

The woman in Islam is Khadijah (may Allah be pleased with her) who was the first person to embrace Islam. Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) went to Khadija trembling and said: 'Cover me', Khadija replied: 'But receive the good tidings! By Allah, Allah will never disgrace you.' (narrated by Muslim [the collector/author]). The woman in Islam is also Sumayya Um Ammar, who was tortured to abandon Islam, but she refused and became the first *shahīd*.

How are women regarded within Islam?

Islam does not differentiate between woman and man. It treats women with greater fairness than the injustice they have endured and equates her with men in terms of humanity, rights and responsibilities, granting her the right to take part in all areas of life and guiding her to the role she was born to take on, as a partner of the man in reforming society and in servitude to Almighty God. Allah says: 'The believers, men and women, are allies of one another. They enjoin what is just and forbid what is evil.' (Surat At-Tawba, 71)

While textbooks for both Christian and Islamic religious education portray women and men as equal in the respective religions in many instances, they do not, however, declare that men and women are fully equal nor do they dissolve binary notions of gender or address different sexual orientations.

The textbooks and teacher guides for Islamic education explicitly address misconceptions about Islam concerning women's rights and articulate specific rights of women.[192]

Figure 39: *Islamic Education Teacher Guide* 11 (2018), p. 182

Unit 4/ Lesson 12:

Common mistakes and difficulties

Some believe that Islam addresses most of its teachings to men, and that women are confined to the house and deprived of their rights.

Proposed remedial mechanisms

The contrary is the case: Islam has elevated the status of women, given them their full rights and allowed them to participate with men in all areas of Islamic life, as witnessed by Islamic history.

In the textbook *Islamic Education* 12, a lesson titled 'Islam and Women' (الإسلام والمرأة, *al-Islām wa al-mar'ā*) presents women as having been deprived of their rights in the pre-Islamic Arab world, in modern Jewish ultra-Orthodox communities, and in the West. Here, women were previously deprived of some rights (such as property and financial rights) and were only permitted to act with their husbands' permission up until the late eighteenth century, when laws were finally amended to give them more rights in Britain and France, for example. The lesson stresses that women have suffered injustice in different contexts, have had to struggle for equal rights, and that some Muslims deprive women of

[192] *Islamic Education* 10/I (2018), p. 81.

their rights, contrary to the teachings of Islam. The paragraph ends with a note on the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).[193] In this section, the students are given the task of convincing others that denying women rights, as some Muslims do, does not represent Islam.[194]

Rights of People with Disabilities

In social studies, human rights as a topic area focuses distinctively on the rights and needs of specific groups such as persons with disabilities. The chapter 'Human Rights of Persons with Disabilities' (حقوق الاشخاص ذوي الاعاقة, *ḥuqūq al-ashkhāṣ dhawī al-iʿāqa*) in *Social Science* 7/II (2019) explains the difference between adapting facilities to care and serve the needs of persons with disabilities on the one hand and integrating them into society by providing them with equal opportunities on the other. The chapter refers to both the Palestinian law regarding persons with disabilities and to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities of 2006 that – as the text explains – Palestine signed in 2014.

أنا تعلمت:

أكّدت الاتّفاقيّات الدّوليّة، والتّشريعات الوطنيّة على حقوق الأشخاص ذوي الإعاقة، واحترام كرامتهم، واستقلالهم، وحرّيّتهم في اختيار قراراتهم، والمشاركة الكاملة والفاعلة في المجتمع، وتكافؤ الفرص، وقبولهم، باعتبارهم جزءاً من التّنوّع البشريّ، والطّبيعة البشريّة، ومساواتهم في الحقوق، والواجبات كغيرهم من الأشخاص الأصحّاء، والمساواة بين الرّجل والمرأة، واحترام القدرات المتطورة للأطفال ذوي الإعاقة، وإمكانيّة وصولهم إلى جميع مجالات الحياة، وتوفير البيئة المادّيّة الّتي تمكّنهم من ذلك، كالمباني، والطّرقات، والسّكن، ووسائط النّقل، والالتحاق بالتّعليم، والمعلومات، والاتّصالات، وسائر الخدمات الّتي تقدّمها الدّولة إلى مواطنيها، ومن هذه الاتّفاقيّات الاتّفاقيّة الدّوليّة لحقوق الأشخاص ذوي الإعاقة الّتي أقرّها المجتمع الدّوليّ في كانون الأوّل من عام ٢٠٠٦م، وقد انضمّت دَوْلة فلَسطين إلى هـذه الاتّفاقيّة في نيسان عام ٢٠١٤م. علماً أنّ هناك قانوناً فلَسطينيّاً للإعاقة صدر عام ٢٠٠٩م.

Figure 40: *Social Studies* 7/II (2019), p. 68

I have learnt:

International treaties and national legislation have confirmed the rights of persons with disabilities; respecting their dignity, independence and freedom in making decisions; their full and active participation in society; providing them with equal opportunities, accepting them, and considering them part of human diversity and human nature; providing them with rights and responsibilities equal to those without disabilities, as well as gender equality; respecting the evolving capacities of children with disabilities and their capacity to participate in all spheres of life; providing the proper environment that enables them to do so through buildings, roads, residences, transportation, access to education, information, communication, and all services that a state offers its citizens. Among these international treaties is the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities adopted by the international community in 2006. The state of Palestine signed this convention in April 2014, taking into consideration the Palestinian law that had already been enacted in 2009.

---

[193] The signing of this Convention by the Palestinian Authority is mentioned in *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p.86 (see above).

[194] *Islamic Education* 12 (2018), p. 125.

2.2.3 HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND THE CONFLICT CONTEXT

The textbook analysis reveals that both human rights in general and the rights of specific groups are frequently depicted with reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As shown in the graph below, this is the case for half the references on human rights identified in the Report. The rights discussed encompass the right of Palestinians to move freely (freedom of movement, mobility rights), the rights of children to safety and protection, the right to education, and the rights of prisoners.[195]
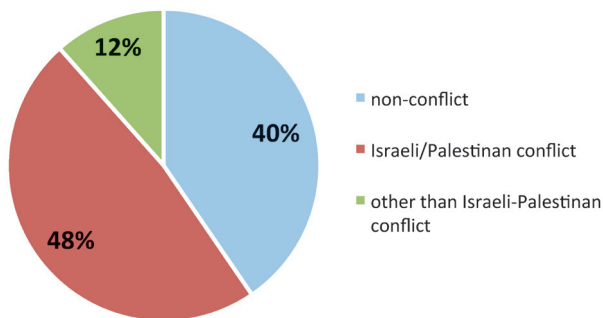
CONTEXTS IN WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ADDRESSED

Figure 41: Contexts in which human rights are addressed. The figures refer to the total number of references identified, where one reference could be allocated to more than one context. N = 104 textbooks

While in many cases the perpetrator or cause of a human rights violation is not mentioned, when there is an explicit naming of the responsible entity the most frequent epithets used are 'the occupation' or 'the Zionist occupation'. Others mentioned are colonial powers such as Italy in Libya or male Arabs failing to recognise women's rights in pre-Islamic times.

Social Studies 7/II (2019) dedicates a newly introduced chapter to 'Human Rights in Wars' (حقوق الانسان في الحروب, *ḥuqūq al-insān fī al- ḥurūb*), focusing on international humanitarian law and its significance for human rights, with a focus on prisoners' rights in particular. The chapter refers to international conventions and protocols, including the Geneva Convention of 1949: the first Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field, the Second Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea, the Third Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War, and the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War; and the two protocols of 1977 relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts and the Protection of Victims of Non-international Armed Conflicts.

Human rights are also addressed in Social Studies 9/I when the history of the early twentieth century and the process of decolonisation across the Arab world is depicted, with a focus on the right to self-determination. The chapters present the different forms and policies of colonialism in the Arab world (Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine) and the forms of resistance that emerged, expressing the right to self-determination. Moreover, the chapters consider not only Palestine but also other Arab countries who have shared similar historical experiences and journeys towards independence. As a result, the textbooks assign significant weight to the different forms of human rights with their varying applications in different nations and diverse historical contexts.

Textbooks for Arabic language, social studies and history and geography repeatedly propose seeking protection from humanitarian organisations as one peaceful option in order to end human rights violations on the part of the State of Israel. Another option suggested in the textbooks is to appeal to the international community to impose international pressure on Israel and to take legal steps towards preventing Israeli violations of human rights.

One of many examples concerns two paragraphs that quote extensively from a statement by the UN Security Council on settlements in the occupied territories in *History* 11/I, 2018 and in *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II. The exercises require students to engage intensively with the texts and their meanings.

---

[195] *Our Beautiful Language* 2/II (2019), p. 47.

"ورد في ديباجة القرار (٢٣٣٤): يؤكد مجلس الأمن على انطباق اتفاقية جنيف المتعلقة بحماية الأشخاص المدنيين في وقت الحرب عام ١٩٤٩م، على الأراضي الفلسطينية، بما فيها القدس الشرقية، والأراضي العربية الأخرى المحتلة منذ عام ١٩٦٧م، مستذكرًا الرأي الاستشاري الصادر في تموز ٢٠٠٤م من محكمة العدل الدولية الذي يؤكد على أنّ جميع الأنشطة الاستيطانية في الأرض الفلسطينية المحتلة، بما فيها القدس الشرقية، غير قانونية بموجب القانون الدولي، وتشكّل عقبة رئيسة أمام تحقيق السلام على أساس حلّ الدولتين، وإذ يُعرِب عن بالغ القلق من أنّ استمرار الأنشطة الاستيطانية الإسرائيلية، إنّما يُعرّض حلّ الدولتين للخطر على أساس حدود ١٩٦٧م. ويدين جميع التدابير الأخرى الرامية إلى تغيير التكوين الديمغرافي، وطابع الأرض الفلسطينية المحتلة، ووضعها منذ العام ١٩٦٧م، بما فيها القدس الشرقية، بما يشمل جملة أمور: بناء المستوطنات وتوسيعها، ونقل المستوطنين الإسرائيليين، ومصادرة الأرض، وضمّها بالأمر الواقع، وهدم المنازل، والنقل القسري للمدنيين الفلسطينيين، في انتهاك للقانون الإنساني الدولي والقرارات ذات الصلة.

Figure 42: UN Security Council Preamble of the Resolution 2334 (2016), quoted in: *History* 11/I (2018), p. 85. Back translation from Arabic.

In the Preamble of the Resolution 2334: The Security Council affirms the applicability of the Geneva Convention relating to the protection of civilians in the time of the 1949 war on Palestinian lands, including East Jerusalem, and other Arab lands occupied since 1967, recalling an advisory opinion issued in July 2004 by the International Court of Justice. This confirms that all settlement activities in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, are illegal under international law, expressing grave concern that if the Israeli settlement activities continue these will constitute a major obstacle to achieving peace on the basis of the two-state solution of the 1967 borders and condemns all other measures aimed at changing the demographic composition and the character and status of the Palestinian land occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, including, inter alia, building and expanding settlements, the transfer of Israeli settlers, confiscation of land, de facto annexation, demolition of homes, and the forcible transfer of Palestinian civilians, in violation of international humanitarian law and relevant decisions.

مجلس الأمن الدَّوليّ وموقفه من الاستيطان الصُّهيونيّ:

نشاط (٤- ب): نقرأ النّصّ، ثمّ نقوم بما يأتي:

نصّ قرار مجلس الأمن رقم (٢٣٣٤) الصادر عام ٢٠١٦ ضدّ الاستيطان الإسرائيلي على:

مطالبة إسرائيل بأن توقف فوراً، وعلى نحو كامل جميع الأنشطة الاستيطانية في الأرض الفلسطينية المحتلة بما فيها القدس الشرقية، وأكد من جديد أنّ إنشاء إسرائيل للمستوطنات في الأرض الفلسطينية المحتلة منذ عام ١٩٦٧م، بما فيها القدس الشرقية، ليس له أيّ شرعية قانونية، ويشكّل انتهاكاً صارخاً بموجب القانون الدولي، وعقبة كبرى أمام تحقيق حلّ الدَّولتين، وإحلال السَّلام العادل، والدائم، والشَّامل.

– نستنتج أهمية صدور قرار رقم (٢٣٣٤) عن مجلس الأمن عام ٢٠١٦م المتعلق بالاستيطان.

Figure 43: *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 50

The Position of the United Nations Security Council concerning the Zionist Settlement

Activity (4-b): Read the text and do the following:

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 2334 issued in 2016 against the Israeli settlements states that: Israel should immediately and completely cease all settlement activities in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and reaffirms that Israel's establishment of settlements in Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, has no legal validity, constituting a flagrant violation under international law and a major obstacle to the achievement of two States living side-by-side in peace and security.

[Image]

- Figure out the importance of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2334 concerning settlements.

However, reliance on international organisations is not presented as a recipe for sure success. According to *The Arabic Language Teacher Guide* for year 7, 'the position of the international community is considered unfair because it sides with the Zionist occupier by keeping silent about its crimes and neglects the Palestinian cause'.

In addition, according to the same teacher guide, the 'international community has failed to apply its decisions related to the rights of Palestinian people, which is considered

unfair and contrary to human rights and UN resolutions'.[196] Both the teacher guides and the textbooks explicitly criticise the role of the international community, in some instances calling upon it to increase pressure on Israel and take legal steps towards putting an end to 'Israeli violations' (الانتهاكات الإسرائيلية, *al-intihākāt al-Isrā'īlīa*).[197]

Another listening text that refers to Israel as a violator of human rights narrates the story of two children who struggle every day to receive an education because the 'occupier' destroys any newly built school in their region.[198]

In the example in Figure 44 about Children's Day, celebrated each year on 5th April in Palestine, a reading text addresses children's rights, including the right to health, education, access to health care and healthy food, family life, and the right to live safely and peacefully in their country.[199]

In the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the same lesson addresses in a listening text the rights of Palestinian children (1 page) titled 'Childhood in Palestine'. The text defines children's rights based on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and refers to this right in the context of human rights more generally, mentioning the different institutions dedicated to children's rights around the world. According to the text, children constitute half of the Palestinian population; thus the occupation in Palestine violates children's rights. At the end of the lesson, students are asked in an exercise to 'monitor and list the Zionist violations against children in Palestine by following the news pages or social media':

Figure 44: *Our Beautiful Language* 2/II (2019), Children's Day in Palestine, Lesson 8, p. 76
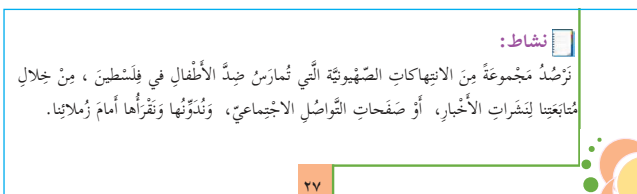
Figure 45: *The Arabic Language* 6/II (2019), p. 27

Activity:
Monitor and list some of the Zionist violations against children in Palestine by following news or social media pages and read them to your classmates.

---

[196] *The Arabic Language, Teacher Guide* 7/II (2018), p. 241: Listening text, suggested answer to 'Question 9: State your opinion on the international stand towards the Palestinian cause': يُعدّ الموقف الدولي تجاه القضية الفلسطينية غير منصف، لأنه يتعامل بمكيالين: المكيال الأول هو الانحياز للاحتلال الصهيوني من خلال السكوت عن جرائمه، بل ودعمه، والمكيال الثاني إهمال القضية الفلسطينية، وعدم تطبيق القرارات التي تتعلّق بالشعب الفلسطيني، وهذا موقف متقلّب لا خير فيه، ومناقض لحقوق الإنسان، ولقرارات الأمم المتحدّة.

[197] *The Arabic Language* 10/II, (2019), p. 115: اتخاذ الوسائل القانونية من أجل إيقاف الانتهاكات الإسرائيلية. [...] هذا ما يلزمه – بالدرجة الأولى – إرادة فلسطينية حديديّة، وضغط دوليّ على الاحتلال الإسرائيلي.

[198] *Our Beautiful Language* 2/II (2019), p. 75.

[199] *Our Beautiful Language* 2/II (2019), p. 76, 77.

غَيْرَ أَنَّ المُجْتَمَعَ الفِلَسْطِينِيَّ يَرْزَحُ تَحْتَ نِيرِ الاحْتِلالِ الَّذِي اسْتَباحَ هَذِهِ الحُقُوقَ ، فَأَقْدَمَ عَلى إِغْلاقِ عَدَدٍ مِنَ المَدارِس، وَأَقامَ الحَواجِزَ عَلى الطُّرُقاتِ الَّتِي تُؤَدِّي إِلَيْها، فَحَرَمَ أَطْفالَ فِلَسْطِينَ مِنَ الوُصولِ إِلَيْها، وَمارَسَ البَطْشَ وَالتَّنْكِيلِ وَالقَتْلَ وَالاعْتِقالَ بِحَقِّهِمْ، مُهِيناً طُفولَتَهُمْ، غَيْرَ آبِهٍ بِإِنْسانِيَّتِهِمْ.

Figure 46: *The Arabic Language*, listening texts document 6/II (2019), p. 2

[…] However, Palestinian society suffers from the occupation that has violated these rights by closing a number of schools and by setting up roadblocks preventing Palestinian children from attending school, as well as practicing oppression, torture, murder and detention against them, humiliating their childhood and ignoring their humanity.

Here and elsewhere human rights violations are presented in the context of the occupation with recourse to human rights documents and thus to the international discourse on human rights. The violations of children's rights mentioned in the textbooks have been documented by human rights organisations. What is problematic here is not their depiction but the ambiguous phrasing, which implies *systematic* violations of children's rights reaching all the way to torture and murder, and this has the potential to dehumanise the (Israeli) 'other'.

The human rights mentioned in textbooks for Islamic education are civil human rights and are not referred to in the context of conflict, except for one passage in year 5/1 (2019), lesson 20, under the heading 'Islam and Human Dignity'. Here, a photograph shows a number of young people wearing handcuffs, including a young man wearing a Palestinian keffiyeh[200] (كوفية, *Kūfīa*).[201]

مفهومُ الكرامةِ الإنسانيّةِ:

الكرامةُ الإنسانيّةُ تعني: تشريفَ اللهِ تعالى الإنسانَ، وتفضيلَهُ على سائرِ المخلوقاتِ بالعقلِ والنطقِ، وخلقِهِ في أحسنِ صورةٍ، وتسخيرَ ما في الكونِ له، يقولُ سبحانهُ وتعالى: ﴿ وَلَقَدْ كَرَّمْنَا بَنِي ءَادَمَ وَحَمَلْنَهُمْ فِي ٱلْبَرِّ وَٱلْبَحْرِ وَرَزَقْنَهُم مِّنَ ٱلطَّيِّبَتِ وَفَضَّلْنَهُمْ عَلَىٰ كَثِيرٍ مِّمَّنْ خَلَقْنَا تَفْضِيلًا ۩ ﴾. (الإسراء: 70)

فائدة: يقعُ في سجونِ الاحتلالِ الإسرائيليِّ آلافُ الأُسرى الفلسطينيينَ الذينَ يدافعونَ عن وطنِهم فلسطين وعن حقِّهم في الحريةِ والكرامةِ الإنسانيةِ.

Figure 47: *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019), p. 111

The concept of human dignity:

Human dignity means: God honouring the human being and preferring him over all creatures by providing him with the abilities to understand and speak and by creating him in the best form and making what is in the universe available to be used by him, God says: 'We have honoured the children of Adam and carried them on both land and sea. We have provided them with good things and greatly preferred them above much of Our creation.' (Sura 17: AL-ISRA 70)

[Image]

Useful to know: thousands of Palestinians who defend their homeland, Palestine, and their right to freedom and human dignity, are detained in Israeli prisons.

Units exploring the history of certain cities refer to violations of human rights committed by 'the Zionist occupation' against the Palestinian people during the *Nakba* of 1948, and they mention war crimes, the destruction of historical and archaeological sites, the displacement of Palestinians, attempts to erase the Palestinian identity of these cities and villages by replacing Arabic names with Hebrew ones, and attempts to 'Judaise' Palestine. These portrayals emphasise the Arab and Islamic origins of these cities and depict Israel as violating international conventions.[202]

In many cases, texts addressing these rights refer to international agreements or emphasise the role of the United Nations in helping Palestinians to live in peace, explicitly naming the cause for the violation of human rights. If the perpetrator is mentioned, the textbooks usually denote this the 'Zionist occupation' or 'the enemy', portraying the violations as the product of a repressive power rather than as the result of deliberate human action.

One example is the text below: an exercise in identifying prepositions from a year 9 textbook for Arabic language:

---

[200] The Palestinian keffiyeh is a chequered black and white scarf usually worn around the neck or head.

[201] *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019), p. 111.

[202] *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 18.

تَدْريباتٌ

التَّدْريبُ الأَوَّلُ:

نَقْرَأُ النَّصَّ الآتيَ، وَنَسْتَخْرِجُ الأَسْماءَ المَجْرورَةَ بِحَرْفِ الجَرِّ، مُبَيِّنينَ عَلامةَ الجَرِّ:

كَلَّفَتْ مُنَظَّمَةُ الأُمَمِ المُتَّحِدَةِ القاضيَ الأُمَميَّ (ريتشارد غولِدستون) بِتَرَؤُّسِ لَجنَةِ التَّحقيقِ الدَّوْليَّةِ في مَجازِرِ الاحتِلالِ ضِدَّ أَبْناءِ شَعبِنا في قِطاعِ غَزَّةَ بَعدَ حربِ العامِ ٢٠٠٨ على القِطاعِ.

وقد كَشَفَ تَقريرُ اللَّجنَةِ عَنِ الوَجهِ الحَقيقيِّ للعَدُوِّ، وأَشارَ إلى انتِهاكاتِهِ الصّارِخَةِ للقانونِ الإنسانيِّ الدَّوْليِّ، وارتِكابِهِ جَرائِمَ حَربٍ في ذلِكَ العُدوانِ، وأَثْبَتَ التَّقريرُ استِخدامَ العَدُوِّ للأَسلِحَةِ المُحَرَّمَةِ، خاصَّةً قَنابِلَ الفسفورِ الأَبيَضِ، والقَذائِفَ المِسمارِيَّةَ؛ ما أَدّى إلى استِشهادِ حَوالَي أَلفٍ وأَرْبَعِمِئَةِ فِلَسطينيٍّ، واستِخدامِ العَدُوِّ المدَنيِّينَ الفِلَسطينيِّينَ دُروعاً بَشَرِيَّةً، واستِهدافِهِ المَدارِسَ والمُستَشفَياتِ، وسيّاراتِ الإسعافِ والمَباني الحُكوميَّةِ، والعِماراتِ السَّكَنيَّةِ، والبُنى التَّحتيَّةَ، وتَدميرِ الجُسورِ ومَصانِعِ الإنتاجِ الغِذائيِّ، ومُنشَآتِ المياهِ والمُعالَجَةِ الصِّحِّيَّةِ لِمياهِ البَحرِ.

٩٤

Figure 48: *The Arabic Language* 9/II (2019), p.94

Exercises:

First exercise:

Read the following text and identify the prepositions:

The United Nations appointed a judge (Richard Goldstone) to head an international investigation into the massacres committed by the occupation against our people on the Gaza Strip after the 2008 war.

The report revealed the real face of the enemy, indicating that it has violated international human rights law and committed war crimes. The report proved that the enemy used illegal weapons, namely white phosphorus munition and nail bombs, causing the deaths of around 1,400 people. The enemy used Palestinian civilians as human shields and targeted schools, hospitals, ambulances, government buildings [...].

In mathematics textbooks, the eight references to human rights that allude to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict discuss violations in the course of past and current developments in the region. In the 2017 and 2018 editions of *Mathematics*, five of these eight conflict-related real-life connections address arbitrary detention, forced migration and statelessness, without linking these issues to human rights. Brief references to human rights have been added to the 2019 editions, however: protection against arbitrary detention,[203] protection against forced migration[204] and the right to hold a nationality.[205]

Three real-life connections in mathematics textbooks refer to the 'occupation' as human rights violators. A reference to forced migration identifies 'the conditions under the occupation' as a cause for historical and current displacement.[206] An exercise in a statistics lesson about the visualisation of frequency requires students to complete the missing parts of a pre-written text with numbers using data provided in a pie chart. The four slices of the chart illustrate the numerical proportion of Palestinians living in different locations in 2015: in 'foreign countries, Arab countries, Palestinian regions occupied in 1948, Palestinian regions occupied in 1967' (see Figure 49).

(٤-٢) التَّمثيلُ البيانيُّ للجَداوِلِ التَّكرارِيَّةِ ذاتِ الفئاتِ

نشاط (١): يُناقِضُ التَّهجيرُ عَنِ الأَرضِ الحقوقَ الأَساسيَّةَ للأَفرادِ، هاجَرَ كثيرٌ مِنَ الفِلَسطينيِّينَ، بِسبَبِ ظُروفِ الاحتِلالِ، إلى شَتّى بِقاعِ الأَرضِ بَحثاً عَن مَصادِرِ رِزقِهم، وقامَ الجِهازُ المركزيُّ للإحصاءِ الفِلَسطينيِّ بِتقديرِ عَدَدِ السُّكّانِ الفِلَسطينيِّينَ، حَسَبَ مكانِ الإقامةِ نهايةَ ٢٠١٥م، كما في الشَّكلِ الآتي:

التَّوزيعُ السكّانيُّ لعَدَدِ الفلسطينيِّينَ حسب مكانِ الإقامةِ نهايةَ ٢٠١٥م

التَّمثيلُ المجاورُ للبياناتِ يُسَمّى
. . . .

عَدَدُ السُّكّانِ الفِلَسطينيِّينَ في المناطقِ الّتي احتُلَّتْ عامَ ١٩٦٧ هو ٤٧٤٩٤٨٦.

عَدَدُ السُّكّانِ الفِلَسطينيِّينَ في المناطقِ التي احتلت عامَ ١٩٤٨م هو . . . .

مجموعُ السُّكّانِ الفِلَسطينيِّينَ في جميعِ المناطقِ هو . . . .

تعرَّفنا إلى تمثيلِ البياناتِ بعِدَّةِ طرقٍ، منها: القطاعاتُ الدّائريةُ، والمُضَلَّعاتُ، والمُنحنى التَّكراريُّ، وهناك طرقٌ أُخرى لعرضِ البياناتِ المكتوبةِ في جدولٍ تَكراريٍّ ذي فئاتٍ.

Figure 49: *Mathematics* 9/I (2019), p. 89

(4-2) Graphic visualisation of frequency

Activity 1: Forced displacement of people from their land contradicts the essential rights of individuals. Due to the occupation, many Palestinians have emigrated to various places in the world searching for a livelihood. The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics estimated the number of Palestinians living in different locations in 2015 as illustrated in the pie chart below. [...]

Chart slices: foreign countries, Arab countries, Palestinian regions occupied in 1948, Palestinian regions occupied in 1967 [...]

---

[203] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 74: من الحقوق الأساسية للأفراد عدم سجنهم تعسفيًا.

[204] *Mathematics* 9/I (2019), p. 89: يناقض التهجير على الأرض الحقوق الأساسية للأفراد.

[205] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 12: من الحقوق الأساسية للأفراد عدم حرمانهم من جنسيتهم.

[206] *Mathematics* 9/I (2019), p. 89, *Mathematics* 6/II (2019), p. 31, *Mathematics* 6/II (2019), p. 101.

Another real-life connection relates to the separation barrier and the issue of freedom of movement.[207] An authored text introducing a trigonometry exercise emphasises the level of international participation in a 'national Palestinian marathon' and how the barrier violates international charters on human rights by hindering freedom of movement. While a different textbook associates the separation barrier with racial segregation or apartheid policy[208], this exercise refers to it as a 'wall of annexation and expansion' (جدار الضمّ والتوسّع, *jidār aḍ-ḍamm wa at-tawasso'*), focusing on the humanitarian situation exacerbated by the barrier without attributing its presence to a specific group. The illustration shows the barrier sporting colourful graffiti that demands the recognition of Palestine in Danish, '#Anerkendt Palæstina', and a marathon taking place along its course as a form of protest. The task requires students to measure the angle at which an athlete moves around a running track.

Figure 50: *Mathematics* 10/II (2019), p. 38

(4-5) Trigonometric Identities and Equations
Activity 1: 6,000 runners from all over the world took part in the Palestinian national marathon. The event involved several patriotic messages, such as the hindrance of freedom of movement reflecting reality in Palestine, the establishment of the wall of annexation and expansion between the country's different provinces, together with a number of practices that contradict international agreements on human rights […]

The real-life connections referring to human rights in the mathematics textbooks show the intensive involvement of the textbook editors in framing these issues within a global political context.

A further trope in the textbooks refers to the rights of detainees in Israeli prisons, here for instance presented in an Arabic language textbook for year 12 (see Figure 51). The text, titled 'Pleas before an Absent Conscience' (مرافعات أمام ضمير غائب, *murāfaʿāt amām ḍamīr ghā'eb*) refers to the injustice of the administrative detention of Palestinians. A textbook section introducing the biographical account of a prisoner explains that some Palestinians are being detained by Israel without trial or charge, based on a 'secret file' (ملف سرّي, *malaf sirrī*). As the protagonist of the story states, Israel holds sham trials (محاكمهم الصّوريّة, *maḥākimahum aṣ-ṣūrīa*) in violation of international conventions.[209]

---

[207] *Mathematics* 10/II (2019), p. 38.

[208] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 55.

[209] *The Arabic Language*, academic track 12 (2019), p. 80.

الوَحدةُ ٨

مُرافَعاتٌ أمام ضميرٍ غائِب

(وائل محي الدّين)

بَيْن يَدَي النَّصِّ:

وائل محي الدّين: أديبٌ فلسطينيّ من جنين، اعتقله الاحتلال مرّات عدّة.

يدور هذا النّصّ حول محنة الاعتقال الإداريّ، حيث يحتجز الاحتلال الأسيرَ الفلسطينيّ دون توجيه لائحة اتّهام بحقّه، مُتذَرِّعاً بما يسمّيه (الملفّ السِّرّيّ). ومِمّا يضاعف مرارة هذا الاعتقال أنّه يُمَدَّد مرّاتٍ مُتتاليةً دون سَبَب.

٧٩

Figure 51: *The Arabic Language*, academic track 12 (2019), p. 79

Unit 8:

Pleas before an Absent Conscience (Wael Muhyiddin)

[Explanation: a person with absent conscience is a person who is remorseless]

About the text:

Wael Muhyiddin is a Palestinian author from Jenin. He was detained many times by the occupation.

This text tackles the distress of administrative detention that was experienced fifteen times by the author.

Administrative detention is when the occupier detains Palestinians without any indictment, alleging that the detainee has a 'secret file'.

Extension of detention, many times and without any reason, makes this experience even worse.

While the majority of the references to human rights identified in history textbooks focus on or allude to the Palestinian context, some texts and exercises refer to human rights in unspecified contexts or in other countries, in some cases without establishing a connection to the Palestinian situation. For instance, the 1859 battle of Solferino between France and Austria is mentioned as 'the beginning of European attempts to establish martial law in modern times'.[210] The introductory page of this chapter on war states that 'war is the biggest failure of human beings and the defeat of mankind'. On occasion the chapter establishes a connection to the Palestinian situation. Following the explanations of human rights, martial and conflict-related law, one exercise asks students to discuss 'the situation of Palestinian detainees in Zionist prisons and detention' without the lesson previously having mentioned Palestinian detainees.[211]

The unit on 'Campaigns and Liberation Movements' (مرافعات أمام ضمير غائب, *murāfaʿāt amām ḍamīr ghāʾeb*) in the history textbook for year 11 is about the resistance of peoples in a global context, for instance in Vietnam, Algeria, India and Cuba. In a lesson about 'The International Position regarding National Liberation Movements', resistance is described as a 'right held by the people' (حق الشعوب, *ḥaq ash-shuʿūb*) according to international conventions. Although a 'right to resist' as such is not explicitly confirmed in internationally recognised human rights documents, it is introduced as a quasi-legal term in some of the textbooks. Stating that Palestinians constitute a colonised people under occupation, some of the textbooks analysed draw on this status as justification for a 'right to resist' occupation forces or colonialism. The following extract from *History* 11/II (2019) elaborates on the debate about the 'right to resist' and to self-determination and that many states do not acknowledge such a right. Nevertheless, this textbook passage extrapolates from the conventions that such a right exists.

[210] تعد معركة (سولفرينو) عام ١٨٥٩ بين فرنسا والنمسا بداية المحاولات الأوروبية لوضع قوانين الحرب في العصر الحديث، وتبلورت مجموعة من الإتفاقيات والقوانين الدولية، فكانت :History 12 (2019), p. 8 محصلة التاريخ الإنساني لتنظيم سلوك المتحاربين، أطلق عليها القانون الإنساني الدولي.

[211] جلسة حوارية: أوضاع الأسرى الفلسطينيين في السجون والمعتقلات الصهيونية and الحرب أكبر فشل للإنسان وهي هزيمة للإنسانية. :History 12 (2019), p. 2

The international position regarding national liberation movements:

The right to self-defence, to resist occupation and to struggle for liberation from colonialism is a legitimate right. This [right] is acknowledged by religions and confirmed by international humanitarian law and its principles. It is also one of the main purposes of the United Nations and a basis for maintaining international peace and security.

Exercise (6): Read the following texts, draw a conclusion and then respond:

The international conventions are in agreement about **people's right to self-determination** and about asserting this right by peaceful and non-peaceful means, and whatever seems suitable, including the implementation of armed forces to achieve liberation in accordance with Article 51 of the charter of the United Nations. It [the UN] established the legitimate right to self-defence. **The first of the two articles** [of the UN charter] relating to political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights states that 'all peoples have the right to self-determination' and that it is an international right. The United Nations called upon countries to assert and respect this right.

The Fourth Geneva Convention (1949) named four conditions for a resistance movement: It must have a **leadership responsible for its actions and operations**; it must bear **a distinctive and recognisable symbol**; its **members must carry arms openly**; and it must uphold in its actions the **laws and regulations of war**. The additional two protocols of the year 1977 supplementing the Geneva Conventions stress that armed conflicts resulting from struggles for self-determination are to be considered international armed conflicts. [The additional protocols] regard members of organised resistance movements as armed forces. In case of detention, they are to be considered detainees of war.

Some countries and their media tend to consider actions carried out by national liberation movements to be acts of terrorism. In the Palestinian case, the Zionist occupation and some countries supporting it regard the struggle of the Palestinian people to free their homeland as an act of terrorism that should be resisted and suppressed by all available means. Several other countries, on the other hand, consider the resistance of the Palestinian people legitimate and a lawful right acknowledged by the international community and international law.

> Compare the United Nations resolutions with the law regarding armed conflicts around the legitimisation of national liberation movements.

A topic for discussion: Some interpret the acts of resistance accomplished by liberation movements as acts of terrorism. How can we respond to this?'

الموقف الدّولي من حركات التّحرّر الوطني:

حقّ الشّعوب في الدّفاع عن النّفس ومقاومة الاحتلال والكفاح من أجل التّحرّر من الاستعمار هو حقّ مشروع، أقرّته الشّرائع السّماوية، وكرّسه القانون الدّولي العامّ ومبادئه، ويُعدّ من الأهداف الرّئيسة للأمم المتّحدة، ومن الأسس المهمّة في حفظ السّلم والأمن الدّوليين.

نشاط (٦): نقرأ النّصوص الآتية، ونستنتج، ثمّ نُجيب:

أجمعت المواثيق الدولية على حقّ الشّعوب في تقرير مصيرها، وممارسة هذا الحقّ عبر الوسائل السّلمية، وغير السّلمية، وما تراه مناسباً لها، بما في ذلك القوّة المسلّحة، بما يُحقّق لها التّحرّر، وَفق المادة (٥١) من ميثاق الأمم المتّحدة، التي أجازت حقّ الدّفاع الشّرعي عن النّفس. ونصّت المادة الأولى من الاتّفاقيتين الخاصّتين بالحقوق السّياسية والمدنية، والحقوق الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والثّقافية، على أنّ «لجميع الشّعوب الحقّ في تقرير المصير»، وأنّه حقّ عالمي، ودعت الأمم المتّحدة الدّول إلى تعزيز هذا الحقّ، واحترامه.

ذكرت اتّفاقية جنيف الرّابعة عام ١٩٤٩م أربعة شروط يجب توفّرها في حركات المقاومة، هي: أن تكون لديها قيادة مسؤولة عن تصرّفاتها وعملياتها، ورمز معيّن، ومحدّد، وظاهر، وأن تحمل أفرادها السّلاح بصورة علنية، ويُطبّقوا في تصرّفاتهم قوانين الحرب وقواعدها. وأكّد البروتوكولان الإضافيان عام ١٩٧٧م الملحقان باتّفاقيات جنيف على أنّ النّزاعات المسلّحة النّاجمة عن نضال الشّعوب من أجل تقرير المصير تُعدّ نزاعات مسلّحة دولية، وعَدَّت أفراد المقاومة النّظامية مدرجين في مفهوم القوّات المسلّحة، يتمتع أفرادها، في حالة القبض عليهم، بوصفهم أسرى حرب.

تلجأ بعض الدّول ووسائل إعلامها إلى اعتبار الأعمال التي تقوم بها حركات التّحرّر الوطني أعمالاً إرهابية، وفي الحالة الفلسطينية، فإنّ الاحتلال الصُّهيوني، وبعض الدّول الدّاعمة له تَعُدُّ كفاح الشّعب الفلسطيني من أجل تحرير وطنه عملاً إرهابياً يجب مقاومته، والقضاء عليه بالوسائل كافّة، وتجد بالمقابل دولاً أخرى عديدة تعتبر مقاومة الشّعب الفلسطيني مشروعة، وحقّاً قانونياً يُقرّه المجتمع الدّولي والقوانين الدّولية.

◂ نُوازن بين قرارات الأمم المتّحدة، وقوانين النّزاعات المسلّحة حول مشروعية حركات التّحرّر الوطني.

قضية للنّقاش: يُفسّر البعض أعمال المقاومة الّتي تقوم بها الحركات التّحرّرية بأنّها أعمال إرهابية، كيف نردّ على ذلك؟

Figure 52: *History* 11/II (2019), p. 12

In conclusion, references to human rights are invoked by several of the Palestinian textbooks in this Report as a vehicle via which to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Some of the passages addressing the conflict convey minority opinions on the interpretation of international law (e.g. the right to resist) or give a homogenous presentation of Israelis in a perpetrator role (see also Chapter 3). Above all, the textbooks fail to engage with the question of whether violence carried out by Palestinian actors might equally constitute a violation of human rights.

2.3 CONCLUSION

The textbooks for the different subjects analysed for this Report extensively address central issues of global citizenship education with the aim of encouraging 'the vision of an interconnected society and culture that is unbound by the political territory of the nation-state'.[212] In numerous instances the textbooks call for tolerance, mercy, forgiveness and justice and encourage students to help others, fight corruption and respect human values. But these notions are not then applied to Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

By addressing political concepts such as state functions, elections and other democratic practices, the textbooks teach the concept of civil rights and the relationship between citizens and the state, including the right of citizens to be protected by the state and the obligations of citizens to follow the state's laws. They also confirm pluralism as a feature of the Palestinian political system and promote political participation in the context of citizenship education. These topics are mainly represented in social studies and history textbooks, but are also taken up in those for Arabic language and mathematics. The 2019 editions contain several additional chapters that discuss the meaning of active citizenship and the relationship between the citizen and public spaces, as well as that between the citizen and government. Issues of citizenship are thus allocated more space and more content is dedicated to them.

Social studies, mathematics and Arabic language textbooks engage with regional and global environmental issues, such as pollution and climate change. At primary school level they inform students about gas emissions from factories, solar power and cars that pollute the air. At secondary level, new elements are added – explaining what causes pollution, with an emphasis on the human responsibility to address the environmental crisis and calls to limit the escalation of violent conflicts that wreak devastating environmental damage, both with and without reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The analysed textbooks for all subjects provide images of society encompassing respectful representations of different social, cultural and religious groups including the diversity of skin colour, gender and physical abilities. They emphasise the primary objective of equal access for these different groups to facilities and services, and equal opportunities to participate in the public sphere. Textbooks especially address gender equality by portraying male and female protagonists side by side and in different societal realms. However, these representations neither dissolve binary notions of gender nor do they address different sexual orientations.

Cultural, social and religious values that support various forms of coexistence are emphasised in the textbooks. In particular, the textbooks for Christian and Islamic education encourage a dialogical and comparative approach to the teaching of religions. The dominant representation of coexistence in the textbooks is religious coexistence between Christians and Muslims; other religions are rarely addressed.

Textbooks for the different subjects explore the causes and consequences of conflict between individuals in ways that promote respectful attitudes and develop skills for conflict prevention and the resolution of disagreements. Humanity's responsibility to address the environmental crisis, including reference to the impact of violent conflict on the climate, is also emphasised in many text passages and images across all subjects and levels.

Human rights are explicitly discussed in textbooks for subjects as diverse as Arabic language, social studies, history and geography, mathematics, and Christian and Islamic religion. The references may comprise one or more sentences, a paragraph, a sub-chapter or an entire chapter. These representations increase in number in the 2018 and 2019 editions of the textbooks, with additional chapters, passages and sentences, and whole chapters on human rights that have been added to social studies textbooks.

The analysis of human rights representations in Palestinian textbooks shows an increased focus on human rights and a process of reframing national issues within a global political context. The textbooks affirm the importance of human rights in general and in several places explicitly highlight a universal notion of these rights, emphasising their interdependence and inalienability. On the whole, the textbooks analysed largely adhere to the UNESCO guidelines on Human Rights Education (HRE), and appear to follow the principles set out in those guidelines.

[212] Bromley: 'Cosmopolitanism in Civic Education', p. 34.

Textbooks for the subjects of history, geography and social studies refer extensively and repeatedly to international documents on human rights while religious education textbooks locate this theme within the context of religious texts, arguing that Christianity and Islam provide the fundamental pillars for an acknowledgement of human rights with their concept of human dignity and the sanctity of human life. As a rule, a number of human rights are portrayed in a variety of civic, political, social and cultural contexts across all subjects analysed. Furthermore, group-specific rights, in particular the rights of women, children, persons with disabilities and prisoners are also discussed extensively. This diversity-embracing approach implicitly indicates an increased awareness of and response to international agreements and commitments to human rights.

References to human rights are also used by the textbooks when addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, thus providing a framework with which to address human rights violations in the context of international law. Although the textbooks, in general, portray a universal notion of human rights, this is not carried through to a discussion of the rights of Israelis. Most human rights violations specified concern Palestinian victims. When a perpetrator is mentioned, the violations in most cases are carried out by Israeli protagonists and affect the rights of Palestinians. The textbooks support these narratives by reference to international conventions.

The textbooks thus directly connect the human rights discourse (frequently) and environmental issues (infrequently) to the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Yet when the topics of political participation, coexistence and tolerance are raised no link is established to the current conflict.

The framework of reference for political participation and human rights in Palestinian textbooks is that of the Palestinian nation and the aspiration to Palestinian statehood. It is notable that the aspiration of 'postnational' or 'cosmopolitan' citizenship as suggested in the very recent strand of critical Global Citizenship Education literature cited above is not to be found in the textbooks.

3 CONFLICT IN TEXTBOOKS

Palestinian textbooks are produced and located within an environment saturated with conflict and ongoing violence. The conflict is a ubiquitous element of everyday Palestinian life with a deeply restrictive impact, not least due to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory on the West Bank and the closure of Gaza. The occupation leads not only to constraints in the everyday lives of civilians as a result of checkpoints, controls, the separation barrier, infrastructure only accessible to Israeli settlers, and similar problems; it also gives rise to documented violations of human rights on the part of the Israeli security forces and settlers.[213]

The ever-present Israeli occupation and the restrictions and human rights violations engendered by it are reflected in the textbooks. The analysis therefore takes the conflict into account as a factor of reality, examining the terminologies with which it is depicted. This is not to cast doubt on the fact of the Israeli occupation and its impacts; these are simply not the subject of the analysis. Rather, the Report seeks to unveil how the conflict and the actors involved are portrayed in the textbooks. The term 'occupation' and its derivatives are quoted and placed in inverted commas when they occur in textbook passages as grammatical subjects or objects.

In light of the complexity of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the opposing perspectives surrounding it, it is difficult to place the fine line between the portrayal – justified on the basis of factual evidence – of an actual status quo on the one hand and an exaggerated or even distorted presentation on the other. In order to locate this fine line in depictions of the conflict in the textbooks the criteria introduced in the 'Methodology' section above were used, supported by the relevant research literature.

The categories 'inferiority', 'competition', 'aggression', 'homogeneity', 'dehumanisation', 'deception' and 'negation' serve to identify text passages or visualisation strategies to be investigated regarding their potential to incite hatred. The two further categories, 'escalatory' and 'non-escalatory', allow the analysis to determine the potential of a certain portrayal to bring about conflict escalation. While the criterion 'non-escalatory' primarily refers to the illustrative function of a textbook portrayal that is for the most part free of emotional elements, the category 'escalatory' refers to a method of portrayal that uses language, presentation style and didactic methods, moving beyond a merely illustrative function. Such methods can have an emotional effect, possibly calling the students to respond or act in a certain way.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict repeatedly appears in Palestinian textbooks in a plethora of contexts and school subjects. The previous chapter has shown that textbooks frame the Israeli-Palestinian conflict recurrently within human rights discourse, thus promoting human rights in order to address violations specific to the conflict before the backdrop of international law.

This chapter examines textbook portrayals specifically relating to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in other contexts than human rights discourse. The analysis includes coherent texts with a narrative structure, interplays of texts and images, maps, and didactic elements such as exercises or tasks. Such depictions are particularly frequent in textbooks for history, geography and social studies, for teaching Arabic language and literature, and for religious education. Mathematics and science textbooks, however, also establish connections to the conflict, albeit in generally shorter passages or visualisations with direct links to the lifeworlds of the students.[214]

As many of the conflict-related passages in the textbooks contain portrayals of violence, a significant portion of this chapter will be dedicated to analysing such examples. When considering these representations of violence, the analysis examines closely *who* is depicted as committing violence against *whom*, as well as how the respective perpetrators and victims are characterised and what tasks and appelations are connected with these representations. The analysis identified descriptions of Israeli violence against either collective or

[213] For more information on the current status, see: United Nations, General Assembly: 'Situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967', A/74/507, 21 October 2019, https://undocs.org/A/74/507, accessed 15 September 2020. See also: United Nations, Human Rights Council: 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in the Palestinian Territories occupied since 1967', A/HCR/44/60, Advance Unedited Version, 15 July 2020, https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session44/Documents/A_HRC_44_60.pdf, accessed 15 December 2020.
[214] See Chapter 4 on real-life connections in mathematics and natural sciences textbooks.

individual Palestinians, and indeed a key question inquires as to how the side perpetrating the violence is depicted. In the case of portrayals of Palestinian violence, an important question is whether and, if so, how the textbooks might seek to justify the use of violence, and which forms of violence are approved of or rejected.

After analysing the use of key terms and their semantic contents as well as the symbolic modes of representation in cartographic material this chapter investigates the portrayal of Jews and the depiction of violence in the context of the Israel-Palestinian conflict. It ends with the analysis of portrayals of the peace process.

3.1 TERMINOLOGICAL PRACTICES AND SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS

3.1.1 ISRAEL, ZIONISTS, JEWS

When examining the textbook excerpts relating to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, its history and the present situation, it is striking that the State of Israel is rarely mentioned by name. Most often, the texts refer to the 'Zionist occupation' (الاحتلال الصهيوني, *al- iḥtilāl aṣ-ṣuhyūnī*) or simply 'the occupation' (الاحتلال, *al- iḥtilāl*). Israel's institutions, army and organs of state are generally described using the adjective 'Zionist' (صهيوني, *ṣuhyūnī*) and occasionally 'Israeli'. When 'Israel' and 'Israeli' (إسرائيل, *isrāʾīl*; إسرائيلي, *isrāʾīlī*) are used (215 times[215] in the textbooks and teacher guides for history and geography, Arabic language, Islamic education, social studies, mathematics and life sciences) they occur mostly in the context of conflict and are

usually paired with conflict-related terms such as 'occupation', 'forces' or 'soldiers'. The noun 'Israel' as the name of the state occurs mostly in textbooks for history and geography and Arabic language (77 times). In 18 cases it is parenthesised[216] or placed in inverted commas,[217] in 59 cases it is not.[218] The adjective 'Israeli', however, is never subjected to this authorial distance. Parenthesised references to Israel mainly occur in quotations from official documents and exercises pertaining to them. Especially in chapters depicting the peace process in the Middle East (i.e. Camp David Accords, Oslo negotiations, Rogers plan[219]) some sources and tasks refer to Israel without inverted commas or parentheses (see Chapter 3.5).

[215] Most references occur in textbooks for geography and history; 'Israeli' occurs once in a social studies textbook. 60 other instances referring to the Israelites (رنو إسرائيل, *banū ʾisrāʾīl*) or to the State of Israel in the bibliographies of the textbooks are not included in this number.

[216] In the Arabic language parentheses have the value-neutral function of designating proper nouns, as a capital letter would in English, for instance. However, parentheses in Arabic also have the function of inverted commas as they are used in Indo-European languages to indicate distance, reservations, or scepticism. Which of these two functions is intended with the parentheses is not always clear, and appears to be inconsistent, but in the above mentioned cases the context suggests reservations towards Israel, as for example in an authored text about the 'wall of expansion and annexation': '[…] when the occupation declared in 1948 the establishment of what is called the State of (Israel)' (إسرائيل) دولة ما يسمى قيام عن ١٩٤٨ عام الاحتلال أعلن حين. Here, parentheses are added *and* the phrase 'what is called' indicates further distance (*The Arabic Language* 10/II [2019)], p. 112). Another example of parentheses, however, seems to merely indicate – neutrally – the names of places: the Jewish settlement Psagot and the names of a number of Arab locations near Ramallah (*The Arabic Language* 9/I [2019], p. 61).

[217] For instance in: *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History Teacher Guide* 10 (2018), p. 211: 'Because America considers "Israel" as a main ally.' لها. الرئيسي الحليف "إسرائيل" تعدّ أميركا لأن

[218] An example is *Geography of Palestine* and its *Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 51: 'In the year 2004, the International Court of Justice gave an Advisory Opinion concerning "the separation wall" in accordance with the request of the United Nations General Assembly that Israel infringes international law by building the wall in the occupied Palestinian territories.' والتوسّع، الضمّ جدار بشأن الاستشاري رأيها 2004م عام الدولية العدل محكمة أصدرت المحتلّة. الفلسطينيّة الأراضي في للجدار ببنائها الدولي القانون تنتهك إسرائيل بأنّ المحكمة وقضت المتحدة، للأمم العامة الجمعية طلب على بناء

[219] For instance in: *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 79–82.

While the analysis identified 138 occurrences of the adjective 'Israeli' in textbooks and teacher guides, the term 'Zionist' was far more prevalent with some 1,203 occurrences. Several passages in *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* for year 10 discuss Zionism as a historical phenomenon, and in these cases there is no distancing or qualifying in the use of the term. The term 'Zionist' does, however, arise in many authored texts and exercises relating to current contexts as a designation for Israel. In a few cases, the terms 'Israeli' and 'Zionist' occur in the same paragraph and seem to be employed interchangeably.

The use of terms such as 'Zionist occupation' to refer to the State of Israel can be interpreted in two ways. First, the term 'Zionist occupation' can be interpreted as referring to the effects of Israel's occupation policy in the occupied territories when emphasis is placed on occupation practices.

Secondly, it can be understood as a device with which to avoid naming the adversary or 'other' by name. While the term by itself is not defamatory it conveys negative connotations. Given this reading, using the term 'Zionist occupation' in place of the name of the state could be interpreted as questioning the legitimacy of the State of Israel, its political existence as an international legal entity thus being symbolically negated.

The questioning of the legitimacy of Israel as a state is especially evident in cases when the terms 'Zionist occupation' and 'occupation' do not only refer to the regime of occupation in the Palestinian territories by Israel since 1967, but also to the territories of the State of Israel established in 1948. An exercise in *Mathematics* 7/II refers to the 'occupation' as it addresses fatal incidents in which protestors were shot during the 1976 demonstrations against land confiscations in the north of Israel.[220]

The term 'Zionist occupation' has a long history and is not an 'invention' of the textbook authors.[221] The negative connotation of the term 'Zionist occupation' derives not only from the nature of the word 'occupation' but also from the use of the term 'Zionist' in the Arab-Palestinian context.[222]

History 11/I adopts this understanding when referring to the 'racist philosophy of the Zionist ideology' (فلسفة الفكر الصهيوني العنصرية, *falsafat al-fikr aṣ-ṣuhyūnī al-ʿunṣurīa*)[223] in a chapter on 'Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine' (الاستعمار الاستيطاني الصهيوني في فلسطين, *al-isteʿmār al-istīṭānī aṣ-ṣuhyūnī fī filisṭīn*).[224] Quoting a source, *History* 11/I presents the Zionist movement as being based on three 'false assumptions'.

---

[220] *Mathematics* 7/II (2019), p. 105: 'Six Palestinians were killed on the 30th March 1976 as they were defending the land which the occupation tried to confiscate. Since that time, this day has been known as the Eternal Land Day, and it is commemorated every year.' اسْتُشهد ستة فلسطينيّين في الثلاثين من آذار عام 1976، خلال دفاعهم عن الأراضي التي حاول الاحتلال مصادرتها، ومن يومها عُرف بيوم الأرض الخالد، ويتمّ احياؤه كلَّ عام. [...]

[221] The Palestinian National Charter uses the term 'Zionist occupation', for instance, in Article 4 of the 1698 version; other articles of the Charter refer to the 'Zionist invasion' (Art. 6), or to 'Zionist and imperialist aggression' (Art. 15). The State of Israel is mentioned by name twice: in Article 19 in the context of the statement that the separation of Palestine in 1947 and the creation of the State of Israel was 'entirely illegal', and in Article 22 in the statement that 'Israel is a constant source of threat vis-a-vis peace in the Middle East and the whole world' and 'the liberation of Palestine will destroy the Zionist and imperialist presence'. 'The Palestinian National Charter: Resolutions of the Palestine National Council July 1-17, 1968', The Avalon Project. Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/plocov.asp, accessed 22 October 2020. The two explicit references to Israel in the Charter are thus both clearly negative. The deletion of these and other passages hostile to Israel from the Palestinian National Charter was, as even stated in one of the textbooks (*Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II [2019]), p. 77, an assurance made by Yasser Arafat to Yitzhak Rabin in his letter of 9 September 1993.

[222] Article 22 of the Palestinian National Charter lists attributes associated with the term 'Zionism': 'Zionism is a political movement organically associated with international imperialism and antagonistic to all action for liberation and to progressive movements in the world. It is racist and fanatic in its nature, aggressive, expansionist, and colonial in its aims, and fascist in its methods. Israel is the instrument of the Zionist movement, and geographical base for world imperialism placed strategically in the midst of the Arab homeland to combat the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity, and progress.' 'The Palestinian National Charter: Resolutions of the Palestine National Council July 1-17, 1968', Article 22.

[223] *History* 11/I (2018), p. 81.

[224] Quoted in: *History* 11/I (2018), p. 79 (the first part of the source is discussed in 3.3.1): عبد الرحمن أبو عرفة، الاستيطان التطبيق العملي للصهيونية، ط1، وكالة أبو عرفة للصحافة والنشر، Quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū ʿArafah's work الاستيطان التطبيق العملي للصهيونية (*al-istīṭān. al-taṭbīq al-ʿamalī lil-ṣuhyūnīa;* 'Settlement. The practical application of Zionism'). القدس، 1981م

لقد ارتبطت الصهيونية بالاستيطان، باعتباره جزءًا منها، وأساسًا مهمًّا في مشروعها؛ إذ قامت على ثلاثة ادعاءات زائفة: **الأولى**: إن اليهود، على الرغم من انتمائهم لدول ومجتمعات عديدة، يمثّلون قومية واحدة، تتميز بصفات عرقية سامية. **والثانية**: إنّ علاقة اليهود مع الشعوب الأخرى تقوم على العداء والصراع، وتلخّصها ظاهرة معاداة السامية. **والثالثة**: إنّ المشكلة اليهودية لا حلّ لها إلّا بإقامة دولة يهودية، وأنّ هذه الدولة تتمثّل في أرض الميعاد (فلسطين)، والاستيطان فيها. فالأصل في استمرار الصهيونية لا يكون إلّا من خلال استمرار الاستيطان في فلسطين.

الاستيطان التطبيق العملي للصهيونية، ص (٢).

