



From the Margins to the Centre: The Emergence of Holocaust Education in Scandinavia (1990–2023)

*Fredrik Stenhjem Hagen, Anders Granås Kjøstvedt,
Karin Kvist Geverts, Solvej Berlau & Stine Thuge*

Abstract • In Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the Holocaust has a special place in history education today. In the national curricula of all Scandinavian countries, it is treated differently from other historical events. In particular, the Holocaust is framed as an event that students should not only learn about but also take moral lessons from. This article aims to discuss how the Holocaust emerged as a significant event with immense importance in history education across Scandinavia, and how Scandinavian Holocaust education has gained such a striking moral framing. While this process was part of a transnational development, it has certain local variations that are important for the nature of Holocaust education in Scandinavia. Our key finding is that the idea of students gaining added moral virtues from Holocaust education only partially originates in historical and education research, instead, it is the result of various political interventions and cultural shifts affecting Holocaust education.

Keywords • Holocaust education, memory work, educational policy, cultural politics, moral education

Holocaust and education in Scandinavia

Since the late 1990s, the Nazi regime's genocide of the European Jews - the Holocaust - has had a special role and position in history education in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Despite the Scandinavian countries' significant differences in their historical experiences of the Holocaust, the trajectory of moving the genocide from the margins to the centre of the memory cultures of the Second World War is shared by all of them. As living memory of the war fades, education plays an increasingly important role in this memory culture.

In the national curricula and educational practices of all three Scandinavian countries, the Holocaust is currently treated differently from all other historical events. In particular, there are certain expectations of how learning about the Holocaust should give some kind of added value, moral or otherwise, that is not shared with any other events in the framework of history education. In other words, Holocaust education in Scandinavia is today permeated by the idea that this is a historical event that contem-

porary students should primarily be learning from, rather than learning about.¹ We believe this fact is the result of a particular political interest in Holocaust education as a social and cultural phenomenon starting in the late 1990s.

While the development of Holocaust education in Scandinavia mimics international trends, there are several reasons to investigate this development in particular. The Scandinavian countries have taken a leading role in establishing transnational memories of the Holocaust, and Holocaust education is an integral part of this process. The formalisation of Holocaust memory has in fact been a key component in establishing Holocaust education as something separate from general history education in these years.²

Since the attacks on Israel on October 7th 2023, however, public opinion in the Scandinavian countries has taken a leading role in the international critique of the Israeli war against Hamas. This is seen by a rising number of demonstrations and calls for political interventions and financial boycotts. This event is also intermingled with Holocaust memory, and might impact Holocaust education. The argument to be made for the case that the ongoing war in the Middle East impacts Holocaust education can be found in several events that have been widely discussed in the Scandinavian public. One example of this is the discussion of Holocaust memory that followed the hanging of dolls dressed as concentration camp inmates in the Swedish town of Umeå in the summer of 2025.³ The figural hanging was followed by an intense discussion on Holocaust imagery and the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Another example of the declining position of Holocaust memory in Scandinavia can be found in Norway: a scandal broke in the winter of 2024 when it became known that the peace and human rights institution ARKIVET wanted to change the name of its event on the international Holocaust remembrance day, removing the reference to the Holocaust “because of the ongoing events in the Middle East”.⁴ It is hard to imagine such an attack on the dominant position of Holocaust memory in Norway just a few years earlier.

The possible fracture, and at least metamorphosis, of Holocaust memory in these cases highlights how memory changes over time, and the fact that Holocaust memory and education are social, political and cultural phenomena, best understood in their proper historical contexts. As Holocaust memory changes, we believe Holocaust

1 This idea has been discussed in empirical studies of Holocaust education in all Scandinavian countries, for a Swedish context, see Ylva Wibaeus, *Att undervisa om det ofattbara: En ämnesdidaktisk studie om kunskapsområdet Förintelsen i skolans historieundervisning*, PhD diss. (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2010). For a Norwegian context, see Fredrik Stenhjem Hagen *Antirasisme etter Auschwitz*, PhD diss. (Bergen: Høgskulen på Vestlandet, 2022); Vibeke Banik and Anders Granås Kjøstvedt, “Kollektive minner og universalisering. Holocaust i den nye norske læreplanen for grunnskolen,” *Norddidactica* 12, no. 3 (2022). and for Denmark see Cecilie Banke, “Teaching the Holocaust as Part of Local History: The Case of Denmark,” in *The Future of Holocaust Memorialization: Confronting Racism, Antisemitism, and Homophobia through Memory Work*, ed. Andea Peto and Helga Thorson (Budapest: Tom Lantos Institute, 2015).

2 The intermingled relationship of Holocaust memory and Holocaust education is explored by, among others, Samuel Day, “The Making of Holocaust Education in Britain, 1945–1991,” *Holocaust Studies* 31, no. 2 (2025), 287–308.

3 Journalist Kjetil Bortelid Mæland made a summary of this particular case for the Norwegian newspaper *Nettavisen*: <https://www.nettavisen.no/nyheter/sterke-reaksjoner-dukker-med-davidstjernehengt-i-umea/s/5-95-2534148>.

4 NRK journalist Hans Erik Weiby wrote a summary of this event which can be read here: <https://www.nrk.no/sorlandet/arkivet-freds--og-menneskerettighetscenter-beklager-misforstaelse-om-navneendring-av-holocaustdagen-1.16707522>.

education will change as well. The ongoing crisis in the Middle East might bring about the end of Holocaust education as in its current form in Scandinavia. The existence of Holocaust education was not inevitable, and neither is its continuation. Researching the rise of Holocaust education in Scandinavia is therefore also a study of history education and history culture in a broader sense, giving insight into how history education is formed and maintained.

This article aims to discuss how the Holocaust emerged as a significant – or perhaps even singular – historical and societal event in history education in the Scandinavian countries. We discuss the factors contributing to the reevaluation of the Holocaust as a subject of history teaching, and how these factors shaped the role that the topic has assumed since the 1990s. We also discuss what the primary concerns have been of the researchers looking into Holocaust education as a phenomenon. To do this, we draw upon both historical and educational research concerning the Holocaust and history education, as well as public debates on historical and political issues that have shaped the understanding and interpretation of the Holocaust in Scandinavia since the 1990s. We end our historical inquiry at the end of 2023, as Holocaust education in the region faces social and political issues, the outcomes of which are yet unknown.

Our main finding in this article is that the identification of the Holocaust as a historical event of particular importance, and especially the contemporary expectations of added value in learning about this genocide, only partially originates in historical and educational research. Instead, it seems to be the result of various forms of political interventions and cultural shifts impacting Holocaust education, particularly since the 1990s.

The article is built upon a scoping review as first described by Arksey and O'Malley.⁵ The scoping review is a systematic, yet flexible form of literature review. The aim of a scoping review is to synthesise the breadth of evidence available on a particular topic, regardless of how this evidence was first produced. The scoping review method thus lets the researchers include different types of research material to inform the study, whether qualitative, quantitative or purely theoretical.

There are several reasons for choosing this approach. While we can with some certainty claim when Holocaust education established itself as an educational policy and practice in Scandinavia in the period surrounding the millennium, and while we can also claim that Holocaust education has become an important part of history education in our part of the world, the particularities of what Holocaust education *is* remains elusive. This is a result of the complexity of the phenomenon. We understand our scoping review as an attempt to describe the insight that the scientific community has gained, and at the same time describe the broader picture as we understand it at this point in time.

Our scope is limited to any research that studies Holocaust education in a Scandinavian setting in any shape or form, and that is published in an academic journal between 1990 and 2023. Some grey literature is included (such as master's theses) where they provide insight that published literature does not. The reviewed literature varies greatly in aim and scope, from single case studies to larger discussions of Holo-

5 Hilary Arksey and Lisa O'Malley, "Scoping Studies: Toward a Methodological Framework," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 8, no. 1 (2005), 19–32.

caust education as a phenomenon. We present the findings of our review in a narrative structure, presenting the literature on one nation at a time. This is done to overcome the differences in the material scoped, but also because this form of presentation fits our overall aim - understanding the particularities of the emergence and continuation of Holocaust education in Scandinavia.⁶ Furthermore, to achieve this aim, we compare the findings of the reviewed articles across the three countries. The main purpose of the comparison is to discuss the processes that moved Holocaust from the margins to the centre of history education in our region. As we shall see from our findings, a main driving force behind this move is the idea that there are lessons to be learned *from* the history of the Holocaust. This idea is widely held by actors and institutions pushing educational reform, but is met with scepticism from the academic community. Before delving into our findings, it is necessary to explore this idea further.

While we delve into several core questions in the fields of history didactics in general and Holocaust education in particular in this article, we do so in order to chronologise these discussions and contextualise them in their proper educational-historical context. Neither the development of Scandinavian Holocaust education nor the research conducted on the phenomenon happened in a vacuum. Both were part of broader socio-cultural and political processes.

The universalisation of the Holocaust and history education

Before we explore the historical development of Holocaust education in Scandinavia, we must address the present, as the present holds the key the genesis of our interest in the subject. Many researchers at the present are currently surprisingly in agreement in their critique of Holocaust education: Claiming that the idea of learning lessons from the Holocaust is standing in the way of learning anything from Holocaust education. The dialectical development of this critique in tandem with the increasing prominence of Holocaust education, is a key finding in our study, and demands some exploration ahead of our review.

The ambition of drawing lessons from the Holocaust was expressed already during the Second World War and was key to the UN Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.⁷ Unsurprisingly, there is broad agreement among educational researchers that the Holocaust is a historical event that invites asking fundamental questions beyond the strictly historical, while at the same time arguing that the potential lessons can never be completely detached from the historical events themselves.⁸ Nevertheless, we may distinguish two partially contradictory positions on this issue, differentiated by what is regarded as the primary objective of teaching the Holocaust in school: should what we

6 The purpose of presenting review study results in a narrative form is discussed by, among others, Phillip D. Rumrill, Jr. and Shawn M Fitzgerald. "Using Narrative Literature Reviews to Build a Scientific Knowledge Base," *Work (Reading, Mass.)* 16, no. 2 (2001), 165–70.

