

Working Paper No. 02

A SAFE SCHOOL FOR JEWISH PUPILS

**A GUIDE TO ANTISEMITISM-CRITICAL SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT IN
35 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

Marc Grimm and Florian Beer

EMPATHIA³ WORKING PAPER SERIES

Peer reviewed

ISSN: 2941-9751

<https://doi.org/10.46586/E3.417>

Translation from July 2025

Unless otherwise stated, EMPATHIA³ Working Papers are published under the Creative Commons Licence [CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 International](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/)



Citation:

Grimm, Marc, and Florian Beer. 2025. A Safe School for Jewish Pupils: A Guide to Antisemitism-Critical School Development in 35 Questions and Answers. *EMPATHIA³ WORKING PAPER SERIES No. 2.* <https://doi.org/10.46586/E3.417> .

CONTACT:

Project Management: Prof. Dr. Nicola Brauch
EMPATHIA³ | Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Universitätsstr. 90a | 44789 Bochum | Deutschland
Email: empathia3@rub.de

GEFÖRDERT VOM



Bundesministerium
für Bildung
und Forschung

The Authors

Acting Professor Dr. Marc Grimm

Marc Grimm is currently serving as Acting Professor of Social Science Education at the University of Wuppertal. He has led numerous research projects and published widely in the field of education addressing antisemitism. He is co-editor of the book series *Antisemitismus und Bildung (Antisemitism and Education)* published by Wochenschau Verlag, and heads the Bielefeld-based subproject *Social Science Foundations of Contemporary Antisemitism in Youth Milieus and Attitudes among Police Officers*, which forms part of the EMPATHIA³ joint research project funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF): <https://empathia3.de/>.

Florian Beer

Florian Beer is a senior secondary school teacher (Oberstudienrat) in History/Social Sciences and Educational Science. He has been seconded by the Ministry of Schools and Education of North Rhine-Westphalia to serve as an educational advisor at SABRA – the Support Centre for Anti-Discrimination Work and Counselling on Racism and Antisemitism, located at the Jewish Community of Düsseldorf. His primary area of work is antisemitism-conscious school development. His other key responsibilities include supporting those affected by antisemitism, providing teacher training, and developing educational materials aimed at countering antisemitism. For over ten years, he was a member of the curriculum development commission for History/Social Sciences within the *abitur-online.nrw* distance learning programme.

The Translator

Dr. Dani Kranz

Dani Kranz is the director of research of the Tikvah Institut, Berlin, as well as director of Two Foxes Consulting, Germany and Israel. Her expertise covers migration, integration, ethnicity, law, state/stateliness, political life, organisations, memory cultures and politics as well as cultural heritage and allo-Semitism in the shape of antisemitism and philosemitism. She is a consultant to the high commissioner of the German government for Jewish life and in the fight against antisemitism, as well as to a range of other foundations, museums, and NGOs. She is the president of Präsenzen – Netzwerk jüdische Gegenwartsforschung e. V. (Presences – Network for the Research on Contemporary Jewry); a board member of the Association for the Social Scientific Jewry (ASSJ) as well as a founding member of the Network of Jewish University Teachers (Netzwerk jüdischer Hochschullehrender, NJH).

Authors' Note on this Translation

This publication is intended for teachers, school leadership teams, and educational professionals engaged in school development within ministries of education and related agencies. In Germany, responsibility for education lies with the individual federal states (*Länder*), and as such, this guide frequently refers to the specific context of North Rhine-Westphalia. Nevertheless, the guidance offered is equally relevant to schools in other federal states.

In Germany, addressing antisemitism in schools has only emerged as an independent field of research within the past ten years. A broader international discourse on the subject is anticipated in the coming years. The European Union, through its *EU Strategy on Combating Antisemitism and Fostering Jewish Life (2021–2030)*, has identified “education, research, and Holocaust remembrance” as one of three core pillars of the strategy. Furthermore, UNESCO/OSCE (2018) and OSCE (2022) have published materials aimed at policymakers, school leaders, and teachers.

This translation offers insights into current debates in Germany and seeks to contribute to the further development of antisemitism-conscious educational practice in other countries.

The authors would like to thank the following individuals for their critical review:

Volker Beck
Prof. Dr Nicola Brauch
Sophie Brüß
Jana Habig
Sarah Vero Vosding

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	8
SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT IN GENERAL	11
1. Is work that critically addresses antisemitism an integral part of school development? Does the school consistently take into account the needs of Jewish pupils and staff in its development initiatives?	11
2. Does the school have a transparent strategy for addressing antisemitism? Does this include the three pillars of prevention, intervention and enforcement?	11
3. Are responsibilities clearly assigned in cases of antisemitic incidents? Is there a designated person in school responsible for addressing antisemitism? Are they given adequate relief from other duties for this role?	15
CLASSROOM EDUCATION	16
4. Are teachers informed about where antisemitism and Judaism can be integrated into the curriculum?	16
5. Is antisemitism-critical education understood as a cross-curricular responsibility?	16
6. Is Jewish history presented as more than a history of antisemitism? Is the historicisation of antisemitism being actively countered?	17
7. Is the teaching suitable for promoting a critical attitude towards antisemitism? Are teachers sensitised to the challenges involved in addressing antisemitism and Judaism in the classroom? Is careful attention paid during lessons to ensure that antisemitic stereotypes are not perpetuated?	17
8. Is care taken to ensure that Jews are not portrayed in the classroom as “foreign” or fundamentally „other“?	18
9. Are teachers aware that lessons on antisemitism can provoke defensive reactions?	19
10. Is the teaching material critically reviewed?	20
11. Are the perspectives and needs of Jewish pupils respected? Is there sensitivity to the mechanisms of intergenerational trauma transmission?	21
12. Is every form of antisemitism opposed in the classroom?	22
EXTRACURRICULAR EDUCATION	24
13. Are those responsible aware that extracurricular activities represent an important supplement, but not a substitute, for addressing the topic within regular classroom teaching?	24
14. Do extracurricular activities also address Judaism beyond the history of persecution?	25

15.	Is there sufficient sensitivity to the challenges of encounter projects? _____	25
16.	Is there awareness of the challenges and pitfalls of extracurricular activities (visits to memorial sites, museums, etc.)? _____	26
JEWISH IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE _____		28
17.	Does the school facilitate the observance of religious practices? Are Jewish everyday presence and Jewish identity recognised? _____	28
EDUCATIONAL WORK _____		30
18.	Is engagement with antisemitism part of the school’s educational work? _____	30
PARENTAL ENGAGEMENT _____		31
19.	Do schools efforts against antisemitism also include work with parents? _____	31
SCHOOL CULTURE AND EMOTIONAL EDUCATION _____		32
20.	Does the school promote a culture of mutual respect, tolerance, and acceptance? Does the school have a concept of emotional education? _____	32
21.	Is there sensitivity to the connection between (guilt) defence mechanisms and antisemitism? _____	32
EMPOWERMENT AND PROTECTION OF THOSE AFFECTED _____		35
22.	Are there measures for the protection of those affected and for empowerment? _____	35
ADVICE, SUPPORT, LEADERSHIP _____		37
23.	Is there an open culture of addressing mistakes at the school—one that acknowledges, engages with, and actively tackles problems? _____	37
24.	Are there contact persons and support structures for everyone involved in school life? _____	37
25.	Do contact persons regularly have opportunities for further training? _____	38
26.	Are contact persons adequately relieved in their duties? _____	38
27.	Are contact persons and support structures regularly made known to all involved in school life? _____	38
28.	Are school leaders sensitised to the challenges of antisemitism-critical pedagogy? _____	39
DOCUMENTATION AND EVALUATION _____		40
29.	Are there procedures for documentation and evaluation? _____	40
TRAINING AND INFORMATION _____		41
30.	Do all participants in school life regularly have the opportunity to inform themselves about antisemitism and Jewish life? _____	41
31.	Is there a training concept for antisemitism-critical work? _____	41

(SCHOOL)LAW	43
32. Are all participants in school life regularly informed about the legal framework concerning dealing with antisemitism and Jewish life?	43
PUBLIC RELATIONS	45
33. Does the school communicate its efforts both internally and externally? Is information available on the website?	45
34. Is there a concept for public relations in the event of antisemitic incidents? Are there contact persons in the responsible school supervisory authorities or the education ministry?	45
THE LIMITS OF SCHOOL-BASED WORK AGAINST ANTISEMITISM – INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION	47
35. Are the limits of school-based work against antisemitism reflected upon?	47
REFERENCES	49

INTRODUCTION

Antisemitism remains a virulent problem in our society. Antisemitic attitudes can be found across the entire political spectrum and within all social milieus. Antisemitism, described as a “repetition of repetition of repetition” (Schwarz-Friesel 2021), continually adapts to current societal developments. It is not only during times of crisis that age-old antisemitic stereotypes are reactivated and readapted.

Schools reflect society, and thus it is unsurprising that antisemitism is also present in schools. At the same time, schools are the institutions where all young people are educated with the aim of becoming responsible, independent individuals and active members of a democratically constituted society. Therefore, schools also offer the opportunity to educate all young people about dangerous and dehumanising ideologies such as antisemitism. The educational aim of developing critical, autonomous thinking can only be achieved if teachers succeed in fostering a respectful interaction among pupils and between pupils and teachers – not by ignoring the real differences between people, but through a shared understanding of these differences.

Education on antisemitism has three core objectives (cf. Grimm 2023, 27):

- It serves to protect Jewish pupils and teachers from the burdens and dangers of antisemitism. This protection is guaranteed by the German constitution and is thus a fundamental responsibility of the school system.
- It protects non-Jewish pupils and teachers from an ideologically distorted perception of society that restricts individual capacity for thought, perception, and action, and thereby impairs the ability to form political judgments.
- As a part of civic and democratic education, it contributes to the societal rejection of ideologies that are hostile to humanity and democracy.

This guide supports educators in their work to critically engage with antisemitism in educational contexts. It draws upon the authors’ extensive experience: Florian Beer through his work with SABRA, the “Service Centre for Anti-Discrimination Work – Counselling on Racism and Antisemitism” of the Jewish Community in Düsseldorf, and Marc Grimm through his academic research in the fields of subject-specific pedagogy and didactics. Most of the literature cited is available online, enabling readers to explore individual topics with minimal effort.

The guide offers practical advice for implementing anti-antisemitism initiatives in schools that can be realised step-by-step. In the demanding reality of school life, it is not feasible to address every aspect of antisemitism-critical education at once. For that reason, each chapter stands

alone and is deliberately kept concise to maintain readability. Schools seeking to expand their antisemitism-critical practices can find additional training and consultation resources through the Ministry of Education in North Rhine-Westphalia¹ and SABRA². Background information on antisemitism and Jewish culture and religion is also deliberately brief; those interested in expanding their knowledge are encouraged to consult *MALMAD*³, SABRA's virtual toolbox offering specially developed materials and methods for use in schools.

Many schools adopt mission statements outlining their core values, aims, and pedagogical principles. These often include references to values such as tolerance and democracy, which are promoted through cross-curricular efforts such as project days or embedded within programmes like *School without Racism – School with Courage*. Antisemitism-critical school development can be integrated into these existing frameworks.

Racism and antisemitism share commonalities, such as “institutional exclusion, devaluation, and physical violence against minorities” (Rensmann 2022, 107). However, they also differ significantly, which has pedagogical implications. “Antisemitic tropes of Jewish control and influence in finance and media, for example, cannot be adequately addressed using conventional anti-racist educational methods and concepts. Whereas racism typically identifies its subjects with nature – assigning them laziness, lack of self-control, and uncivilised behaviour – the antisemitic image of Jews portrays them as powerful, dominant, and manipulative” (Grimm 2020, 200). The aim must be to work with existing frameworks for values and democracy education, while assessing whether these are fit for the specific demands of antisemitism-critical education.

This guide is not tailored to any single type of school but is intended to offer relevant guidance applicable across school types. It is designed to be adapted and implemented according to the specific contexts and challenges of individual schools and locations.

The guide is divided into 14 sections, each addressing a particular aspect of antisemitism-critical school development. The guiding questions in each section can be used as a checklist. To provide an overview, these questions are presented separately at the beginning of the document.

The Hamas attack on Israel on 7 October 2023 marks a turning point for Israelis as well as for Jews globally. Developments in the months that followed have shown the emergence of a radicalised “Generation Gaza” amid the protests – a group that brings emotion and hatred

¹ <https://www.schulministerium.nrw/antisemitismus> (MSB NRW, 2024)

² <https://www.sabra-jgd.de/schule> (SABRA, n. d.)