Figure 53: *History* 11/I (2018), p. 81

> Zionism is linked to settlement as settlement is considered to be a part of Zionism and an important foundation of its project. Zionism has been established based on three false assumptions: **Firstly**, that Jews, although they belong to many countries and communities, represent one nation distinguished by Semitic characteristics; **secondly**, that the relationship between Jews and other nations is based on hostility and conflicts and is encapsulated in the phenomenon of anti-Semitism; **thirdly**: that the Jewish problem has no solution but the establishment of a Jewish state and that this state is located in the Promised Land (Palestine) and in settling there. The basis for maintaining Zionism can be solely achieved through continuous settlement in Palestine.
>
> [source]: Settlement as a practical application of Zionism, p. 2

Consistent with the antagonistic Palestinian national perspective, the textbook passage above can be understood as delegitimising Zionism as a national movement of the Jewish people and thus – as its historical result – the establishment of a Jewish state, in particular on Palestinian soil, as the only possible solution. The textbook presents Zionism as if it were a product of European colonialism in the middle of the Arab region, designating a chapter to it following chapters on France in Algeria and Italy in Libya. Resistance to this alleged colonial project is accordingly embedded within the anticolonial liberation struggle of the people and thus characterised as legitimate.

Unlike the use of the terms 'Zionist', 'occupation' or 'Israel', the term 'Jews' is applied to contexts and attributions that address Jewish people and Judaism as one religio-ethnic collective and thus need not necessarily be contextualised within the conflict. While use of the term 'Jew' (يهودي, *yahūdī*) and its derivates in the textbooks may indicate religious and cultural tolerance it also occurs together with anti-Jewish prejudice. It is often difficult to ascertain exactly which connotations of the term 'Jew' are intended by the Palestinian textbooks, located as they are within a context of highly virulent conflict in which the State of Israel defines itself in national terms as a Jewish state.

The terms 'Jew' (يهودي, *yahūdī*), 'Jews' (يهود, *yahūd*), 'Jewish' (يهودي, *yahūdī*) and 'Judaism' (يهودية, *yahūdīa*) occur in the analysed textbooks and teacher guides in at least 235 references.

The most references were identified in books for history and geography and religious education (Islamic and Christian). The terms appear less frequently in the subjects Arabic language, mathematics, life sciences and social studies. In Islamic and Christian education the terms usually occur in biblical and Qur'ānic contexts. Exceptions are the references in Islamic education for year 5, which also use the term 'Jewish' in the context of the ongoing conflict. In history and geography textbooks the term is invoked when discussing the emergence of a national home for Jews. Here, the teacher guide for *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10 (2018) introduces a distinction between Judaism as a 'Divine Religion' (ديانة سماوية, *diyāna samāwīa*)[225] and Zionism as a 'colonial political movement' (حركة سياسية استعمارية, *haraka siyāsīa istiʿmārīa*).[226]

The terms 'Jew' or 'Jewish' occur primarily in the textbooks for religious education when referring to canonical texts from the New Testament and the Qur'ān. One such context that mentions Jews and Judaism is that of historical religious conflicts[227] and theological differences; another is an attempt to overcome these via dialogue,[228] for instance by describing their common roots.[229]

---

[225] Often also translated as 'Monotheistic Religion'.

[226] *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 78: 'Translation: Zionism is known as a colonial political movement. Its emergence was linked to that of the colonial movement and nationalism in Europe, which called for the establishment of a state on a national basis, the separation of Jews from the rest of European society, and the establishment of a national home for them in Palestine, and thus it differs from Judaism, which is considered one of the monotheistic religions.' تُعرف الصهيونية بأنها حركة سياسية استعمارية ارتبط ظهورها بظهور حركة الاستعمار والفكر القومي في أوروبا الذي نادى بتأسيس دولة على أساس قومي، وفصل اليهود من سائر المجتمع الأوروبي، وإقامة وطن قومي لهم في فلسطين، وهي بذلك تختلف عن اليهودية التي تُعدّ واحدة من الديانات السماوية. [...]

[227] For more detail see Chapter 3.2.

[228] For more detail see Chapter 2.1.3.

[229] For more detail see Chapter 3.2.

3.1.2 THE CONCEPT OF *JIHĀD* AND REFERENCES TO *SHUHADĀ'*

In recent times, the Arabic term جهاد (*jihād*) has entered western languages and is often equated with war, frequently translated as 'holy war', violence or military engagement.[230] However, Islamic theology and jurisprudence have a long history of debate on different notions of *jihād*, including militant struggle and war as well as more generally praiseworthy and pious efforts, such as a 'struggle against one's bad inclinations', or 'the struggle for the good in Muslim society and against corruption'.[231] The Arabic word *jihād* literally means making an effort or struggling in some way, and is used in Christian and Islamic contexts with diverse connotations, to mean making a donation, telling the truth, self-reform, or engaging in combat. The term can thus refer to the fight against 'infidels' as well as the struggle against the ego, the devil and the wrongdoer.[232] Since contemporary debates provide increasingly contradictory interpretations and appropriations of the term, a careful reading needs to examine which options textbooks provide.

The term *'jihād'* is mentioned several times in various contexts and with different meanings in textbooks for subjects including Christian education, Islamic education, social studies and Arabic language. Textbooks for Christian education analysed in this Report mention the term *'jhād'* exclusively in the 'self-*jihād*' sense: *Christian Education* 8 and 9 mention the term as 'good *'jihād'* (الجهاد الحسن, *al-jihād al-ḥasan*), which appears here to refer to the Christian concept of 'self-reform'.[233] *Christian Education* 9, under the title 'Commandments and Beatitudes' (lesson 12), mentions 'spiritual *jihād*' (جهاد روحي, *jihād rūḥī*) in a paragraph with the heading 'Thinking'. Here the term refers to the devotion of all energies to studying and education, showing love and concern for the people.[234] For instance, a quote from the New Testament refers to the apostle Paul and his inner struggle.
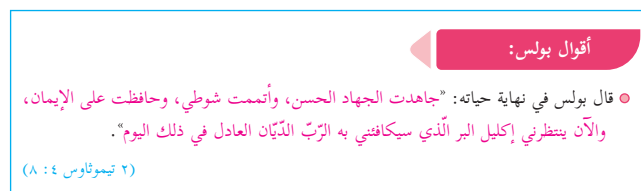
<div style="border:1px solid #e0006e; padding:8px;">

أقوال بولس:

قال بولس في نهاية حياته: «جاهدت الجهاد الحسن، وأتممت شوطي، وحافظت على الإيمان، والآن ينتظرني إكليل البر الّذي سيكافئني به الرّبّ الدّيّان العادل في ذلك اليوم».

(٢ تيموثاوس ٤ : ٨)

</div>

Figure 54: *Christian Education* 8 (2018), p. 49

Paul's words:

Paul said at the end of his life: *'I have fought the good jihād. I have finished my full course and I've kept my heart full of faith. There is a righteous wreath waiting in heaven for me, and I know that my Lord will reward me on his day of righteous judgment.'* (2 Timothy 4:8)

Textbooks for Islamic education explain the different meanings of *jihād* within Islamic theology. The term is mentioned in textbooks for years 8, 9 and 10, in different contexts and with different connotations: جهاد المال, *jihād al-māl* (charity), جهاد النفس, *jihād an-nafs* (jihād of the self, also translated as 'struggle against the self'), and جهاد بالنفس, *jihād bi-l-nafs* (jihād with/in person, also translated as 'going to war for one's faith'). For instance, *Islamic Education* 8/I, 2018 includes a lesson titled 'Types of Donations and their Rewards' (أنواع الصّدقات وفضلها, *anwāʿ aṣ-ṣadaqāt wa faḍlihā*). However, the Qur'ānic verse that shows primacy of *jihād al-māl* is presented in the context of war or times of hardship stating that donating one's wealth is to be preferred to subjecting oneself to battle.[235]

Islamic Education 8/I (2018) dedicates a lesson titled 'Courage to tell the Truth [Courage against Injustice]' (الجرأة في الحق, *al-jur'ā fī al-ḥaq*) to describing telling the truth as proof of one's true faith and as one of the greatest kinds of *jihād*.

---

[230] Tyan, Emile: 'Djihād', in: P. Bearman et al. (eds): *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

[231] Allen, Lori A.: 'Jihad: Arab States', in: *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures*, first published online: 2009, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1872-5309_ewic_EWICCOM_0098a, accessed 18 August 2020.

[232] For an example of an early discussion of different meanings of *jihād* see Ibn Qayyim Jawziyya: *Zād al-maʿād fī Hady Khayr al-ʿibād*, Ḥammād, Nazīh Kamāl et al. (eds), 3 vol., Damaskus: dār al-qalam, 1390/1992, p. 9–18.

[233] *Christian Education* 8 (2018), p. 49 (Lesson 7, quoting the Apostle Paul).

[234] *Christian Education* 9 (2018), p. 84–85.

[235] *Islamic Education* 8/I (2018), p. 77.

الجُرأة في الحقّ:

الجرأة في الحقّ دليل على صدق إيمان الإنسان بربّه، فهي من أعظم أنواع الجهاد وأفضلها؛ فقد سَألَ رجل النّبيّ (ﷺ): أيُّ الجهادِ أفضَل؟ قَالَ: «كَلِمَةُ حَقٍّ عِنْدَ سُلْطَانٍ جَائِرٍ». (سنن النّسائيّ) والذي يُقتل في سبيل كلمة الحقّ هو سيّد الشّهداء عند الله تعالى-، كما قال رسول الله (ﷺ): «سَيِّدُ الشُّهَدَاءِ حَمْزَةُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ، وَرَجُلٌ قَامَ إِلَى إِمَامٍ جَائِرٍ، فَأَمَرَهُ، وَنَهَاهُ، فَقَتَلَهُ». (المعجم الأوسط للطبرانيّ)
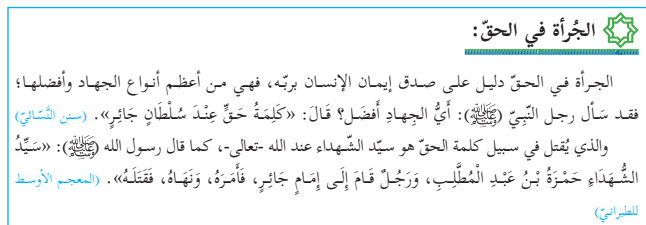
Figure 55: *Islamic Education* 8/I (2017), p. 91

'Courage to tell the Truth [Courage against Injustice]':
To tell the truth with courage is proof of one's true faith and is one of the greatest and best types of *jihād*. A man asked the Prophet (peace be upon him): Which *jihād* is better? He said: the courage to tell the truth to an oppressive Sultan. [Source] (Sunan an-Nasa'i)
And the one who is killed because of the boldness of his true words is the master of the *shuhadā'* in the sight of God Almighty, as the Messenger of Allah (Peace be upon him) said: 'The master of *shuhadā'* is Hamza ibn Abdul-Muttalib and a man who stood up against an oppressive ruler, he orders him [to be virtuous] and forbids him [from wrongdoing]. So he [the ruler] kills him.' [Source] (aṭ-Ṭabarānī, al-muʿǧam al-ʾawsaṭ)

Islamic Education 8/II contains a whole lesson on *jihād* in the context of military fighting. Students are asked to discuss related topics and concepts such as *mujāhid* (مجاهد), (someone who engages in *jihād* and *shahāda*), here in the sense of someone killed in combat, to find examples of *jihād* from the Qur'ān and sayings of the Prophet (أحاديث نبويّة, *aḥādīth nabawīyah*). The textbook also requires them to define the goals of jihad according to Islam, showing the impact of jihad on the individual and society, the reward the mujāhed can expect, shahīd on the path of Allah (في سبيل الله, *fī sabīl Allah*), the goals of *jihād* in Islam, and *jihād* stories of the Prophet's companions (الصّحابة, *aṣ-ṣaḥāba*).[236]

Islamic Education 9/I dedicates a paragraph to *jihād* and 'The wisdom behind fighting the infidels'(الحكمة من قتال الكفّار, *al-ḥikma min qitāl al-kuffār*) explains that 'Islam is not thirsty for bloodshed and the killing of people'.[237] *Islamic Education* for year 12, in Lesson 22 discusses the rules of *jihād*, and – as outlined in the textbook's introduction – students are expected to acquire the ability to define the term *jihād* and understand the legitimacy of *jihād*, the rewards for *jihād* in Islam, and restrictions on *jihād* including, for example, due warning before commencing combat, fighting only those who participate in the fighting, prohibiting the killing of women, young people, sheikhs, monks, and good treatment of prisoners.[238] The final task asks the students to research examples from Islamic history that show Muslims behaving decently towards their enemies during combat.[239]

In the rare cases that social studies textbooks mention *jihād* they apply the term either in its general meaning as a struggle for the common good, or as a violent struggle, military action or conquest in the context of Islamic history. One section of *Social Studies* 6/II recounts the story of Abu Bakr As-ṣiddīq, the first man to believe in the Prophet Muhammad and the first to become his successor as caliph.[240] This passage quotes from his inauguration speech in which Abu Bakr refers to jihad as a general struggle; those who do not engage in it (جهاد في سبيل الله, *Jihād fī sabīl Allah*) (*jihād* for the sake of God) would be humbled by God. Whether this refers to a militant or spiritual struggle according to Abu Bakr remains open in the quoted passage and can be understood as a plea for *jihād* in its diverse meanings. One book discusses the Abbasid epoch, during which the Islamic Empire was weak, both in military and political terms and failed to engage its enemies in jihad (here clearly the military sense is intended).[241] Other passages from *Social Studies* 7/II tell stories of Ṣalāḥ Ad-dīn Al-Ayūbī, who, the textbook states, was seeking a reason to engage the Franks (الفرنجة, *farangī*), i.e. European crusaders, in *jihād* in 1187.[242]

---

[236] *Islamic Education* 8/II (2018), p. 49.

[237] *Islamic Education* 9/I (2018), p. 13–14, see also Chapter 6.4. الإسلام ليس متعطّشًا إلى سفك الدّماء وقتل الناس

[238] *Islamic Education* 12 (2018), p. 99: ضوابط الجهاد: [...] عدم القتال قبل الإنذار [...] لا يقاتل إلا من اشترك في القتال، [...] تحريم قتل النساء والصغار والشيوخ والرهبان وكل من انقطع للعبادة- حسن المعاملة للأسرى.

[239] *Islamic Education* 12 (2018), p. 99: بالرجوع إلى مصادر المعرفة نكتب موقفًا من مواقف حسن تعامل المسلمين في قتالهم مع الأعداء.

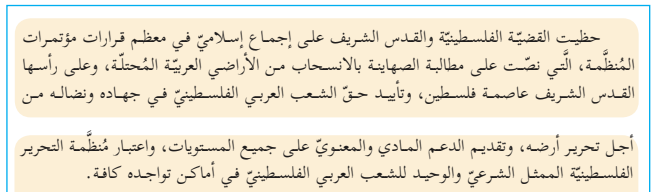[240] *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), p. 53.

[241] *Social Studies* 7/II (2019), p. 4.

[242] *Social Studies* 7/II (2019), p. 19–20.

أدّى استيلاء أرناط حاكم الكرك

على قافلة تجاريّة للمسلمين، ورفضه إعادتها للمسلمين سلماً إلى قيام صلاح الأيّوبيّ بإعلان الجهاد ضدّ الفرنجة، فخرج من دمشق قاصداً الكرك، وأغار عليها، ثمّ عاد ليلتقي بابنه الأفضل بالقرب من دمشق، وقاد القوّات باتجاه شمال فلسطين، واستطلع أخبار الفرنجة، وعبر نهر الأردن، ثمّ عسكر بقوّاته بالقرب من بحيرة طبريّة تمهيداً للمعركة الفاصلة مع الفرنجة.

قلعة الكرك

Figure 56: *Social Studies* 7/II (2019), p. 20

> **I have learnt:**
> **After Arnat, the governor of Karak, had seized** a trading caravan owned by Muslims, and after he refused to return it peacefully, Ṣalāḥ Ad-dīn Al-Ayūbī declared *jihād* against the *farangī* [Franks]. He went from Damascus to Karak, which he invaded. He then met his son Al-Afdal near Damascus, and led his forces to northern Palestine seeking to discover news about the *farangī*. He crossed the Jordan River and camped with his forces near Lake Tiberias, preparing for the decisive battle with the *farangī*. [Image] Al-Karak Castle

One in eight references to *jihād* in *Social Studies* 7/II relates to the ongoing conflict in the Middle East: 'the Palestinian freedom struggle as *jihād*'. The book discusses the organisation of Islamic cooperation in order to support the Palestinian people in their *'jihād'* to liberate their land, offering material and moral support on all levels.

حظيت القضيّة الفلسطينيّة والقدس الشريف على إجماع إسلاميّ في معظم قرارات مؤتمرات المُنظَّمة، التّي نصّت على مطالبة الصهاينة بالانسحاب من الأراضي العربيّة المُحتلّة، وعلى رأسها القدس الشريف عاصمة فلسطين، وتأييد حقّ الشعب العربي الفلسطينيّ في جهاده ونضاله من

أجل تحرير أرضه، وتقديم الدعم الماديّ والمعنويّ على جميع المستويات، واعتبار مُنظَّمة التحرير الفلسطينيّة الممثل الشرعيّ والوحيد للشعب العربي الفلسطينيّ في أماكن تواجده كافة.

Figure 57: *Social Studies* 7/II (2019), p. 52–53

> The Palestinian cause and Al-Quds Al-Sharif were given an Islamic consensus in most decisions of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation that called on the Zionists to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, especially from Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the capital of Palestine, to support the Palestinian Arab people in their *jihād* and struggle for the liberation of their land, to provide them with material and moral support on all levels, and to consider the Palestinian Liberation Organization the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, wherever they may be.

Similarly to *jihād*, the Arabic term شهداء (*shahīd*, pl. *shuhadā'*) has several layers of meaning. It is derived from the word شهادة (*shahāda*), 'to testify', and has the same basic sense of 'witness', 'victim' or 'martyr'. According to Islamic jurisprudence (الفقه, *al-fiqh*), there are three categories of *shahīd*: a) Muslims who die in battle or as the result of an assault,[243] b) Muslims who die protecting their property, life or conscience, or trying to defend other Muslims or non-Muslims under the protection of Muslims, or c) Muslims who die as a result of fighting, childbirth, drowning, burning, accidents or learning.[244] In the light of these debates it is instructive to examine how these terms are used in Palestinian textbooks.

---

[243] Cook, David: *Martyrdom in Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 19.

[244] Mulch, Klaus et al.: *Islam unter christlicher Lupe – Theorie und Praxis kompakt dargestellt, christlich bewertet*. 2nd ed. Dortmund: Orientdienst e.V., 2016.

A text in *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 83, refers to many '*shuhadā' and wounded*' as a result of clashes during the Second Intifada.[245]

الصهيوني أرئيل شارون ساحات المسجد الأقصى، فكان السبب المباشر في اندلاع شرارة الانتفاضة الثّانية (انتفاضة الأقصى)، حيث شهدت ساحاته صدامات بين المصلّين، وجيش الاحتلال، أوقعت عدداً من الشهداء والجرحى، ثمّ امتدت إلى الأراضي الفِلَسطينيّة كافّة.

Figure 58: *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 83

[…] The leader of the Zionist Likud party, Ariel Sharon, sparked the second uprising (al-Aqsa Intifada) when he stormed the Aqsa Mosque compound. Clashes that broke out between worshippers and the occupation army resulted in a number of *shuhadā'* and wounded, and then spread to all Palestinian lands.

In the subject of Christian education the term shahīd occurs in the context of martyrdom, referring to St. Stephen as 'the first Christian martyr'. A lesson is titled 'Church of Martyrs' (كنيسة الشهداء, *kanīsat ash- shuhadā'*) and refers to St. Stephen as the first martyr of faith.[246]

When mentioned in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the term is used for civilian victims but also for planners and military fighters who have carried out violence against the military and civilians and have become national figures.[247] This is the case in textbooks for various subjects, such as Arabic language, social studies, geography and history, and occurring less frequently in textbooks for the natural sciences and mathematics. The naming of persons as shuhada follows an inconsistent pattern, this title being applied both to innocent victims of Israeli violence as well as to protagonists of Palestinian violence against civilians. For instance, a school mentioned in *Life Sciences* 9/1 is named after ash-Shahīda Rihām Dawabsha (الشهيدة ريهام دوابشة)[248], a victim of the violent arson attack by a settler on the house of a Palestinian family in the West Bank in 2015. The settler was later convicted by an Israeli court. Similarly, *Mathematics* 9/II mentions a school named after ash-shahīd Abu Jihād (الشهيد أبو جهاد), who was involved in the planning of violent attacks on soldiers as well as civilians until he was killed in 1988.[249]

---

[245] The fact that the term *'shahīd'* is not only addressed in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is shown by a reference to victims of French colonialism in Algeria: *History* 11/II (2019), p. 45.

[246] *Christian Education* 8 (2018), p. 40–41 and *Christian Education* 12 (2019), p. 56. See Chapter 3.2.2.

[247] See Chapter 3.5.

[248] *Life Sciences* 9/I (2019), p. 115.

[249] Khalil al-Wazir (1935–1988), known as *Abu Jihād*, the co-founder of Fatah and commander of its armed wing was held responsible by Israel for a number of terrorist operations against Israeli targets in the late 1970s, including the Coastal Road Massacre of 11 March 1978. He was assassinated in Tunis in 1988. A school named after him is mentioned in *Mathematics* 9/II (2019), p. 13, and he is mentioned in *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 73.

3.1.3 PALESTINE IN MAPS – BETWEEN IDENTIFICATION AND DELEGITIMISATION

The spatially symbolic representation of self and 'other' is embodied in the numerous maps included in the textbooks. This Report differentiates between historical and geographical maps, and symbolic and iconographic representations. Due to the nature of the subjects geographic and historical maps are found predominantly – but not exclusively – in books for social studies, history and geography,[250] while symbolic depictions of All-Palestine are dominant in Arabic language textbooks. In addition, illustrations pertaining to real-life connections[251] appear in textbooks for science and mathematics, while religious textbooks also include symbolic spatial representations.

The maps specifically depicting this region are irredentist and portray – if not an untouched statehood (as a political entity) – then certainly a territorially whole Palestine, as an imagined homeland, within the borders of the British mandate. This imagined territorial entity of Palestine negates the existence of the State of Israel. None of the geographical maps of the region or symbolic or iconographic presentations of the territory identified in the corpus depicts Israel as a state. Keys and labels identify 'Palestine', but never 'Israel'; Israeli cities do not appear unless they have a long-standing Arab population (and these are then shown as Palestinian cities). A few maps depict the West Bank as separate from the rest of the territory in accordance with the 1949 Armistice Border (Green Line), but here too, the Israeli state territory is not marked as 'Israel'.

In the inner-Palestinian discourse the cartographic and iconographic depiction of All-Palestine has a highly symbolic and identificatory function. In his article 'Land of Symbols: Cactus, Poppies, Orange and Olive Trees in Palestine', the Palestinian-American cultural anthropologist Nasser Abufarha explains that, although Palestinians have emerged in different groups that risk:

fragmentation and variation in experiences [that] may obstruct the development of linear cultural processes and consciousness […] the process of symbolizing […] becomes a medium to project cultural ideas and representations on the wider Palestinian public, creating common experiences and cultural conceptions across time and space.[252]

Abufarha explains that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not only over material that can be returned and compensated for, but also the recognition of relationships and roots pertaining to the land itself. Given the Palestinian experience over the years, as refugees and as divided groups under different sovereignties in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem, one of the main symbols of Palestinian nationhood derived from cultural representation has become the map of historical Palestine as recognised during the British mandate. The map has become a symbol of unity that transcends time and space, providing signals for the different groups who have been through the Palestinian experience. This includes Palestinians who have become naturalised Israelis or have adopted other citizenships over the years, depending on their countries of residence; Palestinian refugees in the West Bank, Gaza strip and in neighbouring countries; Palestinians with Israeli residency permits in East Jerusalem; and Palestinians with Palestinian Authority documentation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. As a result, the map has become an important unifying symbol of Palestinian national identity.

Geographic maps in general take on a special function, since the maps' contents and the information in the keys, which claim to be based on evidence, provide the textbooks with further opportunities to make geopolitical statements, underline arguments, or question facts. For this reason, maps can always also be instruments of manipulation or tools for the denial of reality. This is reflected in topographical physical maps of the Middle East in Palestinian textbooks.

---

[250] The textbooks for these subjects alone contain 279 maps.

[251] See Chapters 4.3 to 4.5.

[252] Abufarha, Nasser: 'Land of Symbols: Cactus, Poppies, Orange and Olive Trees in Palestine', *Identities*: *Global Studies in Culture and Power* 15 (2008): p. 343–368, here p. 345.
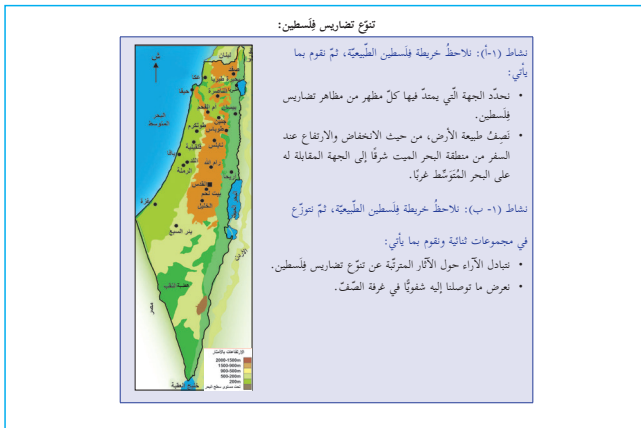
Figure 59: *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 12

Diversity of Palestinian Terrain

Activity (1-a) Look at the map of Palestine and:
- Identify the side from which each aspect of the Palestinian terrain extends.
- Describe the land topography in terms of slope inclinations and elevations when travelling from the Dead Sea area in the east to the opposite side on the Mediterranean Sea in the west.

Activity (1-b) Look at the map of Palestine and by working in pairs:
- Exchange views on the impact of the diversity of terrain in Palestine
- Present your findings orally in the classroom.

[Map]
Elevations in meters
[...]
Under sea level

The map in *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I shows the 'diversity of Palestinian terrain'. Although the cartographic drawing itself does not carry the label 'Palestine', its portrayal is that of All-Palestine, as the caption and the accompanying exercises suggest by referring several times to the 'map of Palestine'. While the map shows Palestine as a geographical entity it also conveys a political message. The places marked on the map are cities in the Palestinian Authority territories and on Israeli state territory (which is not marked as such on the map)

that, historically, have an Arab-Palestinian population. Cities founded in the 20th century by Jewish immigrants, such as Tel Aviv, Netanya or Nahariya, are missing from the map.

A similar evasion technique occurs in an exercise in a mathematics textbook for year 6:
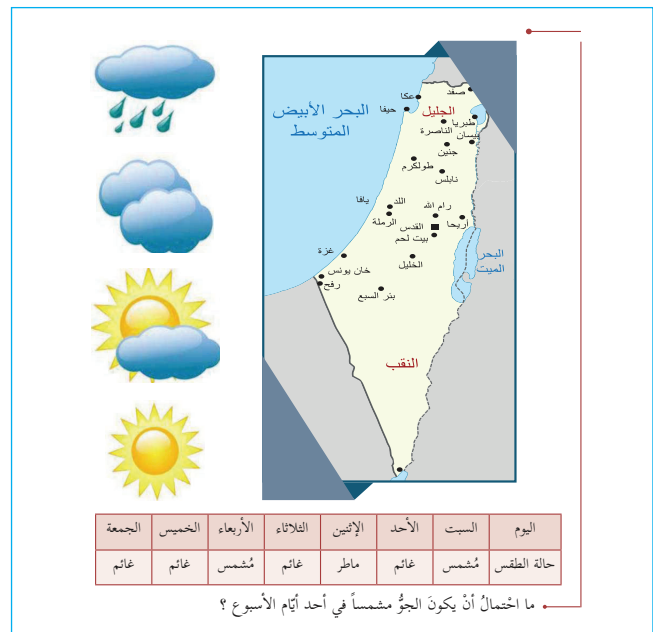

Figure 60: *Mathematics* 6/II (2019), p. 86

[Map] [Weather symbols]
What is the probability of sunny weather on one day of the week?

The exercise is about the probability of certain weather events during the week; the map next to the weather symbols is actually irrelevant for completing the task. The map thus has a secondary learning objective: the function of visualising for the students the topographical shape of All-Palestine and the locations of 'Palestinian' places. These, as in the previous map from the history and geography book, are cities with Arab-Palestinian populations; no Israeli-Jewish cities are named. These practices of cartographic appropriation or exclusion do not, however, only affect urban areas: in the following section the Negev Desert, which is situated entirely within Israel, is presented as part of All-Palestine:

Figure 61: *Mathematics* 6/II (2019), p. 9

Activity (1):

The Negev desert is considered an integral part of the Palestinian Lands. Its area is approximately 14,000 km². In order to find the ratio of the area of this desert to the area of Palestine, which amounts to 27,000 km²:
The simple fraction that represents the area of the Negev desert to the area of Palestine = [...]

In this mathematics exercise for year 6, the Negev is described as an 'integral part of Palestine', whose territory of 27,000 square kilometres corresponds to the area of the State of Israel plus the occupied territories. The exercise inquires as to the ratio of the Negev to the area of Palestine.

Maps of the entire Middle East region, whether geographical or historical, also ignore the existence of the State of Israel. Some ambivalence does arise, however, when the 1949 Armistice Border ('Green Line') is drawn on the map, as in the following section:
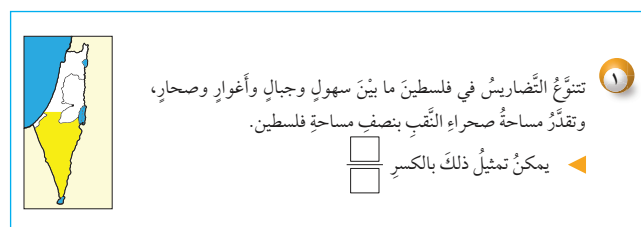
Figure 62: *Mathematics* 3/II (2019), p. 82

1) The topographic features of Palestine vary between valleys, mountains and deserts. The area of the Negev desert amounts to half the area of Palestine. This can be represented using the fraction [...]

Once again the presentation revolves around the size of the Negev and the proportion of Palestine's territory that it covers. This map, however, shows the 1949 Armistice Border ('Green Line'), which demarcates the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 from the rest of the land. The name of the State of Israel is, however, not given; indeed, nothing is marked on the map at all. The demarcation line as a result of a ceasefire agreement seems to symbolise a 'painful rupture' through All-Palestine, dividing the territories that were occupied in 1967 from the rest of the Palestinian land.

An exception is a political map from *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II. Although the map does not itself mention Israel, the accompanying text uses the adjective 'Israeli' several times and points to the Israeli administration of certain parts of the territory and thus refers to the State of Israel as partner in the Oslo negotiations. It shows the allocation of the Areas A, B and C in the occupied territories in accordance with the Interim Agreement (Oslo II) of 1995.[253] The exercises refer to the incomplete withdrawal of the Israeli army from Hebron and the impacts of the complete (civilian and military) control of Area C on the part of Israel. Once again, this map fails to name the territory of the State of Israel; in the text Israel is referred to as 'the occupation' and the Israeli troops are the '[military] forces of the occupation':

---

253   See Chapter 3.6.

انسحب جيش الاحتلال الإسرائيليّ من أريحا وغزّة عام ١٩٩٤م، وحلّت مكانه قوّات الشرطة الفلَسطينيّة، وانتقلت الأجهزة الإداريّة لمنظّمة التّحرير الفِلَسطينيّة من تونُس إليها، ودخل ياسر عرفات غزّة بتاريخ ١٩٩٤/٧/١م، وأصبح رئيساً للسلطة الوطنيّة الفِلَسطينيّة.

واكتسبت عمليّة التّسوية زخماً في توقيع اتّفاقيّة واشنطن بتاريخ ١٩٩٥/٩/٢٨م، الّتي أسفر عنها تقسيم الضِّفّة الغربيّة وقطاع غزّة إلى ثلاث مناطق، هي:

مناطق (A): وتخضع أمنيّاً وإداريّاً بالكامل للسلطة الوطنية الفِلَسطينيّة، وهي مراكز المدن الرئيسة في الضفة الغربية، ما عدا الخليل، ومساحتها لا تتجاوز ٣٪.

مناطق (B): وتخضع إداريّاً للسلطة الوطنية الفِلَسطينيّة وأمنيّاً للسيطرة الإسرائيليّة، وهي مناطق القرى والرّيف الفِلَسطينيّ، وهي نحو ٢٦-٢٧٪.

مناطق (C): وتخضع أمنيّاً وإداريّاً للسيطرة الإسرائيليّة فقط، وتشمل المستوطنات، والمناطق الحدوديّة، وغيرها، وهي نحو ٧٠٪.

نلاحظ، ونفسّر:
– عدم انسحاب قوات الاحتلال من مدينة الخليل بشكل كامل.
– الآثار المترتّبة عن السيطرة الكاملة للاحتلال على المنطقة (C).
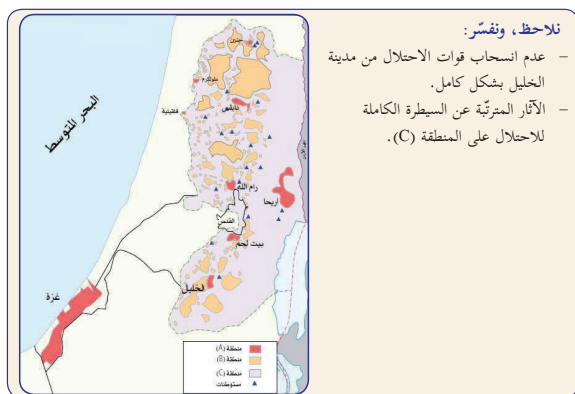

Figure 63: *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 79

The Israeli occupation army withdrew from Jericho and Gaza in 1994, to be replaced by the Palestinian police force. The administrative bodies of the Palestinian Liberation Organization moved there from Tunisia, and Yasser Arafat entered Gaza on July 1, 1994 to become the President of the Palestinian National Authority.

On September 28, 1995, the settlement process moved faster with the Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip which was signed in Washington, D.C. This agreement resulted in the division of the West Bank and Gaza strip into three administrative areas:

Area A is exclusively administered by the Palestinian National Authority, it comprises the centers of the main cities in the West Bank, except for Hebron, and its area does not exceed 3%.

Area B is administered by the Palestinian Authority and its security is under Israeli control; it comprises the areas of the Palestinian villages and countryside, and it covers about 26-27%.

Area C is exclusively under Israeli control in terms of administration and security and comprises the settlements, the border areas, etc. And it accounts for some 70%.

Observe and explain:
- The forces of the occupation did not withdraw entirely from Hebron.
- The impacts of the complete control of the occupation over area C.
[Map key: red for area A, orange for area B, grey for area C, triangle for settlements]

The following map in *History* 11/II by the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), as indicated in the caption, shows the UN partition plan for Palestine as documented in Resolution 181 of 29/11/1947.[254] It provides a correct account of the partition plan, including the areas (marked blue) that would be allocated to the soon-to-be founded Jewish state, described in the key next to the 'Arab State' (الدولة العربية, *ad-daula al-'arabiya*), marked brown, as the 'Zionist project (Jewish state)' (المشروع الصهيوني, *al-mashrū' aṣ-ṣuhyūnī* [الدولة اليهودية, *ad-daula al-yahūdiya*]). Bethlehem and Jerusalem are correctly marked as under 'international

government' (إدارة دولية, *idāra dawliya*). No cities or other landmarks can be found, except for Haifa, within the territory that will become the Jewish state, as included, for instance, in the official UN map of 1947. The textbook map, which is arranged next to two photographs showing Arab refugees, clearly civilians, as well as Palestinian troops in the late 1940s, is followed by two exercises. The students are required to 'discuss the content of the map and the photos and deduce the relationship between the map and the photos', and to research 'the Palestinian and Arab position on the resolution for the division of Palestine in 1947'.[255]

---

[254] 'Plan of Partition of Palestine With Economic Union', according to UNSCOP (3 September 1947; see green line) and UN Ad Hoc Committee (25 November 1947) partition plans. Cf. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/map-of-the-u-n-partition-plan-2, accessed 22 October 2020.

[255] *History* 11/II, 2019, p. 49.

نناقش مضمونَي الخريطة، والصّورتين.

نستنتج العلاقة بين الخريطة، والصّورتين.

Figure 64: *History* 11/II (2019), p. 49

The United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine, General Assembly Resolution 181
[Map key:]
Blue: Zionist project (Jewish state) –
Yellow: Arab state –
Red: international administration of the Jerusalem and Bethlehem area
[below map:] Translation from the original English – copyright: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs – PASSIA.
- Discuss the content of the map and the two illustrations.
- Work out the relationship between the map and the two illustrations.

In contrast to geographical maps, symbolic cartographic representations condense political messages which, as in the case of the depiction of All-Palestine, are often represented through the national colours of red, black, white and green.
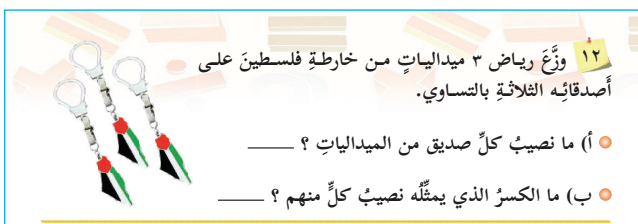

Figure 65: *Mathematics* 2/II (2019), p. 83

12: Riyad distributed to his three friends three key rings in the shape of the map of Palestine.
A) How many key rings did each friend receive?
B) What fraction is represented by each friend's share?

This mathematical exercise concerns a boy who gives three of his friends key rings in the shape of a map of Palestine. The real-life connection relates to an item familiar to every Palestinian child, the pendant in the shape of All-Palestine in the national colours. Apart from this simple reference to the national cause, the exercise does not include escalatory messages.

Another real-life connection from a life sciences textbook contains a clear political message. The illustration relates to the hunger strikes carried out by Palestinian political detainees in Israeli prisons. The hunger strike is also mentioned in the accompanying text: 'water and salt preserve the lives of the Palestinian detainees in their battle with their empty stomachs'. The small historical map of Palestine in the symbolised stomach appears here as a symbol of freedom. The message evoked by the combination of elements in the drawing is easy to understand: water and salt sustain the fight for life of All-Palestine; they free those imprisoned and with them the entire country. The dove carrying an olive branch represents the hope that this might come to pass; it cannot be described as a symbol of peace with an opponent who is represented in the illustration here by nothing but iron bars, and who is not featured on the map.

Figure 66: *Science and Life* 7/II (2019), p. 30

Think and reflect: Water and salt preserve the lives of the Palestinian detainees in their battle with their empty stomachs.

The following combination of text, image and a symbolic map is taken from *The Arabic Language* 7/I .

Figure 67: *The Arabic Language* 7/I (2019), p. 15

The text that accompanies this illustration is titled 'Palestine, the Heart of the Nation'. It is about the importance of Palestine from historical, geographical and religious perspectives and about the necessity of preserving its Arab and Islamic identities. The text addresses the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the 'Zionist occupation' is depicted as responsible for deprivation of and injustices towards Palestinians. It makes reference to the claimed Israeli attempts to change the Arab and Islamic character of Palestine and to replace it with Jewish symbols, carrying out acts of violence, imposing restrictions, and through repression and displacement as well as attacks against religious sites. The passage ends with a call to unity in order to liberate detainees and free Palestine, and to preserve Arabic identity and Palestine's cultural heritage so it can once again 'bloom with life, love and tolerance'. The text thus implies an intention on the part of the State of Israel to annihilate Palestinian culture,

with the result that this message can also be connotated with the illustration and its map of All-Palestine with a radiating aura. The depiction of the Aqsa Mosque corresponds with the significance of Palestine's Islamic identity, presented in the text, and the constant threat represented by the 'occupation', while the national resistance fighter (masked by a keffiyeh) suggests that the liberation of Palestine might be achievable through violent resistance. While this representation does not explicitly call for violence, it can be seen as carrying highly escalatory potential.

The fact that the national dream of All-Palestine, without the existence of Israel, is not only virulent in a Muslim Palestinian context but also from a Christian Palestinian perspective is demonstrated by the following section in *Christian Education* 12:

Figure 68: *Christian Education* 12 (2019), p. 93

This text, illustrated by a map of All-Palestine in the national colours next to a cross, addresses the presence of Christians in Palestine, demonstrating the strong need of Palestinian Christians to perceive themselves as part of a unified Palestinian nation and to be accepted as such. The chapter, titled 'Our Palestinian Identity' (هويتنا الفلسطينية, *huwīyatunā al-filisṭinīa*) addresses, among other things, the appreciation

of the importance of Palestine from the point of view of the Christian faith. The lesson discusses the fact that Christians have always been part of the society; they have been integrated and committed to their communities throughout history, and contribute to building up the society together with their fellow citizens.

3.1.4 THE NARRATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT OF RETURN

In the case of the symbolic and iconographic maps, reference should be made to a method of representation that combines the idea of an All-Palestinian state with the right of return for Palestinian refugees. The refugee status is also an experience that transcends time and space among Palestinians and occupies a significant portion of the Palestinian narrative. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) defines Palestinian refugees as 'persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict'.[256]

At the time, only 750,000 Palestinians were awarded refugee status. As a result of the crisis, UN resolution 194 was adopted, which stated that 'the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities

responsible'.[257] Despite this UN resolution the rights of what are now several generations of exiled Palestinians to return to their homeland, or to that of their forbears (or to receive other compensation) are disputed under international law and have always been one of the most contentious points in negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians. The unconditional recognition of the right of return exposes the State of Israel, in its view, to the danger of losing its Jewish character if this right is actually implemented. As many Palestinian refugees have neither been granted citizenship by their host countries nor have they been allowed to return, their inconclusive status has been inherited by their descendants, resulting in more than 5 million Palestinian refugees being registered with UNRWA today, which makes the refugee narrative an integral part of the Palestinian experience and national identity.

The narrative of the right to return, frequently symbolised by the keys to the former houses of the refugees, is addressed in textbooks for nearly every subject. A typical example is given here in this excerpt from *National and Social Upbringing* 4/I:

255 United Nations, Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East: 'Palestine Refugees', https://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees, accessed 30 October 2020.

256 United Nations, General Assembly. '194 (III). Palestine – Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator'. A/RES/194 (III). December 11, 1948, https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/C758572B78D1CD0085256BCF0077E51A, accessed 30 October 2020.

نشاط (٢): نَقْرَأُ، وَنُناقِشُ، وَنَسْتَنْتِج:

دَخَلَتْ سَناءُ غُرْفَةَ جَدِّها الَّذي يَسْكُنُ في مُخَيَّمِ الْيَرْموكِ في سوريا، وَوَجَدَتْ أمامَهُ صُنْدوقاً فَسَأَلَتْه: ما هذا الصُّنْدوقُ يا جَدّي؟

الْجَدّ: هذا صُنْدوقٌ أَحْفَظُ بِداخِلِهِ أَشْياءَ عَزيزَةً عَلى قَلْبي؟

سَناء: وَما هذِهِ الْأَشْياءُ يا جَدّي ؟

الْجَدّ: هذا مِفْتاحُ بَيْتِنا في يافا.

سَناء: وَلِماذا تَرَكْتُمْ يافا ياجَدّي؟

الْجَدّ: كُنّا نَعيشُ آمِنينَ في يافا، لكِنَّ الْمُحْتَلَّ الصِّهْيونيَّ حاصَرَنا، وَقَتَلَ الْعَديدَ مِنّا،وَشَرَّدَنا مِنْ أَرْضِنا؛ فَخَرَجْنا نَحْمِلُ الْقَليلَ مِنْ مَتاعِنا، وَسِرْنا مَشْياً عَلى الْأَقْدامِ مَسافاتٍ طَويلَة.

سَناء: وَماذا حَصَلَ بَعْدَ ذلِك ؟

الْجَدّ: وَصَلْنا إلى هُنا، حَيْثُ أُقيمَتْ لَنا خِيامٌ لِنَسْكُنَها عَلى أَمَلٍ أَنْ نَعودَ لِبُيوتِنا، وَعِنْدَما طالَ انْتِظارُنا، سَكَنّا في بُيوتٍ ضَيِّقَةٍ وَمُتَراصَّةٍ أَسْقُفُها مِنْ صَفائِحِ الْحَديد، وَسُمِّيَتْ مُخَيَّمَ اللّاجِئينَ الْفِلَسْطينِيِّين، وَما زِلْنا فيها حَتّى الْيَوْم.

سَناء: وَمَتى حَدَثَ هذا يا جَدّي؟

الْجَدّ: حَدَثَ هذا عامَ ١٩٤٨م، وَهُوَ عامُ نَكْبَةِ الشَّعْبِ الْفِلَسْطينيِّ.

سَناء: أَرى أُوراقاً قَديمَةً في الصُّنْدوق.

الْجَدّ: إنَّها أُوراقُ مِلْكِيَّتِنا لِأَرْضِنا وَبَيْتِنا في يافا، وَسَنَعودُ إلَيْها بِإِذْنِ الله.

Figure 69: *National and Social Upbringing* 4/I (2018), p. 31–32

Activity (2): Read, discuss and conclude:

Sanaa entered the room of her grandfather, who lives in the Yarmouk refugee camp in Syria. She found a box in front of him and asked him: 'What is this box grandfather?'
Grandfather: 'It is a box where I keep the things that are dear to my heart.'
Sanaa: 'And what are those things?'
Grandfather: 'This is the key to our house in Jaffa.'
Sanaa: 'Why did you leave Jaffa, grandfather?'
Grandfather: 'We used to live safely in Jaffa, but the Zionist occupier besieged us and killed many of us and chased us from our land. So we left, carrying a few of our belongings and walked long distances.
Sanaa: 'And what happened afterwards?'
Grandfather: 'We arrived here, where tents were set up for us to live in, in the hope of returning to our homes. After a long wait, we moved into small houses with iron rooftops. These became known as Palestinian refugee camps and we have remained here until today.'
Sanaa: 'When did this take place, grandfather?'
Grandfather: 'This took place in 1948; it is known by Palestinian people as the year of Nakba.'
Sanaa: 'I see old papers in the box.'
Grandfather: 'These are the ownership papers for our land and house in Jaffa. We will return there – God willing.'

Chapter 5 of this textbook, 'A Refugee in a Camp' (لاجئ في مخيم, *lāji' fī mukhayyam*) discusses the definition and characteristics of a refugee camp by explaining the history of Palestinian refugees.

The key, symbolising the hope to return held by the refugees and which may have to be fought for through 'resistance' if necessary, is a recurring theme, often in combination with the symbolic and iconographic map of All-Palestine, as illustrated here in a section from *Mathematics* 7/II:

Figure 70: *Mathematics* 7/II (2019), p. 97

Activity (4):
1948 presents a turning point in the life of our Palestinian people. It was the year in which the Nakba took place and Palestine was occupied. Our people were expelled into the refugee camps and into the diaspora. The probability space of the numbers of this year Ω = {1, 4, ….}
Complete the following events: […]

The task is about probability calculation and refers to the numbers 1, 9, 4 and 8. The text mentions 1948 as a very important year in Palestinian history. The map appears with an image of a key and the word 'return' (العودة, *al-ʿawda*) in Arabic and English.

3.2 THE PORTRAYAL OF JEWS IN TEXTBOOKS FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

As noted in 3.1.1, most occurrences of the terms 'Jew', 'Jews' and 'Jewish' appear in the textbooks for Islamic and Christian religious education. Here the terms are primarily used in the context of relations between the religions at the dawn of Islam and Christianity, for the most part in quotations or paraphrases of canonic works such as the Qurʾān, the Sayings of the Prophet, the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles. The presentation in the textbooks generally follows the original holy texts in terms of the ambivalent – sometimes hostile – attitudes towards Jews and the characteristics they attribute to the Jewish people, referring to the latter both as an ethno-religious collective and occasionally as individuals. This can be understood as an echo of the religious and political struggles between the Jewish people of the Roman province of Judea and the Arabian Peninsula and the founders and followers of the two new religions. Such reservations and, to a certain extent, prejudices lay the groundwork for a Christian or Islamic anti-Judaism.

The following review of textbooks for Islamic and Christian religious education shows whether and how they adopt such prejucides, possibly linking them to anti-Semitic narratives, and reproduce them in a pedagogical and didactic context. In doing so, it is not the portrayal of the factual reality of the rivalry between the religions in the early days of Christianity or Islam that is considered problematic, provided that the portrayal refrains from excessively negative attributions. Rather, repeated recourse to such aspects and frequent use of negative attributions in relation to the Jewish people in, for example, textbook exercises suggest a conscious perpetuation of anti-Jewish prejudice, especially when embedded within the current political context.

3.2.1 TEXTBOOKS FOR ISLAMIC EDUCATION

All textbooks for Islamic education include a unit with the title 'The Story of the Prophet Muhammad' (السيرة النبوية, *As-sīra an-Nabawīyah*). For some school years these stories revolve around the battles fought by the Prophet Muhammad and conflicts during his time. For instance, lesson 10 in the book for year 8/II, titled 'Treachery and Conspiracy' (الغدر والتآمر [بنو قريضة], *al-ghader wal ta'āmur [banū qurayḍah]*) addresses the battle of *banū qurayḍah*; when the Prophet emigrated from Mecca to Medina. In Medina there were three Jewish tribes: the *banū qaynuqaʿ*, *banū a-naḍīr* and *banū qurayḍah*. The Prophet invited them to convert to Islam but most of them refused. He therefore entered into an agreement between three tribes, but one of them (*banū qurayḍah*) broke the agreement. Although all three different Jewish tribes are mentioned, thus reflecting diversity among ancient Jews, the textbook primarily focuses on the one that breached the agreement and aligned with the enemies to fight Islam.[258] Whilst this lesson does not explicitly refer to Jews as traitors and does make passing reference to Jewish allies of the prophet Muhammed, it still has clear potential to be perceived as a story portraying Jews as the enemy.

Islamic Education 9/I (2019) dedicates a 5-page lesson to the military campaign of Muhammad and his followers in the year 628 against the oasis Khaybar, which was inhabited by Jewish tribes ('The Battle of Khaybar' [غزوة خيبر, *ghazwat Khaybar*]).[259] Here too, the themes of loyalty and treason play a significant part with respect to the tribes, referred to homogenously as 'the Jews'. The text describes how the banū a-naḍīr tribe had been banished from Medina as a result of its furtive trickery against the Muslims. After that, they incited the Jews of Khaybar, who had initially lived peacefully together with the Muslims in the city and exhibited 'no animosity towards the Muslims',[260] to violence towards the Prophet.

The oasis had thus become a source of danger for Muslims. When they saw the Prophet and his army advancing, the textbook continues, the Jews fearfully retreated into the fortifications of Khaybar, accustomed to 'sheltering in fortresses rather than confronting [the enemy] in battle'.[261] The 'Jews' are thus not only described here as deceptive[262] but also as inferior given their alleged cowardice. The lesson does not, however, explicitly refer to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict of the present day.

A whole learning context over the course of three lessons in *Islamic Religion* 5/II (2017) and, with minor changes, the 2019 edition, addresses the life of the Prophet Muhammad.[263] In the 18 pages of this teaching unit the terms 'Jew' (يهودي, *yahūdī*), 'Jews' (يهود, *yahūd*), 'Jewish' (يهودي, *yahūdī*) and 'Judaism' (يهودية, *yahūdīa*) occur a total of 13 times.

The subject of the twelfth lesson, which is where this unit starts, is 'Examples of the Prophet's (pbuh) suffering for the sake of Allah' (مواقف من معاناة الرسول في سبيل الله, *mawāqef min muʿānāt a-rasūl fī sabīl Allah*). After listing the general learning objectives the narrative begins on page 65 with an excerpt from the Hadith narrated by Al-Bukhari, which reports of the attempt by Uqba ibn Abi Muʿayt, one of the leaders of the Quraysh tribe in Mecca, to kill the Prophet Muhammad during prayer. Under one of the pictures, which presumably aims to depict Mecca in Muhammad's time with a decorated Ka'bah (كعبة) (p. 65), a text describes the 'Attempts by the Jews to kill the Prophet' (محاولات اليهود قتل النبي, *muḥāwalāt al-yahūd qatil an-nabī*).

258 *Islamic Education* 8/II (2018), p. 56.

259 *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019), p. 58–62.

260 *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019), p. 58: [...] وكان يسكنها قبل الفتح أخلاط من العرب واليهود، ولم يُظهر يهود خيبر العداء للمسلمين

261 *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019), p. 60: لما رأى اليهود جيش المسلمين فرّوا فزعين، واضّطربت صفوفهم، وارتدّوا إلى حصونهم، وكان من عادة اليهود الاحتماء بالحصون، وعدم المواجهة في الحروب.

262 Such is the language used in a possible answer to a true-or-false exercise at the end of the lesson: 'The intrigue and conspiracies of the Jews were the direct cause of the Battle of Khaybar' in *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019), p. 62: الدسائس والمؤامرات التي قام بها اليهود هي السبب المباشر في غزوة خيبر

263 *Islamic Religion* 5/II (2017, 2019), p. 62–79.

Figure 71: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 65[264]

d) The attempt by Uqba ibn Abi Muʻayt to murder the Prophet (pbuh) while he was praying, as he put his sheet around the Prophet's neck and squeezed it tightly. Abu Bakr came and pulled Uqba away from the Prophet and said, 'Do you intend to kill a man just because he says: "My Lord is Allah, and he has brought forth to you the Evident Signs from your Lord?"' (narrated by Al-Bukhari)

[Image]

Reflect: How can we use modern mass media to support the Prophet (pbuh) and defend Islam?

Second - The Jews' attempts to kill the Prophet (pbuh):

Watch a video about the Jews' attempt to kill the messenger of Allah (pbuh).

1) The Jews of *banū a-naḍīr* [the Nadir-tribe] attempted to assassinate the Messenger after the Battle of Badr. They were about to drop a rock onto him and kill him while he was sitting down against a wall. But he learnt of that through divine inspiration by Gabriel (pbuh) who told him that the Jews were planning to kill him. So he left them quickly and went back to Medina, where he prepared an army of Muslims, then besieged them, fought them, and drove them out of Medina.

2) The attempt by a Jewish woman to assassinate the Prophet (pbuh). She brought a poisoned lamb to the Prophet (pbuh), and he ate from it. He became repeatedly ill from eating this poisoned lamb until he died. (narrated by Al-Bukhari)

This description, based on records of the Prophet's life, details attempts to kill Muhammad using a boulder and poison by members of the Jewish *banū a-naḍīr* tribe, who were enemies of Muhammad and his followers.

The exercise following the text (p. 66) asks students to discuss the 'repeated attempts by the Jews to kill the Prophet' and then asks them to think of 'other enemies of Islam'.

---

[264]   For changes to this passage in the PDF edition of 2020 see Chapter 5.

Page 67 includes comprehension questions (repetitions, selected exercises) on the text and refers five times to the previous statements about the actions of the Jews against the Prophet and the punishment issued to them. Students are required, for example, to summarise 'the story about the Jews of *banū a-naḍīr's* attempt to assassinate the Messenger' and to mention 'the opinion of the Messenger (pbuh) of the Jews of *banū a-naḍīr* after they tried to kill him'.[266]

When listing the possible punishments the students are expected to include the punishment that was actually implemented according to the Qur'ān, the banishment of the *banū a-naḍīr* from Medina. Other possible answers include the killing of the enemies, their imprisonment or their 'besiegement' (حصارهم, *ḥiṣāruhum*).[267]

The subsequent lesson (p. 68) on the life of the Prophet (p. 70) tells the story of ʿUbada Ibn al-Samit, one of Muhammad's followers and leader of the battle of al-Badr (624). According to the written record his grave is located on the east wall of the Aqsa Mosque, which is explained in more detail in the text. The reference to the grave of Ubada Ibn al-Samit in Jerusalem is the basis for asking students in the exercise on page 71 to discuss the desecration of Muslims' graves (of companions and the righteous) in Jerusalem and Palestine by Jews.

Figure 72: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 66[265]

The enemies of Islam in every time and place will not stop using all means and methods to fight Islam and Muslims, fighting those who call for Islam, and seeking to extinguish the light of Allah on earth, but Allah supports his religion and those who call to the way of Allah, despite the numerous methods of distortion and harm.

Topic for discussion:
The several attempts by Jews to kill the Prophet (pbuh)

Activity 2: Mention other situations used by enemies to insult Islam and Muslims.

Banner: (Victory is but an hour of patience).

---

[265] For changes to this passage in the PDF edition of 2020 see Chapter 5.