7 A point made by Daniel Levy and Natan Sznajder, "Memory Unbound: The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory," *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 1 (2002), 87–106.

8 This point is made by several of the leading scholars in the field, including but not limited to Michael R. Marrus, *The Lessons of the Holocaust* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Paula Cowan and Henry Maitles, *Understanding and Teaching Holocaust Education* (London: Sage Publications, 2017); Monique Eckmann, "Exploring the Relevance of Holocaust Education for Human Rights Education," *Prospects* 40, no. 1 (2010), 7–16; Stuart Foster, Andy Pearce and Alice Pettigrew, eds., *Holocaust Education: Contemporary Challenges and Controversies* (London: UCL Press, 2020).

want students to *learn from* the Holocaust determine the content, or should any potential lessons rather originate in what students are *learning about* the historical content?

Learning lessons from a historical event implies that the students learn about something concrete and defined, but that these lessons also hold value and explanatory power about something else. Consequently, students are expected to acquire only the necessary historical and contextual knowledge in order to learn the desired lessons. What is to be learned may vary, but the common denominator is that the mistakes of the past should be learned so that they won't be repeated. The lessons may be of a moral kind, focusing on promoting specific values and attitudes, such as anti-racism and tolerance.⁹ They can also be more general in nature, such as recognising and defending universal liberal and democratic rights.¹⁰ Using historical knowledge about the Holocaust to learn lessons like these has been characterised as a global collective memory that is partially detached from the original historical event itself.¹¹ In history education, emphasising the importance of learning moral lessons from the Holocaust is often referred to as universalisation. Within this perspective, the Holocaust is understood as something more than a historical event, utilising the persecution and murder of Jews as universal symbols of xenophobia and racism, and of what may happen if prejudice and stereotypes are not combated.

The main criticism of the *learning from*-perspective is that it may come at the expense of necessary historical knowledge, understanding and contextualisation. The Canadian historian Michael Marrus has argued that excessive universalisation and instrumentalisation of the past can make it more difficult for students to understand and contextualise the Holocaust as a historical event, and thus blur any potential lessons to be learned from it.¹² Combined with a scarcity of historical knowledge about the genocide among many teachers, and the natural need for simplification in teaching, this may lead to excessive adaptation based on the needs of the present, rather than the realities of the past. Both Paul Salmons and Arthur Chapman have argued that the desire for lessons from the Holocaust with relevance to contemporary society may become too dominant, further removing the interpretation of the historical event away from its historical context.¹³ In turn, this may cloud the students historical understanding of the Holocaust, making it appear distant and almost incomprehensible to them.¹⁴

It should also be noted that this discussion is part of a broader argument in the field of history education, often framed as a question of the role of presentism in history

9 Geoffrey Short, "Antiracist Education and Moral Behaviour: Lessons from the Holocaust," *Journal of Moral Education* 28, no. 1 (1999), 49–62.

10 Cowan and Maitles (2017), 29–40.

11 Arthur Chapman, "Learning the lessons of the Holocaust" and Stuart Foster, "To what extent does the acquisition of historical knowledge really matter when studying the Holocaust?" both in *Holocaust Education: Contemporary Challenges and Controversies*, ed. Stuart Foster, Andy Pearce, and Alice Pettigrew (London: UCL Press, 2020).

12 Marrus (2016), 164–71

13 Paul Salmons, "Universal Meaning or Historical Understanding," *Teaching History* 141 (2010), 58–63; Chapman (2020).

14 This has been documented in British studies, see Stuart Foster et al., *What do students know and understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English secondary schools* (London: UCL Center for Holocaust Education, 2016) and Alice Pettigrew, "Why Teach or Learn about the Holocaust?" *Holocaust Studies* 23, no. 3 (2017), 263–88.

education. Both Canadian historians James Miles and Lindsay Gibson,¹⁵ and German historian Andreas Körber have explored the complexities of this issue, and all of them see an educational potential in the learning from approach to history.¹⁶ However, this issue is further complicated by the fact that there is limited research on which moral lessons can be learned from history and how they can be learned.¹⁷ However, when the actors in our reviewed material discuss the idea of *learning from* the Holocaust, it is seldom connected to this larger debate highlighting the particularity of Holocaust education as a phenomenon separated in some ways from history education in general.

History education and the shifting memory of the Holocaust in Scandinavia

When discussing the development of history education, it is necessary to define what we mean. History education is not a phenomenon isolated to educational spheres, instead, it is a social and cultural practice influenced by a multitude of phenomena.¹⁸ Neither the construction of the subject in the curriculum nor the educational practices in the classroom are moulded by educational aims alone. Current political and social issues will always, in some form, impact history education. Thus, when studying history education as a historical phenomenon, looking solely at changes in curricula will only get you so far. Instead, we argue that the study must be rooted in a broader understanding of the social and cultural discussion which occurs in parallel with the changes to history education.

The rationale behind discussing *Holocaust education* as a separate phenomenon from the broader landscape of history education derives not from our scientific interest but from the empirical reality. In the Scandinavian countries, the political and public interest in how the Holocaust is taught stands out as exceptional compared to other historical subjects. We therefore understand Holocaust education as influenced by the broader concept of Holocaust memory to a greater degree than by general history education.

Today, Holocaust education seems far more likely to be underpinned by political interventions in Scandinavia than any other historical subject.¹⁹ These interventions primarily take the form of policy documents such as national or local curricula, but they can also materialise in other ways, such as publicly mandated commemoration of the Holocaust. The documentation of these interventions, together with public discussions of the issue, makes it possible to create a narrative of the changing nature of Holocaust education in the different nations.

15 James Miles & Lindsay Gibson, "Rethinking Presentism in History Education," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 50, no. 4 (2022), 509–29

16 Andreas Körber, "Presentism, Alterity and Historical Thinking" *Historical Encounters* 6, no. 1, (2018), 110–16.

17 For a discussion on this topic, see Andrea Milligan, Lindsay Gibson and Carla L. Peck "Enriching Ethical Judgements in History Education," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 46, no. 3 (2018), 449–79

18 This sociocultural approach to history education was first articulated by Keith Barton and Linda Levstik in *Teaching History for the Common Good* (New Jersey: Routledge, 2004).

19 This fact is documented by Karin Kvist Geverts, "Bildene av Förintelsen", *Historisk Tidskrift*, 142:3 (2022), 463–469 and Karsten Korbøl, "Formuleringen 'som Holocaust' i LK20 – debatt, begrunnelse og implikasjoner for undervisning," in *Å undervise om Holocaust: Utfordringer og innganger*, ed. Vidar Fagerheim Kalsås and Claudia Lenz (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2024).

Historians have mapped out how the experience of the Second World War and the Holocaust manifested itself as a form of *collective memory* in the post-war years. This includes a shared idea of the key events of the war and what these events meant.²⁰ The Holocaust has played an increasingly important part of the collective memory of the war in the Western Hemisphere. In this process of shaping and maintaining the collective memory, history education is a key element. As Jan Assmann points out, collective memories are not set in stone.²¹ Quite the contrary, they are always shifting, blending with new historical knowledge as well as social and cultural change.

One key moment of change according to Assmann is when the *cultural memory* overtakes the lived memory of the events. This happens when the memory of the war is no longer maintained primarily by people who experienced it themselves or who have close relations with those who did, but is instead maintained by cultural artefacts. This shift also makes it possible for more substantial changes in the narratives of the war. As an example, the shift towards a cultural memory of the war in Norway significantly altered the collective memory of the war, leaving heroes behind and replacing them with moral ambiguity.²² A similar process also took place in the other Scandinavian countries.

For the Jewish communities in Scandinavia, the war and the creation of the collective memory of the war unfolded in substantially different ways compared to most Scandinavians. In Norway, almost half of the Jewish population was deported to German extermination camps, mainly to Auschwitz-Birkenau, while the remaining half survived largely by fleeing to Sweden.²³ The Jews in Denmark were initially left alone, but in the autumn of 1943, the Nazis also decided to make Denmark “free of Jews”. However, the local Nazis informed the Jewish congregation and turned a blind eye to the massive flight of over 7000 Danish Jews across the strait to Sweden in October 1943. Almost 500 Danish Jews were arrested and deported to Theresienstadt, where almost all survived.²⁴ Sweden, because of its neutral status during the war, became a safe haven for Scandinavian Jews.²⁵ For all Jews, however, the war years were a time of uncertainty, and most families experienced loss of family members, livelihoods and safety on a scale incomparable to non-Jewish Scandinavians.

At the same time, the formation of the first collective memory of the war left many in the Jewish communities marginalised, meaning that their personal and collective

20 Levy and Sznajder (2002).

21 The topic of collective memory is discussed in Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008).

22 A point made by several Norwegian historians, among them Ole Kristian Grimnes, “Hvordan har historieskrivingen om okkupasjonsårene skiftet over tid?” *Nytt norsk tidsskrift* 37, no. 3 (2020), 274–87.

23 The Norwegian Holocaust is described by Bjarte Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge: Registrering, deportasjon, tilintetgjørelse* (Oslo: Dreyer, 2017).

24 See Sofie Lene Bak, *Ikke noget at tale om: Danske jøders krigsoplevelser 1943–45* (Copenhagen: Dansk Jødisk Museum, 2010). Silvia Goldbaum Tarabini Fracapane, *The Jews of Denmark in the Holocaust: Life and Death in Theresienstadt Ghetto* (New York: Routledge 2021).

25 For a description of Jewish refugees in Sweden, see Karin Kvist Geverts, *Ett främmande element i nationen: Svensk flyktingpolitik och de judiska flyktingarna 1938–1944*, PhD diss. (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2008).

experiences were seen as being on the margins of the national narrative of the war.²⁶ The specific fate of the Jews in the Nazi-regime's racial war was not understood as a key aspect in the collective memory of the majority society in the early post-war years. The focus was rather on occupation and the war in general, and Nazism as a threat to democracy. Thus, the Holocaust was designated a secondary role in the collective memory, creating a discrepancy between the lived experience of the Scandinavian Jewish minorities and the broader collective memory of the majority population.

