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Article

## Implementing antisemitism studies in German teacher education

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**Keywords:** Antisemitism, teacher education, social science, political education, Germany

- The integration of antisemitism as a topic for teacher education is urgent, especially in the social sciences
- Education regarding contemporary antisemitism must be combined with an analysis of racism and historical-political perspectives on the Shoah to succeed in post-migrant society
- Slight changes of the curricula are a reliable base for further development
- A nexus between schools, universities and actors of civil society is needed in order to target antisemitism
- International summer schools, German-Israeli study groups or collaborative workshops are exemplary pilot projects in order to establish competence regarding education critical of antisemitism

**Purpose:** Following the current rise of Antisemitism globally and in Germany, this paper examines the current situation regarding Antisemitism in teacher education. The paper aims to make a contribution for the demand of an implementation of education critical of Antisemitism in teacher education.

**Approach:** Combining experience from university teacher training and the field of extracurricular political education we appoint perspectives for a sustainable implementation of education critical of Antisemitism in teacher training via best practice examples. We evaluate the potentials of field trips, international study groups and networks between university and agents located in civil society.

**Findings:** The revised curricula for Social Sciences in the state of North-Rhine-Westphalia (and formerly Berlin) name current Antisemitism for the first time, indicating an urgent need for professionalization in Social Science teacher education where the facets of Antisemitism only play a minor role. Hence, expertise and existing resource must be stabilized, a structural implementation and funding is needed in order to target the challenging topic of Antisemitism.

**Research limitations/implications:** This paper functions as a preliminary research in order to examine the given shape of Social Science teacher education and Antisemitism in Germany. A comprehensive, structured analyses of all teacher training facilities as well as extracurricular agents working in the field of education critical of Antisemitism could be useful in order to pool expertise. Nonetheless this paper encourages local collaborations between university and civil society actors.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Antisemitism is on the rise. Not only conspiracy theories, which were widely disseminated during the Corona pandemic, but also directly articulated facets of antisemitism are not uncommon. Violent attacks and insults are recorded thousands of times by reporting offices and repeatedly make the headlines. Because of this, the demand for an implementation of educational components critical of antisemitism within teacher training has been discussed in Germany for quite some time.

For the following article, we have formed a cooperation between a university-based social science chair for teacher training and a civil society educational institution. Both have a focus on research and education addressing antisemitism. In order to develop perspectives for a possible implementation, we first look at the status quo with regard to antisemitism in Germany. Further, we exemplarily look at the field of schools and analyze the significant changes in the revised Social Science curricula of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. This is followed by a structural look at teacher training in Germany. Finally, by discussing three best practice examples from our own teaching and educational practice, we open up perspectives on a sustainable implementation of political education critical of antisemitism in teacher training.

## 2 ANTISEMITISM IN GERMANY

Empirical studies such as the Leipzig Authoritarianism Study come to the conclusion that about 30 percent of the respondents adhere to manifest or latent antisemitism. Classic anti-Semitic stereotypes such as *"Even today, the influence of the Jews is too great," "The Jews work more than other people with evil tricks to achieve what they want," "The Jews just have something special and peculiar about them and don't really fit in with us,"* meet with great approval in both East and West Germany. Respondents in West Germany tend to agree more strongly with manifest antisemitism, while respondents in East Germany tend to agree more with latent antisemitism. For the Leipzig Authoritarianism Study, 2503 people in Germany were surveyed (Decker/Brähler 2018: 76; Decker/Brähler 2020: 223 pp.).

It is known from research that antisemitism and conspiracy myths often go hand in hand. The "Mitte-Studie" published by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (2019) was able to show that 4 out of 10 respondents adhere to (anti-Semitic) conspiracy theories (Zick/Küpper/Berghan 2019). Shockingly high was the agreement to items like *"There are secret organizations that have great influence on political decisions", "Politicians and other leaders are just puppets of the powers behind them", "The media and politics are in cahoots", "I trust my feelings more than so-called experts", "Studies that prove climate change are mostly faked"*.

The connection between antisemitism and conspiracy theories was empirically demonstrated long before the Corona crisis. Since the beginning of the pandemic, however, conspiracy myths like QAnon or modified versions of pizza gate referring to a

satanic elite have experienced an alarming boom and spread from message boards like 8kun through social media platforms like Twitter, Parler, Telegram or WhatsApp. Thereby, anti-Semitic ideology is transported - implicitly or explicitly (Uhlig 2020).

Communication latency plays a central role in antisemitism. This refers to the social development according to which clear public anti-Semitic statements have been increasingly tabooed and relegated to the private sphere since the 1960s (Bergmann/Erb 1991: 275). In the course of this change of behavior, Monika Schwarz-Friesel and Jehuda Reinharz speak of a "detour communication" (Schwarz-Friesel/Reinharz 2013). They point out that antisemitism is articulated much more through insinuation than through open hostility towards Jews. This confronts educators with the challenge of recognizing the potential transitions between direct attribution or possible affinity to anti-Semitic thought patterns. For example, certain allusions may express anti-Semitic stereotypes without explicitly naming Jews, such as in the image of the rapacious capitalist (Ibd.).

In times of multiple societal crises, encompassing economic, ecological, political and cultural dimensions, different forms of group-based misanthropy increasingly emerge. Antisemitism - strongly tabooed due to Germany's NS past - is on advance in recent years again (Hentges 2020). In times of globalization, digitalization and of increasingly complex interrelationships and interdependencies, personalization seems to be a suitable strategy for constructing scapegoats that are held responsible for crisis developments. Instead of analyzing abstract economic, social and political contexts, the focus is on the concrete. Thus, persons such as Bill Gates (who is also labeled as a Jew or described as a friend of Jews), George Soros or 'the Rothschilds' come into the crosshairs of anti-Semitic agitation and propaganda. They are accused - depending on the conjuncture - of being responsible for the economic and financial crisis of 2007/2008, for the refugee movements of the summer of 2015, for the Women's March on Washington, and - last but not least - for the Corona virus.

Even if the "new" antisemitism always raises new accusations of guilt and formulates allegations directed against Jews, it is nevertheless clear that it repeatedly refers to old anti-Semitic or anti-Judaic ideas and stereotypes (such as the Protocols of the Wise of Zion, the anti-Judaic myths of well poisoning or the ritual murder of children).