³ <https://malmad.de/> (Malmad 2021)

against Israel, rather than knowledge and arguments, into schools. However, this is not new. The challenges of educating about antisemitism in schools have not changed as a result of the Hamas terror attack. What has changed is that, by now, every teacher should have understood that antisemitism represents a seemingly anti-establishment conspiracy ideology that some pupils find appealing – and that schools therefore play a crucial role in countering this ideology through education.

This guide is intended to make a contribution toward that effort.

The first edition of this guide received widespread attention. We received numerous suggestions from teachers and training providers, many of which have been incorporated into this revised and expanded version.

Marc Grimm and Florian Beer

Cologne and Düsseldorf, March 2025

SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT IN GENERAL

1. Is work that critically addresses antisemitism an integral part of school development? Does the school consistently take into account the needs of Jewish pupils and staff in its development initiatives?

A school that aims to be a safe space for Jews must regard critically addressing antisemitism as a core element of both school and curriculum development.⁴ This means that all boards, committees and individuals involved in school development processes must be sensitised to antisemitism-critical work, and that pedagogical approaches to combating antisemitism are addressed on a regular basis. The focus should be placed not only on overarching concepts such as the school mission statement or development plans, but also on subject-specific or thematic elements (for instance, internal curricula, school trips, planning of project weeks, etc.).

Taking the needs of Jewish pupils and staff into account requires consideration of lived religious practices (e.g. dietary laws), religious holidays, as well as issues related to safety and security.

Furthermore, school-specific needs and challenges should be recognised, as different approaches may be necessary depending on the school's environment and catchment area. For example, it is important to consider the composition of the student body, as well as the opportunities and resources available in the local context. Schools should examine which forms of antisemitism their educational work should address and identify potential local cooperation partners.

2. Does the school have a transparent strategy for addressing antisemitism? Does this include the three pillars of prevention, intervention and enforcement?

To ensure that antisemitism-critical work is embedded in the long term, made transparent to all concerned, and to strengthen everyone's ability to act with confidence, it is essential to develop a clear school-wide strategy for educational work both against and about antisemitism. It is also important to develop a positive mission statement that explicitly distances the school from antisemitism.

⁴ Findings from a broad comparative study of multiple countries "indicate a normalisation of antisemitic structures and point to institutionalised antisemitism in German schools." (Chernivsky and Lorenz-Sinai, 2024)

It is imperative that schools have clear and transparent procedures for dealing with antisemitism. This includes bindingly agreed concepts and practices for the three key areas of **prevention, intervention and enforcement** (cf. Salzborn and Kurth 2019, 8).

A continuously evaluated and updated prevention strategy should define on which curricular and extracurricular occasions antisemitism-critical educational work is regularly conducted.

In addition to embedding preventative measures in both teaching and extracurricular activities, it is just as vital that schools have a clear and transparent **intervention framework** that can be applied when antisemitic incidents occur. This gives everyone involved—educators, potential victims, perpetrators and parents—clarity on how the school will respond, and may even help to prevent such incidents from occurring in the first place.

Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer have identified the following **key characteristics of effective intervention** (2020, 101; see also 72):

- Openness to reports of antisemitism from pupils and parents
- Taking reports of antisemitic incidents seriously
- Transparency in how reports are handled and how specific cases are addressed
- Timely responses

Further guidance is available in numerous local handbooks, which not only offer specific recommendations for action but also name contact persons in the local area.⁵ On a regional level, the websites of education ministries provide valuable reference points, as the materials offered there are generally preselected and quality-assured.⁶

Clear, transparent procedures must also be established for the **enforcement** of measures where necessary. This includes school regulations (disciplinary measures), as well as civil and criminal legal provisions, which must be known and properly applied.

A problematic example would be schools where even criminally relevant antisemitic slurs made by pupils result in nothing more than a temporary exclusion from class—followed by a return without consequence. Such responses send a message to both perpetrators and

⁵ See, for example: Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf 2019, 7–11; Stadt Essen 2020; Bezirksregierung Münster 2020; Stadt Wuppertal 2020; NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln and Fachstelle m² 2020.

⁶ The Ministry of School and Education of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia provides information on addressing antisemitism under the online heading “*Antisemitismus – Wahrnehmen und Begegnen*” (“Antisemitism – Recognising and Confronting”): <https://www.schulministerium.nrw/antisemitismus>. This includes the “*Handlungsleitlinien Antisemitismus*” (“Guidelines for Action on Antisemitism”): <https://www.schulministerium.nrw/handlungsleitlinien-antisemitismus>

bystanders that antisemitic acts will cause a stir but ultimately go unpunished. Criminal offences that occur in the classroom must always be reported to the authorities.

Another important point must be acknowledged: The importance placed on institutional protection concepts and publicised procedures must not obscure the fact that “for people with Jewish biographies in predominantly non-Jewish settings, it is often not state structures but rather individual safety strategies and ways of coping with the potential threat of antisemitic attacks that shape their everyday sense of security” (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 81–82). These individual strategies must be respected, especially given that Jews adopt highly diverse personal approaches.

One illustrative example: If a Jewish pupil does not wish to be identified as such, this wish must be respected, and the pupil must not be ‘outed’ by a teacher. This is essential not only for maintaining the crucial trust between pupils and staff but also for safeguarding an individual’s sense of security and autonomy. In most cases, such matters can be clarified through a brief and respectful conversation. Teachers who take the initiative to open such dialogue send a strong signal that they take the issue seriously.

To help structure the approach to antisemitism within schools, the matrix below may be of use.⁷ It has also proven effective in training contexts. The matrix can naturally be adapted for use in non-school settings or in relation to other forms of discrimination.

⁷ Experience shows that the areas concerning teachers—prevention and intervention—can usually be filled with well-developed proposals, whereas the areas concerning students—prevention and intervention—tend to remain largely unaddressed.

Occasion/Topic	Prevention	Intervention	Enforcement
What can I do?			
What can teachers do?			
What can the School leadership do?			
What can pupils do?			
What can external parties do? (School supervisory authorities, counselling services, parents, etc.)			

Fig. 1 Working matrix for addressing antisemitism in schools (designed by Florian Beer and Sophie Brüss).

Based on specific incidents or long-term school development initiatives (occasion/topic), the matrix can help identify different levels of action and fill them with concrete measures. It can be used to ask how colleagues, school leadership, pupils, parents or guardians, and external parties can be involved in the school's efforts to combat antisemitism (left-hand column) – across the three areas of prevention, intervention, and enforcement.

When dealing with a specific case, for example, one might ask what colleagues can do to prevent similar cases in the future (prevention), how pupils can be empowered to respond actively to the case (intervention), and what legal instruments are available to the school leadership to respond appropriately (enforcement). Who acts on which level is not predetermined. Instead, the matrix is intended to prompt a conscious examination of how all members of the school community can be active in the fields of prevention, intervention, and enforcement. In this way, the matrix enables a holistic perspective on the school system and helps identify areas of action that have not yet been addressed.

3. Are responsibilities clearly assigned in cases of antisemitic incidents? Is there a designated person in school responsible for addressing antisemitism? Are they given adequate relief from other duties for this role?

It is advisable to consolidate the tasks associated with addressing antisemitism in schools under a clearly defined responsibility. Just as there are designated safety officers, equality officers, coordinators for school trips, and professional development strategies in schools, there should also be antisemitism officers, who must be appropriately relieved of other duties to carry out their responsibilities effectively.

CLASSROOM EDUCATION

4. Are teachers informed about where antisemitism and Judaism can be integrated into the curriculum?

In some curricula, explicit reference is made to points where antisemitism and Judaism should be addressed. However, there are often many more opportunities to integrate these topics, even where they are not explicitly mentioned – and even outside traditionally obvious subjects such as history, politics, religious education, or ethics. For instance, physics lessons can address “German” or “Aryan” physics, as promoted by the National Socialists and shaped by antisemitic ideology.

Regardless of the subject, antisemitism should be addressed whenever pupils show interest in the topic or when their comments indicate familiarity with antisemitic thought patterns. Social media, gangsta rap, and various popular youth video formats often spread antisemitic content – disguised as supposedly critical secret knowledge, jokes, or seemingly neutral information. Due to the normalisation of antisemitic – particularly Israel-related – bodies of knowledge and narratives, these must be identified and discussed for what they truly are.

5. Is antisemitism-critical education understood as a cross-curricular responsibility?

Because antisemitism can be expressed in all areas of school life and within any subject, it is essential that antisemitism-critical education be viewed as a cross-cutting responsibility across the curriculum. Samuel Salzborn and Alexandra Kurth explain:

“Since antisemitism [...] reflects the inability and unwillingness to think abstractly and to feel concretely, any teaching that promotes pupils’ abstract thinking and concrete empathy plays an important role in preventing antisemitism.” (Salzborn and Kurth 2019, 9)

This became particularly evident in the context of antisemitic conspiracy theories during the COVID-19 pandemic. Not only does knowledge about how antisemitism functions raise awareness; even a basic understanding of how economics, law, and politics operate and interconnect helps counteract the personalisation of social conditions – a typical trait of antisemitism. Similarly, fostering empathy and encouraging pupils to articulate their own emotions can serve as an implicit form of antisemitism prevention and can, for example, be promoted in subjects such as physical education or art (cf. Grimm 2021).

6. Is Jewish history presented as more than a history of antisemitism? Is the historicisation of antisemitism being actively countered?

It is certainly to be welcomed when more space is given in the classroom to addressing the Shoah and its historical precursors and ongoing impact. However, it becomes problematic for several reasons when Jewish history is reduced to this alone. Firstly, there is a risk of portraying Jewish history merely as a narrative of persecution, assigning Jews the role of victims by default, rather than recognising them as agentic individuals in both historical and contemporary contexts. Secondly, focusing primarily on the Shoah can create the impression that antisemitism is a thing of the past. This could lead to an overshadowing—or even a perceived irrelevance—of the vital engagement with current forms of antisemitism through the intensive examination of historical antisemitism.

“The frequent limitation of dealing with antisemitism to the National Socialist period may give the impression that antisemitism did not exist prior to that era and has no relevance today. Agreement is quickly reached in condemning the Nazi policy of extermination, yet the ability to recognise antisemitism in other forms—devoid of Nazi symbols or even appearing in left-wing rhetoric—is not significantly enhanced” (Rajal 2018, 139).

Historical knowledge of antisemitism does not necessarily foster awareness of its current forms (cf. Grimm 2020, 202). Therefore, it is important that lessons include Jewish culture, history, and religion—in short, Jewish life before and after the Shoah—as well as critically engage with contemporary antisemitism (cf. Beer 2021). Jewish history, culture, and religion are rich and diverse, marked by varied rituals and traditions. At the same time, Judaism should not be reduced to this diversity, as this can risk a process of “othering” Jews. Instead, both differences and commonalities between Judaism and other religions—such as shared ethical foundations—should be explored.

7. Is the teaching suitable for promoting a critical attitude towards antisemitism? Are teachers sensitised to the challenges involved in addressing antisemitism and Judaism in the classroom? Is careful attention paid during lessons to ensure that antisemitic stereotypes are not perpetuated?

It has often been noted that classroom teaching may itself contribute to the perpetuation of antisemitic stereotypes. Wolfgang Geiger observes that school textbooks often—albeit unintentionally—encourage a perpetrator’s perspective, particularly when assignments ask students to reconstruct rather than critique Nazi ideology (e.g., “Identify the elements of the National Socialist worldview from the sources”, “List who belonged to the Volksgemeinschaft and

who did not”, “State the criteria for classifying someone as a Jew”) (Geiger 2019, 8; cf. also Geiger 2012).

Elke Rajal highlights the time pressure typically present in school teaching, which often results in antisemitic prejudices being cited with good intentions, only to be (inadequately) refuted shortly thereafter. What tends to linger, however, are the stereotypes themselves (2018, 139).

Such unintentional perpetuation of antisemitic stereotypes can occur outside of history lessons and even in texts by authors with a clearly critical stance towards Nazism. A case in point is the still widely used youth novel *Damals war es Friedrich* (At the Time, It Was Friedrich) by Hans Peter Richter (first published in 1961), which reproduces numerous antisemitic stereotypes. Ulrike Schrader contends that the novel should be read as a document of a processing of National Socialism that ultimately serves to relieve collective guilt (Schrader 2005, 339). Schrader also illustrates the resistance encountered when such seemingly established teaching materials are criticised: “Many teachers—though not all—defended the book and its use in the classroom in sometimes heated debates, reflecting an unwillingness to critically reassess longstanding [local] teaching practices” (Schrader 2005, 323–24).