Eventually, however, this would change, generating a new collective memory of the event that placed the Holocaust at the centre of the story. Today, it could be argued that the Holocaust is part of the core narrative of the collective memory of the war in all Scandinavian countries. However, while this general description of the Holocaust moving from the fringes to the centre of the national narratives of the war holds true for all the Scandinavian countries, the particularities of this shift differ and so does its impact on Holocaust education.

Holocaust memory in Scandinavia before 1990

As we have already discussed, it would take a long time before the Holocaust as a historical event or Holocaust education became subjects of public interest in the Scandinavian countries. The first public discussions on Holocaust education seem to have taken place in the early 1960s in the wake of a wave of neo-Nazi graffiti in Europe which also hit cities in the Scandinavian countries. Among the things discussed was the lack of information about the Holocaust in contemporary school textbooks.²⁷ However, these discussions do not seem to have led to a revision of the textbooks in the first instance.

Another significant shift in Holocaust memory was the airing of the American TV mini-series *Holocaust. The story of the Family Weiss* in 1979. In all three Scandinavian countries, the public service broadcaster was initially uninterested in the series but decided to run it after massive pressure from public opinion.²⁸ As in other countries, such as the US and West Germany, the TV show made the word 'Holocaust' publicly known, with discussions following the airing of the show questioning why this topic

26 Karin Kvist Geverts, "Refugee Policy in Sweden during the Holocaust: A Historiographical overview" and Cecilie Banke, "Holocaust in the Periphery: Memory Politics in the Nordic countries", both published in *Holocaust Remembrance and Representation: Documentation from a Research Conference*, ed. Karin Kvist Geverts (Stockholm: Swedish Government Official Reports, 2020). See also Ingerd Veiden Brakstad, *Etter folkemordet: 1945–* (Oslo: Samlaget, 2021).

27 Heléne Lööw, *Nazismen i Sverige 1924–1970: Pionjärerna, partierna, propagandan* (Stockholm: Ordfront 2004), 57.

28 On this see, Jon Reitan, *Møter med Holocaust: Norske perspektiver på tilintetgjørelsens historiekultur*, PhD diss. (Trondheim: NTNU: Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 2016); Guri Hjeltnes, "Hollywood lanserte 'Holocaust': TV-serien bidro til å vekke Verden," *hlsenteret.no* (2023); Stéphane Bruchfeld, "År det dags att göra sig av med 'Förintelsen'? Reflektioner kring ett begrepp," in *En problematisk relation. Flyktingpolitik och judiska flyktingar i Sverige 1920–1950*, ed. Lars M. Andersson and Karin Kvist Geverts (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2008); Ulf Zander, "Holocaust at the Limits: Historical Culture and the Nazi Genocide in the Television Era," in *Echoes of the Holocaust: Historical Cultures in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2003), 255–92.

was not taught in public schools and why it was not written into the national history curriculum.²⁹

Although there were waves of interest in the Holocaust as early as in the 1960s and 1970s, the real shift towards a separate idea of Holocaust education came only, as we shall see, at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s with an upswing of Neo-Nazi movements in the Scandinavian countries. Many Holocaust survivors were shocked to see Nazis on the streets and this led to efforts from survivors to tell their stories in schools with the purpose of preventing the Holocaust from happening again. These movements were also part of a new generation's public interest in Holocaust education. The first major political steps towards Holocaust education as we know it today were taken in Sweden in 1997.

The passion of the Prime Minister and beyond: Holocaust education in Sweden after 1990

Holocaust remembrance and education became a political interest in Sweden in 1997 when the Prime Minister Göran Persson made a speech in the Swedish parliament in which he promised to launch a public information campaign about the Holocaust. He was alarmed by the results of a survey conducted by the Institute CEIFO at Stockholm University, which showed that a large number of school pupils were unaware that the Holocaust had actually happened.³⁰ Although it was later clarified that the results were misinterpreted, the information campaign 'Living History' was launched, along with the book *'Tell Ye Your Children – A Book about the Holocaust in Europe 1933-1945'*³¹. The book was released in Swedish and later translated into other languages, and 1.5 million copies were printed. In 2003, the Living History Forum was established as a government authority with the task to foster democracy, human rights and equality of men with the Holocaust as its starting point.

More importantly, however, it was Persson who proposed a body for international collaboration on Holocaust remembrance, research and education in Europe, the International Task Force (ITF), later the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), and a series of international conferences on the Holocaust beginning in January 2000 with the Stockholm International Forum.³² One result of the Forum was 'The Stockholm Declaration', which is a document with commitments signed by the Heads of States that attended the conference, where the 4th and 5th points call on the signatories to strengthen Holocaust education. The Swedish initiative did not appear in a vacuum. The end of the Cold War paved way for a re-assessment of the old 'master

29 Lawrence Baron, *Projecting the Holocaust into the Present: The Changing Focus of Contemporary Holocaust Cinema* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 47–54.

30 Anders Lange et al., *Utsatthet för etniskt och politiskt relaterat hot mm, spridning av rasistisk och antirasistisk propaganda samt attityder till demokrati mm bland skolelever* (Stockholm: Centrum för invandringsforskning, 1997).

31 Stéphane Bruchfeld and Paul A. Levine, *...om detta må ni berätta... En bok om Förintelsen i Europa 1922–1945* (Stockholm: Regeringskansliet, 1998).

32 Larissa Allwork, *Holocaust Remembrance Between the National and the Transnational: The Stockholm International Forum and the First Decade of the International Task Force* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 2–7. Karin Kvist Geverts, "The Challenges of Holocaust Education and Remembrance in Sweden," in *Bystanders, Rescuers or Perpetrators? The Neutral Countries and the Shoah*, ed. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (Berlin: Metropol, 2016), 265–68.

narratives' about the Second World War and the assignment of national commissions who dealt with questions of compensation and guilt.³³ Larissa Allwork argues that Holocaust remembrance was formed between relational themes: the national and the transnational, the governmental and the non-governmental, and finally the universalist and the particular.³⁴ When studying Holocaust education in Sweden, we see an echo of this multidimensional approach.

Holocaust education in the Swedish curricula

In all Scandinavian educational systems, the national curriculum is the main tool politicians can employ to change education. Here as well, we can observe that Sweden singled out the Holocaust from other historical events before the other Nordic states. Ylva Wibaeus argues that it was indeed the anti-democratic forces present in Swedish society in the late 1980s that pushed for moral issues on the national curriculum, and that this in turn led to a shift in the subject of history to "a democratic education that emphasizes tolerance, solidarity and consideration as its core values".³⁵ Thomas Nygren showed that as early as the 1960s there was international pressure from UNESCO to influence history subject curricula in European countries into fostering students to be more democratic in order to shape a better future.³⁶ Despite this, Niklas Ammert has pointed out that the Swedish curricula lacked descriptions of the study of genocides during the post-war years and a change came only in 1994 in what he describes as a moral turn. Just as in previous plans, specific contents were not pointed out except for one topic – the Holocaust.³⁷ In the current curricula for history Year 7-9, (Lgr22), the Holocaust is specifically mentioned in one unit with the heading 'Imperialism and the World Wars, ca 1850-1950'. Oscar Österberg points out that national history is not mentioned in this unit, meaning that the Holocaust can be taught without the Swedish context.³⁸ The curricula for Swedish upper secondary schools (*gymnasieskolan*) still do not mention the Holocaust, but 'genocide' is mentioned in the core content for teaching history.

Wibaeus has shown that the Holocaust is used in different ways in teaching in Swedish schools, but all of them are instrumental with the purpose of fostering good democratic individuals.³⁹ This is related to the previous curricula (from 1980-1994)⁴⁰ which emphasised the importance of fostering the students into good citizens in a democracy. Even though that curriculum is no longer in use, the fostering purpose

33 SOU 1999:20, *Slutrapport: Sverige och judarnas tillgångar* (Stockholm: Utrikesdepartementet, 1999).

34 Allwork (2015), 147.

35 Wibaeus (2010), 235.

36 For Nygren's full discussion on this topic, see Thomas Nygren, "UNESCO and Council of Europe Guidelines, and History Education in Sweden, c. 1960–2002," *Education Inquiry* 2, no. 1 (2011), 37–60.

37 Niklas Ammert, *Om vad och hur må ni berätta? Undervisning om Förintelsen och andra folkmord* (Stockholm: Forum för levande historia, 2011), 86–87.

38 Oscar Österberg, *Uppfattningar om Förintelsen – 20 år efter informationsinsatsen Levande Historia* (Stockholm: Forum för levande historia, 2019), 97.

39 Wibaeus (2010), 212.

40 The previous curricula discussed here is Skolverket, *Läroplan för grundskolan 1980 (Lgr80)*.

is still described in the school legislation.⁴¹ Maria Karlsson has shown in her research that the idea to learn from the past is still valid, especially when it comes to teaching about the Holocaust: “The past shall warn, learn and make sure that we, the next time, make the right decision”.⁴² The curricula today thus clearly imprint the idea of ‘learning from’ the Holocaust into the classrooms.

Research on Holocaust education and educational practices

The limited research conducted on Holocaust education makes it difficult to state how the intentions of the curricula are impacting teaching. There are only two studies on how the Holocaust is described in Swedish textbooks, but both were done on textbooks no longer used in schools.⁴³ The fact that there is still very little research done on Holocaust education is concluded by a recent survey carried out by the Segerstedt Institute at Gothenburg University. They were surprised that this was the case considering all the political pledges, the explicit mentioning in school curricula, study trips to Holocaust memorial sites, and the commemoration of Holocaust Memorial Day.⁴⁴

As previously discussed, Wibaeus concluded in 2010 that Swedish teachers teach the Holocaust in an instrumental way with the purpose of fostering the students to think critically, understand the psychology of man, highlighting the value of democracy and with the intention of preventing similar events in the future.⁴⁵ Ammert shows that knowledge about the Holocaust is fairly good among school pupils in Sweden, and that Swedish teachers have increased the number of hours they spend on teaching the Holocaust.⁴⁶ Wibaeus also shows a gap between the intentions of teaching the Holocaust by the teachers, and the understanding of the students who interpreted the Holocaust as something that happened a long time ago to somebody else. The ‘lessons’ were thus not obvious to them.⁴⁷ Karin Kvist Geverts in 2016 therefore suggested that a challenge for Holocaust education “seems to lie in articulating clearly the motivation for teaching about the Holocaust itself without using it only as a tool to teach democratic values and human rights in general.”⁴⁸

41 See Ministry of Education, Skollag 2010:800

42 Maria Karlsson, ”Förtintelsens lärdomar – finns de? Och är de historievetenskapligt intressanta?” *Historisk tidskrift* 140, no. 4 (2020), 703–4; see also Kvist Geverts (2022), 467.