Currently, the Corona crisis is being used worldwide to spread anti-Semitic conspiracy narratives. As indicated by a study conducted by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which examined antisemitism in times of the Corona pandemic, the most anti-Semitic statements were posted from German users (along with the U.S. and France). "The current global health crisis surrounding Covid-19 has created an environment in which conspiracy theories circulate and blame is assigned to specific groups of people," (Banse/Müller 2000) the study concluded. The anti-Semitic posts alleged a Jewish takeover of the global economy, insinuated Jewish profits from vaccines and spread the lie that the virus was an Israeli-developed bioweapon attempting to reduce the world's population (Ibd.). During the Corona pandemic, it can be observed that the prevailing communication latency regarding anti-Semitic statements appears to be crumbling. In many conspiracy

myths that surface in the pandemic, there is no longer any effort to conceal them (Decker/Brähler 2020).

At the same time, however, it can be observed that multiple facets of antisemitism, especially the ones related to Israel, are often not recognized by educators. Taking into account the described current situation political education aiming for the prevention of antisemitism deserves special attention. Antisemitism-critical educational work has now established itself as a discipline. By now it must also find its way into school lessons. Although the topic of National Socialism is an integral part of the curriculum of all types of schools, the question of how political topics are connected to the historical reappraisal of the anti-Semitic and racist extermination policies of National Socialism is not addressed. There is not enough room to discuss the historical significance of the Shoah and its historical impact on the present. Research shows that a large majority of Germans emphasize the importance of teaching history, while nonetheless one fifth of all people under 30 in Germany can no longer relate to the term Auschwitz.

This result of a recent study by the Körber Foundation relates to the critique postulated by the "Commission of Experts on Antisemitism," stating that there are major deficits in the teaching of the Shoah in textbooks: Personalization, supposed seduction of the German population, missing of references to the present. At the same time, the Körber Foundation pointed out in its study that both educators and students are heavily demanding professionalization regarding antisemitism in educational settings. On the one hand, large gaps with regard to the historical classification of the Shoah and National Socialism are analyzed among young people, but at the same time the survey results also show that there definitely is interest in dealing with this part of German history, as long as the teaching is oriented towards the lifeworld of young people (Körber-Stiftung 2017).

Therefore, in this article we would first like to address the gaps and challenges of educational work critical of antisemitism, in order to address some fundamental questions of content and pedagogical mediation in the following (Schäuble 2012; Salzborn 2020; Der Spiegel 2017).

In school, the historical reappraisal and mediation of National Socialism predominates by far. Historical facts, dates and timelines are usually in the foreground when dealing with the topic of National Socialism. However, this approach is too abstract for teenagers to awaken their interest in an active debate. For this reason, the "Antisemitism Expert Group" has determined that educators simply lack the content-related and didactic knowledge to productively address and combat current antisemitism (Bundesministerium des Inneren 2018).

Antisemitism is often subsumed under racism, although there are important distinctions that are central to historical-political educational work. If these differences are not understood by educators, antisemitism cannot be recognized and, of course, cannot be the topic of pedagogically monitored discussion. In contrast to racism, which assumes the natural inferiority of certain ethnic groups, antisemitism projects a great potential of power onto the group of Jews. This potential is expressed in the form of money,

interest, capital or intellectuality. In this context, the term "Jew" stands as a code for capital, domination, and world-spanning power. Thus, educational work critical of antisemitism first needs a clear definition of the term Antisemitism in order to ask further questions: In which ways does the growing antisemitism also show itself in the educational system? What challenges do schools, teachers, students, adult educators, youth educators, and the participants in their educational programs face? How are universities, professors and students challenged?

### **3 ANTISEMITISM IN GERMAN SCHOOLS**

In recent years, there have been repeated incidents of antisemitism in schools, including cases at the Paul Simmel Elementary School in Berlin Tempelhof/Schöneberg, the Community School Friedenau, and the John F. Kennedy School in Berlin/Dahlem (Maas 2018; Bachner 2018). These three incidents, which were reported in the press nationwide, occurred in different parts of the city and in different milieus.<sup>1</sup> In Berlin Tempelhof/Schöneberg, a second grader was insulted and threatened with death by fellow students because she does not believe in Allah; in Friedenau, a 15-year-old student whose grandparents were persecuted by the Nazis was insulted and beaten up by fellow students; in Dahlem, a student in ninth grade had smoke from an e-cigarette blown in his face - with the words, "This is to remind you of your gassed ancestors." The Jewish student at the John F. Kennedy School had logged the anti-Semitic incidents and reported on them in an interview with the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. These three case studies indicate that different varieties of antisemitism are reproduced by students and that religious bullying or anti-Semitic insults are also widespread within peer groups. In every of the three examples teachers intervened only at a very late stage to take the side of the students who were victims of these hostilities.<sup>2</sup>

The debates about antisemitism in schools are accompanied by claims that anti-Semitic attacks and assaults originate primarily from Muslims, sometimes the phrase of 'imported antisemitism' appears (Mayer/Schmitz 2020). Even though numerous explorative studies prove that antisemitism is virulent in Muslim contexts, the exclusive focus on Islam in the context of antisemitism is, however, an inadmissible narrowing. Currently, there are still no robust quantitative studies.

According to the ADL Global 100 survey, members of the Muslim minority were more likely than Christians to exhibit anti-Semitic attitudes in Western Europe in 2019. Almost one in four respondents (24%) in Western Europe shared anti-Semitic attitudes. Among Muslims, nearly one in three respondents (29%) agreed with antisemitism; among Christians, one in four (25%); and among the non-religious or atheist, agreement was 22%.

In Germany, approval of anti-Semitic attitudes and opinions was below the level found for Western Europe. Accordingly, 15% of all respondents shared anti-Semitic attitudes. While almost one in two Muslims (49%) agreed with the anti-Semitic items, these attitudes are found among only 14% of Christians and 12% of non-religious or atheists.

In Belgium, however, one in four respondents shared anti-Semitic attitudes. 58% of Muslims living in Belgium are considered anti-Semitic, according to the study, as are 22% of Christians and 16% of non-religious or atheists.<sup>3</sup>

However, the ADL Global 100 study cannot be used to make the blanket statement that Muslims generally exhibit anti-Semitic attitudes to a greater degree. For example, the study found that anti-Semitic attitudes are less pronounced among sub-Saharan Muslims than among Christians living there. Looking at the Middle East region, the study concluded that antisemitism is widespread. The presence of anti-Semitic attitudes and opinions in this region applies to both the group of Muslims and Christians (Küpper/Zick 2020).

