

**Inception Report
for a Study on Palestinian Textbooks**

APRIL 12th 2019

**Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research
Member of the Leibniz Association**

Introduction: The Role of Textbooks in Conflict Settings

School textbooks play a crucial role as transmitters and indicators of dominant knowledge. They contain the knowledge that a society considers pertinent to teach to the next generation, in particular when it comes to topics related to peace and conflict¹ and they are the dominant medium in many school classrooms.² School textbooks have a high coverage and privileged access to young people during their political socialisation³, and ‘for millions of people they have been the first, and often the only, books that they had read’.⁴ Existing research on school textbooks has therefore shown a great interest in the role school textbooks can play in igniting hatred and even violence or, on the contrary, promoting tolerance and understanding. This is especially true in contexts characterised by pre-existing hostilities where discourses (as reproduced in educational contexts) have considerable potential to contribute to violent escalation or conflict transformation.⁵ Moreover, school textbooks are also influenced by conflicts. Representations of the other, enemy images and conflict-relevant facts and knowledge can increase and intensify in textbooks during times of conflict and war. Finally, school textbooks themselves can become the content of controversies within society or between actors from different states, in which the content of textbooks is at stake⁶. Often, but not always, the points of conflict lie in a different view of a conflictual relationship history, for example, or the inclusion and exclusion of population groups in and from society.

In 2017, the *Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education* (MoEHE) under the Palestinian Authority began to pilot a new school curriculum with textbooks for grades 1-12. As in other conflicts, textbooks play a role in the context of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, both as a crucial instrument for the political socialisation of the next generation and as controversial matters. Recently, there have been serious allegations that the new Palestinian textbooks incite hatred rather than promoting tolerance. However, as yet, these allegations are contested and further research is needed to produce robust evidence on this matter.

To address this knowledge gap, the Georg Eckert Institute presents a report that develops a conceptual and methodological framework for an academically rigorous review of Palestinian textbooks into how peace, tolerance, and an understanding of the other are incorporated into Palestinian textbooks, with a specific focus on allegations of incitement to violence and hatred. Once finalized, the review seeks to provide a factual basis for a

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: 1-9; Standish, Katerina: ‘Looking for Peace in National Curriculum: The Peca Project in New Zealand’, *Journal of Peace Education* 13 (1), 2016: 18-40.

² Fuchs, Eckhardt: ‘Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research’, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education* 14 (2), 2011: 17-34.

³ Ingraio, Charles: ‘Weapons of Mass Instruction: Schoolbooks and Democratization in Multiethnic Central Europe’, *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* 1 (1), 2009, 180-189.

⁴ Lässig, Simone: ‘Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)’, *ibid.*: 1-20. Here: 2.

⁵ Davies, Lynn: ‘The Different Faces of Education in Conflict’, *Development Outreach* 53 (4), 2010: 491-497; Paulson, Julia: ‘“Whether and How?” History Education About Recent Conflict: A Review of Research’, *Journal of Education in Emergencies* 1 (1), 2015: 7-37.

⁶ Bentrovato, Denise, Korostelina, Karina V. and Martina Schulze (eds.): *History Can Bite. History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2016.

constructive discussion between international partners and the Palestinian Authority concerning the content of current textbooks as well as their further improvement.

The following report presents a review of relevant academic literature on the study of contentious textbook content and the presentation of the ‘other’, an overview of the existing scholarly positions regarding the role played by textbooks, in the context of other factors, in inciting hatred and violence in conflicts, and a review of studies specifically focused on Palestinian textbooks, including those with a bi- or multinational focus.

Further, it develops an overarching approach to studying how Palestinian textbooks promote tolerance and understanding or, to the contrary, fuel hatred and prejudice. This includes the description of a multi-method research design using quantitative and qualitative approaches.

1. Review of Relevant Academic Literature

1.1. Education and Conflict

Inter-state conflicts were at the focus of the search for conflict prevention measures within the field of education, which inspired international textbook revision activities.⁷ For some decades now, educational research studies the complex relations between societal transformations and conflicts in a wider perspective, expanding its focus to include internal conflicts.⁸ As conflicts and education are interlinked in many ways and on different levels, and they are overall difficult to disentangle⁹, it remains a key question, often and also in the context of foreign intervention, how education might contribute to a ‘post-conflict’ civil reconstruction of the affected society.¹⁰ In this context especially, history education is regarded as having an enormous capacity to accentuate or to reconcile conflicts. This has become a significant topic in the research area ‘Education and Conflict’.¹¹ 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.¹² Rather, in posts-conflict situations in particular, it remains a controversial

⁷ Fuchs, Eckhardt: ‘The Creation of New International Networks in Education – The League of Nations and Educational Organisations in the 1920s’, *Paedagogica Historica* 43, 2007: 199–209; Korostelina, Karina V. and Simone Lässig (eds.): *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*. London/New York: Routledge, 2013.

⁸ 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; 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: *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011. The Hidden Crises: Armed Conflict and Education*. Paris: UNESCO, 2011.

⁹ Brown, Graham K.: ‘The Influence of Education on Violent Conflict and Peace: Inequality, Opportunity and the Management of Diversity’, *Prospects* 41 (2) 2011: 191-204.

¹⁰ Dimou, Augusta (ed.): *‘Transition’ and the Politics of History Education in Southeast Europe*. 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., 2011.

¹¹ 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.

¹² Cole, Elisabeth A. (ed.): *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007; Tawil: *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*.

issue whether – and especially how – to teach about conflicts or whether these topics are best avoided. Different schools of thought and varying research positions debate on how to handle conflicts and highly controversial issues in schools.

Avoidance of conflicting issues is referred to as ‘negative peacemaking’.¹³ The exclusion of sensitive topics and issues from the curricula, or the ‘silent treatment’¹⁴ in classrooms, is interpreted as a sort of avoidance which might lead pupils to hide their true feelings or censor their own viewpoints. Avoidance of conflict, on the other hand, distances curriculum from life, running the risk of making it meaningless.¹⁵ These arguments hold true for dealing with conflicts in general, including in more ‘peaceful settings’. Whereas in the discourse on education and conflict ‘conflict’ refers mostly to violent activities on a large scale, such as wars and civil wars, here, conflict is understood as a ubiquitous social phenomenon. Thus, conflict is not conceived of as the opposite of ‘peace’, but 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 regard to the relationship and behaviour of groups of social actors both in and beyond the classroom.¹⁶

Peace education scholars investigate how social narratives shape our understanding of a particular conflict, of representations of the ‘other’, and of how relations to the ‘opponent’ are justified.¹⁷ They examine how narratives disseminated through schools, media and social networks shape the collective memories and values of citizens today.¹⁸ Despite the fact that peace education now covers contexts of non-violent inter-group tensions or relative tranquillity, it nevertheless places a special focus on education for peace in belligerent contexts¹⁹, either in a ‘hot’ phase, where the conflict cannot be addressed

¹³ Curle, Adam and Mary A. Dugan: ‘Peace Making: Stages and Sequence’, *Peace and Change* 8 (2/3), 1982: 19-28; Bettman, Ellen and Pamela Moore: ‘Conflict Resolution Programs and Social Justice’, *Educational and Urban Society* 27 (1), 1994: 11-21; Fennimore, Beatrice S: ‘When Mediation and Equity are at Odds: Potential Lessons in Democracy’, *Theory into Practice* 36 (1), 1997: 59-64, Lynch, Kathleen: ‘Research and Theory on Equality and Education’, in: Maureen T. Hallinan (ed.): *Handbook of the Sociology of Education*. New York: Kluwer Academics/Plenum Publishers, 2000, 85-105; Bickmore, Kathy: ‘Teaching Conflict and Conflict Resolution in School: (Extra-) Curricular Considerations’, in: Raviv, Amirav et al. (eds.): *How Children Understand War and Peace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1999, 233-259, <http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/~csjcse/article.html>, accessed 12 April 2019.