43 The two studies in question are Stéphane Bruchfeld, “Öga för öga, tand för tand:” *En granskning av svenska läromedel i historia, religion och samhällskunskap för högstadiet och gymnasiet om judendom, judisk historia och Förtintelsen* (Stockholm: Svenska kommittén mot antisemitism, 1996) and Mia Löwengart, *Bilden av antisemitismen och Förtintelsen i svenska läromedel i historia: En undersökning av den kunskapssyn och de värderingar som förmedlas genom lärobokstexten* (Uppsala: Programmet för studier kring Förtintelsen och folk mord, Uppsala Universitet, 2004).

44 Isabella Pistone et al., *Education after Auschwitz.: Educational Outcomes of Teaching to Prevent Antisemitism*, (Gothenburg, The Segerstedt Institute, 2021), 86; see also Österberg (2019), 86.

45 Wibaeus (2010), 248; see also Oscar Österberg, “Research in Nordic Countries,” in *Research in Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust. A Dialogue Beyond Borders*, ed. Monique Eckmann, Doyle Stevick and Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs (Berlin: Metropol, 2017), 87.

46 As documented by Ammert (2011), 13, 23.

47 Wibaeus (2010), 213.

48 Karin Kvist Geverts, “The Challenges of Holocaust Education and Remembrance in Sweden,” in *Bystanders, Rescuers or Perpetrators? The Neutrals and the Shoah*, ed. Corry Gutstadt et al. (Berlin: IHRA, Metropol Verlag: 2016), 273.

After the publication of the Segerstedt Institute report, two studies of antisemitism in schools in Malmö and Stockholm have been published,⁴⁹ as well as a study of school trips to Holocaust memorial sites.⁵⁰ Although Katzin and Wagrell do not study how the Holocaust is taught in schools, their reports contain some interesting conclusions for Holocaust education when it comes to the understanding of conspiracy theories and antisemitism. Both point to structural problems in schools on understanding and dealing with questions on antisemitism and the Jewish minority, and especially since they are considered ‘sensitive issues’ difficult to deal with according to the staff.⁵¹ Katzin writes that “since the emergence of the state of Israel, there is a global theme of antisemitic expressions which mixes Jews as a collective with the state of Israel” and that this might result in a negative attitude towards Jews as a group and sometimes also verbal or physical attacks. Her conclusion is that schools are lacking the necessary knowledge and preconditions to combat antisemitism. Wagrell’s study shows similar results on the (lack of) understanding of antisemitism and argues that this is to do with the understanding of antisemitism as something ‘un-Swedish’ which contributes to making antisemitic expressions invisible. A positive result from Wagrell’s study is that the teachers do not experience Holocaust denial as a problem, but rather her study shows that the teaching “often is based in a comparative context where other genocides and moral dilemmas are more prominent themes than knowledge about the history of the Holocaust”. This in turn tends to leave antisemitism as an explanatory factor to the Holocaust aside.⁵²

Given the fact that the curricula in years 7-9 explicitly mention teaching about the Holocaust, it is notable that no teacher training courses on the topic are mandatory in Swedish universities. To this day, one master’s programme on Holocaust and Genocide Studies exists at Uppsala University, and there are a few courses on Nazism and the Holocaust offered at other universities as well. A textbook on Sweden and the Holocaust and another one on antisemitism were recently published, and these books can be used as literature in university courses.⁵³ At the same time, knowledge about the Holocaust is greater among the Swedish public today than twenty years ago, when Göran Persson launched the Living History campaign.⁵⁴ One in four Swedish teenagers have been on a study trip to visit the Auschwitz-Birkenau memorial museum, and most of them as part of their school curricula.⁵⁵ Ola Flennegård points out the high expectations of Holocaust education in preventing antisemitism and strengthening democracy, while

49 We are here referring to Mirjam Katzin, *Skolgårdsrasism, konspirationsteorier och utanförskap: En rapport om antisemitism och det judiska minoritetskapet i Malmö:s förskolor, skolor, gymnasier och vuxenutbildning* (Malmö: Malmö stad, 2021) and Kristin Wagrell, *Antisemitismen i Stockholms skolor: En rapport om skolpersonal och elevers upplevelser och tankar kring antisemitiska uttryck i sin skolmiljö* (Stockholm: Stockholms stad, 2022).

50 Ola Flennegård, *Uppdrag: Historia och demokrati – Perspektiv på studieresor till Förintelsens minnesplatser*, PhD diss. (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2023).

51 Katzin (2021), 5; Wagrell (2022), 1.

52 Wagrell (2022), 2.

53 Christer Mattsson and Thomas Johannson, eds., *Antisemitism: Historiska, kulturella och pedagogiska perspektiv* (Stockholm: Studentlitteratur, 2024); Izabela Dahl and Karin Kvist Geverts, eds., *Förintelsen och Sverige: Tiden före, under och efter* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur 2025).

54 Österberg (2019), 125.

55 See Flennegård (2023), 94.

the Segerstedt Institute report shows that antisemitism is not often addressed when teaching about the Holocaust.⁵⁶ Flennegård argues that the study trips to Auschwitz are often used as a pilgrimage with the purpose of socialising the students in core values of democracy, and this in turn neglects contextualisation and explanations such as the importance of antisemitism.

In summary, although there has been a tendency towards fostering pupils into becoming more democratic as early as from the 1960s onwards, the real shift only took place in the 1990s when the Holocaust was mentioned as a specific topic on the curriculum in 1994. Research has shown that Swedish teachers tend to teach the Holocaust in an instrumental way with the purpose of fostering good democratic individuals influenced by the idea that there are lessons to be learned from the Holocaust.

Mending the national consciousness: Holocaust education in Norway after 1990

Since the 1980s, the Holocaust has shifted from being a marginal educational subject to being one of the topics taught in schools which are under most political control. In Norway, the Holocaust is taught as a part of social sciences in upper secondary schools and in history in lower secondary schools. In the current curricula, from 2020, the framing of the Holocaust in educational documents explicitly stresses the idea of *learning from* the Holocaust.

Curricula and educational practice in Norway

While there is a longstanding tradition for teaching the Holocaust in Norway, it was not framed by educational legislation, as the event itself was not mentioned in the history curriculum until 2020. However, in the 1990s, the Holocaust was mentioned in the curriculum for religious studies, a subject taught in every year of basic education, and framed as a part of Jewish history rather than Norwegian history.⁵⁷ Following a surge in right-wing violence in the late 1990s and culminating in the racially-motivated murder of 15-year-old Benjamin Hermansen in 2001, it was made mandatory for all Norwegian schools to commemorate the International Holocaust Remembrance Day between 2001 and 2006 – a tradition that at least some schools still maintain.⁵⁸ This could be seen as a first clear step towards an idea of Holocaust education being of political interest, and also highlighting learning from the Holocaust rather than learning about it. This first major political interest in Holocaust education, was also a result of Göran Perssons initiative as Norway signed the Stockholm declaration in 2001.

After massive media coverage and outrage over antisemitism in schools in Oslo in late 2010, the government issued a report in 2011 on how schools should work against antisemitism and racism.⁵⁹ This report insisted that Holocaust education could and

⁵⁶ Pistone et al., (2021), 8.

⁵⁷ A point first made by Cathrin Fondevik, “Jødene under nazismen 1933–1945: En analyse av norske lærebøker i historie og KRL-Faget,” MA-thesis (Bergen: Høgskolen i Bergen, 2002).

⁵⁸ As documented and discussed by Marita Nygård, “Vi må aldri glemme. Holocaustdagen som arena for erindring om utryddelsen av de europeiske jødene blant skoleungdom i Norge,” *DIN Tidsskrift for religion og kultur* 2 (2019), 87–112.

⁵⁹ The rapport in question is Eidsvåg et al., *Det kan skje igjen: Rapport fra Kunnskapsdepartementets arbeidsgruppe om antisemittisme og rasisme i skolen* (Oslo: Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2011).

should be a part of anti-racist education, seeing antisemitic and racist bullying as a potential first step towards a repetition of the horrors of the Holocaust.⁶⁰ Again, this initiative underscored learning from the Holocaust, rather than learning about it. This idea was also expressed in the ‘Action Plan Against Antisemitism’ published by the Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation in 2016, as well as in the revised plan five years later; ‘Action plan against antisemitism 2021–2023 – a continuation.’

Despite these attempts to frame Holocaust education as anti-racist education, we argue that the new national curricula instituted in 2020 (LK20) mark a major shift in political control over Holocaust education in Norway. This document is therefore also the key document to understanding contemporary Holocaust education in the country. For both lower and upper secondary schools, it is now mandatory to teach the Holocaust as an example of “terrorism and genocide”. It is also expressed in the curricula that the Holocaust should be taught in such a way that the students can reflect upon the issues of how a “similar” event could be prevented in the future, with the expressed expectation that learning about this historical event should contribute towards preventing extremist ideas among students in the present. What makes the framing of the Holocaust in LK20 particularly noteworthy is that it differs from the main body of the curriculum which consists of open-ended learning goals focusing on developing skills such as critical thinking and reflexivity. No other historical event is mentioned explicitly in a learning outcome in the Norwegian curricula. Furthermore, the inclusion of the Holocaust is a political intervention unlike any other in the document. The document itself was written by a group of experts, and the group did not want to single out the Holocaust as the only event mentioned in the curriculum, they were however pushed to do so through political intervention in their work.⁶¹

The impact of this framing of Holocaust education is quite substantial. For both the teacher and the textbook writer working under these guidelines, contemporary debates and political issues become essential in how they are expected to frame their Holocaust education. The true impact of how these political expectations are played out in educational practice is still unknown, yet the research conducted on Holocaust education in Norway gives us some insight.