In general, it can be stated that religious affiliation plays only a minor role in the extent of antisemitism, even if current debates insinuate that antisemitism in Western Europe or in Germany is an imported antisemitism and that Muslims in particular are the focus of antisemitism. Overall, the findings speak more for an influence of the respective socialization in the regional context with its lines of conflict and cultural imprints (Küpper/Zick 2020: 126).

As the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung's study shows, Muslims tend only slightly more frequently toward classical and Israel-related antisemitism or tend somewhat less toward secondary antisemitism than Catholics, Protestants, or the non-denominational (Küpper/Zick 2020).

While the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung's study focused on adults as subjects, the 2009 Berlin Youth Study focused primarily on 15-year-old students. The young people were asked whether they would find "Jews" as neighbors more unpleasant than "Germans." This youth study came to the following conclusion: The clearly more negative evaluation of Jews as neighbors could be observed among students from different countries; this also applies to young people from Western and Northern Europe. The negative attitude towards Jews as neighbors was particularly pronounced among young people from Lebanon, Turkey and Islamic countries. However, young people from Turkey tended to be less anti-Semitic than young people from Middle Eastern countries (Küpper/Zick 2020).

The Bertelsmann Foundation's Religion Monitor (2019), authored by Gert Pickel, concludes that 21% of Muslims living in Germany view Judaism as threatening. While every fifth Muslim surveyed sees Judaism as a threat, every third Muslim surveyed feels threatened by atheism. Thus, atheism is perceived as the greater threat within the Muslim minorities in Germany.

It must be taken into account, however, that Muslims are by no means a homogeneous group. The heterogeneity of the Muslim community is particularly evident in the assessment of Judaism as a threat: A quarter of Sunnis feel threatened by Judaism, but only 13% of Shiites. Only 2% of Alevis perceive Judaism as a threat (Pickel 2019).

In broad agreement with the results of these studies, Stefan Hößl arrives at very complex and well-founded analyses in his work "Antisemitism among 'Muslim Youths'". For time and again, even in academia, a simple nexus is established between Muslim religious affiliation and antisemitism, especially among young people.

In contrast, Hößl's qualitative study shows that there are possible connections between Muslim religiosity and antisemitism. At the same time, however, he is able to point to resistant elements of religious self-positioning in relation to susceptibility to antisemitism among Muslim youth. Rather, he points to a pan-European, even global phenomenon, and beyond that, we encounter antisemitism in all social milieus, strata, and religious orientations (Hößl 2019: 13).

Regardless of this, the empirical findings on antisemitism in the majority of society must not be disregarded. The observed helplessness of teachers in the face of Jewish students being bullied indicates that the problem is much more complex (Schulte von Drach 2019; Heitmeyer 2000-2011). Nevertheless, it is imperative to establish a "historical education in the migration society", which on the one hand reflects the different cultural family backgrounds and at the same time emphasizes the process of migration as fundamental for a society. The identity concepts constructed by migration and assignments of belonging are in a discursively contested field, whereby it is increasingly "normal [...] that in the individual identity constructions different communities of memory overlap, intersect, interlink" (Stender 2008). However, a critical reflection on identity concepts must first be undertaken, discussing religious and cultural attributions in their historical contexts. This is central for educational work critical of antisemitism, because notions of a national and cultural identity that is homogeneous in itself condition and legitimize processes of stigmatization and exclusion. For this reason, Astrid Messerschmidt advocates educational work critical of antisemitism that focuses on a "historical consciousness without identity occupations". Succinctly, she therefore states:

"The longing for identity, on the reverse side of which the 'rage for difference' expresses itself, is inextricably linked to the destructive practices of identitarian community building, which can best be studied in the history of antisemitism" (Messerschmidt 2016).

Special sensitivity is also required of educators to avoid viewing antisemitism expressed among marginalized minorities as a clearly definable group phenomenon. Such a projective localization of antisemitism, for example, among "young male Muslims," precisely misses the mission of critical educational work to place social structures at the center of the debate and ultimately enable processes of reflection that are also directed against one's own resentments (Hößl 2019). This can be supported by teachers themselves making their own entangled position in a society structured by antisemitism and other ideologies of oppression the subject of discussion in the classroom (Messerschmidt 2010: 91-111).

As discrimination and threats - up to experiences of violence - are part of the everyday life of many Jewish students in Germany – despite political, social and pedagogical efforts to combat antisemitism – Frankfurt sociologist Julia Bernstein focuses primarily on the perspective of the affected students and teachers. In her qualitative study "Antisemitism in German Schools" anti-Semitic experiences in the context of schools have been systematically collected, documented and evaluated for the first time (Bernstein 2020).

This groundbreaking research led to the question how antisemitism is addressed in school lessons. The Independent Commission of Experts regarding Antisemitism on behalf of the Ministry of Interior came to the conclusion that antisemitism is primarily addressed in relation to the Middle Ages, the Enlightenment and especially in connection with National Socialist persecution policies (Bundesministerium des Inneren). Thus, antisemitism appears as a phenomenon that is historical or exclusively assigned to the Nazi regime. Hence, modern antisemitism appeared 'out of the blue' in 1933 and disappeared again into the Orcus in 1945.

Post-1945 Judaism is only discussed in relation to the Middle East conflict. None of the examined textbooks published after 1989/90 links antisemitism "explicitly and implicitly" to prejudice.

According to the report of the Independent Commission of Experts, this historical dislocation of antisemitism means that although young people perceive statements that stem from secondary or Israel-related antisemitism as problematic, they do not associate these statements with antisemitism, let alone with the categories of secondary or Israel-related antisemitism.

Moreover, the historical location of Judaism and antisemitism can also be counterproductive. An "inadequate and inappropriate engagement with Jewish history, Judaism, or Israel" can give rise to or reinforce antisemitism. Thus, textbooks can also contribute to a "transmission of anti-Semitic stereotypes" (Ibd.).

#### **4 ANTISEMITISM IN GERMAN TEACHER EDUCATION**

One of the greatest challenges after the end of Nazi rule was the democratization of education, which initially took place under the heading of reeducation or reconstruction. In addition to the denazification of teachers and textbooks, this democratization also included - in the sense of academization - an upgrading of teacher training.

For 70 years, Germany has had a two-phase teacher education system. The first phase of teacher training takes place at a university or university of teacher education (this is the case in Baden-Wuerttemberg) with the study of two teaching subjects. In addition to the subject-specific scientific and didactic training, all student teachers also study educational sciences. Since the Bologna reform came into effect, student teachers first complete a BA program (six semesters) and then apply for a place on a Master's program (four semesters). This includes a practical semester, which students complete at a school. The program ends with the First State Examination or a Master of Education.