However, avoiding *Damals war es Friedrich* is not necessary. Instead, teachers can encourage students to critically examine the book and its associated materials. This critical engagement can itself become a valuable didactic approach. Given that the book is now a historical document, it can serve to illustrate how National Socialism was processed in post-war Germany. Classroom literature and related teaching materials can thus be made objects of analysis themselves, thereby promoting media literacy.

8. Is care taken to ensure that Jews are not portrayed in the classroom as “foreign” or fundamentally „other“?

The issue of “othering” Jews in educational settings remains underexplored, though it is a serious concern. Marina Chernivsky stresses that “subtle secondary antisemitic aggression is expressed through continuous othering, even when not intended antisemitically. This includes the historicisation of Jewish lives and biographies, assumptions of Jewish absence, positioning Jews as external to Germany, assigning them a ‘completely different’ identity, disapproval of religious practices, as well as the appropriation and objectification of Jewish biographies” (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer 2020, 49).⁸

⁸ Cf. Chernivsky 2018; Messerschmidt 2018; Bernstein 2020.

Such “othering” may also be reinforced when Jews are assumed to have a special relationship with the State of Israel or when a distinction is drawn between Jews and the majority society—as, for example, when textbooks refer to “Jews” and “Germans” as separate groups (cf. Scherr and Schäuble 2007, 10–11).

Othering can be countered by avoiding the historicisation of Judaism, speaking and acting as though Jews are present in the classroom, acknowledging the diversity of Jewish identity as part of contemporary German society, and recognising Jewish religious practices (or the absence thereof) without exoticising them.

9. Are teachers aware that lessons on antisemitism can provoke defensive reactions?

A major challenge in antisemitism prevention is the potential for provoking defensive attitudes. These can also emerge in response to the committed stances of the teachers, especially when they aim to distinguish themselves ethically from the perpetrator generation. Such moral expectations can heighten teachers’ sensitivity to the rejection of the students of lessons on history and antisemitism, possibly blinding them to actual questions and needs of the students. As a result, there is a risk of overinterpreting the positions of the students. When students feel unjustly criticised by adults, they may develop a broader resistance to engaging with history itself (Unabhängiger Expertenkreis Antisemitismus 2018, 211).

Following the 7 October 2023 terrorist attack, a stronger rejection of addressing Israel-related antisemitism has been observed. This resistance has two main strands: one accuses teachers of aligning too closely with Israel, legitimising crimes against Palestinians, and acting as mouthpieces for the Israeli government; the other reflects an identification with Palestinians as a collective of victims. This framing absolves Palestinians of agency and removes the necessity to address antisemitism within that group or one's own community.

One teacher reports being told, “We know you have to say that,” in what was framed as an offer of understanding. Such remarks are designed to pressure teachers into adopting anti-Israel rhetoric or risk not being taken seriously.

Moreover, learning about history in school takes place in the context of grading, which carries the risk that students will perceive teachers’ ethical-moral stances as the “correct” position that must be learned and reproduced (cf. Hogrefe et al. 2012, 27; Müller 2021, 201). Instead, it is vital to offer students opportunities to examine and, if needed, revise their political and moral convictions in a way that feels personally meaningful and desirable (Scherr and Schäuble 2006, 94).

Such reflective engagement can broaden students' thinking, perception, and behaviour. Emotions play a key role here. On one hand, it is important to address the emotional appeal of antisemitic ideologies and explain why they attract adherents—antisemitic images and tropes (e.g. “Jewish conspirators pulling the strings behind the scenes”) are often already familiar. With appropriate guidance, students can learn how such enemy images function—for example, as a means of self-aggrandisement or claiming access to secret knowledge—thereby enhancing their media literacy.

On the other hand, students' own emotions—such as discomfort or resistance (“We've already done this topic enough”)—must be allowed to surface and be taken seriously. Only then can these emotions be reflected upon. In this way, students learn to communicate their emotions and critically engage with them. This kind of emotional reflexivity is crucial for learning about antisemitism and has become a vital component of media literacy in the age of social media.

10. Is the teaching material critically reviewed?

Recent studies conclude that teaching materials often exhibit deficiencies regarding the outlined requirements for antisemitism-critical education – despite researchers having pointed out for decades the issue of the “transmission of antisemitic stereotypes in school textbooks” (Unabhängiger Expertenkreis Antisemitismus 2018, 216)⁹. For example, textbooks frequently explain antisemitism in ways that “perpetuate antisemitic stereotypes rather than dismantle them,” such as when Jews are portrayed primarily or exclusively as wealthy moneylenders, or when “antisemitic prejudices are presented with benevolent intent” (Rajal 2018, 139) without sufficient classroom time to refute these.

Since textbooks still serve as a key medium (cf. Salzborn and Kurth 2019, 32), it is therefore essential that the materials used are critically reviewed before being employed, for instance within departmental collaboration. Critiques of current teaching materials should be submitted to publishers as well as to the authorities responsible for textbook approval, with the aim of revising problematic passages. Furthermore, antisemitism today is primarily spread via social media and pop culture (rap music, music videos, TikToks), and teachers need to be familiar with these fast-moving media to respond effectively. Currently, there is a lack of corresponding modules in teacher training and professional development. Therefore, it is advisable to use teaching materials that have already been reviewed or provided by institutions with recognised expertise. SABRA offers a detailed selection with the virtual methodology toolbox MALMAD.

⁹ Cf. Deutsch-israelische Schulbuchkommission 2017; Liepach und Geiger 2014; Pingel 2017; Rensmann 2020; Sadowski 2023; Beer 2021; Deutsch-israelische Schulbuchkommission 1985; Deutsch-israelische Gesellschaft und Scholars for Peace in Middle East, Germany e.V. 2015.

Good materials can also be found, for example, on the websites of Yad Vashem or in the annotated collection by the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs and the Central Council of Jews in Germany.¹⁰

11. Are the perspectives and needs of Jewish pupils respected? Is there sensitivity to the mechanisms of intergenerational trauma transmission?

It is important not to turn Jewish pupils into supposed experts on the Shoah. For one, they usually are not; secondly—and more importantly—this assigns them a particular role: that of victims or representatives of a highly diverse group. The same applies to the Middle East conflict and the topic of Israel: Automatically attributing a special closeness to Israel to Jewish pupils, or even declaring them experts on the Middle East conflict, is problematic for several reasons. Not only because the pupils often do not possess the assumed expertise, but also because it can reinforce the conflation of Israel and Judaism, thereby promoting othering. Whether pupils have family ties to Israel and whether they wish to talk about this can be clarified in individual conversations. This also includes whether they want to be identified as Jewish in the classroom. If Jewish pupils want to contribute “as experts of their daily life from a Jewish perspective,” this should not be denied to them (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer 2020, 66). Teachers show interest and sensitivity by holding confidential individual talks rather than addressing such matters publicly in class.

Nowadays, classes are often diverse, and cultural, religious, or national multiple identities are the norm. This situation is a reality, a challenge, and simultaneously a democratic-educational opportunity, provided that differences, conflicts, and deviations can and must be openly negotiated.

It must also be considered that trauma triggered by the Shoah can be transmitted across generations. Jewish pupils may, among other things, experience (re-)traumatisation when confronted with Nazi crimes in lessons. The online status report “Transgenerational Trauma” by the Scientific Services of the German Bundestag offers a good overview of this topic.¹¹ For teachers, professional handling of (potential) trauma has become part of educational standards, for example regarding pupils who are victims of domestic or sexualised violence or suffer from mental illness. Preliminary discussions with parents are recommended. In practical

¹⁰ Methodenkoffer MALMAD via <https://malmad.de/>, materials of Yad Vashem via <https://www.yadvashem.org/de/education.html>, materials of the KMK and the Central Council of the Jews of Germany via <https://www.kmk-zentralratderjuden.de/>.

¹¹ Organisations focusing on those affected by transgenerational trauma are also listed (see Scientific Services of the German Bundestag 2017; Fehlberg, Rebentisch, and Wolf 2016)

teaching, it is also advisable to outline the form of engagement with the topic beforehand and, for example, allow pupils the option to opt out.

12. Is every form of antisemitism opposed in the classroom?

Antisemitism is not solely a right-wing extremist phenomenon but a flexible one that connects to various political, religious, and ideological beliefs. It would be too narrow to limit educational work against antisemitism to dealing only with right-wing extremist antisemitism. Instead, antisemitism-critical education must consider all forms—not only historical but especially contemporary antisemitism—to meet its goals.

Moreover, antisemitic views must not be tolerated based on misunderstood tolerance. This occurs, for example, when antisemitic remarks by pupils are excused or relativised because of their biographical backgrounds linked to the Middle East or when a supposed natural solidarity among Muslims is cited as justification for anti-Israel stances and support for terrorist groups such as Hamas. When such solidarities are examined, it becomes clear that the deaths of Muslims in armed conflicts do not generally provoke solidarity among Muslims in Germany, except when those killed are in confrontation with the Israeli army. For example, the Syrian civil war caused over 500,000 deaths, with perpetrators and victims mainly Muslims. Despite this high Muslim death toll, the war did not prompt major demonstrations in Germany, and schools' handling of the subject, though complicated by the presence of refugee pupils, was not characterised by strong emotionalisation, one-sided blame, victim-perpetrator reversal, or genocide accusations. However, since the attack on 7 October 2023, teachers have faced exactly such reactions that obstruct a fact-based discussion of Israel's war against Hamas. Teachers must therefore prioritise strengthening political judgement skills, which can be further specified through classifications such as Peter Massing's judgement framework (2003).

Where teachers encounter hardened (Israel-related) antisemitic attitudes reinforced by social environments and social media, knowledge of the concrete misinformation and pupils' arguments is essential. Teachers can incorporate these misconceptions into lessons in a pupil-centred way and create settings where independent research or provision of contextual information via texts or videos helps to recognise and refute misinformation. If antisemitic attitudes are legitimised by pupils' self-identification as Muslim, Turkish, etc., this can be addressed as above or countered with materials that question the supposed naturalness of these group attitudes.

The challenge is empirically evident: antisemitism among Muslims is more pronounced than in religious and non-religious comparison groups (cf. Öztürk and Pickel 2021; Jikeli 2024). The

discomfort many teachers feel about addressing antisemitism among Muslims stems from fears of “appropriation by right-wing populists, the risk of ignoring antisemitism within the majority society, and shifting problems of the majority society onto Muslims. All these objections can be used to obscure, reinterpret, or relativise Muslim antisemitism” (Grimm and Müller 2021, 13). The challenge is to know and address antisemitism circulating among pupils, some of which is stabilised by their identities—without confronting those pupils with generalising attributions but taking their arguments and self-understanding seriously.

Commitments to multiperspective teaching and the moderation requirement must not be misunderstood as a duty of neutrality that grants space to antisemitic views. The Federal Constitutional Court has established that antisemitic concepts are incompatible with human dignity and violate the free democratic basic order. There is “no duty of neutrality for teaching and educational professionals regarding antisemitic and other group-based hostile actions at their school, but a clear constitutional mandate to educate and protect children and young people based on democratic values” (City of Düsseldorf 2019, 7; see also Beer and Ufert 2021). Beyond factual arguments, legal regulations for teachers are clear: for example, the Civil Servants Status Act states: “Civil servants must commit through their entire conduct to the free democratic basic order as defined by the Basic Law and work for its preservation” (cf. Federal Ministry of Justice – BeamStG § 33).

EXTRACURRICULAR EDUCATION

Educational activities that take place outside of regular lessons are undoubtedly of great value for education critical of antisemitism, as they often allow for a deeper engagement with the topic on both a cognitive and emotional level. Since they occur in a non-graded context, they offer the opportunity for a more open approach to the subject and can counteract an attitude observed by Wolfgang Geiger among pupils, who feel they “only have to confirm pre-formulated insights (‘political correctness’), instead of confidently discovering—under guidance but without being patronised—how antisemitism was justified back then and perhaps still is today” (Geiger 2019, 8). To credibly design extracurricular offerings, schools themselves must first credibly engage in antisemitism prevention work.

13. Are those responsible aware that extracurricular activities represent an important supplement, but not a substitute, for addressing the topic within regular classroom teaching?

In the public debate about educational efforts against antisemitism, extracurricular educational activities have long been the focus. In recent years, attention has increasingly shifted to schools and teachers, raising questions about what additional efforts are needed within schools themselves, teacher training, and the teaching materials used. “Previous discussions on the topic have focused strongly on educational approaches that made the immediate responsibility of school actors—teachers, school leadership, pupils and parents, but also school supervisory authorities—appear strangely faint. This, however, depoliticised precisely those actors responsible for discrimination, passivity, silence, and inaction. Because mostly, and still, reference is made primarily to extracurricular educational offerings [...] These are undoubtedly important, for example in teacher further training or in crisis intervention in severe cases at individual schools. However, due to structural and content reasons, they must inevitably fail in meeting the high expectations placed on them to function as a kind of ‘fire brigade’ in emergency situations” (Salzborn and Kurth 2019, 3).