Research on Holocaust education in Norway

The first scientific attempt to understand the nature of Holocaust education in Norway was written by the Jewish-Norwegian historian and teacher Oskar Mendelsohn in 1982. Mendelsohn was writing his review of teaching and textbooks following a debate on the quality of history education in Norway after the airing of the Holocaust TV series. Mendelsohn makes two significant findings: firstly, the Norwegian Ministry of Education has been interested in Holocaust education since the 1960s, already then linking Holocaust education to anti-racism.⁶² Secondly, Mendelsohn shows that while most upper secondary textbooks in 1982 mention the Holocaust, the event is limited to just a couple of lines with no reference to the Norwegian Holocaust.

60 The rapport is described in detail by Hagen (2022).

61 Korbøl (2024).

62 Mendelsohn first discusses this in Oskar Mendelsohn, “Inntrykk av undervisning og undervisningsmateriale i Norske skoler,” *Nordisk judaistikk* 4, no. 1 (1982), 43–47.

After Mendelsohn's review, some time would pass before Norwegian researchers returned to the subject. In 2003, Catrin Fondevik surveyed how Norwegian textbooks for lower and upper secondary schools had presented the Holocaust in the years from 1945 until the late 1990s. Fondevik found an increased coverage of the Holocaust in the textbooks, as seen in the ever-increasing space given to it, but also argued that the textbooks were more concerned with describing events rather than explaining the reasons for them taking place. Additionally, Fondevik showed how the subject shifted from being presented primarily in the subject of religion (as a part of Jewish history) to being a subject in the social sciences and history (as a part of common history). In the early 2000s, the cultural scientist Kyrre Kverndokk turned his attention to the more ritualistic aspects of Holocaust education in Norway. Kverndokk's ethnographic study of secondary school pupils travelling to Auschwitz and other concentration camps is of major importance in the field.⁶³ Kverndokk noted that the pupils experienced the trip as overtly ritualised, to the extent that some pupils felt ashamed if they did not cry during the visit to the camps.

Both Fondevik and Kverndokk describe an educational system with a great interest in the Holocaust, while at the same time having established an educational methodology that did not focus on explaining the complexities of the event. As the field of Holocaust education gained momentum around 2010, this insight would prove to hold true. Several researchers have shown how history textbooks until LK20 focused on the brutality of the Holocaust and tended to underplay the role of antisemitism in Nazism and focused on Hitler's personal hatred of Jews as a monocausal explanation.⁶⁴ The latest generation of textbooks, however, i.e., those written after Holocaust education became mandatory in the curriculum, places antisemitism as the dominant explanation of the Holocaust, while the genocide itself is placed as the key historical event of the mid-20th century.⁶⁵

In his recent interviews with upper secondary teachers, Kalsås found that the teachers try to emphasise the possible human rights or anti-racist aspects of Holocaust education, while at the same time trying not to do so in a manner that undercuts the broader historical context.⁶⁶ Kalsås thus describes the teachers facing a dilemma between the curricula and the established narratives in the textbooks on one side, and their own ethos as history teachers on the other. Hagens's 2023 study of pupils' understanding of the Holocaust, however, finds that the pupils lack proper knowledge of the Holocaust as a historical event, despite being aware of what the Holocaust was.⁶⁷

63 The studies discussed are Kyrre Kverndokk, *Pilegrim, turist og elev: Norske skoleturer til døds- og konsentrasjonsleirer*, PhD diss. (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2007).

64 See Harald Syse, "Nazisme uten antisemitisme: Om fremstillingen av nazismen i norske skolebøker," *Nytt norsk tidsskrift* 3, nos. 1–2 (2016), 111–22 for a full study of this phenomena.

65 Vibeke Banik and Anders Granås Kjøstvedt, "Kollektive minner og universalisering: Holocaust i den nye norske læreplanen for grunnskolen," *Norddidactica* 12, no. 3 (2022).

66 For the full study, see Vidar Fagerheim Kalsås, "Mellom historiske lærdomar og historisk tenking. Undervisningspraksisar kring temaet holocaust blant lærarar i norsk skule," *Acta Didactica Norden* 16, no. 3 (2022).

67 Here referring to Fredrik Stenhjem Hagen, "Elevs forståelse av motivene til de som bidro til gjennomføringen av Holocaust," *Acta Didactica Norden* 17, no. 1 (2023).

In summary, research on Holocaust education in Norway identifies a somewhat paradoxical situation. On the one hand, both textbooks and teachers are interested in Holocaust education and want it to be a key part of their teaching. On the other hand, there seems to be an established framing of the Holocaust that sways the subject towards the ahistorical and towards moralism. We understand this situation to be the consequence of the historical and continued pressure put upon Holocaust education by non-academic actors in Norway.

Coming to terms with complexity: Holocaust education in Denmark after 1990

In recent years, Denmark, like other Scandinavian countries, has seen significant advancements in Holocaust education, research and memory culture. Since 1945, the national narrative concerning Denmark and the Holocaust has predominantly focused on the rescue of the Danish Jews in October 1943. The 2000s marked a shift in this development as scholarly work began to uncover previously neglected aspects of Denmark's wartime history. The re-evaluation interacted with political discourse and public debate, which led to transformations in Holocaust education. Government initiatives and new legislation have been particularly influential in shaping these changes, with two major milestones: the establishment of a national Holocaust and genocide day of commemoration in 2002, and the enactment of a 2022 law mandating Holocaust and genocide education in Danish schools.

From research on the Holocaust to Holocaust education

For decades, the rescue of Danish Jews in October 1943 was the key narrative in the national collective memory. This event, which saw 7000 of Denmark's 7500 Jews escape to Sweden with the aid of the resistance movement and ordinary citizens, was celebrated as an extraordinary act of resilience and solidarity. The story of their survival, while millions of European Jews perished in the Holocaust, was portrayed as a "light in the darkness" and has been a focal point in Danish education thereby shaping the collective memory of post-war generations.⁶⁸ However, this narrative overshadowed other, less heroic aspects, especially the 472 Jews from Denmark who were deported to the Theresienstadt ghetto. Although most of them survived and were evacuated with the White Buses in the final weeks of the war, their captivity was a severe ordeal.⁶⁹

When it comes to research on the history of the Holocaust in Denmark, Danish universities, research institutions and museums have played a leading role. Around the year 2000, a new generation of historians began to uncover previously overlooked aspects of Denmark's experience during the war. Their research has sparked considerable public and political debate, deepening and expanding the understanding of

68 For a discussion on this, see Sofie Lene Bak, *Jødeaktionen oktober 1943: Forestillinger i offentlighed og forskning* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2001); Thomas Brudholm and Martin Mennecke, eds., *Erindringens fremtid: Auschwitz-dag i Danmark* (Copenhagen: Lindhardt og Ringhof, 2004).

69 Tarabini Fracapane (2021).

Denmark's complex wartime history.⁷⁰ Additionally, scholars have provided new insights into the experiences of Danish Jews who either fled to Sweden or were deported to Theresienstadt.⁷¹ These academic contributions are gradually being incorporated into Danish historiography and the collective memory.

Thus, both scholarly advancements and the establishment of key institutions, most notably the Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (DCHF) in 1999 and the Danish Jewish Museum in 2004, laid the groundwork for a shift in Holocaust education in Denmark.⁷²

The DCHF played a pivotal role in advancing research and disseminating knowledge about the Holocaust and genocide through the development of educational materials and school activities.⁷³ Additionally, the Danish Jewish Museum was instrumental in reframing the national discourse from viewing the events of October 1943 as a *rescue* of Danish Jews to recognising it as an *escape*, thereby highlighting the agency of the Danish Jewish community in their own survival.⁷⁴

National remembrance and educational practises

Following Denmark's signing of the Stockholm Declaration in 2000, both the DCHF and the Danish Jewish Museum became key in fulfilling the country's commitment to enhance Holocaust education and commemoration. In 2002, the government established January 27th as a National Day of Holocaust and Genocide Remembrance, known as *Auschwitz Day*. Although the day was supposed to commemorate the Holocaust exclusively, Denmark broadened its scope to include other genocides, in order to serve as an "opportunity for schools and other educational institutions, organisations, and media to focus not only on the Jewish Holocaust but also on genocides such as those in Bosnia and Rwanda."⁷⁵ In a speech marking the first observance of Auschwitz Day in 2004, the then Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen drew explicit parallels between the crimes committed under Hitler and Stalin.⁷⁶

70 See for example Rünitz (2005), Claus Bundgård Christensen, Niels Bo Poulsen and Peter Scharff Smith, "The Danish Volunteers in the Waffen SS and their Contribution to the Holocaust and the Nazi War of Extermination," in *Denmark and the Holocaust*, ed. Mette Bastholm Jensen and Steven L. B. Jensen (Copenhagen: Institute for International Studies, Department for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 2003), 62–101; Therkel Stræde and Dennis Larsen, *En skole i vold, Bobruisk 1941–44: Frikorps Danmark og det tyske besættelsesherredømme i Hviderusland* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2014).

71 Documented and discussed by several scholars, including but not limited to Hans Sode-Madsen, *I Hitler-Tysklands skygge: Dramaet om de danske jøder 1933–1945* (Copenhagen: Aschehoug, 2003); Sofie Lene Bak, *Jødeaktionen oktober 1943: Forestillinger i offentlighed og forskning* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2001); Bak (2010); Sofie Lene Bak, *Da krigen var forbi: De danske jødernes hjemkomst efter besættelsen* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2012); Silvia Goldbaum Tarabini, "The Earliest Danish Testimonies About the Theresienstadt Ghetto: Gathered in Sweden by the World Jewish Congress, April 1945," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 37, no. 2 (2023), 220–40.