The second phase of teacher training, the teacher traineeship (18 months), takes place at study seminars. This study program is concluded with the Second State Examination.

Teachers' advanced training, sometimes referred to as the third phase of teacher education, is offered by a variety of independent institutions, including the state centers for civic education.



#### 4.1 Antisemitism as a topic in German teacher education

However, the question arises whether and in what way teachers have the necessary knowledge on the topic of historical and current antisemitism. In recent years, several empirical studies monitored this issue.

One study, which originated at the Free University Berlin, examines university teaching about the Holocaust. This study includes a quantitative and a qualitative part (Nägel/Kahle 2018).

First, the two authors analyzed the university course catalogs (online) of 79 universities in Germany to determine whether seminars on the Holocaust are offered. The study period covered four semesters from 2014 to 2016, and all courses on the Holocaust and on National Socialism were tracked. The quantitative survey covered classes on: History of National Socialism, National Socialist Persecution of Jews 1933-1945, Holocaust Denial and Historical Scholarship, National Socialism in History Classes with Field Trip, Holocaust - The Story of the Weiss Family (The U.S. Television Four-Part Series Critically Examined: Authenticity, Aesthetics, Reception in Germany). The methodological aspects of field trip, eyewitness interview, recorded eyewitness interview, regional reference, and comparative aspects were also considered.

As a result of the first quantitative part, the authors came to the conclusion that 994 relevant classes were offered over the course of four semesters at the total of 79 universities, 468 were on subjects related to the Holocaust, 526 on National Socialism. This means that at each university of the sample, an average of 3.1 classes were offered on either the Holocaust (1.5) or National Socialism (1.7) (Nägel/Kahle 2018: 22).

Real history accounted for one-third of all courses, social and political reappraisal for 22%, followed by pedagogy (18%), literary (15%), and media reappraisal (12%) (Ibd.: 23).

Thus, over the period of two years, only 153 courses focused on real history, so that an average of only 0.5 seminars per semester were offered on real history, whether on recent research on the National Socialist regime or lectures on the history of the Shoah in the years 1933-1945. This result speaks for itself and documents without a doubt a deficit in university education on the subject of the Shoah / National Socialist regime.

An evaluation of the courses by academic discipline shows that by far the most courses are offered in the field of history. 323 seminars are on the NS, 196 on the Holocaust. Literary studies and German studies rank second (37 events on NS and 80 on Holocaust), followed by cultural studies (36 / 45), pedagogy and educational sciences (38 / 45). The political and social sciences ranked only 5th (38 / 26) (Ibd.: 26).

The study is not limited to quantitative aspects, but also includes qualitative research on teacher education. 13 interviews with experts gain important insights for our research question: The educational claim for interdisciplinary democracy education, laid down by the 'Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs', should also be reflected in teacher training. Hence, students of teacher education who do not study social or cultural science subjects should still have the opportunity to participate in seminars or lectures dealing with National Socialism, the Holocaust and antisemitism. In

one of the expert interviews, the Berlin historian Wolfgang Benz advocates, "to include the subject of the Holocaust in general education. No one should leave university to become a teacher who has not thoroughly learned what is necessary about the Holocaust. However, since it is not possible to make attendance at the Holocaust chair compulsory, I see a problem there (Ibd.: 72).

Taking into account the fact that teachers only have a few hours to teach about the Nazi era and the Holocaust, the Hamburg historian Frank Bajohr argues in his expert interview that the courses should be "somewhat broader thematically" so that a connection can be made to later teaching (Ibd.: 73).

It should also be recognized that students who will teach at elementary, lower secondary, or intermediate schools in the future, study several subjects and that history is only one of them. Christina Brüning, Lecturer for didactics of history at the University Potsdam, refers to these specifics in another expert interview and reports that she tries to combat this uncertainty in the teaching internships, where students realize, "that it is bad if they are just a nose ahead of the students, because the lessons are slipping away from them" (Ibd.: 73).

Christina Brüning emphasizes that the students at the teaching levels of primary and lower secondary education are grateful that she offers seminars on National Socialism and the Holocaust at the Teacher Training College Freiburg. Especially in grades 9 and 10, this was marked as a "huge subject area" for which the students felt they were not well trained (Ibd.).

Sascha Feuchert, Literary scholar and didactician at the University of Giessen, also argues that the teacher training program must be reformed to include the topic of the Holocaust. He refers to the Holocaust Literature Center at the University of Giessen, which is working intensively on the conception of seminars in German didactics and argues that these concepts must be related to the practice of teaching in schools. Furthermore, interdisciplinary cooperation is important, especially cooperation between German and history didactics. The experts agreed that a basic knowledge of the Holocaust is necessary and must be offered regularly, across subjects and possibly also be obligatory.

Furthermore, with regard to student teachers, the study comes to the conclusion that above all the aspect of "arousing interest" is of great relevance. University teaching must be designed in such a way that the students develop interest and that they are able to adequately convey these topics in the classroom in their future profession. Of course, the lecturers cannot cover all scientific topics in detail. Instead, the students should be enabled to acquire the knowledge independently and to implement it didactically.

Two experts (Martin Lücke, history and its didactics, Free University Berlin, and Sascha Feuchert, University of Giessen) refer to the problem that the Holocaust is the subject of instruction at different times in schools. While students have already dealt with the Holocaust at an earlier point in time in the subjects German and religion, the history curriculum stipulates that the Holocaust is only addressed in the 9th grade. Teachers, he said, are often confronted with students expressing oversaturation, while teachers face

the challenge of teaching historical foundations in 9th grade. Even if this problem could not be solved at the universities, interdisciplinary courses for undergraduate teaching students might be an option in order to qualify future teachers (Ibd.: 44).

Although, this study makes an important contribution, still the question arises why topics such as the Holocaust and National Socialism are underrepresented in university teaching, especially in the political and social sciences. A look at the professorships shows that there are no professorships nationwide in political science whose denomination focuses on right-wing extremism or antisemitism research. In historical studies, there are a few professorships with the focus, two of which are in Berlin (Kurth/Salzborn 2019).

With regard to political science, this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that since its founding as a university discipline, it has been subject to a process of change, successively distancing itself from contemporary history (Gallus 2011).