¹⁴ Bhattacharya, Neeladri: ‘Preface’, in: Kumar, Krishna: *Learning from Conflict*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1996, ix-x.

¹⁵ Britzman, Deborah: ‘Decentering Discourses in Teacher Education: Or the Unleashing of Unpopular Things’, in: Weiler, K. & C. Mitchell (eds.): *What Schools Can Do: Critical Pedagogy and Practice*. Albany: Sunny Press, 1992, 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.

¹⁶ Brown, Lorraine: ‘International Education: A Force for Peace and Cross-cultural Understanding?’ *Journal of Peace Education* 6 (2), 2009: 209-224.

¹⁷ Hilker, Lyndsay McLean: ‘The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace: The Case of Rwanda’, *Prospects* 41 (2/158) 2011: 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: 163-180; Salomon, Gavriel and Edward Cairns (eds.): *Handbook on Peace Education*. New York: Psychology Press, 2010.

¹⁸ Bar-Tal, Daniel, Yigal Rosen and Rafi Nets-Zengut: ‘Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Goals, Conditions, and Directions’, in: Salomon, Gavriel and Edward Cairns (eds.), *Handbook on Peace Education*, New York: Psychology Press, 2010, 21-44; Hakvoort, Ilse: ‘Peace Education in Regions of Tranquillity’, in: Salomon & Cairns (eds.), *ibid.*, 287-301.

¹⁹ Salomon & Cairns (eds.), *Handbook on Peace Education*.

directly, or after ‘cooling down’, when the conflict can be made the topic of discussion.²⁰ In a non-violent context, the research focus lays more weight on conflict and conflict resolution within the school system itself, alongside teaching about children’s and human rights and so forth.²¹ The treatment of conflicts within such societies seems to receive less attention than societies in a state of strong tension.

1.2. Textbooks, Education and Conflict

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 corresponds well with our understanding of conflict and offers entry points for those interested in intervention for conflict resolution. Galtung draws a ‘conflict’ triangle connecting 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 the other of the dimensions with the aim to influence the other dimensions simultaneously.

The model refers to the parties directly involved in the conflict and is relevant for those working ‘on conflict’. However, ‘in conflict’ not only the conflict parties are involved, with their military and political wings, but often the society as a whole is affected. And conflict transformation must result in a wider process of peace-building. Åkerlund²² therefore introduces an outer circle into the model with corresponding dimensions: norms and knowledge correspond to attitudes while the capacity to handle conflicts corresponds to behaviour. Additionally, there might be ‘structural risk factors’, which are not yet the basis of contradictions but bear a risk for 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.²³ 20 % of the contributions focus on ‘norms and knowledge’, while only four of them, 5 %, refer to 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 forms attitudes of the people involved in the peace process, thereby hopefully preventing further violence; just as, in the past, education probably formed attitudes leading to the self-same conflict, possibly promoting group antagonisms and hatred.

²⁰ Bar-Tal et al., ‘*Victims of Our Own Narratives?*’.

²¹ Hakvoort: ‘Peace Education in Regions of Tranquillity’, 287-301.

²² Åkerlund, Anna: ‘Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace’. *Sida Studies* 13, 2005: 53.

²³ *Ibid.*, 122-127.

With the concept of (possible) change, a time perspective is inherent in the conflict triangle, if not explicitly modelled.²⁴ A time axis is included in another model, published by Tawil and Harley,²⁵ which correlates stages of conflict with distinct types of educational initiatives. Conflict, it explains, 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. The authors correlate different forms of educational initiatives and interventions with this process, which, however, cover more than one conflict stage and 'encroach' into the neighbouring stages. 'Education for prevention (development)' consists of educational measures intended to avoid a conflict or at least the outbreak of violence. The approach of traditional textbook revision in the international field can be attributed to this aim, as well as the introduction of peace education, for example, in societies not in a 'post-conflict' situation. 'Education in Emergencies' activities seek to safeguard schooling during and after armed conflict or (natural) disasters. And 'Education for social and civic reconstruction' includes measures directed towards the rebuilding of society, reconciliation and so forth.

Several aspects must be taken into account when assessing the model by Tawil and Harley. Credit is due for the introduction of the time axis and for 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. One is the equation of conflict with violence. This not only runs counter to our broader definition, it also means that non-violent conflicts tend to be neglected and are thus overlooked in terms of 'best practice' models, for example. The model also focuses on internal conflicts. It simplifies conflict development, which is often not strictly linear. Further, it is at least debatable whether educational activities can and should always be distinguished according to conflict stage.

When we equate 'conflict' and 'violence', we neglect cases where prevention has succeeded and the phase of relative peace either does not turn into a conflictual situation or a conflict does not take on a violent form. From the point of view of intervention agencies, these cases do not require their activity and are thus paid less attention. Yet the respective societies have in fact managed to solve their problems and thus constitute 'best-practice' examples. By excluding them for conceptual reasons, we deprive ourselves of a source of knowledge in an area where the prevention of violence with its negative societal effects is a major aim. A second point is that an end to violence does not necessarily amount to the end of a conflict, especially where a military victory hinders resistance for one of the parties. In such cases, conflict continues to smoulder and might turn violent again when the opportunity arises for the other side. In this situation, transition to a peace process

²⁴ In a recent publication (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, 14-32.) Galtung adds aspects of conflict development to the triangle model. He distinguishes 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 might follow in several steps of escalation, producing traumatisation. Victims might develop the dream of vengeance; the victors might celebrate their glory. This will produce a feedback cycle if the conflict is not transformed.

²⁵ Tawil & Harley (eds): *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*, 11.

requires a victor who is able and willing to enter into a peace-building and reconciliatory dialogue with the – then weaker – party.

Educational interventions intend to contribute to societal problem-solving through education. In fact, education was for a long time addressed as a positive means towards societal development and modernisation. ‘Education for all’ was therefore the promise of a brighter future. In the context of all the internal strife and violence in civil-war societies, however, the negative impact of education became obvious for many observers and practitioners in this field. As Bush and Saltarelli 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’.²⁶

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’.²⁷

1.3. Impacts of school textbooks

The impact of school textbooks on students’ opinions and worldviews has been studied in this field 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. find that higher rates of primary, secondary and tertiary education decrease the intensity and likelihood of armed conflict.²⁸ 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 play a role, but this link is merely speculative given that textbooks can also promote hatred and uncritical acceptance of authority.²⁹ There are five reasons why it is generally difficult to establish a link between school textbook content and students’ opinions and worldviews: First, access to school textbooks might be very limited, especially in peripheral and conflict-ridden areas.³⁰ Second, even if available, teachers might re-contextualise the textbooks, 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,

²⁶ Bush, Kenneth D. and Diana Saltarelli: *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*. Florence: UNICEF, 2000, 33.

²⁷ Cole, Elisabeth A. and Judy Barsalou. ‘Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict’. USIP Special Report 163, June 2006, 5 and 9.