Extracurricular activities can be a meaningful supplement to school education against antisemitism, but they cannot replace it. The same applies to extracurricular activities. School events such as study days, project weeks, or trips to memorial sites can, for the reasons described above, be a valuable component of education critical of antisemitism. However, they usually take place only irregularly, are not compulsory in most federal states, and therefore alone are by no means sufficient for sustainable educational work against antisemitism. Furthermore, not all offerings are unreservedly recommendable: whether a visit to an

extracurricular learning site is beneficial depends not only on the content quality of the offer but also on its didactic implementation and on how well the offer is tailored to the needs of the target group. Additionally, extracurricular activities entail extra workload for teachers, since not only dates and travel must be coordinated but also the content focus of the offering. Whether extracurricular offerings truly allow for inspiration or deepening depends heavily on preparation and follow-up, i.e., embedding in the curricular context.

14. Do extracurricular activities also address Judaism beyond the history of persecution?

It is important that engagement with Judaism is not reduced solely to the Shoah and engagement with antisemitism not limited to the Nazi era or its right-wing extremist manifestations. It is certainly commendable if pupils engage, for example, with Jewish history and the history of antisemitism in their locality, such as by cleaning Stolpersteine around the school every year on 9 November and commemorating the victims. However, dealing with historical antisemitism does not necessarily immunise against its current forms. Therefore, engagement with contemporary Jewish life and its threats should also be given great importance. For example, an exchange with a local Jewish community could be pursued to raise pupils' awareness of current challenges and threats to Jewish life.¹² However, such encounter projects are not per se suitable for preventing antisemitic attitudes or as intervention measures, as the following section explains.

15. Is there sufficient sensitivity to the challenges of encounter projects?

There is ongoing debate about the extent to which encounter projects and getting to know Judaism in its diversity can be meaningful educational measures against antisemitism. Ideally, encounters can facilitate engagement tied to the person or group, where generalised images are questioned or refuted and personal prejudices questioned, corrected, or overcome (Fischer and Holler n.d.). Such projects are problematic because they may give the impression that antisemitism is related to the concrete behaviour of Jews. Jean-Paul Sartre noted: "Experience does not create the concept of the Jew; prejudice distorts experience. If there were no Jews, antisemitism would invent them" (Sartre [1944] 1994, 12).

Elke Rajal argues that it is mistaken to assume that "antisemitism is rooted in ignorance of Judaism. Also mistaken is the hope that enlightenment about the objects of envy and hatred

¹² If an exchange with a local Jewish community is sought, it should nonetheless be borne in mind that, as with Christian or Muslim communities, not all Jews necessarily feel represented by the local congregation. Encounter projects should therefore always aim to highlight Jewish diversity in order to counteract problematic forms of collectivisation.

automatically leads to immunisation” (2018, 140). The high hurdle such projects must overcome is to make transparent and work on the expectations of otherness that necessarily underlie such encounters. The goal of such projects must be to endure and accept diversity and to transform expectations of otherness into curiosity about the other person. This in turn requires participants to be perceived not as representatives of a group but as individuals. Michael Kümper describes an “important goal of encounters as changing this and getting to know Jews as active subjects of history and the present.” When Jewish people are met as active subjects, this can also serve as a counterpoint to widespread, often distorted and stereotypical attributions (Kümper 2010, 6).

Encounter projects must be carefully prepared not only to avoid the pitfalls described here but also out of respect for and to protect the Jewish partners in these projects: it must be absolutely avoided that they face antisemitic hostility during the encounters, which is more likely the less prepared a group is. Whether the protection of Jewish participants is guaranteed at all times is especially questionable if antisemitic incidents have already occurred and encounters are part of an intervention strategy.

16. Is there awareness of the challenges and pitfalls of extracurricular activities (visits to memorial sites, museums, etc.)?

Good preparation and follow-up are also indispensable for visits to memorial sites, museums, and similar activities, which can otherwise easily produce the opposite of the intended effect. Susanne Popp points out that “it would be naive to believe that the aura of a memorial site automatically exerts a cathartic effect” and argues that such visits “should always be voluntary” (Popp 2002, 12). Elke Gryglewski counters this position by noting that “with absolute voluntariness there are much lower chances of reaching people,” but nonetheless demands that visits to memorial sites “should be organised in the spirit of democratic participation” of learners (2018, 57–58). Furthermore, it is disrespectful to the victims—who, for example, are buried anonymously in mass graves at the Dachau memorial—if pupils behave inappropriately (cf. Popp 2002, 12). For Jewish pupils, there is also a risk of (re)traumatisation, and participation should therefore be voluntary.¹³ Teachers and school leadership are well advised to carefully consider whether and in what form compulsory events should be conducted. Visits to

¹³ A comprehensive overview of the current state of research on the mechanisms and manifestations of transgenerational transmission of Holocaust-related trauma is provided in the report *Transgenerational Traumatization*, published by the Scientific Services of the German Bundestag. The report also lists organisations that focus on supporting victims of transgenerational trauma.
URL: <https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/501186/5cab3d455ea7c85a1dfbd7ce458d499a/WD-1-040-16-pdf-data.pdf> (Scientific Services of the German Bundestag 2017)

memorial sites must be prepared and followed up, and it is recommended to contact the educational departments of the memorial sites early on, which can provide guidance on (less) useful ways of preparing for such visits.

Memorial visits are not suitable for engagement with current manifestations of antisemitism. Their task is to convey knowledge about “the history of the sites” (Haug 2017, 158). They do so by making clear the structure and numerical scale of National Socialist rule, disenfranchisement, and extermination. Working with prisoner biographies can allow a view beyond the numbers and structures to individual victims and their lives and sufferings, enabling both cognitive and emotional learning—to step back from one’s immediate feelings (or absence thereof) at these sites and reflect on them (cf. Gruberová and Grimm 2022, 231).

That memorials are unsuitable for engaging with current forms of antisemitism or other inhuman ideologies is also due to the danger that these forms might be overshadowed by the Shoah—the self-serving, industrial mass murder of people. The frequently asked transfer question in schools about the contemporary relevance of the sites and the Shoah are major topics that cannot be addressed in a brief follow-up. In Israel-related antisemitism, a perpetrator-victim reversal is intertwined, accusing Jews of exploiting the memory of the Shoah for profit, and the demonisation of Israel, which turns it into the revenant of National Socialism. Since these two forms of antisemitism are currently (compared to other manifestations) the most pronounced, they must be taken into account when designing follow-up and considering contemporary references, so that after a memorial visit one is not unpreparedly confronted with the question of why Jews, after their history of suffering, are now allegedly doing the same to Palestinians. Again, it is advisable to contact the educational departments of the memorial sites to check what experience and possibly modules exist for addressing contemporary issues in order to avoid the problems mentioned above.

JEWISH IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

17. Does the school facilitate the observance of religious practices? Are Jewish everyday presence and Jewish identity recognised?

In the spirit of normalising cultural and religious plurality within a constitutional state, the guiding principles binding on schools are freedom of religion, equality, and human dignity. Schools should enable believers of all faiths, including Jewish pupils, to practise their religious rituals. This requires secular pupils to respect and understand the presence of religious pupils as part of the freedom of belief and conscience. In an increasingly secular society, teachers must ensure that the school environment is sensitive to the needs of religious pupils from all religions. They face the task of recognising Jewish everyday presence, valuing it equally alongside other religions, while simultaneously avoiding the exoticisation of Jewish life or turning Jewish pupils into representatives of Judaism.

When planning school events, Jewish holidays should be considered alongside Christian and Muslim ones. Schools should do this even if it is unknown whether Jewish pupils are part of the group the event targets. Indeed, it should be assumed that Jewish pupils, who may wish to remain unrecognised as such, are part of the school community or its audience (cf. Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer 2020, 49). Many Jewish pupils avoid “coming out” due to understandable fears of hostility (Bernstein 2020, 9-10, 181-182).

The majority of Jews in Germany live secular lives, and the ways of practising religion in Judaism are as diverse as in other faiths. This means there are Jewish pupils who observe religious dietary laws and others who wear a head covering permanently. Some fulfil this requirement by wearing a kippah, while others refrain from doing so to avoid being identified as Jewish. The common school rule banning headwear such as baseball caps in class potentially places Jewish pupils in a dilemma, as they are denied an alternative to the kippah.

The secular school system cannot meet every demand of religious groups. However, it can show sensitivity to their concerns and accommodate them where possible. Furthermore, it can provide clarity: clear rules about which regulations apply and why. This is already the case in many areas and should be communicated openly. In North Rhine-Westphalia, for example, a ministerial directive very clearly defines on which occasions and how often pupils may be excused from lessons for religious reasons.¹⁴

A safe school environment for Jewish pupils must maintain a transparent and consistent approach to Jewish holidays. It must be clear to Jewish parents and pupils how the issue of

¹⁴ <https://bass.schul-welt.de/15402.htm> (Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung 2015).

exemption from lessons is handled. The question of kosher food on school trips and at other school events should also be clearly regulated – for example, whether kosher-certified food is necessary or if a vegetarian option suffices. If necessary, Jewish religious instruction should be organised in cooperation with neighbouring schools, with a designated teacher taking responsibility.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

18. Is engagement with antisemitism part of the school's educational work?

Schools have both an educational and formative mandate. Work against antisemitism within schools must not be limited to educational content alone but also include broader pedagogical efforts, referred to here as formative work. It is important to consider whether school supervisors, all-day staff, school social workers, teaching assistants, and other pedagogical personnel are sensitised and trained to address antisemitism critically, or whether antisemitism is addressed, for example, in social skills training, peer mediation programmes, or class tutor sessions. Involving the student council is also an important part of antisemitism-critical work. It is equally important that the school has a concept known to all stakeholders and transparent structures to handle antisemitic incidents, allowing for the imposition and enforcement of consequences. Antisemitism-critical work must fundamentally be understood as a responsibility of the entire pedagogical staff and as a component of a school ethos anchored in democratic education. This also includes cooperation with parents or guardians.

PARENTAL ENGAGEMENT

19. Do schools efforts against antisemitism also include work with parents?

A comprehensive and sustainable school effort against antisemitism must also consider parental engagement. This generally means raising the awareness of parents that antisemitism will not be tolerated at school. More specifically, it involves informing parents about the relevance of antisemitism-critical educational measures and/or the school's procedures for dealing with antisemitic incidents. Particular attention should be given to Jewish parents, who, alongside other concerns about their children's education, are often preoccupied with questions about safety and handling potentially traumatic topics. Many parents, for instance, wish to be informed about when and how antisemitism and the Shoah are addressed in lessons. There is also a need for support in managing these topics within the family. A Jewish father expresses this with regard to his daughter: "But I don't want her first encounter with the topic to be at school. So I have to somehow address it myself. No idea how" (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 33).

Currently, antisemitism-critical work with parents remains largely a blind spot in both pedagogical and academic discourse. There are few publications, and the subject is rarely touched upon.¹⁵ Since antisemitic attitudes are often transmitted within families but can also be addressed within familial educational work, parental engagement must unquestionably be included in antisemitism-critical efforts. Possible measures might include parents' evenings and workshops, involving parent representatives, thematic letters to parents, and individual conversations with affected guardians. Having a designated contact person for Jewish families could also be an important element of parental engagement.

¹⁵ Some relevant insights can be found, for instance, in Perko (2020) and Perko, Czollek, and Eifler (2021).

SCHOOL CULTURE AND EMOTIONAL EDUCATION

20. Does the school promote a culture of mutual respect, tolerance, and acceptance? Does the school have a concept of emotional education?

A school culture characterised by mutual respect, tolerance, and acceptance is a fundamental prerequisite for a school to be a safe environment for Jewish students. Elke Rajal (2018, 141) identifies as “conditions for a successful antisemitism-critical approach [...] the development of a democratic and cooperative school culture that firmly opposes antisemitism, as well as appropriately trained staff.” Emotional education, which lies at the intersection of upbringing and instruction, is part of this. Antisemitism has strong emotional components and evokes feelings. Therefore, antisemitism-critical educational work must, alongside imparting factual knowledge and cognitive skills, also create space for engaging with one’s own emotions (cf. Grimm 2020, 201). The goal is “to promote competencies such as reflection on one’s own thinking and actions and the ability to recognise and endure contradictions and ambivalences without insisting on identity, certainty, and control. Such an ability can be described as tolerance of contradiction or ambiguity” (Grimm 2020, 204).¹⁶

21. Is there sensitivity to the connection between (guilt) defence mechanisms and antisemitism?

Emotional education is also necessary to counteract (guilt) defence antisemitism, which today, alongside Israel-related antisemitism, is the most widespread form of antisemitism.¹⁷ This stems partly from intergenerationally transmitted “emotional legacies” (cf. e.g., Lohl 2010), i.e., feelings and attitudes passed down through generations. From a pedagogical perspective, it follows that teachers should avoid simply reacting to these legacies by maintaining a detached, superior position. Astrid Messerschmidt advises them to “leave their mostly distanced-superior position and clarify their own involvement in both structural and personal dimensions” (Messerschmidt 2013, 18). It is also helpful for educators to consciously abandon the familiar position of the knowing person and openly acknowledge that neither teachers nor learners have definitive answers, but rather that both are in the position of questioners. This allows students to explore and express their own questions and uncertainties more freely, helping to counteract possible defensive reactions.