Nowadays, the study of social sciences for a teaching profession at universities in Germany usually includes the component disciplines of political science, sociology, economics as well as the methodology of social sciences. As a result of the federal system, education falls under the jurisdiction of the Länder, so that the names of the school subject vary according to the type of school and also from state to state.<sup>4</sup>

The University of Cologne, which is cited as an example in this article, is one of the largest teacher training institutions in Europe. About a quarter of all students (12,698 out of 50,792; winter term 2020 / 21) study for a teaching degree. A teaching degree in social sciences at the University of Cologne comprises a bachelor degree of 6 semesters and a master's degree of 4 semesters. In the course of the master's program, students complete a practical phase of 3 months. This practical semester serves as a preparation for the later traineeship and is concluded with a research report. Thus, practice and research-based learning are intertwined.

#### **4.2 A slight shift regarding contemporary antisemitism. Exemplary analysis of the revised social science curricula for North Rhine-Westphalia**

The newly implemented social science curricula for North Rhine-Westphalia explicitly mention contemporary antisemitism for the first time. This will be examined exemplarily in the following. The curriculum for the re-reformed Gymnasium (G9) published in 2019 occupies a special position in this context, since the expectations regarding judgment competence in the curriculum differ from the other ones that were released in 2020.

First, it is noticeable that contemporary antisemitism has found its way into the reaccredited curricula of the subjects Economics-Politics and Social Studies across all school types and is not only targeted at potentially 'educationally distant' milieus, as pointed out in the report with regard to Hamburg. Antisemitism is not mentioned in the curricula for the subjects of Economics and Economics and the world of work (Wirtschaft and Wirtschaft & Arbeitswelt). A revision of the curriculum in social studies for the school form of Hauptschule is still pending (Ibd.).

The central field in which contemporary antisemitism is to be taught in schools in North Rhine Westphalia is content section 2 (for Realschule Section 1): "Safeguarding and further development of democracy." Named as requirement across all school types is: "The students [...] explain causes, characteristics and manifestations of extremism, antisemitism and group-based hostility towards people" (Ministry for School and Further Education 2019: 76). In the expiring curriculum for the Gymnasium (G8) it still says: "Causes of and defense against political extremism and xenophobia" (Ibd.: 28). Problematic in this case is the category of xenophobia, which reproduces othering towards those affected (Reuter 2002: 31).

In terms of updating the requirements for subject-matter competence, a positive development can be noted for North Rhine Westphalia (Ibd.: 24). Nevertheless, criticism is still in order. This becomes particularly clear with regard to the judgment competence: "The students [...] assess the threat to the free democratic order posed by right-wing and left-wing extremism." This shows that although the subject-matter competence mentions group-related hostility towards people, antisemitism, racism, etc. continue to be regarded merely as a problem of the political fringes. The structural dimension of ideologies of inequality is thus ignored, and the widespread prevalence of anti-Semitic ideas and attitudes in the so-called center of society is obscured. This applies not only, but also, to state institutions such as schools (Ministry for School and Further Education 2020: 55).

While in the 2019 curriculum for Gymnasium the 'horseshoe model' was still applied in its pure form and the radical left and the extreme right were completely equated, a slight paradigm shift took place in the 2020 curriculum: "The students [...] assess the threat to the free democratic basic order posed by populism and extremism, in particular by right-wing extremism." Using the concept of extremism, this formulation still refers to the political fringes, but at least the murderous threat to Jewish, migrant, queer, etc., people by the extreme right has been taken into account. At the same time, it was acknowledged that the verbal and physical attacks against these social minorities by no means originate from the radical left.

Especially in the new curriculum of social studies for comprehensive schools, in the course of which historical and social-scientific contents are linked with each other, the horseshoe model, which has been scientifically refuted anyway (Berendsen/Rhein/Uhlig 2019), would not have stood up. In content section 9, National Socialism and contemporary "extremism, antisemitism [as well as] group-related misanthropy" are to be discussed together, ideological continuities are to be shown, and current "threats" are to be assessed.

The judgment competence regarding antisemitism was also strengthened by the item "The students [...] discuss measures against antisemitism and group-related hostility towards people", and a shift towards action-orientated learning is also recognizable. However, there is a lack of explicit teaching and expertise in action, which is a central component of social science education (Wohnig 2021).

It stands to reason that the anti-Semitic and racist terrorist attacks of 2020 (Halle and Hanau) have contributed to a paradigm shift. The particular observation of the right-wing

populist and in parts right-wing extremist 'Alternative for Germany' by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the inclusion of populism in the curriculum should be seen not only as a reaction to social and discursive developments, but also as the entry of security policy positions into the curricula. For extracurricular political education, a new catalog of measures on right-wing extremism was submitted to the Bundestag in agreement on November 25, 2020.

The new curricular conditions in NRW are now comparable to those in Berlin. This is a step in the right direction. Nevertheless, above all further differentiations of the taught concept of antisemitism is needed. This must encompass all facets. Secondary but also Israel-related antisemitism have to be taken into account. In addition, there is a need to move away from the concept of extremism toward a consideration of antisemitism as an overall societal phenomenon, which must have a particular impact on the competency expectations for judgmental competence. The concept of authoritarianism is more suitable for this purpose. Following the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, it can be applied to various ideologies of inequality, but is strongly linked to antisemitism, so that there is no danger of subsuming it under other categories. Furthermore, it is suitable for highlighting historical continuities and discussing interdisciplinary counterstrategies and measures with students (Decker/Türcke 2019; Henkelmann et al. 2020).

While we have already discussed the status quo of the representation of antisemitism in textbooks, it remains to be seen how quickly and how far the curricular changes will have an impact. In the end, however, the discussion and handling of the Shoah in the classroom always depends on the sensitization and professionalization of the respective teacher.

## **5 IMPLEMENTING ANTISEMITISM STUDIES IN TEACHER EDUCATION**

In the following, three examples are presented as best-practice suggestions that can serve as points of reference for offering comprehensive antisemitism-critical educational programs for students, trainee teachers, teachers, and student teachers: The Summer School "Views on and of the Israeli Society", the Israeli-German Study Group between the University of Cologne and the Ben Gurion University of the Negev as well as the joint venture between the Chair for Political Science, Educational Politics and political Education at the University of Cologne and the Cologne Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation as a specialized provider of political education. A network from which this article emerged. All three examples were developed as part of the professional practice of the authors. Furthermore, they are of pilot character and require additional funding in order to be regularly implemented and comprehensively evaluated.