72 Most notably of these institutions were the Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (DCHF) in 1999 and the Danish Jewish Museum in 2004.

73 This was the DCHF which later became part of the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS).

74 See for instance the publications and exhibitions of the Danish Jewish Museum on these topics.

75 Jacob Kornerup Ditlevsen, "Dansk Holocaustundervisning og Auschwitzdag i perioden 1994–2019," MA-thesis (Odense: Syddansk Universitet, 2019).

76 See Statsministeriet (2003), <https://www.stm.dk/statsministeren/taler/statsminister-anders-fogh-rasmussens-tale-paa-koebenhavns-raadhus-ved-auschwitz-dagen-den-27-januar-2003/>.

The establishment of Auschwitz Day was accompanied by a government-funded initiative to promote Holocaust and genocide education in schools. The Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) was tasked with implementing this educational programme and developed a range of resources, including the educational website *Folkedrab.dk*. In 2017, the administration of Auschwitz Day was transferred to a media company, shifting the focus from DIIS's research-based activities to more communication-oriented efforts aimed primarily at secondary schools, including the launch of *Aldrigmere.dk* offering films, games and other educational resources.⁷⁷

Making Holocaust education mandatory in Danish schools

In 2022, the Danish government mandated Holocaust education at the primary and lower-secondary levels, and Holocaust and genocide education at the upper-secondary level as part of a broader action plan against antisemitism.

Previously, the Holocaust had primarily been taught as part of the broader history of World War II and was largely dependent on the initiatives of individual educators. Although the topic had traditionally been included in schools across the educational sector, it was not explicitly mentioned in the national curricula until that year. The new legislation therefore marked a shift from an optional approach to one in which Holocaust education became mandatory. At the upper-secondary level, this change is particularly noteworthy, as the curriculum is generally organised around themes, specific time periods and learning objectives. This makes the Holocaust stand out as the only historical event explicitly listed.

The Action Plan against Antisemitism encompassed a wide range of initiatives, mandating that the Holocaust and genocide be included as compulsory topics. It is, however, noteworthy that no teacher training is compulsory at Danish universities and that no master's programme currently exists in Holocaust and genocide studies. Nevertheless, individual courses on the Holocaust and genocide are available at most universities.⁷⁸

The Action Plan against Antisemitism emerged in response to a period marked by rising antisemitic incidents in Denmark, most notably the antisemitic graffiti at a Jewish school in 2014 and the 2015 attack on a Copenhagen synagogue. The action plan explicitly states that children and young people in Denmark must be equipped to combat contemporary antisemitism and other forms of intolerance: "With the action plan, educational institutions are committed to ensuring that students gain knowledge and skills that can help dispel myths and prejudices and promote tolerance and mutual respect between people."⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Simultaneously, the Danish Jewish Museum developed educational tools and resources focusing for instance on the flight of the Danish Jews in 1943.

⁷⁸ One initiative bridges research and dialogue about the Holocaust. The Network for Nazism and Holocaust Studies connect current and former employees and students at SDU. Although interdisciplinary in nature, the network requires members to have engaged extensively with topics related to the history of Nazism, World War II, and the Holocaust.

⁷⁹ See Rigspolitiet, *Hadforbrydelser i 2020: Rigspolitiets årsrapport vedrørende hadforbrydelser* (Copenhagen: Nationalt Forebyggelsessenter, 2020); Regeringen, *Handlingsplan mod antisemitisme* (Copenhagen: Ministry of Justice, 2022).

By making the Holocaust a mandatory topic, the plan reflects a clear expectation that learning from the Holocaust will help cultivate more democratically minded youth—emphasising learning from the Holocaust rather than merely learning about it.

Research on Holocaust education and educational practices

In Denmark, no comprehensive study has yet been conducted on the development, nature and impact of Holocaust education. Unlike in Sweden and Norway, there is limited knowledge and understanding of how, for example, textbooks have historically addressed the subject. However, since the launch of the Action Plan against Antisemitism, research focusing on Holocaust education has increased. Lytje (2022) shows that the didactic practices of Danish history teachers intertwine with the communicative memory of students' families and social networks, reinforcing the canonised narrative of Denmark as a democratic nation, and Johannessen (2022) explores how primary school teachers address the Holocaust in their teaching.⁸⁰

More recently, Marianne Madsen Kirk has begun a research project at the University of Copenhagen investigating new political initiatives to make the Holocaust part of a national Danish memory culture and how this unfolds in schools. In addition, new classroom publications have been introduced to support educators in meeting their mandatory teaching requirements, ensuring that the Holocaust and other genocides are embedded within the Danish educational system.⁸¹

In summary, Holocaust education in Denmark has undergone significant transformation, moving from a postwar narrative centred almost exclusively on the rescue of Danish Jews in 1943 to a more complex engagement with the country's wartime history. The interplay between scholarly re-examination, political discourse and public debate has reshaped both memory culture and educational practice. Government initiatives have been particularly decisive, most notably the establishment of Auschwitz Day and the 2022 legislation mandating Holocaust and genocide education in schools - linked to the Action Plan against Antisemitism. These developments underscore the centrality of political developments in shaping both collective memory and classroom practices.

Conclusion: instrumentalization and fragility – Holocaust education as a political and moral tool in Scandinavia since the 1990s

Summarising our scoping review, we see some striking similarities in the timeline of the emergence of Holocaust education in the three countries we have studied. Firstly, the Stockholm Declaration from 2000, initiated by Swedish prime minister Göran Persson, must be seen as the real starting point of the process of separating Holocaust education from general history education. Before this point, there existed an interest in the Holocaust as an educational subject, but this interest was not institutionalised with the exception of its mention in the Swedish history curriculum. However, from this point, and clearly as a consequence of joining IHRA, all countries have made political interventions in their history classrooms, highlighting the Holocaust. Furthermore,

⁸⁰ Lytje (2022); Johannessen (2022).

⁸¹ Solvej Berlau and Stine Thuge, *Vejen til folkedrab: Før, under og efter Holocaust* (Copenhagen: Columbus, 2023); Sofie Lene Bak, *Nazisme og Holocaust: Et forløb fra Historieportalen* (Århus: Systime, 2023).

in Norway and Denmark the government has issued several “action plans” since 2011 which frames Holocaust education as a necessary moral-education intervention in pupils’ lives, further separating the Holocaust from other historical events.

The separation of the Holocaust from other historical events in history education was from the beginning linked to a political project. The Stockholm Declaration does not insist on the importance of Holocaust education alone, but in order to fight against antisemitism, racism and genocidal ideas.⁸² To support these actions, politicians have consequently framed Holocaust education in the ‘learning from’ perspective. This point is also of major interest: our review clearly shows that politicians and organisations, rather than teachers and historians, are the drivers behind the establishment of Holocaust education as a separate phenomenon in Scandinavia.

While the overarching timelines of increasing political intervention in and control of Holocaust education are similar in the different countries, these political actors in the different countries also clearly link Holocaust education to contemporary cultural issues of distinct national concern. The result is that Holocaust education is primarily linked to antisemitism in Denmark, anti-racism in Norway and a combination of the two in Sweden. This is a result of political tensions in Scandinavia since the turn of the millennium, with increasing political unrest related to immigration issues. Norway has seen several instances of right-wing violence against minorities, and in Denmark there have been attacks on the Jewish community.

Our scoping review has also revealed some common issues that researchers in all of Scandinavia are concerned about. These concerns are directly related to the ambitions laid upon Holocaust education by different actors, and must be seen as a reaction to the political intervention into history as a school subject. As Holocaust education’s political role in Scandinavia was fortified by 2010, criticism against it grew. Most of the research published on the topic is less than ten years old, underlining the dialectical nature of our subject: Holocaust education was first politicized and then it caught the attention of researchers. It is striking that most researchers state that Holocaust education does not meet its intended goals; pupils and students across Scandinavia do not seem to be learning substantial moral lessons from the Holocaust. Researchers in all of the Scandinavian nations have furthermore problematised the role of historical knowledge in Holocaust education, claiming that in both textbooks and in the classroom, emotions and morality are overplayed at the cost of downplaying historical knowledge. These researchers, almost exclusively, argue for a greater emphasis on the idea of learning about the Holocaust as a pretext to learning from the Holocaust.

This scoping review helps us understand the difference between those who develop educational policy and those who research educational process. The difference is rooted in different ideas about what Holocaust education can do. As we have shown, the idea of learning from the Holocaust has become dominant in all three countries. Another important insight to be gained from this is how this idea reshapes Holocaust education into a subject that can be moulded to fit current political and cultural issues. It is significant, in our opinion, that the initiatives to enhance the position of the Holocaust in Scandinavian history education, including designating specific expectations

⁸² The declaration can be read here: <https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/stockholm-declaration>.

of what the students should learn from being taught about the Holocaust, mainly originate *outside* historical and/or educational research. Rather, they originate in political and societal circles, and often as responses to various forms of societal *crises*, such as an understanding of lack of historical knowledge about the Holocaust among young people, acts of racially motivated violence, or the rise of antisemitism. In this regard, the Scandinavian countries are very much part of a more general trend in Western countries, where since the early 1990s, the Holocaust has been re-interpreted as an essentially moral and symbolic historical event, representing the dangers of racism, prejudice and the unchecked policies of a barbaric regime.

Even if the reevaluation of the Holocaust in Scandinavian history education is part of a general and transnational trend, the universalisation of the Holocaust and the expectations of added moral and democratic value of Holocaust education also reveal the fragility of teaching about the Holocaust. Instead of rooting the importance of the Holocaust as an educational subject in the historical significance of the genocidal event itself, which may be subject to an open academic debate, the emergence of the Holocaust as a distinctly, almost singular, educational subject has instead been rooted in its moral and symbolic value, and its ‘usefulness’ in solving contemporary challenges and crises.