¹⁶ For similar arguments see: Salzborn 2010, 335; Schwarz-Friesel 2019; Eckmann und Kößler 2020; Unabhängiger Expertenkreis Antisemitismus 2018, 208.

¹⁷ Recherche- und Informationsstelle Antisemitismus Nordrhein-Westfalen (2024): Antisemitic Incidents in Nordrhein-Westfalen 2023, 10.

Furthermore, attention should be given to the functions antisemitism serves as a mindset attractive to individuals. Antisemitism fulfils several social-psychological functions (self-enhancement, secret knowledge, criticism of power, reduction of complexity). Experience shows that students are interested in engaging with this topic because this knowledge is applicable in practice and allows them to deconstruct antisemitic images and critically examine their own perceptions (Grimm 2020, 208–9).

Biographical and experiential approaches will play a greater role in future antisemitism-preventive education. They enable “the development of empathy and the ability to perceive and take seriously perspectives that are not part of one’s own life world” (Gruberová and Grimm 2022, 235). For example, short videos from the MALMAD¹⁸ method kit allow Jewish individuals to speak and show the plurality of Jews, not as representatives of Jewish organisations or religious authorities, but as individuals with their own experiences. This also makes visible the normality and everyday nature of antisemitism, which is then no longer just an abstract problem or lesson topic but becomes recognisable as an experience and burden for Jews.

The discussion of antisemitism can also meet resistance among teachers. A central cause is familial entanglement with National Socialism, which persists especially through intergenerational transmission. Many teachers are confronted with family narratives that emphasise the victim perspective of German families while ignoring their own responsibility. This leads to rejection of engagement with the Shoah and its consequences, which is perceived as a threat to one’s own identity.

This form of defence is closely linked to the concept of defensive memory antisemitism (also known as guilt-defence antisemitism). This describes a reaction to the Shoah in which the crimes of National Socialism are not the problem but rather their discussion is presented as problematic. Arguments aiming to relativise guilt or disconnect it from one’s own (family) history include:

- Demands for a “final closure” and rejection of alleged “assignments of guilt.”
- Viewing the memory of the Shoah as an expression of “Jewish vindictiveness” or as an attempt to diminish Germany.
- Equating National Socialist crimes with other historical or current conflicts, especially through comparisons with Israel.

These defensive mechanisms pose a challenge, particularly for teachers who want to integrate a reflective and responsible culture of remembrance into their teaching. It is essential to

¹⁸ „Virtueller Methodenkoffer gegen Antisemitismus“: <https://www.kmk-zentralratderjuden.de/>

become aware of one's own educational biography, socialisation, and family narratives. What stories about National Socialism were told in one's own family? Where was responsibility acknowledged – or rejected? This self-reflection is not only a personal challenge but also a pedagogical necessity to provide students with a factual and reflective approach.

A central aspect of these defence mechanisms is the psychoanalytic mechanism of projection: guilt and responsibility are not acknowledged as part of one's own history but are transferred onto other groups. This manifests in the perception of Jews as "reminders" or "beneficiaries" of the Shoah. In teacher training, this often shows as resistance to addressing contemporary antisemitic discrimination, as it is experienced as a moral accusation.

These defensive attitudes are not only individually anchored but also deeply rooted socially. Research shows that rejection of Shoah remembrance does not disappear but transforms. While immediate post-war denial or repression was dominant, today the devaluation of the culture of remembrance often takes precedence. Criticism of what is seen as excessive engagement with National Socialism and demands to focus on other topics reflect this shift.

An example illustrating the importance of this reflection is the selective sensitivity to antisemitism: teachers often perceive antisemitism among Muslim students very clearly but are less sensitive to antisemitic structures in social milieus closer to their own life experience. These milieus can also have similar familial entanglements with National Socialism, which makes recognising antisemitism there more difficult. Reflecting on one's own conditioning helps to identify these perception gaps and develop a broader sensitivity to all forms of antisemitism.

Teachers, in particular, have a responsibility to critically engage with these mechanisms. It is important not only to recognise defensive reactions but to consciously face them. A reflective attitude enables one to take historical responsibility seriously and provide students with a well-founded, nuanced perspective on history and the present. Reflecting on one's own stance and family conditioning can help develop sensitivity to these processes and integrate them constructively into everyday pedagogical practice. Such reflection is not only significant for teaching but also contributes to strengthening one's professional identity as an educator.

EMPOWERMENT AND PROTECTION OF THOSE AFFECTED

22. Are there measures for the protection of those affected and for empowerment?

Work in schools against antisemitism must not focus solely on measures to prevent antisemitism or on dealing with perpetrators. It must also consider potential victims and offer, alongside protection, measures of empowerment—for example, through specific support for those affected and the integration of recognition of Jewish identities into school life (cf. Bernstein 2020, 441; Chernivsky and Wiegemann 2017). It is important not to view or address Jews solely as victims, as otherwise there is a risk of perpetuating “the historically ingrained assignment of the ‘victim role’” (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 35).

The absence of such supportive structures may lead those affected to not confront the injustice they experience, to trivialise it, or even fail to recognise it as such. They should be empowered to re-evaluate forms of discrimination they have endured from a strengthened position and to confidently oppose them. Marina Chernivsky and her team conclude that “such a re-evaluation of situations only occurs when those affected are no longer directly embedded in institutional power relations and feel empowered to speak about them” (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 25, cf. *ibid.* 99-100).

It should be borne in mind that non-Jews can also be affected by antisemitic violence. The assumption that antisemitism only exists where Jews are (recognisably) present is false. For instance, the insult “You Jew” is always antisemitic, even when directed at non-Jewish pupils in many cases. This phrase carries specific antisemitic connotations—such as accusations of being stingy, selfish, or a traitor—and is therefore not simply interchangeable with other, more general insults.

Measures of protection and empowerment should also address those who are already potentially on the side of those affected but are uncertain about how to show solidarity, act, and argue in concrete cases of antisemitic statements or actions. Youth studies, such as those by Albert Scherr and Barbara Schäuble (cf. Scherr and Schäuble 2007), show that young people tend to perceive themselves as free of prejudice. This is not the case, but the desire not to discriminate provides an excellent starting point for raising awareness of discrimination (cf. Grimm 2020, 204). Empowerment targets this discrepancy between the will to speak out and engage against antisemitism and the inability to do so due to lack of knowledge.

Tami Rickert aptly argues: “Assuming [...] that the majority of pupils consciously hold and argue from an anti-antisemitic stance greatly expands the pedagogical scope for action. Anti-antisemitic arguments can thus be activated, learners encouraged to dissent, and existing

arguments strengthened. Such scope is often overlooked in responses heavily focused on perpetrators" (Rickert 2019, 70).

ADVICE, SUPPORT, LEADERSHIP

23. Is there an open culture of addressing mistakes at the school—one that acknowledges, engages with, and actively tackles problems?

„School as a mirror of society“ (Bernstein, Grimm and Müller 2022) functions well when it engages with societal problems—both general and local ones. This also includes transparent and honest handling of antisemitic incidents at the school itself and reflection on possible shortcomings in prior antisemitism-critical work. Samuel Salzborn and Alexandra Kurth state: “It may be that some individual schools do not have an antisemitism problem, but this would be surprising. Therefore, the question for school leadership is less whether there is an antisemitism problem at their school, and more how they deal with it” (2019, 23). If schools deal transparently with antisemitic incidents and continuously review their pedagogical work against antisemitism, this also strengthens the trust of Jewish pupils and their guardians in the institution. A school that conceals and covers up problems cannot be a safe place for Jewish pupils.

24. Are there contact persons and support structures for everyone involved in school life?

Everyone involved in school life should know whom to approach if they experience or witness antisemitic incidents. There must be contacts for pupils and guardians, but also for teaching staff. Those affected need to be able to find trusted contacts, pedagogical staff must be able to address incidents without fearing accusations of damaging the school’s reputation, and school leadership must be aware that addressing antisemitism contributes to a good school rather than concealing it. De-thematisation, trivialisation, and victim blaming in the sense of perpetrator-victim role reversal must have no place in schools (cf. Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 22ff. and 74ff.).

As education and counselling are part of official duties, all pedagogical staff must in principle be approachable regarding antisemitic incidents. However, it is important that contacts exist outside of potential evaluative contexts or, due to structurally asymmetrical pedagogical situations, entirely outside the school context—especially if antisemitism stems from or is ignored by teaching staff (cf. Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 70). Internally, this may include specially trained counselling teachers or school social workers. Regarding external contacts, it is necessary to identify, establish, and maintain contact with competent and responsible actors within the highly heterogeneous nationwide counselling landscape relevant for the

specific

school.¹⁹

It is essential that those affected can approach independent bodies, as family-historically rooted experiences sometimes create reservations about engaging with official authorities or lodging complaints with them. It can be helpful if such a body is affiliated with a Jewish community, which for many affected individuals represents a safe space allowing more open expression (cf. Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 96 and 101).²⁰ However, desirable is not only contact with the local Jewish community but also the inclusion of other local religious communities and further actors, for example from child and youth welfare or sports sectors.²¹

25. Do contact persons regularly have opportunities for further training?

Due to the specifics of antisemitism, its various manifestations, and its effects on those affected, it is indispensable that school contact persons regularly have opportunities for further training on the topic of antisemitism. Such specifics include dealing with secondary traumatisation (cf. Fehlberg, Rebentisch and Wolf 2016), awareness that those affected often trivialise antisemitic experiences themselves (cf. Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 99), or sensitivity to “violence-anticipating behaviours” common among Jewish pupils (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 21), such as hiding their Jewish identity.

26. Are contact persons adequately relieved in their duties?

If contact persons are not properly relieved in their duties, the likelihood of responsible fulfilment of their tasks decreases. Moreover, it becomes less likely that committed individuals will be willing to take on this role.

27. Are contact persons and support structures regularly made known to all involved in school life?

It is not enough that contact persons exist—they must also be known. This requires regular and active communication about available counselling structures. Such active information policy also signals to those affected that antisemitism is taken seriously. It is unacceptable “that

¹⁹ An overview of counselling services can be found at the following link: https://padlet.com/fbeer1/sabra-umgang-mit-antisemitismus-in-der-schule-hinweise-f-r-l-ig6p6rkhwb3wdg5?fbclid=IwAR1-i4ldpyFjReh6nkuDogEyOpUKjUf1Fvb1Te0hpXkulT7li4_MQWI-CZk (Beer et al., n.d.).

²⁰ Jews in Germany do not belong to a congregation or are not affiliated with the local one. It cannot be assumed that local representatives of Jewish communities automatically know or are able to represent the attitudes and interests of all Jewish people in the area.

²¹ Cf. Zick et al. 2017, 78; Beer, Grimm, and Viso 2022 on football/sports clubs; Amadeu Antonio Foundation and the “ju:an” Practice Office for Anti-Semitism- and Racism-Critical Youth Work 2017 on youth welfare services.

institutional intervention procedures appear arbitrary and opaque to some affected persons” (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 71), if these procedures are even known.

28. Are school leaders sensitised to the challenges of antisemitism-critical pedagogy?

Antisemitism exists in all social milieus and thus also in schools. The swift response by the education ministers of the federal states to the Hamas terror attack on Israel on 7 October 2023 demonstrated that schools now possess the ability to anticipate antisemitic incidents in the school context. Therefore, the question is not whether schools have an antisemitism problem but how they handle it. School leadership plays a crucial role here. Sybille Hoffmann names the following as “key points for school leaders and school development teams”:

- Taking a clear stance against all forms of antisemitism
- Encouraging critical reflection on one's own pedagogical actions and the materials used
- Taking seriously the experiences of Jewish pupils, their parents, and Jewish staff
- Incorporating the topic of antisemitism into the school curriculum
- Establishing clear responsibilities with shared accountability (Hoffmann 2019, 122-23).