The suggestions share the aim to sensitize future educators regarding antisemitism as subjective and societal problem. But it needs to be underlined that, to combat antisemitism it is not necessarily promising to only thematize antisemitism itself. In Adorno et al's 'The Authoritarian Personality', Else Frenkel-Brunswick showed how a lack of acceptance of ambiguity is an item of authoritarianism (Adorno et al. 1950: 463). Due to

the nexus of authoritarianism and antisemitism it is crucial to target contemporary antisemitism by training the acceptance of ambiguity. In the recent years Kreuzberg Initiative against antisemitism transferred these ideas to educational practice (KIgA 2019). Considering the affective dimension of accepting ambiguity it seems even more important to embrace contemporary Jewish perspectives which is a key factor in overcoming of the separation of history orientated holocaust education and social science education, we criticized.

Central for the three examples are the didactical thoughts of Wolfgang Klafki (1996), Wolfgang Hilligen (1985) and Walter Gagel (2000). We chose the didactic principle of problem orientation which is central for social science and civic education. Thus, the following questions are relevant: What is the problem? How did the problem arise? Whose interests are affected by the problem? What solutions are conceivable and possible? What is the significance of the solutions for the respective social groups? Thus, we followed a subject didactic approach that places the problem study in the center of the method.

## 5.1 Summer schools

As part of the Cologne Summer School "Views on and of the Israeli Society", 15 members of the University of Cologne (Professors, academic staff, students) set out for Tel Aviv on April 18, 2018. This Cologne Summer School was a cooperation event between Prof. Gudrun Hentges and Prof. Dov Shinar, Hadassah Academic College, Jerusalem (study program 'politics and communication').

The group spent a total of 10 days in Israel, 4 days each in Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv as well as one day in Bethlehem and another day in the Ghetto Fighter's House as well as in Yad LaYeled.

We began preparing for this student excursion as early as April 2017. As a first step a preparatory seminar and a preliminary excursion to Berlin were offered for German and Israeli students in the summer of 2017. This trip dealt with topics such as public and cultural diplomacy, the Shoah and its pedagogical reappraisal.

The Cologne Summer School was able to contribute to finding and consolidating new ways against forgetting and for the friendly relationship between Israel and Germany. This included the students (educational sciences, teaching, intercultural communication and education) acquiring knowledge about anti-Semitic thought structures as well as strengthening reflections in the context of a democratic frame of reference. With this objective, the excursion also played a crucial part in establishing the cooperation and exchange with Yad Vashem, which the University of Cologne finally institutionalized in 2020.<sup>5</sup> The students also wanted to deepen their experiences from the German-Israeli Berlin excursion on diplomatic and political science issues. The basic idea was to experience Israeli perspectives and their diversity directly and to develop new trains of thought and points of view through discussion.

Field trips as a teaching/learning format at extracurricular learning sites (Sauerborn/Brühne 2017) are traditionally the subject of geography didactics (Stolz/Feiler 2018: 10). The exploration of specific landscapes and cities (Klein 2015) was finally adopted into the field of historical education (Mayer 2013). In this context, memorial and museum-based education represent two central strands that, for instance in the context of public history, also experienced a further perspectivization in relation to public space (Assmann 2009; Knoch 2016). In the discourse of formal civic education, formats of learning outside the classroom have been and continue to be discussed (Ackermann 1988; Goll 2007; Ciupke 2014; Studtmann 2017). In addition, there are attempts to explore synergies of different social science subjects and interdisciplinary approaches to field trips (Karpa et al. 2015; Erhorn/Schwier 2016; Eberhardt et al 2020).

In reference to our overall didactical thoughts, it is not enough to understand a field trip as an opportunity to interact with foreign subjects in foreign spaces leading to ambiguity tolerance *per sé*. Rather it is highly important to enable multi-perspectivity on complex problems as the geopolitical situation in the Middle East through specific content-orientated discussions and inputs by local experts. The main learning target for the students was the ability to switch between the local discourse about the conflict and the German discourse about the conflict – Kai Schubert suggests, to analyze the conflict regarding the conflict in education regarding the Middle East (Schubert 2021).

This overall target was achieved by the following rooting in the four dimensions of political competence:

Specialized knowledge was imparted in seminars and lectures by experts as well as in self-study (input, assignments and theses).

The ability to make political judgments was promoted in the seminar discussions, which were based on the principle of controversy. Political judgment was strengthened both in the German context and in the context of the German-Israeli exchange.

The students demonstrated their ability to act politically, as they were involved in the preparation and organization and took on independent tasks and thus responsibility for the entire project.

Political attitudes and motivations changed to the extent that the students went through the various stages of knowledge - judgement - action.

However, a theorization of political education at extracurricular learning sites, the process of a genesis of a specifically political education of extracurricular learning sites is still quite underdeveloped and can be identified as a blank space within the debate and – just as antisemitism – of curricular anchoring. One reason for this may be the high organizational effort. This was primarily reflected in the acquisition of funding to ensure that access could be guaranteed for potentially every student regardless of their financial background. However, this high organizational workload in the run-up and on site is justified by the specific teaching and learning opportunities as well as their reflection in Israel. Through the exchange and discussion with local actors, the students gain sensual insights into the local's daily life, professional knowledge as well as their common sense.

The stay also enabled the development of transnational contacts between both student groups, which had an impact on the students' future professional, political and personal activities.

The students were involved in the content-related and organizational planning from the very beginning. Decisions were made in a democratic manner, also within the teaching arrangement. Thus, not only a democratization of the teaching and learning context took place, but also, in the sense of explorative learning, the possibility to specialize in individual topic complexes, program points and their preparation was assured. In addition, through the joint preparation, planning and implementation of the project, action-orientated learning - a unique feature and core element of social science didactics - was initiated. Being able to immerse themselves in such an intensive and long-term process with the same learning group over a longer period of time (summer semester 2017 to summer semester 2018) was greatly appreciated by the students.

Above all, it should be emphasized that this project was geared toward sustainability. The participants are still in contact with each other. Three years after the student field trip, a follow-up meeting (online) was held in spring 2021. Currently, the participants are working as teachers at schools, in open all-day programs or as multipliers in political education. In this function, they pass on the findings and insights: One participant led an Israel working community as a teacher in her school. She later moved to a university as a research assistant and heads the project "Internationalization of Teacher Education" there. Another participant, now a teacher at a comprehensive school, is helping us apply for a project on "Digital Political Education in Times of Corona. Critical reflection on conspiracy ideologies and antisemitism in school and extracurricular (digital) political education". Thus, it proves to be very productive to maintain and cultivate social network in this field.