²⁸ 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* (online ahead of print), 2018.

²⁹ Davies, Lynn: ‘The Different Faces of Education in Conflict’, *Development Outreach* 53 (4), 2010: 491-497; Rohde, Achim and Samira Alayan: ‘Introduction’, in: Alayan, Samira, Achim Rohde and Sarhan Dhoub (eds.): *The Politics of Education Reform in the Middle East: Self and Other in Textbook and Curricula*. New York: Berghahn, 2012, 1-14.

³⁰ Bentrovato, Denise: *Learning to Live Together in Africa through History Education: An Analysis of School Curricula and Stakeholders’ Perspectives*. Göttingen: 2017.

the UK and the USA.³¹ Third, students might face difficulties understanding textbook content, especially it is not directly related to their everyday lives and if the pedagogical design of the textbooks is deficient.³² Fourth, young people have the capacity to critically reflect upon, question and challenge the views presented to them by media, including by 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’.³³ Ahlrichs et al. also find that school textbook contents are selectively received, negotiated and re-contextualised by students in German classrooms.³⁴

Fifth, school textbooks are only one source of young peoples’ information. Their relative impact vis-à-vis other factors has not been comprehensively accessed so far, 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.³⁵ A study in Israel finds that even when intensively 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.³⁶ 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 than educational media.³⁷ Nor should the influence of other traditional and social media be ignored in this regard.³⁸

This is not to say that school textbooks have *no* influence on the knowledge of young people. They enjoy high coverage and privileged access to young people during an important phase of their political socialisation, ‘remain the dominant media for knowledge conveyance’ in schools³⁹, and are often the first (and only) books on political or historical

³¹ 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: 51-60; Bhattacharya, Neeladri: ‘Teaching History in Schools: The Politics of Textbooks in India’, *History Workshop Journal* 67 (1), 2009: 99-110; Colston, Nicole M. and Jacqueline M. Vadjunc: ‘A Critical Political Ecology of Consensus: On “Teaching Both Sides” of Climate Change Controversies’, *Geopolitics* 65 (1), 2015: 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: 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: 127-154.

³² Pepin, Birgit, Linda Haggarty and Milton Keynes: ‘Mathematics Textbooks and their Use in English, French and German Classrooms: A Way to Understanding Teaching and Learning Cultures’, *Mathematics Education* 33 (5), 2001: 158-175.

³³ 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: 83-103; here: 98.

³⁴ Ahlrichs, Johanna, Katharina Baier, Barbara Christophe, Felicitas 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: 89-109.

³⁵ Bird, Lindsay: ‘Learning About War and Peace in the Great Lakes Region of Africa’, *Research in Comparative and International Education* 2 (3), 2007: 176-189.

³⁶ Porat, Dan A.: ‘It’s Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened: Student’s Cultural Comprehension of Textbook Narratives on the Israeli-Arab Conflict’, *American Educational Research Journal* 41 (4), 2004: 963-996.

³⁷ Staeheli, Lynn A. and Daniel Hammett: ‘“For the Future of the Nation”: Citizenship, Nation, and Education in South Africa’, *Political Geography* 32 (1), 2013: 32-41.

³⁸ Kahne, Joseph and Benjamin Bowyer: ‘The Political Significance of Social Media Activity and Social Networks’, *Political Communication* 35 (3), 2018: 470-493.

³⁹ Fuchs, Eckhardt: ‘Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research’, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education* 14 (2), 2011: 17-34; here: 22.

topics people ever read.⁴⁰ According to Obura, hatred promoted by the formal education system was a key factor in the 1994 genocide⁴¹, and Emerson also shows how negative descriptions of the ‘other’ resonate well in Pakistani classrooms.⁴² 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 assessed but established indirectly via a process of eliminating other plausible explanations.⁴³ In the short term, Ide et al. detect a weak yet significant impact of textbooks linking climate change to conflict on the importance attached by young people to environmental problems.⁴⁴

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

1.4. Studies on Palestinian textbooks and their attitudes towards Israel and the Jews

The claim that Palestinian textbooks nurture hatred of Jews and Israelis, and the associated calls for the books to be revised, date back to the latter half of the 1990s. The demand for Palestinians to design their education system so that it gives its students the knowledge and competencies to live in peaceful coexistence with Israel rather than teaching their children prejudice and hatred has been a component of almost all bilateral agreements since the Oslo Accords. A number of academic studies and politically inclined reports have also tried to evaluate the content of teaching material in the PA from this perspective.

One of the most active and publicly visible institutions in the field is the *Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education, IMPACT-se*, an NGO based in Israel, founded in 1998 as the *Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP)*. Its primary focus is on studies which examine the depiction of Jews and Judaism and of the State of Israel in textbooks of the Palestinian Authority areas and of Arab or predominantly Muslim countries. *IMPACT-se* describes itself as a ‘research, policy and advocacy organisation’ and as a ‘world leader in researching, translating and exposing intolerance in school textbooks from the Middle East and beyond’.⁴⁵ Its lobbying activities are aimed towards international actors and decision-makers who, it is hoped, will be motivated by the results of the studies to alter their policies towards the Palestinian Authority and respective Arab or Muslim-majority states.

⁴⁰ Lässig, Simone: ‘Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)’, *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* 1 (1), 2009: 1-20.

⁴¹ Obura, Anna: *Never Again: Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*. Paris: International Institute of Educational Planning, 2003.

⁴² Emerson, Ann: ‘The Making of the (Il)Legitimate Citizen: The Case of the Pakistan Studies Textbook’, *Global Change, Peace & Security* 30 (3), 2018: 295-311.

⁴³ Voigtländer, Nico and Hans-Joachim Voth: ‘Nazi Indoctrination and Anti-Semitic Beliefs in Germany’, *PNAS* 112 (26), 2016: 7931–7936.

⁴⁴ 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* (online ahead of print), 2017.

⁴⁵ <http://www.impact-se.org/about-us/> (last accessed 11 April 2019).

According to its homepage, *IMPACT-se* has so far published 15 studies to investigate the depiction of Israel and the Jewish people in Palestinian textbooks, the latest published in April 2019. Not unlike former studies of the NGO, this report is a rather mono-thematic, unilateral study of Palestinian textbooks from a politically motivated viewpoint. It is based on a narrow thematic investigation of the content of selected Palestinian textbooks, and it is difficult to detect a rigorous approach to the subject based on solid academic methods. Its findings have, therefore, only limited significance. The report's characterisation of Palestinian textbooks is marked by generalising and exaggerated theories – such as that Palestinian religious education has an Islamist orientation or that Palestinian textbooks indoctrinate ideas of death and martyrdom, sweeping statements that are – further – not substantiated by the quoted material. The *IMPACT-se* report does present, however, several alarming individual examples demonstrating a hostile attitude towards Israel and which indicate that Palestinian textbooks cannot be considered politically harmless nor acknowledged to contain comprehensive peace-building educational objectives. On the other hand, the focus on negative passages in the *IMPACT-se* study does not exclude the possibility that Palestinian textbooks also contain examples of a pedagogical basis for peaceful coexistence and reconciliation, and that contrasting perspectives are competing against one another. Such passages and educational approaches were clearly not the focus of this study, nor were they recorded in the report.