As we have argued, the emergence of the Holocaust as a dominant subject in Scandinavian history education is only caused to a limited degree by a reevaluation of its historical significance. Rather, the movement towards placing the Holocaust at the very centre of history education in Scandinavia is motivated by emphasising the genocide’s universalistic values and its compatibility with contemporary needs. In our opinion, this shows that the reevaluation of the importance of the Holocaust as an educational subject in Scandinavia is fragile. Based on the history of Holocaust education in Scandinavia, it might seem unlikely that the Holocaust will lose its position as an educational subject of great historical and political interest anytime soon. However, as the reevaluation of the importance of the Holocaust is so closely linked to its compatibility with the needs of the present, this might also lead to its re-marginalisation in the future.

About the authors

Fredrik Stenhjem Hagen is Associate Professor of History at the Faculty of Education, Arts and Sports at Western Norway University of Applied Sciences. Email: freh@hvl.no

Anders G. Kjøstvedt is Associate Professor of History and History Didactics at the Department for Primary and Secondary Teacher Education at Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway. E-mail: anrkj@oslomet.no

Karin Kvist Geverts is Director of the Institute for Holocaust Research in Sweden (IHRS) and Associate Professor of History at the Department of History, Uppsala University, Sweden. Email: karin.kvist.geverts@ihrs.se

Solvej Berlau is teaching history and social science at Slagelse Gymnasium, Denmark. E-mail: solvejberlau@gmail.com

Stine Thuge is Head of National Youth Programme at ActionAid Denmark.

References

- Allwork, Larissa. *Holocaust Remembrance between the National and the Transnational: The Stockholm International Forum and the First Decade of the International Task Force*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.
- Ammert, Niklas. *Om vad och hur 'må' ni berätta? Undervisning om Förintelsen och andra folkmord*. Stockholm: Forum för levande historia, 2011.
- Arksey, Hillary, and Lisa O'Malley. "Scoping Studies: Toward a Methodological Framework." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 8, no. 1 (2005), 19–32.
- Assmann, Jan. "Communicative and Cultural Memory." In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.
- Banik, Vibeke, and Anders Kjøstvedt. "Kollektive minner og universalisering: Holocaust i den nye norske læreplanen for grunnskolen." *Norddidactica* 12, no. 3 (2022).
- Banke, Cecilie. "Eleverne skal lære at skelne: Erfaringer med antisemitisme, antimuslimske holdninger, undervisning i Holocaust og mellemøstkonflikten i danske skoler og ungdomsuddannelser – En eksplorativ undersøgelse. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2004.
- Banke, Cecilie. "Teaching the Holocaust as Part of Local History: The Case of Denmark." In *The Future of Holocaust Memorialization: Confronting Racism, Antisemitism, and Homophobia through Memory Work*, edited by Andrea Petó and Helga Thorson. Budapest: Tom Lantos Institute, 2015.
- Banke, Cecilie. "Holocaust in the Periphery: Memory Politics in the Nordic Countries." In *Holocaust Remembrance and Representation: Documentation from a Research Conference*, edited by Karin Kvist Geverts. Research Anthology of the Inquiry on a Museum about the Holocaust, SOU 2020:21, Stockholm 2020.
- Bak, Sofie Lene. *Jødeaktionen oktober 1943: Forestillinger i offentlighed og forskning*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2001.
- Bak, Sofie Lene. *Ikke noget at tale om: Danske jøders krigsoplevelser 1943–45*. Copenhagen: Dansk Jødisk Museum, 2010.
- Bak, Sofie Lene. *Da krigen var forbi: De danske jøders hjemkomst efter besættelsen*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2012.
- Bak, Sofie Lene. *Nazisme og Holocaust: Et forløb fra Historieportalen*. Århus: Systime, 2023.
- Baron, Lawrence. *Projecting the Holocaust into the Present: The Changing Focus of Contemporary Holocaust Cinema*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.
- Barton, Keith., and Linda Levstik. *Teaching History for the Common Good*. New Jersey: Routledge, 2004.
- Berlau, Solvej, and Stine Thuge. *Vejen til folkedrab: Før, under og efter Holocaust*. Copenhagen: Columbus, 2023.
- Brakstad, Ingjerd Veiden. *Etter folkemordet: 1945–*. Oslo: Samlaget, 2021.
- Brudholm, Thomas and Martin Mennecke, eds. *Erindringens fremtid. Auschwitz-dag i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Lindhardt og Ringhof, 2004.
- Bruchfeld, Stéphane. "År det dags att göra sig av med 'Förintelsen'? Reflektioner kring ett begrepp." In *En problematisk relation? Flyktningpolitik och judiska flyktingar i Sverige 1920–1950*, ed. Lars M. Andersson and Karin Kvist Geverts, 31–70. Uppsala: Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, 2008.

- Bruchfeld, Stéphane. “Öga för öga, tand för tand...” *En granskning av svenska läromedel i historia, religion och samhällskunskap för högstadiet och gymnasiet om judendom, judisk historia och Förintelsen*. Stockholm: Svenska kommittén mot antisemitism, 1996.
- Bruchfeld, Stéphane and Paul A. Levine. ...om detta må ni berätta... *En bok om Förintelsen i Europa 1922–1945*. Stockholm: Regeringskansliet, 1998.
- Bruland, Bjarte. *Holocaust i Norge: Registrering, deportasjon, tilintetgjørelse*. Oslo: Dreyer, 2017.
- Center for undervisningsmidler. *Sektorprosjekt om holocaust og folkedrab* (UCL Erhvervsakademi og Professionshøjskole, 2022. <https://www.ucl.dk/cfu/projekter/sectorprojekt-om-holocaust-og-folkedrab>,
- Chapman, Arthur. “Learning the Lessons of the Holocaust. A Critical Exploration”. In *Holocaust Education: Contemporary Challenges and Controversies*, edited by Stuart Foster, Andy Pearce, and Alice Pettigrew, 50–73. London: UCL Press, 2020.
- Christensen, Claus Bundgård., Niels Bo Poulsen., & Peter Scharff Smith. “The Danish Volunteers in the Waffen SS and their Contribution to the Holocaust and the Nazi War of Extermination”. In *Denmark and the Holocaust*, edited by Mette Bastholm Jensen & Steven L. B. Jensen, 62-101. Copenhagen: Institute for International Studies, Department for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 2003.
- Christiansen, Thomas Kvist. *Arlette – en historie vi aldrig må glemme*. Kvist Film, 2017
- Cowan, Paula., & Henry Maitles. *Understanding and Teaching Holocaust Education*. London: Sage Publications, 2017.
- Ditlevsen, Jacob Kornerup. “Dansk Holocaustundervisning og Auschwitzdag i perioden 1994-2019”. MA-thesis, University of Southern Denmark, 2019.
- Day, Samuel. “The making of Holocaust education in Britain, 1945-1991”, *Holocaust studies* 31:2 (2025), 287-308 doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2024.2354668
- Eckmann, Monique. “Exploring the Relevance of Holocaust Education for Human Rights Education”, *Prospects* 40:1 (2010), 7-16. DOI:10.1007/s11125-010-9140-z
- Eidsvåg, Inge, Signe Marie Natvig Andreassen, Aslak Brekke, Oddrun Marie Hovde Bråten, Are Johansen. Per Olav Kallestad, Senaid Kobilica, Oddbjørn Leirvik, Kari Helene Partapuoli, Chava Savosnick & Bjørn Erik Øvrum. *Det kan skje igjen. Rapport fra Kunnskapsdepartementets arbeidsgruppe om antisemittisme og rasisme i skolen*. Oslo: Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2011.
- Flenngård, Ola. “Uppdrag: historia och demokrati. Perspektiv på studieresor till Förintelsens minnesplatser”. PhD diss., University of Gothenburg, 2023.
- Fondevik, Cathrin. “Jødene under nazismen 1933-1945: en analyse av norske lærebøker i historie og KRL-faget”. MA-thesis, Høgskolen i Bergen, 2002.
- Foster, Stuart, Andy Pearce, and Alice Pettigrew, eds. *Holocaust Education: Contemporary Challenges and Controversies*. London: UCL Press, 2020.
- Foster, Stuart. “To what extent does the acquisition of historical knowledge really matter when studying the Holocaust?” In *Holocaust Education. Contemporary Challenges and Controversies*, ed. Foster, Pearce & Pettigrew, 28-49. London: UCL Press, 2020.
- Foster, Stuart, Alice Pettigrew, Andy Pearce, Rebecca Hale, Adrian Burgess, Paul Salmons & Ruth-Anne Lenga. *What do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English Secondary Schools*. London: UCL Center for Holocaust Education, 2016.