Contacts within school supervision and counselling services such as SABRA can provide important support in implementing these points.

DOCUMENTATION AND EVALUATION

29. Are there procedures for documentation and evaluation?

The documentation of antisemitic incidents and their analysis is significant in three ways. Firstly, documentation and subsequent evaluation are indispensable for sustainable antisemitism-critical work within individual schools, as only through this can the need for action be identified. Secondly, documentation and evaluation can also help to advance public discourse and make the perspectives of those affected visible (cf. SABRA, Bagrut. Association for the Promotion of Democratic Awareness and Cologne Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation 2020, 6; cf. Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 7). Thirdly, an established routine for documentation and evaluation can alleviate uncertainties for all involved in handling antisemitic incidents – teachers thus gain confidence in their actions, while Jewish pupils and their guardians develop stronger trust in the school's work. In this way, a sustainable documentation and evaluation process can help create an environment where experiences of antisemitism can be addressed without fear.²² Documentation should fundamentally not be conducted solely within the school. Instead, reporting centres such as RIAS should be involved, which contribute to illuminating the dark field at the regional and federal level.²³

Moreover, further efforts of the school in antisemitism-critical work should also be documented and evaluated. The aim of this documentation and evaluation could, for example, be to identify examples of good practice within an ongoing school development process, to optimise internal curricula, or to assess the effectiveness of extracurricular programmes.

²² Ullrich Bauer points out that there is still great need in academic discourse: "For the entire range of possibilities to prevent, stop, or reduce antisemitic tendencies, insights from critical, social-scientific reflective evaluation research would be advanced. However, the implementation of a critical evaluation culture is lacking" (Bauer 2021, 33).

²³ <https://report-antisemitism.de/rias-nrw/> (last accessed 25.04.2024)

TRAINING AND INFORMATION

30. Do all participants in school life regularly have the opportunity to inform themselves about antisemitism and Jewish life?

This point is closely related to the demands formulated in the sections on curricular and extra-curricular educational offerings and on counselling. It is beneficial if schools regularly give all those involved in school life the opportunity to learn about antisemitism, antisemitism-critical education, and Jewish life, and actively promote relevant information offers (e.g. via email, brochures, noticeboards, etc.).

31. Is there a training concept for antisemitism-critical work?

Central to antisemitism-critical work in schools is the professionalisation of educational staff. The necessary further training must not occur only sporadically or only after an antisemitic incident. Rather, it must be systematic and sustainable. The basis for this is a training concept that addresses all school staff. Not only teachers of the relevant subjects in historical-political education should be sensitised to the topic, but teachers of all subjects,

- because antisemitic stereotypes can also be reproduced in seemingly neutral subjects,
- because antisemitism can occur in school life regardless of subject – for example, in the playground, at parent-teacher meetings, or in the staff room, and
- because scientific education in particular can help immunise against conspiracy fantasies conducive to antisemitism, such as those that became virulent during the COVID-19 pandemic.

It is important that not only training on antisemitism – especially relating to the form of Israel-related antisemitism prevalent among teachers – is provided (cf. Zick et al. 2017, 62; see also Bernstein 2020, 2021). Jewish life and Jewish traditions must also be included in training content to avoid the risk of unconscious perpetuation of stereotypes. Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer note in this regard that “many teachers of the current generation have little to no conscious contact with Jews. Accordingly, they act mainly from distant, abstract perspectives and derive their interpretations largely from historically transmitted fantasies or from fictional, media-mediated narratives about Jewish life and the Middle East conflict” (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 66–67; cf. also SABRA, Bagrut. Bagrut. Verein zur Förderung demokratischen Bewusstseins e.V und Kölnische Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit e.V 2020, 44).

Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer identify another reason for the high importance of training: there is no generally 'correct' way to deal with Jewish pupils; rather, "teachers need sensitivity to recognise potentially hurtful teaching topics and to find out in dialogue with the respective pupil what approach might be appropriate for that person" (Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 68). For teachers, this is routine (keyword: diagnostics and individual support). A sustainable training concept for antisemitism-critical work in schools must include compulsory elements for all educational staff. For comprehensive antisemitism-critical work at schools, it is also necessary to consider other school staff. Since antisemitism can manifest outside of lessons, caretakers, secretaries, catering staff, and after-school supervisors, for example, should also be sensitised to antisemitism.

Finally, it should be noted that entrenched antisemitism can also occur among teachers and must be appropriately sanctioned. Samuel Salzborn and Alexandra Kurth argue: "Teachers who voluntarily undergo further training on antisemitism usually are not the problem, as they already have an awareness of the problem that motivates them to take advantage of training offers. Antisemitic teachers, however, will not be induced to change their teaching practice through such voluntary offers. Structural and indeed disciplinary measures – which so far have only occurred in individual cases – are necessary" (Salzborn and Kurth 2019, 4).

(SCHOOL)LAW

32. Are all participants in school life regularly informed about the legal framework concerning dealing with antisemitism and Jewish life?

To effectively combat antisemitism in schools, protect those affected, and empower them to exercise their rights, it is necessary that all those involved in school life are regularly informed about the legal framework (cf. Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 101). Such information events would cover, for example, criminal and civil law as well as service and school law regulations that may be considered or must be observed in antisemitic incidents. An example is the North Rhine-Westphalian decree on “Cooperation in the Prevention and Combating of Juvenile Crime”, which explicitly states: “If there is suspicion that pupils have committed a crime, the school management must notify the law enforcement authorities.” Furthermore, a number of offences are named for which police or public prosecutor notification is regularly required – including grievous bodily harm and politically motivated offences.²⁴

In NRW, it was also clarified in a decree-like school email: “Antisemitic offences must be reported to the police. This applies not only to physical attacks. Antisemitic statements often fulfil the offence of incitement to hatred, coercion, or insult.”²⁵ It is essential that school structures are known and that teachers can trust school management to handle reports appropriately. Experience shows that these requirements are often little known in schools and not regularly communicated with sufficient emphasis. Legal requirements can only be effective if they are known to those responsible and affected. Therefore, teachers, guardians, and pupils must be regularly informed about the legal framework (cf. e.g., Roth 2021). This not only provides all actors with security in handling antisemitic incidents but can also have a preventive effect by deterring potential perpetrators. Failure to do so risks antisemitic acts being seen as minor offences, lowering inhibitions and causing potential victims and those responsible to hesitate to address antisemitic occurrences (cf. Chernivsky, Lorenz and Schweitzer, 2020, 101). Samuel Salzborn and Alexandra Kurth point out a “central limit of pedagogy”, namely that “young people with firmly established emotional structures of authoritarian reaction are significantly less accessible to pedagogical and didactic approaches, and for them, sanction and repression is the central interaction and communication instrument – to protect others from them but also to limit their aggression” (Salzborn and Kurth 2019, 8). Assessing when the threshold of

²⁴ https://recht.nrw.de/lmi/owa/br_vbl_detail_text?anw_nr=7&vd_id=14531 (vgl. Ministerium des Innern des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Referat 14, 2014).

²⁵ <https://www.schulministerium.nrw/08052018-antisemitismus> (Richter 2018).

criminality is crossed is not the task of educators but that of law enforcement authorities.²⁶ Accordingly, incidents should be reported if there is suspicion of criminality. In any case, anti-semitic incidents – even those below the criminal threshold – should be reported to the RIAS reporting centre to contribute to illuminating the dark field. Findings from RIAS help to tailor the work of counselling centres such as SABRA more effectively.²⁷ To prevent antisemitic incidents from going unpunished, it is better to report incidents once too often.

Legal clarity is also necessary regarding the rights of Jewish pupils to practise their religious and cultural traditions in school (see the chapter “Jewish Identity and Religious Practice”).

²⁶ In addition to the relevant (criminal) legal provisions, the working definition of antisemitism adopted and expanded by the Federal Government, as formulated by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), as well as the so-called 3D test in cases of Israel-related antisemitism, offer guidance on when a statement or action may be classified as antisemitic. Cf. https://www.antisemitismusbeauftragter.de/Webs/BAS/DE/bekaempfung-antisemitismus/ihra-definition/ihra-definition-node.html;jsessionid=0225A8DFB9FD953F28218F1B1ED127F4.2_cid364 and <https://www.antisemitismusbeauftragter.de/Webs/BAS/DE/bekaempfung-antisemitismus/was-ist-antisemitismus/3d-regel/3d-regel-node.html>

²⁷ Reports can also be submitted anonymously online at: <https://report-antisemitism.de/rias-nrw/> (last accessed 25 April 2024).

PUBLIC RELATIONS

33. Does the school communicate its efforts both internally and externally? Is information available on the website?

When children are about to change schools, parents or guardians often wonder to what extent the school's offerings meet the needs of the child and the family. Questions may be raised, for example, about the foreign language programmes, extracurricular activities such as clubs, or special support programmes in the artistic or scientific fields. This is no different for Jewish parents. However, for many of them, the central question initially is: Is my child safe at this school?

Not least to meet this information need of Jewish guardians, it is important that the school's public relations highlight its commitment to being a safe school for Jewish pupils. In doing so, a school can also promote itself and its cause, just as schools do when emphasising special educational focuses in other areas. It must be borne in mind, however, that schools could face antisemitic hostility if they publicly advocate for secure Jewish life. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to refrain from public relations work on this issue out of such concerns. Schools should not capitulate out of fear of antisemitic attacks from external sources. They have the rule of law and its security authorities on their side.

34. Is there a concept for public relations in the event of antisemitic incidents? Are there contact persons in the responsible school supervisory authorities or the education ministry?

As antisemitism is a societal phenomenon, it is also present in schools, making the question of how schools deal with it relevant. Schools should clearly communicate the efforts they make against antisemitism and handle incidents transparently, rather than trivialising or concealing them. Because only problems that are named can be addressed. It should be clear: "The reputation of the school is not endangered by the committed naming and action against antisemitism, but much more so by looking the other way and doing nothing. Professional handling is characterised by a clear stance not to tolerate antisemitism and by a timely and resolute response by the school" (Hoffmann 2019, 122).

It is helpful if schools have guidelines for public relations relating to antisemitic incidents and know contacts in the responsible school authorities from whom they can seek support. For example, the state of North Rhine-Westphalia provides concrete advice on "Dealing with the media and the public" in the "Emergency folder for schools in North Rhine-Westphalia"

(Ministry of Education and the Accident Insurance Fund of North Rhine-Westphalia 2023, 297).
Furthermore, the Ministry of Education has contact persons available for crisis management.

THE LIMITS OF SCHOOL-BASED WORK AGAINST ANTISEMITISM – INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

35. Are the limits of school-based work against antisemitism reflected upon?

In public debate, schools are regularly attributed a central role in combating antisemitism. After all, schools reach all young people and are therefore the appropriate place to raise awareness about antisemitism. This is undoubtedly true. However, the importance of school-based work against antisemitism must not obscure the limits of what schools can do. It would indeed be a fatal (self-)overestimation of pedagogy to see it as a panacea for antisemitism. This would conceal the fact that antisemitism is a societal phenomenon that must be tackled across all spheres of society, politically and legally.

One key limitation has already been identified: in a social and political climate where antisemitism functions as a worldview across social boundaries, schools can only have a limited, but not a fully comprehensive, corrective effect against antisemitism. Another limitation is rooted in institutional framework conditions: engagement with antisemitism is not always explicitly included in curricula even where it might be expected, such as in history, politics, or religious studies. Teachers in these subjects report increasing curriculum density and lack of teaching time to address the topic meaningfully. High maximum class sizes and compulsory teaching hours, as well as unfavourable pupil-teacher ratios, also contribute to the fact that educational measures against antisemitism cannot always be tailored individually as needed (cf. Salzborn and Kurth 2019, 12).

The critical work against antisemitism in schools is also limited by deficiencies in the training and professional development of teaching staff. Engagement with antisemitism is not compulsory in teacher education, and training opportunities for teachers are still sparse and mainly attended by those already sensitised to the topic.

A fundamental problem of educational work against antisemitism stems from what Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, members of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, called the “limits of enlightenment”. The backlash of enlightenment against itself, the “rage against civilisation” (Adorno [1966] 1970, 95), results from “the fact that modern forms of socialisation both create and sabotage the possibilities for the development of a self-reflective, autonomous individuality” (Grigat 2023, 17). In this sense, critique of antisemitism cannot be separated from critique of the social causes of antisemitism: “An ‘end of antisemitism’ [...] would ultimately mean the constitution of a liberated society in which everyone could be different without fear and coercion” (Grigat 2023, 17; see also Horkheimer and Adorno [1944] 2020, 208–9).