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 contents of textbooks used in the Palestinian Authority areas which could 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 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 demonstrated a negative attitude with regard to Israel, the Jewish people and the peace process.⁴⁶

The most comprehensive study (in Hebrew) of attitudes to Israel, the Jewish people and peace in Palestinian textbooks was published at the end of 2017 by the Begin Sadat Center for Strategic Studies (BESA) at Bar Ilan University.⁴⁷ Based on a much larger study sample than the *IMPACT-se* report – 201 textbooks for all subjects for years 1–12, 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 authorities attempted to delegitimise

⁴⁶ The report (in Hebrew) by the Knesset Research and Information Centre from 30 June 2010 is available online as a PDF file from the following address (last accessed 14 February 2019):

https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/535b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977/2_535b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-0155d010977_11_7890.pdf. 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 (last accessed 14 February 2019). 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: CRS Report for Congress (Aaron D. Pina): *Palestinian Education and the Debate over Textbooks*. Washington, 2006, <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metacrs9379/> (last accessed 10 April 2019).

⁴⁷ Groiss, Arnon and Ronni Shaked: *Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority (PA): The Attitude to the Jews, to Israel and to Peace*, Ramat Gan, 2017 (in Hebrew). The study is available online as a PDF file from the following address: https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/MSPS_141_HE.pdf (last accessed 14 February 2019).

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 seen to be expressed through their portrayal not only as enemies of the Prophet, but also as currently and historically embodying an existential threat to the 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; the textbooks were also said to lack objective information about the Jews and Israel which might otherwise correct the image. Furthermore, the study claimed that the textbooks indoctrinated pupils with the violent struggle to free Palestine; support for a peaceful solution with Israel was not evident.⁴⁸ Even though the study listed a much larger number of passages than the report by *IMPACT-se* and evidently examined the books for contrasting results as well, the methodological approach in this study is also unsatisfactory. The short chapter describing the research methods does not mention any recognised instruments of scholarly analysis, but merely alludes to being based upon content categories used for existing studies – presumably those by *IMPACT-se* and its predecessor – which are reproduced in the structure of the chapters.

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. Among other institutions and NGOs, the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) has contributed widely to the investigation of textbooks 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.⁴⁹ Equally noteworthy in this context is the work of Dan Bar On (1938–2008) and Sami Adwan (Bethlehem University), who initiated relevant bilateral studies within the framework of the *Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME)*, which they founded, and published the Israeli-Palestinian Textbook *Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative* in 2003, with assistance from the Georg Eckert Institute. Other textbook studies were carried out in this context, such as the publication resulting from Adwan's partnership with Nurit Peled-Elchanaan and Ruth Firer (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem).⁵⁰ In his study Sami Adwan examined Egyptian and Jordanian textbooks used at that time in the Palestinian Authority areas as well as new textbooks released by the Palestinian Authority in 2000 and 2001 for use in years one to six. These books addressed (Palestinian) locations, images, behaviour, culture, norms and values in much more detail than previous books. They placed a clear emphasis on Palestinian identity, of which a laboured sense of victimisation under Israeli occupation was a key element. Adwan did not, however, notice openly negative stereotypes of Jews and Israelis; in fact, non-violent

⁴⁸ Ibid., 4-6.

⁴⁹ 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 (last accessed 10 April 2019)

⁵⁰ Firer, Ruth and Sami Adwan: *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in history and Civics Textbooks of Both Nations*. Hannover: Hahn, 2004; Pingel, Falk (ed.): *Contested Past, Disputed Present. Curricula and Teaching in Israeli and Palestinian Schools* (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung. Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts, vol. 110/2) Hannover: Hahn, 2003.

resistance was the focus of the fight against the occupation and there was a recognisable attempt at education for peace, albeit as he pointed out with room for improvement.

Parallel to Adwan and Firer's study, an edited volume compiled by Falk Pingel investigated lesson and curricula development in Israel and the Palestinian Authority areas.⁵¹ The chapter by Götz Nordbruch is specifically relevant in this context, examining the concept of the Palestinian nation in the textbooks in use at that time in the Palestinian Authority areas. It established that while 'Palestine' was projected back to the third century and the Palestinians were portrayed to be the descendants of the 'Arabian Canaanites', 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.⁵²

Both Adwan and Firer's study and Falk 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 a range of scholarly articles and reports were published.⁵³

The most recent significant bilateral study of Israeli and Palestinian textbooks was published in 2013 as result of a collaborative project between Sami Adwan, Daniel Bar-Tal (Tel Aviv University) and Bruce Wexler (Yale).⁵⁴ 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. Its 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 books the 'other' was generally the Jewish people, who had taken possession of the land, either with the help of international powers or through the Israeli state. The message conveyed was that they did not want to destroy the Palestinian people, but to dominate them. Historical events were selectively chosen (by both sides) and incorporated into their own narrative. 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 other, thus questioning the legitimacy of their presence. 4. These observations applied to books in all the types of schools examined by

⁵¹ Pingel (ed.): *Contested Past*.

⁵² Nordbruch, Götz: 'Forming Palestinian Society. The Narration of the Nation in the New Palestinian Textbooks', in: Pingel (ed.), *ibid.*, 83-98.

⁵³ See: <http://www.gei.de/en/projects/completed-projects/approaches-to-peace-pedagogy-in-history-geography-and-civics-instruction-in-israel-and-palestine.html> (last accessed 14 February 2019).

⁵⁴ 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), http://d7hj1xx5r7f3h.cloudfront.net/Israeli-Palestinian_School_Book_Study_Report-English.pdf (last accessed 14 February 2019).

the study; however, in a quantitative comparison, these characteristics featured predominantly in textbooks that were either Palestinian or ultra-orthodox Jewish.⁵⁵

1.5. Conclusive remarks on textbooks

As institutionalised educational media, textbooks convey relatively solidified or sedimented representations and division principles of the world that pre-figure social lines of conflict. By transporting canonised, mostly state-sanctioned ‘knowledge’, they describe and set social norms, defining what is to be regarded as ‘normality’ and ‘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 ‘we/you’ distinctions made through identity formation, which are often associated with a de-individualisation of the ‘other’. 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 one's own society, of the nature and function of society in general, and at the same time at least implicitly devalue other forms of socialisation. Conceptions of consensus and conflict are associated with the understanding of society. Throughout the world textbooks portray specific conflicts, often wars, providing reasons for them, ‘privileging’ conflicts that are presented as key, and ‘de-conflicting’ others that are either not addressed at all or are placed 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.

All in all, textbooks may influence the perception and convey an understanding of conflicts, the assessment of possible opponents, train antagonistic or less antagonistic 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 for education oriented towards non-violent solution strategies. ‘Textbook work’ attempts to influence the perception of learners in a peace-pedagogical sense by revising textbook contents and presentation methods. The different forms of (violent) conflict in the context of which ‘textbook work’ is located must be taken into account.

Textbooks may influence not only conflict definitions, mobilisation and ways of handling conflicts through their influence on perception, but they themselves are also influenced by conflicts, especially on a long-term and violent basis. The intensification of enemy images

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1f.

and the concentration on conflict-relevant facts, including historical legitimisations, specific perpetrator-victim perspectives, and the emphasis on 'heroism', for example, are probably among the 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 'burdened' becomes a problem and leads to very specific measures such as the blackening of text passages before a reform of the education system and the publication of new textbooks can be addressed in later phases. In the course of such reform processes, but also independently of them, conflicts can arise within society or between actors from different states, in which the content and presentation of textbooks is at stake, i.e. the textbook itself becomes the bone of contention. Often, but not always, the points of conflict lie in aspects that can be assigned to the examples listed above: a different view of a conflictual relationship history, for example, or the inclusion and exclusion of population groups in and from society. Such textbook conflicts are usually part of another conflict, and can only be fully understood in that specific context.