[266] ألخّص قصّة محاولة يهود بني النّضير قتل الرّسول (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم). أبيّن موقف الرّسول (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) من يهود بني النضير بعدما حاولوا قتله. *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 66:

[267] *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019) contains chapter 11 on 'the Battle of Khaybar (7AH)', a battle between the prophet Muhammad and his new followers on one side and Jewish tribes on the other, p. 58–62.
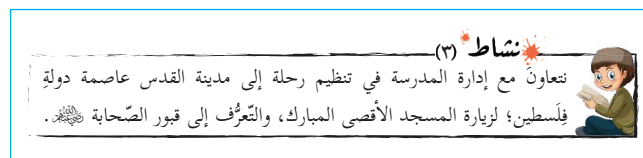
قَضِيَّةٌ لِلنِّقَاش:

قيام اليهود بتدنيس قبور عدد من الصّحابة والصّالحين، وجرفها، وإزالتها من مقابر المسلمين في مدينة القدس خاصّة، وفِلَسطين بشكل عامّ.

♪ نستمع معاً لأنشودة (أنا ابن القدس ومن هون).

Figure 73: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 71[268]

Topic for discussion:

The Jews desecrated a number of the graves of the Prophet's Companions. They removed them from Muslim cemeteries in Jerusalem in particular, and in Palestine in general.

[Image]: The grave of ʿUbada Ibn al-Samit

Listen together to the song (I am the son of Jerusalem and from here).

The illustration pictures the (intact) grave of ʿUbada Ibn al-Samit. An exercise under the photograph asks students to prepare a school trip to Jerusalem, 'the capital of the State of Palestine', in order to visit the Aqsa Mosque and the graves of the companions.

نشاط (٣)

نتعاونُ مع إدارة المدرسة في تنظيم رحلة إلى مدينة القدس عاصمة دولةٍ فِلَسطين؛ لزيارة المسجد الأقصى المبارك، والتَّعرُّف إلى قبور الصّحابة ﷺ.

Figure 74: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 72

Activity 3:

Work with the school administration to organise a trip to Jerusalem, the capital of the State of Palestine; to visit the blessed Aqsa Mosque, and to see the graves of the Companions [*saḥāba*].

A connection is made here between religion and the everyday life of the school: The graves of those famous men from the early period of Islam are located in Jerusalem. In prompting the students to organise a school trip to Al-Quds (Jerusalem) the textbooks convey a political message: the demand for Jerusalem to be the 'Capital of the State of Palestine'.

Lesson 14 which follows is dedicated to 'The Female Companions of the Messenger of Allah (pbuh)' (من صحابيّات الرسول, *min saḥābiāt ar-rasūl*) and starts with an illustration that varies between the 2017 and the 2019 editions of the textbook. On page 74 of the 2017 edition the illustration is of a young woman standing in an arid landscape, wearing a headscarf and carrying a sword. In the 2019 edition she has been replaced by a woman on a white horse with a black cloak and headscarf against the same background. The text above the pictures names two companions of the Prophet Muhammad who are introduced in this lesson, namely Sumayyah bint Khayyāṭ, who was the first female *shahīda* in Islam, and Safiyya bint Abd al-Muttalib, an aunt of Muhammad.
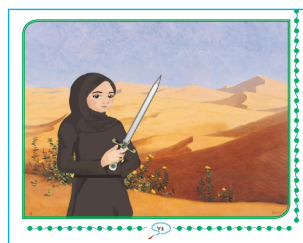
Figure 75: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2017), p. 74
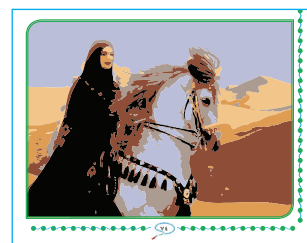
Islamic Education 5/II (2019), p. 74

---

268 For changes to this passage in the PDF edition of 2020 see Chapter 5.

The next page (p. 75) presents the story of Sumayyah bint Khayyāṭ who, according to the written records and this textbook, was one of the first seven people to convert to Islam and was said to have been murdered by a member of the Quraysh tribe. The text on page 76 then presents the biography of Safiyya bint Abd al-Muttalib. It repeats the story recorded in the Aḥādīth, which tells how Safiyya came across a Jew after the battle of Khandaq and killed him (p. 76–77):

٢- لمّا اسْتُشْهِدَ أخوها حمزة في هذه المعركة، أقبلت صفيّة تبحث عن أخيها، فرآها رسول الله ﷺ، فأشفق عليها، وكرِه أن ترى أخاها، وقد مَثَّل المشركون بجسده، فطلب منها ٧٦
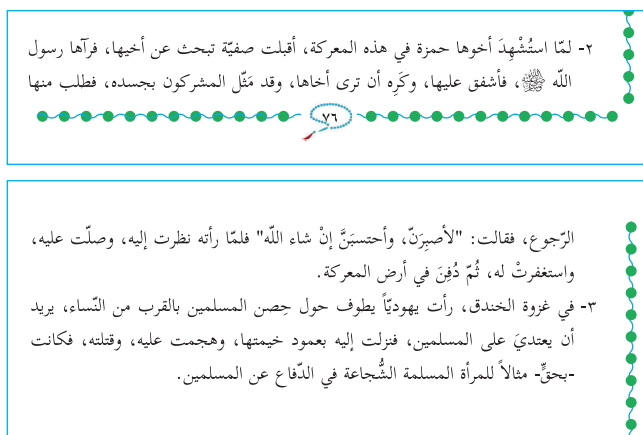
الرّجوع، فقالت: "لأصبِرنّ، وأحتسِبَنّ إنْ شاء اللّه" فلمّا رأته نظرت إليه، وصلّت عليه، واستغفرت له، ثُمَّ دُفِنَ في أرض المعركة.
٣- في غزوة الخندق، رأت يهوديّاً يطوف حول حِصن المسلمين بالقرب من النّساء، يريد أن يعتديَ على المسلمين، فنزلت إليه بعمود خيمتها، وهجمت عليه، وقتلته، فكانت -بحقٍّ- مثالاً للمرأة المسلمة الشُّجاعة في الدّفاع عن المسلمين.

Figure 76: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 76–77

2) When her brother Hamzah became a *shahīd* in this battle, Safiyya came to look for him. The Messenger of Allah (pbuh) felt sorry for her and did not want her to see the corpse of her brother, who had been tortured by the polytheists. So he asked her to step back; she said: 'I will be patient, I submit to Allah's power'. She looked at her brother, prayed for him, and asked God to forgive him, and he was buried on the battlefield.

3) During the Battle of Khandaq, she saw a Jew circling around the Muslims' fortress near the women, wanting to attack Muslims, so she attacked and killed him with the pole of her tent. She therefore deserves to be an example of the brave Muslim women who defended Muslims.

The exercise that follows the story of Muhammad's companion (on page 77) requires the students to discuss the role of Palestinian women in the confrontation with the 'Jewish Zionist occupation'. The text juxtaposes the terms 'Jewish' from Qurʻānic script and 'Zionist', a political term with contemporary relevance, thus suggesting that they are interchangeable (the 2019 edition also asks about the role of Palestinian women in *jihād*).

قَضِيَّةٌ للنِّقاش:
أتحدّثُ عن دور المرأة الفِلَسطينيّة في الجهاد والتّضحية والصّمود في مواجهة الاحتلال اليهودي الصُّهيونيّ.
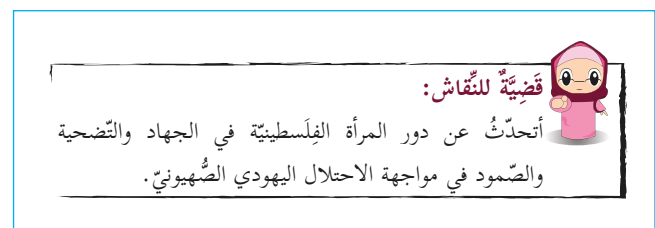
Figure 77: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 77

Topic for discussion:
Talk about the role of Palestinian women in their *jihād*, their sacrifice and steadfastness in facing the Jewish Zionist occupation.

The texts discussed here belong to one learning context that is taught over three lessons. Supported primarily by the *aḥādīth*, they narrate events from the dawn of Islam related to the life of the Prophet Muhammad. At the centre of the narrative are the trials to which the written records state Muhammed was subjected, as well as his female relatives and companions. One topic runs like a central theme through the teaching material: the followers of the Jewish tribes of Medina, always collectively referred to as 'Jews', who according to the Qurʻān turned against the Prophet.[269] Merely basing the depiction of the Jews on the traditional literature, the text portrays the 'Jews' as deceptive, cowardly and aggressive protagonists: they attempt to kill Muhammad with a boulder from behind, or by using poisoned food. Through the recurrent use of the phrase 'The

---

[269] On the religious and political rivalry between Muhammad's followers and the Jewish tribes in the early days of Islam, with the consequences for relations between Jews and Muslims, cf. Nirenberg: *Anti-Judaism*.

attempts by Jews to kill the Prophet [the Messenger]' (محاولات اليهود قتل النبي, *muḥāwalāt al-yahūd qatil an-nabī [ar-rasūl]*) the responsibility for these actions is not placed on individuals but on the 'Jews' collectively. The Jew in the story of Safiyya is described as 'circling around' the camp with the intention of killing Muslims. A didactic escalation can be identified in the exercise in the twelfth lesson, which alludes five times to the attempts by Jews to kill Muhammad or requires students to repeat elements of the story. The students are further required to watch a video portraying these acts of the 'Jews'.[270]

The creation of a connection between the stated deception of the 'Jews' in the early days of Islam and the insinuated behaviour of Jews today, who supposedly desecrate Muslim graves, is extremely escalatory. This connection is not explicitly stated but the defiling of graves, which is associated with the obliteration of memories and commemoration, is placed in the same context as the earlier reports of the attempts to murder Muhammad. Both descriptions have sacrilegious tones.

Equally escalatory is the exercise asking about the role of Palestinian women in the face of the 'Jewish Zionistic occupation'. A correlation is created between the previously narrated actions of Sumayyah bint Khayyāṭ and Safiyya bint Abd al-Muttalib. One died as an innocent victim in a battle against pre-Islamic heathen tribes and the other is held in high regard as a result of her actions being described as heroic in the *ḥadīth*: she killed a Jew who was endangering the camp. Even if no explicit call to violence is present, it is clear that telling this story immediately before setting the exercise will influence the students' answers so that a violent solution to the conflict with the 'Jewish Zionist occupation' might be suggested. The significance of this may be increased by the addition to the 2019 edition of the question on the role of Palestinian women in *jihād*. Whilst the text does not specify a military jihad, and peaceful means of resistance may be meant, there is no explanation to ensure such an understanding is negated or rejected.

The illustration in the 2017 edition of the young woman with a sword, which was replaced in the 2019 edition by an (unarmed) woman on a white horse, certainly does not de-escalate in this respect. The whole learning context is lent a certain charge by the following fact: it is not so much the sufferings of the Prophet or the actions of the companions that appear to be the focus of this teaching unit but rather the alleged perniciousness of the Jews. Even in the present day it is not the 'Zionists' who are charged with evil deeds, such as desecrating graves, but Jews. The term 'Zionist occupation' (الاحتلال الصهيوني, *al-iḥtilāl aṣ-ṣuhyūnī*) that recurs in the textbooks in the context of the conflict is replaced here by the term 'Jewish Zionist occupation' (الاحتلال اليهودي الصهيوني, *al-iḥtilāl al-yahūdī aṣ-ṣuhyūnī*). The chapter therefore sends the message that the Jews as a collective are dangerous and deceptive, and demonises them. It generates feelings of hatred towards Jews and – given the criteria listed in Chapter 1.3.1 – must be characterised as anti-Semitic.

In the 2020 edition of the textbook *Islamic Education* 5/II this teaching unit has been altered in several passages, thereby reducing the negative focus on Jews (see chapter 5).

---

[270]   See Figure 71. It was not possible to ascertain which video the students were required to watch.

3.2.2 TEXTBOOKS FOR CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

Textbooks for Christian religious education frequently mention Jews, particularly in chapters describing the Gospel and subsequent suffering of Jesus and the promulgation of Christianity by the Apostles. They discuss the different religious groups that existed at the time of Jesus, such as the Pharisees and Sadducees, and describe the Samaritans as enemies of the Jews.[271] They also describe how Jesus' body was to be embalmed with ointments according to Jewish custom[272] and how pious Jews took part in the events of Pentecost,[273] the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as well as stating that individual Jews believed in Jesus[274] and that the Apostles converted Jews and Gentiles alike.[275]

The primary focus of the textbook content for all age groups lies, however, on the Christian faith itself. The textbooks do not teach Christianity in the context of historical theology; it is not presented as a religion based upon older beliefs (which, according to the Christian viewpoint, have been transcended). There is therefore no necessity to systematically present Judaism as the precursor to Christianity. Because the Old Testament is part of the written canon, reference is made to these books and to the people who appear in them. *Christian Education* 6, for example, provides an overview of important prophets and kings mentioned in the Old Testament, but all are furnished with a Christological reference: King David as a (biological) ancestor of Jesus Christ and the prophet Isiah as the most significant herald of the Old Testament to predict the coming of Christ.[276]

Many of the textbooks contain references to the Jewish religion that have an informative character, or text that refers to common features of both religions. Passover is referred to in this context – relating to Jesus's last days in Jerusalem – and described as a celebration by Jews of their deliverance from slavery in Egypt, while Christians are said to commemorate the death and resurrection of Jesus during the same period:[277]

> • **فصح**: كلمة (**فصح**) معناها: (عبور). يحتفل اليهود بعيد الفصح إحياء لذكرى تحرُّر الشَّعب من العبودية في مصر. أمّا بالنسبة لنا -نحن المسيحيِّين- نحتفل بعيد الفصح إحياء لذكرى موت السَّيِّد المسيح، وقيامته، الذي حررنا من عبودية الخطيئة.

Figure 78: *Christian Education* 7 (2018), p. 134

> **Pesach:** The term (*fiṣih*) [Pesach] means Passover. Jews celebrate the feast of Passover as a commemoration of their liberation from slavery in Egypt. But we – Christians – celebrate fiṣih to commemorate the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ who liberated us from slavery to sin.

Christian Education 10 explains that the Old Testament is the first part of the Bible, shared by Jews and Christians. Jews and Protestants, unlike Orthodox believers and Catholics, are said to only recognise the books of the Old Testament that were written in Hebrew.[278] Another textbook names the Torah (التوراة, *at-tawrāt*), but does not explain it in relation to the Jewish religion; rather it simply says that it comprises the first five books of the Old Testament.[279] Referring to the historical books of the Bible, the textbook states that they describe the 'journey of the people of God' (مسيرة شعب الله, *masīrat shaʿb Allāh*).[280] The textbook for year 10 states that the progenitor Abraham is venerated by Christians, Muslims and Jews as the 'father of believers':[281]

---

271 'Samaritans: They are a group native to Samaria. They did not believe in the Temple of Jerusalem, but built a temple on Mount Gerizim; there was a relationship of intense enmity between them and the Jews.' *Christian Education* 7 (2018), p. 70: السامريون: وهم جماعة تسكن السامرة، لم يؤمنوا بهيكل أورشليم، بل بنوا هيكلا على جبل جرزيم، كانت بينهم وبين اليهود عداوة شديدة.

272 *Christian Education* 7 (2018), p. 133.

273 *Christian Education* 8 (2018), p. 11: وكان في أورشليم أناس أتقياء من اليهود جاؤوا من كل أمة تحت السماء

274 *Christian Education* 9 (2018), p. 140: (29-1 :12 كورنثوس 1) [...] فنحن كلنا، أيهودًا كنا أم غير يهود، عبيدًا أم أحرارًا، تعمَّدنا بروح واحدٍ لنكون جسدًا واحدًا، وارتوينا من روح واحدٍ.

275 *Christian Education* 8 (2018), p. 147: كان الرسل يتوجهون إلى اليهود والوثنيين.

276 *Christian Education* 6 (2018), p. 42.

277 *Christian Education* 7 (2018), p. 134.

278 *Christian Education* 10 (2018), p. 21: القسم الأول من الكتاب المقدس؛ أي العهد القديم مشترك بين الديانتين اليهودية والمسيحية، ولكن مع بعض الفوارق. فأتباع الديانة اليهودية، وبعدهم البروتستانت، يعترفون فقط بالكتب المكتوبة باللغة العبرية، وعددها ٣٩ كتابًا.

279 *Christian Education* 6 (2018), p. 23: التوراة: وهي الكتب الخمسة الأولى المدونة في العهد القديم (التكوين، والخروج...)

280 *Christian Education* 6 (2018), p. 23.

281 *Christian Education* 10 (2018), p. 48: والمسيحيون والمسلمون واليهود يكرمون إبراهيم، ويرون فيه "أبا المؤمنين".

Figure 79: *Christian Education* 10 (2018), p. 48

The Father of believers:

Ibrāhīm [Abraham] never worried about trouble, because he relies on God's faithfulness and love. Everything is easy because God accompanies and loves him. Difficulties may have caused Abraham pain, but he walks on God's path without hesitation, and every time he grows and is reborn.

We call Abraham 'the friend of God' or 'the father of believers'. Christians, Muslims and Jews honour Abraham and consider him a 'father of believers'.

The exercise that follows this passage requires students 'to write a paper on Abraham's importance in Christianity, Islam and Judaism using proper sources'. [282]

Christian Education 7 addresses the crucifixion of Jesus.[283] The text follows the narrative of the Gospels, without using the corresponding passages from the New Testament that contain generalising accusations. It names 'Jewish priests' (كهنة اليهود)

as responsible for taking Jesus to the Roman governor Pontius Pilate, who condemned him to death, instead of referring generally to 'the Jews'. When describing the crucifixion itself it is 'the people' who demanded Jesus be put to death and called for the criminal Barabbas to be released.[284] There is no discernible linguistic or didactic escalation. The portrayal does not imply any collective guilt on the part of the Jewish people for the crucifixion of Jesus,[285] nor does it contain any corresponding invective.

The same cannot be said for the depiction of another story of suffering from the New Testament, namely the martyrdom of St Stephen (ca. 1–36/40 CE). The text, quoted from the Acts of the Apostles (6), is repeated three times in the textbooks for years 8[286], 9[287] and 10[288]. The story discusses the opposition of 'some members of the congregation known as the congregation of the emancipated slaves' (بعض أعضاء المجمع المعروف مَجمَع العَبيد المُحَرَّرِينَ, *baʿḍ aʿḍāʾ al-majmaʿ al-maʿrūf bi majmaʿ al-ʿabīd al-muḥarrarīn*) to the faith of the first Christian martyr, Stephen. It mentions the members of the highest Jewish court in the ancient world, the Sanhedrin as described in the Acts of the Apostles, and correctly describes them as 'Jews'. A certain anti-Jewish tenor to the story arises from the account of ancient religious competition between the first Christians and the adherents of Judaism. This tone is, however, present in the original literature and cannot therefore be attributed to the textbooks alone. The description of his being stoned outside the gates of Jerusalem is taken verbatim from the Acts of the Apostles. Even through the word 'Jews' is not used, it is clear from the text that it is the Jews who stone Stephen. The textbooks for years 8 and 10 feature a historic painting and a mural depicting the stoning of St Stephen.

[282] *Christian Education* 10 (2018), p. 50: .أعمل بحثًا حول أهمية إبراهيم في المسيحية والإسلام واليهودية، مستعينين بالمراجع المناسبة

[283] On the problem of contextualising the story of the life and Passion of Jesus within Christian anti-Judaism, cf. Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, p. 48–134 and 183–216; specifically on the crucifixion and the collective blaming of the Jews for the killing of Jesus, cf. Schäfer, Peter: *Kurze Geschichte des Antisemitismus*, München: C. H. Beck, 2020, p. 50–58.

[284] *Christian Education* 7 (2018), p. 126: لقد اتهم كهنة اليهود يسوع بالتجديف على الله [...] ولكن الكهنة لم يكن لهم الحق بالحكم على يسوع بالموت، فقدموه للحاكم الروماني بيلاطس البنطي ليحكم عليه.

[285] The Catholic Church distanced itself from this view, which had prevailed for centuries, with the 'Nostra aetate' declaration made by the Second Vatican Council in 1965. As the textbooks are not only written for Catholic students but also for Orthodox Christian students, it would be interesting to consider the extent to which the effects of this declaration might be reflected in the textbooks.

[286] *Christian Education* 8 (2018), p. 41.

[287] *Christian Education* 9 (2018), p. 27.

[288] *Christian Education* 10 (2018), p. 140.

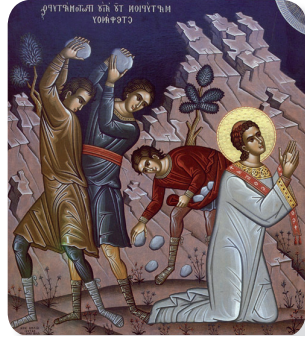Figure 80: *Christian Education* 8 (2018), p. 41

Figure 81: *Christian Education* 10 (2018), p. 140

In the two images the perpetrators are, however, not caricatured or portrayed with iconography that would identify them as Jews. A passage from *Christian Education* 9 illustrates the text with an image of a dove, symbolising the Holy Ghost:

Figure 82: *Christian Education* 9 (2018), p. 27

The depiction of the martyrdom of St Stephen – who is described in all three textbooks as the first Christian martyr (*shahīd*) – is placed in different contexts for each year group. *Christian Education* 8, lesson six, discusses the martyrdom of Stephen in the context of the strong resistance from religious and civic institutions faced by the first apostles, who were imprisoned and tortured because of their faith in Jesus Christ

and his message but remained steadfast and patient in their suffering. The chapter titled 'Church of the Martyrs' (كنيسة الشهداء, *kanisat ash-shuhadā'*) also describes the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire and the suffering of the first Christians in Palestine under Roman rule.[289] An exercise refers to current difficulties but remains non-escalatory in tone:
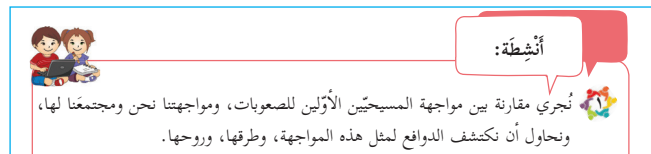
Figure 83: *Christian Education* 8 (2018), p. 45

Activities:
Compare how the early Christians used to deal with difficulties, and how we and our communities deal with difficulties. Try to conclude the motives, methods and attitude needed to deal with difficulties.

Christian Education 9 places the story of St Stephen in a chapter addressing the impact of the Holy Ghost and general questions related to the meaning of existence from a Christian perspective. St Stephen's constancy in the defence of his beliefs is highlighted.[290] *Christian Education* 10 also addresses the martyrdom of St Stephen in the context of the dogmas of faith related to the Holy Ghost. Here, Stephen again represents steadfastness in a believer filled with the Holy Ghost. The passage does not contain any escalatory exercises or references to the present day.[291]

---

[289] *Christian Education* 8 (2018), p. 40–45.

[290] *Christian Education* 9 (2018), p. 25–31.

[291] *Christian Education* 10 (2018), p. 134–140.

3.3 THE PORTRAYAL OF ISRAELI VIOLENCE AGAINST PALESTINIANS

3.3.1 DEPICTIONS OF VIOLENCE IN SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

Israeli violence is portrayed in textbooks of most subjects, although different patterns are recognisable when comparing the textbooks according to subjects. Israeli violence against Palestinians is predominantly portrayed in social studies, history and geography textbooks. This section investigates the representations and the textbook exercises concerning elements that might foster a semantic or didactic escalation. The term 'Israel' is employed sparingly and, as in textbooks for other subjects, 'the (Zionist) occupation', occurs more frequently.[292] It is portrayed as the aggressor that violates Palestinian collective rights. The persons whose rights are described as violated vary but include different Palestinian groups such as children, refugees, prisoners and Bedouins.

The focus is on children as those who suffer particularly as a result of the conflict.[293] Here the didactic principle of addressee orientation comes into play, facilitating the students' self-identification with the examples given. The textbooks thereby emphasise that children's rights are violated by the Israeli occupation, which, they claim, restricts their access to education, detains and delays them at military checkpoints, or violates their right to education by harassing them in the vicinity of schools:

Figure 84: *National and Social Upbringing* 4/I (2018), p. 59

Activity (3): **Observe and conclude:**
[Images]:
- Describe each of the images above.
- Mention other practices that impact the safe living environment for children in Palestine.

---

292 See Chapter 3.1.1.

293 See also Chapter 4.2.3.

The compilation of images in *National and Social Upbringing* 4/I appears to depict everyday situations in which children are the victims of a context tainted by a military presence. These pictures can be described as of a non-escalatory nature. The fourth illustration, a drawing, portrays a classroom in which students are looking at the empty seat of their classmate, identified as a casualty of the conflict by the Palestinian flag and the keffiyeh on his chair, together with the sign *ash-shahīd*. At first glance, this is a situation that may be familiar to many Palestinian students; how exactly the missing child died, and how others might have been involved in the tragedy, however, is not explained by either the drawing or the text.

We find a similar compilation of images in *Social Studies* 9/I, where it is striking that, as in the section above, almost all children pictured are significantly younger than the age-group for whom the textbook is written. A possible reason for this may be to convey to older students that innocent (younger) children are also the victims of the occupation policy:

[Image 1:] Khan Al-Ahmar School in the Jerusalem desert
[Image 2:] Electronic checkpoints in Hebron city centre
[Image 3:] Zionist occupation attacks on students in Hebron
[Image 4:] A daily scene of students' difficulties as they try to cross the annexation and expansion wall
- Mention examples of the Zionist occupation practices against education in Palestine.
- Discuss the principles adopted by the Zionist occupation towards education in Palestine.
- Conclude the objectives of the 'policy of stultification' practiced by the occupiers towards Palestinians.

While, here too, the juxtaposition of images serves a predominantly illustrative function, this section does take on an escalatory character with the exercises that follow, which didactically replicate and are thus geared to internalise the message that occupation forces violate the rights of children.

الحواجز الإلكترونية وسط مدينة الخليل   مدرسة الخان الأحمر- بادية القدس

اعتداءات الاحتلال الصّهيونيّ على طلبة المدارس في الخليل   مشهد يوميّ لمعاناة الطّلبة في عبور جدار الضمّ والتّوسّع
- نذكر أمثلة على ممارسات الاحتلال الصهيوني تجاه التعليم في فلسطين.
- نُناقشُ الأسس الّتي انتهجها الاحتلال الصّهيونيّ تجاه التّعليم في فلَسطين.
- نستنتجُ أهداف سياسة التّجهيل الّتي مارسها الاحتلال بحق الشّعب الفِلَسطينيّ.

Figure 85: *Social Studies* 9/I (2019), p. 27

3.3.2 STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE: SETTLEMENTS AND THE SEPARATION BARRIER

History textbooks present settlements as Israel's method of dominating the land, thus changing what Palestinians call its 'cultural and demographic character' and in particular understand Zionism to be a colonial settler project. Since Israeli policy changed from military to civil settlements,[294] building houses is understood on the Palestinian side as a continuation of the war by other means. By compromising the environment, settlements are identified as structural – or more precisely spatial – violence.

However, in the textbooks it is not quite clear which parts of the land (or the map) are considered to be used for settlements, either the West Bank and – until 2005 – Gaza, or the whole of Palestine, i.e. the territory of the State of Israel as well. It is obvious, however, that the textbooks seek to portray Israeli policy on the whole as hostile to Palestinian presence and identity. Settlements are presented as the continuation of the 'colonial project' to sharpen Zionist nationalism and 'erase' or weaken the Palestinian counterpart. *History* 11/I quotes a source from 1981 that explains:

> Settlement constitutes a basic starting point in Zionist thought and the practical application of Zionism, so it can be described as Zionism at work. According to their statement, 'The truth is that there is no Zionism without settlement, and there is no Jewish state without the eviction of Arabs, the confiscation of their land, and its fencing'. This goes hand in hand with the demolition of Arab Palestinian society, and is in harmony with the racist philosophy of the Zionist ideology based on the denial, uprooting, and rejected coexistence or even existence of the other. Its aim is to evacuate, replace and displace the Palestinian people in order to settle new Zionists rather than the people in Palestine.[295]

The components and consequences of Israeli settlement policy are illustrated by the following presentation of photographs:
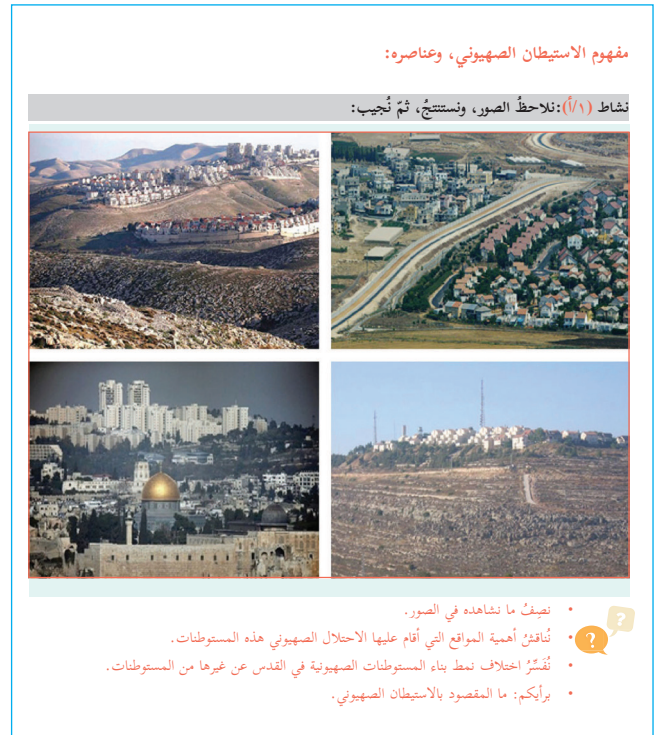

مفهوم الاستيطان الصهيوني، وعناصره:

نشاط (١/أ):نلاحظُ الصور، ونستنتجُ، ثمّ نُجيب:

- نصِفُ ما نشاهده في الصور.
- نُناقشُ أهمية المواقع التي أقام عليها الاحتلال الصهيوني هذه المستوطنات.
- نُفَسِّرُ اختلاف نمط بناء المستوطنات الصهيونية في القدس عن غيرها من المستوطنات.
- برأيكم: ما المقصود بالاستيطان الصهيوني.

Figure 86: *History* 11/I (2018), p. 80

The concept of Zionist settlement and its components:
Activity (1/a): Look at the images, draw conclusions and answer the questions:

[Images]
- Describe what you see in the images
- Discuss the significance of the sites where settlements have been established by the occupation
- Explain the difference in the pattern used to build the Zionist settlements in Jerusalem from that of other settlements
- In your opinion, what is meant by the Zionist settlement?

---

[294] Allweil, Yael: 'West Bank Settlement and the Transformation of Zionist Housing Ethos from Shelter to Act of Violence.' *Footprint* 19 (2016): 13–36.

[295] *History* 11/I (2018), p. 81, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū 'Arafah's work الاستيطان. التطبيق العملي للصهيونية (*al-istiṭān. al-taṭbīq al-ʿamalī lil-ṣuhyūnīa*) ('Settlement. The practical application of Zionism'): يشكّل الاستيطان منطلقا أساسيًا في الفكر الصهيوني، والتطبيق العملي للصهيونية، لذا يمكن وصفه بأنه الصهيونية في حالة العمل؛ تطبيقًا لمقولتهم

„إن الحقيقة هي لا صهيونية دون استيطان، ولا دولة يهودية دون إخلاء العرب، ومصادرة أراضيهم، وتسييجها“. لقد تميز الاستيطان الصهيوني عن غيره من الاستيطان الحديث بأنه لا يقتصر على عملية البناء فقط؛

بل يتلازم ذلك مع هدم المجتمع العربي الفلسطيني؛ انسجامًا مع فلسفة الفكر الصهيوني العنصرية المبنية على أساس نفي الآخر، واقتلاعه، لا التعايش معه، أو القبول بوجوده؛ لأن غايته هي الإجلاء والإحلال، وتهجير

الشعب الفلسطيني؛ من أجل توطين الوافدين الصهاينة بدلًا منهم في فلسطين. The second part of the source is discussed with regard to its statements relating to Zionism in 3.1.1.

The four photographs depicted here are said to show 'Zionist', i.e. Israeli, settlements. The bottom-left photograph shows the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock in front of French Hill, a district of Jerusalem located in the territories seized by Israel in 1967 and therefore not recognised as part of Israel under international law. This also applies to East Jerusalem in general, which Israeli law has deemed part of Greater Jerusalem – and thus Israeli territory – since 1980. The places depicted on the other photographs are probably settlements in the West Bank; the lack of captions renders it impossible to determine their exact location. The top-right photograph shows the separation barrier, which in this picture runs between a modern-looking neighbourhood on one side and an Arab village on the other. The images are presumably supposed to make plain the geopolitical and strategic impacts of settlements on the situation of Palestinians – their dominance over the land, the carving up of Palestinian territory, the segregation of Palestinian lands and their populations. It is probably this that the fourth exercise aims to convey in its enquiry as to the intentions of the 'Zionist' settlement. The photograph of Jerusalem is presumably supposed to symbolise the threat posed by a 'Judaising' (تهويد, *tahwīd*) of sections of the city claimed to be Palestinian. The exercise seeks to emphasise the significance of Jerusalem and the impact of the 'Zionist' construction projects around the Old City and on Muslim holy sites.

In another passage in the same textbook, some settlements are discussed as a measurement of security (المستوطنات الأمنية, *al-mustawṭanāt al-amniyya*, literal translation: 'security settlements') used by Israel to pressure the Palestinians and intimidate those who have thus far remained in Jerusalem into leaving. According to the text, Zionism proclaims a historical and religious right to the land and the realisation of the settlements is in line with these claims. The only historical continuity depicted in the textbook, however, appears to be that between Jewish immigration and Zionist ideology and settlements.[296]

Settlements and other forms of structural violence are also of significance in the real-life connections identified in the textbooks for mathematics and science. Here, Israeli policy is criticised for being segregationist and for considering itself superior. As is the case in other real-life connections as well, a mathematics exercise in a lesson on algebraic operations describes the separation barrier as a 'wall of racial segregation' (جدار الفصل العنصريّ, *jidār al-faṣl al-ʿunṣurī*) while the text actually focuses on the damage done to a farmer who has lost substantial parts of his land due to its construction.[297] In a research task about heavy metals in the life sciences textbook for year 8, Israeli industrial areas in the 'Israeli colonial settlements [...] on Palestinian soil' are described as polluting the environment.[298] The research task is to give a presentation about the danger of heavy metals:

مَهمّة بحثية:

تُنتِج المناطق الصناعية في المستوطنات الاستعماريّة الإسرائيليّة على الأراضي الفِلَسطينيّة الكثير من أنواع الملوّثات البيئيّة، ومن الأمثلة على هذه الملوثات العناصر الثقيلة التي لها آثار مدمّرة للبيئة، وخطيرة على صحّة الإنسان ومنها: الكادميوم، الكروم، الزئبق. أعِدَّ عرضاً علميّاً يحتوي على مفهوم العناصر الثقيلة، والأعراض المرضية للتسمّم، ومخاطرها على الإنسان.

منطقة صناعية استيطانية استعمارية اسرائيلية

Figure 87: *Science and Life* 9/II (2019), p. 12

Research Task:
Industries of the Israeli colonial settlements in the Palestinian territories produce many types of environmental pollutants. Examples of these pollutants are heavy metals that have destructive effects on the environment and are dangerous to human health, including cadmium, chromium and mercury.
Prepare a scientific presentation about the heavy metals, the pathological symptoms of poisoning, and their dangerous impact on human health.
[Image]
Industrial area in an Israeli colonial settlement

---

[296] *History* 11/I (2018), p. 82.

[297] 'The wall of racial segregation has destroyed and despoiled a wide area of Palestinian agricultural land. A farmer owns a square piece of agricultural land; the length of one side is 23m. The wall has taken away a square part of it with a side length of 17m. What is the area of land remaining to the farmer?'
دمّر جدار الفصل العنصريّ مِساحاتٍ واسعة من الأراضي الزّراعيّة الفِلَسْطينيّة وسَلَبَها. يِمتلك مزارعٌ أرضاً زراعيّة مربّعةً، طول ضِلْعها 23 م، اقتطعَ منها الجدارُ قطعةً مربّعةً طول ضِلْعها 17م. فما مِساحة القِطعة المتبقّية من أرض المزارع؟ *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 55.

[298] *Science and Life* 9/II (2019), p. 12.

The textbooks also present the 'occupation' as a competitor for natural resources. This characterisation draws attention to the limitations that Palestinians face in maximising the use of their resources and developing their economy. The following passage from a social studies textbook demonstrates how the policies of 'occupation' are singled out and addressed as the obstacles hindering the Palestinians' ability to access the resources of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip:
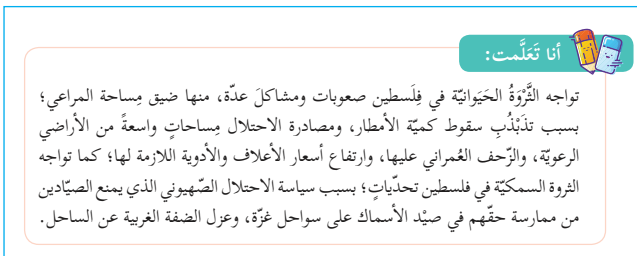
أنا تَعَلَّمت:

تواجه الثَّروةُ الحَيَوانِيّة في فلَسطين صعوبات ومشاكلَ عدّة، منها ضيق مساحة المراعي؛ بسبب تذَبْذُب سقوط كمِّية الأمطار، ومصادرة الاحتلال مِساحاتٍ واسعةً من الأراضي الرعويّة، والزّحف العُمراني عليها، وارتفاع أسعار الأعلاف والأدوية اللازمة لها؛ كما تواجه الثروة السمكيّة في فلسطين تحدّياتٍ؛ بسبب سياسة الاحتلال الصّهيوني الذي يمنع الصيّادين من ممارسة حقِّهم في صيْد الأسماك على سواحل غزّة، وعزل الضفة الغربية عن الساحل.

Figure 88: *Social Studies* 5/II (2019), p. 18

I have learnt:
The livestock resources in Palestine face many difficulties and problems such as limited pastures for grazing because of the declining rainfall, the confiscation of vast areas of pasture by the occupation, the urban sprawl, and the increasing costs of necessary fodder and treatment. Furthermore, fisheries in Palestine face challenges because of the Zionist occupation's policy that prevents fishermen from practicing their rights to fish on the Gaza coast and isolates the West Bank from the coast.

The depiction of these forms of structural violence is, here too, to a large extent visual. In the more narrative and conceptually oriented textbooks for history and social studies the portrayal is accompanied by a message characterising these forms of violence as manifestations of an Israeli policy that is colonialist, racist and contrary to the interests of the Palestinian people.

With regard to the criteria introduced at the beginning of this section, the portrayal primarily fulfils those of *competition* and the aspect of *aggression*, while the depiction of Israeli actors as nameless 'Zionist' occupiers *homogenises* them. The criteria *dehumanisation* and *deception* are not applicable here.

Structural and spatial violence is also invoked when the textbooks denounce the destruction of Palestinian living and settlement space on the part of the 'occupation', and the symbolic or actual appropriation of secular or sacred sites that Palestinians claim for themselves on national or religious grounds. The claim that 'the occupation' is changing the Arab character of Jerusalem or of other places in 'Palestine' to a Jewish one appears in several textbooks as in the following passage.

الأخطار التي تتعرض لها الآثار الإسلامية في القدس:

نشاط (٤): نقرأُ النّصَّ الآتي، ونستنتجُ، ثمّ نُجيب:

تمكّنت العصابات الصّهيونية سنة ١٩٤٨م من الاستيلاء على الجزء الأكبر من فلَسطين، وأكملت سيطرتها عليها سنة ١٩٦٧م، ودخلت القوات الصّهيونية القدس، ومنذ ذلك الوقت، بدأ الصّهاينة في انتهاج سياسة قائمة على طمس المعالم العربية والإسلامية في فلَسطين، خاصة في مدينة القدس، وعلى الرغم من صدور قرار مجلس الأمن الدولي (٢٥٢) بتاريخ ١٩٦٨/٥/٢١م والذي يعتبرُ أنّ كلّ الإجراءات الصّهيونية في مدينة القدس باطلة، إلّا أنّ الاحتلال الصّهيوني استمرّ في سياسته حتى الآن.

١. نُعطي أمثلة على محاولات الاحتلال الصّهيوني طمس المعالم العربية والإسلامية في مدينة القدس.
٢. نُعدّد الأماكن الدينية المقدسة المسيحية في مدينة القدس.

نبحث، ونكتب:
بعض أسماء الأماكن الدينية المقدسة المسيحية في مدينة القدس.

أنا تعلَّمت:

انتهج الاحتلال الصّهيوني سياسة طمس المعالم العربية والإسلامية لفلَسطين بشكل عام، وفي القدس بشكل خاصّ، وبدأ الصّهاينة في تغيير هُويّة المدينة العربية الإسلامية، وتحويلها للطابع الصّهيوني، فقد صادرت الأرض الفلَسطينية، وقامت ببناء المستوطنات عليها، وضيّقت على السكان الفلَسطينيين؛ لإرغامهم على ترك القدس، وإحلال المستوطنين مكانهم، فهدمَتِ المنازل، وهجّرَتِ السّكّان، وسحبَتْ هُويّاتهم، وفصلَتِ القدس عن محيطها العربيّ. وضمّت المعالم الإسلامية إلى قائمة التراث الصّهيوني، فحوّلت حائط البراق إلى حائط (المبكى)، وهدمت حيّ المغاربة، وغيّرت طابعه العربي الإسلامي، وأزالت بعض الحجارة من سور القدس، واستبدلتها بأخرى عليها رسومات وأشكال صهيونية، وافتَتَحَتِ الكُنُس الصّهيونية في البلدة القديمة من مدينة القدس، وتحاول جاهدة في هذه الأيام السيطرة على الحرم القدسي الشريف، من خلال السماح للمستوطنين الصّهاينة بالدخول إليه يوميًّا، تمهيدًا للسيطرة الكاملة عليه، ومنع أيّ ارتباط إسلاميّ بهذا المكان المقدّس عند المسلمين.

٦٠

Figure 89: *Social Studies* 7/I (2019), p. 60

The dangers faced by the Islamic monuments in Jerusalem: Activity (4): Read the following text, draw conclusions and answer the questions:

The Zionist gangs were able to take over the largest part of Palestine in 1948 until they fully took over in 1967 when the Zionist forces entered Jerusalem. Since that time, they have been pursuing a policy based on defacing the principal Arab and Islamic monuments in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem. Despite the issuance of the Security Council Resolution No. 252 of 21 May 1968, which considers all Zionist measures in Jerusalem invalid, the Zionist occupation continues to pursue the same policies today.

1. Give examples of the Zionist occupation's attempts to deface the Arabic and Islamic monuments in Jerusalem.
2. List the holy religious Christian sites in Jerusalem.

Research and write:
Some of the names of the holy religious Christian sites in Jerusalem.

I have learnt:
The Zionist occupation has been following a policy to deface Arab and Islamic sites in Palestine and especially in Jerusalem. The Zionists started to change the Islamic and Arabic identity of the city by giving it a Zionist style.

They confiscated Palestinian land and built settlements on it. They have made life difficult for Palestinian inhabitants in order to force them to leave Jerusalem and replace them with settlers. So they destroyed homes, forced them to migrate, confiscated their identity cards, separated Jerusalem from its Arab surroundings and included the Islamic monuments on the list of Zionist heritage monuments. Thus they changed the Buraq Wall to the Wailing Wall (*mabka*), destroyed the Moroccan quarter, changing its Arabic and Islamic characteristics, and removed some of the stones from the Jerusalem wall (*sūr al-quds*) replacing them with stones showing Zionist drawings and shapes. They have also inaugurated Zionist synagogues in Jerusalem's Old City, and are currently trying hard to control the *haram al-quds* [Temple Mount with Aqsa Mosque] by allowing Zionist settlers to enter it daily in preparation for full control over it and forbidding any Islamic connection to this holy site for Muslims.

The text presents facts such as the destruction of the Moroccan (Moghrabi) Quarter at the Western Wall by Israel when the latter captured East Jerusalem at the end of the Six-Day War. Some of the accusations presented, however, appear exaggerated. Using 'Zionists' with such frequency tends towards a linguistically escalatory portrayal. The authors come close to propagating a conspiracy theory in their claim that the 'Zionists' 'changed' the Buraq Wall – also sacred to Muslims because of the ascension of Muhammad – into the Wailing Wall. Furthermore, the text states, Zionists removed some of the stones from the 'Jerusalem Wall' (سور القدس, *sūr al-quds*), apparently the city wall, and replaced them with stones bearing 'Zionist drawings and shapes'. That the Jews in the Jewish sector of the Old City had had synagogues for centuries, some of which had been destroyed in the Jordanian occupation and rebuilt after 1967, is presented here as though the 'Zionists' had built those synagogues with the effect of altering the Arab-Islamic character of the Old City. This text therefore contains several elements of 'deception' and 'aggression'.

The previous edition of this textbook, published in 2017, contained a caricature showing a digger (marked as Jewish or Israeli with a Star of David) undermining Temple Mount on the following textbook page. This escalatory caricature, which reproduces the anti-Semitic stereotype of conspiracy and deception[299], is not included in the editions of *Social Studies* 7/I, 2019 and 2020.

نُفَكِّر ونتأمّلُ الرّسم الآتي، ونكتبُ فقرة عن الرسالة التي أراد الرّسّام إيصالها.

Figure 90: *Social Studies* 7/I (2018), p. 63

Think about the following drawing and write a paragraph on what the illustrator was aiming to convey.

---

299 The topos of a conspiracy by Jews and the western world to destroy the Muslim character of Palestine and Jerusalem is symbolised here by the 'undermining' of Temple Mount. See Rickenbacher: 'Der "jüdisch-westliche Krieg gegen den Islam"'.

3.3.3 THE PORTRAYAL OF ISRAELI VIOLENCE IN ARABIC LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS

In the Arabic language textbooks each chapter or lesson generally addresses the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in one way or another. Sometimes a whole chapter is composed of reading and listening material and poems written by Palestinian or Arabic writers or by the textbook authors, tasks, grammatical or writing exercises that make reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, or topics that pertain to it. In lessons that generally address different topics, or contain religious texts ('Noble Sayings of the Prophet'; أحاديث نبوية شريفة, *Aḥādīth nabawīyah sharīfah*) from the Sunnah and Qurʾān that call for tolerance, for example, the exercises generally contain at least two to three sentences that are relevant to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[300] As well as illustrations depicting the conflict and its violent consequences, the textbooks also contain portrayals that not only condemn the Israeli use of violence but at the same time dehumanise and to a certain extent demonise these Israeli actors.

Within the narrative on the conflict and events and violent acts pertaining to it, Israel is portrayed as responsible for the deprivation of and injustices towards Palestinians, who are struggling to preserve their identity and heritage. The occupation's practices are described as aggressive and oppressive, in some cases even as brutal. Furthermore, Israel is depicted as a military aggressor and a violator of human rights such as the right to mobility, the right to belong, the right to education, and the right to live at liberty, among others. For instance, in a lesson titled 'The Wall of Expansion and Annexation' (جدار الضمّ والتوسّع, *jidār a-ḍam wa a-tawassuʿ*)[301], the author lays out how 'the Zionist occupation' started to build the wall in Palestine in 2002, thus violating international agreements.

The poem 'The Homeless' (الشريد, *a-sharīd*) by the Palestinian poet Ali Hashem Rashid, addresses the right of Palestinians to belong to their country, and depicts the story of Palestinian people who were displaced, fled Palestine and became refugees in other countries due to the Nakba.[302]

Most portrayals of violence come in the narrative context of historical events (e.g. the Nakba or refugees' narratives).[303] Here, authors narrate in detail what happened in those events as a method of commemoration. *The Arabic Language* 10/II, for example, in an authored text titled 'The Massacre of Tantura Village – A Memory that will Never Die' (مَجْزَرَةُ الطَّنْطورَة ذاكِرَة لَنْ تَموت, *majzartu a-ṭanṭūra dhākira lan tamūt*) sheds light on an incident during the first Arab-Israeli war. The textbook states that war crimes were committed when hundreds of villagers were killed and displaced by the 'Zionist gangs' (العصابات الصهيونية, *al-ʿiṣābāt aṣ-ṣuhyūnīa*).[304] The authors denote this as 'in line with Zionist policy, which is based on ethnic cleansing'.[305] They detail the important historical and geographical aspects of Tantura and how it was ruined by 'the occupation': 'A massacre was committed intentionally and in a pre-meditated manner one week after the establishment of the state of the Zionist entity (genocide, forced displacement, ethnic cleansing)'.[306]

---

[300] *The Arabic Language* 9/II (2019), Chapter 1: 'Noble sayings of the Prophet' (أحاديث نبوية شريفة, *Aḥādīth nabawīyah sharīfah*).

[301] *The Arabic Language* 10/II (2019), p. 112–117: في الثالِثِ وَالعِشرينَ مِنْ حزيران عام 2002م، بدَأت جَرّافاتُ الاحتلالِ الصِهيونيّ وآلياتُهُ بإقامَة ما اتُفِقَ عَلى تَسمِيَتِه (جِدارَ الضّم وَالتَّوَسُّع) في الأراضي الفلسطينيّة المحتَلَّة.

[302] *The Arabic Language* 6/II (2019), p. 33: صَوَّرَ الشَّاعِرُ قِصَّة تشرُّد الشَّعْب الفِلَسطينيّ، وَما حَلَّ به بِفِعْل النَّكْبَة (الشَّريد) الَّتي أخِذتْ مِنها هذِهِ المَقاطعُ الشَّعرِيَّة.

[303] The Arabic Language 5/I (2019), p. 83: تُعَدُّ النَّكْبَة الَّتي حدَثتْ للشَّعْب الفِلَسطينيّ عام ألْفٍ وَتِسْعِمِئَةٍ وَثمانية وأرْبَعين أمَّ المَآسي، فقد وَلَّدتْ كَثيراً من المَصائِب مِنْ تَهجيرٍ، وهدمٍ للمُدن وَالقُرى والبُيوت، وقَتل وترويع، وَجوع ومرض وفقر. [...]

[304] It is worth noticing that the term 'Zionist gangs' (العصابات الصهيونية) is used here and in other textbooks and passages referring to Jewish paramilitary units before the establishment of the Israeli army. The term *ʿiṣāba* could also be translated as 'brigade' or 'unit'.

[305] *The Arabic Language* 10/II (2018), p. 22: ما ينسجم مع سياسة الصهاينة القائمة على التطهير العرقي.

[306] *The Arabic Language* 10/II (2018), p. 22: المقالُ الذي بين أيدينا يُلقي الضَّوءَ عَلى إحْدى المَجازِرِ الَّتي ارتَكَبتها العِصابات الصهيونيّة عامَ النَّكْبَة وَما بَعْدَها ما يَرْبو عَلى ثمانينَ مَجْزَرَةً، وَمِنْ أبْشَع هذِه المَجازِر الَّتي كُشِفَ عَنْ تَفاصيلها مُؤخَّراً مَجْزَرَةُ قرية الطَّنْطورة (إحْدى القُرى الفَلَسطينيّة المُهَجَّرة) التّابِعَة لقَضاء مدينة حيفا، وَقَدْ راحَ ضحيَّتها المِئاتُ مِنْ أبْناء هذِه القَرية، ثُمَّ دُمِّرت تدميراً كامِلاً، وسُوّيت مَبانيها بالأرْض، ما ينسجم مع سياسة الصَّهاينة القائِمَة عَلى التطهير العرقي، وَتَهْجير الفِلَسطينيِّينَ مِنْ مدنهم وقراهم [...]لارتكابها عَمْداً، وبتخطيطٍ مُسَبَّقٍ عَلى يَدِ جَيْشٍ مُنَظَّم في أثناء الهدنَةِ الثَّانية، وَلَمّا يَمْض غَيْرُ أسْبوع واحِدٍ على قيام دولَة الكيان الصهيوني. [...]

The authors refer to documents and testimonies from the soldiers who participated in the attack on Tantura and from villagers who were displaced, focusing on how the Israeli soldiers were indifferent to human rights and describing their policy as one of oppression, killing and destruction. The authors state that the Israeli authorities show a 'lack of respect' for the memory of the Palestinian victims and the Arab heritage of the land: 'The occupation has transformed the cemeteries into a tourist resort, without placing any importance on human values'.[307] They note that 'Palestinians are not able to return to their homes because of the occupation's racist laws',[308] and they end the text with the statement that Palestinians will never stop dreaming of returning to their homes.

Whether true or untrue, this narrative of a historical event makes grave accusations and portrays Israeli actors as overly aggressive and generally homogenous. Even though several allegations appear to reflect research by critical Israeli historians[309] regarding what happened at Tantura, the textbook does not mention these critical voices within Israeli society. In the context of a different historical event, however, the massacre committed by Israeli troops against the inhabitants of the Arab village al-Dawayima (الدوايمة) in October 1948, the textbook The Arabic Language 7/II establishes that 'details of this massacre were revealed by a reporter from a Zionist newspaper'.[310] It is striking here that, even when pointing out that it was an Israeli journalist who was the first to publish facts leading to a reassessment of the event in the Israeli public sphere, the designation 'Israeli' continues to be avoided, the term 'Zionist' once again being employed.[311]

The present-day Israeli-Palestinian conflict often appears in Arabic language textbooks when they refer to the realities of the students' everyday lives. For instance, a whole lesson of The Arabic Language 7/II, spanning ten pages, addresses the 'struggle of Palestinians on the move'.[312] The lesson starts with a listening exercise concerning a teacher who was prevented from moving freely and reaching his workplace by the 'occupation soldiers' (جنود الاحتلال, junūd al-iḥtilāl), and who was ultimately killed while trying to cross a checkpoint. Students are asked in the comprehension exercise that follows to name other images that symbolise the struggle of Palestinians in relation to Israeli checkpoints and barriers. The reading text addresses the same issue, describing their negative effects, such as the segregation of Palestinian society and consequent suffering on several levels, as people cannot move freely and are 'harassed, insulted, arrested and killed while waiting for many hours at Israeli checkpoints'.[313] In these texts, beside elements depicting the violence of everyday situations, such negative attributions of the Israeli soldiers are adding escalatory potential to the portrayals.

For instance, a reading exercise in The Arabic Language 9/II titled 'Sniper Deprives him of his Sight'[314] by the Palestinian author Zaki Al Ila narrates the story of 'Youssef', a Palestinian child who was shot by a sniper during the first Palestinian uprising 1987-1993 (Intifada) while walking home from school with a friend, who in turn was paralysed by the gunshot wounds. In this story Palestinian children are portrayed as victims, killed, injured and deprived of their dreams by 'the occupation army' in the course of their

[307] The Arabic Language 10/II (2018), p. 25: وَمِنَ المُفارِقاتِ العَجيبَةِ الدّالَّةِ عَلى اسْتِهْتارِ الصَّهايِنَةِ بِكُلِّ القِيَمِ الإنْسانِيَّةِ، أنَّهم حَوَّلوا المَقْبَرَةَ الَّتي احْتَضَنَتِ العَشَراتِ مِنْ أبْناءِ القَرْيَةِ إلى مُنْتَجَعٍ سِياحيّ.

[308] The Arabic Language 10/II (2019), p. 26: بَيْنَما حالَ الاحْتِلالُ بِجُمْلَةٍ مِنْ قَوانينِهِ العُنْصُرِيَّةِ، وَما زال يَحولُ دونَ عَوْدَةِ أهالي الطَّنْطورَةِ.

[309] Cf. Morris, Benny: The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 247.

[310] The Arabic Language Teacher Guide 7/II (2019), p. 316: ' حَيْثُ قامَتِ العِصاباتُ الصَّهْيونِيَّة بِارْتِكابِ هذِهِ المَجْزَرة، وَقَدْ ظَلَّتْ تَفاصيلُها طَيَّ الكِتْمانِ، إلى أنْ كَشَفَتْ عَنْها لأوَّلِ مَرَّةٍ مُراسِلَةُ صحيفةٍ صِهْيونِيَّةٍ خِلالَ شَهرِ أيْلولِ مِنْ عامِ ألْفٍ وَتِسْعِمِئَةٍ وَأرْبَعَةٍ وَثَمانينَ ميلادِي.

[311] The article is by journalist Yair Auron: 'Breaking the Silence: The Poem that Exposed Israeli War Crimes in 1948', Ha'aretz, 18 March 2016, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-the-poem-that-exposed-atrocities-perpetrated-by-israel-in-48-1.5418995, accessed 21 October 2020.

[312] The Arabic Language 7/II (2017), p. 63–73: مُعاناةِ الشَّعْبِ الفِلَسْطينِيِّ على الحواجِزِ الصَّهْيونِيَّة المُنْتَشِرة في أرْجاءِ فِلَسْطينَ.