When educators are therefore advised always to reflect on the limits of their own work, this is not intended to advocate fatalism. On the contrary: education can fail and cannot solve social problems alone. But awareness of the limits of pedagogical work can protect against resignation because it makes clear where pedagogy must come to an end.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, Theodor W. (1966) 1970. *Neun kritische Modelle*. Frankfurt a. M.
- Aktionswochen gegen Antisemitismus. 2021. *Interview: „Antisemitismusbekämpfung kann und darf nicht leicht sein, sie muss wehtun“*. Interview mit Monika Schwarz-Friesel. <https://www.belltower.news/interview-antisemitismusbekaempfung-kann-und-darf-nicht-leicht-sein-sie-muss-wehtun-123907/>. Accessed Mai 3, 2024.
- Amadeu Antonio Stiftung und »ju:an«-Praxisstelle antisemitismus- und rassismuskritische Jugendarbeit. 2017. *Läuft noch nicht? Gönn dir: 7 Punkte für eine Jugendarbeit gegen Antisemitismus!*. https://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/w/files/publikationen/laeuft-noch-nicht-goenn-dir_-7-punkte-gegen-antisemitismus.pdf. Accessed April 16, 2024.
- Bauer, Ullrich. 2021. „Mit Bildung gegen das kulturelle Gedächtnis eines globalen Judenhas- ses – geht das? Chancen und Risiken von Prävention und Intervention.“ In Grimm and Mül- ler 2021, 21–43.
- Beer, Florian. 2021. „Was macht ein gutes Schulbuch aus? Prüfsteine für einen antisemitis- muskritischen Geschichtsunterricht.“ In Grimm and Müller 2021, 248–63.
- Beer, Florian, Marc Grimm and Shahar Viso. 2022. „Erfahrungen von jungen Juden mit Antise- mitismus im Vereinsfußball.“ In *Antisemitismus in Jugendkulturen Erscheinungsformen und Gegenstrategien*, edited by Jakob Baier and Marc Grimm, 209–25. Frankfurt a. M.
- Beer, Florian and among others. n. d. *SABRA: Umgang mit Antisemitismus in der Schule: Hin- weise für Lehrkräfte nicht nur in NRW*. https://padlet.com/fbeer1/sabra-umgang-mit-antise- mitismus-in-der-schule-hinweise-f-r-l-ig6p6rkhwqb3wdg5?fbclid=IwAR1-i4ldpyFjReh6nku- DogEyOpUKjUf1Fvb1Te0hpXkulT7li4_MQWI-CZk. Accessed April 16, 2024.
- Beer, Florian and Jürko Ufert. 2021. *SABRA: Für die Wahrnehmung der jüdischen Perspektive*. <https://www.schulministerium.nrw/sabra-fuer-die-wahrnehmung-der-juedisches-perspek- tive>. Accessed April 12, 2024.
- Bernstein, Julia, ed. 2020. *Antisemitismus an Schulen in Deutschland: Befunde – Analysen – Handlungsoptionen*. Weinheim.
- Bernstein, Julia. 2021. *Israelbezogener Antisemitismus: Erkennen – Handeln – Vorbeugen*. Weinheim, Basel.
- Bernstein, Julia, Marc Grimm, and Stefan Müller, eds. 2022. *Schule als Spiegel der Gesell- schaft: Antisemitismen erkennen und handeln. Antisemitismus und Bildung, Band II*. Frank- furt am Main: Wochenschau Verlag.
- Beyer, Heiko, Lars Rensmann, Hanna Brögeler, David Jäger, and Carina Schulz. 2024. *Antise- mitismus in der Gesamtgesellschaft von Nordrhein-Westfalen im Jahr 2024*. <https://www.land.nrw/media/33477/download>. Accessed March 24, 2025.
- Bezirksregierung Münster. 2020. *Antisemitismus an Schulen. Handreichung für Schulleitungen und Lehrkräfte im Regierungsbezirk Münster*. https://www.bezreg-muenster.de/zentralab- lage/dokumente/schule_und_bildung/gesundheit_krisenmanagement_an_schulen/antise- mitismus/Antisemitismus-an-Schulen_Web.pdf. Accessed April 8, 2024.
- Chernivsky, Marina. 2018. "Umgang mit Antisemitismus als Herausforderung und Span- nungsfeld." In „*Mach mal keine Judenaktion!*“: Herausforderungen und Lösungsansätze in der professionellen Bildungs- und Sozialarbeit gegen Antisemitismus, edited by Julia Bern- stein, 319–29. <http://www.frankfurt-university.de/antisemitismus-schule>. Accessed April 10, 2024.

- Chernivsky, Marina, Friederike Lorenz, and Johanna Schweitzer. 2020. *Antisemitismus im (Schul-)Alltag: Erfahrungen und Umgangsweisen jüdischer Familien und junger Erwachsener*. Berlin. https://zwst-kompetenzzentrum.de/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/KoZe_Familienstudie_web_14-01.pdf. Accessed May 3, 2024.
- Chernivsky, Marina, and Friederike Lorenz-Sinai. 2024. *Institutioneller Antisemitismus in der Schule (= Schule ohne Rassismus – Schule mit Courage, Baustein 14)*. <https://www.schule-ohne-rassismus.org/wp-content/uploads/baustein-14-WEB.pdf>. Accessed March 17, 2025.
- Chernivsky, Marina, and Romina Wiegemann. 2017. "Antisemitismus als individuelle Erfahrung und soziales Phänomen – Zwischen Bildung, Beratung und Empowerment." In *Medaon – Magazin für jüdisches Leben in Forschung und Bildung*, 11 (21). file:///C:/Users/vm/Downloads/Medaon_21_Chernivsky_Wiegemann.pdf. Accessed April 16, 2024.
- Decker, Oliver, Johannes Kiess, Aylene Heller, and Elmar Brähler, eds. 2024. *Vereint im Ressentiment: Autoritäre Dynamiken und rechtsextreme Einstellungen. Leipziger Autoritarismus Studie 2024*. Gießen. <https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/2024-11/leipziger-autoritarismus-studie-2024-vereint-im-ressentiment-autoritaere-dynamiken-und-rechtsextreme-einstellungen.pdf>. Accessed March 17, 2025.
- Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft and Scholars for Peace in the Middle East, Germany e.V., eds. 2015. *Pädagogik des Ressentiments: Das Israelbild in deutschen Schulen und Schulbüchern*. Oldenburg. https://www.mideastfreedomforum.org/fileadmin/editors_de/Broschueren/DIG_Broschuere_Schulbuecher_2018.pdf. Accessed May 3, 2024.
- Deutsch-israelische Schulbuchkommission, ed. 1985. "Deutsch-israelische Schulbuechempfehlungen: Zur Darstellung der jüdischen Geschichte sowie der Geschichte und Geographie Israels in Schulbüchern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Zur Darstellung der deutschen Geschichte und der Geographie der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in israelischen Schulbüchern. Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung". In *Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts* 44. Braunschweig.
- Deutsch-israelische Schulbuchkommission, ed. 2017. *Deutsch-israelische Schulbuechempfehlungen*. 2nd revised ed. Göttingen. http://www.gei.de/fileadmin/gei.de/pdf/publikationen/Expertise/fulltext/9783847104384_Laessig_Schulbuechempfehlungen_Fulltext_deutsch.pdf. Accessed April 10, 2024.
- Eckmann, Monique, and Gottfried Kößler. 2020. *Pädagogische Auseinandersetzung mit aktuellen Formen des Antisemitismus: Qualitätsmerkmale und Spannungsfelder mit Schwerpunkt auf israelbezogenem und sekundärem Antisemitismus*. Unpublished manuscript. Discussion paper.
- Fehlberg, Thorsten, Jost Rebutisch, and Anke Wolf, eds. 2016. *Nachkommen von Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus: Herausforderungen und Perspektiven*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Fischer, Ruth, and Malte Holler. n.d. *Begegnungsansätze: Anerkennung durch Kennenlernen?* <https://www.schulministerium.nrw/sabra-fuer-die-wahrnehmung-der-juedischen-perspektive>. Accessed April 12, 2024.
- Geiger, Wolfgang. 2012. *Zwischen Urteil und Vorurteil: Jüdische und deutsche Geschichte in der kollektiven Erinnerung*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Geiger, Wolfgang. 2019. "Antisemitismus auch im Schulbuch? Zum historischen und pädagogischen Kontext eines gravierenden Vorwurfs." In *Medaon – Magazin für jüdisches Leben in Forschung und Bildung*, 13 (25). <https://www.medaon.de/de/artikel/antisemitismus-auch-im-schulbuch-zum-historischen-und-paedagogischen-kontext-eines-gravierenden-vorwurfs/>. Accessed April 10, 2024.

- Gesetz zur Regelung des Statusrechts der Beamtinnen und Beamten in den Ländern (Beamtenstatusgesetz – BeamtStG) § 33 Grundpflichten. Bundesministerium der Justiz. <https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/beamtstg/33.html>. Accessed April 22, 2024.
- Grigat, Stephan, ed. 2023. "Kritik des Antisemitismus in der Gegenwart: Erscheinungsformen – Theorien – Bekämpfung". In *Interdisziplinäre Antisemitismusforschung* 14. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Grimm, Marc. 2020. "Qualitätskriterien für die Bildung gegen Antisemitismus: Die Thematisierung von Emotionen." In *Bildung gegen Antisemitismus: Spannungsfelder der Aufklärung*, edited by Marc Grimm and Stefan Müller, 198–213. Frankfurt am Main: Wochenschau Verlag.
- Grimm, Marc. 2021. "Emotionen in der schulischen Bildung gegen Antisemitismus: Herausforderungen und Chancen." In *Standortbestimmung Politische Bildung: Gesellschaftspolitische Herausforderungen, Zivilgesellschaft und das vermeintliche Neutralitätsgebot*, edited by Steve Kenner and Tonio Oeftering, 117–27. Frankfurt am Main: Wochenschau Verlag.
- Grimm, Marc. 2023. "Überlegungen zur Didaktik der Aufklärung über israelbezogenen Antisemitismus in der Schule." In *Antisemitismus in der Schule. Impulse für den Unterricht*, edited by Philipp Mittnik, Georg Lauß, and Stefan Schmid-Heher, 26–31. https://zpb.phwien.ac.at/wp-content/uploads/Publikation_2.Tag-d-Politischen-Bildung_2023.pdf. Accessed April 2024.
- Grimm, Marc, and Stefan Müller, eds. 2021. *Bildung gegen Antisemitismus: Spannungsfelder der Aufklärung*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Gruberová, Eva, and Marc Grimm. 2022. "Zeitzeugen und Gegenwartszeugen: Möglichkeiten emotionalen Lernens anhand von Biographien in der historischen und politischen Bildungsarbeit." In *Schule als Spiegel der Gesellschaft: Antisemitismen erkennen und handeln*, edited by Julia Bernstein, Marc Grimm, and Stefan Müller, 222–41. Antisemitismus und Bildung, Band II. Frankfurt am Main: Wochenschau Verlag.
- Gryglewski, Elke. 2018. "Zur Diskussion über sogenannte Zwangsbesuche in Konzentrationslagern." *Gedenkstätten-Rundbrief* 189 (6): 56–60. <https://www.gedenkstaettenforum.de/fileadmin/forum/Rundbriefe/2018/GedRund19056-60.pdf>. Accessed April 12, 2024.
- Haug, Verena. 2017. "Antisemitismuskritische Bildungsarbeit in Gedenkstätten?" In *Fragiler Konsens: Antisemitismuskritische Bildung in der Migrationsgesellschaft*, edited by Meron Mendel and Astrid Messerschmidt, 155–69. Frankfurt am Main.
- Hoffmann, Sybille. 2019. "Antisemitismus in der Schule: Entwicklung von Konzepten für die Intervention und Prävention – Eckpunkte für Schulleitungen und Schulentwicklungsteams." In *Wahrnehmen – Benennen – Handeln: Handreichung zum Umgang mit Antisemitismus an Schulen*, edited by Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, and Zentrum für Schulqualität und Lehrerbildung, 122–25.
- Hogrefe, Juliane, Oliver Hollstein, Wolfgang Meseth, and Matthias Proske. 2012. "Die Kommunikation von Urteilen im Unterricht. Zwischen der Bildung und der Beurteilung von Urteilen und deren Folgen." *ZISU – Zeitschrift für interpretative Schul- und Unterrichtsforschung* 1 (1). <https://www.budrich-journals.de/index.php/zisu/article/view/7244>. Accessed April 2024.
- Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno. (1944) 2020. *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente*. Frankfurt am Main.