- Förintelsen och Sverige. Tiden före, under och efter*, Izabela Dahl & Karin Kvist Geverts (red.), (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur 2025).
- Grimnes, Ole Kristian. "Hvordan har historieskrivningen om okkupasjonsårene skiftet over tid?" *Nytt norsk tidsskrift* 37:3 (2020), 274–87. <https://www.scup.com/doi/10.18261/issn.1504-3053-2020-03-09>
- Hagen, Fredrik Stenhjem. *Antirasisme etter Auschwitz : didaktiske refleksjoner om Holocaust som antirasistisk verktøy i den norske skolen*. Bergen: Høgskulen på Vestlandet. 2022
- Hagen, Fredrik Stenhjem. "Elevers Forståelse Av Motivene Til de Som Bidro Til Gjennomføringen Av Holocaust." *Acta Didactica Norden* 17:1 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.5617/adno.8950>.
- Hjeltnes, Guri. "Hollywood lanserte 'Holocaust'. TV-serien bidro til å vekke verden", hlsenteret.no (2023)
- Hoffmann, Christhard. "A Fading Consensus: Public Debates on Antisemitism in Norway, 1960 vs. 1983". In *The Shifting Boundaries of Prejudice: Antisemitism and Islamophobia in Contemporary Norway*, ed. Christhard Hoffmann, & Vibeke Moe, 26-50. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 2020.
- Humanity in Action. *Voices in the void*. HIA, 2023
- Johannesen, Hildegunn Juulsgaard. "Kontroversielle aspekter i historieundervisningen 7.-9. klassetrin. Et etnografisk inspireret klasserumsstudie". PhD diss., University of Southern Denmark, 2022.
- Kalsås, Vidar Fagerheim. "Mellom historiske lærdomar og historisk tenking: Undervisningspraksisar kring temaet holocaust blant lærarar i norsk skule." *Acta Didactica Norden* 16:3 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.5617/adno.9096>.
- Karlsson, Maria. "Förintelsens lärdomar – finns de? Och är de historievetenskapligt intressanta?" *Historisk tidskrift* 140:4 (2020), 696-704. <https://www.historisktidskrift.se/index.php/june20/article/view/123/85>
- Katzin, Mirjam. *Skolgårdsrasism, konspirationsteorier och utanförskap. En rapport om antisemitism och det judiska minoritetsskapet i Malmös förskolor, skolor, gymnasier och vuxenutbildning*. Malmö: Malmö stad, 2021.
- Kvist Geverts, Karin, "Bildene av Förintelsen", in *Historisk Tidskrift*, 142:3 (2022), 463-469.
- Kvist Geverts, Karin, *Ett främmande element i nationen. Svensk flyktingpolitik och de judiska flyktingarna 1938-1944* (PhD diss., Uppsala Universitet, 2008).
- Kvist Geverts, Karin, "Refugee Policy in Sweden during the Holocaust. A Historiographical overview" in *Holocaust Remembrance and Representation. Documentation from a Research Conference*, ed. Karin Kvist Geverts (Stockholm: Swedish Government Official Reports, 2020).
- Kvist Geverts, Karin, "The Challenges of Holocaust Education and Remembrance in Sweden", In *Bystanders, Rescuers or Perpetrators? The Neutral Countries and the Shoah*, ed. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (Berlin: Metropol, 2016), 265-268.
- Körber, Andreas. "Presentism, alterity and historical thinking" *Historical encounters*, 6:1, (2018), 110-116. https://www.hej-hermes.net/_files/ugd/f067ea_1322724bd-fc749efb3df3eea558989c1.pdf

- Korbøl, Karsten. "Formuleringen 'som Holocaust' i LK20 – debatt begrunnelse og implikasjoner for undervisning", In *Å undervise om Holocaust. Utfordringer og innganger*, ed. Kalsås, Vidar Fagerheim & Claudia Lenz. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2024.
- Kverndokk, Kyrre. "Pilgrim, turist og elev: Norske skoleturer til døds- og konsentrasjonsleirer". PhD diss., Linköping University, 2007.
- Kvist Geverts, Karin, "The Challenges of Holocaust Education and Remembrance in Sweden", *Bystanders, Rescuers or Perpetrators? The Neutrals and the Shoah*, Corry Gutstadt et.al. (eds.), IHRA, Metropol Verlag: Berlin 2016.
- Lange, Anders, Heléne Löow, Stéphane Bruchfeld & Ebba Hedlund. *Utsatthet för etnisk och politiskt relaterat hot mm, spridning av rasistisk och antirasistisk propaganda samt attityder till demokrati mm bland skolelever*. Stockholm: Centrum för invandringsforskning, 1997.
- Levy, Daniel., & Sznajder, Natan. "Memory Unbound: The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory". *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5:1 (2002), 87–106. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431002005001002>
- Lytje, Maren. "Democracy is opposed to dictatorship: Danish Holocaust memory and the didactic practices of Danish history teachers", 2022, I: *Historical Encounters*. 10, 1, s. 130-143 14 s.
- Löwengart, Mia. *Bilden av antisemitismen och Förintelsen i svenska läromedel i historia: En undersökning av den kunskapssyn och de värderingar som förmedlas genom lärobokstexten*. Uppsala: Programmet för studier kring Förintelsen och folkmord, Uppsala Universitet, 2004.
- Löow, Heléne. *Nazismen i Sverige 1924-1979. Pionjärerna, partierna, propagandan*. Stockholm: Ordfront, 2004.
- Marrus, Michael R. *Lessons of the Holocaust*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016
- Mattsson, Christer., & Thomas Johannson (ed.). *Antisemitism. Historiska, kulturella och pedagogiska perspektiv*. (Stockholm: Studentlitteratur, 2024)
- Mendelsohn, Oskar. "Inntrykk av undervisning og undervisningsmateriale i norske skoler." *Nordisk judaistik* 4:1 (1982), 43-47. <https://doi.org/10.30752/nj.69376>.
- Miles, James., & Gibson, Lindsay. "Rethinking presentism in history education" *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 50:4 (2022), 509-529 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2022.2115959>
- Milligan, Andrea., Gibson, Lindsay., & Peck, Carla. L. "Enriching Ethical Judgements in History Education" *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 46:3, (2018), 449-479 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2017.1389665>
- Nygren, Thomas. "UNESCO and Council of Europe Guidelines, and History Education in Sweden, c. 1960-2002". *Education Inquiry* 2:1 (2011), 37–60. DOI:10.3402/edui.v2i1.21961
- Nygård, Marita. "‘Vi må aldri glemme...’ Holocaustdagen som arena for erindring om utryddelsen av de europeiske jødene blant skoleungdom i Norge.?" *Din. Tidsskrift for religion og kultur* 11:2 (2019), 87-112. <https://ojs.novus.no/index.php/DIN/article/view/1718/1700>
- Pettigrew, Alice. "Why Teach or Learn about the Holocaust?" *Holocaust Studies*, 23:3 (2017), 263-288. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2017.1296069>

- Pistone, Isabella., Lars M. Andersson, Allan Lidström, Christer Mattsson, Gustaf Nelhans, Tobias Pernler, Morten Sager & Jennie Sivenbring. *Education after Auschwitz – Educational outcomes of teaching to prevent antisemitism*. Gothenburg: The Segerstedt Institute, 2021.
- Regeringen. *Handlingsplan mod antisemitisme*. Copenhagen: Ministry of Justice, 2022. <https://www.justitsministeriet.dk/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Antisemitisme-handlingsplan.pdf>
- Reitan, Jon. “Møter med Holocaust. Norske perspektiver på tilintetgjørelsens historiekultur”. PhD diss., NTNU: Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 2016.
- Rigspolitiet. *Hadforbrydelser i 2020. Rigspolitiets årsrapport vedrørende hadforbrydelser*. Copenhagen: Nationalt Forebyggelsessenter, 2020.
- Rumrill, Jr, Phillip D., & Shawn M Fitzgerald. “Using Narrative Literature Reviews to Build a Scientific Knowledge Base.” *Work (Reading, Mass.)* 16:2 (2001), 165–70 <https://doi.org/10.3233/WOR-2001-00173>.
- Rünitz, Lone. *Afhensyn til konsekvenserne. Danmark og flygtningespørgsmålet 1933-1940*. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2005.
- Salmons, Paul. “Universal Meaning or Historical Understanding”. *Teaching History* 141 (2010), 58-63
- Selling, Jan, “Between History and Politics: the Swedish Living History project as discursive formation”. *Scandinavian Journal of History* 36:5 (2011), 555-569. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2011.625774>
- Short, Geoffrey. Antiracist Education and Moral Behaviour: Lessons from the Holocaust, *Journal of moral education*, 28:1 (1999), 49-62 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/030572499103304>
- Skolverket. Läroplan för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2022 (Lgr22) <https://www.skolverket.se/getFile?file=13074>
- Skolverket. Läroplan för grundskolan 1980 (Lgr80).
- Skolverket. Läroplan för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2022 (Lgr22). Kursplan historia. <https://www.skolverket.se/getFile?file=13074>
- Sode-Madsen, Hans. *I Hitler Tysklands skygge. Dramaet om de danske jøder 1933-1945*. Copenhagen: Aschehoug, 2003.
- SOU 1999:20. *Slutrapport. Sverige och judarnas tillgångar*. Stockholm: Utrikesdepartementet, 1999. <https://www.regeringen.se/rattsliga-dokument/statens-offentliga-utredningar/1999/03/sou-1999201/>
- Stockholm Declaration, International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), holocaustremembrance.com <https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/stockholm-declaration>
- Stræde, Therkel & Larsen, Dennis. *En skole i vold, Bobruisk 1941-44. Frikorps Danmark og det tyske besættelsesheredømme i Hviderusland*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2014.
- Syse, Harald. “Nazisme uten antisemittisme: om fremstillingen av nazismen i norske skolebøker.” *Nytt norsk tidsskrift* 33:1-2 (2016), 111–122. <https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1504-3053-2016-01-02-10>.
- Tarabini, Silvia Goldbaum. “The Earliest Danish Testimonies About the Theresienstadt Ghetto: Gathered in Sweden by the World Jewish Congress, April 1945”. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 37:2 (2023), 220–240. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/dcad032>

- Tarabini Fracapane, Silvia, *The Jews of Denmark in the Holocaust. Life and Death in Theresienstadt Ghetto*, Routledge 2021.
- Utbildningsdepartementet: *Skollag 2010:800*. <https://lagen.nu/2010:800>
- Vilhjålmsson, Vilhjalmur Örn. *Medaljens Baksida. Jødiske flygtningeskæbner i Danmark 1933-1945*. Copenhagen: Vandkunsten, 2005.
- Wagrell, Kristin. *Antisemitismen i Stockholms skolor. En rapport om skolpersonal och elevers upplevelser och tankar kring antisemitiska uttryck i sin skolmiljö*. Stockholm: Stockholms stad, 2022.
- Wibaeus, Ylva. "Att undervisa om det ofattbara. En ämnesdidaktisk studie om kunskapsområdet Förintelsen i skolans historieundervisning". PhD diss., Stockholm University, 2010.
- Zander, Ulf. "Holocaust at the Limits. Historical Culture and the Nazi Genocide in the Television Era". In *Echoes of the Holocaust. Historical Cultures in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Klas-Göran Karlsson & Ulf Zander, 255-292. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2003.
- Österberg, Oscar. *Uppfattningar om Förintelsen – 20 år efter informationsinsatsen Levande Historia*. Stockholm: Forum för levande historia, 2019.
- Österberg, Oscar. "Research in Nordic Countries". In *Research in Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust. A Dialogue Beyond Borders*, ed. Monique Eckmann, Doyle Stevick & Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, 85-101. (Berlin: Metropol, 2017).