[313] The Arabic Language 7/II (2017), p. 64: إذْ يُعاني كَثيرٌ مِنْ أبْنائِهِ مِنَ المُضايَقاتِ، والإهاناتِ، والاعْتِقالِ، والقَتْلِ فيقِف كَثيرٌ مِنهم مُنْتَظِرينَ ساعاتٍ طِوالاً في طابور. [...]

[314] The Arabic Language 9/II (2019), p. 50-55: قَناص يخطف بصره.

everyday lives. The text conjures up the symbols of the First Intifada from the child's perspective of an everyday life permeated with violence by having Youssef think about 'the Apache aircraft, the M-16, the sniper, the heavy bullets, the slingshot, the stones, the *shuhadā'*, the wounded, the ambulances…'.[315]

The text highlights the power imbalance between Palestinians – here Palestinian children – and the Israeli military in the conflict context, while the children are portrayed as lacking in agency or indeed hope:

> The north side of the camp: burning tyres, yells, a wagon turned upside down, empty barrels, a group of boys carrying stones and pebbles in their soft palms, cries, ambulances sirens, bullets scattering around the children, cautious soldiers hiding behind distant concrete barriers, a distance that the stones of the children cannot reach, the roar of a plane, the bursts of a machine gun, a sniper hiding behind a concrete wall, shooting his bullets at the children.[316]

The perpetrators are explicitly referred to as 'the occupation' and once as 'the Israeli sniper' (القنّاص الإسرائيلي, *al-qannāṣ al-Isrā'īlī*) who was shooting at children while they were crossing the street and is thus depicted as an existential threat to them. According to the story, some other children tried to defend themselves by throwing rocks at the soldiers, who were shooting at them from behind concrete barriers.

Figure 91: *The Arabic Language* 9/II (2019), p. 50

The reading text is illustrated by a montage of images showing, on the right, two armed Israeli soldiers, one of whom is pointing his weapon at a target on the left, where a photograph of a small boy with a bandage on his right eye has been inserted. He is holding a portrait of a boy in a mortarboard, presumably himself, which may be intended to highlight his now shattered dreams as a result of his injury. The aggressive reddish tones with which the soldiers' montage is overlaid form a striking contrast with the paler yellow tones on the side with the child and his photograph. The montage suggests that the Israeli sniper was purposely aiming at the little boy, and thus produces a demonising and dehumanising portrayal of the 'other'; in this case the Israeli soldier. The text also implies a fundamental malice and inherent barbarity of soldiers who aim their weapons, as it comes across in the text, at children crossing the street. The story and its visualisation portray the Israeli soldiers as aggressive and insidious, hiding behind concrete barriers while shooting at the children.

---

[315] *The Arabic Language* 9/II (2019), p. 51: طائِرَةُ الأباتشي، إم 16، القَنّاصِ، رَصاصٍ ثَقيل، المِقلاعِ، الحَجَرِ، الشُّهَداءِ، الجَرحى، سَيّاراتِ الإسعافِ.

[316] *The Arabic Language* 9/II (2019), p. 51: طَرَف المُخَيَّم مِنَ النّاحِيَةِ الشَّماليَّةِ، إطاراتٌ مُشتَعِلَةٌ، عَرَبَةٌ مَقلوبَةٌ، بَراميلُ فارِغَةٌ، ثَمَّة مَجموعَةٌ مِنَ الصِّبيَةِ يَحمِلونَ حِجارَةً وَحَصى في أكُفِّهِمُ الطَّريَّةِ، نِداءاتٌ، أبواقُ سَيّاراتِ إسعافٍ، رَصاصٌ يَتَناثَرُ حَولَ الفِتيَةِ، الجُنودُ يَتَمَترَسونَ خَلَف حَواجِزَ إسمَنتيَّةٍ بَعيدَةٍ، مَسافَةٌ لا تَصِلُها حِجارَةُ الصِّبيَةِ، هَديرُ طائِرَةٍ، رَشَقاتُ رَشّاشٍ، قَنّاصٌ يَختَمي بساتِرٍ باطونٍ، يُوَزِّعُ رَصاصاتِهِ، وَيَنثُرُها ناحِيَةَ الفِتيَةِ.

3.3.4 THE PORTRAYAL OF ISRAELI VIOLENCE IN NATURAL SCIENCES TEXTBOOKS

Israeli violence is portrayed in real-life connections in textbooks for mathematics and the natural sciences. Most of the 43 real-life connections in which Israelis appear portray them as perpetrators, homogeneously referring to them as the '(Zionist) occupation', the 'occupation forces', or the 'occupation soldiers', i.e. as collective entities in an exclusively military context and as oppressive occupiers. Two of the 43 real-life-connections show individual actors as perpetrators: a soldier and a settler, who remain unnamed. One exercise following a lesson on the human lymphatic system inquires as to the dangers facing a boy named Rami who has been beaten on his left side by an Israeli soldier.[317] The other is a real-life connection in a statistics lesson: 'A settler is shooting at passing cars on a road. If the probability of his hitting a car with a bullet is 0.7 and he shoots at 10 cars, how many cars are likely to have been hit?'[318] Both actors are portrayed committing acts of physical aggression. In the 2020 edition the arithmetic problem itself is the same, but the settler has been replaced by a hunter. The conflict context with the Israeli actor is thus removed from the exercise, alleviating its escalatory potential.

In contrast to the Israeli perpetrators, Palestinians are mostly presented as civilians. Some of them are fictional protagonists representing a profession (engineers, farmers, doctors or teachers), which in some cases highlights their economic relevance for Palestinian society. This aspect is also notable in a conflict-related context (resources, agriculture, etc.) and portrays Israel in unfair competition with Palestinians.

An escalatory portrayal depicts Jewish protagonists in real-life connections in the process of what the textbook calls the 'Judaisation of Jerusalem' (تهويد القدس, *tahwīd al-quds*),

in an exercise about solubility in water. The introductory text describes a Jewish organisation of settlers who 'work [...] silently' (تعمل [...] و بصمت) in Jerusalem as a part of a 'policy of Judaisation of the districts of Jerusalem, changing the population and the identity of places'.[319] The text thus attributes deceptive strategies to the protagonists, who, here by way of rare exception, are called Jewish settlers rather than Israeli or Zionist settler organisations (الجمعيات الاستيطانية اليهودية).[320]

The text presents a district of Jerusalem as home to Ali's mother, who is making a traditional Ramadan dessert, requiring sugar syrup, to serve to the *Murābiṭūn* (المرابطون), a group of Muslim men and women who take turns to stay day and night in the Aqsa Mosque. The description of the process by which the sugar dissolves in water establishes the real-life connection between the chemistry teaching content and everyday life. This is the only reference to the Murābiṭūn in a real-life connection; the first working task question inquires as to 'the role of the *Murābiṭūn* in the Aqsa Mosque'. While teachers may well open up the question to discussion in class, the teacher manual nevertheless provides 'the' answer: 'The role of the *Murābiṭūn* is to defend oneself against the Zionist gangs that are continuously storming the Aqsa Mosque and its compound and to maintain it as an absolute Islamic monument [...]'.[321] This passage stands out from the real-life connections described in Chapter 4 in terms of its description of Jewish settling organisations and their deceptive approach to judaising Jerusalem. The reference to 'Zionist gangs' is also noteworthy as the term is usually used for Jewish paramilitary units with reference to the period before the establishment of the State of Israel. Here this term may have been used to refer to non-state actors.

---

[317] *Science and Life* 9/I (2019), p. 48: ٤- تعرّض رامي لضربةٍ من جنديٍّ إسرائيليٍّ على جانبه الأيسر، ما مخاطر ذلك؟

[318] *Mathematics* 11; humanities and sharia tracks (2018), p. 55: يُطلق أحد المستوطنين النار على السيارات المارة في إحدى الطرق، إذا كان احتمال إصابته للسيارة في الطلقة الواحدة هو 0,7، أطلق المستوطن النار على 10 سيارات، ما توقعك لعدد السيارات التي أُصيبت؟

[319] *Science and Life* 7/II (2019), p. 45: [...] المدينة القدس القديمة، حيث تعمل الجمعيات الاستيطانية اليهودية وبصمت في هذا الحي في إطار سياسة تهويد الأحياء الفلسطينية المقدسية. [...]

[320] Cf. Rickenbacher: 'Der "jüdisch-westliche Krieg gegen den Islam"'.

[321] *Life Sciences Teacher Guide* 7 (2018), p. 200: دور المرابطين هو التصدي للعصابات الصهيونية التي تعمل على اقتحام المسجد الأقصى وساحاته باستمرار، وللحفاظ عليه مَعْلماً إسلامياً خالصاً، فهو أولى القبلتين وثالث الحرمين الشريفين.

3.4 THE PORTRAYAL OF PALESTINIAN VIOLENCE AGAINST ISRAEL

3.4.1 VIOLENT AND PEACEFUL MEANS OF PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

The grand narrative of Palestinian nation-building is closely interlaced with the concepts of struggle and resistance. It draws connections with other, more universal narratives such as that of the anti-colonial struggle for independence, drawing on the latter to arrive at the concept of revolution.

History textbooks portray the current conflict with Israel as ongoing and as unaccomplished decolonisation with its roots in the British mandate and its apex in the 'Zionist occupation'. With *History* 11/I (2018), a whole book is dedicated to colonialism and its effects, examples of colonialism and post-colonial theory. *History* 11/II (2019) focuses on anti-colonial liberation movements in Asia and Africa. The history book for year 12, and some chapters for year 10, as well as sections in other books for civics and social studies, also address forms of anti-colonial resistance, the various revolutions that shaped the modern world, and leading figures such as Gandhi, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro and Ho Chi Minh. The textbooks start with the theoretical framework and move on to concrete examples, including French colonialism in Morocco and the British mandate in Iraq, Jordan and Palestine, placing the colonial-settler frame for France in Algeria, Italy in Libya and 'Zionism in Palestine'. Palestine's path to liberation from the yoke of colonialism – i.e. from Zionism according to the textbook for year 12 – has to be achieved via a 'people's revolution'. Nevertheless, this path is long and rocky and demands patience, as the caption of the first illustration in the second textbook unit suggests:

الوَحدة الثانية:

ثورات شعبية

نُفكّر، ونتأمل:
الطَّريق إلى فِلَسطين ليست بالبعيدة، ولا بالقريبة؛ إنّها بمسافة الثّورة.

Figure 92: *History* 12 (2019), p. 40

Unit two:
People's revolutions
Think and reflect:
The path to Palestine is neither far nor near; it is as far away as the revolution.

The following page presents the learning objectives for the unit and the competencies the students are expected to gain:
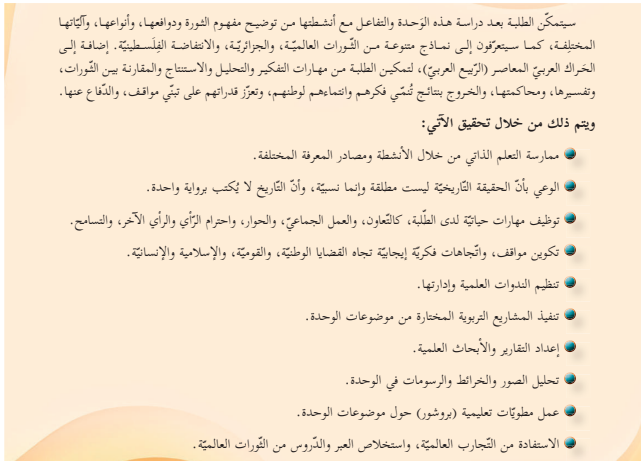
سيتمكّن الطلبة بعد دراسة هذه الوَحدة والتفاعل مع أنشطتها من توضيح مفهوم الثورة ودوافعها، وأنواعها، وآليّاتها المختلفة، كما سيتعرّفون إلى نماذج متنوعة من الثّورات العالميّة، والجزائريّة، والانتفاضة الفلسطينيّة. إضافة إلى الحَراك العربيّ المعاصر (الرّبيع العربيّ)، لتمكين الطلبة من مهارات التفكير والتحليل والاستنتاج والمقارنة بين الثّورات، وتفسيرها، ومحاكمتها، والخروج بنتائج تُنمّي فكرهم وانتماءهم لوطنهم، وتعزّز قدراتهم على تبنّي مواقف، والدّفاع عنها.

ويتم ذلك من خلال تحقيق الآتي:

● ممارسة التعلم الذاتي من خلال الأنشطة ومصادر المعرفة المختلفة.

● الوعي بأنّ الحقيقة التّاريخيّة ليست مطلقة وإنما نسبيّة، وأنّ التّاريخ لا يُكتب برواية واحدة.

● توظيف مهارات حياتيّة لدى الطّلبة، كالتّعاون، والعمل الجماعيّ، والحوار، واحترام الرّأي والرّأي الآخر، والتسامح.

● تكوين مواقف، واتّجاهات فكريّة إيجابيّة تجاه القضايا الوطنيّة، والقوميّة، والإسلاميّة والإنسانيّة.

● تنظيم الندوات العلمية وإدارتها.

● تنفيذ المشاريع التربوية المختارة من موضوعات الوحدة.

● إعداد التقارير والأبحاث العلمية.

● تحليل الصور والخرائط والرسومات في الوحدة.

● عمل مطويّات تعليمية (بروشور) حول موضوعات الوحدة.

● الاستفادة من التّجارب العالميّة، واستخلاص العبر والدّروس من الثّورات العالميّة.

Figure 93: *History* 12 (2019), p. 41

After studying this unit and completing the included activities, the students will be able to define the concept of revolution and its causes, types and tools. They will also be introduced to various examples of revolutions in the world: the Algerian Revolution, the Palestinian uprising and current Arab movements (the Arab Spring). To train students' thinking, analysis, inference, and comparison between revolutions, they should explain and judge them, drawing conclusions that develop their minds and their sense of belonging to their country, strengthening their ability to take a stand and defend it.

This is achieved by the following:

- Practicing self-learning through the activities and different knowledge sources
- Awareness that historical truths are not absolute but relative, and that history is not written in one narrative
- Engaging life skills of the students such as cooperation, teamwork, dialogue, respecting each other's opinions, and tolerance
- Forming attitudes and positive patriotic thought on national, Islamic and humanitarian causes
- Organising and moderating academic seminars
- Carrying out the selected pedagogical projects from the unit topics
- Preparing reports and academic research
- Analysing photographs, maps and drawings given in the unit
- Making brochures on the topics of the unit
- Benefiting from international experiences, lessons learnt from international revolutions

The first lesson of the unit begins by addressing the learning objectives, followed by an illustration of the public uprising around 2011 in which one masked man is carrying the Palestinian flag, another the Egyptian flag and a third the Tunisian flag:

الدَّرس الأوّل: الثّورة

يُتَوَقَّع من الطّلبة بعد الانتهاء من الدّرس أن يكونوا قادرين على:

(١) تعريف الثّورة.

(٢) توضيح دوافع الثّورات.

(٣) تصنيف الثّورات إلى أنواعها، مع الأمثلة.

(٤) تفسير أهمّيّة الثّورة للشعوب.

(٥) استنتاج عوامل نجاح الثّورات أو فشلها في تحقيق أهدافها.

التّهيئة الحافزة:

يرى البعض أنّ اندلاع الثّورات ضرورة للخروج من الوضع الرّاهن، وتغييره نحو الأفضل، خاصّة في حياة الشّعوب الواقعة تحت الاستعمار، فتصبح الثّورة وسيلتها الرّئيسة للتّحرّر والاستقلال. أمّا في الأنظمة الفاسدة، فتكون الثّورة ضرورة لخلاص الشّعب من الفقر والظّلم وعدم المساواة، وغياب العدالة.

وهناك من يدّعي أنّ الثّورات ما هي إلّا أعمال عنف ودمار، ينتج عنها كثير من الخسائر البشريّة والماديّة دون رادع حقيقيّ، فتصبح أداة تغيير سلبيّة، تنقل النّاس من النّور إلى الظّلام، ومن الاستقرار إلى الفوضى، وربما تقود إلى حرب أهليّة، تؤدّي إلى انقسام أعمق للوطن والشّعب.

● ما رأيك بهذا الادّعاء؟ وكيف تردّ عليه؟

مفهوم الثّورة:

نشاط (١): نلاحظ الصّورة، ونستنتج، ثمّ نجيب:

● نَصِفُ ما نشاهده في الصّورة.

● إلى أيّ الثّورات ترمُز هذه الشخصيات الظاهرة في الصّورة؟

Figure 94: *History* 12 (2019), p. 42

First Lesson: the Revolution

After finishing this lesson, students are expected to be able to:

1. Define [the concept of] revolution
2. Clarify causes of revolutions
3. Classify revolutions into different types, giving examples
4. Explain the importance of revolutions to the people
5. Deduce the successes or failures of revolutions to achieve their aims

Warm up:

Some people believe that revolutions are necessary in order to move beyond current conditions and bring about change for the better, especially for people under colonisation. Revolution thus becomes a main vehicle for independence and liberation. In corrupt regimes, revolutions are necessary to help people move out of poverty, oppression and injustice.

And there are some who claim that revolutions are no more than violent and destructive movements that result in a lot of damage and loss of human life with no real justification. In this view, it is a negative tool of change that transfers people from light into darkness, from stability into chaos and may lead to civil wars that result in deeper division of the country and its people.

* What is your opinion of such a statement? How would you respond to it?

The concept of revolution:

Exercise 1: Look at the picture, draw conclusions and answer the questions:

* Describe what you see in the picture.
* Which revolution do the people in the picture symbolise?

The didactically orientated task calls for a discussion amongst the students on the nature of revolutions. The last exercise calls upon students to locate Palestian revolutions within the context of uprisings in Egypt and Tunesia of the last decade. These countries have also seen heated debates about the legitimacy and forms of revolutions, voicing similar positions to the ones given in the exercise above.

A text-and-image combination summarises that the Palestinian 'Revolution', like (almost) all revolutions has witnessed phases of peaceful resistance between violent events:

Figure 95: *History* 12 (2019), p. 43

Revolutions are known to be attempts to bring radical change to societies. They could be planned by elites or be spontaneously initiated by ordinary people. [...]

Causes of revolutions:

Activity 2: Read the text, look at the photo, draw conclusions and answer the questions:

Human history witnessed several outbreaks of revolution, some related to political conditions and others also involving economic and cultural aspects. Overall, they all aim to achieve better standards for the society and are considered a means of social change. Causes of revolutions therefore vary according to the circumstances from which they evolve and the rebels' aims, ambitions, ideology or values.

- Mention revolutions that have occurred over history in political, economic and cultural areas.
- Work out other methods of social change.

[Image] Figure 1: Palestinian Revolutionaries

The text continues to explain that public uprisings aim to change the prevailing conditions for the better, sometimes using force; sometimes using peaceful means.[322] While the text does not go into further detail regarding methods of revolution, the accompanying image does go one step further than the image of the street fight on p. 40 of the same book. The image with the caption 'Palestinian revolutionaries' shows five masked fighters armed with machine guns. Here the textbook has left the context of comparatively civilian resistance in the form of stone-throwing and is now addressing military, potentially lethal violence which – such is the message in the juxtaposition of text and image – has also been a part of the 'Palestinian Revolution'.

The textbook depicts the First Intifada (1987–1993) as a prominent milestone of that protracted revolution in which forms of violent protest were carried out alongside those of peaceful resistance:

أساليب الانتفاضة:

نشاط (٣): نُلاحظ، ونستنتج، ثُمّ نجيب:

● نُناقش الأساليب الّتي استخدمتها الانتفاضة الفلَسطينيّة في مقاومة الاحتلال عام ١٩٨٧م.
● نُفسِّر سبب تسمية الانتفاضة الفلَسطينيّة عام ١٩٨٧م انتفاضة الحجارة.
● نستنتج أساليب وأدوات أخرى تَمّ توظيفها في الانتفاضة عام ١٩٨٧م.

Figure 96: *History* 12 (2019), p. 58

The photographs show a person spraying slogans and shops closed during a strike as peaceful forms of resistance. The picture of the slogan 'On the road to freeing the land and human beings' (على طريق تحرير الأرض والإنسان, *'ala ṭarīk taḥrīr al-arḍ wal insān*) and the picture of the Dome of the Rock framed by the black-and-white chequered fishnet pattern of a keffiyeh stand for the objective of the 'revolutionary path': the liberation of Jerusalem and Palestine.[323]

Burning car tyres, a hand armed with stones, and a man with his face covered brandishing a slingshot in a group of similarly dressed people symbolise the use of violence against an – here invisible – opponent, presumably Israeli soldiers. The exercises require the students to engage with the methods of the First Intifada presented here. By referring to the 1987 Intifada as the 'Uprising of Stones' (انتفاضة الحجارة, *intifāḍat al- ḥijāra*) they emphasise the significance of stones as weapons against the Israeli occupation. These images, in combination with the exercises, display but do not necessarily promote the use of possibly lethal violence using military arsenal. A few pages later, the authored text summarising the First Intifada begins by emphasising peaceful means of resistance: 'popular demonstrations of men, women and children who raised Palestinian flags, sometimes waving the Palestinian keffiyeh, throwing rocks or empty bottles at the soldiers of the occupation, setting fire to damaged tyres, closing their commercial stores, staging collective strikes, workers' strikes, or setting up barriers on main roads and entrances to residential areas to impede the movement of the occupation mechanisms.'[324]

---

[322] *History* 12 (2019), p. 44.

[323] *History* 12 (2019), p. 58.

[324] *History* 12 (2019), p. 58: اتخذت الانتفاضة من المقاومة الشعبية السلمية أسلوبًا رئيسًا لأنشطتها؛ كمشهد التظاهرات الشعبية من الرجال، والنساء، والأطفال الذين يرفعون أعلام فلسطين، ويتلثمون بالكوفيّة الفلسطينية، ويرشقون جنود الاحتلال بالحجارة، أو الزجاجات الفارغة، ويشعلون إطارات السيارات التالفة، أو يغلقون أبواب محلاتهم التجارية في إضرابات تجارية جماعية منظمة، أو يمتنعون عن الذهاب إلى أماكن عملهم في إضرابات عمالية، ويضعون الحواجز على الطرق الرئيسية، ومداخل التجمعات السكنية لإعاقة حركة آليات الاحتلال.

It was, the textbook maintains, the 'brutality of the occupation and the practice of a policy of breaking bones [of the Palestinian protesters]'[325] that ultimately caused the escalation leading to the Intifada and to the violent use of arms: 'Finally, military means were used in what became known as the militarisation of the uprising, which focused on the use of individual firearms to respond to the occupation's crimes against unarmed civilians.'[326] Here the textbook appears to be presenting the use of arms as counterviolence during the First Intifada in response to violence from Israelis towards 'unarmed civilians'. The euphemistic term 'individual firearms' harbours a certain contradiction to the aforementioned 'military means' that suggest a coordinated effort rather than the use of 'small arms'.

The considerably more bloody Second Intifada (2000–2005) is addressed by the textbooks in less detail; *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019) features a two-page presentation of the Second Intifada within a comprehensive chapter on Palestinian resistance and the Oslo Peace Process. The summarising paragraph here also holds Israeli policy responsible for the outbreak of the uprising: 'the continuation of the occupation in his [Israel's] oppressive policy of the confiscation of land, the Judaisation of Jerusalem, the arrests, the refusal to release prisoners, and the repeated incursions into Al-Aqsa and the areas of the Palestinian National Authority'.[327] The textbook names Ariel Sharon's visit to Temple Mount on 28 September 2000 as the direct trigger for the Second Intifada. The clashes 'between worshippers and the occupation army' led to a large number of '*shuhadā*' and wounded', with the result that the uprising 'spread all over Palestinian lands'. This textbook also speaks of a 'military' form of resistance in this context: 'The Second Intifada was distinguished by its military character, as it witnessed a number of confrontations and armed operations between the resistance and the occupation forces; the resistance of the Palestinian people was united, so a higher follow-up committee was formed for the national and Islamic forces.'[328]

With regard to the portrayal of violence, a significant point of criticism is that the textbooks make no mention of the numerous suicide attacks on Israeli territory that resulted in much bloodshed and became characteristic of the Second Intifada, as well as the violent use of arms and the Israeli besiegement of the occupied territories.

The textbook *Social Studies* 9/I also takes up the theme of resistance in the sense of the g*rand narrative of Palestinian nation-building*. In unit 2, chapters 1 and 2, the textbook discusses the emergence of liberation movements and violent vs. non-violent as the different forms of resistance. Resistance is defined as 'confronting the coloniser by peaceful or military means, or both, to respond to injury, maintain existence and identity, and gain freedom. It is a legitimate right confirmed by monotheistic canons and international conventions'.[329] The textbook provides examples of both kinds of resistance (violent and non-violent), drawing on different cases from history, such as Algeria. When relating these reflections to Palestine, the text demonstrates that Palestinians have engaged in violent resistance over the course of the Palestinian struggle. Returning to the present, the textbooks describe non-violent forms of resistance through peaceful protests, engagement with the international community to enforce international law in the Palestinian territories, promotion of Palestinian national products, and the boycotting of Israeli products in Palestine. A compilation of photographs in *Social Studies* 9/I, p. 48, summarises the various 'forms of peaceful protest' (أشكال المقاومة السلميّة, *ashkāl al-muqāwama a-silmīa*):

---

[325] *History* 12 (2019), p. 59:0 […]. وحشية الاحتلال، وممارسة سياسة تكسير العظام

[326] *History* 12 (2019), p. 59: وأخيرًا استُخدم الأسلوب العسكري فيما عُرف بعسكرة الانتفاضة، وهي دعوات ركَّزت على استخدام السلاح الناري الفردي مقابل أسلحة الاحتلال؛ للردّ على جرائم الاحتلال بحقّ المدنيين العزّل.

[327] *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 82:[…]، بالإضافة إلى استمرار الاحتلال في سياسته القمعية في مصادرة الأرض، وتهويد القدس، والاعتقالات، ورفض الإفراج عن الأسرى، والاقتحامات المتكررة للأقصى، ومناطق السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية.

[328] *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 83: تميزت الانتفاضة الثّانية بطابعها العسكري، حيث شهدت عدداً من المواجهات والعمليات المسلحة بين المقاومة، وقوّات الاحتلال، ووحّدت مقاومة الشّعب الفِلَسطينيّ، فتشكّلت لجنة المتابعة العليا للقوى الوطنيّة والإسلامية.

[329] *Social Studies* 9/I (2019), p. 46: المقاومة: تعني مواجهة المستعمر بالطرق السلمية والعسكريّة، أو كليهما؛ لردّ الأذى، والمحافظة على الوجود، والهويّة، ونيل الحريّة، وهو حق مشروع، أقرّته جميع الشرائع السماوية، والمواثيق الدولية.

نشاط (٢-جـ)

نلاحظُ الصُّوَر الآتية، ونستنتجُ، ثمَّ نُجيب:

عائدون يا فلسطين

ربي ولِّدك على خير بلادك

ماء وملح
معركة دحر الاعتقال الإداري

شكل (١): أشكال المقاومة السلميّة

١- نُصنِّف أشكال المقاومة السّلميّة المبيّنة في الصُّوَر.

٢- نستنتجُ السبّب الّذي حمل التّاجر على وضع عبارة: (المُنتَجُ فلَسطينيٌّ) على الرَّفّ.

٣- نذكرُ أشكالًا أخرى للمقاومة السّلميّة.

Figure 97: *Social Studies* 9/I (2019), p. 48

Activity (2-c)

Observe the following images, draw conclusions, and then answer the questions:

[Images] Figure (1): Forms of peaceful resistance

1) Categorise the forms of peaceful resistance displayed in the images.
2) Work out why the merchant marked the products on the shelf with the label: 'Palestinian product.'
3) Mention other forms of peaceful resistance.

A few pages later, *Social Studies* 9/I (2019) once again juxtaposes methods of non-violent resistance with those of violent force over the course of Palestinian history in a text, together with a compilation of images:

• أشكال المقاومة الفلسطينيّة تجاه الاحتلال الصهيوني:

نشاط (٣)

نقرأ النّص الآتي، ونلاحظ الصور، ونستنتج، ثم نُجيب:

"يا من تجسّدون بوحدة إرادتكم، وبزخم عطائكم وتضحياتكم، وبتصعيدكم المتجدّد للانتفاضة الرّدّ الحاسم على ادّعاءات أعدائكم بأنّ الانتفاضة تخبو، وأن نَفسكم النّضاليّ قد ضعف، فإنّ الانتفاضة تحقّق يومًا بعد يوم مزيدًا مِنَ الإنجازات عن طريق نيل حرّيّتنا، وها أنتم بتعزيزكم المتصاعد بمقاطعة أجهزة المحتلّين، كالاستقالات المتزايدة من دوائر الإدارة المدنية، وعدم دفع الضّرائب للمحتلّ، وتعزيز مقاطعة المصنوعات الصّهيونيّة، ودعم الصّناعات الوطنيّة، ومقاطعة العمل في المستوطنات، وتكثيف الزّراعة لأرضنا، أو التربية الحيوانيّة البيئيّة، وترشيد الاستهلاك، وتحقيق مضمون التّكافل والتّضامن الاجتماعيّ، وتعزيز بناء أجهزة سلطة الشّعب بالتّصعيد النّضاليّ في وجه المحتلّ، والخارجين عن إرادة شعبنا، وفي الالتزام التّامّ لقطاعات شعبنا بالبرنامج النّضاليّ، والقرارات الصّادرة عن منظّمة التّحرير الفلَسطينيّة".

(القيادة الوطنيّة الموحّدة ، نداء رقم ١٩، عام ١٩٨٨م)

٤٩

Figure 98: *Social Studies* 9/I (2019), p. 49

١- نُناقشُ أشكال المقاومة الفلَسطينيّة الّتي وردت في النّصّ.

٢- نذكر الفترة الزمنيّة الّتي تعود إليها المقاومة الفلَسطينيّة الظّاهرة في الصُّوَر.

٣- نستنتج الآثار الّتي تركتها المقاومة الفلَسطينيّة على الاحتلال الصّهيونيّ.

أنا تعلَّمت:

المقاومة الفلَسطينيّة هي ردّة الفعل الطبيعة للشعب الفلسطيني في الداخل والشتات، ويشير إلى الحراك والسّياسات والدّعوات والعمليّات الّتي تدعو إلى مقاومة الاحتلال، والاضطهاد الصّهيونيّ، في سبيل نيل الحرية والاستقلال وبناء الدولة على تراب الوطن كباقي شعوب العالم، وتنوعت أشكال المقاومة الفلسطينية بتغير الظروف السياسية والعسكرية واتخذت الشكلين الآتيين:

المقاومة المسلحة: بدأت المقاومة الفلَسطينيّة المسلحة مع بداية الهجرة الصّهيونيّة إلى فلَسطين في نهايات القرن التّاسع عشر، وتصاعدت مع تزايدها، ثمّ تحولت إلى عمل سياسيّ عسكريّ، وثورات مع بداية الانتداب البريطانيّ، ومن أبرز الثورات الفلسطينية:ثورة البراق عام ١٩٢٩م، وثورة عام ١٩٣٦م، وإعلان الإضراب الكبير الذي يعد أطول إضراب تاريخي، وتوالت عمليات المقاومة بعد صدور قرار التقسيم والاحتلال الصهيوني لفلسطين عام ١٩٤٨م، وقد تبنّت منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية المقاومة المسلحة منذ نشأتها عام ١٩٦٥م.

المقاومة السّلميّة، عن طريق الانتفاضات الشعبية كانتفاضة الحجارة عام ١٩٨٧م، وانتفاضة الأقصى

٥٠

عام ٢٠٠٠م، والاعتصامات، والمظاهرات، والمهرجانات الوطنية، والظّهور في المحافل الدّوليّة؛ للمطالبة بحق الشّعب الفِلَسطينيّ في تقرير المصير، وعودة اللّاجئين إلى أراضيهم، كما اتّخذ بعضها أشكالًا اقتصاديّة، كإنشاء البنوك الوطنيّة، والدّعوة إلى مقاطعة البضائع الصّهيونيّة، سواءٌ في الأراضي الفِلَسطينيّة المحتلّة، أو العالم العربيّ، أو الدُّوَل الصّديقة.

كان للمرأة العربية دور بارز في مقاومة الاستعمار، فلم تتوانَ عن الالتحاق بقواعد الثّوّار ومراكز التدريب، كما قادت العمليات الفدائية ضد الاحتلال، فتصدّرت قوائم الشّهداء والجرحى والأسرى، مثل جميلة بوحيرد الجزائرية التي قاومت الاستعمار الفرنسي في الجزائر، **ودلال المغربي** التي قادت **عملية دير ياسين الفدائية** على السّاحل الفلسطينيّ عام ١٩٧٨م، وأسفرت عن مقتل ما يزيد عن ثلاثين جنديًّا صهيونيًا، وغيرهما العديد من النساء اللواتي حملن شعار المقاومة والتحرر في وجه الاستعمار.

Figure 99: *Social Studies* 9/I (2019), p. 50–51

Types of Palestinian Resistance against the Zionist Occupation:

Activity 3: Read the following text, look at the pictures, draw conclusions and then answer the questions: [Addressing active participants of the Intifada] 'To all of you who, by your unified will, unconditional generosity and sacrifice and by escalating the Intifada events could give a firm answer to the allegations of enemies who are claiming that the Intifada is fading away, and that your enthusiasm is waning. Day after day, the Intifada is achieving more on the path to our freedom and thanks to your support and solidarity in boycotting the occupation entities. For example, via increased resignations from public administration, refusing to pay taxes to the occupier, boycotting Zionist products, supporting national industry, and refusing to work in settlements, cultivating our lands and raising our own cattle, rationalising consumption, achieving social and economic solidarity, supporting the building of our nation's administrative authority and conforming with the people's will and the decisions of the PLO.'

(The Unified National Leadership, call number 19, year 1988) [Images]

1. Discuss the forms of Palestinian resistance as mentioned in the text.
2. Ascertain when each of the events of Palestinian resistance depicted in the photos took place.
3. Draw conclusions regarding the impacts of Palestinian resistance on the Zionist occupation.

I have learnt:
Palestinian resistance is a natural reaction of the Palestinian people in their homeland and in the diaspora. Resistance refers to movements, invitations and operations that call for resistance towards the occupation and Zionist discrimination in the hope of achieving freedom and independence and establishing a state in our homeland like the rest of the world's peoples. Palestinian resistance varies according to political and military circumstances, taking on two forms:

Armed resistance: The armed Palestinian resistance started with the beginning of Zionist immigration to Palestine around the end of 19th century and increased with this immigration. Then it became political and military operations and revolutions by the beginning of the British Mandate. The most important Palestinian revolutions are: the Buraq Revolution of 1929, the revolution of 1936, and the declaration of the biggest and longest strike in history. The resistance operations continued after the issuance of the partition resolution and after the Zionist occupation in 1948. The PLO has engaged in armed resistance since it was founded in 1965.

Peaceful resistance: is achieved through public uprisings such as the Uprising of Stones in 1987, the Aqsa Uprising in 2000, sit-ins, demonstrations, national festivals, and attendance of international events in order to demand the right of Palestinian people to self-determination and the right of return for refugees. Resistance on an economic level is achieved by establishing national banks, boycotting Zionist products in Palestine, in the Arab world or in other countries in the region.

Arab women have played a prominent role in resisting colonialism. They did not hesitate to join the rebel bases and training centres, they led commando operations against the occupation and were added to the lists of shuhadā', wounded and prisoners. Such women include Algerian Djamila Bouhired, who resisted French colonialism in Algeria, and Dalal Al-Mughrabi who led the Deir-Yassin commando operation on the Palestinian coast in 1978, which resulted in the deaths of more than thirty Zionist soldiers and many others. Many other women have also confronted colonialism bearing the slogan of resistance and liberation.

The description of the various phases and forms of resistance here mentions Dalal Al-Mughrabi and thus implicitly the acts of terror committed by the PLO in the 1970s and early 1980s. In a brief paragraph on female participants in resistance she is placed next to Djamila Bouhired of the Algerian resistance against the French colonial powers. This representation appears to frame violence against Israeli civilians both in the anticolonial narrative and a context of women's empowerment. As no further portraits of significant female figures in Palestianian history are presented, the path of violence implicitly appears to be the only option for women to demonstrate an outstanding commitment to their people and country.[330]

The photographs in *Social Studies* 9/I (2019), p. 49 and 50 illustrate the various phases and forms of resistance described in the text. The first row of pictures shows (right) the leader of the Arab Revolts of 1936-39 while the image to the left – not quite chronologically – depicts a protest of Palestinians in the occupied territories or perhaps in the north of Israel. While the two pictures in the last row show more scenes that could have taken place during the First Intifada (burning tyres, youths throwing stones), the third and the fourth photograph depict less recent phases of Palestinian 'resistance'. The photo on

the right shows a peaceful demonstration of Palestinians in a large city, possibly Beirut. The photo on the left shows Yasser Arafat with Khalil al-Wazir (1935–1988), known as *Abu Jihād*, the co-founder of Fatah and commander of its armed wing. Al-Wazir was held responsible by Israel for a number of terrorist operations against Israeli targets in the late 1970s, including the Coastal Road Massacre of 11 March 1978. He was assassinated in Tunis in 1988. The picture shows the two Palestinian leaders walking with a group of men, presumably when the PLO was in exile in Lebanon. Almost all of them are in uniform; one – on the left-hand edge of the picture – is carrying a gun. The picture thus at least evokes the armed confrontation with Israel that took place between 1970 and 1982 in the form of terror attacks, primarily using Lebanon as a base. Although he is not mentioned in the text, the depiction of al-Wazir next to Arafat in the photograph could further symbolise the integration of armed violence against civilian targets into the Palestinian narrative of resistance. The working tasks raise student's awareness of the different forms and phases of resistance and encourage them to reflect upon the impact of Palestinian resistance. This task, to reflect upon violent and non-violent forms and phases of Palestinian resistance, is repeated from year 9 to 12 in different subjects and textbooks.

3.4.2 THE PORTRAYAL OF VIOLENCE IN ARABIC LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS

Unlike the textbooks for history and geography as well as social studies, the textbooks for Arabic language and literature do not attempt to conceptually embed violent forms of resistance into an overarching narrative and then proceed to analyse them; rather, they describe them and subject them to poetic elevation. This glorification of resistance does not shrink from affirming that opponents may be killed during an armed confrontation. It is, however, difficult, in the case of the textbooks for Arabic language and literature, to unequivocally grasp their 'intentions', since they contain not only texts from the pen of the textbook authors, but also literary works by Palestinian and Arab poets and writers with an artistic style

that eludes an unambiguous interpretation. Both tendencies are illustrated in the following examples.

The Arabic Language 8/II includes a section on the battle for the village of Al-Karameh, an extremely important event for Palestinian and Arab collective memory as the battle is commemorated as successful from the Palestinian perspective.[331] In this military conflict, Israeli troops invaded Jordanian territory in March 1968 in order to attack a Fatah camp near the village with the declared objective of defence against terror. In addition to the Palestinian fidāʼīyīn (فِدائيّين, fighters), units of the Jordanian army engaged in

---

[330]   A larger group of female figures such as Fatima Bernawi, Leila Khaled, Samiha Khalil, Marie Alphonsine Ghattas, Nabiha Nasser, Zulaikha al-Shihabi and Yusra al-Barbari are presented, for instance, in the Arafat Museum in Ramallah. For a further discussion of Dalal Al-Mughrabi see Chapter 3.4.3.

[331]   *The Arabic Language* 8/II (2019), p. 40–47.

the confrontation with the Israelis. Although the camp was completely destroyed in the course of the battle, the Israeli side also suffered significant losses, not having expected such intense resistance. The text presented in the textbook is an excerpt from a book about this battle and describes how 'the soldiers of the Zionist occupation' (جنود الاحتلال الصهيوني, *junūd al-iḥtilāl aṣ-ṣuhyūnī*) entered the village and fought against the Jordanian soldiers and the Palestinian *fidā'īyīn*. Israeli soldiers are depicted as 'the enemy soldiers' (جنود العدو, *junūd al-ʿadū*) who tried to burn the region but were surprised by the *fidā'īyīn* resistance, who are described as valiant fighters. The introductory paragraph explains:

Figure 100: *The Arabic Language* 8/II (2019), p. 40

The dignity [*karāma*] of Karameh
[Image]
About the text:
After the defeat in 1967, the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and after the Zionist occupation had taken control over all of Palestine, the Arab and Islamic nation felt defeated, dejected and disappointed. But it was not until the battle of dignity [*al-karāma*] in the following year that the Zionist army was defeated. The nation thus regained to a certain extent its dignity and self-confidence.

The text narrates the battle in detail, with violent acts committed by both sides, portraying the Palestinians who took part in this battle as 'the champions who defeated the brutal Zionist soldiers who were trying to burn everything'.[332] The text glorifies the battle of the *fidā'īyīn* against the Israeli army as heroic. Unlike the heroising of the Palestinian fighters, the Israeli soldiers are depicted in the text as cowardly and thus inferior, such as the 'burnt Zionist soldier held by thick chains inside his tank by his commander who feared that the soldier would otherwise flee'.[333] The text is accompanied by a drawing of a Palestinian fighter shooting at an Israeli tank with a Kalashnikov gun and hitting two Israeli soldiers. One of the soldiers has already been hit and is hanging lifelessly over the machine gun of the tank turret; the other throws his arms up in the moment he is hit and loses his steel helmet. Similarly to the text, the illustration not only glorifies as heroic the use of arms in resistance by the Palestinian *fidā'īyīn* (Kalashnikov vs. tank; keffiyeh vs. steel helmet, etc.); the violent use of firearms is glorified if it – as is the case here – serves to defend against an attack. More problematically still, in this textbook for year 8 the wounding or even killing of the opponent is presented in a positive light.

An Arabic textbook for year 9 contains an excerpt from a story by the Palestinian author Nabhan Khraishi, titled 'Biography of the Cuffs and the Pen'.[334] The text is written in language that at times is highly poetic, employing a variety of narrative and stylistic techniques such as stream of consciousness. The story is set during the time of the Intifada and describes the imposition of a curfew on the home town of the first-person narrator, near Ramallah, and the arrival of a search-and-arrest squad from the Israeli military. The narrator's reflections revolve around the circumstances surrounding such nightly raids and the visual and acoustic impressions associated with them. He characterises himself as an 'ex-prisoner' (سجين سابق, *sajīn sābiq*) who has been incarcerated in Israeli prisons several times already and was under house arrest for five years. After the Israeli security forces violently forced their way into a neighbour's house, whose USA passport proves to be of little value, it transpires that the narrator himself is the target of the raid. The soldiers break into his home through the windows and arrest him in the presence of his tearful wife. The violence described in the text is primarily executed by the Israeli security forces, who are portrayed as particularly ruthless in

[332] إضافة إلى كتيبة المدفعية الأردنية بقيادة اللواء مشهور حديثة الجازي، التي أمطرت العدو بوابل قذائفها، وأظهرت بسالة في التصدي للمعتدين الصهاينة الذين جنّ :The Arabic Language 8/II (2019), p. 42

جنونهم لما رأوه من شجاعة خارقة، وتضحيات لم تخطر على بال، فحاولوا إحراق المنطقة بكل ما يمتلكون من عنجهية ووحشية ماكرة.

[333] ولن ننسى صورة جندي صهيوني محترق مكبّل من قائده بسلاسل غليظة داخل دبابته؛ خشية الهرب. :The Arabic Language 8/II (2019), p. 43

[334] *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2019), p. 61–64.

their behaviour – showing no consideration for the narrator's sleeping children, for instance – and cynical in their statements. The story contains elements of a dehumanising portrayal, such as when the intruders, 'who enjoy watching the victim',[335] are described as sadistic or when the raid is characterised as a 'ravenous hunt for prey'.[336] Nevertheless, it is a literary text that uses highly figurative language, and in comparison with other textbook portrayals of Israeli violence presented above does not go so far as to demonise the opponent.

The text contains one passage that can be read as promoting violence against the other side: 'The neighbour: The curfew doesn't include us in (al-Shurfa); it is imposed on (an-Natārīsh). It seems there is a barbeque party using fire-bombs on one of the (Psagot[337]) settlement buses, over the high mountain.'[338]

The term 'barbeque party' (حفلة شواء, ḥaflatu shiwā'), used to refer to an attack on a settlement bus, presumably with Molotov cocktails and with likely fatalities among the passengers, is a cynical downplaying of the attack. This statement is made not by the first-person narrator himself but by a 'neighbour' introduced in the third person, who remains nameless and whose statement is neither confirmed nor rejected by the narrator. The text as a whole thus remains ambiguous as to the acceptability of this form of violence towards settlers. A direct call for violence cannot, therefore, be derived from the text. The cynical statement made by 'the neighbour' was replaced in the 2020 edition of the textbook with the following sentence: 'The neighbour: […] It seems the situation is escalating in (Psagot) settlement over the high mountain.'[339]

3.4.3 THE DEPICTION OF DALAL AL-MUGHRABI

Dalal Al-Mughrabi (1959–1978) occupies a prominent position in Palestinan national memory. For example, she is featured prominently in the mural displaying the most important figures of Palestinian history in the Arafat Museum at Ramallah. Al-Mughrabi became known as a result of the role she played in 1978 in one of the most deadly terror attacks in the history of Israel, widely referred to as the *Coastal Road Massacre*. Al-Mughrabi herself was killed in this attack. This, together with highly symbolic elements added to embellish the story at a later stage have imbued Al-Mughrabi with a solid position as resistance fighter and *shahīda* in the Palestinian collective memory. As one of few women in the Palestinian national movement she is presented as a role model to girls and young women in particular. She is given a prominent depiction in the textbooks, symbolising the armed violence of 'resistance' in the form of terror attacks on Israeli citizens and institutions, not only in Israel, especially in the 1970s.

As she occupies a distinctive place among the identification figures that Palestinian students encounter in their textbooks of various subjects, the following section will focus on her portrayal in the textbooks analysed for this Report. In Palestinian history and social studies textbooks, Al-Mughrabi is presented in the historical narrative of the events of the 1970s, while in Arabic language textbooks she is depicted more poetically as a woman who sacrificed herself for the land and thus often titled *shahīda*.[340]

---

[335] *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2019), p. 62: 'What bothers me most in the arresting act is not my destiny, but rather the sadism of the soldiers of the Givati and Golani [Brigade], who enjoy watching the victim.' أكثر ما يزعجني في العملية الاعتقالية ليس مصيري، وإنما سادية جنود (جفعاتي) و(جولاني) في تلذذهم لرؤية الضحية.

[336] *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2019), p. 63: 'Their cars were parked two or three streets away from the house. A typical ravenous hunt for prey.' كانت سياراتهم تقف بعيدة عن البيت بشارعين أو ثلاثة، هذه هي عادة الكواسر في البحث عن الطرائد.

[337] The place referred to here is Psagot, an Israeli settlement close to Ramallah.

[338] *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2019), p. 63: الجارُ: حَظرُ التَّجَوُّل لا يَشْمَلُنا في (الشرفة) مَفروضٌ عَلى (النَّتاريش) عَلى ما يَبْدو هُناكَ حَفْلَةُ شِواءٍ بِالْقَنابِلِ الْحارِقَةِ لإِحْدى حافِلاتٍ مُسْتَعْمَرَةٍ (بِساغوت) عَلى الْجَبَلِ الطَّويلِ.

[339] *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2020), p. 61: على ما يبدو هناك تصعيد على مستعمرة (بساغوت) في الجبل الطويل

[340] For further reading on al-Mughrabi and her place in the Palestinian collective memory see: Kuriansky, Judy: *Terror in the Holy Land: Inside the Anguish of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006 and Peteet, Julie: *Gender in Crisis*: *Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, p. 155.

An analysis of the portrayals of Al-Mughrabi in the textbooks unveils how violence against civilians is presented as a means of resistance and examines whether these portrayals also contain a justification or glorification of this form of violence, as illustrated in the following sections.

DESCRIPTIVE EMBEDDING IN THE NARRATIVE OF RESISTANCE

Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History 10/II (2019), mentions Dalal Al-Mughrabi's act in passing in a section on the antecedents to the South Lebanon conflict (the so-called 'Operation Litani' of 1978):

العدوان الصُّهيونيّ على لبنان عام ١٩٧٨م:

نشاط (١): نقرأ، ثمّ نستنتج:

واصلت منظمة التحرير عمليّات المقاومة، انطلاقاً من قواعدها العسكرية من الأراضي اللبنانية، فنفذت مجموعة بقيادة دلال المغربي عملية الساحل التي اتخذ منها العدوان الصُّهيوني ذريعة له لاجتياح جنوب لبنان عام ١٩٧٨م.

– الهدف من الاجتياح الصهيوني لجنوب لبنان عام ١٩٧٨م.

Figure 101: *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 68

Zionist Aggression towards Lebanon in 1978:
Activity (1): Read and draw conclusions:
The Liberation Organisation continued the resistance operations, starting from their military bases on Lebanese territories, where a group led by Dalal Al-Mughrabi carried out the coastal operation. The Zionist aggression used this as a pretext to invade southern Lebanon in 1978.
- The purpose of the Zionist invasion of southern Lebanon in 1978.

The text provides an account of the situation prior to the advance of the Israeli army into southern Lebanon in 1978. The acts of violence launched by the PLO from Lebanon against Israeli national territory are declared to be 'resistance operations' (عمليات المقاومة, *ʿamaliyāt al-muqāwama*) and include the 'coastal operation' (عملية الساحل, *ʿamaliyat a-sāḥel*)

– about which no further detail is given – led by Dalal Al-Mughrabi. The textbook does not criticise the PLO terrorist attacks which are described here as acts of 'resistance', but rather – through the choice of words – the 'Zionist aggression' (العدوان الصهيوني, *al-ʿuduān aṣ-ṣuhyūnī*) in response to these attacks. By characterising the PLO commandos as 'resistance' the acts of the group – which remain undescribed – are presented as justified. The fact that the text in its historical explanation refers to Al-Mughrabi, presenting her iconic photograph in illustration, is indicative of a certain level of familiarity with Al-Mughrabi and her actions within the public sphere (and thus a certain recognition value).

IDEALISING IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE

In another social studies textbook, Al-Mughrabi features among notable Arab women who have participated in the decolonising struggle, which associates her with Algerian Djamila Bouhired and draws upon the 'common cause' of these two women who led militant operations for the liberation of their countries from colonial rule:

كان للمرأة العربية دور بارز في مقاومة الاستعمار، فلم تتوانَ عن الالتحاق بقواعد الثُّوّار ومراكز التدريب، كما قادت العمليات الفدائية ضد الاحتلال، فتصدّرت قوائم الشُّهداء والجرحى والأسرى، مثل جميلة بوحيرد الجزائرية التي قاومت الاستعمار الفرنسي في الجزائر، **ودلال المغربي** التي قادت **عملية دير ياسين الفدائية** على السّاحل الفلسطينيّ عام ١٩٧٨م، وأسفرت عن مقتل ما يزيد عن ثلاثين جنديًّا صهيونياً، وغيرهما العديد من النساء اللواتي حملن شعار المقاومة والتحرر في وجه الاستعمار.

Figure 102: *Social Studies* 9/I (2019), p. 51

Arab women played a prominent role in resisting colonialism. They did not hesitate to join the rebel bases and training centres, they led commando operations against the occupation and were added to the lists of *shuhadā'*, wounded and prisoners. Women such as Algerian Djamila Bouhired, who resisted French colonialism in Algeria, and **Dalal Al-Mughrabi** who led the **Deir-Yassin commando operation** on the Palestinian coast in 1978, which resulted in the deaths of more than thirty Zionist soldiers, and many other women who have confronted colonialism bearing the slogan of resistance and liberation.

This presentation features two striking elements that presumably aim to present violence on the part of Al-Mughrabi and her commandos as fair and therefore justified. First, the account is embedded within the narrative of the anti-colonial struggle against an occupying power, which can be explained in the light of the history textbooks' habitual equation of Zionism with colonialism. 'Resistance' and 'liberation' are catchwords presenting ideals that supposedly justify the use of violence against the actual (France) or alleged (Israel) colonial power. It is women who are given prominent portrayals as symbols of anti-colonial resistance, leading the 'ranks of *shuhadā'*, wounded and prisoners' – Djamila Bouhired in Algeria and Dalal Al-Mughrabi for the PLO.

The second justification for the violence committed by the commando operatives in Israel (camouflaged here as 'on the Palestinian coast') occurs in the characterisation of the Israeli fatalities as 'more than thirty Zionist soldiers'. The misidentification of the civilian casualties as Israeli ('Zionist') soldiers has a twofold function: (i) It portrays Al-Mughrabi's operation, which was ultimately a failure (it was intended to facilitate an exchange of hostages for Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons), as an heroic military achievement in which a courageous woman sacrifices herself for greater ideals (liberation from colonial oppression). (ii) It also seeks to justify the use of lethal violence since – in this reading – the opponents would appear to be armed forces, equally trained and prepared to employ violence. Another factor that may have influenced this 're-declaration' of victims as combatants may be an awareness of the shamefulness of presenting the violence committed by one's own side against unarmed civilians.

ROMANTICISING AND HEROIC GLORIFICATION

An Arabic language textbook takes the portrayal of Al-Mughrabi and her operation further. In the following accounts and the illustrations that accompany them, the authors' will to commemorate Dalal Al-Mughrabi and underline her role in the narrative of resistance and its violent phases is particularly notable:

دَلالُ المُغْرَبِيّ

(المُؤَلِّفونَ)

بَيْنَ يَدَيِ النَّصِّ

يَحْفَلُ تاريخُنا الفِلَسْطينيُّ بِكَثيرٍ مِنْ أَسْماءِ الشُّهَداءِ الَّذينَ قَدَّموا أَرْواحَهُمْ فِداءً لِلوَطَنِ، مِنْهُمُ الشَّهيدَةُ دَلالُ المُغْرَبِيّ الَّتي سَطَّرَتْ بِنِضالِها صورَةً مِنْ صُوَرِ التَّحَدّي وَالبُطولَةِ؛ ما جَعَلَ ذِكْرَها خالِداً في قُلوبِنا وَعُقولِنا. وَالنَّصُّ الَّذي بَيْنَ أَيْدينا يَتَحَدَّثُ عَنْ طَرَفٍ مِنْ مَسيرَةِ نِضالِها.

٥١

Figure 103: *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2019), p. 51[341]

Dalal Al-Mughrabi

(The authors)

About the text:

Our Palestinian history is full of many names of *shuhadā'* who sacrificed their lives for the homeland, including the *shahīda* Dalal Al-Mughrabi whose struggle took the form of defiance and heroism, which made her memory immortal in our hearts and minds. And the text in our hands talks about one aspect of her struggle.

[341] For changes to this photograph in the PDF edition of 2020 see Chapter 5.

This brief introduction, illustrated by a portrait of Al-Mughrabi and already adopting a heavily emotional tone ('made her memory immortal in our hearts and minds'), is followed by an embellished account written in a lyrical style, glorifying and giving a detailed description of the commando operation:

القِراءَةُ

في مُخَيَّم صَبْرا، أَحَدِ مُخَيَّماتِ اللجوءِ في بَيْروتَ النّازِفِ أَلَماً؛ نَتيجَةَ النَّكْبَةِ، وُلِدَتِ القائِدَةُ المُناضِلَةُ دَلالُ المُغْرِبيِّ، وَبَعْدَ مُرورِ قَرابَةِ عَقْدَيْنِ على مَوْلِدِها لَبَّتْ نِداءَ الوَطَنِ المُسْتَغيثِ.

رَكِبَتْ دَلالُ البَحْرَ، تَقودُ مَجْموعَتَها الفِدائيَّةَ، مَجْموعَةَ دَيْر ياسينَ، كانوا ثَلاثَةَ عَشَرَ فِدائيّاً، وَعَلى عادَةِ البَحْرِ، تارَةً يَرْضى، وَتارَةً يَغْضَبُ، ثارَتْ أَمْواجُهُ، وَقَلَبَتْ زَوْرَقَهُمُ المَطّاطِيَّ، فَغَرِقَ بَطَلانِ مِنَ المَجْموعَةِ، وَظَلَّ البَقِيَّةُ يُصارِعونَ المَوْجَ، وَيَتَشَبَّثونَ بالقارِبِ حَتّى تَراءَتْ لِلْقائِدَةِ وَمَجْموعَتِها أَضْواءُ السّاحِلِ الفِلَسْطينيِّ، فَتَسَلَّلوا إلى الشّاطِئِ، فَتَبَسَّمَتْ لَهُمُ الحُقولُ والبَيّاراتُ.