2. Methodological approaches

Textbook research, as conducted in particular at the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI), has for some time been devoted to discourse-analytical questions in the broader sense, above all with regard to descriptions of self and other, as well as the historical symbols and changing constructions of society resulting from these. Textbook knowledge, i.e. the knowledge that appears in textbooks as the central guiding media of school teaching, is now widely regarded as both symbolic and discursively contested knowledge. On the basis of this canonically condensed textbook knowledge, including the state and social authorities that influence and sanction this knowledge 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.

A rigorous and systematic academic textbook analysis approaches textbooks with a clearly defined set of methods for analysis. The basis of the following analysis is a quantitative and qualitative content analysis that will be complemented with specific methods targeting different fields of textbooks. For the purpose of this project we will differ between two corpuses of textbooks: a) textbooks for disciplines that provide knowledge which students use to construct a meaningful perspective on social and cultural contexts (history, geography, civics, literature, religion), and b) textbooks for disciplines from the field of the natural and applied sciences, that provide knowledge about nature and its laws as well as about their practical applications in the technological-cultural world (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, electronics, etc.). Since both corpuses consist of texts and visual elements with a similar particular (pedagogical, didactical) structure, they are both accessible by quantitative and qualitative content analysis – the methods most widely used in the field of textbook research.

There are, however, two significant differences between the two corpuses of textbooks that demand a different methodological approach: Whereas corpus ‘a’ consists of textbooks that ‘tell stories’ and present comprehensive narratives, the textbooks of corpus ‘b’ generally lack such a comprehensive structure. While in a history textbook the Middle East conflict is presented as a story in itself as well as in a wider historical context, the same conflict may only ‘echo’ with a few words or lines in a task presented in a natural science textbook. In the following, therefore, we present a different approach to exploring both corpuses according to their specific structures. In the final discussion of the analysis the results based on these different approaches will be triangulated and generalised.

An academically sound textbook study requires the use of different methodologies. The overarching research methods with respect to both corpuses will therefore be both quantitative and qualitative content analysis, complemented by methods from the field of discourse analysis and by discipline-related pedagogical inquiry. Quantitative content analysis – where possible with the help of appropriate software (see below) – will be used to ascertain the frequency with which certain terms and combinations of terms are used, as well as their accumulation within certain contexts. This method will help answer questions pertaining to the relevance of portrayals of ‘self’ and ‘other’ which otherwise can only be simply collated as individual excerpts. The generalisation of the many excerpts and their subsumption into appropriate categories is part of the qualitative content analysis, as is

establishing their significance. Where possible, we will adhere to the principle of intercoder reliability, through which the same text is processed (coded) by two researchers working independently of one another before their results are compared. As textbooks are produced and received within the context of specific social discourses and can therefore only be fully interpreted and classified when taking the relevant context into consideration, it is essential to employ methods of discourse analysis in addition to content analysis. Discourse analysis unveils 'hidden' messages by analysing the semiotic structure of a certain text (e.g. presuppositions, ruptures, contradictions, impasses, etc.). Special attention will be paid to the pedagogical and didactical peculiarities of each discipline and its textbooks: How are textbooks for each subject constructed generally? How do authored texts, source material and illustrations fit together, and what exercises and tasks are assigned in the context of each lesson? How are the tasks constructed – are they designed to provoke discussion or rather to reproduce content? The context of the specific subject must also be taken into consideration: What learning objectives does each subject follow, what are the principal didactic methods, and which source material plays a significant role? Which specific discourses affect each subject? What differences in terms of these analytical categories and discourses are apparent between textbooks for different subjects? Finally, it is also important to explore the extent to which the textbooks adhere to the curricula requirements in term of structure and content and whether they take advantage of any scope within the curricula to introduce alternate or controversial content.

The following chapter develops an overarching approach to studying Palestinian textbook content in regard to tolerance, understanding, hatred and prejudice, based on a multi-method research design using quantitative and qualitative methods.

2.1. Quantitative and Qualitative Content Analysis

This study aims at conducting a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of 160 textbooks for all subjects of the Palestinian Authority curriculum for general education for grades 1-12, focusing on both written texts and pictorial/images contents (pictorial as maps, photos, caricatures, illustrations etc.). Thus the sample will cover a broad array of subjects (History, Geography, Literature/Language, Civic and National Education, Social Sciences and Mathematics) that were most recently adopted (published since 2017).

Given the large sample, the study will first identify the relevant corpus of texts and images that hypothetically appear most likely to fuel hatred and prejudice or to promote tolerance and understanding. In order to do so, it identifies all texts and images, based on a digitally based search for keywords that explicitly refer to: (i) direct, physical violence, (ii) Israel/Israelis, Zionism/Zionist or Judaism/Jews, and (iii) the Israeli-Palestinian or the Israeli-Arab conflict.⁵⁶

The study will apply a semantic world field that served as a basis for the study of Bar-Tal et al. in 2013 that analysed Palestinian school textbooks regarding their. Including these

⁵⁶ This methodological approach has been applied to religion textbooks 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: Bengt-Ove Andreassen and James R. Lewis (eds.). *Textbook Violence*. Sheffield: Equinox, 2017, 55-73.

terms in the search for relevant passages in school textbooks published in 2018 and 2019 will allow comparing the quantitative analysis with this earlier study. The semantic word field will however be complemented hence using deductive and inductive coding schemes.

Semantic world field containing approx. 200 words (English translation, for Arabic see APPENDIX)⁵⁷

Palestine, Jerusalem, East Jerusalem, Jews, Israel, Zionism, Palestinian refugees, Oslo Agreement, Palestinian Intifada, Resolution 242 and 338, UN Resolution 181, Al-Aqsa Mosque, Ibrahimi Mosque, Rabin, Piers, national authority, Judea and Samaria, expulsion, abduction, peace treaty, peace, Human Rights, justice, equality, violence, hate, incitement, strike, dialogue, respect, defense, jihad, Almoravidin, martyrs, wounded, resistance, tolerance, racist, map, holocaust, Jewish holocaust, freedom, democratic, borders, Knesset, Palestinian cities, Hebron, racism, USA, EU, West Bank, Gaza Strip, Palestinian Walls, Palestinian Women, Prisons, Detention, Deportation, Resettlement, Migrants, Migration, Refugees, Refugees, Refugees, Refugees, Refugees, Refugees, Refugees, Refugees, Refugees, Massacres, Deir Yassin, guerrilla operations, a Peace, security, protest, strike, old town, wailing wall, Jewish, Islamic, Christian, Sabra and Shatila, curfew, siege, remembrance, prisoners, prisoner exchange, barriers, torture, detention, expulsion, independence, internal Arabs, 1948, administrative detention, body, revolution, terror, guerrillas, Balfour Declaration, mandate, revolutionaries, camp, detention centers, control, ways of diversion, hunger strike, boycott, torture, abduction, intruders, agents, colonization, tanks, bombardment, customers, children stones, Special forces, settlers, execution, gas, bombs, injustice, deportation, rights, citizen, concession, conspiracy, closure, ban, boycott, demonstrations, protests, paradise, horoscope, massacres, destruction, coexistence, welcoming, infiltration, reconciliation, refugee camps, factions, isolation, cell, harassment, cooperation, burning, terrorism, bombing, violence, uprooting, mosque / mosque, synagogue, Palestinian state, independence, rights, council, legislation.