Last but not least, this continuity of learning together also had a positive effect on the group dynamics (Drescher 2017: 9). In the evaluation of the Summer School, which Katharina Drescher, one of the participants, conducted in the course of her master's thesis, particular importance was attached to this. In addition, the students attested to manifold reflection and discussion processes regarding the perception of Germany and Israel, their own political stance, the Shoah, etc. (Ibd.: 22-27). The student teachers emphasized that they wanted to use the knowledge they had gained, the contacts they had made and the experience they had gathered for teaching in schools and for organizing student exchange programs (Ibd.: 28).

## **5.2 German-Israeli study group**

In the academic year 2019/20, a cooperation with Prof. Dr. Nelly Elias (Ben Gurion University of the Negev) was established and an international 'German-Israeli Study Group' was founded with the thematic focus on "Racism, Antisemitism and (Refugee)Migration". The group of young researchers consists of ten PhD students, the



Cologne group of 12 Master students and two lecturers from the University of Cologne. Due to the Corona pandemic, planned meetings in Cologne and Haifa had to be cancelled, but the group met for Zoom seminars and discussed research projects and questions and in particular the named topics of racism, antisemitism and (refugee) migration from a bilateral perspective. These preliminary discussions were explored in greater depth by digital research teams.

For example, one trio addressed the question of "Postmodern Pandemics and Civic Protests: The cases of Germany and Israel. Scapegoating, conspiracy theories and authoritarianism during Covid-19" and published a paper based on the collaboration in the International Study Group, which won first place in the competition of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Tel Aviv, and is published in an anthology on the Corona pandemic in 2021 (Solomon/Andrae/Kirchhof 2021; Hentges/Gläser/Lingenfelder 2021).

The Digital Collaboration, which would have taken place even without the occurrence of the global pandemic, has proven fruitful on a professional and personal level and has made a modest contribution to the perpetuation of German-Israeli relations. However, from our perspective and experience, and drawing on field trip didactics, the didactics of extracurricular teaching/learning sites, and the didactics of social sciences, this cannot replace multiday face-to-face exchanges (Eberhardt et al. 2020: 291 pp.), but must be conceived as a blended learning format.

Regarding the Israeli-German working group we were able to observe similar effects as during the summer school. Even though the encounter was transferred to the digital space, the cooperative, interdisciplinary and transnational knowledge production increased expert knowledge and political judgment. Political action was trained through the process of organizing the group at an early stage of the covid-19 pandemic. Political attitude and motivation were achieved by multi-perspective discussions of day-to-day politics in the bi-national discourse and the examination of ambiguous practices in the students' daily life in Haifa, Tel Aviv and Cologne.

### **5.3 Collaborations of university departments and civil-society actors**

Another key actor in terms of best practice are the numerous extracurricular civic education providers. These numerous associations, foundations and NGOs, which carry out anti-racist and anti-Semitic education, are characterized by a high degree of specialization, content expertise and practical experience with regard to the implementation of workshops, blended learning formats and other teaching. The Amadeu Antonio Foundation, RIAS, SABRA, and the Anne Frank Educational Center are outstanding in the field of antisemitism. Also at the local level there are experienced organizations that develop action-, subject-, and experience-oriented methods, that address especially of young people (but also of adults), and that have been offering educational programs for decades that are still neglected in curricula and school education. The aforementioned associations are also leading in keeping close connections

with, in this case, Jewish communities, associations, synagogue congregations, so that they may have a hinge function that is indispensable for embracing contemporary Jewish life and making the perspectives of those affected visible in the majority society (Killguss/Meier/Werner 2020: 9-14).

In addition, there are organized systems of adult and youth education, for example, through adult education centers and the Youth Ring, in whose offerings antisemitism is also a fixed component. Events on Holocaust Remembrance Day, information about Jewish life and Jewish religion, synagogue visits, visits to memorials such as former concentration camps, reports and encounters with contemporary witnesses, etc. are planned (Hufer 2009).

Accordingly, a productive exchange between these civil society actors and the teacher training, which is most completely focused on school as core educational institution, seems to be important. The cooperation between an association of extracurricular political education and a political science chair of social science teacher training, which is the basis of this article, we want to take as an opportunity to open up perspectives of a further interlocking of educational actors critical of antisemitism.

For it is to be noted that there are hardly any forums or platforms on which innovative and successful projects are systematically presented. The various fields of practice, which depend on the profiles of the organizations and institutions, have in reality led to a diverse and disparate coexistence. Many pedagogical staff members acquire their expertise through self-study and trial and error. This structuring of the field of political education is the result of the funding logic of the federal program "Demokratie Leben!", which only supports project-based and temporary concepts. However, the expected innovative power is often undermined by the organizational effort of (re-)financing, personnel changes and competition among the different funding agencies (Arbeitskreis Forum Kritische Politische Bildung 2017).

Given those circumstances, it would make sense to share the resources and knowledge gained in different places with improved communication and an intensified exchange of experience. We recommend forums of encounter and mutual qualification, which, however, must be oriented and financed on a long-term basis. These could also serve as an interface to university-based political didactics, so that a deeper interlocking of knowledge production and application could be achieved.

Furthermore, networking and the development of shared publication platforms with target group-oriented formats, bundled email distributors and pools of team members would offer the advantage that not only students of social sciences could be sensitized regarding antisemitism across the board, but also that, based on the established cooperation, demands of other multiplier groups could be processed much more quickly in an interdisciplinary manner. Political education as an interdisciplinary principle of democratization, as stated in the framework of political education of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia does not only apply to professionals in the fields of social science education (Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen

2001: 8), citizenship education or similar, but also to police officers, judges, administrative employees, kindergarten teachers and the private sector actors. This must include an antisemitism-critical sensitization.

Finally, a stronger nexus between university, urban and civil society would benefit mutual exchange and can serve as a sensorium for practical impulses and problem orientation. In order to be able to implement this, just like the other two best practice examples presented, however, long-term financing structures and the will for real implementation would be needed, which for North Rhine-Westphalia has begun with the changes to the curriculum, but should now also continue structurally in teacher training, as the core of formal education.