- Jikeli, Günther. 2024. *Gemessener Antisemitismus: Umfragen zu antisemitischen Einstellungen unter Muslim:innen in Europa und den USA*. CARS Working Papers 18. Aachen. https://kids-oks.bsz-bw.de/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/4607/file/CARS_WorkingPaper_018.pdf. Accessed May 14, 2024.
- Kümper, Michael. 2010. "Chancen und Grenzen jüdisch-nichtjüdischer Begegnungen als pädagogischem Ansatz im Umgang mit Antisemitismus." In *"Unsere Jugendlichen müssten mal Juden kennen lernen!": Begegnungen mit Jüdinnen und Juden als pädagogischer Ansatz zum Abbau von Antisemitismus*, edited by Verein für Demokratische Kultur in Berlin e.V. and amira – Antisemitismus im Kontext von Migration und Rassismus, 4–17.
- Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf. 2019. *Was tun bei Antisemitismus an Schulen? Handreichung für Düsseldorfer Schulleitungen und Lehrkräfte*. <https://www.duesseldorf.de/fileadmin/Amt13/presseanhang/1907/190703-Handreichung1.pdf>. Accessed April 8, 2024.
- Leitsätze zum Urteil des Zweiten Senats vom 17. Januar 2017. Bundesverfassungsgericht. https://www.bverfg.de/e/bs20170117_2bvb000113.html. Accessed April 22, 2024.
- Liepach, Martin, and Wolfgang Geiger. 2014. *Fragen an die jüdische Geschichte: Darstellungen und didaktische Herausforderungen*. Schwalbach.
- Lohl, Jan. 2010. *Gefühlserbschaft und Rechtsextremismus: Eine sozialpsychologische Studie zur Generationengeschichte des Nationalsozialismus*. Gießen.
- Malmaid. 2021. "MALMAD – Homepage: Virtueller Methodenkoffer gegen Antisemitismus." <https://malmaid.de/>. Accessed May 14, 2024.
- Massing, Peter. 2003. "Kategoriale politische Urteilsbildung." In *Urteilsbildung im Politikunterricht*, edited by Hans-Werner Kuhn, 91–108. Frankfurt am Main: Wochenschau Verlag.
- Messerschmidt, Astrid. 2013. "Selbstbilder, Emotionen und Perspektiverweiterungen in antisemitismuskritischen Bildungsprozessen." In *Widerspruchstoleranz: Ein Theorie-Praxis-Handbuch zu Antisemitismuskritik und Bildungsarbeit*, edited by KlG A e.V. – Kreuzberger Initiative gegen Antisemitismus e.V., 15–18. Berlin.
- Messerschmidt, Astrid. 2018. "Selbstbilder in der postnationalistischen Gesellschaft." *Jalta – Positionen zur jüdischen Gegenwart: Gegenwartsbewältigung 2*: 38–46.
- Ministerium des Innern des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Referat 14. 2014. "Zusammenarbeit bei der Verhütung und Bekämpfung der Jugendkriminalität." https://recht.nrw.de/lmi/owa/br_vbl_detail_text?anw_nr=7&vd_id=14531. Accessed April 22, 2024.
- Ministerium für Schule und Bildung und Unfallkasse Nordrhein-Westfalen, eds. 2023. *Notfallordner für die Schulen in Nordrhein-Westfalen: Hinsehen und Handeln. Handlungsempfehlungen zur Krisenprävention und Krisenintervention*. Düsseldorf.
- Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung. 2015. "Teilnahme am Unterricht und an sonstigen Schulveranstaltungen." <https://bass.schul-welt.de/15402.htm>. Accessed April 22, 2024.
- NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln and Fachstelle m². 2020. "Antisemitismus an Schulen: Eine Handreichung für die Arbeit an Schulen." *Bausteine Antisemitismuskritik I*. https://www.museenkoeln.de/Downloads/nsd/Handreichung_Antisemitismus-Schule.pdf. Accessed April 8, 2024.
- Müller, Stefan. 2021. *Reflexivität in der politischen Bildung: Untersuchungen zur sozialwissenschaftlichen Fachdidaktik*. Frankfurt am Main.
- UNESCO and OSCE. 2018. *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education: Guidelines for Policymakers*. <https://www.osce.org/odihr/383089?download=true>. Accessed March 24, 2025.

- OSCE. 2022. *Addressing Antisemitism in Schools: Training Curricula*. <https://www.osce.org/odihr/470712>. Accessed March 24, 2025.
- Öztürk, Cemal, and Gert Pickel. 2021. "Der Antisemitismus der Anderen: Für eine differenzierte Betrachtung antisemitischer Einstellungen unter Muslim:innen in Deutschland." *Zeitschrift für Religion, Gesellschaft und Politik* 6: 189–231. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s41682-021-00078-w>. Accessed April 12, 2024.
- Perko, Gudrun. 2020. *Antisemitismus in der Schule: Handlungsmöglichkeiten der Schulsozialarbeit*. Weinheim.
- Perko, Gudrun, Leah Carola Czollek, and Naemi Eifler, eds. 2021. *Antisemitismus als Aufgabe für die Schulsozialarbeit – Expert_innen im Gespräch*. Weinheim.
- Pingel, Falk. 2017. *Zur Darstellung des Antisemitismus in deutschen Schulbüchern*. Eckert Dossiers 9. http://repository.gei.de/bitstream/handle/11428/218/ED9_Pingel_Antisemitismus.pdf?sequence=1. Accessed April 10, 2024.
- Popp, Susanne. 2002. "Gedenkstättenbesuch: Ein Beitrag zur historisch-politischen Bildung." https://www.sowi-online.de/praxis/methode/gedenkstaettenbesuch_ein_beitrag_zur_historisch_politischen_bildung.html. Accessed April 12, 2024.
- Rajal, Elke. 2018. "Mit Bildung gegen Antisemitismus? Möglichkeiten und Grenzen antisemitismuskritischer Bildungsarbeit." *SWS-Rundschau* 58 (2): 132–52. https://www.academia.edu/36927635/Mit_Bildung_gegen_Antisemitismus_Möglichkeiten_und_Grenzen_antisemitismuskritischer_Bildungsarbeit. Accessed April 12, 2024.
- Recherche- und Informationsstelle Antisemitismus Nordrhein-Westfalen. 2024. "Antisemitische Vorfälle in Nordrhein-Westfalen 2023." https://www.report-antisemitism.de/documents/Jahresbericht_2023_RIAS_NRW.pdf. Accessed April 2024.
- Rensmann, Lars. 2022. "Polymorphie des Antisemitismus als gesellschaftliche Herausforderung." In *Wissenschaftliche Einordnung und Ausarbeitung eines Rahmenkonzeptes für das ZADA Pilotprojekt*, edited by Marc Grimm, Saskia Müller, Anne Rethmann, Jakob Baier, and Ullrich Bauer, 106–26. Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, Bundesprogramm „Demokratie leben!“.
- Rensmann, Jörg. 2020. "Dringend reformbedürftig: das Israelbild in deutschen Schulbüchern." In *Antisemitismus an Schulen in Deutschland: Befunde – Analysen – Handlungsoptionen*, edited by Julia Bernstein, 259–65. Weinheim.
- Richter, Matthias. 2018. "Antisemitismus." Open letter. <https://www.schulministerium.nrw/08052018-antisemitismus>. Accessed April 16, 2024.
- Rickert, Tami. 2019. "Grundlegende praktische Ansatzpunkte für den Umgang mit Antisemitismus in der Schule." In *Wahrnehmen – Benennen – Handeln: Handreichung zum Umgang mit Antisemitismus an Schulen*, edited by Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, and Zentrum für Schulqualität und Lehrerbildung, 66–73. Stuttgart. https://www.lpb-bw.de/fileadmin/demokratie-bw/redaktion/pdf/2019_Handreichung_Antisemitismus-an-Schulen.pdf. Accessed April 25, 2024.
- Roth, Roland. 2021. *Junge Menschen und ihre Rechte in Schulen*. Berlin.
- SABRA. 2024. "Kompetent und konsequent gegen Antisemitismus: Fortbildungen für Schulen und Zentren für schulpraktische Lehrerbildung." <https://www.sabra-jgd.de/schule>. Accessed April 22, 2024.
- SABRA, Bagrut – Verein zur Förderung demokratischen Bewusstseins e.V., and Kölnische Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit e.V. 2020. "Antisemitismus in

- Nordrhein-Westfalen: Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen jüdischer Menschen." https://www.report-antisemitism.de/documents/2020-09-07_rias-bund_sabra_Problembeschreibung-Antisemitismus-in-NRW.pdf. Accessed April 16, 2024.
- Sadowski, Dirk. 2023. "Antisemitismus im Schulbuch? Zur Typologie und Charakteristik von Vorurteilen." In *Christliche Signatur des zeitgenössischen Antisemitismus*, Conference Proceedings, Evangelische Akademie zu Berlin, June 27–29, 2022, 37: 50–53.
- Salzborn, Samuel. 2010. *Antisemitismus als negative Leitidee der Moderne: Sozialwissenschaftliche Theorien im Vergleich*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Salzborn, Samuel, ed. 2020. *Schule und Antisemitismus: Politische Bestandsaufnahme und pädagogische Handlungsmöglichkeiten*. Weinheim.
- Salzborn, Samuel, and Alexandra Kurth. 2019. "Antisemitismus in der Schule: Erkenntnisstand und Handlungsperspektiven." Unpublished manuscript. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/349348994_Antisemitismus_in_der_Schule_Erkennntnisstand_und_Handlungsperspektiven. Accessed April 12, 2024.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. (1944) 1994. *Überlegungen zur Judenfrage*. Hamburg.
- Scherr, Albert, and Barbara Schäuble. 2006. "Ich habe nichts gegen Juden, aber...: Ausgangsbedingungen und Ansatzpunkte gesellschaftspolitischer Bildungsarbeit zur Auseinandersetzung mit Antisemitismen." Unpublished manuscript. <https://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/w/files/pdfs/schaueblescherrichhabenichtslangversion.pdf>. Accessed April 10, 2024.
- Scherr, Albert, and Barbara Schäuble. 2007. "Ich habe nichts gegen Juden, aber...: Ausgangsbedingungen und Perspektiven gesellschaftspolitischer Bildungsarbeit gegen Antisemitismus." Unpublished manuscript. https://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/w/files/pdfs/ich_habe_nichts_2.pdf. Accessed April 10, 2024.
- Schrader, Ulrike. 2005. "Immer wieder Friedrich? Anmerkungen zu dem Schulbuchklassiker von Hans Peter Richter." *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 14: 323–44. <https://ixtheo.de/record/569206642>. Accessed April 2024.
- Schwarz-Friesel, Monika. 2019. "Hass als kultureller Gefühlswert: Das emotionale Fundament des aktuellen Antisemitismus." In *Das neue Unbehagen: Antisemitismus in Deutschland heute*, edited by Olaf Glöckner and Günther Jikeli, 109–31. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York.
- Schwarz-Friesel, Monika. 2021. *Antisemitismus im Internet 2.0 als kultureller Gefühlswert: das digitale Echo der Vergangenheit*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ou7npTjEe34>. Accessed May 14, 2024.
- Stadt Essen. 2020. "Was tun bei Antisemitismus an Schulen?" https://media.essen.de/media/wwwessende/aemter/45_9/Antisemitismus_an_Schulen.pdf. Accessed April 8, 2024.
- Stadt Wuppertal. 2020. "Was tun bei Antisemitismus an Schulen? Handreichung für Wuppertaler Schulleitungen und Lehrkräfte." https://www.wuppertal.de/microsite/schulpsychologie/aktuelles_und_allgemeines/aktuelles-und-allgemeines.php.media/366743/Flyer-Antisemitismus-2020.pdf. Accessed April 8, 2024.
- Unabhängiger Expertenkreis Antisemitismus. 2018. "Antisemitismus in Deutschland – aktuelle Entwicklungen." <https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/downloads/DE/publikationen/themen/heimat-integration/expertenkreis-antisemitismus/expertenbericht-antisemitismus-in-deutschland.html>. Accessed May 3, 2024.
- Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Deutschen Bundestags. 2017. "Sachstand: Transgenerationale Traumatisierung."

<https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/501186/5cab3d455ea7c85a1dfbd7ce458d499a/WD-1-040-16-pdf-data.pdf>. Accessed April 17, 2024.

Zick, Andreas, Andreas Hövermann, Silke Jensen, and Julia Bernstein. 2017. "Jüdische Perspektiven auf Antisemitismus in Deutschland: Ein Studienbericht für den Expertenrat Antisemitismus." Unpublished manuscript. https://www.frankfurt-university.de/fileadmin/standard/Aktuelles/Pressemitteilungen/Studie_juedische_Perspektiven_Bericht_April2017.pdf. Accessed April 16, 2024.