With regard to the depiction of direct, physical violence⁵⁸, the following three questions are applied to the identified passages:

- 1) How frequently is violence discussed in the textbooks (in how many books and on how many pages)?
- 2) Which actors carry out violence and against whom?⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Bar-Tal et al.: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?'.

⁵⁸ As defined by Galtung, Johan: 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research* 6 (3), 1969: 167-191.

⁵⁹ In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, both sides have historically used violent means and continue to do so in the present. See: Moore, Dahlia and Anat Guy: 'The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Sociohistorical Context and the Identities it Creates', in: Landis, Dan and Rosita Albert (eds.): *Handbook of Ethnic Conflict: International Perspectives*. New York: 2012, 199-240. Yet, if one side is continuously associated with violent actions while the violent actions of the other sides are silenced, a dualism between an aggressive, threatening other and a peaceful, victimised self is constructed. Such a dualism is well-suited to fuel hatred and prejudice, while its absence indicates the presence of a more peace-inspiring narrative. See: Bar-Tal, Daniel: 'Societal Beliefs in Times of Intractable Conflict: The Israeli Case', *International Journal of Conflict Management* 9 (1), 1998: 22-50; Staub, Ervin: 'The Origins and Evolution of Hate, with Notes on Prevention', in: Sternberg, Robert J. (eds.): *The Psychology of Hate*. Washington D.C.: 2005, 51-66.

3) Do the textbooks contain explicit calls to use violent means, thus directly inciting violence? If not, do the respective texts indirectly legitimise violence by portraying it as justified or inevitable, and the perpetrators of violence as role models?⁶⁰ Or is the use of violence critically discussed or even discouraged? Are non-violent strategies and role models mentioned, thus fostering peaceful conflict resolution?⁶¹

To answer these questions, the study will conduct a quantitative content analysis in order to gain a broad overview of the frequency with which the textbooks discuss violence, of which perpetrators and victims are mentioned, and the form taken by potential general calls to violence.⁶²

The content analysis will be complemented by specific methods targeting different clusters of school subjects and their corresponding textbooks: a) history, literature or social studies, etc. and b) mathematics, natural sciences or languages, etc. Alongside the content analysis in all subjects, different sets of methods will be applied to address the essentially different kinds of textbooks.

Table: Overview of Approaches to Different Subjects

I. Quantitative and qualitative content analysis in all subjects
II. Human rights approach in all subjects
III. Promotion of hatred or understanding in History, Civics, Geography, Religion and Arabic Literature textbooks
IV. Real-life connections and experience-related content in Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Languages textbooks

⁶⁰ Korostelina, Karina V.: *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures, Dynamics, and Implications*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; 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, 7-24.

⁶¹ Standish, Katerina: 'Looking for Peace in National Curriculum: The Peca Project in New Zealand', *Journal of Peace Education* 13 (1), 2016: 18-40.

⁶² Krippendorff, Klaus: *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004.

2.2. Human Rights in Palestinian Textbooks

There is considerable consensus in the literature that the promotion of human rights is an important part of discourses that promote peace and mutual understanding, including in educational contexts.⁶³ The discussion of human rights in Palestinian textbooks is thus considered textbook content promoting tolerance and understanding. Conversely, the absence of such discussions, even if not directly igniting prejudice and intolerance, would be a severe omission, at least if no comparable material is included elsewhere in the textbooks.

2.2.1. Methodology

To operationalise this indicator, the research team draws on the approach developed by a group of researchers at Stanford University that is widely accepted in the relevant literature.⁶⁴ Specifically, it will apply the following questions to each history and civics textbook:

1. Are human rights explicitly discussed in the textbook?
2. To which degree are human rights discussed in the textbook (one or a few 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 for the promotion of tolerance and understanding in textbooks, the specific framing of human rights is equally significant. If, for example, textbooks mention 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 actors (especially Israeli actors in our case) as perpetrators of human rights violations (re-)produces a conflict discourse, while (critical) reflection on one's own group's human rights record serves to question binary stereotypes and to reflect upon one's own role in perpetuating the conflict.⁶⁵

⁶³ Davies, Lynn: 'The Different Faces of Education in Conflict'. *Development* 53 (4) 2010: 491-497, Paulson, Julia (ed.): *Education and Reconciliation: Exploring Conflict in Post-conflict Situations*. London: Continuum, 2011; Swimelar, Safia: 'Education in Post-war Bosnia: The Nexus of Societal Security, Identity and Nationalism', *Ethnopolitics* 12 (2) 2013: 161-182.

⁶⁴ Bromley, Patricia: 'Cosmopolitanism in Civic Education: Exploring Cross-National Trends, 1970-2008'. *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 12 (1) 2009: 33-44; Ramirez, Francisco/Bromley, Patricia/Russell, Susan Garnett: 'The Valorization of Humanity and Diversity'. *Multicultural Education Review* 1 (1) 2009: 29-54.

⁶⁵ Jackson, Richard/Dexter, Helen: 'The Social Construction of Organized Political Violence: An Analytical Framework'. *Civil Wars* 16 (1) 2014: 1-23; Korf, Benedikt: 'Who is the Rogue? Discourse, Power and Spatial Politics in Post-war Sri Lanka'. *Political Geography* 25 (3) 2006: 279-297.

The study therefore extends the Stanford Group's approach by including the following items:

7. Who is discussed as the subject/receiver of human rights on the respective 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, and other actors)?

This approach will allow locating Palestinian textbooks within the synchronic and diachronic overview generated by the Stanford group and compare them concerning the human rights discourse with textbook in various regions, (post)conflict settings and times.⁶⁶

2.3. Promotion of Hatred or Understanding in History, Civics, Geography, Religion and Language Textbooks

On the basis of the digital search of relevant passages that explicitly refer to (i) direct, physical violence, (ii) Israel/Israelis, Zionism/Zionist or Judaism/Jews, and (iii) the Israeli-Palestinian or the Israeli-Arab conflict, a separate analysis for history, civics, geography, religion and language textbooks will analyse whether these promote understanding or hatred. A qualitative analysis will supplement the quantitative part as it is well suited to disentangling the interpretations offered in greater detail. This is particularly important when studying the indirect legitimisation and de-legitimisation strategies for violence which are usually implicit in the text.⁶⁷

The study investigates how the relevant 'other' — in this case Israel/Israelis, Zionism/Zionist or Judaism/Jews — is portrayed in the textbooks. This is to be carried out for all textbook elements referring directly to or discussing the Israeli-Palestinian/Arab conflict. While the negative depiction of other groups may not directly incite hatred or even violence, it can play a crucial role in fuelling negative stereotypes, thus indirectly contributing to hatred.⁶⁸

The following set of definitions and criteria applied as indicators in the analysis will be used to assess whether an Israeli or Jewish outgroup is depicted in a negative sense:

- 1) 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.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Ramirez, Francisco O., J. Meyer and Patricia Bromley: 'Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks: Cross-national Analyses, 1975-2008', *Sociology of Education* 83, 2010, 111-134.

⁶⁷ Jackson, Richard and Helen Dexter: 'The Social Construction of Organized Political Violence: An Analytical Framework', *Civil Wars* 16 (1) 2014: 1-23.