The last example resides more on an organizational level rather than a didactical one. The experiences of our educational practice in university, school and civil society, bundled in our network, show that only an opening of teacher education for tested expertise of extracurricular antisemitism-critical education does justice to the complexity and contemporary antisemitism and the ambiguity of the migration society, which we have outlined in chapter 3. The perspectives of those affected by antisemitism and the impulses of social movements, for example with regard to the recent right-wing extremist terror in Halle and Hanau, can only be taken up by cross-institutional networks and anchored in teacher education, whose gaps we outlined in 4.1. The slight changes that are demonstrably emerging in the curriculum of North Rhine-Westphalia we examined in chapter 4.2 could thus be consolidated.

## 6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we can state that a reform of antisemitism-critical educational work in schools in Germany is urgently needed. In particular we believe that it is essential to combine a historical reappraisal of National Socialism and the Shoah with a political science and sociological analysis of contemporary antisemitism. For this purpose, the currently prevailing separation of political science and history must be urgently questioned. Applied to the topic of antisemitism, the analysis of historical and contemporary forms of Jew-hatred should be brought together, whereby a fruitful perspective could also be developed for the creation of methods for decoding the coded forms of antisemitism. In this way, socio-historical structures and mechanisms can be revealed as centuries-old hatred of Jews combines with a modernized form of exclusion, discrimination, and biologicistic distinction (Messerschmidt 2016). Through such a historically sensitive approach, it can be learned that at certain historical points in time there were quite different discursive strands in the classification and evaluation of Jews. Against this background, the methods of educational work critical of antisemitism must focus on the historical development and the way human coexistence has come to be, which are diametrically opposed to the seemingly unchangeable given (Schäuble 2012). This perspective must be connected to historical learning without national narrowing, because Germany has long been a migration society. This must have an impact on the

confrontation with the Shoah and contemporary antisemitism. Thus, historical education must first and foremost take a critical look at identity concepts in order to develop a sensitive approach to the phenomena of antisemitism and racism. To put it concretely: A successful confrontation with antisemitism can only succeed if it is accompanied by a critical perspective on racism (Bildungsbausteine 2019; Killguss/Meier/Werner 2020).

In addition to bringing together the past and the present for the development of educational work critical of antisemitism in schools, it is important to network with associations and organizations that have contributed very intensively in recent years in extracurricular educational work impulses for the pedagogical and methodological examination of the various facets of antisemitism. The interlocking of school and extracurricular education can, on the one hand, offer different perspectives for coming to terms with antisemitism and, on the other hand, lead to an expansion of the methodological and pedagogical setting, because in recent years there has been a multitude of pedagogical and didactic handouts on the part of NGOs critical of antisemitism for targeting antisemitism. Further, networking with Yad Vashem is of particular importance, as educational work on, about and against antisemitism has been developed there very successfully for many decades.

It is important to emphasize that the connection of different places of learning and teaching must go hand in hand with a structural implementation of the topic in school education. In addition to the thematic inclusion of current antisemitism in the curriculum, however, it is first and foremost necessary to integrate the topic into the training of prospective teachers. It has been pointed out multiple times that teachers are hardly prepared to deal with antisemitism.

However, a successful establishment of educational work critical of antisemitism will only be possible if a structured and coordinated plan is developed that starts a new dialogue in the field of pedagogical mediation and extracurricular education. This must be accompanied by a constant collaborative reflection on the respective pedagogical development of methods of educational work critical of antisemitism.

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**ENDNOTES**

<sup>1</sup> The students sang: "Off to Auschwitz in a freight train". In Die Welt, 28.6.2018.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the grandparents can be read in: Franz Michalski: Als die Gestapo an der Haustür klingelte, Berlin 2013. Franz Michalski, born in 1934, "tells the story and the dramatic rescue of his family during the Nazi era. His Catholic baptized mother was persecuted as a Jew. The family of four in 'mixed marriage' went into hiding in Breslau in October 1944 and survived in Saxony and the Sudetenland with the support of courageous helpers. In 2012, the Israeli memorial Yad Vashem decided to honor the rescuers of the Michalski family as 'Righteous Among the Nations'." (blurb)

<sup>3</sup> An overview of the study is to be found here: <https://global100.adl.org/map>

<sup>4</sup> The subject is referred to as "Gemeinschaftskunde/Community Studies" in Baden-Württemberg, "Sozialkunde/Social Studies" or "Wirtschaft und Recht/Economy and Law" in Bavaria, "Geschichte/Sozialkunde / History/Social Studies", "Politikwissenschaft/Political Science", "Sozialwissenschaften/Social Sciences" or "Wirtschaftswissenschaft/Economics" in Berlin, "Gesellschaftswissenschaften/Social Sciences", "Politische Bildung/Political Education" or "Wirtschaftswissenschaft/Economics" in Brandenburg, "Politik/Politics", "Rechtskunde/Legal Studies", "Soziologie/Sociology" or "Wirtschaftslehre/Economics" in Bremen, "Gemeinschaftskunde/Social Sciences" or "PWG/Politics, Economics, Social Sciences" in Hamburg, "PoWi/Political Science", "Rechtskunde/Legal Studies" or "Wirtschaftswissenschaften/Economics" in Hessen, "Sozialkunde/Social Sciences" in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, "Politik)Politics", "Politik/Wirtschaft/Politics/Economics", "Rechtskunde/Legal Studies" or "Wirtschaftslehre/Economics" in Niedersachsen, "Gesellschaftslehre/Social Sciences", "Politik-Wirtschaft/Politics/Economics" resp. "Wirtschaft-Politik/Economics/Politics", "Sozialwissenschaften/Social Sciences" or "Recht/Law" in North Rhine-Westphalia, "Sozialkunde/Social Studies" or "Gesellschaftslehre/Social Studies" in Rhineland-Palatinate, "Politik/Politics" in Saarland, "Gemeinschaftskunde/Community Studies", "Gemeinschaftskunde/Rechtserziehung/Wirtschaft/ Community Studies/Legal Education/Economics" (GRW) or "Gemeinschaftskunde / Rechtserziehung / Community Studies / Legal Education" in Saxony, "Sozialkunde/Social Studies", "Rechtskunde/Legal Studies" or "Wirtschaftslehre/Economics" in Saxony-Anhalt, "Wirtschaft/Politik/Economics/Politics" in Schleswig-Holstein, "Sozialkunde/Social Studies" or "Wirtschaft und Recht/Economics and Law" in Thuringia.

<sup>5</sup> The press statement of the University can be found here: <https://portal.uni-koeln.de/universitaet/aktuell/presseinformationen/detail/universitaet-zu-koeln-und-gedenkstaette-yad-vashem-unterzeichnen-kooperationsvereinbarung>.

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