أَطْبَقَتْ دَلالُ يَدَيْها على حَفْنَةٍ مِنْ تُرابِ وَطَنِها الدّامي، واشْتَمَّتْها بِشَغَفٍ، ثُمَّ انْتَظَرَتِ اللَّحْظَةَ الحاسِمَةَ، فاعْتَرَضَتْ هي وَمَجْموعَتُها إِحْدى الحافِلاتِ المُتَّجِهَةِ إلى حَيْفا وأعادَتْ مَسارَها باتِّجاهِ يافا، صَعَدَتْ إِلَيْها دَلالُ بِشُموخٍ، وَقالَتْ مُخاطِبَةً مَنْ فيها: « نَحْنُ لا نُريدُ قَتْلَكُمْ، نَحْنُ جِئْنا لِنُخَلِّصَ إِخْوانَنا الأَسْرى في سُجونِكُمْ مِنْ بَراثِنِ الأَسْرِ، نَحْنُ شَعْبٌ يُطالِبُ بِحَقِّهِ في وَطَنِهِ الذي سَرَقْتُموهُ »، وَأَخْرَجَتْ مِنْ حَقيبَتِها عَلَمَ فِلَسْطينَ، قَبَّلَتْهُ، ثُمَّ عَلَّقَتْهُ داخِلَ الحافِلَةِ.

عَلِمَتْ قُوّاتُ الاحْتِلالِ بأَمْرِ الحافِلَةِ الّتي وَصَلَتْ إلى مِنْطَقَةِ (سَيِّدِنا عَلِيٍّ)، وَكَلَّفَتْ فِرْقَةً خاصَّةً مِنَ الجَيْشِ يَقودُها (إيهود باراك) بِمُهاجَمَةِ الحافِلَةِ بِالرَّشّاشاتِ والقَذائِفِ، مُسْتَخْدِمينَ الطّائِراتِ والدَّبّاباتِ، وَقَتْلِ كُلِّ مَنْ فيها، وَهو ما يُعْرَفُ بِسِياسَةِ الأَرْضِ المَحْروقَةِ، فَقُتِلَ عَدَدٌ كَبيرٌ مِنَ الرُّكّابِ؛ وَارْتَقَتْ دَلالُ شَهيدَةً هِيَ وَثَمانِيَةٌ مِنْ رِفاقِ مَجْموعَتِها الأَبْطالِ الّذينَ ما زالَتْ جَثامينُهُمْ مَحْجوزَةً في ما تُسَمّيهِ سُلْطاتُ الاحْتِلالِ (مَقْبَرَةَ الأَرْقامِ) حَتّى اليَوْمِ، فيما نَجا فِدائِيّانِ.

لَقَدْ أَعادَتْ دَلالُ لِدَيْر ياسينَ جُزْءاً مِنْ حَقِّها، وَرَوَّتْ أَرْضَ فِلَسْطينَ بِدِمائِها الزَّكِيَّةِ؛ لِتُزْهِرَ تاريخاً ثائِراً لَنْ يَسْتَكينَ.

- عَقْدَيْنِ: مُثَنّى عَقْد، وَهُوَ عَشْرُ سَنَواتٍ.
- لَبَّتْ: اسْتَجابَتْ.
- المُسْتَغيثِ: طالِبُ النَّجْدَةِ.
- أَطْبَقَتْ: ضَمَّتْ.
- بِشَغَفٍ: بِحُبٍّ.
- لَنْ يَسْتَكينَ: لَنْ يَذِلَّ.

٥٢

Figure 104: *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2019), p. 52

Reading Comprehension:

Dalal Al-Mughrabi, the leader and fighter, was born in Camp Sabra, one of Beirut's refugee camps that had to suffer the consequences of the Nakba. Two decades later, she answered the nation's call for help.

She sailed, leading her 'Deir Yassin' group of 13 *fidā'īyīn* to Palestine, enduring raging waves that caused their inflatable boat to capsize, resulting in the drowning of two heroes from the group. The rest of the group members braved the waves, clinging to the boat until they saw the lights of the Palestinian coast. They crept onto the beach to find the fields and the orchards welcoming them with a smile.

Dalal grasped a handful of her bleeding homeland soil and passionately inhaled its scent. She waited for the right time and, with her group, she blocked the path of a bus that was heading to Haifa, forcing it to change its direction towards Jaffa. She proudly got on the bus and addressed the passengers: 'We don't want to kill you. We are here to liberate our brothers from your prisons. We are a people who claim their right to a homeland that you have stolen', and then she took out the Palestinian flag from her bag, kissed it and hung it inside the bus.

The occupation forces knew about the bus, which was now arriving in (Sayyidunā Alī) region, and assigned a special military unit led by (Ehud Barak) to attack the bus with machine guns and shells using aircrafts and tanks to kill everyone inside the bus, a tactic known as the scorched-earth policy. Many passengers were killed. Dalal and eight of her heroic comrades became *shuhadā'* and their bodies are still, to this day, confined in what the occupation authorities call (the cemetery of numbers). Only two *fidā'īyīn* survived.

Dalal restored to Deir Yassin some of its rights and watered the land of Palestine with her pure blood, so it could bloom with a rebellious history that cannot be diminished.

In this text, Dalal Al-Mughrabi is introduced as a leader and fighter who grows up under the difficult conditions of a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon. The Nakba is named as the cause of this suffering, and the name of the commando operative cell, Deir Yassin, evokes the events of the year 1948 once again. It is not the State of Israel whose territory is to be infiltrated for the purposes of this attack; rather, the group in its rubber dinghy is heading for 'Palestine'; Al-Mughrabi then sees, while in severe distress at sea, the lights of the 'Palestinian coast'. The text is resplendent with primarily national symbolism, often coming across as clichéd kitsch: the rural coastal landscape that 'welcomes' the 'heroes' with a 'smile', the 'bleeding homeland soil', the bus headed for Haifa that was forced by the *fidā'īyīn* to change its destination to Jaffa. Particularly significant is the unrolling of the Palestinian flag in the hijacked bus on territory which – in this reading – is occupied by the enemy.

Another interesting aspect of this section is that the use of deadly violence against civilians appears to be disapproved of, since there is no mention of the part played in killing the hostages by the *fidā'īyīn* accompanying Al-Mughrabi. Rather, the textbook states that Al-Mughrabi announced to the (civilian) passengers her intention not to kill them but to instrumentalise them as hostages for the purpose of freeing Palestinian detainees from Israeli prisons. This depiction lends her and her operatives a noble objective for their actions. Their taking of the hostages is, further, presented as justified by the motive of liberating the homeland from the grip of Israeli occupation. The blame for the hostages' deaths is assigned exclusively to the 'occupation forces', who are depicted here as attacking the bus with a special military unit, indifferent to civilian losses. The textbook describes this as an overkill operation (machine guns, bombs, aeroplanes and tanks) and part of Israeli 'scorched earth' tactics, aiming here 'to kill everyone inside the bus', including the Israeli civilians present. The exaggeration inherent in the text – similar to the (correct) information that Ehud Barak, elite soldier and later Israeli prime minister, was also involved – at this point serves not only to portray the opponent as particularly ruthless and merciless but also to highlight the actions of

Al-Mughrabi and her operatives as especially heroic in the light of an overbearing military power. This act of violence and its consequences are also lent a sense of balancing justice by the final sentence of the passage: reference here to the (self-given) name of the commando unit – Deir Yassin – implicitly draws a connection with the village of the same name that suffered a massacre by members of Jewish underground organisations in April 1948: 'Dalal restored to Deir Yassin some of its rights'. Here again, Dalal Al-Mughrabi is poetically glorified as a *shahīda*.

The reading comprehension is followed by exercises that primarily require the students to repeat what they have read:

أَوَّلاً نُجِيبُ عَنِ الأَسْئِلَةِ الآتِيَةِ:

١ نُكْمِلُ الفَراغاتِ في الجُمَلِ الآتِيَةِ بِما يُناسِبُها:
أ- وُلِدَتْ دَلالُ المُغْرَبِيّ في _____ .
ب- اسمُ المَجْموعَةِ الّتي قادَتْها دَلالُ المُغْرَبِيّ مَجموعَةُ _____ .
جـ- غَرِقَ مِنْ أَفْرادِ المَجْموعَةِ قَبْلَ الوُصولِ إلى السّاحِلِ الفِلَسْطينيّ _____ .
د- كانَ عَدَدُ أَبْطالِ المَجْموعَةِ الفِدائِيَّةِ _____ .

٢ كَمْ كانَ عُمْرُ دَلالَ المُغْرَبِيّ عِنْدَما استُشْهِدَتْ؟

٣ أَيْنَ نَزَلَتْ دَلالُ وَمَجموعَتُها؟

٤ نُوَضِّحُ الهَدَفَ مِنْ قِيامِ دَلالَ وَمَجموعَتِها بِتَنْفيذِ العَمَلِيَّةِ.

٥ ما نَتيجَةُ المُواجَهَةِ الّتي دارَتْ بَيْنَ قُوّاتِ الاحْتِلالِ وَالمَجْموعَةِ الفِدائِيَّةِ؟

Figure 105: *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2019), p. 53

First answer the following questions:
1. Fill in the blanks:
a) Dalal Al-Mughrabi was born in _____
b) The group that was led by Dalal Al-Mughrabi is called _____
c) From the group, _____ members drowned before reaching the Palestinian coast.
d) The number of heroes in the *fidā'īyīn* group was _____
2. How old was Dalal Al-Mughrabi when she died as a *shahīda*?
3. Where did Dalal and her group end up?
4. Clarify the goal of Dalal and her group regarding this operation.
5. What was the result of the confrontation that took place between the occupation forces and the *fidā'īyīn* group?

Repeating the text's content causes the students to internalise its ultimate message – that Dalal Al-Mughrabi sacrificed her young life for noble goals: the liberation of Palestinian detainees from Israeli prisons and fulfilment of the justified claim to the stolen homeland. She fought and died as a *shahīda* on Palestinian soil, the message continues, and the result of the confrontation with the 'occupation forces' was that – due to the Israeli overkill tactics that elude all morality and sense of humanity – many of the passengers on board the bus lost their lives. Dalal Al-Mughrabi and her group are thus – so the textbook implies – not to blame for the death of the hostages; the true culprits were, it suggests, Ehud Barak and his 'Zionists'.

In Part II of the history textbooks for year 11, a presentation of six photographs is said to illustrate the Palestinian struggle for their own nation since 1948. Using these photographs, the students are required to identify the 'stages of Palestinian resistance' and summarise their significance.

Figure 106: *History* 11/II (2019), p. 50

Activity (4/b): Look at the pictures, draw conclusions and answer the questions:
- Describe what you see in the pictures.
- Work out the stages the Palestinian Resistance had to go through from 1948 until it became a member of the United Nations in 2012.

The order of the photographs, presumably intended to be examined from top-right to bottom-left, culminates in membership of the United Nations in 2012; this refers to the 'non-member observer state' status that Palestine has held in the UN since November 2012, which is equated to recognition of Palestine as a state under international law. The photographs show three group situations and three individuals. While the group situations cannot be attributed to a clear point in history, they could refer to the first Arab-Israeli War (War of Independence/Nakba – above right), armed resistance against Israel as a military power (for instance during the PLO's presence in Jordan or Lebanon – above left), and the First Intifada (1987–1993 – bottom right). The portraits show Yasser Arafat (at the UN General Assembly in 1974) and Mahmud Abbas (also speaking at the UN in 2012), and Dalal Al-Mughrabi in Fatah uniform with the Palestinian flag montaged in behind her. It is interesting that the textbook editors did not select the picture of her wearing army equipment and a keffiyeh for this compilation (as featured in the text discussed above from the Arabic textbook for year 5) but rather a photograph of her with her hair cut short in a feminine style and wearing make-up; only the uniform – which seems to have been added using photographic technology – identifies her as a 'fighter'. She is thus associated more closely with the other two figures presented here. Once again, this collection of photographs lays bare how the violent phases of 'resistance' are portrayed in history teaching as an integral part of the Palestinian nation-building process, thus gaining historical legitimacy. Similar to the episodes of armed conflict (here: 1948, 1982) which are part of the national narratives of many peoples as a confrontation between combatants and as such play an important part in the upbringing of young people, violence against civilians equally occupies a historical space in the narrative of Palestinian nation-building.

3.5   THE PORTRAYAL OF THE PEACE PROCESS

The current textbooks issued by the Palestinian Authority contain only faint echoes of the short-lived rapprochement and reconciliation process that became known as the Oslo peace process. As noted in a recent review, Palestinian history textbooks issued prior to 2014 not only contained a number of references to the various stages and agreements of the peace process but also dedicated an entire chapter to the subject.[342] In the entire body of textbooks examined for this Report, however, the depiction of peaceful attempts to resolve the conflict is limited to a few pages in *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II from 2019.[343]

The six-page section titled 'The peacebuilding process and the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority' (عملية السلام، وتأسيس السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية, *'amalīat as-salām, wa ta'sīs as-sulṭa al-waṭanīa al-filisṭīnīa*) is part of a larger teaching unit on 'Palestinian resistance and projects for peaceful solutions' (المقاومة الفلسطينيّة ومشاريع التسوية السلميّة, *al-muqāwama al-filisṭīnīa wa mashārī' at-taswīa as-silmīa*).[344] The first lesson in this unit begins with Palestinian resistance in Lebanon in the 1970s and mentions different kinds of armed and peaceful resistance, including Yasser Arafat's well-known 1974 UN General Assembly speech: 'Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom-fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. War flares up in Palestine, and yet it is in Palestine that peace will be born'. The unit progresses chronologically and in the second lesson addresses the Egypt–Israel peace treaty of 1978 and subsequent events as well as Arab dissatisfaction at the time. Here, students are invited to evaluate Anwar Sadat's speech to the Israeli Knesset, considering the peace treaty as 'the new tendency in the Arab-Zionist conflict', or to inquire whether the Camp David Accords acknowledge the rights of the Palestinian people. The third lesson of the unit addresses armed Palestinian 'resistance' during and prior to the 1982 Lebanon war, including terrorist operations. The fourth lesson is about the First Intifada in 1987, described as highly significant in modern history and as an Arabic

term that found its way into the 'international dictionaries of politics'. The Intifada is said to have received 'wide international support from people around the globe, because it came from an unarmed civil society that faced with its simple methods a repressive policy supported by the most advanced methods and military weapons'.[345] The fifth lesson is dedicated to the peace process, beginning with the Madrid Peace Conference of 1991 and culminating in the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority and its legislative, executive and judiciary branches.

Throughout this entire chapter it is striking that Israel is mentioned by name more frequently than in all other textbooks and chapters studied, and in the context of peace negotiations or attempts to mediate between the conflicting sides. In most of these cases Israel is mentioned in quoted sources, but sometimes also in authored texts and exercises. The description of the attempt by USA Secretary of State William Rogers (1913–2001) to arbitrate between the belligerent parties following the Six-Day War, for instance, affirms that Rogers 'suggested peace between Israel, Egypt and Jordan (the Rogers Plan)'.[346] It is interesting that, when the authored text moves on to describe the subsequent belligerent events (Yom Kippur War or Ramadan War), use of the term 'Zionist occupation' is resumed. In the same section, however, the text also purports (self-critically) that it was the PLO who rejected Rogers' peace plan, unlike Egypt and Jordan, and who was therefore to blame for its failure. Similarly, the excerpt from the speech given by Anwar al-Sadat to the Israeli parliament in 1977, in which he demanded recognition for the rights of Palestinians, also mentions Israel by name several times; indeed, the section appears under the heading: 'Sadat's Speech to the Israeli Knesset' (الكنيست الإسرائيلي, *al-knesset al-isrā'īlī*). The Knesset is mentioned again in the summary, which explains that it is the 'Israeli parliament' (البرلمان الإسرائيليّ, *al-barlamān al-isrā'īlī*). However, there is an inconsistency in this paragraph because Israel is also denoted a '(Zionist) occupation state' (دولة الاحتلال الصّهيونيّ, *dawlat al- iḥtilāl [aṣ-ṣuhyūnī]*).[347]

[342] Agassi, Arik, Asher Spekterman and Dina Tsamir: *Palestinian Authority Curriculum 2019-20, Grades 8-10*. IMPACT-se: August 2020, p. 5, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1zDeyc4lswFU_7wmLtJ_ksAXmaZIf0LVO/view, accessed 20 September 2020.

[343] *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 76–81.

[344] *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 59–87.

[345] *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 71: حظيت الانتفاضة الفلسطينية مكانة كبيرة على المستوى العالمي، فقد دخل لفظ (مصطلح) انتفاضة باللغة العربية معاجم السياسة العالمية لأول مرة في القرن العشرين، كما لقيت الانتفاضة تأييدًا واسعًا من شعوب العالم؛ لأنها جاءت من شعب مدني أعزل، واجه بأساليبه البسيطة سياسة قمعية، مدعومة بأحدث الوسائل والآلات العسكرية.

[346] *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 54: قدّم وزير خارجية الولايات المتحدة وليم روجرز اقتراحات للسلام بين إسرائيل ومصر والأردن [...] (مشروع روجرز).

[347] *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 65.

In the summarising paragraph of the fifth lesson of this chapter the students read:

أنا تعلّمت:

أجرت منظّمة التّحرير الفلسطينيّة مفاوضات سرّيّة مع الجانب الإسرائيليّ في العاصمة النرويجية أوسلو، استمرت عاماً ونصف، وأدّت إلى اتفاق إعلان المبادئ (أوسلو)، الذي تمّ توقيعه في البيت الأبيض في واشنطن، بتاريخ ١٩٩٣/٩/١٣م، بحضور كلّ من ياسر عرفات وإسحق رابين، وبرعاية الرئيس الأمريكي بيل كلينتون.

عرفت وثيقة إعلان المبادئ (غزّة - أريحا أولاً)، ونصّت على السّماح للفلسطينيّين بإقامة حكومة انتقالية فلسطينيّة خلال خمس سنوات، تؤدّي إلى تسوية دائمة، على أساس قرارَيْ الأمم المتحدة (٢٤٢ و٣٣٨)، وبعد ستّة أشهر، تبدأ المرحلة الثّانية من الفترة الانتقالية.

Figure 107: *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 78

I have learnt:

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) conducted secret negotiations with the Israeli side in the Norwegian capital, Oslo. These negotiations lasted for a year and a half and led to the Declaration of Principles of (Oslo), which was signed in the White House in Washington on 13 September 1993, in the presence of Yasser Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin and the US President Bill Clinton.
The Declaration of Principles document defined 'Gaza – Jericho first' and stipulated that the Palestinians would be allowed to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and after six months, the second phase of the transitional period would begin.

Israel is also mentioned by name in the exercises at the end of the lesson, without recourse to terms of avoidance:

• ما الهدف من المفاوضات في المرحلة الأولى بين الفلسطينيّين وإسرائيل؟
أ- إقامة دولة فِلَسطينيّة مستقلّة.   ب- إقامة حكم ذاتيّ.   جـ- الانسحاب من الضّفّة وغزّة.
• عن ماذا أسفر توقيع اتّفاقيّة واشنطن بتاريخ ١٩٩٥/٩/٢٨م بين الفلسطينيّين وإسرائيل؟
أ- وقف الاستيطان.
ب- بسط صلاحيات الفِلَسطينيّين على الضّفّة الغربيّة وغزّة كافّة.
ج - تقسيم الضفة إلى مناطق (A) و(B) و(C).

Figure 108: *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 81

- What was the goal of the negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel in their first phase [of the negotiations]?
a) The founding of an independent Palestinian state.
b) The establishment of self-governance.
c) The withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza.

- What were the results of the Accord signed in Washington on 28 September 1995 between the Palestinians and Israel?
a) The termination of settlements.
b) That Palestinians gain control over the West Bank and the whole of Gaza.
c) The division of the West Bank into areas A, B and C.

The lesson also includes the Arabic versions of the well-known letters of mutual recognition exchanged by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in September 1993:[348]

---

[348] The following passages provide a back translation of the letters from the Arabic text provided in the textbooks – which should explain any anomalies when compared to the original English text. This can be viewed under the following link:
https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/israel-palestinian-letters-of-mutual-recognition-september-1993, accessed 22 October 2020.

Letters of mutual recognition between the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and Israel:

Activity (2-a): Read and then we do the following [answer the questions]:

Letter of recognition from the Palestinian Liberation Organisation to Israel, dated 09/09/1993:

From President Yasser Arafat to Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli Prime Minister:

The signing of the declaration of principles opens a new era in the Middle East. With firm conviction, I confirm the commitment of the **Palestinian Liberation Organisation** to the following:

The PLO recognises the right of the State of Israel to live in peace and security, and the organisation accepts the Council of Security decisions no. 242 and no. 338.

The organisation commits itself to the peace process in the Middle East and to a peaceful solution to the conflict between the two sides. It also declares that all major issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations [...] In accordance with this the organisation condemns the use of terror and other violent acts [...] and assures that the articles that deny Israel's right to exist are no longer valid. The Palestinian Liberation Organisation pledges to submit the necessary amendments to the Palestinian Charter to the Palestinian National Council for official approval.

PLO President, Yasser Arafat

Israel's recognition of the PLO, dated 09/09/1993

From Yitzhak Rabin to President Yasser Arafat:

Mr. President, in response to your letter dated 09/09/1993, I would like to assure you, in the light of the PLO commitments mentioned in your letter, that the Israeli government has decided to recognise the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people, and that negotiations in the context of the peace process in the Middle East will start with the PLO.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin

- Compare the aforementioned commitments in the two letters of recognition.

رسائل الاعتراف المتبادل بين منظّمة التّحرير الفِلَسطينيّة وإسرائيل:

نشاط (٢-أ): نقرأ، ثمّ نقوم بما يأتي:

خطاب اعتراف منظمة التحرير بإسرائيل، بتاريخ ١٩٩٣/٩/٩م:

من الرئيس ياسر عرفات إلى إسحق رابين رئيس وزراء إسرائيل:

إنّ التوقيع على إعلان المبادئ، يفتح عهداً جديداً في تاريخ الشرق الأوسط. وبقناعة راسخة، أؤكّد على التزامات منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية الآتية:

تعترف منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية بحقّ دولة إسرائيل في العيش بسلام وأمن جديد، وتقبل المنظمة بقراريّ مجلس الأمن الدولي رقَمَيْ ٢٤٢ و٣٣٨. إنّ المنظمة تُلزِم نفسها بعملية السلام في الشرق الأوسط، وبالحلّ السّلميّ للصراع بين الجانبين، وتعلن أنّ كلّ القضايا الأساسية المتعلقة بالأوضاع الدائمة سيتمّ حلها من خلال المفاوضات،.... وطبقاً لذلك، فإنّ المنظمة تُدين استخدام الإرهاب، وأعمال العنف الأخرى،...، وتؤكد منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية أنّ الفقرات الواردة في الميثاق الفلسطيني التي تنفي حق إسرائيل في الوجود لم تَعُدْ سارية المفعول، وتتعهد منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية برفع التعديلات الضرورية في الميثاق الوطني إلى المجلس الوطني الفلسطيني للمصادقة الرسمية عليها.

ياسر عرفات رئيس منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية

اعتراف إسرائيل بمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية ١٩٩٣/٩/٩م:

من إسحق رابين إلى الرئيس ياسر عرفات:

السيد الرئيس، رداً على خطابكم المؤرّخ في ١٩٩٣/٩/٩، فإنّي أُحِبّ أن أؤكّد لكم، في ضوء التزامات منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية المتضمنة في خطابكم، فإنّ حكومة إسرائيل قرّرت الاعتراف بمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، باعتبارها الممثل للشعب الفلسطيني، وستبدأ مفاوضات مع منظمة التحرير في إطار عملية السلام في الشرق الأوسط.

إسحق رابين رئيس وزراء إسرائيل

سلسلة الوثائق الفلسطينية، وثيقة إعلان المبادئ (أوسلو)، ص٢٥ وص٢٦

– نجري مقارنة بين خطابي الاعتراف المتبادل من حيث الالتزامات الواردة فيهما.

٧٧

Figure 109: *Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/II (2019), p. 77

The two letters show the students that there was willingness on both sides to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. It is the only testimony to these efforts based on a comprehensive source in the entire body of textbooks studied.

It is, however, important to note that several passages in the main body of the letter have been omitted, which is indicated twice by the inclusion of an ellipsis. The (back translated) letters are cited again in the following, with the missing passages included as they stand in the original document, here in italics.[349]

---

[349] Passages in italics are from the original English version.

The organisation commits itself to the peace process in the Middle East and to a peaceful solution to the conflict between the two sides. It also declares that all major issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations… *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation [PLO] considers that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event, inaugurating a new epoch of peaceful coexistence, free from violence and all other acts which endanger peace and stability*. In accordance with this the organisation condemns the use of terror and other violent acts… *and will assume responsibility over all Palestinian Liberation Organisation [PLO] elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators. In view of the promise of a new era and the signing of the Declaration of Principles and based on Palestinian acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338*, and assures that the articles that deny Israel's right to exist *and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments of this letter are now inoperative and* are no longer valid. The Palestinian Liberation Organisation [PLO] pledges to submit the necessary amendments to the Palestinian Charter to the Palestinian National Council for official approval.

The omission of the passage that speaks of beginning a new era of peaceful coexistence free of violence reflects the current situation between the two parties, which does not provide a roadmap to non-violence and peace acceptable to all sides involved. The second significant omission refers to the undertaking by the PLO to require all its elements, armed groups and their respective members to renounce violence. Three key points stand out from the reproduction of the letter from Arafat to Rabin:

Firstly the letter refers explicitly to the right of Israel to exist in peace and security. This is a de facto recognition of the State of Israel by the PLO, reproduced in a textbook which generally otherwise – similarly to all other textbooks studied here – uses the term 'Zionist occupation' when referring to Israel. Naming Rabin and addressing him as prime minister is also significant as all other protagonists on the other side only generally appear as anonymous representatives of a collective of 'occupiers'.

Secondly the text states that the PLO renounces the use of terror and all violent acts. It is significant that this passage includes the word 'terror' in black and white; a linguistic usage that is otherwise avoided in the textbooks when describing acts of violence by Palestinians. This renunciation of terror is not necessarily contradictory to the otherwise downplayed or even glorified depictions of terrorist violence; rather, it supports the classification of terror as a *historical* phase of the Palestinian 'resistance' up until 1993, at least in the official view of the Palestinian Authority.

The third significant point is that the textbook reproduces (parts of) the passage that declares invalid the controversial article in the Palestinian National Charter questioning Israel's right to exist. When viewed together these points are not inconsequential.

The inclusion of the unabridged letter from Rabin is also important. Even if this letter only essentially acknowledges the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, it appears here as a document from the opposing side that records willingness to engage in peaceful negotiation with their former enemy. This contrasts with the otherwise dominant approach of the textbooks to refer only to the opposition's use of violence. The exercise instructing students to 'Compare the aforementioned commitments in the two letters of recognition' does contextualise this aspect but without diluting the message of the two letters. On the whole, the fact that this textbook prints the letters of mutual recognition should be highlighted as significant, even if it fails to seize the opportunity to provide an exercise fostering a stronger commitment to peacebuilding here.

The narrative of the chapter is primarily concerned with depicting the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, which did not necessarily require the inclusion of the two source texts; simply mentioning the negotiations between the two sides would have been sufficient for the narrative. The source texts constitute a reminder of the disappointments associated with the foundering of the peace process associated with the cipher 'Oslo', but are also a sign of hope that such an agreement might still be possible in future – even if such sentiments are not explicitly expressed here. Whether the students are able to recognise this hope or whether it might be explained to them by dedicated teachers is another matter.

3.6   CONCLUSION

This chapter of the Report examines portrayals that refer directly to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, focusing particularly on the linguistic, symbolic and didactic techniques employed by the textbooks. The chapter analyses the terminological practices employed and symbolic and cartographic representations. It also looks at portrayals of the Jewish or Israeli protagonists in the context of Israeli violence towards Palestinians on the one hand, and at the depiction of Palestinian violence and also of the peace process on the other.

Concerning the use of terms designating the adversary, as stated earlier in this Report, the term 'Israel' is used comparatively seldom while the term '(Zionist) occupation' is prevalent. This is almost consistent throughout the textbooks. Firstly, the term 'Zionist occupation' can be interpreted as referring to the effects of Israel's occupation policy in the occupied territories when emphasis is placed on occupation practices. Secondly, it can be understood as a device through which to avoid naming the adversary or 'other' by name and to even question the legitimacy of the State of Israel and its political existence as an international legal entity. A history textbook for year 10, however, provides a source documenting the recognition of Israel by the PLO. While the term 'Jews', which occurs far more seldom and primarily in religious education books, is connotated positively in passages pointing to the common roots of the three monotheistic religions, examples of a pejorative use of the term reminiscent of anti-Semitic prejudice were also identified in the analysis.

The religiously informed terms *'jihād'* and *'shahīd'* are politically charged, and their use in textbooks reflects the diversity of meanings that these terms embody in Islamic and – to a certain extent, oriental Christian theology. The Arabic word *'jihād'* is, for example, introduced in Christian and Islamic religious education textbooks as signifying spiritual struggle and self-reform, but also engaging in combat. Here, textbooks explain the rules and conditions of *jihād* as well as regulations which forbid bloodshed and the killing of innocents and demand good treatment of prisoners.

Especially when taken up in other subjects than religious education, the latter meaning dominates. Rarely is the term connected to the current conflict; when it is, however, it carries escalatory potential. The term *'shahīd'*, however, is nearly exclusively connected to the conflict context and applied to two different groups: to individuals killed while committing violent attacks against Israel and also to victims of Israeli violence who were themselves not actively involved. Maps presented in Palestinian textbooks express the conflict in a highly symbolic way. The cartographic representations of an imagined All-Palestine, either as a political entity or an imagined homeland do not provide a spatial representation of the presence of the State of Israel or cities founded by Jewish immigrants. The State of Israel and cities like Tel-Aviv are not mentioned in the maps. Sites or cities located in Israel with large Arab populations, such as Akko or Haifa, are incorporated into the imagined All-Palestine, as are landscape formations that lie within Israeli state territory. A few maps show the borders of the West Bank and the settlements within it and thus visualise the disconnected territorial space administered by the Palestinian Authority. The geographic outline of All-Palestine belongs as much to the celebrated symbolic inventory of Palestinian identity as the keys to the doors of the houses that the Palestinians had to leave in 1948 and 1967. Texts as well as illustrations in the textbooks for nearly all subjects contain imagery of keys and/or maps symbolising the right of return for Palestinian refugees.

When Jews do appear in the textbooks, identified explicitly as such, they primarily do so as a collective. Christian education textbooks acknowledge Jews as representatives of a further monotheistic faith alongside Islam and Christianity, and refrain from reproducing prejudices from the New Testament. An Islamic education textbook expresses appreciation for the loyalty of the Jewish tribes of Medina at the time of Muhammad, while then focusing on the one tribe who ultimately betrayed the Prophet. When Jews appear as individuals in a section on early Islam in *Islamic Education* 5/II, published in 2017 and 2019, they are featured negatively with didactic reinforcement. This section displays anti-Semitic motives and links characteristics and actions attributed to Jews at the dawn of Islam to the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Representations of the contemporary Israeli adversary are generally – with very few examples – connected to depictions of structural or physical violence. The analysis reveals significant differences in the quality and quantity of the portrayals of violence across the school subjects; however, the different subjects also conceptualise and contextualise the experience and the use of violence in profoundly different ways.

In general, portrayals of violence perpetrated by the Israeli side present the latter as a homogenous entity referred to as the '(Zionist) occupation' or using similar epithets. On the rare occasions in which individual Israelis do occur in the books, they are de-individualised as violent representatives of a negatively connoted collective, such as soldiers or settlers. Voices criticising Israeli violence from within the internal Israeli discourse remain silent in these textbooks (which corresponds with the criterium of homogenisation).

The textbooks for Arabic language are strikingly saturated with depictions of the conflict, past and present, often using literary stylistic techniques to portray violence suffered or committed by Palestinians. Arab language textbooks present pieces of original literature (such as poems or short stories) together with authored texts designed to evoke identification. In comparison to those of other subjects, textbooks for Arabic language contain emotionally laden depictions of Israeli violence that tend to dehumanise the Israeli adversary; occasionally with accusations of malice or deception. Concerning violent acts by the Palestinian side against Israel, the textbooks for Arabic Language contain depictions of violence as a heroic struggle. These textbooks contain literary texts portraying acts of violence committed by the Palestinian side neither unambiguously denouncing nor approving them.

Textbooks for history, geography and social studies take a conceptual and analytical approach to the relevant facts, consistently embedding them within the narrative of national resistance against Israeli occupation. The portrayal of violence towards Palestinians is primarily descriptive and context-specific, whether in regard to physical, military violence towards Palestinians or whether in depictions of structural or spatial violence (settlements, checkpoints, barriers). The opponent is described as aggressive and hostile (aggression). The language, however, is for the most part objective in tone and avoids inflammatory expressions. While exercises in lower grades can bring about a didactic escalation by asking students to repeat the messages they find in the texts or images, exercises in the textbooks for years 10 to 12 ask open-ended questions and working tasks call for reflection on different forms of resistance.

History and (some) social studies textbooks present violence perpetrated by Palestinians as a legitimate means of resistance in certain periods of Palestinian history: violent methods have occupied a prominent place on the long path to national sovereignty and liberation from the yoke of occupation. The textbooks primarily refer to the First Intifada when presenting acts of violence committed by Palestinians against the Israeli occupation, justifying these acts as means of 'resistance'. Violence against civilians is presented as a historical phase in the Palestinian struggle; its depiction avoids going into detail and does not explicitly denounce it, with the exception of *History* 10, which quotes from the letters exchanged by Arafat and Rabin. As a type of 'military operation', violence against civilians is also presented as part of the narrative of resistance. Besides the violent, armed and bloody forms of 'revolutionary' resistance declared to be 'military strategy', the textbooks for social studies, geography and history over four consecutive school years repeatedly call for reflection on peaceful and violent forms of protests.

The Israeli-Palestinian peace process is discussed in a history textbook for year 10 and quotes the letters of mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO from September 1993. This textbook section confirms the recognition of Israel and the renunciation of violence and terrorism by the PLO. The recognition of Israel's right to exist documented in the letters by Yasser Arafat and Ytzhak Rabin stands in opposition to the questioning of the legitimacy of the State of Israel in other textbooks and passages. While earlier textbook editions did mention initiatives of the peace process subsequent to the Oslo Accords, these are no longer present in the textbooks analysed for this Report.

4   REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS IN TEXTBOOKS

The following chapter analyses real-life connections (hereafter: RLC) in Palestinian textbooks for the natural sciences and mathematics, and a short excursus at the end of the chapter will show that RLC with relevance to this Report's research questions are found in grammatical exercises in textbooks for Arabic as well. The quantitative analysis was conducted on the basis of all everyday-life examples in Palestinian textbooks for the natural sciences and mathematics, having defined categories of RLC. This chapter begins with a general explanation of the elements, characteristics and functions of RLC, and a subsection will examine the function of RLC within the context of Palestinian nation-building with a focus on RLC that relate to the conflict. Three cases of typical RLC that refer to the experiences of children or adolescents are analysed in depth, unveiling, alongside the *non-escalatory RLC* which are restricted to a mere *description* of a conflict situation, a number of *escalatory RLC* containing didactical or linguistic elements that emphasise the negative characteristics of the 'perpetrators'.

Textbooks for mathematics, life sciences, chemistry and physics are not usually characterised by an overarching structure for the imparting of historical or political meaning and social values. These textbooks contain, however, sporadic fragments of a narrative that does reflect the dominant discourse of the given society and which may also be used to transport messages not derived from the content of those disciplines. They neither convey the syllabus content *per se*, nor do they fulfil the learning objectives *directly*; rather, they serve the pedagogic aim of establishing a connection to the lifeworlds of students, thus indirectly demonstrating the relevance of the material to be taught. Textbooks for the natural sciences and mathematics thus demand a different methodological approach.

As outlined above, the focus of the methodological approach is on experience-related content. In textbooks, this is content that refers to aspects of everyday life in order to link the sciences and mathematics to the familiar surroundings of students. Using relevant examples in school textbooks promotes 'double-purpose learning'.[350]

Mathematics textbooks explain and train the abstract science of numbers, quantities, shapes and patterns, not only as academic concepts in imaginary contexts, but often with the assistance of real-world items or by incorporating storytelling. The life sciences textbooks – which are generally about living beings and thus teach not only abstract knowledge – connect new, complex scientific matter to knowledge the students already possess, thus establishing a more relatable understanding. Chemistry and physics textbooks for secondary education also employ RLC, albeit, as the quantitative review of Palestinian textbooks revealed, to a significantly lesser degree.

This Report refers to RLC in textbooks for mathematics, physics, chemistry or life sciences, whenever elements of everyday life are used in an authored text, quotation, illustration, exercise or title, giving students a relatable understanding of the scientific content. Practical exercises in particular often contain RLC, as they frequently refer to elements of everyday life and equipment from school, laboratories, the environment or from the students' homes.

---

[350]   UNESCO/Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development: *Textbooks for Sustainable Development,* p. 19–22.

4.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS

4.1.1 REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS ACCORDING TO PREFACES AND TEACHER GUIDES

The textbook prefaces generally state their educational targets and didactic methods. Life sciences textbooks, for instance, aspire to 'link knowledge with the student's reality on the one hand, and with sports, arts, drama, painting and life skills on the other'.[351] In the preface to the mathematics textbooks, the authors introduce their scientific content in a 'modern format' as a part of 'a curriculum based on linking learning with real-life contexts (سياقات حياتيّة, *siyāqāt ḥaiyātīa*) in an appealing and pleasing way'.[352] The explicit goal is 'to develop an interactively participating student'. Another emphasised purpose of real-life connections in the prefaces of mathematic textbooks for years 5 to 10 is to solve real-life problems: 'The process of learning and teaching is the backbone of equipping the student with knowledge, concepts and skills, and integrating these into proper contexts that solve real-life problems. This can only be achieved by inspiring and thought-provoking activities that make the Palestinian environment present among its social and economic aspects, among others.'[353]

The teacher guides for mathematics and life sciences textbooks emphasise RLC in the lesson targets and offer the teacher ideas on how to didactically integrate the real-life experiences of the students into the teaching matter. The Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, for instance, is thus incorporated, according to a teacher guide, into a mathematics exercise. The guide also provides ideas regarding how to introduce the exercise, for example with a video or a picture of the famous poet followed by questions about him that are not necessarily linked with algebraic problems.[354]

---

[351] The prefaces of the life sciences textbooks analysed from years 3 to 9, [p. IV]: علاوة على اهتمامها [فلسفة الكتاب] بربط المعرفة بواقع حياة الطالب من جهة، وبالرياضيات والفن والموسيقى والدراما والرياضة والمهارات الحياتية من جهة أخرى.

[352] The prefaces of the mathematics textbooks analysed from years 5 to 10, [p. IV]: يتم تقديم المحتوى التعليمي بقالب عصري [...] ويستمر المنهاج المبني على الأنشطة أصلًا في ربط التعلم بالسياقات الحياتية بطريقة جاذبة محببة.

[353] The prefaces of the mathematics textbooks analysed from years 5 to 10, [p. IV]: تشكل العملية التعليمية التعلمية في هذه المرحلة الركيزة الأساسية في تمكين الطالب من المفاهيم والمعارف والمهارات، وتوظيفها ضمن سياقات مناسبة، تقوم على حل مشكلات حياتية، ولا يكون ذلك إلا بالقيام بأنشطة محفزة، ومثيرة للتفكير، تحاكي البيئة الفلسطينية في المجالات الاجتماعية، والاقتصادية وغيرها.

[354] *Mathematics Teacher Guide* 7 (2018), p. 137–138: لتنفيذ نشاط (١) يعرض المعلم صورة أو مقطع فيديو مقترح، للشاعر محمود درويش، ويطرح أسئلة عليها: من يعرف هذه الشخصية؟ ماذا تعرف عن الشاعر محمود درويش؟ [...] متى ولد الشاعر؟ متى توفي؟ كم عمره حين توفي؟ ما المقدار الجبري الذي يمثل عمر الشاعر؟

4.1.2 ELEMENTS AND PROTAGONISTS IN REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS

Mathematics exercises on rational numbers that have RLC include, for instance, an illustration of the Great Pyramid of Giza[355] or a Rubik's cube.[356] Another task presents an everyday-life scenario involving a girl called Lama who wishes to read a novel in three days, reads one third of it on the first day and one fifth on the second day; the task requires calculating the percentage of the novel Lama read in the first two days.[357] In the same lesson on rational numbers, an exercise asks students to compare in miles the distance run by the imaginary Khalid and Said in a marathon for athletes with disabilities.[358]

Another lesson on rational numbers shows how RLC in Palestinian school textbooks are fostered not only via universal topics, but also via culture-specific themes or current and local issues. The Chukar partridge, a Eurasian upland game bird with its natural habitat in Palestinian regions, is introduced with an illustration of nine eggs and a very brief introduction to its habitat as well as information regarding how it protects its eggs. The task is to calculate the mass of all eggs on the basis of the given mass of one egg.[359]

Mathematics and life sciences textbooks refer in their exercises not only to real-life objects and places but also to relatable individuals or institutions, referred to in this Report as 'protagonists'. The majority of the protagonists are fictional students or individuals with a name or a profession performing everyday roles (such as a student doing sport, reading, donating, solving maths problems in different ways, buying sweets, etc.). Many protagonists appear in an economic role as well (e.g. fishermen in Gaza, farmers, engineers fixing a stadium, meteorologists, etc.).

Some protagonists are political (individuals going to the polls, protesting peacefully against the separation barrier, or drawing the flag of Palestine on Prisoners' Day), or cultural, the latter mostly appearing collectively (a feminist group doing embroidery work, the soap industry in Nablus, a scout group, football fans, Arab and Muslim scientists).

In comparison to fictional characters, real-life individuals feature less frequently in the textbooks. Some appear as a necessary didactical aspect, such as philosophers or scientists, and some provide the textbook authors with ways to demonstrate a more authentic reality. Hiba al-Shurafa appears in the lesson on chromosomes as a success story of a Palestinian teacher with Down syndrome.[360] Yasser Arafat appears beside the Dome of the Rock in an illustration of a neon street billboard in a exercise following the lesson on the chemical elements.[361] In addition to individuals, institutions and organisations also occur as protagonists such as governmental bodies (Palestinian government, public officials, Palestine Monetary Authority, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, Palestinian ministries), and international institutions (FIFA, UNRWA, UN, WHO).

For the subject of mathematics, textbooks published in 2019 place greater emphasis on human rights as compared to former versions. The 14 references to real life in the 2017/2018 versions were extended with introductions pointing to the relevance of the problem discussed for human rights. This, together with the framing of this content within a larger global context, indicates awareness on the part of the textbook editors of human rights issues and the political nature of the RLC.

---

[355] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 2.

[356] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 11.

[357] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 15: تريد لمى قراءة قصة خلال ثلاثة أيام، فقررت قراءة ثلث القصة في اليوم الأول، وقراءة خمسي القصة في اليوم الثاني، فما مقدار ما ستقرؤه لمى خلال أول يومين؟

[358] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 18: في سباق لذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة، قطع خالد في ساعة واحدة ١ و٢/١ كم، بينما قطع سعيد ٥/٤ كم في ساعة واحدة، ما المسافة التي قطعها خالد زيادة عن المسافة التي قطعها سعيد؟

[359] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 20: يعيش طائر الحجل (الشنار) في فلسطين، ويألف المناطق المغطاة بالأعشاب والشجيرات، ويتواجد في المناطق الجبلية الوعرة نسبيًّا. وتضع الأنثى البيض، وتقوم على حراسته موسم التكاثر. أتأمل الشكل المجاور، وعلى اعتبار أن كتلة أي بيضة حجل تساوي [...]

[360] *Science and Life* 8/I (2019), p. 28–29: متلازمة داون وقصة نجاح فلسطينية. هبة الشرفا فتاة فلسطينية من مدينة غزة، مصابة بمتلازمة داون، حصلت على وسام معلمة للمرحلة الأساسية؛ لإسهامها في تعليم الطلبة في جمعية «الحق في الحياة» [...]

[361] *Science and Life* 8/I (2019), p. 71.

4.2 REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF PALESTINIAN NATIONBUILDING

4.2.1 CONFLICT AND NON-CONFLICT RELATED REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS

Originating within a conflict situation, Palestinian textbooks also present real-life connections that address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, its protagonists and its consequences. In a lesson on rational numbers, for instance, an exercise requires students to compare the number of Palestinian refugees in Arab countries and 'in the state of Palestine'. This task is illustrated by a picture of people fleeing and a brief sentence about nationality as a human right.[362]

Based on a frequency analysis, the following chart shows the proportion of RLC with reference to diverse (or universal) topics, culture-specific Palestinian topics and RLC that relate to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In 28 textbooks for mathematics, life sciences, chemistry and physics included in the analysis, 2,343 RLC were identified. Of these, 415 refer to a specific Palestinian everyday-life situation or address current and local issues with a culture-specific theme, without, however, forming a connection to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Nevertheless, the latter is referred to by 127 of the RLC, and in various ways.

The frequency analysis shows that the large majority of the cases reference universal everyday life with no connection to the region or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (77%).
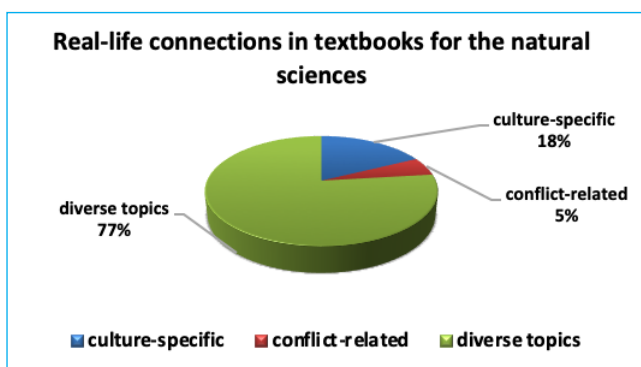
Figure 110: Real-life connections in textbooks for natural sciences and mathematics

362 *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 12: من الحقوق الأساسية للأفراد عدم حرمانهم من جنسيتهم، يعيش حوالي ٤٤٪ من الفلسطينيين لاجئين في الدول العربية، وفي الوقت ذاته، فإن من بين كل ١٢ مقيمًا في دولة فلسطين ٩ لاجئين فلسطينيين. أوضح أيهما أكثر، نسبة اللاجئين الفلسطينيين في دولة فلسطين، أم نسبتهم في الدول العربية؟

4.2.2 CULTURE-SPECIFIC REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE CONFLICT

الوحدة ٢

الطاقة الميكانيكية

○ تَأَمَّل وناقِشْ:

في الدَبكة الشعبيّة الفِلَسطينيّة، لِتضرِبَ رِجلك بالأرض يجبُ أَنْ ترفعَها إلى الأَعلى أَوّلاً.
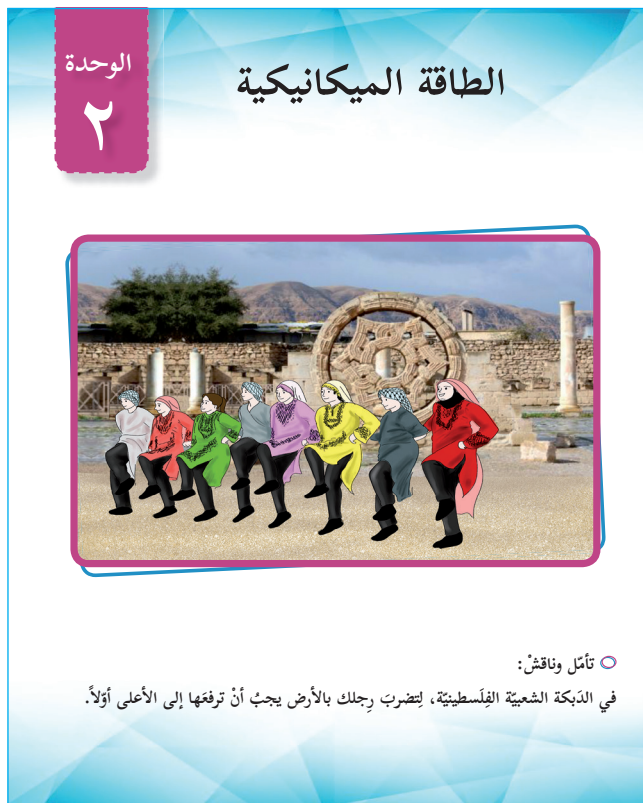
Figure 111: *Science and Life* 8/I (2019), p. 44

While the majority of the RLC identified in the mathematics and life sciences textbooks do not explicitly describe or refer to the cultural, national or regional everyday life of Palestinians, 18 per cent of the 2,343 RLC represent a cultural, national or regional theme without addressing the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict (e.g. a Palestinian flag in an illustration, olive trees and olive oil production, a Palestinian board game, folk dances, traditional dishes, and traditional clothes with embroidery work). The manifestations of mechanical energy are explained by the traditional Palestinian *Dabke* dance (الدبكة الشعبية الفلسطينية, *ad-dabka ash-shaʿbiya al-filisṭinīa*), for instance. An illustration shows a group of Palestinian women performing the dance in front of the famous Hisham palace in Jericho:[363]

Unit 2: Mechanical Energy
[Picture]
Look [at the picture] and discuss:
To perform the Palestinian folk dance *Dabke*, in order to stomp the ground with your foot you have to lift it up first.

4.2.3 CONFLICT-RELATED REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS

As discussed above, five per cent or 127 of the 2,343 RLC identified in textbooks for mathematics, life sciences, chemistry and physics refer explicitly or implicitly to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Defining an RLC as 'conflict-related' is based on the terms, illustrations or maps identified in the analysed textbooks. The many ways in which the ongoing conflict is referred to in the textbooks require categorisation and further explanation.

---

[363] Another example in a Mathematics textbook relates to the production of the traditional Palestinian dessert *knāfeh nābilsiyeh* (الكنافة النابلسية), with the exercise asking the students to calculate the amount of cheese a mother has to use in order to produce the dish for her family and neighbours: *Mathematics* 1/II (2019), p. 36.

One set of cases from the authored texts and exercises with regard to the students' lifeworlds includes references to the everyday lives of children under the conditions of occupation. The portrayals of events clearly have the objective of referring to that which is familiar, of building on the students' own direct experience or evoking the echo of an occurrence that the students would recognise from their everyday lives, from news broadcasts or from social networks. Regardless of where the reference to such personal experiences has originated, these examples are always relevant for the everyday; they generalise individual or collective experiences and memories in a lifeworld permeated with conflict. Given the ubiquitous nature of the occupation and the conflict in Palestinian everyday life and collective memory, it is notable that the share of conflict-related RLC is small in comparison to the lifeworld references that do not relate to the conflict.

It is, of course, valid to question whether it is truly necessary to use an everyday reference that involves violence, for instance, or threatens escalation in its portrayal of the opponent, in order to illustrate a specific law of physics or a chemical reaction. Presumably examples from peaceful daily life could equally have been incorporated, as indeed is the case in 95 per cent of RLC. The necessity to *also* include conflict-related RLC for illustrative purposes arises from the inner logic of the learning objectives framework described in the textbook prefaces and the teacher guides. If, as described above, 'the Palestinian environment' with its 'social and economic aspects' is to be taught to the students as a secondary learning objective via the contents of a mathematics textbook, then the conflict-related aspects are to the same extent facets of Palestinian daily life.

The teacher guides for the life sciences textbooks list the learning objectives of every teaching unit and provide the answers for the exercises. The learning objectives of each unit that are not related to the subject-specific content of the teaching unit, but rather to a real-life experience are mostly highlighted in another colour (for instance in red as shown below):

أن يكتب الطلبة التوزيع الإلكتروني لعنصر ما	2	أن يذكر الطلبة بعض أماكن تواجد اللاجئين الفلسطينيين.
أن يكتب الطلبة مجموعة عنصر ما من التوزيع الإلكتروني لذرته	2	أن يذكر الطلبة أمثلة على بعض مخيمات اللجوء الفلسطينية
أن يستخدم الطلبة الجدول الدوري في إيجاد رقم مجموعة عنصر ما	1	أن يتعرف الطلبة إلى ظروف معيشة اللاجئين في مخيمات اللجوء

Figure 112: The teaching targets of the lesson 'The Structure of the Atom', in: *Science and Life Teacher Guide* 8 (2018), p. 54.

Teaching targets in black:
'That the students can write down the electron configuration of an element;

That the students can write down the group of an element according to its electron configuration;

That the students can use the periodic table to find out the number of an element group.'

Teaching targets in red:
'That the students can name some of the places where there are Palestinian refugees;

That the students can name some examples of Palestinian refugee camps;

That the students can describe the living conditions of refugees in refugee camps.'

Categorising the conflict-related RLC facilitates analysis and assessment. The process is begun by identifying the particular topoi that will form the thematic subcategories. Some RLC refer to the territorial claim when emphasising Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine[364] or when an Israeli city is referred to as Palestinian, thus invoking the conflict from a national, geopolitical perspective. Further, some maps identified are part of the narrative of identities and territories (as demonstrated in Chapter 3). Otherwise, Jerusalem appears in the textbooks as a theme in its own right, mostly without explicit reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

---

[364] *Science and Life* 9/I (2019), p. 53. For instance, an introductory page of a teaching unit entitled 'Electricity in our Lives' shows a photograph of Jerusalem in the evening. The illustration is followed by a question about how the 'city of Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine' is lit and how electricity reaches the whole city:
تأمل مدينة القدس عاصمة فلسطين ليلًا... فكر كيف تضاء المدينة؟ كيف تصل الكهرباء إلى جميع أنحاء المدينة.

Some exercises or authored texts bring up historical events and their consequences, such as the *Nakba* or the situation of the Palestinian refugees and the quest for their return. An example is a RLC in a lesson on probability, referring to the year 1948 as a turning point in the life of Palestinians. A symbolic map of Palestine within the borders of the British Mandate, an old house key as a symbol of the 'return', and the word 'return' itself in Arabic and English all accentuate the Palestinian narrative that focuses on the historical moment of the *Nakba* as a perpetuated catastrophe.[365] In another textbook, an introductory story titled 'My Relatives in Refugee Camps', which references the names of family members, their current residence in refugee camps and their relationships to each other presented in a table is used to give an understanding of the classification of chemical elements in the periodic table.[366]

Palestinian prisoners appear in the mathematics and life sciences textbooks in the context of RLC. In the teaching unit on probability, for instance, an exercise requires the students to calculate the probability that, if a day in April were chosen randomly, the chosen day would be the 17 April, the 'Day of the Palestinian Prisoner […] in the prisons of the occupation'.[367]

Although the textbooks contain many references to 'fictional' schools and facilities, real-life schools dedicated to national figures linked to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are also included. One case is a school called ash-Shahīda Rihām Dawabsha (الشهيدة ريهام دوابشة) [368] and another is named after ash-shahīd Abu Jihād (الشهيد أبو جهاد).[369] The mere existence of these schools in RLC implicitly addresses the conflict in an authentic manner. Another example, referring to a special case of martyrdom, merges with the above-mentioned geopolitical perspective in the context of Land Day (يوم الأرض , *yawm al-Arḍ*).

The exercise is to calculate the probability of students suggesting certain activities to preserve the memory of the six portrayed *shuhadā'* (شهداء) of Land Day. The authored text refers to the historical event of the 30 March 1976 and the deaths of six Palestinian-Israeli citizens while 'defending the land which the occupation tried to expropriate'.[370] The following exercises suggest commemorating the *shuhadā'* of Land Day by organising a sports competition or in the school morning assembly. The text neither mentions that the persons killed were Palestinian-Israeli citizens nor that the events commemorated took place in Israel. It is highly problematic that the use of the term 'occupation' here denotes Israel as an occupying power within its own state borders.[371]

As shown above, a large quantity of non-conflict-related examples engage with a national-cultural theme. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, however, also appears as part of this cultural collective memory. For instance, an exhibition of Palestinian products is named 'Lest we Forget' (كي لا ننسى, *kai lā nansā*)[372] and in another exercise an illustration of an olive tree – as part of an algebraic problem using the example of olive oil production – is captioned with a quotation from a poem by Mahmūd Darwīsh: 'if the olives remembered who planted them, the oil would turn into tears'.[373]

The archetypal RLC in textbooks are those that refer to the experiences of children themselves. In Palestinian textbooks these references to students and individualised fictional characters often occur within a storytelling framework. The majority of the references identified portray an everyday occurrence, for instance in school or with family. Some references, however, portray individuals, including children, as victims of the ongoing conflict.

[365] *Mathematics* 7/II (2019), p. 97. The exercise is about finding the probability space: يمثل العام ١٩٤٨ عامًا مفصليًا في حياة شعبنا الفلسطيني، وهو العام الذي حدثت فيه النكبة، واحتلت فلسطين، وتشرد شعبنا في مخيمات اللجوء، والشتات. الفضاء العيني للأرقام المكونة لهذا التاريخ [...]