⁶⁸ Ide, Tobias: 'Towards a Constructivist Understanding of Socio-Environmental Conflicts', *Civil Wars*, 18; 2016, 69-90.

⁶⁹ 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, 3-14; 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, 7-24.

- 2) Competition: The other group is presented to be in competition with the own group. As a consequence, the other group is depicted as responsible for the deprivation and injustices the own group experiences, or even as an essential threat to the own group.⁷⁰
- 3) Aggression: The other group is portrayed as aggressive, for instance by increasing demands in the context of the conflict to an unacceptable limit, conducting violent actions, repressing democracy and well-being of the own group, and refusing negotiations or other forms of peaceful conflict resolution.⁷¹
- 4) Homogeneity: The other group is portrayed as homogenous; internal differences and conflicts are not discussed.⁷²
- 5) Dehumanisation: The other group is portrayed as lacking human characteristics like emotional responsiveness and interpersonal warmth, is associated with uncivilised or even animalistic or demonic attributes, or is discussed with reference to disease and illness.⁷³
- 6) Deception: The other group is portrayed as lying about its motives and actions, or as having betrayed the own group and/or other groups.⁷⁴
- 7) Negation: The existence of the other group is denied, for instance on maps or when historical settlement patterns are introduced.⁷⁵

These characterisations of the other group are particularly prone to igniting hatred if they serve as ‘diacritica’⁷⁶; that is, if they serve as identity markers that distinguish the other group negatively from the own group. The analysis will therefore pay special attention to whether these characteristics are ascribed to the other group or even directly contrasted with more positive features of the own group.

When studying these six indicators, a qualitative approach derived from Grounded Theory and discourse analysis will be used.⁷⁷ Textbook contents and especially visual elements such as photographs or caricatures can be read and interpreted in (at times radically)

⁷⁰ Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde: *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Pub., 1998; Korf, Benedikt: ‘Who Is the Rogue? Discourse, Power and Spatial Politics in Post-War Sri Lanka’, *Political Geography* 25 (3), 2006: 279-297.

⁷¹ Bar-Tal, Daniel: ‘Societal Beliefs in Times of Intractable Conflict: The Israeli Case’, *International Journal of Conflict Management* 9 (1), 1998: 22-50; Volkan, Vamik D.: *Chosen Trauma: The Political Ideology of Entitlement and Violence*, 2004. <http://vamikvolkan.com/Chosen-Trauma,-the-Political-Ideology-of-Entitlement-and-Violence.php> (last accessed 28 October 2018).

⁷² Kaufman, Stuart: *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2001; 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 Publishing, 1986, 7-24.

⁷³ Campbell, David: *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Manchester: MUP, 2005; Haslam, Nick: ‘Dehumanization: An Integrative Review’, *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10 (3), 2006: 252-264.

⁷⁴ Volkan, Vamik D.: *Chosen Trauma: The Political Ideology of Entitlement and Violence*, 2004. <http://vamikvolkan.com/Chosen-Trauma,-the-Political-Ideology-of-Entitlement-and-Violence.php> (last accessed 28 October 2018).

⁷⁵ 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: 201-217.

⁷⁶ Neumann, Iver: *Uses of the Other: ‘The East’ in European Identity Formation*. Manchester: MUP, 1999; here: 5.

⁷⁷ For example: Corbin, Juliet and Anselm L. Strauss: *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. London: Sage, 2008; Keller, Reiner: *Doing Discourse Research: An Introduction for Social Scientists*. London: Sage, 2013.

different ways. The qualitative analysis can develop a spectrum of possible interpretations and then assess the degree to which they ignite hatred (based on the six indicators outlined above).

Further, this study will be conducted in the context of an active conflict with episodes of armed violence occurring for almost a century. Consequently, descriptions of the other group, for instance as a competitor or as violent, are not per se wrong or problematic. The strength of the qualitative approach is that it can contextualise such descriptions with regard to the specific textbook, the overall narrative(s) of the textbooks, and the (at times contested) historical knowledge of certain events. Likewise, the quantitative analysis conducted previously enables the researchers to study the prevalence of such descriptions (which, even if true, can be problematic if few other points of reference are provided).⁷⁸

Finally, the study also seeks to unravel whether the textbooks depict Israel/Israelis, Zionism/Zionist and Judaism/Jews in a way that promotes tolerance and understanding. To do so, the same sampling strategy and mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods is used, but the textbook analysis is based on other indicators:

1. Everyday reference: The other group is discussed in the context of everyday and/or not conflict-related contexts or activities, thus illustrating the human side of the 'other' as well as its existence beyond the (in this case, Israeli-Palestinian/Arab) conflict.⁷⁹
2. Explanation: The positions, interests and narratives of the other group are mentioned, especially in the conflict context.⁸⁰
3. Commonality: Joint cultural, religious or historical aspects with the other group, shared challenges and cross-border issues, instances of peaceful coexistence and/or cooperative activities are discussed.⁸¹
4. Heterogeneity: Diverging positions and conflicts within the other group are mentioned.⁸²
5. Self-reflection: The biases of and injustices conducted by the own group towards the other group are mentioned, and their contribution to the conflict and/or the harm they have caused is acknowledged.⁸³

⁷⁸ Ide, Tobias: 'Critical Geopolitics and School Textbooks: The Case of Environment-Conflict Links in Germany', *Political Geography* 55 (1), 2016: 61-70.

⁷⁹ Standish, Katerina: 'Looking for Peace in National Curriculum: The Peca Project in New Zealand', *Journal of Peace Education* 13 (1), 2016: 18-40.

⁸⁰ 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: 26-31.

⁸¹ Korostelina, *Social Identity and Conflict*; Kriesberg, Louis: *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

⁸² McDoom, Omar Shahabudin: 'The Psychology of Threat in Intergroup Conflict: Emotions, Rationality, and Opportunity in the Rwandan Genocide', *International Security* 37 (2), 2012: 119-155; Rothbart, Daniel and Karina V. Korostelina: *Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006.

⁸³ Pettigrew, Thomas F.: 'The Ultimate Attribution Error: Extending Allport's Cognitive Analysis of Prejudice', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 5 (4), 1979: 461-476; Rothbart and Korostelina: *Identity, Morality, and Threat*.

2.4. Real-life Connections and Experience-related Content in Palestinian Textbooks: Science, Mathematics and Language Textbooks

Experience-related examples are often used in textbooks of the natural sciences and technology, but also in language textbooks.⁸⁴ They are intended to give students a concrete and practical example taken from their life-worlds and everyday experience, in order to demonstrate a natural law, a mathematical or grammatical principle or to show the practical applicability of such laws and principles. These examples can be visual representations, short textual references or longer explanations with or without illustrations. They help students to comprehend the somewhat abstract content of teaching 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. Thus, 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 in 2017. By using relevant practical and life-world related examples, the authors of this guidebook promote ‘double-purpose learning’: the learning of a certain discipline with its own categories and questions *and* the learning of the principles of sustainable development simultaneously.⁸⁵

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 shown that there are a certain number of everyday life examples connected to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Palestinian textbooks for the natural sciences, technology and Arabic language.⁸⁶ Since these reports lack a systematic methodological basis and deliver rather impressionistic findings, they fail, on the one hand, to prove their allegations that hatred against Israel and the Jews is part and parcel of the Palestinian curriculum in the natural sciences and language tuition as well as in history and in the social sciences. On the other hand, some examples deliver contested messages while referring to the realities of the pupils’ everyday lives under occupation.