[366] *Life Sciences* 8/I (2019), p. 65: أقاربي في مخيمات اللجوء.
Here, the content of the RLC corresponds with the teaching targets given in the *Life Sciences Teacher Guide* 8 (2018), p. 54.

[367] *Mathematics* 7/II (2019), p. 102: [...] إذا تم اختيار تاريخ يوم بشكل عشوائي، من أيام شهر نيسان ٢٠١٧، لتنظيم يوم تضامني مع الأسرى، في سجون الاحتلال فإن الفضاء العيني، لتجربة اختيار تاريخ هذا اليوم [...].

[368] *Science and Life* 9/I (2019), p. 115.

[369] *Mathematics* 9/II (2019), p. 13.

[370] *Mathematics* 7/II (2019), p. 105: استشهد ستة فلسطينيين في الثلاثين من آذار عام ١٩٧٦، خلال دفاعهم عن الأراضي التي حاول الاحتلال مصادرتها، ومن يومها عرف بيوم الأرض الخالد.

[371] See Chapter 3.

[372] *Mathematics* 8/II (2019), p. 63.

[373] *Mathematics* 8/I (2019), p. 39: لو يذكر الزيتون غارسه لصار الزيت دمعًا.

In the following, two categories of RLC will be presented that address the didactic and semantic intensity of the conflict-related portrayals in line with the distinction between escalatory and non-escalatory characteristics as outlined in the introduction (see 1.3.1). Both categories – escalatory and non-escalatory RLC – will be explained using everyday scenarios specifically relevant to children, followed by an analysis. This categorisation also raises the question as to whether – and if so, how – the references might have an escalatory effect and whether their function is merely representational or rather pursues a call to action.

Irrespective of their escalatory potential, the RLC of both categories are twofold in character: they reflect everyday life experience (see above), and, at the same time, they convey a message that extends beyond the mere necessity to illustrate the scientific material. This message refers to the conflict, its consequences and its actors; by explicitly naming these interrelationships, the contours of the 'opponent' come into clearer focus and the students' awareness is aligned to the concept of nation-building in a state of resistance to an alleged or actual enemy. In their message, these RLC correspond to the (secondary) learning objectives outlined above, although with their escalatory elements their impact exceeds these aims. Rather, escalatory elements intensify the message; they are emotional triggers for anger and rage, and yet for the actual message that the textbooks are tasked with conveying they are expendable.

To illustrate the first category, escalatory depictions, the Report draws on an example from a science and life textbook for year 7 students. The function of the adrenal glands in the production and distribution of adrenaline, the 'fight or flight' hormone, is explained using an anatomical diagram with an accompanying text that contains exercises. An emotion familiar to every child, fear, is used to illustrate the effect of this biological relationship.

نشاط (٥) الغدة الكظرية والخوف

عاش مجموعة من الأطفال الفلسطينيين ساعة رعب في أحراش قرية جيبيا قضاء رام الله، بعد اقتحام قوات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي مدججين بالسلاح مخيماً كشفياً، حيث حاصر الجنود أرض المخيم مطلقين قنابل الصوت والغاز المسيل للدموع على الخيام المخصصة لمبيت الأطفال مما أصابهم بالهلع والخوف.
أجب عن الأسئلة الآتية:
• ما الموقف الطارئ الذي أثار هلع الأطفال وخوفهم؟
• أيّ من أجهزة الجسم تتكامل معاً لمواجهة هذا الموقف؟ وضح ذلك.
• على أيّ الغدد الصماء أثر الدماغ لمواجهة الموقف؟
• ما اسم الهرمون الذي أفرزته هذه الغدة؟
• ما أثر هذا الهرمون على كل من القلب، وحركات التنفس، والبنكرياس؟

تقع الغدتان الكظريتان كل فوق كلية، وعند تعرض الجسم لموقف طارئ تستجيب هذه الغدد لأوامر الدماغ لتفرز هرمون الأدرينالين، الذي يزيد من عدد ضربات القلب، وحركات التنفس، واحمرار الوجه، وينشط خلايا لانغرهانز في البنكرياس لتفرز هرمون الغلوكاغون الذي يحول غلايكوجين الكبد إلى غلوكوز في الدم لإمداد العضلات بالطاقة اللازمة لمواجهة ذلك الموقف، كما يثبط هذا الهرمون إفراز العصارات الهاضمة من البنكرياس والأمعاء الدقيقة.

Figure 113: *Science and Life* 7/II (2019) p. 66

Activity (5) The Adrenal Glands and Fear

A group of Palestinian children experienced an hour of horror in the woods near Jibiya village in Ramallah after heavily armed Israeli occupying forces broke into a scout camp. The soldiers besieged the camp and shot sound bombs and tear gas on the tents where the children were sleeping. The children were struck with terror and fear. Answer the following questions:

- What incident triggered the children's panic and fear?
- Which organs of the human body work together to confront this situation? Explain.
- Which endocrine gland was influenced by the brain to confront the situation?
- What is the name of the hormone released by this gland?
- What is the effect of this hormone on the heart, on breathing and on the pancreas? [...]

The text explaining the function of the adrenal glands and the effects of adrenalin is preceded by a passage depicting a terrifying situation experienced by a group of children. The text highlights the lack of normality for children and young people in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a seemingly 'normal' free time activity, such as a scout camp taking place in woods near Ramallah. The text notes that the children were sleeping, which indicates that the incident took place at night. However, the sounds that scare the children are not those of a wild animal moving around at night such as might be the case in a 'normal' situation. Those responsible are named as the 'forces of the Israeli occupation' (قوّات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي, *quwwāt al-iḥtilāl al-isrā'īlī*), who raid the camp and set off tear gas and shock grenades. The example does not stop at simply naming the perpetrators of the violent act. The Israeli soldiers appear as devious, cowardly and cruel. They ambush a scout camp at night, full of unsuspecting, sleeping children, and attack their tents using weapons which, while they do not kill, can cause serious injuries especially in children (although this is not mentioned here). 'An hour of horror' (ساعة رعب, *sā'at ru'b*), 'terror and fear' (هلع وخوف, *hala' wa khauf*) – the terms used underline the extent of the distress evoked in the children by the soldiers. As no reasons are given as to why the Israeli army happened to be in this location during the night, the impression arises that they were aware the camp was a (Palestinian) scout camp and their aim was to terrorise sleeping Palestinian children and to cause a state of panic and fear. In addition to this linguistic escalation, the 'message' is further emphasised by the use of a didactic instrument: one of the five exercises requires the students to name the 'incident' that caused the children to feel 'panic and fear'. The exercise section moves sharply between the requirement to provide a scientific explanation of a physiological process – the triggering of fear and the production of adrenaline are often preceded by a situation perceived to be dangerous or threatening – and the reinforcement of the negative image of the adversary already provided by the text. Through the written or oral reiteration

of the events described, the *horror* and *terror* are repeatedly evoked and with them the underhandedness and brutality of the protagonists. Although the everyday lives of children living under the conditions of conflict and occupation have the potential to produce many confrontational, frightening and violent situations, the selected example can be characterised as highly escalatory due to its linguistic and didactic structure. The escalation takes place particularly on a linguistic and conceptual level; the depiction arouses anger and rage. This example does not, however, contain a call for action.[374]

The following example is less escalatory than the RLC mentioned above, but not entirely free of escalatory potential as a result of the didactic technique of repetition employed in the exercise section. In a science and life textbook for year 8 students the physical properties of gases are explained through a situation with which presumably every Palestinian child or young person will be familiar:

نشاط (٤) الانتشار

تأثّر طلّاب مدرسة بلعين الثانويّة المختلطة، في محافظة رام الله والبيرة بقنابل الغاز المسيل للدّموع، التي أطلقها جنودُ الاحتلال الصهيوني تجاه المسيرة السلميّة التي انطلقتْ من القرية، احتجاجاً على جدار الضمّ والتوسُّع، الذي ابتلع معظم الأراضي الزّراعيّة التابعة للقرية والقرى المجاورة.

◉ ١- تُشتمّ رائحةُ الغاز المسيل للدّموع الذي يطلقه جيشُ الاحتلال من مكانٍ بعيد. فسّرْ ذلك.

◉ ٢- أعطِ أمثلة لمواد أخرى تنتقل بالانتشار.

◉ ٣- ما أثر هذا الغاز في الصحة والبيئة؟

◉ ٤- ما إجراءات السّلامة الواجب اتّباعُها، عند التعرُّض لهجماتِ جيش الاحتلال بالغاز المُسيل للدموع؟

⚠ الانتشار: هو انتقال المادة من الوسط الأكثر تركيزاً بها إلى الوسط الأقل تركيزاً، وتستمرّ عمليّة النقل حتى يتساوى التركيز بين الوسطيْن، ويُعدُّ الانتشارُ أحدَ طُرُق انتقال الموادّ عبر الغشاء الخلويّ، مثل انتقال غازات التنفس.

Figure 114: *Science and Life* 8/I (2019), p. 15

[374] Further escalatory examples identified portraying Israeli violence: an exercise following a lesson on the human lymphatic system asks about the dangers facing a boy called Rami who has been beaten on his left side by an Israeli soldier. See *Science and Life* 9/I (2019), p. 48: تعرض رامي لضربة من جندي إسرائيلي على جانبه الأيسر، ما مخاطر ذلك؟

Activity (4) Diffusion

The students of the Bil'in secondary school in Ramallah and al-Bireh Governorate have been affected by the tear gas used by the Zionist occupying army during a peaceful demonstration in the village. The demonstration was against the annexation and expansion wall that engulfed most of the agricultural lands in the village and in neighbouring villages.

1) The smell of the tear gas fired by the occupying army can be identified from a distance. Explain this.
2) Give examples of other substances spread by diffusion?
3) What is the effect of this gas on people's health and on the environment?
4) What are the safety procedures to be followed when exposed to tear gas attacks by the occupying army?

[...]

The text describes a violent confrontation between the Israeli military and Palestinian demonstrators at which tear gas grenades were employed. The effects of the tear gas are felt by children at a neighbouring school. Providing precise details of the village and including the name of the school creates a concrete everyday context. The reason for the protests is given as the 'annexation and expansion wall' constructed on land belonging to the villagers. This text therefore addresses two grievances that accompany the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: the separation barrier and the use of violence against Palestinian demonstrators. The perpetrators of the violence are named 'soldiers of the Zionist occupation' (جنود الاحتلال الصهيوني, *junūd al-iḥtilāl aṣ-ṣuhyūnī*); otherwise the text gives a simple explanation for the situation that remains free of escalatory elements. The text does state that tear gas is employed against peaceful demonstrators but, unlike the text about the scout camp, the language is not used to highlight particularly negative aspects. The photograph accompanying the text depicts a masked youth with what appears to be a slingshot in his hands, which is somewhat at odds with the text and its description of a 'peaceful demonstration'. The image does not contain any obvious encouragement or glorification of violence; it is a common motif for the violent confrontations in the occupied territories and has more of an illustrative than escalatory character. However, two of the exercises are didactically escalatory. When asking about the physical properties of gases and about safety measures to be taken with tear gas, the name of those responsible ('occupying army', جيش الاحتلال, *jaish al-iḥtilāl*) is unnecessarily repeated.

An example of a non-escalatory RLC can be found in an excerpt from a mathematics textbook for year 10:

Figure 115: *Mathematics* 10/I (2019), p. 8

(1-1) Even and Odd Functions

Activity 1: Extracurricular activities for students include school trips. As our children are banned from entering Palestinian cities inside [Israeli borders (*al-mudun al-filisṭinīa fī ad-dākhil*)], school trips have been limited to cities of the West Bank. In order to attract visitors, some amusement parks and playgrounds have been offering special rides.

[Picture] Look at the ride in the picture. (It is called the Ferris wheel.)

Mohammed went with his family to the amusement park. As he rode on the Ferris wheel, he noticed that the rotation on the right side [...].

The illustration shows a Ferris wheel of the variety found in any amusement park anywhere in the world. Its passenger cars are numbered with positive and negative numbers in order to visualise the explanation of mathematical functions that will follow. The actual mathematical explanation is preceded by the non-mathematical 'message' that refers to

the everyday experience of the students under the conditions of the conflict. It begins by pointing to school trips as extra-curricular activities. However, these activities, reference to which initially presupposes a normality of school practice and of children's RLC, are then described in the second sentence as being curtailed by restrictions to the children's freedom of movement. The section neither mentions the actors responsible for this state of affairs nor does it provide an explicit assessment of the situation presented in this example. The second sentence, however, with its statement, using specific key terms, that the children are banned from entering 'Palestinian cities inside' (المدن الفلسطينية في الداخل، *al-mudun al- filisṭinīa fī ad-dākhil*) clearly locates the subject matter within the context of the Israel-Palestinian conflict before the third sentence re-directs the text away from this context in order to return to the normality of amusement

parks and special fairground rides. What is striking in this example is its fusion with the aspect of the conceptual 'appropriation' of Israeli cities as 'Palestinian cities inside' (meaning 'inside [the green line]' or 'inside [the borders of Israel]'), which can be interpreted as non-recognition of the State of Israel. Although this example does not feature a specific entity (such as the 'Zionist occupying forces' or the 'Israeli occupation') as responsible for this clearly iniquitous state of affairs – that children are unable to visit certain places on their school trips – rather, the example as a whole is contained within a nominal construction written in the passive voice. The example is thus to a large extent limited to the portrayal of a grievance resulting from the conflict. It contains neither a call for judgement or indeed action, nor does it escalate or intensify negative traits associated with the opponent.[375]

4.3 REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS IN ARABIC LANGUAGE TEXTBOOK

Following the classic language teaching approach that focuses on what are known as the four essential skills of language learning (reading, listening, writing and speaking), the Arabic Language textbooks include many reading and listening comprehensions that have either been written by the authors or are citations from the work of well-known writers.

While such texts have been analysed in the previous chapters, this section focuses on the real-life aspects that are integrated in the tasks designed to develop language skills such as vocabulary and grammar exercises or tasks related to written and oral expression. RLC in Arabic language textbooks connect the material with real-life topics or events and therefore enable students to reflect on what is taking place in their surroundings.

The RLC appear briefly and generally without specific context, in tasks in which students are asked, for example, to apply a grammatical rule. Similarly to the mathematics and life sciences textbooks, the RLC in the Arabic language textbooks include imaginary protagonists with a name or a profession, such as farmers, nurses etc. Topics vary widely in the sample texts. RLC refer, for instance, to historical places, well-known individuals or portray an aspect of the students' daily life. Some invoke geopolitical aspects of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, mentioning Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine, for example, or revisiting the topic of the Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock in sections on Jerusalem in the textbooks. Other themes related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are, for example, the separation barrier or references to Palestinian *shuhadā'* who have found their way into the Palestinian collective memory.

[375] Other examples of non-escalatory conflict-related RLC can be found in, for example, *Mathematics* 10/II (2019), p. 29.

In the lesson on 'Graphing Trigonometric Functions', Palestinian students develop solar cells for electricity production, as 'the forces of the occupation' were blocking the electricity supply to a particular area. Similarly, in *Science and Life* 8/II (2019), p. 71–72 (Arthropods), a young hobby beekeeper experiences difficulties with his bees as a result of 'decreasing agricultural areas due to the appropriation of land by the occupation':

ومن هذه المشاكل انحسار الأراضي الزراعية بسبب مصادرة سلطات الاحتلال، وانتشار العديد من الآفات التي تهاجم خلايا النحل، كالدبور الأحمر، وعث النحل، والنمل. alongside this comment on an Israeli action, however, other, natural reasons are given for bee colony collapse disorder.

Here are some examples:

٥- القُدْسُ زَهْرَه المَدائِنِ، وعاصِمَتُنا الأَبَدِيَّه.

Figure 116: *The Arabic Language* 5/I (2019), p. 79, exercise

5) Jerusalem is the flower of cities and our eternal capital.

٤- لَنْ أَتَنازَلَ عَنْ شِبْرٍ مِنْ تُرابِ وَطَني.

Figure 117: *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2019), p. 24, exercise

4) I will not give up an inch of my homeland.

- صارَ الأَسير _____ شاهِداً عَلى إِرْهابِ الاحْتِلالِ.

Figure 118: *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 47

The detainee became a witness to the terrorism of the occupation.

التَّدْريبُ الثَّاني:

نُصَوِّبُ الْأَخْطاءَ الوارِدَةَ في الجُمَلِ الآتِيَةِ:

أ-   نَسِيَ المُسافِرُ رِدائَهُ عَلى الكُرْسِيِّ مِنْ شِدَّةِ التَّعَبِ.

ب-   الشُّهَداءُ تَبْقى أَسْماؤُهُم حاضِرَةً في ذاكِرَةِ شُعوبِهِم.

Figure 119: *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2018), p. 100 [376]

Second exercise:
Identify the errors in the following sentences:
a) The passenger forgot his robe on the chair as he was very tired.
b) The names of the *shuhadā'* remain present in the memory of their people

The RLC in Arabic language textbooks are usually limited to one or two sentences or sometimes to one or two words per page. In contrast to other teaching units in Arabic language textbooks, which mostly include quoted passages for reading and listening texts, the sentences with RLC are generally scattered throughout the books and no coherent context is established. Occasionally, some RLC identified did form a coherent theme. One working task designed to develop written expression asked the students four questions related to Jerusalem with the aim that their answers result in a simple text. The questions are: '1. What are the most significant religious sites in Jerusalem? 2. Why do people visit Jerusalem? 3. What is your duty toward Jerusalem? 4. Write a sentence about Jerusalem.'[377]

However, in Arabic language textbooks RLC with a coherent conflict relation can also be found. Five sentences provided to illustrate a grammatical rule in Arabic Language 6/I refer to the conflict, in part encourage implicitly to action, and in combination are escalatory in character. In contrast to an earlier version the 2019 textbook *The Arabic Language* 6/I in Chapter 1 titled 'Verses from Surah al-Dhāriyat' (آيات من سورة الذاريات, *āyāt mn sūrat a-dhāriāt*) expands the exercises to include, for example, the implicit call for the boycott of Israeli products (changes highlighted in bold print in the translation below):

ثانياً نَمْلَأُ الفَراغَ بالكَلِمَةِ المُناسِبَةِ مِمّا بَينَ القَوسَينِ بالرُّجوعِ إلى طَريقةِ التَّمييزِ الصَّوتيّ بَينَ هَمْزَتي الوَصْلِ وَالقَطْعِ، فيما يَأْتي:

١- .... الفِلَسْطينيّونَ في مُواجَهةِ مُخَطَّطاتِ تَهويدِ القُدْسِ. (إتَّحَدَ، اتَّحَدَ)

٢- أنا .... في المَسْجِدِ الأقْصى. (أُرابِطُ، أرابِطُ)

٣- هُوَ مِنْ فِلَسْطينَ، وَ.............. مُجاهِدُ. (إسْمُهُ، اسْمُهُ)

٤- مُقاطَعَةُ .... الصِّهْيونِيَّةِ واجِبٌ دينيٌّ، وَضَرورَةٌ وَطَنِيَّةٌ. (البَضائِع، أَلْبَضائِعِ)

٥- ضَمَّ .... مُخْتَلَفَ أَطْيافِ الشَّعْبِ الفِلَسْطينيّ. (الإجْتِماعُ، الاجْتِماعُ)

Figure 120: *The Arabic Language* 6/I (2019), p. 14

Second: Fill in the blanks choosing the appropriate word from the words in brackets (vocal distinction between Hamzat Al-Wasl and Hamzat Al- Qat').
1) **Palestinians united to face the Judaisation of Jerusalem.**
2) I stand guard before the Aqsa Mosque.
3) **He is from Palestine and his name is Mujāhid.**
4) **The boycott of Zionist products is a national responsibility.**
5) The meeting brought together various Palestinian factions.

4.4 CONCLUSION

As demonstrated above, Palestinian textbooks for mathematics and natural sciences seek to communicate meaning by referencing real-life contexts. Grammar and lexical exercises in Arabic language books also often include elements that are lent significance through clear references to authentic situations. Communicating social values through references to everyday life in STEM and language textbooks is standard practice around the world and, in terms of values and objectives such as sustainable development or inclusion, is recommended by education stakeholders such as UNESCO. Palestinian textbooks also adhere to these guidelines. In the spirit of such 'double-purpose learning' and conforming to previously defined secondary learning objectives, several RLC in Palestinian textbooks convey messages that are significant in the context of Palestinian nation-building. These are predominantly peaceful in nature, referencing national and above all cultural symbols and practices and addressing attributes such as love of the homeland and patriotism. Against the backdrop of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict in which this nation-building is taking place, several RLC reference this conflict and its manifestations in everyday life. The quantitative analysis of Palestinian mathematics and natural sciences textbooks revealed that RLC with references to nation-building comprised almost a quarter of the total RLC identified. The majority of these relate to Palestinian culture or other national symbols or practices without focusing on the conflict. In the entire sample of textbooks studied, five per cent of the RLC directly address the conflict, its manifestations, consequences and the contentious parties.

All RLC relating to the conflict are positioned somewhere between non-escalatory instances on the one hand, where a grievance related to the conflict is described in semantic and didactic moderation and where the depiction is not overly emotive, and escalatory RLC on the other hand, which not only name the precise grievance and those responsible but also strongly highlight the actions of the opposing protagonists – in most cases the Israeli military – and portray them as exceptionally objectionable. Such elements of didactic and semantic escalation are not necessary to communicate the 'message' that the occupation is unjust and that it causes much suffering, especially among children. These elements amplify the negative characterisation of the opponent in the conflict. Although they do not contain calls for violence, escalatory RLC can intensify feelings of animosity and anger towards the opposition and therefore do not contribute to reducing feelings of hatred towards the other. Ultimately, the inclusion of RLC in textbooks corresponds with a UNESCO recommendation. A minority reflect the Israeli/Palestinian conflict both in escalatory and non-escalatory ways.

5 EXCURSUS I: TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED IN 2020

As discussed above, Palestinian textbooks constantly undergo changes that are implemented each new academic year. Changes to existing content in these yearly revisions take on different forms, such as rewriting objectives for units and chapters or expanding on existing topics. In some cases, different sections within one textbook are subject to amendments. Such changes also reflect an editorial process focusing on the correction of linguistic errors, reshaping the structure of chapters in order to facilitate clearer communication, or updating the units' introductory pages.

The above analysis, guided by the Report's research questions, has shown that between 2017 and 2019 whole new chapters were added, for instance on civic education (see Chapter 2.1.1) and human rights (see Chapter 2.2.1), but also that images or texts with escalatory potential were removed (see Chapter 3.3.2). For the academic year 2020/2021, the first parts of the textbooks had been uploaded to the MoE website by September 2020, and the second parts are expected to have been uploaded and distributed to schools by early February. For this section on the most recent textbooks, 18 of 69 textbooks produced in 2020 were reviewed for changes. The review of these books was added after the analysis for this Report had been finalised.

While previous versions of the textbooks had organised their learning objectives in terms of subject matter, the 2020/2021 books are more orientated towards pedagogic, methodological and didactic learning objectives. Particularly noteworthy, and the primary themes to be addressed in this chapter, are changes to the following topical content: reconsideration of portraying Israelis in violent contexts, reconsideration of symbols and figures of the armed Palestinian struggle, inclusion of Christian Palestinians, and a more comprehensive representation of women.

5.1 RECONSIDERATION OF PORTRAYING ISRAELIS IN NARRATED VIOLENT CONTEXTS

A paragraph on the participation of Islamic states in debates on Jerusalem and the founding of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation in *Social Studies* 7/II (2019), p. 50, has been modified in the 2020 edition thus: 'The fire of Al-Aqsa Mosque ~~ignited by the Zionists~~ provoked reactions from the Arab and Islamic peoples, represented in the declaration of a general strike in all Arab and Islamic countries on August 23 1969'. The assignment of guilt in 'ignited by the Zionists' is thus removed.

The text titled 'The Battle of al-Qaṣṭal' by the Palestinian writer Aws Dāwūd Ya'qūb, presented in *The Arabic Language* 5/II, narrates the military engagement also known as Operation Nachshon. In the 2020 edition, the information about the 'Zionists killed in the battle of al-Qaṣṭal' that had been a part of the sentence 'Significant [military] aid reached the Zionists after they had suffered 350 casualties',[378] has been removed from the text without replacement. The exercise following the text, enquiring about the number of the 'Zionists [killed] in the battle of al-Qaṣṭal' has also been removed.[379]

This is not the only case in the 2020 Arabic language editions in which a reading text has been adapted. The cynical term 'barbeque party' (حفلة شواء, *haflatu shiwā'*) referring to an attack on a settlement bus in earlier editions[380] has been replaced by the less incendiary 'aggravation of the situation'. The sentence now runs: 'The neighbour: The curfew doesn't include us in (*al-Shurfa*); it is imposed on (*an-Natārīsh*). It seems there has been an aggravation of the situation in (*Psagot*[381]) settlement, over the high mountain.'[382] (for a more detailed description of the 2019 version see Chapter 3.4.2).

---

[378] *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2019), p. 74: جاء المدد الكبير للصهاينة بعد أن خسروا ثلاثمئة وخمسين قتيلا.

[379] *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2019), p. 75: قتل من الصهاينة في معركة القسطل قرابة: أ- مئتين ب- مئتين وخمسين ج- ثلاثمئة د-ثلاثمئة وخمسين.

[380] *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2018), p. 61: الجارُ: حَظرُ التَّجَوُّل لا يَشْمَلُنا في (الشرفة) مَفروضٌ عَلى ما يَبْدو في (النَّتاريش) مَفروضٌ عَلى ما يَبْدو هُناكَ حَفْلَةُ شِواءٍ بِالقَنابِلِ الحارِقة لإحْدى حافلاتٍ مُسْتَعْمَرَة (بساغوت) عَلى الجَبَلِ الطَّويلِ.

[381] The place referred to here is Psagot, an Israeli settlement close to Ramallah.

[382] *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2020), p. 61: على ما يبدو هناك تصعيد على مستعمرة (بساغوت) في الجبل الطويل.

A task in *Mathematics* 11 includes an RLC with a reference to the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron. In the 2018 edition this calculation exercise was based on the number of worshippers wounded and killed in a massacre. In the 2020 version the calculation is based on the larger number of people praying at the mosque on Friday noon as compared to the smaller number on other days of the week, mentioning neither the massacre nor its casualties, and refers to weekly activities without any mention of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Figure 121a: *Mathematics*; humanities and sharia tracks 11 (2018), p. 4

1-1 Solving a Linear Equation With One Variable
Activity 1: The Ibrahimi Mosque is one of the most important historical and religious monuments in Palestine. Its name is associated with one of the massacres committed by the Zionist occupation, during which 180 worshippers were killed [*shahīd*] and wounded. If you know that the number of those wounded is five times the number of *shuhadā'*, find the number of *shuhadā'* and wounded in the massacre. […]

Figure 121b: *Mathematics*; humanities and sharia tracks 11 (2020), p. 4 [383]

1-1 Solving a Linear Equation With One Variable
Activity 1: The Ibrahimi Mosque is one of the most important historical and religious monuments in Palestine. Its name is associated with the Prophet Abraham (pbuh). The number of worshippers attending the mosque for noon prayers on Friday is five times the number of worshippers on other days.

[…]

Mathematics; humanities and sharia tracks 11 (2018) featured an exercise with a probability calculation in which a settler was shooting at passing cars (see Chapter 3.3.4). In the 2020 edition the task itself is the same but the settler has been replaced by a hunter, thus removing the escalatory potential of the exercise and, in fact, any reference to the conflict.

Figure 122a: *Mathematics*; humanities and sharia tracks 11 (2018), p. 55

3) A settler is shooting at passing cars on a road. If the probability of his hitting a car with a bullet is 0.7 and he shoots at 10 cars, how many cars are likely to have been hit?

Figure 122b: *Mathematics*; humanities and sharia tracks 11 (2020), p. 55 [384]

3) A hunter is shooting at a target. If the probability of his hitting a target with a bullet is 0.7 and he shoots at 10 targets, how many targets are likely to have been hit?

[383] The version received from the EU was not online by 31 January 2021.

[384] The version received from the EU was not online by 31 January 2021.

5.2 RECONSIDERATION OF SYMBOLS AND FIGURES OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

A different poem is featured in the 2020 version of *Arabic Language* 3/II (2019), now without reference to sacrifice (سَأَضَحّي, *sa'uḍaḥī*).

Figure 123a: *The Arabic Language* 3/II (2019), p. 66

Figure 123b: *The Arabic Language* 3/II (2020), p. 66

Sing and learn by heart: The land of *Kurāma'* [generosity].
[Image]
I swear, I will sacrifice my blood to irrigate the land of generosity, to kick out the violators and strangers from my country.
O country of Al-Aqsa and Al-Haram, you cradle of revival and generosity.
Be patient, victory will be for us and the sun will rise after the night.

Haidar Mahmoud

Sing and learn by heart: I have a Land
[Image]
Here, I have a land and a home; I won't choose a country other than you.
A dawn has risen for my people, and the journey to you has just begun.
When people ask for freedom, fate will surely respond.
I swore, you will return, my country, and the day will follow the night.

Lutfi Zaghloul

Textbooks for different subjects show changes in the representation of violent struggle and its Palestinian protagonists. For example, while *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019) repeatedly refers to the (armed) struggle and the defence of Palestinian territory, passages in the 2020 edition have been revised in this regard. A teaching unit on bravery explicitly mentions the two Intifadas, naming fighters. Here there have been fundamental revisions. In this unit of the 2020 edition the focus is placed on the struggle 'by pen and tongue', referring to non-violent resistance. Violent combatants are no longer mentioned or named in this section of the 2020 version. Accordingly, the meaning of the term *shuhadā'*, which continues to be used in the 2020 textbook, diverges further from the connotation of fighters killed in action towards its connotations of victims of the conflict.

In a lesson about bravery, a teaching unit is specifically about 'The courage of the Palestinians' (شجاعة أهل فلسطين, *shajāʿat ahl filisṭīn*). The 2019 version, mentions two personalities well known for their armed struggle: Izz ad-Din al-Qassam and Abd al-Qadir al-Husayni. The same teaching unit in the 2020 edition replaces the reference to the two fighters by one to 'many Palestinian leaders and heroes – both men and women' and differentiates between *shuhadā'* and detainees who 'fight and struggle with their souls and their lives' and those who 'fight with their minds, their pens [meaning writing] and their words, such as thinkers, poets and writers, etc., who defended the land of the *Isra'* and *Miʿraj* [meaning Muhammad's ascent to heaven]'.

شجاعة أهل فلسطين:

منذ وقوع فلسطين تحت الاحتلال الصهيوني وقف أهلها مواقف البطولة والفداء، رجالاً ونساءً وأطفالاً، حيث واجهوا المحتلّين الصهاينة بكل قوّة وإقدام، وقد ظهرت بطولات وشجاعة الكثير من القادة والأبطال من أهل فلسطين على مرّ تاريخها أمثال الشهيد عبد القادر الحسيني، وعز الدين القسّام كما برزت شجاعة أطفال فلسطين في الانتفاضتين الأولى والثانية، وقاموا بمقاومة الأعداء الصهاينة بكل قوّة وشجاعة، حيث ارتقى عددٌ كبيرٌ منهم شهداء أثناء دفاعهم عن أرض فلسطين أرض الإسراء والمعراج.

Figure 124a: *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019), p. 39–40

شجاعة أهل فلسطين:

منذ وقوع فلسطين تحت الاحتلال الصهيوني وقف أهلها مواقف البطولة والفداء، رجالاً ونساءً وأطفالاً، حيث واجهوا المحتلّين الصهاينة بكل قوّة وإقدام، وقد ظهرت بطولات وشجاعة الكثير من القادة والأبطال رجالاً ونساءً- من أهل فلسطين على مرّ تاريخها.

فقد كافح وناضل بعضهم بأرواحهم وأعمارهم، فكان منهم الشهداء والأسرى، ومنهم من ناضل بفكرة وقلمه ولسانه ... إلخ، فكان منهم المفكرين والشعراء والأدباء ... إلخ، الذين دافعوا عن أرض الإسراء والمعراج.

Figure 124b: *Islamic Education* 5/I (2020), p. 39–40

The courage of the Palestinians:
Since Palestine was under the Zionist occupation [الاحتلال الصهيوني, *al-iḥtilāl aṣ-ṣuhyūnī*] its people, men, women and children, stood up for heroism and sacrifice. They resisted the Zionist occupiers with courage. Palestine's history marks the heroism and bravery of many Palestinian leaders and heroes such as *a-shahīd* Abdul Qader al-Husseini and Izz ad-Din Al-Qassam.[385] The bravery of Palestinian children became also apparent during the First and Second Intifadas, as they resisted the Zionist enemies with strength and courage. Some of them became *shuhadā'* [died/were killed], while defending the land of Palestine, the land of *Isra'* and *Miʿraj*.
[Image]

The courage of the Palestinians:
Since Palestine was under the Zionist occupation [الاحتلال الصهيوني, *al-iḥtilāl aṣ-ṣuhyūnī*] its people, men, women and children, stood up for heroism and sacrifice. They resisted the Zionist occupiers with courage. History marks the bravery of a lot of Palestinian leaders and heroes – both men and women. Some of them 'fought and struggled with their souls and their lives, such as the *shuhadā'* and the prisoners and some fought with their minds, their pens [meaning writing] and their words, such as thinkers, poets and writers, etc., who defended the land of the *Isra'* and *Miʿraj'*.
[Image]

---

385 Al-Qassam died in 1935 and al-Husseini in 1948. Both were known for their participation in violent resistance against the British colonial powers and the Zionist movement.

Islamic Education 5/I (2019) featured a banner reading 'I would sacrifice my mother and father for you, oh Messenger of Allah!', which was replaced in the 2020 version with 'I follow the example of the way of living [أخلاق, *akhlāq*] demonstrated by the prophets of Allah and his messengers.' Remarkable here is that the reference to the 'messenger of Allah' – usually referring to the Prophet Muhammad – is extended to encompass 'the prophets [plural] [...] of Allah' and 'the messengers'. The revision has also removed the pledge to sacrifice one's mother and father, which even if left open to various interpretations, such as working for the common good, at least could also leave room for other readings.
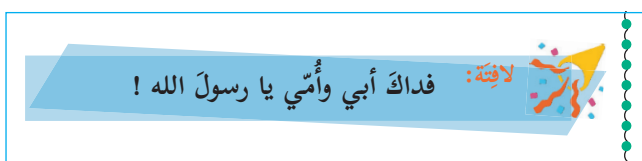
Figure 125a: *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019), p. 55

I would sacrifice my mother and father for you, oh Prophet!
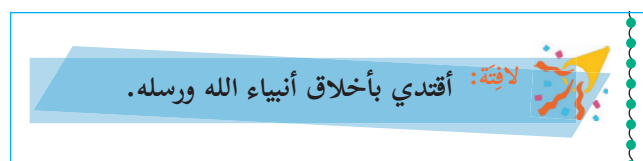
Figure 125b: *Islamic Education* 5/I (2020), p. 55

I will follow the example of the way of living [*ahlaq*] demonstrated by the prophets of Allah and his messengers.

Further, *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019) states that the 'Israeli occupation' (الاحتلال الإسرائيلي, *al-iḥtilāl al-isrāʾīlī*, not 'Zionist occupation' as elsewhere) hindered Muslims in Palestine from attending prayer in the Aqsa Mosque. The 2020 version has revised this statement, now maintaining that the 'Israeli occupation' hinders Palestinians from accessing the Aqsa Mosque, thus the focus is moved away from religious affiliation. The banner below this statement has also been changed: the original version, 'I am Muslim, I protect the Aqsa Mosque and defend it and I sacrifice myself for it' of 2019 has been replaced in 2020 by: 'My faith calls upon me to protect Jerusalem, its mosques and places of worship'. Below the banner, the 2020 version has added a picture showing men in communal prayer, one of whom is wearing a small Christian cross on a chain around his neck and is reading a book.

Figure 126a: *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019), p. 99

Figure 126b: *Islamic Education* 5/I (2020), p. 99

Do you know:
The Israeli occupation authorities hinder the Muslims in Palestine from accessing the Aqsa Mosque to pray there. They also forbade the *azān* [the Islamic call to prayer, transmitted via loudspeakers] in the city of Jerusalem.
Banner: I am Muslim, I protect the Aqsa Mosque and defend it and I dedicate myself to it.

Do you know:
The Israeli occupation authorities hinder the Palestinians from accessing the Aqsa Mosque. They also forbade the *azān* [the Islamic call to prayer, transmitted via loudspeakers] in the city of Jerusalem.
Banner: My faith calls upon me to protect Jerusalem, its mosques and places of worship.

The modifications mentioned above have dropped the verb (أفتدي, *aftadī*), which can be translated as 'to make a sacrifice by offering something valuable', 'to dedicate' or 'to give/risk one's life for something', and thereby removed the phrasing demanding dedication which could potentially be understood to advocate the loss of life in battle. These statements have thus been disambiguated and distanced from any escalatory potential.

Here, as with other revisions made, other religions are included, particularly Christianity, for instance where the text mentions protecting not only mosques but also other places of worship ('defend' becomes 'protect'). Now, the protection of the Aqsa Mosque is more intensely connected to the Palestinian – rather than the Muslim – identity. In this textbook for Islamic education, therefore, being a Palestinian is no longer equated to being a Muslim.

A lesson about amnesty (العفو, *al-ʿafū*) in *Islamic Education* 5/II is followed by a discussion in an exercise that raises the Islamic concept of forgiveness in the face of harm or offence commited. In the 2019 edition the required act of forgiveness is directed at the 'Zionist, occupying enemy' (العدو الصهيوني المحتل, *al-ʿadū aṣ-ṣuhyūnī al-muḥtal*), which, by raising the enmity of the Zionist occupation, provides a rather ambivalent context for amnesty and forgiveness. The answer to the rhetorical question (see Figure 127a below) seems to be given in the exclamation mark following the question mark. In the 2020 edition, forgiveness is still framed in a similar way (to be directed at someone who has caused harm) but now the inflictor of suffering is no longer necessarily an enemy. Now, anyone who continuously causes harm qualifies as a possible recipient of forgiveness. Most importantly for the context of this Report, Israelis are no longer associated with harm or offence in this exercise and and the explicit conflict relevance of this exercise is dissolved.

قَضِيَّةٌ للنِّقَاش:
هل يستحقّ العدوّ الصُّهيونيّ المحتلّ العفو والمسامحة ؟!

Figure 127a: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 46

قَضِيَّةٌ للنِّقَاش:
هل يستحق المتمادي بالإساءة العفو والمسامحة دائماً؟

Figure 127b: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2020), p. 46

A topic for discussion: Does the Zionist, occupying enemy deserve forgiveness?!

A topic for discussion: Does someone who continuously causes harm always deserve forgiveness?

Figure 128a: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 65

d) The attempt by Uqba ibn Abi Mu'ayt to murder the Prophet (pbuh) while he was praying, as he put his sheet around the Prophet's neck and squeezed it tightly. Abu Bakr came and pulled Uqba away from the Prophet and said, 'Do you intend to kill a man just because he says: "My Lord is Allah, and he has brought forth to you the Evident Signs from your Lord?"' (narrated by Al-Bukhari) [Image]

Reflect: How can we use modern mass media to support the Prophet (pbuh) and defend Islam?

Second – The Jews' attempts to kill the Prophet (pbuh):
Watch a video about the Jews' attempt to kill the messenger of Allah (pbuh).

1) The Jews of *banū a-naḍīr* [the Nadir-tribe] attempted to assassinate the Messenger after the Battle of Badr. They were about to drop a rock onto him and kill him while he was sitting down against a wall. But he learnt of that through divine inspiration by Gabriel (pbuh) who told him that the Jews were planning to kill him. So he left them quickly and went back to Medina, where he prepared an army of Muslims, then besieged them, fought them, and drove them out of Medina.

2) The attempt by a Jewish woman to assassinate the Prophet (pbuh). She brought a poisoned lamb to the Prophet (pbuh), and he ate from it. He became repeatedly ill from eating this poisoned lamb until he died. (narrated by Al-Bukhari)

Also in *Islamic Education* 5/II, a chapter on the life of the Prophet recounts different attempts to kill the Prophet Muhammad. This chapter, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.2.1 of this Report with regard to its anti-Semitic references, has been altered at certain points for the 2020 edition. In the latter, the title 'Attempts by the Jews to kill the Prophet' has been deleted, while the phrase that 'The Jews of *banū a-naḍīr* [the Nadir-tribe] attempted to assassinate the Messenger' remains in place. One of the two stories of assassination attempts by Jewish protagonists, 'The attempt by a Jewish woman to assassinate the Prophet' has also been removed. While the 2017 and 2019 editions focus on the attempts of Jews to murder the Prophet, the 2020 version mentions such attempts by polytheists, by a specified Jewish tribe, and by 'hypocrites' or false Muslims (منافقون, *munāfiqūn*).[386]

Equally, the didactic repetition apparent in the 'Topic for discussion: Repeated attempts by the Jews to murder the Prophet'[387] has been continued with different culprits: 'Question for discussion: Repeated attempts by infidels and polytheists to murder the Prophet'.[388]

---

[386] *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 65.

[387] *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 65.

[388] *Islamic Education* 5/II (2020), p. 66: تكرار محاولات الكفار والمشركين قتل النبيّ (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم)

د- محاولة عُقْبَةَ بْنِ أبي مُعَيْطٍ خنق النّبِيِّ ﷺ، وهو يُصَلِّي، حيث وَضَعَ رِداءَهُ في عُنُقِهِ، فَخَنَقَهُ بِه خَنْقاً شَديداً، فَجاءَ أبو بَكْرٍ، حَتّى دَفَعَهُ عَنْهُ، فَقالَ: "أتَقْتُلونَ رَجُلاً أَنْ يَقولَ رَبِّيَ اللَّهُ، وَقَدْ جاءَكُمْ بِالْبَيِّناتِ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ". (رواه البخاري)

[Image]

أُفَكِّرُ: كيف نوظف وسائل الإعلام الحديثة لنصرة الرسول ﷺ والدفاع عن الإسلام؟

ثانياً- محاولة يهود بني النضير قتل النّبِيِّ ﷺ: محاولة يهود بني النّضير بعد غزوة بدر قتل الرّسول ﷺ، بإلقاء حجر كبير على رأسه، وهو جالس إلى جانب جدار لهم، لكنّ اللَّه بقدرته أرسل إليه الوحي جبريل، عليه السّلام، فأخبره أن اليهود يخطّطون لقتله، فانصرف عنهم مسرعاً إلى المدينة، وجهّز جيش المسلمين، ثمّ حاصرهم، وقاتلهم، وأخرجهم من المدينة المنورة.

ثالثاً- محاولة المنافقين قتل النبي ﷺ في غزوة تبوك: قال تعالى: ﴿وَهَمُّوا بِمَا لَمْ يَنَالُوا﴾(التوبة:٤٧) في غزوة تبوك، لما كان رسول الله ﷺ وصحابته رضوان الله عليهم بالعقبة، إذا بِاثني عشر رجلاً قد اعترضوا طريق القافلة، وقد كانوا ملثمين، فعرف حذيفة ابن اليمان ﷺ ركابهم، فقال رسول الله ﷺ: "هؤُلاءِ الْمُنافِقونَ إلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيامَةِ، وأرادوا أَنْ يَزْحَموا رَسولَ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم في الْعَقَبَةِ فَيُلْقوهُ مِنْها"، فأشار حذيفة ﷺ قائلاً: أو لا تبعث إلى عشائرهم حتى يبعث إليك كلَّ قوم برأس صاحبهم، فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: "لا، أكْرُهُ أَنْ يَتَحَدَّثَ الْعَرَبُ بَيْنَها أَنَّ مُحَمَّداً قاتِلٌ لِقَوْمِهِ...". (تفسير ابن كثير، من رواية مسلم وأحمد).

٦٥

Figure 128b: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2020), p. 65

d) The attempt by Uqba ibn Abi Mu'ayt to murder the Prophet (pbuh) while he was praying, as he put his sheet around the Prophet's neck and squeezed it tightly. Abu Bakr came and pulled Uqba away from the Prophet and said, 'Do you intend to kill a man just because he says: "My Lord is Allah, and he has brought forth to you the Evident Signs from your Lord?"' (narrated by Al-Bukhari) [Image]

Reflect: How can we use modern mass media to support the Prophet (pbuh) and defend Islam?

Second – The Jews of *banū a-naḍīr* [the Nadir tribe] attempt to assassinate the Prophet (pbuh):
The Jews of *banū a-naḍīr* attempted to assassinate the Messenger (pbuh) after the Battle of Badr. They were about to drop a rock onto him and kill him while he was sitting against a wall. But he learned of it through divine inspiration by Gabriel (pbuh) who told him that the Jews were planning to kill him. So he left them quickly and went back to Medina, where he prepared an army of Muslims, then besieged the Nadir tribe, fought them, and drove them out of Medina.

Third – The attempt of hypocrites [*munāfiqīn*] to assassinate the Prophet (pbuh) during the battle of Tabuk:
Allah the Almighty said: 'And they resolved that which they were unable to carry out' (at-tawba: 47) during the battle of Tabuk; when the Messenger of Allah (pbuh) and his companions were in Aqaba, twelve masked men blocked the way of the carriage. Hudhaifa ibn al-Yaman recognised them. The Messenger of Allah (pbuh) said: 'These are hypocrites until the Day of Resurrection, and they want to cause trouble for the Messenger of Allah (pbuh) in Aqaba so that he will leave.' Hudhaifa said: 'Do not notify their clans until each sends the head of the hypocrite amongst them.' And the Messenger of Allah replied: 'No, I don't want the Arabs to say that Muhammad was murdering his people...' (Interpretation of Ibn Katheer, from the narration of Muslim and Ahmed)

Unlike in the 2019 edition, the comprehension questions on the next page do not refer explicitly to the previous statements about the actions of the Jews or the punishment issued to them. Jews are in fact not mentioned again. The following exercise referred explicitly to Jews in the 2019 version and refrains from doing so in the 2020 edition. Rather, the focus is placed on *kuffār* (infidels) and *mushriqūn* (idolaters). The questions on page 67, however, remain the same (cf. Chapter 3.2.1).
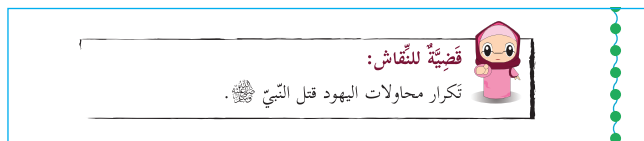

Figure 129a: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 66

Topic for discussion:
Several attempts by Jews to kill the Prophet (pbuh).
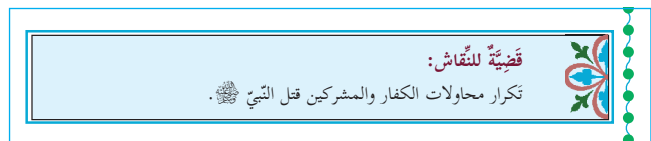
Figure 129b: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2020), p. 66

Topic for discussion:
Several attempts by *al-kuffār* (infidels) and *al-mushriqīn* (polytheists) to kill the Prophet (pbuh).

The subsequent lesson, which in the exercise on page 71 asks students to discuss the desecration of the graves of Muslims (of companions and the righteous) in Jerusalem and Palestine by 'Jews' has been altered as follows:

Figure 130a: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019) p. 71

Topic for discussion:
The Jews desecrated a number of the graves of the Prophet's Companions. They removed them from Muslim cemeteries in Jerusalem in particular, and in Palestine in general.
[Image]: The grave of ʿUbāda bin a ṣāmit
May Allah be pleased with him

Figure 130b: *Islamic Education* 5/II (2020), p. 71

Topic for discussion:
The Zionist occupation desecrated a number of the graves of the Prophet's Companions. They removed them from Muslim cemeteries in Jerusalem in particular, and in Palestine in general.
[Image]: The grave of ʿUbāda bin a ṣāmit
May Allah be pleased with him

The following introduction to the lesson titled 'A cheer for heroes' (مرحى للأبطال, *marḥā lil abṭāl*), in *The Arabic Language* 5/I no longer features martial images of contemporary soldiers and premodern warriors on horses but rather a photograph of the Martyr Yasser Arafat square. The portrait of Yasser Arafat on the image has been replaced by a tiny photograph of the former Palestinian leader.

Figure 131a: *The Arabic Language* 5/I (2019), p. 14

Figure 131b: *The Arabic Language* 5/I (2020), p. 14

The lesson includes a list of Arab figures who are described as 'the crown of the nation, the definition of glory, the most generous […]'. A reference to Dalal al-Mughrabi has been removed from this list in the 2020 edition and replaced by three other Arab personalities: Houari Boumédiène (former president of Algeria), May Ziadeh (a Lebanese-Palestinian feminist figure from early 20th-century Arab literary circles) and Khalil al-Sakakini (a Palestinian educator and writer, and also Orthodox Christian).
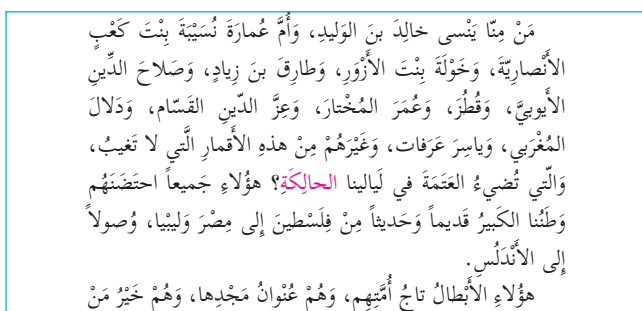
Figure 132a: *The Arabic Language* 5/I (2019), p. 15

Figure 132b: *The Arabic Language* 5/I (2020), p. 15

Who can forget Khalid bin Walid, Oum Omara Nusaybah Bint ka'ab al-Ansariya, Khawlah bint al-Azwar, Tariq ibn Ziyad, Salah Din al-Ayouby, Qutuz, Omar al-Mukhtar, Izz ed-din al-Qassam, Dalal al-Mughrabi, Yasser Arafat and others from the stars that light up the darkness in our nights? These are all embraced by our great country, in the past and now, from Palestine to Egypt and Libya, all the way to Andalusia.
They are all the crown of the nation and the definition of glory, and they are the best of those who have given generously to the nation. […]

Who can forget Khalid bin Walid, Oum Omara, Khawlah bint al-Azwar, Tariq ibn Ziyad, Salah Din al-Ayouby, Qutuz, Omar al-Mukhtar, Sultan Basha al-Atrash, Izz al-Qassam, Izz ed-din al-Qassam Houari Boumédiene, Yasser Arafat, May Ziadeh, Khalil al-Sakakini and others from the stars that light up the darkness in our nights? These are all embraced by our great country, in the past and now, from Palestine to Egypt and Libya, all the way to Andalusia.
They are all the crown of the nation and the definition of glory, and they are the best of those who have given generously to the nation. […]

Following this lesson, however, a working task in the 2020 edition nevertheless still mentions Dalal al-Mughrabi and Izz ad-Din al-Qassam.[389] The second part of *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2019) also refers to Dalal al-Mughrabi, and in this case the reference has not been removed. Here, the text remains the same but the photograph of Dalal al-Mughrabi in military uniform has been replaced by a picture of her in civilian clothing, thus toning down the militancy in her portrayal.

Figure 133a: *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2019), p. 51

Figure 133b: *The Arabic Language* 5/II (2020), p. 51

The text above the photo remains unchanged; see Chapter 3.4.3 for more detail on the text.

---

389   *The Arabic Language* 5/I (2020), p. 20.

Some of the RLC in textbooks for mathematics and natural sciences with escalatory potential have also been revised, replaced or removed in the 2020 versions. For instance, two exercises requiring the students to calculate the number of Palestinian *shuhadā'* have been deleted and an escalatory task with reference to a settler amended, no longer referring to Israelis at all. The example below shows how an exercise has been amended from a calculation of *shuhadā'* to a calculation of confiscated land.[390]

<table>
<tr>
<td>

١ بَلَغَ عَدَدُ شهداء الانتفاضة الأُولى (انتفاضة الحجارة) ٢٠٢٦ شهيداً، وبَلَغَ عدد شهداء انتفاضة الأقصى ٥٠٥٠ شهيداً.

عدد الشهداء في الانتفاضتين = _____ شهيداً

</td>
<td>

١ في أواخر عام ١٩٧٨م، قامت السلطة القائمة بالاحتلال بمصادرة منطقة مساحتها ١٠٠٠ دونم في أراضي بلدة طوباس، كما صادرت مساحة أخرى تبلغ ١٢٠٠ دونم من بلدة بيت ساحور.

مساحة الأراضي المصادرة في المنطقتين = _____ دونماً

</td>
</tr>
</table>

Figure 134a: *Mathematics* 4/I (2019), p. 27   Figure 134b: *Mathematics* 4/I (2020), p. 27 [391]

1) The number of *shuhadā'* of the First Intifada [*intifāḍat al-ḥijāra*] amounted to 2026 *shahīd* and the number of *shuhadā'* of the Aqsa Intifada came to 5050 shahīd. Number of *shuhadā'* in the two Intifadas = _____.	1) At the end of the year 1978, the occupying power confiscated an area of 1,000 dunums from the lands of Tubas, and another area of 1,200 dunums from Beit Sahour town. The area of confiscated lands in the two regions = _____.

Science and Life 7/I of 2019 presented an RLC concerning a young man with a slingshot in his hand. In the 2020 version of the textbook uploaded to the website the following reference to the First Intifada that accompanied this image in 2019 ('During the First Palestinian Intifada, young Palestinians used slingshots to confront the Zionist occupation soldiers and to defend themselves in the face of their treacherous bullets.'[392]) has now been deleted.

....

[390] See also an arithmetical task in *Mathematics* 9/1 (2019), p. 86, referring to the number of the *shuhadā'* in Jerusalem between 1994 and 2015. This task is replaced in the edition of 2020 by a task requiring students to calculate the number of settlements on occupied lands: 'The number of settlements in the northern governorates [المحافظات الشمالية, *al-muḥāfaẓāt ash-shamāliya*] according to the year in the period of 1975-1988 […]: number of settlements [1st row of table]; number of years [2nd row of table]', in: *Mathematics* 9/1 (2020), p. 86.

[391] The version received from the EU was not online by 31 January 2021.

[392] *Science and Life* 7/I, 2019, p. 57: خلال الانتفاضة الفلسطينية الأولى، استعان الشبان الفلسطينيون بالنقيفة للتصدي لجنود الاحتلال الصهيوني والدفاع عن أنفسهم في مواجهة رصاصه الغادر.

Figure 135a: *Science and Life* 7/I (2019), p. 57

Fourth Lesson

Newton's Second Law

Activity 1: Power and Slingshot

During the First Palestinian Intifada, young Palestinians used slingshots to confront the Zionist occupation soldiers and to defend themselves in the face of their treacherous bullets. [Technical questions]

Figure 135b: *Science and Life* 7/I (2020), p. 57 [393]

Fourth Lesson

Newton's Second Law

Activity 1: The Object and the Spring

An object is placed in front of a spring, as shown in the figure. Answer the following questions: [Technical questions]

5.3 INCLUSION OF CHRISTIAN PALESTINIANS

Similar to the textbooks for Islamic education mentioned above in 5.1, more inclusive references to both Muslim and Christian aspects of the Palestinian identity can be found in the 2020 editions of textbooks for Islamic Education and also in those for Arabic language. The book *The Arabic Language* 7/I (2019), for instance, asks 'What is the duty of Muslims towards the holy Aqsa Mosque, the destination of Prophet Muhammad's journey (pbuh)?',[394] a question replaced in the 2020 edition with: 'What is our duty towards Jerusalem?'[395]

The title of the lesson has been changed from the Qur'ānic chapter on Noah (سورة نوح, *sūrat Nūḥ*) to 'The Ship of mercy' (سفينة الرحمة, *safinat ar-raḥma*), thus shifting the focus from the Islamic context to the more universal concept of mercy. This allows more students to identify with this widely applied theme in cultural history. The illustration below the title, showing people left behind to drown in the edition of 2018 has been replaced in 2020 by an illustration of a mountain in the shape of a boat. This establishes a link to the Book of Genesis, according to which Noah's Ark landed on a mountain.

---

[393] In the version received from the EU the image had also been removed. This version was, however, not online by 9 March 2021.

[394] *The Arabic Language* 7/I (2019), p. 15: 6-ما واجب المسلمين تُجاه المسجد الأقصى المبارك مسرى رسول الله، عليه السلام؟

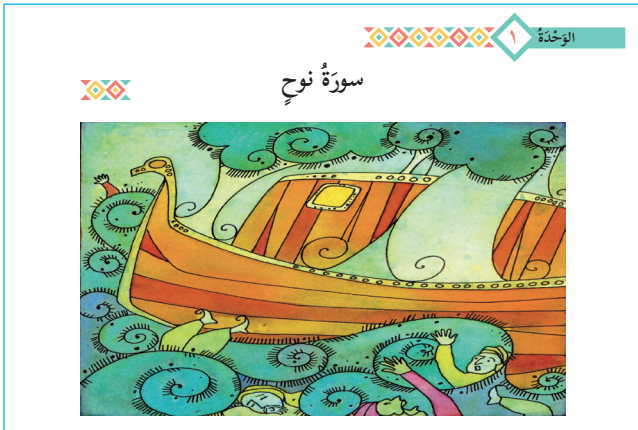[395] *The Arabic Language* 7/I (2020), p.1-6: 6-ما واجبنا تُجاه القدس؟

Figure 136a: *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2018), p. 3

Unit 1
Chapter of *Nūḥ* [Noah]

Figure 136b: *The Arabic Language* 9/I (2020), p. 4

Unit 1
The Ship of Mercy

Another change is the grammatical exercise which in the 2019 edition addresses corruption and in the 2020 version interreligious relations, with sentences such as: 'Church bells embrace the azān [Islamic call to prayer] in Jaffa'.

Figure 137a: *The Arabic Language* 5/I (2019), p. 19

Grammar rules:
Types of Noun (proper noun and pronoun)
Read the following paragraph and note the words in red:
 In Palestine, like in other Arab regions, Aisha applied for a job. She went to the interview with great hope. The people who interviewed her admired her skills.
A few days later, the name of the successful candidate was announced, it was Dalal, who hadn't passed the recruitment examination. Aisha considered what happened an injustice and a corruption that could not be tolerated. Without hesitation she decided to submit a complaint to the Anti-Corruption Commission.

Figure 137b: *The Arabic Language* 5/I (2020), p. 19

Grammar rules:
Types of Noun (proper noun and pronoun)
Read the following paragraph and note the words in red:
 Huda went on a trip to the city of Jaffa, which is renowned for the quality of its oranges. She visited historical places and ancient neighborhoods. She rejoiced as she heard the church bells embrace the *azān* [call to prayer] in mosques, and enjoyed her time on Jaffa's beautiful beach. In the evening she returned home happy.

The 2020 editions of textbooks for Islamic education have revised references to the other Abrahamitic religions of Judaism and Christianity[396] and refrain from describing them as 'erroneous'.[397]

A paragraph on unity, recounting the story of a father giving last pieces of advice to his sons on his deathbed, has been distanced from the context of pan-Islamism and from a reference to the caliphate. While the 2019 version included an activity contextualising the story on unity within the global Islamic community today and a thinking task requiring the students to imagine conditions for Muslims when ruled by one caliph, these two textbook elements have now been removed and replaced by an image showing a circle of hands, with the universally applicable caption 'United we stand, divided we fall'.
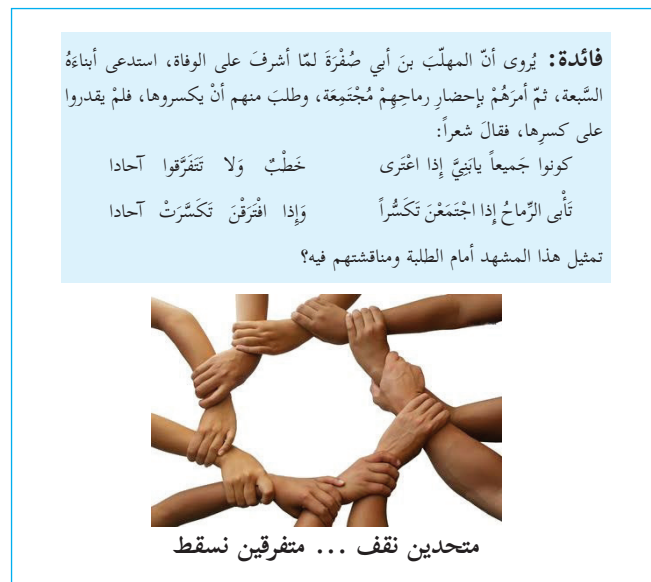

Figure 138a: *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019), p. 108

متحدين نقف ... متفرقين نسقط

Figure 138b: *Islamic Education* 5/I (2020), p. 108

Activity (4): What are the obstacles to the unity of the Islamic community at the present time?
Useful to know: It was narrated that al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, when he was nearing death, called his seven sons and ordered them to place their spears together and to break them. When they could not break the spears, he recited a poem: *O my sons, face problems together and do not be separated. When your spears are together they won't break, but when they are separated they will easily break.* Act this scene out in front of your fellow students and discuss it with them.
[text next to the map] **Think:** What would you imagine conditions for Muslims to be like if they were in one country, ruled by one caliph?

Useful to know: It was narrated that al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, when he was nearing death, called his seven sons and ordered them to place their spears together and to break them. When they could not break the spears, he recited a poem: *O my sons, face problems together and do not be separated. When your spears are together they won't break, but when they are separated they will easily break.*
[below the image] **United we stand, divided we fall.**

---

[396] Further changes in this direction are found in *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019), p. 8 and *Islamic Education* 5/II (2020), p. 19; *Islamic Education* 5/II (2019), p. 19 as well as *Islamic Education* 10/I (2019), p. 4 and *Islamic Education* 10/I (2020), p. 4.

[397] For instance in *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019), p. 11 and *Islamic Education* 5/I (2020), p. 11 criticism of adherents of the other Abrahamitic religions ('people of the scripture', أهل الكتاب, *ahl al-kitāb*) in *Islamic Education* 10/I (2018), p. 9 was replaced by criticism of polytheists in *Islamic Education* 10/I (2020), p. 9.

5.4   A MORE COMPREHENSIVE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

Several textbooks revised for 2020 include additional mentions of female persons and gender-neutral phrasing. *The Arabic Language* 4/II and *Islamic Education* 5/I reduce gender-specific phrases in the 2020 edition[398] and *The Arabic Language* 4/II, for instance, replaces the following images from a wedding party with images that include women without changes to the text:
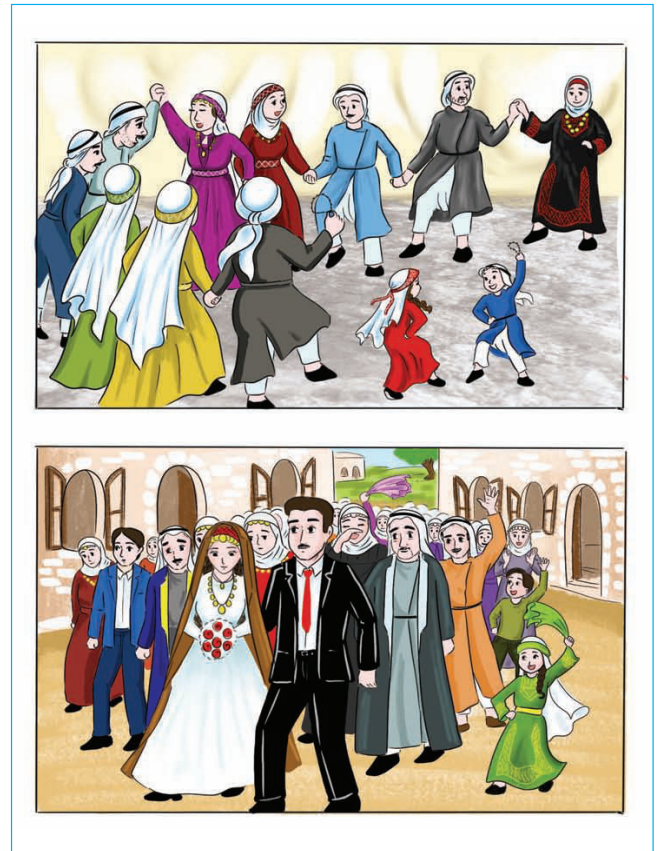

Figure 139a: *The Arabic Language* 4/II (2019), p. 7

Figure 139b: *The Arabic Language* 4/II (2020), p. 7

[398]   *The Arabic Language* 4/II (2019), p. 90 changed in *The Arabic Language* 4/II (2020), p. 90 and *Islamic Education* 5/I (2019), p. 59 changed in *Islamic Education* 5/I (2020), p. 59.

5.5   CONCLUSION

This chapter is based on a comparison of 18 textbook editions for the 2020/2021 academic year with earlier versions. The comparison identified different types and numbers of changes depending on subject and school year. Alongside the more general adaptations concerning the pedagogical and didactic aspects such as the learning objectives, the 2020 editions exhibit various striking changes affecting their contents. The changes vary according to subject: textbooks for Arabic language and Islamic education were systematically altered to include female and Christian positions. Several phrases have been altered in textbooks for Islamic education that previously called for a 'full commitment' or dedication (افتدى , *iftadā*), thus carrying at least the potential meaning of sacrificing one's life. The statements have thus been clarified, losing their escalatory potential, and additionally been formulated more inclusively regarding other religions, particularly Christianity.

After being changed they call for protection of both the mosques and other places of worship in Jerusalem, the verb 'defend' having been replaced by 'protect'. The Aqsa Mosque is still presented as a place of memory for Palestinian identity; however, while in earlier versions it was clearly associated with a global Muslim identity, the two 2020 editions for Islamic education discussed here invoke a broader Palestinian identity that is no longer predominantly equated with adherence to Islam. Arabic language textbooks also increasingly refer to Christian narratives, for instance grammatical exercises describing a merging of the sounds of church bells with the call to prayer, or the alteration of a chapter heading that had previously referred to a Qurʻānic chapter on the Prophet Noah to 'The Ship of Mercy' in the 2020 edition.

Further, the comparison determined omissions of the adversary from the representation of violent incidents as well as the revision or removal of protagonists of the armed Palestinian resistance in several places in the textbooks. In Arabic language textbooks, for instance, portrayals of Dalal al-Mughrabi have partly been altered by exchanging a photograph of her in military uniform with a photograph of her as a civilian. In other places her name has been replaced with the name of a different well-known personality or deleted altogether. A 2020 textbook for Islamic education includes a revised text which refrains from naming protagonists from the pre-1949 Palestinian independence movement.

Some – but not all – RLCs in textbooks for mathematics and the natural sciences with conflictual and escalatory potential have been revised, replaced or removed in the 2020 versions. In at least two cases the conflict relevance has been erased completely. An exercise with escalatory potential referring to a settler shooting at passing cars has been amended to refer to a hunter, thus no longer referring to Israeli actors at all; an exercise referring to dead and wounded worshippers at Hebron's Ibrahimi Mosque has been liberated of any reference to conflict, now requesting a calculation of the number of worshippers attending the mosque on different days of the week; and an exercise seeking to calculate the number of Palestinian *shuhadā'* has been replaced with a mathematical problem asking for a calculation of confiscated land.

A chapter in a textbook for Islamic education that is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of this Report with regard to its anti-Semitic references has been changed in several aspects in the 2020 edition. Here, the story of the deceitful Jewish woman who tried to poison the Prophet Muhammad has been deleted and replaced by a story about a murder attempt by 'hypocrites', or false Muslims. The focus on Jewish attempts to assassinate the Prophet Muhammad has been reduced by removing one of the two examples previously given. Rather, the 2020 edition reports of murderous attempts by different adversaries. In other references in exercises and in the following chapter, the focus on Jews has been removed either without replacement or substituted by 'the Zionist occupation'. The number of anti-Semitic references has been reduced as a result of these changes; however, the questions at the end of the chapter still uphold the focus on Jews as the primary adversaries who attempted to kill the Prophet.

The comparison of the 2020 editions with earlier textbooks from this generation (published between 2017 and 2019) demonstrate the tentative will and efforts to respond to external criticism and to undertake revisions. Particularly significant in this respect is the defusing of potentially escalatory elements as well as the revisions – in places – of portrayals of Israeli and Palestinian violence. The results of the comparison of the different editions document a willingness to revise the textbooks while at the same time remaining within the Palestinian master narrative.

6 EXCURSUS II: PALESTINIAN TEXTBOOKS AMENDED BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES

The 'Education Sector Strategic Plan' for 2017–2020 issued by the Palestinian Ministry of Education identifies as one of the challenges facing the Palestinian education sector in East Jerusalem that multiple authorities have jurisdiction over its curricula and textbooks.[399] According to an Israeli parliamentary document titled 'The East Jerusalem Education System: Classrooms and Curricula', textbooks used in East Jerusalem schools are under the jurisdiction of the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality and thus viewed by a supervision committee, which amends the textbooks and removes content it considers an incitement against Israel and the Jews. The textbooks are then reprinted by the Israeli authorities and sold to students for 6–8 ILS depending on the school year for which the textbooks are designed.[400]

In her publications on textbooks for East Jerusalem, which are based on a sample of 12 history textbooks, Samira Alayan considers this process of changing the content of textbooks to be censorship that reflects how 'the education system in East Jerusalem has become a battle field [sic] for the two conflicting powers, the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli government, to try and implement their authority'.[401] Moreover, both Alayan and the Palestinian MoE maintain that the aim behind changing the content is to influence the knowledge, values, ideologies and identities the MoE seeks to convey to Palestinian students.

In the Position Paper published by the Palestinian MoE in March 2020, the Ministry takes a firm stand on changes made to the curriculum and disseminated in East Jerusalem, describing the process as a form of 'enforcing an Israeli perspective in East Jerusalem'. The Palestinian MoE states that such alterations 'infringe on the Palestinian right to self-determination' and deny the Palestinian right 'to produce educational material that expresses [the Palestinian] national identity and [Palestinian] history'; furthermore, the MoE cites Article 10 of the International Covenant on Civil Political and Cultural Rights (ICCPR) and Article 15 of the International Covenant on Economic and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) to support the rights of Palestinians to assert their freedom of expression and participation in cultural life.[402]

---

[399] State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education: 'Education Sector Strategic Plan 2017-2022', p. 27, 52, 53, 54 and 137, especially p. 53 and 137.

[400] Knesset Research and Information Centre: 'מערכת החינוך במזרח-ירושלים: כיתות לימוד ותוכניות לימודים, יובל וורגן [The East Jerusalem Education System: Classrooms and Curricula], 10 May 2010, https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/bf5b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977/2_bf5b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977_11_9430.pdf, accessed 31 October 2020.

[401] Alayan: 'White Pages: Israeli Censorship of Palestinian Textbooks in East Jerusalem', p. 512. See also Alayan: *Education in East Jerusalem*.

[402] State of Palestine Ministry of Education: 'Position Paper II: Ongoing Incitement against the Palestinian Curricula', p. 7.

6.1 OVERVIEW OF AMENDMENTS

Textbooks for use in schools in East Jerusalem are amended by Israeli authorities. A comparison of textbooks issued by the Palestinian MoE and those used in East Jerusalem, which have been amended by Israeli authorities, revealed clear differences between the two. These amendments include not only changes to the cover and the symbols of the MoE but also to content. As Alayan concludes in her analysis of East Jerusalem textbooks that were published in 2004/05, 'three main censorship categories emerged: "erasing symbols," "leaving out segments," and "deleting the content of whole pages."'[403]

The textbooks however, do not explicitly reference the fact that they have been changed nor who is responsible for the changes. The original authors' names are still listed, as are the same members in the supervision committees; as a result these amended textbooks attribute content to authors who have not produced it. While the images and title on the covers of the textbooks are unchanged, the amended textbooks can only be recognised by the removal of certain symbols from the covers, such as the Palestinian Authority Ministry of Education's symbol, the Palestinian Curriculum Development Center's logo and the stamp of the publishing house from the back cover.

Changes to the textbooks are not unique to one textbook or subject but take place across all subjects and years, with the exception of years 11 and 12.[404] The changes can only be recognised when comparing the original textbooks, issued by the Palestinian MoE, with the corresponding versions amended by Israeli authorities.

For this Report, seven original textbooks and the following amended versions were compared:

1. *Social Studies* 6/II (2019)

2. *Social Studies* 9/I (2018)

3. *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019)

4. *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018)

5. *Islamic Education* 9/I, (2019)

6. *Mathematics* 2/I (2018)

7. *Science and Life* 8/I, (2018)

There are differences between the textbooks' covers, particularly the back cover, and paratexts, such as the imprint.

For example, the original version of the textbook *Social Studies* 6/II, 2019, produced by the Palestinian MoE, includes certain symbols such as the Palestinian flag, the Palestinian *Kūfīa* (كوفية), the national emblem of the Palestinian National Authority and the emblems of the Ministry of Education and the Curriculum Development Center, the stamp of the publishing house, and the names of the authors and those who participated in the supervision and preparation committees.[405]

The amended textbook does not include any of these symbols, but maintains the same list of authors and the names of members of the supervision and preparation committees.

---

403 Alayan: 'White Pages: Israeli Censorship of Palestinian Textbooks', p. 512. For further details see Alayan: *Education in East Jerusalem*, p. 53–59.

404 Alayan explains that these changes occur from years 1 to 10 and not in years 11 and 12 as students in those years must prepare for the Palestinian 'unified national final school exams (Tawjihi)'. Alayan: *Education in East Jerusalem*, p. 14.

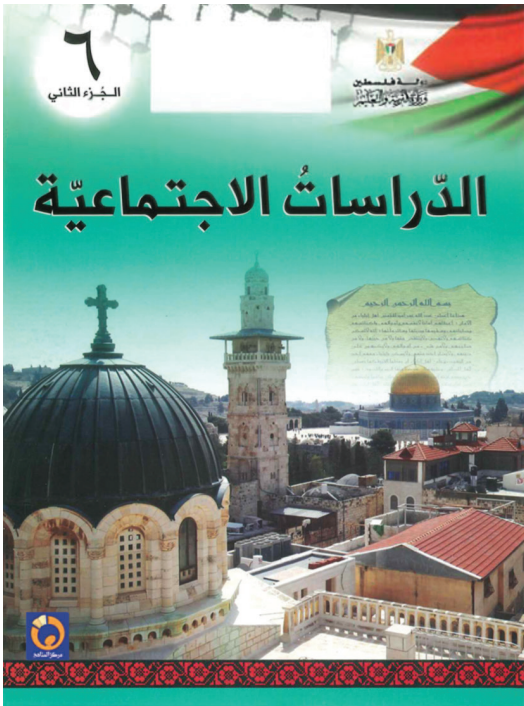405 See also Alayan: *Education in East Jerusalem*, p. 53–59.

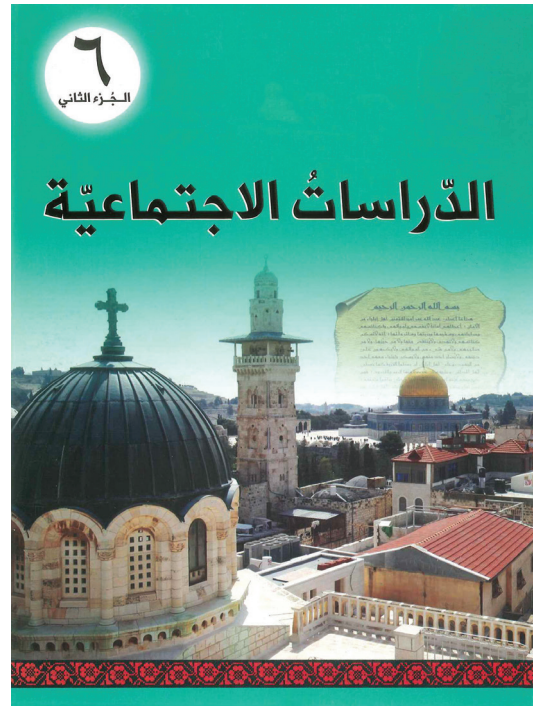Figure 140a: MoE textbook, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), cover

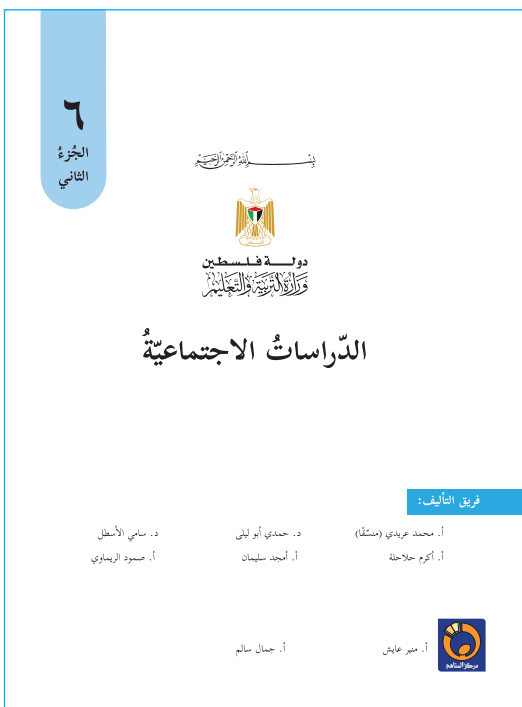Figure 140b: Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), cover

Figure 141a: MoE textbook, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), front page
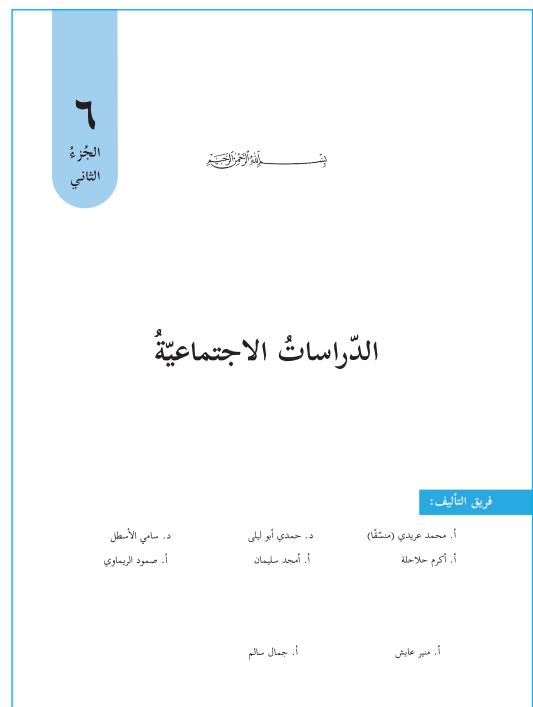

Figure 141b: Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), front page

Figure 142a: MoE textbook, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), imprint page

Figure 142b: Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studie*s 6/II (2019), imprint page

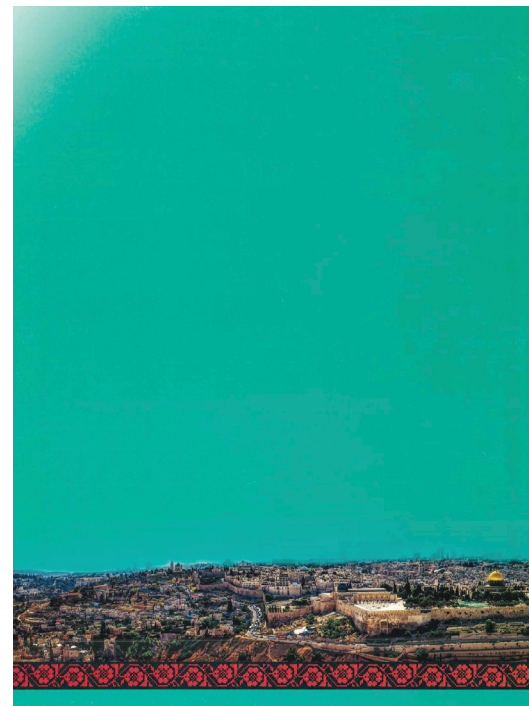Figure 143a: MoE textbook, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), back cover

Figure 143b: Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), back cover

6.2 AMENDMENTS TO THE TEXTBOOKS STUDIED ACCORDING TO SUBJECT

SOCIAL STUDIES

A comparison of both versions of the textbook *Social Studies* 6/II and 9/I, revealed all three processes: erasing content, adding content and replacing content.

The content changed mainly relates to the policies of occupation towards Palestinians and the colonial history in the region in general. As a result, content that discusses the Israeli/Zionist occupation and its impact on different Palestinian communities across the territories of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the State of Israel is diluted or neutralised, especially that which discusses policies against the Bedouin community, which is of Palestinian origin. When discussing the Bedouin lifestyle, the textbook published by the MoE includes a practical activity to research and discuss the violations committed by Israel, which is referred to as 'the Zionist occupation', against the Palestinian Bedouin community.[406] In the textbook amended by the Israeli authorities this activity has been removed.[407] It is replaced with a paragraph that focuses on the Bedouins as Arabs who travelled through the Arabian Peninsula, which is followed by two questions about the demographic spread of the Bedouins and who can be called a Bedouin. The changed sentence states: 'And in our countries (Palestine and Israel together), Bedouins live in the Negev, in the Aghwar region and Galilee. The largest Bedouin city is the city of Rahat in the Israeli Negev region.'

Figure 144a: MoE textbook, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), p. 27

Figure 144b: Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), p. 27

---

406 MoE Textbook, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), p. 27.

407 Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 6/II (2019), p. 27: وفي بلادنا (فلسطين وإسرائيل معًا) يعيش البدو في النّقب والأغوار والجليل، وأكبر مدينة بدويّة هي مدينة رهط في النّقب الإسرائيليّ.

Modifications are not confined to content related to Israel and Palestine, but also to post-colonial discourse or critical thinking on colonialism that may associate the colonial past in the Arab world with the current occupation of Palestinian territories.

Social Studies 9/I includes two units on the history of colonialism and resistance in the Arab world: Unit 1: 'Colonial Policy in the Arab World' (السياسة الاستعمارية في الوطن العربي) and Unit 2: 'Resistance and Liberation in the Arab World' (المقاومة والتحرّر في الوطن العربي). Both units have undergone several changes in the version amended by the Israeli authorities. Some of these changes involve modifications to content while in other cases complete chapters have been changed. These changes include a map of the Arab world that has been replaced by a map of Israel showing the demarcation of the green line[408] and the reduction of a text that discusses the League of Arab States and its support of the Palestinian cause to simply a definition of the organisation and its main principles.[409]

An example of a complete change of a chapter is the removal of Chapter 2 'The Economic Colonial Policy in the Arab World' (السياسة الاستعمارية الاقتصادية في الوطن العربي)[410] and its replacement with 'The Values of Civil Society' (قيم المجتمع المدني)[411]. The eight-page chapter in the original textbooks (p. 16–23) is part of a unit that examines the different colonial policies implemented in the Arab world at the beginning of the twentieth century. It describes economic colonial policies in the Arab world and discusses the features of these policies and reactions to them. It also associates those economic policies with the 'Zionist

occupation's' practices and policies towards the Palestinian economy. This chapter is substituted in the amended textbook by a new seven-page chapter titled 'The Values of Civil Society' (قيم المجتمع المدني) (p. 15–22), which discusses civil society and its role in representing and advocating the civil needs of citizens.

This new chapter defines civil society by providing a general definition and the World Bank's definition. It lists human dignity, belonging to the homeland and pluralism as the main pillars of civil society. The emphasis on pluralism and its manifestation in Jerusalem is illustrated by information about the establishment of the 'Hand in Hand' school (مدرسة يدًا بيد) in Jerusalem in 1998. The text describes the school as a binational school that accommodates Jewish, Christian and Muslim students and has a mixed 'Arab-Jewish teaching staff' (الأساتذة مزيج من العرب واليهود). When discussing the expansion and growth of the school, the text states that in the school's early days it was located in the Qatamon neighbourhood in West Jerusalem, and due to expansion later moved its headquarter to the Pat neighbourhood, 'south of the occupied city'.[412]

Taking into consideration that this chapter was written and inserted into the textbook by the Israeli authorities reflects the acknowledgement of the occupation and the occupied status of East Jerusalem on their part. It is notable that this is not a revised text from an MoE-textbook but one newly written for use in schools of East-Jerusalem. A noticeable difference is that the textbooks amended for East-Jerusalem schools do not – in contrast to the MoE-originals – problematise the living conditions in Jerusalem.

---

[408]   MoE Textbook, *Social Studies* 9/1 (2017), p. 10–13 and textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 9/1 (2018), p. 10–12.

[409]   MoE Textbook, *Social Studies* 9/I (2017), p. 6 and textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 9/I (2018), p. 6.

[410]   MoE Textbook, *Social Studies* 9/I (2017), p. 16.

[411]   Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 9/I (2018), p. 15.

[412]   Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 9/I (2018), p. 21: جنوبيّ المدينة المحتلّة.

Figure 145a: MoE textbook, *Social Studies* 9/I (2017), p. 16

Figure 145b: Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Social Studies* 9/I (2018), p. 15

ARABIC LANGUAGE

The absence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the textbook *The Arabic Language* 7/II amended by the Israeli authorities is remarkable when it is compared to the original edition. In fact, all chapters or sentences in the MoE textbook that address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, or show Palestinian resistance or military events have been replaced by other lessons addressing topics such as the environment and young people, by sentences about tolerance and peace, or examples that highlight respect toward others or commonalities (such as common interests). New or inserted passages refer to cultural, religious or historical aspects shared by 'Jews and Arabs' (اليهود والعرب) (referring to Palestinians) and examples of peaceful coexistence and cooperative activities.

Exercises about common cultural interests and coexistence between Israel and the Arab world have been added to the textbook amended by the Israeli authorities for example. One such exercise is in chapter 4 and portrays 'The Oud Festival in Jerusalem' and the importance of music in establishing good relationships between different people, since music is separated from politics'.[413]

The effort to show a respectful representation of Arab cultures and religions is apparent in the textbook amended by Israeli authorities, as illustrated by an exercise about the observance of Al Mawlid al-Nabawi al-Sharif (Birth of the Prophet),[414] which replaces an exercise on the commemoration of the Battle of Karameh.[415] In contrast to the story presented in *The Arabic Language* 8/II, (2019) that was discussed in Chapter 3.4.2, this announcement does not include escalatory elements.

---

[413] Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 43: يُشير الإقبال الكبير على المهرجان [مهرجان العود في القدس] إلى أنّ الموسيقى منفصلة انفصالًا تامًّا عن السياسة وأنّ هدف المشاركين والجمهور إرساء المحبّة والودّ بين الشعوب.

[414] Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 26.

[415] MoE Textbook, *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 27.

Another example of content being replaced comes from unit 2 of the same textbook. A listening exercise about the Al-Dawayima massacre, which took place in Palestine in 1948, and an article on the Palestinian cities/territories that were occupied by the 'Zionist occupation' which includes terms such as: 'the massacres committed', 'displacement of Palestinian (refugees)', 'the attempts to erase the identity of these cities and villages and replace its Arabic names with Hebrew ones'[416] have been replaced entirely by a chapter that addresses the topics of education, peace and tolerance without mentioning any events from 1948. Changes designed to emphasise peaceful coexistence and mutual tolerance between Israel and 'Arab cities' have been made in most of the chapters.

Other changes made throughout the Arabic language textbook amended by the Israeli authorities involve the removal of the name 'Palestine' in many instances, even those that show a geographic or cultural aspect of Palestine, and the replacement of references to patriotic Palestinian symbols such as the black and white scarf known as the *Kūfia* (الكوفية), or statements that reflect patriotic sentiments, with general topics. Much of the

Palestinian historical narrative referring to suppression and to elements of construction of a national identity has been removed. For instance, the sentence 'The *Kūfia* has become a national symbol for the Palestinian people' in a grammatical exercise in *The Arabic Language* 7/II published by the MoE has been replaced by 'Hope has become our slogan' in the version amended for schools in East-Jerusalem. In a similar task the phrases 'c) We are a struggling people, d) Palestine is dear to our hearts' have been replaced by 'c) Students are peaceful, d) Words of respect are obligatory'.

By generally replacing references to 'Palestinians' or to 'Palestinian' cultural items, cities or neighbourhoods with references to 'Arabs' who live in 'Arab cities', the amendments erase any negative or positive characterisation of Palestinians from the textbook for East-Jerusalem schools.

Such changes can be understood as an attempt to remove aspects of the Palestinian historical narrative that refer to suppression or distress that students may have experienced as well as to any construction of a national identity. The exercises below give similar examples.

ثالثاً- نَضْبِطُ أَواخِرَ الكَلِماتِ الَّتي تَحْتَها خُطوطٌ فيما يَأْتي:

١- ما زالَتْ بُذورِ التَّحَدّي في قُلوبِ الأُسْرى الأَبْطالِ في سُجونِ الاحْتِلالِ الصِّهيونيِّ.

٢- كانَ التَّخَلُّصُ مِنَ التُّرابِ تَحَدِّياً كَبيراً.

٣- أَصْبَحَتِ المُرَبِّياتُ صانِعاتٍ لِلْأَجْيالِ.

٤- باتَتِ الكوفيَّةُ رَمْزاً وَطَنِيّاً لِلشَّعْبِ الفِلَسْطينيِّ.

٥- تَظَلُّ الأَوْطانُ بوصَلَةَ الرِّجالِ الأَوْفياءِ.

٦- صارَ الأَسيرُ شاهِداً عَلى إِرْهابِ الاحْتِلالِ.
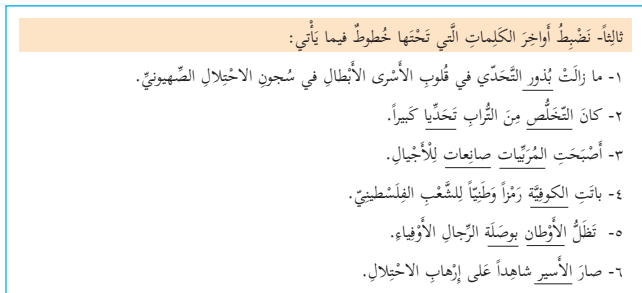
Figure 146a: MoE textbook, *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2018), p. 45

ثالثاً- نَضْبِطُ أَواخِرَ الكَلِماتِ الَّتي تَحْتَها خُطوطٌ فيما يَأْتي:

١- ما زِلْنا أَبْناءَ شَعْبٍ يَطْمَحُ لِلسَّلامِ.

٢- كانَ التَّخَلُّصُ مِنَ التُّرابِ تَحَدِّيا كَبيراً.

٣- أَصْبَحَتِ المُرَبِّياتُ صانِعاتٍ لِلْأَجْيالِ.

٤- باتَ الأَمَلُ شِعاراً لَنا.

٥- تَظَلُّ الأَوْطانُ بوصَلَةَ الرِّجالِ الأَوْفياءِ.

٦- صارَ التَّسامُحُ طَريقًا لِعيْشٍ رَغيدٍ.
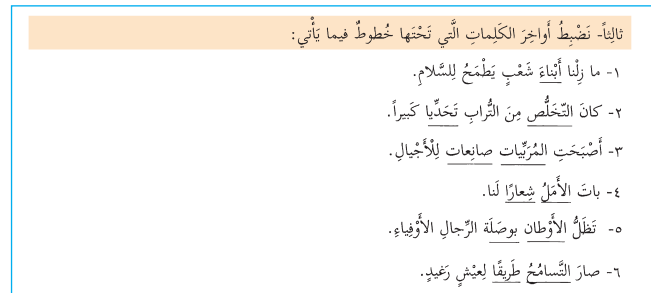
Figure 146b: Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *The Arabic language* 7/II (2019), p. 47

Thirdly: we add diacritics to the end of the following underlined words [emphasis added]:

1) The seeds of challenge remain in the hearts of the courageous detainees in the Zionist occupation prisons.
2) Getting rid of dirt was a huge challenge.
3) Female educators have become the makers of generations.
4) The *Kūfia* has become a national symbol for the Palestinian people.
5) Homelands remain the compass of loyal men.
6) The detainee became a witness of the occupation terror.

Thirdly: we add diacritics to the end of the following underlined words [emphasis added]:

1) We are still people that aspire to peace.
2) Getting rid of dirt was a huge challenge.
3) Female educators have become the makers of generations.
4) Hope has become our slogan.
5) Homelands remain the compass of loyal men.
6) Tolerance became a way to live well.

416 The Arabic Language 7/II (2019), p. 18: يعاني الشعب الفلسطيني ويلات الاحتلال الصهيوني وجرائمه منذ النكبة، حيث احتل اليهود معظم الأراضي الفلسطينية، وطردوا أهلها، وحولوهم إلى لاجئين، وارتكبوا بحقهم عشرات المجازر، وهدموا أكثر من خمسئة قرية فلسطينية، ودمروا المدن الرئيسية، ومحوا معالمها، وأسماءها الجغرافية العربية، وسموها بأسماء عبرية؛ لطمس هويتها الفلسطينية الأصلية

٢- واحِدَةٌ مِنَ الجُمَلِ الآتِيةِ جاءَ الخَبَرُ فيها مَرْفوعاً بِعَلامَةٍ فَرْعِيَّةٍ:

أ- الفائِزاتُ مَسْروراتٌ. ب- الجُنْديّانِ باسِلانِ.

ج- نَحْنُ شَعْبٌ مُكافِحٌ. د- فِلَسْطينُ عَزيزَةٌ عَلى قُلوبِنا.

Figure 147a: MoE textbook, *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 8

٢- واحِدَةٌ مِنَ الجُمَلِ الآتِيةِ جاءَ الخَبَرُ فيها مَرْفوعاً بِعَلامَةٍ فَرْعِيَّةٍ:

أ- التَّسامُحُ مِفْتاحُ السَّلامِ. ب- السَّلامُ غايةٌ.

ج- الطُّلّابُ مُسالِمونَ. د- كَلِماتُ الاحْتِرامِ واجِبَةٌ.

Figure 147b: Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 10

2) a Grammatical task [emphasis added]:

a- Female winners are happy.

b- **The two soldiers are brave.**

c- **We are a struggling people.**

d- **Palestine is dear to our hearts.**

2) a Grammatical task [emphasis added]:

a- **Tolerance is the key to peace.**

b- **Peace is a goal.**

c- **Students are peaceful.**

d- **Words of respect are obligatory.**

The exercise below is an ambivalent example of such changes: the wording in the version by the MoE, 'Palestinian coastal cities', asserts a Palestinian identity for these areas and its cities and has been replaced with 'Arab and Jewish cities in Israel' in the textbook amended by Israeli authorities. On one hand this correctly states that these cities are located within the borders of the state of Israel, but on the other hand by replacing 'Palestinian' with the linguistic and ethnic adjective 'Arab' conjoined with the ethnic and religious marker 'Jewish' gives the impression that there is no place for Palestinian identities in Israeli cities or the textbooks that reflect them.

التَّعْبيرُ:

نَتَصَوَّرُ أَنْفُسَنا مُديري مَدارِسَ، وَعَدَدُ طَلَبَةِ كُلِّ مَدْرَسَةٍ لا يَقِلُّ عَنْ سِتِّمِئَةِ طالِبٍ، وَنُريدُ الإعْلانَ عَنْ رِحْلاتٍ مَدْرَسِيَّةٍ في مَوْسِمِ الرِّحْلاتِ إلى مُدُنٍ فِلَسْطينيّةٍ ساحِليّةٍ، نَكْتُبُ إعْلاناً عَنْ ذلِكَ إلى طَلَبَةِ مَدارِسِنا.

Figure 148a: MoE textbook, *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 60

التَّعْبيرُ:

نَتَصَوَّرُ أَنْفُسَنا مُديري مَدارِسَ حَيْثُ لا يَقِلُّ عَدَدُ طَلَبَةِ كُلِّ مَدْرَسَةٍ عَنْ سِتِّمِئَةِ طالِبٍ، وَنُريدُ الإعْلانَ عَنْ رِحْلاتٍ مَدْرَسِيَّةٍ في مَوْسِمِ الرِّحْلاتِ إلى مُدُنٍ عَرَبيّةٍ وَيَهوديّةٍ في إسْرائيلَ. نَكْتُبُ إعْلانًا إلى طَلَبَةِ مَدارِسِنا.

Figure 148b: Textbook amended by the Israeli authorities, *The Arabic Language* 7/II (2019), p. 61

Writing:

We imagine ourselves school principals, and we have at least 600 students in each school. We want to advertise school trips to Palestinian coastal cities; we write an advertisement about it, etc.

Writing:

We imagine ourselves school principals, and we have at least 600 students in each school. We want to advertise school trips to Arabic and Jewish cities in Israel, we write an advertisement about it, etc.

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

The MoE edition of *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I, is 121 pages long and includes three units of five chapters each. However, the textbook disseminated in East Jerusalem as amended by Israeli authorities only includes two units, with five chapters in the first unit and three chapters in the second, resulting in a textbook of eight chapters and 81 pages. The eight remaining chapters discuss the land of Palestine and Palestine at the end of the Ottoman rule. The seven chapters (40 pages) that have been removed discuss Palestine at the beginning of the twentieth century, which includes Jewish immigration and the British mandate over Palestine that continued until the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine in 1947.

Figure 149a: MoE textbook, *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), table of contents

Figure 149b: Textbook amended by the Israeli authorities, *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), table of contents

The textbook amended by Israeli authorities also changes references to Palestine in geographical texts so that they mention both Israel and Palestine. This change occurs whenever there is a reference to a map, city, region, etc. with no clear definition of which part is Israel and which part is Palestine.

In the excerpts below, the example from the MoE textbook displays an activity requiring students to locate Palestine on a world map. In the first and second assignments of the activity, 'Palestine' is changed to 'Israel and Palestine' in the textbook amended by Israeli authorities.
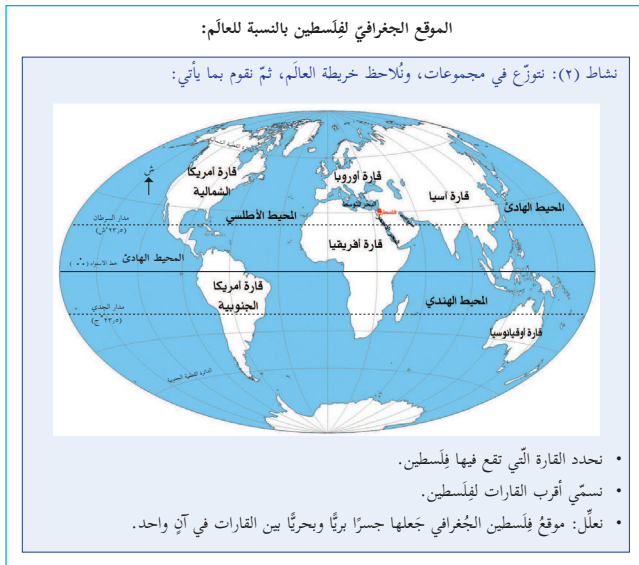
Figure 150a: MoE textbook, *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 5

Figure 150b: Textbook amended by the Israeli authorities, *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 5

- Determine the continent where **Palestine** is located.
- Name the closest continents to **Palestine**.
- Explain Palestine's geographical location that has made it an onshore and offshore bridge between the continents. [emphasis added]

- Determine the continent where **Israel and Palestine** are located.
- Name the closest continents to **Israel and Palestine**.
- Explain Palestine's geographical location that has made it an onshore and offshore bridge between the continents. [emphasis added]

The map below shows an activity from page 8 of the MoE textbook that discusses the borders of Palestine and its neighbouring countries. This is presented on page 6 in the textbook amended by Israeli authorities with a different map and caption. The map from the amended textbook illustrates the territories with the demarcated green line and a caption that reads: 'Israel and Palestine and their neighbouring countries'.
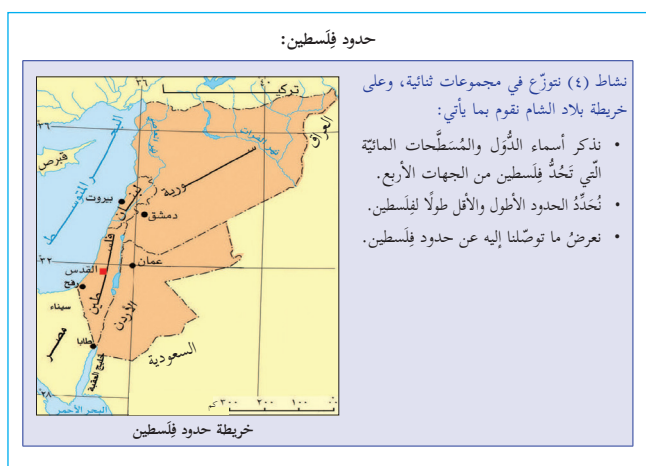
Figure 151a: MoE textbook, *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 8

Figure 151b: Textbook amended by the Israeli authorities, *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 6

Similarly, the caption 'The plains of Palestine'[417] in the MoE textbook is changed to 'The plains of Israel and Palestine'[418] in the textbook amended by the Israeli authorities. The recurring change to texts accompanying maps (captions, headings, legends, explanatory texts and exercises) is of particular interest because it depicts Israel and Palestine on an equal footing, both categorised as comparable states.

Figure 152a: MoE textbook, *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 13

Figure 152b: Textbook amended by the Israeli authorities; *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 13

417 MoE Textbook, *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 13.

418 Textbook amended by Israeli authorities *Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History* 10/I (2018), p. 13.

ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Omissions and changes to content also occur in *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019). An entire chapter is omitted, as illustrated in the example below: the table of contents of the MoE textbook lists 20 chapters (a total of 106 pages). However, the textbook amended by Israeli authorities lists only 19 chapters (a total of 98 pages).

The chapter omitted is number 11, 'The Battle of Khaybar (7AH)', a battle between the Prophet Muhammad and his new followers on one side and Jewish tribes on the other, which can be found on pages 58 to 62 of the MoE version.

وحدة الميرة النبوية		
الدّرس الحادي عشر:	غزوة خَيبر (٧ هـ)	٥٨
الدّرس الثّاني عشر:	عُمرة القضاء (٧ هـ)	٦٣
الدّرس الثّالث عشر:	من صحابة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، جعفر بن أبي طالب ﷺ	٦٧

Figure 153a: MoE textbook, *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019), table of contents

وحدة الميرة النبوية		
الدّرس الحادي عشر:	عُمرة القضاء (٧ هـ)	٥٧
الدّرس الثّاني عشر:	من صحابة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، جعفر بن أبي طالب ﷺ	٦١

Figure 153b: Textbook amended by the Israeli authorities, *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019), table of contents

The textbooks amended by Israeli authorities also omit material from individual chapters, such as the example on page 13 of chapter 2 of the textbook *Islamic Education* 9/I. Passages on *jihād* and 'The wisdom behind fighting the infidels' in the MoE textbook have been partially deleted from the textbook amended by Israeli authorities.

Here, a paragraph summarizing a Qur'ānic verse on the 'declaration of war on infidels', the latter defined in the subsequent phrase as 'those who fight the religion of God Almighty', was deleted in the textbook amended by Israeli authorities:

- Declaration of war on infidels: these lack both commitment and treaty; they fight against the religion of Almighty God, forbidding people from embracing it. So God commanded the believers to declare *jihād* against them until they are conquered, weakened and defeated.[419]

The following list of rules, however, is present in both the original and the amended version of the textbook:

- إرشادَ اللّهِ تعالى المسلمينَ إذا انتصروا على عدوِّهم وأضْعفوهم أن يأسِروا منهُم، ويُحْسِنوا لأسراهم فلا يَقتلُوا أحداً منهُم، فقد اعتبرَ الإسلام الإحسانَ إلى الأسير كالإحسانِ إلى اليتيم. فالإسلامُ ليسَ مُتَعَطِّشاً إلى سَفْكِ الدِّماء وقَتْلِ النّاس، إنّما يأمرُ بقتالِ مَن يُقاتلُ المُسلمينَ وَيَصُدُّ عَن دينِ اللّهِ.

Figure 154: MoE textbook, *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019), p. 13 and textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019), p. 13[420]

- Almighty God advises Muslims, once they have achieved victory over their enemy, to capture them and treat them well, not killing any of them. Islam considers the care of prisoners as comparable to the care of orphans. Islam is not thirsty for bloodshed and killing; rather, it ordered [people] to fight against those who fight Muslims and who discourage God's religion.

---

[419] MoE textbook, *Islamic Education* 9/I (2019), p. 13–14: إعلان الحرب على الكفّار الذين لا عهد لهم ولا ذمّة، والذين يُحاربون دين الله تعالى ويمنعون الناس من الدّخول فيه، فأمر الله تعالى المؤمنين بجهادهم والغلظة عليهم حتّى قهرهم وإضعافهم وهزيمتهم.

[420] The text is identical in both textbooks.

MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL SCIENCES

Mathematics and natural sciences textbooks have undergone similar changes to those for other subjects. In an exercise in *Mathematics* 2/I, Haifa, listed as a Palestinian city, has been replaced with Hebron in the textbook amended by the Israeli authorities.[421] Otherwise, the exercise remains unchanged. Similar replacements occur in other books in respect to cities that were historically Palestinian but are currently Israeli cities. In the textbook *Science and Life* 8/I, five real-life connections (out of eight in this textbook) that address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are replaced with other examples in the textbook amended by the Israeli authorities. The five references that have been replaced attributed aggression to Israel and mentioned the separation barrier.

The example below shows an activity from the MoE textbook. The activity discusses the diffusion of gases in the context of a story about school pupils. The authored text explains that they were affected by the tear gas thrown by the 'Zionist occupying army' against 'a peaceful demonstration' in a village where people were protesting against the 'annexation and expansion wall' that has 'swallowed' most of the land in the villages (this excerpt is examined in more detail in Chapter 4). The introductory text is followed by two questions about the diffusion of gases and two other questions about the danger of tear gas and the safety precautions to be taken to mitigate its effects.[422] In the textbook amended by Israeli authorities, the exercise is introduced by a few sentences about fires in the summer and how the smoke can spread. The questions ask about the spread of smoke and the danger it poses to humans and the environment with no reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The image is captioned: 'Palestinian, European, and Israeli firefighters in a joint training session'.[423]

There are two key aspects to these changes: they remove the image and references to Palestinian and Israeli violence from the exercise. In this case a passage with didiactic escalation potential (see Chapter 4 for explanation) has been removed. The passage is then replaced by an idealised depiction of coexistence that masks existing tensions.

Figure 155a: MoE textbook, *Science and Life* 8/I (2018), p. 15

Activity (4) The Diffusion

The students of the Bil'in secondary school in Ramallah and al-Bireh Governorate have been affected by the tear gas used by the Zionist occupying army during a peaceful demonstration in the village. The demonstration was against the annexation and expansion wall that swallowed most of the agricultural lands in the village and in neighbouring villages.

1. The smell of the tear gas fired by the occupying army can be identified from a distance. Explain this.
2. Give examples of other substances that spread by diffusion?
3. What is the effect of this gas on people's health and on the environment?
4. What are the safety procedures to be followed when exposed to tear gas attacks by the occupying army? [...]

---

[421] Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Mathematics* 2/I (2018) p. 40.

[422] MoE textbook, *Mathematics* 2/I (2018), p. 15.

[423] Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Mathematics* 2/I (2018), p. 15.

6.3 CONCLUSION

Figure 155b: Textbook amended by Israeli authorities, *Science and Life* 8/I (2018), p. 15

Activity (4) The Diffusion

Every year at the beginning of summer, the incidence of fires increases significantly as it coincides with the holiday season on the one hand and with high temperatures on the other. During this period many suffocate due to smoke from the fires.

[Image] Palestinian, European and Israeli firefighters in a joint training session

1. The smell of the smoke resulting from the fire can be identified from a distance. Explain this.
2. What is the effect of this smoke on people's health and on the environment?
3. What are the safety procedures to be followed when exposed to fire and gas emissions?
4. Give examples of other substances that spread by diffusion?
5. Why should fires be avoided and why should the younger generation be educated in this regard? [...]

As Israel has annexed East Jerusalem and controls the education sector in this part of the city, Israeli authorities approve and amend textbooks for use in East-Jerusalem schools. As the comparison has shown, these textbooks do not contain any reference to the amendments by Israeli authorities nor to the authors of the changed texts. In fact, in spite of the significant amount of material changed in these textbooks, the only immediate indication of differences between the textbooks published by the Palestinian MoE and the textbooks changed by the Israeli authorities are the removal of certain symbols from the covers, such as the Palestinian Ministry of Education's symbol, the Palestinian flag and the Palestinian Curriculum Development Center's symbol from the front cover and the stamp of the publishing house from the back cover. The curriculum centre logo is also deleted from the imprint page. The original authors are still listed.

The changes predominantly concern content that refers to conflict and occupation. This happens on two levels: the first is the removal of depictions of violence by Palestinians or Israelis, particularly the excising of passages with didactic or linguistic escalatory potential. Furthermore, Israel is charted in maps and symbolic maps of All-Palestine are removed. The second level is an idealisation of the coexistence of Israelis and Palestinians in the amended passages, with no mention of existing tensions. Concrete examples of peaceful cooperation and mutual support are depicted, such as a joint training of firefighters in a natural sciences textbook.

References to Palestinian identity or national symbols are removed, as are passages detailing cultural commemorations and remembrance. The removal of entire chapters on regional and Palestinian history fundamentally changes the national narrative. This is congruent with Alayan's analysis of amendments to the previous textbook generation, published in 2004/2005, in which she concludes that the Israeli authorities' interference in the content of textbooks is the employment of 'a policy of power that introduces and centres the Israeli-dominant narrative even if by omission'.[424]

---

[424] Alayan: 'White Pages: Israeli Censorship of Palestinian Textbooks'.

7   GENERAL CONCLUSION

This Report, which has been funded by the European Union, presents the results of an analysis of a sample of 156 textbooks and 16 teacher guides for year 1–12 in the main subjects taught in Palestinian schools providing a general education, in the versions published between 2017 and 2019. This includes textbooks for the subjects: Arabic language, social studies and social upbringing, history and geography, religious education, mathematics and natural sciences as well as life sciences – both printed and online versions (PDF) – released by the Palestinian Ministry of Education (MoE) between 2017 and 2019, for use in schools in the Palestinian Territories.

The Report further includes seven Palestinian textbooks that were amended by Israeli authorities for use in schools in East Jerusalem. These were compared with the MoE originals in order to identify modifications. The results of the textbook analysis are summarised below.

Once the initial Report had been completed, a further sample of 18 textbooks across a range of subjects, newly released in 2020 (some of which were already available online) were examined and compared with the previous editions to establish what revisions had been made. The key findings of this additional analysis are presented in a separate section at the end of this conclusion.

COMPLIANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION (GCE)

The textbooks for the different subjects analysed for this Report extensively address central issues of global citizenship education. In numerous instances the textbooks call for tolerance, mercy, forgiveness and justice and encourage students to help others, fight corruption and respect human values. They do not apply these notions to Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

By addressing political concepts such as the functioning of state-run institutions, elections and other democratic practices, the textbooks convey the concept of civil rights and the relationship between citizens and the state, including the right of citizens to be protected by the latter and their own obligation to comply with law and order. They also confirm pluralism as a feature of the Palestinian political system and promote political participation in the context of citizenship education. These topics are mainly addressed in social studies and history textbooks, but are also raised in textbooks for Arabic language and mathematics.

Social studies, mathematics and Arabic language textbooks engage with regional and global environmental issues, such as pollution and climate change. The textbooks analysed provide, in all subject areas, images of society that encompass respectful representations of different social, cultural and religious groups including diversity of skin colour, gender and physical ability. They emphasise the primary objective of equal access to facilities and services and equal opportunities for participation in public life. The textbooks especially address gender equality by portraying male and female protagonists side by side and in different societal contexts. These representations neither dissolve binary notions of gender nor do they address diverse sexual orientations.

The textbooks emphasise cultural, social and religious values that support various forms of coexistence. In particular, the textbooks for Christian and Islamic education encourage a dialogical and comparative approach to teaching about religions. Religious coexistence between Christians and Muslims is the dominant form presented in the textbooks; other religions are rarely addressed.

Yet when the topics of political participation, coexistence and tolerance are raised, no link is established to the current conflict. The framework of reference for political participation and human rights in Palestinian textbooks is that of the Palestinian nation and the aspiration to Palestinian statehood. It is notable that the objective of 'postnational' or 'cosmopolitan' citizenship as suggested in more recent critical Global Citizenship Education literature is not to be found in the textbooks.

Textbooks for the different subjects explore the causes and consequences of conflict between individuals in ways that promote respectful attitudes and develop skills for conflict prevention and the resolution of disagreements. Humanity's responsibility to address the environmental crisis, including reference to the impact of violent conflict on the climate, is also emphasised in many passages and images across all subjects and levels.

INCREASED AWARENESS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights are explicitly discussed in textbooks for subjects as diverse as Arabic language, social studies, history and geography, mathematics, and Christian and Islamic religion. The references may consist of as little as one or two sentences or as much as an entire chapter. These representations increase in number in the 2018 and 2019 editions of the textbooks, which contain additional passages and sentences, as well as whole chapters on human rights.

The analysis of human rights representations in Palestinian textbooks shows an increased focus on such rights and reveals a process of reframing national issues within a global political context. The textbooks affirm the importance of human rights in general and in several places explicitly highlight a universal notion of these rights, emphasising their interdependence and inalienability. On the whole, the analysed textbooks largely adhere to the UNESCO guidelines on Human Rights Education.