Whereas textbooks of history and social sciences present comprehensive narratives which are the subject of ‘classical’ textbook analysis, experience-related examples appear in a rather shattered and isolated manner in natural science or language textbooks and have therefore largely remained unconsidered in cultural studies.⁸⁷ This desideratum is accompanied by a lack of an established methodological approach to investigate the relevance of ideologically or politically connoted content in textbooks for the natural sciences, technology and language. In this case, research on the topic must follow the established methods of textbook analysis applying them in a way that fits the peculiarities

⁸⁴ The reference here is to textbooks for the teaching of the rules of a certain language (grammar, syntax, morphology) rather than to readers with examples from a specific literary canon.

⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ Eldad J. Pardo: *The New Palestinian Curriculum, 2018–19, Update – Grades 1–12*, April 2019; Arnon Groiss and Ronni Shaked: *Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority (PA): The Attitude to the Jews, to Israel and to Peace*, Ramat Gan, 2017 (in Hebrew).

⁸⁷ There is, however, some research in the field of the didactics of mathematics and the natural sciences, e.g. Reidar Mosvold: *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. (<https://de.scribd.com/doc/506952/Mathematics-in-everyday-life-A-study-of-beliefs-and-actions>), 99-115.

of this particular genre. We believe that the research methodology listed below will provide a comprehensive and sophisticated picture of the phenomenon.

Sample:

Textbooks for grades 1–12 of the following disciplines:

- Arabic language (with the exception of comprehensive readers from the Arabic literary canon)
- Biology
- Chemistry
- Economics
- Life sciences
- Mathematics
- Physics
- Technology

2.4.1. Methodology⁸⁸

A) Quantitative analysis:

1. Collecting and recording of all everyday-life examples in the textbooks, defining the sort of text in question (authored text, task, heading etc.) or illustration (photograph, drawing, chart, etc.).
2. Marking of conflict-related examples
3. Measuring the quantitative relationship between examples that are conflict-related and those which are not (number of examples, pages and lines).

B) Qualitative analysis of conflict-related examples:

4. Analysis of contexts:

Is there any mandatory reason for the use of a conflict-related example in a specific context?

5. Analysis of textual and semantical structures (which allows a certain classification from ‘legitimate’ experience-related examples to problematic or even hatred-stirring examples):

- a) Are the conflict-related examples more or less isolated in the text (on a page, in a chapter) or are they part of a didactical context (e.g. illustration – authored text – task). Do they appear only once or repeatedly on a page, in a chapter, in the book?
- b) Are there ideological/political connotations beyond the experience-related connection? (e.g. an illustration of a slingshot in order to demonstrate the rotation principle \diamond an illustration of a slingshot and an explanation of how it is used in a conflict and against whom.)
- c) Are there 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 delegitimising/dehumanising messages?

⁸⁸ In a first stage, textbooks for different subjects and classes will be examined separately; then, categories will be applied to the wider sample and findings will be generalised.

- d) To what extent are emotive elements (certain words, terms or pictures) used in order to deliver a certain message connected to the conflict-related example?
6. Analysis of experience-related examples that propagate peace, understanding and cooperation with Israel/the Jews and examples which show Israelis/Jews as ‘ordinary’ people.

The analysis of the examples will be based on the principles of qualitative content analysis in textbook research. These include locating and encoding relevant textual structures, identifying subjects and objects and analysing the relationship between them and the character of verbs used in this context, especially if human protagonists are displayed (transitivity analysis: *who is doing what to whom?*). This categorisation and encoding will provide an accurate identification of conflict-related content, even in the case of examples which appear, at first glance, to be less determined.

2.5. Triangulation and Comparison of Findings

In a final step, the results of the four methods developed above will be triangulated to carve out similarities and differences between textbook representations in different school subjects and grades as well as between different versions of textbooks in order to identify the direction of developments. A result will be an integrated report that relates the results of qualitative and quantitative analysis. As mentioned above, by building on previous textbook analysis with a similar regional or thematic focus, the study aims at contrasting the content of Palestinian textbook to that of earlier generations of Palestinian textbooks and – with reference to human rights representations – to textbooks in different regions and times.

منظمه التحرير الفلسطينيه، ياسر عرفات، اللاجنين، اتفقيه اوسلو، الانتفاضه الفلسطينيه، العدو، قرار 194 العوده، قرار 242 و 338 مجلس الامن، قرار التقسيم 181، المستوطنات، فلسطين، القدس، القدس الشرقيه، اليهود، اسرائيل، الصهاينه، الشتات، المصادره، المفاوضات، هدم، قتل، جرح، سجن، اعتقال، منطقه ا، منطقه ب، منطقه ج، احتلال، المسجد الاقصى، المسجد الابراهيمي، الثوره، رابين، بيرس، السلطه الوطنيه، يهودا و السامره، الترحيل، الابرتايد، السلام، حقوق الانسان، العدل، المساواه، العنف، الكره، التحريض، الاضراب، الحوار، الاحترام، الدفاع، الجهاد، المرابطين، الرباط، الشهاده، الشهداء، الجرحى، المقاومة، التسامح، العنصريه، خارطه، المحرقه اليهوديه، الهولوكوست، الحريه، الديموقراطيه، الحدود، الكنيس، المدن الفلسطينيه، الخليل، العنصريه، الولايات المتحده/ امريكا، الاتحاد الاوروبي، الضفه الغربيه، غزه/ قطاع غزه، القصف، الحدود، الجدار، جدار الفصل العنصري، القضيه الفلسطينيه، التشرذ، المدن الفلسطينيه، المراه الفلسطينيه، السجون، المعتقلات، التحرير، الصمود، المهاجرين، الهجره، الابعاد، العوده، الوطن البديل، حل الدولتين، حل الدوله الواحد، الفدائين، المذابح، دير ياسين، الابعاد، العمليات الفدائيه، الانسحاب، الامل، الاعاقه، الاضهاد، السلام، الامن، الطعن، الاضراب، البلده القديمه، حائط المبكى، اليهوديه، الاسلاميه، المسيحيه، صبرا و شاتيلا، منع التجول، حصار، النكسه، الاسرى، حواجز، تبادل اسرى، معاناه، تعذيب، اضهاد، تصاريح، لجوء، تشرذ، سلب، طرد، استقلال، عرب الداخل، عرب 48، الاعتقال الاداري، جثمان، ثوره، ارهاب، فدائيون، وعد بلفور، الانتداب، ثوار، معسكر، معتقلات، مراقبه، طرق التفافيه، اغتصاب، اضراب عن الطعام، مقاطعه، تعذيب، اختطاف، مستعربين، عملاء، استعمار، دبابات، قصف، عملاء، اطفال الحجاره، قوات خاصه، مستوطنين، اعدام، غاز، قنابل، ظلم، ابعاد، حقوق، مواطنه، تنازل، مؤامره، اغلاق، منع، مقاطعه، مظاهرات، احتجاجات، الجنه، حور العين، مجازر، اغتصاب، التعايش، الاحزاب، مطارده، تسريب، صلح، مخيمات اللاجنين، فصائل، العزل، الزنزانه، التنكيل، التعاون، حرق، ارهاب، تفجير، عنف، اقتلاع، مسجد/جامع، كنيسه، كنيس، دوله فلسطينيه، استقلال، حقوق، حائط المبكى، البراق، الانتخابات، المجلس التشريعي.

⁸⁹ Bar-Tal et al.: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?'