Textbooks for the subjects of history, geography and social studies refer extensively and repeatedly to international documents on human rights while religious education textbooks locate this theme within the context of religious texts, arguing that Christianity and Islam provide the fundamental pillars for an acknowledgement of human rights within their concepts of human dignity and the sanctity of human life. Generally, a range of human rights are portrayed in a variety of civic, political, social and cultural contexts across all subjects analysed. Furthermore, group-specific rights, in particular the rights of women, children, persons with disabilities and prisoners are also discussed extensively. This diversity-embracing approach implicitly indicates an increased awareness of and response to international agreements and commitments regarding human rights.

Although, in general, the textbooks portray a universal notion of human rights, this is not carried through to a discussion of the rights of Israelis. When the textbooks address human rights violations and mention violators, the transgressions in most cases are carried out by Israeli protagonists and affect the rights of Palestinians. The textbooks support these narratives by referring to international conventions.

In general, human rights serve as a framework through which the textbooks address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the perspective of human rights violations in the context of international law.

ANTAGONISTIC NARRATIVES AND ONE-SIDED REPRESENTATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF CONFLICT

While the analysis identifies an increased focus on Global Citizenship Education and human rights discourse, it also finds antagonistic narratives and one-sided representations of the Israeli 'other' in textbook portrayals of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This primarily applies to the terminology used to refer to the adversary.

The term 'Israel' occurs relatively seldom, while the term '(Zionist) occupation' dominates in the books. Firstly, the term 'Zionist occupation' can be interpreted as referring to the effects of Israel's occupation policy in the occupied territories when emphasis is placed on occupation practices. Secondly, it can be understood as a device through which to avoid naming the adversary or 'other' by name and to even question the legitimacy of the State of Israel and its political existence as an international legal entity. While such a representation is dominant in many of the textbooks, a history textbook for year 10 provides a source documenting the recognition of Israel by the PLO.

The use of the religiously informed terms *jihād* and *shahīd* in textbooks reflects their diversity of meaning in theology. Christian and Islamic religious education textbooks introduce the concept of *jihād*, for example, as a spiritual struggle and process of self-reform, but also as engagement in combat. In such instances, Islamic religious education textbooks explain the rules and conditions of *jihād* and the laws forbidding bloodshed and the killing of innocent people, and promoting good treatment of prisoners. Especially when taken up in subjects other than religious education, the combat-infused meaning of *jihād* tends to prevail.

Although the term is rarely connected to the current conflict, in the few cases where such links are drawn the passages tend to carry escalatory potential. The term *shahīd* is almost exclusively used in the context of the conflict and applied to two different groups: to individuals killed while committing violent attacks against Israel and to victims of violence who were themselves not actively involved.

Maps presented in Palestinian textbooks reflect the conflict in a highly symbolic manner. The cartographic representations of an imagined All-Palestine, either as a political entity or an imagined homeland, generally do not include a spatial representation of the State of Israel or of cities founded by Jewish immigrants. The State of Israel and cities such as Tel Aviv are not charted on these maps. Sites or cities located in Israel that have large Arab-Palestinian populations are incorporated into the imagined All-Palestine, as are landscape formations that lie within Israeli state territory. A few maps show the borders of the West Bank and the settlements within it, thus visualising the disconnected territorial space administered by the Palestinian Authority.

Jews, identified explicitly as such, appear primarily in religious education textbooks, usually as a collective. Christian education textbooks acknowledge Jews as representatives of a further monotheistic faith alongside Islam and Christianity, and refrain from reproducing prejudices from the New Testament. Islamic education textbooks address the Jews and the Jewish religion to a lesser degree than those for Christian education, but when they do, Jews are portrayed in the context of early Islam. While two textbooks deal ambivalently with the motifs of loyalty and treason in reference to Jewish tribes of the Arabian peninsula, another textbook provides a learning context that displays anti-Semitic motives and links characteristics and actions attributed to Jews at the dawn of Islam to the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

REPRESENTATIONS OF VIOLENCE DIFFER ACCORDING TO SUBJECTS

Palestinian textbooks are produced and located within an environment saturated with conflict, occupation and ongoing violence, all of which are reflected in the textbooks. Therefore, the analysis considers this context when examining representations of violence.

Representations of the Israeli adversary are generally – with very few exceptions – connected to depictions of structural or physical violence. The analysis reveals significant differences in the quality and quantity of the portrayals of violence across the school subjects; however, the different subjects also conceptualise and contextualise the experience and the use of violence in profoundly different ways.

In general, portrayals of violence perpetrated by the Israeli protagonists present them as a homogenous entity mostly referred to as the '(Zionist) occupation' or by similar epithets. On the rare occasions in which individual Israelis do occur in the books, they are de-individualised as violent representatives of a negatively connoted collective, such as soldiers or settlers. No voice is given in the textbooks to criticism of violence against Palestinians from within the internal Israeli discourse.

The textbooks for Arabic language are strikingly saturated with depictions of the conflict, in the past and the present, often using literary stylistic techniques to portray violence suffered or committed by Palestinians. They present pieces of original literature (such as poems or short stories) together with authored texts in a manner designed to evoke a sense of identity. In comparison to other subjects, Arabic language textbooks contain more emotionally laden depictions of Israeli violence that tend to dehumanise the Israeli adversary, occasionally accusing the latter of malice and deceitful behaviour. Acts of violence committed by Palestinians against Israel in the past are depicted in the Arabic language textbooks as part of a heroic struggle.

Textbooks for history, geography and social studies take a more conceptual and – in higher school years – a more reflective approach, consistently embedding the facts within the narrative of national resistance against Israeli occupation. The portrayal of violence towards Palestinians is primarily descriptive and context-specific, whether in regard to physical, military violence against Palestinians or whether in depictions of structural or spatial violence (settlements, checkpoints, barriers). The opponent is described as aggressive and hostile. The language, however, is for the most part objective in tone and avoids inflammatory expressions.

History and (some) social studies textbooks present violence perpetrated by Palestinians as a legitimate means of resistance in certain periods of Palestinian history: violent methods, the depictions suggest, have occupied a prominent place on the long path to national sovereignty and liberation from the yoke of occupation, alongside peaceful and diplomatic ways of contesting Israel. The textbooks primarily refer to the First Intifada when describing acts of violence committed by Palestinians against the Israeli occupation.

Terrorist operations are presented as a necessary means during a historical phase in the Palestinian struggle. Besides the violent forms of 'revolutionary' resistance declared to be 'military strategy', the textbooks for social studies, geography and history over four consecutive school years repeatedly call for reflection on peaceful versus violent forms of protest.

RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL AND RENUNCIATION OF TERROR IN SOURCE MATERIAL

The Israeli-Palestinian peace process is discussed in a history textbook for year 10, which quotes the speech given by the Egyptian president Anwar El-Sadat in front of the Israeli parliament in 1977 and the letters of mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO from September 1993. These sources document different steps taken towards the recognition of Israel and the renunciation of violence and terrorism by the PLO. The recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace and security documented in the letters by Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin stands in contrast to the questioning of the legitimacy of the State of Israel in other passages and textbooks.

ESCALATORY AND NON-ESCALATORY REPRESENTATIONS OF CONFLICT IN REAL-LIFE CONNECTIONS (RLC)

Real-life connections (RLC) are references to everyday life that in textbooks for the STEM subjects serve to illustrate mathematical and scientific learning. Language textbooks also employ this technique. The Palestinian STEM textbooks analysed for this Report make extensive use of RLC and thus implement the UNESCO recommendation to incorporate examples relating to the everyday lives of students into teaching and textbooks in order to convey specific content (double-purpose learning).

The vast majority (more than 90 %) of RLC in Palestinian textbooks for mathematics and the natural sciences are predominantly peaceful in nature, referencing simple everyday occurrences. RLC with references to Palestinian nation-building comprise approximately a quarter of the total RLC identified. The majority of these relate to Palestinian culture or other national symbols or practices without focusing on the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the entire sample of textbooks for mathematics and the natural sciences studied, only five per cent of the RLC directly address the conflict, its manifestations and consequences, and the contentious parties.

These conflict-related RLC include those of a non-escalatory nature, when a grievance related to the conflict is described using semantic and didactic moderation and where the depiction is not overly emotive. Escalatory RLC, in contrast, not only name the precise grievance and those held responsible but also detail the actions of the opposing protagonists – in most cases the Israeli military – portraying them as objectionable. Such escalatory RLC use semantic and didactic means to amplify the negative characterisation of the opponent in the conflict. Although they do not contain calls for violence, escalatory RLC can intensify feelings of animosity and anger towards the adversary and therefore do not serve to mitigate feelings of hatred towards the 'other'.

TEXTBOOKS FOR EAST JERUSALEM SCHOOLS, AMENDED BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES

As Israel has annexed East Jerusalem and controls the education sector in this part of the city, Israeli authorities approve and amend textbooks for use in East-Jerusalem schools. A comparison of textbooks published by the MoE and those altered for use in East Jerusalem disclosed a significant amount of changed material. These amendments are not marked in any way. The only immediate indication of differences between the original textbooks and the versions amended by the Israeli authorities is the removal of the Palestinian MoE logo, the Palestinian flag and the Palestinian Curriculum Development Center's logo from the front cover and the stamp of the original publishing house from the back cover. The curriculum centre logo is also deleted from the imprint page.

The comparison has revealed that the changes predominantly affect content referring to the conflict and occupation. This occurs on two levels: the first is the removal of depictions of violence between Palestinians and Israelis, particularly the removal of passages with didactic or linguistic escalatory potential. The second is an idealised portrayal of the coexistence of Israelis and Palestinians in the amended passages, with no mention of existing tensions.

Israel is named in maps, for example, and symbolic maps of All-Palestine are removed. Concrete examples of peaceful cooperation and mutual support are depicted. But references to Palestinian identity or national symbols are deleted, as are passages detailing cultural commemoration and remembrance. The removal of entire chapters on regional and Palestinian history fundamentally changes the national narrative.

REVISIONS TO TEXTBOOKS FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2020/2021

An overview conducted after the initial completion of this Report compared 18 textbook editions for the 2020/2021 academic year with their earlier versions. This comparison identified differing types and quantities of changes depending on subject and school year. Alongside the more general pedagogic and didactic amendments (learning objectives, etc.) the contents of the 2020 editions exhibit striking changes when compared to their predecessors. These vary according to subject: textbooks for Arabic language and Islamic education more systematically include female positions. Furthermore, the comparison identified revisions in the portrayal of Israelis in violent contexts. References to protagonists of armed Palestinian resistance have in some places been altered or removed.

Several RLCs in textbooks for mathematics and the natural sciences that referenced the conflict have been changed in the 2020 versions. Some of these changes remove escalatory potential and in others, reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been erased completely.

A larger didactic unit in a textbook for Islamic education, which was discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of this Report with regard to its anti-Semitic motives, has been changed in several aspects in the 2020 edition, thereby reducing the negative focus on Jews.

8   NOTES ON THE TRANSLITERATION

The system of transliteration used in this Report is that of IJMES *(International Journal for Middle Eastern Studies).*

CONSONANTS

’	(hamza)
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	‘
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y

VOWELS

Long Vowels

ا or ’	ā
و	ū
ي	ī

Doubled

ي	i yy (final form ī)
و	uww (final form ū)

Diphthongs

و	au or aw

Short

- - -	a
	u
	i

9 ANNEX: SELECTION OF TEXTBOOKS AND TEACHER GUIDES

LEGEND OF COLOUR CODING

first edition	second edition	third edition	fourth edition	experimental edition

(I) ARABIC LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED BY MOE 2017-2019

#	Year	Title with English Translation	Type	Part	Year of Publication	Academic Year	Edition
1	1	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	second
2	1	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	second
3	2	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	third
4	2	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	third
5	3	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	third
6	3	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	third
7	4	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	third
8	4	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	third
9	5	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
10	5	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
11	6	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
12	6	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
13	6	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	first
14	6	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF/print	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
15	6	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
16	7	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
17	7	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
18	7	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
19	7	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF/print	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
20	7	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
21	7	دليل معلم / اللغة العربية [Arabic Language Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	first
22	8	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF/print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
23	8	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
24	8	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF/print	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
25	8	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	first
26	9	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
27	9	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	experimental
28	9	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF/print	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental

#	Year	Title with English Translation	Type	Part	Year of Publication	Academic Year	Edition
29	9	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	first
30	10	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
31	10	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
32	10	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF/ print	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
33	10	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
34	11	اللغة العربية (١) / المطالعة والقواعد والعروض والتعبير/ المسار الأكاديمي [The Arabic Language (1): reading, grammar, expression and prosody; academic track]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
35	12	اللغة العربية (١) / المطالعة والقواعد والعروض والتعبير/ المسار الأكاديمي [The Arabic Language (1): reading, grammar, expression and prosody; academic track]	PDF		2019	2018/2019	first

(II) SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED BY MOE 2017–2019

#	Year	Title with English Translation	Type	Part	Year of Publication	Academic Year	Edition
1	1	التّربية الوطنيّة والحياتيّة [National and Life Education]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	second
2	1	التّربية الوطنيّة والحياتيّة [National and Life Education]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	third
3	1	التّربية الوطنيّة والحياتيّة/ دليل المعلم [National and Life Education Teacher Guide]	PDF	I	2016	2016/2017	experimental
4	1	التّربية الوطنيّة والحياتيّة/ دليل المعلم [National and Life Education Teacher Guide]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	second
5	2	التّربية الوطنيّة والحياتيّة [National and Life Education]	PDF	I	2018	2016/2017	second
6	2	التّربية الوطنيّة والحياتيّة [National and Life Education]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	third
7	2	التّربية الوطنيّة والحياتيّة/ دليل المعلم [National and Life Education Teacher Guide]	PDF	I	2016	2016/2017	experimental
8	2	التّربية الوطنيّة والحياتيّة/ دليل المعلم [National and Life Education Teacher Guide]	PDF	I	2018	2016/2017	second
9	3	التنشئة الوطنية والاجتماعية [National and Social Upbringing]	PDF	I	2018	2016/2017	first
10	3	التنشئة الوطنية والاجتماعية [National and Social Upbringing]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	first
11	4	التنشئة الوطنية والاجتماعية [National and Social Upbringing]	PDF	I	2018	2016/2017	second
12	4	التنشئة الوطنية والاجتماعية [National and Social Upbringing]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	second
13	5	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
14	5	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
15	5	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
16	5	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second

(II) SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED BY MOE 2017–2019 (CONTINUED)

17	6	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
18	6	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
19	6	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
20	6	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	print/scan	II	2019	2017/2018	second
21	7	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
22	7	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
23	7	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	first, experimental
24	7	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
25	9	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	print/scan	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
26	9	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second

(III) HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED BY MOE 2017–2019

#	Year	Title with English Translation	Type	Part	Year of Publication	Academic Year	Edition
1	10	جغرافية فلسطين وتاريخها الحديث والمعاصر [Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History]	print	I	2018	2017/2018	first
2	10	جغرافية فلسطين وتاريخها الحديث والمعاصر [Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
3	10	جغرافية فلسطين وتاريخها الحديث والمعاصر [Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History]	print	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
4	10	جغرافية فلسطين وتاريخها الحديث والمعاصر [Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
5	10	جغرافية فلسطين وتاريخها الحديث والمعاصر/ دليل المعلم [Geography of Palestine and its Modern and Contemporary History Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
6	11	دراسات جغرافية [Geography]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
7	11	دراسات جغرافية [Geography]	PDF	II	2018	2017/2018	first
8	11	دراسات جغرافية [Geography]	PDF	II	2019	2018/2019	second
9	12	دراسات جغرافية [Geography]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
10	12	دراسات جغرافية [Geography]	PDF		2019	2018/2019	first
11	11	الدراسات التاريخية [History]	PDF	I	2018	2018/2019	first
12	11	الدراسات التاريخية [History]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
13	11	الدراسات التاريخية [History]	PDF	II	2019	2019/2018	second
14	12	الدراسات التاريخية [History]	print		2018	2018/2019	experimental
15	12	الدراسات التاريخية [History]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
16	12	الدراسات التاريخية [History]	PDF		2019	2018/2019	first

(IV) RELIGIOUS EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED BY MOE 2017–2019

#	Year	Title with English Translation	Type	Part	Year of Publication	Academic Year	Edition
1	1	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	third
2	2	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	third
3	3	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	third
4	4	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	second
5	4	التّربية الإسلاميّة / (دليل المعلم) [Islamic Education Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
6	4	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	third
7	5	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
8	5	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	first
9	6	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
10	6	التّربية الإسلاميّة / (دليل المعلم) [Islamic Education Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
11	7	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
12	8	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
13	8	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
14	8	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	print	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
15	8	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
16	9	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
17	9	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2018	2018/2019	first
18	9	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2019	2018/2019	second
19	9	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	print	II	2018	2017/2018	first
20	9	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	first
21	10	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	print	I	2018	2017/2018	first
22	10	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
23	10	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
24	10	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	print	II	2018	2017/2018	first
25	10	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	II	2018	2017/2018	first
26	11	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	first
27	11	التّربية الإسلاميّة / "دليل المعلم" [Islamic Education Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
28	12	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
29	6	االتربية المسيحية / الحياة المسيحية [Christian Education. The Christian Life]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	first
30	7	التربية المسيحية / يسوع فادينا [Christian Education. Jesus Our Redeemer]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	first
31	8	التّربية المسيحيّة / كنيستنا [Christian education. Our Church]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	first
32	9	التّربية المسيحيّة / النمو في الإيمان [Christian education. Growing in Faith]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	first
33	10	التّربية المسيحيّة / أنا الطريق والحق والحياة [Christian education. I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	first
34	12	التّربية المسيحيّة / السيد المسيح البداية والنهاية [Christian education. The Messiah, the Beginning and the End]	PDF		2019	2018/2019	first

(V) MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL SCIENCES TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED BY MOE 2017–2019

#	Year	Title with English Translation	Type	Part	Year of Publication	Academic Year	Edition
1	1	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	third
2	2	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	print	II	2018	2016/2017	first
3	2	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	second
4	3	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	print	II	2018	2017/2018	first
5	3	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
6	4	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	print	I	2018	2016/2017	second
7	4	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PFD	I	2019	2016/2017	third
8	5	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	I	2018	2016/2017	first
9	5	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	second
10	6	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
11	6	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
12	7	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
13	7	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
14	7	رياضيات / دليل المعلم [Mathematics Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	first
15	8	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
16	8	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
17	8	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
18	8	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	print	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
19	8	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
20	9	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF/ print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
21	9	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
22	9	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
23	9	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	print	II	2018	2017/2018	first
24	9	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
25	10	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF/ print	I	2017	2017/2018	experimental
26	10	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
27	10	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF/ print	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
28	10	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
29	10	دليل المعلم/ الرياضيات [Mathematics Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	first
30	10	الرياضيات / المهني [Mathematics; vocational track]	PDF		2018	2017/2018	first
31	10	الرياضيات / المهني (Mathematics; vocational track)	PDF		2019	2017/2018	second
32	11	الرياضيات / الفرع الأدبي والشرعي [Mathematics; humanities and sharia tracks]	PDF/ print		2018	2017/2018	first

33	11	دليل رياضيات / الأدبي والشرعي [Mathematics Teacher Guide; humanities and sharia tracks]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	first
34	12	الرياضيات / الفرع الأدبي والشرعي [Mathematics; humanities and sharia tracks]	print		2018	2018/2019	experimental
35	12	الرياضيات / الفرع الأدبي والشرعي [Mathematics; humanities and sharia tracks]	PDF		2019	2018/2019	first
36	3	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	third
37	4	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	II	2019	2016/2017	third
38	4	العلوم والحياة / دليل المعلم [Science and Life Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
39	7	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	I	2018	2017/2018	first
40	7	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
41	7	العلوم والحياة / دليل المعلم [Science and Life Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
42	8	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	print	I	2017	2016/2017	experimental
43	8	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	I	2018	2016/2017	first
44	8	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	second
45	8	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF/ print	II	2017	2017/2018	first, experimental
46	8	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
47	8	العلوم والحياة/ دليل المعلم [Science and Life Teacher Guide]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
48	9	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF/ print	I	2018	2017/2018	first
49	9	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	I	2019	2017/2018	second
50	9	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	II	2017	2017/2018	experimental
51	9	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	print	II	2018	2017/2018	second
52	9	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
53	10	العلوم الحياتية [Life Sciences]	print		2017	2017/2018	experimental
54	10	العلوم الحياتية [Life Sciences]	PDF		2018	2017/2018	first
55	10	العلوم الحياتية [Life Sciences]	PDF		2019	2017/2018	second
56	11	العلوم الحياتية / العلمي والزراعي [Life Sciences; scientific and agricultural tracks]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
57	11	دليل المعلم / العلوم الحياتية / العلمي والزراعي [Life Sciences Teacher Guide; scientific and agricultural tracks]	PDF		2018	2018/2019	experimental
58	12	العلوم الحياتية/ العلمي والزراعي [Life Sciences; scientific and agricultural tracks]	PDF		2019	2018/2019	experimental
59	11	الكيمياء/ العلمي والزراعي [Chemistry; scientific and agricultural tracks]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second
60	12	الكيمياء/ العلمي والزراعي [Chemistry; scientific and agricultural tracks]	PDF		2019	2018/2019	first
61	11	الفيزياء/ العلمي والصناعي [Physics; scientific and industrial tracks]	PDF	II	2019	2017/2018	second

(VI) TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED BY MOE IN 2020

#	Year	Title with English Translation	Type	Part	Year of Publication	Academic Year	Edition
1	2	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	II	2020	2016/2017	fourth
2	3	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	II	2020	2016/2017	fourth
3	4	لغتنا الجميلة [Our Beautiful Language]	PDF	II	2020	2016/2017	fourth
4	5	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2020	2017/2018	third
5	5	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	II	2020	2017/2018	third
6	7	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2020	2017/2018	third
7	9	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF	I	2020	2017/2018	second
8	7	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	PDF	II	2020	2017/2018	third
9	10	جغرافية فلسطين وتاريخها الحديث والمعاصر [Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History]	PDF	II	2020	2017/2018	third
10	11	الدراسات التاريخية [History]	PDF	I	2020	2018/2019	third
11	5	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2020	2017/2018	third
12	5	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	II	2020	2017/2018	second
13	10	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2020	2017/2018	third
14	4	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	I	2019	2016/2017	third
15	9	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	PDF	I	2020	2017/2018	third
16	11	الرياضيات / الفرع الأدبي والشرعي [Mathematics; humanities and sharia tracks]	PDF		2020	2017/2018	third
17	7	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	I	2020	2017/2018	third
18	8	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	PDF	I	2020	2016/2017	third

(VII) TEXTBOOKS AMENDED BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES

#	Year	Title with English Translation	Type	Part	Year of Publication	Academic Year	Edition
1	7	اللغة العربية [The Arabic Language]	PDF/scan	II	2019	2018/2019	second
2	6	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	print/scan	II	2019	2017/2018	second
3	9	الدّراسات الإجتماعيّة [Social Studies]	print/scan	I	2018	2017/2018	first
4	10	جغرافية فلسطين وتاريخها الحديث والمعاصر [Palestine's Geography and its Modern and Contemporary History]	PDF/scan	I	2018	2017/2018	first
5	9	التّربية الإسلاميّة [Islamic Education]	PDF	I	2019	2018/2019	first
6	2	الرياضيات [Mathematics]	print	I	2018	2016/2017	second
7	8	العلوم والحياة [Science and Life]	print	I	2018	2016/2017	first

10 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abufarha, Nasser. 2008. 'Land of Symbols: Cactus, Poppies, Orange and Olive Trees in Palestine.' *Identities* 15 (3): p. 343–368. doi:10.1080/10702890802073274.

[Adwan, Sami, Daniel Bar-Tal, and Bruce E. Wexler]. 2013. 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?' Portrayal of the "Other" in Israeli and Palestinian School Books', Study Report, February 4, 2013. Accessed December 15, 2020. https://israelipalestinianschoolbooks.blogspot.com/.

Adwan, Sami, Daniel Bar-Tal, and Bruce E. Wexler. 2016. 'Portrayal of the Other in Palestinian and Israeli Schoolbooks: A Comparative Study.' *Political Psychology* 37 (2): p. 201–217. doi:10.1111/pops.12227.

Agassi, Arik, Asher Spekterman, and Dina Tsamir. 2020. *Palestinian Authority Curriculum 2019-20*, Grades 8-10. IMPACT-se Report, Ramat Gan. Accessed September 20, 2020. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1zDeyc4lswFU_7wmLtJ_ksAXmaZIf0LVO/view.

Ahlrichs, Johanna, Katharina Baier, Barbara Christophe, Felicitas Macgilchrist, Patrick Mielke, and Roman Richtera. 2015. 'Memory Practices in the Classroom: On Reproducing, Destabilizing and Interrupting Majority Memories.' *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 7 (2): p. 89–109. doi:10.3167/jemms.2015.070206.

Åkerlund, Anna. 2005. *Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace: Experience and Ideas of Swedish Civil Society Organisations*. Sida studies 13. Stockholm: Sida.

Alayan, Samira. 2015. 'The Holocaust in Palestinian Textbooks: Differences and Similarities in Israel and Palestine.' *Comparative Education Review*, 60 (1): p. 80–104.

———. 2018. 'White Pages: Israeli Censorship of Palestinian Textbooks in East Jerusalem.' *Social Semiotics* 28 (4): p. 512–532. doi:10.1080/10350330.2017.1339470.

———. 2018. 'Zionism as the Other in Curricula and Textbooks of the Palestinian National Authority,' In *Multiple Alterities. Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East*, edited by Elie Podeh and Samira Alayan. Palgrave Studies in Educational Media, p. 79–97. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2019. *Education in East Jerusalem. Occupation, Political Power, and Struggle*. London: Routledge.

Allen, Lori A. 2009. 'Jihad: Arab States.' In *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures*. Accessed August 18, 2020. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1872-5309_ewic_EWICCOM_0098a.

Allweil, Yael. 2017. 'West Bank Settlement and the Transformation of Zionist Housing Ethos from Shelter to Act of Violence.' *Footprint* 19 (2016): p. 13–36. doi:10.7480/footprint.10.2.1158.

American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise. 1998-2020. 'Israel-Palestinian Peace Process: Letters of Mutual Recognition (September 9, 1993).' Jewish Virtual Library. Accessed October 29, 2020. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/israel-palestinian-letters-of-mutual-recognition-september-1993.

———. 1998-2020. 'Maps of Palestine Partition Plans: U.N. Partition Plan (September 1947). ' Jewish Virtual Library. Accessed October 22, 2020. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/map-of-the-u-n-partition-plan-2.

Auron, Yair. 2016. 'Breaking the Silence: The Poem That Exposed Israeli War Crimes in 1948.' Ha'aretz, 18 March 2016. Accessed October 21, 2020. https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-the-poem-that-exposed-atrocities-perpetrated-by-israel-in-48-1.5418995.

Bar-Tal, Daniel. 1998. 'Societal Beliefs in Times of Intractable Conflict: The Israeli Case.' *International Journal of Conflict Management* 9 (1): p. 22–50. doi:10.1108/eb022803.

Bar-Tal, Daniel, Yigal Rosen, and Rafi Nets-Zehngut. 2010. 'Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Goals, Conditions, and Directions.' In *Handbook on Peace Education*, edited by Gavriel Salomon and Edward Cairns, p. 21–44. New York: Psychology Press.

Bentrovato, Denise. 2017. *Learning to Live Together in Africa Through History Education: An Analysis of School Curricula and Stakeholders' Perspectives*. Eckert. Expertise 8. Göttingen: V&R unipress.

Bentrovato, Denise, Karina V. Korostelina, and Martina Schulze, eds. 2016. *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies*. Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe 141. Göttingen: V&R unipress.

Benwell, Matthew C. 2014. 'From the Banal to the Blatant: Expressions of Nationalism in Secondary Schools in Argentina and the Falkland Islands.' *Geoforum* 52 (1): p. 51–60. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2013.12.006.

Bettman, Ellen H., and Pamela Moore. 1994. 'Conflict Resolution Programs and Social Justice.' *Education and Urban Society* 27 (1): p. 11–21.

Bhattacharya, Neeladri. 1996. 'Preface.' In *Learning from Conflict*, edited by Krishna Kumar, ix–x. Tracts for the times 10. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

———. 2009. 'Teaching History in Schools: The Politics of Textbooks in India.' *History Workshop Journal* 67 (1): p. 99–110. doi:10.1093/hwj/dbn050.

Bickmore, Kathy. 1999. 'Teaching Conflict and Conflict Resolution in School: (Extra-)Curricular Considerations.' In *How Children Understand War and Peace: A Call for International Peace Education*, edited by Amiram Raviv, Louis Oppenheimer and Daniel Bar-Tal, p. 233–259. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bird, Lyndsay. 2007. 'Learning About War and Peace in the Great Lakes Region of Africa.' *Research in Comparative and International Education* 2 (3): p. 176–189. doi:10.2304/rcie.2007.2.3.176.

Bosniak, Linda. 2000. 'Citizenship Denationalized (The State of Citizenship Symposium).' *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 7 (2): p. 447–509.

———. 2006. *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. Accessed September 30, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/j.ctt7s254.

Britzman, Deborah. 1992. 'Decentering Discourses in Teacher Education: Or the Unleashing of Unpopular Things.' In *What Schools Can Do: Critical Pedagogy and Practice*, edited by Kathleen Weiler and Candace Mitchell, p. 151–175. SUNY series, Teacher empowerment and school reform. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Bromley, Patricia. 2009. 'Cosmopolitanism in Civic Education: Exploring Cross-National Trends, 1970-2008.' *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 12 (1): p. 33–44.

Bromley, Patricia, and Julia Lerch. 2018. 'Human Rights as Cultural Globalisation. The Rise of Human Rights in Textbooks, 1890-2013.' In *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, edited by Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock, p. 345–356. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.

Bromley, Patricia, John W. Meyer, and Francisco O. Ramirez. 2011. 'The Worldwide Spread of Environmental Discourse in Social Studies, History, and Civics Textbooks, 1970–2008.' *Comparative Education Review* 55 (4): p. 517–545. doi:10.1086/660797.

Brown, Graham K. 2011. 'The Influence of Education on Violent Conflict and Peace: Inequality, Opportunity and the Management of Diversity.' *Prospects* 41 (2): 191–204. doi:10.1007/s11125-011-9186-6.

Brown, Nathan J. 2006. 'Contesting National Identity in Palestinian Education.' In *History's Double Helix*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg, p. 225–243. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 2018. 'Palestine: The Unseen Conflict over the Hidden Curriculum.' In *Multiple Alterities. Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East*, edited by Elie Podeh and Samira Alayan. Palgrave Studies in Educational Media, p. 55–75. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brown, Lorraine. 2009. 'International Education: A Force for Peace and Cross-cultural Understanding?' *Journal of Peace Education* 6 (2): p. 209–224. doi:10.1080/17400200903086672.

Buckner, Elizabeth, and Susan G. Russell. 2013. 'Portraying the Global: Cross-National Trends in Textbooks' Portrayal of Globalization and Global Citizenship.' *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (4): p. 738–750. doi:10.1111/isqu.12078.

Bush, Kenneth D., and Diana Saltarelli. 2000. *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde. 1998. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Cajani, Luigi, Simone Lässig, and Maria Repoussi, eds. 2019. *The Palgrave Handbook of Conflict and History Education in the Post-Cold War Era*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Campbell, David. 2005. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Rev. edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Cole, Elisabeth A., and Judy Barsalou. 2006. 'Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict.' *USIP Special Report* 163. Accessed September 25, 2020. https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/sr163.pdf.

Cole, Elizabeth A., ed. 2007. *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Cook, David. 2007. *Martyrdom in Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Colston, Nicole M., and Jacqueline M. Vadjunec. 2015. 'A Critical Political Ecology of Consensus: On "Teaching Both Sides" of Climate Change Controversies.' *Geopolitics* 65 (1): p. 255–265. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.08.006.

Curle, Adam, and Maire A. Dugan. 1982. 'Peacemaking: Stages and Sequence.' *Peace and Change* 8 (2/3): p. 19–28. doi:10.1111/j.1468-0130.1982.tb00645.x.

Davies, Lynn. 2010. 'The Different Faces of Education in Conflict.' *Development Outreach* 53 (4): p. 491–97. doi:10.1057/dev.2010.69.

Dimou, Augusta, ed. 2009. *'Transition' and the Politics of History Education in Southeast Europe*. Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe 124. Göttingen: V&R unipress.

Emerson, Ann. 2018. 'The Making of the (Il)Legitimate Citizen: The Case of the Pakistan Studies Textbook.' *Global Change, Peace & Security* 30 (3): p. 295–311. doi:10.1080/14781158.2018.1501011.

Fennimore, Beatrice S. 1997. 'When Mediation and Equity Are at Odds: Potential Lessons in Democracy.' *Theory into Practice* 36 (1): p. 59–64.

Firer, Ruth. 1998. 'Human Rights in History and Civics Textbooks: The Case of Israel.' *Curriculum Inquiry* 28 (2): p. 195–208. doi:10.1111/0362-6784.00084.

Firer, Ruth, and Sami Adwan. 2004. *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in History and Civics Textbooks of Both Nations*. Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung 110, 1. Hanover: Hahn.

Friedman, Marilyn. 2000. 'Educating for World Citizenship.' *Ethics* 110 (3): p. 586–601. doi:10.1086/233325.

Fuchs, Eckhardt. 2007. 'The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s.' *Paedagogica Historica* 43 (2): p. 199–209. doi:10.1080/00309230701248305.

———. 2011. 'Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research.' *Journal of International Cooperation in Education* 14 (2): p. 17–34.

Fukuoka, Kazuya. 2011. 'School History Textbooks and Historical Memories in Japan: A Study of Reception.' *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 24 (3-4): p. 83–103. doi:10.1007/s10767-011-9113-0.

Galtung, Johan. 2007. 'Introduction: Peace by Peaceful Conflict Transformation – the TRANSCEND Approach.' In *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, edited by Charles Webel and Johan Galtung, p. 14–32. London, New York: Routledge.

Gaudelli, William, and William R. Fernekes. 2004. 'Teaching About Global Human Rights for Global Citizenship: Action Research in the Social Studies Curriculum.' *Social Studies* 95 (1): p. 16–26. doi:10.3200/TSSS.95.1.16-26.

Gelvin, James L. 2014. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict. One Hundred Years of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2019. 'Inception Report for a Study on Palestinian Textbooks.' Inception Report. Accessed September 30, 2020. http://www.uklfi.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Inception_report.pdf.

Goldziher, Ignaz. 1890. *Muhammedanische Studien: Zweiter Theil*. Halle a. d. S.: Max Niemeyer.

Goudie, Kenneth A. 2019. *Reinventing Jihād. Jihād Ideology from the Conquest of Jerusalem to the end of the Ayyūbids (c. 492/1099–647/1249)*. Leiden: Brill.

Graff, Gerald. 1992. *Beyond the Culture Wars: How Teaching the Conflicts Can Revitalize American Education*. New York: WW Norton.

Greenberg, Joel. 1995. 'Palestinian "Martyrs": Defiant and so Willing.' *The New York Times*, January 25, 1995. Accessed October 30, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/1995/01/25/world/palestinian-martyrs-defiant-and-so-willing.html.

Groiss, Arnon, and Ronni Shaked. 2017. 'ספרי הלימוד של הרשות הפלסטינית, ההתייחסות ליהודים, לישראל ולשלום' [Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority: The Attitude to the Jews, to Israel and to Peace]. Accessed February 14, 2019. https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/MSPS_141_HE.pdf.

Guichard, Sylvie. 2010. *The Construction of History and Nationalism: Textbooks*, Controversies and Politics. Abington, New York: Routledge.

Hakvoort, Ilse. 2010. 'Peace Education in Regions of Tranquillity.' In H*andbook on Peace Education*, edited by Gavriel Salomon and Edward Cairns, p. 287–301. New York: Psychology Press.

Hardy, Cynthia, Nelson Phillips, and Bill Harley. 2004. 'Discourse analysis and content analysis: two solitudes?' *Qualitative & Multi-method Research* 2 (1), p. 19–22.

Harmat, Gal. 2020. *Intersectional Pedagogy: Creative Education Practices for Gender and Peace Work*. London: Routledge.

Haslam, Nick. 2006. 'Dehumanization: An Integrative Review.' *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10 (3): p. 252–264. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_4.

Hilker, Lyndsay M. 2011. 'The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace: The Case of Rwanda.' *Prospects* 41 (2): p. 267–282. doi:10.1007/s11125-011-9193-7.

hooks, bell. 1994. T*eaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge.

Howlett, Charles F., and Ian M. Harris. 2010. *Books, Not Bombs: Teaching Peace since the Dawn of the Republic*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Ibn Qayyim Jawziyya. 1390/1992. *Zād al-maʿād fī Hady Khayr al-ʿibād*, edited by Nazīh Kamāl Ḥammād et al., 3 vol., Damaskus: dār al-qalam.

Ide, Tobias. 2016. 'Critical Geopolitics and School Textbooks: The Case of Environment-Conflict Links in Germany.' *Political Geography* 55 (1): p. 61–70. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2016.07.002.

———. 2016. 'Towards a constructivist understanding of socio-environmental conflicts'. *Civil Wars* 18 (1): p. 69–90.

Ide, Tobias, Adrien Detges, and Timo Leimeister. 2019. 'Securitisation Through the Schoolbook? On Facilitating Conditions for and Audience Dispositions Towards the Securitisation of Climate Change.' *Journal of International Relations and Development* 22 (3): p. 532–559. doi:10.1057/s41268-017-0116-y.

Ide, Tobias, Jakob Kirchheimer, and Denise Bentrovato. 2018. 'School Textbooks, Peace and Conflict: An Introduction.' *Global Change, Peace and Security* 30 (3): p. 287–294.

IMPACT-se. 2011. 'Israel, the West, Women and the Environment in Palestinian Textbooks: An Analysis of Palestinian Authority Textbooks Grades 1-12.' Accessed September 28, 2020. https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/PA2011.pdf.

———. 2016. 'About Us.' Accessed September 17, 2020. https://www.impact-se.org/about-us/.

———. 2019. 'The Rejection of Peace: References to Peace Agreements, Israel, and Jews, Now Removed from PA Curriculum: Grades 1–12—Pre-2016.' Selected Examples. Accessed September 28, 2020. https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/Rejection-of-Peace_-Changes-from-Pre-2016-PA-Curricula.pdf.

Ingrao, Charles. 2009. 'Weapons of Mass Instruction: Schoolbooks and Democratization in Multiethnic Central Europe.' *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1 (1): p. 180–189. doi:10.3167/jemms.2009.010111.

Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information. 2004. 'Report II: Analysis and Evaluation of the New Palestinian Curriculum. Reviewing Palestinian Textbooks and Tolerance Education Program, Grades 4 and 9.' Accessed April 10, 2019. https://issuu.com/ipcri/docs/analysis_and_evaluation_of_the_new__435079b984ac19.

Jabri, Vivienne. 1996. *Discourses on Violence: Conflict Analysis Reconsidered*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Jackson, Richard, and Helen Dexter. 2014. 'The Social Construction of Organised Political Violence: An Analytical Framework.' *Civil Wars* 16 (1): p. 1–23. doi:10.1080/13698249.2014.904982.

Jussim, Lee, Richard Ashmore, and David Wilder. 2001. 'Introduction: Social Identity and Intergroup Conflict.' In *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*, edited by Richard D. Ashmore, Lee J. Jussim, and David Wilder, p. 3–14. Rutgers series on self and social identity 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kahne, Joseph, and Benjamin Bowyer. 2018. 'The Political Significance of Social Media Activity and Social Networks.' *Political Communication* 35 (3): p. 470–493. doi:10.1080/1058 4609.2018.1426662.

Kaufman, Stuart J. 2001. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Cornell studies in security affairs. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press.

Keller, Reiner. 2013. *Doing discourse research: an introduction for social scientists*. London: SAGE.

Khoury, Nadim. 2016. 'National Narratives and the Oslo Peace Process: How Peacebuilding Paradigms Address Conflicts over History.' *Nations and Nationalism* 22 (3): p. 415–446.

King, Elisabeth. 2017. 'What Framing Analysis Can Teach Us About History Textbooks, Peace, and Conflict: The Case of Rwanda.' In *(Re)Constructing Memory: Education, Identity, and Conflict*, edited by Michelle J. Bellino and James H. Williams, p. 23–48. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Klausner, Samuel Z. (1987) 2005. 'Martyrdom.' In *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Lindsay Jones. 2. ed., p. 5737–5744. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA.

Knesset Research and Information Centre. 2010. 'סוגיית התכנים של ספרי הלימוד הפלסטיניים: היחס ליהודים, לישראל ולשלום' [The Question of Content in Palestinian Textbooks: Attitudes towards Jews, Israel and Peace]. Accessed October 31, 2020. https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/535b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977/2_535b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977_11_7890.pdf.

Knesset Research and Information Centre. 2010. יובל וורגן, 'מערכת החינוך במזרח-ירושלים: כיתות לימוד ותוכניות לימודים' [The East Jerusalem Education System: Classrooms and Curricula]. Accessed October 31, 2020. https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/bf5b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977/2_bf5b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977_11_9430.pdf.

Knesset Research and Information Centre. 2013. 'חומרי הלימוד ברשות הפלסטינית ויחסם לישראל: מסמך עדכון' [Teaching Materials Produced by the Palestinian Authority and the Attitudes They Display towards Israel. Updated Document]. Accessed October 31, 2020. https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/335c6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977/2_335c6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977_11_7424.pdf.

Korf, Benedikt. 2006. 'Who Is the Rogue? Discourse, Power and Spatial Politics in Post-War Sri Lanka.' *Political Geography* 25 (3): p. 279–297. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2005.12.007.

Korostelina, Karina V. 2007. *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures, Dynamics, and Implications*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Korostelina, Karina V., and Simone Lässig, eds. 2013. *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*. London, New York: Routledge.

Kriesberg, Louis. 2003. Constructive *Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*. 2. ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Krippendorff, Klaus. 2004. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. 2. ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Kuriansky, Judy. 2006. *Terror in the Holy Land: Inside the Anguish of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Contemporary psychology. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Lässig, Simone. 2009. 'Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s).' *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1 (1): p. 1–20. doi:10.3167/jemms.2009.010101.

Leach, Fiona, and Máiréad Dunne, eds. 2007. *Education, Conflict and Reconciliation: International Perspectives*. Oxford: Lang.

Lynch, Kathleen. 2000. 'Research and Theory on Equality and Education.' In *Handbook of the Sociology of Education*, edited by Maureen T. Hallinan, p. 85–105. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Manna, Adel, and Motti Golani. 2011. *Two Sides of the Coin: Independence and Nakba 1948. Two Narratives of the 1948 War and Its Outcome*, English-Hebrew Edition, Dordrecht: Republic of Letters Publishing.

Mazawi, André Elias. 2011. '"Which Palestine should we teach?" Signatures, Palimpsests, and Struggles over School Textbooks.' *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 30 (2): p. 169–183.

McCully, Alan. 2010. 'The Contribution of History Teaching to Peace Building.' In *Handbook on Peace Education*, edited by Gavriel Salomon and Edward Cairns, p. 213–222. New York: Psychology Press.

McDoom, Omar Shahabudin. 2012. 'The Psychology of Threat in Intergroup Conflict: Emotions, Rationality, and Opportunity in the Rwandan Genocide.' *International Security* 37 (2): p. 119–155. doi:10.1162/ISEC_a_00100.

Meyer, John W., Patricia Bromley, and Francisco O. Ramirez. 2010. 'Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks: Cross-National Analyses, 1970-2008.' *Sociology of Education* 83 (2): p. 111–134. doi:10.1177/0038040710367936.

Monaghan, Chrissie, and Carol A. Spreen. 2017. 'From Human Rights to Global Citizenship Education: Movement, Migration, Conflict and Capitalism in the Classroom. ' In *Globalisation, Human Rights Education and Reforms*, edited by Joseph Zajda and Sev Ozdowski, p. 35–53. Dordrecht: Springer.

Moon, Rennie J., and Jeong-Woo Koo. 2011. 'Global Citizenship and Human Rights: A Longitudinal Analysis of Social Studies and Ethics Textbooks in the Republic of Korea.' *Comparative Education Review* 55 (4): p. 574–599. doi:10.1086/660796.

Morris, Benny. 2004. *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mosvold, Reidar. 2005. 'Mathematics in Everyday Life. A Study of Norwegian Teachers' Beliefs and Actions Concerning the Connection with Mathematics and Everyday Life.' PhD thesis, Department of Mathematics, University of Bergen. Accessed September 25, 2020. https://de.scribd.com/doc/506952/Mathematics-in-everyday-life-A-study-of-beliefs-and-actions.

Moughrabi, Fouad. 2001. 'The Politics of Palestinian Textbooks.' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 31 (1): p. 5–19.

Mulch, Klaus et al. 2016. *Islam unter christlicher Lupe – Theorie und Praxis kompakt dargestellt, christlich bewertet*. 2nd ed. Dortmund: Orientdienst e.V.

Naseem, Muhammad A., and Georg Stöber. 2014. 'Introduction: Textbooks, Identity Politics, and Lines of Conflict in South Asia.' *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6 (2): p. 1–9. doi:10.3167/jemms.2014.060201.

Neumann, Iver B. 1999. *Uses of the Other: The 'East' in European Identity Formation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Niens, Ulrike, Jackie Reilly, and Alan Smith. 2006. 'Human Rights Education as Part of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland.' *Journal of Social Science Education* 5 (1): p. 106–116. doi:10.4119/jsse-376.

Nirenberg, David. 2013. *Anti-Judaism. The History of a Way of Thinking*. London: Head of Zeus.

Nordbruch, Götz. 2003. 'Forming Palestinian Society. The Narration of the Nation in the New Palestinian Textbooks.' In *Contested Past, Disputed Present: Curricula and Teaching in Israeli and Palestinian Schools*, edited by Falk Pingel, p. 83–98. Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung 110, 2. Hanover: Hahn.

Obura, Anna. 2003. *Never Again: Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*. Paris: International Institute of Educational Planning.

Osler, Audrey, and Chalank Yahya. 2013. 'Challenges and Complexity in Human Rights Education.' *Education Inquiry* 4 (1): p. 189–210. doi:10.3402/edui.v4i1.22068.

Østby, Gudrun, Henrik Urdal, and Kendra Dupuy. 2019. 'Does Education Lead to Pacification? A Systematic Review of Statistical Studies on Education and Political Violence.' *Review of Educational Research* 89 (1): p. 46–92. doi:10.3102/0034654318800236.

'The Palestinian National Charter: Resolutions of the Palestine National Council July 1-17, 1968'. The Avalon Project. Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. Accessed October 22, 2020. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/plocov.asp.

Pardo, Eldad J. (2016) 2017. 'The PA Educational System: In the Shadow of the Terror Wave. An Interim Report.' Revised February 2017. Accessed September 28, 2020. https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/The-PA-Educational-System-2016-Revised.pdf.

———. 2018. 'The New Palestinian Curriculum, 2018–19, Update – Grades 1–12.' IMPACT-se Report. Accessed October 20, 2020. http://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/The-New-PA-2018-Curriculum_Grades-1-12.pdf.

Paulson, Julia. 2015. '"Whether and How?" History Education About Recent Conflict: A Review of Research.' *Journal of Education in Emergencies* 1 (1): p. 7–37.

Pepin, Birgit, and Linda Haggarty. 2001. 'Mathematics Textbooks and Their Use in English, French and German Classrooms: A Way to Understand Teaching and Learning Cultures.' *Mathematics Education* 33 (5): p. 158–175. doi:10.1007/BF02656616.

Peteet, Julie. 1991. *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Peters, R. 'Shahīd.' In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by P. Bearman, Thierry Bianquis, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, E. van Donzel and Wolfhart P. Heinrichs. New edition. Leiden: Brill.

Pettigrew, Thomas F. 1979. 'The Ultimate Attribution Error: Extending Allport's Cognitive Analysis of Prejudice.' *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 5 (4): p. 461–476. doi:10.1177/014616727900500407.

Pina, Aaron D. 2006. 'Palestinian Education and the Debate over Textbooks.' CRS Report for Congress. Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service. Accessed April 19, 2019. https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metacrs9379/.

Pingel, Falk, ed. 2003. *Contested Past, Disputed Present: Curricula and Teaching in Israeli and Palestinian Schools*. Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung 110, 2. Hanover: Hahn.

Podeh, Elie. 2005. 'The Right of Return versus the Law of Return: Contrasting Historical Narratives in Israeli and Palestinian Textbooks.' In *Exile and Return: Predicaments of Palestinians and Jews*, edited by Ann M. Lesch and Ian S. Lustick, p. 41–56, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Podeh, Elie and Samira Alayan, eds. 2018. *Multiple Alterities. Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East*. Palgrave Studies in Educational Media. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Porat, Dan A. 2004. 'It's Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened: Students' Cultural Comprehension of Textbook Narratives on the Israeli–Arab Conflict.' *American Educational Research Journal* 41 (4): p. 963–996. doi:10.3102/00028312041004963.

Porat, Dina. 2015. 'The Road to an Internationally Accepted Definition of Antisemitism.' In *The Yale Papers: Antisemitism in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Charles A. Small. New York: Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy.

Prutzman, Priscilla, and Judith Johnson. 1997. 'Bias Awareness and Multiple Perspectives: Essential Aspects of Conflict Resolution.' *Theory into Practice* 36 (1): p. 26–31. doi:10.1080/00405849709543741.

Quartermaine, Angela. 2016. 'Discussing Terrorism: A Pupil-Inspired Guide to UK Counter-Terrorism Policy Implementation in Religious Education Classrooms in England.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 38 (1): p. 13–29. doi:10.1080/01416200.2014.953911.

Ramirez, Francisco O., Patricia Bromley, and Susan Garnett Russell. 2009. 'The Valorization of Humanity and Diversity.' *Multicultural Education Review* 1 (1): p. 29–54. doi:10.1080/23770031.2009.11102862.

Rickenbacher, Daniel. 2018. 'Der "jüdisch-westliche Krieg gegen den Islam" – Genealogie und Aktualität einer Verschwörungstheorie.' In *Antisemitismus im 21. Jahrhundert. Virulenz einer alten Feindschaft in Zeiten von Islamismus und Terror*, edited by Marc Grimm and Bodo Kahmann. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, p. 157–177.

Robiolle Moul, Tina. 2017. 'Promotion and Implementation of Global Citizenship Education in Crisis Situations.' Accessed October 30, 2020. https://www.gcedclearinghouse.org/sites/default/files/resources/252771e.pdf.

Rohde, Achim. 2018. 'Teaching History in Israel-Palestine.' In *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, edited by Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, p. 353–370.

Rohde, Achim, and Samira Alayan. 2012. 'Introduction.' In *The Politics of Education Reform in the Middle East: Self and Other in Textbook and Curricula*, edited by Samira Alayan,

Achim Rohde and Sarhan Dhouib, p. 1–14. Self and Other in Textbooks and Curricula. New York: Berghahn Books.

Rotberg, Robert I. ed. 2006. *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix*. Indiana series in Middle East Studies. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Rothbart, Daniel, and Karina V. Korostelina. 2006. *Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Salomon, Gavriel, and Edward Cairns, eds. 2010. *Handbook on Peace Education*. New York: Psychology Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 2007. *A Sociology of Globalization*. Contemporary societies series. New York: Norton.

Schäfer, Peter. 2020. *Kurze Geschichte des Antisemitismus*, München: C. H. Beck.

Scheffler, Thomas. 2003. 'Helden, Märtyrer, Selbstmord-attentäter: Zur Religiösen Semantik des Heldentods.' In *Religion, Staat und Politik im Vorderen Orient: Festschrift für Friedemann Büttner*, edited by Amr Hamzawy and Ferhad Ibrahim, p. 89–109. Münster, Hamburg, London: Lit.

Schroeter, Daniel J. 2018. '"Islamic Anti-Semitism" in Historical Discourse,' *The American Historical Review* 123 (4): p. 1172–1189.

Schulz, Daniel. 2009. *Dürfen Muslime sich selbst töten? Das Suizid-Verbot in der islamischen Theologie und dem islamischen Recht*. Marburg: Tectum.

Seidensticker, Tilman. 2002. 'Die Transformation des Christlichen Märtyrerbegriffs im Islam.' In *Märtyrer Und Märtyrerakten*, edited by Walter Ameling, p. 137–148. Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 6. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Seitz, Klaus. 2004. *Education and Conflict: The Role of Education in the Creation, Prevention and Resolution of Societal Crises – Consequences for Development Cooperation*. Eschborn: GTZ.

'Shahīd.' In *Hans Wehr: A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, edited by Milton J. Cowan. 4th ed., 571. London: Macdonald & Evans Ltd.

Somers, Margaret R. 2008. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to Have Rights*. Cambridge cultural social studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Soysal, Yasemin N. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Staeheli, Lynn A., and Daniel Hammett. 2013. '"For the Future of the Nation": Citizenship, Nation, and Education in South Africa.' *Political Geography* 32 (1): p. 32–41. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2012.11.003.

Standish, Katerina. 2016. 'Looking for Peace in National Curriculum: The PECA Project in New Zealand.' *Journal of Peace Education* 13 (1): p. 18–40. doi:10.1080/17400201.2015.1100110.

State of Palestine Ministry of Education. 2020. 'Ongoing Incitement Against the Palestinian Curricula: Position Paper II.' Position Paper, March 2020.

State of Palestine Ministry of Education and Higher Education/ National Committee for Education Reform. n.d. '"Position Paper": Curriculum & Incitement.' Position Paper.

———. 2017. 'Education Sector Strategic Plan 2017-2022: An Elaboration of the Education Development Strategic Plan III (2014-2019).' Accessed September 28, 2020. https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/planipolis/files/ ressources/palestine_education_sector_strategic_plan_ 2017-2022.pdf.

Štimac, Zrinka. 2017. 'Ignore the War, Concentrate on Peace – Textbook Analysis of Strategies in Post-Conflict Societies – a Praxeological Approach.' In *Textbook Violence*, edited by James R. Lewis, Bengt-Ove Andreassen and Suzanne A. Thobro, p. 55–74. Sheffield, UK: Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Tajfel, Henri, and John Turner. 1986. 'The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior.' In *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, edited by Stephen Worchel and William G. Austin. 2nd ed., p. 7–24. The Nelson-Hall series in psychology. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Tawil, Sobhi, and Alexandra Harley, eds. 2004. *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*. Geneva: UNESCO.

Tyan, Emile. 2012. 'Djihād.' In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by P. Bearman, Thierry Bianquis, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, E. van Donzel and Wolfhart P. Heinrichs. New edition. Leiden: Brill.

UNESCO. 1995–2016. 'Global Education First Initiative.' Accessed October 28, 2020. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/gefi/home/.

———. 2011. *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education. Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011*. Paris: UNESCO.

———. 2013. 'Outcome Document of the Technical Consultation on Global Citizenship Education: Global Citizenship Education: An Emerging Perspective.' ED/2013/PSD/PHR/PI/4. Accessed October 31, 2020. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000224115?posInSet=2&queryId=11545292-da6a-470b-a951-edd9b386aa2f.

———. 2014. *Textbooks and Learning Resources: Guidelines for Developers and Users*. ED-2013/WS/37. Paris: UNESCO.

———. 2015. *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives*. Paris: UNESCO.

———. 2017. 'The ABCs of Global Citizenship Education.' ED/IPS/ESG/2017/03. Accessed October 31, 2020. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000248232.

UNESCO/Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development. 2017. *Textbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding*. New Delhi: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.

United Nations, General Assembly. 1948. '194 (III). Palestine – Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator.' A/RES/194 (III). December 11, 1948. Accessed October 30, 2020. https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/C758572B78D1CD0085256BCF0077E51A.

United Nations, General Assembly. 2019. 'Situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967.' A/74/507. 21 October 2019. Accessed December 15, 2020. https://undocs.org/A/74/507.

United Nations, Human Rights Council. 2020. 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in the Palestinian Territories occupied since 1967.' A/HCR/44/60. Advance Unedited Version, July 15, 2020. Accessed December 15, 2020. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session44/Documents/A_HRC_44_60.pdf.

United Nations, Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. n.d. 'Palestine Refugees.' Accessed October 30, 2020. https://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees.

Voigtländer, Nico, and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2015. 'Nazi Indoctrination and Anti-Semitic Beliefs in Germany.' *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 112 (26): p. 7931–7936. doi:10.1073/pnas.1414822112.

vom Hau, Matthias. 2009. 'Unpacking the School: Textbooks, Teachers, and the Construction of Nationhood in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru.' *Latin American Research Review* 44 (3): p. 127–154.

Weber, Eugen. 1979. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Wenden, Anita L. 2007. 'Educating for a Critically Literate Civil Society: Incorporating the Linguistic Perspective into Peace Education.' *Journal of Peace Education* 4 (2): p. 163–180. doi:10.1080/17400200701523561.